

WEEKEND Argus

12.3.94

Brinkmanship goes over the brink

EVENTS in Bophuthatswana in the last few days should be sobering for everyone involved in the political process. This was the week when brinkmanship went over the brink and political posturing turned to bloodshed.

The finger of blame must be pointed in many directions.

Not least of those to blame are the President of the homeland state Lucas Mangope, who stubbornly refused to accept the reality that his country was not a sovereign state and never could be and that it must, inevitably, be re-incorporated into the new South Africa.

His intransigence has backfired on him and although, so late in the day, he has now decided to participate in the April elections, he has blood on his hands. And he sorely damaged his political credibility.

Also to blame are the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging rowdies who thought they could conduct a Congo mercenary-style military campaign to prop up the Bop regime; their provocative actions are in large measure responsible for the tragic deaths of three of their number.

Some blame also attaches to the African National Congress and its allies for the blatantly militaristic threats they have made against Bophuthatswana, starting months ago with one leading official who warned that the ANC would "send the tanks".

And, of course, the Nationalist party and government cannot escape the blame for the Grand Apartheid policy of balkanising South Africa and giving birth to such improbable entities as Bop.

It is to be hoped that lessons will be learned from all this. If not, then the future for South Africans is bleak, indeed. It is time for all to draw back from the headlong rush to confrontation.

The first priority is for South African Defence Force troops to establish control in Bop. Vigilantes must be sent on their way and life must be returned to normal as soon as possible.

It is also vital now that leaders such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu and General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront break away from hardliners in their midst and agree — like Ciskei and Bop before them — to

take part, peacefully and democratically, in the election.

It must be clear to General Viljoen now that extremists in the rightwing are beyond persuading and yet that a large section of the membership of the AVF would follow his leadership into the election

And it must clear now to Chief Buthelezi that his brinkmanship or, worse, failure to enter the election can lead only to another — and bigger — catastrophe than that which has befallen Bop.

If the IFP and the AVF come into the election, it will have a salutary, calming effect on the entire political situation — and it will keep in the negotiating game.

It is essential that all parties re-commit themselves to negotiations. That means they should cease forthwith to threaten each other, to rattle sabres and to make outrageous public demands.

The fact is that everything can be settled round a negotiating table but, as the events in Bop have shown this week, nothing is settled on the streets.

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Gangs: Call the army, says ANC

ROGER FRIEDMAN

Weekend Argus Reporter

IN spite of the presence of extra police — including members of the controversial Internal Stability Unit — gangsters continue to hold Manenberg to ransom.

After a relatively quiet start to the week, four people — including a five-months pregnant woman — have been gunned down in the streets.

This after Southern Peninsula deputy regional commissioner Brigadier Carl van Eeden on Wednesday pronounced himself "very happy" with the effect the deployment of extra police had had on the community.

Incidents over the past few days include:

■ About 4pm yesterday police dispersed a mob with teargas outside the Manenberg People's Centre after sporadic shooting.

■ On Thursday night five-months-pregnant Patricia Hess, 20, was shot in the side

and Vincent America shot in both legs; and

■ On Wednesday two men were shot during a game of cricket in the street.

In a strongly-worded statement made over the telephone a spokesman for the African National Congress (Manenberg branch) repeated their call for the deployment of the army in the area.

"We have just watched people breaking the law right under the noses of the police. People are fighting and walking around with guns and pangas and the police have failed to make any arrests," the spokesman said as gunfire rattled in the background.

"In the space of two days four people have been shot including a pregnant woman. The police are unable to handle the situation and restore law and order.

"All that the police have achieved is dispersing the crowd by firing teargas. They cannot do the job and we reiterate our call for the army to restore law and order.

"They could operate jointly with the police."

Accusing the police of acting in bad faith by deploying the Internal Stability Unit in Manenberg against the ANC's wishes, the spokesman said: "It has just been proven the ISU cannot handle the situation and have merely stirred up deeper anger.

"Anarchy must stop. We deplore the shooting of innocent people. The community must stand firm against these type of outrages."

■ Manenberg library was closed this week because gang violence threatened the well-being of staff and borrowers. One person has been shot dead and others wounded by stray bullets outside the library this year.

A police caravan parked outside the library has been surrounded by sandbags after coming under fire.

■ Ten people, including four women, were reportedly arrested in Manenberg on Thursday night after a fight apparently started by women gangsters.

