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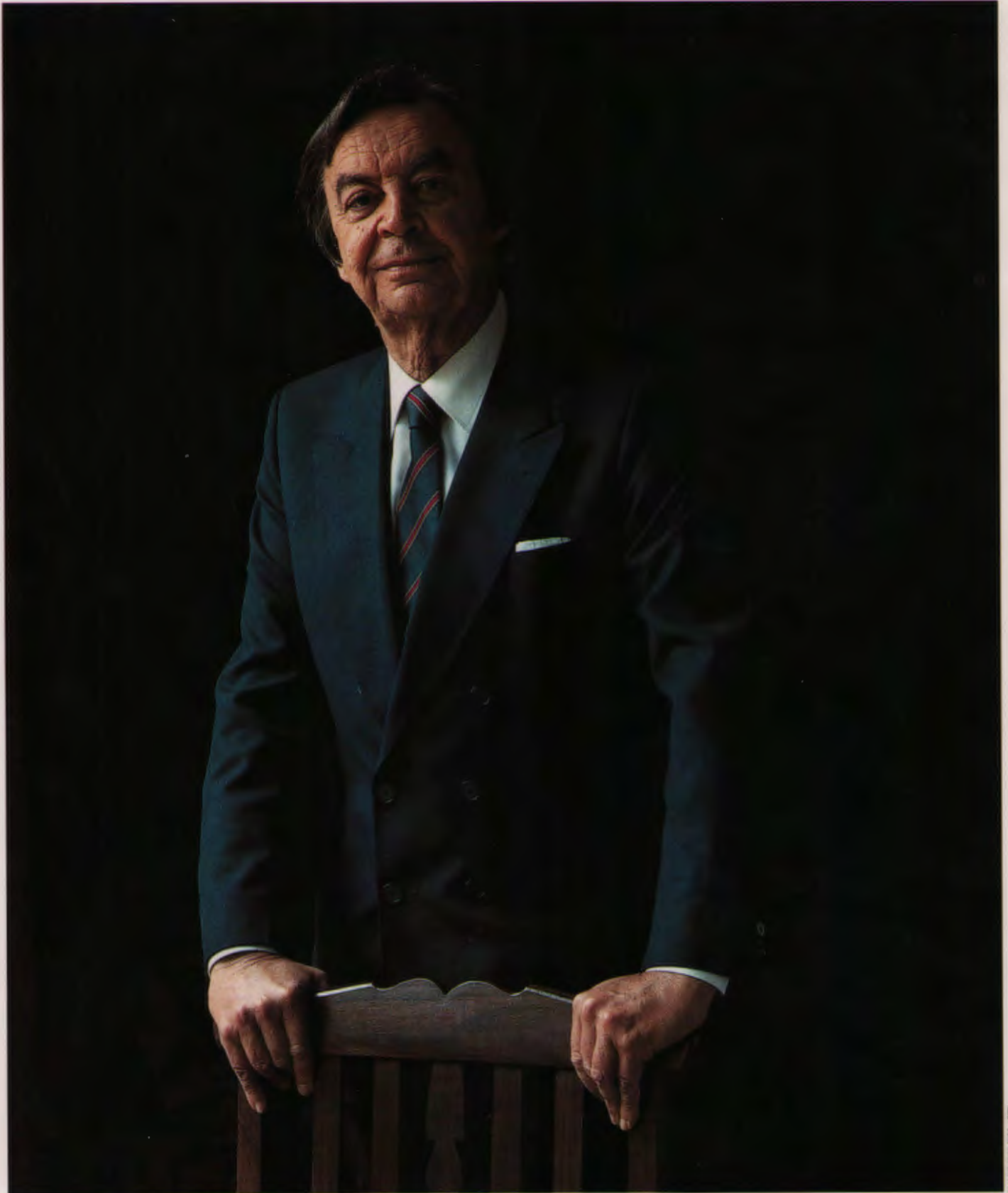
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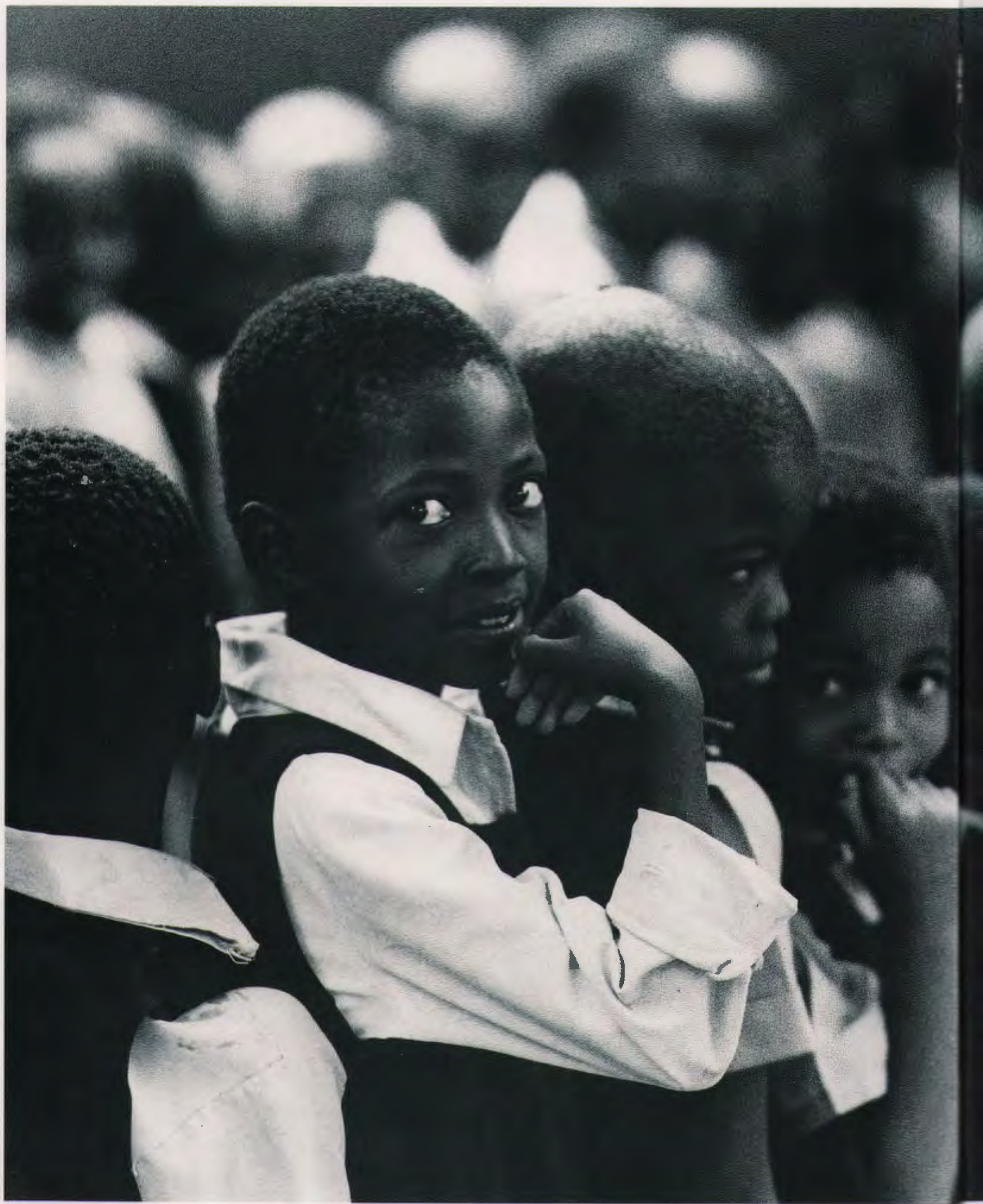
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LEADERSHIP

VOLUME FIVE 1986 NUMBER FOUR



DAVID GOLDBLATT





Today, Elizabeth Nkumane will most likely discover Australia.

She will also learn to add and subtract, and find out that there's a lot more to books than just pictures.


She is still a child, her youthful dreams and future before her. Thirsting for knowledge, achievement and pride.

In a word, Education. Sound Education.

Each year the craving to learn gathers momentum. Yet each year in relative terms we invest less. There is a grave danger that tutorial undernourishment will starve our nation.

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L E A D E R S H I P

SOUTH AFRICA VOLUME 5 1986 NUMBER FOUR

Leadership Magazine is published every two months as a vehicle for top-level debate. Written by leaders in various fields, it is aimed at those people most likely to influence events in Southern Africa. Current circulation is 18 250.

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BOY RACERS HAVE BEEN KNOWN TO CHALLENGE IT AT TRAFFIC LIGHTS. AH, THE FOLLY OF YOUTH.

Youth being what it is, there is a certain immature competitiveness that oft manifests itself in a penchant for burning rubber at traffic lights.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTES

MARKET SURVEY

One of South Africa's leading market research companies, Markinor (an associate of the American Gallup group) has completed the most comprehensive survey yet commissioned by *Leadership*. Incidentally, Markinor recently conducted a major survey of SA's financially orientated publications for South African Associated Newspapers. *Leadership*, while not strictly a financial or business publication, was included in the SAAN survey. All things considered, I was not unhappy at the way we came out.

But the brief we gave Markinor was to find out about *Leadership* in detail – warts and all. So Markinor compiled an exhaustive questionnaire, which they sent to a random sample of some 3 000 *Leadership* readers. They anticipated 200 replies and received more than 600. Roughly translated that is a phenomenal 20% response.

At the same time, Markinor conducted a substantial random survey on the telephone. There was apparently a 97% correlation of the two surveys.

I have not yet seen the full Markinor report, but a significant telex arrived as we were going to press. Addressed to MD, Nigel Twidale, it said of our readers:

- 86% rate *Leadership* to be excellent or very good, 11% feel it is good.
- 93% say it is a magazine a cut above the rest.
- 90% say it is an important magazine for South Africa.
- 82% say it is a publication of lasting value.
- 80% say it provides a balanced viewpoint.
- 57% say it is the most credible SA medium for high level debate and opinion.
- 90% read every issue.

Congratulations on a superb magazine. Regards, Christine (Woessner). Markinor.

I look forward to seeing the rest.

ANTON RUPERT

South Africa has produced a towering business leader in Dr Rupert. He turns 70 at the beginning of October, and I thought a cover interview with the Stellenbosch statesman would be an auspicious way for *Leadership* to honour him.

In our next edition we will also be running a major review of the book on Dr Rupert

written by Professor Willie Esterhuysen of Stellenbosch University, which is due to be published by Tafelberg during October.

P W DE KLERK

The Minister of National Education, who is also chairman of the Ministers' Council, and leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, is known as a cautious man. He is also one of the government's most powerful representatives – a close adviser to the President.

With a general election seemingly around the corner, and informed opinion tipping him to succeed P W Botha in the not very distant future, he makes a fascinating if difficult subject. He is at pains, however, to debunk speculation that the President is anywhere near retirement.



SAM MOTSUENYANE

For many years it was fashionable in certain quarters to put down Sam Motsuenyane, the president of NAFCOC, as something of an "Uncle Tom". He had built an outstanding business, and he had penetrated the "establishment" to the extent that he was labelled a sell-out. All that has changed. And so, it seems, has Motsuenyane.

His house has been destroyed, his wife arrested, and South Africa's leading black businessman is beginning to breathe fire.

Martin Schneider interviewed him in his caravan in the Winterveld. The result is something of a revelation.

THE FAMILY DAMBUZA

This photographic essay may be the most powerful we have published. But let David Goldblatt, our director of photography, describe why it is so important.

"At least once a week for a year, Ingrid Hudson visited an extended family living in one house in Soweto, photographing the minutiae of their existence. Gradually the members of the household came to accept her and ignore her camera, while she learned to be with them and yet to disappear. Thus, she photographed simply what was there.

"In doing this she has achieved work that is perhaps unmatched in photography or in literature in conveying what it is to live in the crowded intimacy and unrelenting deprivation of such a household.

"It is relevant to remark that photographs similar to these could have been made in at least 100 000 homes in the richest country in Africa."

Need I say more.

ZWELAKHE SISULU

I wonder how many whites have heard of Zwelakhe Sisulu. I hadn't until we worked together fleetingly on the *Rand Daily Mail* many years ago. Once you meet him, however, he is not easy to forget.

The son of Walter and Albertina Sisulu (with Nelson Mandela and Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu is one of the ANC generals imprisoned at Pollsmoor), Zwelakhe is a strong personality with all the unmistakable qualities of a born leader.

I can remember one of the *Rand Daily Mail* stalwarts (an Afrikaner) counselling against being too hard on Sisulu during a black journalists' strike. "He's the kind that's going to come back and run the country," he warned. There was an underlying seriousness to the jest.

Now editor of the Catholic newspaper, *New Nation*, Sisulu was interviewed by *Leadership* contributing writer, Riaan de Villiers.

EXECUTIVE UNDER SIEGE

Raymond Ackerman is not popular with everyone. He has a distinctive, even egocentric, style but he is enormously successful and admired by others. To them he is the ultimate businessman, the acceptable face of capitalism.

There have been many published versions of the strike that nearly crippled Pick 'n Pay. *Leadership* asked Ackerman to tell the story his way, and managing editor Martin Schneider went along to take down the words.

DESMOND TUTU

The election of the new Archbishop of Cape Town was an affair fraught with implications for church and politics. The establishment wanted Bishop Michael Nuttall of Natal. The world wanted Nobel laureate Desmond Tutu. I suspect Nuttall, in spite of himself, wanted Tutu as well. Whatever the circumstances, however, it must have been traumatic for the Natal man.

We thought it would be interesting to see Tutu through the eyes of the only other serious contender for the job of Anglican Metropolitan. That's how it turned out.

HUGH MURRAY



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Anton Rupert continues to give proof of such vitality, sensitivity and originality, that it is hard to associate him with a 70th birthday celebration, and impossible to think of him as an old man. He is a truly remarkable personality, a fine scholar, an outstanding industrialist, and a great patriot. No-one has done as much as he for the preservation of our historic and artistic heritage, and for the conservation of the wildlife of this beautiful land.

But Anton Rupert is more than a great South African. He is also a great citizen of the world, with a deep, intuitive understanding of the thoughts and feelings of men and women in other countries and on other continents. How I wish that in these difficult times more of our leaders were like him in that respect.

There has never been a time when his qualities of understanding, humanity, and courage – and the influence which he exercises on our national life – were more necessary than they are today.

H F Oppenheimer

ANTON RUPERT

On October 4, Dr Anton Rupert, chairman of the giant Rembrandt Group, turns 70.

He and Mr Harry Oppenheimer stand unchallenged as South Africa's premier business leaders. Some would say they are the country's only real statesmen. At home, and abroad, they are legends.

It would be gratuitous to make comparisons at all, except that they lead by quiet example and understated brilliance.

So who better to pay tribute to Anton Rupert than Harry Oppenheimer?

Rupert seldom gives interviews. Indeed, he is almost reclusive when it comes to the media. Leadership editor, Hugh Murray, was therefore particularly pleased at the opportunity of spending several hours with Rupert in Stellenbosch – shortly before he left on an overseas trip. As often happens with people of Rupert's stature, some of the conversation was not for the record.

Nonetheless, the great man had some important things to say for publication.

Murray: You have always had a fascination for leadership, and even published a book called *Leaders on Leadership*. What are the essential ingredients of the kind of leadership required in South Africa today? Do we have real leadership potential?

Rupert: Of all the characteristics of leadership which can be named, the attribute which I regard as one of the most important is selflessness – the willingness to serve

others and to help them to develop on their own.

Leadership depends more upon judgment than upon mere specialised knowledge, and therefore the "generalist" – the person who has the ability to see the diverse components of a matter as a whole and who can assess rapidly what is important – is in my opinion better equipped to lead than the specialist.

It is for this reason that I have repeatedly pleaded for the versatile, the balanced, the many-sided leader – the man for all seasons.

To lead, to administer, to manage and to motivate, we need versatile leaders who will be able not only to explore a new course for our country, but who will also be able to understand and to reconcile diverse views.

Versatility embraces more than knowledge. It indeed implies a broader humanity.

Yes, we do have a lot of leadership potential – we may even have an excessive potential. That is why the potential for conflict is also very high.

Our problem may even be that there are too many people who want to be leaders themselves rather than followers. The ultimate result could be that we would have too few reliable followers.

To me the most urgent need right now and in the future is for the development of more and better leaders in all fields of endeavour – leaders who will have the know-

ledge, courage, conviction and human understanding to cope with the specific problems of our time.

There are these leaders among our population groups, and I have been privileged to know some of them. A mentor of the standing of Bishop Alpheus Zulu, in my opinion, compares favourably with any of the elder statesmen I have ever met. But we need more of his calibre.

The recession, combined with political pressures, have caused an atmosphere of gloom and despondency among businessmen in SA. How can this be shaken off?

We should strive to fill our people with hope for the future through an approach of live and let live. Our sub-continent offers enormous opportunities if only we would realise that we are interdependent and could achieve more if we work together.

Attempts will have to be made to siphon off capital from defence and state administration to development. Too small a percentage of our national income has been available for necessary development.

In the private sector development over the past 10 years has been lop-sided, the emphasis having been excessively on prestigious buildings rather than on industrial activities.





Each group thinks it has the ability to lead. Unfortunately we have few leaders with the necessary perspective of their role and responsibilities. There is too much jockeying for position and too little direction given.

South Africans should be freed to pursue their own interests. Let us abandon fear of the future and free ourselves from the damping-up of creative energy. Creative energy is like running water – it creates power as it flows through the mills of industry, commerce and agriculture. When it is free again, it rushes on without restraint. But, like water, energy, when stagnant, goes bad. It cannot be bottled up and still be a source of power.

Will South Africa continue to be the heart of the regional industrial complex beyond the turn of the century?

South Africa is the catalyst for development in Africa. I do not expect a huge inflow of foreign investments to the Third World in the foreseeable future.

Taking the current situation into account and the threat of the West imposing cynical sanctions to the detriment of all in Southern Africa, I nevertheless remain convinced that South Africa will retain its dominant economic position.

The Republic's ability to feed, clothe and house its peoples; to create enough energy from its enormous natural resources; and to further develop its treasure-house of metals and minerals will ensure its position as the economic leader in the subcontinent.

The creation of wealth seems to be taking a back seat to the distribution of wealth. Can the emphasis be changed and, if so, how?

The emphasis is already changing. Many countries in Africa are beginning to realise that the creation of wealth should get preference to the distribution of wealth as the first step towards meaningful economic and social development.

Prosperity has to be created before it can be shared. We are living in times of political and social upheaval; we are experiencing a revolution caused by increasing expectations. The most important characteristic of this revolution is the pursuit of political independence without the potential of economic viability.

The process of wealth creation will have to be increased and a prerequisite for this to materialise is the removal of all unnecessary regulations and controls in order to free our people economically and to allow them to bring about innovations and to offer their

labour wherever the demand is greatest.

The moment opportunities are diminished and people are deprived of the responsibility for their own destiny, the way is paved for inefficiency and stagnation, and for a dull, unimaginative form of survival.

Your group has been at the cutting edge of change for much longer than most "liberal" businesses. Has this ever meant a serious conflict with government?

The only conflict occurred in talks with Dr Verwoerd. When in 1959 we tried, with the necessary self-confidence, to implement an economic partnership between whites and coloureds in a factory in Paarl, Prime Minister Verwoerd threatened to close the factory in spite of a unanimous and positive decision by the board of Rembrandt.

The second time we had a difference of opinion was after Sharpeville in 1960. I pleaded with him to grant land ownership to the blacks in the biggest city, Soweto. He said no, and also refused my suggestion for 99-year and even 30-year leasehold.

It was not merely a conflict of personalities but rather an ideological conflict: a conflict caused by the difference in approach and emphasis between the policy of apartheid and of co-existence through partnership.

The government's obsession at that time to monopolise development and to try to be all things to all people was also demonstrated when:

- The business sector established the South African Foundation in 1959 with a view to pleading South Africa's cause abroad, the Department of Information followed but had to pay the price of the wrong ethical concept that "the end justifies the means";
- The private sector inaugurated the Sports Foundation of Southern Africa, the Department of Sport and Recreation followed quickly on its heels. Unfortunately we are now out of international sport;
- The private sector was in the process of establishing the Development Bank for Equatorial and Southern Africa, the Minister of Finance announced in 1971 that it was going to establish a similar bank in this country. The announcement effectively withheld considerable capital from EDESA, even though the government's counterpart was established only 12 years later.

Personally I believe that private initiative can do these things better and with more credibility than the public sector.

The Rupert group's involvement in social responsibility projects across a wide front (housing, nature foundation, historical homes, etc) have cost enormous amounts. Why are projects of this kind so important?

It has been our consistent viewpoint over the

years that a company has a three-fold responsibility: towards its shareholders, towards its personnel, and towards the community in which it exists and from which it derives its success.

From the beginning, we realised that the confidence and goodwill of the public are one of the most important foundations on which a healthy enterprise should be based. Thus, it has always been a matter of honour for us to fulfil, to the best of our ability, our obligations to the community as a whole.

You cannot do long-term business successfully in an unhappy and deprived community without any hope or prospect of a better future.

Through the World Wildlife Fund, and its SA Nature Foundation connection, you have shown great interest in the environment. Demographics show the SA environment and ecology to be severely threatened. Is the situation as hopeless as some make it sound? Can business make a major contribution in this regard?

Our region is no stranger to the world's environmental problems. It is indeed so that the planet's capacity to support people is being seriously reduced in both developed and developing countries. The figures of population growth in relation to limited natural resources are frightening – but only if we do nothing. While the problems may be stark, fortunately the possible solutions are clearly set out in the "World Conservation Strategy", initiated and published by the World Wildlife Fund.

The goal is sustainable utilisation, where population, urban growth, food production and development are all in proportion; all capable of being sustained. A means to this end is conservation.

Development means using the earth's living and mineral resources for human benefit. But economic development without conservation is like financing an irresponsible spending spree on credit, without thought for tomorrow's budget. By digging into future income through the wasteful exploitation of natural resources, temporary gains are made at the cost of impoverishing our future.

This is cutting down an apple tree to pick the apples, and we sentence our children's children to a lifestyle spent in the pursuit of mere survival.

Business has started making a contribution in this respect. A number of them have appointed senior managers, with direct access to the chief executive, to overview all company activities which may impact on the environment. Environmental concerns are being referred to in corporate advertising and annual accounts.

In South Africa the SA Nature Foundation is mainly funded by commerce and industry. This organisation has been instrumental in:



The sign that has become symbolic.

In the final analysis a trademark is only as good as the product behind it.

This especially holds true for the Mercedes star.

Because behind it lies a successful tradition in building precisely engineered motorcars.

More than a hundred years ago Gottlieb Daimler sent a postcard to his wife on which he had drawn his house in Deutz and, above it, a star.

'This Star', he prophesied, 'will one day proudly rise over our factory'.

He and Karl Benz had laid the cornerstone for this.

In June 1909 the three-pointed star was registered as a trademark, and became a symbol for motorised transport on land, on water and in the air.

As a star within a ring, it was registered as a trademark in 1923.

Since that time – with barely any changes over the decades – it has adorned the products of Daimler-Benz AG. It has become the

embodiment of all those virtues which have made Daimler-Benz famous worldwide:

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It urges us onwards to perpetually strive for the solutions which will make the motorcar more attractive, safer, more comfortable, and environmentally acceptable.

We are proud that the daring, inventive spirit of the founders of our company is still very much in evidence after a hundred years.

And that our people continue to make this inheritance from Karl Benz and Gottlieb Daimler the abiding principle by which they think and act.

Today the three-pointed star stands for a car 'engineered like no other car in the world.'

A symbol that still sets the trend.





- The creation or enlargement of 25 National Parks in Southern Africa over the past 18 years;
- The launching of the SA Natural Heritage Programme, encouraging conservation on private land in co-operation with the owner;
- The establishment of Africa's first chairs in conservation and wildlife management at Pretoria and Stellenbosch universities;
- The initiation of a National Parks Trust Fund of R9m where interest will be available for land purchase for urgently needed new national parks;
- The implementation of protective measures for more than 25 endangered or threatened animal species, and the promotion of plant conservation nation-wide;
- The funding of special programmes to teach youth the necessity of conservation, stewardship and sustainable utilisation;
- And finally, in supporting inter alia the Institute of Natural Resources which specifically sets out to address the problems of population growth and limited natural resources.

What about socio-political change? Is business doing enough to ensure the survival of free enterprise?

South Africa today is fortunate to have an enlightened business community. Our business leaders have shown that they are not prepared to watch the process of evolution in Southern Africa from the sidelines.

When positive initiatives need to be taken, they are willing to give support. The establishment of the Small Business Development Corporation is a case in point, as are the activities of the Urban Foundation in its efforts to enhance the quality of life of urban dwellers.

As catalysts these organisations, under the able leadership of Dr Ben Vosloo and Jan Steyn, are doing whatever they can to address the main components of economic and social upliftment: namely job-creation, housing and education. Their three-pronged approach to unemployment, the shortage of housing and dearth of educational facilities has already proved to be a stabilising force in our communities.

Many believe the least change SA will be able to get away with would be to move the country into the mode of Zimbabwe with its mixed economy. Are there other alternatives?

In a certain sense SA already has a mixed economy, as evidenced by the magnitude of State corporations and government control of services such as our airways, transport

services, post and telecommunications, the supply of electricity and television and radio services.

The alternative would be to move away from excessive government regulations to free enterprise and the allocation of more resources to private initiative.

The free enterprise system ensures the most productive utilization of resources. One of the stabilizing qualities of the free enterprise system is the fact that it relies on the profit motive, which is a powerful human incentive.

Private initiative has often been accused of pious selfishness, but an important defence against these charges is the simple reality of the system. It functions best.

South Africans are awaiting publication of the book written by Willie Esterhuysen to coincide with your 70th birthday. I believe it has a message to South Africans of all race groups. Can you elaborate on the central theme of the book?

The book has not been initiated by me and therefore I think the author would be in a far better position to elucidate the central theme of the manuscript.

How can we draw blacks into the system on a basis that will be acceptable to the most significant number of South Africans?

Once we have clarity about the government system that will evolve, everything possible should be done to draw all South Africans in.

Personally I believe that the Swiss canton system with its maximum local autonomy is the most successful example of its kind for a country with a multi-cultural population.

It is widely believed that the Afrikaner nationalist is not prepared to bend to international pressure and would prefer to tough things out. In this sense, it would seem that Western pressure has been counter-productive. Where does SA go from here, if this is the case?

In a certain sense we are all prisoners of a past fraught with misunderstanding. Incidentally, we have reached a situation where most of our peoples agree on the necessity of reform. It is unfortunate that at this stage the West deems it fit to apply punitive measures against the country.

The Afrikaner obviously finds himself in a tight corner as he believes that he is fighting for his very existence. I fear that his political leaders will scratch out the eyes of the many friends we still have because they do not agree with everything done here. This would be counter-productive.

What we all need is a definite time-table for reform. It is also of the utmost importance that we achieve the highest possible degree of consensus among all South Africans.

How will sanctions, in your view, affect SA?

It will depend on the extent of the sanctions and whether these will be regarded as an honest and constructive effort to influence change or merely as punitive measures with the aim of bringing the country to its knees.

Sanctions applied in the past against Mussolini's Italy, Franco's Spain and Castro's Cuba did not prove to be very successful and were in fact counter-productive.

After World War I at the Treaty of Versailles General Smuts predicted that the punitive measures contained in that treaty would cause another war. He was proved to be right.

Punitive sanctions can never be constructive. They merely prolong the agony of all.

Are there any benefits of a siege economy? Some believe it will create great opportunity, others warn of disaster. Could we have your thoughts on this matter?

It depends very much on how a country reacts. It could stimulate the economy by creating immediate opportunities but in the long-term it harms all parties involved.

I am afraid that if sanctions were imposed with any degree of success, it would amount to hara-kiri in this part of the world and be a severe blow to private enterprise in the whole subcontinent.

Is there anything you did not do, and regret, in relation to the development of South Africa?

I am only sad that it took so long to convince people that apartheid or separate development, regardless of the good intentions with which it may originally have been imposed, can never be a practical solution in Southern Africa.

It is a myth that apartheid is a safeguard for the Afrikaner's survival. On the contrary, it endangers the existence and future of all.

What I regret is my inability to have persuaded more of my fellow-countrymen that peaceful co-existence in Southern Africa could best have been achieved through partnership and sharing. Also that we shall not be able to sleep in peace if our needy neighbours do not eat.

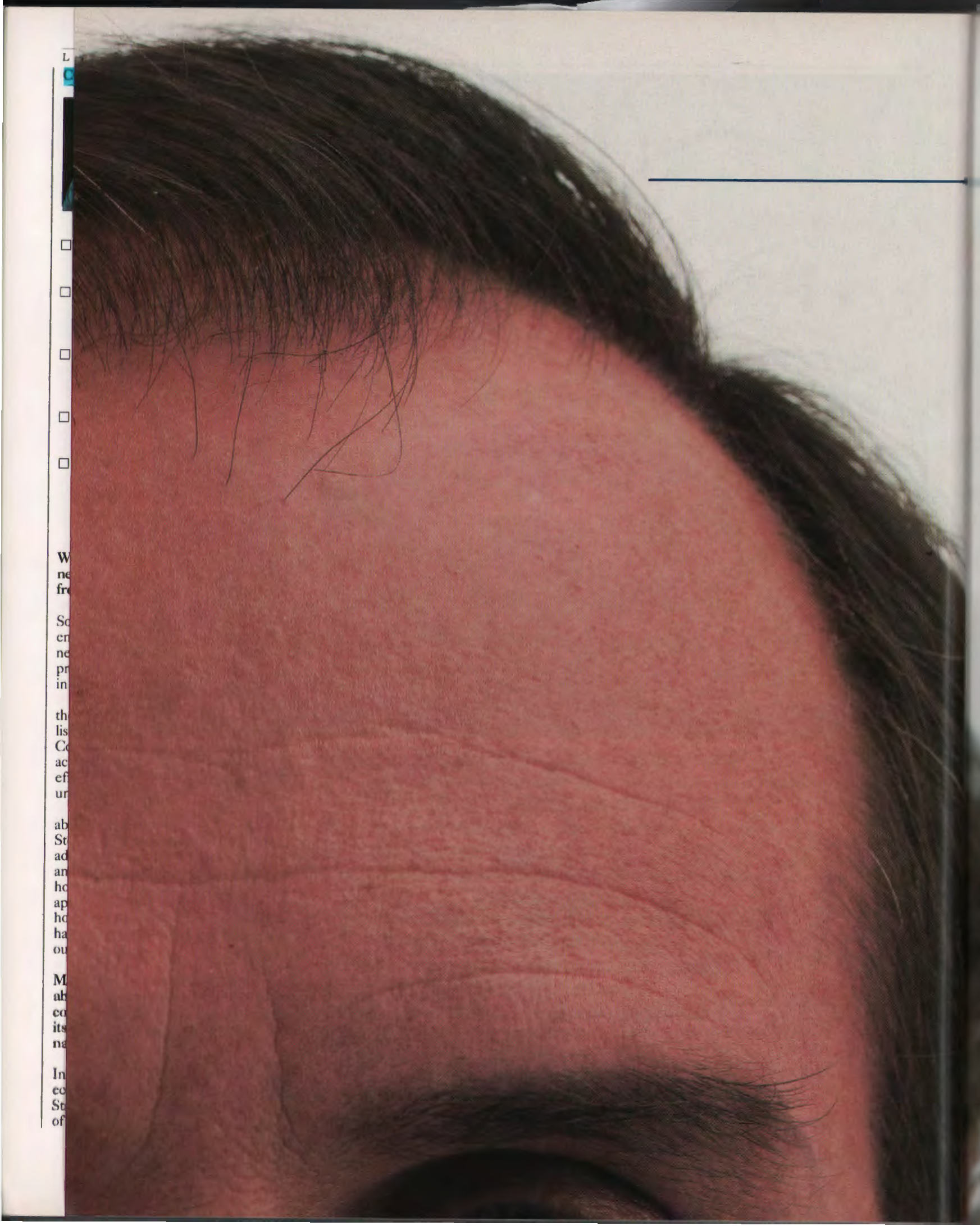
Can the Afrikaner come to terms with a dilution of power?

Yes, indeed, but I believe that he will only settle for a system in which he still has some say in the affairs of the country and not be subjected to one-man-one-vote once.

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A PATH TO PEACE

Mordechai Tamarkin

Historians will be entitled to look on 1985 and 1986 as South Africa's watershed years. For the first time in the history of conflict in this country, there finally appears to be a balance of power between the essentially white government and its black opposition.

For the first time too, the advocates of change – the liberals, the democrats – face the reality of coming to terms with black rule and all it implies. The time has come, I feel, for liberals to take stock. Is the broad liberal vision of achieving maximum happiness for the greatest number of people of all races still attainable under black rule? Are liberals subjecting black nationalism to the kind of critical assessment with which they have examined – and rejected – white nationalism?

Simply put, does the African National Congress offer hope – or more despair and division?

The balance of power, and the inevitable transition to black rule which it implies, is certainly difficult to perceive because each side draws its strength from different sources. Government controls formidable military and para-military forces and other bureaucratic instruments of coercion and control. Anti-government forces are carried by the increasingly politicized, radicalized and mobilized black masses.

In a civil war, mobilized masses are as effective as tanks and aeroplanes. The revolution in Iran is proof of that. What is more, government opponents are also operating under increasingly favourable international

THE ANC



Mordechai Tamarkin is a frequent visitor to South Africa. From 1980 to 1985 he was chairman of the Department of Middle Eastern and African history at the University of Tel Aviv. He was recently on sabbatical at the University of Cape Town.

circumstances. And, in a broad sense, they also have history on their side.

It is certainly difficult to predict the course of the conflict and its duration. But in 1985 and 1986, the black masses have demonstrated that they possess the potential to destroy the system. Government, on the other hand, has shown that while it is not powerless, it cannot in the long term maintain the present system by relying on its security forces.

Liberal opposition in the past was pre-occupied with the government and its potential for change. This was appropriate because no viable alternative was evident. So the new balance of power offers a second option – the radical/revolutionary option which is broadly associated with the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) and its domestic allies.

I believe too many liberals propose, in their frustration, to hand over power to the ANC on its own terms. They do not subject the ANC to critical assessment. Their analysis lies in the realms of hopes, promises, quotations and too much wishful thinking.

As part of its sophisticated liberation strategy, the ANC attempts to attract the full spectrum of potential opposition. To big business, it shows sensitivity to the economy. To a NAFCOC delegation, it promises to favour private enterprise. To radical students, it advocates "not simply parliamentary democracy but workers' democracy". To a verligte Afrikaner editor, it promises freedom of the Press and to still more students it promises to scrap existing security legislation without implementing its own.

To white liberals, the ANC relays a message of hope – the establishment of a non-racial utopia. But I believe that too many liberals are tempted to believe that the ANC will rectify all injustices simply because it is the antithesis of the Nationalist government.

Meanwhile, it addresses its own militant cadres in a completely different language.

The truth is that the ANC is essentially radical rather than liberal. Certainly, non-racialism is the core of its political ideology. But non-racialism, like democracy, covers a broad spectrum. For the liberal Progressive Federal Party, it represents the replacement of the present system of legalised discrimination with one based on freedom of association. It is doubtful whether an ANC government would tolerate a right-wing Afrikaner party or a black ethnic party. Ideologically, the ANC is committed to a total transfer of power involving the complete dismantling of existing political institutions, bureaucracy and security forces and their replacement by new structures dominated by the ANC as the representative of the black majority.

The ANC is also committed to structural change of the economy. So even before you consider the influence on the ANC of communists within its ranks, it is clear that the organisation seeks a true socio-economic and political revolution.

I certainly do not question the legitimacy of the ANC. It is a genuine African liberation movement with an impressive history and performance. It expresses and represents the genuine aspirations of the majority of black South Africans. Nor do I question the motives

and integrity of the ANC leadership. It has survived and matured in a long and arduous struggle for what it perceives as the liberation of its people. Indeed, there is no nobler cause.

But these issues are only marginally important in assessments of political movements. Leaders must be judged solely in terms of their ability to fulfil the aspirations and expectations of the ordinary man. That must be the only legitimate objective of political action. The hell of good intentions is hell just the same.

Inherent in the radical/revolutionary ANC option is considerable potential for economic and social dislocation and destruction. Comparisons with independent African countries may be odious, but they are relevant. Regimes may be divided into two broad categories – radical and pragmatic.

The radical regimes which sought to restructure society on the basis of preconceived ideological models are notable for economic decay, oppression and human suffering. Ghana's Nkrumah, Tanzania's Nyerere and Uganda's Obote were prominent figures in the gallery of African nationalist leadership, but their failures were mainly because African countries are invariably too poor in resources to sustain experimentation in radical socio-economic and political grand designs.

Some may argue that with its vast mineral resources, South Africa is different. The truth is that compared to the needs of the population as a whole, South Africa is poor rather than rich. The basis of the country's apparent wealth is also very fragile and can be easily disrupted.

