

INSIGHT

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SAâ\200\231s
Coty

UESTION: Dr
Ramphele and

Prof -Wilson, in

oy their book Up-
rooting Povertf', say
SAâ\200\231s biggest challenge is
to deal with the 15 mil-
lion people living in pov-

ert_i:.

hey argue that redis-
tribution of wealth
through political inter-
vention is the most effec-
tive way of doing this.

On the other hand,
Leon Louw of the Free
Market Foundation be-
lieves that for the State
â\200\234tospend R1 it has first to
tax R2 out of the econo-

my.

Do you agree that pov-
erty is our number one
problem? And what is
the solution?

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

To simply redistribute
wealth would create new
problems: it could drive
entrepreneurs (who cre-
ate jobs by risking their
capital) out of the coun-
try or into a state of in-
difference by destroying
their incentive. :

We should rather
work together on a long-
term development strat-
egy which includes the

needs of all Soth Afri-
cans.

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

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

" ANSWER:

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

Wwill
conventional
socialist or
capitalist solutions
work?

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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 in-
digenous Africans?

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 â\200\230because 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

multiimillion rand Sabta Foundation Fund and the phenomenal retail

trade the â\200\230hawkers 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 contra-vention of the law. Be-

cause of black resource-

fullness and the ripeness of the market, they have burgeoned ' into billion rand industries.

QUESTION: That ex-ample is interesting be-cause it facilitates an enormous shifting of earnings into black wage

" participation throufâ\200\230h- ownership. This actua

S Ch

challenge pligh of the

earnersâ\200\231 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

ly
~seems like a -useful wealth-generating tool.

" ANSWER: Not really. They still remain workers. TheK donâ\200\231t actually control the businesses. If

you are going that route

why â\200\230not let the workers get right into manage-

ment structures up to board level and have op-

tions to take dypr equity control? 7 i u\'._â\200\230jv- 3

QUESTION: What are your ideas on job creation?

ANSWER: Firstly, there is too much sentimentality on the subject. People do not go into â\200\230business to create jobs. They risk capital to make a profit. -

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

QUESTION: Letâ\200\231s 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-

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ple. We have a mixed

â\200\230economy. The conglom-

erates would have broken up or privatised

themselves to allow for
the broad participation
of the people.

"What is important is.
to institute a crash pro-
gramme to develop man-
agers, technicians and
entrepreneurs. We can-
not 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? g

ANSWER: The failure

of centralised systems is
that they are not close to
the people and tend to
run by dialogue. S

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

QUESTION: What

- would your action plan
be for creating a prosper-
ous and convivial com-
munity?

ANSWER: Both the
State and whites in gen-
eral 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 con-
sumption. One Rolls-
Royce could finance 400

* university students!

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Restraint
needed

RESTRAINT is useful in any negotia-
tion. When the issue at hand is long-
sought peace in the middle of vio-
lence and strife, it is a prerequisite.
On the eve of new and delicate peace
initiatives in Pietermaritzburg, Dr
Mangosuthu Butheleziâ\200\231s 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 Pieter-
maritzburg area had come to the con-
clusion 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 Bu-
thelezi has put his own negotiators at
a disadvantage. Their sincerity may
be doubted in light of their leaderâ\200\231s
remarks.

Considerable restraint will now be
needed. Peace, at the price of every-
oneâ\200\231s 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.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, MARCH 19, 19

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:
M 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.

B 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.

B Two-thirds of Africa's land areas are likely to suffer a

B 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 pro-

voked protests from African governments of neo-colonialism.

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prolonged drought every 10 years. |

Nevertheless, one by one African governments have been shifting away from collectivist to free enterprise policies. 3 : ; g

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:

B 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. g o : ol

M Reversal of the decline in per capita incomes must be the key aim of development strategy.

B 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.

B The concept of capital must be extended to include natural and human resources, thereby ensuring that health and food security become priorities.

| B Food subsidies should go up to the neediest, and would take up no more than 0,1-0,4 percent of GDP. z1 ovofrica will need a net transfer of \$20bn by the year 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. A

| THE â\200\230Bî¬\201?l;lsn VIEW

De Klerk is
scoring

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SUNDAY TRIBUNE, MARCH 19, 198

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with reform

By RW Johnson, Fellow in Politics, Magda-
len 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: â\200\234The battle of the bald eaglesâ\200\235, as it has been
called.

