

S HELPING liberate the capital to permit 40000 black

South African families to own

their own home a collaborationist act? The Bush administration says yes.

At the start of the year, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her then Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe wrote to President George Bush asking whether the US would join them in putting up a million dollars or so in seed money for the Urban Foundation's loan guarantee fund. The initial response was positive, but that was before the administration's grey men got their hands on the proposal. In the end, the administration declined to contribute.

After a long, sometimes acrimonious, debate, it decided to keep its hands clean by heeding the advice of those in the State Department and the Agency for International Development (AID) who dismissed the Urban Foundation as a tool of apartheid whose programme served merely to reinforce the Group Areas Act. They argued, further, that Congress in particular Congressman Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Africa sub-committee, and his Svengali, Steven Weissman would cry foul and protest that joining Thatcher (and Switzerland and West Germany) would run counter to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, and such complaints would endanger domestic political tranquillity.

The argument that prevailed above all, however, was that helping unleash capital to build houses, even if it meant no actual transfer of new

| money into SA, would not, as an AID - officer put it in a slightly different context, 'contribute to our overall objectives: hastening an end to apartheid and helping South African blacks prepare themselves for leadership in a non-racial democracy'. In other words, the exquisite logic

an, we are in the game to train SA's future nomenklatura, the rest the poor, the unlucky, the unfashionable, 'the collaborators' - can continue to rot under bits of tin and plastic. This refusal to participate in the Urban Foundation's scheme is proof,

â\200\224

=

3 '4&, :?â\200\230. 15

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 e

vl

ecide which SA

Burniss N

blacks need help

N -10-1

SIMON BARBER in Washington

if any further were needed, of the true intentions of those who administer the SA aid programme. Some \$30m worth of contracts and grants are dished out each year (theoretically, anyway â\200\224 precisely how the money is spent is secret) not to free ordinary black South Africans from the coils of apartheid, poverty and ignorance, but to buy the allegiance of those the administrators have decided shall rule when power ultimately is transferred.

It is an almost exclusively political business. State Department officials have told me to my face that a contribution to the loan guarantee would send the â\200\234wrongâ\200\235 political signal. In other words, it would be disapproved by the elites of the mass democratic movement (MDM) as somehow gilding apartheidâ\200\231s cage. Those elites so drive AIDâ\200\231s agenda that one programme administrator, Tim Bork, could bitterly complain to Chester Crocker a couple of years back that US policy on Angola and Namibia was making the South African Aid missionâ\200\231s task impossible. The tragedy is that Crocker could not fire Bork on the spot.

As if the Bork mentality was not

bad enough, what kind of movement

is the MDM that the masses it claims so democratically to represent must live in hovels for the sake of liberation? Where lies the liberation in being forced to huddle in a shanty, eking an existence hand to mouth? What rights or freedoms can any man enjoy, what opportunities seize, what serious and effective resistance mount to the appalling economic and political conditions into which he has been born, when he is forced for the good of a cause, however noble, to live like an animal?

Such questions Washington bureaucrats, and the Wolpes and Weissmans to whom they scrape, do not ask. They prefer, for the sake of comfort or ideology, to play God, sifting the clean from the unclean. You live in a homeland? You wish to go to a school that receives government financing? You need medical facilities that Baragwanath cannot provide but you are welcome nowhere else? Tough. You bear the mark of Cain and therefore shall receive no support, no scholarship, nothing. You're not our kind of victim. Helping f'ou wonâ\200\231t bring us any benefit at all.

For the â\200\234right side of historyâ\200\235 crowd, the struggle in SA is not purely about power, it is about what kind of SA there will be when power is divided evenly. It is about whether SA will be another Zambia or Tanzania or, as Fatima Meer has warned, something even worse, another Angola orâ\200\231 Mozambique; or whether it will be a decent, prosperous place that has learnt from the mistakes of the past. Mrs Thatcher, almost -alone of outside leaders, seems to understand this. Washington, where the world is analysed with a sort of spineless, introverted triviality, does not.

Such triviality, in combination
~ with the vindictive childishness of

the Commonwealth and other sanctioners, harms the MDM by reaffirming its fantasies. One such fantasy, spouted by Archbishop Tutuâ\200\231s adviser on financial sanctions, Terry Crawford-Browne, is that the international banking community could, if it so wished, secure the transfer of power to a non-racial democracy come the middle of next year simply

by setting the correct conditions for debt rescheduling. This merely

proves Edmund Burke's assessment
of political divines: 'Wholly unac-

ik
'224

quainted with the world in which
they are so fond of meddling -
inexperienced in all its affairs, they
have nothing of politics but the pas-
sions they excite.' <4
As it happens, the debt could be
used creatively if the MDM (and its
foreign supporters and sycophants)
stopped viewing it as a purely politi-
cal lever against the state and start-
ed thinking of it as a pool of re-
sources to be tapped for black
economic empowerment. This would
mean, among other things, dropping
the ideological cant that sees banks..
as almost as much the enemy as
Pretoria itself. i

As was demonstrated earlier this
month, the banks do not have the
power to tell Pretoria: 'Pay us by
such and such a time, or else.' Or
else what? Where they might have
more say is in how their money is
to be used so long as it is trapped inside
the standstill net. They could tell
Chris Stals: 'Look, we are not inter-
ested in pressing for terms we know
you will be unable to meet and which
will stunt SA's growth rate, but for
your part, you must allow us to as-
sign the debt and interest payments
as we please. For example, we would
prefer that our creditors paid off
their blocked debt, not into the spe-
cial restricted accounts established
by the public investment commis-
sioners, but into a trust of our own
choosing and creation. The proceeds
would remain in SA but would be
invested in projects black educa-
tion, health care, housing and the
rest for the benefit of, and through
negotiation with, black South Afri-
cans.' ol

U

A proposal along these lines was
put to Congressman Walter Faunt-
roy during hearing on his fatuous
sanctions Bill last August. Of course,
it was ignored entirely. This need not
have stopped the administration
thinking along similar lines. But I
doubt it even occurred to the grey:
men. After all, like contributing to
the loan guarantee programme, it
might have meant doing something |

useful. And that, because t M
doesnâ\200\231t seem to like it either, is-quil
out of the question.