In any case, the source of South Africa's relative economic strength is not its mineral resources. Zaire is rich in mineral resources. Until recently, Nigeria enjoyed financial windfalls from its vast oil fields. Yet these two countries are virtually bankrupt. Its people are impoverished.

The real source of South Africa's relative wealth is its human resources, black and white; its scientific, technological and managerial skills; its entrepreneurial spirit and its business, financial and production systems. These are fragile resources. The fact that they are largely controlled by whites has created the anti-capitalist strain in black nationalism.

But what must be accepted is that South African capitalism, with all its sins and imperfections, is the pillar of the country's economy. Future prosperity lies in harnessing its potential for the service of the whole community. Simply put, South Africa cannot afford radical experimentation.

Disruption of the economy as it is now structured will have severe socio-economic consequences in a country in which probably 80% of the population owes its livelihood, directly and indirectly, to the modern-industrial economy. Much hope is being placed on the growth potential of the informal sector, but its scope is bound to the extent and viability of the formal sector. Even a peaceful implementation of a radical socio-economic grand design will have severe consequences. However, the chances of a peaceful transfer of power to the ANC are slim. It will have to seize power at the end of a long, bloody and highly destructive civil war

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which the economy could not survive. The Zimbabwe experience does not disprove this grim prediction. Mugabe did in fact inherit from a guerrilla war a viable, functioning modern economy, but the conflict had been predominantly rural. The modern industrial sector was only marginally affected.

This will not be the case in South Africa. The liberation struggle will combine guerrilla, industrial and mass action. It will centre on the cities. Blacks, and particularly the increasingly urbanized groups, will be hard hit. Unlike Mozambicans, they will not be able to survive by resorting to sustenance in a subsistence economy. So once the liberation euphoria wears down, a major crisis of expectations will develop with grave political consequences. The new regime will face neither a passive peasantry – as in most African countries – nor apathetic urban masses – as in many South American countries.

The new regime will face disillusioned, politicized and radicalized urban masses, supported by a host of local organisations and leadership cadres hardened by a long liberation struggle. At worst, this will precipitate a black-on-black civil war which could also be the second phase of the revolution for which the SA Communist Party has been preparing. At best, it will result in severe government repression which will maintain law and order at the cost of freedom. An inescapable political principle comes into force – the gap between the aspirations and expectations of people and what the government can deliver, can only be closed by the use of coercion and repression. The greater the gap, the more severe the repression. Since the gap is bound to be substantial, South Africans will face a one-party dictatorship of a most disagreeable kind.

I refuse to accept the simplistic notion that for blacks the mere change in the colour of the rulers is the essence and sum of liberation. I equally reject the assertion that for blacks to be oppressed and exploited by blacks rather than whites, is more acceptable.

What motivates blacks in their struggle for liberation, beyond mere rage, hatred and frustration, is the belief, whether stated or implied, that black rule will bring freedom and dignity.

My judgement may be considered too harsh. Surely, this is not what the ANC, as a genuinely nationalist movement with capable and sincere leadership, wishes to plan for its people? But then Nkrumah did not wish to let relatively prosperous Ghana on a course of economic destruction and political repression. And Nyerere conceived Ujamaa as a vehicle for economic progress and social upliftment rather than as an agent for economic and social decay.

As long as the ANC adheres to its radical approach, liberals cannot afford to regard it as a partner in a determined reform process aimed at establishing a true liberal democracy.

With its precious asset of wide support, the ANC must realise that South Africa's unique situation calls for a unique liberation strategy. The classical anti-colonial liberation strategy of a long, sustained guerrilla war will be counter-productive and destructive. The dual goal of political freedom and economic prosperity can only be

achieved through a more complex, less dogmatic approach. The ANC should base its strategy on the assumption that the black majority is bound, sooner or later, to inherit the political kingdom. The only question is whether it will inherit the economic kingdom as well.

The economic kingdom is the real prize. Only through it can blacks attain real social and political liberation. For the sake of the economic kingdom, a price of political compromise has to be paid. Whether or not the ANC likes it, its main partner in the historical dialogue which will decide the future of South Africa, will be the government representing Afrikaner nationalism. African and Afrikaner nationalists will have to sort out the crisis for better or for worse. Government has committed itself to reform but it still has a long way to go before it can begin to meet the aspirations of most blacks. I believe the ANC should try to engage government in a constructive dialogue which puts to the test its reform potential.

This will mean no more or no less than the ANC unilaterally renouncing violence and declaring its willingness to negotiate with government a settlement on the basis of sharing power.

In renouncing violence, the ANC will not weaken its bargaining position. Historically, guerrilla terror campaigns aimed at producing change by hitting civilian targets have not proved successful.

Northern Ireland and Israel are ample proof of that. In South Africa, anti-civilian terror will only stiffen Afrikaner nationalist resistance to change. It simply won't succeed.

Blacks' real power lies in the masses. Right now, the ANC does not control the masses, or the violence in the townships. It is in the ANC's interest to operate politically inside the country and to provide the politically fragmented black masses with centralised structures and leadership.

It is in the best interests of the ANC to curb the nihilistic violence on the fringes of black society, violence which poses as much a threat to itself as it does to the government. Simply put, the control of a well-organised internal political movement and its mobilization for non-violent political action might prove to be a more effective strategy.

The fact that a non-violent strategy failed in the Fifties doesn't mean that it will fail in the different circumstances of the Eighties. And if it does fail, the ANC could resume guerrilla operations. I appreciate how difficult it is for a mature, fully fledged liberation movement such as the ANC to compromise on its demand for an immediate transfer of power based on one-man-one-vote in a unitary state. But with Nelson Mandela at the head of an internal movement, the ANC could rally the majority of blacks around a solution based on a meaningful sharing of power.

Details of such a solution will have to be worked out, but the important thing right now is that both parties, African and Afrikaner nationalists, must engage in dialogue. The ANC must make its contribution to bring this about – for its own sake, for the sake of its supporters and, not least, for the sake of the new South Africa.

LEADER
THE ANC
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liberation
euphoria
wears
down, a
major
crisis of
expectations
will develop.

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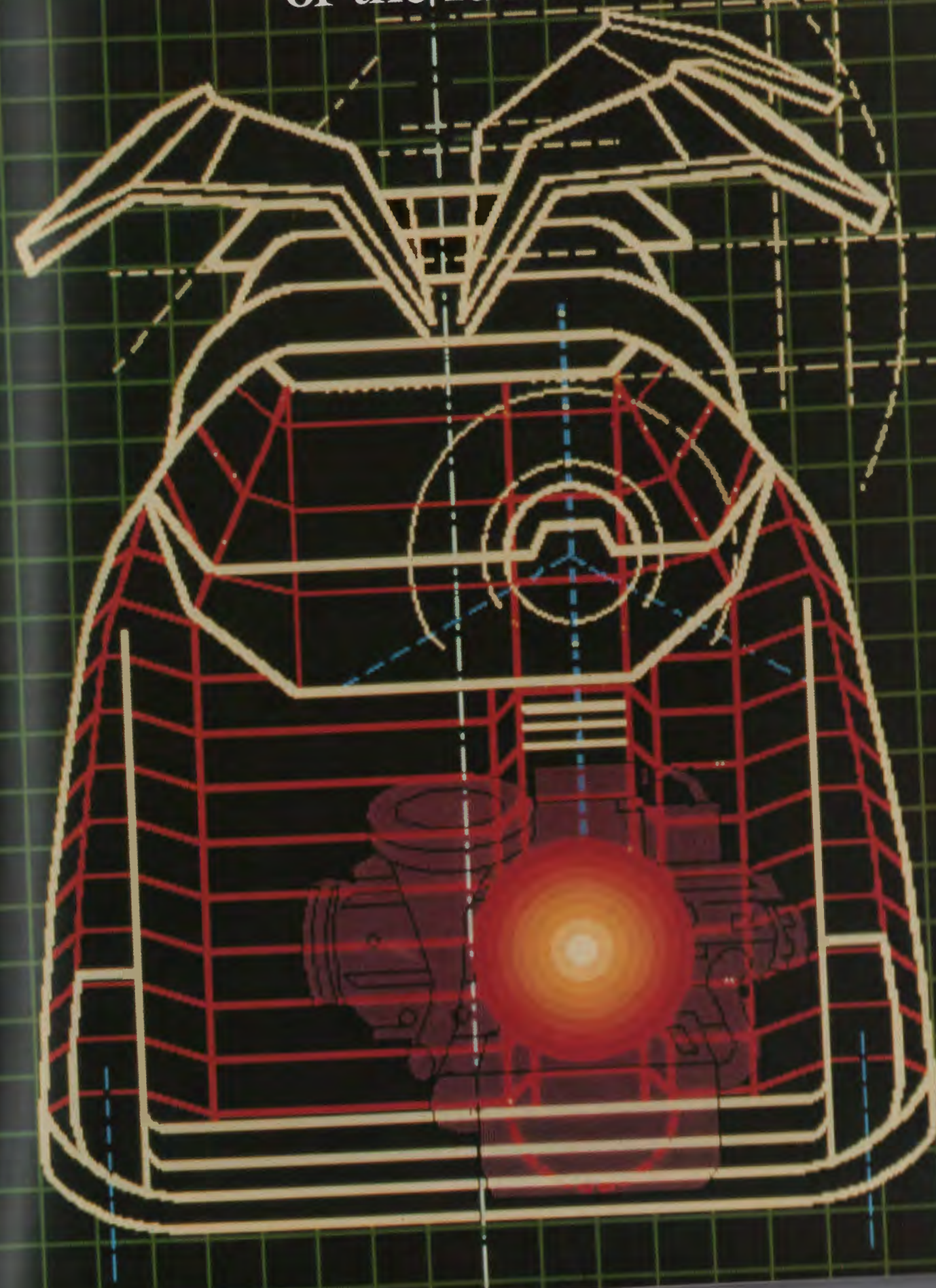
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LEADING THE PACK

F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education, Chairman of the Ministers' Council, and leader of the National Party in the Transvaal is a stickler for protocol.

He will not comment on any matter which may be the province of another minister. Nor does he take kindly to speculation that he is P W Botha's heir apparent. There is a disarming orthodoxy about this stance. But is it genuine?

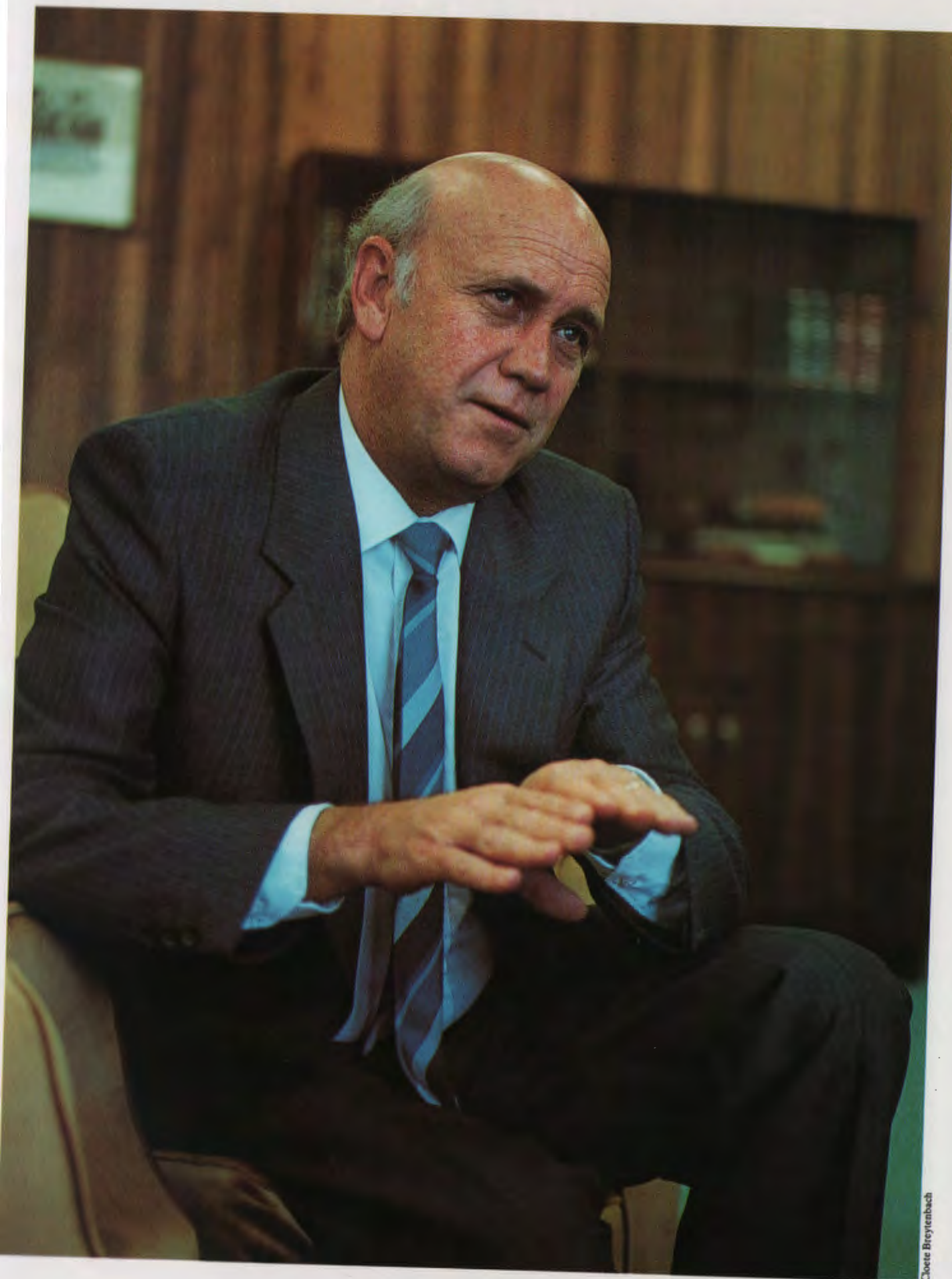
The De Klerk contingent in Parliament, who are adamant that the 50-year-old minister is the front-runner for a move to Die Tuynhuys, maintain it is. It is difficult to disagree, particularly when one examines his track record.

Son of the legendary Jan de Klerk, for many years President of the Senate, and younger brother of Willem de Klerk, editor of *Rapport*, "F W" has seldom put a foot wrong – in government terms of course!

He will not be drawn into casual gossip about his colleagues. Indeed, there is an air of gravity about him which immediately discourages the pursuit of anything casual at all. He has the demeanour of a traditional Nationalist leader.

The business community has blown hot and cold on him. At one point he was its undisputed favourite. Then, as he adopted a more conservative line, confidence waned. There seems to be a resurgence of businessmen's interest in him at present, though this may be the result of a general private sector belief that he will take over from President Botha.

To *Leadership* editor Hugh Murray, who interviewed him for this edition, De Klerk remains an enigma. But, Murray concludes, it is perhaps white nationalism in 1986, rather than the man himself that remains obscure – a puzzle.



Coete Breytenbach

LEADERSHIP
INTERVIEW

F W
DE KLERK
IN CONVERSATION WITH
HUGH MURRAY

Murray: You are playing major roles in particularly complex and sensitive areas of our society. How do you see your position?

De Klerk: I have a dual responsibility in my capacity as a minister.

On the one hand, I am Minister of National Education which is a general affairs department portfolio in the cabinet. Then I am chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly and also Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly. Regarding National Education, obviously I am dealing with one of the most sensitive issues in the South African debate. The Department of National Education is a new department which was formed when the three-chamber parliament came into being. Until then – apart from the black education departments of the national states – we had an education department for black education, we had one for coloured education and one for Indian education. There wasn't one department catering for all population groups and formulating and co-ordinating general policy. The new Department of National Education was established following the De Lange report which suggested that there should be one department for education.

In the constitution, education is clearly defined as an own affair with the exception of certain facets, namely: norms and standards of financing for education; norms and standards for syllabi and for certification of academic standards; registration of all teachers and such issues as remuneration and conditions of service of all teachers. These matters are prescribed, in constitutional terms, as general affairs and that is the area of my responsibility in education. It is my task to ensure that government's commitment to equal provision of education is carried out. We are making headway in the fields of the norms, and standards for financing. I have announced that I am now negotiating a 10-year plan which will not achieve full equality in the provision of education, but which, I am sure, will make dramatic breakthroughs on the road to achieving that goal. It cannot be attained overnight. I know that people use against us the inequality in education. They quote figures that we spend so much per child in white education and only so much in black education. The problem however, is complex. The underlying cause for the so-called inequality, is, firstly, that the average standard of qualification of the teachers in black education is too low. Before we can obtain equal provision, we will have to upgrade the qualifications of teachers in black education and there are various programmes being implemented in this regard. Secondly,

there is the teacher/pupil ratio which is very low in the case of white education but very high in black education. To rectify that you need to train more teachers, build more schools and establish the financial formulae to achieve an equal balance.

Are you going to be able to achieve your objectives in relation to the boycotts of classes and the often violent anti-government political activity in the schools? How can you function in a highly politicised environment where pupils, for example, are unilaterally re-naming schools "Nelson Mandela High" or "Walter Sisulu Primary"?

Minister Gerrit Viljoen, who is in charge of black education, would be the best person to reply to those questions. May I say, in general: Yes, I believe education is one of the most important things in the life of any family. Parents take a particular interest in the education of their children. If we can visibly prove that we are making headway in the improvement of standards – and I believe we will be able to do so – then I think that responsible parents, who obviously form the vast majority of all parents, will realise that something is happening. If, however, propaganda succeeds in making them believe that nothing is really happening, that our commitment to equal provision for education is just empty talk, then obviously we won't make headway. We are doing everything in our power to prevent this and I sincerely believe that the positive things which are happening and which will happen, will help to restore equanimity.

If one really analyses the figures, you find that, yes, what you said about unrest does pertain in certain limited areas. However, the vast majority of schools in all education departments are running smoothly. We have normal attendance figures and things are going well in most areas.

If there is a distorted picture about what is happening, isn't this because the Press and other interested parties are largely forbidden to enter certain areas under the State of Emergency regulations?

You need that type of regulation because many people, acting under different guises, are involved in causing unrest. Then too, Press and other media reporting, wittingly or unwittingly, has been found to contribute towards prolonging the unrest situation. Obviously we would like everything to be restored to normality as soon as possible, but I don't think that the wrong perceptions are due to a lack of reporting. I think the wrong perceptions are due inter alia, to reporting before the emergency situation. The impression was created that because there was trouble in, say, 10 to 20 or 30 schools, the same pattern was developing at all schools.

That is just not true. The overwhelming majority of schools in all departments – also in the black education department where unrest is obviously the most serious – are operating satisfactorily and education is, generally speaking, going ahead on a normal basis.

Has the State of Emergency in fact had the effect of calming things down at the schools?

In general, yes, with some exceptions. As has happened in all other fields of the unrest situation, the State of Emergency has also had a beneficial effect on what is happening in education. However, I must emphasise that we are making progress in the provision of equal education. We have now accepted legislation in Parliament to establish a certification board to ensure that there will be one certificate issued by one certification board for all school-leavers. We have accepted the same principle for technikons. In other words, we are making headway with equal provision. In future anybody offering a particular certificate – let's say a matriculation certificate – will know that this certificate is equal in value to any other certificate of any other pupil having matriculated in any other department, and a prospective employer will know that this certificate represents an evaluated standard which is equal to one standard attained in all education departments.

A number of white schools have voted to be open to all races, although regulations prohibit mixed government schools. Is this policy being reviewed?

Firstly, our policy with regard to own education – in other words, provision of education on a population group basis – is firmly based on educational principles. It is not for political convenience that we adopt this approach. The proof of that lies in the fact that we also provide white children with education on the basis of the recognition of the multi-cultural character of the whites in South Africa. There are Afrikaans schools and there are English schools and in certain provinces, like Transvaal, an Afrikaans child won't be admitted to an English medium school unless you can prove the child is more proficient in English than in Afrikaans. The opposite is also true: We believe that it is best for a child to go to a school which is an extension of his environment, his family life, his cultural life.

As long as the National Party has a say, we will favour and stand by the basic approach of own education in government schools. But, and that is the second point, we have adopted a new policy. We realised that there are exceptions where special circumstances are present and, secondly, we realised that some people feel very strongly about the

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F W DE KLERK IN CONVERSATION WITH HUGH MURRAY

that we directly expend per pupil in government schools.

Thus, there is an alternative for people who feel strongly about integrated education. And if entrepreneurs, if any members of our community, feel very strongly about doing something in that regard, they can channel their energies, their funds, their support to make this alternative available. Admission to such schools is furthermore not based on a permit any longer. A large degree of autonomy is afforded to private schools with regard to their admission policy. I think the white community is fairly divided on this question and on such matters as mixed English-Afrikaans, or parallel-medium schools. But nevertheless, there still exists a wonderful spirit of co-operation among English and Afrikaans speaking whites, notwithstanding cultural differences. We are one of the few countries in the world where bilingualism is a success, where both cultural groups regard their knowledge of the other language as an asset and where we have moved away from hatred, from the one group looking down upon the other. And notwithstanding the white education system in which English and Afrikaans speaking pupils generally go to different schools, I think that the white communities are co-operating admirably. I'm all in favour of interaction between youngsters. They need to get to know each other, and it applies across the board.

Does the same apply to black and white children?

Yes, but the interaction needn't be in the same classroom or on the same school bench where you are being taught maths and science and geography.

So how must children interact if not in classrooms?

You meet in certain youth organisations, extra-mural sport, and so on. I think that interaction can and must be expanded. But, in the final analysis, education is there to educate the child, and not to attain political goals. If one starts misusing education for ulterior motives, however commendable the ulterior motives may be, then it is the education of the child that suffers.

Hasn't the government been accused over so many years of doing that, of abusing the educational system, or misusing the

educational system to entrench the ideology of separate development, or apartheid?

It is true that that accusation is made and that it is the argument that is being advanced against our present education system. But it is not true that it is government's motivation. I don't want to repeat myself, but what we are doing in education rests on sound educational principles.

The same philosophy is being applied elsewhere. I know that there are differences and the comparisons are odious. But still, if one looks at the system in Belgium one finds proof that in a bilingual country where there are only two groups, it was found necessary to divide management of schools. They also have the own affairs concept in which schools are divided and managed on a cultural basis, and it is a success.

So you believe implicitly that in terms of the new constitution, the concept of own affairs is working well?

It's working well, and finding it's feet. In education it was easy to attain this in the sense that the constitution is fairly explicit, and we have had the benefit of the De Lange report and the government's white paper.

In certain other disciplines, the principles have been worked out, but work still has to be done when you come to the nitty gritty of dividing functions between own affairs, and general affairs. This process is taking place with regard to municipal government, health services and a number of other areas which have been identified as own affairs. But basically, the own affairs concept is working well. One of the main reasons is that there is a proper balance built into the situation, a balance between what is an own affair and full autonomy with regard to that, and what is a general affair, coupled with co-ordinating functions.

A policy is emerging which ensures that there is cohesion and that you won't get one own affairs department running off in a direction which is totally counterproductive to a happy society and to good government.

The Assembly recently came to a virtual standstill when opposition parties protested that Parliament was becoming a farce because, for example, government refused to allow debate on unrest incidents in Soweto. As chairman of the Ministers' Council, what are your comments?

I think too much weight is being attached to what I would like to describe as an isolated incident in Parliament. There is general consensus that one of the advantages of the new tri-cameral system is the committee system. In our old Westminster system, the party with the majority could force through any legislation without the opposition party

having much say. A Bill was put on the table, it was debated, it was voted through and apart from recording the objections and speeches, opposition parties didn't have a real opportunity to influence the final formulation of the Bill. Now everything is referred to a select committee and all parliamentarians feel they are really doing a worthwhile job in formulating legislation. Secondly, debate is still on a very high level. Things are going well and the incident you referred to is the result of what I would like to call growing-pains in the whole system.

With the new committee system it is extremely difficult to maintain a balance between the debating of Bills in Parliament and the production of Bills by standing committees. You don't really have any control on how long standing committees will sit on a Bill, with the result that the flow of Bills is sometimes interrupted. This is exactly what has happened now. There was also a problem, to a certain extent, with the input of Bills. All this resulted in our projection of the flow of Bills not materialising. But the fact that Parliament adjourned sooner than it would have done, doesn't mean that Parliament comes to a standstill. The Bills which we would have preferred to finalise during this session will be discussed in the committees and will hopefully be ready for Parliament early in the next session.

I also want to say that it is incorrect to say that the government refused to debate the Soweto issue. The opposition wasn't satisfied with the time which the speaker was originally prepared to afford. Government subsequently agreed to a longer debate because it by then had the opportunity to investigate the incidents. Really, Parliament isn't in such a crisis as is alleged. On the contrary, it is playing a far more significant and meaningful role than it did under the old Westminster system.

If the tri-cameral Parliament has worked so well, what prevents government from, at the very least, introducing a fourth chamber for blacks?

Moderate black leaders have rejected a fourth chamber, among them Chief Buthelezi of KwaZulu. In any case, a fourth chamber doesn't make sense because it doesn't recognise the multi-cultural composition of the black community. Who do you include in the fourth chamber? We have already established legislative assemblies for each and every black nation in South Africa, and the TBVC states are now independent with their own parliaments. We have also decided to create legislatures and executives for blacks outside the self-governing territories, for example, in such metropolitan areas as Soweto. Some of these relate to a geographical basis, some to an ethnic basis. The result will be a number of own political



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bases for identifiable black groups and communities.

Now, against that background, a fourth chamber in Parliament doesn't make sense. What we need to do now is to negotiate and that is why we don't

prepare blueprints and put detailed plans on the table as to how blacks can participate in the legislative process and how they can participate at executive level. That is an issue which is being investigated with great urgency and which is part and parcel of the negotiation process.

What is government going to do to attract blacks to its proposed National Statutory Council? Even moderates, like NAF-COC's Sam Motsuenyane, are increasingly responding to the more radical elements in black society. It seems that as time goes by, it will be increasingly difficult to draw blacks into a meaningful negotiating forum.

There is some substance to your perception. On the other hand, when the National Statutory Council Bill was published, there was widespread positive reaction, so widespread that the Bill couldn't be put through during the recent session of Parliament. The responsible minister has said he must now negotiate the issues that have arisen. He is on record as saying that intensive discussions are taking place. In other words, there is a lively debate taking place. The State President has also indicated that the composition and future role of the council is the subject of discussion with other leaders. There is strong evidence – and in my position I know it to be true – that the perception that the council proposal is faltering is incorrect. Unfortunately – and I am not referring to any individual – there is too much public posturing about this. If one analyses the proposed council, it is really what everybody asks for.

It offers the opportunity for structured negotiation about the constitutional future of South Africa and the opportunity to become part of the decision making process. Anybody approaching this in a negative way must bear the responsibility for letting an opportunity pass by.

People like Motsuenyane are saying they are tired of advising government on how blacks should be governed. They want a direct say in government. Can that advisory role in the National Statutory Council be converted into involvement in direct decision-making at the highest levels?

One of the objectives of the council is to negotiate how direct participation should be attained. There must be acceptance of our

bone fides when we say we accept power sharing. We are now at a stage where that is no longer in question but I get the impression that not everybody believes us when we say we have accepted power sharing. What is now on the agenda is: How do we do it? We sincerely believe it must be done in a way which will prevent a power struggle and which will not put any particular group in a position to dominate another.

At the same time, people must realise there is a concerted effort in many quarters to ensure that the national council will not succeed. All responsible South Africans must take note of this and must realise that they must make a choice on this. The national council, I think, offers a real opportunity to establish a negotiated system. Rejection of that opportunity, I think, plays into the hands of those who want to prevent peaceful solutions in South Africa.

Another perception is that government is in fact run by a small, tight group of people – a very limited number of ministers and a couple of very high-level officials. The perception is that they operate in much the same way as the Stuart kings, with a kind of inner cabinet, a sort of cabal. Is that a correct perception?

I really think it is a wrong perception. That sort of situation typically develops, for instance, under the Westminster system. But if you implement, as we are now doing, the principle of devolution of power, that in itself divides power. It creates new power bases where decisions are taken. The own affairs concept is also a form of division of power. It brings into being checks and balances. We are moving towards more checks and balances and less centralisation of decision-making and the more we succeed in doing so, the less true that perception will be.

The perception is that the type of cabal to which people refer enables the State President to implement anything he chooses and that the kind of devolutionary government you are describing is simply a matter of divide and rule.

Obviously, the State President has a lot of power. Mrs Thatcher has a lot of power. In most modern and developed states, the head of state is in an extremely powerful position. But style is also important and as a senior cabinet minister who has served in cabinet now for some eight years, I can testify that the style of the State President is highly democratic. He is a team man in the real sense of the word and he is not a dictator in any sense. His style, therefore, is another argument against that perception. What is more, the State President is going to great lengths to draw into the decision-making process energy and talent from outside

government ranks. It is he who initiated the recomposition, for instance, of the economic advisory council with a private sector chairman. So I really think it is the wrong perception. We are trying to broaden democracy in various way and we are honest when we say that.

As leader of the National Party in Transvaal, you have to deal, more than any other leader, with the reality of nationalist conservatism. Are you prepared to make concessions to Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party in order to stay in power?

I think that any commentator who accuses the National Party of leaning over backwards, of trying to be as conservative as the Conservative Party, is either uninformed or he is making that accusation maliciously. I think that our track record since the rift in the National Party, since the formation of the Conservative Party is one of taking our people into our confidence, of fearlessly adapting our policies.

The acceptance by the National Party of the concept of power sharing, and the honest, open way in which this has been stated and re-stated, is clear proof that we have set our own course and that we are not looking over our right shoulder. I also think that the threat from the right is not as strong as it is made out to be. I am not underestimating it but the National Party in the Transvaal has no intention at the next general election of losing to the Conservative Party.

We believe that our policies afford the only workable alternative being offered in South Africa. The Conservatives, and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, tend to ignore the reality of interdependence between the various population groups. They tend to underplay the need for interaction and they deny the need for joint decision-making. They are chasing a dream – that it is possible to totally separate from each other, in the political sense of the word, the various population groups in South Africa. We say no, that is not possible. On the other hand, the Progressive Party underplays or ignores the reality of diversity in South Africa. And they are, likewise, chasing a dream – that it is possible to build from this diversity one harmonious whole in one common federal system in which ethnicity won't be much of a factor.

On the one hand, there is the diversity which must be accommodated in any system which you evolve. Security must be given to each group, otherwise groups won't take the risk of co-operating in one system with regard to joint decision-making. On the other hand, there is the need for joint decision-making because of the interdependent nature of the total population. We must marry these factors and create a system

INTERVIEW

which will accommodate the diversity but simultaneously make it possible for leaders of all groups to work together on the basis of joint decision-making with regard to everything that binds us. It doesn't mean we are leaning towards the Conservative Party simply because we recognise the existence of groups and the need for group security.

It seems blacks, from the most moderate to the most radical, are determined to accept nothing less than full participation in government at the highest level. You have a National Statutory Council working on a solution to black participation, but could not such an ideal ultimately find expression through the formation of a government of national unity?

The term "government of national unity" is usually used to depict a temporary situation which you create when a country is in crisis. People say, let's put aside our differences and work against the common enemy and we will resume our normal constitutional process once we are over this hill. That is what a government of national unity, in my view, really means. However, that is not what our opponents want. They want us to abdicate, to lose our legitimacy as a government.

They, and maybe even some of our friends, want to reduce the government to just another party sitting around the conference table together with the ANC under the chairmanship of someone else. That I can never accept.

My objection to the suggestion of a government of national unity, apart from the fact that the government is exercising power control which makes it unnecessary, is that such a step will bring its legitimacy into question. I therefore say it is unnecessary and unwise. As to the other part of the question: if you analyse the proposed National Statutory Council, it does meet, on an interim basis the requirements for the creation of more meaningful participation by blacks in decision-making. Built into the council proposals are firm steps towards joint decision-making.

But the people who participate in the council have to be satisfied that their contribution will be regarded sincerely and that their participation will in fact lead to meaningful involvement in government.

How can they be satisfied or convinced until they participate? As I said earlier, lively discussions are taking place on the issue of black participation. I don't want to prejudice negotiations and I am sure the government will make its position known when the time is right.



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James Leatt

*Each according to his ability to compete in a free market –
Adam Smith (1723-1790)*

*From each according to his ability to each according to his need
– Karl Marx (1818-1883)*

The debate about South Africa's current economic system, and about which would constitute the ideal economic future for South Africa, is characterised by interesting shifts in the rhetoric of the different interest groups.

To oversimplify, there are on the one hand the proponents of "democratic capitalism", and on the other the proponents of "socialism".

For "democratic capitalists" South Africa's political economy is deeply flawed in three important ways.

First, government is too "big". De-regulation and privatisation are necessary to reduce government involvement in the economy and to return to market forces. Transport, housing, health services must, for example, be privatised. Parastatals, must go, as must control boards.

Second, the economy must be "de-racialized", with adequate protection and encouragement given to small business, the informal economy and the disadvantaged. Racial controls on freedom of movement must go. Influx control, group areas, and white CBD's are indefensible. So too is the migrant labour system.

Third, business is too big; the system of corporate "giantism" and interlocking directorships which characterises big business in South Africa today is a threat both to free enterprise and democracy.

The bottom line for "democratic capitalists" is a future South Africa in which political freedom is expressed in some form of democracy, and a free enterprise system from which the last vestiges of statutory racism have been removed. To paraphrase Adam Smith: "Each according to his ability to compete in a free market." Numbered among "democratic capitalists" are black and white South Africans who argue that neither apartheid nor socialism offer any long term hope for South Africa which, they contend, is both a First World and a Third World country.

By contrast, "socialists" offer a different analysis of



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Since the Fifties, a discernible radicalization of economic policy imperatives has occurred in black resistance politics.

South African realities and a contrasting vision of the future. For all socialists, the South African political economy is deeply flawed in the followings ways.

First, capitalism and apartheid have piggy-backed one upon the other in South Africa, to the benefit of the white dominant class and the small black middle class. The unholy alliance of capitalism and apartheid has created structures of injustice which cannot be eradicated simply by the removal of apartheid.

Second, the black working class, which has recently been granted "industrial citizenship" through the new labour relations dispensation, will not rest until it has achieved political and social citizenship. Politically, this means universal franchise and a powerful party representing labour interests. In social-economic terms the "workers' struggle" is for redistribution of the wealth generated by labour, and for a significant degree of control over capital.

Third, given the legacy of "racial capitalism" in South Africa, the "Charterists" within the ANC and the UDF argue for the nationalisation of certain natural and capital resources, such as minerals, forests and financial institutions, in order that the State can address the enormous development problems of the country. Even black "reformist" groups such as Inkatha advocate "welfare capitalism" – "capitalism with *sisa* and *ubuntu*", two Zulu words which can be translated as "capitalism with a human face".

In South African terms, then, all socialists are critical of capitalist development and sceptical of any solution for South Africa which does not address the structural economic injustices inherent in the system, not all of which can be laid at the door of apartheid. It follows, therefore, that the eradication of apartheid is a necessary but not sufficient condition for social justice. Socialists will, however, differ greatly on how that social justice will be achieved in a non-apartheid South Africa.

On the left of the socialist continuum are Marxist-Leninists who argue for "scientific socialism". The social revolution will not be complete until ownership of the means of production has reverted to the working class and a command economy has been installed.

On the right of the socialist continuum are social democrats who argue for labour's control of government through the ballot box, worker participation in the ownership and control of corporations, and a measure of State planning of the economy, including nationalisation of strategic resources. But all would identify with Karl Marx's aphorism: "From each according to his ability to each according to his need!"

The debate about the optimal political economy for South Africa after apartheid is at once old and new. Old in the sense that the notion of *volkskapitalisme* of the Thirties and Forties in Afrikaner nationalist theory was essentially about how economic policy and practice could be made the vehicle of the Afrikaner nationalists' reach for power.

In the Fifties, the debate which led to the writing of the Freedom Charter, adopted by the ANC in 1956, was essentially also about which economic policy would best serve black nationalist interests. In the meantime Afrikaner nationalists, having achieved

power, are now debating how to "modernise" their economic and political policies to retain power and share it from a secured base.

Since the Fifties, meanwhile, a discernible radicalization of economic policy imperatives has occurred in black resistance politics.

The debate is also new in an important sense. An organised black labour movement has become a significant force in South Africa. The youth revolt and schools crisis since Soweto 1976 has created a new site for debate about South Africa's economic system, from the underside so to speak. Divestment and disinvestment and the threat of economic sanctions against South Africa have all sharpened the issues considerably. Also, we are much better informed on strategic demographic and developmental issues which confront us today.

It is necessary to revisit some basic issues in political economy. There are two essential approaches to the problem of how a political economy should be organised, along the lines of pure "free enterprise" capitalism or Marxist-Leninist "scientific socialism". Both have their advantages which make them seem desirable and their disadvantages which make them quite unacceptable. They can be summarised briefly.

