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S A MOVES FROM TALKS TO CONFRONTATION

With the inauguration of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) on December 7, South Africa moved into a dangerously unstable situation. Effective political power passed from the elected Parliament to the self-appointed council controlled by the South African Communist Party (SACP) and its front organisation, the African National Congress (ANC). Up to that date, opponents of the transitional process have been restrained because they acknowledged the lawful authority of Parliament. However, they see the TEC as an illegal usurper whose authority they reject. They therefore feel free, indeed obliged, to defy its authority.

How the SACP/ANC, through the TEC, exercises that power in their attempt to impose their will on the country and how groups that reject the TEC's authority react to their efforts, will determine events in South Africa in the months before the planned April 27 elections. Violence could be sparked either by TEC attempts to reincorporate the homelands against their will or by efforts to set up an independent Afrikaner homeland (volkstaat).

Despite being subjected to immense pressure from the international community as well as from within South Africa, the Freedom Alliance (FA) is the only group that has successfully withstood the machinations of the SACP/ANC alliance and its National Party (NP) ally. The FA offers the only viable alternative to the highly centralised socialist state planned by the SACP/ANC. Since its formation in October, but especially since the negotiating forum approved the interim constitution on Nov 18, the FA have been engaged in intensive bilateral negotiations with the NP and SACP/ANC as well as summits of its own leaders. These talks have been promising and have led to speculation that agreement was imminent. However there are those within the FA who believe that their adversaries are keeping them on a string in order to allow events to outflank them.

One of the prime goals of the SACP-controlled TEC is to assert its authority over Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu in order to undermine the power-base of its main political rivals. It intends doing this by gradually assuming control of their security forces and their civil administrations. If the leaders of these homelands allow this to happen, they are finished, as is the FA. If they resist, confrontation is inevitable, but this is preferable to submitting to Marxist tyranny. For this reason the courageous step taken by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu's chief minister and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in resisting the TEC's order to provide it with information on an alleged hit squad in the KwaZulu Police was absolutely correct and cannot be commended too highly. It is absolutely imperative that other homeland leaders follow his courageous example.

The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and its mouth-piece Radio Pretoria are in a similar position. With the installation of the TEC, the radio's temporary licence expired. In any case, it has been broadcasting news and political material in defiance of its licence conditions. The TEC must now decide whether to provoke a confrontation by attempting to close the station or just to ignore it. However, as was pointed out in Roca Report no 59, the station is fanning Afrikaner nationalism and rallying Afrikaners to the anti-Communist cause. It is therefore

too important for the
TEC to ignore. On Dec 9, the committee which had been running Radio Pretoria since it began
broadcasting in
September, officially handed the station over to the AVF. This is a clear indication that t
he station intends to
defy the TEC and continue broadcasting. Again, it must be stressed, it has no option. Follo
wing the advice of the
AVF, many small towns have held polls among their rate-payers who have overwhelmingly rejec
ted the TEC.
Similar unofficial polls in Pretoria have produced the same results. These areas will form
the volkstaat.

By refusing to submit to the authority of the TEC, the FA will provoke confrontation and co
nflict. It must however
be stressed that if the FA refuses the challenge and fades away, this does not mean peace a
nd prosperity will
descend on South Africa. Every Marxist revolution (which this undoubtedly is) has produced
armed resistance
from those labelled reactionaries or counter-revolutionaries. The potential for resistance
in South Africa from
those (Afrikaners, Zulus, Tswanas, etc) who will not accept Marxist/Xhosa/anti-Christian ru
le, is so great that
conflict is inevitable. But it is likely to be sporadic, uncoordinated and therefore far le
ss likely to succeed than if
it were a united stand taken by the FA. Even if that resistance is crushed, South Africaâ
\200\231s problems will not have
ended. Everywhere Marxism has ruled, it has produced economic stagnation, corruption, nepot
ism and tyranny.

Tens of thousands of people will gather at the Voortrekker Monument, Pretoria, on Dec 16, t
he holiest day on the
Afrikaner calendar. In order to demonstrate that it is a force to be reckoned with, the AVF
needs to draw a couple
of hundred thousand people. It needs to inspire them with a vision of hope and challenge th
em to make the
sacrifices necessary to safe-guard their freedom. What happens on Dec 16 will be of the utm
ost importance.

THE FREEDOM ALLIANCE REAFFIRMS ITS POSITION

Over many months, and despite very poor coverage from a hostile press, the Freedom Alliance
(FA) has stead-

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fastly maintained its position. It was spelt out again by Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope on Dec 5:

- @ A one-stage process to arrive at a constitution acceptable to most Southern Africans;
- e Exclusive powers granted to regions with demarcated boundaries protected in the draft constitution so they cannot be tampered with after the elections;
- o The right of regional governments to levy taxes and raise funds autonomously;
- o The right of regional governments to write their own constitutions;
- e Two ballots in the election, so people can vote for different parties at central and regional government level.