RO

PV uTes

â\200\224râ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 J GOYT 27-118801894]
OCT 31 â\200\23183 12797 VOS KWAZULU GovT 2 DAY, Tusaday, Ootener 31 deia

e

COMMENT
T

_Prague Spring

OUTH AFRICA'S version of
: the Prague Spring, as mani.
" fested in the gathering of

70 000 or more people at Soc-
cer City on Sunday, {s laden with a
burden of hope that gathers weight
by the dag'. On the surface, things
could hardly go better, The erowds
were large and happy, leaders con.

- ciliatory, the police absent; but
words of caution are not entirely .

churlish, ' :
. Beneath the surface galey, the
realities of South African polities
begin to be {lluminated, The theme
of the gathering, if there was one,
was the unity o purpose â\200\224 if not a
singleness of organisation â\200\224 of the
ANC, the SA Communist Party, and
the mass democratic movement.
What Joe Slovo says is what Ahmed
Kathrada says, which is what Oliver
Tambo says, which is what the

|. MDM says. There is no daylight to
be seen between them,

For opponenta of apartheid to
celebrate in thig fashion, whatever
their political convietions or their
ideological faith, {3 no bad thing.
There could have heen no more viy-
id demonstration of the political
alignment of the ANC and jts Biater

- Organisations than the display of
unity with the SACP, The apologists
for the ANC who have disputed
down the years the dominance of
communist party members within
the organisationâ\200\231s national execy-
tive have been convineingly an-
Swered: to march with the ANC is to
march under the red flag..

Rather, it {s to march behind the

- red flag, The demand for g one man,
oneâ\200\231 vote election before negotia-

tions is a tactical ploy, aimed at
tival antl-aparthejd organisations,
which is intended to ensure that
only one party has the organisation-
al capacity to negotiate with the
government. Apartheid, and all it
implies, is the ANC's bast weapon in
the search for a â\200\234solidarityâ\200\235 that |
smothers all dissident voices,

It 12 as well that these facts are
allowed, at last, to emerge, For one
thing, it demonstrates the futility,
and indeed the counter-productive
folly, of the policy of trying to eradi-
cate a conspirator{al cfolltical
movement by bannings and prohibj-
tions. The hest â\200\230Way to undermine
any conspiracy 13 to expose it to the
light, so that decent, ordinary peo-
ple can see what they are dealing
with, That Is what i3 happening now.

Many whites, seeing the red flag
wave, are likely to balk at the
process. The illusion that ideas can
be eliminated by laws persists
among those who Kave been shield-
ed from the politics of the town-
ships, In fact, however, the laws are
unenforceable and they are being
blatantly defied every day. :

To try to relmpose thoge laws:
would bring the Prague Spring to g
quick and bruta) end. It would pla-
directly into the hands of the SACP,
A wise government would permit
the proceas of ex?osure to continue, -
knowing that the onger it continyes
the less doubt there wil] be about
the character and the purposes ot
the ANC, and it would quickly
repeal the laws which |t cannot
enforce lest |t bring all law Into
disreputae, ;

Lost chances

wheel, the US genera] ac-

counting office in Washing-
ton has warned Senator Edward
Kennedy and other sanctioneers
that mine shafts which are not prop-
erly maintained may erumble. The
point they
sanctions bring South Africaâ\200\231s gnld
Miues 10 2 hait thay may never
reopen, :

' ITf{ the triumphant air of a
caveman discovering the

hy pick on mine shaftg? Factor-

ies which are neglected deteriorate;
those that are closed down, their
-workers dispersed and their mach-
inery sold off, become empty hulks,
Roads that are not maintained for
lack of the revenues generated by a

are making is that |f

- -Wealth creation,

prosperous economy tend to break

ur,_au Kennedy may observe for
him

self In many parts of Africa
Abandoned houses fal] into riin, and -

- unpainted roofs â\200\224 like thoge in Ma.

puto and Luanda â\200\224 pyugt away,
Worse, universities loge their
staff, libraries decay, and ideas are
lost when the revenues to sustain:
them - vanizh, Kennedy's malice, -
since he was mocked by blacks dup. -
ing hig visit here, seems to know no - |-

bounds; but others who care more |

for the future of this region may |
care to reflect on the linkages of . |
investment, la- -

bour, civilisation, and the creation

-of greater wealth,

So, why pick on mine shafts? e

gy iy
PR Ty
Ll UMD S

OCT 31 12:28 VY05 KWAZULU GOVT Z27-1188018S4

E{J{. &hi "QJ"200\231\X N~ Å»L:\;200\231
200\231 R iRty
h -) TG L_?' T B 3.

et .

| Silencing activists with the stroke of a pen

DHE arbitrary way in which some 3 : ' 200\230 such as Martin Legassick and David ing restr
.cted or banned in ferm;
: MMM\$Å¢-~BAHRYSTREEK Hemson, are not listed. Nor is 200\230the- the Interaal Security
Act (nove). >

