

COMMENT

Labour together J

THE planned meeting of 400 business leaders with 25 ANC members to discuss the economic future is a necessary and a heartening first step towards resolving the potentially destructive dispute over title to property, the question which lies at the heart of the nationalisation fuss. If the ANC members are to be given the opportunity to bring home to business the urgency of satisfying black aspirations, the businessmen will have a chance to explain the catastrophe which will ensue if an attempt is made to redistribute wealth by confiscation.

The first meeting should perhaps be viewed as a trust-building exercise — it is surely no coincidence that former JCI chairman Murray Hofmeyr, who met the ANC leaders in Paris in November, is playing a key role in this meeting — and both sides should be prepared for a certain amount of preliminary posturing and preliminary probing. Greater understanding may follow later.

At the same time, it is as well to recognise that such high-level discussions have a limited impact, or at least that it may take a long, long time before common sense, unanimously accepted at the top, filters down to the ANC's over-expectant community. Nor, given the nature of mass movements which call themselves "democratic", can the ANC leaders be expected to hand down tablets of wisdom from the mount. While the policy debate goes forward, some practical demonstrations to the working masses will be necessary, and on this point Professor Louise Tager is a useful

mentor. To create a free economy, she says, consultation with the workers and the unions is a necessary precondition. Businessmen and free-market ideologues should not expect workers to be persuaded of the virtues of a free market "merely because we say so".

She has put her finger on a point which emerges more and more strongly by the day: the National Party has been converted to free markets, and it is no longer necessary to wrestle with the government on this point. The obstacle now is the perception of the work force that government and capital are in cahoots, and that workers are dealt out of the game. That message has been fed to them by socialist ideologues for a generation, and the fact that the socialists are now generally perceived in the First World to have been wrong in almost everything does not mean that Third World workers will suddenly relinquish either their prejudices or their grievances.

The task falls on managers — and who better? — to win the co-operation of workers by making them partners in business. Cosatu's economic guru, Alec Erwin, demands the conversion of a "low-wage high-cost" economy into a "low-cost high-wage" economy. The jargon is generally dismissed as voodoo economics, but if it means anything, it means that workers must, by a combination of assiduous training, productivity increases, and higher wages be made real beneficiaries of the system, a worker elite. That task need not await the conclusion of talks between business and the ANC; it can begin tomorrow.

The Mandela industry

WEEKLY MAIL 22/04/90

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At the time, it probably seemed a good idea: an advertisement placed by a record company in a British music trade magazine advertising the Wembley Mandela release concert record package by suggesting that record store owners "make Mandela work in your shop".

It was a very bad idea. Apologies have been demanded by those more sensitive to the nuances of South African life than the record

company involved; lawsuits have reportedly been threatened. The whole thing threatens to blow up into a major embarrassment.

But, if you think about it, the company in question was doing no more than giving (admittedly crass) expression to a pervasive phenomenon. Nelson Mandela has become a major growth industry since his release two months ago.

A lot of the Mandela saturation is undoubtedly sincere and heartfelt, but it is

also incontestably true that the name is very big business. The publishing industry is no more immune to the great man's allure than are journalists, television networks, T-shirt manufacturers, pop musicians or record companies.

Mandela lawyer Ismail Ayob reportedly arrived at the Frankfurt Book Fair in October last year armed with a power of attorney to sell rights to Mandela's prison writings for \$1-million. Whether the mandate came directly from Mandela or not, Ayob has since vigorously pursued the deal with a number of leading international publishers, though the manuscript in question has yet to be seen. Though there is little doubt that some form of Mandela manuscript does exist, Ayob was reported by informed sources to have changed the offered deal to one in which the book would, to a significant extent, be written to order.

With their relatively long lead times and caught unawares perhaps by the February developments, book publishers been somewhat slow to catch up with

In the two months since his release, Nelson Mandela has provided publishers with a major growth industry, reports
IVOR POWELL

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16/11/11

X From a 'Kei W. Mail 27/04/90 jail to the side of Mandela

By PETER AUF DER HEYDE

THERE has been much speculation about the identities of the men who stand, arms folded and with visible bulges under their coat pockets, next to Nelson Mandela.

During the African National Congress deputy president's Transkei trip there is, however, no need for such speculation, as most of them are Umkhonto weSizwe cadres recently released from prison.