Saying Bophuthatswana would not accept incorporation into South Africa unless it was confident that what was on offer had a reasonable chance of success, Mangope added the cost of remaining independent with an unfriendly neighbour had to be weighed against the cost of becoming part of a new South Africa. "Both these outcomes are considerably worse than the present situation enjoyed by Bophuthatswana." He warned that the ANC would look after its own dominant ethnic group before anything else and that the track records of liberation movements which became governments in Africa were one of appalling and dismal failure.

There would be no peace and democracy in South Africa if the ANC/SACP and NP were allowed to proceed with their plans to totally dominate the country, Buthelezi said on Nov 21. "If they do not hear my call for freedom and justice and democracy, I will fight them every inch of the way forward until I have diverted them from destroying South Africa." No government would be able to stand against the force and political strength of the FA because it was the second strongest political force in the country.

The AVF's general council will act as a transitional government to protect the interests of the Afrikaner nation until formal elections can be held in a volkstaat, Gen Constand Viljoen and Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said in a statement on Nov 29. It called upon the people to be ready to protect this Afrikaner government against any possible Communist-orientated TEC or government aggression. Their strategy and plans, including the probable boundaries of the volkstaat will be announced on Dec 16. The volkstaat will be founded in March 1994.

Most of the White residents of Pretoria as well as 88 towns and cities in the Transvaal and 124 in the Cape want to be part of a volkstaat, the AVF said on Dec 6. The AVF's area protection units are under the command of Lt Gen Jan Fourie, regarded as one of the best strategists to have served in the SADF. The AVF claims to control 80 percent of the Commando and Citizen Force units in the proposed volkstaat and is confident that the government will not be able to call up the South African Defence Force (SADF) to act against them.

REINCORPORATING THE HOMELANDS

The transitional process presumes that the homelands will be reincorporated into a unified South Africa. Technically this will only happen after the elections. However under the guise of "levelling the playing fields" in the run-up to the elections, the TEC has laid the groundwork to take over some of the functions of those independent homelands which oppose reincorporation (Bophuthatswana and Ciskei) and the self-governing K

waZulu.

In a major move to rob the homelands of their authority, the negotiating council agreed on Dec 2 that homeland inhabitants would regain their South African citizenship on Jan 1, 1994 and that the homelands will be reincorporated after the elections. This marked another major government climbdown as previously it had insisted that the homelands will not be reincorporated unless they agreed. The negotiating council also recommended the scrapping by the central government of 20 KwaZulu laws, including one requiring civil servants to take an oath of loyalty to Ulundi. It justified its action by claiming the changes were needed to ensure free political activity.

If homelands resisted reincorporation, the TEC would insist that laws be immediately promulgated to take away their powers, including their authority to pay tribal chiefs, ANC negotiators said on Nov 20. Alternatively, to isolate leaders, TEC representatives would hold meetings with civil servants and the military to inform them that their jobs and pensions would be secured in the new dispensation. However if they refused to cooperate in the merging of the various civil services and defence forces, they would be left out.

If any of the TBVC states or self-governing territories fail to cooperate in their own dissolution, and if the only option left to us is to roll in the tanks, then that is what we will do," senior ANC official, Mathew Phosa warned on Nov 19. If the FA continues to threaten to spill blood, it is the duty of the government to meet that threat with resolve, SACP chairman, Joe Slovo told the same news conference. Reacting to the threats, the AVF said it had repeatedly stated it would explore all peaceful avenues before resorting to other means to achieve Afrikaner self-determination. It refused to be judged by individuals and organisations who were guilty of committing unspeakable atrocities such as assassination and the burning alive of political opponents.

This Constitution recognises the diversity of our people," ANC president Nelson Mandela said on Nov 18 at the close of the negotiating plenary. "Gone will be the days when one language dominated. Gone will be the days when one religion was elevated to a position of privilege over other religions. Gone will be the days when one culture was elevated to a position of superiority and others denigrated and denied... There is no place in a democracy

for any community or section of a community to impose its will at the expense of the fundamental rights of other citizens."

The statements by Mandela's colleagues quoted above are most certainly attempts to impose their will on others. They are also very good examples of Marxist double-speak. 'We have the right to impose our will on you but you have no right to resist our will or impose your will on others.' It is because of the arrogance that declares: 'We are right and therefore our will must prevail', that makes Marxism synonymous with oppressive tyranny.

