

## Planning a successor regime in S A

# A potent political bite in non-political activity

*Natal Mercury* 28 February 1989

**D**RS Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele were in town last week to talk about the second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa and their book, *Uprooting poverty: the South African challenge*.

For cultural reasons that I assume need no elaboration, Wilson seemed to be doing most of the radio and television interviews. On the basis of which, and unless the Ayatollah adds him to the Salman Rushdie hit list, there will be no lines forming at local bookstores.

This is not because the book is bad — to the contrary, the chapters I have read have considerable merit — but because many of those who ought to read it heard all they wanted to hear from the co-author on national public radio and the McNeil-Lehrer news hour, which is to say, in a few convenient minutes and the comfort of their own homes and prejudices.

What they wanted was yet another 'stunning indictment' of apartheid to help justify the pursuit of a sanctions policy that, in reality, serves little more than their own selfish interests. Unwittingly, perhaps, that is what Wilson gave them. On top of everything else, apartheid makes people poor — yikes!

A closer study of the book, especially the latter half when it moves beyond the harrowingly descriptive, might make the sanctioners uneasy, assuming, of course, they were willing to ingest what it had to say in the first place. For one thing, it is only nominally about poverty.

### Empowerment

The real subject matter is 'empowerment' and how apartheid's 'victims', as they are popularly known, can only cease to be victims by taking control of their own lives, not only from the existing state but from the interventions of alien pharisees.

Wilson may not have emphasised this aspect of the work in press interviews, but it came across very clearly at a symposium set up for the authors by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace last Thursday. Sadly, the event was one of those trees that falls in a forest far from earshot. It made no noise.

The message, the meat of which was delivered by Ramphele (but which was also endorsed by others of a more directly UDF persuasion), may be summarised briefly. The replacement of the present political monopoly will not turn Crossroads into Camps Bay, nor, automatically, will it result in a more just, participatory form of governance than now obtains.

Besides, it is still some distance off. In the interim much of a practical nature can be done in preparation. This will not only ensure the ultimate transfer of power is more than a

### Washington Letter

Simon Barber



simple exchange of elites, but, and this should be particularly stressed, will also hasten the day of transition.

At the heart of which, if I understood Ramphele correctly, is the notion that seemingly non-political activity, if broadly and deliberately enough engaged upon, will inevitably have potent political bite. This makes a lot of sense.

After all, if the informal sector in many developing economies has succeeded in creating wealth and dealing with inequality in ways the state can even begin to manage, why not apply the same logic to 'informal' activity in the social and political spheres as well?

When SABTA replaces PUTCO as the main provider of township transport services, it has a political significance far greater than the explosion of a limpet mine in a crowded supermarket. A chunk of power has been seized, new opportunities created.

The same can be said, even more emphatically, of the consolidation of a trade union movement without whose assent the economy cannot function, as well as of grass-roots organisations that channel health, rural development and legal services where they have been absent and try to ensure that children are properly educated (not least in the ideals of uBuntu).

### Democracy

**D**R Ramphele, as well as the NECC's Vusi Khanyile who also spoke at the symposium, evidently believe that by developing institutions, organisations and community groups focussed on dealing with day to day realities, the disenfranchised can build themselves an 'informal' participatory democracy within the state.

Said democracy will act as an imperceptible — and untreatable — cancer on the existing order. It will steadily increase its bargaining power, all the while readying itself to become the genuine article when, as it must, it becomes 'formal'.

This is a remarkable strategy on a number of counts. First, it bespeaks an unprecedented degree of self-confidence, since it implicitly concedes prior misjudgements and current

weaknesses. Second, it is candid on the question of time: not only will the millenium not dawn tomorrow, but the intervening period is needed if questions such as the distribution of wealth and poverty and national culture are to be properly addressed.

Third, it recognises that the successor regime, were it to succeed now, would not necessarily be very democratic since no one in South Africa, white or black, has much experience with democracy.

A former Robben Island inmate at the conference told me he would still want street committees (though not street justice, of which he strongly disapproved) to exist under a post-apartheid system to act as a popular brake on what he feared would be the excesses of the new central government.

Fourth, and perhaps most significantly, it puts those inside South Africa, as opposed to the exile movement and the sanctioners, front stage centre (a trend also evidenced by the Winnie Mandela fracas), and allows that the shape of South Africa's future political economy is still entirely open to debate.

All of which, especially the last point, is likely to be missed on those in this country who make their livings or promote their careers on South Africa's back.

### Kennedy

It was certainly lost on Senator Edward Kennedy whose attendance at the symposium was limited to a brief speech in which he made clear he still viewed black South Africans as helpless victims in desperate need of the outside world's neo-colonial ministrations. His ministrations, in particular.

Ending poverty, curing disease, easing suffering — all are important, and the international community should be contributing more resources and expertise to reach those goals. But we must never adopt a limited agenda aimed at easing the economic plight of black South Africans without transforming their political plight, too.

'Apartheid will only be ended with a clear, consistent and concerted policies of all nations working together to apply the full range of political, diplomatic and economic pressure against the SA regime. That is why I support comprehensive sanctions.'

Funnily enough, sanctions had scarcely been mentioned until then, except by an exquisitely troubled American union leader who pleaded with Ramphele to give him a 'party line' on the subject because he was confused by the ANC's telling him one thing and Cyril Ramaphosa another (she did not oblige).

Nor, indeed, was their much talk of what the outside world was supposed to do, period, though Ramphele did note, somewhat archly, that 'some people think they own the struggle'.

# Ghost states of the world

*THE STAR WES. Feb 28 1989*  
The international community, it seems, is a strange place. It could be likened to a room full of three types of entities — the ghosts, half-wraiths and the solid, firm-fleshed nations.

Some say "Hello" to each other or walk through their ghostly neighbours. No one is certain however, who is a ghost or who is solid and as a result there are collisions, misunderstandings and occasionally blows, though it must be difficult to fight a ghost.

The international scene was described in more precise legal terms by Mr Justice M W Friedman of the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court recently. He was delivering a judgment on an objection lodged at the current mass treason trial by advocate Mr C J Dugard.

## Sovereignty

Mr Dugard claimed that the accused in the trial could not be tried for treason as Bophuthatswana was not an independent sovereign state ... treason was only possible when the state was recognised as a member of the community of nations.

In a 68-page judgment Mr Justice Friedman, after consulting literally hundreds of legal authorities, concluded otherwise — that Bophuthatswana did indeed have internal sovereignty and qualified under criteria laid down by the 1933 Montevideo Convention for meeting the requirements of statehood.

These were: a permanent population, a defined territory, an independent effective government and the "capacity to enter into relations

**ALAN COOPER** asks whether President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana is presiding over a "ghost state" on the international scene.

with other states".

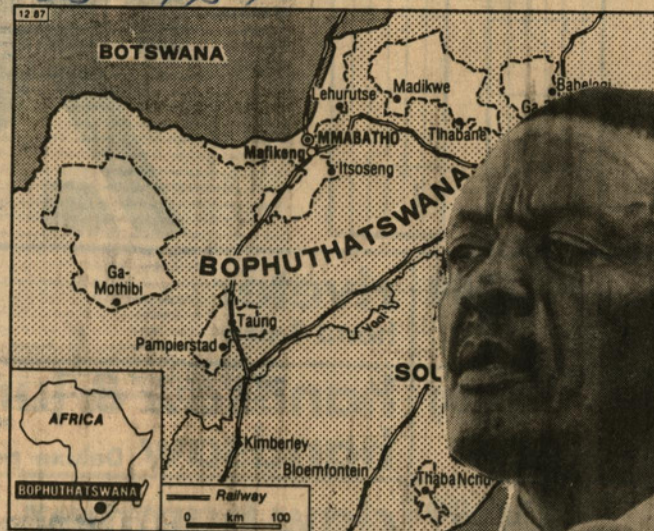
The first three criteria were self evident. Bophuthatswana, too, had the capacity for entering into relations with other states. The fact that political conditions prevented other states from recognising Bophuthatswana — all except South Africa — did not prevent Bophuthatswana from becoming an international personality without recognition, said the judge.

The search for recognition of Bophuthatswana has been earnestly pursued by the government and the foreign affairs ministry, led by Minister Solomon Rathebe, since its independence in 1977, so far with no success.

However, Mr Justice Friedman in his watershed judgment, points out that international recognition is not an essential according to the declaratory doctrine of international law.

This theory regards recognition "only as a formal acknowledgement of an already existing state of circumstances." It refutes the constitutive theory which maintains that the act of recognition itself creates a state. An international personality is only conferred through recognition by the community of nations.

In layman's terms, then, if a nation does not recognise Bophutha-



Man at the helm of Bophuthatswana, President Lucas Mangope.

## They do exist, but few will 'see' them

tswana or other nations, they cease to exist. They become the ghosts in that large room.

