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The Star Tuesday May 1 1990

\T Workersâ\200\231 Day now falls

represents one of the minor

South Africa. After a few

years of trying. to impose a dif-

ferent date in May, the State
bsensil bly bowed to the inevita-
e.

- Now to move from micro to
macro politics: the trade union
movement can also claim
some credit for the fact that
â\200\230Government and ANC repre-

down tomorrow to talk to each
other.

The new-found power of the

through the Mass Democratic
Movement, was one of the
major pressures that helped
~move the Governmentâ\200\231s think-
ing on the ANC. But the link
goes further: the very exis-
tence and functioning of a
strong trade union movement
is in itself a good advertise-
~ ment for negotiation.

Our turbulent labour scene
of recent years may not seem,
at first glance, characterised
by its peacefulness. Even in
countries with a well-deve-
loped labour tradition, strikes

viotories for worker power in
sentatives are finally sitting
unions, exercised in part

Ghe Star
Thoughts of peace
- for May Day

are not often gentlemanly
- fairs. Nonetheless, after the

angry exchanges over de-
mands and counter-offers,
after the strikes and dismiss-
als and sometimes after seri-
ous violence, labour and man-
agement have always sat down
to talk about compromise.

This is infinitely better than
having no such machinery.
Black labour disputes on the
mines, for instance, tradition-
ally used to be settled through

â\200\230mob action, often resulting in

fatalities. The emergence of
the National Union of Mine-
workers, for all its militancy,
provided organisation and ne-
gotiating channels instead. â\200\230

These are points to ponder
as South Africaâ\200\231s major politi-

cal antagonists prepare to feel

out some common ground.
Only super-optimists can ex-
pect the road ahead to be even

- relatively smooth. But just as -

in the volatile world of labour
relations, in the end each side
realises there must be give
and take; that it is in every-
oneâ\200\231s interests to keep talkmg
even when the common groun
looks unattainable. The alter-
natives are so much worse.

'ANC needs to keep tough image in talks<

"""""" U LT TP TR EL UL

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY

in Cape Town

IT is vital for the ANC that it maintains its image of strength at the head of the struggle against apartheid if the negotiation process is to succeed.

On the eve of tomorrowâ\200\231s talks between the ANC and the Government, impeccable sources close to both camps told The Natal Witness that the issues for the first round would be the armed struggle and the potential for a rapid loss of ANC support.

Yesterday the negotiating teams from both sides separately established their | positions on these key issues.

While the talks are being held to remove obstacles to negotiations there is, according to observers, a problem of significant proportions.

The Government needs to sell the talks -

to its increasingly sceptical white electorate on the basis of the cessation of the armed struggle, but the ANC needs an image of toughness to maintain its position as pre-eminent in the struggle.

The Government is facing a right-wing backlash which many years of anti-ANC propaganda has guaranteed. ;

It was revealed at the weekend that a Cabinet Minister approached the ANC with a view to having Mr Joe Slovo removed from the negotiating team because of the difficulties it created for the electorate.

While it remains at the head of the struggle in terms of importance, the ANC goes into talks against the wishes of its partners in the struggleâ\200\224 the PAC and Azapo.

These groupings have openly criticised the ANC for being prepared to go to the

e.

It is the first real clash of heads with the armed struggle as the real issue for

just these reasons,â\200\235 a senior source said.

In a press briefing yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister and chief negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen stressed there were no quick solutions.

He said that the Government was prepared to talk about the lifting of the state of emergency and the reassessment of the status of certain political prisoners, but stressed that the creation of a climate for negotiation was not the responsibility of the Government alone.

Dr Viljoen stressed that the Governmentâ\200\231s position was that the armed struggle must be abandoned.

It is understood that there is, in senior Government circles close to the talks, an

_ understanding of the dynamic surround-

ing the issue of the armed struggle and

"that there would be general agreement

that the issue remain deadlocked in the short term.

â\200\234The issue of the armed struggle won't be resolved,â\200\235 a senior source said.- | While there is no agenda, informed sources believe that the status of political

prisoners will also be discussed. J

The Government is likely to move in the direction of granting amnesty in certain instances but will claim similar treatment for members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau who might be convicted of crimes which were committed in the course of their duties. Bighe

One source said that there was an amazing agreement between the two sides on the need for stability and that this would be discussed in some detail.

Letters to the editor must be sent to Box 61682 Marshalltown
2107 (fax 836-8398). Preference will be given to letters which
. include the writer's name for publication.

Mandela actions
be Justified
moral
201y

In the past weeks, some readers
letters (for example, Friday April
20) have attempted to justify Nelson
Mandela's political expediency in
embracing the PLO.

While it is understandable that
Mr Mandela should woo Arab political
clout, to justify his actions on
moral grounds is at odds with his-
torical facts.

Israel was not the outgrowth of a
new colonialism. Rather, it was the
result of a liberation struggle, as
evidenced by the majority of Israel-
is being Jewish refugees from Arab
lands. .