'President Mandela' ordered in troops — Holomisa

JOHN VILJOEN

Weekend Argus Reporter

SOUTH African troops were sent to Bophuthatswana on the orders of African National Congress president Nelson Mandela, Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa has told Western Cape students.

General Holomisa hit the campus trail yesterday speak-

ing at the universities of Cape Town — where he was a last-minute replacement for Winnie Mandela — and the Western Cape. Mrs Mandela is in Bophuthatswana.

Hundreds of euphoric students greeted him at UCT. However, the welcome was even warmer at UWC where about 2 000 students filled the Great Hall.

"President De Klerk was or-

dered by President Mandela" to restore law and order in Bophuthatswana, said General Holomisa.

Mr Mandela had telephoned President De Klerk at 12.30am yesterday about the presence of a rightwing force in the homeland and demanded that they not be allowed to wreak havoc.

The SADF had been sent to the South African embassy and

it seemed the government was concerned about the ambassador and his family and not the people of Bophuthatswana, said General Holomisa.

The crisis in Bophuthatswana had exposed the South African government's collusion with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and homeland forces, he claimed.

(News by J Viljoen, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

CP: Bop chaos 'orchestrated'

PRETORIA. — Events in Bophuthatswana had been orchestrated by an "unholy" African National Congress/SA Communist Party/National Party alliance which should take responsibility for the loss of life in the strife, Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg has said.

In a statement yesterday Dr Hartzenberg expressed the CP's dismay at the past week's unrest in the homeland, whose embattled leader President Lucas Mangope was a principal partner with the CP in the election-boycotting Freedom Alliance.

According to the CP leader, the so-called ANC/SACP/NP alliance had orchestrated a "communist revolution" in Bophuthatswana in various ways.

These included ferrying busloads of ANC activists to the area, carefully planning strikes, instigating student and

youth vandalism, selective Umkhonto we Sizwe shooting actions and intimidation of the homeland's security forces as well as a "massive SABC and leftist media campaign of disinformation".

"The killing of four Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members was an indication of the ruthless manner in which the operation was carried out," Dr Hartzenberg said.

He reiterated that the CP would never contest the election.

"To do so would make the CP guilty of complicity in the enslaving of the Afrikaner Boerevolk by a communist government of national unity," he said.

He further contended that the proclamation of 52 magisterial districts as unrest areas was a ruse.

"Law and Order Minister

Hernus Kriel's proclamation is a selective enforcing of his powers because he deliberately did not include areas where unrest was happening.

"In not doing so he gave the ANC the opportunity to continue their revolution unhindered," Dr Hartzenberg said.

The CP leader concluded by calling on all "Boere Afrikaners" and those people who had become involved in the "struggle" to regroup and consolidate.

"The four Afrikaners who offered their lives should serve as an incentive to us to also pay the highest price in order to achieve our nation's freedom in our own fatherland.

"The struggle which our fathers started, will rage until we die or vanquish," Dr Hartzenberg said. — Sapa.

Report by F Pienaar, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.

SADF slowly restores order

MMABATHO. — South African troops are battling to contain looters and sporadic lawlessness in the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho and in neighbouring Mafikeng.

A South African Defence Force spokesman said key buildings and installations had been secured, but soldiers were having problems controlling looting and theft, especially of petrol.

The Bophuthatswana Defence Force airfield used on Friday as headquarters for thousands of rightwing infiltrators was closed yesterday afternoon, a helicopter pilot said.

Mark McJannet said his was the last aircraft allowed to refuel at the airstrip before it was to be closed.

"The SADF now controls all the airspace around Mmabatho.

"The streets are quiet and the only activity is smoke from fires around the place," he said.

Black and white troops worked together yesterday to halt looting in the battered homeland, where up to 67 people including four white rightwingers are said to have died.

South African and Bophuthatswana soldiers and police moved into the centre of the twin towns of Mmabatho and Mafikeng in force yesterday to restore order after 72 hours of rioting and looting.

The riots broke out in protest at President Lucas Mangope's boycott of the election, which will end his control of the territory comprising seven pockets of land north, west and south of Johannesburg.

Many of the South Africans wore helmets and carried automatic weapons, but an officer who declined to be identified said they were under orders not to shoot.

Camouflage-clad South African riot police worked with colleagues from the Bophuthatswana police and army to arrest looters trying to grab anything left in the shops.

"We are the good guys now," said one riot control officer.

"The Bop police are the only ones allowed to shoot here."