:are officially silenced in their ovr, British Anti-Apartheid Movement Town University Law
Schoolg)
connu'ybybelng200\234luled"hasbeen : R 'maar,mmrerry,m,sthas'mmuï\202mcordermesï\202y
-dei\202medbylhemannumwhichï\202_.aï\201dlñhï\202knsi,areoï\202enyubi\201shed - been
reported, is a member of the wrole: 200\234There are certain dire :
: ,ï\201!neof&e_wï\202yreleasedANCÅ»_ in anthologies available in SA_ British Comammumis
t Party. ï\201liï\201mdmwmmmï\201-200\224
. leaders were 200\234de-listed200\235. pu AR T i ition i ;
The Justice Ministry simply an- whether the fiim Cry Freedom could - architeet Barnett, for
mer N i A
_'mdï\202!atRaymondHHaba,'EII- hemwnin'sab&?ï\201seitwashased ' tive Rqi\201hi\201ve Hi
200\231 I.enng200\230:d liament,mbeinganofi\201ce-bmmi-w';
a8 Mosoaledi and Akmed Kathrada, 00 a book and film script by another - Lee-Warden, and vet
eran activist member of certain organisations, or
- Who had been members :200\230fst:,e' lstedp&an,D;ï\202ylhspa&:hhmer Helen Joseph remai
n on the Jist. pl?ac:yi;ingasan-ad?ocgt&mm.v
s 4 , i : . 2 st L S() mm g]ID - 23 K1
would B0 longer be listed Before and counter-appeal it was decided was 2 member 3 o alein,
wiy He added that one of the major

W their deletion from the 200\234Tis204¢ com. that it could be shown, but after one mem
ber Comumumist | penaities was 200\234an elfarire blic si- |
: gi\202edinte!motthelnbermlSeqn- showing - government solved: the ertg.nielgtoday_aï\202
keyamriwu >mng200\234iï\202ï\201ï\202skiï\202ï\201atmpum200\230>ï\201-'
| { by Act, mgmï\202ed, Dewspapers: - Problem by banning it in terms of the Km'200\234m
e oqu200\231!:rgazm %wlï\201ï\201ngo{mmmm :
| | started quotin themagain " -emergency regulations. . . Buthelezi, B : Å¢ : oo peblished
for a wider distri-
Two other ANC Jeaders, Govan lt is not clear what mechanisms - b "200\231f?ffm bution,200\235
escept with permission of

T
i
Å\$5Å\$5
i
i
ids
EER
38
I}
i

l
g
I
i
=
|
gk
i
l
i

| R T O e

- e

: ccently, Cape Town publisher retary Walter Sisalg â\200\224 were -

* Â\$ David P was raided becanse ne'ver!is_wdâ\200\224.butaciï\201ng!gay&rom Zppeared on it
â\200\224 28 of whom were cause â\200\234listizg may occur for reasoms

i Â\$ 2w book aliegediy quoted a â\200\230listedâ\200\235 ver Tambo and most of the exiled â
\200\234deceasedâ\200\235, : mnconvected with actmal threats to
person.Butbonkx other listed hierarchy js Âfoh b Peop]embelâ\200\231mtedinfourways: stale s
ecurity and wi ad:tâ\200\230matz

-â\200\224m:!ndmgiï\202e late Todd -"Woods,aliheral_'danoa-azif'em -â\200\230ïï\201_beixgan
olliï\201ce-beïï\202ermfmemberof safegnambhrthe;wn(ectmn -

g B the kate Bloke Modisane, there was one, is listed; 50 is Theo' an organisation when it
was banned 8005 subject to this form of political

Â\$.plate({)anThunba,_ïï\202le!a!:eAhh Kolze, former C director of the ,â\200\224_therearelo
siniï\202ïï\201sategoqat - and personaleontrelâ\200\235. Â¢ . L
Gm_aant?ïï\202malds'tgal_â\200\224_are&eely banned Chrristian Institnte. - present; after c
omviction of certain : 'm&MuaMf:Mu :

l Â\$ 303 in spite of the prohibited status Key members of the Marxist Tep- _ offences suc
h as sedition, freason sesms inevitable that the ligt will | !

i gmmmm&m< dency of the ANC, expelled from the and other defined offences (202); be- eventua
lly be scrapped. Undil then it

: 'Fiï\202emqbyothwhstedmkmch fmmntaiï\202eraccnsingitofpot ingliStedbytheMinisteralthmghn
o remains, artitrary, haphazard and

-1} 2% Dennis Bratus, Cosme Piderse ' being a trme worker organisation, longer resident in
SA (54); or after be- invonsisient.

Â\$ el Bl e . : ; y . 5 A ;

b . ' â\200\224â\200\224REVIEWS

D RUELE
university
1 HER [

IM\@RCu psy Mercury Re

/| THE King of thÃ© Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelithini

versity of Zululand authorities at the weekend t

sity would be the one to suffer in any clash between students
and the â\200\230people of KwaZulu'.

King Goodwill made the statement in a memorandum to the
rector and vice-chancellor of the university which was deliv-
ered after a 700-strong Zulu impi had been sent to the campus
on Saturday to prevent a student protest on the fifth anniversa-
ry of the death of five students.

The â\200\230problems followed the distribution of a pamphlet in
which it was claimed that King Goodwill had been responsible
for the deaths of the students in 1983.

The king criticised the university, saying: â\200\230In this pamphlet
we are dealing with issues which could become very problem-
atic for the university and for Zulu society.