They had never lived anywhere
but in the Middle East, and their
| history, although ignored by the
Western media, has been acknow-
| ledged even by the United Nations.

Arab denials of their legitimacy
are merely a modern form of old
attitudes towards dhimmis: They
should never have an equal footing
within Arab society, and their rights
of residence, work and movement
should be severely restricted.

These attitudes and customs
apply also to minorities such as
Kurds and Copts, and there is ample
evidence of their continued practise
in Iraq, Syria and Jordan. y

_ Apart from discrimination, and
. true

~ Bellevue East

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massacres of Jewish communities
such as at Hebron in 1929 or in
Baghdad in the 1940s, or Jerusalem

in the 1930s, the continual wars and
terrorism have left most Israelis
with a collective memory of insecurity
and suspicion.

Nor is that climate unproved by
the ease with which PLO and other
Arab leaders stress their readiness
for coexistence to the Western

media, while continuing calls for
the total destruction of Israel and
her populace in the Arab press.

In the short term, African leaders
will continue to woo Arab support,
while ignoring expansionism, such
as that of Libya into Chad. But in
the medium to long term, they will
face up to the realities confronted
by the civil rights leader Malcolm X
(Eldridge Cleaver).

On returning to the US in 1977, he
reported to the Boston Herald:
"Having lived intimately for several
years among the Arabs, I know
them to be among the most racist
people on Earth. This is particularly

of their attitude towards black
people. Many Arab families keep

one or two black slaves to do their
menial labour."

D Lubinski: 1980y

| ca 1981s economy. Does that con-

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SEE NC
so?tenmg
1980on economy

African National Congress
deputy president Mr Nelson
Mandela last week said na-
tionalisation would be em-
barked upon only if, on ex-
perts' 1981 3, the move

would sfre, i-\202hen South Afri- |

stitute @ shift in policy? Ob-

servers say Yes, but the ANC

says No. KAIZER NYAT-
SUMBA reports.

" When African National Cohgress

deputy president Mr Nelson Man-
dela told businessmen in Transkei
last Thursday that his organisation
favoured nationalisation only if

' the move would strengthen South
' Africaâ\200\231s economy, he probably did

not anticipate the fanfare and en-
thusiasm with which his statement -
was received.

The statement, observers be-
lieved, marked an important stra-
tegic shift in either the ANC'â\200\231s eco-
nomic emphasis or in its pohcy
of nationalisation itself.

Mr Mandela had barely said the
ANC would ask experts to investi-
gate nationalisation of the coun-

â\200\230tryâ\200\231s mines, banks and monopoly

industries and that if their find-
ings did not encourage nationalisa-
tion the ANC would listen careful-
ly, when he was cautiously ap-
pguded by some politicians and

business community for the

â\200\234pragmatlc attitude.â\200\235

.1AN

Feeding the speculation of a

er statement made in Johan-
rg on the same day by an
representative, Mr Mike

. Roussos, at a conference on â\200\234As-
~ pects and Implications of Natnon-
. alisationâ\200\235.
- Although Mr Roussos came out
' unequivocally in favour of nation-

alisation and strongly against privatisation, he also said an ANC government would weigh up the benefits of nationalisation against the problems that might be encountered. Alternatives that may be able to achieve the same effect, but result in fewer problems, would have to be considered. The fact that all this will be occurring within the framework of a capitalist economy means that fairly severe limitations will exist. Capitalist economies depend on the

willing to invest it in new ventures, he said.

Do these utterances constitute a shift in policy or economic emphasis on the part of the ANC? Observers believe so. The ANC, however, is adamant that there is no shift in its policy whatsoever.

The internal leader of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, told The Star last Friday that nationalisation

was still the ANC's policy. Said Mr Sisulu: Nationalisation was never meant to be a mechanical thing. It is intended to improve the economy of the country, and it should therefore be seen in that light. The policy of nationalisation still stands as spelt out in the Freedom Charter; However, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis appeared to have thought otherwise. He was quoted on Friday as welcoming the new moderate line on nationalisation taken by Mr Mandela, saying it appeared to be an important shift in emphasis if not in policy by the ANC.

e

possible low-key policy shift was private owners of capital being

Any such moves towards a policy that more closely resembles reality and the prevailing wisdom are to be welcomed, he said.

A political science lecturer at the University of South Africa, Mr Clive Napier, shared the Finance Minister's view. Mr Mandela's

ing on the insistence of the organi-
sation on nationalisationâ\200\235. 3

~ The head of the Political Studies
Department at the University of
the Witwatersrand, Professor Alf
. Stadler, said Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s state-
ment definitely constituted a poh-
cy shift.

* â\200\234The whole debate about nation-
alisation has been very important
' and has brought to the fore issues
and concerns over â\200\230how power is -
distribu

statement, he said, was â\200\234a soften- |

_S7AR L may 199

â\200\230kwaZulu Minister calls for end to violence

ULUNDI â\200\224 A senior kwaZul

Cabinet Minister yesterday;-
called on the ANC to end its.
â\200\230armed struggle and to stop.