□ Free enterprise capitalism supposedly grants freedom. Individual and collective initiative and achievement are rewarded, the less efficient are punished or pushed out. Supply and demand automatically regulate the allocation of resources according to profitability and utility. A highly versatile, innovative, efficient and thus productive economy is the result. But the tiger let loose to develop his wildest instincts can also do most harm. In the free market it is not need which counts, but bargaining power. Bargaining power depends on control over institutionalised decision-making processes, resources, capital, expertise, labour and purchasing power. The market system invariably works not towards equilibrium, but to the greater benefit of the strong at the expense of the weak. While the entire population of a metropolitan country may benefit, it creates massive concentrations of power and wealth in the economic centres, and marginalisation and misery in the economic peripheries on a global scale.

□ Marxist-Leninist socialism (also known as communism) is committed to the abolition of the oppressive and exploitative concentration of power and wealth in the bourgeoisie and to the creation of the equality of a "classless society" brought about by the "dictatorship of the proletariat" – in fact the dictatorship of the leadership elite of the communist party. Practice has shown that while a totalitarian state is capable of enforcing a more egalitarian distribution of income, this may occur at the expense of liberty and productivity. State planning seems to be less efficient than the results produced by the free play of the market mechanism. The prescriptions of an incompetent and clumsy bureaucracy stifle initiative and versatility and devour resources while the concentration of power in the hands of a few is even more fearful than that in the free enterprise system.

It is not possible to develop a system which retains the advantages of both free enterprise capitalism and socialism and avoids their respective pitfalls?

Two such approaches have actually emerged in recent times, social democracy and democratic socialism.

Social democracy (also called welfare capitalism or a social market economy) is a capitalist, free enterprise economy which has been modified to incorporate egalitarian principles such as equality of opportunity, social securities and participation in decision-making, even in business corporations. A classic example of a social democracy is Sweden.

Democratic socialism is a Marxist, state-controlled economy which has been modified to include entrepreneurial initiative and a market oriented economy. The classic example is Yugoslavia. Of course, neither of these examples have had to contend with the problems and opportunities which confront us in South Africa. But it is instructive to look at the principles they enshrine.

There are a number of variations of social democracy in Western countries. The following are some of the basic principles which are generally applied in a country like Sweden.

Social democrats, usually strongly representative of labour, believe that it is not only possible but also prudent to gain power through democratic means and then subject the existing capitalist system to progressive reforms, rather than to disrupt the economy by violent revolution and entrust a possibly totalitarian regime with the task of constructing an entirely new system.

The principle of free enterprise is retained to encourage private initiative and achievement. But the State has to lay down basic parameters within which the economy is allowed to operate. Examples of specific responsibilities of the State are peace and stability (military, police, legal system), education and training, social securities and health services, quality inspection, maintenance of economic growth and full employment, control of inflation, and a sound balance of payments. On the whole the guideline is: as much government as is necessary, as little government as possible.

The means of production remain in private hands but the State has to guard against undue concentrations of economic power. The ideal is to break up monopolistic conglomerates and ensure free competition. The State may take over key industries to protect essential infrastructural services from disruption (for example, the transport and communications network, power and water supplies). It may also acquire substantial shareholdings in private companies to gain experience of how the economy works and to influence the direction it takes.

The free market remains the basic mechanism regulating the allocation of resources and the distribution of goods and services. However, the State may fix minimum wages for certain job categories. It may also regulate prices of essential commodities such as agricultural products, to cut out excessive price fluctuations or to aid disadvantaged sectors of the economy.

Social democrats are moderately committed to egalitarianism in that they are careful not to jeopardise

economic achievement. Private initiative is encouraged but power advantages are neutralised as far as possible. Progressive taxation (which means the higher one's income, the higher the percentage of taxed income) and heavy death duties are meant to level out steep discrepancies in income and wealth. Positively, the weaker sections of the population are helped to become more competitive through such measures as regional equalisation policies, subsidies, free and equal education and training, consumer protection, State-run research or credit facilities.

While competition is encouraged and achievement is rewarded, the less gifted or less fortunate are protected from dropping out completely and ending up in misery. Unemployment insurance, pension schemes and old-age homes, subsidised health services and medical schemes, life-insurance policies, and sub-economic housing are planned to try to ensure that nobody is left destitute.

Trade unions are encouraged to counterbalance the power of employers' organisations. Legal instruments to settle industrial disputes are provided. Workers or their unions are represented on the managerial bodies of the enterprises in which they are employed. Workers or unions are encouraged to become shareholders in the enterprises concerned. The State promotes the wide spread of capital ownership in the population.

Technological innovation is encouraged so that the national economy remains competitive in international markets. Workers are protected from losing their jobs through new techniques by extensive training programmes and the provision of alternative jobs.

Proponents of social democracy can look back on considerable achievements in the countries where it has been implemented, particularly in western Europe. Between the end of World War Two, when Europe was in tatters, and the early Seventies, these countries have witnessed a period of sustained growth, great technological innovations, rising standards of living for the entire population, increased equity and welfare and a low rate of inflation. Industrial conflicts have been kept at a relatively moderate level and the previous trend towards violent revolution and radical solutions has been reversed, as in the Swedish example, and in West Germany.

While not ideal, social democracy certainly seems to combine the best features of both systems. Unfortunately the system is not without its problems. More especially, it has not been able to prevent a series of crisis-generating developments with which the modern world economy currently has to battle.

Since the early Seventies, the Western world has witnessed a new phenomenon, the long-term combination of economic recession (stagnation) and rising prices (inflation), a phenomenon referred to as stagflation.

The concentration of capital in multinational corporations means that they can evade guidelines or restrictions imposed by national governments. On the other hand, social democratic governments lose their legitimacy if they fall out with powerful trade unions within the country or the rank and file of lower classes in

While not ideal, social democracy certainly seems to combine the best features of both systems. Unfortunately the system is not without its problems.

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So far, social democracy has achieved greater equity and security only within nation states that belong to the world economic centre. Egalitarian principles and social securities demand a high level of economic output. Where poorer countries have been tempted to indulge in such policies the result has usually been rampant inflation, since one can only share out as much as has been produced.

Social democracy has not been able to come to terms with the disruptive effects of technological innovations. High and stubborn unemployment rates in the West suggest that the process has finally caught up with industrial countries as well.

A more radical stance would point out that social democracy does not challenge the cultural legitimisation of greed as the prime motivational power in economic terms. It follows a half-hearted ethic of alleviating the harm without going to the roots of the problem.

Social democracy has, like its more radical counterparts, continued with an economic policy based on growth. Whether unlimited and accelerating growth spread over the entire world population is possible on a limited planet has become more than questionable in recent years.

In sum, while social democracy has gone a long way towards alleviating the more rampant consequences of capitalism within some industrialised countries, it has not been able to contain or redirect disconcerting developments in the global economic system. Since South Africa replicates the world situation in many ways, this is an important observation for South Africans. The luxury of social democratic institutions among the privileged white elite to the detriment or exclusion of the black majority is an unacceptable proposition.

Democratic socialism is less common than social democracy. There have been traces of it in many communist countries, notably in Czechoslovakia during the short spell of the 'Prague spring' before the Russian invasion. The only prominent and enduring example is in Yugoslavia.

Democratic socialism emerged from a Marxist-Leninist structure. The control of the communist party over national affairs is retained in the democratic socialist system. However, leaders are committed to democratisation and the decentralisation of power. The ideal is participatory democracy – which means that those who are affected by decisions should be decision-makers. There is less repression and more freedom of expression, initiative, movement and organisation than in other Marxist-Leninist countries. The devolution of power into small local entities is, of course, also a way of retaining overall control in a society riddled with cultural, historical and regional divisions.

This principle says that the employees of an enterprise have to do the actual running of the firm. In all non-agricultural firms employing more than five people, workers' councils are established. If there are more than 30 employees these become representative councils. Such councils are chosen and can be dismissed by the workers. The councils choose and can dismiss the

managers of the enterprises. This is also practised in hospitals, schools, courts, research institutions or cultural organisations.

The socialist principle that capital is a social asset and should be owned by the State is retained. All enterprises above a certain size – thus excluding small workshops and family farms – belong to the State. Workers run them and benefit from them, but they do not own them. If a worker leaves a firm he has no transferable stake.

The State lays down certain parameters within which all firms have to operate, and managers are controlled by the party, banks or local authorities. But within those limits there is a degree of freedom unusual for a Marxist state. In short, democratic socialism has combined the market system not with private enterprise but with employee enterprise.

Firms have to make a profit. From this certain deductions are made for national concerns and the welfare of the community in which the firm operates. The remaining surplus is distributed by the worker committee among its employees – mainly according to their input, but need may be taken into consideration. The basic principle is that work is regarded as a value and not just a resource to be paid a price determined by the market.

Yugoslavia is a developing country which was heavily devastated during World War Two. Its achievements must be seen in this light. Its growth rate averaged 5% between 1960 and 1980 (SA 2,3%). Its gross domestic product per capita now equals that of SA, Brazil, or similar semi-industrialised countries. There is, however, a much greater equality in incomes. The equalisation process between centre and periphery regions has continued to grow. There is more freedom and genuine consultation than in other Marxist states. The problems of cultural and regional diversity have been dealt with relatively successfully.

On the one hand the system is built on the socialist creed, yet it seeks to avoid the inefficiencies of central planning and the stultifying effect of large-scale bureaucracy. On the other hand it takes advantage of the initiative and responsibility generated by free enterprise, risk-taking and competition without allowing the proceeds to go into the pockets of economic empire-builders who did not share in the generation of the wealth.

One might gain the impression that democratic socialism, like social democracy, combines the best of two systems, though each having different components. But this system too has its difficulties.

The record for productivity is not as bad as capitalist doctrine would make us believe. Motivation can be generated in ways other than by private ownership. Yet there are a number of "leakages" of productivity which have been observed. Worker-appointed managers may not always be the most competent to run a modern industrial firm. Alternatively, they may be too lenient and gracious (so as to maintain their popularity) and allow apathy and inefficiency.

Yugoslavia has been plagued by a fairly high rate of inflation (19,4% between 1970 and 1980) if compared with fully industrialised countries. When one compares it with other semi-industrialised countries, notably in

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Latin America, the picture is less serious. Reasons for inflation may be found in the excessive distribution and price-fixing by monopolies (or the absence of effective local and international competition).

Granting more freedom obviously leads to some compromise with egalitarian principles. Though Yugoslavian income distribution is more equal than that of most developing countries, there is still a substantial hierarchy of income differentials.

In spite of the ideals of grassroots democracy, authoritarianism may still emerge. Managers may use their committees as mere rubber stamps. Chosen representatives of workers may develop elitist attitudes. Another difficulty is the simultaneous presence of different types of authority: the communist party, the trade unions which are organs of the party but also channels of worker interests, and the workers' committees and their managers, which are supposed to be responsible to those selfsame workers.

Marxists would deny that there could be unemployment in a truly socialist state. The unemployment rate in Yugoslavia is fairly high. Here too, competition between technological innovation and labour may play a role.

Democratic socialism is no better than its capitalist and socialist counterparts in its failure to address the problems of economic growth in a world of limited resources and in not paying sufficient attention to the dangers of ecological destruction.

Social democracy can best be understood as a system which has moved as far in the direction of egalitarianism as is feasible within a capitalist context, while democratic socialism has moved as far as possible in the direction of free enterprise within a socialist context. Social democracy has shown that it is possible to reach greater equity in a system made productive by private enterprise, simply by loosening the link between production and distribution. Democratic socialism has shown that free, risk-taking initiative can be allowed to develop in a system committed to the social ownership of the means of production, simply by separating ownership from control and usufruct.

In this way each has made an attempt to resolve the contradiction between economic achievement usually associated with free enterprise, and egalitarian principles usually associated with State intervention.

In a deeply divided and conflict-ridden country like South Africa it is not surprising that the rhetoric about political economy tells you more about what people are *against* than what they are *for*. Apart from intellectuals on the left, most significant white interest groups are "against socialism and for free enterprise". But they are less clear about what that means in a South Africa devoid of the apparatus of apartheid. Most black political groupings, at least since the Fifties, have been against unbridled capitalism and for some variety of socialism! Again, the details are unclear.

The debate is, however, becoming more sophisticated and it is no longer possible for groupings on the left or on the right and on either side of the colour-line to resort to slogans and to reiterate what they are against.

The social transformation which this society is going through is violent, messy and muddled. No player has all the aces and no blueprint for South Africa's future from the left or the right can be imposed like a template upon this society.

How then will the issue of the future shape of South Africa in economic terms firm up? Without a crystal ball, one has to resort to advocating some propositions which all the players will have to take into account.

□ If South Africa is to survive its social transformation it must keep two objectives clearly in mind: *accumulation* and *legitimation*. Accumulation, in the sense that it must achieve a reasonable growth rate per annum if it is to meet the aspirations of its growing and youthful population in any future post-apartheid regime. Legitimation, in the sense that no group of players will get away with economic, political or social policies which are not broadly willed and do not have the consent of the people.

□ The "democratic experience" of industrializing nations has been that they progress best when *experience* triumphs over *dogma*. The collective good is best achieved when the players are able to move out of their entrenched positions (dogma) and find common ground where they can use their power bases to resolve issues and find solutions to common problems. The arena of industrial relations in recent years has demonstrated that conflict can be resolved by hard collective bargaining without destroying the whole. We need less slogan shouting from capitalists and socialists, the stakes are too high.

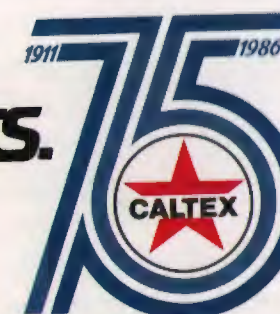
□ "Capitalists" and "Socialists" who are seeking democratic solutions to South Africa's problems agree on more than they imagine. They agree that apartheid is indefensible and must be eradicated; that whatever takes its place must be a democracy and not a tyranny; that in the process the post-apartheid society does not have a chance if its economic base has been destroyed; and that the social transformation must count the human costs of the change it is experiencing.

For too long we have run our politics as we have run our economy, as though only whites live here. How we run our politics and our economy in a post-apartheid South Africa will, I suspect, reveal the paucity of economic ideologies of the left and the right. For it is one of the redeeming features of South Africa that its people have evinced a degree of pragmatism, common humanity and good sense which will enable them to find an economic policy appropriate to its needs and humane in their application.

Given our political history and our problems of development I am sure we will need to avoid blind allegiance to Adam Smith's capitalist credo or Karl Marx's socialist one. My own sense is that a social democratic option, suitably hammered out on the anvil of South African and southern African realities, has the best chance of achieving accumulation and legitimation.

Caltex in contact with South Africa.

The first seventy five years.



When Caltex (then called Texaco) came to South Africa in 1911, motoring was a mixture of high adventure and very hard work. Those early motorists (there were only about 3 000 of them) needed a pioneering spirit and a total disregard for their own comfort.

Cars were temperamental and rigid suspensions provided a bone-jarring contact with the corrugated roads.

There were no number plates, no driver's licences, virtually no protection from the weather and very often no available petrol. Petrol was shipped from overseas in tins and for safety sake was carried as deck cargo.

The trouble was that whenever the sea became rough or any risk arose, this was the first item on board to be dumped over the side.

But a decade of experience brought

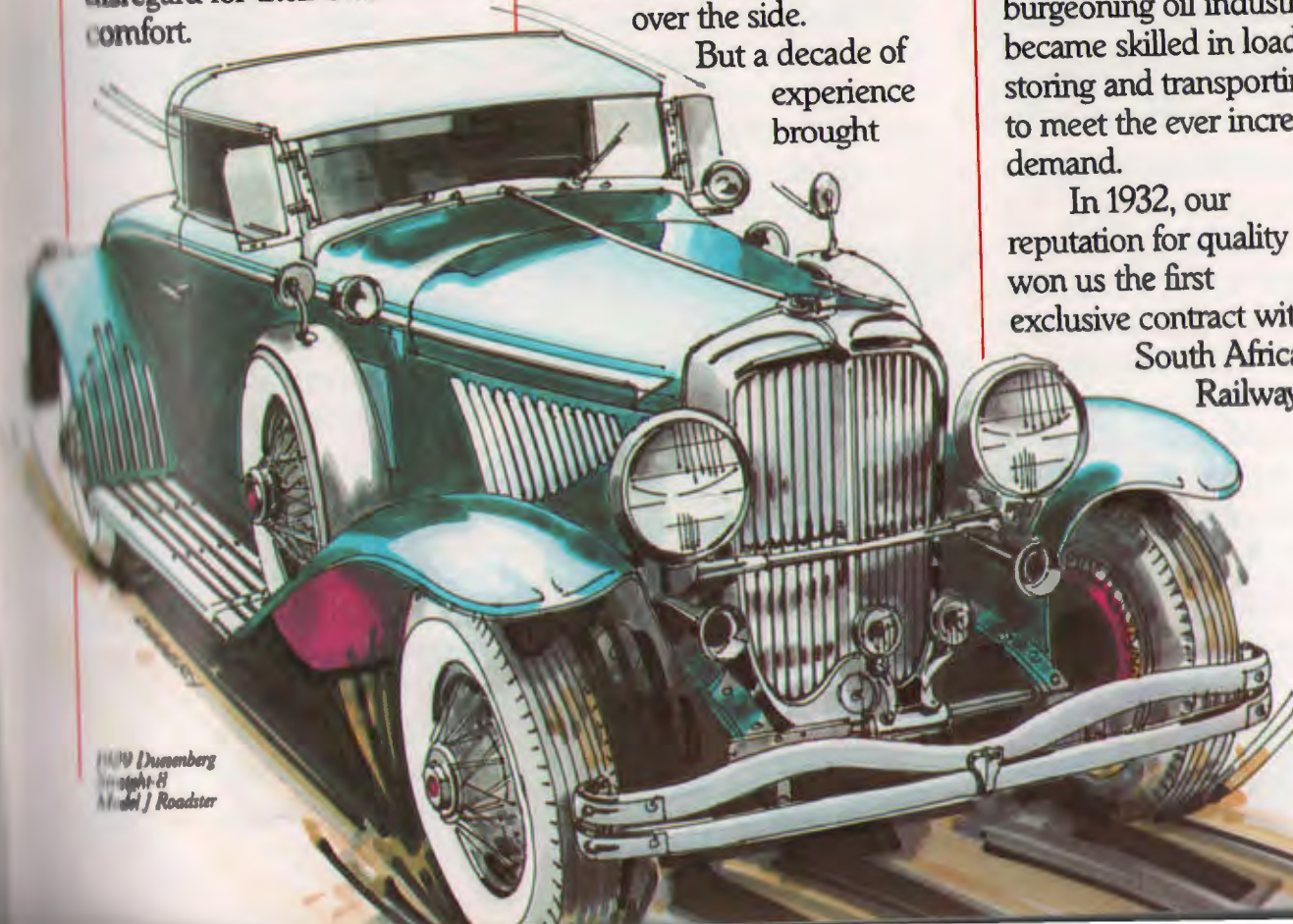
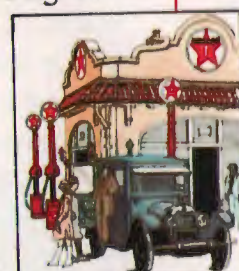
its rewards – in 1922 Texaco built South Africa's first filling station at the Regent Garage, Sea Point, Cape Town.

The petrol pump used was the Milwaukee which relied on operator muscle and gravity.

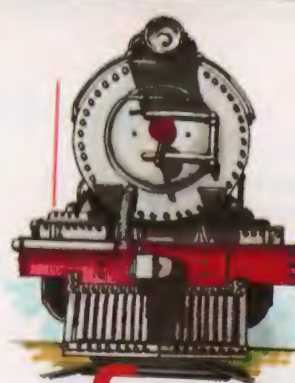
Texaco later introduced motorists to the country's first electric petrol pump.

By 1923 South Africa's car population had grown to nearly 60 000 and the burgeoning oil industry soon became skilled in loading, storing and transporting fuel to meet the ever increasing demand.

In 1932, our reputation for quality won us the first exclusive contract with South African Railways.



Model J Roadster



From then on, every train in the country ran smoother on Texaco steam cylinder oil.

Soon after the Depression years, vehicle and oil imports boomed and Texaco advertising was stepped up. Some will still remember the "KYMY" (Keep Your Motor Young) Campaign of 1936. In the same year, Texaco also introduced a unique series of sectional route maps. These proved so popular with motorists that the idea was soon copied by other companies.



The year 1941 was decisive for the future of Europe and, indeed, the world. It was also the year that put the company on a dramatic new path. Texaco and the Standard Oil Company of California – operating the new oil fields in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, came to

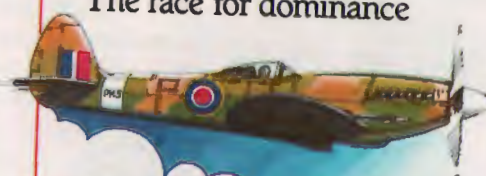


the agreement which resulted in the formation of California Texas Oil Company Limited – CALTEX.

The name changed but the famous Lone Star State of Texas sign was retained as the symbol of the new company.



The end of World War II meant new petrol imports, new brand names and increasingly competitive advertising. "IC-Plus" petrol was launched with a national competition in 1952 which drew over 100 000 entries. The race for dominance



through product innovation and strategic marketing was on.

Caltex was responsible for the post-war revival of motor sport in South Africa.



A major contribution was the founding sponsorship of the famous Amatola Rally in 1958. Styled on the Monte Carlo Rally, competitors started from the six major centres and then converged on a central rendezvous – like Queenstown and Colesberg. From there the final "regularity" leg would be run – often the toughest part of the event. Cars were torture tested up passes like the Mitchell's and Katberg and radiators and clutches would regularly give up in protest. But never the drivers. Broken windcreens, blown exhausts and gaskets, wrong



Pieter van der Byl, alias Piet Pompies.

turnings and never ending farm gates were all part of the race. The Amatola attracted a wide cross section of drivers, from amateur adventurers to seasoned

veterans and was the premier event of its kind.

Meanwhile post-war commercial radio presented new marketing opportunities. Caltex's were the first oil products advertised over the air while the "Caltex Show" and "Caltex Kaskenades" kept South Africa

1959 Caltex Amatola Rally. Starting Point Award winners K. White, driver and C. Morton, navigator in their Volvo P444.

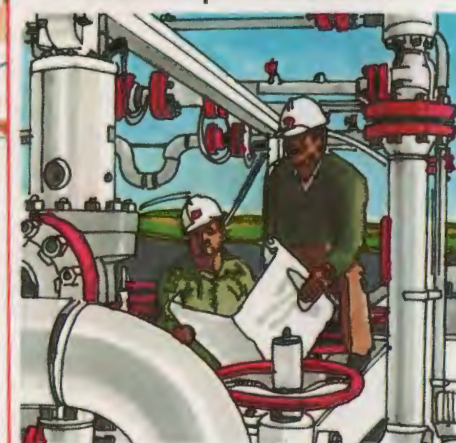
amused (and sometimes amazed!) from 1949 to 1961. It was South Africa's longest running variety show. From the English show came Ken Taylor's immortal line: "Did you got a licence?" asked by the ever suspicious Konstabel van der Tronkhuizen. Pieter van der Byl, alias Piet Pompies, was the creator and sometimes presenter of the Afrikaans show.



Man in Space in the 60's coincided back here on earth with bigger and faster cars. Everyone wanted more power

and Caltex obliged with Skypower petrol and later with Boron – "the fuel born of the space age". The commissioning of our Milnerton refinery in 1966 and the launch of Boron petrol in 1969 ushered in Caltex's "Golden Age". Boron put the company firmly on the road to market leadership while the refinery confirmed Caltex's status as oil industry pioneers in South Africa.

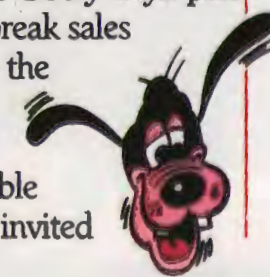
The Caltex refinery is the largest industry in the Western Cape. It is both a

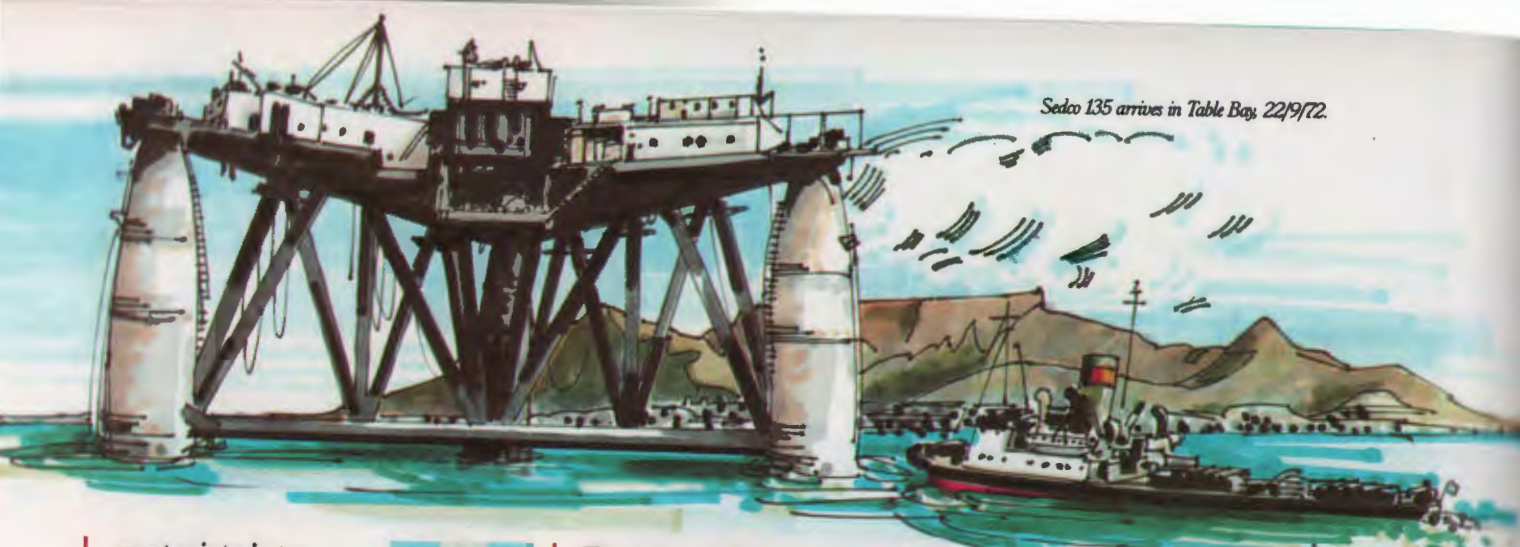


technological and an economic giant which saves South Africa millions of rand each year in foreign exchange.

Keeping pace with rapidly advancing Caltex technology were colourful, fun filled driveway promotions – now a feature of the increasingly competitive oil industry. While Mark Spitz was breaking swimming records at Munich, Goofy with his Goofy Olympics helped us to break sales records across the country.

Later the unforgettable White Rabbit invited





Sedco 135 arrives in Table Bay, 22/9/72.

motorists into South Africa's first service station restrooms – just the thing to revive long distance travellers suffering from “white-line fever”.



Friday, September 22, 1972 will be remembered as a red letter day for Caltex. This was the scene at midday when the Sedco 135 oil rig arrived in Table Bay after her three week tow from the Congo. Her arrival heralded Caltex's pioneering involvement in the search for oil along our coast line.

This concerted search for oil was almost a premonition of the OPEC decision in October 1973 which sent the price of oil up by 70% overnight. It was a move which stunned the Western World.

Broad public awareness of the “energy crisis” – the new international buzz word – dates from that moment. Car manufacturers were quick to start gearing production towards the more economical, fuel efficient car.

Caltex's answer was CX-3, the petrol that “turns unburned hydrocarbons into EXTRA KILOMETRES”. Today the CX-3 formula continues to help keep Caltex South Africa's number one selling petrol.

Its success is best summed up by our original slogan – “IT WORKS”.

Caltex's sustained growth and market success has allowed us to extend our involvement “far beyond the refinery gates” and into the lives of millions of South Africans through our programmes

in Education, Housing, Small Business Development, Leadership Training, Sport, the Arts and Nature Conservation.

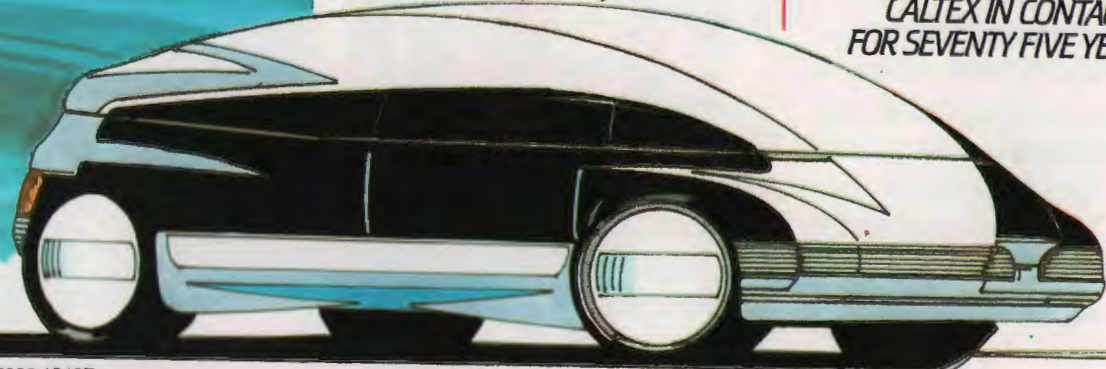


As we face the challenges of the 21st Century we know that our investment in people, like our investment in technology, has prepared an excellent foundation for our future in South Africa.



CALTEX IN CONTACT
FOR SEVENTY FIVE YEARS

Ogle Design's 'Project 2000'.
Family car for the turn of the century?



CROSSING THE THRESHOLD

Tony Mathews

When the State President proclaimed an emergency on July 21, 1985 and again on June 12, 1986, he declared, as he was required to do by the Public Safety Act, that in his opinion the ordinary law of the land was inadequate to contain the unrest then raging across the country.

The words “ordinary law” in the State President's declaration are certainly required to endure an unacknowledged and grossly distorted meaning. The semantic strain which he put upon this language becomes evident as soon as one reviews the laws which he described as “ordinary” and simultaneously “inadequate” for maintaining order.

They include six permanent detention laws of which two authorise indefinite detention of subjects, one for preventative and the other for interrogational purposes. Neither of these two detention provisions is subject to effective safeguards and both go far beyond what is permitted in Israel and Northern Ireland, two countries with comparable security problems.

This year, an amendment to the Internal Security Act introduced a seventh detention law which can be made operative by the State President at any time and which has been carefully drawn so as to avoid the limited restraints which the courts have recently put upon the exercise of some detention powers. If all these detention provisions are “ordinary” laws which government finds inadequate for maintaining security, the mind boggles at the thought of what the ruling party must regard as exceptional powers that will pass the strenuous test of “adequacy” for its security mission in South Africa.

Of course, detention powers are only part of the story and the catalogue of laws which have become so unremarkable as to merit the adjectives “ordinary” and “inadequate”, includes the power to ban organisations with no effective right vested in the victims of such action to appeal to the ordinary courts for relief. At present, over 30 organisations are banned and these include the principal vehicles of African nationalism – the African

National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The banning power also extends to meetings and processions and in respect of these the Minister of Law and Order has untrammelled power to control the right of assembly in both public and private places. For some seven years now, open-air meetings other than sports gatherings have been illegal unless cleared by prior permission from the authorities.

In addition, specific meetings are regularly banned by magistrates who have more limited powers to curtail the right of assembly in their districts. So-called ordinary law therefore gives government the power to determine whether, and if so, when and where, its opponents may meet or process. There is also permanent power to ban individuals and such an order imposes a kind of civil death upon persons who are subjected to it.

A banned person is confined to a magisterial district (and may even be “house arrested” if the minister so determines), prohibited from attending a wide range of gatherings of two or more persons, silenced by a ban on the quotation of all his or her speeches or utterances and subjected to many other pains and penalties. Though banning has recently been eclipsed by the extensive use of detention laws, it could be revived at any moment in the discretion of the minister.

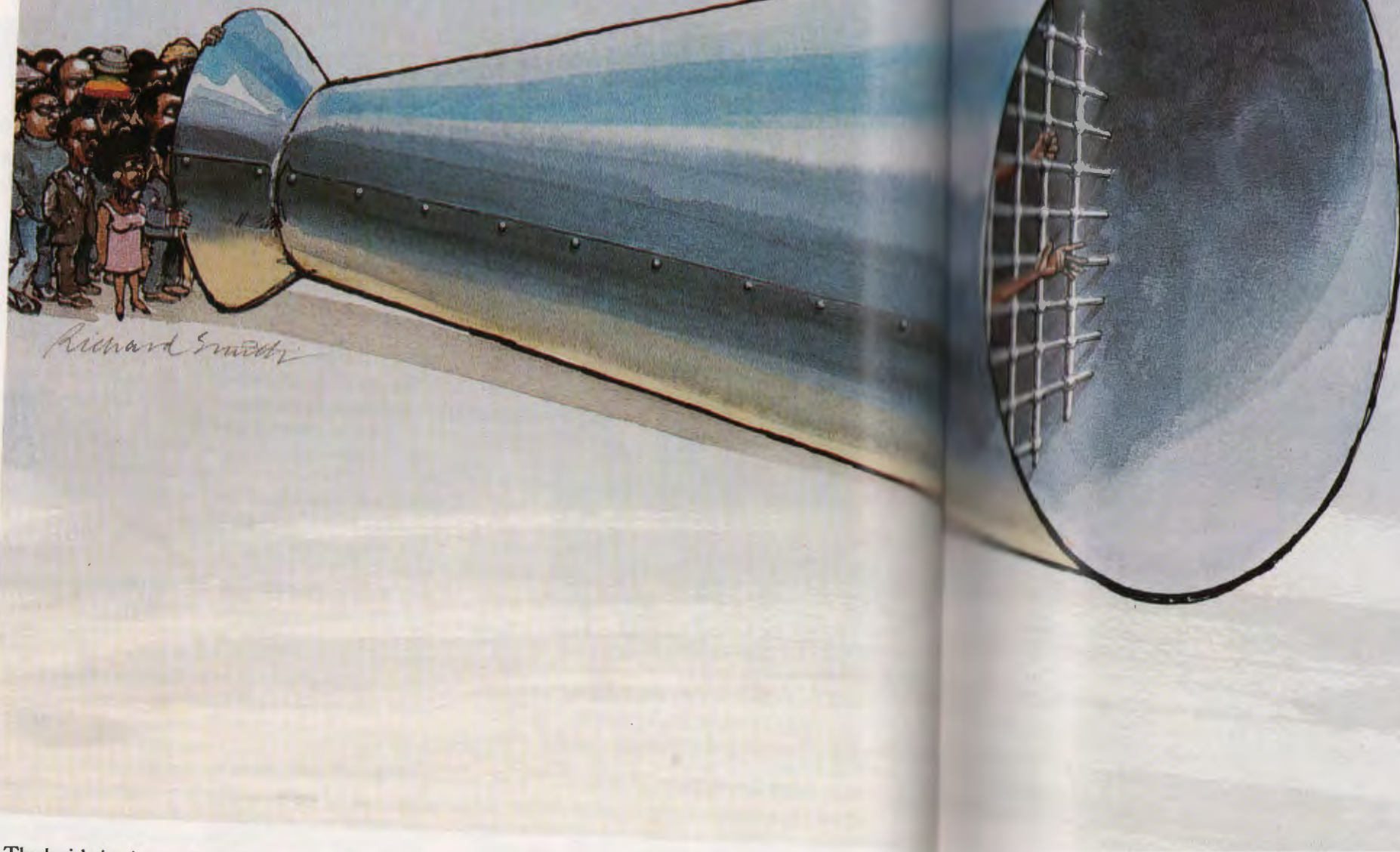
To the preceding list of these “normal” laws, we have to add some very broad security crimes such as subversion, sabotage, furthering the aims of communism (as conceived in South Africa) and intimidation. Finally there are extensive powers to ban or censor publications or films and these powers are used regularly to control the political debate in South Africa.

The corpus of regular law which our government believes to be inadequate constitutes a security system that would gladden the hearts of many a dictator or autocrat and bring a gleam of admiration into the eyes of such men as Machiavelli, Ghengis Khan or Mussolini if they could be here to observe it.



Tony Mathews is James Scott Wylie Professor of Law at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

The State President also has the power to stay legal proceedings.



The legislation just reviewed constitutes the core of the South African security system but is surrounded and re-inforced by several fearsome provisions in the general legislation governing the police and defence forces of the country. Defence legislation, for example, permits the State President, without declaring a national emergency, to employ members of the Force in operations to counter internal disorder or terrorism, and while so employed, these members enjoy legal immunity for actions performed in good faith in the course of operations.

The State President also has the power to stay legal proceedings arising out of actions which he deems to have been performed in good faith in the course of anti-terrorist operations. A trial of several servicemen on a charge of murdering a civilian in Namibia was recently

stopped by order issued under the authority of the State President.

