

1994 ★

SUNDAY FOCUS 2

Legitimacy and perceived credibility give hope
for 1994

Demise of matric

NOW that teachers, pupils, parents and politicians have stopped blaming each other for yet another "bad news" year in black education, South Africa can get on with the serious job of reconstructing a pathetic school system.

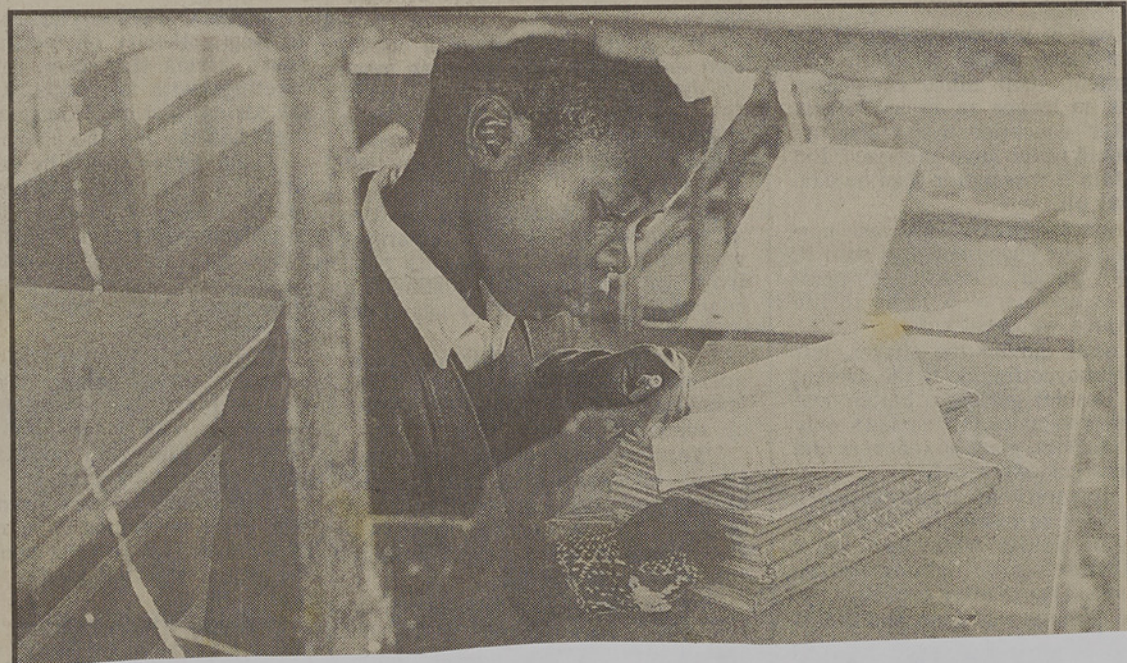
The good news is that 1994 promises probably the best chance in 45 years of turning-round a sector which has systematically frustrated individual and national potential, with devastating social and economic consequences.

There are two reasons for optimism: political changes which are about to deliver legitimate government and support from teachers and pupils, hopefully ending a disastrous period of school strikes and disruption; and, the education policy proposals published this week by the African National Congress.

The very first step in raising matric results in Department of Education and Training schools, where the pass rate fell last year to a dismal 38,6 percent, is the obvious one of getting pupils and teachers back into classrooms.

"Improving school performance is not so much a question of money as it is of legitimacy and perceived equity," said Professor David Freer, head of education at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Teachers, pupils and politicians agree that matric no longer prepares young people for life. This week's disastrous black matric results reinforces the view. Many believe the ANC's blueprint on education, unveiled this week, will change all that. **KAREN MACGREGOR** reports.



"If the change in the political climate generates popular support among teachers, pupils and parents, and translates into diligence, results will improve dramatically. That will happen straight away. What education needs is a will and a spirit."

This week the South African Democratic Teachers Union, the Congress of South African Students, and the National Educational Co-ordinating Committee threw their weight behind campaigns to improve black education in 1994.

Sadtu and Cosas both supported dispute-resolution procedures initiated by the National Education and Training Forum, which was launched last year — too late to save the 1993 academic year, but in place for 1994.

This, along with industrial relations legislation providing a workable system of collective bargaining and dispute resolution for teachers, would help avoid in future the school chaos which lies at the root of the appalling matric results.

The second major cause of poor black school performance, of course, has been apartheid's educational practices — the problems of facilities, fragmentation, resources, curricula, under-qualified teachers, depressed morale, and lack of discipline.

These problems, the ANC argued in "A Policy Framework for Education and Training", could only be rectified through a "massive, sustained national effort".

The Framework's policies have been widely welcomed as sensible by teachers, parents, business and education specialists. The redressing of vast educational disparities between black and white schools and the integration of education and training are the priorities, with the emphasis being on quality and efficiency.

On the agenda is a unified education system and compulsory schooling for 10 years, including one pre-primary year, culminating at the end of standard seven in a "general education certificate". This will be followed by three years of optional schooling in either an academic or practical stream, subsidised by the State or by parents culminating in a "further education certificate".

The move away from predominantly academic education is widely agreed upon in South Africa, and would certainly help to meet the country's need for skills. "All of us know that

matric as it exists is not delivering anywhere near what it should and that matric results are no longer a predictor of success at university or in life," said Democratic Party MP and education spokesman, Roger Burrows.

"Hopefully the GEC and FEC will take this into account, as well as the need to provide people for life."

Integrated education and training would allow greater mobility of pupils through credit-based certificates. Access to education at colleges and in the workplace would improve, meaning that life chances would no longer depend almost entirely on performance in matric.

Schools and libraries would be reconstructed, teacher education centralised, Model A schools scrapped and Model C and private schools reviewed, syllabuses dramatically changed, textbooks re-evaluated and affirmative action for women introduced.

On a practical level some of the Framework recommendations will take years to implement. But, other crucial courses of action, such as additional funding and improved support for black

schools, could start almost immediately. In the short-term, said Mr Burrows, the ANC would be looking at providing resources rapidly for black schools.

"They will begin by ensuring that there are sufficient textbooks and proper libraries and changing the supply of teachers at schools. Staff to pupil ratios in the DET are half those in white and Indian institutions. That will have to change.

"I expect there will be an immediate provision of more teaching posts at black schools, especially high schools and in specialist areas such as science and mathematics." Framework suggests there should be no more than 40 pupils to one teacher in any classroom: ratios are nearly double that in some black schools.

Additional funding would almost certainly be made available for support in the form of secretaries and clerks, study notes, photocopy machines and other equipment which are in short supply in DET schools. "These provide crucial support for each child and are the very things that the system can generate immediately.

In the longer term, said John Pampalis of the University of Natal's Education Policy Unit, which had input into Framework, curriculum reforms would make education more relevant, and more appropriate to second-language pupils.

Reforms of subjects — such as history — would make them more legitimate to black pupils, for example, and a lot of work is being put into making maths and science courses more accessible.

A lot of effort would also be directed at language learning — studying in a second language is a major cause of poor black school performance and drop-out rates — and phasing-in English earlier.

The ANC believed its policies would not substantially increase the amount of money spent on education in South Africa, which at R23 billion a year swallows up one fifth of the country's total budget. Money needed for reconstruction could be found from avoiding duplication, fragmentation, corruption and inefficiency.

Efficiency, Framework said, would also be achieved by reducing repetition rates which resulted in pupils spending too many years at school, keeping pupils at school for the full cycle to ensure early school benefits are not lost, making economies of scale through a unified system, and reviewing state subsidies to private schools.

The most controversial aspects of the proposals — such as lack of regional educational autonomy, the re-writing of curricula and the status of private schools — were likely to be ironed-out fairly easily in the new South Africa, where consensus would rule as surely as the apartheid government did for 45 years.

Mr Pampalis pointed out that, paradoxically, South Africa's school problems were so vast that they would be easy to improve.

Real politics

This might matter less were it not for the fact that one party is expected to dominate the Assembly by a highly lopsided margin. Able to command complete obedience from its delegation by deciding who shall be and remain part of it, that party's leadership will face no pressure from within the legislature to compromise with its opposition. It will have, in other words, the power of the late Soviet politburo.

It is within that politburo, however it is constituted, that the real politics of the next five years will likely take place. Who runs the dominant party's executive runs the country. Forget all that comfortable language about how any party with more than 5% of the vote will be represented in a cabinet. The cabinet, it may be predicted with some confidence, will be largely irrelevant. The decisions that matter will be taken elsewhere. Why? Because the political minorities represented in the cabinet will be unable to forget winning coalitions with members of the majority party. The latter, owing their positions solely to the politburo, will not be free agents capable of trading their votes unless it pleases the politburo to let them.