One of the bodyguards looking after Mandela in the Transkei is former Western Cape commander of the military wing, Mzwandile Vena.

Vena, who was arrested in Cape Town in late 1987, and extradited to the Transkei a few months later, is still facing charges resulting from an attack on the Umtata fuel depot.

He was released on bail following recent developments in the territory and in South Africa and is scheduled to appear in court again next month. While there has been widespread speculation that charges against him will be dropped, they have not yet been formally withdrawn.

Bodyguards Mfamalo Matshaya and Pumlani Kubukeli were part of a group of five MK cadres arrested by Bophuthatswana police as they were crossing the border back into Botswana. After being interrogated by Bophuthatswana security police, they were handed over to their South African counterparts.

It was decided to split the group into two and charge Matshaya and Kubukeli in the Transkei, while Lindile Nxeweni, Thanduxolo Nokele and Sakhiwo Mehlo were charged in South Africa and are presently imprisoned on Robben Island.

Ironically, Matshaya and Kubukeli were the more senior members of the group, having been military instructors in the camps and as a result were sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, four of which were suspended.

And while they are now free, their comrades, who received lesser sentences, remain behind bars, even though they fall into the category of prisoners liable for release following State President FW de Klerk's announcements.

One of the other bodyguards is Phumzile Mayapi, 31, who last year was sentenced to death for his part in the Wild Coast Sun bombing during which one person died.

After successfully appealing against the conviction of murder, his death sentence was set aside and he was jailed for 18 years. He was released earlier this year after being pardoned by the military council, just in time to be able to act as bodyguard.— ANA

16/1/11

THE government has proposed a means of unblocking the flow of education. Under certain conditions state schools could be opened up, or they could be semiprivatised. However, if the opening of schools is to succeed, ruthlessly honest discussions on concrete and immediate issues are required.

If one were to take the example of a Johannesburg northern suburbs school opening its doors to include the children from all the communities within a given radius, it would gather together pupils whose educational, economic, social and political backgrounds would be so disparate as to necessitate extensive bridging programmes. These would have to remedy not only areas of academic inadequacy but, equally important, of cultural ignorance and prejudice.

Besides the disparities in living conditions caused by economic affluence on the one hand and deprivation on the other, the expectations which these nurture in both parents and children affect their attitude to education. These expectations position them vis-à-vis the educational system as a whole, the teachers and academic performance.

For the sake of simplification, and at the risk of stereotyping, one can assume that one child is likely to come from an attractive, spacious home, with a quiet place to study and books in the house. Parents, with a professional and business background, will provide a relatively secure environment with adequate food, transport, leisure activities, holidays once or twice a year, perhaps overseas. The home will have modern appliances, and the child is likely to have a radio, television, video recorder, CD, a computer, and more.

Parents in this environment assume that their children will excel, and the school's function is seen as ensuring that their child will be equipped to meet any challenges which may arise in the future. The child's own expectations are equally

demanding: keeping up with the peer group imposes continuous pressure to achieve. The norm thus becomes a high level of competence.

Furthermore, the child has had experience of the variousness of the world. The belief that one's imagination can, and should be, satisfied adds to a self-confidence already established by the very nature of the home.

The child coming from the township is more likely to experience an overcrowded home, perhaps with no electricity, no sewerage, the number of people sharing a room preventing any possibility of privacy. Parents may leave home early and return home late from the kind of work which does little to enhance their self-esteem, and with little hope of improving their situation. There are few, if any, modern conveniences, no holidays; leisure at best is a matter of meeting children in dusty streets. Expectations for many of these children are a matter of wishful thinking without the assumption of success.

Inevitably, these descriptions are generalisations, and one is well aware that all conditions have their own type of stress; the northern suburbs are not a paradise and the black

townships are not a hell. Nor is the stifling TED an improvement on the tottering DET. However, place these two children in the same class and it is inevitable that the classroom must change as a place of learning. Their life experiences and socio-political environments would play a major role in pupil relationships, and would require a re-evaluation of the aims, and what have been considered to date as normal expectations in the educational set-up. Standards, nebulously envisaged in terms of achievement as if they were some fixed height that must be scaled with only one means of access to the summit, will need to be redefined to include the nature of the educational process.

