

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

AIDE MEMOIRE FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, BY MANGOSUTHU G.

BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER, KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND
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"BLACK SOUTH AFRICA'S SHARE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT"

Ever since the Act of Union in 1910 apartheid has discriminated
against Blacks politically, economically and socially. Political
discrimination by the exclusion of Blacks from voting enabled
Whites to establish their vested interests under the guise of a
democratic parliamentary idiom. Black South Africa had no say in

the enactment of the laws of the land which precluded them from
being full participants in the early economic development of the

country. Very early in this century, White South Africa reserved
87 per cent of the country's surface area for the exclusive
benefits of Whites. Blacks were relegated to what was then
called 'Reserves' and were used simply as a cheap form of
labour. Laws were passed which made it a criminal offence for

Blacks to be in so-called White areas without permission.

Legal restrictions were placed on Blacks prohibiting them from
receiving recognised training in technical skills. The
Apprenticeship Act, for example, reserved all skilled trades for
White occupation only and the Industrial Reconciliation Act which
regulated labour relations at times of disputes between employers

and employees. Blacks were also prohibited from establishing

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businesses in so-called White areas and they were prohibited from being shareholders in White-controlled companies.

The consequences of this economic and political discrimination against Blacks and the entrenchment of White vested interests has resulted in the division between the poor and the rich being delineated along racial lines. The 87 per cent of the country

set aside for White occupation was developed for White benefits and the Blacks who were allowed into White areas were treated as third class citizens and no adequate provision for them was made in terms of housing, social benefits and educational facilities.

Blacks came to occupy dormitory towns which were little more than ghettos.

The poverty of Black South Africa is typical of that in under-developed Third World situations. The factors which brought this situation about persist today and there is a great disparity in the per capital expenditure on essential services and community development.

Despite the fact that in a very real sense Black South Africa has every characteristic of Third World underdevelopment through no making of its own, Western governments and development agencies in the West have consistently refused to recognise this fact. Because the something like five million White South Africans who enjoy the benefits of a strong central cash economy, South Africa is not classified as an under-developed state, and the more than 25 million Blacks who suffer dire want and deprivation have been precluded from benefiting from whatever attempts have been made

to grapple with poverty in the Third World.

More recently discrimination against Black South Africa by the Western industrial world has taken on a new and ugly dimension. Something like half the African population of the country has no alternative but to live in so-called homelands. Because the Western world condemns apartheid and regards the 'homelands' as a construct of apartheid, Western Governments and developmental agencies in the West, if they do at all involve themselves in development in South Africa, specifically preclude so-called

homelands from any benefits that development schemes could have.

I find this attitude totally incomprehensible. From a Black South African point of view, it amounts to no less than visiting the sins of apartheid on the heads of its victims. Western Governments and development agencies which are involved in South Africa at all fail to see that the areas they are prepared to work in are but counter-sides to the same coin. Every regional area in South Africa is the product of successive White government apartheid policies. The same considerations which led to the establishment of so-called White South Africa and permitted the development of Black urban areas in it led first to the establishment of 'Reserves' and later to these areas now

known as 'homelands.'

All Black South Africans are the victims of apartheid wherever they find themselves. Poverty, want and disease are no

discriminators between one Black and another. It seems to me to

be grossly unfair that because apartheid has created political

barriers between rural areas traditionally occupied by Blacks and areas in which economic development takes place in the industrialised parts of the country, the victims of apartheid who most keenly feel the effects of under-development are treated as lepers when it comes to development aid.

While Blacks have no doubt whatsoever that the struggle for liberation will be won, we do not know what the struggle will yet entail for wus. All indications are that it will become an increasingly bitter struggle. Despite the considerable international pressures brought to bear on the South African Government over many decades, it is showing in its latest constitutional developments just how impervious it has been to Western criticisms. In the new constitutional developments which have been introduced into this year's parliamentary session the Westminster model on which the South African parliament was based is to be scrapped and a tricameral parliament with a chamber each for Whites, Indians and Coloureds is to be established. This tricameral parliamentary arrangement totally excludes Blacks from having any part in the government of the country and relegates them politically to the so-called homeland areas.

The tricameral parliament itself will be dominated by an immensely powerful Executive President and a White chamber which can dictate the politics of the country with no real checks being exercised on them by the junior Indian and Coloured chambers. The central White-dominated state will, in terms of the Prime Minister's thinking, be related to the so-called independent homelands through a confederal formula. This formula has been

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chosen because it creates political barriers between Africans and other race groups.

The wealth of the country will in the future be concentrated in so-called White South Africa and Whites will have the political power to maintain this position indefinitely. Any Western government which had hoped that there were signs that the South African Government was entertaining ideas of real reform must now come to realise that it is the Government's intention to do just the opposite. Not only is there no sign of liberalisation in the Government's thinking about Africans, there is in fact every indication to the contrary. Racism is now in the process of being constitutionalised and the division of power favouring the Whites reflected in the constitutional changes is accompanied by a division of wealth along the lines of race.

I am very deeply concerned about the current South African situation. One of my concerns is that in the medium and long term there are going to be very serious economic implications flowing from White political intransigence. The existing industrial base of the country is inadequate to cater for the needs of a growing population even under conditions of maximum stability. Political developments are going to contribute to an ever increasing extent to the instability of the country and if the South African Government is left to follow its headlong rush into disaster, political conflicts will eventually take on the dimensions of violence leading to a race war.

Black South Africa is struggling for liberation not only from political oppression, but also from poverty, want and disease.

Ministee for EeconoMic
DEVELOPMENT.