There are, and have been, other ghosts. The People's Republic of China, with a population of one billion, for political reasons went unrecognised by the United States until 1979. It has been in existence since 1949.

There were a billion ghosts; then the US recognised China and Taiwan became a ghost or perhaps a half-wraith.

But this is not a modern phenom-

enon. Monarchical governments refused to recognise French-revolutionary governments between 1789 and 1793. There was considerable hesitation by many states to recognise the new government of Russia after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The US only recognised it in 1932 and the British Government in 1921, but made that retroactive to 1917.

One of the largest nations on earth, Soviet Russia, was a ghost for 15 years according to the US and a half-wraith to Britain for four years.

Taiwan, one of the Far Eastern dynamos of industry, goes unrecognised to this day by India and many other states. Israel, in existence since 1948, with all the attributes of statehood, is a half-wraith, unrecognised by the Arab states with the exception of Egypt, but is recognised by the superpowers.

It is interesting that the Arab states have maintained a state of war with Israel and yet refused to recognise this because they refused to recognise it as an international personality. It is a case of fighting a ghost.

Nearer home, Rhodesia was definitely a state even after its unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965. Yet it went unrecognised internationally — again a half-wraith.

On the other side, an entity that is still amorphous and without shape is taxing experts in international law. Six states have recently recognised an independent Palestinian state set in the occupied territories of Israel. Does this recognition then create a state even though it does not satisfy in any way the Montevideo criteria? Is it a ghost at the door of the large room.

Economic considerations, apart from political, enter into the recognition picture. In Latin America, some governments demand a pledge to honour past obligations of a previous government in a state as a precondition of recognition. Presumably a sort of international blackmail.

What will be the next ghost — South Africa?

# The Star

## 'Free settlement' - but no free choice

THE Free Settlement Areas Act becomes law tomorrow, and in some quarters it is being hailed in the same way as the divisive 1984 Constitution — as a "step in the right direction". It would be comforting to believe that this was true. However, more informed assessments point to very much the opposite conclusion. They suggest it will turn out a recipe for disaster.

True, for the first time in four decades the Act does go a little way towards reversing group areas and allowing people of different races to live together lawfully. It permits (after cumbersome and distasteful legal procedures) the legalisation of the de facto situation in certain areas, especially those that are already "grey", such as Hillbrow and Woodstock. Yet it does this in such a half-baked and limited way that it is likely to aggravate, not alleviate, slum conditions there.

Because of the country's massive housing crisis, population pressures will build up even more in the few free settlement areas that will be declared. A corner of an overcrowded, run-down Hillbrow

block may not be everyone's idea of home, but it is better than no home and it is better than living in similar conditions 35 km from your job. Crowding will grow and services such as sewerage, refuse collection, lifts and the rest will be strained still more.

There may well be a short-term and illusory property boom. But the landlords, out of greed or to justify high property prices and rates, will charge exorbitant rentals, cut their costs and cram in as many tenants as possible. Then slum conditions will worsen and free settlement areas will give integration a bad name. They will rapidly start to look like advertisements for the Conservative Party's most malign prophecies.

How long will it take the Government to realise it is in its own best interests to scrap the Group Areas Act as a whole? This timid tinkering sets up an artificial situation conducive to chaos and exploitation of all kinds. Dump group areas, let natural market forces rule in housing — and some of our problems will be on the way to being solved, not intensified.

Apartheid has made South Africa 'stink'

# Bold reform policy needed — Harry O

THE STAR 7462, Feb 28 1989

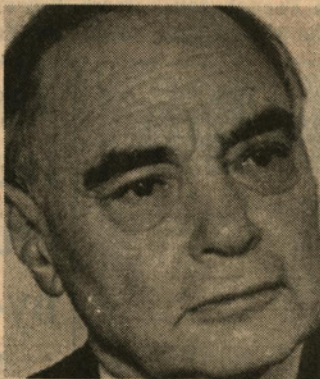
South Africa's racial policy had made the country "stink", Mr Harry Oppenheimer (80) told the SA Institute of International Affairs in East London yesterday.

He said that in carrying through reform, South Africa must cease to do good by stealth in the hope, which was certainly not going to be realised, that in this way it would be possible to placate the right wing.

A bold commitment to a consistent long-range reform policy would at this stage in world affairs be sure to evoke a favourable and flexible response.

Mr Oppenheimer, former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, said the insensitivity of South Africans — many occupying positions of high influence — was to a considerable extent responsible for South Africa's isolated position in the world.

"Disagreeable though it may be, we must admit that the racial policy which has been pursued here over the last 40 years has made South Africa stink in the nostrils of decent, humane people around the world."



Mr Harry Oppenheimer ... great potential for change.

Mr Oppenheimer said the transformation of South Africa into a free and democratic country was not just a matter of negotiation between the Government and the African National Congress. Contrary to what many foreigners believed, many other powerful groups existed.

It was necessary to encourage strong black organisations which, apart from their immediate functions, might serve as a basis for representation in political bargaining.

In the whole world situation, there had been change of the first magnitude, which was certain to have a huge influence on South Africa's affairs.

Mr Oppenheimer said that without the Gorbachev revolution — *glasnost* and *perestroika* — an agreement on Angola and Namibia would scarcely have been possible.

"Moreover, the new East/West detente has destroyed the plausibility of that doctrine of the 'total assault' against South Africa on which the Government has so long relied to justify many indefensible actions inside and outside our borders."

Mr Oppenheimer said the assumption of power by Mr F W de Klerk had brought a great potential for change.

"I scarcely know the new leader of the National Party, but he is a new leader and more capable therefore, if he wishes, of striking out on a new path. And that in itself is a legitimate reason for hope," Mr Oppenheimer added. — Staff Reporter-Sapa.

# Winnie: Lusaka looks for harmony

The presence in Lusaka of representatives of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) signals a bid to reconcile their differences with the African National Congress on Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The divergent approaches of the UDF-Cosatu alliance and the ANC to the contentious issues aroused by Mrs Mandela are partly determined by geography.

The UDF-Cosatu leadership is based inside South Africa. It is thus closer to the anger generated by the bullying behaviour of Mrs Mandela's Mandela United Football Club; consequently it is under pressure to dissociate itself from Mrs Mandela. The externally based ANC leadership can afford to take a less condemnatory position.

The controversy over Mrs Mandela has demanded urgent attention from all black organisations and not merely the UDF-Cosatu and the ANC; in most cases, it has forced them to take a public stand.

## DISTANCE CHANGES PHILOSOPHY

Broadly speaking, the closer the organisation is to the beleaguered Mrs Mandela, geographically and ideologically, the tougher the stand it has taken. The further it is from the epicentre of the storm, the more detached it can be.

Thus, the "mass democratic movement", spearheaded by the UDF and Cosatu, has adopted the toughest position.

The democratic movement's allegiance to the Freedom Charter, and its generally shared philosophical outlook with the ANC, links it closely to Mrs Mandela ideologically.

Mrs Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, makes no bones about her ANC sympathies.

Calling on the black community to distance itself from Mrs Mandela in a "dignified manner", the democratic movement has accused the team of conducting "a reign of terror".

The exiled leadership of the ANC, however, has taken a more lenient stand. Its statement, issued after a two-day emergency meeting in Lusaka, chastises Mrs Mandela for not heeding its advice to disband the team.

But the tone is sad rather than unforgiving. It refers coyly to the "unbecoming activities" of the

**PATRICK LAURENCE** describes the background to talks between the ANC, the UDF and Costatu in Lusaka concerning Winnie Mandela.



Mrs Winnie Mandela . . . reconciliation in the air after distance made the heart grow fonder.

team, suggesting its ranks were infiltrated by "the enemy" to discredit Mr Mandela and the ANC.

It ends with a call to the democratic movement not to ostracise Mrs Mandela but to draw her back as a disciplined member, accountable to the movement and subject to its restraints and counsel.

The differences between the democratic movement's position and ANC's are not unbridgeable. Even before the present reconciliation talks in Lusaka, black church leaders with a foot in both camps were

urging a softer line on Mrs Mandela.

The Rev Frank Chikane, secretary-general of the South Africa Council of Churches, paid a five-hour "pastoral visit" to Mrs Mandela immediately after the rebuff delivered to her by the "democratic movement".

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has set the scene for reconciliation by calling for Mrs Mandela's "rehabilitation".

The veteran Soweto civic leader, Dr Nthato Motlana, tells The Star his position on Mrs Mandela coincides with that of the ANC.

He is the Mandela family doctor and guardian to the Mandela children; it can therefore be assumed he will use his influence to help reconcile the positions taken by the "democratic movement" and the ANC, and reintegrate Mrs Mandela into the black community.

The Zulu-based Inkatha movement has been relatively sympathetic towards Mrs Mandela, counselling patience, restraint and compassion. It accuses the UDF of distancing itself from Mrs Mandela with "unseemly haste".