What has happened is simple enough: Botha, re-
covering 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 Ples-
sis, 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-
W vaal. Botha went into a

mighty sulk, regretting
that he had ever resigned
and, indeed, trying to be-
have as if he hadnâ\200\231t. He
even refused to greet De
Klerk for several weeks.
De Klerk has been ex-
tremely adroit. Although
he had been seen as the
candidate of the centre-
right against Du Plessisâ\200\231
â\200\230more liberal wing, he im-
mediately struck a
strong reforming note.

spectacularly misplayed
his hand. In the space of
a month he has handed
the leadership to the man
he didnâ\200\231t 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

deal with the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, leader of the coloured Labour Party ; =

Botha has, indeed, seems to have done a

. 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 Kwa-Zulu/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 â\200\224 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 â\200\224 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 â\200\234KwaNatalâ\200\235) 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 Butheleziâ\200\231s 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 KwaNatalâ\200\231s deal going ahead. So while our eyes may be on the â\200\234battle of the bald eaglesâ\200\235 now, if De Klerk wins, the really interesting thing to look for will be our own Foreign Officeâ\200\231s 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 a 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 are not

apparently are all blacks. 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 ofd-fashion 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

WD

'Notion of

one black
nation is
an illusion

R ' song: All Coons Look Alike To Me.

Roy Kerridge

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

Angelou made the same mistake.

hile the word 'negro' suggests Paul Robeson and the word 'coloured' suggests cosiness, the word 'plack' 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 'placks' 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 con-
sumption "All Coons Look Alike To
Me. It was a 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

"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 titil-
lates 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 shock-
ing 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 arbi-
trary enclosing lines drawn across the
African continent during the "scram-
ble 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.

ow terrible that the people there
still practice â\200\234tribalismâ\200\235! ;

By a strange irony, it is the true
African nations, the Yoruba, Ibo, Hau-
sas and the rest who are often
assumed to be arbitrary creations of
white imperialists bent on a â\200\234divide
and ruleâ\200\235 policy. Nations, to the white
rulers of Africa, were seen as mere
â\200\234tribesâ\200\235 for â\200\234blacksâ\200\235 could not possi-

bly have nations of their own!

Black Power advocates and sociolo-
gy experts take this idea a step further
and deny the existence of tribes, as
â\200\234all blacks are one peopleâ\200\235. /

If there is one black nation, who is
the king?. If the colonial empires are
â\200\234realâ\200\235, in the absence of the colonial-
ists, why is there no tradition of a king
of all Nigeria or a king of all Tan-
zania? Yet both those â\200\234countriesâ\200\235 once
had tribal kings in plenty, and some of
their heirs claim tribal thrones today.

Tribes â\200\234are 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? : 3 3.

That is why black man fights black
man in Africa. j -

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SUNDAY TRIBUNE, MARCH 19, 1989 ,

Why sanctions
won't work |

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

| exploited
| | liamentary groups in the

SANCTIONS will not to le the -
ernment; nor will supportpf%r tltg ar(r;r?:dv
struggle â\200\224 the two major campaignsi
launcl'xed.by foreign governments and
co;gamsatlpns for change in South Afri-
Both have little strategic i
c!alms Professor Lawrence S(g:hlerl:rglegâ\200\231
tai:rte:tolx} of the fentre for Policy Studies:
â\202~ University of Wit
thge are alterngtives. watersraqq,;kut
ne which could play a crucial role.
he says, would be for themal gtlwg:'i:-â\200\231
ments to support commu- |
nity-based movements
that are realistic and
Success-oriented â\200\224 pot -
expressive â\200\224 in their in-
ternal programmes of
change. :
â\200\234It is not true that
other alternatives have
either failed or been
closed-off or crushed by
the Government,
.â\200\230.â\200\230The strategy for mo-
bilisation and organisa-
tion as a basis for tough,

I stragegic participation in
/| available institutions,

and peaceful pressure
have not yet been fully
by extra-par-

era of reform apartheid,â\200\235

Prof Schlemmer said in

' | an article titled /nzernq.

tional Strategies for
Change in South Afri-,
ca.
The article has been
published in South Afri-

ca 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,

on its own is highly problematic.

the following contradictions that could develop from the sanctions strategy:

South Africa's economy can be easily harmed by sanctions. Comprehensive interna-

fect 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 that would not be sufficient

sanctions as a strategy |

Prof 'Schlemmer cited

tional sanctions can afford

As

cient 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 |

able as an administration

would not be affected dramatically.

Studies have shown
that the power base of

the Government, the
white voting constituen-

cy, is implacably oppposed
to any major concessions

to sanctions.

