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SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

## WORLD DATELINES

**Winnie Mandela  
seeks power in ANC**

**JOHANNESBURG** Winnie Mandela launched a bid for power in the ANC Sunday by accusing its leaders, including her estranged husband, Nelson Mandela, of failing the black masses.

"That leadership can, and will, be changed by the people," she wrote in a column that appeared in Sunday newspapers.

Her comments could start a political war between Mandela and her husband, who is the president of the African National Congress.

Mandela was a fiery activist with a strong following in the ANC during Nelson Mandela's 27-year imprisonment for anti-apartheid activities. She gave up her leadership posts last year after separating from her husband and following her conviction in the kidnap and assault of four youths.

**Leader-to-be ordered  
arrest of WWII hero**

**STOCKHOLM** Nikolai Bulganin, who later became premier, issued the order to

arrest Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg in Hungary during World War II, a newspaper said Sunday.

The order to arrest Wallenberg, credited with saving thousands of Hungarian Jews from Nazi death camps, was issued to the head of a Soviet army unit in Hungary in a telegram dated Jan. 17, 1945, the newspaper Svenska Dagbladet said.

The newspaper quoted documents found in previously secret military archives in Russia.

The date of the cable is significant because it was the last day Wallenberg was seen in the Hungarian capital, Budapest.

Moscow claims Wallenberg died of a heart attack in a Soviet prison in 1947, but witnesses have said they saw him in detention much later. The official Soviet account of Wallenberg's fate, issued in 1957, did not mention why he was arrested.

**Charles ducks formal  
phone tap complaint**

**LONDON** Prince Charles does not want to get involved in a formal investigation

## ANC, govt mum on talks

*Business* WILSON ZWANE

25/1/93

TALKS between government and the ANC, which began in Pretoria last Wednesday, will continue in Cape Town today and tomorrow.

No comments could be obtained from either party yesterday on the direction the talks were taking. Senior ANC officials said an undertaking had been made by both sides not to comment until the talks were concluded.

A source close to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said a statement on the talks would be made either tomorrow or on Wednesday.

However, substantial progress on the future control of security forces has reportedly been made.

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that government and ANC negotiators discussed a package which would establish a multiparty transitional executive council to control all armed forces. It is envisaged to be in place by July.

Also discussed were mass action, statements inciting violence and the peace accord.

16/1/11

### Prominent pastor dies

Church minister and former vice-president of the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa, Pastor Joe Gillingham (78), who died last week after a long illness, will be buried in Alberton on the East Rand at 2 pm today.

### Volunteer for MK, says ANC

The ANC has called on Atteridgeville youths to volunteer for military training abroad. At a mass rally in Atteridgeville yesterday, ANC organiser Mokopa Maubane called on recent matriculants to join the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), for possible training in foreign countries including India, Britain and the US.

# SAP establishes a Community Relations Division

By Brian Stuart

KNYSNA. — The SA Police has established a Community Relations Division which will be exclusively responsible for "upgrading relations between the police and the community, and to obtain greater community involvement in crime prevention".

The move is among initiatives to restore the acceptability of the SAP, increase its effectiveness, improve relations between the community and the police and to ensure "just law-enforcement".

In other drastic restructuring, top management posts have been reduced, including seven lieutenants-general.

Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, said at a media briefing in Knysna at the weekend that many of the factors leading to violence and

crime were outside of the SAP's field of activity — such as political issues that led to rivalry, and the state of the economy.

The SAP wanted the public to know what it was doing, and wanted to be in a position to contribute to a more peaceful and crime-free society.

The object of the new Division of Community Relations was to restore the relationship between the police and the public. "The hand of the police is extended. We hope the community will accept it," said Mr Kriel.

The financial allocation for the SAP would not be reduced in the coming Budget, but the focus would be on the retraining of members of the SAP, he said.

Mr Kriel described the new officers as "a young

team, and we believe they will make a difference".

Major-General George Fivaz, chief of Efficiency Services, said a new, state-of-the-art approach to policing was necessary in South Africa. This included a decentralisation of authority and the fullest use of skills at lower levels.

Gen Fivaz said there had to be interaction between the police and public, joint identification of problems and joint decision-making on solving the problems.

"To accommodate this new policing style, the newly-established Community Relations Division will have a major role to play.

"Briefly, it can be said that this division will be responsible for sensitising

policemen and members of the public to a new policing philosophy, in which the public and the police are jointly responsible for the maintenance of law and order."

The result would be a change from a legalistic, military-styled police force to a community-sensitive style of policing.

Listing important structural changes, Gen Fivaz said top management posts had been reduced drastically. "Transparency in police actions needed a change of emphasis from head office to local level, especially in respect of generals' posts."

It had been found that a second deputy-commissioner had become essential to support the commissioner in his daily duties. Each deputy-commissioner would be responsible for three SAP divisions.

