

INSIGHT

SA's biggest challenge: easing plight of the poor

City Press 19 March 1989

QUESTION: Dr Ramphela and Prof Wilson, in their book *Uprooting Poverty*, say SA's biggest challenge is to deal with the 15 million people living in poverty.

They argue that redistribution of wealth through political intervention is the most effective way of doing this.

On the other hand, Leon Louw of the Free Market Foundation believes that for the State to spend R1 it has first to tax R2 out of the economy.

Do you agree that poverty is our number one problem? And what is the solution?

ANSWER: Poverty is a major problem but one should avoid over-simplifying things.

To simply redistribute wealth would create new problems: it could drive entrepreneurs (who create jobs by risking their capital) out of the country or into a state of indifference by destroying their incentive.

We should rather work together on a long-term development strategy which includes the needs of all South Africans.

It is vital that we move as rapidly as possible into the future without being hung up with obsessions about apartheid. Poverty has plagued blacks all their lives. It is not just a result of apartheid or modern political factors.

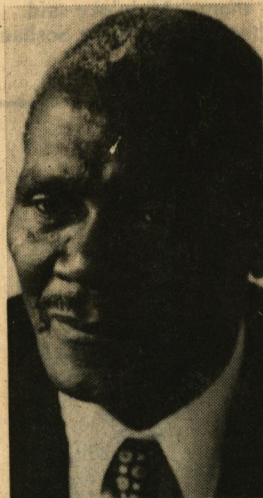
QUESTION: If poverty is largely caused by blacks being dispossessed of their property, why did the wealth cre-

Dr Mamphela Ramphele and Professor Francis Wilson's book *Uprooting Poverty: the South African Challenge* has stirred South Africans to new heights of debate.

Will conventional socialist or capitalist solutions work?

In the following provocative interview, *Black Enterprise* magazine talks to respected academic Nimrod Mkele about South Africa's economic plight.

Both a challenge and a message of hope emerge.



ation process not take off when the colonial powers returned the land to indigenous Africans?

ANSWER: Leon Louw's book points out that in 1835, when 16 000 Mfengu people were given land rights in the Eastern Cape, they competed against white farmers, won many prizes at agricultural shows, diversified into transport and built their own schools, roads and bridges. In fact they were too successful.

They became a threat because they were self-sufficient. The mines needed wage labourers so they were forced off the land by legislation.

QUESTION: How do you account for the

multi-million rand Sabta Foundation Fund and the phenomenal retail trade the hawkers and spaza shops are doing?

ANSWER: Apart from access to land there has been denial of access to businesses and business rights.

Despite this, the two industries you mention were launched in contravention of the law. Because of black resourcefulness and the ripeness of the market, they have burgeoned into billion rand industries.

QUESTION: That example is interesting because it facilitates an enormous shifting of earnings into black wage

earners' pockets.

ANSWER: Yes, and the by-product of trade union power has been that workers are being offered shares in numerous businesses. This is more subtle than apartheid, but just as insidious.

QUESTION: Why? In Britain the same process has created a climate of participation through ownership. This actually seems like a useful wealth-generating tool.

ANSWER: Not really. They still remain workers. They don't actually control the businesses. If you are going that route why not let the workers get right into management structures up to board level and have options to take over equity control?

QUESTION: What are your ideas on job creation?

ANSWER: Firstly, there is too much sentimentality on the subject. People do not go into business to create jobs. They risk capital to make a profit.

Self-employment, on the other hand, is a trend we should encourage.

QUESTION: Let's look at it another way. We are now looking back at South Africa in the year 2000. We are proud of our nation and our thriving economy. How did we achieve this?

ANSWER: First we had to deal with our conflicting ideologies. We had to distance free enterprise from apartheid. We created a new ideology which satisfied most peo-

ple. We have a mixed economy. The conglomerates would have broken up or privatised themselves to allow for the broad participation of the people.

What is important is to institute a crash programme to develop managers, technicians and entrepreneurs. We cannot wait for apartheid to end.

QUESTION: Are you saying that we should not be trying to define our plans around worn-out dogmas and catch phrases?

ANSWER: The failure of centralised systems is that they are not close to the people and tend to be run by ideologues.

The unimpeded working of the market place is one of the ways in which people express and respond to each other's needs. These responses might be individualistic or collective in nature.

QUESTION: What would your action plan be for creating a prosperous and convivial community?

ANSWER: Both the State and whites in general must show that they do not condone poverty of any sort. A black man's poverty is a drain on the whole community. This realisation would enable blacks and whites to build together.

Our businessmen could help potential achievers by spending less on conspicuous consumption. One Rolls-Royce could finance 400 university students!

Former ANC City Press member in 19 March 1989 the Cabinet?

TO be represented at all levels of the country's administration in a fair deal is basically the oppressed people's long-term wish.

We love seeing people like Mr Mavuso rubbing shoulders with President PW Botha. He could become SA's first black Cabinet minister.