Asked what he thought of the South African intervention in Bophuthatswana, a resident, Dawood Ntsweng, 53, said he was delighted, "as long as they don't shoot us".

Kerneels Kok, 33, said he felt safe

about walking in the streets for the first time this week.

"Most people are very happy," he said.

Bop officials declined to say where Mr Mangope was.

Confusion surrounds the precise number of people who died following days of violence, looting and arbitrary shootings.

Estimates range from 12 confirmed dead to speculation that at least 67 people have died.

The Victoria Hospital in Mafikeng confirmed that there were eight corpses, victims of gunshots, in its mortuary while a private funeral director is making arrangements to bury four more victims.

On Friday the Red Cross reopened the mortuary at Bopalong after it had been closed by strike action for three weeks. But the mortuary was closed again yesterday and no information was available as to whether it was being used to house bodies of violence victims.

The government mortuary in Montshiwa has been closed for two days so checks have not been able to be conducted there.

A South African official said up to 67 people might have died in the riots.

"We cannot confirm these figures until our own people have been able to spread out on the ground, but the figures seem plausible," the official said.

The situation in Mmabatho is a lot quieter than it has been for the past three days although looting continues.

By 10.30am yesterday the Megacity shopping complex was surrounded by SADF troops who seemed to have brought order after three days of looting and pillaging had taken place there.

Shortly after daybreak, in spite of the SADF presence, there was still large-scale looting at Megacity, journalists said.

But by mid-morning troop carriers and soldiers had surrounded the centre and had made it almost impregnable.

On Friday night Mafikeng seemed to have suffered the same fate as Megacity with many of the stores looted and some burnt out.

The downtown area was quiet yesterday with many broken shop windows testimony to Friday night's looting spree. — Sapa.

Single shot fades, but killer's burst will echo forever

YOU never, they say, hear the shot that kills you. For a fractured fragment of time, there didn't seem to be any sound — just an odd torch-like flash registered on the periphery of my senses.

Then, as if someone had lifted the "pause" button, the sound crashed around the inside of the car.

In the passenger seat next to me, photographer Ken Oosterbroek grabbed at his face and screamed. Tyres scrambled for grip as I put my foot down. We crouched low, pathetic in the hope that mere millimetres of steel panel or vinyl and velour seats would protect their soft-skinned occupants.

Perhaps the white Bophuthatswana policeman who loosed a round at us was trying to scare us. Perhaps he couldn't bring his

weapon to bear, because he was carrying Oosterbroek's just-confiscated camera in his good shooting hand.

Anything was possible that hot Mafikeng afternoon when the whiff of anarchy hung in the air along with the reek of cordite and burning tyres.

Oosterbroek and I got away. Slight powder burns on Oosterbroek's face from the muzzle flash were the sum total of our (physical) injuries.

Less fortunate at that same spot, were three members of the AWB's master race soldiers, slumped in ignominious, blood-spattered heaps on the ground next to their bullet-riddled blue Mercedes.

When we arrived, I remember

thinking first: Why aren't they moving? And then, noticing the blood was so dripping-fresh that Bop's ubiquitous flies had not yet had a chance to settle.

Fat boys, too. Even in death, one's gut rolled over his khaki pants. A caricature rightwinger, whose struggle to defend his volkstaat ended, ironically — for one suckled on apartheid — in a corner of a far foreign field.

The story of their demise was one of Heart of Darkness horror.

Wounded, and apparently pleading for mercy after a fierce firefight between a rightwing convoy of cars and bakkies and Bop police and troops, two of the rightwingers were executed by an angry, raving, black policeman.

Weekend Argus reporter **BRENDAN SEERY** was at the mayhem in Mafikeng.

At least half a dozen journalists and photographers recorded the last words of the fallen khaki men, whose wounds were such that they could talk. And, when the cop turned executioner, the cameras recorded another snap in the never-ending bloody South African saga.

Some of those who saw it and recorded it were found later in the bar of the Mmabatho Sun.

Bad luck you missed it, they said.

Perhaps.

I think I am lucky I have only one shot ringing in my ears: The one that missed.

The ringing of those other shots will take more than a few stiff whiskies to deaden.

WEEKEND

Argus

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Ambush was for me — ET

BRENDAN SEERY

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche believes that the gunfight which left four of his men dead — two of them executed — resulted from a deliberate ambush aimed at killing him.

Mr Terre'Blanche said the convoy of AWB members was heading "peacefully" out of Mmabatho on Friday when it was attacked. He claimed the attackers waited until the first car of the convoy had passed, before opening fire on the second, which contained the men who died.