.using intimidation as a strategy

for gaining support. 2
-Chief Simon Gumede, Minister
of Works, was speaking during
the debate on the Chief Minister's
policy speech in the Legislative
Assembly in Ulundi.

He strongly criticised the
ANC's commitment to sanctions
and violence, and asked if once
blacks achieved full political

rights it would employ -

the people who had lost their
jobs: because of sanctions. i

Would the ANC be able to
woo foreign companies back to

invest in a future free
Africa? Will it be able to
provide a viable economy through
nationalisation? he asked. i
I call on it to abandon the
armed struggle for the benefit
of black people and for the good
of our country, Chief Gumede
said. This is not the time for

DURBAN â\200\224 Mr Obed Kunene,
former editor of the Zulu-language
newspaper Ilanga, was
killed when his car was involved
in an accident with a van 15K
from Empangeni. â\200\224
Mr Kunene (53) was travelling
from his home in Umhlanga
business at Upper Nseleni, in
Zululand, when
he was
killed.
Mr Kunene joined
the newspaper in 1957
as its editor.
He left the newspaper when
he was appointed an executive

tion in 1986 and resigned
years later to pursue his
business interests in Upper Nseleni.
The editor-in-chief of The
Daily News and Sunday Tribune,
Mr Michael Green,
yesterday:
one of South Africa's most distinguished
journalists.

He was able to convey the
black perspective
" and vivid terms to readers and,
in this way, was for many
an important bridge over the

confrontation. Sapa.

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'ma Obed Kunene

Own Correspondent

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in Umlazi to his

the accident
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Ilanga as a
and ended

the Urban Founda-
two
his busi-

ctor of

said
Obed Kunene was

in accurate

years

Paying
yesterday,
of the Urban Foundation, Mr
Jan Steyn, said: 3

. South African.
our n

ture leadership his death will
leave an aching i
' be difficult to fill.

Urban Foundation will miss him
for his quiet, but incisive contri-
~ bution, his wise insight into all
the areas of
his optimism about the future of
our country. 230

him for his ce

of the newspaper which he edited for so many years. ;

heavily on
me guidance,
complex world
and also on the matter,
arose concerning black/white

Christian and a
man. Our sympathies go to his

at divisions in our society.
tribute from London
the former chairman

Obbed Kunene was a figure
At a time when
needs man-

gap which will |
More particularly, we in the "

our operations and

The media will remember
balanced leadership

personally relied very
his counsel to give
not only on the
of black politics, |

many issues that

A Public
reply committee

devoted family

man's

— wife and children.

New Venda leader to
act on trade unions :

By Dirk Nel,
Northern Transvaal Bureau

THOHOYANDOU â\200\224 The

Chairman of Vendaâ\200\231s Council
of National Unity, Colonel
Gabriel Ramushwana, says
he will soon be making an
announcement about the fu-
ture of trade unions in the
territory.

Speaking after discussions
with leaders of the Allied Work-
_ersâ\200\231 Union, he indicated that the
council would study the situa-
tion in detail before making a
decision on the matter.

_ Trade unions have never been

allowed to operate in Venda,
e its declaration of indepen-
dence in 1979.

Last week organisers of a
planned mass protest were ar-
rested in Venda by security
forces, after leaflets carrying
the name of the Allied Workers
Union, urging workers to stay
away from work, had been wi-
dely distributed.

Intimidation

Talks were held between Col-
onel Ramushwana and the de-
tained leaders, and an an-
nouncement was made over
Radio Thohoyandou in which the

| |
protest organisers: retracted
their earlier instructions to
workers. e
In a statement issued yester-
day Colonel Ramushwana_ sai
he was determined to eliminate
intimidation and violence, an
hinted at strong measures by se-

curity forces. = i

â\200\234As far as possible, all'-citi-% :

â\200\230zens of Venda will have the as+

sistance of the security forces,
and intimidators will be sternly
dealt with,â\200\235 he said. !

Referring to consumer boy-
cotts he said allâ\200\231Venda citizens
should have the freedom to
choose where they wished to
purchase their goods. G

| Europe's bid fo

| As the 12 leaders of the Euro-
pean Community prepared in
Dublin for eventual political
â\200\230unity, ISABEL HILTON and
|DAVID USBORNE of The In-
dependent newspaper saw a

foretaste of hard bargainin<
~ to come.

The European Community glid-
ed almost effortlessly at the
weekend into what is potential-
ly a radical new phase of de-
velopment. Twelve leaders
agreed to pursue political
union.

They reaffirmed their com-
mitment to political union, and
entrusted their foreign minis-
ters with the task of preparing
a detailed analysis of the way
forward for the formal summit
to be held in June, â\200\234with a view
toâ\200\235 agreeing on an intergovern-
mental conference on political
union to begin in December.

They reached their decision
despite clear differences over
what degree of political union
they meant: the radical, but as
yet undefined, vision advocated
by the French and Germans, or
the ultra-cautious blueprint put
forward by the British.

