

The spokesman explained that in many instances those who ended

the relevant prosecutor, who decides on a court appearance. In cases where the

point". The nearest to Johannesburg was Magaliesoord. A very popular one

Award for excellence



Pta pupil wins music prize

PORT ELIZABETH. — A Standard Nine high-school pupil from Pretoria was chosen overall winner of the TrustBank National Youth Music Competition which ended in Port Elizabeth last night.

Harpist Deanne van Rooyen, of the Pro Arte High School, was awarded the SABC Allegro prize of R2 500 and the TrustBank Gold Medal.

Categories

Winners in the separate categories, who received R1 000 each and a silver medal, were violinist Sarita Uranovsky, of Cape Town; violinist Lizelle le Roux, a Matric pupil at Pro Arte; pianist Lerous

Beyers, a Standard Nine pupil from Vereeniging; flautist Anna-Maria van Zyl and organist Herman Jordaan, both Matric pupils at Pro Arte. — Sapa.

Prof DANIE JOUBERT (right), former rector of the University of Pretoria, received an Award for Excellence at the university's "Bond van Oud-Tukies" 50-year commemoration held in Pretoria last night. Dr KEES COETZEE presented the award.

Mandela's call on TEC 'vindicates CP stance'

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela's call on world leaders to ignore the government and deal directly with the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) vindicated Conservative Party criticism that the council would be a "super Cabinet," CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday.

"It has to be understood that the govern-

ment will not be allowed to execute attacks on terrorist bases, such as the raid in Transkei the past 24 hours, without the TEC's permission; once it is installed," Dr Hartzenberg said.

He urged the government not to implement the TEC and to support the CP in its envisaged actions aimed at preventing the installation of the council.

THE African National Congress yesterday heaped praise on the International Commission of Jurists' pre-election recommendations.

The ICJ report was released on Wednesday at a Johannesburg news briefing, at which the jurists levelled criticism at local police and called for a joint peace-keeping force, overseen by an international peace-keeping unit under the Electoral Commission.

Reacting to the proposals, the ANC said the Commission's finding on the role of the Internal Stability Unit, KwaZulu police and various homeland police forces, as well as the Waddington Report on the police earlier this year, were a serious indictment on the force's

image.

The SA Police reacted angrily on Thursday to ICJ suggestions that neutral policing in South Africa was non-existent.

Major-General Leon Mellet said it was absurd for the ICJ to assume the role of police experts after a mere two-week

visit to the country.

But, the ANC differed. "The finding reinforces the ANC's view that the Internal Stability Unit, which has performed a para-military role, should be withdrawn from our townships and the KwaZulu police force disbanded to give way to

more accountable and community representative police force," said the ANC statement.

On the SAP's perceived legitimacy crisis, the ANC proposed these be addressed urgently to ensure a constructive role during the transition to democracy. — Sapa.

SA achieved close to a miracle, says Eglin

CAPE TOWN. — What had been achieved in normalising South Africa since February 1990 was close to a miracle, Democratic Party negotiator at the multi-party talks Mr Colin Eglin said in Brussels yesterday.

Addressing a confer-

ence of the European Parliamentarians for Southern Africa organisation, he said it was one thing to negotiate and enact a democratic constitution, but quite another to develop a citizenry and a society capable of matching the democratic standards set by that constitution.

His speech was released to Sapa in Cape Town.

The present level of violence dominated by the killing of uninvolved civilians was appalling, and the level of political intolerance was disturbing.

"And yet, if one thinks back on the oppressive

days of apartheid and on the fierce passions and deep divides that that dark era inflicted in the South African nation, what has been achieved in normalising and democratising South Africa over the past three years and eight months is close to a miracle."

He said if a revolution was a fundamental transfer of political power as the consequence of internal or external pressure, then South Africa was experiencing "one of the most cautious, keenly debated, extensively negotiated and protracted revolutions in modern history". — Sapa.

Support for NZ crash family 'overwhelming'

Citizen Reporter

THE family of the South African doctor couple who, together with two of their three children, were killed in a car crash in New Zealand this week, said yesterday they had been "overwhelmed" by the support and interest of both the South African and New Zealand public following the tragedy.

Dr Anthony Paul Margolius and his wife, Dr Marlene Tissen, their five-year-old son, Jason and two-week-old

daughter, Lauren-Marie, were killed in a head-on collision while holidaying in New Zealand.

The sole survivor of the accident, their badly injured 18-month-old son, Byron, is expected to be flown to South Africa today.

Byron's maternal aunt, Mrs Yvonne Woodhouse, said yesterday the family appreciated the concern shown by the public. "It has been a great support in our time of grief. It

has been an extremely traumatic week for the whole family.

"Losing one family member is tragic under any circumstances, but losing almost an entire family is completely devastating," she said.

She said the messages of support were greatly appreciated but added that the family had many arrangements to make and "would appreciate it very much if the public and the Press respect our privacy over the next few days".

IFP alliance catches members off-guard

DALE LAUTENBACH

Weekend Argus Political Staff

SENIOR members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) have been caught totally unawares by their organisation's newly strengthened links with the far rightwing in the formation of the Freedom Alliance.

Those who were at the summit meeting of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) in Pretoria this week, which gave birth to the new alliance, are taking a triumphant, upbeat view that it is a significant breakthrough for "real negotiations".

But senior IFP members have serious questions about the strategy they knew nothing about.

"This is a major policy decision that was taken without our knowledge," said a senior IFP member who hopes to find out what happened and why.

"This is far from democratic ... suddenly we hear this," said one who, among others, was optimistic that the IFP negotiators had been on the verge of a breakthrough in their bilateral meetings with the government.

They had hoped to get the government "on our side" in the face of what they perceive as the ANC drive to crush the IFP militarily in Natal.

They fear now that by associating with the far rightwing and its war-talk, they have an ally for the worst-case scenario, namely a boycott of the elections and a potential escalation of confrontation.

"I don't know how this new alliance will help us, because if the IFP does not fight the elections it will be marginalised," said a senior IFP man.

Those who were party to the decision by Cosag members to strengthen their bonds in the creation of the

Freedom Alliance — negotiating as a bloc while halting all their separate negotiation attempts — said it was a positive and constructive step.

Asked if the creation of the alliance meant that the Afrikaner Volksfront was now back at the negotiation table (following its suspension of talks with the government and ANC) AVF's General Tienie Groenewald said: "I suppose so, but on a completely different basis. We now have a stronger base from which to negotiate. This is one of the most significant political developments in South Africa recently."

The IFP sources who did not anticipate this move were concerned though that it was an ill-timed reaction to the ANC's attempts to drive a wedge between the far right and the IFP.

The new alliance will be led by Chief Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and General Constand Viljoen.

It has not been lost on those IFP members struggling to make sense of this development that the white right has dual representation in this line-up.

Meanwhile, President De Klerk said that arrangements for talks with the new alliance would be made "as soon as possible" and welcomed its willingness to enter into discussions.

The ANC's Ronnie Mamoepa said he believed most would see through "an attempt to delay the liberation of our people and to hold the country to ransom".

He saw the alliance as "an attempt to consolidate the ranks of the right wings of both black and white organisations".

Mandela flies into Glasgow row

Argus 9/10 October 1993

GARNER THOMSON
Weekend Argus Correspondent

GLASGOW. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela was last night flying into a row over the long-awaited celebrations organised in Glasgow to celebrate his contribution to South Africa's move towards a democratic future.

Afro-Caribbean and some anti-apartheid activists here, were angry at their exclusion from a civic ceremony investing him with the freedom of Glasgow and eight other British cities, districts and boroughs.

Most vocal yesterday was the African Caribbean Women's Association (Acwa), who claimed they had been snubbed by the Scottish organisers after years of campaigning and fundraising for anti-apartheid causes and Mr Mandela's release from prison.

Spokeswoman Eva Asante said: "Usually when something is happening in Glasgow, we or our children are invited to perform a dance or cook.

"When they want an African flavour for something, that's when they'll contact us.

"But, when it's something like Nelson Mandela coming to Glasgow they just seem to forget our telephone number. I am very angry. I feel we have been snubbed."

Adding to Acwa's anger is the fact that the Alien Arts and Ethnic Minorities groups — both largely Asian organisations — had been invited.

Another member of Acwa, Meg Sika, added: "We should be involved. Nelson Mandela is African and we are African. We always have been involved in the struggle for Nelson Mandela and we feel very emotional about it."

Also critical of the organisers is Euro MP Janey Buch-

an, one of the originators of Glasgow's long-running Freedom for Mandela campaign.

Along with other campaigners, she, too, had been excluded from the inner chamber where Mr Mandela would be given the freedom of the city. She described the council as "self-centred and unwilling to give the nod in the direction of anyone else".

Glasgow City Council officials said guest lists for the actual presentation today had to be severely restricted for lack of space, but that all other guests and well-wishers were able to attend the mass ceremony immediately afterwards.

A spokesman for the Scottish Anti-Apartheid Movement, co-ordinators of the rest of Mr Mandela's visit, said the omission of any organisations like Acwa had been "entirely accidental."

"As far as we are concerned, we have done our best

to be as fair as possible," he said.

The freedom ceremony is regarded here as historic. Glasgow was one of the first cities in Britain to begin campaigning actively for Mr Mandela's release from prison, and in 1981 became the first council to confer civic honour on the ANC leader.

After his acceptance speech today, Mr Mandela was scheduled to attend a mass rally in Glasgow, organised by the Scottish Anti-Apartheid Movement, as well as to be feted at the National Assembly of Local Governments and Wider Community.

Tomorrow morning, he meets Scottish newspaper editors over breakfast, then flies to Dublin for low-key meetings with government officials. From there, he flies to Birmingham, then London on the last leg of his overseas tour.

Poster death threat

NP man warned of 'one settler, one bullet' — at gunpoint

■ The simple task of hanging posters advertising a speech by the State President turned into a nightmare for a National Party man who found himself threatened at gunpoint.

DI CAELERS

Weekend Argus Reporter

A NATIONAL Party leader in Somerset West stared death in the face when men chanting "one settler, one bullet" threatened to shoot him if he continued putting up posters advertising a visit by the State President.

The chairman of the NP district council of the Helderberg constituency, Johann Burger, believes he is still alive thanks only to a traffic light that changed to green and a subsequent stream of approaching cars.

Describing his ordeal, which occurred about 8pm on Friday evening, a still-shaken Mr Burger told Weekend Argus yesterday that he was putting up posters, advertising Mr De Klerk's address in Stellenbosch tomorrow, in Somerset West's main road.

"I was up the ladder tying on a poster when an Audi full of people stopped beside me. One of the passengers in the back rolled down the window and pointed a gun at me. They were shouting 'one settler, one bullet'.

"I think what saved me was that robots up the road and down the road from where I was changed to green and cars started coming in my direction. As the cars approached the men accelerated away. If that hadn't happened I'm certain they would have shot me."

But Mr Burger's ordeal was not yet over. On returning to his bakkie where the other posters were, he was approached by three men in a second vehicle, a minibus this time, who demanded he stop putting up the posters or else he would be shot.

"They told me FW De Klerk would be next."

Mr Burger went immediately to the police to report the incident and was offered police protection while he put up the remaining posters.

He told Weekend Argus he was most concerned that political groupings in the run-up to next year's election should be given the opportunity to canvass votes without fear of intimidation.