In addition to their normal powers of entry, search and seizure, the security forces have a special power to enter premises in which they suspect a meeting that may endanger internal security is being held, in order to conduct search and seize operations there, as well as to take other actions deemed necessary. The laws which authorise official intrusions into private property (in many instances without the need for a search warrant) remove the security which people in free societies normally associate with hearth and home. The Earl of Chatham's statement of the position under English law, while somewhat romanticised, expresses the substance of the citizen's rights in that country:

"The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to

all the forces of the Crown. It may be frail – its roof may shake – the wind may blow through it – the storm may enter – but the King of England cannot enter – all his forces dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement."

These moving words describe vividly what many South Africans have either lost or never enjoyed. The true reality in this country has become the security policeman's late night knock, the township raid or the tear-gas cannister. And it is this reality, including all the detentions and bannings, prosecutions and jailings, that is described with terrifying casualness as the "ordinary law of the land".

The objective of the 1985 and 1986 emergencies was to increase, to add to and extend the powers contained within permanent legislation. The emergency regula-

tions promulgated in 1985 enlarged them considerably but it was in 1986 that the legal draftsman went entirely overboard and produced a set of emergency regulations which substituted for the notion that justice must be seen to be done, a system of justice that has to be seen to be believed.

The grotesque excesses of the 1986 regulations, and of the actions taken under them, together make up one of the reasons for the new court activism of the present year – an activism which has startled even civil rights lawyers with the spectacle of detainees being released from detention and regulations being struck down as invalid. Without wishing to detract in any way from the significance of the involvement of the court in the law-and-order arena of society, it may be said that if the judiciary had been unwilling to intervene now, it would have condemned itself permanently to a spectator role in the search of justice in South Africa.

There must be a feeling, even among lawyers who have preferred to remain uninvolved as a kind of breed of legal Pontius Pilates, that the country now stands on the brink of the final descent into lawlessness and anarchy. The regulations which have brought us to that point require brief examination before their nature and impact can be fully assessed.

As on the two previous occasions, the 1986 emergency regulations include a provision empowering the authorities to detain without trial. While there were no permanent detention laws on the statute book when the 1960 emergency was proclaimed, at the time of the 1985 and 1986 emergencies six such laws were in existence. There are two main reasons for adding to the existing laws for detention.

The first is to authorise arrest and detention by any member of the security forces as opposed to the higher-ranking officials who are normally required to take the decision. The second is to free detention from all procedural checks and safeguards.

In fact, when the court held last year that emergency detainees were entitled to a hearing prior to extension of their detention by the minister, the regulations were immediately amended to remove this fundamental right. The purpose then is to authorise detention without trial *en masse* and without restraints or controls.

In the 1960 emergency, over 11 000 persons were detained; in the 1985 emergency the figure was about 8 500 and the current emergency has so far resulted in approximately 10 000 detentions. The intervention of the courts in the administration of emergency detention should not be over-estimated.

Prior to the short-lived decision declaring the detention regulations invalid in August 1986, they had been able to order releases only when the actions of the authorities blatantly proclaimed their impropriety, as in the case of a nun who was detained after protesting about a security force assault on a township dweller. The working of the detention provision has restricted releases by order of court to an insignificant minority. And even if the Appellate Division upholds the *Tsenoli* ruling in Natal and declares the detention regulations invalid, a simple amendment is all that will be needed to revive the power to detain.

The purpose is to authorise detention without trial en masse and without restraints and controls.

The emergency regulations certainly go beyond what is permitted by martial law.

A specially sinister feature of detention in the present emergency is that it is a crime to disclose the name and identity of a detainee without permission unless the authorities have themselves made the disclosure. This may be termed detention "by cloud and by night", surely a mark of the police state.

All three emergencies have incorporated measures to exonerate the police from *bona fide* but illegal actions taken in the course of their emergency duties. While in democratic societies such indemnities are often granted by Parliament *at the end of the emergency*, in South Africa the authorities have been freed from legal accountability in advance. Indemnities are objectionable measures even when granted after the event. Dicey, the great 19th century constitutional lawyer, wrote as follows of such provisions:

"Of all the laws which a Legislature can pass, an Act of Indemnity is the most likely to produce injustice. It is on the face of it a legalisation of legality: the hope of it encourages acts of vigour, but it also encourages violations of the law and of humanity. The tale of Flogging Fitzgerald in Ireland or the history of Governor Eyre in Jamaica, is sufficient to remind us of the deeds of lawlessness and cruelty which in a period of civil conflict may be inspired by recklessness or passion, and may be pardoned by the retrospective sympathy or partisanship of a terror-stricken or vindictive legislature."

The security forces in South Africa do not have to await legislation from a "terror-stricken or vindictive legislature". Parliament has encouraged them at the outset to take the actions they believe to be necessary and proffered the legal protection which in other societies *might* be granted after the event. This licence for official lawlessness has no place in a state that values the rule of law, humanity or democratic government.

The removal of legal accountability by the indemnity regulations has been accompanied in the 1986 emergency by measures which seek to free the security forces from public accountability as well. The regulations in question prohibit the making or use without permission of films and similar visual material, or of sound recordings, of unrest happenings or security force action to counter them; authorise the Minister of Law and Order to seize newspapers if he believes that they contain subversive material; authorise the same minister to ban publications and newspapers believed to contain subversive statements; and authorise the Commissioner of Police to make orders for, among other things, the control or prohibition of news or comment about security force actions or conduct.

In terms of this last measure, the commissioner has issued an order prohibiting newspapers from reporting on the activities of the security forces. The combined effect of all these provisions has been the abrupt termination of the right of the Press and the public to give and receive independent information about the emergency and other law-and-order matters. Two newspapers, *The Weekly Mail* and the *Sowetan*, have already been the subjects of seizure orders and similar action against others could follow.

In fact, the regulations empower the minister to clamp down the entire Press in South Africa if he chooses to do so. The Press, so long cribbed and confined to enjoy freedom in any meaningful sense has now for the first time ceased to enjoy freedom in any meaningful sense. Most of the censorship regulations have been the subject of a legal challenge brought by several newspapers but they are still being enforced pending a judgment by the Natal court.

Yet another regulation authorises low-ranking members of the force to order persons to leave a particular place or to desist from specified conduct and, if such persons do not immediately obey, to use such force as the officer in question *believes* to be necessary to disperse those present or to terminate the prohibited conduct. Under regular law, a police officer who disperses a gathering must moderate the use of force according to the needs of the occasion and may only use lethal weapons in the special circumstances specified by the law.

Emergency law, on the other hand, provides no objective standard for the use of force since this will be determined by the opinion of the officer on the spot; and it provides no restraints on the use of lethal weapons. The security forces also have extended power under the emergency to enter premises and to search and seize without legal warrants. This sweeps away the minimal security of private homes provided by the regular law of the land.

Finally, the regulations enacted for the 1986 emergency authorises the Commissioner of Police to make rules and orders on a wide range of topics including any matter which he considers necessary or expedient for the termination of the emergency. Orders have been issued *inter alia* to impose curfews, to restrict movement, to control the behaviour of school children and to prevent meetings and processions, including the meetings of specified organisations.

Considered on their face, the 1986 emergency regulations have in effect put the country under security force rule. They certainly go beyond what is permitted by martial law under which the actions of the authorities are restrained by the doctrine of necessity. It is well established, moreover, that the courts may pronounce upon the legality of the use of martial law powers when military action has ended.

The emergency regulations, in several instances, substitute subjective opinion for the objective test of necessity and exempt the security forces from court control in the performance of their emergency duties. The regulations, it is true, do not establish military tribunals to try emergency crimes, but this is hardly necessary considering the breadth and vagueness of security-law crimes in South Africa. They also do not, as in the Israeli occupied territories, authorise the destruction of houses as a reprisal for terrorist offences (though this is frequently done in effect through vigilante action). In general, the distinction between South African emergency government and military rule is hardly significant.

However, the emergency regulations are not necessarily to be taken at face value. Some of them, such as aspects of the definition of a subversive statement, have

Picasseau.



Perrier.
The drink from France.

Air conditioner – standard.

Power steering – standard.

Remote adjustable rear-view mirrors – standard.

4-spd. lock-up overdrive automatic – standard.

Electronic digital stereo radio/tape deck with 4 speakers – standard.

Plush velour trim – standard.



Genuine luxury demands very definite standards.



When you examine your options in luxury cars, you'll find few to match the standards of the elegant Toyota Corolla GLX. Of course, sharp performance and all-round economy are also standard features in the stylish GLX. After all, it is a Corolla.



TOYOTA
S.A. TOP
SELLER
1981/82/83/84/85

Everything keeps going right



TOYOTA

been struck down by the courts. The detention regulation was declared invalid by a full bench of the Natal court and then immediately revived by a contrary full bench judgment of the same division. An urgent hearing before the Appellate Division is likely to resolve this conflict soon but, even if the decision goes against the State, a simple verbal change (the substitution of "and" for "or") will cure the difficulty.

In an action brought by the proprietors of several newspapers, the regulations imposing rigid censorship of the media have been attacked as *ultra vires* (beyond the powers of the State President) and it is strongly likely that some of these regulations will fall due to their sweeping and indiscriminate wording; but even if they do, narrower prohibitions on the Press can be envisaged which will effectively silence independent reporting on the emergency while passing the legal test for validity. The special emergency regulations introduced for black schools, which include the right to arbitrarily reject applications for registration and to make arbitrary placements of scholars in classes or standards, have also been questioned before the courts but at the time of writing judgment was still being awaited.

Whatever the outcome of court hearings now taking place on an unprecedented scale, it is clear that a battle is being fought to preserve the tattered remnants of the rule of law and the public accountability of the security forces. The stories that have filtered through the tight net of censorship suggest that the removal of legal and public accountability has encouraged a new wave of official lawlessness and that terrible deeds are being done in the name of law and order. If the battle is lost, lawless power will finally be enthroned in our country with dire consequences for the peaceful resolution of political and social conflict.

The security authorities in South Africa have a truly mindless belief in the effectiveness of crude repression. The evidence, however, is overwhelmingly against that belief. The first repressive security measure introduced by the present government was the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. In the year of its introduction, the political troubles consisted of a one-day strike and a protest meeting against apartheid laws. In the next three and half decades, security laws multiplied and became increasingly harsh until finally the security forces were equipped with the full armoury of the police state. With what results?

In the last few years there have been over 2 000 unrest deaths as well as enormous property destruction and massive and incalculable social damage to society. In 1986, with all our detention laws, bannings, shootings and beatings, we are infinitely worse off than we were in 1950 when government launched the country on the road to the coercive control of the then largely latent forces of black nationalism. From the vantage point of 1986, the Fifties were a paradise of peace and tranquillity and the years ahead look to becoming a battleground of ever-increasing strife, casualties and destruction. The repressive machinery of the Nationalist State has certainly not led us towards, nor will it lead us to, a stable social system or a life of peace and tranquillity.

LEADERSHIP

THE EMERGENCY

A security system that is so indiscriminate is bound to make more enemies than it can eliminate.

The reasons for the failure of the security system are not hard to find. The laws which constitute it are a substitute for, rather than an aid to, reform through political bargaining and accommodation. These laws are in fact ranged behind the policies of apartheid and white privilege and they are used against all effective opponents of racial segregation and white control, whether or not their opposition is of a subversive nature.

The current emergency has confronted South Africans once again with the familiar round-up of those who are working peacefully against, or exposing the ugliness of, the present system. The detention net has been thrown wide and has brought in clergymen, journalists, social workers, trade unionists and teachers. Many of these hapless victims of "law and order", perhaps most of them, are engaged in peaceful activities to alleviate, expose or change apartheid. A security system that is so indiscriminate, that is ranged against the *political* interests of the majority of the population and that is so manifestly without a moral basis, is bound to make more enemies than it can eliminate and so arouse the bitter hatred of the greater part of the population.

No security system, the MacDonald Commission recently declared in Canada, can be effective without the broad confidence and trust of the people. Both in its design and the methods of its application, the South African security programme is fated to alienate that confidence and trust. The lawless behaviour of the security forces, as exemplified by the confirmation in the Cape Supreme Court of the interdict granted against them over involvement in vigilante burnings and killings in the Cape squatter camps, is fuelling deep hatred and resentment towards the law and its agents among the black people of South Africa.

The present emergency regulations may temporarily bring unrest under control but the methods being used are likely to ensure that each time it flares up anew, the crisis will be more severe. This has certainly been the pattern of the last 30 years and there are no signs of an impending change. Considered in this light, the struggle between those who wish to extend security power and official lawlessness and those who wish to contain it will soon determine whether brute force or the reason of the law will finally triumph.

One of the most important arenas of that struggle is the courts and their response to it will have an important bearing on the outcome. As the result of long neglect in the old Rhodesia, the reason of the law has finally been vanquished in Zimbabwe where just recently the government blatantly flouted five consecutive court orders for the release of a number of detainees. Its extinction has been signalled too by the Mugabe government announcement that it will not feel obliged to honour judgments against the security forces.

This is the destination towards which we are being led by the security policies of the ruling party in South Africa with no real prospect of eliminating on the way the terrible deeds of violence (such as car bombs or landmines) against innocent citizens of all races. The time to halt that process is now – tomorrow will be too late.



**SOMETIME IN THE FUTURE
WELDING TECHNIQUES WILL
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CONTROL BY CABAL

Barry Dean



Professor Barry Dean is
of the Department of
Law at the University
of Cape Town.

South Africa's executive has for some time possessed sufficient power to govern the Republic by administrative fiat – supporting the charge that a *de facto* constitutional dictatorship has emerged in this country.

Notwithstanding all the recent changes, however, the constitution still reflects democratic political values particularly in the white sector. The result is that the government is prepared to tolerate opposition – white, and to a very much more limited extent, black – at a level that most authoritarian governments would have abandoned a long time ago. It is these political values in the constitution – part and parcel of the Westminster system – which have become ingrained in Afrikaner political thinking and practice that have tempered the way in which power is being exercised in this country. This is what has prevented South Africa, until now, from sliding into absolute totalitarian or authoritarian government.

The Afrikaner largely achieved power by democratic and constitutional means and that experience influenced the way in which he has exercised power. Afrikaners themselves are constantly pointing out the paradox: if Afrikaners achieved power through the ballot box, why are they denying black people the opportunity of doing the same?

The move away from the Westminster model in the 1983 constitution has made it much more difficult to maintain these values. That was a move towards constitutional dictatorship . . . in a very subtle way. Discussion of those changes normally focuses on institutional changes – the tri-cameral legislature, the President's Council and the executive presidency. But the move away from Westminster is important in a much more fundamental sense – in the sense that it marked a movement away from the political values – the democratic values of the Westminster system.

The claim that the 1983 constitution has created a constitutional dictatorship can be based on the following four propositions:

□ The 1983 Republic of South Africa Constitution Act is built on a constitutional system which already vested vast powers in the executive arm of government. These powers are so wide that apart from the need to seek parliamentary authority to spend money annually they would permit the executive to conduct government largely without the co-operation of parliament.

The government can, for example, control commerce and industry, imports and exports, exchange control and the production and distribution of essential products. There are a series of acts of parliament which give government extensive powers to implement its economic policies without further parliamentary co-operation. When there was an oil crisis, government used the Petroleum Products Procurement Act to take substantial

control of the petroleum industry. In terms of the Procurement of National Resources Act, war-time powers have been given to government to regulate economic activity or undertake such activity itself. And if government were prepared to act illegally in one respect only, viz, financial appropriation, it could run the country without recalling parliament at all.

□ Experience under the new constitution has shown that if the executive cannot obtain the free flow of legislation which it wants from parliament, it will resort to extra-parliamentary powers to govern the country. The growing use of the "royal prerogative" (common law powers which formed part of the law of South Africa when a monarchy, and which are now vested in the State President) and emergency powers under the Public Safety Act of 1953, are examples of this trend.

From a constitutional lawyer's point of view this is very interesting because it mirrors developments in England in the 17th century where exactly the same tendency occurred. In the 17th century the Stuart kings made strenuous and ultimately unsuccessful attempts to rule without parliament.

An example of the side-lining of parliament is a situation tracked down by a UCT colleague in which the SA government tried to come to an accommodation with the Ciskei government to run part of the country in terms of a secret agreement. Strictly speaking such arrangements required parliamentary sanction. The circumstances surrounding the *Mgwali Raid* meant that the government attempted to circumvent parliament completely and run part of the country by proxy in terms of "international agreements". To do this, government had to argue on the basis of the ancient common law powers, the prerogative powers, of the crown – powers which date from the period before parliament became an essential organ of government and which today normally play little part in constitutional government. The prerogative is thus becoming one of the really important features of the new constitution because it is a way of dealing with situations outside parliament.

These powers were always "lying around" in the background to be retrieved when necessary. Similarly when government was trying to "normalise" sport, it issued a series of directives which effectively suspended the Group Areas Act in relation to sport activities in black townships. Whites could enter the townships to attend fixtures and their tickets would constitute a permit in terms of the Act. It was the equivalent of a power which was used by the Stuart kings – the power to suspend laws. James II used that power to protect his fellow Catholics. Its use was declared illegal by the English Bill of Rights. What we have is a situation in which government is literally stripping the constitution of the 18th

PW BOTHA
Richard Smith
after the 1983



century, and particularly the 19th century developments which democratised Britain and subjected government to the rule of law.

Because our constitution, like the English constitution, is evolutionary in character, if you strip away the later developments there in the central core is essentially the 17th century authoritarian government – providing government with powers which were used by 17th century kings.

□ The 1983 RSA Constitution Act has built on this system by giving the State President greater security of

tenure and powers to manipulate the legislative process in a way which enables him to secure the legislation which he wants largely when he really wants it. The recent Public Safety and Internal Security Amending Acts are examples.

The State President now enjoys greater security of tenure *vis-a-vis* parliament than prime ministers under the 1961 constitution. The President can continue to govern without the support of the majority in parliament. Indeed, this will usually be the case. As the Rev Alan Hendrikse recently pointed out, the Public Safety

Notwithstanding government protestation, it seems that the State Security Council is a major, if not decisive, influence on basic policy. Because the Cabinet has become a multi-racial body, it can no longer function as a central, effective, white decision-making body. While it may be true to say in formal terms, and the government has certainly argued this, that the State Security Council is simply an advisory body, a committee of the cabinet, the operation of cabinet government is so fluid, so flexible, that it can result in a subsidiary committee taking basic policy decisions. And because of that committee's membership, those policy decisions are almost certainly going to be formally endorsed by the full cabinet.

This means that the administration has become a major stumbling block to any reform process in South Africa. When you have been administering a system that has been moving in one direction for more than 30 years, it is very difficult for you to change. The administrators

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South Africa needs stability. Business can only be good for everyone when there is social and political stability. American companies are under increasing pressure from the South African government to divest. All of us face tremendous pressure and our long-term plans and investments in the country are taking a back seat. We're having to do business on a day by day basis.

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[illegible]

Fundamental change will always take place outside parliament, not in it.

are a group with the greatest vested interest in the present system. One wonders how far this is linked with such overt political activity in the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Conservative Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

No effective constitutional mechanisms are available to deal with this problem. At the top level, the doctrine of cabinet responsibility has been considerably weakened by 30-odd years of *de facto* one-party rule. Our constitution does not provide any effective means of controlling the public service itself. To put it bluntly, the new constitution is a framework for administering the country and not reconciling conflicting political interests. Fundamental change will always take place outside parliament, not in it.

□ The 1983 RSA Constitution Act also reflects this tendency towards bureaucratisation in a number of ways.

The political power of coloured and Indian politicians within the system is not democratic but bureaucratic in character flowing from their position within the administrative system and the support which they enjoy from their white "superiors". The relationship is illustrated by the way in which cabinet government has been conducted under the new constitution.

Parliament's functions and value have become increasingly bureaucratic. It is useful to extract information, to get to the "man at the top" when all else fails and to make technical amendments to legislation. When it attempts to take political action, as with the recent emergency legislation, it is slapped down.

The changes in the system of provincial government which deprive it of its democratic character and convert it into a bureaucratic system – involving the devolution of power but subject to tight control from the centre – are part of this process. And the creation of regional services councils represents a similar development at local government level.

The bureaucratisation of the constitution in turn has at least four important implications:

- It highlights the importance of the loyalty of the police, the military and the civil administration which has come under question in recent times;
- It poses dangers for the free enterprise system to the values of which bureaucratic values are antipathetic; and
- It raises important and difficult questions about the role of the judiciary because it represents a significant shift away from government in terms of democratic principles and the rule of law to government by administrative fiat.

The most dramatic example is, of course, the current State of Emergency, but the proposed legislation dealing with economic deregulation would be another. In a sense the judiciary encapsulates some of the most basic values of the Westminster system of government such as government by and under law, fairness, and rationality. The new constitution and the current political situation present the judges with a major challenge. Do they simply absolve themselves of all responsibility or do they play a positive role in formulating a democratic "reformist" base on which all of us can build?

If the constitution gets into serious trouble, the courts would, I think, be faced with a fundamental choice.

They would have to decide whether to go with the State President by asserting the sovereignty of parliament, or to protect the rights of "coloureds" and "Indians" by adapting old concepts to give them greater political power within the system.

At another level the tendency to avoid parliament and to rule by administrative fiat has posed the courts with a challenge which threatens the whole basis for their authority. Over the last 18 months there have been a truly remarkable series of decisions dealing principally with security legislation in which courts have adopted an assertive attitude which a few years ago – or even two or three years ago – would have been unthinkable. One can only speculate on the reasons for this development.

One of the most striking reasons is certainly the emergence of public interest law firms. The other is, perhaps, the fundamental and growing concern (on the part of at least some judges) that the powers being assumed by government to deal with what is euphemistically called the "unrest" situation have gone so far and on for so long that they are striking at the very foundations of the legal system and the administration of justice in the country. In other words, some judges are seeing the system which they administer, on which they depend for their legitimacy, as under immediate and direct threat.

There comes a stage when the ability of the executive authority to handle the situation effectively can be called into question. And right now there are indications that the courts are tending to say that their job is to protect the legal system. They might, if pushed, say that they are no longer there to protect government (which is largely what they have done in the past) but must protect the legal system.

In that situation the courts would also say that one of the ways in which they can deal with the State of Emergency is to attempt to do justice . . . because there must be grievances underlying the disruption. If the judiciary could meet those grievances, it might be their major contribution towards dealing with the emergency. In this case it would be more important for the judiciary to try to do justice than to give unqualified support to the forces of law and order.

It might well be that the courts are signalling here, in their own peculiar fashion, a concern that most South Africans would have expressed over the last few years: is government fully in control? Should we fully support the executive in what it is doing or should we mark out a more independent line for ourselves?

In representing a fundamental shift away from democratic government it may foreshadow the form of government which is likely to emerge in the medium and long term under black majority rule in South Africa.

If such a government is likely to be based on a socialist model of the Soviet or east European variety, it too is likely to be bureaucratic in character operating behind a democratic facade. We may be witnessing an organic adaptation of our system of government to make it suitable for a future ("democratic") South Africa.



Flight of the fish eagle...

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A remarkable brandy.



Science as thought-control

People no longer admire the farmer who trusts his instincts – they hope his son will have the benefit of a scientific education. They scoff at the weather prophecies of those who live close to nature and compare them to their disadvantage with Pretoria's synoptic charts – despite the indifferent success of our scientific weather forecasters.

Brandy – the most civilized drink

Brandy-making in this country didn't escape the benefits of science and civilization. The generation after the Second World War devoted itself to eliminating the uncertainties inherent in producing good brandy. Soil preparation for vineyards, cultivar selection, pruning, wine-making, distillation, maturation – every facet of the decades-long process became the subject of research, learned papers, international conferences. Certainly great strides were made in improving productivity and overcoming long-standing barriers to the enhancement of quality. Brandy-making became a science. But all wasn't gained – something was lost.

A return to nature

Why do we call brandy the world's most natural distilled beverage? How scientific is brandy-making?

Vines are planted by hand and pruned by hand. Grapes are picked by hand. Any grape juice left to its own devices will start fermenting spontaneously. The final distillate is (or should be) enhanced only by the natural processes occurring in wooden barrels. Today, some agricultural products are produced like industrial commodities: untouched by humans. Planting and harvesting occur mechanically, transport is automated.

These scientific methods are certainly extraordinarily cost-effective. However, because of its naturalness, brandy can never be produced as cheaply as other distilled products. Brandy has less to gain, more to lose, through an excessive reliance on science.

No preservatives

Any wine drinker knows that wine deteriorates rapidly when opened. The wine prepared for brandy-making is no exception. We ensure, however, that no preservative is added to this wine by the farmers who supply us. This means that the wine has to be distilled within days of being made, which in turn means that our stillhouses are very busy for some two months –

and quiet for the rest of the year, adding to the high cost of production.

Red copper stills ensure purity, lightness

We use only traditional hand-made red copper pot-stills, because copper is one of the most inert metals known to man. Distillation is not a natural process: it is the creation of man's ingenuity. We do, however, encourage our distillers to rely in greater measure on their personal judgment, less on scientific measurement. We have one request: purity and lightness. And one method: art instead of science.

European oak – slow growing and expensive but the best

The heart of a good brandy can be found in an oak barrel. We know that during the quiet years in wood some oxidation takes place and some extraneous flavours are lost from the wood. We are, however, able to explain the process of maturation and imitate it quickly or more cheaply. (How limited an ally science sometimes proves to be.)

We know that South African wood is too porous to be used in barrel-making – the result of fast growth in a fairly hot climate. We know that certain types

of wood are unsuited – the resins in pinewood obviously rule it out, as an example. We know that the rum and whiskey industries use American white oak. We know that European oak is three to four times as expensive, but that is all we use. Why? In the judgment of our distillers it results in an unsurpassed brandy.

It is the best.

Naturally dried and split wood

Wood must be cured before it can be used for any purpose. Today, practically all wood is dried in kilns. We insist, however, that only naturally dried wood be used for our barrels. The wood is simply left in the open air for four to six years. Time consuming and expensive, but also the natural way.

The staves must be split along their natural grain. This is done by using only axes, no saws. It means that two thirds of the wood in a log is discarded as left-overs. It also means that the staves are all individually made and do not conform to any pre-set standard and that a barrel can only be assembled by hand. Our quest for the natural way is admittedly expensive.

Straight vatted brandy

Every drop of our brandy is pot-stilled and wood-matured. The colour of our brandy derives exclusively from the barrel, the taste is completely natural. We don't use anything except brandy. *Everything you taste is true.*

The proof is in the tasting

If you've read this far, there can be no doubt that you are as fascinated by brandy as we are. Obviously you must now judge the result of our iconoclasm for yourself. We have only one request. If you prefer your brandy with a mixer, use something natural. Spring-water is vastly superior to tap water (remember to prepare your ice cubes from the same water). Natural juices enhance a brandy which wouldn't suffer artificial drinks kindly. Pure orange juice produces a particularly refreshing drink. On the other hand, if you prefer your brandy neat, add a few drops of that spring-water or an ice cube. A bit of water releases some of the most flavourful substances which

would otherwise remain trapped in the brandy.

Let's talk from the heart

We at Distillers Corporation feel that a natural brandy should be sold the "natural way" – by directly

communicating with those enjoying our product. But communication is a two-way process. Should you wish to comment on our brandy or to know more about it, please write to us: The Production Director, Distillers Corporation, Private Bag 5001, Stellenbosch 7600. We'll be glad to receive your views.



Flight of the Fish Eagle

Natural Brandy
A remarkable brandy

This remarkable natural brandy is a tribute to the African Fish Eagle which possessively guards over the wild waterways of our continent.

MOTSUENYANE

Meeting Sam Motsuenyane is not a simple matter. The most convenient way is to meet in Johannesburg or Pretoria, but then you will gain only a superficial insight. Rather, drive through Pretoria and take the Mabopane road until you get to Soshanguve where you can meet at the offices of the National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce (NAFCOC).

But to get to know him better, continue through Soshanguve and enter the Winterveld. You will know this is the Winterveld because you are unlikely to have seen as many shacks, mud houses and make-shift dwellings. They say there are at least 400 000 people squatting here on the dry and dusty plains. Press on and turn left onto a rocky and potholed track. Turn right through a gate and enter a little oasis. This is Sam Motsuenyane's home.

His borehole irrigates citrus trees and vegetables in the bone-dry red earth. His house would have seemed even more out of place had it still been standing. The modern and spacious home is now a ruin, having been firebombed. So Motsuenyane and family live in a caravan on the property.

The scene becomes even more incongruous when you realise that the man in the pin-striped suit chatting to you at his home in the heart of what is arguably South Africa's biggest squatter community is also a director of Barlow Rand and Barclays.

Sam Motsuenyane is the son of a farm labourer who fought in the Anglo Boer War on the side of the Boers. A man with intense Christian convictions, he pushed himself through matric when his father was no longer able to support his education. He obtained a diploma in social science at night school and used a Ussalep scholarship to obtain an agricultural science degree at the University of North Carolina.

He says friends have urged him to live in more genteel and salubrious surroundings, but he explains he is perfectly happy out there in the Winterveld.

Motsuenyane has been president of NAFCOC since its founding 18 years ago. He was interviewed by Martin Schneider.

Schneider: What is your assessment of the position in which the country finds itself?

Motsuenyane: Of course, South Africa is in a very difficult period – one that is fraught with all kinds of possibilities. We could either continue to remain under a State of Emergency or government could move forward and get the country out of its present plight by freeing people like Nelson Mandela, unbanning the African National Congress (ANC) and involving blacks in serious discussions aimed at creating a new South Africa. This is all that is necessary to get us back on course.

What effect would the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela have on the black community?

It would certainly enable government to restore some measure of control over the black community. Black leaders themselves would be speaking to their people and probably with much greater effectiveness than the government can ever do. And this to me is the only way we can restore a measure of control and direction. Without that, government is just going to continue to meet resistance from the black community.

What is your view of the ANC? Do you share its ideals?

I share some of its ideals. I certainly share the ideal of the creation of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa, which is the main objective of the ANC to my knowledge. We differ on the methods of achieving that goal. We must endeavour to achieve our objectives in a peaceful environment because if we polarise our society further, it will be very difficult to restore things to normality. I think we need to build bridges, we need to get together and talk rather than fight.

Do you believe it is possible to achieve a settlement through negotiation?

Well, I have got certain reservations about government's willingness to share power in a meaningful way with black people. The white community feels threatened. They will only share power to the extent that it does not jeopardise their existing firm control over the country's economy and political life. Blacks, on the other hand, would not settle for anything less than equal opportunity and equal rights. I think this will have to be in a one-man-one-vote situation. We cannot have an ambivalent system which allows a certain part of our community one-man-one-vote and the other another type of system.

Do you believe the government would ever agree to a one-man-one-vote system?

They may not agree to it but I think wisdom must eventually prevail. If, as government claims, we are committed to the ideals of democracy, then eventually there must be recognition of individual rights rather than group rights. Democracy centres around individual rights, so that the choice remains with the individual to decide what he wants.

The individual must be recognised as the unit of democracy. Government errs by looking at everyone in terms of membership of a group, in terms of differences in skin colour. In fact, we have tried to build a nation on the basis of the recognition of differences rather than on the recognition of the common areas of agreement. We have exploited the differences.

I think we should turn the whole focus onto areas of common ground and build on those. Skin colour is certainly a factor, but I regard it as very peripheral and even irrelevant in any assessment of our needs in the coming years.



LEADERSHIP INTERVIEW



Blacks want to be part of the political and economic life of the country. They want to make a contribution. White people can't always be on top and black people at the bottom. People must be at the top or the bottom according to their abilities.

If this country has a black leader with the ability to lead us, then he must be accepted as the leader of our country. We should not be looking for a white leader or a black leader, but simply for a competent leader. Colour is completely irrelevant.

You say you share the ANC's stated ideal of a non-racial democracy but that you differ with its methods of achieving that goal. What is your strategy?

First, we have to do the obvious things. We have to relax the barriers that have separated our nation into two somewhat irreconcilable factions. We've got to remove colour bars. We've got to allow black people participation in government. We have to open schools to whoever wants to be there. There should be no black schools and white schools, there should be schools for our nation.

But to get there will demand that we enter into some serious dialogue, and in order to prepare for that dialogue we must enable all interested groups to be able to participate in the final dialogue that must come. For instance, this is why I feel it is necessary to have a man like Mr Mandela out of jail. It is necessary to recognise that the ANC has some support in this country and should be free to participate in the final discussion. All the players must be at the discussion. Even the ANC is willing, I believe, under certain conditions, to participate in discussions.

Do you think government is right in demanding that it will only talk to the ANC if it renounces violence?

I think this is an unnecessary prescription, an unnecessary requirement. I believe talks must begin. They must not be delayed by such conditions as the cessation of violence because, in any case, the ANC argues that government itself is violent, that it must renounce violence. So now you have a stalemate.

How can moderate people like you play a role to make it possible for government and such organisations as the ANC to get together?

Well, in a very humble way, I believe we are making a contribution through NAFCOC. We have started speaking to black leaders first. We believe that it is necessary for the black community to get

together because it is also vastly fragmented ethnically as well as ideologically, and the fragmentation appears to be widening rather than narrowing. It is important, therefore, to recognise that before we can really come to the table and agree with the white community, blacks must themselves be committed to a future of togetherness.

Therefore, we have called meetings. Last year we had two conferences – one to discuss the disinvestment issue, and the other to discuss the basis on which black unity can be achieved.

The first meeting drew a wide range of interests, including unions and such political organisations as the United Democratic Front, AZAPO, the Inkatha movement, the urban councils and even community organisations.

And, of course, you also spoke to the ANC in Lusaka.

Yes, this was also part of NAFCOC's effort to bring together the black community and to try to see how we differ, where we differ and why we differ.

What was your impression of the ANC?

My general impression was that they were very reasonable in their demands. They were sympathetic about our concern for the economy. The talks were largely based on an agenda prepared by NAFCOC and one of our main concerns was the economic involvement of blacks in the future and the survival of the free enterprise system.

There was a fair measure of support for what is described as a mixed economy with elements of capitalism and socialism. They recognise that certain strategic industries are still going to have to be run by government, in the same way as we have now, but they recognise, and we agree with them, that there will be need for a redistribution of the land in this country in such a way that black people can get more access to the land and utilize it in the interests of the country and for the benefit of the economy.

We agreed on a number of things. For example, we agreed that the free enterprise system in our country is not free at all – something we have been saying all along. We found them to be very reasonable. We are encouraging the government to initiate direct talks with the ANC. I disagree with the government that because there are some communist elements in the ANC, you should not talk to the organisation. If they can talk to Samora Machel, who is a communist, and they can talk to people in Angola who are also communists, they should be more willing to talk to communists inside their own country.

How are you encouraging government to speak to the ANC?

I recently made a public statement at the NAFCOC conference in Cape Town in which I appealed to government on these lines. The speech received wide publicity here and overseas so government is aware of our position insofar as the ANC is concerned.

We certainly want to speak to government about this as soon as possible. We would hope to speak to the State President or Chris Heunis (Minister of Constitutional Development). We have already had discussions with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, and have actually requested him to give very serious attention to the issue of Nelson Mandela.

One hears of so many incidents in which black moderates are victimised and killed in the most brutal manner by radical elements in black townships. What has been your experience?

The black business community has suffered during the unrest more than any other group in this country. They have lost assets worth millions of rands and we are now running a commission of inquiry into the reasons for the destruction of black business. The reason may be that black businessmen are seen to be co-operating in one way or another with government or with the system. It may be because business is perceived to be associated with capitalists and the elite and, therefore, contributes very little to the freedom struggle of the people.

So the business community must show that it is involved in the struggle for liberation, for freedom, for justice. And more and more, you are going to find black businessmen voicing the same concerns that the community is articulating because if they do not do so, the alternative is that they will continue to suffer as they have suffered in the past.

And, of course, it is desirable for the business community to operate in a peaceful and stable climate. There is no other way in which we can forge ahead.

How significant is the black business community?

Black business, understandably, is very small because it was restricted legally over the years. It was only in 1975 that black business, for the first time, obtained legal rights. We couldn't even form companies before 1975. It's only yesterday really that black business has been placed in a position to grow and develop and to create jobs which are necessary and vital for the future of this country.

NAFCOC has about 15 000 members and there are approximately 10 000 black businessmen. Many of them trade in the backyards of their homes in the townships because of a lack of facilities, but the fact that they are small today doesn't mean that they will always be small. What we need more



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than anything is the creation of greater and expanding opportunities for black businessmen to become part and parcel of our economic system. If this is not allowed, the free enterprise system has no future in our country at all.

You speak with some bitterness about government's policies and practices. What is your view of the Afrikaner nationalist today?

I am somewhat surprised about the way in which they have treated the black people after obtaining leadership in this country, because they must have suffered enough to recognise that to keep any section of the population down, does create emotions that ultimately work against the unity of the nation. And they have, in fact, destroyed the togetherness of the people of South Africa by introducing a policy that is unworkable, that can never make South Africa the great country that it has to be, a lighthouse for Africa. That's how I see our role in the future of Africa. South Africa has a distinct role to play, and that role can only be played if we are together. The Afrikaners alone will never succeed to play the leadership role that they must play. But together with the black people we can lead Africa in a new direction towards economic freedom and justice.

