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Conor Cruise O'Brien

Int  
Office

Apartment - Separatists - criticism by Euphemism  
Apote

Notion of picking up English & replica  
Criticisms (how they can have 15 by-elections)

Criticisms Dominance of politics, & service, among

the children - admired by adults.

... Thus a great Irish lawyer, who won  
the Nobel Prize for Peace - winning former director of I.D., as its most  
prominent member, recently urged an academic  
boycott of I.D. & its institutions, that would be most  
hit if their disgusting proposals were acted on one  
those - like the U.N. CT - that are totally discredited &  
are major sources of accurate information about the  
workings of apartheid & agents of exposure of attempts  
to camouflage apartheid. - (Chase Likelihood  
associated manifestation of disinterest) in intellectual  
activities.

ideological defect from apartheid among officials.

U of SA 1910

1918 Broderbund - ~~was set~~ such new selves as  
"freedom fighters"

1948 → Homeland (earned coming up of land)

ideological weakening - to I.D.? - in I.D. has watched since 1971-  
257ms

to be turned over political power - controls govt sections  
(bilingual)

as in the National Party sees incapacity of Enslavement  
as way of dealing with black except blood-greasing  
bribe

in 1983 official SA figure - black & white births 1000 - w out  
no names



got up at 11:00 AM. Went to the  
 bus - 11:20 AM. 11:30 AM.

$$\begin{array}{r}
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 \times 1.00 \\
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 9.00
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 15 \\
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$$765 = 85N$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 765 \\
 \times 85 \\
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 6495 \\
 61200 \\
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 64950
 \end{array}$$

TELEPHONE:  
01-222 7878

St. Andrew's House,  
40, Broadway,  
London, SW1H 0BU

23rd October 1985

*So. Africa*

Miss Linda Chavez  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
Director of Public Liaison  
2nd Floor  
West Wing  
The White House  
Washington DC 20500  
U.S.A.

Dear Miss Chavez,

I was privileged to be at the briefing that President Reagan gave to the International Leadership Reunion on Wednesday 16th October and you will recall that I approached you afterwards concerning South Africa. You very kindly indicated that you would be happy to receive a paper from some South African business men, giving their views on the present situation in South Africa. There are many South African businessmen who believe that the South African government is not getting its message across in the correct manner.

I was particularly struck by the way in which the Jewish interest in the USA has communicated with your administration, whereas South African interests, both business and political seem unable to do so.

I therefore propose, if acceptable to you, to have a report completed which will be sent to you from, say half a dozen of the most influential and powerful business leaders in the country. Once this has been done, and if you feel it is appropriate, I am sure they would want to come and present their views to a senior member of your administration or perhaps even to the President himself.

I am sure I do not need to emphasise the strategic importance of South Africa to the present administration and how concerned business leaders are about the deteriorating situation. I therefore ask you to confirm that the manner in which I propose to proceed is acceptable to yourself whereupon I shall commission the report.

Yours sincerely,

  
Michael Rapp



JUN-27-85

# Jewish Board Rejects South African Racism

NEW YORK, N.Y.—According to a recent report from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies has rejected apartheid and condemned racial discrimination.

In a resolution adopted after a three-day debate at its biennial national assembly in Johannesburg, the board, which represents South Africa's 120,000 Jews, endorsed the removal of all provisions in the laws of South Africa which discriminate on grounds of color and race." The resolution also "rejects apartheid" and "calls upon all concerned to do everything possible to ensure the establishment of a climate of peace and calm in which dialogue, negotiation and processes of reform can be continued."

The board of deputies, an affiliate of the World Jewish Congress, adopted the resolution in response to a request from the WJC which earlier this year asked its affiliates in 70 countries to join in the worldwide campaign against racism and apartheid.

As part of this campaign, the WJC reported the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva had been informed of world Jewry's opposition to apartheid. Last February, the representative of the

WJC and B'nai B'rith in Geneva submitted a formal statement to the commission which said that "The Jewish people identify themselves with the struggle against all forms of racism, including anti-Semitism and apartheid."

According to Aleck Goldberg, executive director of the Board of Deputies, the wording of the resolution his group had adopted, in its explicit rejection of apartheid, "is more far-reaching than that of previous resolutions passed." The Jewish community is believed to be the only ethnic segment of South Africa's white minority to publicly call for an end to apartheid within the country.

In New York, Israel Singer, the WJC's secretary general, praised the courage of South Africa's Jewish community. "It was no accident that a concurrent resolution expressing solidarity with the state of Israel was adopted," he said. The action of South Africa's Jews "was not only an expression of Jewish ethical and moral values but a refutation of the lie that Zionism is racism as asserted by a political majority in the United Nations 10 years ago."

Dallas, Texas  
Post Tribune

**DRIVE 55**

JUN 29 1985

## South African Jews speak against apartheid and racism

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# A LETTER FROM SOUTH AFRICA

From:  
PIET KOORNHOF  
Ambassador

a monthly viewpoint on  
South Africa

NO. 10

OCTOBER 1, 1987

## A ROADMAP FOR FURTHER CHANGE

~~"The only honest choice for the ANC is to accept the peaceful rules of a democratic struggle and to come home and help build a peaceful and democratic society for all the people of South Africa."~~

- Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe  
Deputy Minister for Constitutional Planning  
Office of President Botha

Step-by-step over the last several months, my Government has laid out a roadmap by which South Africans of all races can effectively and directly reach our shared goal of establishing a fully democratic society.

This new roadmap stretches outward from the major milestones reached earlier -- the abolition of the Pass Laws, the legalization of inter-racial marriages, the desegregation of trade unions, public accommodations, sports, and business districts, ~~and the elimination of an all-white parliament.~~

Simply stated, the roadmap charts new territory for the next phase of political and social change in South Africa.

Three new landmarks set down by recent Government action pave the way for a better future for all South Africans.

Firstly, universal suffrage for all blacks over 18 years of age will for the first time in the history of South Africa be the foundation for black representation on the National Council which is to frame a new constitution for the country.



Secondly, black leaders will hold one-half of the seats on the National Council and the balance will be held by the Asian, colored and white leaders.

Introducing the bill to establish the Council last month, Mr. Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development, said: "... The only point on the agenda is "a new constitutional dispensation in which all South Africans are represented and can participate."

Thirdly, significant new release procedures for prisoners such as ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Govan Mbeki have been established. The release of prisoners is now out of the hands of Government and placed solely with the judiciary. This represents a new opportunity for the ANC to "come home" and take part in the negotiations and development of a new democracy in South Africa.

In addition to these three landmarks charted by the Government, significant changes in the Group Areas Act, which provides for the segregation of neighborhoods, were recommended last month.

The proposed changes by a committee of the multi-racial President's Council will for the first time in 34 years remove statutory barriers to housing integration.

As South Africa moves ahead toward the extension of full civil rights to all its citizens, Americans can help by encouraging all in our society to this end and by discouraging those who perpetrate violence and support sanctions. South Africa now needs time and understanding as it proceeds toward the attainment of this goal.

Piet Koomhof.



# *Southern Africa*

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### A DIGEST OF NEWS FROM THE REGION

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#### **South Africa: Trade Surplus Rises**

South Africa's trade surplus rose sharply by 62,57 percent in July 1987. Imports increased to \$1,38 billion from June to July and exports to \$2,2 billion.

This brings total exports for the first seven months of 1987 to \$12,11 billion and total imports to \$7,95 billion, creating a surplus of \$4,16 billion. The surplus for the first seven months of 1986 was \$3,86 billion.

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#### **South Africa: Enormous Growth in Black Education**

According to a recent report in a Johannesburg newspaper the number of Black school children in South Africa has grown by more than 80 percent from 1953 to 1987.

Between 1974 and 1986 the total number of Black students in high schools rose by 60 percent and the number of full-time Black students in their senior year, increased by 84 percent from 1979 to 1986. Comments the Department of Education and Training: "This represents a growth rate that would put tremendous pressures on even the best organized system."

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#### **Africa: South Africa Provides Medical Care**

South Africa's specialty medical service to Africa was reported recently by a Johannesburg newspaper. One thousand three hundred and ninety-eight citizens from African states including Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Kenya, received specialist care in South Africa in 1986. In this regard Dr Willie van Niekerk, the Minister for National Health, said that "South Africa is prepared to assist any other African country in need of specialized medical care."

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#### **South Africa: House Bargains for Soweto Residents**

The Soweto Council announced that it is offering houses for sale to residents for as little as \$76 (excluding survey and administration fees). This would vest full freehold rights in the residents, which means that they would own both the house and the land.

The cheapest homes consist of two rooms and the normal municipal services such as electricity, running water, sewage and trash disposal are available. Larger four-roomed homes range in price from \$180 to \$1,625 each.

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#### **Kenya: Work Permits of Foreign Correspondents To Be Reviewed**

President Daniel Arap Moi, apparently angered by mounting foreign press reports critical of Kenya's human rights record, has announced that the Government will re-examine the status of the more than 100 foreign reporters based in his country.

President Moi made the announcement after cutting short a European tour that was to have included Norway and Sweden. He dropped the two countries from his itinerary after what he characterized as a campaign by both countries to discredit his one-party state.

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#### **Zimbabwe: Ban on Meetings To Remain**

Zimbabwean Minister of Home Affairs, Enos Nkala says that meetings of the opposition ZAPU will remain banned for as long as is necessary.

Speaking on the local program, The Nation, on September 13, 1987, Mr Nkala said that dissidents operating in Matabeleland and Midland are using ZAPU structures to evade security forces and that the government would

soon deal with those who protected dissidents.

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#### **South Africa: Family Housing for Black Miners**

The Anglo American Corporation has announced plans to house thousands of its Black miners with their families near four of its gold mines.

The Managing Director of Anglo American's gold and uranium mines in Transvaal Province, Theo Pretorius, said that the company has already purchased the necessary land and contracted with developers to construct the housing.

The housing program for 24,000 miners with their families would accommodate more than 150,000 people, Mr Pretorius said.

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#### **South Africa: Successful International Prisoner Exchange**

On September 7, 1987 in the Mozambican capital of Maputo, 133 Angolan soldiers, Dutchman Klaas de Jonge and Frenchman Pierre-André Albertini were swapped for South African soldier Major Wynand du Toit.



The exchange agreement was reached after months of international diplomatic activity and sensitive negotiation involving the Governments of South Africa, France, the Netherlands, Ciskei, Angola and Mozambique, as well as Dr. Jonas Savimbi's Angolan Unita movement.

Describing the prisoner swap as "a triumph for negotiation

politics," the South African Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Kobus Meiring said South Africa had always favoured negotiation and co-operation rather than confrontation and violence.

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### **Angola: Angolan Leader on Peace Talks with South Africa**

Angolan President Jose  
Eduardo Dos Santos,

addressing reporters at the end of a three-day visit to France in September 1987, said he is prepared to resume talks with South Africa on a regional peace accord.

Mr Dos Santos ruled out immediate talks with anti-Government UNITA forces but suggested some flexibility

in his country's position toward UNITA, saying a political solution would be possible once SWA/Namibia gained independence and foreign aid to UNITA was stopped.



# Digest

SOUTH AFRICAN

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This year saw the fourth Roodepoort International Eisteddfod being presented on the banks of Florida Lake, near Johannesburg. The colourful and lively event, which is believed to be the second largest in the world, included participants from 29 countries. Participants came from North and South America, Western and Eastern Europe, the Far East and Australia. South Africa and her neighbours were also represented in all categories. More than 4 000 people sang, danced or performed music in a bid to win the coveted awards. The event, which was presented from October 3 to 10, is staged biennially and promotes cultural interaction between nationalities. Although it has its origins in ancient Celtic traditions and the South African version is based on the Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod in northern Wales, it has adopted an African identity. (Above) dancers from the Republic of China perform their colourful dance while (below) dancers from the Republic of Venda provide an African accent





## Natal floods: the aftermath

The official death toll in the Natal and KwaZulu flood disaster on October 13 stood at 301, with 198 people still missing.

Bodies are found and people are reported missing as clearing-up operations progress.

"It is the largest national disaster we have yet had in South Africa," said the Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, who heads the special 13-man Cabinet committee appointed to deal with the disaster. He said that more than 50 000 people had been left homeless.

The damage to infrastructure, would be temporarily repaired, but it would take many years to restore everything to its original state.

## 'Surroplets' arrive

The world's first grandmother-surrogate-mother, Mrs Pat Anthony (48), gave birth to two boys and girl at the Park Lane Clinic in Johannesburg on October 1.

The triplets weighed 2,1 kg, 2,3 kg and 1,3 kg and were born only two weeks prematurely.

Mrs Anthony, of Tzaneen in the Eastern Transvaal, gave birth by caesarean section.

According to Mrs Anthony's doctors she is psychologically well pre-



*This car is stuck in a sea of mud in one of the industrial areas on the outskirts of Durban*

*The Citizen*

There were no signs of cholera or typhus, and dysentery was within limits.

● The Government declared the whole of Natal a disaster area.

Donations for the flood victims are pouring in from municipalities and businesses throughout South

pared to hand over the babies to their biological mother and her daughter, Mrs Karen Ferreira-Jorge (25).

Mrs Anthony agreed to bear her own grandchildren because her daughter was unable to have any more children.

The exclusive rights to the Anthony story was bought by the British newspaper *The Mail on Sunday* for a reported R1 million. The family claim the money will be placed in a trust fund for the babies.

*The Argus*, October 1

## Dr Cedric Phatudi dies

The Chief Minister of the self-governing territory of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Nemedi Phatudi, died in a Pretoria hospital on October 7.



Dr Phatudi had been a cancer and diabetes sufferer.

He leaves his wife, Alice, two sons and a daughter.

Dr Phatudi made a career in education and wrote several original plays in North Sotho. His translations of Daniel Defoe's classic *Robinson Crusoe* and various Shakespeare plays are well-known.

Dr Phatudi entered politics in

1969 when Lebowa came into being. He became chief minister in 1973 and was re-elected in 1979 and 1983.

Dr Phatudi was a great proponent of foreign investment and frequently travelled abroad to try and persuade foreign heads of state to abandon their disinvestment policies.

● State President P W Botha said in a tribute to Dr Phatudi that he would always be remembered as a leader of stature.

● The Reverend Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, also expressed his sympathy with the family of Dr Phatudi.

Mathathu Tsedu, *Sowetan*; Gideon van Oudtshoorn, *Business Day*; and Beeld, October 8

Africa and from overseas.

The United States made a grant of R130 000 available to assist victims of the flood, the American ambassador, Mr Edward Perkins, announced in Cape Town.

The British Government donated R100 000 for relief work.

The fund stood at R3 million on October 3.

● The Natal floods are set to cost the insurance industry more than R600 million — the biggest natural disaster loss ever suffered by insurers and reinsurers in Southern Africa.

Cyclone Demoina, which ravaged Natal and the Eastern Transvaal in 1984, cost insurance companies R34 m.

*The Citizen*, October 1, 2, 6 and 7; *Pretoria News*, October 2; *Business Day*, October 5, 7 and 8



*South Africa's Miss Portuguese Community, Isabel da Costa (19), of Johannesburg, snuggles into a jacket to keep out recent cold and wet weather. Isabel's prizes for winning the contest on September 26 include a trip for two to Portugal to compete in the Miss Portugal competition*

*The Citizen*

## Where SA Digest gets its news

Articles and extracts from articles published in *South African Digest* are taken from newspapers representing diverse political views, magazines and journals published in South Africa, as well as Press releases. There are also special items contributed by staff members of the publication.



# INTERNATIONAL

## SA talks in Paris/Lisbon

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F Botha, held talks with his Belgian counterpart, Mr Leo Tindemans, in Paris on October 8.

On the second day of his 48-hour private visit to France Mr Botha also met French Premier Jacques Chirac.

The Belgian talks included political and economic ties between South Africa and Belgium.

Mr Botha said recent developments in South and Southern Africa had also been discussed and that he had used the opportunity to brief the Belgian Foreign Minister on the South African Government's attitude to reform.

After his meeting with Mr Chirac, Mr Botha said he felt that currently the French Government understood South Africa's dilemma, but did not want to interfere.

Mr Botha said he was generally satisfied with the results of his visit to France, where he had also met with prominent industrialists and government officials.

"There is a better grasp of the realities of Africa this year. South Africa is seen as the economic bastion, without which the whole of Africa would probably collapse," he said.

French Conservative Member of Parliament, Ms Florence d'Harcourt, vice-president of the France-South Africa association, welcomed Mr Botha's presence as a sign that France had abandoned its "hypocritical" standpoint in favour of constructive dialogue.

From Paris Mr Botha flew to Lisbon where he met Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro for almost three hours of talks on

*SA Digest* airs the news and expresses the views of the South African scene. They are drawn from a variety of sources and the editor cannot be held responsible for the opinions of newspaper editors, correspondents and a host of other contributors whose work makes up the pages of *SA Digest*.



*Celebrating the Republic of China's 76th national day at a function in Pretoria on October 9 were (from left) Mrs Huy-Ying Hu; Mr H K Yang, ambassador of the Republic of China to South Africa; Mr Adriaan Vlok, South African Minister of Law and Order; Mrs Anna Yang; and Mr Weijien Hu, consul-general of the Republic of China in South Africa* The Citizen

October 10.

South Africa, Portugal and Mozambique will discuss ways of protecting the Cahora Bassa dam in Mozambique from guerrilla attacks, Portuguese and South African officials said after the meeting.

Cahora Bassa is a sensitive issue for Portugal, which built the hydroelectric plant in the 1970s in its former colony to supply electricity mainly to South Africa.

Portugal owns about 80 percent of the capital and must pay tens of millions of dollars a year to finance the dam, which has been paralysed by attacks by the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR).

**The Citizen**, October 9, 10 and 12; **Business Day**, October 12

## Sanctions have failed — President Reagan

United States sanctions against South Africa have failed. Consequently he was opposed to the imposition of further punitive measures, President Ronald Reagan has said.

In a report on one year of sanctions, Mr Reagan said they had had a minimal impact on South Africa's foreign trade. He also said disinvestment by United States firms had hurt Black workers.

Mr Reagan's report stated that "the imposition of additional economic sanctions at this time would not be helpful in the achievement of ob-

## SA/ROC two-way trade

A fledgling jewellery industry would be established in South Africa and the Republic of China (ROC) as a result of a joint venture between the two countries, the South African Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Mr Danie Steyn, said on October 2.

Speaking at the second China-South Africa trade conference in Johannesburg, he said two-way trade between South Africa and the ROC had increased on average by more than 45 percent a year since 1977.

He said joint venture projects were underway in mining, mineral processing, computer software and the manufacture of car parts.

**South African Press Association**, October 3

jectives which Congress, the American people, and I share".

He said South Africa's ability to evade sanctions by finding alternative export markets "indicates it would be futile to impose additional measures that would be harmful to United States strategic or economic interests".

● Sanctions would never be an effective way to promote change in South Africa and Britain would oppose further sanctions measures at the October Commonwealth Conference in Vancouver.

This statement was made British Foreign secretary, Mrs Lynda Chalker, in an interview in the latest issue of *Inside South Africa*, published in Cape Town.

"We believe we must persuade member states to work for peaceful change in a way that will not create barriers for the future," she said.

● By imposing sanctions on South Africa, the United States had "squandered much of its limited ability to affect conditions" in the country, the *Wall Street Journal* said in an editorial on October 12.

"The US should redirect foreign aid and tax incentives for United States subsidiaries to help Blacks push for non-violent change. But Blacks can exert this power only if the South African economy grows. The continued flight of United States firms benefits only the current holders of capital.

**Beeld** and **The Citizen**, October 3; **Daily Dispatch**, October 2; **South African Press Association**, October 6 and 13

(Comment appears on page 13)

### Swedish ban on trade

Sweden has announced a unilateral ban on trade with South Africa.

"We hope this will lead to other countries following suit, thereby increasing pressure on the South African Government," Swedish Foreign Minister Mr Sten Andersson told the

United Nations General Assembly on September 29.

Sweden's Social Democratic government decided on the ban in March, but gave firms six months to wind up their operations.

Sweden is the fourth Nordic nation to ban trade with South Africa, following Denmark last year and Finland and Norway earlier this year.

**The Star**, October 2

### SA gift to Moscow/Warsaw

Two countries behind the Iron Curtain will soon receive a token of goodwill from South Africa.

Copies of the book *Mammals of the South African Subregion* have been sent by the director of the Pretoria National Zoo, Mr Willie Labuschagne, to the directors of the Moscow and Warsaw zoos.

The author of the book, the late Dr Reay H N Smithers, was an authority on mammals in their natural environment.

"The Eastern Bloc countries have an intense interest in Southern African wildlife and hardly any literary works on the subject are available to them.

"This book is the most complete documentary reference and will be very valuable to them," said Mr Labuschagne.

Negotiations are also under way with Moscow to exchange warthog for the rare siaga or chamois antelope.

**Pretoria News**, October 2

### New SA ambassador to Italy

Mr David de Villiers du Buisson has been appointed South African Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Italy, the Department of Foreign Affairs announced on October 8. Mr du Buisson replaces Mr Vernon Rudston Steward who will return to South Africa.

**South African Press Association**, October 9



The South African ambassador to France, Mr Hendrik Geldenhuys (right), presented his credentials to French President Francois Mitterrand at the Elysée Palace in Paris on October 2

**The Citizen**

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

### Major offensive in Angola

In the biggest reported battle in southern Angola this year, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebels recently recaptured the Lomba logistics base near Mavinga, killing an estimated 250 Angolan (Fapla) government troops and destroying six armoured vehicles.

The current Fapla offensive, involving some seven brigades totalling an estimated 10 000 troops and master-minded by Soviet General Konstantin Shagnovitch, is the biggest Fapla "push" since 1985.

The Unita generals claimed that since May they had killed 1 000 Fapla soldiers and destroyed 20 Rus-

sian T55 tanks, seven helicopters and a MiG jet.

Unita, which is supported by South Africa and the United States, has been fighting the Luanda government since shortly after Angola won independence from Portugal in 1975.

● According to Britain's *Sunday Telegraph* the attack is "the greatest military battle in the history of Africa south of the Sahara".

● The South African Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, on October 3 described the South African presence in Angola as "limited".

General Malan repeated earlier statements that South Africa gave moral, material and humanitarian

support to Unita and apologised to nobody for doing this, as Unita was in the forefront of blocking Moscow's objectives in Southern Africa. **Eastern Province Herald** and Chris Koole, **Beeld**, September 29; **Sunday Times**, October 4; Elsabé Wessels, **Business Day**, October 5, and Fred de Lange, **The Citizen** and **South African Press Association**, October 6

(Comment appears on page 15)

### New Transkei PM

A 50-year-old widow of royal descent was elected third Prime Minister of the Republic of Transkei on October 5.

Her election followed a vigorous contest which was the culmination of two weeks of political upheaval



and allegations of rampant government corruption leading to the resignation of Prime Minister Chief George Matanzima.

Miss Stella Nomzamu Sigcau, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, was elected Prime Minister after her two opponents withdrew their candidacy.

● In her major speech in the National Assembly Miss Sigcau said she had entered the office of third Prime Minister of Transkei when there was despondency in the country.

"During my tenure of office I shall vigorously pursue a policy of negotiation with all organisations and governments without exception with the view to identifying areas of agreement which will form the basis for the establishment of an egalitarian society for all our people irrespective of colour, ethnic, or racial origin," she said.

Miss Sigcau said she was opposed to sanctions against South Africa as they also affected Transkei.

She said her political ideal was a Southern African federation in which each state had its own government and a federal government looked after communal affairs.

● The report of a commission of inquiry into the alleged misapplication of state monies in the country was introduced in the National Assembly by the Minister of Finance, Mr G S K Nota, on September 30.

According to the report legally doubtful directives issued by the former Transkeian State President, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, and the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, resulted in a loss to the state of about R45 million. **The Citizen**, October 6 and 8; **Rapport**, October 11; **Die Burger** and **Business Day**, October 1

(Comment appears on page 14)

## SA aid for Lesotho victims

The South African Air Force (SAAF) is performing large-scale rescue operations in the snow-covered mountains and flooded areas of Lesotho. Hundreds of people are trapped in the bitter cold without food, clothing or medicine.

The military council of Lesotho



The postal administration of the Republic of Bophuthatswana will issue the above set of stamps on December 4 to mark the country's 10th year of independence. The theme of the four stamps is 'communication'. During the first decade of its independence, communication serviced in Bophuthatswana developed rapidly. The stamps, serviced commemorative envelopes and serviced maximum cards may be obtained from the Director, Philatelic Services and Intersapa, Private Bag x505, Pretoria 0001

appealed for help to the South African Government on the morning of October 9.

The Lesotho Minister of Manpower, Colonel D J Ntsohi, summoned the diplomatic representatives of Russia, China, West Germany, America, Britain, South Africa and the Common Market to his office.

"By six o'clock that evening the first two South African Air Force helicopters had arrived in Lesotho," said South Africa's Trade Representative in Maseru, Mr Ghemus Geldenhuys.

● A trade and industry subcommittee will soon be established between South Africa and Lesotho to deal with matters concerning small business development and border liaison between the respective chambers of trade and industry.

This was one of the most important decisions taken in Cape Town recently during discussions between senior government officials from South Africa and Lesotho.

**Beeld**, October 12; **Die Transvaler**, September 22

## SA, Malawi sign accord

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F Botha, signed an agreement with the Malawian Government on September 23 to provide special training courses for Malawian nurses in South Africa.

Mr Botha and the deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Glen Babb, were on an official visit to Blantyre.

After an enthusiastic welcome at the airport, the South Africans had talks with the Malawian Government on a number of topics.

The five-year training courses will be in the clinical and non-clinical fields.

After the signing Mr Botha said that what Africa needed was health services, job opportunities, stability, transport and agricultural development.

He paid tribute to Malawi's President Hastings Kamuzu Banda, who "is not interested in international political adventures, but in the development of his own people".