One would be responsible for the divisions of Visible Policing, Internal Stability and Crime Combating and Investigation; and the second would be responsible for the divisions of Community Relations, Human Resource Management and for Supporting Services.

The control structures of the three regions — Witwatersrand, Western Cape and Natal — were being expanded considerably.

As part of this action, the ranks of regional commissioners were being raised to lieutenants-general. Deputy regional commissioners, most of whom held the rank of major-generals, would be placed in control of areas with their posts allocated to a particular area, resulting in better ground-level control.

## 1992 was worst year for murders of police

KNYSNA. — More members of the police force had died in the course of duty during 1992 than in any other year since the establishment of the South African Police in 1913.

This was revealed in statistics provided by Major-General Mike Bester, SAP Chief of Physical Services, at a briefing in Knysna on Saturday.

He said if it was considered that South Africa had a population of 37 million compared to America's 200 million, the relevant statistics of police murders were a cause for grave concern.

In 1990 and 1991, 65 and 69 policemen were killed in America compared to 67 and 103 in South Africa during the same periods.

Whereas in America police murders were mostly committed with small arms, in South Africa it was mainly with AK-47 rifles.

Answering questions, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said eight police slayings had been linked to the Azanian People's Liberation Army, but there was no concrete evidence that any other political organisation was responsible for the

remaining police murders.

"But we cannot say for sure that the murderers were not acting under the instructions of a political organisation. That is impossible to prove until we arrest them."

Gen Van der Merwe said he believed however that in some cases uncontrolled elements of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress, might have been involved.

"Political motive can only be established after arresting perpetrators," he said. — Sapa.

## Churchgoers flee gunfire

**PIETERMARITZBURG.** — Churchgoers at Mhlankosi at Mbali near Pietermaritzburg had to run for their lives yesterday when African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters started shooting at each other.

Police, alerted by an

earlier outbreak of violence in the Zinkwazi/Mdabanzane area, rushed to the scene and the two groups of about 25 people each dispersed.

The situation in both areas was tense but quiet and a police presence was being maintained. — Sapa.

## Inkatha document will set stage for showdown

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha will put its controversial negotiations document to government again this week — setting the stage for a showdown between the erstwhile allies when they meet on Wednesday.

And yesterday it also vowed to retain the white "advisers" — including founder member Walter Felgate — who government believes are intent on bedevilling relations between the two organisations.

Felgate yesterday rejected the charges and accused Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer of trying to divide Inkatha.

Government has insisted that Inkatha withdraw the memorandum issued a week ago which accused the NP and ANC of connivance. The government delegation responded by slamming the "advisers" and ended the talks on an acrimonious note.

Yesterday Inkatha's central committee resolved "to formally restate the points in our memorandum to which government so vehemently objected". This was "a conciliatory effort" to ensure that any misunderstandings could be clarified.

However, the resolution returned to the

### Political Staff

very issue that sparked last week's row, stating its "outright rejection at the way in which the government and the ANC/SACP alliance are bilaterally deciding the future of all South Africans behind closed doors".

Government sources indicated yesterday they were losing patience with Felgate and US constitutional experts Prof Albert Blaustein and Mario Ambrosini. But Inkatha's central committee rejected "with contempt" the insinuation that advisers dictated policy.

Sapa reports from Stanger that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday the process of multiparty negotiations was becoming more and more uncertain and, according to government and the ANC, might not be finalised before 1996.

This was why government and the ANC were envisaging transitional arrangements. "I can, however, sense a dangerous and unseemly haste to achieve a quick-fix at any cost for our economy and for the political settlement that we all desire."

Plan to win community support

# Crime wave dictates rise in police budget

TIM COHEN

KNYSNA — South Africans went on a crime spree last year, killing a record number of civilians and policemen and forcing government to single out Law and Order as the only department whose budget would not decrease in real terms this year.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said at a weekend news briefing that R5,6bn had been allocated to his department last year.

Crime information head Maj-Gen Wouter Grové said increased incidences of serious crime were recorded in most categories. Armed robberies increased 21%, while about 16 000 people were murdered between January and October last year.

Geographically, 36% of all serious crimes occurred in the PWV — more than double that of any other region. The western Cape accounted for 18,2% and Natal 15,9%.

Grové said there was no indication that crime would decrease in the short or medium term. The major cause was the poor state of the economy.

Another reason for the high crime rate was the SAP's low public credibility which would be countered by a reorientation in the style and structure of the police force, as well as an increase in staff. The SAP gained 20 494 members in its last recruitment drive and planned to train 11 000 more policemen in another campaign.

Instead of being an "incident-driven" police force, which reacted to individual crimes, the SAP would become a community orientated force which would attempt not only to solve crimes, but to pre-empt them, senior police officers said.