## ASSUME INNOCENCE

Inkatha records that it is well aware of how vicious propaganda based on unproved accusations can be; it urges the world to presume innocence until guilt is proved.

The Pan-Africanist Congress, which jostles with the ANC for recruits in South Africa and influence abroad, has not taken an organisational position on Mrs Mandela or her football team.

But its president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, adopts a generous personal attitude. "I don't think it is a good thing to kick a man when he is down," he says.

He is disturbed by Mrs Mandela's predicament. "I would not like them (the ANC) to fall to that extent," he adds.

The Black Consciousness Movement has grave reservations over what it calls the "silence of the Mandela Crisis Committee" on the murder of Dr Abubaker Asvat. But it chooses its words carefully and discreetly on Mrs Mandela.

"The black consciousness movement does not subscribe to the politics of expedience, which takes delight in the downfall of individuals," it says.

## Zimbabwe says 'no' to SA arms

NEW YORK — African leaders yesterday criticised United Nations plans to buy or lease military equipment from South Africa for the body's peacekeeping force in Namibia.

On April 1, UN peacekeepers are scheduled to begin implementing a one-year plan for Namibia's independence. UN officials have said some purchases of military equipment will be made from South Africa.

But ambassador Mr Isack Stanislaus Gorerazvo Mudenge of Zimbabwe, representing the non-aligned movement, said the United Nations should not have to depend on South Africa for vehicles, ammunition and other military equipment.

Mr Mudenge said the UN peacekeepers could buy anything except military equipment from South Africa.

"We are particularly unhappy about reports we have heard about plans to hire South African military vehicles or purchase or hire helicopters in South Africa," he said.

Zambian ambassador Mr Peter Dingisway Zuze told reporters the African nations wanted recognition of the UN trade embargoes against South Africa in arms and oil included in the General Assembly resolution to pay for the Namibian peacekeeping force. — Sapa-AP.

THE SFAA Tues, 28, 1989

# Secret bail conditions in Mandela Club case

CITIZEN  
28 FEBR. 1989

By Sandra Lieberum

MEMBERS of the public and the Press were yesterday ordered out of the courtroom so that conditions attached to the granting of bail for one of the people accused of the murder of former Mandela United Football Club member, Maxwell Madondo, could not be publicised.

## 'Secret' bail conditions

### FROM PAGE 1

pear in court again on April 4.

She pleaded not guilty on the charge and defence attorney Mr H Vally informed the court that everything was placed in dispute.

Mr Isaac Mazibuko (22), of Orlando West, also pleaded not guilty and told the court he was

at work on the day in question.

At a previous appearance last week not guilty pleas were also entered by Mr Lerotodi Ikaneng (23), Mr Nhlanhla Blanket (18) and Mr Sandilo Blanket (20).

These three accused told the court Mr Madondo had been attacked by a man nicknamed "Sponge".

All the accused with the exception of Mrs Chili will bring a bail application on Thursday.

Meanwhile two more accused appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday — bringing to five the murder of people now charged in connection with the death of teenage activist Stompie Mokhetse Seipei (14), who was buried at the weekend.

Stompie's body was found on January 7 and was identified some weeks later.

A former member of the Mandela United Football Club, the club's coach and the club's bus driver have been charged with his murder.

Yesterday a further two accused were added to the charge sheet — one of them was a 16-year-old girl from Zone 3 in Pimville and Mr Katiza Cebekhulu (21) of Unit One Hammergeale.

The two accused appeared briefly before Mr P Bredenkamp. They were remanded in custody to March 10.

Mr Madondo died on January 13 this year after being hit with bricks, iron bars, rocks and various other objects. The attack occurred in the vicinity of Uncle Tom's Hall in Orlando West.

The request for the exclusion of the Press and public was made by prosecutor Mr D Marais and granted by Mr P Bredenkamp when Mrs Dudu Chili (47), of Orlando West — the latest accused to be charged with the murder — and four co-accused, appeared before him in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Bail was set at R500 for Mrs Chili, with certain conditions. She is to ap-

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# Group Areas 'has done nothing to safeguard whites'

*BUSINESS DAY*  
*28 FEBR. 1989*

CAPE TOWN — The Group Areas Act had done nothing to ensure the community life of the white population since its enactment in 1950, Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) said yesterday.

"What it has done is to destroy the community life of coloured and Indian people as exemplified by the sad story of District Six in Cape Town and of Pageview and Sophiatown in Johannesburg."

Speaking during a CP motion criticising government for not properly applying the Group Areas Act and other apartheid legislation, Suzman said the motion was a "sad reflection" on the CP's confidence in whites' ability to retain their identity unless it was bolstered by laws to prevent free association.

Suzman said the Group Areas Act had resulted in "immense human suffering and financial loss" for all the coloured and Indian families displaced in terms of the law.

"Of the families resettled by the Group Areas Act between 1950 and 1984, 98,08% were coloured and Indian families. Of those presently under threat of removal, 95,98% were coloured and Indian families. Of people removed from business premises, 98,05% were coloured and Indian people," she said.

Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) said with tens of thousands of people openly



● SUZMAN

and provocatively breaking the Group Areas Act by living where they were not allowed to, there was the greatest ever degree of lawlessness in SA's history, Sapa reports.

Mentz said government was squarely to blame for the lawlessness.

It had an easy choice, either to repeal the Act, thereby making all the offenders legal again, or to make sure it could be properly applied by amending the legislation to provide for compulsory eviction orders.

## Political Staff

## Scrapping

However, government was in a dilemma, because if it repealed the Act, it would not be in power for long and if it ensured its application, its whole reform programme would collapse.

Constitutional Development and Planning Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer said the problems with integration did not stem from the scrapping of influx control, but from a delay in applying a proper urbanisation policy.

"We will however not solve this problem with laws alone. I do not say the law must be scrapped but we must look at meeting the demand for housing either by way of own communities or free settlement areas.

"If we fail to provide suitable housing we will not make progress with this problem or lead SA to community peace," Meyer said.

# 'Racial divide will not work'

DURBAN — A constitutional dispensation based on race was unachievable because it would never be supported by the majority of the population, PFP Cape leader Roger Hulley, said last night.

He also said that as a member of new Democratic Party steering committee he was most gratified "at the relative ease and speed at which common ground was achieved on policy principles".

In an address to the Natal Coastal Region of the PFP in Durban, Hulley said although the four constituent elements of the new party were indeed pursuing somewhat different political strategies, "it was remarkable how much consensus existed on basic principles".

The Democratic Party believed the National Party's view that the four racial groups constituted the departure point for the whole consti-



● HULLEY

## Political Staff

tutional dispensation was unacceptable to the vast majority of South Africans.

"It is unacceptable because racism is built into the constitutional structure, it ignores numerical realities, emphasises historical inequalities and social distance and entrenches privilege and domination.

"A constitutional dispensation based on race is unachievable because it will never be supported by the majority of the population and continuing conflict, boycotts and violence will follow.

"A constitutional dispensation based on race offers no protection for whites because whites constitute less than 10% of the total population and a fair distribution of power in such a situation becomes totally impossible.

"It inevitably means that whites paint themselves into a minority corner and become the constant target of protest and aggression."

# Bill on 'undesirable' black pupils criticised

*BUSINESS DAY 28/2/89*

CAPE TOWN — Government was declaring a permanent state of emergency in black schools, Jan van Eck (Independent, Claremont) told Parliament yesterday.

He was opposing the second reading of the Education and Training Amendment Bill, which provides for the director-general of the department to deny "undesirables" admission to schools after a consultation process involving the community and parent bodies.

Van Eck said the Bill was aimed at strengthening government's stranglehold on black education and warned that denying black pupils access to schools would not defuse the situation.

Replying, Deputy Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer said it was unfortunate that action taken against the one or two troublemakers were singled out to try and illustrate the merciless actions of the state, while the cause of thousands of pupils who were hindered in their studies was ignored.

Parents were firmly in support of action against troublemakers to ensure access to education by the majority.

De Beer said the policy was to deny no-one access to education — the circumstances of even former detainees who were expelled would be reviewed. Only proven cases of intentional physical damage, contraventions of exami-

nation rules, court convictions for disruptions and other proven instigation of boycotts would lead to expulsion.

Ken Andrew (PFP, Gardens) said their main opposition to the Bill was that it did not provide adequate safeguards.

He said it had to be remembered that black education existed against the background of highly-politicised communities and schools.

Andrew said there would not be peace in black schools until there was effective participation by parents in the decision-making process.

## Subjective

Peter Gastrow (NDM, Durban Central) said there was no doubt thuggery and vandalism at black schools could not be condoned and that it had to be dealt with firmly.

But, he said, the final decision on a pupil rested on the subjective opinion of the director-general in spite of parent and community involvement in the consultation process.