O The sanctions cam-
paign has been promoted
abroad by groups and
parties with fairly radi-
cal goals and the Govern-
ment, would not easily
satisfy their demands.
The concessions the Gov-
ernment is likely to make
are at best more likely
than not simply to frus-
trate and aggravate the
lobbies working for sanc-
tions and to encourage
them to redouble their

— efforts for further sanc-
tions. ; ;

Siege

O Sanctions could create
a siege mentality (or a
deepened siege mentali-
ty) among whites. Since
some spokesmen in South
Africa associated with

the majority, support |

sanctions, their effects
are, in fact, to create po-

larisation between people & \200\230

in South Africa.

Many black people

feel, quite justifiably,

that Archbishop Des-

mond 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 be-
comes, in a sense, a na-
tional 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 enor-
mous costs of polarisa-
tion between people in
Sputh Africa, give sanc-
tions as a tool a very du-
~ bious strategic utility.

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Easier

00 Further sanctions are likely to make it progressively easier for the South African Govern-

ment to consider reneg-

ing 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 Africaâ\200\231s balance of payments problems and may offer the economy a welcome respite.

O 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 â\200\234social responsibilityâ\200\235 and affirmative

O Prof Schlemme

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 bursaries for blacks, thus compounding the problems of the emergent black middle class.

Prof Schlemmer said:

â\200\234I see very limited strategic merit in sanctions as a major strategy for change.

â\200\234As 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 1 ffering major-

been victim.â\200\235

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.

â\200\234If 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.

â\200\234Hence it is likely to be

much more effective to ask western countries to support negotiation initiatives than, for exam-

tions promoting mass

strike, consumer/rent boycotts and the like.

â\200\234This 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.â\200\235

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.

â\200\234Alliances should be sought with external agencies that in particular would facilitate negotiation on the control of, or participation in, meaningful development by black communities.

â\200\234The 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.

â\200\234Provided the unrealistic revolutionary rhetoric of many past endeavours in this field is phased out, I believe that surprising support from the West

within South Africa) would be forthcoming,â\200\235

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

â\200\234Quite obviously, if these movements demonstrate these capacities, there will also be less resistance to their eventual participation in government.

â\200\234This 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.

â\200\234If 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 subopti-

mal organisation and ad- |

ministrative capacity.

â\200\234If the South African

Government were to be

forced into concessions |

by extraneous pressure, little would have oc-

curred to prepare black | movements for their nec- |

essary future role.

â\200\230â\200\230External governments have an invaluable potential role in offering black movement training and strategic support in preparing for their future political and administrative roles.â\200\235

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action programmes with- -

ity i

s country has

â\200\234ple, to protect organisa-

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Rand Attorney-General

admits controversial law

â\200\230canâ\200\231t be fully enforced

By SARAH SUSSENS

WITWATERSRAND Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres could well have a sign over his door which says â\200\234The buck stops hereâ\200\235. As one of the countryâ\200\231s 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 â\200\234offendersâ\200\235?

The man who says he is paid to cope with â\200\234conflict resolutionâ\200\235 admits it is an act which is impossible to enforce completely.

â\200\234It is a logistical impossibility to prosecute anybody living in a â\200\230seriously infiltratedâ\200\231 Johannesburg,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234I sit with a socio-economic problem, the prob-

-lem 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,â\200\235 he said.

However, Mr Von Lieres said it would â\200\234create chaosâ\200\235 if Attorneys-General were to decide not to apply unpopular laws. .

â\200\234You canâ\200\231t say people donâ\200\231t like this, so I think I will just change it,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234The 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.

â\200\234So thatâ\200\231s 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.

â\200\234If the Attorney-General applies the law, he has to apply it equitably and in a balanced manner.â\200\235

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 â\200\234only as a last resortâ\200\235 and that the â\200\234offenderâ\200\235 could apply for a permit.

Mr Von Lieres said the number of prosecutions in the Johannesburg area was minimal â\200\224 fewer than 20 a year.

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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 ejectment of the accused or not.â\200\235 said Mr Von Lieres.

â\200\234The Govender judgement explains the nature of this discretion.â\200\235 . | |

He said the Group Areas Act adopted in 1966 to replace the previous one, was never intended to create â\200\234ghettoes based on raceâ\200\235 but rather to create â\200\234â\200\230group areasâ\200\235. control the acquisition of immovable property

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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.

â\200\234There 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 â\200\234whiteâ\204¢ Johannesburg areas, coupled with the drop in prosecu-

tions 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 ITIajOI' 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 estab-

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 any-

body prosecuted under the
Group Areas Act.