I have recently been impressed to learn that he is a former member of the ANC.

That is pretty fantastic, but I personally cannot figure out the following state of affairs:

● How can Mr Mavuso claim to be representing the oppressed when he was not democratically elected? ● I am not against Mr Mavuso's appointment at all, but I do not want him to fly to Europe and announce that he is representing the voteless.

Instead, I strongly suggest that his decision to fight within the system is undisputably myopic.

It may be necessary to ask whether, in view of past experiences in the struggle, we still need behaviour like that of Mr Mavuso. I for one, believe he is playing a destructive role in shaping the future of this trouble-torn country. - Worried Mineworker, Virginia.

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Restraint needed

RESTRAINT is useful in any negotiation. When the issue at hand is long-sought peace in the middle of violence and strife, it is a prerequisite. On the eve of new and delicate peace initiatives in Pietermaritzburg, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's criticism of organisations that are parties to the peace initiative, along with Inkatha, is not only undiplomatic, but suggestive of a cynicism about further negotiation.

Among other inopportune remarks to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in his policy speech, Dr Buthelezi said that those who dealt with the UDF and Cosatu in the greater Pietermaritzburg area had come to the conclusion that when the tail was not wagging the dog, the dog did not even have a tail.

Politics are a favourite arena of slurs and insults, but when delicate negotiations are in the offing, they could prejudice the outcome. Dr Buthelezi has put his own negotiators at a disadvantage. Their sincerity may be doubted in light of their leader's remarks.

Considerable restraint will now be needed. Peace, at the price of everyone's pride if necessary, is what is most important.

Thanks Maggie

SOUTH AFRICANS will be grateful to Mrs Thatcher and to Sir Geoffrey Howe for their courteous reception of Pik Botha in London. They would have been aggrieved had Pik been treated as rudely as was Sir Geoffrey by PW and Pik on his last visit to this country.

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BLEAK FUTURE

World bank report
shows horrifying
economic decline in Africa

By Stanley Uys

LONDON: A horrifying picture of Africa's economic decline over the past 30 years and the bleak future that faces the continent is sketched in a report by the World Bank to be published later this year.

Various drafts have been written of the study in an attempt to secure a consensus among African governments on the remedies to be applied. One of the drafts has been published by the London-based magazine *South*.

Following are some of the major findings of the study:

- Africa is poorer today in per capita terms than it was 30 years ago. Life expectancy has declined in nine countries and school enrolment in 12.
- Africa's population will double in the next 20-25 years at present growth rates. Fertility rates will have to be reduced from 6,7 children per woman in 1986 to 3,2 by 2020.
- Two-thirds of Africa's land areas are likely to suffer a prolonged drought every 10 years.
- Increasing population pressures have accelerated desertification, loss of woodland cover, and environmental pollution in rural and urban areas. In 1984 more than 80 percent of Africa's dry lands, with a population of 92-million, were at least "moderately" desertified.

The outlook for primary commodities is gloomy, partly because of new technology, while the reorientation of world trade and capital flows to the Pacific leave Africa out in the cold.

The World Bank study criticises some African governments for running factories as if they were civil service departments or military units, without regard for entrepreneurial talent.

Governments are criticised, too, for concentrating social services in urban and relatively well-off areas.

The study comments: "The economic situation in much of Africa is going from bad to worse. Business as usual is not good enough, a new strategy is called for that departs significantly from the first generation, top-down approach."

The droughts of recent years in Africa have concentrated the minds of African governments on economic policies, and most governments admit now that they have neglected their peasantry, keeping food prices down to placate urban populations.

International institutions like the IMF, and Western governments, particularly the United States, have insisted on policy reform as a condition of aid. This has provoked protests from African governments of "neo-colonialism".

Nevertheless, one by one African governments have been shifting away from collectivist to free enterprise policies.

The World Bank study makes the following recommendations — which may be modified under pressure from African governments who insist that the fault lies not only with them, but also with oil price hikes, low commodity prices, natural disasters, and so forth:

- Economic policies must not be simply adjustments, but must tackle basic issues like population growth, the environment, and the sociological and political aspects of development.
- Reversal of the decline in per capita incomes must be the key aim of development strategy.
- In spite of a stifling policy environment, the informal sector has shown resilience (it flourishes in South Africa when given a chance), and the vibrancy of this sector must be enhanced.
- The concept of capital must be extended to include natural and human resources, thereby ensuring that health and food security become priorities.
- Food subsidies should go up to the neediest, and would take up no more than 0,1-0,4 percent of GDP.
- Africa will need a net transfer of \$20bn by the year 2000.

The study advises governments to become enablers rather than controllers. But the World Bank will seek maximum co-operation in Africa for its latest study. The first World Bank report in 1981 (the Berg report) aroused resentment among African governments, and three subsequent reports did not carry the weight they should have carried.

But some World Bank officials fear the new study will be ineffective if African governments are allowed to water it down too much.