â\200\230We lived through the tragic events of October 29, 1983, and
now a whole five years later there is a move to revive the kind
of emotions which burst into the open on that day.

â\200\230It is a fanning of flames which I and the Zulu nation have
attempted to put out. For the university now to tolerate the re-
emergence of the vindictive hatred which is careless of human
life, would be unthinkable, the memorandum said.

The statement said only the university would suffer from a
clash between students and â\200\230the people of KwaZulu. Whoever

wrote this pamphlet is inviting such a clash ...

%erring to-a pamphlet distributed at the campus, King
: ill chliï-\202ew university authorities to condemn the
pamphlet and ever is responsible for it owes the Zulu
nation a real apologyâ\200\231. .

The university was deserted on Saturday and many students
sought refuge in thick bush around the campus.

The impis dispersed late in the afternoon and there were no
reggrts of any incidents, 2 KwaZulu Police spokesman said last
night.

Strike

Merew
4

African Affairs
Correspondent

MORE than 5000 civil
servants in KwaZulu who

â\200\234belong to the clerical di-

vision of the KwaZulu
Staff Association are in
militant mood after re-
peated failed appeals
since 1981 for salary par-
ity with their white
counterparts.

They have threatened to go
on strike from December 1
unless their demands are
met.

A spokesman for the associ-
ation said the KwaZulu Gov-
ernment was not practising
what it preached on the ques-
tion of the discrimination in
pay.

He said the minister then in
charge of the Public Service,
Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, made
an announcement in Parlia-
ment on September 11, 1987,
that R135 million had been
set aside to provide for dis-
parities in salaries between
black and white civil
servants.

threat |

3| DCtoloec (8=

waZulu
civil servants

He said on June 29 this year
the Chief Minister of
KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu
Buthelezi, announced that
additional funds had been
made available to KwaZulu
so that the same measures
could be applied in the re-
gionâ\200\231s public service.

Subsequently, the KwaZulu
Public Service Commission
had issued a statement saying
there was a delay in imple-
menting parity in KwaZulu.

Direct appeal

The spokesman said the

blame for the delay should
fall squarely on the KwaZulu
Government.

He said the association had
resolved earlier this month to

make a direct appeal to Dr Buthelezi because it had experienced too many delays with the Public Service Commission. The Chief Minister had, however, referred the

members back to the commi- Â¢

ssion.

The spokesman said he wished Dr Buthelezi to note the â\200\230dignifiedâ\200\231 manner in

which the association had acted but further action would be justified should rfo satisfaction be forthcoming.

He said black qualified officials took more than 10 years to be promoted to the rank of senior: administrative clerk but for whites the promotion period was only three years. After 10 years whites were due for promotion to the rank of assistant secretary but blacks were not.

The spokesman said that, after a merit assessment had been made, it sometimes took the Public Service Commission more than 14 months to finalise promotions and to advise the people concerned about the results.

A spokesman for the commission was not available for comment.

fâ\200\224â\200\224

WHICHEVER way we look at it, we cannot

see what the African National Congress rally .

at Soccer City achieved except to give the
- ANC a platform from which to address its

followers and to demonstrate that it no longer
intends to be a banned organisation :

: tiomy il b

â\200\230iMuch is made of the fact that the rally was

: peaceful, but the organisers took great pre-

â\200\230' cautions to ensure there was no trouble.:

I Nelson Mandela is to be released, the gov-

ernment needs assurances that there will not

be a renewal of unrest orâ\200\230any violence at ral-

" lies be addresses. | &

Sundayâ\200\231s rally, if it was a test run for Mande-
laâ\200\231s release, gave that assurance.

What the speeches at the rally showed, howev-
er, is that the ANC has not tempered its de-

mands, nor has it made any conciliatory mov- -

â\202's.

Mr Walter Sisulu former general secretary of .

the ANC, said there could be no question of

. the ANC unilaterally abandoning the armed

struggle. ' 'Â»

The preconditions for negotiations were the |

_ unconditional release of all political pris-

oners and detainees; the lifting of the bans.

; and restrictions on all. restricted organisa-

. tions and persons; the removal of all troops
. from the townships; an end of the state of '
- emergency and the repeal of all repressive

legislation; and the cessation of all political
. trials and political executions. Lo

"If such a climate is created, the ANC is 'pre-
pared, as the Harare declaration says, to dis-
cuss the suspension of hostilities on both
sides.â\200\235

He added: â\200\234In the meantime, our duty is to,

- intensify the struggle until we are able to get
- the regime to discuss the issue of the normalisation of the situation in the country.

He also said the defiance campaign must continue

! We cannot wait on the government to
make changes at its own pace. | .
And he called on the, international community

to intensify sanctions.

Mr Sisulu was stating the ANC's terms for peace. :

The government, on the other hand, has |
dropped its demand for the renunciation of
violence, requiring from the ANC only a
commitment to peaceful solutions.

It also has no peace package of its own, so that

acceptance of the ANC terms will be capitulation, with far-reaching consequences.

The government should consider whether a
liberation force like the ANC can be
granted unconditional freedom to stage huge
rallies at which it openly promotes its aims
and objectives and lays down conditions to
the government.

It would be unheard for a government anywhere to allow a revolutionary force to engage in mass mobilisation either by way of protest marches or mass rallies, yet this is what the government is permitting.

The new policy towards the ANC also requires remarkable somersaults by Ministers and government spokesmen.

For example, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, whose police have to apply the law as it is, now says opportunities must be created in South Africa so that people can express their political views in an orderly fashion.

Peaceful protest provides a political outlet for certain political feelings, he says.