Schools which have become non-racial have found that the initial small number of black children entering the system did so as individuals and made few demands for changes which would recognise cultural diversity. It was assumed by all, including black parents, that the black child would be socialised to fit into the existing scheme. However,

when numbers rose substantially, group dynamics entered the scene; life experiences and external pressures determined the development of cohesive groups with clearly differentiated needs within the school context. Demands, initiated by pupils, not parents, required that their needs be accommodated. The view that "to achieve the greatest racial harmony children admitted to an open school must be able to cope with the academic standards at that institution and fulfil normal entrance requirements" may continue to apply to private schools where the preservation of an ethos is seen as an imperative. However, this advice is not valid in the case of state institutions which exist to meet the individual's and society's needs.

Given the above circumstances, the crucial determinant which will enable the success of an open schools policy is the quality of the teacher. Upon his, but more likely her, ability will depend the well-being and the progress of the class. The teacher will have to be sensitive, adaptable, knowledgeable not only of her/his field but of cultures, socio-economic milieus, historico-political events, tolerant of diversity, methodologically innovative, and wise. The teacher is not likely to fulfil many of

Teachers hold the BUSINESS DAY APRIL 27, 1990 key to change in the school system

PAULETTE BETHLEHEM

these criteria if training and experience are restricted to meet the needs of one of the children described in this article, which, at present, is the scheme of things. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that an open school system assumes a non-racial staff and teachers need to share their training if they are expected to co-operate in the classroom.

The training of teachers, therefore, becomes an educational priority and the foundation on which the success of the new educational system will depend.

It follows that the opening of the colleges of education is crucial and a matter of urgency. At present, still operating on the basis of an "own affairs" ideology, the numbers of trainee teachers in white colleges are being limited on the assumption that they will not be required by the diminishing white school-going population.

White colleges are training a quarter of the teachers for which they were originally built. Black colleges, which have 10 times the applicants they are able to accommodate, are turning them away in their thousands.

Statistics concerning the projected need for teachers by the year 2000 show that 115 000 additional primary school teachers will be required for a teacher:pupil of 1:40, and 83 000 high school teachers for a ratio of 1:35. At present, 75% of black teachers are unqualified or under-qualified, 21,7% have no qualifications whatsoever, and only 3,4% have a degree. A survey attempting to isolate the causes of black pupils' dissatisfaction indicated that 65% saw teachers as the main cause hampering their progress at school.

Successful school integration is going to be managed by the teacher who is free of prejudice, and prepared and able to discard past assumptions. Therefore, to effect the necessary transformations to the educational system, we need to start with the training of teachers.

□ Paulette Bethlehem is director of the Enrichment Course — an independent course for teachers.

16/1/11

W. MARIK 27/04/90

Mandela: We'll nationalise only if it boosts economy

THE African National Congress would only nationalise businesses if such a move would strengthen the economy, ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela told a gathering of businessmen in Umtata this week.

Mandela's comments follow an announcement that the ANC will meet leading businessmen next month to discuss options for a political economy.

Mandela said the ANC, mobilising mass popular support, did not have the resources to rectify the glaring economic imbalances caused by apartheid and would have to nationalise sectors of the economy to provide the masses with housing and education.

Only the mines, banks and monopoly industries would be nationalised following thorough research by teams of experts. If their findings did not encourage nationalisation, then the ANC would listen carefully to their advice, he said.

Mandela said while his references to nationalisation had stirred controversy, people did not question the fact that the railways, airways and steel industries were nationalised.

The government, realising blacks would soon play an effective role in

government with a right to share in South Africa's wealth, had chosen to privatise the iron and steel sector.

The ANC believed this move had been made to impede the full realisation of blacks' political rights, since the ANC did not have the money to buy substantial amounts of shares.

It rejected the move as a unilateral decision which was not in the interests of the majority.

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it too had had plans to nationalise, but it became a bourgeois party and shelved the idea, he said.

Regarding the ANC's position in relation to businessmen, Mandela said the organisation was not anti-capitalism and rejected the commonly-held belief that the Freedom Charter was fundamentally socialistic.

Mandela said the youth had perpetuated the belief that the ANC opposed businessmen.

It was not ANC policy to reject any sector of the community, least of all the business community, which was being looked to to help provide jobs, housing and education for returning exiles. "And I am talking of some 20 000 people," he said. — Sapa.