There are forces within the ANC alliance, though not, apparently, the NP (whose constitutional deaf-mutes bought the Brooklyn Bridge of list-based PR), who acknowledge the obvious perils. The authors of an October 26 discussion paper entitled *The ANC Inside and Outside the New Parliament* observe: "Insofar as a political organisation takes control of the state apparatus, filling many government and civil service positions with its leading members, the example of the former Soviet Union teaches us that there is a great danger of the state and the party becoming one." Indeed.

Own way

Especially concerned by the parallels, the paper notes, is the trade unions movement, which clearly fears that its reward for contesting the election within the ANC alliance will be to find itself subject to central party dictates like everyone else. Of course, labour does have a good degree of extraparlimentary muscle to assert its interests, assuming that its leaders are so inclined and have not themselves been corrupted.

One element of the alliance seemingly less bothered is the SACP, which is strange seeing as how not so very long ago it was saying that as soon as elections were held it would go its own way and vie for public support as an independent entity. But since it is not running independently, much less submitting a discrete slate, its operatives hardly seem likely to renounce their membership of the ANC, thereby ousting themselves from the Assembly, any time soon.

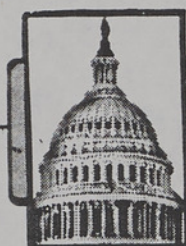
Evidently, the SACP would rather submit to the discipline of the alliance executive during the interim period. But perhaps that is not so odd. Perhaps, indeed, it will be the SACP which will in large measure be exercising the discipline. Troubling? We are assured that it is not, that the SACP is now a group of good, enlightened fellows made wise by experience.

Not angels

But as noted earlier, there may be virtue in five years or so of undemocracy. The kind of policies needed to put South Africa on the path to long-term economic growth and stability will not be universally popular; neither will they satisfy all expectations. To the contrary, they will create precisely the kind of material that ambitious politicians need to fuel their ascents.

Unfortunately, there is a price to be paid for not having to worry about demagogues and upstarts. Power-holders, to paraphrase James Madison very loosely, are not angels; and the greater the power they hold, the less angelic they tend to become. As a general rule, those with the power to do the right thing seldom do it for very long, if at all. But this is the New Year, and a time for leaps of faith.

1994



Washington
Letter
by SIMON BARBER

'Democratic' SA will be run by ANC committee

THE drafters of South Africa's interim constitution say that as of April 27 their country will be a democracy. The rest of the world, which also tends to be pretty casual about the term democracy, has been only too happy to agree.

In that the voting age population of all races will, for the first time, have an equal opportunity to express its broad political preferences at the ballot box, the new arrangement is certainly a huge improvement on the old. But to call it democratic in any recognisable sense is a stretch.

This is not necessarily a criticism of what was achieved at the World Trade Centre. It may well be that South Africa, at this stage in its history, cannot afford democracy as it is generally understood and practised in the West. But it would be as well, at the outset of the coming adventure, to advance with open eyes. Even though the likely winners call themselves representatives of the people, the legislators in the new National Assembly will represent not voters but party machines.

Important tip-off

If everything proceeds as the negotiators have agreed, and Parliament has enacted, South Africans will be ruled between April and the end of the century by the unelected central committee of a party, nominally restrained by a bill of rights that in fact gives it enormous powers of coercion. Whether or not this is a bad thing depends on the degree to which the committee's barons can resist the temptations inherent in the powers they will wield and whether, having resisted, they are ready to govern selflessly and in a spirit of compromise with those whom they will have the authority to crush.

An important tip-off to understanding the interim constitution comes in a small, and to the innocent or exhausted, innocuous clause setting out the circumstances under which a member of the Assembly will be required to vacate his seat. To wit, if the member ceases to belong to the party from whose slate he was placed in office he is out of a job.

Under the system of list-based proportional representation, this is a logical provision, but it highlights at whose pleasure the new legislators (and constitution writers) serve and to whom they are accountable. Not at the pleasure of the voters, or any constituency thereof, but at the whim of his or her party apparatus, which may at any time decide that he or she has expended his usefulness. In effect, therefore, the majority of assembly members will be little more than warm bodies to fill the seats in the chamber.

NATIONAL

'Afrikaners forced into a corner'

□ 'We still want peace'

JOHANNESBURG. — Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen has warned that the negotiations process had forced the Afrikaner nation into a corner, but reiterated his stance that a peaceful solution to their demands could still be found.

But time was running out, General Viljoen told a 1 500-strong AVF audience in Alberton, adding that the next few weeks would be of crucial importance to finding a peaceful solution.

The former Defence Force chief likened the negotiations process in the near future to a cattle crush, the end of which would probably determine the likelihood of a civil war.

"The government and the African National Congress alliance has created this dangerous situation by forcing the negotiations process to fit their agendas," he said.

The government had been dishonest, General Viljoen said.

It had done nothing to ensure the rights of minorities such as the Afrikaners and the demands of groupings such as the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Stressing that the AVF had been reasonable in negotiations but that it had been ignored, General Viljoen said the Afrikaner nation wanted peace and would not declare war unless it had to.

He berated some members of the audience, which included a small Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging Wenkommando contingent, for applauding the possibility of a civil war.

"Do you realise the implications of this? Do you realise what will happen when three powerful forces (those represented by Afrikaner rightwingers, Zulus supporting the IFP, and the ANC-alliance) grab each other?" he asked.

What the Afrikaners wanted was reasonable and simple, he said — a state where they could decide their own future.

A final solution to the country's problems would have to reflect this, he said.

General Viljoen appealed to other political parties to stop theorising, asking them to consider the demands of the Afrikaner and Zulu nations.

"To try to find a solution in a few weeks is an immense task ... the government and the ANC brought it upon themselves and upon ourselves. Give us time — a few weeks is not enough."

General Viljoen said the AVF did not want to return to apartheid. Its ideal was in line with modern developments throughout the world. — Sapa.

UWC spurns FW's 'racist' nominations

Education Reporter

THE University of the Western Cape has refused to implement the eight appointments President De Klerk has made to its council.

During a special meeting on Wednesday, the UWC council "seriously considered" resigning in protest over Mr De Klerk's nomination of eight coloureds to fill the positions.

The council decided instead to refuse to implement the "apartheid-based" decision, which it described as "more than 18 months late".

In a statement yesterday, the council rejected Mr De Klerk's ethnic considerations in making the eight nominations.

The university had repeatedly appealed for council appointees to include people from other sectors of the South African community and had submitted a list of candidates.

The selection of "coloureds for a coloured university" was offensive both to those nominated and to UWC, the council said.

In response to the delay in making appointments, UWC rector Jakes Gerwel spoke to the minister concerned and pointed out the dangers of turning the issue of council membership into an area of unnecessary political contention.

In written submissions and in person, Professor Gerwel also pointed out UWC's changing composition — 40 percent of its students were African.

Professor Gerwel indicated the need for the council to be strengthened with members from other sectors of the population — "and particularly African persons".

Without giving any reasons for disregarding these earnest appeals, the President had followed the advice of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, said the UWC council.

At its special meeting, the council also discussed the demands of the SA Students' Congress for representative university governing bodies.

The UWC council said all relevant sectors and formations should take part in governing the university.

'I want to run in the mists of bullets' says AWB supporter

DURBAN. — Chairman of the Returned Exiles Committee Pat Hlongwane pops up in the most unexpected places.

Early last year, he arrived at the Natal Newspapers building with AWB leader Eugene Terre' Blanche.

Calling the burly boer "My leader, my leader", Hlongwane launched into some of his now familiar dialogue on atrocities he alleges were committed while he was imprisoned by the ANC in several African countries.

When the National Party's election campaign began, he popped up at FW de Klerk's meeting in the Natal Technikon's sports hall. Once again, it was "My leader, my leader".

His most recent appearance was during last weekend's AWB cavalcade through Richards Bay when rightwingers

demanding the port be included in a volkstaat.

When Hlongwane took the microphone he received the loudest and most enthusiastic applause. Whether this was intended by the camouflage and khaki-clad convention to bring some light moments is debatable.

Speaking to Hlongwane in Inkatha Freedom Party local leader Thomas Shabalala's stronghold of Lindelani, one thing shines through his rhetoric: Hatred of the ANC and South African Communist Party.

This, he alleges, was born of his being tortured in Zambia, Angola and Uganda and held prisoner for five years. He also claims his mother was necklaced in Port Elizabeth.

The ANC maintains Hlong-

wane was working for the government when he travelled to Lusaka to see the movement's then-president Oliver Tambo and was imprisoned. On the killing of Hlongwane's mother, ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said this was never confirmed.

Hlongwane said he and Terre' Blanche shared the same anti-communist ideology.