"I was dead scared but I believed I couldn't give in to these men's threats. That's just not what free and fair elections are all about. And if this kind of thing is going to be the norm, we are going to end up with a bloodbath.

"I wasn't prepared to back down and allow them to score a moral victory," Mr Burger said.

A police spokesman said a docket of pointing a firearm had been opened in Somerset West. No arrests had been made.

SA leaders in the US dogbox

THEY might not say so on the record, but most of the influential African specialists in the United States generally had a low opinion of the political talents and negotiating skills shown by the major parties in South Africa in 1992.

Surprisingly, since he is known for his bland and cautious statements, probably the most candid remark encapsulating this widely held view came from the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen, when he said at a media briefing last month: "I am not satisfied with the performance of any of the parties in South Africa."

By way of a jocular aside, he added: "How's that for even-handedness?" But he went no further, and there was no need for him to. In the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the State Department, the US Treasury and, who knows, in the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency, there appears to be a consensus that the South African government and the ANC are engaged in some bizarre competition to see who can outdo the other in ill-advised statements and inept decision-making, with both emerging triumphant.

The year started well for the government when President De Klerk announced a white referendum to determine whether or not whites wanted the government to proceed with negotiations aimed at full democracy. The ANC's criticism of the referendum was lost in a deluge of praise from the US media and US officials.

But to many Africanists in the US, Mr De Klerk failed to capitalise on his win. The day after the result was announced, some of them say, should have been the day he tackled white opponents in the military and security establishment.

Mr De Klerk's long and unexplained failure to take action against manifest wrongdoing in the military and police, wrongdoing exposed more than two years ago in official inquiries into the CCB and certain police shootings, have puzzled many Americans who are otherwise sympathetic. Indeed, disciplinary steps strongly recommended by judges who investigated various actions by the police as far back as 1990 still have not been taken.

Thus it was not surprising to Americans that Mr Justice Goldstone should have rebuked the government in the wake of the Boipatong massacre for having failed to act on his recommendations aimed at preventing such atrocities, and the perception — actively promoted by the ANC — gained credence that Mr De Klerk had some interest in allowing the military and the police an unfettered hand.

The fact that long after all the judicial recommendations, long after the inquiries, and long after the tragedies at Boipatong, Bisho and elsewhere, Mr De Klerk should have ordered an investigation into the role of the military in South Africa's violence and, as a result of police work undertaken

partly by the Goldstone Commission, should have dismissed generals and others of high rank for their alleged role in the violence, was reported on extensively — but the praise that might have come Mr De Klerk's way if he had acted far earlier was missing.

Probably the biggest complaint against the ANC in 1992 was the rashness of many of its decisions and actions. The shooting at Bisho, for instance, was widely covered but so was the role of radicals who were accused of having provoked the incident. There was also much questioning of the wisdom of the campaign of mass action, which some in Washington saw as a bid by ANC radicals to wreck negotiations and attempt to force a settlement on the other parties.

ANC radicals also were seen to be behind the collapse of Codesa 2. When the deadlock over a so-called white constitutional veto was reached, the ANC's official position was that it would consider withdrawing from further negotiations. In Washington the impetus for that threat was seen to be the radicals who are viewed with great scepticism, the more so because they are suspected of being unenthusiastic about negotiations anyway.

There is a pervasive belief in Washington, enunciated as much by the State Department as by Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill, that the only forces who would gain from a breakdown in negotiations would be those irra-

tional extremists on the left and the right who refuse to negotiate and who apparently believe their interests can be served by violence and confusion. That is why Washington was so aghast when Codesa 2 collapsed, the campaign of mass action began, and the Bisho tragedy ensued.

What supported American fears was the convenient way in which the horror of the Boipatong massacre was seized upon as a reason for breaking off talks with the government. Where previously a simple deadlock in negotiations was cited implausibly as a reason why the ANC might pull out, suddenly that rationale was abandoned and Boipatong was held up, in almost indecent relief, as a more persuasive reason for ending the talks.

Few in Washington were convinced, and the resulting UN Security Council meeting on the massacre, at which the ANC failed to provide the evidence which it claimed to have of government collusion in the massacre, produced a strictly neutral resolution which did not apportion blame.

But the UN meeting had some unsung benefits for South Africa. Aside from the ANC learning that the UN was no longer the plaything of the liberation movements, the ANC was also left in no doubt that the UN was determined to ensure a negotiated settlement in South Africa, and it was demonstrated conclusively to the government that the process towards democracy had become internationalised.

Insofar as ANC radicals may have spurred the decision to abandon Codesa, the UN meeting must have been a disaster for them. Nothing last year more reinforced the pressure for a resumption of negotiations than the talks behind-the-scenes which took place quietly during that debate. So forceful were the African countries in their support of resumed talks that the PAC itself made discreet overtures in a lobby off the Security Council chamber to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, about the possibility of it joining the negotiating process.

Earlier, the PAC, as much as the ANC, were given unambiguous warnings by African countries, again behind closed doors, that the world would not accept a settlement in South Africa that was not reached by negotiation.

As the negotiations deadlock went on, alarm in Washington grew. At the height of the crisis, the US offered the services of its Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, as a mediator to get talks resumed. Mr Baker's interest in Africa was known to be faint, but with klaxons sounding at the National Security Council and the White House, his prestige and influence were made available to the government and the ANC, separately. Incredibly, both sides rejected the US overture.

Washington continued to agonise as it saw both the government and the ANC feed the fires of the far right and far left, and questions flew about the city. Why did the ANC set out such radical demands as a precondition to resuming negotiations, demands which the government probably could not meet? Was this a move by radicals to ensure talks did not resume? Why all the gratuitous hate rhetoric?

What political leadership could fail to see that the only way to end the violence would be through rapid progress towards a truly democratic society?

But there were also some shrewd insights which gave hope to the stalwart. If the ANC was playing so hard to get, it must have believed absolutely that the government was genuine in wanting negotiations to succeed. After all, it would have been absurdly pointless for the ANC to have drawn up a long list of preconditions if it felt the government wasn't interested in successful negotiations.

And so the faint flickers of hope were kept alive. But will they survive the inevitable tempest of change which comes when a new administration takes over at the White House? Few are willing to say, since so little is known about the foreign policy which President Bill Clinton will apply anywhere, let alone to South Africa. There are some hints, however.

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South Africa-watchers in the United States found the behaviour of both the government and the ANC frustrating in 1992. HUGH ROBERTSON of the Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington.



US Secretary of State James Baker ... his offer to mediate was rejected.

Most of those who will have the final say on South Africa policy are veterans of the Carter administration, though they have matured and grown wiser in the interim. They are honourable, principled people who remain imbued with the Carterian passion for spreading democracy and human rights around the world. They also believe as avidly as their predecessors that economic freedom is an indivisible part of true democracy. So, while they might be a little tougher on the government, they are unlikely to embrace the ANC's radicals with much enthusiasm.

In an article under Mr Carter's name, but written by an advisor, support is given for a continuation of local sanctions until an interim government is in place in South Africa. That, more or less, is the status quo and it should have little impact on anyone. But if the Bush administration could impose new sanctions, specifically aimed at Armscor, there should be no surprise if a Clinton administration decided on some selective sanctions of its own, though few, if any, believe there is any prospect of a resumption of general sanctions.

An area of major disagreement with the government — and feasibility with a future government — will be Armscor's programme for the development and sale of advanced weapons of mass destruction. Mr Clinton himself has said that an end to the proliferation of such weapons will be a cornerstone of his foreign policy — and he does not mean only nuclear weapons. As Armscor is aware, the new sanctions imposed last year by the Bush administration related to the production of certain missiles and missile systems, among other things which South African newspapers are not free to report.

In trying to assess Mr Clinton's style, his friends in Arkansas say one thing that should never be forgotten is his capacity to strike deals. And here they sound a word of caution for South Africa. The whole of Africa is fading from public and political attention in the US except, perhaps, among black Americans. Watch out for South Africa becoming a bargaining chip as Bill the Deal-maker seeks to lubricate some fairly drastic legislation through Congress, where he will need the support of the Congressional Black Caucus.

And watch out, too, they say, for a White House obsessively focused on domestic issues, to the extent that Africa — already a stepchild of US foreign policy — will become more of a nuisance than an area of major concern.

Page II

Rightist old order shapes up

Argus

9/10 Oct. 1993

J

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■ The newly formed rightist Freedom Alliance is shaping up as South Africa's version of Russia's White House defenders — but hopes it won't meet the same fate. A report by **DAVID BREIER** and **JOHN MacLENNAN** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

AN odd assortment of defenders of the old order barricading themselves for the final assault

That was the scene in Moscow and it is now beginning to play itself out in South Africa.

But the newly named Freedom Alliance (FA) feels that it will not meet the same fate as the old guard communists and nationalists defeated in Moscow.

The alliance of conservative white rightist and conservative black homeland leaders believes it controls enough political muscle — and, in the last resort, firepower — to promote its separatist cause.

"This is a dramatic move away from elections on April 27. It would be very unwise to hold elections now," says Joseph Chiole, organising secretary of the Afrikaner-Volksfront (AVF) a major partner in the FA.



□ **VILJOEN**



□ **BUTHELEZI**



□ **FERDI**



□ **MANGOPE**



□ **GQOZA**

The FA consists of the main components of the former Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) which styled itself as a loose association and always denied it was an alliance. But Cosag has now knitted itself into a formal alliance to challenge the negotiators at the World Trade Centre. The FA intends to negotiate as a single bloc.

Alliance sources say that from now on the partners will speak with a unified voice and will all be represented by a single negotiating team. In the past, they claim, the government and the ANC have been able to sow confusion and discord by setting individual parties against each other after separate talks.

The alliance — which includes Kwazulu,

Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Volksfront — now has no representatives at the World Trade Centre and has stopped all individual talks with the government and other parties.

The FA is led by Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the CP's Ferdi Hartzenberg, the AVF's Constand Viljoen, Bop's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo.

Ciskei, with its hopeless economic position, is the FA's weakest link, but Bop could be its trump card.

"Don't underestimate the military power of Bophuthatswana," says Chiole, who disclosed that CP MPs were recently the guests of Mangope for two days. "Its finances are almost better than South Africa's," he adds.

The FA regards Bop and Ciskei as vital members because they both have nominal independence which enables them to challenge the authority of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), due to be set up next month.

In addition, both Bop and Ciskei have the ability to place real obstacles in the way of elections if they refuse to take part in the April 27 poll.

The IFP, through its Kwazulu base, can also throw up these obstacles but with greater legal difficulty as Kwazulu is technically part of South Africa.

However, Bop and Ciskei lack strong political organisations which the FA believes the IFP and the CP, with an AVF umbrella, provide.

Chiole says the FA is a result of a hardening in Cosag's attitude and is a rival of what he calls the "NP-ANC-SACP alliance".

"Civil war is the last resort. But if you look at

the military capability of the independent states and the AVF whose members mostly have military training, then it looks bad for the government and their ANC friends," he says.

Chiole says the first phase of protest against the TEC will begin immediately with protest meetings. "The Freedom Alliance is gearing itself against the TEC," he says.

Some elements of the IFP are highly embarrassed at their party's formal alliance with the CP and AVF, which is openly racist as it demands that only whites have the vote in its proposed Afrikaner volkstaat.