THE BRITISH VIEW

De Klerk is scoring with reform

By RW Johnson, Fellow in Politics, Magdalen College, Oxford.

LONDON: Hardly have we digested the latest high-colour instalment of the Winnie Mandela imbroglio than we have to refocus on the comic-opera power struggle between President Botha and FW de Klerk: "The battle of the bald eagles", as it has been called.

What has happened is simple enough: Botha, recovering from a stroke, was assured by his advisers that if he resigned the party leadership on the turn, his favourite son, the Finance Minister, Barend du Plessis, could be shooed into his place, allowing Botha to continue running things by remote control.

Botha resigned, but Du Plessis was narrowly beaten by De Klerk, and the party leadership which Botha, with his base in the Cape, had snatched away from the Transvaal in 1978 now again reverted to the Trans-

vaal. Botha went into a mighty sulk, regretting that he had ever resigned and, indeed, trying to behave as if he hadn't. He even refused to greet De Klerk for several weeks.

De Klerk has been extremely adroit. Although he had been seen as the candidate of the centre-right against Du Plessis' more liberal wing, he immediately struck a strong reforming note.

Botha has, indeed, spectacularly misplayed his hand. In the space of a month he has handed the leadership to the man he didn't want, provided just the sort of display which helped De Klerk to accentuate his more modern image, and then succeeded in uniting around De Klerk a party which had been extremely divided on his merits only a few weeks before. Botha may hang on a while longer but he has scored too many own goals to win the game now.

Meanwhile, De Klerk has been having talks with internal "moderate" leaders, who look likely to be the main beneficiaries of the leadership change. Already he seems to have done a deal with the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, leader of the coloured Labour Party.

Potentially even more significant have been De Klerk's meetings with the Zulu leader, Dr Buthelezi, and his chief lieutenant, Dr Oscar Dhlomo. Buthelezi would like to go ahead with the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals. These would see universal franchise elections in Natal which his Inkatha movement would be certain to win, while De Klerk would like to bring Buthelezi on to a power-sharing National Council.

Buthelezi's price for such a deal until now has been the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress. It may be that a deal of sorts can be done even here, with both De Klerk and Buthelezi agreeing to get slightly less than they want — Buthelezi is over 60 and must be aware that time is slipping away if he wants a deal at all.

There are strict limits to all this — De Klerk has no intention of surrendering white control. But if such a deal saw Buthelezi firmly ensconced in a major regional power base of his present KwaZulu plus Natal (the so-called "KwaNatal") and the biggest single black ethnic group brought within the Government framework, then the whole political geography of South Africa would have been transformed.

It would be of crucial importance both to Buthelezi and De Klerk that such a KwaNatal solution should gain legitimacy in the world outside South Africa: And that means London and Washington in the first instance.

All of Buthelezi's meetings with Mrs Thatcher and her government have been building up to this: Indeed, the assumption of British support is probably a precondition of the KwaNatal's deal going ahead. So while our eyes may be on the "battle of the bald eagles" now, if De Klerk wins, the really interesting thing to look for will be our own Foreign Office's reaction to the use he makes of that victory.

SOUSA JAMBA, the Angolan writer, recently described meeting a black American who could not understand why "black fought against black" in Africa.

Most Americans, black or white, know very little about other lands. When I was there two years ago, I found many people were puzzled when I tried to explain that black people in England, the Caribbean and Africa, were different in their ways from those in America.

"How can they be different," a white person asked me in surprise.

White people are allowed to have nationalities, but coloured people apparently are all "blacks". English government ministers, when perturbed by crime among boys of Jamaican descent, sent off to America for information about "blacks". English schools, clinics and colleges are flooded with books for "black readers" written by black Americans for other black Americans. These make very little sense in England.

American insularity must not take the sole blame for the reduction of millions of disparate people into the single category of "blacks". The science of sociology has confused matters by the blurring of national boundaries in books of statistics on "race and class".

Bigots

Students in England, poring over American sociology textbooks, gain the vague impression that there is a vast and dreary kingdom called "Society" that stretches from Chicago to New York, over the sea to London and on to the German universities.

Universities are the main cities of Society Land. In this country, "blacks are blacks" no matter where they may be. White people, when reduced to statistics, are often classified by occupation (a meaningless enough exercise) but "blacks" are classified by their colour.

This mind-numbing view of the world appeals to, and is encouraged by, racial bigots of various kinds. The old-fashioned American Black Power enthusiast who claims that "all blacks are brothers", cannot begin to imagine the myriad tribal nationalities of Africa.

He is really only talking about America. When Jesse Jackson visited Brixton, he did not take the trouble to find out why black people lived there, but addressed his bemused audience as if they were Americans. Maya

Notion of one black nation is an illusion

Roy Kerridge

*of the Spectator, London,
attacks the labelling of
people by colour*

Angelou made the same mistake.