16/1/11

W Mail 27/04/90

Black hopes and white fears as cross-table nears

The ANC team flies in tomorrow as talks begin.
But behind the tables, violence is escalating
GAVIN EVANS previews the agenda



Two arms of the struggle: ANC military leader Chris Hanl and diplomatic head Thabo Mbeki at Lusaka's repatriation consultation
Picture: MBULELO LINDA

THE hopes and fears of South Africa are to be put on the line this week when the government and the African National Congress meet on Wednesday across the table for the first time.

The top-level negotiations teams sit down together in Cape Town for three days of intensive discussions in a bid to "remove the remaining obstacles to negotiation" amid a still-simmering climate of violence and fierce criticism from both far right and far left.

Figures released yesterday by Pretoria University's Institute of Strategic Studies suggest that contrary to speculation that the "armed struggle" was winding down, the number of guerrilla attacks in the first three months of 1990 is significantly higher than in the same period last year (see accompanying box). The government is expected to push hard for an agreement on the suspension of ANC military activities.

Sources close to both sides, however, say that neither negotiating team is expecting more than preliminary agreements on a few of the issues, and note that the first exchange will serve essentially as a "feeling out" process.

"The most important thing about next week's talks," said Idasa's Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, "is that they will serve as a seasoning of minds."

"Things won't be wrapped up immediately and I'm not sure that we can expect much more than an agreement on the return of exiles and a declaration of intent to prepare the groundwork for future talks."

ANC acting president Alfred Nzo and South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo will join Nelson Mandela at a mass rally in Cape Town on Sunday.

ANC National Executive Committee member Aziz Pahad, who is a member of the ANC's back-up team, arrived in South Africa on Wednesday night while Nzo, Slovo, Ruth Mompoti and Thabo Mbeki are expected home today.

Delegation member and ANC internal PRO Ahmed Kathrada told the *Weekly Mail* the talks were "definitely on, and no last-minute hitches are foreseen".

"Our agenda will be focused squarely on removing the obstacles to negotiation outlined in the Harare Declaration, such as the release of political prisoners and detainees, the lifting of the State of Emergency, and an end to political trials."

Other climate-creating moves listed in the Harare Declaration and which have yet to be met by the South African government are the repealing of the Internal Security Act and the removal of troops from the townships.

State President FW de Klerk has made it clear that from his side the ANC's "armed struggle" will have to be suspended before the second stage of negotiations can begin.

He said last week the government insisted on an "unequivocal commitment" to peaceful solutions, adding that the ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle, "even if merely rhetorical", was an obstacle to negotiation.

But on this question the ANC delegation might counter with allegations of the police's role in firing on peaceful protesters and of supporting Inkatha in Natal. With Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in the government's team this is an issue likely to generate some heat.

The government is expected to insist on at least the suspension of the armed struggle in return for meeting ANC conditions such as the release of political prisoners and the end of the Emergency.

The ANC, on the other hand, is likely to argue for a ceasefire which is binding on both sides and therefore would have implications for the police and army roles.

Slabbert said the most the government could expect from the ANC on the violence issue was a "commitment to consider the suspension of the armed struggle".

"Even with this there is a risk involved as some of their supporters may see it as copping out," said Slabbert.

bert. "But De Klerk will insist on it as a *quid pro quo* for a partial lifting of the Emergency."

The talks should begin sorting out the prickly issue of a permanent amnesty for all those who had been involved in acts of politically-inspired violence.

The release of all remaining political prisoners and return of Umkhonto weSizwe members will depend on this, but the expected government response is to sue for an indemnity for those involved in South African Defence Force and South African Police death squad murders.

ANC sources say they do not expect the issues of the return of all exiles and the release of Umkhonto weSizwe political prisoners to be sorted out immediately.

Slabbert believes the release of political prisoners will be the "big area of contention". Another question

which could create difficulty is the need for an independent "court of appeal" to monitor developments, he said.

ANC Western Cape interim coordinator Trevor Manuel said the ANC's aim was to attempt to lock De Klerk into further reforms "without driving him beyond the limits of his flexibility".

"We cannot afford to lose the moment ... The only alternative to the present situation is violence on a scale this country has never seen before."

"You have to understand De Klerk, his motivation, what he can live with. You have to be able to yield and know what your next step is going to be," Manuel said.

The two delegations differ markedly in composition. The ANC team, headed by 71-year old deputy president Nelson Mandela, ranges in age from 33 to 78 and includes nine men

and two women, seven blacks, two whites, one "coloured" and one Indian.