**South African Press Association**, September 24

# The peoples of South Africa Making up the nation

Compiled from the **Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa — 1986**  
Pictures: **Bureau for Information, The Citizen**

This final article in the series on the peoples of South Africa deals with the Asian and Coloured (mixed-race) communities of the country. Both groups form an integral part of the ethnic mosaic.

**According to the latest census data South Africa had a population of 800 000 Asians in 1985. This group is predominantly of Indian origin; the only major non-Indian group being the Chinese, who number about one percent of the total Asian population.**

## **The Indians**

The Indian community owes its presence in South Africa primarily to the demand by farmers in the then British colony of Natal for the recruitment of Indian labourers to work on the newly established sugar plantations.

The first labourers, the majority of whom were Hindus, arrived in 1860. They were indentured by their employers for three — subsequently five — years. At the end of this period they were allowed to renew their original contract, return to India or accept a portion of Crown land equal in value to the cost of a return passage.

The majority chose land and took up occupations to which they were suited. The indentured labourers were followed by other groups who were called "passenger" Indians because they paid their passage. Most came from India, were Muslims and chose to live and conduct their commercial activities in Natal.

It is estimated that 85 percent of the total number of Indians live in Natal — the majority within a radius of 150 km of the port city of Durban where the first Indian immigrants landed. About two-thirds of the remainder live in the industrial area of the Witwatersrand and Pretoria, while the rest are scattered in small groups mainly in the country districts of Natal and the Transvaal.

The Indians in South Africa are not culturally homogeneous. There are marked differences between linguistic groups. The Hindus, for example, are divided into four groups who speak Tamil and Telugu (southern Indian origin), Hindustani (northern India) and Gujarati (western India). The Muslims speak Urdu and Gujarati.

Each group, in turn, possesses its own cultural heritage. South African Indians must, therefore, be seen against their different religious and cultural backgrounds. While differences, mostly of a linguistic and religious nature, modify the homogeneity of the Indian community, they do not undermine its unity. The Indians in South Africa continue to constitute a single community whose members occupy numerous positions in the occupational and social hierarchy.

## **The Chinese**

After the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) the shortage of labour for the mines prompted the authorities to approve the recruitment of Chinese labour

and by 1906 there were 50 000 Chinese employed on the Witwatersrand. However, the improved recruiting of Black labour made the presence of many Chinese unnecessary and in 1908 repatriation began. By 1910 most of the labourers had returned to China.

The next influx of Chinese into South Africa commenced in the 1920s and were men and women from a higher social background.

The present South African Chinese community is comprised of descendants of immigrants who came to the country in response to the business potential generated by the gold and diamond industries.

Currently the South African Chinese population numbers about 11 020. Most of them live in Johannesburg and elsewhere on the Witwatersrand. A considerable number are settled in Port Elizabeth with smaller communities in Pretoria, East London, Cape Town, Durban and Kimberley.

Chinese are found in all the major professions. Politically they favour a capitalist system and their sympathies generally lie with the Republic of China rather than Communist China.

## **The Coloured people**

Like the Afrikaners, the Coloured population is indigenous to South Africa — the result of contact between Whites, Khoikhoi and Malayan slaves. The 1980 census showed that of the 2 825 094 Coloured people in the country, about 84,9 percent lived in the Cape Province, with the main concentration in the Cape Peninsula and neighbouring districts. The Coloured people include two subcultural groups — the Griquas and Cape Malays.

The Griquas are largely of Hottentot-European ancestry and settled in the north-western and north-eastern parts of the Cape Province.

The Cape Malays are a mixture of Indians, Sinhalese, Chinese, Indonesians and Malagasy brought together by the Mohammedan faith. Originally the Cape Malays were independent craftsmen and artisans. Recently, however, industrial development has drawn many from their traditional trades into factory work.

In religion, language and general way of life, Coloured people have always been closely associated with Whites. Their culture and values are

distinctly Western. Eighty-seven percent of all Coloured people are members of a Christian church. Slightly more than six percent are Muslims. Approximately 90 percent speak Afrikaans while the rest are mainly English-speaking.

The Coloured people have a natural feeling for rhythm and a strong love of music to which they give expression freely and frequently. Many individuals and societies have excelled in ballet, drama, the fine arts and literature.

1. *Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the (Indian) House of Delegates*

2. *Cheryl Lai, a B Com student at Witwatersrand University, is crowned Miss Double Ten by former Miss South Africa Sandy M'Crystal at a glittering Chinese National Day Ball in Johannesburg recently*

3. *The Reverend Allan Hendrickse, Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the (Coloured) House of Representatives*

4. *Malayan women with a large copper pot, called a "gatter", which is used for cooking meals at weddings and feasts. The Malays live in the Cape Peninsula, particularly in the well-known Malay Quarter in Cape Town*

5. *Mrs Indu Bodasing, the wife of Mr Pat Bodasing, president of the Natal Cane Growers' Association, with her daughter, Roshini, a graduate of the University of Durban-Westville*

6. . . . *And another day's work is done! Compulsory education for Coloured pupils of school-going age has been introduced gradually since 1974. In 1984 a total of 780 677 Coloured children attended schools in South Africa*

7. *An Indian curio shop in Durban. With the exception of the Indians in Sri Lanka, the South African Indian population is believed to be the largest group of people of Indian origin outside India, Bangladesh and Pakistan*





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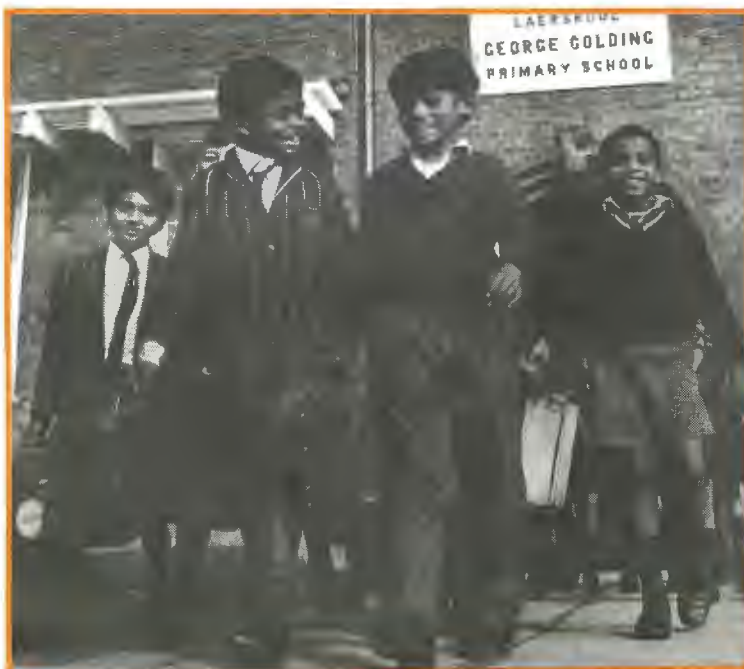
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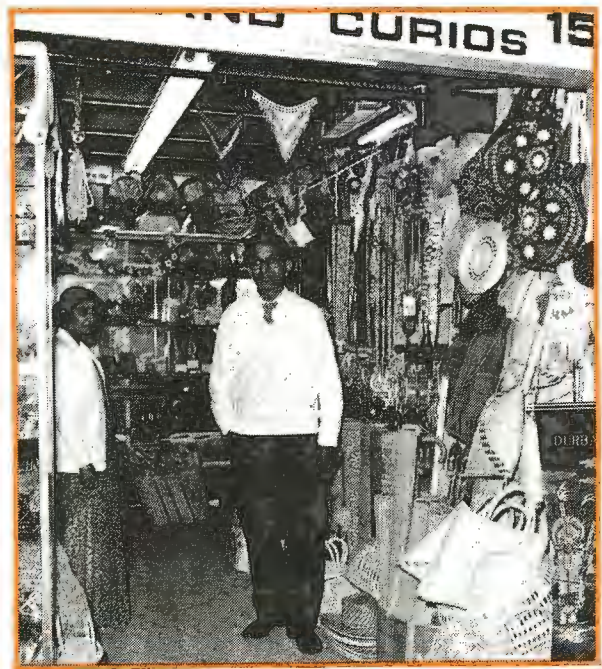
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## Banking talks 'encouraging'

It was ironical that South Africa should be the target of a concerted international effort to depress its development when it was the only country in sub-Saharan Africa capable of alleviating the poverty of other countries in the region, the South African Minister of Finance, Mr Bar-end du Plessis, said in Washington DC on September 30.

In a speech prepared for delivery at the joint annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Mr du Plessis said that, during the past few years, South Africa had had to contend with many adverse influences and had to cope with its own international debt redemption problem.

The debt problem arose from a temporary liquidity crunch and not from an over-extended debt-servicing commitment.

"By the end of this year South Africa would have no outstanding commitment on any IMF facilities and would be in a better position to consolidate its remaining commitments to its private sector creditors."

On the subject of the economic

problems of sub-Saharan Africa, he said the tragic reality was that disinvestment from South Africa had proved to be a disinvestment from sub-Saharan Africa.

Mr du Plessis confirmed South Africa had repaid almost \$4,5 billion of foreign debt over the past two years. He expected that, by the end of the year, the country would have no outstanding IMF commitments.

● South Africa's international financial rating has improved dramatically over the past year, the Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr Kent Durr, said on his return from the IMF/World Bank meeting in Washington.

"International bankers were suitably impressed with the manner in which we've built up our reserves in the wake of our liquidity crunch of two years ago and the way in which we repaid our external debt and met all our interest commitments.

"The international financial community is, thankfully, becoming increasingly conscious of South Africa's important role in the subcontinent and its willingness to assist its neighbours," said Mr Durr.

**The Daily News, The Citizen and Business Day, October 1; Weekend Argus, October 3**

### GOLD PRICE

London am fix: 459,65(461,85)  
pm fix: 459,20(461,75)  
closing: 459/459,50(461,75/462,25)  
Zurich closing: 458/461(460/463)

FINANCIAL RAND (in US\$)	Buy	Sell	Last
KRUGGERAND	0,2950	0,3000	0,3000
		R1 202	R1 200

**The Citizen, October 14**



The winner of the Nedbank group's award for the MBA Student of the Year is a part-time student at the University of Durban-Westville, Mr Mujesh Parekh (left). Mr Parekh, who received R3 000 in prize-money, was chosen from 12 outstanding candidates nominated by their universities for the award. Mr Owen Horwood (right), chairman of the Nedbank group and of the panel of judges, said the award acknowledges business enterprise, leadership qualities and community involvement

Die Vaderland

## SA economy is 'sound'

South Africa faces daunting political and economic challenges as does sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, Dr Gerhard de Kock, governor of the South African Reserve Bank, said in Zurich on October 8.

Speaking at a meeting of the Swiss-South African Association, Dr de Kock said, "If the socio-economic and political development of South and Southern Africa is to approach anything like its true potential, some misconceptions first have to be corrected."

He stressed South Africa was not on the brink of political revolution or economic collapse.

"The essential process of peaceful and evolutionary political reform is continuing while law and order are being maintained. The South African economy is sound and strong. It has just produced an almost unparalleled balance of payments and debt repayment performance, and is now growing at a steady if unspectacular rate," he said.

**Pretoria News and The Citizen, October 9**

## Bank 125 years old

The Standard Bank of South Africa celebrates its 125th anniversary on October 12.

The bank was established in Port Elizabeth in 1862 with a capital of £1 million. Its founder and first chairman was Mr John Paterson, politician, industrialist and editor/owner of the *Eastern Province Herald*.

Standard was the first bank to open on the Kimberley diamond fields, first on the Witwatersrand gold fields and it played a leading role in bringing banking to countries such as Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Nyasaland (Malawi), Mozambique and East Africa (Kenya).

The Standard Bank is today

part of South Africa's largest banking and financial services group, Standard Bank Investment Corporation. With assets of more than R19 000 million, the group employs 23 000 people and provides its services through over 900 outlets country-wide.

To commemorate the anniversary, a priceless archival collection of correspondence between the bank's general managers and the old London head office (1863-1910) has been assembled in a volume that will be distributed to libraries world-wide. The correspondence is regarded as one of the most authoritative reference sources available on the economic development of South Africa during this period.

**The Citizen, October 12**



## Zulu kraal in Transvaal

A unique 45-hut Zulu kraal was unveiled at Muldersdrift, 40 km north of Johannesburg on September 30.

It will be a "living" kraal which will accommodate a settlement of 37 Zulus from KwaZulu as well as over-night guests.

The name of the R250 000 kraal, *Phumangena*, means "go, but come back".

Phumangena's residents, who include two witchdoctors, two blacksmiths, 12 serving maidens and 15 warriors, will support themselves by selling beadwork, pottery, spears and shields to visitors.

Owner Mr Frans Richter says, "It will be a self-supporting village with a heavy emphasis on education. Foreign tourists as well as South Africans will be able to see traditional tribal life near Johannesburg."

The kraal has been constructed as authentically as possible. Everything except the grass was transported from KwaZulu. Goats and Nguni cattle give the kraal an authentic smell.

The kraal is situated between two



Phumangena residents perform tribal dancing

The Citizen

luxury hotels so that it will be possible for visitors to break away for a night. They can then enjoy traditional food, taste sorghum beer and

enjoy tribal dancing before retiring to a typical Zulu hut.

**The Citizen**, October 1; **Sunday Times**, September 13



South African breakfast TV presenters Ruda Landman and David Hall-Green with one of Hall-Green's watercolours of steam locomotives that were unveiled to the media at the Johannesburg station recently. The series of 12 paintings have been reproduced on greeting cards that will be on sale at the South African Transport Services museum shop at the station

The Citizen

## Well-known actress dies

Well-known South African actress, Vivienne Drummond, died on October 7 after a long illness.

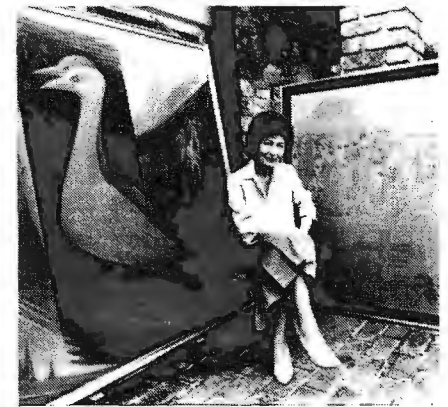
Miss Drummond, who was born in Pretoria 61 years ago, devoted over 30 years of her life to acting, 20 of them on the British stage.

She left for Britain in 1953 and made a big name for herself there, starring with people such as Alan Bates, Sir Laurence Olivier, Dirk Bogarde, Vivien Leigh, Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies and many others. She toured with the original run of John Osborne's famous play *Look Back in Anger* when it went to Moscow.

She returned to South Africa in 1969, to star in *A Month in the Country* for the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal.

In 1978 she was awarded the Fleur du Cap award as best actress for her part in the Tennessee Williams play *Sweet Bird of Youth*.

**The Citizen**, October 9



An exhibition by Pretoria artist Bettie Cilliers-Barnard of 48 large works of art in the Taipei Fine Arts Museum has forged new cultural links between South Africa and the Republic of China. The exhibition covered her various stages of development. Emphasis was on her more recent work, which is primarily symbolic as the aim is to "expose" herself as a South African artist. The exhibition occupied four galleries in the museum and was well-received

Pretoria News

# Comment & Opinion

## NATIONAL

### Group Areas Act/Natal floods/Open hotels

(Refer to articles on pages 3 and 4)

## Transvaal

### Courageous step

Acceptance by the Government of open residential areas, as recommended in the President's Council report, amounts to the most far-reaching change to the Group Areas Act since its inception in 1950, without sacrificing the principle of group protection.

Examined closely, there was no other alternative to this contentious and offensive Act. Its time had simply run out in its present form.

It is unfortunately so that selfish, ultra-conservative elements would like to maintain rigid statutory division for many years to come, and turn a deaf ear and blind eye to the unpleasantness resulting from implementation of this law. These people do not, in fact, consider the reasonable desires of everybody.

Opposed to this, some people, even population groups, want to see the Act abolished in its entirety because they are of the opinion that they have nothing to lose, but would only improve their social and economic position considerably. The question is: do these people really see further than their noses?

The acceptance of the principle of open areas is in our opinion a courageous and fair step which will remove forever the sting of enforcement from this inevitable separation measure.

An oversimplified interpretation boils down to a situation where each can rightfully choose to live where he would be happy — among people of his own group, or among people comprised of all groups, because the Act provides for both alternatives.

It can be accepted that the new dispensation regarding the Group Areas Act will be implemented gradually. There can be no question of throwing everything open overnight and creating grey areas. The needs and wishes of people will have to be considered without arousing resentment or creating a threatening atmosphere.

We therefore hope that the envi-

saged council of experts will set about this delicate task with great circumspection and will acquit themselves admirably thereof.

Pretoria

A — October 7

## The Daily News

### On the tightrope

Considering that the circumstances were politically awkward for him, President Botha performed a fairly nimble tightrope walk when he discussed Group Areas in Parliament yesterday. Predictably, he satisfied neither the Right nor the Left, and it is quite possible that he did not satisfy many members of his own party.

On the one hand, he said, open residential areas would be permitted in the future. On the other hand, one could not deny people the right to live among their own kind. On the one hand, private schools could admit whom they wished. On the other hand, State schools would remain segregated. As for the Separate Amenities Act, that would have to be further investigated.

Whether this is vacillation or pragmatism depends on one's point of view. It is progress of a kind, bearing in mind the fact that the Government's starting point was one located psychologically somewhere in the late nineteenth century. It is not too many years ago that mixed schooling and mixed sport were roundly condemned by the Government.

Nevertheless Mr Botha has shrunk from grasping the nettle. He intends creating committees of "experts" to re-

commend whether an area should be open or racially exclusive, after hearing representations from residents. Where there is a difference of views it is not difficult to guess which one is likely to prevail.

Friends and critics abroad will not be impressed by the concessions. At best they will hope, as many people here will, that these are just the first faltering steps on the road to a truly open society.

Durban

E — October 6



### The floods in Natal

The disaster in Natal has touched the hearts of the nation. The tragic loss of life; the destruction of homes; the damage to businesses and the livelihood of families have shocked the country — and those directly affected by the floods are assured of the compassion and sympathy of all South Africans. The sorrow is not confined to Natal; it has been a national calamity.

The floods called for an immediate response — for quick and co-ordinated action — and this challenge was met. The machinery of the central government interlocked with that of the administration of the House of Delegates, the Natal Provincial Administration, the Government of KwaZulu, local authorities, Civil Defence units and a host of service organisations, voluntary bodies and private sector groups such as the Red Cross and the National Sea Rescue Institute. The Defence Force, the South African Police, the Department of Health, Escom, municipal police and traffic departments and many others were co-ordinated into a mighty structure that mounted rescue and repair operations around the clock.

Without such a structure — strong State machinery, solid regional government, well-organised emergency services and a stable economy — no country could hope to rely on its own

### LANGUAGE CODE

For those readers who are not familiar with South Africa's news media, the code indicates whether editorials originally appeared in English-language or Afrikaans-language newspapers. An A or E preceding the date of publication — at the end of each editorial — denotes Afrikaans or English. E/A denotes English and Afrikaans, as in the case of radio commentary broadcast in both languages.



resources to overcome a major disaster.

Individuals played their part, too: there were many heroic deeds, and some sacrificed their lives in helping others to safety.

But it was not only the challenge for co-ordinated action that was met in Natal this week. There was a need for co-operation — between the authorities and the public, and between people of different population groups — in order to restrict as far as possible the dimensions of the tragedy. This, too, was forthcoming in abundant measure as those faced by common adversity stood together.

The spirit of Natal is epitomised in the fact that, even as they were recovering from the shock of the floods, Natalians were assuring up-country holidaymakers of a cordial welcome during the holiday season that is about to start.

South Africa mourns the victims of the floods in Natal but salutes with pride those who faced up to their individual, as well as the larger, challenges

and who came through the ordeal with fortitude.

Johannesburg E/A — October 1

## Evening Post

### Open doors at the inns

Fedhasa — the Federated Hotel and Catering Association — has been patting its industry on the back for an excellent demolition job on racial barriers.

Many South Africans, if they stop to take stock of the situation, would be likely to agree.

Certainly, the industry has come a long way since the days when only the few blacks who could afford it could make use of selected privileges at hotels graded "international".

Nowadays people of all races mingle without friction at hotels across the country.

Fedhasa's figures bear this out. According to Mr Fred Thermann, the association's executive director, by far the majority of member hotels have

adopted an all-races policy. He says that represents 90% of the industry and that this transition has gone smoothly.

Thanks to amended legislation, hailed last year as "a major social breakthrough", hoteliers themselves now have the right to decide who will be admitted. Mr Thermann says there are now only a few exceptions to the open-door policy.

He did mention some hitches, saying that the public themselves had made it difficult to maintain this policy in certain places.

Generally speaking, the transition has taken place so gradually that many people can scarcely be aware of it. Integration has become the accepted norm in hotels, just as it is in SAA's aircraft, in so many businesses and in the world brought to us by American TV programmes.

There is a good lesson in the fact that painless change can be brought to the wider society. That easy "major social breakthrough" at so many hotels must help erode the prejudices that still bedevil the lives of many people. Port Elizabeth E — October 2

## INTERNATIONAL

### Commonwealth conference/Sanctions

(Refer to articles on pages 5)

## The Natal Mercury

### A sobering note

African Commonwealth countries and others who are not, along with those Western political haemophiliacs who have still to learn that pulling out one's hair and rending one's clothes will not end apartheid in a strong and resilient South Africa, look like having the whole campaign turn sour on them.

Trade with our neighbours continues to boom and, most humiliating on the eve of the Vancouver 'summit', Zimbabwe National Railways has had to borrow 10 diesel locomotives and 250 rail trucks from this country to get its annual sugar crop to Durban. A shortage of foreign currency, following on profligate spending and the failure of local crops, as well as a shortage of skilled artisans, has left as much as 40% of Zimbabwe's locomotives immobile. In spite of reconstruction of

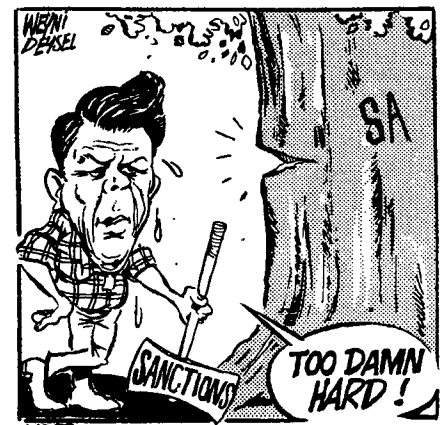
the Beira corridor, 80% of Zimbabwe's trade is still travelling over S A railway lines. And the accounts for the rest of neighbouring Africa are hardly different.

Meanwhile, in the other centre of the sanctions campaign, the United States, where Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and Dr Chester Crocker have finally conceded that 'the whole experience of Western policy debate over SA for the past generation has been a very sobering experience, the hoary truism about there being "no easy answers" having been powerfully brought home', renewed hysterical rhetoric in Congress about the need to impose a comprehensive trade and investment embargo also looks like falling apart.

As our man in Washington Simon Barber reports, a new sanctions Bill in Congress does not have the votes. This impotence of outsiders is matched by growing pressure from within the country against punitive measures which serve only to endanger the jobs of tens of thousands of local blacks,

the latest survey of the German Africa Foundation in Bonn showing, for example, that two-thirds of black coal miners reject punitive measures.

There is, of course, no room for complacency or euphoria. Cool heads in Pretoria and Cape Town and a policy of business as usual serves us best. The usual African antics require that lightning crackle about the sky, but life goes on.



Sunday Times

And hopefully with the rest of the thinking world having learned that sanctions, as Dr Crocker has said, are 'yesterday's agenda' and that no measures short of armed invasion — also an impossibility — could hope to wrest the destiny of Southern Africa from South Africa's hands, perhaps they'll now let us get on with it.

A direct and significant benefit would be that President Botha would have to spend more time talking about and solving South Africa's problems, instead of enjoying the breather of a Western-fostered diversion.

Some black political organisations have found it profitable to exploit the 'useful idiots,' mainly white liberals.

Elements of Black Consciousness contend they get in the way of real solutions. Looks as though even the hard heads of the Left have finally discovered that the only solutions will be found here — by South Africans, of all colours.

Durban

E — October 6

## Engineering News

### Sanctions have failed

President Ronald Reagan has said it — sanctions have failed to move South Africa significantly away from apartheid.

The stick has been tried, will Con-

gress now go for the carrot?

We think not and fear that a switch will merely be made to a heavier cane with which to beat the behind of a recalcitrant South Africa which has evaded sanctions by finding alternative markets and alternative countries of origin from which to spring their exports made attractive by the weak local currency.

Johannesburg

E — October 9

While *SA Digest* welcomes letters of inquiry regarding articles, people or firms, it greatly facilitates matters if correspondents give full particulars, i.e. issue, page and title, of the specific article about which they would like more information.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

### Transkei/Angola

(Refer to articles on pages 6 and 7)

## Die Volksblad

### Premier Stella Sigcau

To take over the premiership of a country shortly after it has been shaken by evidence of large-scale corruption and while there is still great uncertainty of the degree to which the whole story of misappropriation of public funds is to be exposed, is no easy task.

Miss Stella Sigcau, newly appointed Prime Minister of Transkei, will have to show her strength in the following months. She will not only have to reassure the taxpayers about unsullied administration and witness the political funeral of the house of Matanzima, but will have to achieve this in a manner that will not precipitate ethnic vendettas. Like President Tutor Ndumase she is a Mpondo, while the Matanzimas — who held the reins since before Transkeian independence — are Thembus.

The fact that the other candidates stood back in favour of her illustrates that her power base in negotiations behind the scenes was convincing. With 17 years' experience in the Cabinet and with a reputation of diligence and integrity, she is well-equipped for the job.

Encouraging is also the tranquillity in the country while the change of government was carried out, which points to political stability and a gen-

eral acceptance of the democratic process.

South Africans who would like to see Transkei remain tranquil and grow economically, wish her all the best for her task and welcome her assurance that she strives for good neighbourliness.