It is an opportunity for protesters to present their grievances so that the government can give its attention to them,

One wonders why Mr Vlok never thought along these lines before, ,

He also notes the risk factor involved in mass protest, but says the status quo holds even |
greater risks: :

In order to achieve a new South Africa with peace, safety and progress for all, we must |
be prepared to run risks.

We would prefer that the government did not !
run risks and did not react to events rather
than determine them. .

It needs to be careful that it does not allow the
ANC to capture the high ground and win the
battle.

It should not be for the ANC to determine
what should be done but for the government
to do so.

THE arbitrary way in which some
358 South Africans, dead and alive,
are officially silenced in their own
| country by being â\200\234listedâ\200\235 has been

underlined by the manner in which

leaders were â\200\234de-listedâ\200\235.

The Justice Ministry simply an-
nounced that Raymond Mhlaba, Eli-
as Mosoaledi and Ahmed Kathrada,
who had been members of the
| banned Communist Party of SA,

would no longer be listed. Before
â\200\234 their deletion. from the â\200\234listâ\200\235, com-.

iled in terms of the Internal Secur--
ity Act, was gazetted, newspapers
started quoting them again.

Two other ANC leaders, Govan
Mbeki and Harry Gwala, remain on
the list and cannot be quoted. The
Sunday Times has already been tried
for quoting Gwala and 0 publica-
tions face similar prosecutions.

Recently, Cape Town publisher
David Phillip was raided because a
new book allegedly quoted a â\200\234listedâ\200\235
person. But books by other listed
people â\200\224 including the late Todd
| Matshikiza, the late Bloke Modisane,
the late Can Themba, the late Alex la
Guma and Ronald Segal â\200\224 are freely
sold in spite of the prohibited status
of their authors, even after death.

Poems by other listed people, such
as Dennis Brutus, Cosmo Pieterse

BARRY STREEK

three of the recently released ANC |

and Lewis Nkosi, are often blished
in anthologies available in SA.

Then there was the conflict over
whether the film Cry Freedom could
be shown in SA because it was based
on a book and film script by another
listed person, Daily Dispatch former
editor Donald Woods. After appeal
and counter-appeal it was decided
that it could be shown, but after one
showing government solved the

problem by banning it in terms of the emergency regulations. !

It is not clear what mechanisms and what criteria are involved in deciding who goes or stays on the list but they result in some ï¬\201uzzling conclusions: ANC leader Nelson Mandela is not listed, nor is general-secretary Walter Sisulu â\200\224 they were never listed â\200\224 but acting leader Oliver Tambo and most of the exiled hierarchy is.

Woods, a liberal democrat if ever '

there was one, is listed; so is Theo Kotze, former Cape director of the banned Christian Institute. b Key members of the Margxist Tendency of the ANC, expelled from the movement after accusing it of not being a true worker organisation,

~ Buthelezi, and is one

5'-5;.

| : . BuwngssDs
Silencing actlv1st'Â\$' with the Stro

such as Martin Legassick and David Hemson, are not listed. Nor is the British Anti-Apartheid Movement secretary Mike Terry, who, it has been re rted,isamemberofthe British Communist Party.

However, prominent Cape Town architect Jack Barnett, former Native Representative MP Leonard Lee-Warden, and veteran activist Helen Joseph remain on the list.

So does Rowley Arenstein, who was a member of the Communist Party. He is today a ke adviser to Kwazulu Chief Minister Kdangosuthu of KwaZuluâ\200\231s representatives on an inter-government committee on which South African Cabinet ministers serve and which is looking into obstacles to negotiation. When the latest consolidated list was published at the beginning of August this year, 361 names peared on it â\200\224 28 of whom were â\200\234deceasedâ\200\235. '

People can be listed in four ways: being an office-bearer or member of an organisation when it was banned _ there are 105 in this category at present; after conviction of certain offences such as sedition, treason and other defined offences (202); being listed by the Minister although no

. longer resident in SA (54); or after be-

â\200\231eofape?{

ing restricted or banned in terms of
the Internal Security Act (none).

Cape Town Universi Law Sc
Professor Hugh Cor recently
wrote: â\200\234There are certain dire conse-
quences of those listed, such as prohi-
bition on attendance at meetings, on
holding office as a Member of Par-
liament, on being an office-bearer or
member of certain organisations, or
practising as an advocate, attorney,
notary or conveyancer.â\200\235

He added that one of the major
penalties was â\200\234an effective public si-
lencing within SA, in that no speech,â\200\235
utterance or writing of such persons
could be published for a wider distri-
bution,â\200\235 except with permission of
the Justice Minister. :

Natal University Professor Tony
Matthews in his definitive study on
the loss of civil liberties in SA wrote
that penalties imposed on listed peo-
ple were all the more disturbing be-
cause â\200\234listing may occur for reasons
unconnected with actual threats to
state security and
safeguards for the protection of per-
sons subject to this form of political

and personal controlâ\200\235.

In the pre-negotiation climate it
seems inevitable
eventually be scrapped. Until then it
remains, arbitrary, haphazard and
inconsistent.

hool

DEVIEW/IS

without adequate |
that the list will |

\
\
\
\

ik tops popular

OP of the political popularity stakes as the man to save South Africa from disaster is the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

He rates above President P.W. Botha and ANC leader Nelson Mandela in the Star's Save SA Poll held in the key Pretoria and Witwatersrand area.

Mr Botha edges President Botha out of first place, securing 33 percent of the vote, against 31 percent for P.W. And Mandela rates next at 25 percent. Inkatha president, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is fourth, with 18 percent.