Schalk Pienaar (CP, Potgietersrus) said his party supported the Bill with reservations. He said the clause in terms of which "undesirables" could be barred had been watered down but it was "better than nothing". — Sapa.

February 28 1989

*BUSINESS DAY*

**POLITICS**

## Dhlomo on way to meet De Klerk and Heunis

CAPE TOWN — Natal Indaba chairman Oscar Dhlomo is expected to meet NP leader F W de Klerk in this week.

The surprise meeting follows De Klerk's first address to Parliament as leader of the NP.

It was strongly reformist and raised hopes of a new approach to politics.

It also brought encouraging reaction from members of the Labour Party



● DHLOMO

### Political Staff

which has adopted a confrontational attitude towards government since its leader, Allan Hendrickse, resigned from the Cabinet after his clash — for swimming from a white beach — with President P W Botha.

Dhlomo will be in Cape Town today for a top-level meeting with Constitution Minister Chris Heunis and a meeting later between the joint committee of the SA and KwaZulu governments.

The meeting with Heunis could pave the way for greater understanding between the two governments.

In the light of De Klerk's speech to Parliament, greater flexibility is expected than with Botha.

The meetings this week could be an important breakthrough for the Indaba.

Heunis told Parliament recently government was not opposed to the concept of the Indaba. He said there would be further investigations into its proposals.

It is not yet known when Dhlomo will meet De Klerk.

A spokesman at his office confirmed Dhlomo's request for a meeting had been granted.

'Reform has bogged down'

# SA's racial policy stinks, says Harry O

BUSINESS DAY  
28 FEBR. 1989

SA'S racial policy, which had been pursued for the last 40 years, had made the country stink in the nostrils of decent, humane people around the world, Anglo American former chairman Harry Oppenheimer said yesterday.

He told the SA Institute of International Affairs in East London: "It is true that in recent years there have been important changes for the better but we live under a state of emergency, the media is shackled and, until recently, government's reform policy has not inhibited a reckless policy of military adventurism across our borders."



Oppenheimer • **OPPENHEIMER** said in the last two years the reform process had clearly bogged down.

But, the recent change in the leadership of the governing party could bring great potential for change. The NP's new leader, F W de Klerk, could if he wished, strike out on a new path. "And

that is a legitimate reason for hope."

It was essential that reform be planned as a whole and not take place, as it had, by means of a disconnected series of ad hoc decisions, each of which gave the impression of being taken half-heartedly or reluctantly.

Oppenheimer said: "A bold commitment to consistent long-range reform policy would be sure to evoke a favourable and flexible response elsewhere."

"There can be no doubt we are now entering a new period of change. In determining its speed and direction, the new leadership of the country faces a great and inspiring challenge."

Oppenheimer said the transformation of SA into a free and democratic country was not — as many foreigners were inclined to think — just a matter of negotiation between government and the ANC.

He said: "Other equally important groups exist and, outside politics, it is necessary for strong black organisations to be encouraged which, apart from their immediate functions, may serve as a basis for representation in political bargaining."

"It may be the black trades union movement, which is already strong, has a special part to play here."

DIANNA GAMES

THE black population of SA increased at a rate 3.6 times faster than the white population, 1.7 times faster than the Asian rate and 1.5 times faster than coloureds, Unisa's Bureau of Market Research has found.

A bureau statement said the increase in SA's population growth rate — 23.8 per 1 000 — implied very rapid growth, and was 3.5 times faster than the 6.8 figure for developed countries.

It said the mean annual rate of increase of blacks of 29.2 was similar to

that of Africa as a whole (29.4).

The increase rates for other population groups were broken down as follows: coloureds 18.4, Asians 17 and whites eight.

As blacks made up over two thirds of the total — the total population increase was shown as being very high (23.8).

In 1988, SA's population, excluding the TBVC countries was estimated at

28.9-million, comprising 19.9-million blacks, 4.9-million whites, 3.1-million coloureds and 0.9-million Asians.

The bureau said over half of whites lived in the Transvaal (54%), the majority of coloureds (84.6%) in the Cape and 80.2% of the Asians in Natal.

The majority of blacks lived in the TBVC states (43.7%), 30.2% in the Transvaal, 11.2% in the Cape and 9.6% in the OFS.

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, February 28 1989

## Fast growth in blacks numbers

3

## COMMENT

## Power play

**N**O WONDER the constitutional crisis caused by uncertainty over the presidency is making Nationalists restless. The ship of state lacks direction because there is nobody at the helm.

When the Sunday newspaper Rapport splashes "The PW dilemma" across its front page, and Beeld asks pointedly for how long President Botha will be fit if he comes back to office, which leader voters will be backing in an election and why he does not consult his Cabinet colleagues, they are raising issues that are being discussed in households and boardrooms across the country.

This public message that Botha is yesterday's man, and that Nationalists now want to go forward under a new leader in full control of party and government, is harsh but not unwarranted. It is the party's response to indications last week that it was no longer a question of waiting for Botha to recover sufficiently so he could publicly take leave of his office. What has shaken his party colleagues is the suggestion that, after a possibly debilitating illness, Botha will seek to serve out his remaining term of office and might even seek another term.

For most of the six weeks since his stroke, the country has been governed — if that is not too strong a term — by three men with different, overlapping and even conflicting interests. Chris Heunis is acting President, with temporary powers

of the presidency but not the political clout. F W de Klerk controls the party but not the government. He has set out the direction he wishes to take, but can neither determine policy nor pick his own Cabinet. Botha is the third man, offstage and largely unseen but with a dominant will the other two cannot ignore, whether he talks to them or not.

Nationalists were prepared to put up with this lack of clear control when it appeared only a matter of time before De Klerk assumed the presidency. The public expression of unease at the prospect of Botha's return, and the clear message that he should retire gracefully, reflect a lack of quieter methods of ensuring a changing of the guard.

Botha not only has a hugely powerful personality, which he has used to dominate party and Parliament for a decade. He is in a virtually unassailable position because of a defective constitution his party foisted on the country five years ago. Instead of a Prime Minister appointed by the Nationalist parliamentary caucus and responsive, in circumstances like the present, to the wishes of his Cabinet colleagues, we have an executive President, wholly independent and responsible to nobody. He can be unseated only by an impossibly cumbersome procedure leading to all three Houses of Parliament agreeing to recall an electoral college to remove him.

The party is telling Botha to jump before it has to push him.

**Parliament**Report by  
Sapa

# Whole towns can go open under new Act — Heunis

28 FEBR. 1989

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The Acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, told Parliament yesterday that in terms of the Free Settlement Areas Act "a whole town" could become an open area, with its own local government.

He said the Act was an important step in the further development of new concepts in local government in South Africa.

It was based on the concept of free association and demonstrated

that the government did not have a "static" approach to the development of local government and new systems.

There was nothing in the Act which precluded

"a whole town from being declared a free settlement area", and it followed that a whole town could be governed by a council elected by its people in such free association.

Mr Heunis was responding in the House of Delegates on a private member's motion by Mr M Rajab (PFP, Springfield) claiming that local government systems "entrenched apartheid".

# Group Areas Act is as good as scrapped: CP

WITH tens of thousands of people openly and provocatively breaking the Group Areas Act by living where they were not allowed to, there was the greatest ever degree of lawlessness in South Africa's history, Mr Moolman Mentz (CP, Ermelo) said in the House of Assembly.

He was moving a private member's motion calling for "urgent corrective action" to be taken because the government had failed to take "timeous and adequate steps" to ensure an "own" community life for Whites.

Mr Mentz said the government was squarely to

blame for the lawlessness.

Although it had an easy choice, either to repeal the Act, thereby making all the offenders legal again, or to make sure it could be properly applied by amending the legislation to provide for compulsory eviction orders.

The government was however in a dilemma, because if it repealed the Act, it definitely would not be in power for long, and if it ensured proper application, its reform programme would collapse.

It had therefore opted for a continued state of lawlessness and this was scandalous.

The government's answer to the dilemma had "fallen into its lap" with the landmark "Govendor case", in which the court ruled eviction could not take place unless alternative accommodation was available.

This "manna from heaven" had enabled the government to get away with what had to amount to the biggest act of fraud in the country.

With the Govendor case, the government had been able to claim it was not responsible for the non-application of the Group Areas Act, even

though it wanted to, because of the court ruling.

It had come with an eviction clause to insert in the principal Act, but had got such a fright from the Left-wing reaction it had withdrawn and allowed the legislation to remain as powerless as it was.

One of the consequences, Mr Mentz said, was that the guarantee the government had held out to White communities of an "own community life" had fallen away and was now worthless.

The government's solution was the Free Settlement Areas Act, with the intention of an "open" classification group being formed.

This was nonsensical because historical evidence worldwide over many years had proved there was no such thing as an open group.