The sudden announcement of the formation of the FA caught senior IFP officials off guard. They were dumbstruck to find themselves in a formal alliance with the AVF and CP.

IFP spokesman Ziba Jiyane says the IFP has not decided to boycott the April 27 election, boycott being the position of the AVF and not the IFP.

Analysts point out that the FA is fatally flawed because its components have different agendas.

The IFP is a real force in its Kwazulu-Natal region, where it wants a high level of autonomy. But the AVF and CP still have not spelt out where their volkstaat should be, even though both the ANC and the government are prepared to compromise. Their race-based policy is unacceptable to their black FA partners.

The white right wing's real agenda could be much closer to that of Bop and Ciskei, which also have little coherent electoral support — to stonewall in order to delay the day of reckoning with a majority government.

The IFP's chief negotiator, Frank Mdlalose,

denies that the alliance hopes to undo agreements at the World Trade Centre or that it is adopting a spoiler role.

But he maintains that only a conference of leaders can now settle what the alliance regards as a crisis facing the country.

President De Klerk has said he is ready to talk to the alliance and welcomed their willingness to negotiate. But he has made it clear that no one can escape unresolved problems and that he expects the alliance to speedily make known the collective solutions it has devised.

NP sources are dismissive, saying the alliance is united only in what it opposes and that it cannot agree on a common political agenda. The right wing, for example, demands an independent state and the other alliance members want a form of federation.

Fanus Schoeman, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, says: "There is no crisis and this changes nothing. It is just Cosag with another name. It will make it easier to negotiate with them, but we doubt whether they can formulate a common standpoint. They have not been able to do so in the past."

He also denies that the alliance can delay the process, which must produce an interim constitution before parliament sits again next month. "The talks have developed a momentum of their own. At the same time everybody knows only a negotiated settlement will work and, after all, there cannot be two sets of solutions in one country."

The alliance will make the point that any agreements reached without its support will have no credibility. Mr Schoeman says: "The constitution will be tested in a democratic manner and will be shown to have credibility when people come to vote in the elections."

"Leaders of some parties do not want to hold that election, but people are ready to vote, they want to vote and they look forward to it. The talks will go on regardless."

The ANC regards the formation of the alliance as an attempt to consolidate rightwingers — both black and white — as well as an attempt to delay peaceful transformation.

The CP's Tom Langley says the alliance will meet tomorrow to plan strategy.

Argus

9/10 Oct. 1993

Wooing the "don't know" voters for the elections

■ All parties are now striving to secure the support of voters — many of whom are still in the 'don't know' camp, reports **JOHN MacLENNAN** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

NEARLY a quarter of all South African voters still have no idea who they will back in the April general election.

The highest number of 'don't knows' — 30 percent — are Indians, followed by coloureds at 22 percent, whites at 21 percent and blacks at 17 percent.

Now the question is: what will sway these potential voters?

Most analysts agree they will be looking first to a party that can protect their group interests.

Indians are expected to vote as a bloc and, according to Markinor polls, 39 percent already back the NP as first choice, 17 percent the ANC and seven percent the DP.

Coloureds give the NP 46 percent support, whites 43 percent and blacks only three percent.

According to Professor Mervyn Frost of Natal University, Indians provide a unique voter profile and "once a group perceives itself as a bloc, it looks for protection. They will vote for the party that can provide protection, security of property and schools ... they are crucial also, not because of the numbers they represent, but because of the skills and capital they represent."

The ANC's support among coloureds is 16 percent, among Indians 17 percent, among whites two percent and among blacks 68 percent.

The DP gets seven percent among coloureds, the same figure among Indians, nine percent among whites and nothing as a first choice

among blacks.

The CP receives 17 percent of white support as a first choice party.

Parties with fringe status include:

■ The SACP, which receives hardly any support at all: two percent of blacks as first choice and one percent of Indians;

■ The PAC with one percent of the coloured vote and only five percent of black support; and

■ The IFP with one percent among coloureds and Indians, six percent among whites and three percent among blacks (it must be pointed out that the poll was among metropolitan blacks only).

President De Klerk is tops on the Indian popularity poll, rated 6,9 out of a possible 10 points. Among coloureds, Mr De Klerk gets 7,4, among whites 6,5 and among blacks 4,1.

Mr Nelson Mandela gets 3,6 popularity points out of 10 from whites, 5,0 from coloureds, 5,2 from Indians and 8,4 from blacks.

Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi gets 4,2 among both coloureds and Indians, 5,6 among whites and 2,1 among blacks.

According to Markinor's Mari Harris, the polls show the ANC will not get a two-thirds majority, enabling it to write the final constitution and the don't knows could enable the NP and the DP to hold a crucial balance.

Veteran politician Pat Poovalingham said Indians in South Africa had pulled themselves up by their bootstraps even when they did not wear shoes and noted they had been compared to the Jews of pre-Hitler Europe — "sufficiently poor to be despised but some of them sufficiently rich to stick out like sore thumbs ... as a minority group they are very conscious of this."

He said of support among Indians for the NP: "They tend to see the Nats as representing law and order but they forget that the violence actually increased under NP rule."

++DATELINE SOUTH AFRICA: ON THE BRINK OF ALL-OUT CIVIL WAR++

The machete flashes...this is democracy ANC style



THIS is the brutal face of South Africa that Nelson Mandela does not want you to see.

A 23-year-old man is beaten and hacked to death in the street by ANC supporters. His only crime—to be suspected of being a member of another political party.

A gang of ten thugs—one wearing an ANC T-shirt—chased terrified Stanley Marga through the rubbish-strewn streets of Boipatong, a grim township south of Johannesburg.

They cornered their prey in a garden outside a squalid shack and beat him unconscious.

When he came round the "comrades"—as ANC thugs call themselves—dragged Stanley into the gravel road and attacked him again.

All the time, the frenzied mob chanted: "You're going to die!"

Suddenly, a man stepped forward, pointed a pistol and fired a short salvo of bullets into Stanley's bruised and battered chest.

Then, two others hacked at his body with long machetes. Moments later, the crowd opened up and a Toyota minibus appeared. The bus, dangerously overloaded with youths armed with spears, machetes and even a Russian-made Kalashnikov AK-47 rifle, drove over the mutilated corpse.

Brave photographer Joao Silva, who took this picture, was chased away at gunpoint.

Later, when police arrived they found the burned remains of Stanley's body in the street.

Even after death he had become yet another victim of necklacing—the ANC comrades' barbaric calling card.

A petrol-soaked tyre had been placed around his neck and ignited.

Stanley Marga was suspected of being a member of the ANC's political rivals, the Inkatha Freedom Party, led by Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Bullets

After the country's first one-man one-vote election next year it is almost certain that the ANC will form a government.

If they do, civil war could erupt on the streets. Boipatong's police chief Captain Piet van Deventer admits that his men are no nearer finding Stanley's killer.

It was just one more killing in a bloody political war which has claimed more than 7,000 lives in the two years following Mandela's release.

Mandela walked free in February 1990 after nearly 30 years in jail.

Since that day there have been 49 massacres in South Africa—with an average death toll of 25.

Human life now has so little value that passengers on the red and grey commuter trains which run between Soweto and Johannesburg have been hurled to their deaths for refusing to sing political anthems.

The ANC blatantly terrorise their opponents with the threat of necklacing.

At Pholi Park squatter camp, an ANC stronghold which is home to 35,000 people—tyres are stacked defiantly on a street corner.

There is no doubt Inkatha are also responsible for atrocities, such as the murder of 40 people at Boipatong, but they claim



FROM
MIKE RIDLEY
IN JOHANNESBURG

● SOUTH Africa is teetering on the brink of a bloody civil war. This time next year, after four decades of white domination, the country's 25 million blacks will be allowed to vote. Nelson Mandela's African National Congress is expected to form the country's first all-black government.

● No one in their right mind mourns the death of apartheid. But the ANC—the heroic band of exiled freedom-fighters who returned in triumph after Mandela's release in 1990—has become a dangerous monster, dominated by violent communists.

'If Mandela's party get in they'll ruin this country'

ANC thugs spark the violence.

Last week I watched as ANC leaders met South Africa's president F.W. de Klerk for nearly ten hours of discussions to stamp out the violence.

That same day a unit of fighters from the ANC's military wing Umkhonto weSizwe—Spear Of The Nation—burst into an Inkatha meeting in Richmond, west of Durban.

They sprayed the room with bullets from AK-47 rifles. When the gunfire stopped nine of Inkatha's top men in the region lay dead.

An ANC man was also killed in the shoot-out.

The truth is that Nelson Mandela simply cannot control hundreds of violent thugs who are enlisting support for the ANC through bullying and intimidation.

Shack

The ANC claims 80 per cent support among the country's black population but many people are forced to become followers for fear of intimidation.

Political analyst Wim Booysse says the real figure is more like 60 per cent.

The organisation pays for "self defence units" of up to 60 armed men in around 80 townships.

Their job is to protect ANC supporters from attacks by Inkatha members.

Travelling around the country I found whole townships divided into ANC and Inkatha ghettos. ANC areas are dominated

by the Xhosa tribe, traditional enemies of the Inkatha-supporting Zulu.

Taxi driver David Chauke, 38, is from the Shangana tribe and has no allegiance to any party.

Father-of-four David lives in a four-room shack in the ANC-controlled half of Thokoza township in the industrial east Rand.

He knows he risks death by necklacing for refusing to support the ANC.

But driving round the streets of Johannesburg in his battered Toyota taxi, David says: "I told them I could not go to church and then go on to the streets and kill someone."

Chaos

ANC general secretary and their chief negotiator Cyril Ramphosa told me: "Have you ever seen anyone killing an Inkatha man on behalf of the ANC?"

"The answer is never. And if they do it, let the police arrest them, prosecute them and send them to jail where they belong."

"The days when it was absolutely necessary for us to wage whatever kind of war against apartheid are suspended."

"No one should be killing on behalf of the ANC. We do not want it."

But moderate 73-year-old Mandela also cannot control communist militants who hold nearly half of the ANC's top posts.

The ANC tries to play down its communist links but during Press conferences at the party's 22-storey headquarters in



DEATH IN THE AFTERNOON One of Mandela's henchmen hacks at the body of a political opponent shot by an ANC thug in South Africa. Victim Stanley Marga, 23, was then 'necklaced' with burning tyres. His killers are still at large

Johannesburg, all leaders are introduced as "Comrade".

And this week on a tour of China Mr Mandela went out of his way to praise his "communist allies".

Men like Chris Hani, leader of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC national executive committee are determined to ignore democracy and take control of the country through chaos.

Unemployment in South Africa is frightening. Four out of every ten blacks are jobless.

Each year 500,000 young-

sters enter the job market and only seven per cent find a job. The majority of blacks still live in homes that are little better than shacks. Most are uneducated.

Camp

To avoid becoming just another basket case economy, South Africa urgently needs foreign investment.

But Deon Geldenhuys, politics lecturer at Rand Afrikaans University, says: "Many in the ANC think the world owes South Africa a living."

"They imagine that when

a black government comes to power Jumbo jets will be queuing up at Jan Smuts airport filled with investors.

But what investor in his right mind would put his money into a country with a government embracing the Communist Party?"

Already investors have taken billions of pounds out of South Africa this year and very few firms are investing in the future.