I know that this might sound rather ridiculous for me to say, but I think the Afrikaner, even as a minority group, still has hope if he changes his philosophy. Already back in the Sixties, the Lusaka Manifesto did in fact recognise that white South Africans were Africans. The whole of Africa accepts whites as part and parcel of African society. Therefore, there is nobody who contests the right of the Afrikaner to be here and to play his part. But he is not going to remain dominant in the Africa of the future.

If he doesn't accept that, there will be continuous turbulence in the country, continuous trouble for him, because history has overtaken the Afrikaner. I keep on coming back to togetherness. The Afrikaner will only emerge as a great force in our future society if he is willing to share leadership with other people. But he cannot retain power without too much trouble on his part, too much anxiety, too much fear. He will have to maintain the State of Emergency for a long time. We've got to base our future not on military strength, but on the strength of convictions. I think this is where we should be going. The strength of character . . . this is what is going to make the Afrikaner a great factor in the Africa of the future.

Do you believe it is still possible to create the kind of democracy that you urge?

If it is not possible, we have made it so. It could have been possible. But we must never get to a point where we believe that certain solutions cannot be found because if we get into a situation where we ourselves are convinced that we cannot obtain certain desirable reforms, then there's no hope. I believe democracy is possible if there is a will on the part of South Africans to bring it about, and it must be a sincere and an honest desire.

Is sanctions the right way to hasten change?

I have always believed that sanctions – if they have to be applied – should be seen as a measure of last resort, when everything else has failed. This has certainly been the policy of my organisation. We don't believe in sanctions.

But we also have a policy about foreign investment in this country, which recognises the fact, the need, for investment to be conscious of the impediments facing blacks, the need for upgrading standards of living, of giving equal opportunity to the workforce. We have, therefore, propounded a philosophy of conditional investment in the country.

Foreign investors should help us to create conditions that will lead us into the establishment of a new society. We would like to see some investment consciously diverted into black areas to enable blacks, for the first time, to show that the free enterprise system does work. Until now very little investment has been diverted into the undeveloped sector of our economy. An alternative to disinvestment would be to consciously divert money into black projects to enable blacks to become part and parcel of the free enterprise system. If government remains committed to its old philosophy – to the old way of doing things – then we will have no alternative in the end but to move in a direction that will help us to bring more pressure on government in order to shorten the misery.

You mean through sanctions?

I will not want at this stage to say we are for sanctions because our policy is still the policy of conditional investment. Up to last year we were still endorsing that philosophy. But I must warn that NAFCOC is having a conference of its regional bodies in October when this whole policy is going to be very carefully reviewed in the light of what has developed up to now.

Where do we stand? We have asked government to do certain things. I believe that a government which is really dedicated to carrying out the will of the people, will listen more to what the people want than what they themselves want. I think that my group is going to be thinking more about what pressure we can bring to bear on government to get it to at least move a little faster, more boldly, in a direction that could

strengthen our position. If more reforms are made, government will really be strengthening the hand of the moderates.

What reforms have you asked for which would help to back up the approach of the moderates?

Last year, our package consisted of scrapping all discriminatory laws. We didn't want them to simply reform bad laws, but to scrap them and to do so with grace. Government mustn't feel that it is showing weakness by scrapping bad laws such as the Group Areas Act and the land acts.

Blacks' occupational rights are limited to 13% of South Africa. Lots of land is lying idle. I know of many farms that are just lying fallow. The owners have moved to the towns but blacks are congested in their areas because of the lack of land. And, therefore, I think the land acts and such laws as the Group Areas Act – all that discriminatory legislation – must be boldly taken off the statute books.

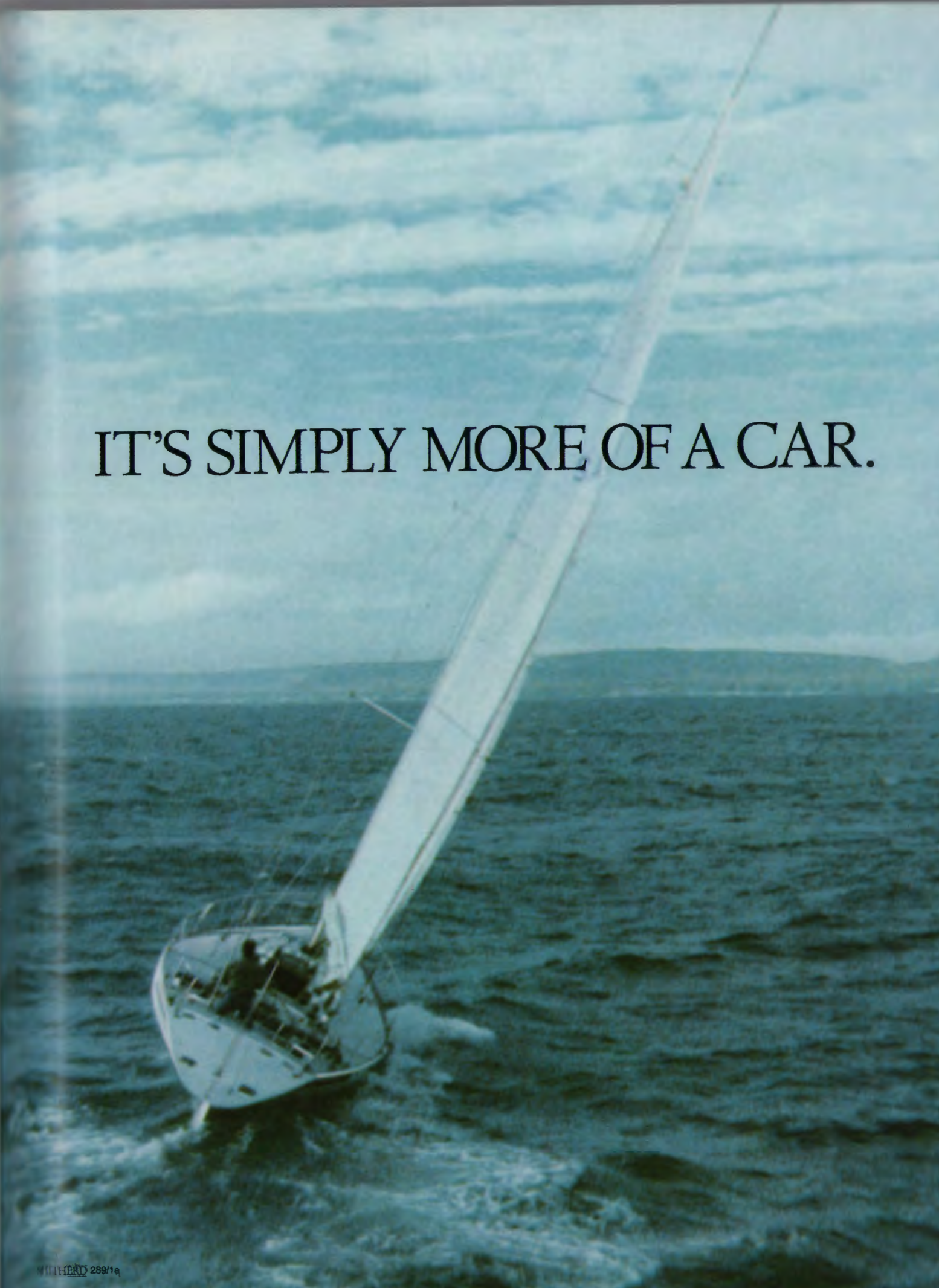
Schools must be opened. Why must we send our children to white schools outside of our country when we are paying the same kind of tax? We are subject to the same tax laws, yet we cannot say how our tax money must be utilized. It is taxation without representation. That is called tyranny.

The second development for which we have asked is to allow blacks into parliament. Why must we serve on advisory organisations, advising people how to govern us? I recently said we will not serve on the National Statutory Council because we are tired of advising whites how to govern us. We want to be involved in governing the country.

In what way would you expect government to involve blacks?

We can discuss an acceptable formula, but I believe that the scrapping of apartheid is something about which there is no need for debate any more. Government itself has said apartheid is an outdated concept. It must show it in deed. In fact, the constitution must outlaw apartheid. Until we get there, we will have lots of trouble.

Now in addition to that, Mandela must be free and the ANC must be unbanned. The reason he is in jail and the ANC was banned was because they fought the pass laws. The pass laws are gone. Some of the things that caused a lot of trouble in those days are now gone. Government has gone a long way towards accommodating the very things for which these people were asking. Why not unban the organisation to show grace? Government must show grace, it must show a willingness to change.



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SHEPHERD 289/28

THE FAMILY DAMBUZA

Photographs and Text by Ingrid Hudson

It is a match box house – one of a row of identical homes – with four rooms, concrete floors and an asbestos roof. Inside there is no ceiling, no bathroom, no toilet, no running water.

The address is No 2795 Rockville, the home of the Dambuza family of Soweto.

There are 19 men, women and children in the Dambuza family: Mathe, the 60-year-old grandfather, Nomathemba, his 58-year-old wife, their mentally disturbed son Chap (32), his twin sister Nozipho and their brothers and sisters, Prince (30), Liziwe (28), Lindiwe (26), Thandiwe (22), Zodwa (21), Thami (17), Sicelo (11) and nine grandchildren from eight years to three weeks old.

In July last year the Dambuza family had a combined income – for all 19 of them – of R400 a month. Somehow they managed to survive. During the year three of them lost their jobs. Their joint income is now R250 a month.

I met the Dambuza family in July last year while

working on a project to determine just how four black families, in different financial brackets, spend their money. The Dambuzas were the poorest family and their answers to my questions were often shocking. Perhaps the most disturbing answer was to the question: Are there many families like your own in Soweto? Thandi Dambuza replied: "There are many. We know, because they come to us asking for food. And we give to them because we know how it is to be hungry."

For a year now I have been welcomed into the Dambuza's home to photograph them as they cooked, washed, cleaned and slept. The images I left with were not always captured by the camera, but haunt my mind. One was of a Sunday as the family was waking. The children urinated from the back steps into the dust, adults stretched and yawned in the early sunshine and greeted neighbours through the wire fence, the grandmother sidled out for her day as a fahfee runner.

The family had recently gone through a particularly



The Dambuza family: (Back from left) Zodwa, Chap, Thami, Prince, Nomathemba, Mathe, Sidney, Mudau, (Second row) Thandiwe, Sicelo, Nozipho with Mammelo, Liziwe, (Front) Mapuku, Bonginkosi, Nonoxi, Lindiwe holding Bathini, Phume'za, Andile and Mzolisa

bad time. Two of the five wage earners had lost their jobs and Chap had stolen the wages of three of them and squandered all but R17 of it in one night. This meant that the entire family had to exist on less than R60 for the month. On that Sunday there was no food for the children in the house.

I watched the children drift into an adjoining yard where a neighbour's child was eating a peanut-butter sandwich. Two Dambuza children were following her . . . carefully picking up the breadcrumbs from the ground and eating them.

The Dambuza's is not the "acceptable" poverty of threadbare but clean linen, shiny floors, religious pictures on the wall. Their lives are harsh, the smells revolting, the colours dirt brown, dirt black and dirt. And yet their days are spent washing: washing clothes, washing the floors – daily – washing dishes, washing themselves and sometimes washing the children.

So now the only two wage earners – grandfather and grandmother Dambuza – have to feed, clothe and house themselves, their eight children and their nine grand-

children. Charity sometimes makes further demands: last year two other children stayed with them because "there was no room where they came from".

There is hardly ever any food in the Rockville house – certainly never tea or jam or vegetables or rice or bread. I sometimes saw a bag of mealies, but all other food was eaten immediately. Occasionally sugar may be bought in amounts that would fill a cigarette packet – a package size never seen outside stores with a poor black clientele. Once I saw a whole basinful of shiny tomatoes – an extraordinary sight in all the greyness.

The children do not eat before they go to school, because there is nothing to eat. The first food they get each day is a peanut-butter sandwich and a glass of milk provided by the African Children's Feeding Scheme. Supper is usually mealie meal or bread, sometimes with cabbage or onions or scraps from the table of grandmother Dambuza's employer, who she refers to as her "owner".

Last year one of the family's pleasures was buying vetkoek and fish bones from street vendors. This year

there is no money for such luxuries. Last year there were two chairs in the house, this year only one. Last year there were eight grandchildren, this year there are nine.

The Dambuza family has lived in that house since 1960. Mr Dambuza is a night driver for a hotel chain. He earns R200 a month and spends his days cleaning the hotel combi and avoids the worst of the family chaos by sitting in the vehicle. When he knows there is to be a big funeral in Soweto he takes the wheels off the combi so that it won't be hijacked.

Mrs Dambuza, a tiny woman who tends to be "hijacked" by shebeens, is a domestic worker in Bosmont. She works between 9.30 am and 3.30 pm and spends four hours getting to and from work. Transport costs her R11,50 a month. Her monthly wage is R50.

The couple's two youngest children are still at school. The others are unemployed. Last year one of their daughters, Liziwe worked for a doctor in Soweto and Nozipho was employed as a domestic. But both jobs were terminated in December.

Last year Liziwe lived in the Rockville house with her boyfriend, Sidney Mudau – the father of her two children. He was the only person to have a moderately well paid job at the time, earning R700 a month of which he used to contribute between R80 and R100 to the family kitty. The two of them moved out of the house early this year but left their two children behind to be cared for by Liziwe's sisters. They visit often, but contribute little – R10 to R15 a month – to their children's upkeep. Sidney lost his job a while ago.

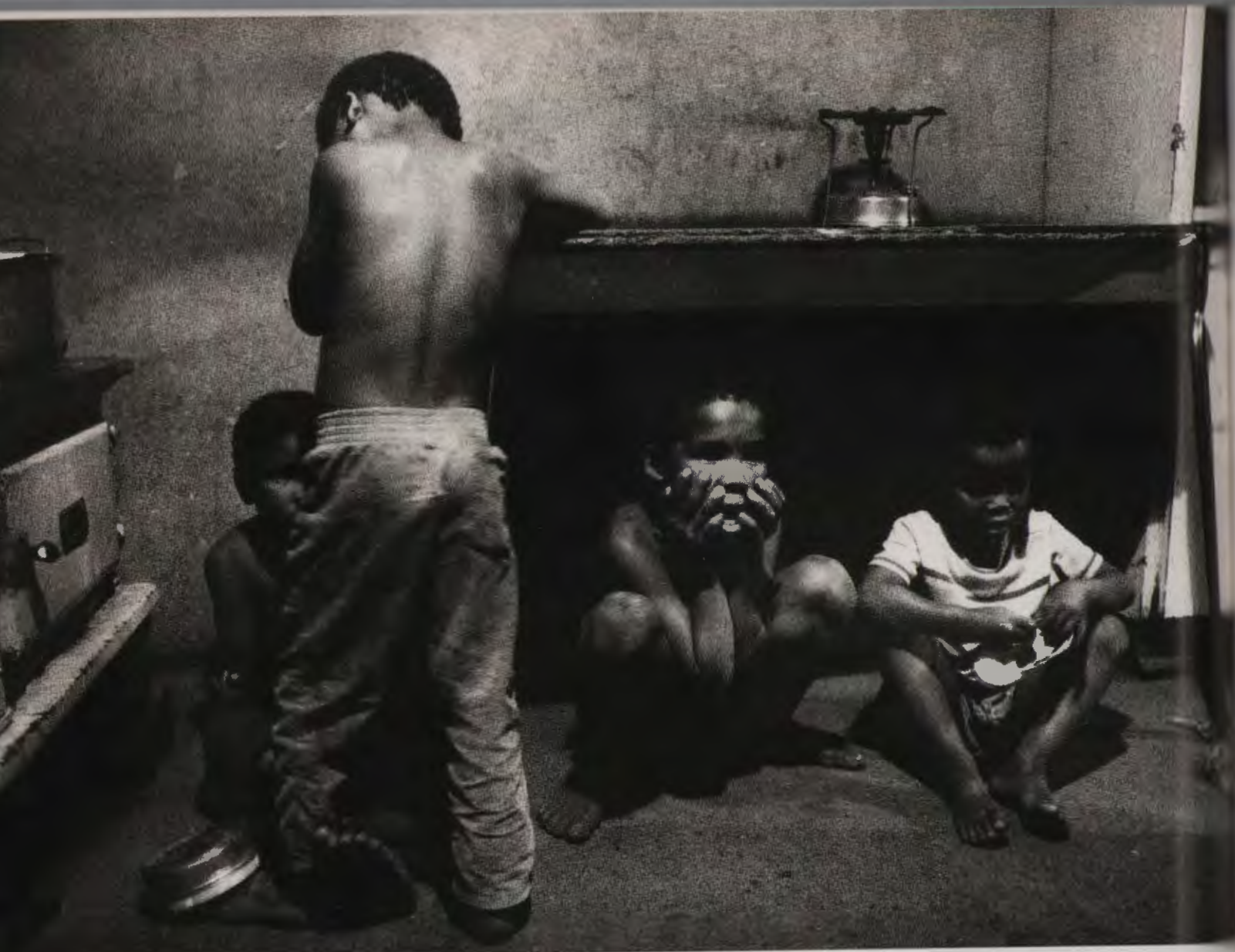
With single-minded determination, Sidney Mudau, Liziwe's boyfriend, spends each evening reading for his course in personnel management.



There are only two beds in the Dambuza household. The grandparents share one, everyone else sleeps on the concrete floor. Fourteen people sleep in an area about four metres by three metres.

Thandwe washes in a zinc tub which serves as kitchen sink, bath and, late at night when it is too cold to use the lavatory in the yard, as a urinal.





*One evening when there was no sign of supper the children became aggressive then subsided into lethargy. They fell asleep on the floor.
Mapuku, Phumesa, Mxolisi and Andile waited silently in the kitchen.*



At 8.45 pm Nomathemba arrives home with bread and pot scrapings for the children.

(Opposite) Andile waits at the back door for a peanut butter sandwich and cup of milk from the African Children's Feeding Scheme.



(Opposite) Hair plaiting.

(Left) The 19 people in the Dambuzza household share two wardrobes.

(Below) Lindiwe and boyfriend.





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ZWELAKHE SISULU

Zwelakhe Sisulu (35) is one of South Africa's leading journalists. He is the son of Walter Sisulu (75), former secretary-general of the ANC, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia trial with Nelson Mandela and is still being held with him in Pollsmoor prison.

His mother, Albertina Sisulu, one of three life presidents of the UDF, was under house arrest for 18 years until 1983. She has been detained several times since then and has been convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC. An appeal against a sentence of four years' imprisonment, two suspended, is still pending. She was also one of the accused in the treason trial in Pietermaritzburg in which charges were quashed.

Despite this, Sisulu describes her as the "person who really managed to keep the family together".

Sisulu was born in Johannesburg and was educated there and in Swaziland. He joined SAAN's cadet course in 1975 and worked as a reporter at the Rand Daily Mail, the Eastern Province Herald and the Sunday Express. He was then appointed as news editor of one of the Argus group's black papers, Sunday Post.

During this period he rose to a leading position in trade unions for black journalists.

At the end of 1980, the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA), with Sisulu as president, went on strike at several papers in support of a demand for recognition by newspaper managements. Sunday Post was closed and Sisulu and several colleagues were served with three year banning orders.

From July 1981 he was detained for eight months in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. He was kept in solitary confinement throughout this period.

After the expiry of his banning order he joined the Sowetan – the successor to Post – as political reporter. In 1984 he was awarded the prestigious Niemann Fellowship for journalists and studied for a year at Harvard University. Following his return he accepted an appointment as editor of New Nation, a new newspaper published by the Catholic Bishops' Conference.

This is an amalgam of two interviews conducted with Sisulu by Riaan de Villiers, a Leadership contributing editor. A shorter version appeared before the State of Emergency was declared in Die Suid-Afrika. Sisulu was detained in terms of the new emergency regulations, but was later released.

De Villiers: What is your brief from the Catholic Bishops' Conference?

Sisulu: My brief is to produce a newspaper which will reflect the daily struggles of the people.

I accepted the position because I believed the newspaper was going to produce the kind of journalism which is needed in this country.

I asked for, and was given, complete editorial freedom. I decide what goes into the paper, and how. At the same time, I do not believe this is how one should run a paper. The type of structures that exist in the mass media will not meet the need of a changing South Africa and consequently of a changing media. We are accordingly in the process of trying to set up our own democratic structures within the paper.

We have a curious type of newsgathering network. We have few full-time reporters. We work closely with various trade unions, community organisations and youth organisations, and much of our news is provided by unqualified people, for instance, in remote rural areas.

We now feel that we should involve these people more closely in the running of the newspaper.

We are also looking at ways of involving community organisations and trade unions so that they have a direct say in what the paper does and says.

You have referred to the type of journalism which you regard as relevant in the current situation. Is this what you mean – that newspapers should be democratised, or that they should practice a certain kind of "committed" journalism?

Both. Even in the mass commercial media, you still have a lot of committed journalists. But their commitment is really frustrated by the fact that the newspapers or those who run the paper do not have the same amount of commitment.

You just feel frustrated. You give so much, and so much doesn't get in. And of course

the people hold you personally accountable if something doesn't appear.

I think we've reached a point where journalists should not only be reporting on what is happening in society – they should help society find solutions, to look for alternatives. It is not enough to say, X said this and Y said that, as if you yourself do not have a point of view or a contribution to make.

Does this mean moving away from the conventional idea of so-called objective reporting? What would you call this?

Certainly. For lack of a better word I would call it people's journalism, because it is the type of journalism where you involve people in what they do. You get people to write about themselves and how they perceive themselves and their society. And I think there is a major difference there. When one speaks about objectivity in the sense that it is being used in South African journalism, one presupposes the existence of a conflict, of a difference of views.

While I accept that there is necessarily conflict in society and a difference of views, I take the position that it is the majority view that should prevail. And this is essentially what I believe people's journalism would be about.

As a black journalist you have gained exceptionally wide experience of various types of newspapers – "liberal" white-owned newspapers such as the Rand Daily Mail, "black" newspapers published by the white-owned press, and so on. How do you view these types of newspapers, the way in which they have operated, and perhaps their contradictions and shortcomings?

Of course, the major problem one has with the major media is the fact of monopoly ownership. It was really SAAN and Argus who controlled the newspapers. In fact, you felt the contradictions more when you were actually working for a so-called black paper



INTERVIEW



where you were supposed to be the voice of the people, but it became very clear to you that you were actually a tool of the white management.

If you look back, for example, to the turn of the century and the Thirties, there was an

upsurge of black-owned newspapers which were actually projecting the black point of view. What happened? They were all taken over by the English and Afrikaans monopolies and turned into tools of the ruling class.

Even today, the black papers are entrenching the interests of the ruling class and not advancing the interests of the working class. I think this is where this paper is going to make a difference, because we are taking cognisance of the leading role the working class is playing in this country and is increasingly going to play. And by virtue of this leading role they have to play, we believe that they should have a direct say in the paper that we run.

What is, therefore, your major objection against these papers – the fact that they are owned by monopoly capital, or that they are undemocratic?

Firstly, the fact that it is monopoly capital and then that it is white monopoly capital.

But the second and most serious problem is that, although these papers purport to be speaking for the people, they in fact do not speak for the people because no structures for ongoing consultation have been created to ensure that there is a people's input into these publications.

Then, and this is particularly true of the so-called black papers published by the white press, they serve to create and serve an elite. So basically you have black papers serving the interests of the black petty bourgeoisie. They are all doing that.

It is unacceptable to me that when you run a paper, all you do is to give one column or one page to what you call "labour news". This is actually to distort social reality completely. They do that because they realise that the working class has the numbers. So that if we just make a little corner theirs, they will probably buy the paper and by so doing actually subsidise it for the petty bourgeoisie.

Do you therefore believe that the press should serve the liberation struggle, or that it forms part of the struggle?

The press cannot be neutral. When newspapers in this country claim to be neutral, they are actually serving the interests of the ruling class.

I would take the view that no reporter can

be objective, no newspaper can be neutral, and that for newspapers to be acceptable to people, they must reflect their social reality. This is the bottom line. And they are not doing it.

If you read a paper, and it applies to all these liberal papers, black and white, some of the things they say seem innocent enough, but you know that they are deeply rooted in ideology.

There is a view that white-owned "liberal" newspapers were often destructive of black journalism. How do you feel about this?

This is correct. The destruction that you talk about occurred at various levels. First of all, these newspapers never made an attempt to upgrade black journalists. This was in fact the strongest hold they had over black journalists. You get an underqualified person and you do nothing to improve the quality of his work. In this way you ensure that he remains inadequate, and cannot move out of your ambit of influence. You create a dependency complex, you lock him into a relationship in which he will be perpetually disadvantaged and you as a newspaper owner will be advantaged over him.

Secondly, the abuse of black reporters – both personal and professional – was widespread. Black journalists would go out, get a story and come back, and the police version would still be the decisive factor. This of course is very frustrating.

Would you include the *Rand Daily Mail* under your criticism of the "liberal" press?

Oh yes, certainly. In fact, the RDM was one of the main culprits. In the period of '76, for instance, you had an entire newsroom of people who were not on staff, who were freelancers, but were expected to report for work every morning at 9 am. And these reporters would be sent out to very dangerous situations, where violent confrontations were taking place. They were not employed, they had no cover. Some of them actually ended up in detention. They were held for reporting on the unrest. And they were not on staff. These were some of the issues which made it necessary for us to launch a union of black journalists.

A lot of people never quite understood why at that time we insisted on an association of black journalists. Some assumed we were being racist, others that we were being shallow in implementing black consciousness. But the reality was that these people were on the lowest rung of the ladder, and that to move out of this situation they had to organise themselves.

So, in other words, your link with black consciousness was more a question of strategy rather than a reflection of your ultimate political values?

Certainly. Although one always held to the principle of non-racialism, one accepted that it was tactically important to take the action we took at that stage.

Would you argue similarly that, while participation in the struggle is obviously predominantly black, that this does not reflect on the ultimate value of non-racialism?

Sure. My position is that whatever we do, we need at all times to reflect social reality, and that reality is that the black people are in the majority. And that is going to be the pervading factor throughout.

But still within a broader framework of non-racialism?

Oh yes, certainly. It's still a question of one man one vote. The only answer to our problem is majority rule, but of course we do that understanding that we do it within the framework of non-racialism.

Another interesting aspect of your career is that you've had a particularly intensive exposure to ideology from an early age. You obviously come from a core ANC background. When the black consciousness movement emerged, you were also linked to a BC organisation, MWASA. Now the non-racial ideal seems to predominate once again and BC seems to be on the wane. How has your thinking changed through this period and how do you see these developments?

It is true to say that I come from a very strong ANC background. I myself have always believed in the ideal of non-racialism. Even when I got involved in the BC movement, that wasn't testimony of the abandonment of the principle of non-racialism. As I have indicated, I felt at the time that it was tactically important to take the stance that the BC movement was taking. I think the BC movement was important in this country. It galvanised the youth into a very cohesive force, politically and organisationally. Also, the first political experience of a black youth does tend to be one of militancy and anti-whitism. That is a natural reaction. So for a lot of people, BC is the first phase of their political learning process.

Although I myself still held dearly to the principle of non-racialism, I went with BC because I believed that it was tactically correct at that stage.

But as time went on, BC was no longer a set of values or a set of beliefs – it became a set of individuals. Its weak ideological base also became a problem. So one anticipated the resurgence of the non-racial democratic movement.

So, although I lived through BC, I have always taken a very strong Charter position.

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Even within BC at that time, although we were working together, there was a tacit acknowledgement on either side that there were various strains and political tendencies within BC. It is only when BC pretended to be a single political strain that it began to run into problems.

How do you see the situation now, including the split between Azapo and the UDF?

I don't want to comment on specific organisations or persons. But my experience is that there is only one political constituency that has been growing in this country, and that is the non-racial democratic movement. And it is growing day by day, in leaps and bounds.

The other movements or organisations may engage in posturing, but their influence is diminishing. Of necessity, the working class movement is growing by the day. And it is no coincidence that the working class movement is firmly in the non-racial democratic camp.

Would you ally this movement specifically to the UDF or the ANC? Or would you say that the non-racial democratic ideal is bigger than any of these organisations?

It is allied to the UDF and the ANC. Rightly or wrongly, the UDF is seen as being in alliance with the ANC, so that I would see the ANC as being the major vehicle which has popularised the non-racial position.

There has been sharp criticism of the government's conspiracy theory of black protest; that, if you have a certain level of popular support for certain movements or ideals, it is senseless to say that unrest is fomented by the UDF, which is a front for the ANC, which in turn is controlled by Moscow. What are your views on this?

First of all I think it is the height of naiveté to think that the ANC is in Lusaka. The ANC exists within South Africa. For the government to think that the ANC is still banned is really very fanciful. We know it and they know it. They are just playing a game about the conspiracy.

There is no conspiracy. What is happening is that we are beginning to see a transfer of power. Whether the government wants to accept it or not, we have begun to see a process of change. This process is not being brought about by Botha's so-called reforms. It is being initiated by the people themselves, led by the working class. It is the people who are winning these victories for themselves.

The fact that in this country today we have what one would call people's power means basically that the transfer of power has begun. People are beginning to control certain areas, in the urban and rural areas. It is a very significant development. We've reached a stage where the government cannot even ban the UDF or COSATU. Even if the government banned them, those bannings would exist only in name.

When you talk about "people's power", are you referring to the street committees and area committees in the townships and elsewhere?

Yes – also to the village committees. In the bantustan of Lebowa, for example, some villages are actually being run by the people themselves. Members have resigned from the bantustan parliament and are identifying with the people.

I expect that Lebowa is going to fall, sooner rather than later. It is going to collapse, because the process of struggle there has been so heightened, and the contradictions within the bantustan itself are such, that it is just falling apart. This is an example of what people's power can do. Education is another example of the potential of people's power.

The people are insisting that an alternative system of education should be taught in the existing schools, by teachers being paid by the Department of Education. The National Educational Crisis Committee is setting up commissions to investigate such a system. The idea is that as soon as the commission has prepared a curriculum, this will bring about yet another phase in the development of the struggle. The people therefore want to take control of the schools as well. It is happening, in front of our eyes.

When you say the ANC exists within the country, do you mean as a formal organisation or rather through popular identification?

I think it would probably be both. Firstly, on the popular level, I would say the ANC exists because the mass of our people identify with the ideals of the ANC. They identify with the Freedom Charter, they identify with Nelson Mandela. Now I don't think you can get more ANC than that.

On a second level, it seems to me that the ANC is conducting a very systematic political campaign within the country. I cannot vouch for the fact that there are ANC structures within the country. But political and even military events would seem to confirm that such structures exist.

When you say a transfer of power has begun to take place, do you also mean that the authority of the government is diminishing accordingly?

Sure. The government resorts to violence and criminal acts against the people to the extent that it has lost control. So the more violence we see, the more control the government has lost. There are some elements, particularly in the white community, who believe that the military might of the regime can reverse this historical process. But that is absurd.

Even the tactics of our people have changed. They are no longer going into the streets simply to throw stones at armed soldiers. Instead, they are neutralising that army by events such as May Day and the consumer boycotts which are not containable through violence – which cannot be controlled or suppressed by the use of violence.

This is a very significant development in the struggle. More than that, the struggle is also beginning to create tensions and contradictions within white society.

The End Conscription Campaign, for example, is another indication that the struggle had reached the point of no return.

So do you see eventual victory as inevitable despite the strength of the State?

Oh yes. There is no question about that. Of course, one has to acknowledge that the intensity of the violence against the people is going to be horrendous. For a start, if the State were to collapse today, can you imagine the kind of blood-letting that will take place. First of all, what do you do with those armies in the bantustans? They all have their private armies and they are armed to the teeth. Won't they be crossing through the sub-continent just creating havoc? It is in the process of the collapse of the State that you will have more violence.

One could argue in the Sixties and early Seventies that the State was firmly entrenched because it was then using its political institutions to control and suppress the masses. But your armed forces are your last resort, and that is where we are now in this country.

How do you see this eventual victory occurring? At this stage it would appear as if "people's power" would be mostly restricted to the townships. What would you say the next phase could be and how do you see an eventual transfer of power taking place?

First of all we have begun to see the movement of mass action from the townships, where it was limited in previous years, into the countryside, to a point where I think the political struggle in the countryside is so advanced that it leaves many townships lagging behind.

So, firstly, I see people's power spreading out of the townships into the rural areas and

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INTERVIEW



then into the cities. This has already begun to happen in Port Elizabeth, where by using mass action, the people were able to split the government and the business community.

Eventually I see people's power encroaching on and eventually penetrating the white areas. It is very difficult for me to say concretely how this will happen, but when the stage has been reached where tensions are being created within the ruling class, between the government and the business people, one would expect that those contradictions and tensions are going to be heightened as the political struggle gains momentum.

Do you believe power may eventually be transferred through a process of negotiation?

It is something that I have thought about often. But there is no way in which one can say at this point that a negotiated settlement is going to work, as opposed to a violent confrontation. There are so many elements.

I think the government will be increasingly forced into piecemeal political reforms – like bones being thrown to the dogs – to stall the momentum. But these only fuel the struggle.

These so-called reforms are really the underbelly of the current government. Because the more they give, the more the people are going to demand and the greater their expectations are.

Ultimately, I expect that the tensions within the ruling class will rise to such a level that it will snap at any given moment. I think ultimately Botha is going to be pushed into a position where he has to say political compromise is the only way, whereas the conservatives within the National Party will say there is a military solution to this.

At that point they will probably experience another split. It's difficult to say which side will predominate. It's a dynamic situation and it's developing every day. But I do expect an escalation of violence on the part of the State.

But with increasingly difficult targets?

Yes, because the targets can no longer be easily isolated and neutralised. When you still had campaigns being solely launched and controlled by political organisations, you always ran the risk of being neutralised. Now I think we've gone beyond that point. The authority of the organisation is still being accepted, but the masses are taking the lead.

Meanwhile, the advent of mass action

and people's power is weakening the organs of the State, day by day. The organs of control in the townships have all but collapsed. Now even the bantustan authorities are facing collapse.

How long do you think this process could take?

It could take quite a long time. Obviously, a negotiated settlement will be a lot quicker than a violent confrontation. We've spoken about the possibility of increased violence by the State and rampaging armies from the bantustans. Demilitarisation is always a difficult process.

And, of course, we cannot ignore the possibility of the army adopting a scorched earth policy – in other words, sensing inevitable defeat, and then going for total destruction; that, when the State realises that it cannot last for another month or another week, it will ensure that whoever takes over the country, takes over a country that is thoroughly devastated. At such a point the State is also likely to encourage secessionist movements. There is a great danger of secessionist movements developing in this country. One is worried by the so-called federal options being bandied around. One only needs to look back at what happened in Nigeria with the Biafran conflict. I would submit that similar preconditions exist in this country and that the intensity of such a conflict would be a hundred times greater than that in Namibia.

I think one can sense already that the State is putting into place, or creating, conditions that will be favourable for secessionist movements. For example, when we look at an area like the Ciskei, it is absurd to speak of a Ciskeian nationalism. It is being grabbed out of thin air and people are being told, this is your identity. You have to fight to defend it.

So the State, whether consciously or unconsciously, seems to be putting into place the dominoes and at a given time they will knock one domino over and the whole pack will come tumbling down. So that when the time comes, when they are off the scene, they would want to see a total collapse, total violence engulf the country.

Do you also foresee the possibility of a relatively less violent transfer of power, for example, through a negotiated settlement?

That would obviously have been a better option. But the more I think about it, the less likely I think it will be. I think it's a vicious indictment against any government when the Leader of the Opposition resigns in the fashion that Van Zyl Slabbert has resigned. It seems to me that what he was saying was, you are hitting your head against a brick wall.

The problem with a negotiated settle-

ment is, of course, that the initiative lies in the hands of the government. But the government is not willing to take that initiative.

To make demands such as those that Mandela and the ANC should renounce violence is just the height of naiveté. It seems to me that, by saying this, Botha is making a statement. He is saying he is not prepared to negotiate, because he is setting conditions that can never be fulfilled.

I think the chance of a negotiated settlement is very remote. At the same time we did say that mass action is going to heighten tensions and contradictions within the ruling class, to the extent that it may split apart . . . that will also be decisive as to whether we will have a peaceful or a violent solution.

What would you ultimately envisage – a sharing of power or rather a transfer of power? What would the people regard as "liberation"?

What would be regarded as the end of the present State, or liberation, is when the ANC or the new government assumes complete authority. Even if there should be a period of transition, this would not yet be regarded as liberation. What the government would need to do, before there could be any negotiation, is to release Mandela and unban the ANC.

One does not preclude the possibility of some transitional period. But these two basic preconditions will have to be met. Without them, there can be no negotiation.

And then, would you envisage a transfer rather than a sharing of power?

Oh yes, certainly. I would take the view that we would be talking about the transfer of power. I think it would still be possible to negotiate the transfer of power. But it is the transfer of power we would be interested in.

But you would envisage continued white participation in politics?

Oh yes. If you look at the Freedom Charter, which I think will basically form the constitution of the new society, I think that is made abundantly clear. This is why the democratic movement makes the point that it is important for whites to participate in the process of struggle, rather than to wait and participate in a liberated country.

How do you believe whites could participate now?