If finances are restricted, there would be 'very tough times ahead for the Zulu people', Buthelezi said on Nov 19. Because the people of KwaZulu were taxpayers, the money allocated from the national fiscus for schools, clinics and pensioners, actually belonged to them. 'With the hatred I can see from Mr Mandela's utterance, quite clearly if his party wins, the Zulu people will suffer even worse as far as the allocation of funds is concerned.' He feared the Zulu people would be 'obliterated from the map' if a unitary state were set up.

'Never again will KwaZulu be dragged towards a destiny we had no hand in shaping,' Buthelezi told Lynda Chalker, British Overseas Development Aid Minister on Dec 9. KwaZulu 'will have a say in what is to become of our land, culture and our heritage.' He feared the NP and ANC were attempting to 'stamp out ethnic realities and obliterate the pluralism which is ... fundamentally inherent in South African society' adding that the Zulus were not prepared to stake their future solely on the ANC's verbal assurances. People are queuing to join Umfelandawonye (to die in unity) self-protection units, the IFP said on Dec 2.

No law passed by the South African Parliament would have any effect on Bophuthatswana, that country's chief negotiator Rowan Cronje said on Nov 17. Bophuthatswana was a model state with a well developed infrastructure and was the seventh richest country in Africa. If a new South African constitution was acceptable to the people of Bophuthatswana, they would consider a possible return to South Africa, he added. The negotiating council's decision to reincorporate Bophuthatswana without consulting its leaders or its people was a declaration of civil war. Hartzenberg told Parliament on Nov 22. Afrikaners in the FA would protect their freedom with everything at their disposal and would not let their allies down. 'If you touch Bophuthatswana, you are touching us.'

KWAZULU GOVERNMENT DEFIES THE TEC

The KwaZulu government instructed its police commissioner, Lt-Gen Roy During on Dec 10 to ignore an urgent request from the TEC to provide it with full information relating to alleged hit squads in the KwaZulu Police (KZP). 'The KwaZulu government did not participate in the decision nor was it consulted regarding the establishment of the TEC and hence recognises no obligation to provide it with any information,' said the general in a terse statement. 'Any further information required by the TEC should accordingly be sought from either the Goldstone Commission or the South African Police (SAP).'

The TEC had requested During to, within three days, provide a full report on hit squads following the publication on Dec 8 of a Goldstone Commission report implicating KZP members. 'Credible evidence of hit squad activities had been brought to the Commission's attention following the arrest of three former KZP members. Ironically the evidence of the hit squad activities came to light when During asked the SAP to investigate information he

had received about some KZP members being involved in criminal activities. The ANC used the report to call for the TEC to take control of all armed formations and for the TEC to establish a national peace-keeping force.

Investigations into the alleged hit squad are not complete, nor have any trial proceedings begun to decide on the guilt or innocence of the three arrested suspects, said IFP political director Zib a Jiyane in his reaction. Yet the commission has chosen to make this information available, as well as to pronounce on their probable guilt. On the other hand, the commission does not appear to have uncovered evidence about hit squads responsible for killing IFP leaders. Buthelezi accused the commission of attempting to discredit the IFP for not taking part in the TEC. He questioned why the report did not mention the atrocities perpetrated by the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the ANC-dominated self-defence units.

ATTEMPTS TO WEAKEN FREEDOM ALLIANCE MEMBERS

Attempts are being made to weaken the Freedom Alliance by suggesting division with their members. The Weekly Mail (26/11/93) reported a rift between Buthelezi and Walter Felgate, a close confidant, on one hand and former Democratic Party member of Parliament Mike Tarr, IFP chief executive officer Joe Matthews and chief KwaZulu negotiator Ben Ngubane on the other over the issue of whether the IFP should take part in the elections. The paper stressed that Buthelezi has threatened to resign as IFP president for the third time this year. Buthelezi has repeatedly said he is not interested in an election to decide who is going to write the constitution. Similarly, the Sunday Times (28/11/93) speculated that Mangope's family was putting pressure on him to retire.

Perhaps the most blatant attempt was the media's misinterpretation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's speech on Dec 3. He was reported to have criticised the Freedom Alliance for walking out of the World Trade Centre talks. The ANC hailed his criticism as shattering Buthelezi's claim to speak on behalf of the Zulu nation and confirming the ANC's view that the FA was a group of spoilers. It said his speech indicated he had risen above party politics and that he was ready to play a unifying role by bringing all parties to the negotiation table.

In no way whatsoever did I intend criticising any political party for withdrawing from negotiations as has been reported in the press, the King said in a statement issued on Dec 6. The fact that certain parties walked out of

the talks reflected on the inability of those parties which necessitated the walk out, and made it impossible for them and those who had to walk out to listen to each other and to make compromises.â\200\235 He said he was puzzled as to how the IFP and FA were read into his speech when they had not been mentioned. He complained that the media had used his views in â\200\234a cheap and partisan way to extol the virtues of certain political parties by implication, merely in order to vilify others.â\200\235 He lamented the fact that all political parties failed to communicate.