While the word "negro" suggests Paul Robeson and the word "coloured" suggests cosiness, the word "black" can be spat out like a racial insult. I have heard white people, in England and America, spit the word out with venom. Such people are in the sociological fashion, for the idea that "blacks" can have nationalities seems laughable to them.

A drunk salesman on a train once showed me a newspaper report of Afghan refugees being attacked by Pakistanis.

"These blacks even beat up each other!" he shouted, blasting me with hot whisky fumes.

"I hope the driver didn't hear that," he added as the train lurched to a halt in the middle of nowhere. "He might be a socialist."

Such a man was a firm believer in the ideal of a Brotherhood of Blacks.

At the turn of the century, black Americans in Chicago sang a bar-room ballad, All Pimps Look Alike To Me. One of their number, Ernest Hogan, from Kentucky, changed it into a minstrel song for white consumption — All Coons Look Alike To Me. It was a great hit throughout America, and Hogan grew rich, if unpopular among his former friends.

When a white man says: "All blacks should be brothers, unite and stick together, and I'm disgusted with the blacks of London for caring so little for their brothers in South Africa", I seem to hear the strains of his theme

song: All Coons Look Alike To Me.

Some white people insist all blacks should be brothers for the same reason they urge the Workers of the World to unite. The idea of fighting a blood-thirsty revolution by proxy still titillates some white intellectuals. A Christian statement such as "all men are brothers" has less appeal, as it promises no violence.

To return to the original question, why does black fight black? I can only parry it with another question. Why does white fight white? Nobody seems particularly puzzled about the two World Wars, when white fought white.

"Ah, that was the English and the Germans," people say.

No one ever complains of the shocking lack of unity between the whites of Russia, Switzerland or Australia.

Irony

Almost everyone, particularly the Western educated African, completely accepts as age-old nations the arbitrary enclosing lines drawn across the African continent during the "scramble for Africa". No matter that these lines, drawn by white men for whom "blacks were blacks", cut nations in half or enclosed hereditary enemies within one boundary, Nigeria (say) has always been Nigeria, Uganda has been Uganda since the dawn of time.

How terrible that the people there still practice "tribalism"!

By a strange irony, it is the true African nations, the Yoruba, Ibo, Hausas and the rest who are often assumed to be arbitrary creations of white imperialists bent on a "divide and rule" policy. Nations, to the white rulers of Africa, were seen as mere "tribes" for "blacks" could not possibly have nations of their own!

Black Power advocates and sociology experts take this idea a step further and deny the existence of tribes, as "all blacks are one people".

If there is one black nation, who is the king? If the colonial empires are "real", in the absence of the colonialists, why is there no tradition of a king of all Nigeria or a king of all Tanzania? Yet both those "countries" once had tribal kings in plenty, and some of their heirs claim tribal thrones today.

Tribes are nations unrecognised both by white people and by the people of the Western black diaspora. Is it not ordained by God, or nature, or the devil, that nation shall war against nation?

That is why black man fights black man in Africa.

Why sanctions won't work

By Yogin Devan

Professor points out other options that would be more effective in bringing about change in SA

SANCTIONS will not topple the Government; nor will support for the armed struggle — the two major campaigns launched by foreign governments and organisations for change in South Africa.

Both have little strategic logic, claims Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of Witwatersrand, but there are alternatives.

One which could play a crucial role, he says, would be for external governments to support community-based movements that are realistic and success-oriented — not expressive — in their internal programmes of change.

"It is not true that other alternatives have either failed or been closed-off or crushed by the Government.

"The strategy for mobilisation and organisation as a basis for tough, strategic participation in available institutions, and peaceful pressure have not yet been fully exploited by extra-parliamentary groups in the era of reform apartheid," Prof Schlemmer said in an article titled *International Strategies for Change in South Africa*.

International Strategies for Change in South Africa.

The article has been published in *South Africa International*, a quarterly journal of the South Africa Foundation.

"Sanctions is a serious strategy; indeed the main strategy, and support for sanctions is the most obvious moral gesture to make.

"The persuasively simple moral logic apart, sanctions as a strategy on its own is highly problematic."

Prof Schlemmer cited the following contradictions that could develop from the sanctions strategy:

□ South Africa's economy can be easily harmed by sanctions. Comprehensive international sanctions can affect up to 40 percent of exports, curtail growth but would, nevertheless, fall short of destroying the economy in the short or even medium term.

The pressure sanctions create would not be sufficient to cause a determined white government to change its agenda or to capitulate. Certainly, the Government would attempt to accommodate pressure up to a point, make adjustments and minimise damage but its capacity to remain viable as an administration would not be affected very dramatically.

Studies have shown that the power base of the Government, the white voting constituency, is implacably opposed to any major concessions to sanctions.

□ The sanctions campaign has been promoted abroad by groups and parties with fairly radical goals and the Government would not easily satisfy their demands. The concessions the Government is likely to make are at best more likely than not simply to frustrate and aggravate the lobbies working for sanctions and to encourage them to redouble their efforts for further sanctions.