"It is normal practice for the leader to travel in the second car," he said.

The AWB leader said that Boputhatswana Defence Force troops had initiated the ambush using machine-guns and had fired rifle grenades

from armoured vehicles.

Mr Terre'Blanche is understood to have left by a different route.

AWB spokesman Fred Rundle criticised journalists who interviewed the wounded AWB men shortly before they were executed by an angry BDF soldier.

He claimed that the "orderly withdrawal" of the 400 AWB men had been monitored by aircraft of the BDF, and that they had helped "co-ordinate ambushes on our people".

Mr Rundle also slammed Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen, whom, he claimed, was responsible for the deaths of the AWB men.

"General Viljoen and Colonel (Jan) Breytenbach, working with the Bop Defence Force, ordered our people out of the town — and into ambushes."

Mr Rundle repeated earlier claims that the AWB had been deployed only after an official request from President Mangope.

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THE INDEPENDENT

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A lesson for the new bitter-enders

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ALMOST 100 years after the British garrison in Mafeking was relieved in the Boer War, the South African town was back in the news yesterday. Descendants of the Boers who besieged it from 12 October 1899 to 17 May 1900 were back in Mafikeng, as it now is, second town of the "homeland" of Bophuthatswana. With the mini-republic's capital, Mmabatho, it suffered a brief invasion of members of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) — seemingly against the wishes of Bophuthatswana's leader, Lucas Mangope.

Ever since the release of Nelson Mandela four years ago, there have been fears of a "last stand" by those on the far right of white South African politics. In the Boer War it was the "bitter-enders" among the Afrikaners who failed to recognise that they had been defeated. Their prolonged guerrilla warfare greatly increased the human toll and left a legacy of anti-British sentiment. At one stage yesterday, it seemed that the descendants of those bitter-enders might be about to stage their own last stand. In the event, when three AWB members were shot dead by "Bop" paratroopers, the rest withdrew.

It was a symbolic moment. After half a century of imposing their will through the infamous laws of apartheid, the majority of Afrikaners have recognised, however reluctantly, that the days of white rule are over. They do not identify their own interests with those bearded AWB extremists with their swastika-like insignia; and they will be taking part in next month's democratic elections. Only a small minority of those on the far right, grouped within the so-called Freedom Alliance that includes the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party, continues to resist the tide of history.

Among the alliance's members, until yesterday at least, was President Mangope. The South African government, which granted the statelet its so-called independence in 1977, has decreed that all four nominally independent "homelands" should be reintegrated into

the new, democratic South Africa once the elections are over. Naturally that prospect did not appeal to Mr Mangope, despite the possibility of a senior post in the new regional structure. But the dramatic events of the past few days appear to have brought about a change of heart.

Having seen the writing on the wall, he issued a statement yesterday recommending Bophuthatswana's participation in next month's elections: an implicit acceptance of its re-incorporation, and a considerable defeat for the forces of the far right.

For the moment, yesterday's events seem likely to be positive rather than negative in their impact on South Africa's progress towards democracy. There remains, however, a grim possibility: that the alliance between Inkatha and right-wing extremists will not merely boycott the elections, but also seek to subvert them by intimidation or a campaign of outright murder. This could bring about a supreme test of whether white officers are prepared to give orders to shoot white extremists engaged in criminal acts.

At one stage it looked as if the struggle in Bophuthatswana might provide a foretaste of how that challenge would be met. Fortunately, the AWB remained true to its reputation of being stronger on bluster than on living up to it. Inkatha poses the greater immediate danger. Its war in Natal with the ANC has been by far the greatest threat to the evolution of a new South Africa.

Yesterday Inkatha and other Freedom Alliance members again pulled out of talks intended to persuade them to take part in the electoral process. Inkatha's leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, evidently fears public exposure of just how relatively few followers he has. He would do well to study this week's events in "Bop". The Tswanas may be a far less significant factor than the Zulus. But even their autocratic leader has at last seen where the future lies: in a black majority government, with strong guarantees for all minorities. Its inauguration can only be bloodily postponed, not prevented.

The Times 12/3/94 - London

ANC orchestrated campaign of unrest

THE near-collapse of President Mangope's Bophuthatswana government in the face of a general strike in the public sector and the mutiny of the hitherto loyal police force has brought the most hopeful of South Africa's independent black homelands to the brink.