THE OCCUPATION OF SCHANSKOP FORT

At about 5 am on Dec 7, the day the TEC was inaugurated, members of the Pretoria Boere Commando, led by Commandant Willem Ratte, former intelligence officer of the crack 32 Battalion, took control of the 100-year old Schanskop Fort, now a military museum, just south of Pretoria, very close to the Voortrekker Monument. The group was well equipped with rifles, handguns, 1 200 rounds of ammunition, two cans of gunpowder, food, water, gas cylinders, sleeping bags and torches. â\200\234The Azanians (SACP and ANC) are breaking the law by implementing an illegal structure like the TEC,â\200\235 Ratte said. â\200\234We did not vote for it and we donâ\200\231t recognise it. We are breaking the law only because they are breaking the law.â\200\235 They would be occupying the fort indefinitely, certainly until Dec 16, to give the Boere volk their own piece of land where the TEC had no power over them.

Within 24 hours the occupation ended peacefully when 18 of the group surrendered to the police following negotiations with the Commissioner of Police and two Volksfront generals and were charged with trespassing. Ratte and several of his men escaped from the fort before the surrender and are being sought by the police.

This incident illustrates a problem the AVF faces - the difficulty of keeping their followers informed and in check. A senior member of the AVF, Ratte apparently got impatient and felt he had to do something dramatic to highlight the rejection of the TEC. As a military operation, the planning could not be faulted. The take-over went smoothly, the provisions were ample and the incident was dramatic enough to generate tremendous media coverage. But his planning does not appear to have gone any further! Having taken the fort, what now? To hold it indefinitely? To provoke a spontaneous uprising? To fight heroically to the last man against overwhelming odds?

Although Black soldiers were deployed, the police took charge of the operation and were clearly determined to re-take the fort. The only result of the occupation was to demonstrate that the SA Defence Force and the police will obey the government of the day and will take action against the Rightwing when they break the law. Fortunately the AVF generals were able to save the day by convincing Ratte that there were more strategically important battles to be fought in the future and he and his men needed to be kept for those.

There are two differences between the fort and Radio Pretoria. Firstly, the fort has only historic value - Radio Pretoria is actively rallying the people. Secondly, Ratteâ\200\231s men initiated the confrontation by actively occupying the fort and forcing the government to react. The Radio is passive in that the government has permitted it to broadcast for several months. To close it, the TEC will have to initiate the action. If the AVF were to allow it to be closed, its cause would be lost. It is certainly one of the more strategically important battles lying ahead.

THE TEC BEGINS TO ASSERT ITS AUTHORITY

There were no dramatic changes when the TEC was installed on Dec 7. Nor were they expected - that is all part of SACP's Joe Slovo's plan. Dramatic shifts of power wake people up to reality and they take action to avoid the danger they see. So what he envisages is a slow transfer of power from the existing government, as well as those of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu, to the TEC. So that, by the time April 27 arrives, the unified defence force will be a reality, the de facto reincorporation of the homelands will have been accomplished, the dream of a volkstaat will have long since evaporated, Buthelezi, Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo will no longer have a power-base, and even De Klerk's will be nominal. The ANC will walk the election. But even that would bring no

major changes because the ANC's on April 26 will already be there on April 28 will hardly be different!

The only thing that will upset Slovo's plan will be if the members of the FA stand together and resolutely reject every attempt to impose the authority of the TEC on its members. It must start now while the TEC is still trying to convert the authority it has on paper into actual power and before it has had the opportunity of exercising its power. The slightest compromise at this stage will be fatal in the long term., Radio Pretoria's determination to keep broadcasting and KwaZulu's refusal to provide information on its police force are good starts.

Only 16 of the original 24 parties (later reduced to 21) at the multi-party talks are taking part in the TEC. The latest to pull out are the Afrikaner Volksparty, the PAC and the three traditional leaders' delegations. Left are the SA Communist Party, the ANC, the NP and the government which have worked together to rush the agreements detailed in the September 1992 Record of Understanding through the negotiating process; the DP, which only once disagreed with the other four (on the manner of the appointment of judges to the constitutional court), and the governments of Transkei and Venda, which together with nine small parties with doubtful support, never opposed the SACP/ANC. Most of these eleven are members of the Patriotic Front which agreed, on Nov 24, to fight the elections under the ANC's banner. The SA National Civics Association (SANCO) will also support the ANC, it announced the previous day, adding that it would not abandon its non-party political approach!

