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School textbooks giant sold to CP sympathiser

Sunstar Reporter

SHORTLY after rejecting a bid from a group with ANC links, the publishing giant HAUM has been sold to a former Conservative Party election candidate.

HAUM - the Hollandsch Afrikaansche Ultgewers Maatskappij - has published school textbooks since 1894. Wholly owned by the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, It has been operating on an overdraft believed to exceed R40 million.

A group including Harald Pakendorf, political consultant and a co-presenter on TV1's Agenda, has been looking into the black

schoolbook market with the aim of introducing an element of black ownership.

"HAUM, one of the big players, was in trouble. We saw an opportunity to take it over and facilitate the process of black empowerment," said Mr Pakendorf.

"There was nothing wrong with HAUM's management. They were making a trading profit big enough to pay off the interest

"The trouble was the gearing of the company, the structure. They needed a capital injection, but nobody was going to put that in while they were owned by the Hervormde Kerk.

"The church specifies - in Article 3 of its constitution that blacks may not be members. It was obvious that HAUM was going to go nowhere in the new South Africa while It was owned by the church - if blacks can't pray with you, how can you sell books to them?

"The church was worried that sooner or later the bank would call in the overdraft. We saw the possibility of saving the church, saving the company, and at the same time empowering blacks.

"We wanted to generate black shareholding, a predominantly black board and retain some white expertise in the management ranks.

"It was rumoured that we were acting as a front for the ANC, but that is untrue. We had thought of black individuals we intended to approach, not only from the ANC but other quarters of the political spectrum."

Mr Pakendorf's group put in an offer early last month. Ten days ago their offer was turned down, and on Friday HAUM's managing director, Jan Oelofse, confirmed to the Sunday Star that the company had been sold to Pretoria businessman Johan Breytenbach.

Mr Breytenbach, a longstanding director of HAUM, has stood as a Conservative Party

election candidate in the constituency of Acada. He was not available to the media this week. His wife, who confirmed his CP candidature, said he. would "tell the story when matters are finalised."

Mr Pakendorf said vesterday that he "found it odd that a director of a company for which we put in an offer can then use: our offer as the basis for an offer of his own."

HAUM MD Jan Oelofse says: "That we are now independent makes things easier, as we will now be operating in terms of normal business principles."

He declined to give further information.

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Gqozo 'wrong to get support from foreign whites'

ANC raps the State State Ciskei 'sell-out'

THE African National Congress would not be intimidated by Pretoria's "virtual takeover" of Ciskei, according to Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

And the leader of the ANC in the Border region, the Reverend Arnold Stofile, warned Cis-kei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, he was making a "grave mistake" by seeking the sup-port of "foreign whites" at the expense of Cis-

Mr Hani said the ANC and other democratic movements would continue with a programme of mass action despite the South African government's moves to "protect Ciskei's present rulers from the legitimate wrath of its people".

"Ciskei will not receive any special dispensation now that Pretoria has entrenched itself more strongly in Bisho.

"The people will be en-couraged to engage in mass action to demonstrate and protest against hardships and op-pression," Mr Hani said.

It was announced on



Gqozo: no mandate

Wednesday that Ciskei had changed its constitution to provide legal provision to relinquish its sovereignity.

In terms of a treaty signed by Ciskei and South Africa, the latter will take control of a number of key Ciskei portfolios, aid the maintenance of law and order and supply budgetary

Mr Stofile said Pretoria appeared to be "ex-tremely nervous" about the ANC's support in the Ciskei and was, there-fore, flooding the homeland with advisers.

He said Brigadier Gqozo was making "a serious mistake" by allow-



Hani: more mass action

ing Pretoria to alienate him from the ANC.

"This alienation has made Gqozo become ar-

"He can do all in his might to boast about his support but the truth is that the masses in Ciskei are strongly behind the ANC," Mr Stofile said. He said when the Cis-

kei government met the ANC two weeks ago, "the white advisers were the biggest talkers" on behalf of the homeland.