: There was a foretaste on Sat-

urday of the hard bargaining
that will follow, as each coun-
try moves to refine its propos-
als during the next two months.
In an attempt to pre-empt the
argument, British Prime Min-
ister Mrs Margaret Thatcher,

in the guise of reassuring the
peoples of Europe that their
national identities were not
under threat, laid out those
at she wishes to see ex-

ed from any final propos-

Political union did not mean, he insisted, any change to national legal or electoral systems, national sovereignty, the role of national parliaments, or the position of heads of state.

It did not mean further centralisation in Brussels, any alteration in the role of the Council of Ministers, any loss of freedom of action in foreign policy, or a weakening of Nato.

If all those exclusions were accepted, she said, everyone could come to the starting line with enthusiasm.

Wry politeness

Mrs Thatcher's list was received with a wry politeness that the British delegation struggled to present as support.

The president of the European Commission, Mr Jacques Delors, remarked that, if God had approached the creation of Adam in a similar spirit, Adam would never have been created.

God, Mrs Thatcher retorted, in her punchy closing press conference, was much more successful with his second thoughts, when he created Eve.

But if Mrs Thatcher succeed-

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ed in landing some light punches, the British failure to deflect the community from the path of political union was always a foregone conclusion.

. As the British admitted, they cannot stop the community ex-

amining ideas further, or call-

ing an intergovernmental conference, since that is a decision taken by majority vote.

Treaty changes, however, as the British stressed, require unanimity, and unanimity calls for compromise. It is during the next few months that the shape of that compromise must be hammered out.

The questions the foreign ministers will examine are to what degree the community is prepared to revise its institutions, and at whose expense, and to streamline community decision-making.

Any change in the way the community reaches its decisions raises questions about how it is to be accountable to the people of Europe: should it be through national parliaments as Mrs Thatcher wishes, or through the European Parliament, as many of Britain's community partners believe?

Her heart is still against it, but her head is ruling her heart, was how one minister described Mrs Thatcher's position on the drive by French President Francois Mitterrand

and German Chancellor Hel-

mut Kohl towards European union on three fronts.

The conflict between the Mrs Thatcher's head and heart is evident in Dublin by her grudging acceptance that political union is now on the agenda. It will have to be resolved in the Cabinet committee which she chairs.

The key members are Mr John Major, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr Douglas Hurd, Foreign Secretary; Sir Geoffrey Howe, deputy Prime Minister; and Mr Nicholas Ridley, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry.

Mr Ridley, Mrs Thatcher's closest ally in the Cabinet, is said to be acting as her conscience, arguing for caution, against the Major-Hurd-Howe axis, which is known to be

more enthusiastic about

progress towards European monetary and economic union. But this is an over-simplification.

None of the members are enthusiastic about political union. When Mr Hurd echoed the Prime Minister's remarks last week about the need for political union to be defined, some

ministers said privately that
this showed he had been

reined back by the Cabinet
committee.:
But Mr Hurd genuinely

political unity is facing snags

shares the Prime Minister's
doubts about political union,
and the Cabinet committee ap-
pears confident that other
allies will be found to make the
1993 deadline preferred by
Chancellor Kohl and President
Mitterrand unrealistic.

Private talks have suggested
to the British that the French
and Germans have not yet re-
solved their differences.

The French want to shift
power to Europe by increasing
the strength of the European
Commission; the Germans
would prefer to strengthen the
European Parliament.

Britain is not the only coun-
try to approach the redesign of
the community constitution
with caution.

Reluctant Danes

On the eve of the summit the
Danish parliamentary commis-
sion responsible for scrutiny of
community business voted
heavily against the Franco-
German proposals.

The Danish Prime Minister
is constitutionally bound to |
seek a mandate from parlia-
ment before he can agree, for
instance, to an intergovern-
mental conference on political
union.

On the present showing, such
a mandate would not be forth-
coming.

The Danish objections, how-

'Mrs Thatcher . .
honorâ\200\231 â\200\230egal or el

. Political union does not â\200\230mean change to na-
electoral systems, nor to sovereignty and the,
position of heads of state.

. e@er, are not the Â\$Ã©ix{Ã©'aÂ\$'Brit :

ainâ\200\231s.

~ The Danes, like the British,

have been reluctant to {:m-

brace stages two and three of
the Delors plan for Econom-

~ic and Monetary Unio , butâ\200\231

would probably accept ï¬\201xem in |
return for an extension of ma-
jority voting in the Council of
Ministers to cover social and

~ environmental matters â\200\224

where the British would

- strongly oppose the extension

of the majority vote. ~ *

The smaller and pex-ipheral
countries of the community
have different fears. If power
is to shift out of the Council of

' Ministers â\200\224 where each coun-

try, regardless of size, has one
vote among 12 â\200\224 to the parlia-
ment, where representation re-
flects the size of population, the
small countries fear the shift
will further entrench the domi-
nation of the large.
Several countries, beginning
with Ireland, but mc uding
Denmark, would resist the ex-
tension of the communityâ\200\231s se-
curity co-operation into +de-

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- fence.