Bloemfontein

A — October 7



### A new Prime Minister for Transkei

In the independent states of Africa, effective political power has been held by 166 rulers since 1960, if one excludes the two Queen Regents who held their positions for a short period in Swaziland. All 166 African rulers have been men. Now, for the first time, a woman has taken over the reins of government in an African state.

She is Miss Stella Sigcau, a widow and the mother of three children, who is the new Prime Minister of Transkei. She is of royal blood, the daughter of the late Botha Sigcau, who was the Paramount Chief of the Eastern Pondos and the first President of Transkei on independence in 1976. Miss Sigcau has been prominent in Transkeian politics for many years and was Minister of Posts and Telecommunications at the time of her election as Transkei's third Prime Minister.

Miss Sigcau succeeds Mr George Matanzima, who, in turn, had succeeded his brother, Kaiser, the Paramount Chief of the Emigrant Tembu. Thus has ended an era in Transkei which, for 11 years of independence and for many years of self-government, saw the political domination of the Matanzima brothers and the pre-eminence in the corridors of power of the Tembus. The new era that has now begun in Transkei sees not only a Pondo installed as head of government but also the Paramount Chief of the Western Pondos as head of state.

The transition to a new regime has taken place amidst much drama and against the background of allegations of financial mismanagement within the Government. But it has been a smooth transition. There has been none of the bloodshed and upheaval that has characterised so many transfers of power in Africa in the past 30 years or so.

The task facing Miss Sigcau is a daunting one. Transkei is a developing country and as such faces the problem common to most Third World countries of stimulating real economic development against the background of a huge reservoir of manpower with few or no skills and a population that is growing at an excessively high rate.

Nevertheless, Transkei has, in the context of a developing African country, made significant progress in 11 years of independence. In these 11 years, industrialisation has grown



four-fold, while the per capita gross national product has doubled in seven years to nearly R900 and is today higher than that in, for example, Zambia.

Transkei has been a pioneer in the process of self-determination of the peoples of Southern Africa. Now a pioneering role is being played by her Prime Minister as the first woman in Africa to head a government in an independent state.

South Africans congratulate Miss Stella Sigcau and wish her well in her new responsibilities.

Johannesburg E/A — October 8

## Oosterlig

### Angolan cauldron

Angola is the cauldron of Southern Africa and the biggest communist onslaught yet has just been launched there. South Africa cannot afford to remain neutral as it is the eventual target of Russian strategy in this part of

the world.

Nowhere in Africa is there such a vast gathering of Cuban soldiers and now also Russian officers, as in Angola. Indeed, the fact that the onslaught against pro-Western Unita is now being carried out by Russians, points to Moscow's growing impatience with the MPLA's inability to deal with Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

If South Africa's assistance to Unita were instrumental in fighting off the MPLA's Fapla forces, then no-one can take it amiss. Even if its involvement becomes greater than the "limited presence" which General Magnus Malan has confirmed, then there are good reasons for it.

Angola is the springboard for Swapo's attempt to conquer South West Africa/Namibia. For this Russia is lending massive military assistance. And, as Dr Savimbi succinctly points out, if the communists succeed in subjugating SWA/Namibia then South Africa will be the next target. Unita stands in the way of an escalating struggle against SWA/Namibia.

It is no tall story that Angola also serves as a host country to African National Congress (ANC) terrorists. Unita has delivered further evidence of this by presenting to the Press two ANC terrorists taken prisoner in Angola. They are fighting side by side with Fapla forces. Unita's enemies are also those of South Africa.

However, the war in Angola is about more than South Africa. The West has an interest in ensuring that the southern tip of Africa does not fall into communist hands. If Moscow's strategy succeeds, it will be in a position to blackmail Western powers and prescribe to them. America helps Angola, but the impression exists that more ought to be done.

Unita is the pivot in Angola around which revolve the interests of South Africa and the West. South Africa cannot become directly involved in a war against Russia. It must be accepted, however, that more assistance to Unita by South Africa, as well as America, is inevitable if it were to become necessary to prevent greater Russian domination in Southern Africa.

Port Elizabeth A — October 5

## SPORT



South African World Boxing Association junior lightweight champion Brian Mitchell (left) defeated French challenger Daniel Londas unanimously over 15 rounds in the French port town of Gravelines, near Calais, on October 3. Mitchell's victory ensured a place for him in the record books of South African boxing. He equalled Vic Toweel's long-standing record of three successful world title defences

The Citizen

### SA wins world Hobie race

Cape Town Springbok Allan Lawrence won the Hobie 14 world championships in Mauritius on Sep-

tember 30 and was presented with the winner's trophy by the Duke and Duchess of York.

The University of Cape Town student won in convincing fashion with 20 points.

Second was Hiro de Maeyer of Tahiti with 34 points.

Another two South Africans, David Kruyt and William Edwards, took third and fourth places.

America, Australia, Britain, France, Spain, Switzerland, Mauritius, Tahiti, Brazil and South Africa competed in the event.

The Argus, October 1; Die Burger, October 2

### New badminton champion

Johan Bosman of Pretoria is the new South African badminton singles champion. Bosman (Northern Transvaal) defeated Anton Kriel of Southern Transvaal 15-8, 10-15 and 15-7 in the final held in Ermelo in the Transvaal.

Die Transvaler, September 18



South African show-jumper Gonda Betrix (above) has won the World Show-Jumping Championships title. Twice runner-up in the event in 1979 and 1980 Mrs Betrix has been advised by the FEI, the international show-jumping body, that the time she set on her horse, AMD Flaunt, in Johannesburg in September earned her the crown. She will receive her trophy from FEI president Princess Anne in Paris in December

The Citizen



# Facts and Figures

## South African military and civil honours

The Republic of South Africa has two orders — the military Order of the Star of South Africa, and the civilian Order of Good Hope.

The **Order of Good Hope** is bestowed on dignitaries who have distinguished themselves in the promotion of international relations and who have earned the respect and gratitude of South Africa.

The order is awarded in five classes: Grand Collar to heads of state; Grand Cross to prime ministers and other state ministers; Grand Officer to members of legislative bodies; Commander to *charges d'affaires*; Officer to secretaries of diplomatic missions and to other persons in each category, depending upon their particular status.

The **Decoration for Meritorious Service** is awarded by the State President in recognition of exceptionally distinguished services to the country by South African citizens and permanent residents of South Africa. The decoration involves no designation, title, rank or privilege, but confers upon the recipient the right to append to his name the letters DMS (English) or DVD (Afrikaans).

The most important honours are the four Honoris Crux decorations awarded to all ranks of the South African Defence Force (SADF) for heroic deeds in time of peace or war. The highest honour is the **Honoris Crux Diamond (HCD)**, awarded for the highest degree of heroism and bravery. The **Honoris Crux Gold (HCG)**, **Honoris Crux Silver (HCS)**, and **Honoris Crux (HC)** are awarded for lower degrees of heroism and bravery.

In addition to the Honoris Crux decorations, the most important is the **Order of the Star of South Africa (SSA)**, in two grades. The order may only be awarded to general officers of the SADF who have distinguished

themselves by promoting the efficiency and preparedness of the SADF. The **Order of the Star of South Africa Silver (SSAS)** may be awarded to general officers and brigadiers of the SADF for exceptionally meritorious service of major military importance to South Africa.

Persons to whom these medals have been awarded will be entitled to post-nominal titles. This privilege is reserved for recipients of orders and decorations only.

Two decorations, the **Southern Cross Decoration (SD)** and the **Pro Merito Decoration (PMD)**, may be awarded to officers and other ranks of the SADF for outstanding service and utmost devotion to duty.

The **Southern Cross Medal (SM)** and **Pro Merito Medal (PMM)** may be awarded to officers and other ranks of the SADF for exceptionally meritorious service and particular devotion to duty.

The **SADF Good Service Medal** comprises a bronze medal (10 years' qualifying service), silver medal (20 years), gold medal (30 years) and clasp to the gold medal (40 years). The medal may be awarded to any member of the Permanent Force, Citizen Force and Commandos, with a different ribbon for each of these branches.

Other good service medals are the **John Chard Decoration (JCD)** and **John Chard Medal (JCM)** for members of the Citizen Force, and the **De Wet Decoration (DWD)** for officers in the Commandos.

The **Chief of the SADF Commendation Medal**, an award for service of a high order, may be awarded to all ranks in the SADF.

The **Danie Theron Medal** is awarded to officers and other ranks in the Commandos

for exceptionally diligent and outstanding service.

The **Pro Patria Medal** is awarded to all ranks in the SADF for services rendered in connection with the prevention of terrorism or service in the defence of the country.

The **Castle of Good Hope Decoration (CGH)** may be awarded to all ranks in the SADF for heroism in the field; the **Cadet Corps Medal** is awarded for 20 years' efficient service in the Cadet Corps; the **Korea Medal** for service during the Korean campaign, and the **Mentioned in Despatches** for meritorious service or devotion to duty in time of war.

The **SADF Champion Shot Medal** is awarded annually to champions in the various sections.

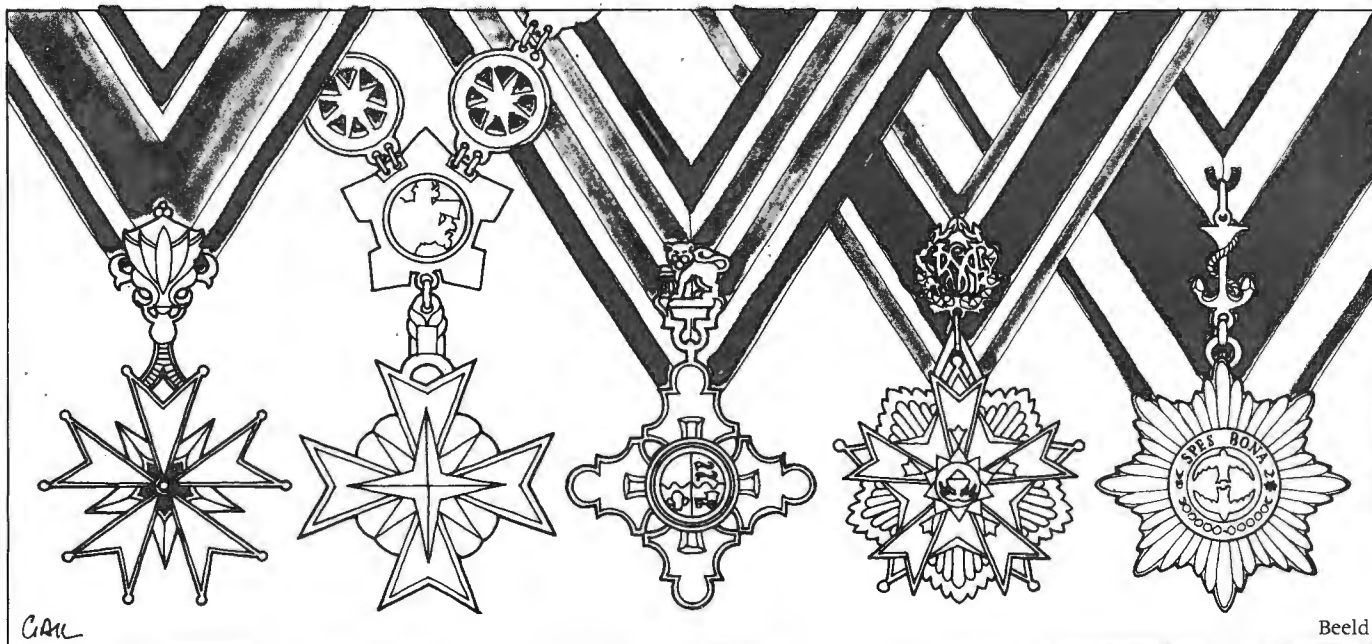
Bravery by civilians is recognised by the award commonly known as the **Woltemade Decoration**, which is awarded for saving life at great risk and is awarded in gold, silver or bronze depending on the degree of the risk suffered.

The **Civil Defence Medal for Bravery** is awarded to members of fire-brigade services, members of approved first aid organisations or other persons performing deeds of exceptional bravery within the ambit of the Civil Defence Act, (Act 3 of 1966).

There are two honours that have no relationship with the others, namely the **State President's Award for Sport** and the **Award for Long Service in the Public Service**.

★

Source: *Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa — 1986*



The Order of the Southern Cross

The Order of the Star of South Africa

The Order for Meritorious Service

The Decoration for Meritorious Service

The Order of Good Hope

### Editorial

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# A LETTER FROM SOUTH AFRICA

From:  
PIET KOORNHOF  
Ambassador

a monthly viewpoint on  
South Africa

NO. 10

OCTOBER 1, 1987

## A ROADMAP FOR FURTHER CHANGE

~~"The only honest choice for the ANC is to accept the peaceful rules of a democratic struggle and to come home and help build a peaceful and democratic society for all the people of South Africa."~~

- Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe  
Deputy Minister for Constitutional Planning  
Office of President Botha

Step-by-step over the last several months, my Government has laid out a roadmap by which South Africans of all races can effectively and directly reach our shared goal of establishing a fully democratic society.

This new roadmap stretches outward from the major milestones reached earlier -- the abolition of the Pass Laws, the legalization of inter-racial marriages, the desegregation of trade unions, public accommodations, sports, and business districts, and the elimination of an all-white parliament.

Simply stated, the roadmap charts new territory for the next phase of political and social change in South Africa.

Three new landmarks set down by recent Government action pave the way for a better future for all South Africans.

Firstly, universal suffrage for all blacks over 18 years of age will for the first time in the history of South Africa be the foundation for black representation on the National Council which is to frame a new constitution for the country.

Secondly, black leaders will hold one-half of the seats on the National Council and the balance will be held by the Asian, colored and white leaders.

Introducing the bill to establish the Council last month, Mr. Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development, said: "... The only point on the agenda is "a new constitutional dispensation in which all South Africans are represented and can participate."

Thirdly, significant new release procedures for prisoners such as ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Govan Mbeki have been established. The release of prisoners is now out of the hands of Government and placed solely with the judiciary. This represents a new opportunity for the ANC to "come home" and take part in the negotiations and development of a new democracy in South Africa.

In addition to these three landmarks charted by the Government, significant changes in the Group Areas Act, which provides for the segregation of neighborhoods, were recommended last month.

The proposed changes by a committee of the multi-racial President's Council will for the first time in 34 years remove statutory barriers to housing integration.

As South Africa moves ahead toward the extension of full civil rights to all its citizens, Americans can help by encouraging all in our society to this end and by discouraging those who perpetrate violence and support sanctions. South Africa now needs time and understanding as it proceeds toward the attainment of this goal.

Piet Kaunhof.



# *Southern Africa*

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### A DIGEST OF NEWS FROM THE REGION

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#### **South Africa: Trade Surplus Rises**

South Africa's trade surplus rose sharply by 62,57 percent in July 1987. Imports increased to \$1,38 billion from June to July and exports to \$2,2 billion.

This brings total exports for the first seven months of 1987 to \$12,11 billion and total imports to \$7,95 billion, creating a surplus of \$4,16 billion. The surplus for the first seven months of 1986 was \$3,86 billion.

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#### **South Africa: Enormous Growth in Black Education**

According to a recent report in a Johannesburg newspaper the number of Black school children in South Africa has grown by more than 80 percent from 1953 to 1987.

Between 1974 and 1986 the total number of Black students in high schools rose by 60 percent and the number of full-time Black students in their senior year, increased by 84 percent from 1979 to 1986. Comments the Department of Education and Training: "This represents a growth rate that would put tremendous pressures on even the best organized system."

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#### **Africa: South Africa Provides Medical Care**

South Africa's specialty medical service to Africa was reported recently by a Johannesburg newspaper. One thousand three hundred and ninety-eight citizens from African states including Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Kenya, received specialist care in South Africa in 1986. In this regard Dr Willie van Niekerk, the Minister for National Health, said that "South Africa is prepared to assist any other African country in need of specialized medical care."

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#### **South Africa: House Bargains for Soweto Residents**

The Soweto Council announced that it is offering houses for sale to residents for as little as \$76 (excluding survey and administration fees). This would vest full freehold rights in the residents, which means that they would own both the house and the land.

The cheapest homes consist of two rooms and the normal municipal services such as electricity, running water, sewage and trash disposal are available. Larger four-roomed homes range in price from \$180 to \$1,625 each.

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#### **Kenya: Work Permits of Foreign Correspondents To Be Reviewed**

President Daniel Arap Moi, apparently angered by mounting foreign press reports critical of Kenya's human rights record, has announced that the Government will re-examine the status of the more than 100 foreign reporters based in his country.

President Moi made the announcement after cutting short a European tour that was to have included Norway and Sweden. He dropped the two countries from his itinerary after what he characterized as a campaign by both countries to discredit his one-party state.

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#### **Zimbabwe: Ban on Meetings To Remain**

Zimbabwean Minister of Home Affairs, Enos Nkala says that meetings of the opposition ZAPU will remain banned for as long as is necessary.

Speaking on the local program, The Nation, on September 13, 1987, Mr Nkala said that dissidents operating in Matabeleland and Midland are using ZAPU structures to evade security forces and that the government would

soon deal with those who protected dissidents.

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#### **South Africa: Family Housing for Black Miners**

The Anglo American Corporation has announced plans to house thousands of its Black miners with their families near four of its gold mines.

The Managing Director of Anglo American's gold and uranium mines in Transvaal Province, Theo Pretorius, said that the company has already purchased the necessary land and contracted with developers to construct the housing.

The housing program for 24,000 miners with their families would accommodate more than 150,000 people, Mr Pretorius said.

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#### **South Africa: Successful International Prisoner Exchange**

On September 7, 1987 in the Mozambican capital of Maputo, 133 Angolan soldiers, Dutchman Klaas de Jonge and Frenchman Pierre-André Albertini were swapped for South African soldier Major Wynand du Toit.



The exchange agreement was reached after months of international diplomatic activity and sensitive negotiation involving the Governments of South Africa, France, the Netherlands, Ciskei, Angola and Mozambique, as well as Dr. Jonas Savimbi's Angolan Unita movement.

Describing the prisoner swap as "a triumph for negotiation

politics," the South African Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Kobus Meiring said South Africa had always favoured negotiation and co-operation rather than confrontation and violence.

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**Angola:  
Angolan Leader on  
Peace Talks with  
South Africa**

Angolan President Jose  
Eduardo Dos Santos,

addressing reporters at the end of a three-day visit to France in September 1987, said he is prepared to resume talks with South Africa on a regional peace accord.

Mr Dos Santos ruled out immediate talks with anti-Government UNITA forces but suggested some flexibility

in his country's position toward UNITA, saying a political solution would be possible once SWA/Namibia gained independence and foreign aid to UNITA was stopped.



# A Democratic Future: The Challenge for South Africans



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs  
Washington, D.C.

*Following is an address by Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, to a City University of New York conference on "South Africa in Transition," White Plains, New York, October 1, 1987.*

A couple of days ago, in a speech in New York, Secretary Shultz laid out a set of ideas that collectively described America's vision of a free South Africa. Prior to that speech, we had spoken out often on what we are against: racism, apartheid, cross-border violence, black disenfranchisement and economic exploitation, "necklacing," and terrorism—by any party.

On Tuesday the Secretary stated as clearly as possible what the United States is for in South Africa. Most of you have probably read the statement, or read about it, but I think it's useful for us to recapitulate the democratic precepts he enunciated. Briefly, the South Africa that we Americans—and, I daresay, most Western democracies—envisage is a society based on:

- A constitutional order establishing equal political, economic, and social rights for all South Africans;
- A democratic electoral system with multiparty participation and universal adult franchise;
- Effective constitutional guarantees of basic human rights for all South Africans as provided for in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

- The rule of law, safeguarded by an independent judiciary with the power to enforce rights guaranteed by the constitution to all South Africans;

- A constitutional allocation of powers between the national government and its constituent regional and local jurisdictions; and

- An economic system that guarantees economic freedom; allocates government social and economic services fairly; and enables all South Africans to realize the fruits of their labor, acquire and own property, and attain a decent standard of living.

You will notice that I described these democratic principles as what "we Americans" envisage for the future of South Africa. I did so because on these bedrock issues there is no significant disagreement in our country. Yes, we want an end to apartheid. But we want more than that. All Americans seek a South Africa based on these universal principles of freedom, justice, and equality.

## A Changing Debate

So the question of ends is not, and has not been, a matter of great controversy in this country. Rather, the impassioned debate of recent years has been—and remains—about the means

to achieve those ends. Today, I'd like to talk to you about means—about how to move from principles to practice, from vision to reality. And I'd like to talk specifically about what the United States can do, and—equally important—what it can't do; that is, what only South Africans themselves can do.

At the risk of some oversimplification, I would characterize the debate over the proper U.S. role in South Africa as spanning a spectrum that runs, at one end, from those who believe primarily in the power of persuasion and the efficacy of diplomacy, to those at the other end, who champion a policy of punishment and isolation. This is, of course, an exaggerated construct. Most serious participants in the South Africa debate advocate a mixture of measures drawn from both approaches.

Those nearer to the end of the spectrum that advocates use of diplomatic influence have operated on the premise that apartheid bears the seeds of its own destruction and that some in the white South African leadership realize this and are already seeking—often against extreme conservative opposition—to find a way out of this blind alley. A related premise is that apartheid's incompatibility with economic reason as well as moral principle will increasingly lead to change—changes of law, policy, and practice as well as changes in power relationships within the society.

In these circumstances, the most effective role the United States could play has been perceived to be support and encouragement of these forces for change, providing positive reinforcement for incremental moves and acknowledging progress toward a more open society when it occurs, while avoiding self-righteous moralizing and sanctimonious gestures. An active and socially conscious U.S. business presence in South Africa is an important element of this approach, acting as an agent of black economic empowerment and its inevitable concomitant, political consciousness. At the same time, political and psychological pressure, public criticism, and selective sanctions have played an important supportive role.

Unfortunately, the South African Government has been slow to take advantage of a unique opportunity to set a course toward extricating its people from the quicksand of apartheid. Many positive changes have unquestionably occurred in South Africa in recent years, including abolition of some of the most odious apartheid laws, and some of the wilder delusions of grand apartheid are being abandoned. But none of these measures have addressed the core of the South African dilemma: the issue of political equality. Sadly, external diplomatic efforts to hasten the pace of evolution away from apartheid and repression and toward a more open, democratic society have achieved only limited success.

Toward the other end of the spectrum have been those who believe that apartheid will not yield in any realistic or acceptable timeframe to diplomatic pressure and persuasion, selective criticism, and the progressive influence of Western economic and cultural presence. They are convinced that nothing short of the threat or even the actuality of total isolation and eventual economic ruination will bring the white South African leadership to its senses and compel them, however reluctantly, to negotiate or accede to a new political, economic, and social order.

Frustrated by the slow pace of evolutionary change and the brutal repression of mounting black protest, the U.S. Congress last year enacted aspects of this latter approach into law in the form of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, in the apparent belief that broad economic sanctions would achieve quickly what a mix of positive incentives and selective pressures had not brought about.

The experience of the last year has failed to bear out these expectations. While it is impossible to ascribe par-

ticular political and economic consequences to specific measures embodied in the act, we can agree that none of the actions on the part of the South African Government that the legislation hoped to achieve have, so far, taken place.

No meaningful reform has taken place since October 1986. The state of emergency has not been repealed; in fact, the earlier decree was toughened. Key political prisoners have not been released. Indeed, the number of political prisoners has vastly increased, including large numbers of minors. No timetable has been set for the elimination of the remaining apartheid laws. South Africa has not ended military and paramilitary activities against neighboring states. The cycle of violence and counterviolence between the South African Government and its opponents has, if anything, gotten worse.

All this doesn't mean that South Africans or their government are impervious to outside pressure or that we oppose all forms of pressure or sanctions in principle. Indeed, this Administration has itself voluntarily imposed sanctions, ones that were carefully targeted at apartheid-enforcing agencies and designed to avoid perverse consequences for our influence and unnecessary hardship to the very people in South Africa and the front-line states we were trying to help. But the government's response to external pressure over the last year gives no grounds for hope that more sanctions will produce better results. In passing and implementing last year's legislation, it is clear that we Americans oversold to ourselves what external sanctions could contribute to bringing about fundamental change in South Africa.

The whole experience of Western policy debate over South Africa for the past generation has been a very sobering experience for all concerned. The hoary truism about there being "no easy answers" has been brought powerfully home. As we near the end of the 1980s, a new consensus may be emerging around this proposition: there is no silver bullet, American or otherwise, that will end South Africa's suffering or solve its problems. Increasingly, it is understood that the demise of apartheid is an agonizingly long and often frustrating process; one on which we can have only marginal influence. As the economic stagnation that sanctions were intended to produce begins to exact a toll in declining living standards and rising black unemployment—

and as meaningful change does not occur in the face of such symbolically potent but practically impotent punitive measures—enthusiasm for even more drastic measures, such as legislatively mandated disinvestment, is receding. Sanctions are, I believe, yesterday's agenda, shown by today's events to be less helpful than they are injurious to the hopes of South Africans for tomorrow.

At the core of our sobering experience is the realization that there is a severe limit to what the United States—or any other outside power or combination of powers—can do to bring about change in South Africa. We can and we must continue to pursue a policy of both pressure and persuasion. The sanctions enacted in the 1980s and previous decades serve as a measure of our indignation at continuing racial injustice and repression. We will continue to use every appropriate form of peaceful persuasion to accelerate the pace of change. But we know now—more than ever—that the fate of South Africa is not in our hands.

### Break the Cycle of Violence

Secretary Shultz has just enunciated the democratic precepts and goals that underlie our policy—precepts that we hope will help South Africans build their future. They point to a vision that I believe many South Africans—of all races—can embrace. But it is one thing to articulate a vision; it is quite another to translate it into reality. The heart of my message to you today is that that Herculean task can only be accomplished by South Africans themselves. The United States can and will continue to encourage and support forces for democratic change and to catalyze, where possible, the painful, complex process of reconciliation and accommodation that must occur. But we cannot make the changes, and we cannot do the reconciling. Only South Africans themselves can do that.