"This raises the whole question of Pik Botha's influence in Ciskei and his talk of civilian rule.

"Bantustans were supposed to have autono-

mous rule. How can Cis-kei now be told by Pretoria who should be appointed to seats of power and how the homeland should be run?" Mr Stofile asked.

He said that by "planting its own people in Bisho", South Africa was trying to get Ciskei's support around the negotiating table for its federal structure.

"But Gqozo is looking for trouble. He must realise soon that he cannot represent Ciskeians at the negotiations because he has no mandate from the people."

Meanwhile, Ciskei is poised on the brink of civil uproar with several ANC-supporting or-ganisations calling for Brigadier Gqozo's resig-

Most of the homeland's government administration has ground to a halt with civil servants on strike for better pay and union recognition.

Ciskei Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development, Keith Mathee, said that when the Council of State assumed control of the homeland on March 4, 1990, there was no freedom of expression, trade union activity or of assembly.

There were 16 people waiting to be hanged. There was no labour legislation and no Bill of Rights.

The myth of Ciskei as a viable, independent state was still being propagated. It is now a year later. There is freedom of expression, of trade union activity and of assembly.

"The death sentence has been abolished. A labour law drafted by representatives of labour, government and industry is in force. There is a justifiable Bill of Rights in operation."

The churches must start the revolution in racial attitudes

John MacLennan

Political Correspondent

GOD would never allow a Boer in heaven, according to an African National Congress

official who also happens to be a pastor.

But "only whites will go to paradise", said a member of the so-called Congregation of the Covenant when he appeared as

a witness in a court case.

Despite this conflict between the fringe crazies about whose side God is really on, it is now becoming clear that mainstream believers, as well as their churches and leaders, will have to shape the foundations if there is to be any success in wiping out the past and building a new and fair so-

This is because religious values — especially those of the bulk of Christians — are emerging as just about the only denominator common to most South Africans.

The churches, including those once responsible for justifying apartheid's worst excesses through the Bible, now have the daunting task of educating people into reconciliation and tolerance.

This is essential because, although politicians will come up with the constitution, tomorrow's unified society will only be born if there is a revolution in racial atti-

Minor miracle

Only the churches now seem capable of starting it. They have already achieved a minor miracle of progress towards accomplishing their task through the Rustenburg conference late last year. This saw 230 delegates representing some 100 Christian de-nominations uniting behind a declaration of principles to guide the politicians in their negotiations.

This followed an invitation by President FW de Klerk to the churches to speak to the government with a single voice. This month a delegation of what is now called the National Conference of Churches met Mr De Klerk and received a sympathetic hearing for the Rustenburg declaration.

This contained a confession that they had in different ways practised, supported, permitted or refused to resist apartheid and, among other things, called on political leaders to meet urgently to negotiate a just order for the country.

Minister Dawie de Villiers, a dominee

before he went into politics, believes "Christianity can prove to be a mighty and positive factor for South Africa to bring about peace and reconciliation".

Basic message

"The fact that so many speak out for Christianity doesn't mean that they are all churchgoers or good Christians, but it means that in the hearts and minds of such a great number of our population there is an acceptance of the values and principles which are the foundation of Christianity.

which are the foundation of Christianity.

"The churches — not only Christian churches — can bring home to their followers the basic values which are held by the various religions. If we can start with the basic message of the Bible and bring it home to people then we will have gone a long way towards establishing an orderly long way towards establishing an orderly and stable new South Africa.

The core message of the Bible is reconciliation and respect for one another, for one another's possessions, rights and freedoms. Religion conveys a specific view of people and of the world which is tremendously important.

"It advocates relationships which are fundamentally important for a new South Africa. If we don't succeed in achieving more tolerance towards one another, then we cannot succeed in establishing a new

There are dark pages in history where the church omitted to make its voice heard, where it was dominated by political ambition. That was always when the church was silent. If we don't want to write a dark chapter in South Africa, then now is the time when the church must speak out loudly for reconciliation and -Religious values are about all that most South Africans have in common-

SOUTH Africans have long been isolated from one another by the gulf imposed through legally entrenched racism.