For the moment all is shambles, with the President's whereabouts unknown, the doubtless bemused Australian cricket team holidaying at Sun City, the homeland's tourist showpiece, and the South African Defence Force moving in to provide law and order.

Bop (as it is generally known) is an untidy patchwork of territory in the western Transvaal, with one incongruous piece miles away in the middle of the Orange Free State. It was the homeland set aside by Pretoria for the Tswana people, and thanks to its mineral

wealth (more than half the world's platinum, rhodium, ruthenium and palladium are mined there) was notably more prosperous than any of its counterparts.

Mmabatho, the new capital built next to Mafeking, was a prosperous place where one saw more well-dressed Africans at ease in the generally peaceful streets than anywhere in South Africa. For long, Bophuthatswana was also the most liberal of the homelands: the semblance of free elections was maintained and its university was a haven for radicals fleeing the attention of the South African security police. Originally,

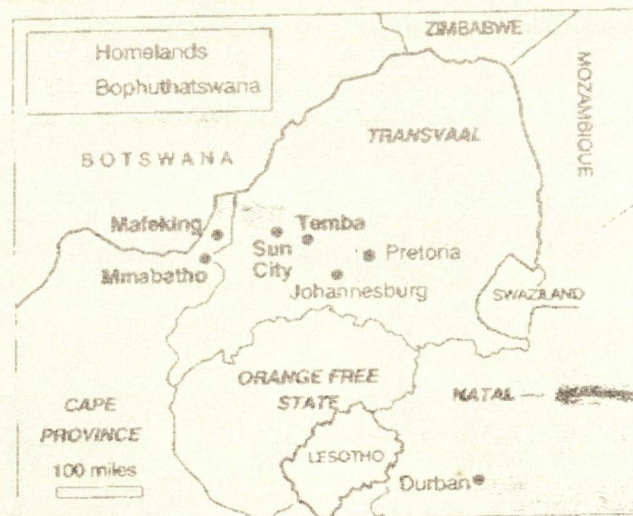
Chief Mangope (as he then was) opposed the idea of independence and made no secret of the fact that he changed his mind to get Pretoria off his back. But his real preference, and that of the Tswana chiefs he headed, was to join Botswana, reuniting the Tswana people so cavalierly divided by boundaries drawn in London. But his accession to independence earned him the hostility of the African National Congress which made that impossible for Botswana.

This gave Bophuthatswana an increasingly temporary and provisional air, which saw a worsening of govern-

ment corruption. The edge of local opposition was sharpened and then reinforced by a feeling that if the ANC were to be the new government it was high time to change sides out of prudence. Faced with pressure for homeland integration

into the new South Africa, President Mangope defensively joined the Freedom Alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party and the white right. He refused to allow campaigning in Bophuthatswana for the South African

Following the near-collapse of the Mangope government, Chief Buthelezi, another ANC foe, is looking isolated, R. W. Johnson writes



election. This was one provocation too many for the ANC, which has undoubtedly orchestrated the political and industrial action that has now laid him low.

President Mangope's fall would be a big blow to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, for the Freedom Alliance is in tatters. The right-wing farmers and miners of the western Transvaal, many of whom look to President Mangope as a protector, may now, to their despair, find themselves in a virtual one-party ANC sea.

Meanwhile, incensed by what it regards as ANC subversion of its ally, Inkatha has broken off all talks with the ANC and the government. While Chief Buthelezi's KwaZulu homeland will be a tougher nut to crack, it is now uncomfortably isolated and some anxiety no doubt exists as to the continuing loyalty of its civil service and police.

Room 301

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

South Africa before the deluge

On April 27 South Africans will participate in the country's first non-racial national election. Or perhaps a majority will. Reports from South Africa indicate that the level of intimidation of political opponents is so high that at least 14 percent of voters might be too scared to cast their ballots.

A further percentage of the electorate will not vote because their parties intend to boycott the poll. The Inkatha Freedom Party as well as groups on the right of the white constituency — which despite their differences have formed a marriage of convenience called the Freedom Alliance — have signalled they will not contest the elections fearing that their interests will be subsumed by a centralist African National Congress government.

Inkatha, a predominantly Zulu party, whose power base is in the eastern province of Natal, has two demands on which it won't compromise:

- The introduction of a double ballot paper, one for the national and one for the regional legislature. It believes that the present system is heavily weighted against essentially regional parties who don't have strong national representation.

- A devolution of powers to the provinces which cannot be rescinded by central government veto.