The great future we envisage will remain beyond the reach of the South African people as long as their country is tortured by the violence of repression and armed resistance. Peace and justice can't be enforced by a state of emergency, denial of due process of law, and the silencing of political opponents. Nor can they be realized by revolutionary upheaval or cross-border guerrilla forays. These aspirations can only be achieved, I am convinced, by breaking down the walls of fear, suspicion, and profound mistrust that divide South Africans, black and white, from each other.



The problem was eloquently expressed by our ambassador to South Africa, Ed Perkins, in a recent talk in Johannesburg. He put it this way:

If I were to choose the most poignant thing I have witnessed since my arrival here, it would be the lack of knowledge and understanding [of each other] among South Africans. You live in two different political and economic worlds. You come from different social traditions. And you are only now getting to know each other. All over this lovely country, blacks have asked me what is it that whites are thinking, and whites have questioned me—almost wistfully sometimes—about life and thought in the townships.... The sad fact is that apartheid has been all too successful at keeping people separated and making it extremely difficult for them to establish normal structures which would facilitate communication.

If this gulf is ever to be bridged, South Africans must somehow begin to talk to each other and truly to get to know each other as equal human beings. I know that this is no simple undertaking; indeed, it is nearly impossible in the current climate of fear and insecurity—physical and psychological—in which all South Africans live. Such fear is not simply the product of ignorance and misunderstanding. It is a very real reaction to the ever-present threat—and reality—of violence in that deeply troubled land and to the looming unknowns of political change.

If dialogue is ever to have a chance, South Africans must find a way to turn away from violence in all its forms—the brutal violence of the *sjambok* [whip] and the grisly violence of the fiery “necklace”; the diabolical violence of jailhouse torture and the murderous hit squad; and the indiscriminate violence of the shopping-center bomb. If South Africans are ever going to negotiate a common future, they need to stop maiming and brutalizing each other before this becomes that country’s way of life.

The citizens of South Africa are not the only victims of this hideous cycle of violence. When real black anger takes the form of guerrilla attacks on isolated farms or car bombs in urban areas, the reaction, all too predictably, is for South Africa’s security forces to lash out against its neighbors. Violence begets violence, be it wholly indigenous or projected across borders. The sad price of individual blows against the symbols of apartheid or the symbols of resistance to it is likely to be long-term instability throughout the region. In such a regional cycle, the only winners are those leaders and decisionmakers who control the tools of violent action.

That is bad for the entire region and bad for the process of democratic change in South Africa. We have worked hard, and will continue to strive, to reduce southern Africa’s regional violence.

Almost as important as the reduction of violence is the maintenance of a dynamic economy. In an atmosphere of economic anxiety, with intensified competition for diminishing resources, trust and dialogue will be even harder to build. In this sphere, we and other Western nations have an important role to play. Continued vigorous participation by U.S. business in the South African economy, guided by the still-valid Sullivan principles and notwithstanding the countervailing effect of sanctions, is an important factor in sustaining a climate of economic hope in which black, brown, and white South Africans realize that the politics of negotiation do not need to become a zero-sum game.

If these conditions can be met, there are grounds to hope that dialogue can lead the way to a brighter future for South Africa. Already there are hopeful signs here and there that South Africans of vision, good will, and courage are reaching out across the racial divide in an effort to communicate and to explore a common future.

Just 2 months ago, as you are all aware, a group of prominent Afrikaners—intellectuals, businessmen, and even politicians—traveled to Dakar to meet with a delegation from the African National Congress (ANC). The very fact of the meeting was a historic first, with participants on both sides awed by the extent to which they agreed about what needed to be done in South Africa. A few months before the Dakar meeting, the head of the *Broederbond*, once the very fountainhead of apartheid ideology, met with a prominent leader of the ANC. It is likely that such contacts are paralleled by unpublicized probes. The significance of direct meetings like this is less in what they have so far accomplished than in the fact that they so clearly contradict the popular mythology of rigid preconditions and non-negotiable demands.

On a more concrete level, the ongoing *Indaba* experiment is another encouraging development, in which leaders from all racial groups are seeking to hammer out a new nonracial order for Natal Province. Although it has encountered stiff opposition from some government leaders and from rival black political organizations, this unprecedented effort at black-white cooperation

is a beacon of hope and a source of inspiration for all those who work for peace and justice in South Africa.

I do not want this assessment to be mistaken for naivete. I don’t believe that the millennium of racial justice in South Africa is around the corner or even in sight. Just because people are able to talk to each other obviously does not mean that they will necessarily agree or even take each other seriously. Without gainsaying the courage of those South Africans who have dared to challenge taboos against talking to the “enemy”—be that enemy the ANC, Inkatha, AZAPO [Azanian People’s Organization], or the South African Government—the fact is, as we say in the United States, “talk is cheap.”

If South Africans are to move beyond this critical first step toward the building of a true democracy, dialogue must be deepened and broadened beyond the vanguards of rapprochement to encompass those who wield the power to move from talk to action. These leaders must be prepared for compromises of the most profound kind. They will have to abandon the pernicious illusions in which so many South Africans are still trapped: the illusion that racial dominance and privilege at the expense of the majority can be maintained by force in today’s world and the parallel illusion that a powerful, deeply rooted system built up over 300 years can be overthrown in a violent cataclysm without untold suffering to all concerned.

### **South Africans’ Responsibility for Their Future**

This leads me to a final set of observations about our respective roles as Americans and South Africans. As one who has participated in countless meetings with all kinds of South Africans over many years, I am struck by the fundamental ambivalence in their attitude toward the United States and the outside world generally. On the one hand, there is wounded pride and sense of resentment when outsiders act or speak out or propose concepts for consideration. At the same time, every South African party appears to want intervention on its side and is quick to blame outsiders for their problems if that appears convenient. Well, I think it is time for South Africans to accept their responsibilities, to recognize the limits on our role, and to stop this adolescent tendency to alternatively cultivate or scapegoat the foreigners who

mean your country well. We are neither the cause of your problems nor your saviors.

We repeatedly hear government spokesmen assert that it is only because of Western naivete, spinelessness, and double standards that they face Western pressure and that black opposition groups have gained legitimacy in South Africa. The plain fact is that it is apartheid that fuels black anger and Western outrage. It is equally frustrating to hear black South Africans and officials of other African states maintain—against all evidence—that the West supports apartheid and that only massive external pressure and isolation of South Africa will bring the walls of apartheid crashing down. The truth is that this line of reasoning debases the black struggle inside South Africa, where blacks are building strategies and institutions that have already led to significant changes in that country and are destined to lead to truly fundamental changes in the years ahead.

We and other Western nations have a role to play, and we intend to continue playing it. That role includes the full range of diplomatic tools that we believe can advance our hopes for democratic change. The United States can and will continue to help bring South Africans together to talk and to listen to each other in dialogues such as this one. We will continue to use our influence to secure the release of political prisoners, which is prerequisite to inauguration of a serious process of accommodation. We will continue to provide generous assistance to black education, community mobilization, labor organization, and human rights advocacy—essential building blocks in the foundation of a nonracial, democratic South Africa. And you may be sure that as the process gains momentum, as South Africans demonstrate the will to work together, much more assistance will be

forthcoming. Americans have always responded generously to people's efforts to help themselves.

But our message to South Africans must be that the key—the willingness to compromise and to accommodate—rests in your hands, not in ours. Unless South Africans can move decisively to come to terms with each other, they will condemn themselves and future generations throughout their region to a life of growing strife and deepening poverty.

Though the hour is late, time for accommodation has not run out. If South Africans do your part—the hardest part—to bring it about, we will do ours. ■

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# The Democratic Future of South Africa



United States Department of State  
*Bureau of Public Affairs*  
Washington, D.C.

*Following is an address by Secretary Shultz before the Business Council for International Understanding, New York City, September 29, 1987.*

I appreciate the chance to talk with you, and I've picked out a topic that is, I believe, of great importance to our country, to the world, and to people in another country. I want to talk with you tonight about South Africa, about present realities and future possibilities. Our policy toward South Africa must be grounded in reality, but it must also contain a vision of the future. Without a sense of reality, we will be ineffectual. Without vision, we will be directionless. The reality is generally grim, but it contains some hopeful elements. The vision seeks to build on those elements of hope to assist South Africans to create a nation that realizes the full potential of all its people.

## The Current Realities

It is not easy to find elements of hope in present-day South Africa. It is much easier to see the evidence of the crisis South Africa is in:

- The increased repression of blacks;
- The escalation of violence from all sides;
- The economic despair of millions of blacks who cannot get a decent education and decent jobs;

- Increased press censorship;
- The fear of innocent people, white and black, that they will become victims of indiscriminate terrorist attacks, such as car bombings; and
- The lack of negotiations between the South African Government and its opponents.

I share the anger that all Americans feel when children are thrown into detention without charge and physically abused. And, because of my job, I particularly feel the frustration of having only limited influence, of not being able to make things right down there. That, too, is a reality.

It is not within the power of the United States or any other country to impose a solution to South Africa's problems. The solution must come from South Africans themselves. Ultimately, it will only come when they sit down together and work it out in the give-and-take of negotiations. We want to help and, in fact, we *will* help. But the burden and, finally, the glory or the tragedy of the outcome are theirs.

The United States will not walk away as South Africans struggle to decide their destiny. We care deeply about what happens to them. And we are united in our opposition to apartheid. It must be eliminated, and it will be eliminated. On that, all Americans—Republicans or Democrats, liberal or conservative—agree. Our own history of racial injustice gives us special rea-

son to hate apartheid. We know that it can produce a national tragedy and that every day it produces countless personal tragedies.

## Apartheid and Regional Instability

But the issue is not only one of moral repugnance, though that would be enough to confirm our unalterable opposition to apartheid. The fact is that apartheid is a primary cause of instability throughout southern Africa. It is a bleeding wound within South Africa itself. It is a dead weight on an economic machine that might otherwise be stimulating development throughout the region. Attacks on apartheid, and defense of it, account for almost all of the cross-border violence in the region. While apartheid exists, cross-border violence will continue, economies will be dislocated, and outside intervention will be encouraged. That is another reality.

The current climate of instability and violence does not serve our interests, and it does not benefit the countries in the region. An end to apartheid and a strengthened regional focus on economic development would bring greater opportunities for us to play a creative and constructive role. It is in our interest to be involved there. Southern Africa is rich in natural resources and strategically located. Our objectives are:

- To assist the countries in the region to improve the lives of their people;

- To end intervention by outside military forces; and

- To reduce the opportunity and temptation for such intervention to recur.

So, in opposing apartheid, there is no conflict between our ideals and our interests. They converge around the same point—a rapid end to apartheid, achieved by negotiations among all South Africans. We intend to play an active role in pursuit of that goal—but active in support of those South Africans who are working to bring about, through peaceful means, a just and democratic society. I sense, unfortunately, that the grim realities of South Africa today have produced a debilitating pessimism, both within South Africa and in the international community, about the possibility of a peaceful and just solution to the country's problems. Some despair of avoiding Armageddon; others seem almost to welcome it.

### Elements of Hope

We Americans are an optimistic people, a people who believe that with hard work, dedication, and energy no problems are insurmountable. When, as an American, I look at the trauma in South Africa, I emphatically reject the fatalistic notion that the country's future has already been written, that it is too late for accommodation. I know that there is hope for the future.

For the past several years, I have given South Africa the highest priority. I have talked in depth with many who have visited South Africa and have met with many South African leaders, both black and white. I have spent considerable time listening to South Africans from every part of that country's political spectrum, as have others in our government. In the past year, I have met with leading South Africans such as Chief Buthelezi, Oliver Tambo, Allan Boesak, Colin Eglin, and Enos Mabuza. I also asked Frank Cary and Bill Coleman to chair a special Advisory Committee on South Africa. I studied their report seriously and benefited from their counsel. And we stay in constant touch with the South African Government in a variety of ways, including through Ambassador Perkins in Pretoria and the South African Ambassador in Washington.

### Good Will, But a Lack of Communication

From everything I have learned about South Africa, two themes have come to the forefront of my attention.

First, despite everything, there is a sense of common identity and a reservoir of good will among South Africans—black, white, colored, and Asian—good will for their fellow countrymen.

Second, there is a tremendous need for communication across racial lines in South Africa.

Apartheid has succeeded all too well in its design of keeping the races apart. South Africans of different races may talk *about* one another all the time, but they all too rarely talk *to* one another. One of President Reagan's favorite sayings about situations like this is that it's much better to talk *to* one another than *about* one another, but the reverse is true in South Africa. The result is exactly what one would predict—mutual misunderstanding and fear: fear by whites that their way of life will be destroyed and fear by blacks that their just aspirations will never be realized through peaceful means. These fears are paralyzing. They become self-fulfilling because all parties convince themselves that it is impossible to engage in a true give-and-take with the others.

Yes, there is growing anger and bitterness. There is a burning desire to right past and present injustices. And there is a debilitating fear of unleashing pent-up grievances and violent retribution. But that reservoir of good will of which I spoke provides something on which to build.

Of the many tragedies that afflict South Africa today, surely one of the greatest is that the good will that exists has so little opportunity to be expressed across racial lines. For, when South Africans do sit down and talk to one another, they find that the barriers that separate them are not as high as they had feared. They find that the ties that bind them are stronger than they had realized. The more they are able to reach across the racial barriers and talk, the more they see how much they have in common, how much they have to gain by working together, and how much they have to lose if they do not. There is great potential here, reason to hope that South Africa's problems are not insurmountable, that differences can be overcome. The headlines often go to the negative realities of South

Africa, not to the hopeful elements. But there are efforts to expand communications between the races, and there is evidence that those efforts can bear fruit. Let's look at a few of them.

**The Natal Indaba.** In Natal, leaders from all the racial groups sat down last year and negotiated a set of new constitutional proposals for their province—the Indaba proposals. These proposals, if implemented, would essentially end apartheid for the one-fifth of South Africans who live in that one province. Some in the South African Government and its opposition have been less than enthusiastic about the idea, which came from the people of Natal themselves rather than from Pretoria or outside the country. But the voices for change coming from Natal are too strong for anyone to ignore. Currently the Indaba leaders are planning a referendum among all the citizens of Natal, of all races. This would be the first time blacks have ever voted on a major substantive political issue in South Africa. The jury is still out on this dramatic development, but the fact remains that there are powerful forces working to resolve South Africa's political problems through negotiations. Those forces may encounter setbacks and roadblocks, but they will not simply roll over in defeat. If not successful this time, they will rise again for another struggle.

**The ANC/Afrikaner Meeting in Dakar.** In Dakar, Senegal, this summer, leading members of the Afrikaner community met with leaders of the African National Congress (ANC)—an encounter that would have been unthinkable even a couple of years ago. For several days they discussed the fundamental issues of South Africa's future. This was not a negotiation aimed at producing agreements; I'd call it talk about the future. By all accounts, many participants found that they had clear differences. But they also found that they had more in common than they had ever dared imagine. Such communication, in multiple channels and including all relevant viewpoints, is precisely what should be encouraged and expanded upon. It breaks down stereotypes—racial as well as ideological—and it has the potential to identify the shape of a road forward. We applaud the vision and courage of all who participated in those talks, as well as those farsighted Africans who helped to put it together, especially President Diouf of Senegal.



**Black Empowerment.** These efforts at cross-racial talks and negotiations are not the only elements of hope in South Africa. Black leadership, black economic strength, and black organizational skill, aided by powerful political and economic forces, are growing daily. Movements such as the United Democratic Front, Inkatha, and AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] are evidence of these changes. Despite the repression of the state of emergency, blacks continue to express their grievances and flex their political and economic muscles. Labor unions, which were not legal for blacks until 1979, are gaining daily in strength and sophistication. The architects of apartheid had to concede long ago that they could not build a modern economic powerhouse—or even sustain significant growth—without the participation of ever-increasing numbers of skilled and educated blacks.

In the field of labor-management relations, blacks and whites are learning the politics of negotiation, going beyond the politics of white minority domination and black protest. Blacks are learning that they can sit down as equals with whites and negotiate a fairer share of wealth and power. Whites are learning that it is possible to sit down with blacks and hammer out an agreement that is mutually satisfactory. Each side is gaining respect for the process of negotiation. Each side is learning how much damage can happen if negotiations fail.

These are not easy lessons. I've been involved in many labor-management disputes myself. It can be a humbling experience until both sides learn that either they both win or they both lose. Before that lesson is learned, they often push themselves into open confrontation, substituting threats and non-negotiable demands for real dialogue. Negotiating lessons are being learned on a daily basis in South African labor-management relations. Their effects are carrying over into South Africa's politics as well as its economics.

**The Role of Business.** A strong and growing South African economy is a powerful force for change. South Africa's white businessmen have been in the forefront in the white community in arguing that apartheid is an unworkable ideology incompatible with a modern economy. Blacks are moving into managerial positions in major

industries. American corporations, often maligned for even being in South Africa, can be proud of being in the forefront of the forces for change. Blacks are seeking to start their own businesses in record numbers, a sign of confidence in their country's future even as their own activities contribute to its transformation. The future of South Africa's economy depends on the success of black labor and management. Without them, the growth that is needed to overcome the country's social and economic injustices will not be possible. But with the full and free participation of skilled and educated black workers and businessmen, the future of South Africa's economy can be bright indeed.

**Religion and Change.** Finally, let us not forget the message of hope carried by the powerful force of religion in South Africa. South Africans are devoutly religious people, whether they be whites, blacks, coloreds, or Asians, Christians, Jews, Muslims, or Hindus. In the integrated churches, blacks are moving into ever-greater numbers of leadership positions. These churches represent institutional channels for dialogue and reconciliation across racial barriers. Religious leaders are playing important roles in resolving community disputes, and they are fostering self-help projects among those disadvantaged by apartheid.

One of the pillars of apartheid had always been the moral support of the Dutch Reformed Church, the largest church among Afrikaners. It claimed, until last year, that apartheid was not only allowed but actually required by the teachings of the Bible. After many months of internal debate, it announced last year that its previous teachings were wrong; it said that apartheid is not justified by the Bible and is not in accordance with Christian principles. This simple but powerful truth hit like a thunderbolt among the Afrikaners. Suddenly the spurious moral basis for apartheid had been stripped away, revealing it for the unjust and unsanctified system that it is.

So, there are elements of hope amid the grim realities of present-day South Africa. Some negotiations are going on; a willingness to compromise still exists. There are institutions with which to work. There are individuals with whom to work. Change in South Africa is not on some distant agenda for the future. It is taking place right now. And we intend to be involved, working with those institutions, with

those individuals, with those forces for change—part of the solution, not part of the problem.

## What We Are Doing

What are we doing to help in South Africa? First, we are meeting with South Africans from across the political spectrum, both in South Africa and abroad. We are talking and listening, and we are forcefully stating our point of view about the steps that need to be taken to bring a peaceful end to apartheid. We are suggesting practical steps that should be taken, such as the release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, and the unbanning of all political parties. Serious negotiations can only be conducted by credible leaders. It is not up to white South Africans to decide which black South Africans should sit at the negotiating table. That is for black South Africans to decide.

We count heavily on our mission in South Africa to keep open our lines of communication to all elements in South Africa and to encourage them to engage in dialogue. Ambassador Perkins has been in South Africa for the better part of a year now. He has made a concerted personal effort to meet with as many South Africans as possible, inside and outside the government, to listen and to convey our message. He has ensured that the entire U.S. mission in South Africa is also reaching out to as many South Africans as possible to do the same thing. We also continue to meet with exiled South Africans, such as leaders of the ANC and the PAC [Pan-African Congress].

Our activities are not limited to words and meetings, however. We are promoting positive change through our program of aid to black South Africans. Our aid is not funneled through the South African Government, but rather to private groups that are working to attain racial equality. Among the many programs, we are assisting a college in a black township outside Pretoria to help underqualified black teachers upgrade their skills. The lack of equal opportunities for quality education is one of the crucial tools the architects of apartheid used to keep blacks disadvantaged. Recognizing this, we have targeted improved education opportunities for blacks as one of the keystones of our aid program. We provide scholarships for hundreds of blacks to study both in the United States and in South

Africa. And we support curriculum development programs to help black students gain entrance to universities.

Other areas of South African society are also targets of our aid. The development of democracy requires local communities to organize to help themselves. We are funding several such projects that have been developed in cooperation with local communities. We are also helping to train blacks to start small businesses and strengthen skills in labor unions. And, in another crucial area, we are assisting legal resources centers that are helping blacks to fight back legally against the injustices of apartheid. All of these programs are designed to help blacks develop the leadership skills in all fields—labor, business, education, community organization, and so on—so that they will be able to take their rightful place as leaders in a democratic postapartheid South Africa.

Private American individuals and organizations are also playing an important and positive role in promoting change in South Africa. Ideas and role models from the Western democracies are powerful forces for change in South Africa. South Africans are being stimulated and challenged to question their assumptions and search for creative solutions through constant interaction with American churches, foundations, universities, and corporations. Americans want South Africans to understand that we support the aspirations of blacks for equality but also to understand the fears and concerns of white South Africans. We are working to help all South Africans, black and white, secure a bright future for themselves and their children. We must, as a people, continue to use our most powerful leverage, our ideas, to promote peaceful change in South Africa. It would be counter to the objective of ending apartheid if we were to isolate South Africans and withdraw our influence from that society.

That is why we strongly support the continued presence of American business in South Africa. American companies have been in the forefront in the business community in promoting equal opportunity for their employees and in developing the managerial skills of blacks. Their examples have helped to stimulate South African companies to do likewise. These positive changes are helping to change attitudes as well as improve the lot of South African blacks.

So, there are several elements of our policy toward South Africa to encourage peaceful change:

- Meeting with all parties to the dispute to challenge them to break through the stereotypes and non-negotiable demands and engage in a real dialogue leading to a peaceful resolution based on the consent of the majority;
- Fostering change on the ground in South Africa by working with the victims of apartheid to help them develop leadership skills and self-empowerment, both economic and political;
- Supporting an active private American presence in South Africa to promote democratic values, including encouraging American businesses to stay and to build on their already commendable efforts to promote racial equality; and
- Working with our allies to assert our vision of the future, with the intention of stimulating debate and reasoned dialogue among South Africans about the parameters of a democratic future for their country.

### Our Vision of the Future

It is obviously not up to us to prescribe a detailed blueprint for political change in South Africa. That must be worked out in negotiations open to participation by all South Africans. But we have listened carefully to what South Africans have to say about the future of their country. And we do have experience to draw on—the Western experience of building democracies, an achievement in which we take pride and which we believe offers something of value to other countries as well.

I, therefore, want to close my remarks by spelling out the democratic values on which our policy is based. We want South Africans to know clearly what we are for, as well as what we are against. These are ideas that we believe would help South Africans chart their own path to a democratic and prosperous future. We Americans do not claim a monopoly on democratic concepts for another country, but we have every reason to make clear our hopes and vision. I challenge South Africans to rise to the test of building a future which takes these ideas into account.

Here, then, are the basic ideas that we believe must be addressed by all South Africans as they negotiate a replacement for the current system in South Africa:

- A new constitutional order for a united South Africa establishing equal political, economic, and social rights for all South Africans without regard to race, language, national origin, or religion;
- A democratic electoral system with multiparty participation and universal franchise for all adult South Africans;
- Effective constitutional guarantees of basic human rights for all South Africans as provided for in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the canons of democracies everywhere, including: the right to liberty and security of persons; the right to freedom of speech and the press, peaceful assembly and association, and practice of religion; the right of labor to organize and pursue peacefully its economic objectives; the right not to be deprived of property except by due process of law and upon payment of just compensation; the right of movement within the country, emigration, and repatriation; and the right of individuals and communities to use their own languages and develop their cultures and customs;
- The rule of law, safeguarded by an independent judiciary with the power to enforce the rights guaranteed by the constitution to all South Africans;
- A constitutional allocation of powers between the national government and its constituent regional and local jurisdictions, in keeping with South Africa's deeply rooted regional and cultural traditions; and
- An economic system that guarantees economic freedom for every South African, allocates government social and economic services fairly, and enables all South Africans to realize the fruits of their labor, acquire and own property, and attain a decent standard of living for themselves and their families.

### A Policy That Supports Our Vision

This, then, is our vision for a democratic future for South Africa. As such a South Africa struggles to be born, there is an urgent need for all concerned in southern Africa to work for an end to violence in all directions—whether it be the violence of cross-border raids or the violence between security forces and demonstrators in the black townships. There is a need for strict respect by all the countries of southern Africa for the sovereignty and



territorial integrity of their neighbors. A South Africa at peace with itself on the basis of the ideas I have just set forth would also be at peace with its neighbors and entitled to their recognition and respect. And a regional order in which all states lived in peace would encourage South Africans to get about the task of negotiations.

Apartheid has condemned the majority of South Africans to an unjust state of economic underdevelopment. Certainly we can strive to do more. As South Africans move toward meaningful negotiations, the United States would be willing to encourage this process. One of the ways we could encourage it would be to expand our efforts to help the victims of apartheid lift themselves out of poverty.

If the contending parties in South Africa are ready to take risks for

peace, they may be assured of the active political, diplomatic, and economic support of the United States and its allies. We will support those who are working toward these democratic goals. We are ready to take whatever steps we can—providing channels of communication or a site or lending our political support for meetings between South Africans interested in serious dialogue.

The problems in South Africa are vast. At times they appear overwhelming. A long-entrenched system of racial oppression must and will be replaced. This can be done without in the process destroying a society and economy that can offer better lives to all South Africans. This process will not be easy. All parties will have to be prepared to discard their non-negotiable demands and make difficult compromises.