Dave Jelly, boss of Nestlé factory at Durban which employs 2,500 people, is typical. His firm has shelved plans for a

£2million expansion. Working mum Thandi Jobe, 33, is a child of apartheid.

She was born in Soweto where her parents lived on a squatter camp.

Today she and husband Jobe, 45, still live on the outskirts of Soweto with their daughter Busi, 12.

They own a smart but heavily fortified three-bedroom house near where Winnie Mandela lives.

Jobe works as a clerk for Johannesburg council while Thandi earns £50 a week working for a car rental firm. Thandi, who has no political allegiance says: "I pray the ANC never take

control. They will ruin this country."

"The communists have called our children out of school to go on strike as part of their campaigns. But their children are educated in private schools."

"Instead, hovels are being sold for a fortune. It is the only way to get a home."

"Why don't the ANC spend their money buying houses to let for subsidised rents?"

"I want my daughter to leave South Africa. I see no future for her here. The country is doomed."

"The ANC has been given a fortune but in a country where 40 per cent of blacks are out of work they do not provide jobs."

Doomed

"We already have a country where millions cannot read or write. We need education, not another lost generation."

"The ANC has been given a fortune but in a country where 40 per cent of blacks are out of work they do not provide jobs."



VICTIMS . . . Gertrude and her baby

KILLERS CAME FOR ME

A MOTHER told how she escaped a slow, agonising death after a "necklace" gang doused her with petrol and put a tyre around her neck.

Gertrude Mzizi, 33, would have been tormented by the mob of ANC supporters had police not appeared in the nick of time. Gertrude, an Inkatha supporter, had been walking home carrying her year-old son Nkosinathi.

She said: "One man took my baby, put him on the ground and said, 'Sit there little Inkatha and watch your mother die.' Then they began slowly pouring the petrol over my head. That was the last thing I remember. I fell unconscious in the street."

Axes

But before they could set fire to Gertrude, a yellow armoured police vehicle, known as a Casspir, roared round the corner and the gang fled under a hail of rubber bullets.

It was not the first time Gertrude had escaped with her life. She ran her own taxi firm and lived with husband Abraham, 48, in a smart "matchbox" house in the ANC sector of Thokoza township.

One day, 500 men armed with stones, axes and metal bars surrounded the fortified house.

They pushed a firebomb and a home-made grenade between the steel bars covering a window and waited for the couple and their four children to burn to death.

Gertrude said: "At that moment we gave up and thought it was time to die. No one could speak. No one screamed or cried."

Prayed

"My husband and the children stood silently against the walls. I prayed for God to take our souls and we waited the hour of our death."

Again the police arrived and Albert managed to free a grille over the bathroom window.

The house was repaired then completely destroyed in another arson attack. The family now live in a Zulu part of town.

Still, Gertrude believes Nelson Mandela is a good man. She said: "I wept for joy when he was released. I'd dreamed that I'd be alive to see that day."

"And to see the day when we would all be free to run the country as a democracy—everyone allowed to hold their own views without being intimidated."

"Nelson Mandela was feted around the world and even given the Nobel Peace Prize."

"But what peace did he bring to South Africa?"

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WEEKEND Argus

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How much more bloodletting?

CIRCUMSTANCES of the South African Defence Force raid on the alleged Apla haven in Umtata remain hotly disputed. Was the operation against the house at No 47 Northcrest justified? Were the slain occupants trained terrorists or innocent schoolchildren?

It would be comforting to think that, at such a moment, surely, the collective intelligence and expertise of the SADF and the government would not make a fundamental error (the days — under bellicose P W Botha — when such insensitive blundering was an artform are long gone, aren't they?).

The evidence is being mounted on both sides. The war of the guns has reverted to another artform, which is not lost on either of the combatants, the war of words. So far, the SADF and the South African Police have taken a beating in this war. Friday's press conference, with the eyes of the world focused on them, was not a convincing display.

Yesterday, more evidence was produced by the SAP to underpin the justification for the raid. But, whatever happens now, much of the impact of the raid, however justifiable and successful it may eventually prove to have been, has been negated for the SADF and the government. If they did not bungle the raid, they have certainly bungled the aftermath. It is going to be hard to wipe away the initial impression given that, somehow, the SADF raiders lost their touch and killed innocent schoolkids.

So, more blood has been shed. And the war of words goes on.

Apla cannot pretend to be blameless in this: they have brazenly planned and committed acts of terrorism against South African citizens. They could hardly expect the SADF and the SAP to stand idly by. Apla's principals in the Pan Africanist Congress, equally, cannot be holier-than-thou: in so many ways, they have condoned such activities. And Apla has now sworn vengeance, raising the spectre of an eye-for-an-eye cycle of more senseless killing.

To what end? To what end?

It is depressing to contemplate what might happen next. The tragic truth is that violence begets violence.

It can only be hoped that the Umtata raid, whatever the true circumstances, might have a sobering effect. Both the PAC/Apla and the government should think carefully about doing anything to escalate the tension. Other parties involved in the negotiations should re-dedicate themselves to efforts to cool emotions and to bring about a cessation of hostilities.

It is time that such raids — by whichever side — became a thing of the past.

Mandela goes a'wooing and wins over EC

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has completed a two-day "wooing visit" to Belgium and the European Community with promises that the EC will significantly raise the level of funds for South Africa next year.

Mr Mandela met European Commission president Jacques Delors and development commissioner Manuel Marin for "extremely warm" one-hour talks yesterday which looked at EC funding in the run-up to the April 27 elections and in the longer term.

Commission officials said later: "Mandela has spoken of the transitional arrangements and the timetable for the elections. He said the timetable would be maintained despite the non-participation of Inkatha and the parties on the extreme right."

"There are a number of obstacles and there are only six months and enormous tasks to complete. Out of the 28 million population, 20 million have the right to vote. And of them 18 million have never voted before."

"Delors and Marin expressed their determination to

GARNER THOMSON in Brussels
and **ANTHONY GARVEY** in Dublin



■ **ROYAL MEETING:** ANC chairman Nelson Mandela meets Belgium's new monarch, King Albert, at the royal palace in Brussels yesterday.

meet the date for the elections and to make them as open and transparent as possible. Marin promised the commission would provide funds and its experience gained in other developing countries," the officials said.

The commission has already committed 5.2 million ecu of funds in an effort to establish the democratic process in South Africa. Part of this is going to an independent

electoral forum being established by Catholic bishops.

Further EC commitments will be made on training 20 000 voting instructors to help educate the 9 million rural voters. The commission has worked on similar projects in a range of developing countries, officials added.

The money will come from the EC's 90 million ecu 1993 budget for helping deal with the aftermath of apartheid. In

the longer term, significantly larger sums for economic development will be proposed by the EC, but details were not discussed yesterday's talks with Mr Mandela.

However, one item not on the agenda was EC funding of training for the police and army. This area is strictly outside the scope of the EC's budget, though individual member countries can make their own contributions.

The three men spoke of the longer-term improvement of the South African economy and of the southern Africa region in general. The commission is keen to see a regional economic and trading area there along the lines of its own common market.

There is a strong recognition by the commission of South Africa's weaknesses and the deterioration in its agriculture, industry and service sectors. However, the commission sees its infrastructure as more developed than that of its neighbours.

Mr Mandela left the commission's headquarters for the award of an honorary doctorate from the Free University of Brussels. Earlier, he had an audience with the new monarch of Belgium, King Albert.

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Weekend Argus, October 9/10 1993

Now a pill you can't forget

LONDON. — A new contraceptive that women "can't forget to take" will be available in Britain next week.

The revolutionary device, which is inserted in the arm, uses the same hormones as the Pill, but lasts five years and is completely reversible.

Doctors running trials had expected the contraceptive to appeal to older women with families. They were surprised by the number of inquiries from women in their twenties.

If the user changes her mind about having children the implant can be removed easily.

The Family Planning Association has welcomed the implant.

"There is no single method of contraception that suits everybody, which is why it is so important to keep improving the range of birth control options," said director Doreen Massey.

"With many now delaying their first child until their late 20s, it could be ideal for younger women." — Daily Express.

Police get it tough as ANC backs jurists

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress yesterday heaped praise on the International Commission of Jurist's pre-election recommendations.

The ICJ report, in which the jurists levelled criticism at local police, was released here on Wednesday.

The commission also called for a joint peacekeeping force, overseen by an international peacekeeping unit under the Electoral Commission.

Reacting to the proposals, the ANC said the commission's finding on the role of the Internal Stability Unit, KwaZulu police and various homeland police forces, as well as the Waddington Report on the police earlier this year, were a serious indictment on the force's image.

The police reacted angrily on Thursday to ICJ suggestions that neutral policing in South Africa was non-existent.

Major-General Leon Mellet said it was absurd for the ICJ to assume the role of police experts after a mere two-week visit to the country.

But, the ANC differed.

"The finding reinforces the ANC's view that the Internal Stability Unit, which has performed a para-military role, should be withdrawn from our townships and the KwaZulu police force disbanded to give way to more accountable and community representative police force," said the statement.

On the police's perceived legitimacy crisis, the ANC proposed this be addressed urgently to ensure a constructive role during the transition to democracy. — Sapa.

Nat-style nepotism fear in New SA

■ Are well-connected veterans of "the struggle" poised to emulate the old Nat nepotism game with public money? **DAVID BREIER** of the Weekend Argus investigates.

9-10 Oct 1993

LUCRATIVE favours for political pals have been a feature of 40-odd years of Nationalist rule — now fears are growing that the African National Congress will follow the Nat example after next year's elections.

This week's announcement about ANC-aligned Thebe Investment Corporation planning to muscle in on the highly profitable school textbook industry has sent alarm bells ringing in political circles.

For the school textbook industry, with a turnover of up to R800 million yearly, was for decades a hotbed of Nat nepotism as it relied mainly on government contracts and taxpayers' money.

Scams in the provision of educational material, especially in black education, reached a climax recently with disclosures by the Van den Heever Commission of extreme favouritism.

One notorious example was that of Thinus Strydom, son of former Department of Education and Training (DET) deputy director-general Jaap Strydom, who did business worth millions with the DET.

He used his father's influential position to provide educational material. Strydom jun was later convicted on bribery and corruption charges.

Government departments such as the now defunct Department of Co-operation and Development rigged tenders so that only one company — usually run by pals — could bid successfully.

The lowest tenders did not necessarily win. Inflated contracts awarded on the basis of nepotism cost taxpayers countless millions, various commissions have found.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Ken Andrew welcomed black companies providing new competition, but he warned against a democratic government repeating Nat practices.

"We must ensure that the government of the new South Africa avoids the pitfalls and corrupt practices that have been a feature of our recent past," he said.

"As long as tenders are awarded on the basis of merit, there should be nothing to be concerned about.

"However, one must have concern about the close connection between a major political party and a company which plans to do most of its business with government.

"In these circumstances it is absolutely essential that all links between such a company, the political party concerned and its leading personalities, be severed," Mr Andrew said.

Thebe Investment with British publishing house MacMillans and Skotaville Publishers of Johannesburg have launched a joint venture, Nolwazi Educational Publishers, aimed specifically at school textbooks estimated to rake in between R500 million and R800 million a year — mostly public money.

Thebe was founded by a trust formed by ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.

Its managing director is Vusi Khanyile, who was until recently head of the ANC's finance department.

Mr Khanyile denied that his company had ANC links.