In the same vein white parties, who believe that a multi-racial country will go the same way as multi-tribal countries to the north, are seeking a *volkstaat*, a white homeland, and say they will resort to violence to get it.

The Zulu King Goodwill, who at one stage seemed to be receptive to the ANC's overtures, has come out strongly in support of the Inkatha position. He said:

"Those who conquered us, namely the white nations of Afrikaner and British, are now relinquishing their sovereignty over the land of South Africa."

"The nation which was exercising sovereignty over the land is abdicating its power to open the door for new nations to exercise their sovereignty over the land."

"Under this set of circumstances I take the position that the sovereignty of the Zulu nation is revived and I am advised that this position is also supported by the international law of decolonisation."

The King said that since the ANC

had not defeated the Zulus in war they had no right to rule over them and so the Zulu nation would not be bound by South Africa's new constitution.

It is a common assumption that outside Natal where the ANC/Inkatha civil war — which has claimed ten of thousands of lives in the past eight years — rages unabated, the election is a shoe-in for the ANC.

The tales of intimidation show clearly that there are pockets of support among blacks — how substantial is unclear — for parties other than the ANC. Even the National Party is getting a look in. One black

"no reason for them to live if they don't understand the will of the people".

The plight of the leading liberals reflects better than anything the disillusion infesting white South Africans. Because of their long anti-apartheid stance, gravitation to the ANC seemed inevitable. But some who used their literary talents to castigate the National Party government now find the post-apartheid period looking equally illiberal. The writers Rian Malan, André Brink and Breyten Breytenbach have all voiced serious concerns about an ANC government. The best known liberal politician Helen Suzman has said she will have nothing to do with the ANC while it remains in alliance with the communists.

The *London Times'* R.W. Johnson writes from South Africa that the problem for those — even with the best liberal credentials — who criticise the ANC is that they are immediately suspected of supporting Inkatha. He says that after leading the anti-apartheid campaign from inside the white community, the liberal Demo-



Chief Buthelezi

NP candidate said he contacted 15 black NP organisers in the townships to ask their political views and all but one said they would vote for the ANC "because they were afraid that anyone who had their phone number would have their address as well".

What happens in the secrecy of the ballot room could contradict some of the opinion poll results.

But people are scared. In January the South African Institute of Race Relations reported a senior member of an ANC-aligned self-defence unit in Katlehong near Johannesburg who boasted of killing opponents "like chickens" because he saw

cratic Party, has the support of just two percent of the electorate. This is partly because the National Party adopted many of its policies and changes in personnel have weakened the Democrat image. It is also due to the Democrat Party talking soft when the alternative parties are talking tough or even killing their opponents.

Being doveish is not reassuring when many believe they could be facing a holocaust.

That many liberals won't support the ANC is a clear indication that however it is presented for foreign audiences — usually as a moderate social democratic organisation — the ANC represents something far

different. And this is why it is difficult for a liberal to feel truly at home in the ANC writes Johnson:

"Argument is currently raging about how many communists there are in the top 50 places on the ANC election list. Some analysts say it is as high as 27, but nobody doubts that the Communist Party, as the most cohesive and disciplined group within the ANC leadership, will continue to act as the main initiator of ANC policy.

"Voting for the ANC list also means supporting some notably illiberal spirits, including Umkhonto officers accused of atrocities against their own men in the Angolan camps, radicals who openly call for other parties to be prevented from campaigning in the townships and, of course, the inimitable Winnie Mandela."

The first problem for the ANC is winning the election. The size of their electoral support will be interesting to gauge.

Secondly, presuming the ANC forms the new government, how is it going to deliver on the extraordinary electoral promises it has made?

It has promised to build more than one million new homes, provide clean water and sewage services for all South Africans, improve access to electricity (to 2.5 million homes), provide ten years of free universal education and provide affordable telephones and health care.

All these might be admirable aims but the ANC is expecting to finance this without increasing taxes or borrowings (and in some areas intends to deliver tax cuts!) For blacks, promises such as these — unfulfillable as they are — have taken some of the pain out of the widespread unemployment and the 50 percent poverty rate. A

guaranteed brighter future makes the consequences of sanctions and disinvestment easier to bear.

The price has been massive. The *Wall Street Journal* once calculated that between 1986 and 1990, lost investment, closure of factories, crippled industrial processes and the destabilisation of trade had cost R500 billion (about A\$200 billion). If the capital flight, emigration of skilled workers and political and industrial unrest are also factored in, the overall cost over the past decade is around R860 billion (A\$350 billion).