The hard work is up to the South African people themselves. They are South Africa's greatest resource and its greatest hope. They have it within their power to create a bright future for their children and to unlock the tremendous potential of their land. The time has come for South Africans to act on their hopes, not on their fears. They will find a friend in the United States when they do so, a friend that is realistic in its understanding, hopeful in its expectations, and optimistic in its vision of what they can achieve. ■

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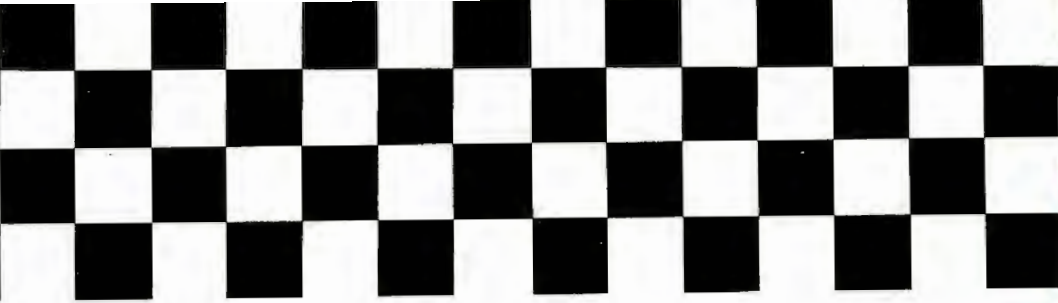




**BLACK BUSINESS...**  
**Creating their**  
**own**  
**economy**







The Southern African Bus and Taxi Association – SABTA – is an organisation representing more than just the interests of a growing body of black entrepreneurs. Spearheading the move to bring these black entrepreneurs into the mainstream of the economy and allow them to share in what rightfully belongs to all, SABTA is concerned with the quality of life of the majority of South Africans . . . a majority of people who have the potential and ability to help themselves – and now, the opportunity to prove themselves and create their own niche in the new South Africa.

### History

Established in 1979 by 21 far-sighted taxi owners, SABTA has become a powerful organisation with an enormous membership. It has united taxi operators and owners across the country, providing a reference point for local associations that are in direct contact with the business interests of a vital sector of the economy.

The primary objective of this Association is to provide a strong negotiating platform, based on the mandate provided by local associations of SABTA countrywide.

The watershed year for SABTA was 1982. This was the year that the government established the Welgemoed Commission on Transport which conducted an inquiry into taxis of the combi type, attempting to curtail the development of this line of business. The rationale was that these combi taxis were encroaching on the bus transport market since combis are more flexible in terms of routes and times. The Commission recommended that taxi licences only be valid for vehicles that carried no more than four passengers. After intensive lobbying by SABTA, the then Minister of Transport, Hendrik Schoeman, agreed to changes in the Transport Act which allowed for 15 passengers to travel in each combi taxi. As a result of these highly successful talks with government, SABTA became the official forum for negotiation on transport for the taxi industry.

### Objectives

The objectives of SABTA are:

- to promote the interests of the taxi industry on a broad national basis
- to initiate, promote or oppose legislation which affects the taxi industry
- to secure as far as is practical, uniformity, simplicity and efficiency of the taxi industry; and the maintenance of high standards
- to promote and improve the level of education of its members and families of its members
- to improve the standard of living of its members
- to oppose all matters calculated to impinge upon the rights and privileges of the taxi industry or its members
- to function as the governing committee responsible for the administration of any fund or benefit scheme that may be established by or on behalf of the taxi industry in Southern Africa, and
- to raise funds for the Association.





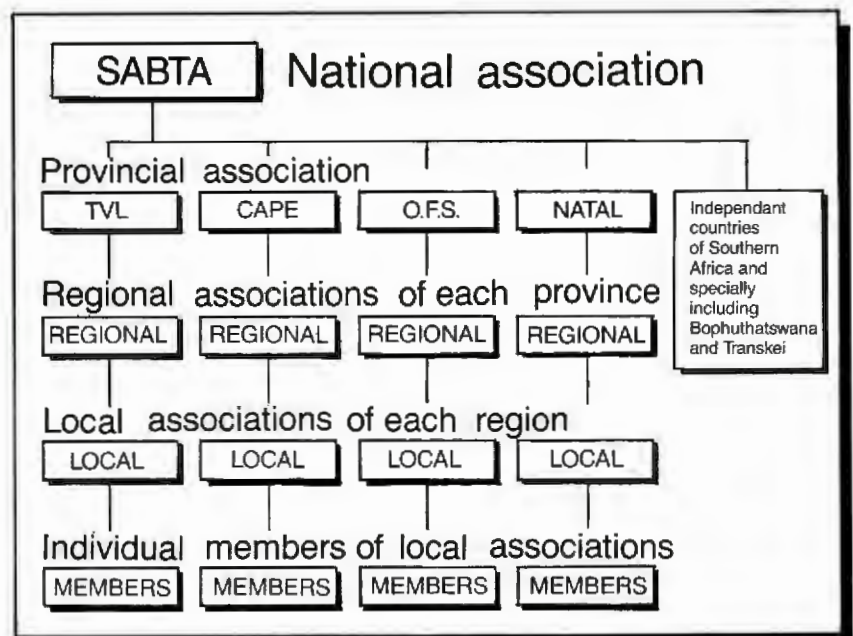


These are the most important objectives of SABTA, all of which are a reflection of the socially responsible stance adopted by the executive committee of the Association. As already indicated, the primary objective is to negotiate with the government on transport legislation and the law enforcement of that legislation.

### Structure

The business of SABTA is managed by an executive committee which consists of a president, executive vice-president, secretary, vice-secretary, treasurer, chaplain (non voting) and three committee members. The structure of the Association is divided along national, regional and local lines. All office bearers in the pyramid structure of SABTA – from local associations to the executive committee – are elected democratically for specific periods of office.

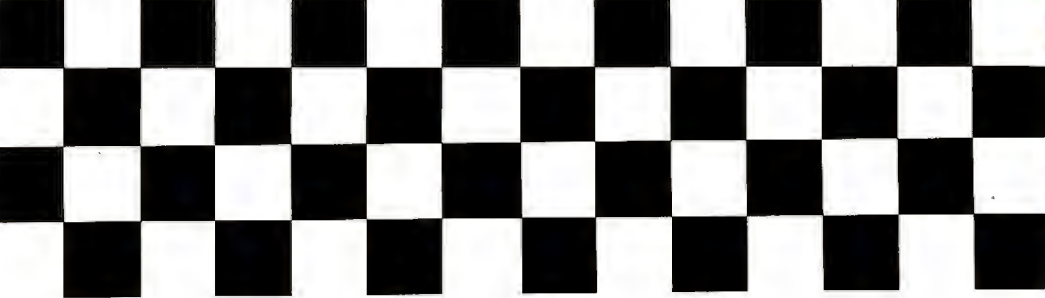
Graphically the structure can be depicted as follows:



The negotiating muscle that SABTA flexes can be ascribed to strong, democratically-elected local associations which are united by the umbrella Association, representing the interests of some 45 000 taxi owners in Southern Africa. This is a substantial proportion of the estimated figure of 100 000 taxi owners throughout the country. What must be understood however, is that there are two categories of taxi operators: the permit holders and the non-permit holders. Of the 'legal' taxis, 95 percent are SABTA members. The non-permit holders – 'illegals' – account for the other 55 000 taxi operators in Southern Africa. But, pending changes in legislation, it will be possible for non-permit holders to apply for membership of SABTA which could have the effect of doubling the present membership figures.

As an indication of the massive spending and consumer power of this sector of the economy, SABTA members use more than 800 million litres of fuel, 3,5 million litres of engine oil, drive more than 440 billion kilometres and spend some R800 million on spares annually.





### Membership

The Association is non-political and is seen as a body which lobbies for reform and progress in Southern Africa. Membership of SABTA is not compulsory for taxi owners or drivers – albeit particularly beneficial: discounts are offered on a wide variety of commodities as well as services . . . from reductions on the prices of tyres, spare parts and insurance, to panel beating at realistic rates. The price of petrol is, however, not open to negotiation since this is regulated by government.

To date, SABTA has negotiated the following deals for its members:

- reductions on the price of motor car insurances
- authorisation for bank finance for the purchase of vehicles
- modified vehicle designs from motor assembly plants that are suitable as taxis
- substantial discounts on the price of vehicles
- discounts from the suppliers of products as diverse as spares, clothing, lubricants, tyres, and even furniture.

As a socially aware and responsible Association, SABTA deserves the support it is earning throughout the community it serves.

### Projects: the service centre concept

With the necessary financial backing, SABTA will be in a position to provide unique business opportunities for black entrepreneurs.

One such project is the innovative, progressive scheme which has been labelled the service centre concept. This particular long-term, multi-million rand project will boost small black business, create new job opportunities and be of incalculable benefit to both black taxi owners and operators, as well as private vehicle owners throughout the Republic of South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei, Lesotho, Swaziland and South West Africa.

This dynamic scheme was designed to attract even more members and, at the same time, offer them and the general public the opportunity to share in the type of business where the sky is the limit. And so the service centre concept came into being. Capital, co-operation, confidence in the scheme and dynamic professionalism was required: big business of the likes of Shell South Africa (Pty) Ltd, had the foresight to add its vote of confidence to the scheme. Others later followed suit: Goodyear, Unipart, Total, Sasol and more.

Initially SABTA had approached a number of companies to market their idea – they were met with a variety of reactions that ranged from outright rejection to Shell's positive interest. Shell was interested for two reasons: firstly, the scheme had viable commercial prospects, and, secondly – perhaps more importantly – it fitted the company's strategy in terms of its commitment to the development of black business.

As is the case with several other large companies, Shell is committed to urgent political reform and economic reconstruction. The company therefore believes that it has a corporate duty to create opportunities for those who have been traditionally disadvantaged and so encourage the equalisation process in the country.







Said Godfrey Ntlatleng, SABTA's vice-president, at the time of the signing of the agreement between Shell and his organisation: "Shell has demonstrated a deep commitment to black small business development and simultaneously shown foresight in spotting the commercial potential of this venture." And, as Shell's chairman, John Wilson, has pointed out: "Shell does not operate in a vacuum . . . Its activities improve the quality of life of countless South Africans." This latest venture with SABTA will further reinforce that statement of social responsibility. And there are many companies like Shell that can contribute meaningfully and respond positively to this challenge for a brighter and workable future for many millions of South Africans.

Brand Pretorius, group marketing director of Toyota, South Africa, says: "We have had a long and very beneficial association with SABTA and, as a company, we have always been conscious and interested in the development of the black business sector.

"We believe that the taxi owners represent entrepreneurial flair within the black business community and typify the way the free market system should operate in the black community. From a marketing point of view, they represent an extremely important customer base."

Mr Pretorius notes: "SABTA is doing an excellent job . . . They accurately represent the interests of their members and go out of their way to obtain good benefits and give structure to the taxi business. They have succeeded in legalising all sorts of transport benefits and getting the authorities to accept that minibuses, for instance, fulfil a vital role in the transport industry.

"Our involvement with SABTA extends to giving them whatever support we can. We are currently working together on a number of ventures, including the service centre concept."

Wally Life, managing director of Goodyear, says that he has personally watched the growth of SABTA with great interest.

"The tremendously successful growth of this Association parallels what happened in Peru when I lived there between 1965 and 1973. The sudden expansion of the smaller bus owners to accommodate the mass of workers who lived in outlying areas required efficient travel facilities to major industrial areas. This transformed Peru's transport infrastructure. And I see that happening here.


"SABTA is a perfect example of the free market mechanism at work. It is giving black entrepreneurs the opportunity to enter the mainstream of the economy. Plus, the black community benefits since they are provided with an essential service."

Commenting on the service centre concept, Mr Life noted that this project is already providing gainful employment, personal development and creating jobs in the townships of South Africa.

"As a company, Goodyear is eager to assist SABTA with bridging finance and we have made provision on a needs basis for further financial assistance.

"We will also be working with service station owners in terms of training programmes which will focus on how to manage a small business, for example."





He added: "A cornerstone of our corporate philosophy is to help black business development and, since we have the expertise, this certainly falls within our scope and interest. More importantly, as signatories to the Sullivan Code, black business development is one of our prime concerns."

Stephanus Loubser, Nissan South Africa's marketing director, commented positively that Nissan's commitment to the future of South Africa is reflected in the philosophy of supporting the concept of privatisation, the development of the informal sector, job creation and the development of a more effective transportation infrastructure for all sectors of the community.

Mr Loubser added: "We recognise the vital role SABTA is playing in support of these commitments and in the future of South Africa. We have had a very good working relationship with the SABTA Executive over the past few years and are looking forward to continuing in this spirit in future."

#### **How the concept works**

Shell's support in setting up a chain of automotive service centres in black areas throughout South Africa has meant a powerful boost for black motorists, the taxi industry, as well as small business development.

The service centres are operated by the local associations of SABTA. Each service station will be the core of several small business units which will cater for the needs and requirements of the taxi operators and general motorists. Expanding the concept, these service centres will serve to reduce maintenance costs, improve roadworthiness of vehicles and generally upgrade the safety awareness of road users.

There is a very definite need for this type of service centre. From the point of view of the taxi operator, it had, in the past, been far more viable to carry out his own vehicle repairs due to the prohibitive cost of servicing at franchised dealers, loss of income due to the extended down time of vehicles serviced by regular garages as well as the high cost of spare parts. This has serious spin-offs in terms of a low standard of general vehicle maintenance resulting in unreliability of service to the public as well as a safety problem. But now, with the availability of all these services on the forecourts of Shell services centres, these problems are immediately overcome. Plus, this scheme is by definition job-creating and opens up a host of small business opportunities for black entrepreneurs, technicians and mechanics in each of the areas for which these centres are proposed. The service centres are already operational in all major centres, and it is foreseen that some 70 of these centres will be in existence by the year 1990.

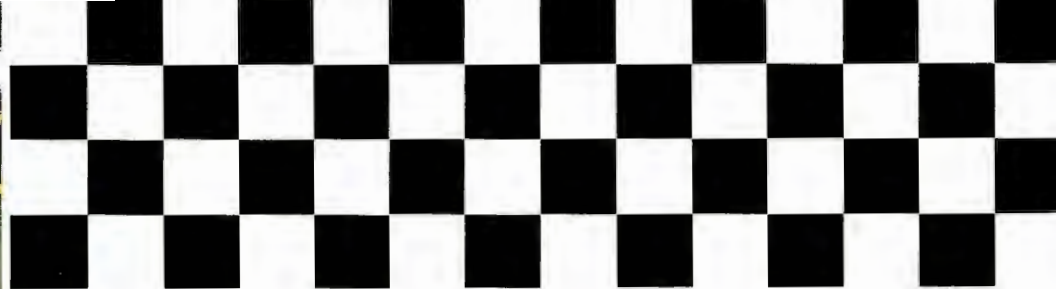
#### **Operating the centres**

The service centres will cater for needs as diverse as lubrication, steamcleaning, battery charging and wheel balancing, amongst a vast number of similarly related services. At the same time the owner of the vehicle will be able to purchase oils, grease, car care products, tyres, spares, exhausts, and more, at reasonable prices. A positive and constructive aspect worth noting is that all servicing will be under the supervision of skilled technicians.

Private vehicle owners will also benefit from the many advantages inherent in the service centre scheme, since they too







are victims of the same system that typically circumscribes the economic activities of taxi operators, due to down time, high costs and the inconvenience of not being mobile.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of this innovative scheme is the fact that black taxi operators and owners are being offered the opportunity of buying shares in the service centres. This will provide SABTA members with sound business experience as well as allowing direct involvement in the management of the service centres. Because they are sharing in the profits, members will be paid dividends on a regular basis. Sharing in the profits on this basis is both a sound business and psychological principle: shareholders will obviously be more committed to the organisation that represents their interests and consequently be motivated to support the service centres which are geared to their needs. However, professional management will be contracted to assist with the management of these centres.

#### **The Trusts**

A SABTA Bridge Trust has been established, the objectives of which are to assist in the development of dealer companies and provide loans or capital endowments to these companies. Another important objective is to subsidise a pension and burial fund, as well as assist with a group life scheme. Finally, the Bridge Trust will ensure that an educational trust be set up and maintained.

The Black Transport Development Trust has a general focus that will provide financial assistance for adult education in the form of loans and bursaries. Training in a variety of fields for members of the automotive industry as a whole has been initiated in addition to driving schools which are aimed at upgrading skills.

This particular Trust also provides for training in business skills; and organising sponsorship for marketing, advertising, seminars and conventions. But the Trust goes beyond just financial handouts – it looks at the individual needs of beneficiaries and dependants and incorporates provisos that will assist those who may be physically or mentally handicapped.

There are three trustees appointed to each Trust; two of whom are non-taxi associated, professional people.

#### **Other aspects of SABTA's progress**

A taxi advertising campaign to be mounted on the sides of taxis is one of SABTA's progressive ideas in terms of marketing the Association, and will serve to extend the base of SABTA operators. The recognition SABTA has earned means that it is now also in a powerful bargaining position to negotiate financial arrangements with banks throughout the country. Various aspects of training is another facet of SABTA's involvement with the community and one which is being given serious attention.

Other projects in which SABTA is involved include:

- using taxis as an advertising medium
- the official monthly tabloid newspaper, Drive-On
- the annual Driver of the Year Competition, which has a specific emphasis on safety, and
- the SABTA membership and discount card, which is currently being computerised.





### **Social responsibility**

SABTA has stated that one of its objectives is to encourage and promote the education of its members. In line with this, it is envisaged that training facilities will be offered at the service centres for the training of both local taxi operators and the general public. Basic vehicle maintenance, roadworthy awareness, road safety and traffic regulation awareness will be some of the subjects covered in lectures to be delivered by the National Road Safety Council. But the training does not end there: courses in both theoretical and practical training in service techniques are scheduled to be offered at the centres on a part-time night school basis.

Training is part of SABTA's implementation of social responsibility. Another is that, through the service centre concept, the community in which it works will benefit thanks to improved safety. This impacts on passengers as well as the taxi operators whose vehicles will now be roadworthy and who will be in a position to offer the kind of reliable service commuters require.

### **Code of conduct**

The Southern African Bus and Taxi Association aspires to attain and maintain the highest possible ethical standards in the best interests of the transport industry – and in its capacity as the controlling body of its members.

The Association therefore requires that its members adhere to a strict code of conduct and refrain from any act unbecoming to the industry they represent.

The essence of this code is service to the public. It is only by maintaining an outstanding public image that the taxi industry will retain the respect and support of the public it serves, and maintain a competitive edge in the market place.

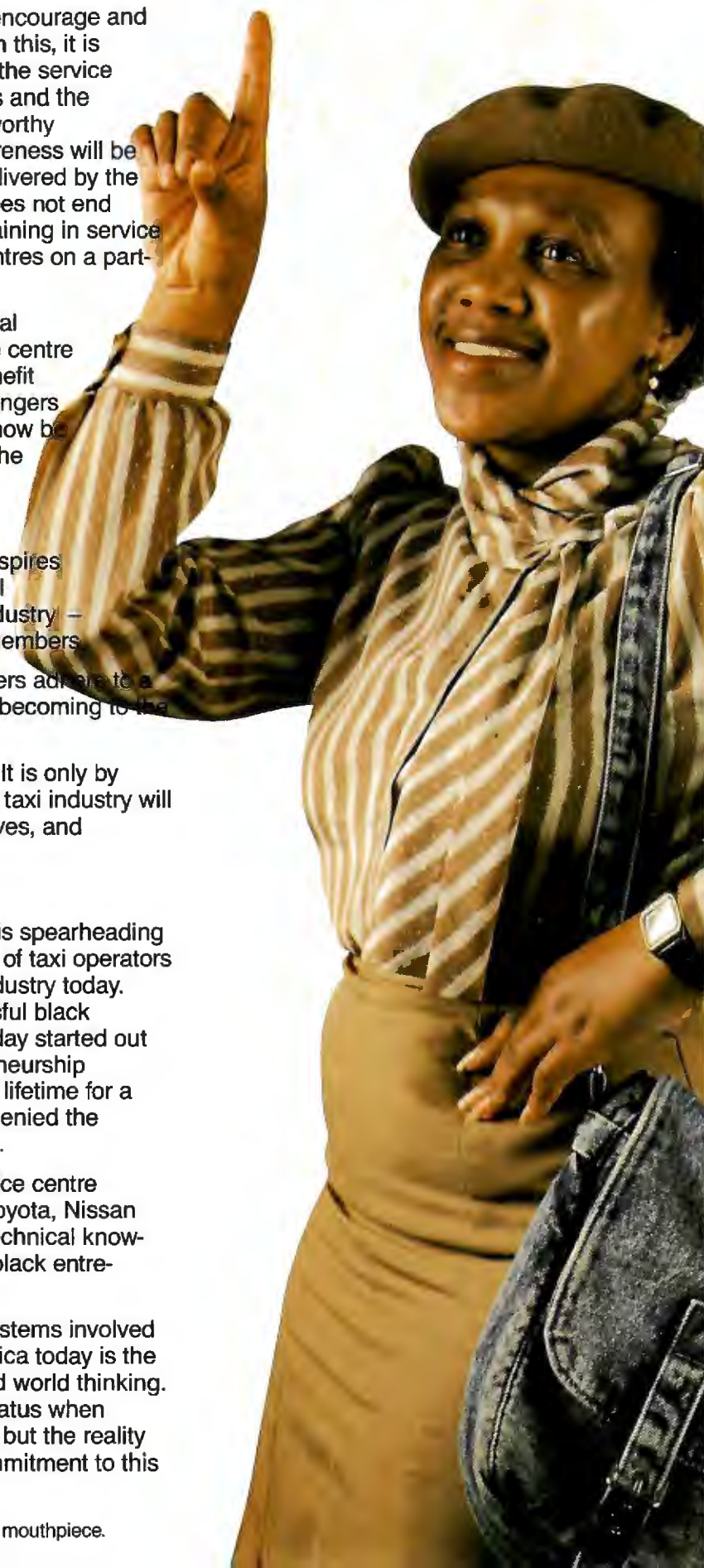
### **An industry for our time**

SABTA is now recognised as an association that is spearheading black business as a whole – not only in the field of taxi operators and owners. It is the most visible sign of black industry today. Appropriately enough, a large number of successful black businessmen in the townships of South Africa today started out as taxi drivers! So, the essence of black entrepreneurship embodied by SABTA really is the opportunity of a lifetime for a spectrum of people who have traditionally been denied the opportunity to explore and develop their potential.

With SABTA expanding into projects like the service centre concept, and private companies such as Shell, Toyota, Nissan and Goodyear providing the finance, expertise, technical know-how, enthusiasm and direction, the future of the black entrepreneur in Southern Africa is secure.

A mutual understanding of the divergent value systems involved in the heterogeneous society that is Southern Africa today is the bottom line in successfully marrying first and third world thinking. "Working together" is already assuming cliché status when speculating about the "new" Southern Africa . . . but the reality lends credibility. What is needed right now is commitment to this vision.

FOOTNOTE: SABTA acknowledges TAXAM as its marketing mouthpiece.





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## The past month

16 August - PFP MP for Claremont, Jan van Eck, resigns from the party because he considers the caucus to be increasingly ineffective and becoming "isolated and removed from its grassroots membership"; he is to stay on in parliament as an independent.

19 August - US ambassador to SA, Edward Perkins, questions the effectiveness of sanctions against SA and urges western nations to proceed with sensitivity. He says sanctions might prevent rather than promote changes in apartheid.

20 August - The Margo Commission recommending changes to SA's tax laws is tabled in parliament; it recommends inter alia a reduction in GST, separate taxation for married couples and the introduction of a comprehensive business tax.

23 August - KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticises COSATU's call for sanctions saying they had already resulted in the loss of tens of thousands of jobs.

24 August - Labour Party leader and the only coloured member of the cabinet, Rev Allan Hendrickse resigns from the cabinet following a dispute with President PW Botha.

Inflation falls sharply in July to 16.3% from 17.2% in June.

25 August - The debt standstill and tight foreign exchange measures have failed to stem the flood of capital leaving the country; more than a net R15.5bn left SA in 1985 and 1986 - R11.5bn since the imposition of the standstill and exchange control in September 1985.

28 August - A new set of media regulations allows the minister of home affairs to suspend a publication for three months.

29 August - A blast at Community House in Cape Town, which houses several anti-apartheid organisations, causes extensive damage.

30 August - The three-week mine strike ends with the NUM accepting a settlement in which neither the NUM nor the Chamber of Mines can claim victory or defeat. (See pg 2)

A report released in London by the Ethical Investment Research Service accuses British firms in SA of discriminatory employment practices.

31 August - An explosion at Gencor's St Helena mine near Welkom kills 62 miners.

2 September - Minister of home affairs, Stoffel Botha tells editors that he is to appoint a panel of anonymous experts to assist him in applying the new media regulations; although aimed at curbing the "alternative press," these regulations also apply to mainstream newspapers.

The strike by POTWA (Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association) ends in a settlement that includes a commitment to achieving parity in wages and working conditions over the next 2-3 years.

4 September - South Africa and Mozambique hold their first set of discussions since a joint liaison committee was set up last month aimed at easing relations between the two.

7 September - A massive prisoner-of-war swap takes place in which SA recovers Wynand du Toit (held captive in Angola), Dutch fugitive Klaas de Jonge and Frenchman Pierre André Albertini are exchanged; 133 Unita-held Angolans and the remains of South Africans killed in battle are also part of the exchange.

Statistics show that the number of children enrolling at white schools has dropped markedly over the past five years while there has been a sharp increase in enrolment figures for blacks.

8 September - The sale of SA goods and commodities to the US has dropped by 45% in the first six months of this year, while the value of US goods coming into SA has risen slightly, say US Department of Commerce figures.

Central Statistical Services say that emigration is slowing down; 370 residents emigrated in July this year compared with 596 in July 1986.

11 September - The number of company and close corporation liquidations rose by 28% to 203 in July says Information Trust Corporation (ITC); however this figure was still 17% lower than that for July last year and 25% lower than July 1985.

13 September - A high-powered delegation from organised commerce will fly to Europe in an effort to counter pro-sanctions pressures before the review of the Anti-Apartheid Act in October.

14 September - The nine black leaders who will be elected to government's proposed National Council (NC) will collectively represent 8,364-million blacks in nine development regions; government hopes to hold elections in October 1988 during the nation-wide municipal elections.