Now efforts are being made to build bridges over old divisions. This will entail emphasising

those factors which must help bind all together in nationhood.

Other than standing on the same soil and breathing the same air, few blacks and whites now seem to have much in common.

But a majority of South Afri-

cans profess some or other religion. Of these 80 percent are Christian and the church is now set to play an important role in achieving the reconciliation which would be the foundation of a new and fair society.

Getting a new society is like going into the Kingdom of God - we don't

know what is there, but we expect a better place. - Dr Frank Chikane



Bishop Michael Nuttall, Anglican Bishop of Natal, believes "the church should not be attached to any partisan point of view or political stance, but seek to be a prophetic voice in society — where things in its judgment may continue in its view to be wrong — and attempt to effect a bridge-building and reconciling role where there has been unnecessary and tragic conflict and violence ...

'We need to discover one another and

find a common purpose and work more

fully together.'

Dr Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, holds that the church has a tremendous role in educating people. We must be taught to forgive the wrong that we did, accept one another as fellow brothers and sisters and as South

The syllabus he has in mind includes the preaching of "tolerance, forgiveness and

Previously he was not all that hopeful that the churches could come up with remedies for past injustices, mainly because some of them had endorsed and legitimised apartheid. Rustenburg changed his

"It became clear that Christians across the board were prepared to come together and confess mistakes of the past and find a way of moving into the future where we can witness jointly for justice and peace in the country ...

onciliation. "The politicians will come together and produce a constitution, but the hearts and minds of people will still be in the old order. The role of the church is to help people cross the bridge and go into a programme of renewal, the creation of new beings out of the old beings who will believe in a new society. Politicians cannot

"We have to educate people so they un-derstand that getting a new society is almost like advancing into the Kingdom of God. We don't know what is there, but

we go expecting a better place."

Mr Nick Koornhof, NP MP for Swellendam and one of the few South Africans invited to President Kenneth Kaunda's last prayer breakfast in Lusaka, holds that this education process should start at

"The initiative will have to come from local congregations. They should reach out to other people through communal services, projects in the community and missions of charity."

He believes that the big inter-church conferences have little impact on the grassroots and that specific projects would have to be launched to involve the average Christian in the street, school, or town-

ship.
"The church must play a leading role in emphasising the things that we have in common and not the things we don't. This should snowball into the building of a new South Africanism."

Mr Chris April, another dominee and presently a minister in the House of Representatives, said: "The politicians have to establish the new constitution, but it is the church that has to help with the creation of the right climate for this indaba. It is also the church's job to reconcile people after their long isolation by changing attitudes, by bringing people together so they can talk to one another, by improving people's self-image and self-respect.
"Once apartheid is abolished this will

free us to start moving to one another."

Opposing sides

Christians do not have to belong to the same political party in order to effect rec-onciliation. Political views will play a secondary party in setting up the value system and common bonds of the new system.

According to Wynand Malan, the former Democratic Party MP and a committed Christian: "Very committed Christians find themselves at opposing sides of specific philosophies. In those different camps you will also find non-Christians and people of other religions. It would be impossible to put all Christians on one side of any politi-cal dispute and from there try to mobi lise them except in some kind of religious war. The argument should never be that all Christians should have the same politi-

"But in the end Christians — despite different philosophies and aims — can play a conciliatory role from their different political power bases."

Pastor Mbulelo Hina, attached to a Christian evangelistic organisation and another who attended the Zambian prayer breakfast, agrees Christians cannot develop as a political force, but that they can create solutions or provide advice to the politicians.

Bridge the gulf

The role of Christians is also to bridge the gulf between people. They do that by exposing them to one another. If there is tension between figureheads, for example, the Christian would move into that gap, start the dialogue, clarify matters and focus on things they have in common. The major role of the Christian would be to act as conciliator.