A scientific sample of more than 1050 people, from English, Afrikaans or African-language homes, was taken by Marketing and Media Research to choose three people they thought should be in power to save South Africa from calamity.

The list contained the names of the best known political and economic leaders, ranging from Mr Oliver Tambo of the ANC to Mr Eugene Terreblanche of the Afrikaner Weerstandsweg and industrialists like Dr Anton Rupert and Mr Gavin Relly.

. Scoring after Dr Buthelezi are Mr Tambo and Mrs Helen Suzman, of the PFP (each with 12 percent) and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former PFP leader (11).

After them, level-pegging at 10 percent, are CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, and General

Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence.

Mr Pik Botha, riding high in the undeclared race to succeed President Botha, has an edge over his NP rivals. He is the only NP man to rate significant support from people he right and left of the NP.

It is only on the far left that the extra-parliamentary opposition that Mr Pik Botha does not figure. Here top support goes to Mandela, with 71 percent. Next are Mr Tambo and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Foreign Minister Botha is not rated top in any of the political groups as distinct from language groups. But his consistent second rating makes him top overall. 4 in R

Both Bothas attract support from English- and Afrikaans-speakers.

Surprisingly, Dr Buthelezi does not get a place in the first three in African-language homes. Even in Zulu-speaking homes he does not make the first three.

Mandela gets majority support in Zulu-speaking homes 52 percent to Mr Tambo 30 and Bishop Tutu 19.

Broken down in racial areas, Mandela rates first in black areas, Pik Botha in white areas (followed by President Botha and Dr Buthelezi) and President Botha in coloured and Indian

Hendrickse is not in the first three in coloured and Indian areas. Top trio are whites Mr Botha, Dr Slabbert and

Mrs Suzman:

Top Mr Pik Botha

Third Mandela

areas. Labour Party leader Rev Allan

ourih: Dr Buthelezi
TOP 4 LEADERS

Pik Botha

P W Botha
Chief Buthelezi

Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert

Pik Botha

P W Botha
Andries Treurnicht
Magnus Malan

Nelson Mandela

Oliver Tambo
Archbishop Tutu
Ephraim Tshabalala

Nelson Mandela

Oliver Tambo
Archbishop Tutu

Helen Suzman g

TOP 3 LEADERS

" Dr Andries Treurnicht 10
Nelson Mandela Dr Denis WOrall cucmsesesssssssess 10
General magnus Malan 10
Archbishop Desmond Tutu ... 8
Archbishop Tutu Mr E.W. d@ KIBrK ..cuusumssssssssss 8
TOP 4 LEADERS Pik Botha Mr Harry Oppenheimer :
A â\200\230 Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche:
: Walter Sisulu

HOME LANGUAGE â\200\224=> [l woum EXX)armunsff] o Oliver Tambo

72 orexe mack
LANGUAGE

Chief BiitholesiÂ® a1 off Chiet Buthelezi

Pik Botha 'l 1) 2% P W Botha Barend du Plessis Ruasaameiass

â\200\230 Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert Ephraim Tshabalalaccscnseeeee
P i & Dr Zach de Beerc.cusussemmsasase
Dr. Ven Zyl Slabbert : | - Dr Nthato Motiana ...
itbid Seanaula : , Joe Slovo
. Tom Mboya

Wynand Malan

Oliver Tambo

Archbishop Tut Alan Boesak

u -

Govan Mbeki

e) ; Dr Sam Motsuenyane
i t : i | Andries Treurnicht Colin Eglln

100% Pik Botha Mrs Winnie Mandela

[werror wp FAR LEFT OF NP â\200\230 Zwelakhe Sisulu

T77720) 9%

Helen Suzman

0% / 20% 40% 60% 80%

Eugene Terre'Blanche

Gavin Relly
| i P W Botha - Albertina Sisulu
Dr Gerrit Viljoen
Mr Chris Heunis
Pik Botha poemoacae AR Rev Allan Hendrickse
- Zeph Mothopeng
iR Dr J.N. Reddy
Chief Buthelezi Amichand Rajbansi
Prof Johan Heyns
Prof Jan Schabert
B rcur oF,Ne B NP ~ Prot Carel Boshoff
e â\200\224 John Mavuso
= e Rev Frank Chikane
= ow GATRIGTE ~ Archie Gumede
~ Personality : & John Gogotya
Pik Botâ\200\230h David Thebalali
bk Bot; Lybon Mabasa
o MO, | Prof Mosibudi Mangena |
Nelson Mandela ... YL 1, Jaap Marais ... b .03
gll'_Butholozi _ 18 N Dr Ram Sal00j6eursmesss 0,1
iver Tambocccueusesensees e 12 - Dr Lucas Mangope /0,1

Helon SUZMAN ...ovesesrme 12 | XL Vintcent van der Bijl

Dr van zyl Slabbert ... 11 | : Ahmed Deedatummmss

P W Botha [RoReeesiils

Magnus Malan PRz?

0% 20% 407% 60% 80% 100%

tyranny, whoever the perpetrator.

' _I have previously said that | pluralism must be regarded as: a blessing,, rather than a curse. This means that -our political future, given the diverse| nature of the people who inhabit South Africa, will be best served in a multi-l party state where free political competition can take place. I couldnâ\200\231t help

but be struck, in a meet-/.

ing with.the President of Bolswan.n Quett Maslrc

* From page 6 and his Cabinet earlier this year, how they were able, in a spirit of Alricanism, to govern a State based on a muln-party system.