The TEC began to exercise its power at its second meeting on Dec 9. In addition to demanding a full report from

the KwaZulu Police on the alleged hit squad, it ordered the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and the government's Roelf Meyer to consult with the responsible police officers on the deployment of police units. It also resolved to set up its sub-committee on Law and Order, Stability and Security as a matter of urgency to investigate the manner in which members of the SA Police have been exercising its (sic) functions. It should be carefully noted that only the police are to be investigated, not MK nor the self-defence units, nor those who were responsible for killing 230 policemen during the year! It also ordered the SAP to go into the homelands to prevent killings and called on Bophuthatswana to allow the leftwing Lawyers for Human Rights to hold a Human Rights celebration.

The fact is that the TEC is the forerunner of the government of national unity," said The Weekly Mail (10/12/93). As 1994 dawns on the new South Africa the new reality will be multi-party government built on the foundations of the TEC. The NP government's wings have been trimmed, and they will be well and truly clipped as the election date approaches... While it will take a while for the government and the TEC to define their respective roles, the fact is that the government has lost some control and it will lose further ground before the government of national unity is installed after April 27.

The installation of the TEC reopened the clash between the NP and the ANC over its powers. State President F.W. de Klerk insisted: "The TEC is not the new government." The NP would continue the day-to-day running of the country until the election. Ramaphosa disagreed, saying it was essential that the TEC enjoyed full executive, as opposed to advisory, functions and that it would be able to reverse presidential decisions in the coming months. He called on council members to act "with determination and a great deal of courage" when necessary, against the decrees and laws of the NP government. The government cannot take decisions in seven key areas - defence, law and order, finance, foreign affairs, media, broadcasting and electoral procedure - without the agreement of the TEC, he added. Once the TEC is operating fully, it will also have direct access to Military Intelligence.

THE ANC IS HUNGRY FOR POWER SABC APPOINTS THREE ANC MEMBERS

The appointment by the SA Broadcasting Corporation's board of three ANC members to senior positions in the SABC on Dec 3 drew widespread criticism. Zwelike Sisulu, son of ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, a detainee for two years for allegedly spreading "subversive propaganda", editor of the ANC-supporting newspaper Sunday Nation (formerly New Nation) and the man who was expected to edit the ANC's daily newspaper, was appointed right-hand man to the SABC's group chief executive Wynand Harmse, in the newly created post of special executive. He is expected to replace Harmse when his contract expires next year. Sisulu said he would be in charge of the implementation of "rapid affirmative action within the corporation and will play a role in terms of strategising to position the company." He admitted he had no experience in radio and TV.

Govin Reddy, of the Media Institute of South Africa, until recently chairman of the Broadcasting Monitoring Project, founder and editor of the regional magazine Africa South, former exile who applied for refugee status in Zimbabwe in 1981, and former head of current affairs at the Zimbabwean Broadcasting Corporation, was

appointed executive head of radio, putting him in control of the SABC's 22 radio stations. He said he would like to see radio play an important role in national development and nation building. Solly Mokoetle, formerly a journalist for the ANC's Radio Freedom and currently with the Canadian Broadcast Corporation, was appointed senior general manager radio with specific responsibility for the SABC's regional broadcasting services.

Broadcasting experience and a track record of impartiality in the handling of news were definitely not a consideration in the appointment, said the Media Workers Association, which expressed concern about the effects and implications of the trend on the long-term viability of the SABC. The National Council of Trade Unions asked whether the SABC board was changing from a NP mouthpiece to an ANC mouthpiece. It pointed out that some appointees lacked radio and TV experience, that the posts were not advertised and the candidates were approached secretly. The IFP accused the ANC of using the SABC board to appoint its members to senior positions and demanded the immediate cancellation of the appointments. Between them they have only limited experience in broadcasting and none of running a conglomerate the size of the SABC, noted The Weekly Mail (10/12/93). The appointments were welcomed by Cosatu and the Campaign for Independent Broadcasting.

ANC BEGINS TO CONTROL THE POLICE AND SADF

The government and the ANC reached agreement on the future police force on Nov 16. There will be a national two-tiered force with far greater autonomy at regional level with the regional commissioners reporting to their own regional ministers rather than to the national commissioner. Homeland police forces will be incorporated into the provincial forces. The SAP had originally proposed complete regional autonomy and a central force similar to America's Federal Bureau of Investigation.

One of the first results was the reinstatement, on Dec 2, of 405 policemen, members of the ANC-aligned Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) who had been dismissed in October for taking part in an illegal strike (Roca Report no 59). The Conservative Party described the action as a capitulation to the demands of the ANC. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel denied pressure from Popcru had influenced his decision while Popcru welcomed the reinstatement, saying negotiations has introduced a new dynamic public sector transformation.

Intensified calls by the ANC and Popcru for the immediate withdrawal of the police's Internal Stability Units (ISUs) from Black townships, especially those on the East Rand, followed the reinstatement of the policemen. The ISUs were accused of actively carrying out acts of aggression against Blacks. However, of the 1318 people killed on the East Rand between Jan and October, only 16 were killed by ISUs.