Other members are ANC interim leadership corps head Walter Sisulu, 78, acting president Alfred Nzo, 65, South Africa Communist Party secretary general Joe Slovo, 64, international department head Thabo Mbeki, 47, Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise, 61, administrative secretary Ruth Mompoti, 65, internal publicity secretary Ahmed Kathrada, 60, former South African Council of Churches secretary general Dr Beyers Naude, 75, United Democratic Front co-president Archie Gumede, 76 and UDF Western Cape executive member Cheryl Carolus, 33.

The government team, led by 54-year-old State President FW de Klerk, is comprised only of white men aged between 43 and 63.

It includes Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, 58, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, 63 and his deputy Roelf Meyer, 42, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, 49, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, 59, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, 52, and Education and Development Aid Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, 50.

De Klerk surprised many observers last week by announcing the government's platform for the second stage of the negotiations process.

Both sides are under tremendous pressure to come out of this week's talks with substantial gains for their constituencies, and both realise that to achieve these concessions will have to be made.

De Klerk is faced with an alarming rise in rightwing militancy involving open threats of "counter-revolution" and increasing dissatisfaction in his police force. The prime target of the revolt is the ANC, and the National Party can be expected to take flak for making concessions to its prime antagonist.

The ANC is faced with a section of its constituency, particularly among its youth supporters, which is uneasy about negotiations and unaccustomed to the politics of compromise.

At the same time the Pan Africanist Congress, whose growth many believe is held back primarily by its organisational limitations, and Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have come out in opposition to the ANC's willingness to negotiate.

16/1/11

Freedom Charter not socialistic - Mandela

Sowetan 27/04/90

THE ANC had not detailed how nationalisation of sectors of the economy would be implemented, but had only declared its intention to do so, and would do so only if nationalisation would strengthen the economy.

This was said in Umtata on Wednesday by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, in an address to businessmen.

Mandela said the ANC, mobilising mass popular support, did not have the resources to rectify the glaring economic imbalances occasioned by apartheid and would have to nationalise sectors of the economy to provide the masses with equitable housing and education.

Only the mines, banks and monopoly industries would be nationalised following thorough research by teams of experts, and if their findings did not encourage nationalisation, the ANC would listen carefully to their advice, he said.

The approach of the ANC on the nationalisation issue was "let's do this together" and the ANC intended to share South Africa's wealth with "its white brothers and sisters".

Privatise

Mandela said while his references to nationalisation had stirred controversy, people did not question the fact that the railways, airways and steel industries were already nationalised.

The Government, realising blacks would soon play an effective role in government with a right to share in South Africa's wealth, had chosen to privatise the iron and steel sector.

The ANC believed this move was made to impede blacks' full realisation of their political rights, since the ANC did not have the financial muscle to buy substantial portions of shares.

It rejected the move as a unilateral decision which was not in the interests of the majority.

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it too had plans to nationalise, but it became

The business community and the ANC will hold high-level discussions on May 23 on options for a future political economy.

The gathering in Johannesburg, organised by the Consultative Business Movement, will include 400 top businessmen and 25 ANC leaders from in and outside the country. Keynote speakers include Nelson Mandela and former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly. Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's international affairs director, and Tradeegro MD Donald Masson will take part in a panel discussion.

The discussion, designed to elicit broad participation by the participants - attending by invitation only - will be chaired by Murray Hofmeyr, former JCI chairman. This article looks at the ideas on nationalisation Mr Nelson Mandela shared with businessmen in Umtata this week.



ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly will speak.



a "bourgeois" party and shelved the idea, he said.

Socialistic

Regarding the ANC's position in relation to businessmen, Mandela said it was not anti-capitalism, and other sectors of the community would operate on a free enterprise basis.

He rejected the commonly-held

belief that the Freedom Charter was fundamentally socialistic.

If this was so the ANC would effectively halve its membership which comprised those who advocated capitalism and those who went beyond socialism.

Mandela again said the youth had perpetuated the belief that the ANC opposed businessmen.

He said the ANC was currently involved in clarifying its policy on all matters with its members and he added that blame could not be

FOCUS

squarely placed on their shoulders because they were victims of apartheid.

Many of the youth had been detained, some for long periods and forced to abandon their studies, so it was understandable that they were bitter.

Mandela said it had been pointed out to the youth that the business community were "our friends and deserved our support".