All these resewatxonfs ;and
the simple fact that any
changes to the Treaty of

" require both unanimity a
- the heads of government and
-ratification by national parlia-

ments, suggest that all sides

will have to compromlse: :

Crisis committee submits an economy budget %

500 000 needed t

NATAL wWiT NEsg Mayd, 1990

feed city refugees

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NEARLY R500 000 is needed to continue feeding i ' the 6 000 refugees housed in camps around the by A e | 1 ~ [sonvascroewan | ~ " The Midlands Crisis Relief Committee has an submitted a six months budget to Deputy Director _ General of Community Services Mr Louis Koch in response to his request for an estimated cost for food needs for the refugees.

Speaking on behalf of the relief sub-committee of the Midlands Crisis Relief Committee, Mrs Margie Pretorius, said the budget was an economy one for the minimal food needs for the approximately 6 000 refugees presently living at the relief centres. % '

The budget, which allows for an expenditure of R20 000 a week, also assumes that Operation Hunger will continue to supply maize meal and soup. ! .

-~ Mr John Aitchison, speaking for the committee, said that the response of the provincial authorities

was still extremely slow. i

This crisis is now a month old and we have not seen the speedy action that would undoubtedly have occurred if the refugees had been white. Y A

In response to this statement Mr Koch said he thought the criticism was unfair.

He said in the beginning of April the provincial administration had authorised the Pietermaritzburg City Council to purchase 50 tents to improve the housing facilities at the Masons Mill refugee centre and to submit the account to them.

A meeting was held with the crisis committee about two weeks ago, he said, where he requested a list of requirements for the refugees. i

He inquired about the list on Friday and had still not received it, he said. ;

As soon as we receive the list we will make the necessary recommendations that the money be paid to them, he said. ;

HE South African Government says

it is the beginning of the end of white rule, but r decades of living under apartheid blacks are sceptical.

Whoever turns out to be right, this violently divided nation will pass through a watershed this week when a team of black negotiators led by Nelson Mandela meets a white delegation headed by reformist President FF W de Klerk.

The discussions, beginning tomorrow, are exploratory and are aimed at finding common ground for negotiations on a new constitution in which the black majority will have real political power after

300 \iaeglc'ls of third class status in their
Â¥ _i&iâ\200\230;ï¬\201ucm talks between the ruling

whites and the disenfranchised blacks who outnumber them five-to-one have taken place before and there is a distinct feeling that after next week nothing will be quite the same in South Africa.

If the talks end limsi:ively, a process will begin that implicitly recognises that the whites finally have decided to relinquish total control.

Fate

If they fail, the middle und of com-
?romise could be lost and South Africaâ\200\231s
ate decided by a fight to the death by
extremists of right and left.

â\200\230Failure could destroy the De Klerk administration and the older generation of the African National Congress led tar
Mandela and Walter Sisulu,â\200\235 said political analÂ¥st Robert Schrire of Cape Town

y- '

universi
â\200\230They have staked their futures on these talks.â\200\231 rip
" Rocked by De Klerkâ\200\231s rapid reforms â\200\224 notably legalisation of the ANC and the release of Mandela, the father-figure of black nationalism â\200\224 South Africa is in turmoil.

At least 10 blacks are being Killed
' every day in faction fighting as various power groups jockey for position.
.. It is the worst black-on-black bloodlet-
â\200\234ting this century, according to the re-

spected independent Institute for Race

Relations.; (

ptical about
of white rule in SA

From RODNEY PINDER in JOHANNESBURG

Moderate whites are alarmed by the fighting and white Afrikaner hardliners are arming and threatening a new â\200\230Boer Warâ\200\231 if De Klerk goes any further towards giving blacks the vote.

â\200\230A million gunsâ\200\231 is their clarion cry. -

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit' Viljoen, a leading reformer, says change must proceed rapidly and demonstrate that power-sharing does not mean the end of the world for whites if De Klerk is to head off the threatened â\200\230Boer;arevryheidsoorlogâ\200\231 (Boer freedom war).

The Government insists it is fully committed to scrapping apartheid, South Africaâ\200\231s system of racial segregation, and De Klerk this month told parliament he willlll demolish its remaining legislative pillars.

Unconvinced

But many blacks are unconvinced.

They goint to harsh police action

against blacks trying to exercise new-found political freedoms â\200\224 more than 20 have been shot dead in two demonstrations â\200\224 and say detentions without trial under draconian emergency laws are increasing.

They fear, in spite of its protestations,

that the Afrikaner-based ruling Nation Party wants to preserve apartheid in the guise of minority â\200\230group rightsâ\200\231 to be enshrined into a new constitution.

De Klerk adds to their suspicions when he insists he will never agree to simple majority rule based on one man, one vote, which he sees as political suicide for whites, but seek another constitutional model in which everyone would have a vote but some votes would carry more weight than others.

Political analysts say the Government enters the talks in a strong position.