The government had submitted to pressure from the Left and for all practical purposes, the Group Areas Act had already been scrapped.

Mr Mentz said the government was just as duty bound to adhere to and apply Acts of Parliament as any member of the public and, if it did not, it did not deserve to be in power.

## Tutu slams Africa's human rights record

CAPE TOWN. — Africa had one of the worst records of human rights violations, the Archbishop of Cape Town. The Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, told a congregation in Kinshasa, Zaire, on Sunday according to his media secretary, Mr John Allen.

"In many places, all

that has changed for the people who suffer is the complexion of the oppressor. In colonial times the oppressor was of a different complexion," Archbishop Tutu said.

"Sadly today the complexion of the oppressor is the same as the complexion of the oppressed."

Archbishop Tutu said that Africa had the unenviable distinction of producing the world's greatest number of refugees. Countries like Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Uganda and Sudan had been devastated by civil wars.

He said the scriptures warned all unjust rulers everywhere that God was on the side of the oppressed, poor and needy.

"So we say to all unjust rulers everywhere: Beware! Watch it! Look out wherever you may be, unjust ruler." — Sapa.

## LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712  
Johannesburg 2000

# Bishops blinded to truth by bias

CITIZEN - 28 FEBR. 1989

IN his presidential address at the opening of the annual plenary session of the SACBC, Bishop Napier referred to the "release from detention of Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of the New Nation, and Eric Molobi, co-ordinator of the SACBC-SACC Joint Enrichment Project, as well as the release by stealth of Nelson Mandela".

He commented: "Closer analysis shows that these acts of 'generosity' are cruel and cynical as

they simply change the nature and the location of the 'incarceration'."

This is an extreme example of the game our bishops play: "Heads we win, tails you lose." They have thrown in their lot with the ANC/SACP alliance and in anything concerning this nefarious marriage they see no evil, hear no evil, and speak no evil. Concerning the government, on the other hand, they see no good, hear no good, speak no good. How "cruel and

cynical" of the state to allow two of these men go home to their families, and move the other from a prison cell to a luxurious house with all mod cons!

Reviewing Fr Albert Nolan's book "God in South Africa" in The Southern Cross, Fr Bonaventura Hinwood summarises its theme: "Anyone who promotes 'the system', co-operates with it, or just goes along with it is against God and so a sinner. . . Those involved in 'the struggle' are on the side of God and God is on their side. Even if they appear to commit sinful actions, they are not blameworthy because these apparent sins are produced in them by 'the system'."

"They possess all the virtues required to make this country a heaven on earth; and if they occasionally act otherwise, these lapses are merely the passing weaknesses of immaturity." The heinous necklacings are examples that spring to mind!

Since Fr Nolan's book could not have been published without an imprimatur (official permission from a bishop declaring the book contains nothing contrary to Catholic doctrine or morals), the teaching Church must be deemed to share his outlook. Indeed, Bishop Napier's fatuous remarks quoted — from which no bishop has dissented — prove this.

The SACBC, blinded to truth by extreme prejudice, has sold the Church's birthright for a mess of SACP/ANC potage, and has — irreparably — lost credibility in the eyes of any fair-minded person.

As a Catholic I am bound in conscience to try to be so, and therefore effectively I now have no bishops.

**BERNARD FLYNN**  
Newcastle

# In defence of columnist Mabe

*Sowetan* Tue, Feb 28, 1989

SIR — With due respect allow me to do a dispassionate, honest, accurate analysis of Father Gerald's letter (*Sowetan*, 17-02-89).

In his letter, he accused Sam Mabe of "the rubbish he writes about Nation Building".

It is an absurdity for the oppressed to enjoy the luxury of self-pity. With our kind of background, we have the will to dream, to think, to decide and to propose, a truly innovative scheme of Nation Building. This is in a nutshell the gospel Sam Mabe is teaching.

Apart from blaming apartheid for abject poverty and destitution we must be actively involved in self-empowerment.

The fascinating concept of Nation Building is a contemptuous rejection of self-pity.

We do not make slogans hoping the grace of the Lord will run the mining industry. No, we make desperate attempts to acquire skills, know-how and expertise which are exceedingly essential to keep the wheel running in the post-apartheid era.

The more I live the more convinced I am that the profound wisdom entails the ability to accept in good spirit divergent views in the knowledge that variety is the spice of life.

Sam Mabe has repeatedly emphasised the significance of tolerating those who differ with us

in opinions.

Let us instead explore grounds of common interests. This, if fully harnessed can yield immeasurable dividends. If this is accomplished the struggle against slavery or exploitation of man by man will end.

Father Gerald says Sam has no mandate and as a result he must keep his mouth shut. Let me remind you, Sir, in a free society there is freedom of the press, freedom of speech and *blah, blah, blah*. Only paranoids or Hitler-minded people deny mankind freedom of expression.

Long live Sam Mabe.  
Viva Nation Building.

**EASY WA LEKOPA**

Orkney  
0620

**C**ONSTERNATION reigns in National Party circles over the future of the ailing State President.

The breath of fresh air that appeared to blow through the party in the wake of his handover of control to Mr F.W. de Klerk has given way to holding of breath (as the RAPPORT cartoon suggests).

And RAPPORT's headline on Sunday summed it all up simply with the words "The PW dilemma".

Not least of the issues causing consternation will be the threat to an apparent rapprochement in relations between the National and Labour Parties.

Testy — and often highly-personal — conflicts have rocked the political understanding between the two parties for many long months, creating hostile rhetoric and constitutional deadlock.

Not least of the indicators of an improvement is a prominent interview given by the Labour leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, in Sunday's RAPPORT. He pays fulsome tribute to the changes that were taking place in the NP.

And one of the reasons he gives for the warmer relations is that "the absence of the State President had led to a more relaxed climate in Parliament."

Just when they thought it was safe...?

□ □ □

ESTABLISHMENT of the Free Settlement Board was "an important step forward for reform", commented TRANSVALER, and would have "far-reaching consequences at political, social and economic levels".

Many areas — like Hillbrow — that already had large concentrations of people of colour needed to have the situation legalised. The way was open for coloured areas to choose to become part of formerly white municipalities. This meant that provision had to be made for schools; and, for example, that the Separate Amenities Act would clearly not apply in such areas.

It was also important, however, that the relevant local authorities ensure that the condition of buildings did not deteriorate and it would be necessary to control the number of people who could live in the various dwellings.

□ □ □

PROPOSALS by Professor Carel

## AFRIKAANS PRESS

Jonathan Hobday



## Where to now Nats?



Member of Parliament (reading that "PW is definitely coming back") thinks: "Just when we thought it was safe to breathe!"

Cartoon by Lou Henning in RAPPORT.

Boshoff for a white homeland in the northwestern Cape have been scorned by the Afrikaans commentators.

Partition of this sort, warned DIE BURGER, inevitably led to violence.

It cited the examples of India/Pakistan, Cyprus, Israel and Lebanon. Economic development had made "integration of the various race-groups irreversible", it said, and "partition would have to be imposed by whites on the other groups by force...a sure recipe for bloodshed on a grand scale".

Political commentator Willie Kuhn of BEELD pointed out that Dr Boshoff's plan had been given the thumbs-down even by all the Rightwing parties and groups, including the Conservative Party.

This rejection, said Kuhn, was "the most explosive aspect of the issue" and showed that the CP and the "old-style apartheid" parties had no real alternative to reform. Nothing was more indicative of this political "cul-de-sac" than the number of "splinter parties and groups in Rightist ranks", showing "a complete incapacity to present a solution".

□ □ □

THE reason why Eugene Terre'Blanche opposes Dr Boshoff's plans for a white homeland in the north-western Cape, says RAPPORT satirist Pollux, is because it does not include the Paardekraal monument!

# Blacks are 'sick of protest', says editor

NEW YORK: With South African blacks having become "sick of protest", there was now a backlash taking place in the black community over politics, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan, told an interviewer in the New York Times today.

In a lengthy report under a headline, "One Black's Do-it-Yourself Route to Nationhood", the New York Times' correspondent in Johannesburg, Christopher Wren, outlined what he described as Mr Klaaste's "vision of black nation-building in South Africa".

When Mr Klaaste, who he described as "a gentle crusader who edits the Sowetan", first "floated his vision", he said, some whites assumed he was sounding a retreat in the battle against apartheid or

## Foreign Service

else agitating for black power. Other blacks wondered if Mr Klaaste was selling out the struggle.

But Mr Klaaste, in the interview, makes it clear that he has "no organisation, only a great notion".

He argues that apartheid has left blacks mired in a poverty that is psychological as well as physical and that they have to pull themselves out of it "because no one else will do it for them".