He appealed to the meeting to let bygones be bygones, and allow the ANC to reach the youth and give it time to put it on the footing it held before its leadership was exiled or imprisoned.

It was not ANC policy to reject any sector of the community, least of all the business community, which was looked to to help the smooth return of exiles to decent houses and jobs so they could afford to educate their children.

Miners

"And I am talking of some 20 000 people," he said.

Mandela said black miners were subjected to discriminating and humiliating work conditions, including an "acclimatisation process" which involved standing naked for hours in front of other people, a process to which white miners were not subjected.

Black miners were forced to queue to catch lifts from underground, and were barred from entering the deck reserved for white miners, even if it was empty.

"Why should we tolerate an industry which treats our people with such degradation?" he asked.

Mandela expressed disappointment at the handful of white businessmen who attended the meeting, organised by the Transkei Chamber of Commerce, and said he hoped it did not reflect the attitude of white businessmen in the region. - Sapa.

The Star

Police neutrality is the route to peace

POLITICAL NEUTRALITY in the security forces is as much an investment in the future as it is a defence against an existing threat. Therefore the Government move to ban police force members belonging to political parties is wise beyond its immediate intentions.

The time will come when it will be necessary to incorporate the fighting men of the ANC into the larger South African security system, where they will work as colleagues alongside the SAP and the Defence Force. The thought of such integration may still be anathema to the old guard of white politics, but it is the direction in which South Africa is heading.

Today the SAP and the SADF both have to overcome their image as the enforcement arm of white privilege. They were for a long time also seen as the tool of the National Party ... until reform moves outstripped the political loyalties of some security force members, leaving suspicions that an element is present that

is sabotaging reform.

Imposed political neutrality will deter temptations towards internal political sabotage, but it will have other benefits as well. It should, in time, restore public confidence in the police and army as protectors of the people instead of oppressors, and provide an obstacle to future political infiltration from whatever quarter under any new power dispensation.

Indemnifying political activists against prosecution — even those guilty in the past of common-law crimes — is another Government step that may not be very well received by those who do not look at the political ramifications. Indemnity — even if it lets off lightly some people guilty of horrific offences on either side — will go a long way to promoting future peace, thus returning the country to more acceptable forms of political pressure than the violent methods already too prevalent.

That is where South Africa must be aiming. Generosity of spirit is part of getting there.

To Pg 2

Welcome, Mr Slovo

AS THE new South African politics unfold, today sees a milestone almost as significant, in its own way, as the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and his fellow prisoners. It is the return from exile — lasting nearly 30 years — of Mr Joe Slovo with several ANC colleagues who will join the ANC delegation due to meet President Botha next week.

Mr Slovo occupies a special niche among the bogymen of the old white politics. He is an acknowledged and dedicated Communist Party member; he was an influential leader of the ANC's military wing. And today he is due back and among those billed to address a rally in the Cape on Sunday. While Mandela was an inactive figure for 27 years, Mr Slovo's presence back among us may

require, for some, yet another mental readjustment.

And yet it is all to the good. The country has already discovered that ANC myths and demons, when back in circulation, are just human politicians after all. They need to take part in the rough-and-tumble of normal political debate. Their real views require exposure at first hand. They have things to learn about today's South Africa. Behind the party-line rhetoric which Mr Slovo will predictably repeat, has he modified his old Marxist views? Have current realities in Eastern Europe and black Africa forced a reappraisal upon him or not? South Africa is about to find out more. The great political dialogue that is beginning can only benefit thereby.

What gives?

A HANDSOME donation from South African Airways is the latest in a series from big business as the campaign to conserve wildlife takes off in spectacular fashion. But as the rhino and the elephant wallow in new-found wealth, sport finds itself the big loser, rais-

ing the question: why the switch in sponsors' affections? While the cynical answer might lie in the introduction of tax relief on cash handouts to wildlife, it must charitably be conceded that cricketers and footballers are hardly endangered species.

ANC gathers in Cape under huge SA Police guard

Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress delegation gathers here today amid huge SA Police security for next week's historic first formal talks with the South African Government.

Both sides are maintaining strict secrecy about the talks, and even the venue has not yet been divulged. The most that sources will disclose is that they will take place in Cape Town and not in the Boland, as originally supposed.

Cabinet sources were today saying little about the agenda or prospects for the talks, but one source expressed confidence that progress would be made towards the main purpose of the discussions — the removal of obstacles to formal negotiations.