Moreover, the Goldstone Commission urged the retention of the ISUs in East Rand townships on Dec 8, saying their withdrawal would probably lead to even more violence. Whatever the shortcomings or unacceptable conduct of members of the ISUs might be, their withdrawal is likely to lead to greater and not less violence. He said the withdrawal of the protection afforded by the ISUs would make township residents even more vulnerable and at the mercy of roving groups who had already set themselves up as informal, undisciplined and unaccountable vigilante law enforcers, whether calling themselves self-defence units or any other name. The ANC rejected the recommendation as unacceptable and repeated its call for the units' withdrawal while the police and ANC established a sub-committee to deal with the complaints. There is very little doubt that the TEC will have the ISUs withdrawn soon!

The negotiating council decided on Nov 17, that South Africa's new National Defence Force, will consist of the SADF, the defence forces of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei plus members of any armed or military force which is under the authority and control of or associated with and promotes the objectives of a political organisation. In terms of the agreement setting up the TEC, all armed forces must submit lists of weapons and personnel to the TEC within three weeks. It remains to be seen whether the KwaZulu police and the army and police of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei comply. If they do, their units will certainly join

Full integration of the armed forces BEFORE NEXT YEAR'S ELECTIONS would be preferable, to establish the defence force as a stabilising bridging agent, Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen, military intelligence chief said on Nov 17. He warned that civil war would destroy South Africa and would invite international involvement.

MK and the SADF were close to agreement on the joint monitoring of each other's forces, MK chief-of-staff Sphiwe Nyanda said on Dec 8. The sensitive question of monitoring and full disclosure of both troops and weapons on both sides was vital in the build-up to the elections. Former guerrillas, policemen and members of the SADF and homeland armies will be melded into a peace-keeping force to help restore order in Black townships. He said the first former guerrillas were likely to be in assembly areas, to be established throughout South Africa, early in January. Not stated, but certainly implied, is that the assembly points will be SADF bases and that the SADF will be confined to other bases. There is no doubt that Joe Modise will become a general in the TEC-controlled SADF.

There would be great problems ahead if the TEC was placed in control of the security forces, Viljoen said on Nov 24. He failed to understand how the unelected office bearers of the TEC could be placed in control of the security forces. He warned that the Afrikaners' state of mind was becoming explosive. The CP warned that should the TEC take control of the SADF, CP members would regard call-up instructions as illegal. The Bophuthatswana defence force said that Armscor had put its order for 100 mortar bombs and launchers on hold.

d since Dec 5.

VIOLENCE INCREASES AFTER THE INSTALLATION OF THE TEC

Eight bodies, with their hands tied together, were found in Katlehong, East Rand on Dec 8, the day after the TEC was installed. One was decapitated and the head chopped to pieces. The IFP claimed they had been killed by
â\200\234peopleâ\200\231s courtsâ\200\235 which were resurfacing in both the East and West Rand with the full knowledge and consent of the ANC and ANC-aligned civic associations. It said the ANC demanded the removal of the ISUs precisely because they represented an obstacle to these â\200\234kangaroo courtsâ\200\235 which were taking over the administration of
â\200\234justiceâ\200\235. That week 30 people were killed in the East Rand.

Political violence continues at such a high level that 1993 will probably be the second worst year since the violence began in 1984. In November 216 people were killed in Natal, just short of the unprecedented 218 in October, the highest figure ever recorded by the Human Rights Commission. Up to the end of November 230 policemen had been murdered this year, 149 of whom were off-duty and 81 on duty. This exceeds the total number of police deaths in 1992 (226), 1991 (145) and 1990 (107). In most cases, the policemen killed were Black, off-duty, in their homes and had their firearms stolen. The number of security guards killed is not known but is believed to be over 100. Some of the blame for the deaths of policemen must be laid at the governmentâ\200\231s door for failing to fix a final date for amnesty for political crimes and for refusing to act on a request from a former Commissioner of Police for the death sentence to be carried out on murderers of policemen. :

About 50 gunmen armed with AK-47 rifles and handguns attacked the Eden Park police station, East Rand, on Nov28. Random attacks on police patrols in the nearby Phola Park continued throughout the night. Three attacks on the police in the East Rand were reported on Dec 1. While the Goldstone Commission is concerned about an alleged hit squad in the KwaZulu Police said to have killed nine people, no organisation is held responsible for the more than 700 policemen murdered since the ANC was unbanned!

â\200\234A primary trigger of current violence and intimidation remains the rivalry between , and the fight for territory

and the control thereof by the IFP and ANC,â\200\235 said the Goldstone Commission in its fifth annual report released on Nov 26. â\200\234There has been no evidence of direct police (or defence force) involvement in political violence.â\200\235

Allegations were based on unsubstantiated suspicions for which no corroboration could be found or were clearly false, or there was evidence the accusers had been coerced into making false allegations.