It commands a powerful military.

machine barely scratched by years of black guerilla warfare, and an economy

still mighty in African terms in spite of

sanctions.
I wouldn't imagine the whites would
. accept any dispensation in which they

would sin}p}y ave (parliamentary) re-
presentation in accordance with their
numbers in population," said Lawrence
Schlemmer, head of Witwatersrand Uni-
versity's Centre for Political Studies.

The ANC, the largest black opposition
group, has said it will settle for nothing
less than majority rule.

ANC officials say the talks about talks
should determine how far the whites are
committed to genuine change.

The ANC too has its constituency, and
there are signs that even talking to the
whites may be too much to stomach for
many of its grassroots supporters, par-
ticularly the young radicals who set the
townships ablaze in the mid-1980s.

Aspirations

Black aspirations suddenly unleashed
after 40 years of apartheid repression
may make any compromise now little
and too late, some analysts say.

Government sources say support for
the ANC's arch-rival, the Pan-Africanist
Congress (PAC), which rejects negotia-
tions, has shot from about 5% of blacks
to 30% since the ANC began approaching
talks with the Government.

One source close to the Government
says he believes the ANC will relax its
demand for outright majority rule, while
De Klerk is ready to offer more than
would now be acceptable to his voters in
order to get a deal that would satisfy the
world and end years of South African
isolation. ;

The Government recognises that any |
deal must be acceptable to the majority
of South Africans - blacks, whites,
Asians, mixed races, everybody - other-
wise it won't work.

It's going flat out to come up with a
plan the ANC can go along with," he said.

HE tide of democracy sweeping East-
ern Europe is being felt in black

Africa, but one-party rule still pre-

dominates and three of the major states
!-tave publicly committed themselves to
it.

Tanzania has had only one party for 26
years and said this month the policy will
not change. Kenya did the same and
Zimbabweâ\200\231s leader, Robert Mugabe, has
declared his intention to install one-par-
ty rule.

â\200\230If we have many political parties, we
will have chaos as different tribes rush to
form theirs,â\200\235 President Daniel arap Moi of
Kenya told trainee teachers at Laikipia
in central Kenya. â\200\230Tribal inclinations
and consciousness is still paramount in
the minds of many Kenyans.â\200\231

â\200\230For now, I say no to the multiparty
system, at least until we are cohesive
enough as a nation,â\200\235 he said. .

However, in Zaire, President Mobutu
Sese Suko, who also long asserted that
one-party rule was the only way to avoid
tribal feuding, responded to public pres-
sure by legalising opposition parties. Ke-
nya has 40 tribes in a population of 22
million. Ethnic feuding is common in
parliament, at public rallies and in the
Press.

Moi, a 66-year-old former teacher from
the minority Kalenjin tribe, inherited the
one-party system in 1978 from the late
President Jomo Kenyatta, the nationâ\200\231s
founder. Kenyatta had banned opposi-
tion parties e years earlier.

Kenyatta created a de facto one-party
state by locking up hiÃ©i political oppo-
nents. Moi made it constitutional in 1982.

Anglican Bishop Henry Okullu re-
leased a statement last week saying that
decision should be reversed.

â\200\230Power corrupts even a person with the
best of wills in the world,â\200\235 he said in re-
sponse to a recent invitation by Kenyaâ\200\231s
secretary-general, Joseph Kamotho, to
church leaders to join the public debate
on the stateâ\200\231s political future. â\200\230Therefore,
power must be limited by fairly accept-
able checks and balances.â\200\231

From JOHN EDLIN in NAIROBI

Under the constitution, Moi can run for President as many times as he wishes. He has never been challenged for the post.

The president's statement was his first on one-party rule since some other African states began considering more liberalised political systems this year.

He spoke after weeks of debate in Nairobi newspapers about whether Kenya should restore the style of democracy be-

queathed to Kenyatta when he led the former British colony to independence in

Writers supporting the status quo argued that Kenya had prospered under the current system, without tribal strife. They said a return to the old order might cause ethnic violence and drive away tourists and investors.

Those who wanted change said Kenyans were politically mature enough for competition, that recent reforms in Eastern Europe should be used as an example and that a parliamentary opposition would help check official corruption, mismanagement and nepotism.

Flawed

Neighbouring Tanzania, a nation of 100 tribes, also was a British colony until independence in 1961 under Julius Nyerere. Unlike capitalist Kenya, Tanzania followed socialism based on Eastern European models. Both Nyerere and Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who succeeded him as president in 1985, have admitted the policies were flawed.

Mwinyi, 65, has adopted radical economic reforms prescribed by Western lenders, but has rejected suggestions they be accompanied by political change. While a multiparty system would be suitable for Europeans, it might not be the same with Tanzania, Mwinyi told reporters in Dar es Salaam.

What Africans want is a fair return for their sweat through a new international

economic order. This cannot be solved

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.of recent |
ed multiparty politics.

by the creation of 100 parties, which

bring chaos instead of 1)))rogress.â\200\231 St

He said Tanzanians had voted consistently for a single party as a way to guarantee national unity. He did not mention a statement Nyerere made in February that multiparty democracy now may be possible.