But he confirmed that as a black-run company practising affirmative action, it was well placed to tender for a new government's schoolbook needs.

He said Nolwazi Educational Publishers would do business "within the guidelines of public morality, ethics and the law".

Suspicious about the new company were unfair. "What will determine if a country is free of corruption is the kind of built-in checks and balances that regulate government officials.

"There must be a strict tender system. This is one of the distinctions between civilised countries and banana republics. Civilised countries have clear guidelines for the rules of the game when politicians react with business."

Mr Khanyile insisted that his company would have no control over government.

"The government will determine what is required. They will go to the market place to find the person to produce that.

"Nolwazi will not now or in the future have the capacity to influence government."

Argus 9/10 Oct. 1993

ANC gets scant sympathy over missing-vote moans

■ The ANC should stop complaining and take the initiative to ensure millions of missing blacks have the ID to vote. A report by **DAVID BREIER** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

GET off your butt and find them yourself. This is the advice old political hands are giving to the African National Congress when it complains that millions of unregistered, mostly black, voters may be unable to vote next year.

In the bad days of whites-only elections political parties took the initiative to ensure their potential supporters were registered. Party workers knocked on doors to find unregistered supporters, helping them with the paperwork.

With the first nonracial election approaching, the Democratic Party and National Party are using this experience to good effect and are actively helping to register their new supporters to maximise their vote.

With just over six months left to the elections, due on April 27, the ANC this week complained that four million voters were unregistered — mostly black.

At the rate of 50 000 a week now being processed by the Department of Home Affairs, about 2,5 million will still lack ID on election day.

But the ANC's lament is receiving scant sympathy among rival political workers. For the first unwritten law of elections, learnt the hard way in white politics, is that the onus is on political parties to ensure their supporters are registered. If parties don't do it themselves, nobody is likely to do it for them.

The harsh rule of elections is that you ensure your supporters are registered, but you don't lift a finger to register a rival party's supporters.

Ministry of Home Affairs spokesman Niel du Bois says the department could easily register far more than the 50 000 a week it is now registering. The trouble is that it can't force people to register.

He says the department is going out of its way through mobile units and active registration campaigns to enable people to obtain ID books in areas such as squatter camps. ID books are free.

The department now offers to provide free ID photos as well. But he says that in the final analysis it is up to people to register themselves.

The Department estimates 4,2 million of the projected 22,3 million potential voters in South Africa and the "independent" homelands, do not have ID.

The ANC wants a system of more easily obtainable voter cards to be in place, but the government says this is missing the point. It would be no trouble to provide enough ID books to missing voters — the real problem is to find them.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus says as far as the ANC is concerned, the ball is in the government's court.

"It continues to be the government's main responsibility to ensure facilities are available so people can easily register," he said, adding that queues were long and mobile units not always available.

DP executive director James Selfe has no sympathy. He suggested the ANC "do something constructive" for a change instead of "whining about unlevelled playing fields".

The relatively tiny DP actively seeks its unregistered supporters and helps them with forms, ID photos and even transport, he said.

Nat spokesman Danie du Plessis says the NP encourages its supporters to register and provides the necessary information in their own languages.

Voter education for a new SA

Argus 9-10-Oct. 1993

SYNTHESISED sound thundered through the packed student hall and the lead singer of South Africa's most popular rap group yelled: "Don't think if you don't vote you'll be protected, some sucker will still be elected."

Prophets of the City is the radical youth arm of a massive voter education campaign just beginning in South Africa. It is aimed at getting the democratic message across to 17 million people who have never voted before.

Next April 27, South Africa's electorate will swell from five to 22 million people, of whom nearly a quarter are functionally illiterate. Electoral education is the country's biggest growth industry — there are at least 50 non-governmental organisations already involved, as well as state institutions.

The Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE), representing around 40 of those groups, has raised R20 million from the European Community for its work and much more money will become available as South Africa's first democratic election draws closer. IFEE has just launched a Natal Regional Forum for Voter Education.

■ Voter education is suddenly big business in a society where a quarter of the voting public is functionally illiterate.
KAREN MacGREGOR reports.

In the next few months television and radio will be saturated with voter education inserts. This month representatives of non-governmental organisations and the SABC, which has three television and more than 20 radio stations, met to discuss electoral education content and financing.

"As the national broadcaster we have a primary responsibility to get involved for the duration of the election campaign and beyond," said Andrea le Roux, assistant executive editor of television news pro-

duction. "The fact is that democracy has yet to be explained to most people in this country."

The need for voter education goes far beyond simply teaching the illiterate how to place a cross in the correct place, though that task alone is immense. "Straw polls" conducted by the development agency Matla Trust, an IFEE member, showed one in five blacks unintentionally spoiling their ballots.

Equally important, in a country torn apart by political violence, will be convincing people that their vote is secret. Nearly 40 percent of blacks say they are scared to vote. Fear is strongest among women, the old and the very young and in such political hot-spots as Natal and the Witwatersrand.

The Matla Trust, which has liberation movement connections, has R10 million, 10 regional offices and more than 50 full-time staffers already committed to voter education radio programmes, comics in nine languages, videos for rural areas, democracy pages in newspapers, major advertising campaigns, and voter education theatre and groups. By election day its campaign will be much bigger.

Others involved are mostly church, development and media groups, unions and such organisations as the Consultative Business Movement, the Institute for Multi Party Democracy, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

South Africa needs all the voter help it can get. Fungu Mbangokawupheli, a local leader in the remote Mdletshe region in Natal, is literate but summed up the country's democratic dilemma when he confessed to a field worker for Durban's

Community Law Centre: "I don't know anything about democracy except that I was once told to become a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party. You must go to the inkosi and he will tell you about it."

A Matla Trust report, Towards the First Election: Voter Education and Turn-out, revealed that 82 percent of adult blacks are "very sure" they want to vote (compared to 84 percent of whites, 65 percent of coloureds and only 41 percent of Indians) but that half of them feel they need voter education.

Interestingly, the reasons given for voting by blacks are almost equally split between the wish for material benefits, creating a new South Africa, wanting full citizenship rights and changing the government.

New voters need to know where and exactly how to cast a ballot, and what symbols (there for the illiterate) represent which party. They need to understand democracy and the proportional representation electoral system, to accept the results of elections, to practise political tolerance and respect fundamental democratic freedoms.

Prophets of the City is a group of five young men whose rise from the crime-ridden ganglands of Mitchell's Plain gives them impeccable street credibility among the youth (a huge voting constituency in South Africa) and are proving the existence of at least some freedom of expression.

"We've been raped, robbed, killed, oppressed and our culture destroyed for 350 years," leader Shaheen Ariefdien informs youngsters at school and tertiary institutions shows throughout the country. "Help us to end this evil system. Vote for peace."

Democratic issues, says Gavin Woods, director of the IFP-aligned Inkatha Institute, are as easily understood by the illiterate as the literate. "Illiterate people are highly sophisticated in their thinking about democracy, so long as the processes are properly explained."

"The trick is to relate the processes to the practical realities of election day and beyond. For people in rural areas especially, there are many practical difficulties such as obtaining identity papers and getting to polling stations."

The Department of Home Affairs, which is working overtime these days, believes 90 percent of eligible voters will have identity documents by election day. There will be nearly 8 000 polling stations and 23 000 polling booths manned by 145 000 officials. Mobile stations will ensure no voter has to travel more than 10km to vote.

Blacks have been the primary recipients of voter education so far, but as election day draws closer all races will be targeted, increasingly. Although whites, coloureds and Indians have had previous opportunities to vote, many have not done so for a variety of reasons, including the reason that previous elections were not properly democratic.

There is a lot of teaching to be done among all potential voters, said Eric Apelgren, regional officer of the Institute for Multi Party Democracy in Durban. "Not only will the voting system be new, but there are very high levels of intolerance in South Africa."

"Significant proportions of the white community believe that giving the vote to black people is a threat to their own democratic rights, for example, and already in many townships political parties are unable to canvass for fear of attack."

In spite of far-reaching political reforms of the past three years, there remains a vacuum in South Africa where a democratic culture ought to be. Whether this can be filled by crash courses in voter education remains to be seen.

However, the growth of the black trade union and opposition movements has inculcated a real commitment to "grass-roots" democracy among a vast sector.

Argus 9-10 Oct. 1993

Peace bid in Natal 'a lesson for the rest of SA'

■ A specialist in conflict resolution says South Africa can learn a lot from the peace process in northern Natal where former bitter enemies have become friends.

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

THEY regarded one another as enemies and wouldn't go into the same room together, let alone talk to one another.

That was the situation 18 months ago in a region of northern Natal where tension was high and conflict between rival groups like the African National Congress and the Inkatha

Freedom Party seemed to have reached uncontrollable levels.

This week, former bitter enemies sat down together like old friends — about 120 of them — talked, negotiated and worked out a plan for lasting peace in the greater Empangeni region of Zululand, in the heart of Inkatha country and close to Ulundi.

This initiative could provide important lessons for South Africa's national peace process, says Mr Robert Conway, executive director of the South African Foundation for Conciliation (Safcon).

Mr Conway, a specialist in conflict resolution, chaired this week's meeting in northern Natal and has been involved in that region's peace initiative since its inception.

He said in an interview in his Cape Town office on his return that northern Natal was in many ways a key to a peaceful future for South Africa.

"If you can get all the groupings together in a peace committee in such a key area, then the way is open for doing the same on a national level."

It could be the key to getting the Inkatha Freedom Party to return to the negotiating council at Kempton Park and to take part in next year's elections.

Mr Conway said the people who attended this week's meeting included representatives of the ANC, the IFP, SA police, the KwaZulu police, the SA Defence Force, business interests through the Zululand Chamber of Commerce and Industries, churches, the National Party, the Democratic

Party, municipalities and the mayor of Empangeni. In fact, all the stakeholders in the area were there.

In a region which was once one of the areas worst affected by the Natal violence, these stakeholders reached the point where they agreed in principle to the necessity of establishing a peace committee.

Mr Conway described the meeting as "very constructive", especially in so far as it had endorsed the efforts of a task group set up to get the parties to find ways of bridging their differences.

"The key advance is that ANC and IFP people are working together to make it happen," he said.

A lesson from the northern Natal experience was that the question of bringing about peace in South Africa

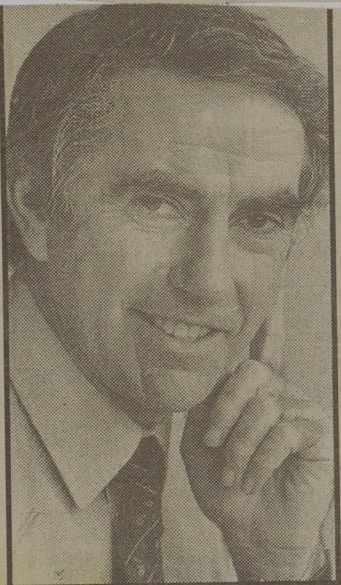
should be seen as a long-term process.

"Given our history, it is unrealistic to expect peace to be brought about overnight. The time limit for boxing in the peace process is often dictated by the agenda of politicians. In many ways, the Peace Accord is a political agenda document rather than a peace document," said Mr Conway.

The bringing about of peace was likely to take longer than most people expected.

"Even when a new government is in power, peace is not going to break out. There still will be the basic conflicts with which people have been grappling for the past 45 years."