Efficiency services head Maj-Gen George Fivaz said the police "want to rectify attitudes of some policemen that they are above the law and that the public is in the service of the police".

Police work would move from being a "unique, self-supporting subculture to a modern day definition which allows for community supported policing and an integrated problem solving approach".

To effect this change, the SAP would set up an independent body to investigate allegations of police misdemeanours. It had also established a new division to set up "police/community consultation forums".

"The SAP has been viewed by previously banned organisations as their enemy. That attitude must change," Kriel said, adding that crime and political violence could be effectively addressed only through community supported policing.

"We want community leaders to meet their local police regularly for discussions, as we are painfully aware that these relations must improve."

Other announcements included:

□ Government had approved R12m for the upgrading of police cells in an effort to reduce deaths in detention, deputy commissioner Lt-Gen Louwtjie Malan said.

□ Kriel said the SAP had evidence that Apla commanders had decided to restrict guerrilla activity, but would increase activity again in the near future. He said the SAP had been informed that PAC leader Clarence Makwetu was a member of Apla's high command. However, there appeared to be a move towards ending PAC involvement with Apla.

## Buthelezi warns against quick fix

STANGER. — The process of multi-party negotiations for a new South African constitution was becoming more and more uncertain and, according to the government and African National Congress, might not be finalised before 1996, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting at Stanger on the Natal North Coast, he said it was for this reason the government and ANC

were envisaging the creation of transitional arrangements.

"I can, however, sense a dangerous and unseemly haste to achieve a quick-fix at any cost for our economy and for the political settlement that we all desire," Chief Buthelezi said.

"I do not believe we are going to achieve a lasting solution if we indulge in unseemly haste to find a solution that is not the product of a fully representative multi-party conference."

He said he was "very

apprehensive" about the suggestion that if the government and ANC/South African Communist Party alliance could between them find a solution, they should "simply go ahead".

"I am very apprehensive about this suggestion not because I am worried about being left out, but because I am certain there are many South Africans who will fight of necessity rather than be subjected to another oligarchy, even if it has a White and Black face. — Sapa.

**NEWS**

**New vision of  
 Africa needed,  
 says Carey**

APARTHEID had left deep scars of violence, shame and anger on black and white alike, Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey told about 11 000 worshippers, packed into Cape Town's 9 000-seat Good Hope Centre yesterday.

It was wrong to neglect the pain suffered, he said. "Christ has been recrucified time and again in SA." But a "Christ-like capacity for forgiveness" was enabling South Africans to put the past behind them, to create "a single new humanity out of the blasphemies of the past".

Carey called on the international community to adopt "a new vision of Africa. We need a new spirit of repentance, a new sense of responsibility, a new determination to express our common humanity by just and fair dealing between our nations."

## ANC has programme for general election

THE African National Congress' PWV region yesterday announced a programme of action to

prepare the organisation and potential voters for a general election later this year.

The programme — to culminate in a "Votes for All" election campaign with a theme of peace, freedom and democracy — will be conducted in three phases, ANC PWV region secretary-general Mr Paul Mashatile said at a Press conference in Johannesburg.

He said the campaign would start today, and will continue until elections for an interim government or constituent assembly were held.

The first phase will entail the mobilisation of all activists in ANC branches and mass democratic movement structures, with the main aim being the consolidation of structures and the rebuilding

of street and block committees.

Phase two will focus on the dissemination of information on ANC policies linked to a huge recruitment drive, voter education and fund raising.

Election structures made up of the ANC/SA Communist Party/Congress of SA Trade Union alliance and mass democratic formations will also be established.

This will culminate in the third phase, a "Votes for All" campaign which is scheduled for the end of May. "This campaign will intensify the mass-driven ANC election campaign to deliver voters to the poll to vote for peace, freedom and democracy," Mr Mashatile said.

— Sapa.

# IFP stands by report

21

7

## FROM PAGE 1

response from the government at talks with an IFP delegation last week, and from Constitutional Affairs Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, in particular.

It appears that Mr Felgate, with whom some IFP leaders were said to

be at loggerheads over the memorandum, attended yesterday's central committee meeting.

The Bay Hospital in Richards Bay, where Mr Felgate had been recovering after a serious accident near Melmoth on Friday, said he had "left the hospital for the day", but was expected to return for further treatment.

A further meeting between the government delegation and that of the IFP will take place in Cape Town on Wednesday.

Yesterday's statement by the IFP's central committee was a clear endorsement of the position set out in the document read at the outset of discussions between the IFP and the government by Dr Frank Mdlalose, national president of the IFP.

It said the central committee had fully studied and debated the government's response to the IFP memorandum.

At yesterday's meeting the IFP resolved:

"To further state our concerns and outright rejection of the way in which the government and the ANC/SACP alliance are, in fact, bilaterally deciding the future of all South Africans behind closed doors in private discussions with, we believe, the expectation that their decisions will be

rubber-stamped by other parties and/or coerced and manipulated into compliance."