"I have realised the AWB is not a racist organisation. They treat me as a human being," he said. "Whenever the AWB has a rally or demonstration my conscience tells me to join them."

Hlongwane said that when he formed the Returned Exiles Committee more than two years ago, its members needed protection and the group aligned itself to the AWB "to have arms".

He claimed the committee

had 1 500 members and all were well-trained and part of the South African Republican Army, which he said was the "armed wing" of the Returned Exiles Committee.

"It is rare to find a black person addressing boers because they are portrayed as racist. At Richards Bay, they were happy when I told them about FW being a political prostitute."

Hlongwane leaves for Johannesburg in the next couple of weeks because, he said, he wanted to be in the thick of violence.

"I want to go to Bekkersdal and Boipatong because I like violence. I want to run in the mists of bullets," he said with a grin.

"It reminds me of Angola."

(News by G Knowler, 18 Osborne Street, Durban).

Leading Natal businessmen meet ANC to discuss their fears

JOHN SHERROCKS

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Key businessmen have met African National Congress officials here to register concern that Natal is in danger of being left in the cold in the new South Africa.

Brokered by leading businessman Terry Rosenberg, yesterday's meeting was aimed at giving business an insight into recent political developments.

"In our region it is obvious that the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress are two major political forces.

"There is also no doubt that if we want to create jobs and a future for our children, the politicians will have to create an environment conducive to peaceful growth," said Mr Rosenberg.

"The meeting of Dr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi (on Tuesday) is another stepping stone towards a peaceful future but we have to accept that there are still some hurdles remaining and these are largely to do

with the powers of the provinces.

"If our leaders can obtain a clearer mutual understanding, mixed with a good dose of humility, our region promises a great deal."

The keen support by Natal business for strong regional power was clearly apparent at the frank and relaxed meeting.

Mike Meehan contended that Natal and its business community had been "disadvantaged" under the "extremely strong centralised power" of the National Party government.

"We will continue to express concern about the need for a strong regional power base which cannot be overridden by a central power wanting to usurp this power," he said.

Responding, Jacob Zuma, the ANC's candidate for Natal premier, agreed that Natal had been discriminated against in the past.

"We are going to do everything in our power to ensure that the voice of Natal is heard in Cape Town."

He said the use of "labels" and shifting political stances had confused the situation. Mr Zuma was, however, adamant the ANC commitment to put "power in the hands of the people" would ensure the regions had a secure and effective power base.

Echoing his view, Jeff Radebe, chairman of the ANC Southern Natal region, said: "I suspect that there will be a greater emphasis on more power for the regions." He felt that in the event of dispute, the constitutional court would favour the region's case.

Mr Zuma disagreed with Mr Meehan's contention that had business been used as a mediator earlier there would have been no need to bring in international mediators.

"Business would have had a problem with the trade unions. They would have argued: How can management decide our future?" he said.

"My own view is that business has tended to stay away for too long on a number of issues."

1994

From the black Press

AFTER 33 years of conflict with successive National Party governments, the PAC and its Azanian Liberation Army have declared a moratorium on their armed struggle, Sowetan said.

The newspaper continued: "The PAC's stand is to be commended as it spells a reduction in the level of violence gripping South Africa.

"The move could also mean the PAC will, in the event of successful discussions to seal a 'mutual cessation of hostilities' with the government, become part of the Transitional Executive Council."

□ □ □

SOWETAN continued: "Its cadres could also be seconded to the proposed multiparty national peace-keeping force.

"But, like the ANC, has the PAC achieved its goal as a liberation movement?

"The organisation's leadership says the terrain of struggle has changed: you cannot simultaneously vote and fight."

□ □ □

SOWETAN said that when the African National Congress suspended its armed struggle in 1990 and pursued dialogue with its adversary, the National Party, it was accused in certain anti-apartheid circles of selling out.

The Pan-Africanist Congress could face a similar attack.

This was especially the case among its youthful but militant constituencies which could be exploited by forces bent on promoting violence in the country.

"It is therefore up to the PAC leaders to spread the word of peace among their followers as vigorously as they pursued the armed struggle," said the newspaper.

From the Bible

AND we win the victory over the world by means of our faith.

(1 John 5:4)

IT's finally dawning on the white right that their best chance of securing a place in the sun is by dealing directly with the ANC.

The white right — as was the case previously with Inkatha — has realised that using the Nationalist government as a go-between or messenger boy in negotiations is unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. Relying on surrogate bargaining is inevitably a risky business, particularly when the future of your "volk" or "nation" is at stake.

The main problem with negotiation by remote control is that you have to place too much trust in a rival party getting your message across to your chief political adversary in an accurate and compelling manner.

Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen and his fellow generals certainly seem to have got more joy out of dealing directly with the likes of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The top hierarchy of the Conservative Party — near-hysterical attempts to demonise the ANC alliance notwithstanding — have also been holding a series of meetings with the ANC leadership in recent months. Indeed, in an important strategic switch, the CP has decided to focus most of its energy in future on putting pressure on the ANC, instead of the government, in its fight for self-determination.

The leaking of news about meetings between the right-wing generals and the ANC leadership came at an awkward moment for the far right because it served to weaken the carefully nurtured muscular, if not warlike, image of itself. The disclosure also caused embarrassment and fuelled divisions on the far right because it revealed that some leaders (with large egos) were clearly not being kept up to speed on developments on the negotiations front.

Bilaterals

The timing of the leak also made the demonstrations staged by CP MPs in Parliament last week seem somewhat hollow and inappropriate. It would be most surprising, though, if at least some of the senior CP lead-

Right changes from war talk and talks to the enemy



Midweek Politics

By ANTHONY
JOHNSON

ership did not know about these meetings.

News that the AVF and the ANC were making progress in their discussions on self-determination could serve as an important form of leverage to edge Inkatha towards a rethink on its current tactics. If right-wing Afrikaners can manage to negotiate a package which accommodates their desire for an important degree of self-determination, then Inkatha supporters will want to know why their party has failed to strike a similar deal.

For its part, the government is trying to market a beefed-up brand of federalism to Inkatha and other recalcitrant homeland governments in a bid to win their approval for the interim constitution, which is due for finalisation by World Trade Centre negotiators in five weeks.

It is not critical to the government and the ANC whether parties such as Inkatha formally return to multi-party talks, but it

is vital that groupings such as Inkatha and the AVF be steered away from threatened violence and civil war in the run-up to the election.

There are growing fears within the larger parties that current talks between Inkatha and the generals might produce an "understanding" that could torpedo any prospect of South Africa holding elections in April.

While numerical support for the white right and Inkatha might not be huge, there is a healthy appreciation that these parties — particularly if they act in concert — have the capacity to wreak havoc on the Transitional Executive Council's election preparations.

So a successful transition to a large extent hinges on whether the World Trade Centre negotiations and tandem bilateral talks can hatch an interim constitution that can allay the fears of parties currently boycotting multi-party talks.

African riot gun is drug trade favourite

RAMSAY MILNE

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — A rapid-firing shotgun known as the Street Sweeper, invented in Zimbabwe and, according to officials here, used by the South African Police during township rioting, is now the favoured weapon of drug dealers in the United States.

The Street Sweeper, which can discharge 12 shot-gun shells in fewer than three seconds, has become the scourge of America.

But nobody knows how the guns are reaching the US, or from where. All police will say is that the traffic in all types of firearms is huge — and virtually unstoppable.

The gun's awesome kill rate — and its southern African origins — became known during a debate in Congress this week on measures to control the spread of dangerous weapons.

The Street Sweeper, which got its name from inner city drug dealers for its ability to wipe out two or three rival drug peddlers at once, has been placed at the top of Congress's list and designated a "destructive weapon".

This well-earned definition of the weapon means that the guns' owners or potential buyers will be required to register them, and to be photographed and fingerprinted.

"Helpful as this might be in some cases, it is not likely to cut down on the gun's popularity," said a police spokesman.

"The guns are too much admired by the drug dealers in our cities for that. Besides, how can anybody seriously expect ruthless killers to register a weapon voluntarily?"

"All it will do is double the Street Sweeper's black-market value — and even the smallest of street corner drug-dealers fighting for their slice of turf have money to spare."

Recent statistics paint a frightening picture of the carnage by firearms in American cities.

In 1992, 38 317 Americans were killed by firearms in murders, suicides and accidents. The year's murder toll of 13 220 compares with 33 in Britain.

Flag, anthem still undecided

■ South Africa must have new national symbols by the time the new parliament opens in Cape Town in May, says the ANC.

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

SOUTH Africa cannot open its newly-elected parliament in May without a new national flag and anthem, says African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

He said the ANC and government were making progress at bilateral level on new national symbols and expected to receive a report from a joint sub-committee next week which then would be tabled at the Transitional Executive Council.