He added that too much money was being spent on administrative matters and not enough was used for professional mediation to promote peace.



□ Robert Conway.

Elections dare not

fail □ Political analyst Schlemmer warns of 'horrendous implications'

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

IN spite of South Africa's political violence, a top researcher and political analyst has a message of hope: a free and fair election is possible as planned for April 27.

But the risks will be high, and all political leaders will have to enter into a peace pact, policed by top leaders themselves, says Lawrence Schlemmer, vice-president of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Like other foremost political analysts, including Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Professor Schlemmer warns against the dire consequences of a failed election — the implications of such failure are "horrendous", he told businessmen at a presentation and seminar on violence held in Cape Town this week.

The most critical issue, he says, is the conspiracy factor, or "third forces" seeking to undermine peace and reform initiatives. He emphasised there was not only one such force but a variety of undefined forces, and a variety of theories about their origins and motives.

■ All South Africa's political leaders were urged this week to enter into a pre-election peace pact to be formed at a top-level summit meeting — and to police the pact themselves.

This issue is made more critical by the prospect of coming elections that may satisfy nobody.

However, in the face of high-risk factors heavily underlined by facts and figures about death and destruction amid near-civil war conditions in parts of South Africa, Professor Schlemmer seems to remain optimistic about the possibility of successful elections next year — provided certain steps are taken.

High on his list of priorities is a leader summit for working out and adopting a peace pact across the political spectrum.

Professor Schlemmer said all leaders had to be "confronted with their own contribution to the violence."

"We must all raise our voices ... Pressure must be put on all political leaders to go into a peace pact."

Replying to questions from the audience, Professor Schlemmer said political leaders had been "exceptionally mealie-mouthed" in condemning violence committed by their own supporters.

He suggested voters should demand firmer steps by political leaders in disciplining their followers involved in violence.

On the prospect of free and fair elections, Professor Schlemmer said that generally next year's elections should be trouble-free and fair. There were only a few "hot spots", including the Western Cape, Natal and the East and West Rand, where some trouble could be expected.

"In these areas we will have to concentrate on damage control. The elections will be largely free and fair if we work hard at it."

In reply to a further question, Professor Schlemmer said slogans such as "Kill a boer,

kill a farmer" would have to stop if South Africa were to have peace.

He warned also that leaders who constantly referred to "civil war" or other war talk

created a militant mood among their own people, and such statements could have serious consequences.

Among significant features of the violence was its persistence so far in the face of major peace initiatives.

Here Professor Schlemmer noted that in the 12 months since the signing of the Peace Accord in September 1991, there were 1 000 more deaths from violence than in the previous 12 months.

He also pointed to the rising scale and brutality of the violence. Since July 1990, for example, there were more than 50 brutal massacres with 25 and more deaths per massacre.

Proliferation of weapons:

In the first five months of this year, police seized 348 AK-47 rifles, 32 other rifles/guns, 101 hand grenades, 15 mortars and 21 000 rounds of AK ammunition.

Brutalisation:

Professor Schlemmer cited these manifestations of and comments on brutalisation, some from news reports about South African violence:

■ Words shouted at the necklacing of three men: "Viva...viva...We have found the dogs — we are burning them."

■ A recent comment by Reuter correspondent Rich Mkhondo: "I have lived in ... Katlehong for all of my 36 years, but I have never seen such savagery."

■ A woman, thought to be

106 years old, was recently burnt alive in Natal.

■ From a newspaper report about a demonstration on May 1 this year: "Hundreds of youths ringed the police station, whooping with delight as they fired imaginary guns ... kill, kill, kill, they chanted."

■ At a necklacing, a woman shouted "Tshis'inyama" (braai the meat). A young man took a spear, poked the flaming body, and put the flesh in a cup. Muti, he explained.

Attacks on police:

The fatality rate among police rose from one a month in the 1970s to two a month in the 1980s, 13 a month in 1991, and 22 a month in 1992.

Altogether 269 policemen were killed in 1992 and 95 private police homes were attacked.

Between January and June this year, 109 policemen were killed, 516 police homes were attacked, 916 personal police

vehicles were destroyed and 1 720 policemen were injured.

Police brutality:

During 1990 and 1991, 28 policemen were convicted of murder and 147 of serious assault. Since Sharpeville, the SAP killed more than 560 people in political demonstrations.

Who is to blame for the violence?

From Professor Schlemmer's information there seems to be little clarity and much confusion about the causes of

political violence — and nearly as many accusing fingers as there are incidents of violence.

Armchair factions on the sidelines, he said, blamed it on MK, the "warlords", the vigilantes or "third force", the police, the churches, communists, Inkatha and many more.

At the same time there was no balanced consensus on causes of violence either among local residents or among political leaders and commentators.

STEEL RESOLVE: *He will be 10 years past normal retirement when he takes the reins of an anxious country and tries to bring peace and prosperity*

Tightrope to the future

NELSON Mandela's widely acknowledged reserves of fortitude, patience and wisdom were honed during 28 years in prison. More than three years have lapsed since his release in February 1990 but, despite being exposed to the full and often critical glare of the media, he continues to impress many as a leader of exceptional ability. His occasional lapses — flashes of irritability when he is tired, or anger when provoked — do not reduce his stature.

If there is one predictable prospect in South Africa's complex, volatile and bloody political situation, it is that Mandela will, barring death or severe illness, be South Africa's first black president.

With political and criminal violence running at record levels, the country burdened by recession, and black impatience and white fears rising to dangerously high levels, Mandela will have to mobilise his considerable talents if the post-apartheid era is to fulfil the hopes it has aroused.

Mandela is periodically criticised for putting his position as president of the African National Congress ahead of his status as a South African leader. But he makes no secret of the fact that he feels bound by the discipline and constraints of the organisation which he has served faithfully for decades. He is a good party man, not in the sense of being a party hack but rather in terms of accepting that he is accountable to the ANC membership.

Mandela, who turned 73 in July, two years after he was unanimously elected ANC president in succession to Oliver Tambo, is a political patriarch. His immediate duty is to hold the ANC together as a coherent, disciplined and stabilising force in the turbulent years ahead. That may prove to be more difficult than it may seem now.

The ANC is not a political monolith. It is made up of various and, in some ways, disparate elements. Its growing ranks bristle as they strain to accommodate a range of potential dichotomies: nationalists and communists, capitalists and socialists, chiefs and commoners, pragmatists and ideologues, guerrillas and intellectuals, whites from affluent suburbs and blacks from impoverished squatter camps.

Each is a potential fault line which could develop into a major fissure. The ANC has been labelled a "large black United Party" by Tony Leon of the Democratic Party. The description is not meant to flatter: the United Party was an amorphous political party which attempted to appease as wide a spectrum of

NELSON Mandela faces immense challenges as the man — barring death or severe illness — most likely to become South Africa's first black president. PATRICK LAURENCE assesses the enormity of the task as well as Mandela's psychological and physical stamina, at the age of 73, to cope with the powerful forces that will be pulling at him from every point in the political spectrum.

MANDELA has acknowledged that there will be a parting of the ways "after apartheid is destroyed" between the ANC and its ally of many years, the South African Communist Party. "The SACP has declared that their co-operation with us is only up to the point of the overthrow of the apartheid State. After that they will take their own line... which we won't follow. We won't follow socialism. We have got our own programme."

Tensions between the ANC's pragmatic, if not bourgeois, leadership and doctrinaire socialists seem likely to increase in the months ahead because of the decision by the Congress of South African Trade Unions at its special congress last month to nominate 20 candidates to the ANC's 400-strong election list.

The candidates include several high-ranking trade union officials, including general-secretary Jay Naidoo, and the general-secretaries of three affiliated unions. The nominees — which COSATU has insisted must be in the top half of the ANC's list — include two members of the SACP's central committee, Moses Mayekiso and Chris Dlamini.

The presence of the COSATU bloc on the ANC list ensures that socialism will not be quietly downgraded on the ANC's agenda. The ANC may well like to do

just that, particularly as it is anxious to present its pragmatic face to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in order to secure loans for its "reconstruction programme".

The ANC's polished secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, has given the assurance that the 20 COSATU nominees will be subject to normal ANC discipline and that they will have to accept the ANC political line. But a special correspondent in the ANC journal Mayibuye casts doubt on that in an article on the COSATU congress.

He writes: "Congress gave their candidates a clear and unambiguous mandate: You are leaving us, but (only) to take forward the demands of the working class and the poor." Such tensions, which Mandela will have to confront, will require the wisdom of Solomon and the patience of Job to resolve.



ANOTHER major problem that is looming is the growing anger and impatience of black youth. The median age of the numerically dominant black community is 17, meaning that a significant segment of black society — the politicised youth between the ages of, say, 12 and 17 — will be passive witnesses to next

year's election because they won't have the vote.

Their sense of exclusion will be heightened by the fact that during the 1970s and 1980s it was black youth — the "Young Lions" as they were called — who spearheaded the struggle against apartheid.

Since the unbanning of the ANC, the release of political prisoners and the return of exiled ANC leaders, the youth have been relieved of their places at the frontline, if not actually pushed aside.

Sociologist Steve Mokwena notes: "The new leadership in many respects sidelined the youth from its former position of political prominence in the heady days of a people's war and demanded of them a diplomatic patience radically different from the calls for action in the 1980s."

Mokwena elaborates: "Many of the young people who were the one-time engine of the South African liberation struggle now lie idle and disaffected. They are a potential menace with a capacity to commit indescribable atrocities against their own people."

Mandela is sharply aware of "potential menace". It explains his repeated call for the qualifying age for the vote to be lowered from 18 to 14. His thrice repeated exhortation is not, as some commentators have suggested, a sign of impending senility. It is an at-

tempt to tap the energies of the youth, to bring them into mainstream politics.

An element of *realpolitik* may be involved. Although Mandela has pitched for 14 as the qualifying age for the vote, he may be prepared to settle for 16. By campaigning for 14, he makes 16 (the qualifying age proposed by the ANC Youth League) seem reasonable and acceptable.

Mandela's problems do not end here. He is almost certain to head a government of national unity, in which all parties which receive between 5 and 10 percent of the vote — the precise figure has not yet been agreed to — will qualify to serve in the Cabinet.

If there are discordant notes in the ANC because of its ideological, racial and class heterogeneity, then the sounds emanating from the government of national unity are likely to be positively cacophonous.

Mandela may find himself struggling to reconcile the competing and sometimes conflicting interests of the ANC, President de Klerk's National Party and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party. To find a middle course between alienating his governing partners and a paralysing compromise will be very difficult.

These political circumstances and the accompanying economic realities may impose severe constraints on policies designed to improve the lot of poor black people in the townships and villages. There is a great danger that their expectations will be

disappointed and that this disappointment will turn to anger.

As Mandela himself has acknowledged, there is more than a whiff of suspicion in the townships that negotiations are a betrayal of the revolution, that they are another stratagem to prolong the life of the white regime rather than facilitate the transfer of power to "the people".

Mandela knows that if disillusionment sets in, if the ANC is seen to be collaborating with the "oppressor", then, as he put it after the Bisho massacre, "those who are demanding the resumption of armed struggle are going to prevail".

ALREADY, as ANC national executive member Jeremy Cronin has observed, township radicals suspect that the ANC leader is a "Manchurian candidate": they fear that the "real" Mandela was murdered by his jailers and replaced by a pliant prisoner of the same build and looks who was programmed to preach pragmatism and moderation in the interests of the white regime.