The ANC has been moderating its economic position clearly to reassure foreign investors that it has reconsidered the socialist policies which were party dogma for so long.

The performance hasn't been convincing. Foreign investment is barely trickling in. Many of the companies which pulled out aren't planning to go back. Ford Motor Company, Kodak, Citibank, Procter and Gamble, and General Electric have indicated they have no plans to return.

Some of the reasons are revealed in a study of US businesses by the Institute of Managerial Resources which reported "unhappiness over exchange controls, continued ANC talk of nationalisation and redistribution, the long history of wide scale strikes and industrial dislocation, uncompetitive tax rates, labour laws hopelessly biased to the workforce and [that] South Africa has the lowest productivity profile we could find. Without a suitable work ethic, SA cannot hope to draw investment."

A more pressing problem than attracting investment is some way of stemming the haemorrhage of funds leaving the country.

According to the SA Reserve Bank over A\$6 billion left the country last year — only 40 percent of which is accounted for.

If the capital flight continues, the country would have to force up interest rates and thereby stifle whatever economic activity is occurring.

The Transitional Executive Council negotiated a loan with the International Monetary Fund for A\$1.2 billion to help shore up SA's foreign exchange reserves. In January it became clear that all this loan had done was to hold up the exchange rate while the well-off smuggled more money out of the country.

So despite the loan, South Africa is still scratching around for foreign exchange with which to pay for its imports. The irony is that South Africa has been running a trade surplus and has relatively few foreign debts, but through 1993 it watched as the capital flight was double the trade surplus.

The country's poor economic position leaves very little room for manoeuvring and electoral promises seem impossible to honour. How an ANC government tries to satisfy the aspirations of its supporters and to maintain fiscal restraint will be a sight to behold.

Ironically by using sanctions to lever power from the National Party, they crippled the economy they one day wished to inherit. Destroying an economy is easy. Making one function effectively is a trick that eludes even the advanced nations which have neither South Africa's present fiscal status nor a history which serves to poison any chance of recovery.

— BRENDAN RODWAY

The African Communist, No 136, Fourth Quarter 1993, published the report to the South African Communist Party Central Committee by the former secretary-general of the SACP and senior ANC official, Joe Slovo.

Here republished are extracts from his speech which show that as far as the SACP is concerned, the "moderate" stand struck by the ANC was a tactical ploy to win major concessions at the negotiating table.

- "The negotiated package... is a famous victory. It represents ... the culmination of decades of struggle."

- "The main substance of the GNU [Government of National Unity] is that it is in the interests of the revolution."

- "Our concessions on the regional question look like ad hoc compromising ... looking at the results as a whole, I can say ... we got pretty much what we wanted."

- "Apart from the constitutional principles (which we support), everything can be rewritten by the democratically

elected representatives of the people."

- "Our opponents hoped for [federalism]. We have won a united South Africa ... In all critical areas ... the future democratic state will have overriding powers."

- "On the armed forces ... we have won the battle against federalisation. This was touch and go ..."

- "The national police will have the right to move in [to any province]."

- "We thought that this [question of special majorities] was going to be the battle royal ... In the end we won the principle of [simple] majority decision-making."

- "There are many other significant areas in which our objectives were achieved."

- "We [now] need to ensure that the constitution-making body is dominated by the liberation forces in such a way that the special percentages [entrenched clauses in the constitution] become irrelevant."

The thoughts of Chairman Joe Slovo

COMMENT

Business Day
(RSA)

12/3/94

To: Noel
1 page!

Ulundi is next

THE downfall of the Bophuthatswana government was its refusal to allow free political activity. Now that the Transitional Executive Council has found some fire in its belly, it should set about entering the same freedom in KwaZulu before the ANC arranges another spontaneous uprising.

The blame for what happened in Bop lies squarely at the door of ousted President Lucas Mangope; the ANC exploited his autocratic obstinacy and South Africa's lack of resolve, and is now claiming a splendid political victory. That combination of pigheadedness and squeamishness, if repeated in KwaZulu, could result in that violent area being reduced to the anarchy we saw in Mmabatho and set Reef townships aflame all over again.

The confrontation over democracy in Bophuthatswana should have happened long ago. A political ultimatum, backed by the threat of financial sanctions and military intervention, would have saved the lives and property lost in the past few days. Instead the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission, charged with ensuring free political activity, shied away from conflict. They seemed to accept that no parties could campaign in Bophuthatswana, meekly considering the erection of polling booths on the homeland's borders for those who wanted to vote.