According to Actstop
spokesman Cas Coovadia,

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

"If there were 50 ten-
ants 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 consis-
tently fought against prob-
lems experienced by ille-

gal residents, such as ex- |
ploitation by landlords |

who charge exorbitant

rentals for turning a blind |'

eye to the law.

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lished in Mayfair, Doorn-

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, MARCH 19, 1989

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.

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Wa_Heunis the first
* a Zulu

By OBED
KUNENE

Former Natal
Regional Director
of the

Urban Foundation

A COLLEAGUE from my days in journal-
ism was fond of repeating the words of an
author whose name he could hardly re-
member and they went something like this:
â\200\234I often wonder, considering what charm-
ing and innocent creatures little boys are,
where all the dirty old men come from.â\200\235
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 yearâ\200\231s 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-re-
ceived. 7

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 Buthe-
lezi, and the King in gentle repartee.

Judging from comments around the
lunch tables it was clear Mr Heunis had

ade a favourable impression. By all ac-

ounts, he appeared to have had a relative-
ly safe passage back in the Aseembly.

Indeed, compared with some of his par-
liamentary 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 â\200\234im-
bongiâ\200\235 (praise-singer) refer to Dr Buthelezi
as â\200\234imbati ehaqa amadoda...â\200\235 (the stinging
nettle that sends men yelling with pain
when brought into contact with their testi-
cles).

The Inkosi has a reputation for â\200\234devour-
ingâ\200\235 Pretoriaâ\200\231s emissaries in his traditional
| â\200\234vote of thanksâ\200\235 speeches. Some have been
seen to turn a variety of shades of colour
once the Inkosi was in full cry.

J Chris Heunis

hof at the time of the Ingwavuma land dis-
pute? Not only did the then-Minister of
â\200\234Bantuâ\200\235 Affairs run the gauntlet of shout-
ing, placard-waving and tomato-throwing
Inkatha demonstrators, but worse was in
store for him inside the Assembly. He re-
ceived such a tongue-lashing from the
Chief Minister that one could almost visu-
alize the weals all over his body. The irony
was that it couldnâ\200\231t have happened to a
nicer fellow.

At Ulundi this week, I could not help but
marvel at Mr Heunis, this son of Afrikaner-
dom who has in the past been tipped as
President P W Botha'â\200\231s successor.

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

Hasnâ\200\231t he been accused of -indulging in
political hocus-pocus, coercing compliant
and often naive black leaders into becom-
ing part of Government machinations over
the reform issue?

Hasnâ\200\231t he been portrayed as a â\200\234now-you-
see-him-now-you-donâ\200\231tâ\200\235, will-â\200\231o-the-wisp
politician with a knack for the classical

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Spring?

King Goodwill

soft shoe shuffle?

By my reckoning, such a man shouldnâ\200\231t
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 â\200\234Mr Nice Guyâ\200\235 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 â\200\224 â\200\234Oom Danieâ\200\235 de Wet Nel, Henri Torlage, MC Botha, Piet

. Koornhof and, in latter years, Gerrit Vil-

joen, 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 â\200\234in the naturalâ\200\235 (as born-again Christians would say) would quite often be akin to meeting walking

Remember the luckless Dr Piet Koorn-

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Minister of Affairs,
In his public appearances, he came
across as the typical Baas, laying

years. :

And then, in 3 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 paradoxes. They exude charm and a radiance that negated their political images. nearly two years the central Government

Largely on account of the evil aspects of Indaba proposals, Instead, the impression Some of their Government's policies, one was strong that it had rejected these proposals, tended to form a sort of weird perception,

tions of the men from Pretoria or Cape Furthermore, Mr Heunis's visit to Ulundi Town. Few of those perceptions were commented, again as Dr Buthelezi pointed out, compatible with the human mould. the first time a head of the South African

To one's great relief, one's worst fears for the new South African Legislature

were removed once one came face to face So after glasnost, what?

With the lot of them. One hesitates to put one's tail up and But not, I may add, before wondering, as read too much into these interesting developments in the words of the unknown author (paragraphs at this stage.

phrased in this Instance): If the Nats who But would it be premature or far-fetched

have forced us on a vile diet of apartheid to Speculate. that, with the apparent thaw

: tion. He was Mr FW de Klerk, Dr Buthelezi's prolonged

Mr I and the campaign for serious negotiation at national level a hang-dog look on his face and unsmiling, I feel the first light Just be starting to pay off at in winning the long last? , j

llg;rlts) thn's ir?tiesvil;' saudc;?:a?and no further developments over whose lives and fate he presided as With great interest. : E