Watching and waiting to exploit the situation is the Pan Africanist Congress, with its demands for the return of the land to the indigenous owners and its chorused cries of "One settler! One bullet!"

While Mandela's ability to cope with these problems will depend on his patience, wisdom and cour-

age, his health and stamina will be vital factors as well. Mandela is astonishingly alert and strong for his age, largely because of his healthy lifestyle.

He eats and drinks frugally, and exercises as regularly as his punishing schedule allows. As important, he knows how to "switch off", to get that vital half hour of recuperative rest. He knows, too, how to pace himself. Even so, every now and then his doctors order him to bed to recover from extreme fatigue.

Strong and careful as Mandela is, he is vulnerable to illness: he was treated for tuberculosis in prison, had minor surgery for a cyst shortly after his release, contracted pneumonia in 1990 and was ordered to take a complete break from his engagements as recently as February 1993.

If he is incapacitated by — or dies because of — his heavy load, two men are poised to succeed him: Thabo Mbeki (51), whose fortunes have been advanced by his election as national chairman to replace Tambo, and Ramaphosa (40), who is still in the running.

Both are pragmatists. They will therefore inherit many of the problems waiting to confront Mandela's skill, strength and stamina. A testing time lies ahead for whoever leads the ANC.

The bigger the mistakes, the less we seem able to learn

A BUSINESSMAN is sitting in his office in London — or Lagos, for that matter — mulling over an important decision. He has a pile of money which he wants to invest in an exciting new market abroad, and he's looking closely at a map of the world. His finger lingers on South Africa. A political settlement seems probable there, he hears, and trade curbs have been lifted.

What's more, the external attitude towards the country has shifted markedly in recent weeks; scepticism has given way to frank interest. Then he opens his morning paper.

There are two reports from South Africa. The first tells of an SA Defence Force pre-dawn raid on a house in a homeland capital, in which reportedly five youths, aged 12 to 19 — no one else — died. The raid, he reads, is sure to throw the negotiations process into turmoil. Hmmmm, he thinks. That doesn't sound good. The second report says "mass action" (that doesn't sound too good either, he thinks) is likely to follow an altercation over the petrol price. Some people are even talking about a general strike. Our man's eye moves away from the southern tip of Africa, taking his money with it.

Now let's go back in time a bit. It is May 1986. There is unusual optimism about the prospects for negotiations in South Africa, as the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group scurries around the country trying to get talks going between the PW Botha Government and the imprisoned ANC leadership. The EPG is due to attend a meeting with Government Ministers; it will determine the success of their mission. As they are getting ready, the news comes in: the SADF has launched airborne raids on three neighbouring capitals. The EPG leaves South Africa, taking the mood of optimism with it.

Or let's scroll back to October 1991. Things are going quite well on the political front, with CODESA talks still on track. Then the Government announces unilaterally that VAT will be introduced. There is talk of mass action, and

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN Johnson



THE bad habit, which the Government seems unable to shake although it has paid dearly for it, is to do things without consultation.

even of a general strike. The strike comes about, trampling the constructive mood of negotiations under a million marching feet.

The point does not need to be laboured. We learn nothing from our mistakes; if anything, the bigger they are the less we heed them.

A window of opportunity opened up for South Africa in the past few weeks — a big window, letting in great gusts of fresh, invigorating air. Politicians are in the process of closing it again. For what reason?

The real issues are not, as might be assumed, whether an increase in the petrol price is in fact an economic necessity at this stage, or whether the SADF has the right to launch attacks against an armed force, which has refused to sign an armistice with it. It might well be that there are good reasons for saying both courses of action are valid. The issue is that this Government retains the political grace and acuity of an injured rhinoceros. Its timing, this time, is so appalling as to give credence to conspiracy theories — that both actions were intended to throw spanners in the transitional works — but there is a

deal of historical evidence to support the cock-up theory, too.

In 1986, it seemed clear that the cross-border raids were specifically intended to scuttle the EPG initiative, precisely because it was getting somewhere. But it stretches credulity now to argue that the De Klerk Government sees any benefit in sabotaging the transitional process on which it has staked its own political future. What happened, then? An early informed guess might suggest that the petrol price debacle is the product of bad habits, and the Umtata disaster the result of exceptionally bad judgment.

The bad habit, which the Government seems unable to shake although it has paid dearly for it, is the old tendency to do things without consultation. The NP is still coming to terms with the irritating truth that other people's views and feelings now matter. As with the VAT strike, the petrol protests could have been avoided if the Government had given notice of its intentions, explained its reasons, accepted submissions, and then taken a decision.

As far as the Transkei raid is concerned, the bad judgment could — according to some sources — spring from a more cynical source. It is being suggested that the Cabinet found itself under pressure from its party rank-and-file to do something *krapdadig* before next week's NP congress, and APLA — by its own actions — presented itself as an obvious target.

Leaving aside the unresolved matter of whether the raiding party made a disgraceful hash of things, the idea was completely wrong-headed. Unless the Government can prove (and on initial evidence this seems highly unlikely) that the raid was essential in order to stop a verified plan to attack civilians, it must explain why it acted so irresponsibly when multiparty rule is so tantalisingly close.

The arguments will now rage, of that we can be certain. But we cannot be certain that the precious mood we held in our hands will be quickly retrieved.

THE SATURDAY STAR, 9 OCTOBER 1993

SaturdayStarHardly a time
to be reckless

It hardly matters. The strike illustrates how much damage the uncontrolled deployment of the security forces can do, and hammers home the need to wrest their control away from a single party. The TEC needs to get up and start running. And decisions about raids like this must be its alone to make.

It must be said that none of these arguments provides a plank for the platform from which the PAC is now raging against the raid. That organisation cannot wash its hands entirely of the matter — it refuses to renounce the armed struggle and has invited hot-headed retaliation.

What matters, though, is that South Africans should not be forced to make a choice between APLA terror and Government recklessness. The security forces under multiparty control can act with the confidence of public backing. And if APLA continues to fire guns for political gains, then action taken against appropriate targets can be justified without ifs or buts.

WHEN a government sends soldiers on a mission to kill in territory it recognises as sovereign, its reasons had better be good. Yet the South African Government's explanation for shooting up an Umtata house — allegedly an APLA base — early yesterday, killing five young people, is vague and unconvincing to say the least.

Such an action would be strategically risky at the best of times. With the SADF and SAP due to meet APLA at the end of the month, and a "mutual cessation of hostilities" a definite if distant possibility, the decision to strike becomes even more surprising.

If the Umtata raid had knocked a hole in APLA's ability to inflict terror on civilians, the risk might have been worth it. But the Government has failed to convince anyone that it did.

South Africa cannot afford recklessness. And, with the creation in law of the Transitional Executive Council, there is no reason why the country should have to.

Unsurprisingly, speculation is now rife as to what interests within the National Party were served by this cross-border adventure. Does it give the party a quick fix of "krag" to take back to supporters wondering whether it still has the muscle to put up a fight in an election and beyond? Does it mollify the spoilers who think the transition is moving too fast?

Alliance a spanner in the works

THE forging of the Freedom Alliance out of COSAG has dashed growing consensus between the Government and both KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana on how to bridge the impasse over regional powers.

The divergent views embraced by the somewhat unlikely alliance — from committed federalists in the IFP to the Conservative Party, which will not tolerate suggestions of a federal solution — are bound to complicate negotiations.

Caught unawares

The alliance has signalled that none of its parties will negotiate individually with the Government or the ANC. Instead it will form a "single, united negotiating team at all future negotiations with other parties".

It appears likely that the Government and ANC teams involved in talks with the alliance will now have to go back to square one for a solution that will accommodate the demands of KwaZulu and the white right-wing organisations.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday charged that the

WHAT effect will the newly formed Freedom Alliance have on negotiations?
Political Correspondent
CHRIS WHITFIELD
investigates.

latest developments constituted a breach of the instructions given on September 16 by President de Klerk and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to their negotiators.

But it is reliably understood that senior KwaZulu and IFP negotiators were caught completely unawares by the announcement on Thursday night that the alliance had been formed.

Meyer told a press briefing yesterday that the Government had been involved until recently in bilateral discussions with both the KwaZulu government and the Afrikaner Volksfront "directed at reaching an understanding on the contents of the interim constitution".

"I don't want to go into details of possible agreements, but I can give the assurance that (the talks were) constructive and fruitful," he said.

Senior KwaZulu government and IFP negotiators contacted about the alliance late on Thursday evening said they knew nothing about it. But IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the announcement came as the result of a long process, starting with the formation of COSAG, and that all negotiators had been party to developments in this process.

Meanwhile, Government and ANC sources have indicated that they intend to press ahead with the process at the World Trade Centre. Some negotiators claim to be confident that the interim constitution being thrashed out will contain enough in the way of regional powers to bring KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana back.

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UN peace team points the way

ANGELA King's office may be 44 storeys above the streets of downtown Johannesburg, but the last impression she would want to create is of someone up there waiting to swoop down from on high.

The United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA), which the soft-spoken Jamaican heads, has been here for just more than a year.

And throughout that time, King and her 50-strong team have tried to tell anyone who'll listen that they are here to bolster our peace efforts, not take care of them for us. "There is still a very strong perception the UN just swoops down at a certain point in time and says 'This place needs help'. But it all starts here," King says. That view, held "at all levels" of our society, assumes that, come election time, the UN will simply move in with an army of monitors to ensure all is fair, she says.

But nothing can happen until the Transitional Executive Council or the Independent Electoral Commission specifically asks the UN for assistance. "Normally the UN would need six months' advance notice to really mount an effective operation," King says (April 27, if it's the date, is six months, 18 days away).

Polling booths

"It doesn't mean that if we are asked three or four months ahead we won't come," she adds. "But it would make us far more effective in our ability to assist South Africans if we had some advance planning."

Estimates of the number of polling booths needed range from 7 000 to 20 000. It makes a vast difference," Kings says. "I would urge that people start thinking of these realities and concretising requests as

soon as possible."

The UN Security Council has recently given the go-ahead for UNOMSA's monitoring strength to be doubled to 100 by the end of the year. But that is not the forerunner of a "peacekeeping force" moving in to dampen South Africa's fires. "The UN feels that where a country has the infrastructure, the knowledge and the skills to mount its own force on an integrated and consensual basis, that force has a much better chance of succeeding in the long term," she says.

King doesn't suggest this will be easy, and over the past year, she says, ominous clouds have begun to build. UN monitors have attended about 9 000 rallies, marches and meetings.

UN MONITORS have the same message for South Africans they had when they arrived: they can help, but the peace effort ultimately depends on us. Angela King, head of the UN mission, spoke to Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.

"We have had quite a bit of success in the monitoring of public events," she says. In trouble spots like Mooi River and Table Mountain in Natal, UN monitors and others have been able to contain the violence

"while negotiations were put under way to sort it out".

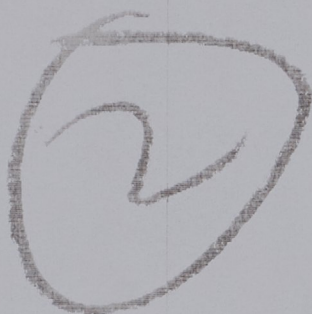
But now "there are areas that we can't penetrate", where violence is now "chronic", and these places "regrettably are increasing". In the East Rand, Crossroads and Khayelitsha (in the Cape), and parts of KwaZulu, "it seems that political parties have lost the kind of contact necessary to get the grassroots participating in the peace process."