"We are moving with maximum speed. We are aware of the short time at our disposal, but it is a very complex issue as we are dealing with a whole range of flag designs to narrow them down to one which will enjoy popular support.

"We can't open parliament without having a new flag and an anthem," said Mr Ramaphosa.

The TEC recently commissioned him and Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer to resolve the issue of national symbols.

This follows failure by the Commission on National Symbols last year to find new symbols.

The commission's six proposed flag designs were widely ridiculed. It also failed to find a new anthem, recommending instead that *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* followed by the tune of *Die Stem* be played on state occasions.

The negotiating council later called on advertising agencies to submit designs for a new flag.

But, sources in the joint ANC-government sub-committee which met this week described these latest design proposals as a "disaster".

The sources disclosed that progress was being made in a new flag design. The sub-committee was looking at three possibilities: A flag with two colours — green and gold, a flag with four colours and a flag with six. The additional colours were described as "African".

The sub-committee favoured a simple design rather than cluttering the flag with complex symbols and it is fairly confident of coming up with a flag design shortly.

However, the sub-committee apparently has made virtually no progress in finding a new anthem. It is due to report to Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer on Tuesday.

The existing orange, white and blue flag was flown on all flagpoles around the parliamentary complex in Cape Town during this week's short sitting of parliament.

The ANC will not countenance the flying of the old flag at the ceremonial opening of the new parliament probably in mid-May, while empty flagpoles would be embarrassing.

Traditionally, *Die Stem* was played by a military band at the official opening of parliament every year, but this, too, is out of the question at the opening of the new National Assembly.

In the absence of a new anthem, it is generally regarded as likely that both *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and *Die Stem* be played as a stopgap measure.

However if the country fails to find a new anthem, one of the two present ones is expected to fall away eventually and the betting is that *Die Stem* is the most likely to fade into history.

The new 400-member National Assembly to be elected from April 26 to 28 is to sit in the existing parliamentary buildings for the foreseeable future until the new government decides whether to retain the present system of joint capitals or to opt for a single capital.

Bombs 'breakthro

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

POLICE have arrested 31 people and confiscated a large haul of arms and explosives related to the spate of murderous car bomb blasts which rocked the PWV area before the election, killing 21 and injuring at least 173.

Most of those arrested were members of the AWB's elite Ystergarde (Iron Guard Unit), police headquarters confirmed last night, and some were held in connection with yesterday morning's massive blast at Jan Smuts airport which left three people critically injured and caused structural damage to the building.

A policeman and a police reservist were among those arrested.

The arrests were announced soon after the Jan Smuts blast by Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe at a press conference at Braamfontein, where exhibits and a special video tape were displayed. The press was shown 4kg of fertiliser explosive which police experts said was "amateur" but the effect of which, packed in a 12cm diameter by 60cm steel pipe, was "utterly professional".

General Van der Merwe said police teams had worked around the clock to hunt down those responsible for the blasts and to prevent further blasts.

The arrests were carried out in Rustenberg, Ventersdorp and Pretoria.

Some of those arrested had given themselves up to police.



CLOSE SHAVE FOR VOTER . . . Enterprising barber Mr Freddie Ontong took advantage of the long voting queues at the Bonteheuwel Civic Centre yesterday to give Mr Harold Samuels an election trim.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Picnics and haircuts kept voters laughing

VOTERS trapped in long queues yesterday amused themselves with picnics, cricket games — and haircuts.

One enterprising Bonteheuwel man took advantage of the long wait at the civic centre to ply his trade. Braving chilly Cape Flats winds and rain and watched by amused poll-goers Mr Freddie Ontong used a blade attached to a comb to trim Mr Harold Samuels' hair before he joined the optimistic and peaceful crowd of 3 000.

At Golden Grove Primary School polling station in Rondebosch, voters held impromptu picnics. They had come prepared with picnic baskets, flasks of coffee, books and folding chairs.

Children from the neighbourhood played cricket in the street, while queueing voters cheered and shouted "Howzat!".

In Gobandlovu near Esakhawini, Natal, an elderly woman died on Tuesday while waiting in a queue to vote. Mrs Skhakhane Mathaba, 65, arrived at the polling station at 7am and waited to vote until her death mid-morning.

But in the Peninsula St John Ambulance staff heaved a collective sigh of relief yesterday when the only casualties they had to attend to were voters who fainted from hunger in long queues.

"We also rushed a woman to hospital when she was about to give birth while waiting to a polling station," said Sister Madge Maneveldt at the Elsie's River station.

But not all voters endured the wait stoically.

A frustrated voter in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, tried to storm police with a home-made dagger after the officers refused to allow him the use of a police vehicle to transport people to a less congested polling station. He was taken into custody.

And there was a certain irritation in the air when former president Mr P W Botha and his wife Elize jumped the queue at a polling station in the Wilderness near George yesterday to cast their votes. Mr Botha refused to speak to reporters afterwards.

Mr Pik Botha, the world's longest-serving foreign minister, tried to stake a place in the new South Africa yesterday by voting in Soweto.

But hundreds of blacks waiting for hours to vote for the first time were unimpressed as the well-tailored Mr Botha surrounded by bodyguards jumped the queue to cast his ballot. "They may have given us the vote but they still think they run this place," one woman grumbled, rubbing her feet, sore from standing for four hours. — Staff Reporters, Sapa

PICTURES — PAGE 7

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

MAJOR organisational problems which marred yesterday's voting could force an extra day of polling tomorrow.

But bombs, rain and threats of intimidation failed to stop millions of South Africans surging to the polls on the first day of full voting.

Serious logistical blunders, including shortages of ballot papers, many still without IFP stickers, occurred in a number of provinces, causing long delays and frustration among voters.

Yesterday's massive turnout, on top of the series of organisational failures, created severe bottlenecks at many polling stations in Cape Town and other urban areas.

The IEC also extended voting hours and asked the army to help print and distribute a further 5.6 million ballot papers. Extra ballot papers were also printed in Port Elizabeth and dispatched to polling stations all over the Eastern Cape.

Last night, after admitting that organisation had been "poor" in a number of areas, IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said a decision would be taken at noon today whether to extend the voting by another day.

In a significant climbdown, Judge Kriegler said that if it became clear by midday that not enough voters would be able to vote, the IEC would recommend that voting continue tomorrow.

Mr Justice Kriegler conceded that if the poor performance of polling stations in the PWV region repeated today and only 70 per cent efficiency was attained, he would seriously consider declaring the elections in the region unfree and unfair.

"It will not be a disaster for the whole country," he said. The elections could be re-run in an affected area within 12 weeks.

Ballot papers 'dumped'

By DALE GRANGER

A CITY businessman revealed last night that 900 000 ballot papers had been "dumped" unattended at his storeroom near the airport the day before polling started on Tuesday.

He said the boxes arrived in trucks from two well-known transport companies on Monday night. He had been told they contained IEC "material" and had been asked to store them.

He said he reluctantly agreed but felt uneasy and was astounded to discover later that the boxes contained ballot papers.

"I telephoned the police and the IEC telling them to come and remove them. Overseas ballot papers are guarded like gold in Fort Knox," he said. "The police and I counted the boxes and discovered there were 90 000 ballot papers in them." The boxes were later moved under police scrutiny to a second security company.

It could not be established whether the papers were distributed to polling stations.

The man told the Cape Times he had received an anonymous death threat.

IEC spokeswoman Ms In van der Linde said last night "we are re-organising the distribution of ballot papers". She added that "serious misplacement (of ballot papers) had taken place and we have asked the police to investigate".

RUSH TO PRINT MORE BALLOT PAPERS
See PAGE 2

GIVE PATIENTS DAGGA — UK NURSES
See PAGE 3

POLICE PROBE DRIVE-BY KILLING
See PAGE 3

SA MAN ON DRUG CHARGE IN THAILAND
See PAGE 5

VAAL'S PICK FOR SUPER 10 MATCH
See BACK PAGE

TITLE FIGHT FOR SANDERS?
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Extra vote day urged

President F W de Klerk last night also softened his earlier opposition to an extension, giving cautious approval for a longer voting period.

The reversal followed an earlier threat by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to withdraw his party from the election unless the problems bedevilling the poll were urgently addressed.

"I cannot rule out the possibility of

ballots would be accorded would be decided by the IEC only after they had been counted separately.

Later, however, he said that while such ballots should be regarded as technically invalid a way would be found under the Electoral Act to ensure that "they can be taken into account in any event".

Judge Kriegler emphasised at a press conference where a series of

concerns were raised about the running of the election: "We never promised you (the voter) a rose garden. We promised an adequate and respectable election, not a 12-cylinder super-charged election."

Mr De Klerk echoed these sentiments, saying: "If we cannot have a 100% perfect election, we must go for a 95 or 96% perfect election."