The ANC has made it clear that the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners are the main items on its agenda.

'Stop preaching'

And President de Klerk stressed in Parliament recently that he in turn would insist at the talks that the ANC stop "preaching" the armed struggle and would also lay emphasis on the ending of violence.

Although it appears likely that the Government will seek an agreement whereby the ANC at least suspends the armed struggle in exchange for a lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners, this has not been confirmed.

The Government's chief negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in an interview this week he thought it unlikely that all the obstacles to negotiation could be ironed out at next week's talks. This suggested that the Government envisaged further rounds.

He also indicated that the lifting of the state of emergency could be difficult because of the high level of violence in the country and the ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle.

SAP sources confirmed today that they would be responsible for the security of the ANC team, which will include such figures as former "Public Enemy No 1" Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SA Communist Party and Mr Alfred Nzo, the ANC secretary-general.

Mangope: Bop will not rejoin SA

By Mckeed Kotlolo

The Bophuthatswana government yesterday reiterated its stand not to rejoin South Africa, although it was watching developments in South Africa with great interest.

President Lucas Mangope also told a press conference in Mmabatho, that if the leader of the abortive February 1988 coup in Bophuthatswana, Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing arrived in the homeland on May 1 as had been reported, he would be arrested and charged with treason.

President Mangope said: "There is no change in the Republic of South Africa that warrants a reconsideration of our decision to remain independent.

"The government is watching developments in the Republic of SA with keen interest with a view to ensuring the interests of the people of Bophuthatswana are protected.

"Any decision about the fu-

ture of Bophuthatswana will be taken with the full knowledge of the political structure of the entire sub-continent of which we are a very real part," he said.

The president added that his government had an open door policy and that leaders of various political organisations prepared to exchange views on the future of SA were welcome.

Regarding Mr Malebane-Metsing's reported return, the president said if Pretoria granted him political asylum he (the president) would demand extradition.

"His hands are blood-stained but he is nevertheless entitled to a fair trial. He must come and stand trial, he owes it to his supporters and the rule of law."

He added that if Mr Malebane-Metsing thought he could come into the Bophuthatswana government by avoiding the true democratic test of the ballot box, the choice was his. "If

he wishes to test his political strength or his brute force, the choice is still his."

President Mangope said as far as his government was concerned, the issue was whether they would adhere to the principle of democracy that they had subscribed to over the years or "simply be scared out of our wits and sacrifice the people of Bophuthatswana to the people who do not have a mandate to rule over them."

He said Mr Malebane-Metsing's assertions that he was a member and organiser of the ANC, "like the coup attempt, confirms that we are dealing with an opportunist."

The government hoped that Mr Malebane-Metsing would arrive on May 1 as he had promised and not postpone his visit as he has done before. "We have been expecting him since February 10, 1988."

See Page 8.

STAR APRIL 27, 1990

LINSCOTT AT LARGE



What is meant Daily News by Nat-Inkatha 27 April 1990 union anyway?

AN alliance between the Nats and Inkatha? Just a year ago such a thing would have been as unthinkable as the unification of East and West Germany, or a McDonald's hamburger joint in Moscow.

But are people not perhaps being just a little glib and superficial about such an alliance? What is meant by it anyway?

A popular bar-room theory holds that the Afrikaners and the Zulus, the largest ethnic groups in white and black South Africa respectively, will reach a historic compromise.

They will share power and rule the country between them.

Fine. Except that (assuming every Afrikaner supports the Nats and every Zulu supports Inkatha, which is untrue of either) Afrikaners plus Zulus does not amount to a majority within greater South Africa.

Even if the TBVC states are excluded it is doubtful.

Huge and densely populated regions such as the Eastern Cape and the Witwatersrand would not be properly represented in the alliance, nor would the powerful trade union movement.

Rule by such an alliance would be a recipe for polarisation and a paralysis of industry.

The bar-room theory needs some rethinking.

It seems unlikely that Inkatha would want a straight alliance with the Nats anyway.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Secretary-General, has already cried: "Whoa", to the speculation.

Surely the last thing Inkatha needs is to be branded with is Muzorewa politics?

And surely, if the Nats believe Inkatha has a contribution to make, the last thing they need is a Muzorewa-ist ally who would shed huge support to the ANC?