15 September - The president's council recommends that SA sets for only 4 statutory paid public holidays a year; it is up to employers to negotiate other public holidays with their employees.

## THE SOUTH AFRICA FOUNDATION NEWS

Monthly Survey of News for Members

VOLUME 13 NUMBER 10

OCTOBER 1987

## The role of the South Africa Foundation

It is now more than a quarter of a century since the South Africa Foundation was established. Not unnaturally, therefore, it has become necessary to re-examine the Foundation's role to ensure that it is serving the interests of South Africa effectively in the light of changing circumstances.

Accordingly a broad cross-section of trustees, individual members, the MM committees, friends - both at home and abroad - as well as representatives of the Foundation's more important corporate donors have been consulted. The strengths of the Foundation, namely the breadth of its support amongst businessmen; the status of the Council and Board of Trustees; the Foundation's high level and influential network of contacts throughout the world; the professionalism and commitment of its staff and the

support of its MM committees, have been examined.

Similarly, the Foundation's weaknesses have been explored; the uncertainty, in some quarters, as to its identity; the lack of moderate black support; inadequate funding; a lack of success, as perceived by some, in arresting South Africa's growing isolation.

The culmination of this process of consultation is reflected in the statement of principles, approved by the council on 11 August 1987. This document sets out briefly the Foundation's terms of reference within which its views will be expressed. We trust that individual and corporate members - and all other supporters of the Foundation - will endorse this renewed thrust and sense of purpose.

## Statement of principles

The South Africa Foundation, founded 27 years ago, is an independent organisation of influential businessmen financed entirely by private subscription from corporate and individual members to promote the best long-term interests of South Africa and its peoples. In this regard it has an increasingly important internal role, in addition to its traditional external role.

The South Africa Foundation stands for the orderly establishment of a more just society which

is an essential prerequisite for long-term stability.

The South Africa Foundation believes that this is more readily attainable within a strong economy and that only a free enterprise-based system within our mixed economy can ensure the required economic growth. It believes that all South Africans should be free to participate without restriction in that system and enjoy the benefits of their participation. This requires that the remaining statutory, social, economic and educational impediments which

prevent this should be removed, as speedily as possible. Further impetus to the growth of the economy requires that the process of privatisation and deregulation should be vigorously pursued.

This Foundation is convinced that South Africa cannot function effectively in isolation and is determined to do everything possible to counter the efforts, both within and outside the country, to isolate the Republic.

The South Africa Foundation therefore fosters economic rela-

tions between South Africa and the rest of the world, in the belief that these relationships do and will help to maximise the economic opportunity of South Africa and also the entire southern African region. With development, the region will better be able to resolve its problems and South Africa itself will be better able to fulfill its pivotal role in the promotion of future prosperity in the region. This requires the preservation of links with overseas investors, sources of capital and technology.

## Negotiation with the ANC

David Breier, political correspondent of The Sunday Star



President PW Botha's long-awaited attack on the Dakar safari, was more interesting for the possibilities it opened than for the contacts it endeavoured to close.

When the state president rose to debate his budget vote in the House of Assembly in August, there was a sense of anticipation. It was to be the first time the government reacted to the talks in Dakar between the predominantly Afrikaner delegation and the African National Congress, arranged by Dr van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA.)

President Botha used the platform to launch probably his most scathing attack yet on South Africans who had talked to the ANC. It far overshadowed his attacks on previous talks such as the Gavin Rolly expedition and Dr Slabbert's visit to Lusaka in 1985 when he was still leader of the Progressive Federal Party. President Botha threatened to impose restrictions aimed at stifling any further contacts with the banned organisation. These included threats to impose stricter passport control on South Africans "collaborating with South Africa's enemies." And as expected, he threatened to restrict foreign funding used to promote "extra-parliamentary politics."

President Botha's nationalist caucus was not disappointed with his performance. He used every weapon available to a politician, including ridicule and threat. He even suggested he had a spy at the Dakar talks. But underlying this virtuoso political demolition, was an intriguing message. Botha was not so much angry that fellow South Africans - and Afrikaners at that - had talked to the banned ANC. What really annoyed him was that such talks had taken place prematurely before the time was ripe, thereby reinforcing the ANC's present course and delaying the day when real negotiations could take place.

It was by no means the first time the government had indicated that one day there could be talks with the ANC. But never before had this possibility been articulated so clearly by the state president himself.

Over the past two or three years, the government has repeatedly said it was prepared to talk to the ANC if the movement renounced violence and cut its links with the SA Communist Party. But this had become an empty formula, mouthed for convenience whenever it suited Pretoria.

But this time, President Botha's obvious irritation at Dakar provoked a less superficial response. His most telling words were: "The longer dummy politicians and other rash victims woo the ANC, the longer it will take to get the ANC (as an accountable and responsible party) so far as to join other South African interested parties around the negotiation table. So Dakar did not help to solve South Africa's complicated problems at all - it only aggravated and protracted them."

President Botha sees it as logical that the ANC will eventually have to

talk to whites, and particularly to Afrikaners. "The whites in South Africa are regarded as a problem by our enemies. The fact is that the whites and in particular the Afrikaner, constitute a great part of the solution. Logic dictates that any party - and that includes the ANC - that wants to bring about change in South Africa will, for that reason, have to negotiate with the legally elected government," he said.

But for him, with the ANC under what he calls its present SACP leadership, there is no question of negotiation. The ANC is striving for an "all or nothing result" he says. And along the way it is making democratic promises and impressing "useful idiots" like the Dakarites with its apparent reasonableness and flexibility. "It will surely be in the best interests of everyone if the conflicting parties in the country can reach a compromise and through this reach consensus. However, one fact is as plain as a pikestaff; anyone going to speak to the ANC behind the government's back, or who supports this organisation consciously or unconsciously in any way, is strengthening their evil intentions," President Botha said.

In essence, his argument is that anyone who treats with the ANC, is reinforcing its present strategies including the armed struggle and its partnership with the SACP. Conversely, he believes that if the ANC is isolated, it will be forced to realise the error of its ways, abandon violence, purge the movement of communists and try another path to reach the fruits of power. That is when the time for negotiation will be ripe, he believes.

And perhaps what is also at the back of President Botha's mind is that a weakened and battle-weary ANC will be more of a pushover at the negotiating table than a rampant battle-

hungry movement. And he probably thinks that a few more years of "total strategy" will weaken the ANC until it is ready to bargain - at a disadvantage of course.

In the same speech, Botha announced the new policy on the release of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela. Security prisoners will be considered for early release on the same basis as ordinary criminals, and the renunciation of violence will no longer be the decisive factor as was the case until now.

Any attempt to link the new line on political prisoners, with Botha's views on eventual negotiations with the ANC, may be overstating the case. At this stage he has shorter-term goals to achieve by releasing ANC prisoners. He is not considering releasing them in order to negotiate with them. One of his shorter-term goals in releasing political prisoners is to provide the bait for "moderate" black organisations to take part in the proposed National Statutory Council. Groups such as Inkatha and the United Municipalities of South Africa say they will not take part in the NSC unless political prisoners such as Mandela are released. Another motive is to release the ageing Rivonia trialists before they are elevated to martyrdom.

The lesson to be learnt from President Botha's speech is that both euphoria and despondency over the future of negotiation politics in South Africa, are unjustified. Negotiation with the ANC may happen one day - but not yet.

There is a lot of negotiating to do before the government reaches that stage. A government that has yet to *indaba* with Inkatha over a new legislative structure for Natal, is a quantum leap away from achieving its own Dakar with the ANC.



# NUM STRIKE

The recent miners' strike, which resulted in economic losses to both sides and in the tragic death of nine people, was resolved after three weeks with neither side being able to claim clear victory or defeat. *SA Foundation News* presents a local and an international comment on the outcome and implications of the strike.

## Mine strike's lessons

South African companies' victory is costly and union learns the limits of its power

John Battersby, New York Times

South Africa's powerful mining companies emerged from the longest mine strike in the nation's history as chastened victors in a test of strength that proved far more costly than they had anticipated.

The five-year-old National Union of Mineworkers, which portrayed the three-week strike and its settlement not as a defeat but as a "dress rehearsal" for a bigger showdown next year, learned the limits of its power. But the black trade union also established itself as a factor employers will have to reckon with in the next round of annual wage negotiations.

Political and labour analysts said that both miners and employers had made serious miscalculations about each other's power and that both had lessons to learn from the strike, which ended Sunday [30 August].

The gold and coal miners returned to work although they had failed to win any straight wage increase over a pre-strike raise imposed by the employers. They did, however, manage to conduct a three-week strike in an authoritarian nation where previous mine strikes had collapsed within two days.

### No victory claims

Neither side claimed victory or admitted defeat in a contest that had

been widely portrayed as a decisive showdown between two irreconcilable forces.

Naas Steenkamp, the Afrikaner president of the Chamber of Mines, which represents the six major companies affected by the strike, suggested that the walkout by more than 250 000 black miners had led to "greater realism on both sides."

"The employer has learned that the union has muscle, organisational capacity, determination and skill," he said. "The union has learned that the employer can be flexible but can also set the limits and stick to them."

Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of the miners' union, was asked what lessons he would have learned if he had been the Chamber's chief negotiator. He said, "I would have learned to take the National Union of Mineworkers very seriously—that when they say they will mobilise hundreds of thousands of miners and go on strike they will do it."

### Political roles noted

Analysts said the strike had deflated the political expectations of the anti-apartheid movement, which saw black trade unions as a key element in the

struggle against white minority rule. These analysts also said the walkout had helped the case for incremental gains by trade unions based on a realistic assessment of the balance of power between worker and employer.

Gavin WH Relly, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, the first company to recognise the miners' union, said he saw an historic element to the walkout.

"The mining industry is still in a process of transition from paternalism to modern trade unionism," he said at the company's annual meeting halfway through the strike, which was said to have caused the mining companies losses of \$125 million to \$225 million.

Mr Relly disagreed with accusations that the strike had exposed Anglo American's liberal image as a facade. He said that defense of liberal principles did not preclude taking a tough stand to defend one's long-term economic interests.

"By the same token," he said, "support for black political rights does not mean for one moment that this will always imply agreement with the political views expressed by black leadership on such important issues as, for example, nationalism, socialism and sanctions."

Certainly, the Pretoria government's decision not to intervene di-

rectly in the dispute had a decisive effect on the eventual outcome.

The strike demonstrated that the union was not a serious contender in any bid to seize control of the country's wealth but had shown that it had the muscle to negotiate for a share of it, the analysts said.

The union learned that the mining companies' resources enabled them to weather the storm much longer than union leaders had anticipated. The union also found that mass dismissals could be used with devastating effect after the dismissal of at least 40 000 workers. There were conflicting accounts on whether all the workers would be rehired.

Howard Preece, deputy editor of *Finance Week*, a Johannesburg financial journal, said the walkout would change future negotiations.

"The Chamber is going to have to think very carefully about its next move," he said. "The pressure will be to arrive at a realistic pay award before strike action while exploring ways of reducing the mining industry's dependence on labour by mechanisation and other methods."

A senior industry figure said the best bulwark against future strikes was a better-paid, better-educated and smaller force of workers, accommodated in family housing.

Bobby Godsell, chief negotiator for Anglo American, the world's largest mining conglomerate, said, "There is no doubt that this strike has had an impact on the future size and lifespan of the gold-mine industry, and this is something we need to talk about with the union."

Mr Godsell also questioned Mr Ramaphosa's judgment in calling a strike in a year when the employers gave raises of 15 percent to 23.4 percent, which his union finally accepted. The raise was highly competitive with those in other industries.

The miners—whose average salary is \$250 a month, about a third of what white miners are paid—first asked for a 30 percent raise across the board, later lowering that to 27 percent.

Mr Preece said that the most "logical" company response, given the political context, was that adopted by Gold Fields, which—unlike Anglo American and other employers considered progressives—took a hard line by virtually shutting the union out.

As a result, Gold Fields was affected little by the strike.

"Mr Ramaphosa keeps saying he will fix Gold Fields next, but where is the fixing?" Mr Preece asked.

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## The strike continues

Mining industry agrees to an armed truce, not to peace

Howard Preece, deputy editor, Finance Week



thing as a liberal bourgeois," says Ramaphosa.

It might be tempting to dismiss this Marxist-style rhetoric as primarily face-saving bravado by a general who led his troops (a mix of fiery volunteers and cross-ganged bystanders) into a contest that looked progressively forlorn. Tempting but foolish. Ramaphosa and the NUM will certainly be back, and back again, seeking unrelentingly the enforced capitulation of the mining houses.

Of course, that does not mean that 1988 will see a repeat of 1987. Gavin Brown of labour consultants Andrew Levy & Associates says that the pattern of industrial relations in SA in recent years generally points to a regrouping of forces by a union in the year after a major and at best partially successful powerplay with employers. So the NUM might well be into guerrilla skirmishes rather than fullscale war in 1988, concentrating heavily at the same time on trying to strengthen its membership, critically at Gold Fields of SA.

Brown readily concedes, however, that nothing can be taken for granted in turbulent SA. Ramaphosa and his most militant associates within NUM and the Council of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) could perhaps fall victim to their own verbiage and believe they came off best in the 1987 battle. At any rate, every mining house will surely be planning from now on how to combat the NUM in 1988 and the years ahead. SA did not see peace declared in the mining industry

last weekend; it saw an armed truce agreed.

Is this view over-pessimistic? It might seem so, going by the public statements of the employers. Relly argues that this year's strike is "an indication of progress by South African society towards normalisation." Steenkamp says: "Maybe there is now also greater realism on both sides. The employer has learnt that the union has muscle, organisational capacity, determination and skill. The union has learnt that the employer can be flexible but can also set the limits and stick to them. I think we now understand one another better and that we can now work together constructively in our common interest." Chamber chief labour negotiator Johann Liebenberg insists that the strike was essentially a conventional wage dispute, a feature of any society that tolerates free trade unions.

Fine sentiments. But bet that Relly's Anglo, Steenkamp's Gencor and other members of the Chamber will all be keeping their guns primed and their ammunition dry as the months go by. In the 1988 pay talks the employers will be only too aware of the NUM's industrial muscle. They will be prepared to make a larger wage award than the black miners would generally have got without the huge growth of the union (which is why the NUM has secured a victory in some ways). But in the crunch the employers will next year and later be just as tough as they have shown themselves in 1987 in not surrendering control of their industry.

So how will the unions and employers each try to build up their bargaining power? The unions will go all out for greater membership. They will also certainly have little hesitation in using intimidation tactics on workers who failed to support this year's strike. A few NUM members, even officials, will sanction murder for the "liberation cause." But the union will also have learnt one vital lesson from this year's battle. A key feature of the ability of the employers to withstand the strike was the heavy stockpiling of gold ore (and coal) that took place in the months before the strike. NUM leaders can be expected to call all kinds of work stoppages next year, in 1989 and beyond to try and prevent such stockpiles from being developed again. Union leaders will also attempt to mobilise massive international pressures on the mining houses.

What about the employers? They have various possible actions open to them:

- Ensure that stockpiles are maintained at adequate levels well ahead of any dispute;
- Make contingency plans to recruit large numbers of replacement labour if and when a strike lasts long enough and is severe enough to make such action necessary. The Chamber claims there are at least 300 000 blacks in southern Africa desperate for work on the mines;
- Rethink the whole issue of relying on more SA labour (including blacks from the national states). A crucial weakness of the NUM is that

there are over 100 000 workers from Lesotho and 50 000 from Mozambique, as well as labour from Malawi, Botswana and Swaziland, on the gold mines. These workers are generally unwilling to lose their jobs for SA political causes. It is unlikely that the SA government will do much about its threat to repatriate large numbers of Mozambicans;

- Be ready in really critical circumstances to act together to close down some mines—basically those with the lowest gold per ton of ore milled—to secure optimum gold output from a much depleted workforce;
- Mechanise wherever possible although the scope for this on the gold mines is severely limited;
- Take advantage of the fact that government will certainly make absolutely sure that no big strike in SA is sustained by money from overseas.

But all these factors can only be secondary to the most necessary policy of all—paying the miners as much as can reasonably be expected (and then adding a bit more). The St Helena explosion should be a reminder to every mine director and shareholder that men who work in such dangerous and often dismal conditions are entitled to the maximum rewards that the industry can bear. They are also entitled to expect employers to do everything they can to minimise the use of migrant labour, to re-examine every aspect of safety and to speed the advancement of blacks now that statutory job reservation has at last been scrapped.



# The rent boycott crisis: quo vadis?

Dr Philip Frankel, Department of Political Studies, University of the Witwatersrand

The recent introduction to parliament of draft legislation which would oblige employers to deduct back-rentals from worker pay-packets is the latest development in a long-standing process at work in the townships. To many whites township life over the last three years is synonymous with comrades, necklacings, and conditions of near-anarchy punctuated by one and then another state of emergency. Within the townships themselves however, the period since 1984 connotes the crystallisation of grass-roots resistance to apartheid within the experimental context of new mass-based forms of political opposition. At both these levels the rent boycotts are of cardinal importance.

Boycotts of public transport and education, stayaways and consumer boycotts have a long historic tradition as vehicles of black political protest. The present rent boycotts are however a direct outgrowth of the Vaal Triangle disturbances of late 1984 whose escalation nation-wide was to lead to the first state of emergency. As it is, the rent boycotts which moved from Sebokeng and Sharpeville to the Cape and even remote areas of the Free State at their height, have ebbed and flowed in fortune. In some areas rent boycotts have flared up to rapidly fade away during the course of the last three years; in others, most notably the Vaal Triangle and to a lesser extent, Soweto, refusal to pay rents has become an almost institutionalised feature of township existence.

In most areas where they have taken place, rent boycotts have exacted a severe toll on township administration and services. While the precise costs of the rent boycott are difficult to pin-

point with exactitude due to the widespread absence of effective and publicly responsive accounting procedures in many townships, it is conservatively estimated that the boycott has deprived state coffers of some R600m to R700m. In many townships, the rent boycott has aggravated the already precarious fiscal crisis of black local government to the point where the authorities are no longer capable of systematically providing sewerage collection, water, electricity and other basic community services. The failure of government to manage the rent boycott has, needless to say, further damaged township perceptions of its credibility and capacity to an extent which is, ultimately, immeasurable.

Government reactions to the rent boycott have moved through a number of reasonably distinct phases. Looking back to state strategy in late 1984 and early 1985, it appears that government then viewed defiance on rents as a transitional phenomenon amenable to effective control by the established local authorities. Most of the arrests in areas such as the Vaal in this period were linked to more wide-ranging and serious forms of civil and political crime.

By the middle of 1985 however, government began to move into a much more coercive mode which has become largely characteristic of its efforts to eliminate the rent boycott as a factor in the black urban areas. This involved evictions of persistent rent defaulters (in such areas as Soweto and Katlehong); the termination of electricity and water services in many places (particularly the Vaal); the harassment of people involved in the organisation of the boycotts by the

newly-established municipal police forces; curbs on dissemination of information about the boycott and widespread arrests in terms of the powers made available to the State under emergency legislation. Since late 1986, this heavy dose of coercion has been supplemented in some townships such as Alexandra, by extensive efforts to upgrade housing and social services within the tight security framework dominated by the local joint management committees.

The recent decision by government to attempt to shift responsibility for rent collections to employers in the private sector represents a further step in the long saga to bring the rent boycotts to heel. Yet the rent boycotts remain largely resistant to solutions imposed by the State – and are likely to remain intractable – for two specific reasons.

In the first place, in townships such as Soweto and the Vaal (where formal rent boycotts exist), and Katlehong (where a substantial amount of monthly rents are not being paid despite the absence of a formal boycott), support for opposing payments is deeply rooted in the community. Recent research clearly indicates that the intimidation referred to by government in explaining the rent boycotts accounts for only a small proportion of the greater majority of residents in Soweto and the Vaal Triangle who refuse to make further rent payments. By far the overwhelming proportion of the large numbers backing the rent boycott in the PWV area either do so because they do not have the financial resources to meet rent obligations at a time of inflation and growing un-

employment or, alternatively, because the moral authority of government to extract often outlandishly large payments for inadequate housing and community services is in question. There is, in particular, considerable opposition to the payment of rates which in some areas, are twenty to thirty times higher than the amounts spent on rents on a monthly basis.

The problem of resolving the rent boycott in a manner acceptable to both government and the black communities is also compounded by the fact that the whole rent issue has become embroiled and aggravated by administrative and political issues linked to local government. In essence, the rent boycott is not intrinsically political: only a small proportion of those who support it do so because of the state of emergency, the detention of black political leaders and the presence of troops in the townships. There is nevertheless virtually no support in many major townships in the Transvaal and eastern Cape for the legally-constituted black community councils and local authorities who are seen as entirely unrepresentative institutions imposed by government. The manifest corruption of many of these bodies in allotting housing and levying rates, along with the enthusiasm with which they have supported State coercion against the rent boycotts has compounded the present crisis of legitimacy in black local government. In the circumstances, community allegiance has increasingly flowed in the direction of organisations outside state structures – the Soweto and Vaal Civic Associations along with a number of similar groups in other townships –

who have capitalised on the rent boycott to extend their popular support.

It seems most unlikely that the proposed Local Government Affairs Amendment legislation will be endorsed by parliament during the present session. This has less to do with the rather tepid character of private sector opposition outside of that voiced by some segments of multinational business, than the inability of the standing committee on constitutional development to obtain consensus on the bill in the face of growing conflict between the National and Labour Parties in the tricameral assembly. There are also some encouraging moves afoot on the part of government to manage the rent boycott through the mass sale of houses to their present occupants, especially in Lekoa and Soweto.

Any formula for genuine conflict resolution at local level must also however include governmental recognition of the representative and legitimate character of the civic organisations, a moratorium on rent payments and the cessation of evictions. In the longer term, an effective and enduring end to the rent boycotts requires large-scale financial intervention by central government to reduce the costs of rates and upgrade township services. A final component in any workable and negotiated "peace-package" is a revamping of township administration which bypasses the present black township authorities to restore the credibility of local government. Short of moves along these lines, rent boycotts will remain potentially explosive issues on an already volatile political calendar.

## Afrikaner business must take the initiative

Dr Fred du Plessis, chairman of Sanlam



price ensured that the balance of payments would present no problems, but after the drop in the gold price in 1983 the balance of payments rapidly began to pose problems.

Thirdly, at the start of the eighties South Africa moved into a long-term drought cycle which meant a poor agricultural situation and indirectly had a strong negative effect on industry and trade.

And lastly, the population explosion came at the most inopportune time. The problem was further aggravated by increasing urbanisation just at a time when the domestic economy was unable to absorb this increased labour supply.

Very little could be done about these structural changes. A number of negative structural changes within our control also took place, however.

Firstly, the level of government spending showed a totally unacceptable long-term trend. As the government's share in the domestic economy grew, the private sector's diminished. More importantly, however, it was mainly current spending that increased so sharply. Capacity creative investment by the government was, relatively speaking, non-existent. This trend is still continuing.

Secondly, as a result of government spending the taxation level rose to such an extent that the incentive to invest and consume, namely the after-tax profit margin and after-tax disposable income, shrank. Capacity investment by the private sector has been on the decrease for years.

Thirdly, we allowed the exchange rate to move more freely and therefore to become more unstable. We even went so far as to relax exchange control at a time when it was clear that the political situation was deteriorating. On top of this we allowed the country's short-term foreign debt to increase rapidly. This created an ideal climate for action against us by the foreign banks.

Fourthly, our ideological approach to the free market led us to follow a monetary policy which gave rise to abnormally high interest rates. As already indicated, this made the position of entrepreneurs extremely shaky and so caused destruction of capacity and further unemployment and bankruptcies.

The three last-mentioned structural changes resulted in a permanent increase in our production cost structure and an economic recession which would need a new surge of inflation to be transformed into a stable growth

In the August issue of *SAFNews* the chairman of Anglo American, Gavin Kelly, gave his views on South Africa's domestic and international position. In the following article, Dr Fred du Plessis of Sanlam covers similar ground and calls on Afrikaner businessmen to take the initiative in promoting economic and political reform.

process. Instead of our economic policy being changed to keep pace with externally-influenced structural changes more effectively, we made internal changes which increased the domestic economy's vulnerability to the external changes.

Up to now, I have not mentioned the political reform process that has been undertaken. I do not believe that the political reform process is the main cause of our economic crisis. The capital sanctions currently in force against us would probably not have materialised if the country's short-term debt had not been rising at the tremendous rate that immediately preceded the debt standstill. It would definitely have been less serious if the balance of payments had been sounder and our dependence on foreign short-term financing had been less.

Similarly, disinvestment and trade sanctions would not have followed so easily if foreign companies had indeed been making a good profit in South Africa.

Naturally, one does not wish to deny that the political reform process has had an effect on the economy. For some decision-makers in the economy this process was too fast. For others this process was too slow and it caused restlessness about the future. But the point is that we allowed our domestic economy to weaken just when it should have been strong to carry through a successful process of reform. It is my firm belief that economic reform should at present enjoy higher priority than political reform.

If our domestic economy cannot grow at an appreciably higher rate than the current 3% in the long term, South Africa will simply not be capable of fulfilling the material aspirations of new participants in the democratic process. *Uthuru*, as Africa has taught us, is a hollow word if the material position of those who obtain *uthuru* does not improve considerably.

History has also taught us that these aspirations cannot be satisfied by redistributing income and wealth by taking away from those who have and giving to those who do not have. This

leads to revolution or dictatorship. There is only one way to implement redistribution and that is to offer the have-nots a chance – a fair and equal chance – to obtain bigger slices of the cake for themselves.

Therefore initiative is vitally needed now to get this economic reform process under way. The government is already doing certain things essential for this reform. A long-term economic strategy is in the process of being accepted. Deregulation will hopefully become more firmly entrenched in the near future. Privatisation has been accepted as a recognised policy. But all these things are not nearly enough to effect a process of fundamental economic reform. The private sector still lacks the enthusiasm to take the initiative and the government is failing to create a climate in which this enthusiasm and initiative could develop into an irresistible force for the benefit of South Africa and all its people.