Smoothly

The IEC said it had received 10 807 reports from polling stations indicating no hitches whatever, but it also received more than 2 000 reports of a wide variety of problems, including the failure of some polling stations to open at all.

In the Western Cape, voting went smoothly in many areas, despite massive queues. But in other areas, particularly in the Mitchells Plain voting district, which includes Khayelitsha, conditions were often chaotic.

● Closed booths annoy — Page 2

Bread, but no milk deliveries

BREAD will be delivered today despite it being declared a public holiday, bakery spokesmen said.

However, milk was not expected to be delivered, shopkeepers said.

The public holiday today will cause confusion and cost business "hundreds of millions of rands", Cape Chamber of Industries offi-

cial Mr Colin Boyes said.

Post offices and the JSE will be closed today. However, bankers said the foreign exchange market would open for trade as usual.

Cape Town City Council emergency staff would be on duty as usual, a spokesman said. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent

our withdrawing from the election," he told reporters at his office in Ulundi, emphasising that it was grossly unfair to expect millions of illiterate voters to write the name of his party on ballot papers.

Chief Buthelezi also said delays and organisational confusion demanded another day's voting for the poll to be free and fair.

His call was endorsed by DP leader Dr Zach de Beer and ANC election chief Mr Jay Naidoo.

Last night Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte flew to Ulundi to try to diffuse the mounting crisis, promising additional officials and resources to back up the election machinery.

To compound the anger of the IFP and other parties, there was confusion in the IEC for much of yesterday about the validity and status of ballots on which the IFP name had been handwritten.

Judge Kriegler said earlier that a ruling on what weight such problem

Extra Special Taste.

Extra Special Scotch.

BELL'S
OLD SCOTCH WHISKY

crack of dawn

If food supplies run out because of all these extra holidays we can always bite the ballot.

Voters turn out in force

By BARRY STREEK and ANTHONY JOHNSON

ELECTION problems mounted in the Western Cape yesterday on the first full day of polling as voters turned out in force to cast their ballots.

The IEC said that trouble-free polling dropped from 89% when special votes were cast on Tuesday to 82% yesterday.

Most of the "system failures" — including the lack of ballot papers, ultra-violet lights, invisible ink and IFP stickers — were concentrated in African townships, particularly Khayelitsha.

"We had major logistical supply problems," the IEC's chief election analyst in the Western Cape, Dr Wilmet James, said. "People have been running around like crazy to sort it out."

However, presiding officers in the Atlantic seaboard, southern suburbs and city bowl pronounced themselves generally satisfied with the day's voting. The long queues had shrunk to more manageable proportions by evening.

In these areas, it generally took voters three to five hours to vote, but in the black townships some people had waited eight hours in

THE IEC announced last night the following percentages of polling-stations in South Africa's nine regions which were fully operational and "normal" yesterday:

Northern Cape:	100%
North West:	95%
Orange Free State:	94%
Western Cape:	87%
Orange Free State:	87%
Eastern Cape:	80%
Northern Transvaal:	80%
Eastern Transvaal:	75%
KwaZulu/Natal:	75%
PWV:	70%

the rain to cast their votes.

Many blacks swelled suburban queues of voters after serious logistical problems were encountered in some townships.

Election officials in the Western Cape had 43 serious incidents, including the shortage of ballot papers, reported to them by mid-afternoon, IEC spokesman Mr Tyrone Seale said.

Polling in the greater Cape Town area was 87% trouble-free. The shortage of ballot papers throughout the country was underlined by an IEC decision to ask the SA National Defence Force to print 9.3 million extra

ballot papers, although initially 80 million had been printed in Britain.

The problem faced by the IEC was the distribution of these ballot papers in sufficient numbers to each of the 9 000 stations.

Mr Seale said the IEC had been moving material and equipment between different voting stations to cope with the problems.

He felt the problem about the absence of some IFP stickers had been resolved with the IEC decision to allow voters to write in the IFP name.

It had also been decided that all polling stations would be allowed to stay open last night until voters had cast their ballots.

The IEC believed that everyone in the Western Cape would be able to vote by tonight, Mr Seale said.

The Democratic Party leader in the Western Cape, Mr Hennie Bester, said the DP wanted to express concern at the arrangements made for keeping polling stations in stock with essential supplies for the election.

"It has become evident that most polling stations are inadequately stocked," he added. "The turnout of voters was miraculous."



DP LEADER... Dr Zach de Beer casts his vote early yesterday at the Woodstock Town Hall where he met with the Russian observer of the election, Mr Nikolai Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Central Electoral Commission. Picture: ANDREW BERGMAN

'Chopper drops' possible

By CHRIS BATEMAN

HELICOPTER "drops" of ballot papers could be used to avoid chaos in Khayelitsha today where thousands of voters yesterday waited up to 10 hours, mostly in rain, to vote.

The massive township saw 13 of its 16 polling stations close early — eight opened late, some by as much as seven hours — as voting materials failed to arrive or ran out early.

Frustrated presiding officers lashed out at what they said were avoidable system failures and the near collapse of the IEC's logistical operation serving them and other black areas.

Admitting there were "major system failures" in Khayelitsha, an IEC spokesman said yesterday the problem would receive "top priority" overnight with helicopter equipment "drops" a probability.

Hopeful leaders quick off the mark

SOUTH AFRICA'S leaders were among the first to cast their votes as polling stations opened countrywide yesterday.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was met with wild cheers from voters as his convoy sped away from the Ohlange school in Inanda, north of Durban, where he voted.

"This is for all South Africans, an unforgettable occasion. It is the realisation of hopes and dreams that we have carried over decades."

President F W de Klerk hailed the election as "a great day for South Africa".

After casting his vote at the Arcadia Primary school in Pretoria, Mr De Klerk said the country was on the eve of a golden era.

After voting at Umlazi's King Zwelithini stadium, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was prepared to accept the outcome of the election, provided they were free and fair.

Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen was accompanied by former police and defence force generals when he voted at the Voortrekkerhoogte town hall.

Dr Allan Boesak, the ANC's Western Cape premiership candidate, voted in his former home town of Somerset West which he left when his family lost its house under the Group Areas Act.

"My vote is secret, but the guess is yours — I think I voted for the DP," quipped Democratic Party Western Cape premiership candidate Mr Hennie Bester as he left the Sea Point Civic Centre polling booth.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer voted in the Woodstock Town Hall only 200 metres from where he was born. — Sapa

Wind fresh to strong southerly to south-easterly. The minimum and maximum temperatures will be 11 and 19°C.

Overberg and coastal belt to Mossel Bay: Cloudy and cold with rain. Mossel Bay to Cape St Francis: Cloudy and cold with rain.

Cape St Francis to the Kei River: Cloudy and cold with rain.

Namaqualand and the south-west Cape interior: Cloudy and cold with rain, clearing partially.

Transvaal: Partly cloudy and cool. Free State: Cloudy and cool with light showers.

Natal: Fine and hot, becoming partly cloudy with isolated thundershowers.

Eastern Cape and Transkei: Cloudy and cold.

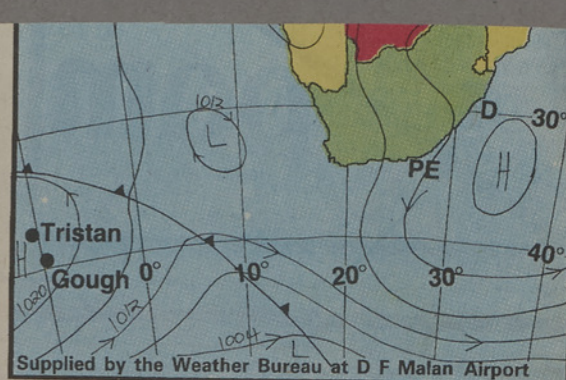
Namibia: Partly cloudy and hot, becoming cloudy and cold with fog patches along the coast.

Botswana: Partly cloudy, becoming fine and warm.