By supporting campaigns such as the End Conscription Campaign and the Release Mandela Campaign. I think it is important

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LEADERSHIP INTERVIEW



for white people to understand that it is not going to be possible to create middle of the road organisations and structures into which they will fit.

I'm afraid they will actually have to come into the heat of the battle, by joining organisations such as the UDF and the Release Mandela Campaign, and by taking an active part in the creation of an alternative system of education. I think they can play a significant role in these areas.

Do you envisage a specific role for the business community? What could this be?

It's difficult to work out an agenda for them. As far as I am concerned, we are making certain demands of the State, and at this point the business people are to a large extent inseparable from the broader definition of the State. They will have to initiate their agenda themselves.

You have referred both to the working class as well as national political movements. Do you draw a distinction between the working class struggle and the national political struggle, or do you see these as elements of the same struggle?

They are intertwined. We experience both national and class oppression. But we cannot address the question of class oppression without first addressing the question of national oppression. I see these as two movements of the same process.

At this stage the UDF approach is very central to answering the question of national oppression. But I think at a later stage the leadership will have to move firmly into the hands of the working class in addressing the question of class oppression.

Do you therefore foresee two phases in the struggle?

Certainly. Given the objective situation in our country, given the content of our struggle, we will unavoidably have to go through two phases.

Would the second follow political liberation?

I think it would inevitably have to follow the political struggle.

Do you believe the leadership of the broader political movement is likely to remain those established leaders of organisations like the ANC who are in prison or overseas, or that its eventual leadership is more likely to be generated locally from the current struggle?

I think it will have to be both. Leadership comes from the process of struggle. In fact, whatever government finally assumes authority, I believe will be comprised of people from within and without the country. But I think we have to recognise that all those people are in fact from within the country.

Since the new State of Emergency was declared on June 12, large numbers of people – including yourself – have been detained and press curbs have been imposed. Government has repeatedly claimed that violence is diminishing, seemingly implying that it is regaining control over the country and is succeeding in suppressing the challenge to the State. As a result, sanctions are also in the process of being imposed on South Africa. How do you see the situation now?

Firstly I want to respond to the question of violence dying down. I find it extremely contradictory that, while the State claims that violence has died down, it is increasingly imposing curbs and restrictions on the media. If violence was really decreasing, the logical thing to do would have been to ease up on the media. The fact that they are clamping down on the media gives the lie to that allegation. It is not true.

As regards the State of Emergency itself, I have already said that our country has reached a point of no return; that people's power had taken root and is in fact unstoppable. I think all the State of Emergency will do is to force those structures that have been operating overtly, to operate covertly.

The State no longer possesses the means to destroy people's organisations. They cannot, for instance, destroy the United Democratic Front, because even if they said it was banned, even if they imposed additional restrictions on it, those restrictions would merely exist in the imagination of the State.

Two months ago, the State knew what it was dealing with. It knew the leaders and structures of organisations. Now, the response is likely to come from covert structures.

As has always been the case throughout our history, once campaigns are initiated at a covert level, the intensity of violence increases. And this seems to be the phase in which government has now firmly placed the country.

Government may claim that it is neutralising certain structures, but I submit that this is not true. Those structures are just going to assume different characteristics.

So you think this will just initiate a new phase in the struggle and that the government will fail to regain control?

Yes. Also curbs on the press have thrown a blanket over information, and when you control information, you create additional splits and tensions within the community.

Will the mass detentions not cripple organisations?

A lot of leaders anticipated the State of Emergency. In fact, the bulk of the leadership is not in detention. Basically, they're in hiding. This is why structures have not been disrupted. On the contrary, the main effect of the detentions will be to radicalise more people. More white people have been detained during this State of Emergency than ever before. The harsh realities of detention that those people and their families, relatives and friends are going to experience are going to radicalise them even more. We are not simply talking about a handful of white people being detained. A very large portion of the detainees are white.

Do you have any comments on your own detention and release?

Much of what I could say could not be printed. All I can say is that, judging by the way in which questions were put to me and the way the interrogators conducted themselves, I did not have the sense that the State was in control. I sensed panic within the police structures. One also felt there was no co-ordination.

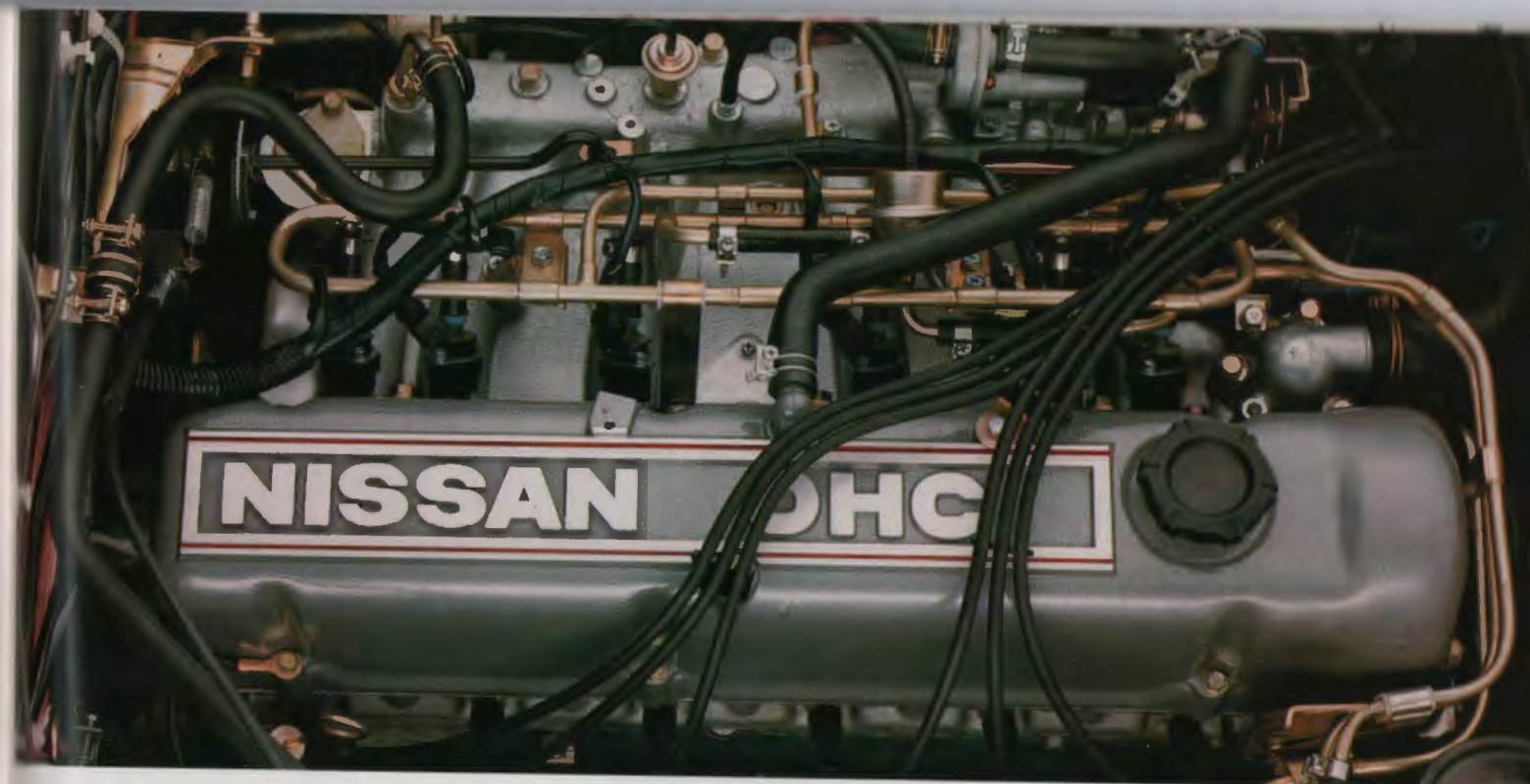
You have this vast machinery with which information is being gathered. But the left hand doesn't seem to know what the right hand is trying to do.

Do you regard the imposition of sanctions as a significant development?

I think they will play a significant role. I think they will have a great impact on the psychology of white South Africa.

Whites generally believe the economy is invincible. The fallacy of that notion is going to be forcefully brought home to them. White South Africa also claims it is blacks who are going to suffer, but the economy is so integrated that there is no way sanctions are going to hit blacks without hitting whites.

Also, I think government has tended to play games with the public in this regard. For instance, the threat of repatriating foreign workers is a typical example of cutting off your nose to spite your face. If they repatriate the workers, that will affect production on the mines and this will obviously have a major effect on the economy.



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was on my
own. I said:
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really do some-
thing. You
have got to pull
something out
of the hat here."

was told not to get involved because the union would then insist on talking to me and not to the negotiating team.

On this occasion I initially took their advice. But I made up my mind that if matters were not being resolved, I would get personally involved. Initially, I led from the back. Efforts were made to contact the union through telex and telephone but the union did not respond. I discussed with the lawyers whether we could establish legal means to stop the strike, but by that time the strike was called. It spread and again I was told, don't get involved.

I then gave a speech at an hotel in Cape Town and mentioned how a union man had told me that "we will bring you down. If we bring you down, we will bring the whole industry down". The Press reported the speech on the second day of the strike. Again, I asked for a meeting with the union and again they refused. But when the Press made an issue of the political angle in my speech, the union suddenly phoned saying they were ready to meet us.

They happened to choose as the date a Saturday at 3.30, the exact time that the South African rugby team was running onto the field to play New Zealand in the first test, though I don't think the timing was deliberate! I had to fly to Johannesburg with my colleagues for the meeting but we had our breakthrough.

The strike had been on for three days. It had become very bitter. Over 20 stores were closed. There were sit-ins and sleep-ins. We accepted the sleep-ins because, being a retail store, you can't lock-out people as you can in a factory by simply putting a ring around the building. We had to remain open for our customers and bring in casual staff.

If we had stopped the sleep-ins, which we were allowed to do, we would have had to ask the police to evict staff and we wanted to avoid that like the plague.

In Johannesburg, for the meeting with the union, I again stayed out of direct negotiation. Our team was assembled on the third floor of our Johannesburg headquarters. The union was based in offices on the first floor and consisted of about 15 of our shop stewards and two union men who were not Pick 'n Pay people.

We caucused and the negotiating teams moved back and forth, but by 11 pm there was still no breakthrough. They didn't come to settle. They came to demand capitulation. There was no question of them agreeing to compromise on their demand. We were perfectly happy to go up and we told them that all the time. So it really was a fruitless exercise, but at least we were talking.

By 11 pm that Saturday night, our team returned to our offices on the third floor and said: "Mr Ackerman, they are not prepared to budge. In fact, one man said we will burn down 40 stores. We have closed down over 20, we will now burn 40 down on Monday if you don't meet our demands." These words were actually said. The union denies it, but that remark was made.

So this is what we faced at 11 that night. By 11:30 pm I said to my negotiating team: "Right chaps, I have taken all your advice. I am now going to use my position as chief executive."

Things were really getting ugly. We had already had one petrol-bomb scare and a bomb had actually exploded in our Benmore shopping centre. Vigilantes – white people and white interest groups – from the consumer side were now getting angry, demanding that we fire staff. They demanded that we call in the police.

We had to make it clear to the union that the strike could not go on. We were determined not to call in the police. We had to allow the sleep-ins. But we also had to resolve the strike that weekend otherwise we would be forced to start dismissing staff. So I made up my mind to go down and speak to the union and our stewards.

I'll never forget that moment. Before entering the union room on the first floor, I went into the cloakroom. I said to myself I have given maybe three or four speeches a week throughout my whole retail life. This is probably the most important. I looked at myself in the mirror. I was on my own. I said: "My God, you have got to really do something. You have got to pull something out of the hat here." I actually stood looking at myself there, a man running a R2,5bn company. I said to myself: "You know, this whole thing could actually collapse. Here we are running I think the most exciting retail chain, certainly the most successful in the country, and we are facing a real calamity."

That is how serious it was. I can't tell you what it does when you have over 20 stores closed. Outside staff you have brought in are being called scabs. Young white staff or young Indian staff are being accused of being scabs. Some of our staff had their cars slashed. Many white staff were going more to the right. "What are you doing Mr Ackerman? Why don't you fire the lot, call the police?"

So I was getting it from many of my white staff, from the consumers, and on the other side they were saying that we must give in, holding a gun to our head. My management board mostly felt that we should stand firm so that we wouldn't have a gun to our head in the future. So I went into the union room and I said: "I would like to address you."

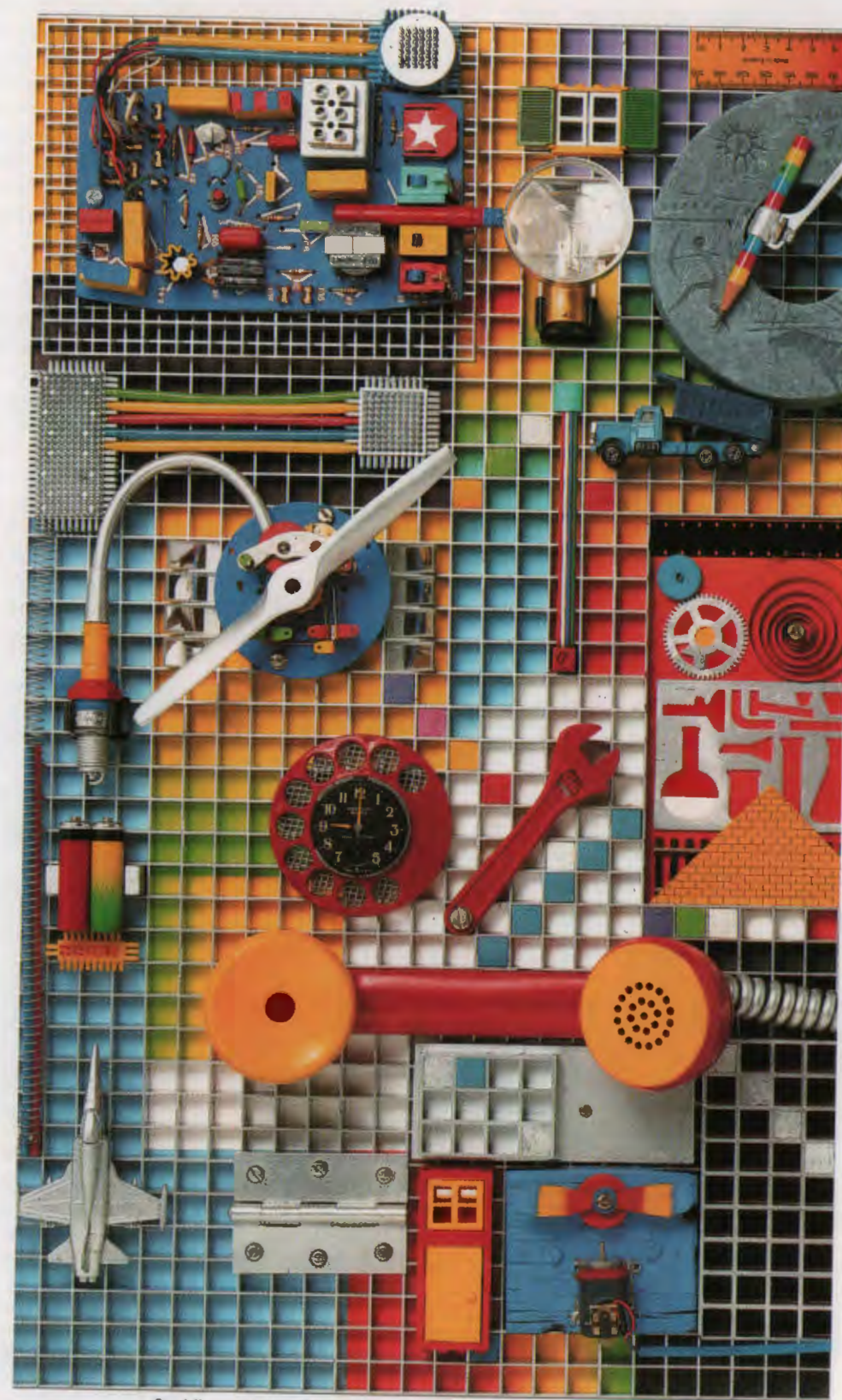
It was about 11:45 pm. I had to work out quickly what my speech was going to be about. Obviously I let my mind play on it while I was sitting upstairs. The leader of the union said: "You have got to tell us what you are going to say." I said: "I will. You have all had your say. I am the chairman of this company and I will now address you and I won't tell you what I am going to tell you. If you listen to me, you will hear."

It was quite an amazing meeting because I spoke for about 20 minutes. I decided to attack them from a totally different angle. I said to our shop stewards, most of whom I knew by name: "You know, each one of you has been with us for many years. Beth, you have got a house, you have got two children at university. You are always writing letters to my wife saying how thrilled you are with the children getting on so well. And Mary, you have been 14 years with us." I tackled it that way.

I appealed to them to remember that they belonged to a company first, and a union second. I said to the two non-Pick 'n Pay union people: "Just hear me out." I was trying to appeal to our staff across their loyalty barriers. And I went right back. I said: "When I was 17 years old, while most of my friends were going to night clubs and

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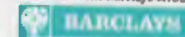
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running out with their girlfriends, I was teaching at black night schools in the Western Cape. I was chairman of a night school association. I gave two to three nights weekly of my time from the age of 17 to 22, building a night school chain long before I was involved with the retail chain. I actually met my wife there. She was one of the teachers. I built a night school chain. I was the principal of seven night schools for the night school association linked through UCT."

Then I went through my history with Checkers. I said I had built a supermarket chain for Greatmans but had been terribly involved in fighting for bread prices, fighting government and so on. Then I went through the story of Pick 'n Pay, particularly petrol price cutting, bread price cutting, fighting to get rid of monopolies.

And I said: "Do you want to fight a man and a company like that? Aren't you guys fighting the wrong people? I am not suggesting you fight another retail chain. I don't wish that on anyone, but this is who you are fighting. Do you know what you are fighting? Do you want to have all our stores burnt down because if you do, I started with nothing in '67 when I left Greatmans, and I will start with nothing again and I will rebuild this business. If you want to burn down all our stores, you won't have jobs but I will start again. I started with nothing in '67 after building Checkers and then I left Greatmans. I'll start again. But one thing is clear and that is I will not have you guys put a gun to our head and we will not have you listen to the unions to destroy something that is really good in this country, with all its faults. And I will accept that there are faults in our company, I'll accept them and go into them."

I thought they would be looking up at the ceiling, rolling their eyes and preparing to walk out of the meeting. They just sat glued, looking at me and I looked at each one of them. And I referred to a lot of the things that we had done together when we opened in Boksburg and I said to one guy: "Remember when we opened Boksburg and no-one thought it would work? And we built a Hypermarket chain and you have been part of it from the beginning and look where you are now. You are an important employee, you're earning a good salary, you have got a house, you have got two children who go to school or are at university."

I concentrated on the personal side because I know my people. When I left 20 minutes later they said they would consider this. I said: "Right, but when I come back in half an hour I want to know that the strike is off."

When I returned, the one union leader—a non-Pick 'n Pay person—excused himself and the other people said: "Mr Ackerman, we have considered what you have said and we are not prepared to call off the strike, but we are prepared to go back to our members on Sunday—it was now already one in the morning—and meet you again on Monday afternoon, but we have taken cognisance of what you have said and we will consider going down in our demands."

And I said: "I will consider going up, which is what I have said all the time. I want a condition from you that you don't close down our stores and there is no violence on Monday." And they said: "We won't accept that condition."

So then I said: "If you hit it too hard—(this is typical of the situation that Mr Botha is in)—will you come to the negotiating table decrying violence?" And they said: "We will not agree not to close your stores on Monday." So I said: "Well, I will tell you that I am prepared to come to that meeting on Monday afternoon, but act with restraint on Monday morning because you could anger us so much that there is no chance of even meeting you on Monday."

Monday morning had been bad but not as bad as Friday and Saturday. They had closed down about five stores but they had acted with more restraint. We met on Monday afternoon and they had obviously received agreement from their people to settle. Then we had enormous drama. We heard that police were marching on our Klerksdorp branch. They had had enough. White vigilantes had complained, consumers had complained, the sleep-in had gone on long enough, there were health hazards. So I said: "How can they do this to us?"

The sleep-in at the Klerksdorp branch had continued since the previous Wednesday. They had been very disciplined in sleeping-in. They had committees going, cleanliness committees. We had given them food, showed them videos. We had tried to keep the peace. They had been disciplined and our management people had been remarkably disciplined. So now it was Monday night and we were negotiating to end the strike. It was an amazing night because at three o'clock we were told that the police were marching on Klerksdorp and that they were also demanding that our Krugersdorp sleeping-in staff should move. We rushed a bus out to Krugersdorp—this was at three in the morning—we persuaded the police not to go into Krugersdorp and we moved our staff out and took them to our nearest Witpoortjie branch.

So now we were over that hurdle but there was still the police in Klerksdorp. We spoke to a police colonel and said: "Colonel, for God's sake, don't move in because then the unions will break off our discussion and there will be rioting in all stores and in white areas which the State President personally doesn't want."

The colonel said: "We don't take instructions from Pick 'n Pay." We said: "We understand that, but colonel, for God's sake, don't do it because we are just about to sign an agreement which will mean the strike is over." And thank God he listened. He pulled the police back. We breathed a sigh of relief and the agreement was signed. The union went down from R90 to R85 and we went from R80 to R85 and the next morning the strike was over.

It was a very, very salutary experience. But I am not despondent. I have great faith in South Africans. I see my hopes in my staff. They all emerged as more mature people. And I know that simply by keeping on talking, we and the unions will grow to respect one another. We believe in free enterprise, they believe in a social democracy. We must keep on talking, without conditions and threats.

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SOJOURN IN PRETORIA

Roy Macnab

"George Seferis, poet, Nobel Prize winner and Greek Ambassador, 1900–1971, lived here." This inscription upon a plaque on a house in London could, with equal justification, decorate the wall of a house in Pretoria, for the great Greek poet lived and worked there during 1941 and 1942. There, in "the quietest house I have ever had", he wrote the South African poems that are part of the collection that in 1963 earned him the Nobel Prize for Literature, a distinction that has still to be won by a writer born in South Africa.

There is more, however, to the Seferis connection than the poems he wrote; always a conscientious diarist, he kept a day by day record of his life in SA. This covers 100 pages or so of his literary journals which, since his death, have been appearing in print in Athens. I was put on their track by two Harvard professors, Walter Kaiser, associated with the English translation of Seferis's post-war diary, and George P Savidis, who occupied the George Seferis chair of Modern Greek at Harvard. With the aid of Greek friends in Athens and Pretoria, I now have, in English, George Seferis's account of his days in this country. Days which were "frustrating but fertile", as Professor Savidis put it to me.

This account I am hoping to bring out as a separate South African edition since it is, I believe, an unusual addition to our literary history. As well as the diary, there are the letters he wrote in Pretoria in English (he sensibly wrote them in pencil so as to keep carbon copies) to such literary friends as Lawrence Durrell, Henry Miller and Robert Liddell, and the letters he received from them and others while living in SA.

How did George Seferis – or to give him his real name, George Seferiadis – come to be in SA?

Like another Nobel Prize winning poet, St. Jean Perse, who, as Alexis Leger was head of the French Diplomatic Service in 1939, Seferis was a professional diplomat. In 1941 he was posted to the Greek Embassy in Pretoria as First Secretary. These were unusual times. The Second World War was in progress. Greece had been conquered by Nazi Germany. The Greek King and his government had gone into exile and taken refuge in SA. Here Queen Frederika soon began to exert her long and lasting enchantment over the Prime Minister, General Smuts.

George Seferis and his wife, Maro, were in the Greek party aboard the troopship, *Nieuw Amsterdam*, when it docked at Durban on July 7, 1941. I recall the occasion since I was present in the crowd when Seferis, though I could not know it, came ashore with his King and Prime Minister to the sound of a 21-gun salute and to a guard of honour provided by the Natal Scottish – "great warriors straight out of the box", Seferis called them.

From Durban they took the train to Johannesburg and

the poet recorded his first impressions. "The red soil reminds us of Greece, as the train turns there are the colours of ripe fruit in the sky. Maro is in happy mood and I, too, for the first time since April. Birds, after ten days without a sight of a bird with the exception of flying fish. And the strange trees for which I have no name, some of their leaves a strong, rosy colour, they puzzle me. Lively veld fires, I have not seen such things for years. I breathe freely of this Nature. A strange thing, no blackout, the lights around us under the full moon. The people, from the most ordinary to the highest, are calm, well-groomed, hospitable. I think one will be able to make some simple friendships here."

It sounded like a promising beginning but as one reads on in his diary, it appears more like a false start. It was clear that Seferis only rarely found happiness in wartime SA. In Pretoria he felt isolated and cut off from the world of Europe, in particular his beloved Greece for whom he suffered and mourned, forever wondering what had become of his family and friends under the German occupation. "All sorts of faces jump up in front of me," he writes, "the begging soldiers in the streets of Athens, the Cretan women who were taken via Kavaala to Germany because they fought alongside their husbands on the island. My people, my relatives. And here I am bound hand and foot in South Africa . . . this land is far from the world, far from our interests. Their attention is focused on the business around them while we are locked out of our world."

He describes an incident in Pretoria that seems to symbolize his own loneliness and sense of futility. "In the Union Hotel, coming down the stairs, a child, about ten years of age, holds a long cane with a string attached to one end. He sits down for hours to fish from the first floor (he was still there when I went up again), alone, without anything being underneath, without another child to play 'fish' for him." One cannot but wonder as to the identity of the little South African boy who that day "fished" his way into the writing of a Nobel Prize winning poet!

For Seferis, writer and intellectual, Pretoria was something of a cultural shock. There was the problem of books. "I have nothing with me," he records on July 13, 1941, "except the tragedies of Aeschylus and, by chance, an English edition of Lao-Tsu and Maro has Gide's diary." In a Pretoria bookshop he asks for the latest copies of *Penguin New Writing*, to which he himself contributes, and is told: "They are at the bottom of the sea, sir." At the CNA he picks up the New Temple edition of Shakespeare's sonnets, "a delightful edition. As I was examining it, the girl in the shop said to me, 'Don't look at these, they're children's books!' In a shop window I read: 'This is the Mecca of book-lovers, come inside



Dr Roy Macnab is a poet and former Director of the South Africa Foundation in the United Kingdom.



That October it was the physical world of South Africa exploding into spring in an unfamiliar hemisphere that cured his "writer's block".

and browse around.' I went in and found emptiness."

At other times he is more fortunate. One day he finds the verses of Edward Lear and tells his diary: "It was as if a loving animal had come back home." In the cultural desert there is the occasional oasis, the Johannesburg Art Gallery, for instance. Sunday, July 20, 1941, he writes: "I was moved by a small, darker room with a few small works of Manet, Van Gogh, Cezanne and Pissarro. I was touched. Not one of the Sunday visitors paid any attention to this room."

Back in Pretoria, he writes: "When one loses the habit of this city for a while, one can look at it with fresh heart. One has the impression that sleep, a strange god in a white blouse and a spray in its hand, is walking beside every pedestrian, beside every car, every moving thing and spraying it with an odourless drug." Seferis adds: "I trust that in a while I will be able to tell you better things."

And so he does. Comes October and Pretoria is spectacularly transformed. It is the stormy hour of the jacaranda and Seferis writes to Durrell: "We are going backwards towards Spring between strong winds and extraordinary thunderstorms. There are nights when I wake with the feeling that I am a golden fish in a bottle of electric liquid." And to a Greek friend in Alexandria he says: "Here it is Spring. It reminds one of those reconstructions in old films of the 1914 war. Suddenly the sky is covered and the lightning starts, incredible lightning as if there were someone up there unravelling a ball of red hot wires." In this Southern Hemisphere everything is upside down. "This overturning of the seasons exerts a violence on my body, sometimes painful. I never imagined that a New Year's Day in Summer or a Winter Easter would worry me so much; in a strange way they pitch me out of my waters."

If at first Seferis felt out of his element in SA, his unhappiness, his restlessness, were those of all writers wherever they are. The malaise comes from not writing and Seferis knew this.

On September 14, 1941 he records: "The day before yesterday I wrote my first lines of poetry since the *King of Assine*. I cannot even calculate how much time has passed since then. When I wrote next to the date 'Pretoria', I had the impression I was awakening from lethargy. It took me a couple of moments to recover and to realise I was in this place." Ten days later, returning very tired with Maro from a day on duty in Johannesburg, he writes: "I must write. I must settle down to writing, as if in forced labour even if I am not in the mood. There is no other solution."

It worked. He began to write again. "The hardest thing for a craftsman is to start again after giving up his craft for a number of years," he commented. "Sometimes the burden is unbearable." But he complains about his slowness - "almost like Malherbe who by the time he had finished a poem on the wedding of one of his friends, his friend had been divorced."

That October it was the physical world of South Africa exploding into spring in an unfamiliar hemisphere that cured his "writer's block". The astonishing jacarandas, the agapanthus, which seemed to have a special significance for him, released some remarkable writing. "The

jacarandas get their green coats but in a while their violet charm will be gone. They resemble those beautiful children who become ugly as they grow up" - but not before providing him with the opening lines of his poem, *Kerk Straat Oost, Pretoria, Transvaal*, as he passes beneath them, below the Union Buildings, going towards the zoo.

Jacarandas playing castanets and dancing
threw around their feet a violet snow.
The rest's uninteresting, and that
Venusburg of bureaucracy with its twin
towers and its twin gilt clocks
profoundly torpid like a hippopotamus in
blue sky.

And cars raced by showing
backs glistening like dolphins.
At the end of the street waiting for us -
strutting idly about its cage -
was the silver pheasant of China,
the Euplocamos Nychtemerus, as they
call it.

And to think we set out, the heart full of
shot
saying goodbye
to Onokrotalus the Pelican - he
with the look of a trampled prime minister
in the zoological garden of Cairo.

Seferis used Kerk Straat rather than Church Street in his title. He is intrigued by the sound of Afrikaans. "Danger in Afrikaans is 'gevaar'," he writes, "a word that astonishingly resembles the wide-open mouth of a wild animal."

The agapanthus poem is perhaps the best known of the South African poems. Seferis tells his friend Timos in Alexandria: "It is a flower with a stem like an asphodel, with violet coloured flowers and tasselled at the edge. The Greek dead go to fields of asphodels - Blacks to fields of agapanthus. Do you think I should make it a poem for my series of botanical-zoological poems?"

On January 14, 1942 his diary records: "The motives for writing are sometimes inexplicable. Some months ago I learned the name of an African flower, Agapantha. Writing to Timos I told him jokingly that he might one day see a poem of mine on this plant. Today a postcard from him: 'We are waiting for the poem on the Agapanthus.' I answer, 'I am not in the mood for poetry (honestly).' I had just put the stamp on my reply when I sat down and wrote the poem. I posted it this evening."

It is a long and thoughtful poem which Seferis called *Stratis Thalassinos (Stratis the Mariner) among the Agapanthi*. He often referred to himself in this way, a reminder that, born in Smyrna, he spent his early life among fishermen . . .

"certain old sailors of my childhood who
leaning on their nets with winter coming on
and the wind raging,
used to recite, with tears in their eyes, the
song of Erotokritos."

(A Cretan epic of the 17th Century.)

After schooling in Athens, followed by four years in Paris, Seferis in 1926 joined the Greek Diplomatic Service. He published his first book of verse in 1930 and the

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*Im my mind
there is a picture
of the poet-
ambassador,
large head upon
a bulky frame
and a
somewhat
shambling gait.*

following year was posted to the Greek Embassy in London where, until 1934, he lived in the Chelsea house marked with that commemorative plaque. This was an important period in his literary development when he came strongly under the influence of T S Eliot and Ezra Pound. His connection with the English and French literary worlds grew ever stronger.

Back in Athens before the war, he kept up with English writers such as Lawrence Durrell, Rex Warner, Robert Liddell and Bernard Spencer and with the American Henry Miller, whose notorious *Tropic of Cancer* and *Tropic of Capricorn* were still banned in the English-speaking world. While Seferis was in Pretoria, Miller sent him the manuscript of his now celebrated, *Colossus of Maroussi*, in which there is a description of their days together in Athens. Seferis read it through in one sitting.

On March 8, 1942 another letter arrives in Pretoria from Miller, who says: "After having written 500 pages I gave up my book on America. It is the first time that such a thing has happened to me. I lack joy, I lack inspiration." He was not alone. Seferis records in his diary: "A letter from Durrell the day before yesterday, a hasty note on scrap paper in pencil. It ends 'Suffering has taken on a new meaning.'"

It is the war. News is bad everywhere. The Japanese have overrun South East Asia, Singapore has fallen. In South Africa, Seferis says, people begin to think of a Japanese invasion. On March 12, he records General Smuts's announcement that "for the time being he had no intention of giving arms to the Natives (the mobilised Natives are wearing nice modern uniforms but have no right to hold a gun and are guarding their barracks with ancient spears) 'but before the Japanese set foot on our homeland', continued the Prime Minister, 'I will see that every Coloured and every Native is armed'. In the meantime, so today's newspaper says, 14 prison wardens were arrested for anti-Government activities. Fear of the Japanese, fear of the Blacks, fear of the Fifth Column. It is diverting sometimes to watch the movement on the scale of fear."

This time of crisis sets Seferis thinking, about the world in general, perhaps about South Africa in particular. He writes: "If we are to learn a lesson from everything we have suffered and will suffer, it should, I imagine, be this. The entire world as far as the Antipodes, the whole earth to the depths of China, is responsible for the injustice done even to a single human being, the smallest, the most insignificant man. We all pay for injustice, there is no way to escape . . . we forget, we always forget and the evil circulating in our blood knows no obstacles."

Seferis had seen suffering and injustice at close hand. After the Germans had invaded Greece in April 1941, he had followed his government to Crete and when that fell, to Egypt first and then to SA. From Pretoria he was posted back to Cairo as Press Attaché but re-joined his government-in-exile in Italy in 1944. The following year he was able to return home to Greece.

"The feeling that I am nothing without the substance of my country weighs on me," he had written in Pretoria. However, two weeks at the Cape had helped to lighten the burden. Parliament was in session and Seferis, with

other members of the Diplomatic Corps, had to be on hand.

At the Mount Nelson Hotel on February 7, 1942, he writes of the Cape: "I like the place . . . facing the ocean, leaning on this large black continent without the desire to explore it, we steal moments of calm and these are a great gift." The mariner in him responds to the Cape. "In the afternoon to Fish Hoek for a swim. After the cold Atlantic, the Indian was warm like a greenhouse. Sea memories for my body, it remembered other seas . . . I stood on the edge of the Peninsula which ends at the Cape of Good Hope. High up by the lighthouse, watching the seagulls pondering over the waves, I thought of the yearning of those travellers on the open sea who faced this sandy beach for the first time or further south, where there was nothing human left anymore, and had to climb back to the belly of the earth to find a soul, a mind, a heart. The Greek mania for always wanting to measure things in human terms. I have no wish to change."

Although Seferis lived an international life as a diplomat and his poetry was greatly influenced by writers in English such as Eliot and Yeats, it was Greece both of the past and the present that dominated his work. As Rex Warner said of him, it was the "mysticism of history and tradition rather than of philosophy or religion" that was his guiding influence.

While in Pretoria, Seferis worked hard on his study of another great Greek poet, Cavafy, who, according to Auden, was one of the few poets who could write a patriotic poem that was not embarrassing. Cavafy wrote on similar themes to Seferis. I for one find Seferis equally unembarrassing but then I am not embarrassed by patriotism.

I wish I had known something of the contents of the South African diary when I met him in London in 1959. He was the Greek Ambassador to the Court of St. James and came to a reception at South Africa House where I was serving as Cultural Attaché. In my mind there is a picture of the poet-ambassador, large head upon a bulky frame and a somewhat shambling gait. In retrospect, there are so many questions that I would like to have asked him.

Things were about to change both for SA and for Greece. SA would cease to be a kingdom and a member of the Commonwealth and take the republican road to an uncertain future. Greece, too, would give up its monarch – the years of the Greek Colonels lay ahead.

In 1969 Seferis, having retired from diplomacy, issued a statement condemning the Papadopoulos dictatorship, and when, after a long illness, he died on September 21, 1971, vast crowds turned out in the streets of Athens for his funeral, transforming it into a political demonstration against the regime. And that, too, was the kind of event that would have echoes in the South Africa of the Eighties.

□ Extracts from poems are taken from *The King of Assine & other Poems* (London 1946) and from *George Seferis Collected Poems*, translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard, (London 1982).