Nyerere, still chairman of the ruling, Chama Cha Mapinduzi Party, remains a powerful political figure five years after he resigned as president.

Only a few of the 50 member nations of the Organisation of African Unity have

- Western-style democracies. Zimbabwe is

one, but President Robert Mugabe declared after an overwhelming victory in recent national elections that he will transform the former British colony of Rhodesia into a one-party state.

- Mugabe, who led Zimbabwe to independence 10 years ago, said the elections were a mandate from the 4.8 million registered voters to get rid of the opposition.

His opponents accused Mugabe, 66, of seeking a dictatorship. They noted that only 54% of the electorate voted and opposition parties got 20% of the votes, although they won only three of the 150 parliament seats. X

Other African countries are flirting with political liberalisation. Benin, a former French colony, is pledged to eliminate one-party rule, Gabon is debating the question, and there is pressure in the Ivory Coast for a freer political order.

However, Cameroon and Niger, scenes of political upheavals, have rejected

: Significant signals of change are coming from unlikely quarters. Ethiopia and Mozambique have abandoned their hard-line Marxist ideologies, and the Marxist leaders of Angola have committed themselves to peace talks with U S-backed guerrillas that, if fruitful, could lead to open elections.

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Top black

civic leaders' killed

Urban Foundation in

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P,

Mr Obed Kunene, for-

mer editor of Ilanga

\V'\LFORMER editor of

Ilanga and former regional director of the Urban Foundation, Mr Obed Kunene, was killed on Sunday when his car was involved in an accident with a van on the N2 between Durban and Empangeni.

Mr Kunene, 53, was travelling from his

home in Umlazi, south of Durban, to his business at Upper Nseleni, Zululand, when the accident happened.

He was educated at the Mazenod Roman

Catholic school in Umlazi, south

of Durban.

He was educated at the Mazenod Roman Catholic school in Umlazi, south of Durban, to his business at Upper Nseleni, Zululand, when the accident happened.

He was educated at the Mazenod Roman Catholic school in Umlazi, south of Durban, to his business at Upper Nseleni, Zululand, when the accident happened.

He was a Fellow of

the Nieman Foundation

for Journalists at Harvard University in the United States.

Mr Kunene was appointed an executive director and regional director for Natal of the

1986. He left the organisation two years later to pursue business interests in Upper Nseleni.

Mr Kunene was chairman of the Natal regional board of the foundation at the time of his death.

Mr Kunene was also secretary-general of the KwaZulu/Natal Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

He is survived by his wife Phumelele, four children and a grandchild.

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T 6am on a

warm Febru-

ary 2, journal-

ists from
South Africaâ\200\231s after-
noon newspapers,
radio network and
news agency who re-
port from the Parlia-
mentary Press Gal-
lery were ushered
into Tuynhuys to get
an advance copy of
President de Klerkâ\200\231s
address for the open-
ing of Parliament.

There was an air of
expectation about
them because if Presi-
dent de Klerk was
going to â\200\230â\200\230do some-
thingâ\200\235 about the coun-
tryâ\200\231s problems, then
surely his opening
speech would be the
place to start.

Officials from the
State Presidentâ\200\231s office
handed out the speech,
and pointed out it was
completed only hours
beforehand.

Dr Stoffel van der
Merwe, Minister of De-
velopment Aid and
Education, and Dr Ger-
rit Viljoen, Minister of
Constitutional Devel-
Oopment, were present
to answer questions.

It took the journal-
ists a few minutes to
read through to the
bottom of page nine.
There, with immediate
effect, President de
Klerk lifted the prohib-
itions on the ANC,
PAC, SACP and a host
of other anti-apartheid
organisations.

The journalists
looked up to see Dr van
der Merwe smiling
down at them: â\200\234The
sun went down last
night on the old South
Africa,â\200\235 he said.

Secret

The news should not have been made public until the President's address, but it turned out to be the worst-kept, shortest-held secret as word swept the country. People danced in the streets of South Africa, and newspapers had record sales.

What has happened since then will go down in history as the most unbelievable three months in South Africa, culminating in tomorrow's meeting between President de Klerk and

THE DAILY NEWS, TUESDAY, MAY 1, 1990

INSIGHT

Daily News Political Correspondent MARTIN CHALLENGER reports on the rapidly changing face of South Africa.

his top men and a delegation from the ANC/SACP.

Mr Nelson Mandela was released from jail

10 days after the ANC was unbanned. It

seems he and the Min-

ister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, have played the major roles in bringing the Government and the ANC to-

gether in talks.

Every political observer in the world knew that one day they would talk and it was only a question of under what circumstances.

Every overseas friend of the National Party had told them to start speaking while they could do so from a position of strength.

The three-month interlude between February 2 and May 2 has seen the previously banned groups attempting to re-organise and suffering the

knocks and criticisms all political groups have to face up to. Clearly, not every one who called for the ANC to be unbanned went on to support it, but merely their right to take part openly.

With one notable exception, hardly anyone in the world has not praised President de Klerk for his courageous, unselfish actions.