"This is a long-term task, unlike the quick solutions of people using firearms and stones. It includes pushing politicians beyond intolerance to compromise and the politics of reconciliation.

"No other agency could do this because reconciliation comes from God. It is not something you learn in school."

JDF seeking a watchdog rol

THE United Democratic Front is poised to set itself up as a watchdog over other political parties — including the ANC.

Four hundred delegates from the UDF - the umbrella body which represented left-wing politics in South Africa until the unbanning of the ANC — met in KwaNdebele this weekend to plot the organisation's future.

Most members of the UDF's national general council have ex-pressed themselves in favour of keeping the movement alive although in a changed form.

A prominent member yesterday told the Sunday Times that there was, among grassroots organisations, a strong sense that the ANC had made too many concessions with little in exchange.

"There is a need for a non-politi-

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

cal pressure group acting in the interests of the community which is not open to political point-scoring. Many of us feel there is a need for an independent body that does not play to constituencies,

he said. "There have been good lessons from Eastern Europe and the rest of Africa — it would be naive to think that any government is entirely above abuse of power.

"An example of this is the

National Party's development attempts. These were purely for its own political gain, concentrated in its own constituencies."

UDF press secretary Titus Ma-folo yesterday said options open to the UDF were:

Disbanding and directing its

ANC. Some people felt that a continuation of the UDF in its present form would hamper the growth of the ANC and sow confusion among affiliates.

Forming a broad front of grassroots civic, student and women's organisations with the focus on socio-economic development and reconstruction. Whether such a front should be politically aligned or subscribe to a broader base focusing on entire communities was also up for debate.

Central to the question of non-alignment was the UDF's adoption in 1987 of the ANC's Freedom Charter. Some people had refused to join civic associations because of their association with the Freedom Charter, said Mr Mafolo. Should the UDF decide to be-

come an independent body it might be forced to ditch the Freedom Charter.

In April 1990 the ANC urged the UDF to continue its function, but official Gill Marcus said yester-day the ANC had no official position on which course it would like to see the UDF taking.

Speaking in his personal capacity, Walter Sisulu, husband of the organisation's co-president, Albertina Sisulu, said he believed the UDF had a role to play in organisation and development.

By late yesterday the UDF's Western and Eastern Cape regions, Southern Transvaal and Border and individual members of the Northern Transvaal had proposed a transformed UDF with new direction. Natal favoured disbanding the movement.

Government and ANC nead for clash over land ownership reform

THE government and the African National Congress are heading for a clash over the future of white-owned land in South Africa.

The ANC's proposed land policy differs radically from government proposals due to be published shortly.

This week the ANC published its discussion document on the land issue which urges "radical land reform" and pours scorn on State President FW de Klerk's undertaking that existing title deeds must be ensured.

Instead the ANC envisages land claims courts to decide on black claims on white-owned land, with compensation to be paid over 10 years, mostly in bonds.

Although the document rejects nationalisation, it states: "There may be certain landowners who can afford, and

David Breier

might be willing, to donate the land or accept modest compensation. Here we have in mind the large companies such as Anglo American".

The ANC's document also states that some existing farmers may disqualify themselves as landowners because they have abandoned the land or "are guilty of human rights violations on the farm" or "refuse to abide by the labour laws".

Government sources indicated this approach was light years from the government's own White Paper on land reform to be tabled in parliament shortly, likely to adopt a basically free market approach.

Minister of Agriculture Jacob de Villiers has hinted at the Government's thinking on land reform.

He said recently the disproportionate distribution of land ownership among population groups would have to be addressed as well as the future of traditional tribal land ownership patterns.

There had to be a land tenure system which made land ownership both accessible and secure, he said.

He suggested various policy options existed such as small farmer systems, tenant farming and part-time farming as a source of rural employment.

However, various ministers have indicated the real agricultural priority is food production and maintaining the quality of farmland rather than providing employment and living space, and that most jobs would continue to be found in the cities.