MK members played key roles in Apla's attacks last year on the Queenstown Spur steakhouse and the King William's Town golf club, three independent MK sources told The Weekly Mail (3/12/93). One of those involved in the attacks is presently studying at the University of the Transkei. After carrying out attacks, ANC members and MK cadres were sent out the country for basic and advanced military training, sometimes with Apla members, an East Rand MK commander said. "There is crossover in the ranks on the ground," with Apla usually claiming responsibility for the attacks. "The ANC needs to keep a clean image but it also had to keep links with the PAC, especially the militant youth," he said. Transkei leader Major Gen Bantu Holomisa confirmed that the Transkei Defence Force, MK and Apla were co-operating in intelligence gathering, but emphatically denied any co-operation on armed activities. Both MK and Apla are reported to have bases in the Transkei.

The ANC's terrible track record in the ongoing violence and the systematic efforts of its followers to prevent free political activity were causes for serious concern, De Klerk said on Nov 24. Much of the violence was committed by self-defence units who claimed allegiance to the ANC. After reading from a list of incidents, he said that since Nov 1, 1991, the ANC was responsible for 293 breaches of the National Peace Accord, or 78 percent of the total. Between Oct 1 and the beginning of Dec, ANC and MK members had been involved in 61 cases of the smuggling of illegal weapons, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said on Dec 8.

A limpet mine exploded in a bus in the centre of Durban, mid-morning on Nov 30, killing the man carrying it and seriously injuring his two Xhosa accomplices. Four other people were injured. According to the IFP, the dead man was an Apla member from the Transkei and the other two were members of Paso (Pan-Africanist Students Organisation). The bus was on its way to a conservative White residential area. Within 12 hours, the Port Edward Hotel, also in Natal but just a few kilometers from the Transkei border, was destroyed by a triple explosion. Apla claimed responsibility. An AVF meeting was to have been held in the hotel the following day. On Nov 24, the IFP claimed MK had embarked on "Operation Sunrise" to sow terror in Natal's communities and intimidate voters to ensure victory in the elections.

Four instructors of the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), and 35 trainees were arrested in a cave in Lebowa on Nov 29. Firearms and ammunition were seized. They were said to be undergoing military training to disrupt the elections and were members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), part of the BCM. Azanla claimed responsibility for burning down a filling station in Uitenhage on Dec 6 and for an explosion in a row of shops in Krugersdorp 24 hours later. The Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), the PAC's youth wing, will transform its township defence structures into offensive structures, the organisation announced on Dec 9. Attacks would be taken to "the regime and its surrogates".

NP CAVES IN AT NEGOTIATIONS

The plenary session of the negotiating council finally concluded at 14 minutes past midnight on Nov 18. The session began more than eight hours behind schedule as weary negotiators continued to haggle over details of the interim constitution, including a last minute demand by the ANC that there should be a single ballot paper for the elections, instead of a national one and a regional one. Ramaphosa labelled the government's last minute concessions on the draft constitution as a 'complete collapse'. Other senior ANC negotiators told reporters they were stunned by the ease with which they won key concessions from the government in the final days of the negotiations.

The NP capitulated on key checks and balances in the constitution, said the Sunday Times (14/11/93), including:

• The central government can override the powers and functions of the provinces. It is far from federalism.

• The constitutional principles binding the constituent assembly do not provide for federalism.

• The agreement on a government of national unity amounts more to co-option of the NP than power-sharing.

Suggestions that the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance would end after the elections were unfounded, SACP central committee member, Raymond Suttner, who also heads the ANC's political education department, said on Dec 4.

The alliance is based on common experiences, objectives and struggles and that is why it will continue.

SOUTH AFRICA'S AIDS CRISIS WORSENS

One in 60 Black women and one in 79 Black men tested as potential blood donors are HIV-positive, meaning they are infected with the virus that causes AIDS, the SA Blood Transfusion Service (SABTS) said on Nov 13. When HIV tests were introduced at blood donor clinics seven years ago, the figure was one in 4 200. The figure for White women is one in 45 000 and for White men one in 2 000. With 92 percent of its donors already White, the SABTS is considering accepting blood only from Whites and Asians. In 1986, before HIV testing was routine, whole blood from the SABTS cost R36 per 500 ml unit. Today it costs R194 per unit!

One in 18 (six percent) of the mothers at Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital's antenatal clinic is HIV-positive compared with one in 250 five years ago. Specialist Dr James McIntyre calculates that 15 percent of pregnant women will be HIV-positive by November 1994. One-third of the babies born to HIV mothers die within three years. The hospital will spend R1.8 million on AIDS tests in 1993.