The Afrikaner businessman finds himself at the centre of this crisis. The question is: are we, as Afrikaner businessmen, willing and able to take the initiative to help South Africa to escape from this untenable position?

Probably the most important positive factor is the fact that the Afrikaner – particularly the older generation among us – has had a prolonged exposure to our multicultural society. In the process there was not only creativeness – and initiative – but this new culture also had to be established in a hostile environment. In our own intolerance towards those who were opposed to us we probably developed more understanding for the aspirations of others now facing a similar situation.

In the second place, the Afrikaner businessman, with his tremendous disadvantage in the South African business world, quickly realised that achieving success in this sphere would depend on his own resourcefulness and initiative. Until fairly recently there was no question of Afrikaners inheriting the assets on which they could build their businesses. This forced taking of the initiative has not only helped the Afrikaner businessman to establish himself, it also transformed his pioneer background into a factor making a formidable entrepreneur of him.

In the third place, the Afrikaner has shown throughout history that he is able to unite and take the initiative as a group in moments of crisis. The current tendency to be recalcitrant therefore points to only one thing, and that

is that we do not yet realise the seriousness of the crisis in which we find ourselves. Hopefully it will not be necessary for the crisis to deepen before we really stand together. We must realise, rather earlier than later, that we can no longer permit ourselves luxuries like arguing about semantics.

In the fourth place, and most importantly, we have the advantage of political power being in the hands of our fellow Afrikaners. The economic reform process for which I am arguing is not possible unless the initiative of the Afrikaner businessmen leads to the government and the business sector joining hands and bringing about the reform together. For this to succeed, the government will have to accept the bona fides of Afrikaner businessmen and be grateful that the Afrikaner businessmen have developed their own power base, rather than try to undermine or discredit or throw suspicion on this power base.

It is of course true that the Afrikaner controls only a very small part of the business sector. This makes him vulnerable and hampers his attempt to take the initiative. Nevertheless, this share is no longer so small that his non-Afrikaner colleagues can ignore him.

Taking the initiative economically means taking a risk – a calculated risk. We should realise that we must be willing to take calculated risks. On the other hand, the government ought to realise that we dare not take risks if there is not sufficient incentive.

The initiative we have to take is far more than simply the risk of new investment and the creation of new job opportunities. We have to find a way for people from the Third World in our society to have – and utilise – the opportunity to obtain a bigger slice of the cake through their own actions.

If we succeed in positively influencing attitudes then we really will be finding a formula to make possible the positive co-existence of the First and Third World on a basis which narrows the gap between the two without drawing the First World into the morass of poverty and decay of the Third World. Then we can find an alternative to the unsuccessful aid programme formula currently being followed by the First World countries in an effort to stop the decline of the Third World.

This article, which appeared in *Inside SA* is based on a speech Dr du Plessis made recently to the 'Federasie van Kultuurverenigings' (FAK) (Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organisations).



# The British press

The South African miners' strike continued to receive daily coverage for the duration by Britain's media. Seen by the majority of the press as the most serious black industrial dispute in the country's history, its end, three weeks later, was marked as the passing of an era.

A new realism, it was believed, had been perceived by both sides. There was a recognition by the Chamber of Mines of the ability of the union to use its "muscle, organisational capacity, determination and skill," while stressing its own power to set limits and to stick to them - as well as its willingness to display flexibility. Both Anglo American's comment that the strike was "part of the painful transition to a modern, non-racial, industrial society," and Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the NUM's remark, "I thought we knew how tough the industry was, we didn't," were widely quoted in the press.

The growth of black trade unions over the past decade has been seen as one of the most significant advances in South Africa. The fact that the NUM made a "tactical retreat" and therefore survives intact, able to continue to bargain and negotiate, and that a growing number of mining houses seem sanguine about the prospect, is of great importance for the future of South Africa, the press believe. With the erosion of statutory job reservation and a lessening of restrictions on black organisations and the right to strike, the value of continuing and coherent unions becomes apparent to all, it was generally agreed. *The Times* reminded the South African government and the mining houses that they have "less than a year to formulate a new strategy to deal with the black unions, which will return to the bargaining table in 1988, better organised and more confident than they have ever been."

The explosion at the St Helena mine in Welkom in the Orange Free State in which many miners

lost their lives, signalled a tragic conclusion to the strike and highlighted the ever-present dangers faced by miners. Many of the papers were critical of the standards of safety of South Africa's mines and *The Independent* criticised both the government and the employers, who it stated, paid "scant regard" to the "safety or the living conditions of a largely migrant labour force." If the NUM and the Chamber of Mines were really interested in regularising their relationship, it concluded, "then a period of combined work in these areas is an obvious first priority."

The exchange of prisoners at Maputo airport was well covered by the media. The welcoming sign hanging on the first floor balcony of the airport "Popular Republic of Mozambique. Humanity's Liberated Zone," led to such headlines as "There was a lot of humanity being liberated at Maputo." The exchange, it was reported, the most "ambitious and elaborate exchange of prisoners in southern African history" was concluded with only minor difficulties. All the press reported the "political pundits" view that the exchange was evidence that South Africa was anxious to begin releasing its own political prisoners, particularly as President Botha had, on a prior occasion, commented that the authorities were reviewing the case of the senior ANC prisoner, Govan Mbeki, sentenced to life imprisonment with Nelson Mandela.

Unsurprisingly, the newspapers speculated on the possible release of Mandela. *The Sunday Telegraph* suggested that, as Mbeki was the oldest, and "probably the least dangerous of the ANC prisoners," his release "would serve as a test." If it did not inflame the black community or "incite too much anger among white ultra-right circles," Botha could move on to the next oldest prisoners. It suggested Walter Sisulu, Zephania Mothopeng (president of the PAC) and finally Nelson Mandela.

# Paris review

The return to France of Pierre-André Albertini not surprisingly dominated media reports on South Africa for at least a week. Most dailies carried large headlines, and *Le Monde* made this the subject of a front-page editorial. At the time of writing, though the South African ambassador-designate had not yet returned to France, there was every reason to suppose that Franco-South African relations would revert to normal once President Mitterrand's pretext for refusing to receive his credentials no longer existed. This episode had fairly wide repercussions on the French political scene too, as politicians across the board tried to "pull the blanket towards themselves," as they say in French, when it came to attributing the kudos for having secured Albertini's release. Meanwhile others, scandalised that top-level efforts should have been made on behalf of a 'terrorist' were busy apportioning blame instead.

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac - to whom South Africa claimed most of the glory was due - said that he had merely done his duty towards a Frenchman detained in a foreign country. His official spokesman, Denis Baudouin, however, confirmed that the negotiations for Albertini's release had been "an operation personally desired, conducted and controlled by the prime minister," but that he had expected neither recognition nor thanks for the part he played.

The previous week, the Communist Party leader, Georges Marchais, had demanded the resignation of the French foreign minister, Jean-Bernard Raimond, for remarking that Albertini had had no business interfering in the affairs of the country whose guest he was. However, in a subsequent interview with socialist weekly, *Le Nouvel Observateur* (it was the first subject in a general foreign affairs discussion), Raimond said he felt Albertini should be left in peace now that his "worry and anguish" were over: if "young people got involved through ideology or friendship (in affairs of this kind), it was France's duty to protect them and to try to obtain their release." *Le Nouvel Observateur* saw Angola, South Africa, Mozambique and France as strange bed-fellows, but in the view of the French foreign minister, this co-operation was "exemplary": the fact that countries so different ideologically should find a terrain of entente for carrying out a humanitarian action shows the usefulness of dialogue - and "dialogue is something [he] believes in." Several papers wondered if a new era of negotiation was dawning in southern Africa.

The minister of co-operation, Michel Aurillac, who had said that an inquiry would be carried out as to the nature of Albertini's extracurricular

activities in the Ciskei, eventually passed the buck to the ministry of foreign affairs, because Albertini was apparently responsible to that ministry. But he repeated the "duty of reserve," which is expected of French 'co-operants' officially sent to foreign countries, not to get involved in those countries' affairs.

But the biggest reaction came, of course, from the Communist Party, which had mounted a huge campaign in favour of "young Albertini," who, though not a party member himself, is the son of one of its militant mayors. The youth wing in particular organised protest marches and petitions at grass-roots level, not to mention the wrecking of the Paris office of Satour, and the facade of the embassy here, to 'sensitise public opinion' to Albertini's plight. For several days, the party mouthpiece, *L'Humanité*, celebrated the hero's return with jubilant front-page headlines: "Free!" "Here he is!" There was obviously no doubt whatsoever in the party's mind that it was their efforts and pressure which did the trick. They are now determined to carry on their campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela.

Albertini was the "star martyr" at the Communist Party's annual 'Fête de l'Humanité' the weekend following his return to France, when *L'Humanité* carried an interview with "the hostage of apartheid," under the heading, "Witness to a crime": the crime of apartheid. "I didn't exceed my duty. I simply refused to turn State witness against anti-apartheid militants and to collaborate with the racist régime. I am prepared to give an account of my activities..."

On the subject of the strong reactions to the affair, *Le Monde's* editorial summed up the situation very well when it remarked that "French politicians always have trouble remaining reasonable," whereas, in fact, "the truth is simple. The Albertini affair is not another Dreyfus affair: the co-operant was a teacher in a black university in the Giskoi... (where) he had experiences which were undoubtedly a strain for anyone who has not reached the heights of cynicism

and indifference, and quite naturally he became friendly with anti-apartheid militants." *Le Monde* believed that it was the "talent of several French diplomats," and not the Communist Party's campaign which made Pretoria "give in." The editorialist, also posed the question as to whether the dénouement of this case was a reflection of a change in the state of play in southern Africa. "Certainly not, if one thinks of the suicidal obstinacy with which the South African leaders are hanging on to apartheid. Perhaps, if one thinks in particular of South Africa's relations with Angola, Mozambique, and of the Namibian question," concluding: "This affair proves that Pretoria is not totally insensitive to the fear of complete diplomatic isolation and the weight of sanctions. The western governments must never forget that. Apartheid is a complex historic drama which concerns all men of goodwill, but a solution will not necessarily come by means of violence, and certainly not by means of low-flying Franco-French polemics."

In the midst of all this, the socialist daily, *Le Matin de Paris*, nevertheless found the space for a full page on the continuing saga of Sol Kerzner's foray into the world of French casinos, with a pessimistic view of prospects of this "influential king of gaming whose practices seem more than doubtful," since "outside his country, he has only had failures..." The South African trade unions have written to *Force Ouvrière*, (a French union) to give their view of the situation of Kerzner's staff in the national states. This deals a heavy blow to the image which Sol Kerzner has tried to cultivate, of an anti-apartheid businessman who doesn't hesitate to invest in very poor black states; he uses to the full the laws of 'countries' which don't recognise labour unions... Yet the CCAWUSA has asked only one thing of *Force Ouvrière*: that if the French government should permit the transaction to go through, it should be on condition that Sun International recognise labour unions in South Africa and enter into negotiations with CCAWUSA...

## DIGEST/DIARY

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# German media report

The miners' strike was the headline story in several of the national dailies on the day it began and on the day it ended. It was otherwise covered, albeit not so prominently, on an almost day-to-day basis by the media. Although the public will have gathered that it was the largest strike in South Africa's history and affected the most important single industry of the country, it is doubtful whether anyone will have been able to understand what was happening, let alone assess its implications, on the basis of the reporting. The blame for this situation must lie primarily with the news agencies supplying material from South Africa, but the news editors and leader writers also deserve criticism for failing to put the reports into context or asking questions about the claims and counter-claims of the parties to the dispute.

No reporter, for example, seems to have visited a mine which the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) claimed was strike-bound but which the Chamber of Mines insisted was working. The divergent figures on all aspects of the dispute supplied by the mining houses and trade union respectively, were simply reproduced without any attempt being made to analyse or verify them. Comment was accordingly ill-founded, and generally little better than the airing of prejudices. Nobody seems to have done any homework about the amount at stake for the average miner in the dispute, let alone done any sums to establish the point at which even the full achievement of all demands would no longer compensate for the loss of pay while on strike. Manifest inconsistencies were allowed to stand unchecked and uncorrected. If the trade union was correct in claiming that a black

miner earned a mere R350 per month, how could the mining companies assert that the average pay of their black employees was R650 per month, and that this represented an increase in real terms of 85% over the past decade? Likewise, if the NUM was justified in maintaining that whites earned five times as much as blacks on the mines, how could the Chamber declare with any truth that people were paid the rate for the job regardless of race or colour? The answer, of course, lay in additional information. The figure of R350 applied to an unskilled beginner, and represented the lowest rung on the pay ladder. The figure of R650 was an average wage, and represented the sum of earnings divided by the number of employees. That whites earned five times as much as blacks was likewise not incorrect as a statement, but the unspoken corollary that this was a colour bonus, was demonstrably untrue. A more valid way of making the same statement would have been to say that managerial and technical staff earned on average five times as much as unskilled and semi-skilled workers. That the former categories are composed largely of whites and the latter exclusively of blacks, is unquestionably to be deplored, but it is a product of history rather than an expression of racism on the part of contemporary mine owners.

The coverage of the strike, in short, was a typical example of reporting that failed to report and information that failed to inform. South Africa is not the only victim of such shortcomings on the part of the media, but its problems are such and the emotions they arouse of such a nature that it is more often a casualty than other countries.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

10/28

Max-

Stuff from  
S.A. W.G.

I sent copy  
to Muravchuk.

MZ sent  
again

**RUSH!**

3/9/88

Number 189

## BLACKS AND THE WEST PAY THE HEAVY PRICE FOR SOUTH AFRICAN SANCTIONS

As Congress once again prepares to consider new economic sanctions against South Africa, it first should evaluate the effect of the sanctions already in place. Contrary to the predictions of their advocates, the sanctions enacted against Pretoria seventeen months ago have not forced the South African government to relax its discriminatory apartheid laws, nor have the sanctions increased United States influence. Rather, sanctions have prompted a government crackdown on organized dissent, a shelving of the reform program, and reduced U.S. influence. Instead of enacting new sanctions, Congress should be lifting the old ones if it wants to encourage reform in South Africa.

Four events in South Africa, all in the past fortnight, demonstrate the counterproductive effect of U.S. sanctions. On February 24, Pretoria effectively "banned" seventeen leading opposition groups in South Africa, including the 1.5-million member United Democratic Front (UDF) and the 600,000-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), South Africa's largest union. While the new regulations do not outlaw the affected organizations, they are prohibited from "carrying on or performing any activity or acts whatsoever," except for keeping their books and records up to date and performing certain administrative functions. The measures are the harshest taken by Pretoria since the crackdown on dissent following the 1976 Soweto riots. The message: since the U.S. in essence has washed its hands of South Africa, Pretoria no longer is concerned with its image in the U.S.

**Hard-Liner Victory.** On March 1, Pretoria cracked down further. The South African government introduced legislation prohibiting political parties and organizations from receiving foreign funding. Called "The Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill," the statute will have the practical effect of terminating the current U.S. assistance program targeted at "victims of apartheid," as mandated in the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

This crackdown in part has been an attempt by the ruling National Party to appease South Africa's hard-line Afrikaner community. Yet even these tough measures have not been enough. The National Party saw both of its candidates defeated in parliamentary by-elections on March 2 by candidates from the far-right Conservative Party (CP). Though these victories did not increase CP representation in the Parliament since both seats already had been controlled by the CP, the victory margins were three to five times as large as in the 1987 elections. This signals a further loss of Afrikaner support for the National Party government. This growing strength for the pro-apartheid CP, first demonstrated in the 1987 elections, is a direct result of U.S. sanctions: Afrikaners, many of whom had been wary of the NP government's attempt to



placate Washington by adopting reforms, defected from the National Party in droves as sanctions were imposed.

**Flirting with Moscow.** Most alarmingly, on March 5 South African Defense Minister Magnus Malan announced that Pretoria would deal with Moscow to establish a neutral government in Angola. This completely by-passes the U.S., which has sought for a decade to find a solution for the Angolan conflict. Why is Pretoria considering turning to Moscow? According to Malan, it was the U.S. sanctions against South Africa. He said: "The Soviets had clearly taken note of the weakening of influence of the United States in southern Africa....The vacuum left by the U.S. has provided greater scope for Soviet activities in Angola." South Africa's apparent desire for a rapprochement with the Soviet Union follows low-level contacts between the two governments over the last eleven months, and was initiated by South Africa following a reassessment of its traditional alliance with the West. Christopher Coker of the London School of Economics, a close observer of diplomatic developments regarding South Africa, observes that Pretoria "had logically flawless arguments against continued alignment with the West — from which it now derives very little and can expect even less...What [the South Africans] have to offer [the Soviets] is the exclusion of the United States from a region of the world which Washington has always taken for granted as a Western sphere of interest."

**U.S. Obstacles to Reform.** U.S. sanctions against South Africa thus not only have not done what they were supposed to do (speed the reform process), they have worked against further reform. The South African government today has instituted its harshest crackdown on anti-government dissent in a decade, has seen its natural conservative Afrikaner constituency switch allegiance to the pro-apartheid Conservative Party, and even is considering a realignment of its international position — all as a result of U.S. sanctions. The message is clear: further U.S. sanctions will only make the situation worse. The other message is that the U.S. State Department strategy for southern Africa, designed and executed by Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker, has failed completely.

What can Washington do next? It is not enough merely to offer a plan for bringing down the white government of South Africa. This has been tried, and it has failed. Instead, the U.S. should seek to build up the power that black South Africans currently have, by further strengthening the black trade unions, black educational efforts, and black health-care programs. This offers the best chance for a peaceful transition to a multiracial South African democracy. This is not achieved by sanctions. And the U.S. must restore the leverage that it once had with the South African government. To do this, sanctions should be abandoned. In their place, the U.S. must launch a positive policy for South Africa that would encourage and reward internal reform and give Pretoria a reason to remain strategically aligned with the West.

William Pascoe  
Policy Analyst

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For further information:

William Pascoe, "U.S. Sanctions on South Africa: The Results Are In," Heritage Foundation *Background* No. 584, June 5, 1987.

William Pascoe, "South Africa Sanctions: Blacks Would Suffer the Most," Heritage Foundation *Background Update* No. 24, September 24, 1986.

# A LETTER FROM SOUTH AFRICA

From:  
PIET KOORNHOF  
Ambassador

a monthly viewpoint on  
South Africa

No. 11

November 1, 1987

## SOUTH AFRICA'S CHALLENGE

"All great and honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages."

- William Bradford  
Governor, Plymouth Colony  
1620-1647

Uniquely American as it is, Thanksgiving also symbolizes a message of universal importance.

The first Thanksgiving in 1621 not only commemorated the "courages" that brought the Pilgrims through a decimating winter. It also celebrated the exchange of help and trust between the Pilgrims and the Americans they first encountered.

Without that reciprocal aid and trust, the survival of both was in jeopardy.

With trust and mutual help, there was hope that the "courages" of the Pilgrims would overcome the great difficulties they faced and, in the end, achieve the great and honorable actions they were attempting.

This Thanksgiving season I am full of hope that reciprocal trust between blacks and whites in South Africa is being achieved.

Not by sweeping the issues under the rug, but by facing them and working for their solution.

- We are at work on the issue of releasing long-term prisoners.
- And we are at work on opening negotiations to widen our democracy in a new Constitutional framework.



South Africa is embarked on a great enterprise - the opening of our political system to the participation of all. Great difficulties, as Bradford wrote, accompany all great and honorable actions. But we shall overcome these difficulties, and we will achieve what is commemorated by the feast of Thanksgiving -- reconciliation among peoples, and the establishment of mutual trust and assistance so that the lives of all are enriched and fulfilled.

Two distinct but equally significant developments which occurred in South Africa during the first week of November 1987 serve to illustrate the resolve of South Africans to seek peaceful solutions to highly complex problems.

One was the first meeting of the multiracial Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu/Natal on November 3, 1987. In his address to the meeting State President P W Botha described the meeting as one of historic importance and suggested that the need exists for embarking on similar ventures in other regions of the country. The State President's sentiments were echoed by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi who also expressed the hope that the establishment of the Joint Executive Authority will prove to be "a first step in a number of steps which will lead to more effective administration in political circumstances in which reconciliation between race groups will become a reality."

The other important development was the release from prison of Mr Govan Mbeki who was convicted in 1964 of crimes including acts of sabotage and of conspiring with Mr Nelson Mandela and others to effect the violent overthrow of the South African Government. The fact that Mr Govan Mbeki is the father of Mr Thabo Mbeki, a prominent exiled ANC leader, adds to the significance of the Government's decision.

These two developments reflect the genuine desire of South Africans to create a climate in which reconciliation between the various groups can be achieved. In themselves they may look small, but they have an enormous potential for good.

Wishing all Americans a joyous and blessed Thanksgiving.

Piet Kaanhof.



# Southern Africa

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### A DIGEST OF NEWS FROM THE REGION

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#### **USA: Broadcasts by Radio RSA**

Radio RSA's daily broadcasts to the USA can be heard between 02.00 and 03.00 UCT on the following frequencies: 11730KHZ (25m), 9615KHZ (31m) and 6010KHZ (49m).

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#### **South Africa: Equine Vaccine Sent to Spain**

A major outbreak of equine disease in Spain during September 1987, resulted in a request from the Spanish Government to the South African Government for urgent assistance.

The South African Government immediately complied with this request and dispatched 25,000 doses of equine vaccine to Spain by air. This vaccine is developed, manufactured and available only in South Africa.

In addition, a South African expert on the disease was sent to Madrid at the request of the International Office of Animal Disease in Paris, because of their concern that the disease would spread to other countries in Europe.

A statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F Botha, emphasized that this event underlines the importance of international co-operation and expressed the hope that the European Governments will seriously

contemplate the wisdom of sanctions imposed against South Africa.

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#### **South Africa: South African Locomotives For Zimbabwe**

The South African Transport Services has leased ten diesel locomotives and hundreds of railroad cars to the state-owned Zimbabwe National Railways for use on the Beira railway line.

According to a report in a Johannesburg newspaper on October 5, 1987, the deal came just in time to aid Mr Robert Mugabe's government in averting a possible transport system crisis.

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#### **South Africa: Heart Operation on Soviet Envoy**

A report in THE CITIZEN of October 19, 1987 states that the Soviet Ambassador to Lesotho, Mr. Vladimir Gavzyushkin, was in a satisfactory condition after undergoing heart by-pass surgery in the South African city of Bloemfontein's Universitas Hospital.

In a statement to the press following the surgery, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F Botha said: "Whatever the political differences between countries may be, as far as ethics of the medi-

cal profession are concerned, South African doctors are true to the highest standards of their profession."

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#### **South Africa: British Prime Minister Slams ANC Terror**

Speaking at the end of the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver during October 1987, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher called the ANC "a typical terrorist organisation" which people should fight and not embrace.

Asked to comment on reports that the ANC had threatened to attack British companies in South Africa, Mrs Thatcher said: "That shows what a typical terrorist organisation it is. I have fought terrorism all my life and if more people fought it we would be all the more successful."

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#### **South Africa: Illegal Workers in South Africa Sent Home, But Return**

Approximately 2,500 illegal aliens from South Africa's neighbouring black countries are being repatriated each month, according to a report in THE CITIZEN of October 13, 1987.

According to a Home Affairs Department spokesman, many of these illegals filter

back into South Africa in an attempt to escape hunger and unemployment in neighboring territories. This problem will continue until conditions in other African countries improve to the extent that South Africa is no longer seen as an economic and political refuge.

The report states that 21,838 people were repatriated during the first eight months of 1987.

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#### **Botswana: Substantial Progress in Talks Between South Africa and Botswana on Soda Ash Project**

Substantial progress was made in ministerial talks between South Africa and Botswana on the exploitation of soda ash deposits in Botswana. The Sua Pan project, if accepted, will produce an estimated 100,000 tons of soda ash per annum, which would be marketed mainly in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Soda ash is primarily used in the manufacture of glass, paper and steel.

The South African delegation was led by the Foreign Minister, Mr R F Botha and the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Mr D W Steyn, while the Botswana side was led by Mr P Kedikilwe, Minister for Presidential Affairs



and Mr A Mogwe, Minister of Mineral Resources.

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## **South Africa: Black Infant Mortality Rate Drops Sharply**

The black infant mortality rate in South Africa's major centers has dropped sharply in the last decade. The current rate in South Africa is at least 37 percent lower than the rest of Africa. In Soweto, over 93.5 percent of children at risk have been immunized against the diseases most commonly responsible for death amongst infants. As a result of these efforts, the black infant mortality rate has dropped to levels comparable with that of blacks in several large American cities.

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## **South Africa: Rift Between ANC and Winnie Mandela**

A public rift has arisen between the ANC leadership abroad and Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned

ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

According to reports, ANC president Oliver Tambo has given instructions that Mrs Mandela is to receive no future ANC funds. This drastic action follows increasing ANC discontent with her political behaviour and other personal issues.

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## **South Africa: Historic Deal Between Supermarket Chain And Workers**

The giant \$2.2 billion supermarket chain, Pick 'n Pay, is to offer its employees a 50 percent stake in the business. This is to be done through a four-for-one split in both Pick 'n Pay's stock and that of its holding company, Pikwik. The announcement by Pick 'n Pay Chairman Raymond Ackerman coincides with the release of the group's interim results, which reflect a pre-tax income growth of 20.5 percent from \$14.4 million to \$17.4 million to the end of August.

This translates into a dividend jump of 14.6 percent per share.

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## **Burkina Faso: PAC Denies "Warming" to White Liberals**

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) denies it is warming towards white South African liberals. The outlawed group says PAC members attended an anti-apartheid conference in Burkina Faso last week to further the PAC cause and not to seek cooperation with white liberals, as had been reported earlier.

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## **SWA/Namibia: Fishing is Exploited by Soviets**

THE CITIZEN of October 28, 1987 reports Mrs Lynda Chalker of the British Foreign Office as saying that considerable damage is being caused to SWA/Namibia's marine resources by Soviet and East European fishing exploitation.