YESTERDAY'S READINGS
Barometer: 1011.7 1011.8
Humidity: 79.0 97.0
Temperature: 19.3 16.0
Maximum 19.9 Minimum 16.7

At D F Malan 24 hours to 8pm:
Hours of sunshine: 0.1
Wind 8pm: NW 21 knots

TIDES (TABLE BAY) TODAY
High: 0448 1720



Cloudy and cold

Low	High	Min	Max	Weather
1107	2328	12	24	Clear
Sun sets 1808	rises 0718	12	24	Clear
Moon rises 2037	sets 1007	12	24	Clear
TIDES (TABLE BAY)				
TOMORROW				
High: 0535	1809	18	25	Cloudy
Low: 1154		18	25	Cloudy
Sun sets 1807	rises 0719	18	25	Cloudy
Moon rises 2139	sets 1107	18	25	Cloudy
POOL, SEA TEMPERATURES				
Muizenberg: Pool 17, Sea 14.5				
Sea Point: Pool 20, Sea 15				
Newlands: Close				
Long Street: 25				
PHASES OF THE MOON				
Last Quarter, May 2				
New Moon, May 10				
First Quarter, May 18				
Full Moon, May 25				
Red Tide Hotline (021) 439-4380				

TV TODAY

*Programmes supplied by SABC & M-Net

CHANNEL 1	CHANNEL 2	CHANNEL 3
05:55: Morning Message	06:00: Sky News	06:00: Sky News
06:00: GMSA	06:30: CBS Evening News	06:30: CBS Evening News
08:03: Wiekie	07:00: Sky News Sunrise	07:00: Sky News Sunrise
09:30: Election	09:00: TBN: This Is Your Day	09:00: TBN: This Is Your Day
20:00: News	09:30: Kideo	09:30: Kideo
20:30: Agenda	10:00: Golden Years	10:00: Golden Years
21:30: The Powers That Be	10:30: Toddlers' Time	10:30: Toddlers' Time
22:00: News	11:00: Nqobile/Ngixole	11:00: Nqobile/Ngixole
22:30: The Trials of Life. The ways in which creatures all over the globe put up with life's hardships.	11:30: Keith Kirsten's Garden Club	11:30: Keith Kirsten's Garden Club
23:00: Beyond 2000	12:00: News	12:00: News
00:00: Thought for the Day	12:15: Larry King	12:15: Larry King
00:05: Sky News	13:00: Agri-Info	13:00: Agri-Info
00:00: CNN International	13:25: Sasol Successes	13:25: Sasol Successes
06:00: Election Coverage	13:30: Business Morning	13:30: Business Morning
12:00: CCV News	14:00: G.R.A.B.	14:00: G.R.A.B.
12:15: Election '94	14:23: Netnes	14:23: Netnes
20:00: CCV News	14:30: Teleschool	14:30: Teleschool
20:28: World Cup Soccer Fact File	16:00: The Learning Channel	16:00: The Learning Channel
20:30: Election '94	18:00: Bonus Sport. Inside the PGA. Motorsport. Women's bowls.	18:00: Bonus Sport. Inside the PGA. Motorsport. Women's bowls.
21:00: Voices Within	20:00: News	20:00: News
22:00: News	20:30: Blasé 21.00: Distant Echoes. Renowned cellist Yo-Yo Ma and anthro-	20:30: Blasé 21.00: Distant Echoes. Renowned cellist Yo-Yo Ma and anthro-
22:15: Jazz Studio		
23:15: CNN International		
06:00: Sky News		
06:30: CBS Evening News		
07:00: Sky News Sunrise		
09:00: TBN: This Is Your Day		
09:30: Kideo		
10:00: Golden Years		
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22:15: Jazz Studio		
23:15: CNN International		

Voters bused to quieter spots

THOUSANDS of township voters countrywide had to be bused to quieter areas to vote yesterday because of huge congestion and insufficient ballot papers.

Hundreds of voters were bused from Khayelitsha to Mowbray because the polling station had run out of ballot papers. Golden Arrow spokeswoman Ms Jean Welsh said the ANC had hired 100 buses to take voters from Khayelitsha to Mowbray, Bellville, Kuils River, Thornton and Somerset West.

Postbags get nod from IEC

EAST LONDON. — Completed ballot papers may be dumped into postbags if there are not enough ballot boxes at polling stations today, the IEC has decided.

It said in an urgent memorandum yesterday that because a number of items required for voting were no longer available, presiding officers could exercise some flexibility.

If no official stamps were available, officials should sign the ballots. If the invisible ink had run out, they were to sign voters' IDs to indicate clearly that the person had voted. — Sapa

In BRIEF 1994

Parabats to help police

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Paratroopers are being deployed in various parts of the Free State to help the SA Police during the election.

Violent threats in Vaal

KLERKSDORP. — Angry voters in the Western Transvaal yesterday threatened to pull down polling booths closed due to a lack of ballot papers.

Soldiers' allowances up

PRETORIA. — Daily allowances to soldiers deployed in support of the SA Police Service from March 1 to May 31 will be raised to R61.50.

Babies reflect euphoria

JOHANNESBURG. — Euphoria at the end of white domination was reflected in the names mothers chose for their babies, born at a maternity clinic in Alexandra yesterday. The first three babies born yesterday were two boys, Freedom and Happiness, and a girl named Thankful.

New flag flies outside UN

UNITED NATIONS. — South Africa's new flag was hoisted outside the United Nations yesterday in a wordless 90-second ceremony.

Probe into stolen ballots

WELKOM. — Free State police are investigating the theft of 100 unused ballot papers reported missing from a polling station in Welkom's Thabong township on Tuesday.

Balloons fly in London

LONDON. — Tearful actress Glenda Jackson was one of the prominent Anti-Apartheid Movement figures who released 1 000 green, black and gold balloons in Trafalgar Square yesterday to celebrate the election.

Delay angers local voters

STRANDFONTEIN VILLAGE voters complained as a two-hour delay at the start of voting left them braving the rain for up to five hours in kilometre-long queues.

Blitz for identity cards

DEPARTMENT of Home Affairs officials were yesterday swamped by a last-minute blitz for temporary identity documents when thousands of voters were bused in by ANC organisers. The Bellville office alone processed more than 800 temporary IDs.

No flagging of interest

THE two-day-old new national flag can be seen flying on the bastions of the Castle — along with the old and the very old, to represent the various eras of the Cape. WP Command spokeswoman Major Hesta van Straten said the flags represented the different periods since the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck.

Reports by Political Staff, Own Correspondent, Sapa

DP's complaint stops 'unfair' ANC tactic

Staff Reporter

A COMPLAINT by the Democratic Party yesterday stopped the ANC from campaigning near a polling station in Claremont, which the DP felt unfairly prejudiced parties contesting the voting.

Mr Gerald Richman, district electoral officer for the Wynberg magisterial district, said the ANC had set up information tables and handed out pamphlets close to the Claremont Civic Centre polling station yesterday.

He said a decision to shorten the control area around the polling station by the presiding officer at the Claremont Civic Centre, Mr J van Renen, unfairly prejudiced the

various parties contesting the election.

After many hours of negotiations the IEC agreed to extend the Claremont Civic Centre-controlled area perimeter from Main Road to Mains Avenue, to Summerly Road, to the railway line, to Palmyra Road, to Warwick Road and back to Main Road.

Mr Richman said this now placed the ANC's activities within the new controlled area and caused them to cease campaigning in the closer area.

"We hope this will act as a deterrent to all political parties who want to take advantage of any contracted controlled area to campaign politically close to the polling station," he said.

Closed booths annoy residents

Staff Reporter

RESIDENTS in the southern suburbs and Sea Point, under the impression that voting hours in all areas had been extended, were angry last night after they encountered one closed polling station after the other.

A Camps Bay residents said she went to Camps Bay, then to Jan van Riebeeck School in Vredehoek and then to the Sea Point Civic Centre polling stations, where voters were told the station was closed because "there was no need to keep them open".

Ms Alison Haupt of Woodstock was also disappointed because she and a group of friends had been trying all day to vote. Thinking voting hours had been extended, they went to the town hall after 7pm, but it was closed, she said.

Senior citizens were outraged last night after hearing that the votes they cast the day before may be rejected — because they did not have IFP stickers on them. Claremont resident Mr Thomas Rice voted with about 2 000 other senior citizens in the Claremont Civic Centre on Tuesday, and he claims none of the ballot papers had IFP stickers on them.



FW FAN... A National Party-supporting pooch wearing a camouflage jacket and festooned with F W de Klerk badges — as well as an FW hat — left no one in any doubt about his loyalties as his master travelled to the polls waving the new flag. Picture: STEWART COLMAN

Boats fly new colours

Staff Reporter

SCORES of commercial fishing vessels entered Table Bay Harbour yesterday, resplendent in their new South Africa flags, to enable hundreds of crew members to vote.

Irvin & Johnson, Lusitania, Marine Products, Premier Fishing and Viking Trawling brought about 100 vessels in to off-load their jubilant crews, many of whom were voting for the first time.

I & J's trawler, the Sacip, docked at A-berth at 10.30am to off-load

about 50 crew members, including Mr Philip Basjan, who turned 18 in November, and said he was "nervous but thrilled" at being able to vote.

Also voting for the first time was the Sacip's first mate, Mr William Payne, 30, of Mitchells Plain, who said: "I can't explain the feeling — I am ecstatic."