Siege

□ Sanctions could create a siege mentality (or a deepened siege mentality) among whites. Since some spokesmen in South Africa associated with the majority, support sanctions, their effects are, in fact, to create polarisation between people in South Africa.

Many black people feel, quite justifiably, that Archbishop Desmond Tutu deserves more recognition and support among whites. His espousal of sanctions, however, makes this ideal a lost cause.

In a siege economy, sanctions busting becomes, in a sense, a national sport. There are many small victories to maintain morale. As with the sports boycotts, there is always some minor breakthrough to alleviate the gloom. Here again the motivating effects, seen against the enormous costs of polarisation between people in South Africa, give sanctions as a tool a very dubious strategic utility.

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Easier

□ Further sanctions are likely to make it progressively easier for the South African Government to consider reneging on its international debt repayments. There will be less and less to lose by doing so, particularly if, as some proponents of sanctions intend, export credits are drawn fully into the net of sanctions. Reneging on external debt will go far in alleviating South Africa's balance of payments problems and may offer the economy a welcome respite.

□ Sanctions may well have a divisive effect on black movement for change. Disinvestment by multi-nationals has on balance benefited South African capital rather than workers or black communities. The loss of so-called "social responsibility" and affirmative action programmes with-

in multi-nationals has been a setback to the emergent black middle class. If sanctions are complete and fully applied, overseas governments may well also lose interest in providing subsidies for blacks, thus compounding the problems of the emergent black middle class.

Prof Schlemmer said: "I see very limited strategic merit in sanctions as a major strategy for change.

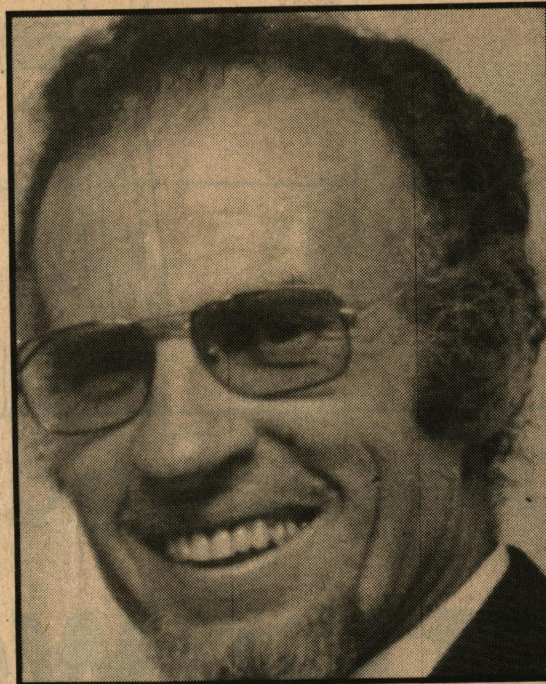
"As the sanctions strategy has ramified, it increasingly runs the risk of becoming one of the most unintelligent approaches to ending apartheid, the policy to which the long-suffering majority in this country has

been victim."

As an alternative to sanctions, he said strategists for change in South Africa must take potential allies in the West more seriously and avoid trying to push them beyond the norms of international behaviour.

"If the West is asked to protect (or support) initiatives in South Africa, they must be given plausible assurance that the programmes will not sow divisions in either the domestic politics of those countries or within black politics in South Africa.

"Hence it is likely to be much more effective to ask western countries to support negotiation initiatives than, for example, to protect organisa-



□ Prof Schlemmer

tions promoting mass strike, consumer/rent boycotts and the like.

"This is not a moral statement; as long as the goals are unrealistic, western support is likely to be either half-hearted, hypocritical or token in nature."

Prof Schlemmer said the main utility in the South African change process of the West and the international community generally, will, or could, be in supporting community mobilisation around achievable socio-economic and negotiation goals.

Support requested should be both political and material, and the money should help to empower popular movements and their (appropriate) development strategies.

"Alliances should be sought with external agencies that in particular would facilitate negotiation on the control of, or participation in, meaningful development by black communities.

"The eventual aim would be to assist in building a coherent and effective network of community agencies, inside and outside the Government administration with which the Government would have to interact in securing its own goals.

"Provided the unrealistic revolutionary rhetoric of many past endeavours in this field is phased out, I believe that surprising support from the West (and from a range of important influence groups

within South Africa) would be forthcoming," Prof Schlemmer said.

He added that majority-based opposition movements in South Africa must, as part of their struggle for success, anticipate and understand the problems governing a complex country, and develop the talents and institutions to do so.

Capacities

"Quite obviously, if these movements demonstrate these capacities, there will also be less resistance to their eventual participation in government.

"This is perhaps the most powerful argument against a major reliance on external coercion of the Government and punishment of the economy as a change strategy.