I was struck by their positive attitudes, such as theâ\200\235 recognition of the - worth of every individual.

That is the sort of attitude that we have to adopt in South Africa as we begin to work out our future together. Such positiveness will naturally draw together the diverse nationalities of South Africa and in fact demonstrate a unity in diversity. Such positiveness will lead to what I believe could become a creative renaissance that will see South Affrica, despite all the differences that do exist, becoming a country of peace, stability and justice.

Identify

Implicit in all I have said is a fundamental as-

. sumption that the issue of

individual human rights
will be safeguarded and
will not be subjugated to
the issue of group rights.

To be sure, members
of different groups always
tend to identify with their
own.

That is natural and
there is nothing wrong
with it

As a Northern Sotho-
speaking person I will
tend first to identify with
fellow: Northern Sotho-
speaking people, just as in
the same way I will tend
first to identify with fel-

low Christians as a Chris-
tian.

This does not in any
way mean that I will deny
the right of a Zulu-

-speaking person to identi-
fy with his or her cultural

heritage, or that I would
question the right of a
member of the Jewish, Is-
lamic or Hindu faith to
identify with their respec-
tive religious practices
and traditions. Neither
does it mean that mem-
bers of these groups can-
not mix together, form
friendships and govern to-
gether. 2

For straddling all these

group identifications is a |

larger group - South Affi-
cans. This -is a diverse
group and we need to
recognise that. It is rich in
diversity - a richness that
means we can become a
new people that can play
a pivotal role in Africa as
we gain a new perspective
of life in which colour,
race or creed wonâ\200\231't mat-
ter.

Rain has finally come
in Natal and we are now
enjoyiitg the beauty of na-
ture. A mosaic ol colours
has blossomed in our gar-

â\200\230den. No one in his or her

right mind will pull out
all the flowers and leave
only one colour or care
for only one flower and
let the rest be choked by
weeds.

I was struck recently
during a meeting with the
American Consul-General
in Durban. His guest of
honour was the -then
American Ambassador to
South Africa. The Am-
bassador, as we know.

ogoba: A plea

was- black. The Consul-
General was white, and the
group invited was multi-
racial - and we ate
Chinese food cooked and
served by a black cook
and waiters. I could not
but reflect that this was a
foretaste of a banquet of

plenty that we could all

enjoy in South Africa
were it not for the fact
that exclusivity has been
the standard we have all
been expected to accept.
A post-apartheid
society also means that
we need to move away

-from the culture of con-

'land (

flict that has been created
in our country. I want to
make the point that while
the demonstrations we
have seen in recent weeks
are an important part of
the process in working
out a new society in our
country, it is equally im-
portant that these protests
should remain peaceful.

Shooting

Every care must be
taken to ensure that the
changes that have been
brought about by the
simple action of people

-on the ground are- not

R1

fo

frustrated by the hox-
headed reactions ~ "Of "
200\230people hell-bent on

- destroying lives and prop-

erty. There is no future in
200\230violence.

It also means that the
police must keep their
heads. There is an un-
fortunate history in South

Africa of the police shoot-
ing first and asking ques-

tions later. There is no fu-
ture in that type of action
either.

Yet these are problems
which we have to face
to as we look at percep-
tions in a post-apartheid

society .and the need for
human rights. The fact is

_that we live in a land of

conflict, pain and death.
A generation 200\235 that has
never tasted a modicum
of peace.

This is the generation
of war children for whom

200\234a gun is their 200\230Shakespeare

or their Bible! They live
in a culture of conflict.
They run with the baton

-of war from their previous

generation.
Revenge

Thus the legacy of war
goes on until those who
fight have forgotten why
they are fighting. It
reminds one of the Irish
situation, and we cannot -
we dare not - tolerate - a
repeat of that tragedy.

200\230Some are fighting one

another in our country because of their desire for revenge. In my work as presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa I have

oL P , ae

been shocked to discover some of the differences that exist among our people and the reason for them. It essentially boils down to this: **You have killed my brother...I will kill three of yoursâ\204çâ\200\231.

If - unchecked, ideological positions would soon creep into

_ these faction fights with criminal elements joining the fray.

I have made the point in previous speeches that we will not be able to achieve a harmonious Africanism and a harmonious South Africa if thuggery, political streetfighting and moral corruption, rule the day. We will certainly not be able to fashion an African self-image that could gain us the respect of the rest of the world in the same way as many Far Eastern countries have done if trite political sloganeering wins the day.

| IT was as far back as
1912 - and doubtless the
sentiments. were ex-
pressed even before - that
J Tengo Jabavu noted in
an article in Imvo Zabant-
sundu that blacks wished
to live "in absolute peace
and harmony with every
race in this country, be it
black, or be it white,
green or yellow. They are
| perfectly convinced that
!race and colour hatreds
| are the curse and blight of
" any country, and are
| determined to fight them
to the utmost. They would
order themselves under
providence to co-operate
with all who work for the
best interests of this land
to promote the happiness
and prosperity of every
member of " the com-
munity .

Having said that,
Jabavu went on to label
the insertion of the colour
bar in the constitution of
the Union of South Africa
"a gratuitous insult to
blacks. The words of
Jabavu, uttered over

three-quarters of a

century ago, are still
germane. They reach the

very heart of what I
regard to be black percep-
tions of the emerging

the issue of human rights.
The tragedy is that these
words, sincerely spoken,
" were ignored in 1912, just
as they have been ignored
ever since.