In-fighting

The exception has been the right wing whites in South Africa, who still live out the National Party propa-

- ganda of old. While

they never tire of attacking the NP inside and outside of Parliament, their own cause is weakened by their inability to heal their own in-fighting.

The more the NP has gone on to sound and act like the Progressive Party of

the 1970s, the more the right wing has attacked.

The first round of talks on April 11 fell away over the Sebokeng shootings, but probably also because the ANC were still not convinced their exiled members would not be arrested the minute they stepped back on South African soil.

They were genuinely.â€œ"

scared of rough eke=
ments in the sgÃ©i¬\201ritx,;Â»-

forces. e

Sebokeng and the po-
litical violence in
Natal and KwaZulu
prompted Mr Mandela
to single out Mr
Adriaan Vlok, Minister
of Law and Order, for
attack. Mr Vlok took
the blows bravely. He
stood by his men, con-
tinued to tell white
South Africans that the
alternative to negotia-
tions was a totally un-
pleasant deadend
street, and probably

wished a journalist had
ignored the â\200\230â\200\234off the
recordâ\200\235 tag he had put
on remarks in January
that Mr Mandela was
an impressive, intellec-
tual man who could
make a huge contribu-
tion to South Africaâ\200\231s
peaceful future.

Mr Vlokâ\200\231s cool re-
sponse reflected Presi-
dent de Klerkâ\200\231s style,
namely that the coun-
tryâ\200\231s future was too
important to score po-
litical points over and
that differences be-
tween the parties
should be played down
until a new constitu-
tion they all agreed on
was in place.

Security

Today, Mr Vlok and
Mr Mandela have a hot
line between them,
presumably worked
out when Mr Mandela
and Mr de Klerk met
for three hours on
April 5.

â\200\230Journalists that
night saw SAP security
officers escort the ANC
delegation into Tuyn-
huys.

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further when\Mr Joe
Slovo and seven lead-
ers, plus aides, flew

into D.F. Malan on Friday. The co-operation between the security police and the ANC to ensure everyone was kept safe was as close as their decades-long fight until February 2 was bitter. ;

This was just the visible face to the workings of a steering committee of ANC and government officials who have been working over the past weeks to set up tomorrow's talks.

Besides all this, the past three months have seen moves to open white government schools, immunities and amnesties for politically induced law

breakers, the abolition

of the compulsory death penalty, promises to replace the Group Areas Act and Land Acts, R3 billion to help underprivileged people, cuts in personal income tax, breakthroughs in international relations . . .

This was taken a lot

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' State President F.W. de Klerk. . .courageous, unselfish actions .

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The Star Wednesday Mdy 21990

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EX unitate vires -
motto for the talks

EVEN AS we applaud the
progress that has made today's
first Government-ANC talks
possible, there must be the re-

alisation that time is short for

both sides. Together they represent the potential middle ground of national politics. They will hold sway only while they demonstrate that they are producing fruit.

On the reactionary right and the radical left are groups strenuously opposing the talks. They have branded the participants as 'sell-outs'. The Conservative and the Pan Africanist leadership stand to capitalise if the talks break down.

For white South Africa, a settlement is more urgent than - for blacks. Every year of delay swings the balance to youthful extremism. What may be negotiated now to accommodate reasonable civilised values may not be possible in only a few years. If a non-racial solution is to be achieved, it must happen before zealotry takes over. ,

So the pressure on both Government and the ANC to be constructive is itself a helpful factor, even though both sides admit that agreement will be difficult from the very beginning.

ning of â\200\234talks about talksâ\200\235.

The ANC wants the emer-
- gency lifted, all political pris-

oners freed and exiles allowed
to return under full indemnity.
.Certainly, if the ANC is to or-
ganise itself as a normal polit-
ical party in a new dispensa-

tion, all those demands must.

- be conceded. But there is un-
derstandable reluctance from

the Government to lift the
emergency while outbursts of
violence continue on a horrify-
ing scale and while the ANC
remains committed to the

â\200\230armed struggle. The Govern-

ment believes this stance is
used as justification for vio-
lence by rival black groups,
even if the ANC (and PAC in a
different context) see â\200\234strug-
gleâ\200\235 as only tactical.

Both sides, and all the frus- -
trated interests excluded from
todayâ\200\231s meeting, need to re-
member one fundamental
point: the future will be nego-
tiated, not between the Nation-
al Party and the ANC, but be-
tween all groups with a proven .
constituency. Only those who
persist to the bitter end in cry-
ing â\200\234Bloodshed!â\200\235 will have to
be excluded.

Real negotiation is still a
long way down the road. Yet
South Africa has only four
years before the next general
election. By then the new dis-
pensation must be agreed, or
the country could face a final
bitter showdown between
white and black. What has
started today must go forward.
Goodwill is more important
than point-scoring. Under-
standing and 2 sympathetic

- concern for demands as well
as fears can create the climate

â\200\234for harmony.

Unless that can be achieved
without too much delay, vic-
tory could escape both the
Government and the ANC.
Their victory will have to be

forged together, because neither will achieve it alone.