Wren adds: "Through Mr Klaaste's argument runs a theme of black consciousness promulgated by Stephen Biko, who, before he died from a police beating in 1976, urged blacks to seek their own identity apart from whites. Mr

Klaaste diverges in his contention that blacks should not reject help from sympathetic whites."

In effect, writes Wren, Mr Klaaste echoes the Bush Administration's contention that black economic muscle, not economic sanctions, will force racial justice.

Mr Klaaste points out that "the legacy of four decades of apartheid" made it hard for whites to accept that blacks yearned for the same stability and prosperity.

The situation in South Africa, said Mr Klaaste, was so abnormal "that you can't have people embracing across the colour line".

Thus, he adds, "what we have to do is to turn the townships into the kind of ethnic suburbs you have in the States", citing the "Chinatowns" popular in the major American cities.

By the year 2 000 Durban will be 80 percent black

# Shack people coming down from the hills

THE DAILY NEWS

28-02-89

**D**URBAN is the second fastest growing city in the world and it is more than 70 percent black. By the year 2 000 it will be close to 80 percent with 76 percent being very poor.

"The green verges will have gone, and the streets will be littered with beer and cooldrink cans. The city's resources and facilities will be over-extended and white families will retreat behind garden walls."

These stark predictions, contained in *THE CONDENSER* 1988, published recently by the Tongaat-Hulett Group Ltd, bear reflection in the light of the recent mini-crime-wave on the Berea, including the killing by an intruder of two residents of normally-tranquil Nicolson Road.

The Daily News commented: "The reality is that a mushrooming population, of which a substantial number are workless and living in vast areas of shackland surrounding the city, is breeding young men who are desperate and dangerous. It is a situation which is likely to grow worse, not better."

In her article entitled "Durban's Urgent Challenge, the people coming over the hills", Wilna Botha points out that the city's population, over 3,6 million now, has more than tripled since 1973, and is expected to double again by the end of this century. These multitudes, she warns, could present Durban with a catastrophe or a challenge, if the opportunity is grasped.

From 1937 to 1973 whites, Indians and blacks each made up roughly one-third of the city's population, but by 1986 more than two-thirds (69 percent) were black, only 11 percent white and 18 percent Indian.

The Inkatha Institute says the city is now more than 70 percent black, and by the year 2 000 this percentage may approach 80 percent.

More than two-thirds of the black population live in the informal or spontaneous settlements, which have engulfed successions of hills and valleys like one of Natal's notorious floods, turning the "formal" townships into islands in a sea of shacks.

Since 1986, when influx control was abolished people have been coming over the hills towards the city even faster, with hillsides filling up within months, and the in-

**Durban is wedged between two seas: just below it on one side, the blue horizons of the Indian Ocean; just over the hills on the other, the rapidly-rising sea of urban blacks. Predictions for the future are stark, reports CAROLYN HOWIE**

formal settlements rapidly encroaching on the city.

In the Inanda area north of Durban, settlements with names like Afrika, Congo, Mamba and Bhambaie have merged into one huge, monotonous expanse of "ndjondolos" made of wattle and daub, packing cases, planks, corrugated iron, beer cartons, scrap metal, sacking, cement bricks or a rough assortment of whatever the owners could find.

Only about half of the total population of Greater Durban now lives in formal townships with proper streets and services. According to Rodney Harber of the Inkatha Institute, 84 percent of the black population, and 60 percent of all Durbanites, will be "shack people" by the end of this century.

Dr Jeff McCarthy of the University of Natal says that urbanisation is now at its peak, and that it will take decades before the bulge has tapered off.

The overcrowding of the beaches over the December 1987 holiday season made many white city dwellers aware that Durban was predominantly a black city. Already, there are families living on pavements in the city centre.

Harber warns that by the year 2 000, 76 percent of the people living in Durban will be very poor.

When white Durbanites are confronted with this scenario, says Wilna Botha, their fears focus on their own safety. They fear crime and violence, spreading diseases, food shortages. Common sense tells them that the gap between haves and have-nots is too vast, and that their own well-being is threatened unless the basic needs of "the people on the hills" are met.

Durban is seeing the beginning of the "street children" problem, a worldwide symptom of poverty, over-crowding and social distress

associated with rapid urbanisation in "Third World" societies.

In Sao Paulo, Brazil, about 2,5 million such homeless children roam the streets. Up to 130 homeless children have sought refuge in Durban's street children shelter, but many more fend for themselves in the city centre or on the outskirts.

An alarming prospect of rampant population growth is that generations of children will grow up in poverty, malnourished, often without proper parental care, education or contact with "First World" South Africa. They could become an illiterate "lost generation", whose inability to fit into a modern economy could destroy any hope for a better future.

Durban must start now to plan for the doubling of its population in just over a decade, building hospitals, and schools, improving its road and transportation network, making land available for people to live on, creating jobs and providing social and recreational facilities. It needs a master-plan, she says.

It is a myth, she continues, that the informal settlements are "squatter areas" populated by rurals in transit. A survey by the Inkatha Institute showed that 46 percent of shack dwellers had been born in the city. Many have excellent jobs, the majority work and shop in Durban, and few of the families are totally destitute.

But their lifestyle perpetuates a poverty culture marked by disease, ignorance, crime and clinical depression.

"But having painted the somberest of pictures, let us be positive. There is a chance. Durbanites can turn the city's future around by becoming actively involved in the informal settlements," she says.

"Dave Jeffrey of the Institute spells out the options: 'Developed' Durban could continue to ignore the shack settlements, and be dragged down to become a city where crime, violence, illiteracy, unemployment, inefficiency, overcrowding, disease, starvation and abject poverty will predominate. Or 'First World' Durban could acknowledge its 'Third World' shadow. Together, by fusing the best from both cultures Durbanites could bring the 'Third World' sector to a level where it will sustain itself and generate wealth. All of Durban will benefit."

**D**OCTORS Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele were in town last week to talk about the second Carnegie inquiry into poverty and development in southern Africa and their book "Uprooting Poverty: the SA Challenge".

For cultural reasons that I assume need no elaboration, Wilson seemed to be doing most of the radio and television interviews. On the basis of which, and unless the Ayatollah adds him to the Salman Rushdie hit list, there will be no queues forming at local bookstores.

This is not because the book is bad — to the contrary, the chapters I have read have considerable merit — but because many of those who ought to read it heard all they wanted to hear from the co-author on national public radio and the McNeil-Lehrer news hour — which is to say, in a few convenient minutes and the comfort of their own homes and prejudices.

What they wanted was yet another "stunning indictment" of apartheid to help justify the pursuit of a sanctions policy that, in reality, serves little more than their own selfish interests. Unwittingly, perhaps, that is what Wilson gave them. On top of everything else, apartheid makes people poor — yikes!

**A** closer study of the book, especially the latter half when it moves beyond the harrowingly descriptive, might make the sanctioners queasy, assuming, of course, they were willing to ingest what it had to say in the first place.

For one thing, it is only nominally about poverty. The real subject matter is "empowerment" and how apartheid's "victims", as they are popularly known, can only cease to be victims by taking control of their own lives, not only from the existing state but from the interventions of alien pharisees.

Wilson may not have emphasised this aspect of the work in Press interviews, but it came across very

# SA's 'informal' democracy plan falls on deaf ears

BUSINESS DAY - 28 FEBR. 1989

SIMON BARBER in Washington



□ RAMPHELE ... no "party line"

clearly at a symposium set up for the authors by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace last Thursday. Sadly, the event was one of those trees that falls in a forest far from earshot. It made no noise.

The message, the meat of which was delivered by Ramphele (but which was also endorsed by others of a more directly UDF persuasion), may be summarised briefly.

The replacement of the present

political monopoly will not turn Crossroads into Camps Bay nor, automatically, will it result in a more just, participatory form of governance than now obtains. Besides, it is still some distance off.

In the interim, much of a practical nature can be done in preparation. This will not only ensure the ultimate transfer of power is more than a simple exchange of elites, but — and this should be particularly stressed — will also hasten the day of transition.

At the heart of which, if I understood Ramphele correctly, is the notion that seemingly non-political ac-

tivity, if broadly and deliberately enough engaged upon, will inevitably have potent political bite.

This makes a lot of sense. After all, if the informal sector in many developing economies has succeeded in creating wealth and dealing with inequality in ways the state cannot even begin to manage, why not apply the same logic to "informal" activity in the social and political spheres as well?