Seafarers not able to get to a polling station will have "missed the boat" as the Electoral Act makes no provision for votes to be cast at sea.

Mitchells Plain voters upbeat despite delays

By RONALD MORRIS

MITCHELLS PLAIN voters yesterday braved cold, driving rain and waited for hours to cast their vote on a day marred by late ballot papers, no invisible ink and missing IFP stickers.

Yet the crowds remained upbeat while moving at a snail's pace, and voters at Westridge Civic Centre waved cheerfully at Archbishop Desmond Tutu when he did some monitoring duties.

Police guarding polling stations, who until yesterday were name tags with the old South African flag on the left, wore them with the orange, white and blue taped over.

The hundreds-strong crowd at

Woodlands Community Hall, where two polling stations which had to share ultra-violet scanning equipment and people had started queuing before 7am, started to vote at 7.20am.

At the Rocklands Civic Centre more than 1 000 people had gathered before 6am only to learn before 8am that they would be delayed because IFP stickers which had to be added to the ballot papers had not yet arrived and the polling station had run out of invisible ink.

Mr Franklin Sonn, who cast his vote in Westridge, said he was impressed with the harmonious relationship between supporters of various parties, who had been very responsible.

Stain on voter's good reputation

Staff Reporters

A CAMPS BAY woman was nearly stopped from voting yesterday when the ultra-violet scan indicated her hands had been stained with the invisible ink that showed she had already voted.

The woman, who asked not to be named, denied she had voted and was then questioned by electoral officers who also examined her ID book for tell-tale stamps.

She said she had not been taking any medication but had worked with stain remover before coming to vote. She was eventually allowed to vote.

Not clear

An IEC official said no other similar reports had been received.

In another incident, a voter trying to vote at the Good Hope Centre was told there were no provincial ballots available.

The voting official then added that he could still cast a national vote — except that there were no IFP stickers available.

Asked by the voter if that meant his vote would not count, the official said: "Well, yes, it's not clear yet."

An IEC official said the voter had later received a provincial ballot.

Team 'gets work done'

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

CO-OPERATION was the key to success for the Western Cape Joint Operational Centre (JOC) yesterday, as it struggled to overcome the huge polling logistical problems thrown at it.

The JOC, a collaborative effort by the IEC, the Western Cape Peace Committee (WCPC) and the newly-named SA Police Service (SAPS) and SA National Defence Force (SANDF), is entrusted with

seeing to the smooth running of election activities and related security measures in the region.

Throughout the Rural South, Segregation Continues as Usual

Continued From Page 1

ence to tradition, fear by blacks, racism by whites and the facts of economics.

In many of the towns, there are bars where blacks know they cannot buy drinks, restaurants in which they cannot eat, motels in which they cannot get a room and golf courses at which they cannot tee off.

This situation exists, said Steve Suitts, executive director of the Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council, a private research organization, "because the Federal Government's arm isn't that long and business doesn't require a different practice."

"No one would do that, as a rule, in Atlanta," he said, "not because Atlanta doesn't believe in it, but simply because it would be bad for business."

Determining who is responsible for the perpetuation of segregation is difficult. Many whites say people want to stick with their own kind; blacks say they are discriminated against. Whites also feel that race relations are good and that there are no racial problems; blacks say the opposite is true.

Of Habits and Laws

Is segregation perpetuated because whites, making a quiet show of defiance, thumb their noses at outsiders who attempt to dictate with whom they must work, live, attend school, share political power? Is it because of simple racism?

Or is it because blacks are content to use side doors and back doors while whites use front doors?

"It's more difficult to change a habit than a law," said Robert L. Albritten, a black undertaker who owns a liquor store, sells insurance, sorts out legal problems of poor blacks and is a member of the Dawson City Council.

One 23-year-old woman, who identified herself only as Helen, explained why she was among those blacks who entered Dr. G. Fain Martin's dental office through a side door, sit in the "east" waiting room at the Terrell County Medical Clinic and use the basement restrooms at the courthouse. "That's where we always went," she said, "so that's where we go."

Big Cities and Small Towns

Huelett Phillips, a black 48-year-old Atlantan who is incarcerated at the Terrell County Prison Camp for possession of marijuana, said blacks "know their place" in the rural South. The prisoners, two-thirds of whom are black, maintain county roads and buildings and collect garbage. Mr. Phillips is the courthouse janitor.

"It's changed in the big cities," he added, "but it hasn't changed in small towns like this."

The observation by Mr. Phillips appears to be true in such towns as Demopolis, Ala., Yazoo City, Miss., San Augustine, Tex. and Blakely, Ga. In each place, some physicians maintain two waiting rooms. Blacks, for the most part, continue to sit in theirs, whites in theirs.

In Ludowici, Ga., a town where, until last year, the high school chose two homecoming queens, one black and one white, a brawl broke out recently in the school cafeteria over whether white girls should date black boys. Several black students were expelled through 1986 as a result, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference went to protest. The Ku Klux Klan also visited the town, vowing to protect white womanhood. Hours after a Klan rally, the home of a black activist burned to the ground. The fire marshals attributed it to faulty wiring.

Restrooms 'Out of Order'

People who believe that, said the Rev. Joseph Lowery, S.C.L.C. president, also "believe in Goldilocks, Little Red Riding Hood and all those nice things."

Near Marshall, Va., Roy Elder McKoy has, under Federal pressure, recently posted a sign saying he will serve people of all races at his Belvoir Restaurant. Since 1967, the Government has charged him three times with refusing to serve blacks. He was sentenced last month to a 30-day jail term.

Black travelers say it is not unusual

to find gasstation restrooms "out of order" when they inquire.

For blacks who live in these areas, said Charles H. King Jr., a race relations consultant based in Atlanta, "the name of the game is survival."

"Their whole livelihood depends on the white people, the white system," said Mr. King, who is black. "Civil rights, drinking water from a public fountain, eating in restaurants, going to bathrooms — all that is secondary to survival."

White resistance comes as no shock to Charles Sherrod, a black who is a member of the Albany, Ga., City Council, who came to southwest Georgia in 1961 with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

'Attitudes Are Still There'

"Those people who shot at us and blew up churches and all that 20 years ago, they haven't gone anywhere," said Mr. Sherrod. "The attitudes are still there. Their behavior has changed because we have got a little power. They won't do anything they can't get away with."

Nor is Mr. Suitts of the Southern Regional Council surprised by what appears to be complacency on the part of rural blacks, many of whom are elderly.

"The fact is a lot of people put up with segregation for two-thirds of their lives and are not sure all this change is solid or irreversible," said Mr. Suitts, who is white.

Economics also plays a role, according to many experts. So long as blacks must depend on whites for jobs, credit and small favors, they will not rock the boat.

The economy of many of these towns revolves around agriculture and textile mills, says Charles McCant, Georgia coordinator for the Voter Education Project, a private, Atlanta-based organization that conducts voter registration drives among minority groups. He says that for blacks, "It's the same as it was 10 years ago, 20 years ago, 30, 50 or 100 years ago."

'You'll Never Be Equal'

It is where an independent class of blacks has emerged, as doctors, lawyers or undertakers, that they have challenged the old system, said David Garrow, an assistant professor of political science at City College, in New York. And that has not happened in the rural South. Mr. Garrow, who is white, has spent time in southwest Georgia doing research for books on the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the civil rights movement.

Yet there are genuinely warm relationships between individual whites and individual blacks.

In Siler City, N.C., W. Harvey Knotts, a black undertaker, said it was not unusual for a member of the Ku Klux Klan to have a good black friend. He said their attitude is still this: "Because I'm white, I'm a little bit better; you'll never be equal."

Dawson, which is about 30 miles south of Plains, the hometown of former President Jimmy Carter, is no different. As in other areas of the South, whites speak to a visitor of racial harmony while blacks quietly complain of racism.

David Bell, a white who is City Manager, said: "We ain't had any problems. You ain't heard of any marching. You ain't heard of any burning. You ain't heard of any Klan."

James L. Barnes, a black who is president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that was not because blacks were satisfied but because they were afraid.

"If we could get that fear out of blacks, if blacks had courage, there would be a world of difference from what it is," he said.

Several whites, including John Thacker, president of the local Chamber of Commerce, insisted that Dawson had never had any "racial problems." But that overlooks the history of what civil rights activists and older blacks still refer to as "Terrible Terrell."

They recall the two churches that were burned in 1962, churches that were being used for voter registration drives. Dr. King and Jackie Robinson, the baseball player, came to Dawson to lend their encouragement.



Huelett Phillips, janitor at Terrell County Courthouse in Dawson, Ga., suggests segregation survives because "blacks know their place here."

And they remember that a third church was torched by three drunken men, one of whom told the local newspaper, The Dawson News, that they had been angry.