"If external pressure were to succeed on its own terms, and if majority-based movements were to rely too heavily on that leverage, they may eventually enter government with suboptimal organisation and administrative capacity.

"If the South African Government were to be forced into concessions by extraneous pressure, little would have occurred to prepare black movements for their necessary future role.

"External governments have an invaluable potential role in offering black movement training and strategic support in preparing for their future political and administrative roles."

THE GROUP AREAS BUCK STOPS HERE

Rand Attorney-General
admits controversial law
can't be fully enforced

By SARAH SUSSENS

WITWATERSRAND Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres could well have a sign over his door which says "The buck stops here". As one of the country's most powerful law enforcement officers, it is his job to interpret the letter of the law and to act upon it.

What does he do with such a controversial piece of legislation as the Group Areas Act, one of the most hated apartheid laws, which has led to endless egg-dancing by Nationalist politicians, and fierce resistance from "offenders"?

The man who says he is paid to cope with "conflict resolution" admits it is an act which is impossible to enforce completely.

"It is a logistical impossibility to prosecute anybody living in a 'seriously infiltrated' Johannesburg," he said.

"I sit with a socio-economic problem, the problem of moving people from A to B, which is so vast that it is beyond the realms of my means to solve. This is an objective fact and this is why the Free Settlement Areas Bill has come into being," he said.

However, Mr Von Lieres said it would "create chaos" if Attorneys-General were to decide not to apply unpopular laws.

"You can't say people don't like this, so I think I will just change it," he said.

"The Attorney-General stands in the middle of conflict resolution. He has to decide what criteria to apply and these must be related to the facts of the case.

"So that's why it is expected of an Attorney-General

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to have a reasonable clue about what is going on in the social and political arena, so that he has sufficient background to be able to evaluate the facts of the matter properly.

"If the Attorney-General applies the law, he has to apply it equitably and in a balanced manner."

Mr Von Lieres said the act was never intended to be harshly applied and that it provides for numerous exemptions and exceptions. He said prosecutions took place "only as a last resort" and that the "offender" could apply for a permit.

Mr Von Lieres said the number of prosecutions in the Johannesburg area was minimal — fewer than 20 a year.

Evictions were almost non-existent in the wake of the Govender judgement which stipulated that the state had to provide alternative accommodation.

"The Group Areas Act itself, when it was promulgated in 1966, gave the court a discretion whether it should order the ejection of the accused or not," said Mr Von Lieres.

"The Govender judgement explains the nature of this discretion."

He said the Group Areas Act adopted in 1966 to replace the previous one, was never intended to create "ghettoes based on race" but rather to create "group areas", control the acquisition of immovable property

and the occupation of land and premises.

Reading from the act, he spelt out the various categories of people other than whites who are allowed to live in white areas. These include domestic workers and their families, employees of the state, bona fide visitors, patients in hospitals, asylums or similar state institutions, bona fide students studying at state-controlled or state-aided educational institutions and professionals working in a building set aside for their professional use.

The State President could also by proclamation give exemption to people, or a group of people.

"There is this, plus the fact that there is an ad-

Black mass influx is product of concerted campaign

THE mass influx of black residents into "white" Johannesburg areas, coupled with the drop in prosecutions under the Group Areas Act, is the product of a fierce and concerted resistance campaign which gained momentum in the last decade.

This is according to Actstop, the organisation which has consistently fought to abolish the Group Areas Act, and which believes the organisation played a major role

By Sarah Sussens

in challenging the apartheid law.

In 1978, the evictions of the Naidoo and Altas families in Mayfair set in motion a chain of events which ultimately was to lead to the precedent-setting Govender judgment whereby tenants could not be evicted unless the state could provide alternative accommodation.

The Naidoo and Altas families families camped

on the pavements for six months in protest against the Group Areas Act after losing court battles to stop their evictions.

According to Mohammed Dangor, this was at a time when 647 people had been issued with summonses under the Group Areas Act.

At that time there were about 6 000 "illegal" residents in Johannesburg and committees to support them were already established in Mayfair, Doorn-

fontein and Johannesburg's city centre.

Mr Dangor, Cassim Saloojee and Chun Chetty, who headed these committees, came together to form Actstop.

The protest movement gained momentum and culminated in a meeting with about 150 attorneys and advocates who offered their services free to anybody prosecuted under the Group Areas Act.

According to Actstop spokesman Cas Coovadia,

the organisation decided to defend each and every person prosecuted under the act. "The idea was to clog up the courts," he said.

"If there were 50 tenants in a building, we fought each tenant's case separately," he said.

"Ultimately, especially after the Govender case, the number of prosecutions dwindled and the influx of black people began."

After the Govender case, there was a lull in Actstop activity until the 1987

white general election, when the Conservative Party became the official Opposition in Parliament.

Actstop resumed its campaigning to counter the rise in vigilante activity by whites keen to keep separate residential areas.