Shi

One of the major prob-
lems in 1912, as it no
doubt was when the new
constitutions were drafted
in the early 1960s, was
the fact that the balance
of power in South Africa
was firmly entrenched in
favour of whites. That has
changed inasmuch as one
has seen, in recent
months, a shift in the
balance of power. It has
shifted away from the
white political. economic

and religious establish-
ment to the ordinary man

- and woman. Many were
loath to recognise this
_ shift. But action on the
" ground " -

often of 2
spontaneous nature - has
now forced many 10

| recognise the political
post-apartheid society and <"

power inherent in or-

. dinary people.

The fact that ordinary

'men and women have

rendered many of the ra-

_cial laws on our statute -

books unworkable has
been well documented by
institutions such as the
one of which I am presi-
dent, the South African
Institute of Race Rela-
tions.

Gradually, as it has be-
come clearer even 10 the
most myopic bigot, this
shift of power has been
recognised for what it is:
a real shift in terms of the
political leverage which
the ordinary person IS
able to exert simply by
acting at the local level,
more often than not inde-
pendently of other politi-
cal interest groups, there-
by forcing the Govern-
ment to [allow social,

economic and political

practices. It is a matter of
record that the Govern-

ment has done this in the

Labour field, with the pass

laws, the Mixed Mar-
riages Act and Section 16
of the Immorality Act.
Legislation follows
S etc.

.s.mâ\200\230m:co;oua post-apartheid
society is inevitably being
brought into being. and it
will be one in which the

colour bar has no place.
In saying that, hgwcvcr,
one has to recognise that
the post-apartheid society
is not going to be related
to the future
government.

the

is as I have limited, it
' is already being created

on the ground by the
people themselves. Our
major cities - Johannes-
burg in particular - are
becoming truly African in
character. Even the white
beaches left in Dur-
ban will disappear.

Wherever one looks it
appears that apartheid is
crumbling. The process of
the eradication of apart-
heid is irreversible.

Cities

" But it is nothing short
of an insult that, in public
at least, the Government
remains wedded to a law
such as the Group Areas
Act and tries to get
around it by pussyfooting
with its Free Settlement
legislation. It can only be
a matter of time before
the Group Areas Act is
consigned to the dust
heap and other similar

Movement

Earlier this year the In-
stitute of Race Relations
celebrated the 60th an-
niversary of its existence.
Many wondered what
there was to celebrate. 1

was happy to point out
indeed

that we could
celebrate! After all, some
of the heinous laws of
apartheid, which the In-
stitute had fought long
and fiercely for many
years, had finally been
dismantled. And the In-
stitute was standing four-
square in its battle to
ensure that its valuable re-
search work, illustrating
ways in which apartheid

was being broken down,
ensured the eradication of
the remaining apartheid
laws on the statute books:

Few would challenge
the statement that these
are heady days in which

Pluralismâ\200\231

South Africans of all

creeds, races and colours
have been the captives of
an ideology aimed at
keeping people apart for
too long not to be wary of
those who simply want to
substitute another form of
ideological captivity for
apartheid. Tyranny is

we live. They are the days
of great change; indeed,
one only has to leave the
country for a couple of
days to discover just how
fast change is taking
place. :

One minute one is
calling for the release of
all political prisoners - the
next minute eight political
prisoners, have been freed.
Movement at such a pace
is to be welcomed, for it
is an indication of a
greater willingness on the
part of the Government to
become involved in the
creation of a post-
apartheid society.

Such events also serve
to underline my earlier
point that there has been a
shift in the perception of
who holds the power in
this country. If we fail to
recognise the significance
of this perceived shift in
power we will fail to
understand the true nature
of the fundamental chan-
ges that are taking place

That there will be
stresses as society moves
towards a new political
dispensation cannot be
gainsaid. But one also has
to recognise the danger
that in the quest of a
society to break â\200\234out of
one form of exclusivity, it
falls into the trap of an-
other form of exclusivity.

SOWETAN Tuesday October 31 1989

Land laws lashed..

By JOSHUA
RABOROKO

THE various Land

Acts were the most |k

destructive regula-
tions that inhibited
black economic ad-
vancement in South
Africa, the chairmanâ\200\231
of the Free Market

Foundation, Mr Mi- &

chael Oâ\200\231Dowd, said in
Johannesburg at the
weekend.

In his address to the

FMF annual general
meeting Oâ\200\231Dowd said the
Land Act of 1913, the Ur-

ban Areas Act and the R

Group Areas Act needed
to be removed for reasons
of economic efficiency
and for social justice.

He said deregulation,
like the repeal of these
land laws was even more
important than privatisa-
tion.

â\200\234â\200\230Privatisation is still
of utmost importance, but
we must deregulate if we
want economic growth. It

is by means of regulation |
that poor people, which
means mostly black peop-
le, have been denied their
proper role in the
economy, and this has
been one of the things
which has kept our rate of
growth lower than it
might have been 2 he
said.

He said the deregula-
tions which have benefit-

Part of the crowd of thousands of people who came from
near and far to attend the National Reception COmmIttee s

ll [JITr

rally held at the FNB soccer stadium at the weekend to
welcome back the freed African National Congress lead-l
ers. Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

ed small business and the still have a long way to
bottom end of the go.

economy already have, of
course, been spectacular.
The rise of the black taxi must be that the whole of
industry remained a mod- the informal sector which
el of what deregulation is morally legitimate,
could achieve, and the which means everything
very considerable remov- except real crime, should
al of burdens from haw- _be able to become part of
kers has also had a spec-: - the mainstream-
tacular result but here we cconomy.â\200\231â\200\231 he said.

*â\200\234The object of
deregulation at this level