A broad consensus, or grand alliance, containing the Democrats and other groupings would be a different matter.

But could it be that our bar-room theorists are actually in the wrong thought mode altogether? That they are thinking Westminster (simple majority

winner takes all) when in fact we have moved on from that?

President de Klerk has been using a lot of Indaba-speech lately: Power-sharing, equally weighted votes, the possibility of two chambers — one majoritarian, the other representing groups.

This is straight from the proposals of the Kwa-Zulu/Natal Indaba.

And if Indaba thinking is in vogue, that would imply a drawing in of the ANC as well. Power-sharing would be incomplete without it.

Nobody should bluff himself that the ANC would easily accept such a power-sharing model.

At the moment it is busy gathering to itself as much support as it can, in the homelands and elsewhere. It seeks power as representative of the overwhelming majority.

But the emergence of a strong moderate alliance — including the Nats, Inkatha, the DP and others — could create uncertainties. In time, and possibly quite a long time, power-sharing just might become more attractive.

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WHICH brings us to bar-room theory No. 2 — usually expounded over martinis in the more upmarket establish-

ments and in the accents of foreign correspondents.

This holds that far from doing a deal with Inkatha, the Nats will do a deal with the ANC because this would create stability over most of South Africa, leaving Inkatha-dominated KwaZulu just a troublesome region — a controllable Savimbi factor.

I have ma doots. And are we not weary of theories?

Perhaps the most instructive thing about these two is that they show how, in spite of our unitary political structure, South Africa still is a country of distinct regions which have been tacked together.

How much more appropriate federation would have been in 1910.

□ □ □

IT SEEMS just the other day I was chatting to "Piet Skiet" Rudolph, deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party, outside a Pretoria polling booth.

He had the Napoleonic habit of thrusting one arm under his jacket as he spoke of the coming campaign against the revisionist Nats.

The Conservatives were about to win this particular contest and he welcomed it.

Not long after this he was arrested, accused of discharging a shotgun at a branch of the Natal Building Society. The case has not yet been heard.

Now "Piet Skiet" is on the run, wanted for questioning in connection with the theft of weapons from the Air Force.

Matters begin to resemble the 1940s, when the Smuts Government had to contend with armed activists, sabotage and Nazi espionage — a huge Fifth Column. The loyalty of the police could never be taken for granted.

One wonders how large the hard core is that is represented by men such as "Piet Skiet"? It has always been there.

The outbreak of war in 1914 prompted a rebellion involving officers of the Union Defence Force.

The Rand Rebellion of 1922 was ostensibly socialist, but there were strong elements also of Afrikaner mobilisation against British institutions and capitalism.

Then the 1939-45 war, when an entire division at a time of South African troops was tied down at home to guard against an armed coup.

It has always been there, this core of hardline Afrikaners, bittereinders.

Conventional wisdom has it that decades of rising affluence and education will have almost dissolved it by now.

Yet "Piet Skiet" is on the run. However small, the real hard core can still present a lot of problems.

We don't want the new South Africa in ashes — Zikalala

27 April 1990
Daily News Reporter

ULUNDI: Blacks did not want to live in a new South Africa that had been reduced to ashes, members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly were told yesterday.

Sanctions and the arms struggle had, over time, increased the potential for spreading poverty and hunger, Mr P.J. Zikalala (MP) said during the debate on KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosthu Buthelezi's policy speech.

Those policies had also fermented hatred and led to black on black confrontations which could lead to "unbelievable suffering of the poor, especially the blacks", he said.

"We would not like to get (the new) South Africa as ashes, but as it is. Neither the ANC nor any other organisation would benefit in this scenario," he said.

Mr B.L. Khumalo (MP) said that meanwhile Inkatha would move forward to participate in peaceful negotiations with the Government in an arena of transitional politics.

Church groups also had an important role in the negotiation process and some church groups, including the South African Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches, had in the past supported the arms struggle and sanctions as a way of bringing about change in the country, he said.

It appeared that church groups were now moving in favour of peace and church funding would have to be used in an intensive effort aimed at creating peace.

He appealed to the foreign community, including the European Economic Community, to consider whether it was not now time to invest in South Africa to alleviate black suffering.

Mr Zikalala referred to American President Abraham Lincoln's famous statement: Think not what America will do for you, but rather what you will do for America.

"What are we going to do for a new South Africa?" he asked.