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There are an estimated 30 000 HIV-positive women in Soweto - a slightly higher proportion than in central Johannesburg and slightly lower than in Natal. Some 550 South Africans per day are becoming HIV-positive and more than 500 000 South Africans will be HIV-positive by the end of 1993, estimates the Department of National Health and Population Development. It is predicted that 7 000 people will develop full-blown AIDS in 1993.

â\200\234AIDS and TB are terrible twins,â\200\235 Prof Eric Glatthaar, chairman of the TB Advisory Group said on Dec 4. In AIDS patients, TB progresses 10 times faster than normal while AIDS is also more virulent and progresses more rapidly. TB often takes a different form in AIDS patients, attacking organs and bones rather than affecting the lungs. About 10 million South Africans are infected with the TB organism but do not fall ill unless something else - like poor nutrition or the HIV virus - triggers it. There are 80 000 new TB cases every year. Almost one-third of the patients in some TB hospitals are HIV-positive.

IN BRIEF

@ Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s estranged wife, Winnie, 58, was elected president of the ANC Womenâ\200\231s League on Dec 4, overwhelmingly beating the favourite, ANC veteran, Albertina Sisulu. Two days earlier the league lifted her suspension by the regional executive of the Johannesburg-Pretoria branch. Earlier this year, she was elected deputy president of the SA National Civics Organisation and on Nov 7, she was elected to the ANCâ\200\231s Johannesburg regional executive. In 1991 she was convicted on charges of kidnapping a 14-year old activist.

@ An application by Clive Derby-Lewis to have the Chris Hani murder trial reopened to enable him to lead further evidence was dismissed in the Rand Supreme Court on Dec 6.

The South African Breweries and Coca-Cola decided to remove Afrikaans from the labels of their products and use only English. Moves to downgrade Afrikaans were predicted after the negotiating council decided South Africa should have 11 official languages (See Roca Report no 59).

The charges were withdrawn against three of the six people accused of killing American student Amy Biehl after an ANC member refused to testify on Nov 22. The witness had previously made a sworn statement linking the three with the crime scene. An ANC spokesman said it was a pity that witnesses did not have the freedom to give their evidence because of intimidation or harassment. Shortly after the charges were withdrawn, a jubilant group of Pan-Africanist Students Organisation (PASO) supporters left the court chanting â\200\234one settler, one bulletâ\200\235, â\200\234every settler deserves a bulletâ\200\235 and â\200\234warâ\200\235. After another witness had testified, a group of PAC supporters who had attended the proceedings threatened her saying she would â\200\234follow Amyâ\200\235. At least one other witness also refused to testify. When one witness described Amy, covered in blood and groaning in pain, supporters of the accused laughed. Another witness said she was killed because she was â\200\234a settlerâ\200\235 (White).

@ Neither Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, nor his former body-guard Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, testified when the defence closed its case in Bisho on Dec 8. They were charged with

h murdering former

Ciskei Defence Force Commander-in-Chief Charles Sebe. Judgment is expected on Dec 13.

e Foreigners will be heavily involved in South Africa's April elections. The ANC will be working with Americans

Stan Greenberg and Frank Greer - who helped US President Bill Clinton win - and Bill Lynch, political advisor

to former mayor of New York, David Dinkins. Westminster-based lobby group IGA has offered its services

free to the ANC. The NP has signed up the high-profile British image makers Saatchi and Saatchi and Lowe

Bell Communicators. Clinton is said to be considering sending Ford Foundation president, Franklin Thomas

(CFR), as a special envoy to South Africa to persuade Buthelezi to get back into the transitional process.

e Former ANC member Siphiwe Lombo is suing the ANC and SACP for R2.3 million for damages suffered

while in jails and camps outside South Africa. His action is likely to further damage the ANC's image.

o South Africa will transfer the strategic West coast port of Walvis Bay and 12 off-shore islands to Namibia on

Feb 28, 1994, the negotiating council decided on Dec 1.

e An ANC government would launch a major public works programme to build houses with electricity, running

water and telephone links for all homeless South Africans, ANC deputy finance spokesman Tito Mboweni

told an ANC meeting in Middelburg on Dec 3. Those who could not afford to buy or rent the houses would

be subsidised by the State. Health care would also be subsidised and for the first 10 years schooling will be

free and compulsory. Idealistic and socialist it might be, but it is a wonderful way to get votes!

® The once highly secretive Afrikaner Broederbond decided on Nov 27 to change its name to the Afrikaner-

bond from March 1994, Its new constitution will allow women and all race groups to become members.

e Crime continues at a high level with 14 888 vehicles stolen, many of them hijacked, on the Reef in the first

eight months of 1993, the police said on Dec 1.

11/12/93

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