Blacks also recall how in 1964 D. U. Pullum, then in his 70's and president of the local N.A.A.C.P., was brutally beaten by unidentified white men.

They remember the people who lost their jobs when they registered to vote or when it was discovered that they belonged to the N.A.A.C.P. And they remember the Dawson Five case, which in 1977 brought international attention to a bastion of the Old South that existed in the shadows of President Carter's New South.

Lie About a Polygraph Machine

Five illiterate or semilliterate black youths who had been charged with murdering a white man spent 18 months in jail awaiting trial. The only evidence was two confessions that proved to have been coerced. After a hearing, the confessions were thrown out and the charges dismissed. According to testimony at a pretrial hearing, one youth was told that the polygraph machine to which he was fastened was an electric chair.

The town felt itself on trial, and neither blacks nor whites liked what they saw, for conflicting reasons. Whites still say the town was falsely portrayed. But many blacks, including Mr. Albritten, the City Council member, trace the "reawakening" of blacks to the Dawson Five case.

Within two years, following a lawsuit that challenged the at-large voting system, blacks were elected to the City Council and the County Commission for the first time. Two blacks were named to the school board. And blacks began holding jobs they had never held before, as bank tellers, as City Hall secretaries, as factory supervisors or as personnel directors.

But most white children still attend the Terrell Academy, which was established in 1970, shortly after the school board agreed to let blacks attend white schools on a "freedom-of-choice" basis. The city once owned a swimming pool near the courthouse, but sold it to the hastily formed Terrell County Youth Foundation in the 1960's, thus avoiding integration.

Today, blacks swim in a city-owned pool in a black neighborhood. Whites

use the facilities at the Terrell County Country Club, which has no black members.

Wilbur T. Gamble, a white who is chairman of the County Commission, said: "I'm going to guess it's partially caused by both races. It's not black versus white, but it's by custom and by people wanting to be around their friends."

This extends, said Dr. Charles M. Ward, a white physician at the medical clinic, to the waiting rooms there. "People separate from other people because they don't have anything in common, no common interests."

Dr. Martin, the white dentist, said blacks could sit anywhere. So did Dr. Ward.

But several blacks, including Ivy Crawford, a teacher in nearby Webster County, said otherwise.

When she recently went in through the front door of Dr. Martin's office and sat in the front waiting room, she said, a receptionist told her: "I believe you are on the wrong side. You all are supposed to come in on the other side."

Mrs. Crawford said she left and went to Albany, 25 miles to the south, to see another dentist.

Dr. Martin declined to be interviewed, saying he was too busy with patients.

J. R. Melton, a barber, seemed typical of whites in Dawson, cordial, apparently willing to see blacks given an equal opportunity at employment, but convinced that blacks and whites were two separate species.

He volunteers to cut the hair of elderly patients, including several blacks, at a nearby nursing home, he said, but would refuse to cut the hair of a black man who walked into his shop.

'The Way We Were Brought Up'

"I don't know how," he said. "I assume black folks want their hair cut right."

As for socializing, Mr. Melton said blacks have their bars and whites theirs. Adults might get together at the softball games sponsored by the County Recreation Department. "But just straight socializing, a white couple and black couple getting together? No."

Asked why, he said, "It's just the way we were brought up, the way we were raised."

Blacks, when asked, say they do not care to socialize with whites, anyway. And so the pattern, established by law in years past, continues now by force of habit.

There are two activities that may help draw the children of Dawson closer than their parents are: basketball and the 4-H Club.

Whites from the academy will come to watch basketball games at the Terrell County High School, which is 95 percent black. In 1984 the boys won the state championship; this year the girls did. A recent victory parade through downtown Dawson drew blacks and whites.

About 450 students from fifth grade up work together on 4-H projects, go to camps together and compete with each other.

But whether any of this is a sign that the next generation will create a more integrated society in the Dawsons of the South remains to be seen.

Mr. Gamble, the County Commission chairman, said, "I think it's going to be a while."

Mr. Garrow, the political science professor, put it this way: "I think the distance in time between small, rural towns and an Atlanta or a Birmingham is a difference of decades."

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see COURIERS, page A12

Special occasion? Members of the "Old Guard" guard the Tomb of the Unknowns at Arlington Cemetery. The White House used them as couriers.

Photo by Bert V. Soule/The Washington Times

Zulu chief doubts nonviolent solution in S. Africa

By Neil McMahon
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that South Africa has a less than even chance of a non-violent solution to its problems and expressed doubt an election can be held under current conditions.

In an interview with The Washington Times, Chief Buthelezi also criticized the Clinton administration for favoring his archrival, Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, and defended his own alliance with white nationalist parties.

Asked if he had revised his prediction last year that South Africa had only a 50-50 chance of a peaceful

settlement, Chief Buthelezi said he was "definitely" more pessimistic.

"These circumstances make it even more dicey... It's going to be more difficult than I anticipated last year," he said. Chief Buthelezi contended that a free and fair election is unlikely given current levels of violence, "when people are killed just for being members of parties."

South Africa might repeat the experience of Angola, which returned to civil war after elections last year, he warned.

"I'm very concerned about it, and I don't see how we're going to do it," he said. "I do realize that time is of the essence and we do need elections, but nonetheless, I don't believe there shall be elections at any cost." Multiparty negotiations led by the

ANC and President Frederik de Klerk's government have set an election date of April 27, but Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Party and other groups say they won't take part unless their demands are met.

Chief Buthelezi, two "tribal homeland" leaders and several nationalist groups have withdrawn from the talks and joined forces as the Freedom Alliance to push their demands for a new constitution with most power given to regional governments.

The alliance also demands that a final constitution entrenching regional powers be drawn up before an election. The ANC and the government have agreed that a government of national unity will devise a constitution after the election.

Chief Buthelezi said recent talks with the two major parties had gone well but were hampered by the deals already made by the ANC and Pretoria.

"I think there is an eagerness [to accommodate us], but this eagerness is limited by the fact that they have already agreed between themselves on this two-phase process," Chief Buthelezi said.

"They expect us to go where they are, whereas we cannot see how we can do this. We are prepared to take part in the election on April 27, if it is an election for a government of South Africa under a complete constitution.

"But it's a different matter to have see S. AFRICA, page A8

Great up Zulu to U.S. point than in a massive redevelopment program for the 500-mile corridor stretching from Moscow to St. Petersburg.

The centerpiece of the proposed program is the relocation of an estimated 4.5 million Russian military veterans and refugees returning from onetime republics of the former Soviet Union into the corridor — an area roughly the size of Germany.

With the help of Bethesda's Strategic Business Services Group Inc. (SBS), the Russian government wants to develop a master plan to build a toll-charging superhighway linking the country's two largest cities, attract private and public Western aid, build an average of 40,000 housing units a year, retrain ex-soldiers for civilian jobs, improve infrastructure and exporting facilities, and develop new industries, including tourism and manufacturing.

"We want processing plants, gas stations, housing, diamond-cutting plants — anything that will bring employment to the region," said see RUSSIA, page A8

duction is rapidly progressing in Russia," Mr. Kuzin added.

S. AFRICA

From page A1

an election on who's going to write a constitution."

Mr. de Klerk's recent proposal for a referendum if agreement could not be finalized within a month was an attempt to "force my hand to commit suicide," Chief Buthelezi said. "It is not democratic. We reject it."

"The time frames seem to him to be more important than us finding solutions on a multiparty basis. I don't think we will be rushed by that. If they want to destroy the country, then the onus is on them."

Nor, he warned, would the alliance be pressured by world opinion, which generally favors the position of the ANC.

"The world doesn't have to live with us in South Africa," he said, "It's not the world's future that's being discussed."

Chief Buthelezi said the United States, in particular, should take a nonbiased stance on South Africa, rather than the Clinton administration's apparent pro-ANC position.

"All I need from them is evenhandedness," he said. "I can only say that the United States is a bulwark of the Western world [and] should really set an example in evenhandedness."

"Even when I wrote letters to him [President Clinton] and sent them through official channels congratulating him on his election, I never got acknowledgment of receipt. I think that says something."

"In South Africa, there is more than one party. However much they may like to make it bipolar, there is more than one party."

"If my colleague or someone went to Las Vegas and won so many thousands of dollars there, I would not stop and debate the ethics of gambling," he said, "In the same way, I congratulate them on their luck without getting into the issue of whether it is right or wrong."

Chief Buthelezi said he resented criticism of his alliance with white nationalist parties that seek to form an Afrikaner homeland, and angrily denied he was in danger of being seen as an Uncle Tom personality.

"I support self-determination. The Afrikaners have been in this country longer than the Americans have been in America, and, therefore, they are indigenous in the sense. We reject any state based on racism and we have made them make that declaration."

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