Actstop has also consistently fought against problems experienced by "illegal" residents, such as exploitation by landlords who charge exorbitant rentals for turning a blind eye to the law.

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Rand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres

ministrative procedure which entitles the department to issue permits to disqualified people."

Mr Von Lieres said that if the act had to be enforced totally it would require a "duty-to-report" system similar to that in continental Europe whereby residents reported their movements to the police.

Talking about the mass infiltration of so-called "illegal" residents into Johannesburg, Mr Von Lieres said it had come about because of a rising middle class among the "disempowered" who were eager to enjoy the fruits of their new financial status.

"After the 1976 Soweto riots, there was a white housing surplus caused by the exodus of the faint-hearted — the so-called chicken run.

"Businessmen and flat-owners had to pay off their bonds and the enterprising estate agents saw a way of making a quick buck if they turned a blind eye to the law and so the upward movement of the disenfranchised groups developed.

"In 1983, when the tricameral Parliament was established, the Government agreed not to prosecute disqualified people in certain areas as they decided to make housing units available to coloureds and Indians. Over this period there were no prosecutions and this gave the impetus for a further influx.

Mr Von Lieres said South Africa was hopelessly under-policed and it was difficult to do in-depth law enforcement.

On the subject of white vigilante groups who threatened "illegal" residents, Mr Von Lieres said it indicated the urgency of the problem which he believed could be alleviated by the institution of free settlement areas.

Mr Von Lieres emphasised that these were his personal views and did not reflect those of his department or those of the Department of Justice.

Was Heunis the first swallow of a Zulu Spring?

By OBED
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A COLLEAGUE from my days in journalism was fond of repeating the words of an author whose name he could hardly remember and they went something like this: "I often wonder, considering what charming and innocent creatures little boys are, where all the dirty old men come from."

I was reminded of this quotation as I sat listening to Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and recently Acting State President, at Ulundi earlier this week. He was officially opening this year's session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Mr Heunis literally wowed his audience. He charmed his way into the hearts of those Zulus as few National Party leaders have done before him.

His speech, during which he referred at length to the outlawed ANC, was well-received.

Favourable

Later, at the luncheon hosted by the Zulu monarch, His Majesty King Goodwill ka Cyprian, Mr Heunis was in his element as he told humorous stories and engaged both the Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the King in gentle repartee.

Judging from comments around the lunch tables it was clear Mr Heunis had made a favourable impression. By all accounts, he appeared to have had a relatively safe passage back in the Assembly.

Indeed, compared with some of his parliamentary colleagues who have visited Ulundi on the same mission, Mr Heunis can thank his lucky stars that he was treated with such kid gloves.

After all, not for nothing does the "imbongi" (praise-singer) refer to Dr Buthelezi as "imbati ehaqa amadoda..." (the stinging nettle that sends men yelling with pain when brought into contact with their testicles).

The Inkosi has a reputation for "devouring" Pretoria's emissaries in his traditional "vote of thanks" speeches. Some have been seen to turn a variety of shades of colour once the Inkosi was in full cry.

Remember the luckless Dr Piet Koorn-



□ Chris Heunis

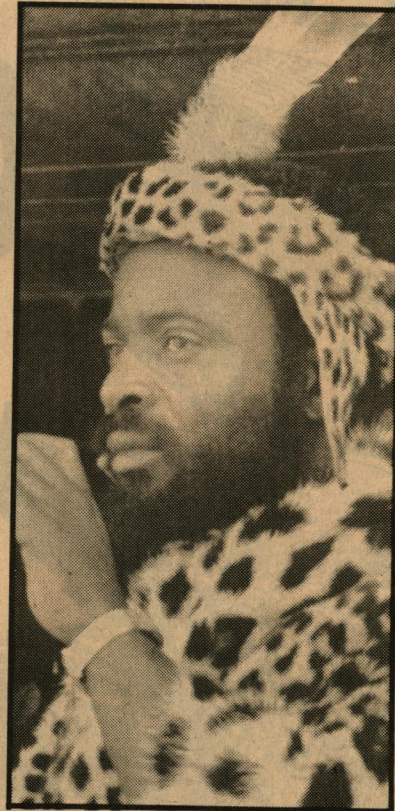
hof at the time of the Ingwavuma land dispute? Not only did the then-Minister of "Bantu" Affairs run the gauntlet of shouting, placard-waving and tomato-throwing Inkatha demonstrators, but worse was in store for him inside the Assembly. He received such a tongue-lashing from the Chief Minister that one could almost visualize the weals all over his body. The irony was that it couldn't have happened to a nicer fellow.

At Ulundi this week, I could not help but marvel at Mr Heunis, this son of Afrikanerdom who has in the past been tipped as President P W Botha's successor.

Was this not the same Mr Heunis who landed us with that hideous political monstrosity called the tricameral Parliament?

Hasn't he been accused of indulging in political hocus-pocus, coercing compliant and often naive black leaders into becoming part of Government machinations over the reform issue?