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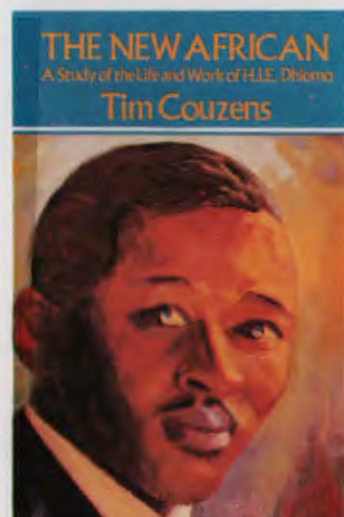
his brilliant book is the joint product of two seasoned analysts of South Africa. Adam is German by origin but is lived in Canada for nearly 20 years. His earlier book *Modernising Racial Domination* (1971) was a landmark study which left a major imprint on analyses of South African politics. Kogila Moodley is Natal-born and writes with authenticity of the black South African experience. No review can do justice to the richly textured and subtle arguments contained in the book. It is an account of the current South African crisis, but is also a vision of how South Africa could transcend it and what kind of society it might become were it not racked by destructive conflict. In considerable measure the richness of the argument is attributable to the wide comparative sociological perspectives that the authors are able to bring to their understanding of South Africa. No less striking is the humane and compassionate feeling for South Africa that infuses every page of this book. This is not "value-free", needless sociology – which the authors reject – but an *engagé* plea for reformist outcome. Almost every page of this book induces a thought that could spark off an afternoon's seminar. This reviewer will inevitably be arbitrary in highlighting those themes of the book that will be of most interest to a general readership. Probably to the surprise of most readers, the authors conclude their analysis on what could be considered an optimistic note. They are careful

not to make firm predictions or to offer detailed blueprints for alternative institutional designs. But they argue very strongly that a reformist and democratic outcome in South Africa has more going for it than the superficial observer might suppose. A major theme of the book is to dispel the myth that the South African conflict is one that involves two monolithic antagonists. In a sensitive and detailed analysis of black political configurations the authors discern four distinct strategies and ideologies, ranging from "patronage – client alliances" through "institutional" and "extra-institutional" protest bodies to "anti-capitalist forums". Rightly the authors believe that the process of negotiation is seriously impeded by the outlawing of black organisations, such as the African National Congress. In their estimation the ANC, and its supporters in the United Democratic Front, is the organisation with most support among politicized urban blacks. They are careful, however, to point out that other organisations such as the Zulu-based Inkatha also have significant followings that would necessitate their being party to any durable accommodation. Much of the book is devoted to analysing the character of the ANC. For Adam and Moodley its depiction as a crypto-communist body is seriously misleading. In their view it is not even strictly a socialist movement. The Freedom Charter, which embodies the ANC's major statement of ideological aims, is "a pluralist document" whose terms resemble the "old fashioned values of liberal democracies" and "lack the zeal of the classless society". Repeatedly, the authors suggest that one of the mainsprings of black resentment is the grievances of a thwarted, frustrated middle class who are denied their proper status. Worried members of the business community will be interested in what the authors have to say about business's potential role in the reform process. The question is whether business can break the deadlock? In their view business has three options: to support repression in the hope of restoring law and order; to come to terms with the revolution "by striking an early deal"; and to support black trade unions as an alternative route to stability. It is the interplay among these three options, they say, that will determine South Africa's future. It is the last option for which the authors opt. Their view is that capital and unions have more in common than the adversarial relationship might lead one to suppose. Both share an interest in avoiding having the country made "ungovernable", and neither wishes to lose foreign investment. As the authors say, the black unions have kept a certain distance from the political movements and will resist any attempt at being controlled by them. Clearly, an accord between business and the unions would involve costs to

business – Adam and Moodley imply that business would have to accept what are basically social democratic demands – but "for those who calculate rationally, there is no better option than accommodation". The authors do not spell out in any detail what actions or strategies might flow from such an "historic compromise" between labour and capital but they suggest that capital's dependence on the alienated black majority will, in the long run, cause them to "choose political pacification rather than unfeasible repression". If the conception and execution of this book is brilliant, it nevertheless raises some highly debatable issues. For example, the authors argue that there is little cultural distance separating the urbanized population groups in South Africa so that cultural cleavages "do not form the obstacle to democratic majoritarianism they do in genuinely plural societies". In arguing thus, Adam and Moodley are attacking compulsory racial grouping which they legitimately regard as a fundamental barrier to genuine political reform. They are correct in arguing that relative economic equality is important for harmonious intergroup relations, but I doubt their conclusion that when "material inequality crosscuts ethnic cleavages, the common material interests override ethnic loyalties". The comparative evidence from other divided societies, I fear, does not permit so unambiguous a conclusion. These reservations aside, one's praise for the excellence of Adam's and Moodley's analysis of the preconditions of negotiation and the possibilities of a democratic option in South Africa must be unstinted.

The New African: A Study of the Life and Work of H.I.E. Dhlomo
Tim Couzens
(Ravan Press, 1986, R21.95)
Reviewed by Stephen Clingman

There is a world out there to be discovered. Some 15 years ago when for most English departments in this country the Literature they studied – symbolically always conceived of with a capital "L" – was confined to latitudes north of Land's End, a brave young teacher and researcher took a look around him and decided there must be more to it than that. In the great discovery of South African literature since that time, Tim Couzens has been an unassuming but undisputed leader in the field, uncovering whole tracts of the buried literary history of this country, and restoring it to public memory. In this he has been joined by others: apart from any number of articles appearing over the years, first major fruits were borne recently with the publication of Brian Willan's indispensable biography of South Africa's first black literary hero of this century, Sol T. Plaatje. Hard on its heels comes Couzens's own offering, and what an offering it is. Focusing



on the period after Plaatje's, Couzens has done a staggering amount of work to recover to memory the life and work of H.I.E. Dhlomo, and put both – life and work – in some kind of perspective. As Plaatje was before him, Dhlomo was the writer of a generation. Born in 1903 in Edendale, Natal, educated at Adam's College in Amanzimtoti (where one of his teachers was Albert Luthuli), involved in the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg (where Peter Abrahams, among others, had his beginnings as a writer), for 10 years joint editor with his brother, Rolfes, of *Ilange Lase Natal*, and a founding participant of the Congress Youth League in 1944 (among whose other members were Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu), Herbert Dhlomo was caught up in the central social and political institutions and movements of his time. Yet, whereas Plaatje, besides being a writer, was also a key agent in the movements of his age – as first Secretary General of the South African Native National Congress (later the ANC), or travelling on two delegations to the heart of the Empire itself – Dhlomo's correspondence to his times is mediated most profoundly through his writings. It has been Couzens's task to trace this correspondence and place the writings in a context which gives them a broader social and historical significance. Working in this way has not been entirely a matter of choice. Even for the intrepid researcher there is a fundamental obstacle to the exploration of black life in this country which Dhlomo himself noted as well as anyone: "Try to collect material for a biography of one of our illustrious deceased, and you will almost get mad before you abandon the task in despair owing to lack of personal records, diaries, correspondence, speeches, etc." What this means is that Couzens's book cannot be a biography in the traditional sense, in which inner life meshes perfectly with outer, but driven by this absence, he has turned necessity into a virtue. For he has written what can best be described as a *social biography*, in which every little

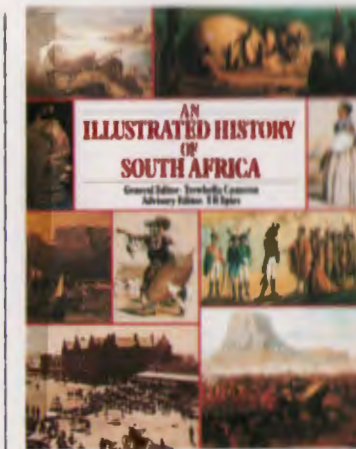
detail there is on Dhlomo's life resonates widely through society, and Dhlomo's life and work takes on its every significance through its relation to the broader social and cultural movements of his time. Supplying the linkages are the wealth and depth of the connections Couzens provides. He remarks at the outset of the book: "A biography often reveals as much about its writer as its subject. I wish it were not so." He should not be so reticent, for what is revealed is entirely to his credit. Primarily, it is a particular kind of patience, both as researcher and writer, in which a host of the details he marshals, whose relevance is not immediately self-evident, accumulate in significance as the book proceeds until the echoes of their presence fairly resound through the narrative. In this Couzens's self-confessed inspiration has been the many hundreds of detective and thriller novels he has read. Clearly he has been a detective in his research, but it is interesting to see it come through in the writing as well, as the linkages are put together with great artistry. As for the connections Couzens provides, these range from an extensive social geography of Dhlomo's artistic, musical and literary contemporaries and the cultural and political ideologies they embodied, to the intricacies of Zulu poetics at the heart of Dhlomo's great poem, "The Valley of a Thousand Hills". But the central theme of the book is, of course, that of its title, the "New African", something which Dhlomo at one stage felt himself very deeply to be. As defined by Skota and others in the Thirties, the New African was typically strongly rooted in tradition, yet progressive in aspiration. Primarily the idea embodied the self-image of a class whose deepest wish was to be measured by the yardsticks which a European hegemony continually held out: those of "culture" and "civilisation". But some clubs are never for entering. Spurned by Hertzog's franchise and land bills of 1936 on the one hand, and the intricate oppression of liberal institutions on the other (in one of the most brilliant chapters in the context of South African literature I have read, Couzens is acute on the way in which "help" can also imply "control"), the rejection of this generation turned it towards a greater bitterness and militance, and this was in part the source of the Congress Youth League in 1944, the Programme of Action of the ANC in 1949 and latterly a political history which continues to this day. Dhlomo's writing was the inner voice of these shifts, his play *Cetshwayo* responding to the Hertzog Bills and the fake African traditionalism they espoused, his poem "The Valley of a Thousand Hills" rediscovering that traditionalism in its more authentic form as he, like the Congress Youth League, turned to the past for strength to counter the negations of the present, elaborating

in various ways the beginnings of a more militant African nationalism. In some respects, one might say of Dhlomo, the "New African" turned once again towards the "old", and if there is a criticism of Couzens's exposition it is that Dhlomo's extraordinary mixture of traditionalism, progressivism, ethnicism, elitism, nationalism and the odd foray into the language of class, all of which appear in different forms at different times, is never fully teased out in terms of its composition or its development over time. But this, one might also say, is an issue provoked by the thoughtfulness of Couzens's exploration itself, the questions it implicitly asks. Finally, the pattern is clear. The class of leaders that wanted to be adopted, that in a sense offered itself in "marriage" to European civilisation (Dhlomo's own marriage broke up at the same time as his alienation from white liberal institutions), was turned down; the white partner never arrived. South Africa has a wonderful habit of waking up late. One wonders now about other leaders who have also been rejected – some of whom were with Dhlomo in the Congress Youth League – and when and if their day will come, at what cost and with how much historical irony. For all that Couzens says his work is only a "rediscovery", for making those ironies apparent, but primarily for restoring to us the many voices of a generation, and in particular Dhlomo's central voice, his is a remarkable – a landmark – achievement. Note: published simultaneously, H.I.E. Dhlomo, *Collected Works* eds N. Visser and T. Couzens, Ravan Press, R26.95.

An Illustrated History of South Africa
General Editor: Trewhella Cameron
Advisory Editor: S.B. Spies
(Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1986, R39.95)
Reviewed by Tim Couzens

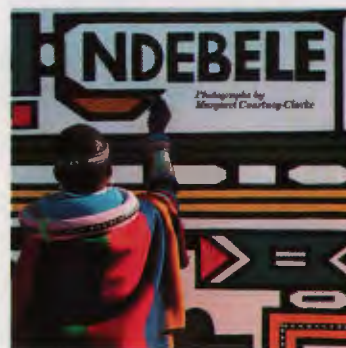
History does not have to be boring. For those of us who were educated in the Fifties and early Sixties, our subjection to the contributions of Groan'Em and Mauler, or Fouler and Smite are historical nightmares from which we will never escape. Text-books in those days were printed on paper the quality of which was not equalled in the worst days of Rhodesian sanctions and the ideas of whose texts echoed and mirrored the long, empty civil service corridors and dusty stationery cupboards of provincial education departments. History was plotted in terms of the varying numbers of elected and nominated members to some legislative body or other. The new illustrated history of South Africa is beautifully, not boringly, produced. The illustrations of such painters as Daniell, Bell, Baines and

my own favourite, I'Ons, are magnificent and the photographs are, in the main, well and carefully chosen. Expensively produced, the book is comparatively cheap and should sell well, so a few quibbles about the photographs will not damage its future. Bell's 1850 picture in high Romantic style of Van Riebeeck's landing at the Cape 200 years before gives a false view of the beginnings of the colony. Then there is the curious fact that colour illustrations peter out on page 208. Is this a subtle hint that the colourful past ends with the Anglo-Boer War and the 19th century? Or that the 20th century sees things only in black and white? "God cannot alter the past", wrote Samuel Butler in *Errewhon Revisited*, "historians can; it is perhaps because they can be useful to Him in this respect that He tolerates their existence." The editors of the illustrated history claim they have taken into account "changing philosophies and new attitudes in South African historiography", those which have altered our perception (at least) of the past. Their periodization of South African history is certainly reasonable and they cover most of the main topics. But why an illustrated history now? Is it because South Africans have been made lazy by television or is it to camouflage content because the text between the lavish illustrations is certainly curate's eggish? Those contributors who are closest to their subject matter, absorbed in it, write with some passion and stand out – Tobias on pre-history, Maggs on archaeology, Lewis-Williams on San art, Peires on the emergence of early black political communities, and one or two others. Susan Newton-King's understanding and compassion for ordinary people in her essay on 18th century Khoisan is in marked contrast to the single-man theory of history in other essays which has Governor Grey doing his autocratic thing or Molteno acting in that idiosyncratic fashion – the one-damned-leader-after-another kind of history which takes me back, in dismay, to my schooldays. As the editors claim, the book does flirt with the new ideas of South African history and some of the pioneers of those ideas flit through the pages. But most are not contributors to the book. An omitted 1st XV could include Wright, Trapido, Beinart, Bundy, Elphick, Legassick, Cobbing, Bonner, Marks, Keegan, Bradford, Lodge, Guy, Delius, Van Onselen (reproduced in the positions they might play in any historical rugby team) as well as several substitutes, including lawyers, on the bench. No, much of this illustrated history is the work of Edmund Burke's gentle historians who dip their pen in nothing but the milk of human kindness. It is safe history, more water than spirits, a great opportunity lost. Significantly ignored, for example, is the fact that, on one of the first landings by whites (under Dias) in the



country, one of the locals was killed by crossbow, conflict *ab initio*. A similar later happening under Liza Gama is given no more deep explanation (page 57) than it was a "misunderstanding", (there have been quite a lot of subsequent "misunderstandings" in South African history, even to the present day). It is also comforting to know (page 88) that Xhosa still "swarm" over the frontiers of history as they did 150 years ago and that Dingane was offended by "a rather undiplomatic and paternalistic" letter from Retief (page 134). Afrikaners, too, act in the predictable old ways, being "bewildered" by English rules, language and tradition in the 19th Century (page 170). We are told, too, that under the 1854 Free State constitution "property rights, personal freedom and freedom of the press were guaranteed", but we are mercifully spared (as in the 1986 abolition of passes) any analysis of how or whether this was *put into practice*. Finally, it would be difficult to believe that the pre-capitalist black revolution, that most exciting of periods, the "mfecane" and "difaqane", which affects all our lives to this very day, could be made dull, but in this the illustrated history succeeds admirably. Inevitably, there are imbalances (the founding of the ANC in 1912 consumes a whole sentence, the 1914 rebellion only three pages). But there are also unforgivable lacunae. Generally, the book slips smoothly along the tracks of political history, of governors, prime ministers and constitutions, with an occasional wave (from the box car) at social events along the way. And one can understand the inclusion of a whole chapter on the minutiae of Anglo-Boer battles because military history is always exciting, is it not? But it is narrow gauge history, without the diesel of economic history, the steam power of social history. The promising start given by Jeff Peires with his idea of social differentiation is not followed up. After 1948 the book has no engine and clatters downhill all the way (using only the kind of gas produced by the SABC with clichés like "unrest", "moderates", "more realistic", "the enemy", "the threat to South Africa" and, can you believe it, a

politician emphasizing that "his good intentions were sincere"). The book ends portentously but fatuously with the announcement of "the first multiracial cabinet in South African history". Surely to goodness the editors could have found a *colour* photograph of this seemingly momentous event, by way of illustration?



Ndebele: The Art of an African Tribe, Photographs & text by Margaret Courtney-Clarke (C. Struik, Cape Town, 1986, R95,00)

Reviewed by Neville Dubow

At first sight, this publication has many of the attributes that might consign it to that category that we patronisingly call "coffee table": its subject matter is almost embarrassingly photogenic, its presentation is lavish, the supporting text is slender. Yet to write it off in this way would do the book the greatest injustice. It is, in fact, a serious publication. It is well intentioned and its intentions have been well realised. These intentions are simply and clearly stated by its author. "These photographs are not anthropological documents, nor are they meant to portray a way of life — even less so the meaning and origin of a culture. Rather they document the obsessive passion with which Ndebele women have sought to assert their identities, both as individuals and as a nation, despite their difficult socio-political and economic status."

Before it is anything else, this book is a photographer's response to a strong visual stimulus. These photographs are records of an extraordinary mural art. She photographed them, states the author, without drawing upon her knowledge of what lay behind the image. She saw them rather because of their strong graphic qualities. These images, she recognises, do not portray the hardship of Ndebele life, but "they do show the orderliness, the strict discipline, the regard for space, and above all, the spontaneity of a living and artistic tradition that has endured despite the insecurity".

All of this is pertinent. The graphic qualities of Ndebele mural painting,

would have an appeal to any visually educated audience, no matter how little they knew about the motivations behind its making. I can recall several years ago, showing slides of South African art to a critical audience of English art students and lecturers. There was not an awful lot of enthusiasm that they were prepared to allow for any of the works that stemmed from a Western tradition, but their response to slides of Ndebele mural painting was positively electric. And indeed, this response to its strong graphic qualities, while limited in its understanding, is legitimate.

The strength of Margaret Courtney-Clarke's book is that it goes beyond the obvious visual appeal of her subject matter. It would take a pretty mediocre photographer not to make something of this subject (although, heaven knows, generations of tourist-board-minded photographers have done just that).

Margaret Courtney-Clarke, of course, is not a mediocre photographer; she is accomplished; her approach is serious and generally restrained. Most of the photographs are presented as full, flat, frontal statements. At all times she shows respect for the architectural integrity of her subject and she wisely proceeds on the assumption that such inherently dramatic material needs no further dramatisation in its presentation. Nevertheless, she has a shrewd designer's eye for the composition of these images. In her disposition of precise amounts of foreground space, wall areas and areas of sky, she makes a series of abstract selections from what is already a formal abstraction. Yet it would be a grotesque oversimplification simply to leave the matter at that. Her subject matter is indeed more than a series of highly satisfying, strongly conceived, geometrically organised shapes and patterns. Miss Courtney-Clarke recognises that as with all tribal culture, the art of the Ndebele is "a magico, religious activity and therefore intimately connected with ceremonies". These ceremonies have to do with rites of passage, with initiation ceremonies for boys and "coming out celebrations" where the girls wear their *ipetetu*, their rectangular aprons, beaded in geometric patterns that echo the painted patterns of their homes.

In Ndebele society it is the women who are the artists. Indeed, the reasons for making art has to do with what Courtney-Clarke characterises as a "unique and intimate relationship with the home (*indlu*) and her passive response to being exploited socially and politically". In a polygamous society, as the Ndebele traditionally was, each wife would have her own home and she would stress her own individuality by the formal decoration that she applied to her home. Today this polygamous tradition is largely broken down, but the concept of individuality through personal mark-making, persists. As in the case of

other tribal societies, western aesthetic connotations do not apply, nor does the concept of painting for acclaim. Rather, the motivation is inner directed. It arises out of individual need within a formalised social convention. The notion of something being "good" refers to its effectiveness. In the case of the Ndebele, effectiveness would be a clear and striking proclamation of individuality and identity.

Nevertheless, these functionally derived motivations for making art have not been immune to changing stimuli. The interface between traditional, tribal culture and the artefacts of the European world have not been without profound effect. The response of the Ndebele has been to adapt those aspects of Western culture with a utilitarian appeal, electric lights for instance, and to formalise and stylise them as a decorative motif. Similarly, the use of earth-derived pigments has given way to the use of commercially obtainable paint.

Courtney-Clarke documents all this with a clear eye. She deals with the architectural constituents of the Ndebele art, starting with its total application to the compound (*kraal* or *umusi*). She examines this complex consisting of a main hut (*indlu*), with its series of detached or semi-detached outbuildings, including separate dwellings for male and female children and cooking hut. She details its encircling walls with their inventive, strikingly sculptural, gate posts. She then proceeds to deal with ancillary elements — gateways, gables, windows, interiors. She analyses the prevailing motifs and devotes a special chapter to the technique of painting and the extension of formal patterning in beadwork.

If reading Courtney-Clarke's book is a satisfying experience, it is also a sad one, for it records a remarkable enrichment of a social fabric, precisely

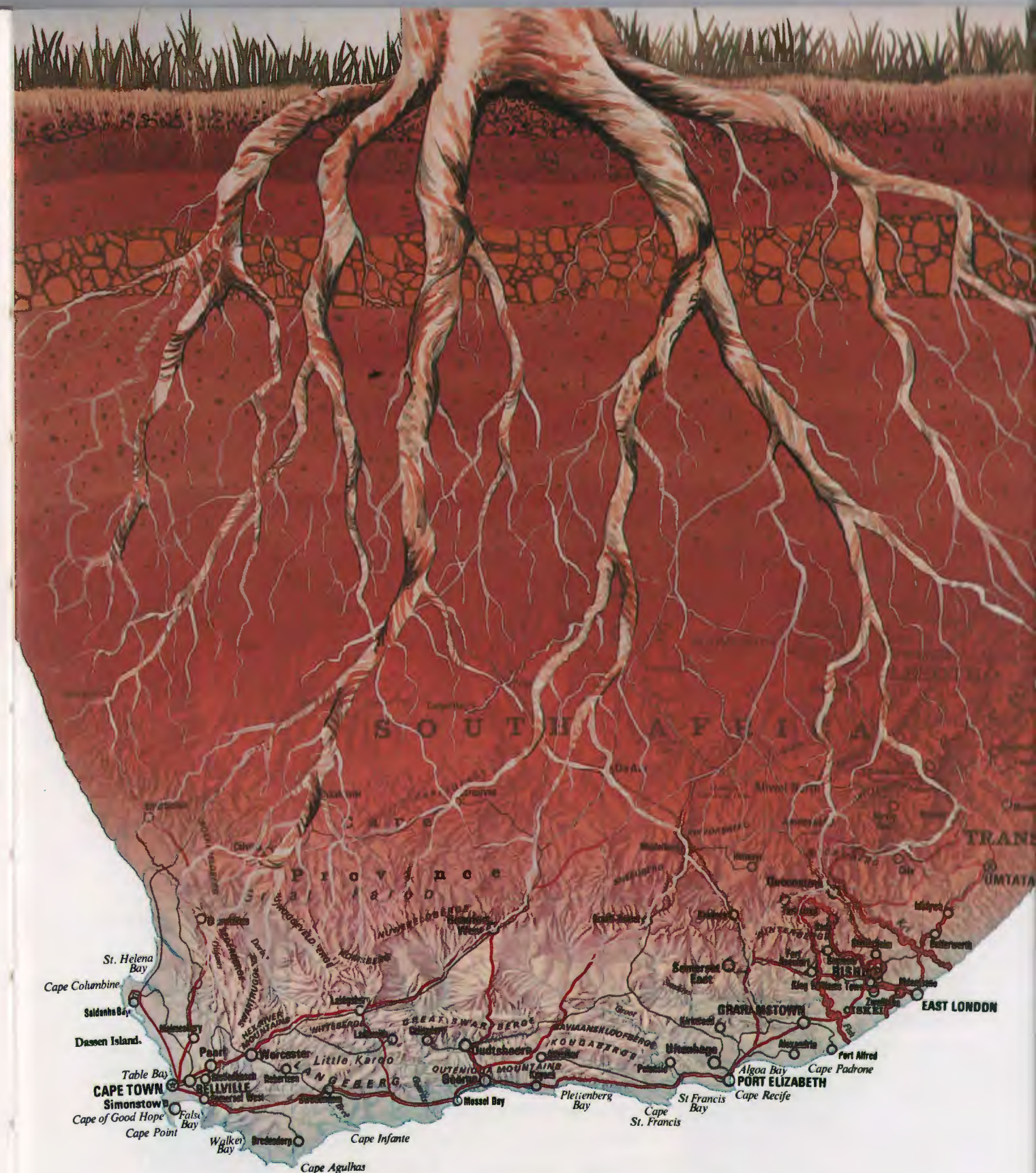
at a time when that fabric is being destroyed. The photographs were made and the book written against the threatening background of resettlement camps, of Ndebele being endorsed out of cities, evicted from homes on white owned farms. In a perceptive foreword to the book, David Goldblatt notes the effects of how apartheid ideology has attempted to perpetuate the outward forms of the Ndebele mural decoration, while effectively destroying its social basis. As people are being increasingly moved to barren resettlement camps in a non-viable "homeland", the government has made available supplies of paint for the women to dress up precast concrete structures with a facade of ethnicity. Goldblatt suggests, and the photographs in the book bear it out, that this social degradation is echoed by a formal sterility, which has to do with more than the fact that vibracrete is a less sympathetic surface to work on than sun dried clay.

Wherein lies the importance of what is left of Ndebele art? "At present," writes Courtney-Clarke, "when insurrection seems likely to engulf the country, the Ndebele murals may seem beside the point." But she knows that there is an answer to this, for, she goes on: "It is important and stirring that despite terrible social, political and economic upheaval, the small tribe stubbornly pursues its own distinct aesthetic path". This is precisely the point.

In terms of its importance to the political struggle, the Ndebele mural tradition may have little relevance. But the sheer fact of creativity is always relevant, particularly when it is maintained in the face of appalling odds. This book records a small but important triumph of the human spirit. As such, apart from its obvious aesthetic appeal, it is a valuable document.



Wall painted by Sophy Mnguni, Maphodla, KwaNdebele

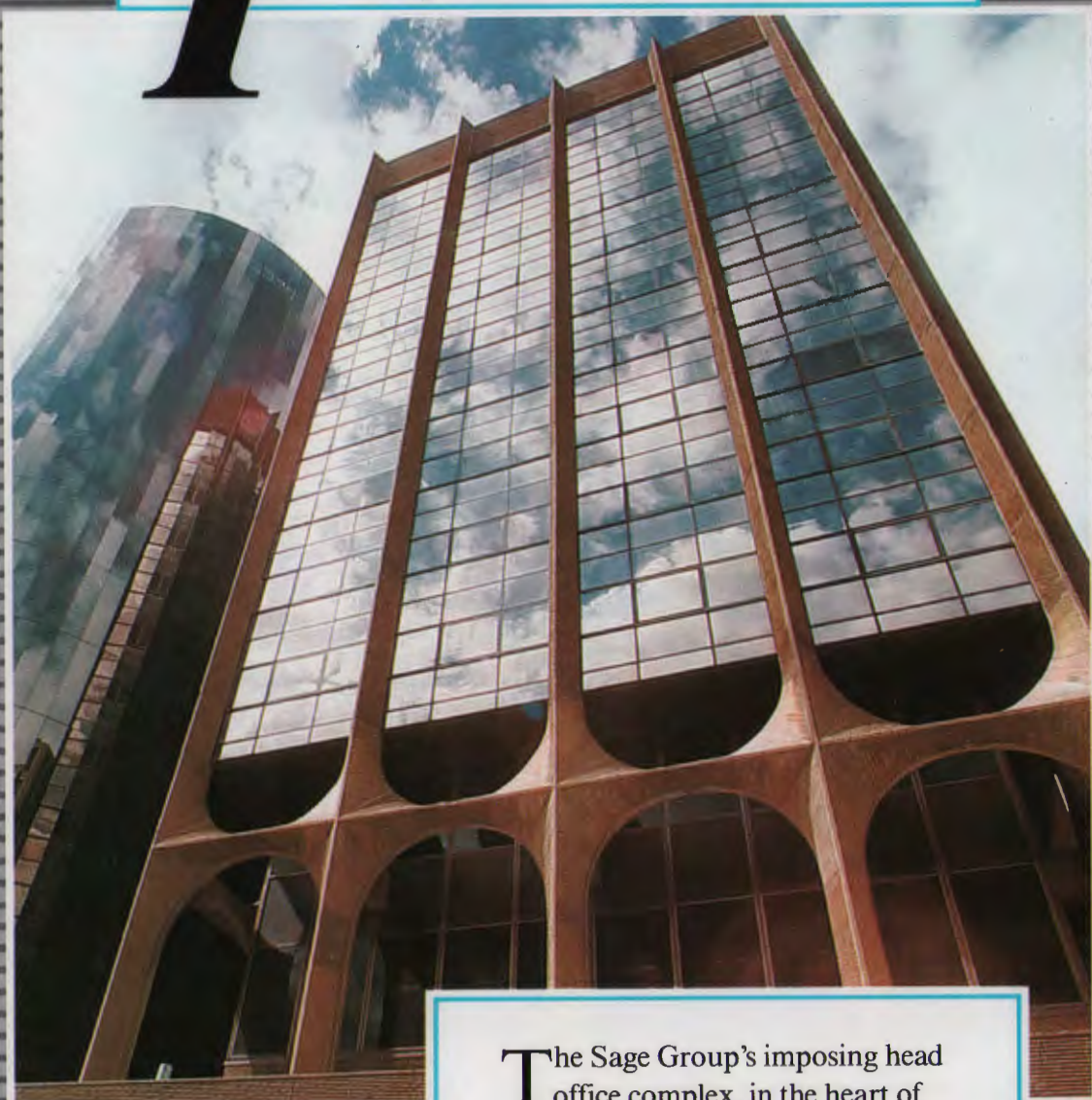


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L E A D E R S H I P

LETTERS

Sir,

Given that Australia is powerless, even as part of a wider grouping like the Commonwealth, to influence the South African conflict, it is still worth pointing out that basic freedoms enjoyed by Australians are being eroded by that conflict.

For a variety of people in positions of political or bureaucratic power SA is the devil incarnate. Its evils are without parallel anywhere else on earth. The demise of its government is pursued by every means at hand.

The result is a bureaucratic jihad, or holy war. A war not so much against SA, which is remote, difficult to punish, and largely indifferent, but against Australians who could be construed as giving solace to Pretoria. Its most direct and immediate consequence is to curb freedoms which Australians otherwise take for granted.

Some restraints are imposed by government edict, others by threats to withdraw government funding from organisations to which pro-South African individuals belong. Or by making it known that anyone who does not toe the government line is guilty by association of oppressing SA's black majority.

But how have our freedoms been curtailed by the South African issue?

Take freedom of speech. Australia prides itself on being a free market of political opinions. But the South African Embassy is expressly banned from bringing to Australia anyone to put its government's point of view. This ruling grew out of a closed seminar which the Embassy tried to organise in February 1984, to which a select group of Australian journalists, academics and others, including critics of South Africa, were invited. It was cancelled when Canberra refused visas to the Embassy's guest speakers, National Party MP Kent Durr and Indian member of the President's Council, Mahmoud Rajah.

In June last year the Department of Foreign Affairs placed a muzzle on three South African cricketing officials, Joe Pamensky, Dr Ali Bacher and Geoff Dakin, when they arrived to instruct legal counsel in defence of a court action brought by the Australian Cricketing Board against the proposed rebel tour. As a condition of entry, Foreign Affairs insisted they sign a declaration that they "not give any interviews on any subject whatever for public dissemination, whether on television or radio or in print" and "that they not engage in any public discussion of any subject whatever".

On a current affairs radio programme Foreign Minister Bill Haydon justified the ban with an astonishing analogy. He said he would have felt similarly justified in banning Adolf Hitler from making public statements for fear of inflaming public opinion and dividing Australians against one another.

That Pamensky, Bacher and Dakin had long been publicly opposed to apartheid and had done everything in their power to eliminate racial discrimination from cricket was immaterial.

Government schools in Australia's most populous state, New South Wales, have become another rod with which to bludgeon SA. You might imagine that one small contribution Australia could make to reducing racial prejudice in SA might be by exposing its school-age children to a more racially tolerant society. Not so in NSW, where the education minister, Rod Cavalier, has banned South African Rotary exchange students in response to complaints by teachers that they were ambassadors for apartheid.

Foreign Affairs has a programme of sponsoring prominent South African figures to tour Australia to speak against SA; and it permits the ANC and SWAPO to run information bureaux, albeit on condition that they do not advocate violence. The right of Australians to argue and hear the case against Pretoria is not at issue. But no other government with diplomatic accreditation to Canberra is so circumscribed in putting its own case. In no other instance, are Foreign Affairs' resources so channelled to influencing public opinion against a foreign government. The question this begs is: if Pretoria's case is indeed indefensible, what have we to fear from free and informed debate with its protagonists?

The principal casualties of Australian Government disapproval of SA are our sportsmen and women. Since 1977 when Commonwealth heads of government gathered for a weekend retreat at the Scottish hotel of Gleneagles, the so-called Gleneagles Agreement has been invoked by successive Australian governments to discourage sporting contacts with SA.

But as Alan Jones, former Wallaby coach and, incongruously, a speech writer to former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, pointed out in a recent article: "The (Gleneagles) statement is not formal. There are simply no signatures on the statement and it is not legally binding . . . It doesn't even have the weight of parliamentary ratification." So far as it has any application, Jones continues, it is to the governments of the Commonwealth. It is not binding upon their citizens or upon non-governmental sporting organisations.

The relevant text reads: "The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting accepted it as the urgent duty of their governments to combat the evil of apartheid by withholding any support for, and by taking every practical step to discourage contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organisations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa or any other country where sports are organised on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin."

Interpretations of the Gleneagles Agreement by Canberra have all the precision and clarity of the proverbial dog's breakfast. Australia bans the entry of South African teams and amateur sportsmen and women, but allows professionals, such as golfers, tennis players and, at the recent motor racing Grand Prix in Adelaide, the South African entry. The explanation for this is that they are making a living rather than representing SA.

Not all sports are equal. Cricket and rugby excite particular governmental wrath. Prime Minister Hawke threatened to initiate investigations into Graham Yallop's and Kim Hughes's tax affairs if they persisted with the rebel tour. So sharply did public opinion react against this that the Prime Minister made a public apology. Shortly after this a women's netball team left for SA without a murmur from government. When a New Zealand rugby team arrived in SA earlier this year, Hawke went beyond anything in the Gleneagles Agreement by promising that none of the New Zealanders would ever again play in Australia. In October last year South African Rotary golfers invited to the Rotary International Fellowship Championship in Melbourne were refused visas.

There is a widespread notion, which Australians themselves do nothing to discourage, that we are a fiercely independent people, free to speak our minds and stand up to overbearing officialdom. It's true to a point. But in the United States, by contrast, neither sportsmen nor civil liberties groups would tolerate restrictions accepted by Australians; nor, I suggest, would American administrations try to impose them.

Sportsmen and sporting associations don't spring to mind as the most obvious champions of civil liberties, but they have been most conspicuous in their defiance. Editorials in the major metropolitan dailies have also rounded on Canberra, specifically for the bans on South African guest speakers to the proposed Embassy seminar and more recently, for the NSW Education Minister's ban on South African Rotary exchange students in State schools. But to no avail.

Measured against South Africa, and particularly the curtailment of individual rights in the name of national security in your country, Australia's anxieties are small beer.

But comparison of Canberra with Pretoria is not at issue here. Nor is it relevant. My point is simply that our rights have been eroded by government officials and politicians since SA became part of our political agenda. There is a grim irony here. Australia is powerless to advance the rights of black South Africans. In the name of doing so we have simply curtailed our own.

CHRIS ASHTON
Elizabeth Bay, NSW, Australia

LETTERS

Sir,

As one of the Stellenbosch students whose passport was withdrawn because of a desire to communicate with the "other South African establishment" (exiled members of the ANC), I found the views of President Kaunda, in *Leadership* Volume 5 No 2, extremely enlightening. At least it gave me the chance to read the views of a man I would have met in person.

However, while it is fine to publish various independent views, is *Leadership* not the forum we need to constructively discuss the "future system"? By this I imply the socio-economic organisation of the new South Africa. It is easy for Gavin Relly to proclaim himself an enemy of apartheid and a free-marketeteer; it is easy for me to defend the free enterprise system because I shall benefit from it. But could we not have Billy Ramagopa (president of Azaso) airing his views and more importantly *defining* his ideal economic policy? Could we not have people like Gerhard de Kock and Cyril Ramaphosa arguing it out in some future edition of your magazine?

The motivation behind this request is not only to have interesting reading material but to force the United Democratic Front and other opposition leaders of significance to come out in the open and give practical answers to practical problems. All this Alice-in-Wonderland talk about the prosperous new South Africa is good in the sense that it inspires patriotism and hope, but people do not live by visions alone. Is there "a free lunch" in South Africa's case?

HENDRIK DU TOIT
University of Stellenbosch

Sir,

An avid reader of your magazine, I feel constrained to draw your attention to an incorrect acknowledgement of a quotation on page 61 of *Leadership* Volume 5 No 2.

Your writer Frank R Bradlow prefaces his excellent article with a couplet which reads:

*How odd of God
To choose the Jews*

and mistakenly attributes this to having been written by Ogden Nash. Indeed it was not. It was written by Edward Norman Ewer. My undisputed authority for this is from that immortal anthology of poems compiled by Lord Warell, *Other Men's Flowers* (no doubt you have a copy). This is also confirmed by the Readers' Digest book of quotations.