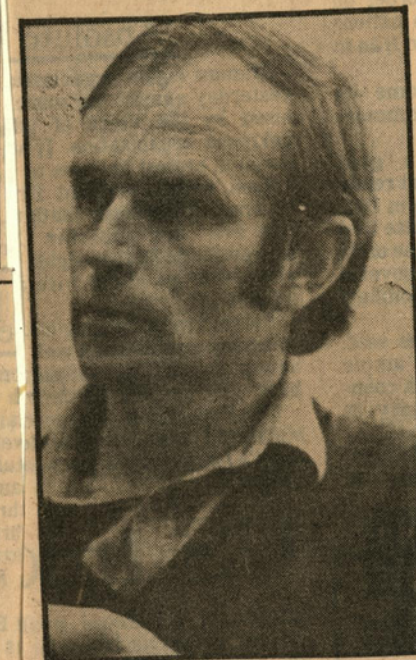
When Sabta replaces Putco as the main provider of township transport services, it has a political significance far greater than the explosion of a limpet mine in a crowded supermarket. A chunk of power has been seized, new opportunities created.

**T**he same can be said, even more emphatically, of the consolidation of a trade union movement without whose assent the economy cannot function, as well as of grassroots organisations that channel health, rural development and legal services where they have been absent and try to ensure that children are properly educated (not least in the ideals of Ubuntu).

Ramphele, as well as the NECC's Vusi Khanyile, who also spoke at the

symposium, evidently believe that by developing institutions, organisations and community groups focused on dealing with day-to-day realities, the disenfranchised can build themselves an "informal" participatory democracy within the state.

Said democracy will act as an imperceptible — and untreatable — cancer on the existing order. It will steadily increase its bargaining



□ WILSON ... did the talking

power, all the while readying itself to become the genuine article when, as it must, it becomes "formal".

This is a remarkable strategy on a number of counts. First, it bespeaks an unprecedented degree of self-confidence, since it implicitly concedes prior misjudgments and current weaknesses. Second, it is candid on the question of time: not only will the millenium not dawn tomorrow, but the intervening period is needed if questions such as the distribution of wealth and poverty and national culture are to be properly addressed.

Third, it recognises that the successor regime, were it to succeed

BUSINESS DAY - 28 FEBR. 1989

SA's informal 'democracy plan  
falls on deaf ears.

now, would not necessarily be very democratic since no one in SA, white or black, has much experience with democracy.

A former Robben Island inmate at the conference told me he would still want street committees (though not street justice, of which he strongly disapproved) to exist under a post-apartheid system to act as a popular brake on what he feared would be the excesses of the new central government.

Fourth, and perhaps most significantly, it puts those inside SA — as opposed to the exile movement and the sanctioneers — front stage centre (a trend also evidenced by the Winnie Mandela fracas), and allows that the shape of SA's future political economy is still entirely open to debate.

All of which, especially the last point, is likely to be missed on those in America who make their livings or promote their careers on SA's back.

It was certainly lost on Senator Edward Kennedy, whose attendance at the symposium was limited to a brief speech in which he made clear he still viewed black South Africans as helpless victims in desperate need of the outside world's neo-colonial ministrations. His ministrations, in particular.

**E**nding poverty, curing disease, easing suffering — all are important, and the international community should be contributing more resources and expertise to reach those goals," Kennedy said. "But we must never adopt a limited agenda aimed at easing the economic plight of black South Africans without transforming their political plight, too.

"Apartheid will only be ended with a clear, consistent and concerted policies of all nations working together to apply the full range of political, diplomatic and economic pressure against the South African regime. That is why I support comprehensive sanctions."

Funnily enough, sanctions had scarcely been mentioned until then, except by an exquisitely troubled American union leader who pleaded with Ramphela to give him a "party line" on the subject because he was confused by the ANC's telling him one thing and Cyril Ramaphosa another (she did not oblige).

Nor, indeed, was their much talk of what the outside world was supposed to do, period, though Ramphela did note, somewhat archly, that "some people think they own the struggle".

## Carletonville: CP slams boycott

CARLETONVILLE — While black consumer objection grows in Carletonville over the governing Conservative Party's return to petty apartheid, the CP has stood by its policies, labelling the present consumer boycott "intimidation".

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg confirmed this after a resolution by black community leaders in adjacent Khutsong township to begin the boycott yesterday.

It has been estimated that blacks provide about 70% of Carletonville's buying power.

Dr Hartzenberg said the planned boycott was intimidation politics — an effort to sway the CP from its course — but it would carry out its policies.

Meanwhile businessmen in the town are worried that Carletonville might become a second Boksburg.

A National Party-supporting businessman said he and others had distanced themselves from the town council's actions.

A Carletonville businesswoman, who did not want to be named, said the people who had voted the CP into power in the town were mostly mine workers who moved from town to town. — Sapa.

Didcott comments on company's refusal to rehire

## Sarmcol unrelenting — judge

Witness Reporter

IT appeared as though BTR Sarmcol "wanted to rub everybody's nose in the dust" even after striking workers had agreed to return to work unconditionally, Mr Justice Didcott said in the Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Justice Didcott was reacting to the argument of Mr K.R. McCall SC who is representing BTR Industries against the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu), which is seeking to reverse an Industrial Court decision dismissing their application for re-instatement.

During his argument Mr McCall said that the union "went everywhere — to the United Nations, the European Economic Community and Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce — except to the Industrial Court in order to seek re-instatement" and only did so after all other avenues had failed.

On the court papers Mawu, through its official, Mr Geoff Schreiner, offered — on behalf of the workers — an unconditional re-

turn to work on July 22, 1985.

In response to a question by Mr Justice Didcott about whether the company had a hearing or offered the workers an opportunity to explain their case before firing them, Mr McCall pointed to a document in which the management had called shop stewards in on the eve of the strike to warn them.

Mr Justice Didcott said: "Surely, Mr McCall you don't suggest that this unilateral haranguing of shop stewards was a form of hearing (to allow workers an opportunity to put their case)."

In his argument Mr McCall said that BTR Sarmcol was justified in its decision not to rehire the workers because "the union never abandoned its demands until the very end". As a result, he argued, the Industrial Court was "quite justified in not finding an unfair labour practice" on the part of the company.

In addition, the company had taken on a new workforce and it would have caused them suffering if they were to have been

laid off. Many of the new workers had their houses burnt down, Mr McCall said.

In reply Mr Martin Brassey, on behalf of Mawu, said that the "dismissals were tainted with the intention to victimise the workers" and this victimisation at least deserved to be considered by the Industrial Court.

Mr Brassey argued that the company was intent upon smashing the union by destroying its influence on the workers at BTR Industries.

He said that on July 22, 1985 the union made an unconditional offer to return to work which was tantamount to "a capitulation" on the part of the workers.

Even though the company put out that it was prepared to accept workers back at that late stage it waited for the fixed term contracts of the new recruits to expire, put them on the permanent payroll and frustrated the re-employment of the dismissed workers, Mr Brassey argued.

The case continues today.

The Chief Minister  
from: Buzanne Vos

The Star 28-2-89

## 'Leadership crisis' after Winnie

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa's black leaders are fragmented and lack authority and are losing their moral standing in the wake of the Mandela scandal, according to Charles Moore, editor of the conservative journal, *The Spectator*.

In a guest column in the *Daily Express*, Moore added: "The ANC and other black organisations were right to disassociate themselves from Mrs Winnie Mandela and the activities of her 'so-called' supporters."

"The wonder was they took such a long time to do so. But the problem for these groups is much bigger than that of one woman. It is the crisis of black leadership in South Africa."

He asks: "Who are to be the heroes now?" Nelson Mandela is now too old

and ill, Archbishop Tutu, "the darling of the international stage", is not a crucial figure within his own country.

"The only figure with real credibility is Chief Buthelezi," Moore says, but he is rejected by other black politicians "because of his pragmatic and sensible opposition to sanctions".

The fact is, Moore concludes, "armed struggle is getting nowhere. The only way for black advancement is to seek some sort of peaceful accommodation with the white Government."

"The trouble is, in present factional mayhem, it is literally more than any black leader's life is worth to admit it."

● Students at the University of Glasgow are considering a move to dismiss Mrs Mandela as the university's rector and honorary chairperson.



The Star 28-2-8

# Winnie: Lusaka looks for harmony

The presence in Lusaka of representatives of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) signals a bid to reconcile their differences with the African National Congress on Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The divergent approaches of the UDF-Cosatu alliance and the ANC to the contentious issues aroused by Mrs Mandela are partly determined by geography.

The UDF-Cosatu leadership is based inside South Africa. It is thus closer to the anger generated by the bullying behaviour of Mrs Mandela's Mandela United Football Club; consequently it is under pressure to dissociate itself from Mrs Mandela. The externally based ANC leadership can afford to take a less condemnatory position.

The controversy over Mrs Mandela has demanded urgent attention from all black organisations and not merely the UDF-Cosatu and the ANC; in most cases, it has forced them to take a public stand.

## DISTANCE CHANGES PHILOSOPHY

Broadly speaking, the closer the organisation is to the beleaguered Mrs Mandela, geographically and ideologically, the tougher the stand it has taken. The further it is from the epicentre of the storm, the more detached it can be.

Thus, the "mass democratic movement", spearheaded by the UDF and Cosatu, has adopted the toughest position.