That situation was untenable, and has been reversed at great cost in a move of dubious legality. For all its puppet status, Bophuthatswana is in

South African law an independent country until April 27. Where President de Klerk and the TEC found the right to depose Mangope is unclear. Foreign Minister P.W. Botha more accurately describes the move as a coup.

There are no such legal scruples in the case of KwaZulu, legally and factually part of South Africa. If Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha keep out of the election, as now seems likely, Natal will become more tense and more violent. Inkatha will measure its election success in votes not cast, and claim moral victory from a low poll. The incentive for intimidation will be high, and both voter education teams and campaigners from other parties will be seen as hostile to Inkatha interests. Buthelezi is entitled to boycott, and to campaign for a boycott, but undertakings that opposing parties will be allowed to canvass other views must be honoured and enforced.

People in KwaZulu have the same right to vote as people in Bophuthatswana. If they are denied it, there will be the same confrontation and for the same reasons. Whether or not Inkatha participates in the election, the TEC and the IEC need to make it clear now that they will act, forcibly if needs be, to ensure free political activity.

That will not be as easy in rural Natal as it was in rural Transvaal, but it is the responsibility of present and transitional authorities, not those all too ready to ride to power on the back of what they will call another popular revolution.

Bop lessons

SMALL wonder platinum prices took off last week, to be followed by gold. The world was being treated to television images of the mayhem in Bophuthatswana, and needed little imagination to extrapolate the violence needed to free the bantustan of its corrupt leadership to the rest of South Africa.

The fact was that the platinum mines felt barely a ripple of the anarchy sweeping Bop's streets and shopping malls. For years, the mining companies had ignored Lucas Mangope's prohibition on dealing with the National Union of Mineworkers. While others bribed and courted a corrupt regime, the mining companies had realistically taken a longer view. The mining companies understood that their in-

dustry's success had to be based in part on a partnership with labour.

Successful industrial partnerships, though, will continue to depend on more than agreements between labour and employers. No matter how well those two stakeholders co-operate, their efforts will be futile if they cannot operate in a peaceful society with fair legal and fiscal systems that are applied consistently.

Bophuthatswana possibly needed its week of violence to purge itself of a leader more interested in acquiring property in London's Holland Park or on New York's Fifth Avenue than in facilitating the Bop people's development. Mangope's overthrow will not be mourned. But it should be taken as an object lesson by politicians who might be tempted to follow his example.

Inkatha Freedom Party

INKATHA believes in the establishment of a federal system in which member states exercise all the powers, duties and functions which can be adequately and properly carried out at the lower level.

The federal government is allocated only those powers which cannot be properly exercised at state level. Therefore, all central government departments which exercise functions which will fall under the exclusive jurisdiction of member states will need to be scrapped.

The process of rationalising offices and structures need not be uniform. Inkatha has been advocating the notion of constitutional asymmetry, which allows for the possibility that some member states of the federation exercise greater powers and functions than others. This means that the federal level of government will need to retain essential offices and structures with regard to functions within the jurisdiction of the member states.

It is expected that, in time, all member states will claim the full amount of powers they are entitled to under the federal constitution. The need for federal government departments will then diminish greatly.

The creation of new departments at federal and state level will need to reflect the new priorities set out in the constitution. For instance, Inkatha believes a Ministry of Women's Affairs is needed to uplift the position of women until such time as the position of women in this country has substantially improved.

Furthermore, Inkatha believes it is time to bring SA up to par with international standards of environmental awareness, which requires that many segments of environmental control and regulation, such as land development, water and air, be unified in their administration by the establishment of a Department of Environment or an umbrella environmental agency.

Government shall also pay special attention to the needs of the youth, the elderly, the handicapped and those who require special attention because of substance addiction or abuse.

These functions are not expected to require the establishment of ministerial departments, but merely of offices charged with special missions.

Dear Sir,
BUSINESS Day need not fear that the new democratic government will act like the present one, with corruption, extra-parliamentary enforcers and gatekeepers (Comment, March 11). No longer will small groups be able to act in secret to control money. Neither I nor the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) nor our Commission on Development Finance will have the power of present Ministers and their friends.

Many Business Day writers, isolated for years from democratic government, do not understand this. But Simon Barber, writer of the March 10 article about the commission, should have learned from his years

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