EARL OIVING
Hillcrest, Natal

Leadership reserves the right to shorten letters for space reasons.



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WHERE THE FRENCH HUGUENOTS FIRST GREW WINE.

From The Chair

The interdependence of economics and politics in South Africa has never been more apparent, nor more unyielding.

G W H Relly, Anglo American Corporation

A siege economy would inevitably tend to become a tightly regimented one subject to a maze of direct bureaucratic controls.

Gerhard de Kock, Reserve Bank



Anglo American Corporation

Abridgement of the annual statement by the Chairman, Mr G W H Relly



If our nascent and fragile democratic institutions are denied a strong economic underpinning they will certainly give way to tyranny



Attributable earnings of the Corporation, excluding retained earnings of associates, increased by 35 per cent to R813 million, or 356 cents a share, in the year to March 31 1986. Equity-accounted earnings increased similarly to R1 194 million, or 523 cents a share. These results are primarily the outcome of substantial increases in earnings from our investments in gold, diamonds, coal, platinum and other minerals which, with their strong export bias, more than offset the effects of the recession on certain of our industrial interests. The total dividend of the Corporation amounted to 180 cents a share, an improvement of 33 per cent on the previous year. The tax charge virtually doubled, to R316 million, owing to the increase in the profits of our subsidiary, Amcoal, and in our income from management fees and interest. Such trading profits and income, which account for over 40 per cent of our total earnings, are of course fully taxed, whereas our dividend income, having already been taxed at source, is not taxable again in our hands.

A number of developments that promise to have a significant bearing on the Corporation's future earnings occurred during the year. The four gold mining companies we administer in the Orange Free State were merged into a single entity, Free State Consolidated Gold Mines, so that existing and prospective ore reserves could be utilised to maximum efficiency and extent. This move, coupled with the further expansion of operations in the Free State and the Western Transvaal, and the opening up of new areas now envisaged around Vaal Reefs, should prolong the life of our gold mining interests well into the next century. Our close associate De Beers had the satisfaction of seeing a broad-based recovery in demand for rough diamonds develop in 1985, marking the end of the worst depression the trade had experienced for more than fifty years. This is a singular tribute to the strength and resilience of De Beers and its Central Selling Organisation, and can give all of us much confidence in the industry's future.

The world economy

Prospects for our international mining interests are largely dependent on the outlook for the world economy, which has seldom been more difficult to read. The latest official forecast for the leading industrial nations projects a GNP growth of little more than three per cent a year in 1986-7; that points to a slight increase in commodity prices in nominal terms, and in real terms leaves them unchanged. Bearing in mind that the study incorporated the lower oil prices now ruling, this conclusion will seem disappointing to many. The explanation lies in the persistent problems caused by the massive trade imbalances among the major nations, the difficulty of harmonising monetary and fiscal policies, and the many structural obstacles to greater economic efficiency, particularly in Europe.

In the event, the forecast may be exceeded, mainly because the leading industrial countries, recognising, *inter alia*, their own interest in the continuing plight of the debt-ridden developing countries, now seem more concerned to achieve higher rates of growth. That was evident in the May summit meeting in Tokyo, and in the efforts of the US Administration to bring about exchange or interest rate adjustments, given the slack in the US, European and Japanese economies. If these

initiatives bear fruit, and oil prices remain at around current levels, one could expect the world economy to expand at a somewhat faster rate than is presently predicted, and metals and minerals prices to show some improvement in real terms. Uncertainty about currencies and the international economic and financial system can be expected to continue, and that should be a positive element in the determination of the gold price, which benefits in any event from stronger fabrication demand in periods of prosperity. There are other factors, however, which suggest that a decisive move out of the current trading range is unlikely.

Social responsibility

With the new society that is starting to evolve in South Africa it is inevitable that business should have problems and concerns that are not found – or not so acutely – in mature industrialised societies, and those that pre-occupy us no doubt are typical. We are concerned about the need to raise the educational standards of existing and prospective black employees, if they are to qualify for the skilled positions that are now open to them. To this end we invest very considerable sums in technical training and education, not only for our employees but nationally through The Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund, which expended some R30 million in this field last year. It follows that in the new society, equal opportunity must be accompanied not only by equal real reward, but by freedom of choice. In the mining industry – which for operational reasons should in any case be less dependent on migrant labour – this means that the migrant should be free to choose whether to settle permanently with his family on or near the mines and, if so, the form of housing most appropriate to his needs. This, in turn, requires the abandonment of the Group Areas Act and of our traditional concept of a mining town.

Industrial relations

In the industrial relations area our greatest general concern is to develop and maintain sound management/labour relations, with the full and responsible participation of the trades unions, white and black. Nowhere is that task more crucial than in the mining industry – nor perhaps more difficult, for reasons that lie deep in its history. In a number of cases, not least the negotiations with the National Union of Mineworkers, considerable progress has been made and much learned on both sides, but there have been other instances where communication with trades union leaders and our employees broke down. I have in mind particularly the work-stoppages and violence at Vaal Reefs, and the recurrence – when we had supposed it to be a thing of the past – of inter-tribal violence on mines both in the Free State and Transvaal. Success in improving communication does not lie in the hands of management alone.

Another major industrial relations concern is specific to the mining industry. It is a matter of great concern to us, operationally and in terms of common equity, that the law still defines certain occupations in racially exclusive terms, when statutory apartheid has been successfully abolished in areas of far wider application. Black mineworkers are increasingly resentful of this discrimination, which for more than sixty years has set an absolute ceiling to their advancement,

principally in operations underground. The Minister has committed himself to remove this provision in the Mines and Works Act during the August legislative session, and it is to be hoped that no steps are being contemplated that would restrict the advance of black mineworkers in other ways.

Political reform

The continuing turmoil in our society has had – as many participants intended that it should have – a significant adverse effect upon South Africa's fortunes, and we are all the poorer for that. Yet the process of change has continued. The State President has kept to his commitment to press ahead with his reform programme, notably by repealing the pass laws and system of influx control that had been applied to black South Africans for well over half a century. Repeal removes one of the principal pillars of apartheid, demolishes some of the barriers between richer urban insiders and poorer rural outsiders, and opens the door to the positive forces of urbanisation. Taken together with the extension of freehold property rights to black people, the opening for trading and investment purposes of central business districts to all South Africans, and the restoration of citizenship to many black South Africans, they constitute a major step toward the abolition of statutory apartheid and the normalisation of our society.

The latest moves, however, have failed to impress large sections of the black South African community or of international opinion. In particular, many black leaders are refusing to participate in the interim political structures proposed by the government as a means of reaching the objective to which President Botha committed the National Party in his speech at the opening of Parliament, namely the negotiation with black leaders of a new constitution on the basis of an undivided Republic of South Africa, a universal franchise and one citizenship for all. Their refusal is to be explained partly by their bitterness at being excluded from the 1984 constitution, which accentuated feelings of suspicion, cynicism and impatience, as well as by the classical tendency for popular expectations – material as well as political – to rise faster than a process of evolutionary change can accommodate. Among the international community, where lack of trust and cynicism also prevails, appreciation of what the State President has achieved tends to be further inhibited by a simplistic view of our problems.

The over-riding reason, however, for the reluctance of black people to participate in the reform process, and of the international community to endorse it, is that it fails to take account of the now widespread belief that the right of political participation has to be extended to all South Africans before interim constitutional discussions or negotiations can get under way. This belief, which is supported by the principal institutions of South African business, applies as much to the proposed new structures of government at the local, regional and provincial level as at the national level. Whatever improvements are made to their form, these structures will still have problems in establishing their legitimacy, and hence in attracting the participation of credible black leaders, until political prisoners and proscribed organisations are free to participate in political affairs.

That course carries the risk of a further escalation of violence, which already is grievously high, and which the authorities now have sought to contain with measures of the greatest gravity – the proclamation of a nationwide state of emergency and consequent curtailment of civil rights and liberties. But there is no course open to South Africa which does not involve risk. The least dangerous, I am convinced, is to confront the issue of politically motivated violence by opening up the opportunities for direct political action. There is encouraging evidence that if this were done, the majority of South Africans would wish to take part in the political process on a democratic basis, and would favour negotiation rather than violence. A failure of nerve at this juncture will lead to a calamitous situation of political drift, with the economy sliding toward a state of siege as the initiative passes to the men of violence and the international pressures to change us or isolate us steadily increase.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the piecemeal approach to reform, whatever virtues it may once have had in terms of electoral expediency, has reached the limit of its usefulness. I believe that the unbanning of political parties and the freeing of political prisoners will not be sufficient to get the constitutional negotiations properly under way, nor to minimise the threat of further sanctions. The residual elements of apartheid as well must be expunged from the statute book. I would urge the government therefore publicly to commit itself – as it did with the pass laws – to the repeal of the Group Areas, Separate Amenities, Population Registration and Land Acts within a fixed time. Once that goal is in sight, negotiations could begin on the frameworks of a new constitution which would establish and guarantee the rights and freedoms of all people, irrespective of colour, according to the principles so admirably set down by the State President earlier this year.

It is worth recalling here that when black trades unions became free to participate in the collective bargaining system they proceeded to represent their members' interests in what by-and-large were democratic structures and in an increasingly mature way. While the process by no means has been easy, the experience has shown that disparate groups can come together presenting very different proposals, and reach agreements acceptable to all parties. In essence, the political negotiations at the centre will require the same goodwill and desire for settlement.

Naturally, all this cannot proceed in an environment clouded by the restrictions imposed by a state of emergency, and measures which have resulted in the incarceration of people who would have to be included in future negotiations. It is impossible in these circumstances to maintain, let alone develop, the sound fabric of industrial relations essential to a free enterprise, democratic State. That is all the more reason why detainees should be charged or released with despatch, and why the laws now in place should be used with the utmost moderation. No one should doubt, however, that the attempt to replace apartheid with a functioning democracy, supported by an economic system capable of creating wealth on the requisite scale, will be extraordinarily difficult, not least because some of those who now practise violence for their own political ends will not easily be persuaded to forego violence – indeed their attempts to thwart evolutionary change are likely to grow in proportion to its success. In no way is this to excuse or condone the measures that have been taken; it is simply to point out that it is naive to suppose that the building blocks of the reform process can be put in place, or be given a fair chance to work, without some protection against attack from extremists on both sides. It must be emphasised, however, that such protective measures will enjoy widespread

support only when full democratic opportunities and the rule of law prevail.

While the will of the South African government and political parties will be the major factor in determining the success of this transition, the international community can make an important contribution to it. We must hope that western nations, in particular, will not allow themselves to be pressured into adopting punitive measures which would undermine both the transitional phase and the success of the post-apartheid society. The West as much as South Africa needs to take decisions that are soundly informed by a strategic vision of their long-term consequences. Any action taken now, primarily as an emotional response to the gravity of the situation here, is bound to be at the expense of freedom and justice in South Africa, for if our nascent and fragile democratic institutions are denied a strong economic underpinning they will certainly give way to tyranny.

The South African economy

The experience of the past twelve months has concentrated the collective mind wonderfully on the interdependence of economics and politics in South Africa; unfortunately it has not taught us how to extricate ourselves from the present impasse and realise the potential for renewed growth. The potential is great: we have a large number of people who are unemployed or under-employed, considerable unutilised manufacturing capacity, and a sizeable current account surplus. Internationally the prospect has been improved by the decline in the oil price, and at home by the encouragement given to the free enterprise system by the sweeping changes affecting the work opportunities and property rights of black people.

The South African economy performed relatively well when the world economy was buoyant, but it failed to adapt quickly enough to the challenge of the post-oil-crisis world. How could it? The protracted attempt to make economics the servant of apartheid necessarily gave rise to a plethora of direct controls which suppressed market signals, frustrated the operation of an appropriate mixture of fiscal and monetary policy, and encouraged the use of capital rather than labour. All that cost us dearly in terms of impaired competitiveness, lower growth and employment, of reduced confidence and sustained pressure on the balance of payments.

So while the direction of our economic affairs has become more sophisticated in recent years, the benefits have been offset by the inflationary consequences of the weak rand and by the debt arrangements, which imply that South Africa, a developing country, must remain an exporter of capital. This constraint, which has no parallel elsewhere, could condemn us to inadequate growth at best, at worst to a vicious circle of currency depreciation and mounting inflation. Nonetheless, now that the modernisation of our socio-political structure is also proceeding apace, there is no reason why South Africa should not develop along the lines of other more successful developing countries which have promoted exports, widened domestic markets and stimulated industry and employment without abnormal pressure on imports. Confirmation that the new 'rules of the game' are here to stay would do much to restore domestic confidence, especially in the manufacturing sector.

But results will take time, more time than the political imperatives allow. The government's latest economic measures will go some way toward generating employment, and relieving the housing shortage among the poorest sections of the community, especially if the bulk of the money allocated to housing is spent on servicing land for private contractors and individuals to build on,

rather than on houses *per se*. But however welcome in themselves, these measures do little to facilitate a development which would enable the free enterprise system to make a really significant contribution to growth, and to resolving the socio-political problems of this country.

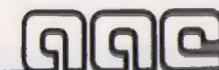
Housing

Among people of colour in South Africa housing is by far the greatest need, almost irrespective of income. While urban over-crowding is a characteristic of developing countries, not enough has been done about it in South Africa because government, having applied policies which discouraged, but could not actually prevent, black urbanisation, could not then bring itself to satisfy a demand that officially did not exist. By the time urbanisation had come to be accepted, the need for housing was so greatly in excess of the resources the State could muster that it handed to private enterprise the responsibility for housing all but the most indigent. Unfortunately the authorities have not yet managed to simplify the maze of regulations and procedures so that developers and financial institutions, small-scale black contractors and self-help builders, can get on with the job. The decision to appoint a team of three leading industrialists to advise it on a strategy for the provision of mass housing, which evidently will include a searching scrutiny of "bureaucratic practices and procedures", suggests that the government is at last addressing the problem with the seriousness it deserves. What is needed is a quantum leap to a flexible, responsive system that will release the resources of private enterprise on the scale required.

The large-scale provision of housing would bring widespread benefits to our society, and quickly. By significantly improving the living standards and prospects of hundreds of thousands of people whose basic requirements have long been grossly neglected, with results too evident to need mention, it would do much to reduce violence and crime in the townships and channel the energies of young people to constructive ends. Above all, it would provide tangible evidence that evolutionary change can improve the lot of ordinary folk. It is not enough to abolish apartheid. Reform must bring stability and growth.

The interdependence of economics and politics in South Africa has never been more apparent, nor more unyielding. Even if we could resume a satisfactory rate of economic growth, it would prove short-lived in the absence of political stability; and I fear that the finest constitution in the world would fail unless the new South Africa could offer its citizens improving standards of living. The business community has found it necessary to concern itself increasingly in matters of public policy, to help create conditions in which economic and political progress can go hand-in-hand. That, surely, is a goal that unites us all.

The full text of Mr Relly's statement and the Corporation's annual report are obtainable from Consolidated Share Registrars, First Floor, Edura, 40 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg 2001.



"Restoring prosperity in Southern Africa"

Extracts taken from the address by Dr Gerhard de Kock, Governor of the South African Reserve Bank, at the sixty-sixth ordinary general meeting of stockholders of the Bank on 26 August 1986



Dr Gerhard de Kock

Any technical assessment of the present economic situation and prospects in South Africa must lead to the conclusion that in many important respects the scope now exists for a renewed cyclical upswing in the short term and a considerably higher real average rate of growth in the medium and long term.

- The current account of the balance of payments continues to show a large surplus. According to the latest revised figures, this surplus amounted to R5,9 billion in 1985 – the equivalent of 5 per cent of gross domestic product – and to an annual rate of R5,2 billion during the first half of 1986. For calendar 1986 a surplus of between R5 billion and R6 billion is expected.
- Between the end of 1984 and 22 August 1986 the South African economy repaid nearly US\$3 billion of its foreign debt, while its exports increased substantially. On any purely economic assessment South Africa's present foreign debt situation would be judged fundamentally sound.
- The rate of exchange of the commercial rand – at present equal to about 38 American cents – remains undervalued on a purchasing power parity basis. This should be conducive to increased domestic economic activity via export promotion and import substitution. Moreover, this potentially expansionary force has received fresh impetus from the recent increases in the dollar prices of gold and platinum.
- The continued existence of unemployment and surplus production capacity suggests that the economy should be able to sustain a higher growth rate in the period ahead without the early emergence of serious bottlenecks.

- The rate of inflation, although still too high, has receded from its peak levels, and should tend downwards in the months ahead.
- The stance of both monetary and fiscal policy remains expansionary. There is considerable scope for increases in the money supply and total demand. The Reserve Bank stands ready to add to the cash reserves and credit-creating ability of the banking system by providing accommodation through its discount window and in other forms.

And yet the scope for more rapid economic expansion is not being utilised to anything like its full potential. In a situation in which economics and politics are inextricably entwined, the required spark of business and consumer confidence is still missing. In technical economic terms, the "inducement to invest" and the "propensity to consume" are for the time being inadequate to produce the desired upswing in the economy. After declining by 1 per cent in 1985, real gross domestic product is therefore not expected to increase by more than 1 to 2 per cent in 1986.

This state of affairs has, of course, been exacerbated in recent months by the intensified sanctions debate. It remains to be seen whether punitive trade sanctions will, in fact, be imposed against South Africa on a comprehensive scale. And even if they are, it is doubtful whether they can in practice be effectively applied.

What is, however, having an adverse impact on the South African economy is the *de facto* existence for more than a year now of financial "sanctions". These "sanctions" have resulted not from conscious decisions by governments or legislatures but from the deterioration over this period in overseas perceptions of South

Africa's socio-political situation. Misinformed as foreign investors, bankers and businessmen undoubtedly are, they are clearly plagued by uncertainty and concern about the nature, extent and possible consequences of South Africa's domestic political problems. On balance, they have therefore been withdrawing capital and credits from South Africa for more than a year and a half now. Moreover, for political reasons, South Africa is not only denied normal access to credits from international financial institutions and central banks, but is also required to repay credits to the International Monetary Fund. By force of circumstances South Africa has therefore become a capital-exporting country.

This politically induced pressure on the capital account of the balance of payments is affecting the South African economy more adversely than trade sanctions are likely to do. It implies some combination of a weaker exchange rate, a higher level of interest rates, a higher inflation rate and a lower rate of economic growth than would otherwise have prevailed.

As long as the capital outflow continues, South Africa will have no choice but to run a large current account surplus. This is what we did in 1985, what we are doing again in 1986 and what we shall continue to do in 1987. The fact that we have been able to produce this surplus through an effective monetary and fiscal strategy represents a notable adjustment performance. But it stands to reason that the need to maintain a sizeable current account surplus for any length of time must inevitably restrict South Africa's longer-term economic growth. Achieving a large current account surplus year after year, by whatever means, implies a transfer of real resources to the rest of the world. This, in turn, means fewer goods available in South Africa for public and private investment and consumption, and therefore a lower long-term growth rate.

It is a matter of concern that the feeling of uncertainty has spread to South Africa's own entrepreneurs and the private sector in general. The large discount on the financial rand compared with the commercial rand (at present about 50 per cent) reflects the perceptions of overseas investors. But the continuation of the decline in real domestic fixed investment in plant, equipment and construction reflects the uncertainty of South African businessmen themselves.

This reluctance of the private sector to expand real fixed investment at a time when the cash flow of financial institutions is large and the stock exchange is booming, has understandably created frustration in official circles. Flowing from this, suggestions have been made that statutory and other measures be taken to *compel* insurance companies, pension funds, mining houses and other large economic groups to invest more in the desired job-creating directions. This is a matter that obviously calls for caution. While certain adjustments to taxation and financial legislation affecting these institutions might well be desirable for other reasons, attempts to *force* them to invest in low-earning high-risk directions could undermine their financial soundness and inflict harm on the economy.

Most private business and financial enterprises in South Africa are neither unpatriotic nor averse to making profits through expanding their business. The reason why they are not risking their shareholders' or borrowed funds in the required new investment activity is basically their uncertainty about the interrelated political and economic future of South Africa.

What is being done and what else can be done to eliminate the present apathy in the economy and to ensure more rapid economic expansion?

To begin with, there is in operation the short-term expansionary monetary and fiscal strategy described in this address. If necessary, further expansionary steps in this field will be taken.

In addition, the authorities are proceeding with the actions they initiated some time ago to formulate and publish a broad *long-term* economic strategy for South Africa (not to be confused with a socialist "master plan"). This matter was referred by the State President to his Economic Advisory Council. It is the intention that this strategy will deal with the official approach to such matters as "inward industrialisation", export promotion, import substitution, manpower issues, rural development and the role of government in a market system in which private initiative and effective competition have important roles to play.

These short and long-term economic strategies are basic and essential. By themselves, however, they cannot provide an adequate solution to the present difficulties. Unless accompanied by action on other fronts, it is doubtful whether they can overcome the harmful effects of the existing financial "sanctions" and prevent the irrational and emotional forces behind the present sanctions and disinvestment campaigns from transforming South Africa into some form of "siege economy".

Paradoxically, a siege economy might well confer benefits on some domestic industries by reducing foreign competition. But as the experience in other countries has shown, these advantages would at best be limited and short-lived. A siege economy would inevitably tend to become a tightly regimented one subject to a maze of direct bureaucratic controls. This would limit the scope for private enterprise and effective competition to promote economic development and to raise standards of living. In the final analysis, the combination of a continuous capital outflow and a siege economy would be bound to have adverse effects on economic growth and stability.

What disinvestment and sanctions will *not* do – and on this issue there is much misunderstanding – is to achieve the *political* objectives of their proponents. Anyone who understands the power relationships and other political realities in South Africa must know that, far from accelerating the process of political and constitutional reform, disinvestment and sanctions would be bound to retard it.

The further reality is that to the extent that the South African economy is harmed by disinvestment and trade sanctions, the entire Sub-Saharan Africa would be adversely affected. And, as many objective studies have shown, the main sufferers would be Black South Africans and the other countries in the Southern African region.

All of this leads to the conclusion that, in addition to the implementation of appropriate short and long-term economic strategies, any formula for the restoration of confidence and prosperity in South and Southern Africa must include the continuation of the Government's programmes for maintaining law and order and for comprehensive further political and constitutional reform.

Far-reaching political reforms have already been brought about in South Africa in recent years. In view of the present close interrelationship between politics and economics in South Africa, the private sector has, I believe, acted correctly in encouraging the Government to proceed along this road. By the same token, the Government now has every right to expect the private sector to show more confidence in the future by utilising to the full the scope presently existing in the economy for increased investment and output.

The key to success lies in the creation of a positive vision of economic expansion in not only the South Africa of the future but also the entire Sub-Saharan Africa. We must lift our gaze beyond the debate of the moment, so much of it distorted by emotion and unhelpful to the long-term future of the region.

The potential for rapid economic growth and rising standards of living in this part of the developing world is enormous. Those who care to address this question in a positive spirit will detect a prize eminently worth striving for.

Great strides could be made towards realising this potential if South Africa, the other states of Southern Africa, the major industrial countries and international financial institutions could co-ordinate their development strategies for this region and, at the same time, provide the necessary incentives for private sector participation. Such economic co-operation could unlock the riches of the region to an extent undreamed of and shape a more prosperous and collaborative future for all of its states.

There is so much to be gained by so many from economic co-operation of this kind that it deserves pride of place as an ideal for all who are genuinely interested in the welfare of Southern Africa.



SOUL BROTHERS

The Rt Rev Michael Nuttall
Bishop of Natal

The prophetic nature of Desmond Tutu's job as Archbishop of Cape Town will ensure that he remains a controversial figure. Nobel Laureate or not, his advocacy of sanctions against South Africa has not endeared him to the establishment, and some strong critics have even labelled his stand as "anti-Christ".

Yet it cannot be disputed that he remains a moderate, even reasonable voice, in the general political cacophony. Is the fact that he doesn't appeal to all not simply a consequence of his vocation – and perhaps his race?

The role of a black leader in South Africa today demands courage. And if that leader's constituency is split between

black and white, how much more difficult could that role be?

As voices in the Anglican Church are raised against him, and funds from dedicated givers seem to dwindle, there is clearly another side of the matter to consider.

Why did his Brothers in Christ elect Desmond Tutu to be their leader – and with such enthusiasm?

On the eve of Tutu's enthronement as Archbishop, Leadership asked Michael Nuttall to address this vexed question.

His answer is all the more meaningful since it was Nuttall, as Bishop of Natal, who posed the only serious alternative to the election of Tutu. He was also the choice of the Anglican establishment.

"Most Reverend Father in God, we present unto you this godly and well-learned man to be ordained and consecrated Bishop."

These are the words used by the two presenting bishops when they present a priest to the archbishop to be consecrated. It is a solemn moment.

Desmond Mpilo Tutu was consecrated bishop on July 11 1976 in St Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg. I had the privilege of being one of his presenting bishops, for he had kindly asked me to act in this way. At the time I was a very new bishop myself, having been Bishop of Pretoria for less than a year. Desmond was Dean (the first black dean) of Johannesburg. We had come to know each other some years before when he was a lecturer at the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice and I was a lecturer at Rhodes University in Grahamstown. Now we were to be brother bishops, for he had been elected to be Bishop (the first black bishop) of Lesotho.

I was close enough to notice that Bishop Desmond was visibly moved on the day of his consecration. What were the thoughts, I wondered, jostling in his alert and active mind? What were the emotions tugging at his warm and sensitive heart? July 11, 1976 was within a month of 'Soweto 1976' – that landmark which would change the course of SA's history.

Only a month or so before the events in Soweto and elsewhere, Desmond had written during a three day retreat his now-famous letter to Prime Minister John Vorster pleading with him to offer some meaningful signs of change.

Let urban black people become permanent, with freehold rights. Let the pass laws be repealed. Let a national convention of genuine leaders be called together. These were the moderate requests he made.

"I am writing to you, Sir, because I have a growing nightmarish fear that unless something drastic is done very soon, then bloodshed and violence are going to happen in South Africa almost inevitably. A people can take only so much and no more." Such were his prophetic words in May, 1976.

Two months later this leader was being strangely taken to a remote, mountainous place, far away from the scene of action. What could God and his Church be up to? Desmond had been Dean of Johannesburg for two short years. How was one to understand the surprises of God?

It turned out that Bishop Desmond was not to be long in Lesotho either. After only another two years he accepted, with the approval of his brother bishops, the position of General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches. Thus, he came back in March 1978 to his beloved Johannesburg for seven turbulent, decisive and formative years both in his own life and ministry and in the life of church and nation.

The time in Lesotho was important: a refining, waiting time. Desmond knew the country already, for he had taught for a spell in earlier years at Roma University. Now he was there in a new capacity, away for a brief spell from the full glare of publicity in the Republic. There were inevitably the calls

back to South Africa – for Steve Biko's immense funeral in Kingwilliamstown, for example, in 1977. Desmond delivered a powerful oration, once again pleading for peaceful change before it was too late: "We cry for our beloved country which has been so wanton in its waste of her precious human resources."

Bishop Desmond has always said that he is first and foremost a pastor, and it is true that within the prophet's cry for justice there lies a pastoral concern for people, both the oppressed and the oppressor. In Lesotho there was plenty of scope for the pastor, visiting, caring, nurturing the flock even in the remotest parts which can only be reached on horseback. Moreover, Desmond's time in Lesotho gave him a Southern African experience and perspective which will stand him in good stead now as he begins to preside over the affairs of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, comprising Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho and Namibia as well as the parts traditionally known as South Africa. He is the third South African-born Archbishop of Cape Town, the other two being Bill Burnett and Philip Russell. He is the first Archbishop who has been bishop in his time of a part of the Province which is not in South Africa. That in itself is a good and healthy development.

So it was that Desmond came back to Johannesburg in 1978. As a bishop of the Church it must in many ways have been a lonely time at the SACC, not having a diocese and therefore not being a member of the Synod of Bishops. Eventually he longed to come back into diocesan ministry, the true ministry of a bishop. Yet it was supremely during his years as General Secretary of the SA Council of Churches that he emerged as a person not only of national but of international stature.

Ironically, the South African government contributed to this through its relentless pursuit of the policy of apartheid and through its particular assault on the SACC as one of its more implacable opponents.

When Bishop Bill Burnett had been Secretary of the SACC (or Christian Council of South Africa, as it was then called), "The Message to the People of South Africa" had been produced with its theological critique of an ideology which made racial identity rather than a person's humanity the essential guideline to government policy.

Desmond Tutu did not invent a new critique; he simply carried through the old and existing one, but with a passion and tenacity which made everyone sit up and take note. He showed no fear in the face of a government that possessed, and still possesses, immense power. He would say, after St. Paul: "If God is for us, who can be against us?"

The plight of the many thousands who were subjected to forced removal from their homes touched, in a particular way, his heart of righteous anger and compassion. Often he has told the story of the small girl he met in a resettlement camp who, when he asked what she did to stave off hunger pains, said: "I drink water." He could not, and cannot, forget the face of that child. Here we see the heart and mind of prophet and pastor blending in a fierce yet tender care.

The climax for Bishop Desmond at the SACC was

LEADERSHIP
GUEST COLUMN

Desmond Tutu did not invent a new critique; he simply carried through the old and existing one, but with passion and tenacity . . .



The Archdeacon of Johannesburg, D C T Nkomo with Bishops Tutu and Nuttall after the election at the Diocesan College in Cape Town.

He (Tutu) is African, and often he will speak and act and lead out of his African-ness.

the Eloff Commission of Enquiry into the affairs of the organization and his own testimony before the commission. This testimony has been published under the title of "The Divine Intention", in which he defended the truths he holds dear, both in the Scriptures and in what he attractively calls "the hallowed Christian tradition". What is the divine intention for us?

"Our Lord has tried to weld us into a family: people of different races, who demonstrate, however feebly and fitfully, what this beautiful land can be. If only we could begin to treat people as persons created by God in His image, redeemed by Jesus Christ and sanctified by the Holy Spirit. What a wonderful land it could be . . ."

Here was Tutu the Christian idealist, speaking words reminiscent of the 19th century Anglican theologian, F D Maurice, who said: "You are brothers; you must become what you are." The prophetic voice was also evident:

"... There is nothing the government can do to me that will stop me from being involved in what I believe is what God wants me to do. I do not do it because I like doing it . . . I cannot help it when I see

injustice, I cannot keep quiet. I will not keep quiet, for, as Jeremiah says, when I try to keep quiet, God's word burns like a fire in my breast. But what is it that they can ultimately do? The most awful thing that they can do is to kill me, and death is not the worst thing that can happen to a Christian."

Strong words. Brave words. Words before which one has little alternative but to be silent; words reminiscent of Martin Luther when he stood before the Emperor Charles V and said: "Here I stand, I can do no other, so help me, God."

The Nobel Peace Prize was a symbol of the outside world's response. It was a personal award, but Desmond received it and welcomed it as a vicarious award also; it was for him a vindication of the SACC. He was the second South African to receive the award. In some ways one cannot think of two more different personalities than Albert Luthuli and Desmond Tutu: the one grave, aristocratic and for good reason known and loved as 'the Chief'; the other self-made man, born in a Transvaal township and through sheer pluck and effort making good, and finally finding himself in the unenviable glare of international glitter and publicity.

Let's build a non-racial democracy from the ground up

For business confidence to be restored, South Africa needs a brave new vision. We want a vision of South Africa without apartheid – a land where people can freely participate in politics regardless of race, where institutions are respected and where elected representatives can meet without fear to deliberate and decide. A land without violence and intimidation.

We believe that the government's current proposals for second and third tier authorities will not get the country out of its rut. The Regional Services Councils are a particular source of concern. They are not based on the principle of freedom of political association but on apartheid. Representatives will not be directly elected but elected by themselves from the existing members of the segregated municipal councils. They will reinforce apartheid in local government at precisely the time when popular demands for multi-racial and integrated municipalities are growing.

There is an ideal way to start building new political confidence. Government must stand back and allow black and white leaders in Natal, Western Cape and elsewhere to negotiate new regional and metropolitan forms of government that respond to the wishes of the people living there. The country cannot afford yet another government attempt to impose structures, such as Regional Services Councils, from the top. The time has come to build a new non-racial democracy from the regions up.

Tutu's election is a symbol of what can be, what must be, and what is yet to be in our wayward church and nation.

Yet, with their differences of character and background, each has pursued out of deep Christian conviction the same ideals amidst the same obstacles, and nearly 40 years of apartheid have at least achieved this: they have given us two Nobel Peace Prize winners in a single generation!

There could easily have been a third, but his is a different link with Norway in that it was there, in a hotel bedroom, that he wrote the opening chapter of an immortal book called "Cry, the Beloved Country."

Bishop Desmond was on a sabbatical in New York when the Bishops of the Church of the Province, meeting at Modderpoort in the Orange Free State in November 1984, chose him to succeed Timothy Bavin as Bishop of Johannesburg. It was Bishop Timothy who had appointed him Dean of Johannesburg 10 years earlier. His career now came full circle as, once again, he entered St Mary's Cathedral, this time to occupy the bishop's chair. At his enthronement in February 1985 he said: "I hope to end my active ministry as Bishop of Johannesburg". That was an understandable hope. At the same time, having experienced the surprises of God before in his life, he knew that he could not make this hope a cast-iron condition, and so he added the words "unless it becomes abundantly clear that God wills me to do otherwise".

It became abundantly clear on Monday, April 14, 1986 when he was elected to be Archbishop of Cape Town. Elective assemblies are not, of course, infallible vehicles of the divine will; they too can err because they are human. But the clarity and speed of the decision in Cape Town gave it a special flavour. It was a momentous day in the life of the Church.

Bishop Desmond was, of course, over-awed by the result. Who would not be? Yet his puckish humour, so well-known to his friends and acquaintances, did not leave him. "I'm speechless", he said, "and I guess there are some who would prefer me to remain that way!". He also said something more searching and profound. Aware of his limitations and of the controversy which surrounds him, he said: "Please do not be angry with God because of me".

Bishop Desmond's election to be Archbishop is an important statement for us all. It is a symbol of what can be, of what must be, and of what is yet to be in our wayward church and nation. He stands for the many who need to be listened to at last and taken seriously. He stands also for a new style of leadership which will not necessarily follow Western norms.

After all, he is African, and often he will speak and act and lead out of his African-ness. But, above all, he is Christian, and it will be as a Christian disciple that he will seek to lead and to serve. I heard him say at a conference a couple of years ago: "P W Botha is my brother". When subsequent speakers referred to the State President, they described him as "Bishop Desmond's brother"! Twice, since his election as Archbishop, Desmond has had lengthy discussions with the State President. It cannot have been easy for him. There will be those who think he was wasting his time. Others will see him as a key mediator with credibility at both ends of the political scale. The truth is that it is as brothers and sisters that

South Africans need to find solutions together to their country's problems.

Bishop Desmond demonstrates his brotherly spirit in a special way linguistically. His English is so accomplished that it is hard to remember it is not his mother tongue. He also speaks Xhosa, Tswana, Sotho, Zulu and Afrikaans. Does not this versatility tell its own story?

We can be thankful that we have a black Archbishop who was elected representatively by black and white alike and who gladly and willingly accepts responsibility for all. Does that not send a signal of hope to the land?

The Anglican Church prides itself with some justification on what it calls its comprehensiveness. Normally this applies to its understanding of Christian truth and doctrine. We like to think that we can hold together a variety of emphases and convictions within the one perimeter of truth. Sometimes this can get out of hand, when (for example) a bishop or a theologian goes off at a tangent which threatens to break the circle; the debate surrounding the present Bishop of Durham's views highlights this point.

But on the whole we tend to be tolerant of difference, recognizing that no one possesses a monopoly of the truth. Certainly on difficult ethical questions we prefer not to be over-dogmatic, whether it be on issues like abortion or taking part in war or the advocating of sanctions; we recognize and allow for differences of emphasis and conviction on such things.

Conscientious people are bound to differ in their ethical responses, especially when they are faced with choosing the lesser of two evils. They will also be influenced by their circumstances, for not even decisions of conscience are made in a social vacuum.

The principle of comprehensiveness can also apply in other directions, including political affiliation or preference and different kinds of leadership. It comes as a surprise to many to be told that Oliver Tambo, Winnie Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are all Anglicans. Despite its many failures, the Church has done its work well over the years. A tapestry has emerged, reflecting the rich and varied life of our society. We are, to use a more human image, a family.

Out of that family God has raised a son to be his servant as archbishop in these critical days. Bishop Desmond would no doubt have preferred it to be otherwise; he finds it heart-rending (to use his own word) to be leaving Johannesburg. But a new South Africa, and therefore a new southern Africa, is coming to birth amidst much pain and travail. "The darkest hour, they say, is before the dawn." So spoke Desmond Tutu at Steve Biko's funeral.

This dynamic, diminutive man has made himself available because others asked that he should, to be a light in the darkness and to help lead us into the dawn of a new day. May he be given divine strength and wisdom for the task.

His election to be Archbishop of Cape Town will be viewed by historians as a crossroads.

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