Hasn't he been portrayed as a "now-you-see-him-now-you-don't", will-'o-the-wisp politician with a knack for the classical



□ King Goodwill

soft shoe shuffle?

By my reckoning, such a man shouldn't be enjoying top billing in the popularity stakes, certainly not among the black non-voters.

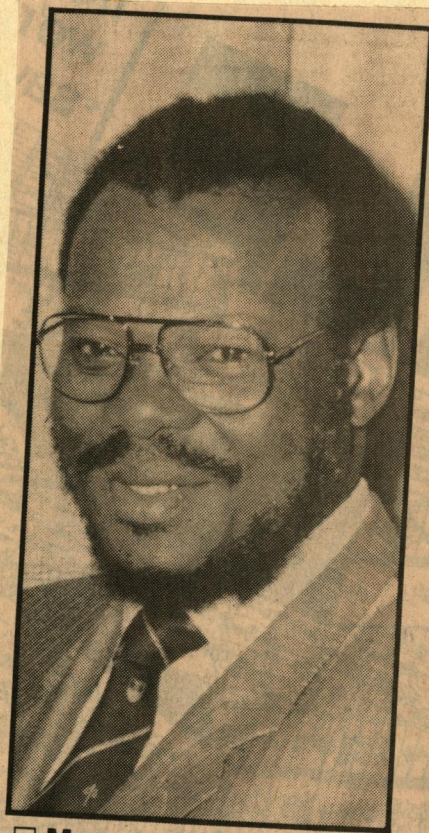
And yet there he was, this genial giant with a silvery toothbrush moustache, seemingly riding the crest of the wave and impressing us all with his charisma. He came across as "Mr Nice Guy" himself.

The mind wandered back many years to meetings and interviews, in the course of my work as a newspaperman, with the whole bunch of them — "Oom Danie" de Wet Nel, Henri Torlage, MC Botha, Piet Koornhof and, in latter years, Gerrit Viljoen, Leon Wessels, Barend du Plessis et al. All of them loyal, true-blue Afrikaners, serving a Government whose policies I and countless others found repugnant and unacceptable.

And yet, with one exception, to meet these men in the flesh or "in the natural" (as born-again Christians would say) would quite often be akin to meeting walking

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□ Mangosuthu Buthelezi

paradoxes. They exuded charm and a radiance that negated their political images.

Largely on account of the evil aspects of some of their Government's policies, one tended to form all sorts of weird perceptions of the men from Pretoria or Cape Town. Few of those perceptions were compatible with the human mould.

To one's great relief, one's worst fears were removed once one came face to face with the lot of them.

But not, I may add, before wondering, as in the words of the unknown author (paraphrased in this instance): "If the Nats who have force-fed us on a vile diet of apartheid laws for so long are such nice people in the flesh, then where do all those many-horned ogres we have imagined hide?"

I spoke about the one exception. He was Mr MC Botha. Always with knitted brow, a hang-dog look on his face and unsmiling, Mr Botha never succeeded in winning the hearts, minds or admiration of the blacks over whose lives and fate he presided as

Minister of "Bantu" Affairs.

In his public appearances, he came across as the typical "Ou Baas", laying down the law. On occasion one even detected an aloofness, nay an impatience on his part as the Honourable Minister sat balefully contemplating his vote-less subjects. The Zulus soon gave him a nick-name: "Indlov'enebatha (the slay-footed elephant)."

To go back to Mr Heunis, and on a more serious note. Did his appearance at Ulundi perhaps herald the advent of our own home-grown *glasnost*, that is, between Pretoria and Ulundi?

As Dr Buthelezi himself pointed out in a reminder to Mr Heunis, relations between the Zulu leader and the State President had been "on ice" for the best part of five years.

And then, in a surprise turn of events, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, followed by Dr Buthelezi, recently met Messrs Heunis and FW de Klerk, the new leader of the National Party and State President-designate.

Breakthrough

Significantly, Dr Dhlomo met the two senior Cabinet Ministers in his capacity as chairman of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and not as secretary-general of Inkatha or as Minister of Education and Culture.

That alone must surely be seen as a major breakthrough for the Indaba initiative and a feather in the cap of the combined Buthelezi-Dhlomo leadership. For nearly two years the central Government would say neither "aye" nor "nay" to the Indaba proposals. Instead, the impression was strong that it had rejected these proposals.

Furthermore, Mr Heunis's visit to Ulundi marked, again as Dr Buthelezi pointed out, the first time a head of the South African state had opened the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

So after *glasnost*, what?

One hesitates to put one's tail up and read too much into these interesting developments at this stage.

But would it be premature or far-fetched to speculate that, with the apparent thaw in relations between Pretoria and Ulundi and the prospect of a more accommodating and forward-looking presidency under Mr FW de Klerk, Dr Buthelezi's prolonged campaign for serious negotiation at national level might just be starting to pay off at long last?

Observers await further developments with great interest.