The democratic movement's allegiance to the Freedom Charter, and its generally shared philosophical outlook with the ANC, links it closely to Mrs Mandela ideologically.

Mrs Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, makes no bones about her ANC sympathies.

Calling on the black community to distance itself from Mrs Mandela in a "dignified manner", the democratic movement has accused the team of conducting "a reign of terror".

The exiled leadership of the ANC, however, has taken a more lenient stand. Its statement, issued after a two-day emergency meeting in Lusaka, chastises Mrs Mandela for not heeding its advice to disband the team.

But the tone is sad rather than unforgiving. It refers coyly to the "unbecoming activities" of the

PATRICK LAURENCE describes the background to talks between the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu in Lusaka concerning Winnie Mandela.



Mrs Winnie Mandela ... reconciliation in the air after distance made the heart grow fonder.

team, suggesting its ranks were infiltrated by "the enemy" to discredit Mr Mandela and the ANC.

It ends with a call to the democratic movement not to ostracise Mrs Mandela but to draw her back as a disciplined member, accountable to the movement and subject to its restraints and counsel.

The differences between the democratic movement's position and ANC's are not unbridgeable. Even before the present reconciliation talks in Lusaka, black church leaders with a foot in both camps were

urging a softer line on Mrs Mandela.

The Rev Frank Chikane, secretary-general of the South Africa Council of Churches, paid a five-hour "pastoral visit" to Mrs Mandela immediately after the rebuff delivered to her by the "democratic movement".

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has set the scene for reconciliation by calling for Mrs Mandela's "rehabilitation".

The veteran Soweto civic leader, Dr Ntato Motlana, tells The Star his position on Mrs Mandela coincides with that of the ANC.

He is the Mandela family doctor and guardian to the Mandela children; it can therefore be assumed he will use his influence to help reconcile the positions taken by the "democratic movement" and the ANC, and reintegrate Mrs Mandela into the black community.

The Zulu-based Inkatha movement has been relatively sympathetic towards Mrs Mandela, counselling patience, restraint and compassion. It accuses the UDF of distancing itself from Mrs Mandela with "unseemly haste".

## ASSUME INNOCENCE

Inkatha records that it is well aware of how vicious propaganda based on unproved accusations can be; it urges the world to presume innocence until guilt is proved.

The Pan-Africanist Congress, which jostles with the ANC for recruits in South Africa and influence abroad, has not taken an organisational position on Mrs Mandela or her football team.

But its president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, adopts a generous personal attitude. "I don't think it is a good thing to kick a man when he is down," he says.

He is disturbed by Mrs Mandela's predicament. "I would not like them (the ANC) to fall to that extent," he adds.

The Black Consciousness Movement has grave reservations over what it calls the "silence of the Mandela Crisis Committee" on the murder of Dr Abu-baker Asvat. But it chooses its words carefully and discreetly on Mrs Mandela.

"The black consciousness movement does not subscribe to the politics of expedience, which takes delight in the downfall of individuals," it says.

# The Making of a Young Radical

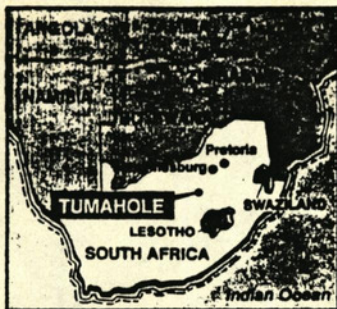
*At murdered youth's funeral, blacks in Tumahole township vow to continue fight*

2/28/89

By Lynda Schuster

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

TUMAHOLE, SOUTH AFRICA



THE legacy of this turbulent black township will live on long after James "Stompie" Seipei is forgotten.

Just ask Gregory Mokoena, his buddy. "Without him, we can and will continue our struggle against apartheid," insists Mr. Mokoena, kicking the dirt around near Mr.

Seipei's grave. "This just makes us all the more determined to fight."

Tumahole is no stranger to the likes of Seipei, the 14-year-old anti-apartheid activist who was buried over the weekend. Known as the "little general," the youngster captured the country's — indeed the world's — imagination with the political doings he packed into his short life before being murdered.

He was but one example of this tattered township's tradition of radicalism. For Tumahole looms large in the lore of black resistance to white minority rule: This is where the violent 1984-86 uprising — an event that has changed the course of both black and white politics — began.

And, as witness to the first explosion that millions of blacks fervently hoped would be the beginning of apartheid's end, the young Seipei couldn't help but be affected. Nor could those around him. "I strongly believe," intoned a speaker from the Federation of Transvaal Women at his funeral, "that there are many others like Stompie here in Tumahole."

On the face of it, the township seems an unlikely flash point. Tucked into a corner of rural Orange Free State Province, Tumahole (population: about 40,000) is pretty remote. Folks used to say nothing ever happened in that sleepy part of the country.

But things were happening, mostly in response to conditions there. The township is a dismal maze of tin shacks and minute brick houses. There are few tarred roads; streets turn into fairways of mud during the summer rainy season. A stench of urine permeates the place. Hardly anyone can afford electricity or indoor water taps; one study puts unemployment at about 50 percent.

Against this backdrop, the Tumahole Student Organization (TSO) was formed in the early 1980s. As Maclean Skosana, a former member, explains: "The government had been making promises to our parents for a long time about improving the township. So we decided it was time to do something about it."

TSO started out as a cultural organization, Mr. Skosana explains, using plays to educate and

mobilize the community. Gradually it branched out into other areas such as fund raising and advice centers. So by mid-1984 when the new town council proposed raising rents by a whopping 40 percent, Tumahole had become highly politicized.

To protest the rent hike, TSO members led residents on a march through the township on July 15 that year. During the demonstration, the police reportedly gave protesters 30 minutes to disperse, then opened fire with rubber bullets and tear gas.

THE place went wild.

Residents burned and looted shops; scores were arrested; one man died. It was a fire that was to ignite black areas throughout the country a couple of months later. Most township eruptions followed the same pattern as Tumahole: violent protests provoked by rent increases; boycotts of schools and white-owned businesses; retaliation by vigilantes.

A University of Witwatersrand political scientist who has studied the area says Tumahole had become one of the more chaotic townships by 1985. Which is when Seipei — then 10 years old — burst onto the scene. Skosana says he popped up one day and volunteered, along with a bunch of buddies, to protect activists' houses from attacks by vigilantes.

"The first time I saw Stompie he was so young, so short," Skosana remembers. "But when he talked, I thought I was talking to a man."

Seipei's background clearly primed him for Tumahole's upheavals. His father died when he was six months old, leaving his mother to support him. When she could find work as a maid in the nearby whites-only town of Parys, Joyce Seipei earned about \$17 a month. They lived in a small shack of corrugated tin sheets hammered together. Many nights, says his aunt Sarah Seipei, they went to bed hungry.

(Skosana recalls that the police used to ask Seipei why someone so young was so involved: "He would say all these things affect me because they affect my family and the entire community.")

Seipei's gang mushroomed over the year into the "army" known as the "Fourteens." It became the stuff of legends. Take the name, for example. Some say it comes from its "soldiers" being under 14 years old. Others say it's

in honor of Hector Peterson — the first fatality of a 1976 student uprising — who was 14 when he died.

Then there's the question of the army's size. Township lore has it that Seipei commanded 1,500 children. The political scientist says there were 200 "soldiers" at most. And so on.

Mythology aside, the political scientist maintains the "Fourteens" became more or less uncontrollable. With many older activists in hiding or in police detention, Seipei and his followers "got involved in politics to a pretty scary degree, attacking councilors, petrol-bombing policemen's homes, and generally raising the level of violence."

Detained several times, Seipei spent almost a year behind bars at one stretch: At age 11, he was the youngest activist to be jailed. With the uprising smashed by the government's 1986 state of emergency, Seipei went to live in Johannesburg at a Methodist church so he could resume studying. (Tumahole's schools would not have him because of his political involvement.)

For reasons still unknown, he and three other youths allegedly were abducted from the church last December by bodyguards of Winnie Mandela, a leading anti-apartheid figure. The three

DAVID TURNER/BLACK STAR



ACTIVIST WINNIE MANDELA: Two of her bodyguards have been charged with Seipei's murder.

youths allegedly were assaulted, but ultimately freed; Seipei's body was found a couple of weeks ago. Two of the bodyguards since have been charged with murder.

Tumahole turned out in full force for Seipei's funeral Saturday. Thousands squeezed together round the grave site, some wiping sweat from their faces under the fierce summer sun, others wiping away tears. Over and over, they sang a slow refrain, "We're marching to Pretoria," clenched fists held high in a power salute.

Suddenly, a young man wearing sun glasses raised his voice above the singing. "Good-bye Stompie, wherever you're going, tell them about apartheid. Tell them about how we'll keep on with our struggle here."