King says poor relations between the community and the police continue to bedevil peace efforts, despite "some improvement" and the efforts of "some outstanding individuals".

"There still is a tendency for the police community relations division to be some-



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what of a public relations operation rather than integrating the concepts for which it now stands into the rest of the police," she says. At the same time, such a "radical" change can't "just be done by the police. Communities have to feel they are part of the process", she says. And political parties have to help bridge the gaps: "It works both ways."

King feels the peace structures still need to put down stronger roots in the communities. "If you don't have a functioning agreement at the grassroots level, it's of no use," she says. That process might be hindered by perceptions that they are "closely aligned to the Government."

Even so, she says, the number of local peace committees has grown from around 50 to 184 in the year that UN-OMSA has been here. "Not all are functioning but that does show there has been a reaching out," she says.

Courage

Faced with a task that "does wear us down", developments like this are encouraging. But greater fuel for hope comes from "the courage and attitude and willingness" of ordinary people. Like the people in Mhluzi, Middelburg, who built a community centre near a squatter camp "so that residents could feel it was also for them". Like the chiefs in Port Shepstone who held a feast to welcome back 350 ANC people who had fled the area three years before. Things like this happen "often enough to makes us all feel optimistic".

Even so, she says, "I see the peace structures remaining long beyond the elections. People will have to keep working at it. There will be some people who will feel that they haven't got what they expected. And I am not sure that all South Africans realise what a difficult task they will have ahead and that it is their responsibility."

Wide reaction to raid

THERE was wide reaction from political parties and church leaders to the Umtata raid yesterday in which five people died.

THE ANC, PAC, the Transkei government and prominent church leaders joined the chorus of condemnation of yesterday's SADF raid on an alleged APLA house in Umtata which resulted in five deaths.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela described the raid as "an act of thuggery and terrorism".

PAC secretary-general Benay Alexander has requested a special session of the negotiation council — with Defence Minister Kobie Coetzee present — to discuss the raid, writes political correspondent Esther Waugh.

Further action?

He told Saturday Star last night that the PAC national executive would decide on further action, depending on how the crisis was handled by the council.

Sources said the Dikwankwella Party and the Ximoko Progressive Party were this weekend considering joining the Freedom Alliance. Should the PAC decide to leave constitutional talks, it would place the process under a serious



BEREAVED FATHER: Siggibe Mpendulo (left), father of two of the teenage boys killed in the SADF strike, with APLA spokesman Dr Peter Mayende at a press conference in Umtata yesterday.

strain.

Alexander said it was difficult for the PAC to make a serious case for remaining at the negotiating table, especially in light of the brutality of the attack. He said one of the 12-year-old victims had 20 bullet wounds.

Alexander said the PAC leadership yesterday consulted with regional leaders and a pro-

gramme of action would be announced today for regions and branches.

In Brussels, Nelson Mandela slammed the raid, but said the peace process would not be derailed by such acts.

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantso Holomisa, accompanying Mandela on his European tour, supported the ANC leader's comments.

Mandela said "There is no excuse whatsoever to kill innocent people, even assuming they were members of APLA."

"If they wanted these people to be brought to book, there are legal means of doing so. This is an act of thuggery and pure terrorism which we strongly condemn."

The ANC was determined to proceed with negotiations, "and we

cannot be diverted from that course by incidents of this nature."

"We will have incidents of this nature under a government which is illegitimate and discredited and inapt, where you have the leaders of a political party who are not decisive and who want to be all things to all men."

However, the ANC was determined that

when "democratic forces" were in power, "we will use the strongest means to put an end to issues of this nature."

The Transkei Military Council questioned whether the SADF had seized the political initiative from the South African Government, and sent a protest note to the Government.

Condemning the raid, the Military Council

said: "The timing of the incident is also significant in that it comes at a time when homelands which are sympathetic to the cause of the liberation of the struggling and disenfranchised people of our country are being singled out by the South African Government, and are being subjected to a lot of harassment."

The Military Council said the raid was contrary to the spirit and letter of the non-aggression pact between SA and Transkei.

Two senior South African church leaders last night described the raid as "madness" and "a massive political blunder."

The Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Reverend Dr Stanley Mogoba, said in a statement the attack "could well prove a serious setback to negotiations".

He called on the Government to immediately institute bilateral negotiations with the PAC to ensure there were no further attacks. He was prepared to mediate if needed.

Destabilisation

Bishop Mogoba also urged the PAC to abandon its armed struggle and "to display a spirit of statesmanship by entering negotiations".

The bishop of the Anglican diocese of Umtatavubu, Geoffrey Davies, said the attack was "madness and obviously designed to destabilise the country further".

He said the attack would be a huge setback to peace. — Sapa.

Depressing developments silence the cheers

CYNICISM is not a prerequisite for living in the newish South Africa, but at times it helps. The past week at the World Trade Centre began in businesslike fashion: there had been progress in negotiations and the country in general, the ending of sanctions had lifted some of South Africa's gloom — and it even started raining.

Negotiators, and those who observe them, asked themselves: Can it last? The answer came back quickly: Not for long.

Depressing developments soon made their reappearance. The Government pressed ahead with its unpopular petrol price increase,

prompting inevitable protests. Then the South African Defence Force raided a house in Umtata which it labelled a "confirmed APLA facility", but immediate reports said the victims were teenagers and children. As before — remember Maseru and Matola? — the raiding party's aim appeared hardly discriminate.

Negotiators, who had left the World Trade Centre on Thursday evening feeling rather pleased with themselves after a week of progress on the detailed aspects of the Interim Constitution, had to call on their remaining reserves of optimism. Yesterday morning, besides

TRANSITION
TALK
**ESTHER
Waugh**
at the World Trade Centre



the fuel foul-up and the Umtata debacle, they had to try to make sense of the unexpected withdrawal of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana from the Negotiating Council, and the establishment of the so-called Freedom Alliance.

Initially the response to this new development in con-

stitutional talks was surprised concern, but the negotiators are a hardy lot. Soon they were expressing relief that negotiations would continue — albeit in an alternative forum, as yet undefined.

Was this, though, the end of the road for the talk shop at Kempton Park? No, said the

Government and the ANC, the World Trade Centre show would continue, in spite of the departure of so many of its actors. The two leading players were still performing, they implied, and the play could survive with a smaller cast.

Sittings of the Negotiating Council were adjourned until Wednesday, and already it is being speculated that the SADF's action in Transkei will cause the script to be changed.

It is now thought that when the council reconvenes, Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee can be expected to be "summoned" — as was Law

and Order Minister Hernus Kriel after the raid on the PAC on May 25 — to explain the Government's actions.

And it is certainly not beyond the bounds of possibility that the PAC — which has in any event had some difficulty in selling its participation in the current negotiations to its constituency — may decide to pull out of talks.

Whatever it was designed to achieve, the raid cannot be expected to encourage the PAC's continued participation. Things are not going to proceed quietly and demurely in the Negotiating Council. The body's size may be reduced, but not its volume levels.

UN lifts curbs and EC pledges SA aid

JUST two weeks after the green light from Nelson Mandela, the United Nations yesterday agreed that economic sanctions be lifted, the European Community announced an immediate aid package for South Africa and Barbados announced it is to ask the Commonwealth to lift all remaining sanctions against South Africa.

The UN move opens the way for South Africa's readmission to the organisation after almost 20 years.

Most sanctions will be lifted immediately, but an oil embargo will be maintained until the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational.

The General Assembly resolutions imposing economic sanctions on Pretoria were not binding on UN members, but their lifting has great symbolic value, signalling acceptance by the 184 member-states that South Africa is well on

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Sanctions lifted

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the way to a multiracial democracy.

"The transition to democracy has now been enshrined in the law of South Africa," yesterday's resolution said. "All provisions adopted by the General Assembly relating to prohibitions or restrictions on economic relations with South Africa and its nationals, whether corporate or natural, including the areas of trade, investment, finance, travel and transportation, shall cease to have effect as of the date of the adoption of this resolution," it added.

The embargo on oil, oil products and investment in the South African oil industry would be lifted "as of the date that the Transitional Executive Council becomes operational", it said.

In Brussels, the European Community announced it would immediately step up economic and financial aid to South Africa, particularly to assist in the run-up to the election.

EC spokesman Xavier Monne said the community was to make \$6,5 million (R22 million) immediately available for voter education.

He was speaking after a meeting at the headquarters of the European Commission, the executive arm of the EC, between Mandela and commission president Jacques Delors.

After talks with President FW de Klerk in Cape Town, Barbados Prime Minister Lloyd Sandiford said on the steps of Tuynhuys that Barbados and other Commonwealth countries "stand ready to work for the development of a non-racial, democratic South Africa".

— Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Armed wing set to strike back

KEN VERNON
Deputy Editor

UMTATA — The armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress — APLA — has hinted strongly that it will take retaliatory action after the killing of five black youths by SADF commandos in Umtata yesterday.

"We won't take this lying down. We'll respond in a manner which will be felt by the enemy," APLA spokesman Dr Peter Mayende said yesterday.

Outside the home in which the youths were killed, Mayende said the SADF attack meant that proposed talks between APLA and the South African Government were cancelled.

"War is under way in South Africa," he said.

Talks

As he spoke, Transkei Defence Force units and police were being mobilised to patrol Transkei's major roads, resorts and homes in Umtata in expectation of retaliatory attacks against whites, according to TDF military operations acting director Colonel Luvuyo Nobandla.

In reply to a question on whether the attack would force the PAC out of the World Trade Centre talks at Kempton Park, PAC Transkei region chairman Mahlubi Mbanda-zayo said his organisation "would not be derailed from its programme; we will not

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ces said it appeared the youths had been taken to the lounge before being killed. Two of the youths had been shot in the chest before all five were shot execution-style in the back of the head.

Mayende denied that the dead youths — whom he named as Samora Mpendulo (16) and his twin brother Sadat Tando Mthembu (17); Sandiso Yose (12); and Mzandile Mfeya (12) — were connected with APLA.

Mayende acknowledged that they were members of the PAC youth organisation PASO, but denied that any weapons or PAC documents had been taken from the house.

"The boys were studying for exams. All that the killers took away with them was school books," he said.

The failure of the attack to hit any APLA members, instead killing innocent children, showed that the South African Government did not have any real knowledge of APLA activities, operations or bases.

"We hear that Mr de Klerk has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize — how can he accept that with the blood of these children on his hands?"

Set to hit back

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play into our enemies' plans.

"But there can be no peace agreement without a cessation of hostilities. How can anyone stop fighting when someone is shooting at him?"

Mayende alleged that APLA had "conclusive evidence" that the attack had been co-ordinated by the South African Embassy in Umtata. The attackers had used vehicles from the embassy and were picked up by a helicopter, he said.

Transkei military intelligence sources said they felt the embassy had been used in the lead-up to the raid.

Late yesterday, a spokesman for South African Ambassador Horace van Rensburg said he was not available to speak to reporters about the claims.

The PAC said the five youths had been shot where they slept in the suburban Umtata bungalow between midnight and 3 am.

However, military intelligence sour-