Mrs Chalker was replying to a question put by the opposi-

tion in the House of Commons asking if Britain intended taking steps to put a stop to the reported damage to SWA/Namibian natural resources by British companies.

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## **USA: Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole Granted Asylum in USA**

The Zimbabwean nationalist leader, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, who has been in exile in the United Kingdom and the United States for the past two years, has been granted political asylum in the United States. Rev. Sithole left Zimbabwe claiming that the government had made attempts on his life. Rev. Sithole is in possession of newspaper cuttings of statements by a Zimbabwean Cabinet Minister indicating that he would be prosecuted should he return to Zimbabwe. Says Rev. Sithole: "I know what prosecution means in Zimbabwe. It means indefinite detention, and it may mean disappearing altogether without being accounted for."

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 5/14/86

TO: *map*

FROM: LINAS KOJELIS *ck*  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Public Liaison  
Room 196 OEOB, Ext. 6573



The attached is for your:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Information            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Review & Comment |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Direct Response        | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Draft Letter           | <input type="checkbox"/> Signature                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> File                   | <input type="checkbox"/> Other                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Please Return By _____ |  |

Comments:

~~OK~~ We should consider having  
a meeting for trade unionists, including  
mine workers, rather than a separate  
meeting for Trumka. But, perhaps, we can  
state have already done this, in which case why  
have another meeting?



~~PLKOJE~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

2763

April 15, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR SALLY KELLEY

FROM: RODNEY B. MCDANIEL *Bob for*  
SUBJECT: Response to Letter to the President From Richard  
L. Trumka, International President of United  
Mineworkers of America

Mr. Trumka has written to the President regarding the mass firing of black mineworkers in South Africa. We have made a couple of minor changes to the State-prepared draft response to Mr. Trumka.

Attachments

Tab A Draft Response  
Tab B Incoming letter





Dear Mr. Trumka:

The President has asked me to respond to your letter of January 14, 1986 in which you call to our attention the recent mass firing of mine workers in South Africa.

The United States Government has regularly made clear to South African authorities our strong views that workers should have the right to organize trade unions, to protect and advance their rights. In the Bophuthatswana Impala Platinum Holdings case, the situation is confused by differences in labor laws in the "homeland" and in the Republic of South Africa proper. As you know, we do not recognize "homelands". Thus we have approached the South African Government and insisted that it is its responsibility to insure that trade union rights and workers' rights be respected in Bophuthatswana.

I share your concern about the loss of employment by black workers in South Africa. In this regard, one of our concerns is the effect that boycotts against South African products, particularly in the labor intensive mining sector, would have on South Africa's economy which has been a source of pressure to change the system of apartheid and whose stability and productivity is essential to the welfare of <sup>all</sup> ~~black~~ South Africans <sup>black and white</sup> and the region of southern Africa.  
/ to

Mr. Richard L. Trumka,  
International President,  
United Mine Workers of America,  
900 15th Street, N.W.,  
Washington, D.C.

I agree with you that we must continue to impress upon the South African authorities that the American people stand unequivocally against apartheid and for a system of government based on the consent and participation of all South Africans. This Administration will continue to send this message to the South African Government.

Sincerely,

LK

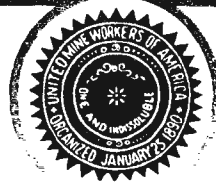
I would like to take this opportunity to invite you and your executive committee to the White House to discuss our mutual concerns regarding South Africa and other foreign policy issues with senior White House officers. If this would be of interest to you, please ~~have your staff~~ call me at ~~(202)~~ 456-6573 ~~and we can~~ so we can set a date and time. I hope to hear from you soon.





# United Mine Workers of America

RICHARD L. TRUMKA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT



TELEPHONE  
(202) 842-7220

UNITED MINE WORKERS' BUILDING  
900 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W.

**Washington, D.C.**

20005

© 1986 UMW 21

January 14, 1986

The Honorable Ronald Reagan  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the United Mine Workers of America, I would like to call your attention to a matter of urgent concern: the mass firing of 23,000 black mineworkers in South Africa for legitimate trade union activities.

These miners are employed in the "bantustan" of Bophuthatswana by the Impala Platinum Holdings Ltd., the second largest producer of platinum in the non-Communist world. Impala's parent company, General Mining Union Corporation (Gencor), was recently cited by South African courts for violating its workers' rights when, in another instance, it similarly illegally fired 1200 striking gold miners last September.

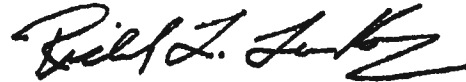
Like the gold miners, the platinum mineworkers have also struck for better wages and working conditions. The union of their choice, the National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa (NUM), the country's largest black trade union, has been banned in Bophuthatswana.

Mr. President, in the past you have spoken out forcefully on behalf of another banned trade union -- Solidarity in Poland. I strongly urge you to do the same for these black mineworkers. Their only "crime" is to want to throw off the yoke of oppression and live and work in a just and humane South Africa, free from apartheid. A strong protest by you to the South African government would be an important signal to black and white South Africans that the American people stand on the side of freedom and justice.



I look forward to hearing from you soon on this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Rich L. Trumka", with a stylized, sweeping flourish at the end.

Richard L. Trumka

/law

cc: Honorable George Shultz  
U.S. Secretary of State

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

2763

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8603042

Date February 28, 1986

For: VADM John M. Poindexter  
National Security Council  
The White House

Reference:

To: President Reagan From: Richard L. Trumka  
Date: January 14, 1986 Subject: Mass Firing of Black  
Mineworkers in South Africa  
Referral Dated: January 31, 1986 ID# 365849  
(if any)

\_\_\_\_\_ The attached item was sent directly to the  
Department of State

Action Taken:

XX A draft reply is attached.  
\_\_\_\_\_ A draft reply will be forwarded.  
\_\_\_\_\_ A translation is attached.  
\_\_\_\_\_ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.  
\_\_\_\_\_ We believe no response is necessary for the reason  
cited below.  
\_\_\_\_\_ The Department of State has no objection to the  
proposed travel.  
\_\_\_\_\_ Other.

Remarks:

  
Nicholas Platt  
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)



T H E   W H I T E   H O U S E   O F F I C E

REFERRAL

JANUARY 31, 1986

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF:  
WHITE HOUSE STAFF MEMBER

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 365849

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JANUARY 14, 1986

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MR. RICHARD L. TRUMKA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT  
UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA  
900 15TH STREET, N.W.  
WASHINGTON DC 20005

SUBJECT: WRITES REGARDING THE MASS FIRING OF BLACK  
MINEWORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN  
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE  
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE  
(OR DRAFT) TO:  
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY  
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON  
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JANUARY 15, 1986

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. RICHARD J. TRUMKA

SUBJECT: WRITES REGARDING THE MASS FIRING OF BLACK  
MINEWORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C D	COMPLETED YY/MM/DD
LINDA CHAVEZ		ORG	86/01/15			C 86/01/15 CJ
Merlin Breau OK		CJ	A 86/01/16			C 86/01/27
Linda Kojalis		A	86/01/27			C 86/01/27
99 DOS		CJ	D 86/01/27			C 86/01/27 TR
		YI				

COMMENTS:

**EXPEDITE**

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: \_\_\_\_\_

PL MAIL USER CODES: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING	*
*	*	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	*OF SIGNER	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	*CODE = A	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF	*
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*		*OUTGOING	*
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *			*
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE *			*
*X-INTERIM REPLY *			*

\*\*\*\*\*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL PREFERENCE  
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590  
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING  
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS  
MANAGEMENT.



RECEIVED 05 APR 86 14

TO PRESIDENT FROM TRUMKA, RICHARD  
PLATT, N

DOCDATE 14 JAN 86

28 FEB 86

KEYWORDS: SOUTH AFRICA

HUMAN RIGHTS

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM TRUMKA RE MASS FIRING OF BLACK MINeworkERS IN  
SOUTH AFRICA

.....  
ACTION: MEMO MCDANIEL TO KELLEY DUE: 09 APR 86 STATUS S FILES WH  
.....

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RINGDAHL

MANDEL

MATLOCK

RAYMOND

10  
↑

concur  
4/8

OK 4/7

COMMENTS

REF# 365849 8603042 LOG NSCIFID ( DR )

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ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO  
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.....

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH FILE \_\_\_\_\_ (C)



United States Department of State

*Washington, D.C. 20520*

Matt Zachari  
Office of Public Liaison  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Matt:

Enclosed is the information you requested on the implementation of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986.

I have enclosed a copy of the two most recent reports submitted to the Congress, a compendium of implementation reports and regulations mandated by the Act, and the South Africa Working Group's most recent information packet sent to our contacts throughout the country.

If there is any additional information you need, please don't hesitate to call.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Sarah".

Sarah Avellar  
Business Liaison  
South Africa Working Group



REPORT TO THE CONGRESS PURSUANT TO SECTION 501 OF THE  
COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-APARTHEID ACT OF 1986

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Pursuant to Section 501 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (The Act), the President has transmitted to the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, a report on the extent to which significant progress has been made toward ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy in South Africa. Included is the President's recommendation on which suggested additional measures, if any, should be imposed on that country.

The report concludes that there has not been significant progress toward ending apartheid since October, 1986, and that none of the goals outlined in Title I of the Act--goals that are shared by the Administration and the Congress--have been fulfilled. Moreover, the South African Government's response to the Act over the past year gives little ground for hope that this trend will soon be reversed or that additional measures will produce better results.

In reviewing the twelve-month period since the Act became law, the report describes a continuing bleak situation for blacks in South Africa who face increased repression, harassment, and--even in the case of a significant number of minors--imprisonment. Press censorship has been intensified, and illegal cross border raids by South African security forces into neighboring countries have resulted in the loss of innocent lives.

In the economic area, the report points out that sanctions have had minimal impact on interrupting South Africa's external trade because of that country's ability to find substitute markets for its products outside the United States. Where there has been a significant impact, notably in the coal and sugar industries, the loss of export markets in the United States has caused hardship among black workers who are experiencing greater rates of unemployment. Overall, South Africa's economic performance has not been robust due to the poor investment climate, unfavorable international conditions, and drought in the farming areas. Sanctions have incrementally exacerbated an already existing problem.

The report also takes note of considerable disinvestment by American companies since the beginning of the recent unrest in South Africa. The report points out that the most painful impact of this trend toward disinvestment has been the disappearance of company-funded social, housing, educational, and job training programs designed to improve living standards and career opportunities for black South Africans.

In political terms, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which followed selective measures instituted by Executive Order in 1985, sent a strong message of abhorrence of apartheid on the part of the American people. The immediate result, however, was a marked reduction in our ability to persuade the South African Government to act responsibly on human rights issues and to restrain its behavior in the region. Perhaps the single ray of hope during the period under review was the appearance of ferment within the Afrikaner community where there is increasing public discussion of "power sharing." While this and similar terms being discussed are still devoid of quantifiable substance, they may be a precursor to eventual negotiations between the South African Government and the black leadership, a goal which the U.S. Government will be seeking to promote.

Because of the President's conclusion that the economic sanctions embodied in the 1986 Act have not been effective in meeting the goals on which the Congress and the Administration agree, and his conviction that additional measures would be counterproductive, the President recommends against the imposition of any additional measures at this time, including those mentioned in Section 501(c) of the Act, and continues to believe that the current punitive sanctions against South Africa are not the best way to bring freedom to that country.

What the United States now needs is a period of active and creative diplomacy--bilaterally as well as in consultation with our allies and with our friends in southern Africa--focusing on doing all that is possible to bring the peoples of South Africa together for meaningful negotiations leading to the creation of a democratic society. The essence of this process is to state clearly what goals and values the West supports, rather than simply to reiterate what it opposes. This was the purpose of Secretary Shultz's public articulation on September 29 of the concepts which must be addressed by all South Africans to undergird a settlement of political grievances and the formation of a just, constitutional, and democratic order in South Africa. His statement delineates precisely the values that the West stands for and wishes to see negotiated by South Africans as they chart a future free of apartheid.



REPORT TO CONGRESS PURSUANT TO SECTION 501 OF THE COMPREHENSIVE  
ANTI-APARTHEID ACT OF 1986

Pursuant to Section 501 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (the Act), I am transmitting to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, a report on the extent to which significant progress has been made toward ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy in that country. Included also is my recommendation on which suggested additional measures, if any, should be imposed on South Africa.

Background

In Executive Order 12571, I directed all affected executive departments and agencies to take all steps necessary, consistent with the Constitution, to implement the requirements of the Act. I am pleased to be able to report that the Act has been implemented fully and faithfully. Executive departments and agencies are to be complimented for their excellent work in carrying out this complex piece of legislation.

The legislation sets out yardsticks by which to measure the effectiveness of the approach it embodies. The specific goals are laid out in the legislation itself. The Act, in Section 101, states that it and other actions of the United States were intended to encourage the Government of South Africa to take the following steps:

- Bring about reforms leading to the establishment of a nonracial democracy in South Africa.
- Repeal the State of Emergency and respect the principles of equal justice under law for all races.
- Release Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, and Walter Sisulu and all political prisoners and black trade union leaders.
- Permit South Africans of all races the right freely to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate in the political process.
- Establish a timetable for the elimination of apartheid laws.
- Negotiate with representatives of all racial groups in South Africa the future political system in South Africa.
- End military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighboring states.

### The Status of Apartheid: October 1986 to October 1987

I regret that I am unable to report significant progress leading to the end of apartheid and the establishment of a nonracial democracy in South Africa. Indeed, the following review of events in South Africa since October, 1986 provides very little hope for optimism about the immediate future.

The State of Emergency has not been repealed. Instead, the earlier decree was toughened, press restrictions were tightened, and an increasing number of foreign journalists (including Americans) were expelled. Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, and other key prisoners have not been released. Instead, the number of political prisoners detained by the Government has vastly increased, including the detention of large numbers of minors, although some detained children were later set free.

South Africa is not any closer in late 1987 to respecting free speech and free political participation by all its citizens than it was one year ago. No timetable has been set for the elimination of the remaining apartheid laws. No clear and credible plan has been devised for negotiating a future political system involving all people equally in South Africa, and many of the legitimate representatives of the majority in that country are still "banned," in hiding, or in detention. The Government of South Africa has not ended military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighboring states. Instead, such activities have been stepped up, as can be seen by Pretoria's April, 1987 raid against targets in Livingstone, Zambia; its May, 1987 incursion into Maputo, the capital of Mozambique; and the increase in unexplained deaths and disappearances of anti-apartheid activists throughout the region. The cycle of violence and counterviolence between the South African Government and its opponents has, if anything, gotten worse.

### Internal Political Situation: Status of Race Relations

The absence of progress toward the end of apartheid has been reflected in generally negative trends in South Africa's internal political-economic situation during the past year.

In the recent whites-only election in South Africa, the National Party attempted to exploit a nationalistic backlash to foreign interference. Without any doubt, external factors played some role in the sizable vote totals for the National Party's right-wing opposition as well as for the ruling party itself. However the election results are interpreted, they appear to have put a brake on any inclination toward fundamental reform by the South African Government. They also helped to discredit the



anti-apartheid stand of the Progressive Federal Party and have put the current government in the position of having to deal with an official opposition which for the first time in 40 years is to the right, not the left.

Even before the elections, and more so after their conclusion, the South African Government has spared no effort to stifle domestic unrest. This round of massive unrest, which began in 1984, has been put down with harsh states of emergency. The detentions and other measures taken by the security forces during this period severely damaged the opposition groups inside the country, particularly the United Democratic Front, an umbrella organization committed to the non-violent end of apartheid. The State of Emergency has resulted in the detention of much of the UDF leadership and the silencing of much of the organization's political expression. While the State of Emergency has failed to crush the organization, it has nevertheless powerfully affected its strategies and put the organization on the defensive.

The Government has also been cool to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, a convention representing all racial groups and a wide range of social and political organizations in the Natal Province. For many months the Indaba participants have been wrestling on a provincial basis with the great questions that must be addressed by South Africans, including the creation of a nonracial legislature and the drafting of a bill of rights. This process has shown that South Africans are capable of difficult mutual accommodation to advance the cause of racial justice and representative government. Regrettably, the government has been slow to see the wisdom of encouraging such efforts at negotiated change.

Equally disturbing has been the increase in regional tensions triggered in part by a sharp expansion of South African military, para-military, and covert operations. South African security forces have in the last year raided Livingstone in Zambia and Maputo in Mozambique, in violation of international law and, in the case of Mozambique, in violation of the Nkomati Accords (which established a regime of peaceful cooperation between the South African and Mozambican Governments). These raids, purportedly directed at the African National Congress, resulted in the deaths of innocent civilians. South African forces have also been engaged in a variety of other largely covert efforts in Swaziland, Botswana, and Zimbabwe aimed at keeping their neighbors off-balance and deflecting public attention away from the imperative of change at home and toward foreign sources of support for its opponents. Our sanctions were followed by an increase in such ill-considered actions. We have made our views

known clearly, but Pretoria appears less inclined to consider external views than was previously the case.

### Ferment in the White Community

A positive development has been the continuing ferment in the white South African community, reflecting, among many other internal and external factors, the messages of outrage and frustration sent by the United States and other interested nations.

Particularly notable is the debate occurring within the subcommunity of Afrikaans-speakers. The last year has seen the candidates (during the May elections) of the "independents" who broke away from their traditional philosophical home in the ruling National Party; the "revolt" of the University of Stellenbosch academics who deserted the National Party as a show of protest against apartheid; the increasing visibility of the extraparliamentary opposition, exemplified by the former head of the Progressive Federal Party, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert; and, most recently, the meeting in Dakar between leading Afrikaners and representatives of the exiled African National Congress, sponsored by Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), and hosted by Senegal's President Diouf.

Even within the government, there have been hesitant, heavily qualified statements from the Cabinet concerning "power sharing" and the need to negotiate with black leaders. South Africans have not yet identified a realistic formula on which to base and begin serious negotiations, but the issue is surfacing publicly and is being discussed. Such developments suggest that despite all the negative things that have occurred in recent years--the violence, killings, and repression--there continue to be forces at work in South Africa that yet may lead to progress toward a negotiated settlement. South Africans are continuing to seek ways out of the impasse. Today, it is clearer than ever that the travesty of apartheid is South Africa's to solve.

### South African Economy

South Africa's economy is "open" by world standards in the sense that a relatively high percentage of its gross domestic product derives from a combination of exports and imports. South Africa is a trading nation, which suggests that its economy would be relatively vulnerable to our sanctions. Yet this is not necessarily the case. The nature of South Africa's exports is such that the majority of export earnings come from sales of primary products--gold and other metals and minerals--that have a



ready market internationally whether or not we choose to buy them.

After years of contending with embargoes on arms and oil, South Africa has shown itself adept at evading sanctions. The easiest way to avoid sanctions is completely overt--simply shift to new export markets. The evidence available to us indicates that South Africa has been largely successful at developing new markets, both because of their willingness to undercut competitors' prices and because of the quality of their products and the perception by much of the world that South Africa is a reliable supplier. Although the sanctions voted by Congress in 1986 potentially affect a large percentage of South African industries, many still operate at capacity--albeit with somewhat lowered profit margins--because of their success in developing new export markets. New export markets for South African agricultural products, metals, and textiles have been found in the Far East, parts of the Middle East, and Latin America and, most ironic, in the rest of Africa. In fact, South Africa's trade surplus has risen, not fallen, since we and our major allies imposed trade sanctions last year.

On the other hand, many of the commodities covered by U.S. sanctions were already facing difficult international market conditions and chronic oversupply. It seems clear that sanctions exacerbated these problems and that some of the South African export industries have suffered some damage, including the sugar, coal, and iron and steel sectors.

South Africa is slowly recovering from an economic recession that began in 1981. This recession and sanctions, combined with the absence of business confidence and the resulting decline in new investments, have been major elements in the country's poor economic performance. It is important to appreciate, moreover, that although the South African Government has been able to avoid some of the economic effects of our sanctions in the short term, the long-term effect on unemployment and growth rates may well be more serious. There is a growing consensus among economists that a combination of sanctions, South Africa's inability to attract foreign capital, and a variety of other factors will mean that, at best, South Africa's gross domestic product growth will likely hover between 2.5 and 3.5 percent per annum for the foreseeable future. Yet studies indicate that annual real growth of 5 to 6 percent will be necessary to create jobs for the 350,000 new workers who will enter the labor force each year. To the extent that our sanctions contribute to a slowdown in real growth, we will have contributed both to an increase in unemployment that

will hit blacks hardest, as population growth continues to outstrip economic growth, and to an erosion of prospects for economic progress by blacks in the future, once apartheid has ended.

In fact, economic growth and the openness of the South African economy have been among the major forces eroding apartheid. They also offer the best chance of bringing about its end. Black economic empowerment is one of the keys to progress. An open and dynamic economy provides jobs and skills for the majority of the population, provides the indispensable base for trade unions to address their grievances, and inevitably will improve educational possibilities for blacks as economic growth demands a better educated labor force.

In the overall economic context, a phenomenon worthy of note is the trend toward disinvestment among American-owned business firms in South Africa. The value of U.S. direct investment in South Africa has been cut nearly in half by disinvestment--from \$2.4 billion in 1982 to approximately \$1.3 billion in 1986. By now, it is probably less than \$1 billion. In most cases, U.S. firms have sold their South African holdings to their local managers and/or employees. Most of the rest have been sold to other firms, usually South African white-owned competitors, at fire-sale prices. In very few cases have these companies pulled up stakes altogether. Despite disinvestments, the products and services of departing U.S. firms remain generally available in South Africa. The main impact of disinvestment has been to damage fair labor standards programs. There is no question but that many projects in education, training, and community improvement funded by major foreign investors have been damaged or eliminated. During the past decade, U.S. companies have spent nearly \$200 million on such projects. Because of disinvestment, this vital source of manpower and community development assistance has been severely cut back.

The concentration through disinvestment of more of South Africa's wealth in local white hands has, at least in the short term, marginally enlarged the economic gap between the races. Blacks at present control only a minute fraction of the country's physical capital and share equity. Black-owned enterprises contribute only about 1 percent to the nation's gross domestic



product (although much more black economic activity takes place in the informal sector and goes unrecorded), and we doubt that black ownership totals more than about 2 percent of South Africa's capital stock.

#### Presidential Recommendations

Section 501(c) of the Act states that if the Government of South Africa has not made significant progress in ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy, the President shall include in this annual report recommendations on the imposition of additional measures from among the five listed in that sub-section.

The two sets of economic sanctions imposed against South Africa to date--by Executive Order in 1985 and by statute in 1986--have sent a clear message to the ruling white community that the American people are outraged by the institutional injustice of apartheid and the basic denial of human rights that it embodies. Although the South African white leadership has reacted defiantly toward these measures, and has chilled the bilateral diplomatic relationship as a result, the message has clearly been registered. The American people have made their feelings clear.

Yet the most important goal of the Act was to pressure the South African Government to meet the unambiguous prescriptions laid out in the Act itself. As indicated above, significant progress has not been made toward ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy in South Africa in the twelve month period since the enactment of the Act.

I have reviewed the suggested additional measures listed in Section 501(c) in light of what we hope to achieve in South Africa as well as the impact of those measures already taken. My conclusion is that the imposition of additional economic sanctions at this time would not be helpful in the achievement of the objectives which Congress, the American people, and I share. While the measures imposed by the 1986 Act have registered an important message to the white South African community, and have contributed to our efforts to broaden our contacts with black opposition groups, the impact has been more negative than positive. I am particularly concerned by evidence that these measures have caused increasing unemployment for black South African workers, especially in such industries as sugar production and coal mining. While our sanctions have accentuated the overall economic stagnation in South Africa, it is clear to me that their impact on the government itself and its political choices have not advanced our goals. The ability of that country

to evade sanctions by finding alternate markets for its exports indicates that it would be futile to impose additional measures that would also be harmful to United States strategic or economic interests. In addition, our sanctions measures have made it more difficult for the United States to persuade the South African Government to act responsibly on human rights issues, to move toward negotiations, and to restrain its behavior in the region. I believe that the imposition of additional measures, including those listed in Section 501(c), would exacerbate these negative developments without adding any additional positive benefits in support of our objectives. For these reasons, moreover, I continue to believe that punitive sanctions are not the best way to bring freedom to South Africa.

This experience has illustrated once again the very real constraints on the United States, or any other nation, that tries to impose its own solutions to South Africa's problems. It is clear that in the heat of debate over sanctions against South Africa, Americans on both sides of the issue overestimated the importance of the United States as a factor in the South African matrix. The impact of American sanctions to date has been significant neither in hastening the demise of racism in South Africa nor in punishing the South African Government.

What is needed on the part of the United States is a period of active and creative diplomacy bilaterally as well as in consultation with our allies and friends in Africa focusing on doing all that is possible to bring the peoples of South Africa together for meaningful negotiations leading to the building of a democratic society. The essence of this process is to state clearly what goals and values we in the West support, rather than simply to reiterate what we oppose.

This was the purpose of Secretary Shultz' public articulation on September 29th of the principles we believe must undergird a settlement of political grievances and the formation of a just, constitutional, and democratic order in South Africa. His statement delineates precisely the values that we in the West stand for and wish to see addressed by South Africans as they chart a future free of apartheid. It constitutes an attempt to challenge all parties in the equation with a positive vision of a post-apartheid South Africa, and to lend our moral weight to those many South Africans--a majority, I believe--who have not given up hope.



It is crucial in the coming period that we work with and, where possible, coordinate policies with our principal OECD partners. Aside from the question of the 1986 sanctions measures--which few of our key allies have adopted--our positions and policies are complementary with those of the OECD countries, particularly the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan. We must work with these nations and others to buttress the Front Line States and the region against destabilization and economic decay. We must support and encourage those South Africans, white and black, that are already at work breaking down the barriers of fear, mistrust, and ignorance of each other. We must continue to strive together through public and private endeavors to assist the non-white communities in South Africa to prepare themselves for their rightful role after the inevitable end of apartheid. Most importantly, we must, together, push firmly for progress, change, and negotiation in South Africa, leading to a just and democratic future for that troubled nation.