While regretting the tone and the substance of the government's intemperate response and dismissing the divide-and-rule tactics inherent in the remarks contained therein, "on reflection we believe that the leaking to the Press of this document by a party or parties unknown has given the South African public and parties other than the South African Government and the ANC/SACP alliance a unique opportunity of assessing for themselves the treatment afforded to those who dare differ and choose their own language to do so."

The IFP took note of the South African Government's outrage and its sensitivity to the fully mandated and honestly expressed sentiments in our party's memorandum and the way in which they were expressed, "but nevertheless insist on our democratic right and our intention at all times to express our ideas, political concepts and opinions in whatever forum we so choose."

The IFP formally restated the points in its memorandum to which the government so vehemently objected, "in a conciliatory effort to ensure that any misunder-

standing on their content and purpose can be clarified in an atmosphere conducive to reconciliation".

The IFP stressed it was committed to open and constructive dialogue capable of correcting misunderstandings and to this end feels that it is crucial at this critical juncture in South Africa's history for all parties concerned to frankly articulate their viewpoints and, in particular, differences in perspective of current government strategies.

It will request the South African Government to acknowledge that there will be occasions "we will have to agree to disagree".

It would at all times insist that any bilateral agreements reached privately between the government and the ANC/SACP alliance "will have to stand the test of democracy in open, inclusive, multi-party debate and negotiation and where necessary referendum".

It demanded open disclosure of the nature, content and extent of the government/ANC/SACP alliance discussions relating to the transitional and constitutional process.

The IFP asserted the right of the party and its leadership to seek expertise, or assistance, both from within South Africa and abroad.

# **IFP stands by memo that angered government**

**Citizen Reporter**

THE Inkatha Freedom Party last night stood by the controversial report drawn up by adviser, Mr Walter Felgate.

In a statement issued in Ulundi, the IFP's central committee said it wished formally to restate the points made in the memorandum, which was said to have evoked a furious

**TO PAGE 2**

25/1/93 Daily Telegraph - London

# Militant black maids on the march for better deal

**SOUTH AFRICA'S militant maids, the black domestic workers taken for granted in most white households for years, are on the march for a better deal.**

More than 2,000 housekeepers, cooks, maids and nannies thronged a meeting organised for them in the expensive white Johannesburg suburb of Norwood by the liberal Democratic Party. The organisers were surprised by the turnout. The maids came with shopping bags on their heads and with babies in arms, on backs and in prams. Many were in their uniforms and some were disgorged from Mercedes and BMWs driven by their employers. The official aim of the gathering, the first of its kind in South Africa, was to tell domestic workers living in white areas about their rights.

The school hall booked for the meeting was soon packed. The overspill, chattering, gossiping, laughing and occasionally chanting, was accommodated in an adjoining car park.

Mr Tony Leon, the local Democratic Party MP, told them a Bill was to go through parliament this year setting out basic employment rights for domestic workers, including a minimum wage of about £100 a month, working hours and conditions.

Many maids buttonholed party officials to complain about their lot. Many protested loudly about individual employers while others said they were afraid their employers would be unable to afford the minimum wages and that they would be thrown out of work.

By Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg

● The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Carey, attacked apartheid in a sermon delivered in Cape Town yesterday. Dr Carey, in South Africa for a meeting of Anglicans, said: "Families have been destroyed, innocent people have been detained and abused by inhuman treatment. A whole population has been subjugated by an evil system. Christ has been crucified time and time again in South Africa." — AP

25/1/93 - The Times - London

# Whites mistrust de Klerk power deal with ANC

*Chief Buthelezi was counted on to curb the ANC, but Pretoria's quarrel with Inkatha has raised doubts, Michael Hamlyn writes*

Unease among the white population of South Africa is mounting at the prospect of a deal being struck which would lead to a transfer of power by the end of the year to a government of the African National Congress and its Communist party ally.

Many whites have been looking to the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom party, with its right-leaning social and economic policies, led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the chief minister of the KwaZulu black homeland, to counter ANC hardliners. They are also keen on the federal ideas expressed in Chief Buthelezi's constitutional proposals.

White politicians have been distressed that the National party government of President de Klerk has virtually allied itself with the ANC to try to produce a constitutional deal quickly. Andries Treurnicht, leader of the far-right Conservative party, for example, asserted publicly that if ANC rule was forced on the country the ensuing conflict could destroy the South African economy.

A 20-member government team is negotiating with the ANC this week on a constitutional agreement. Last week they discussed defence and security.

The apparently cosy relationship contrasts with the attitude the government showed when it met Inkatha leaders last week. The government reportedly gave a vehement dressing down to the Inkatha team. The basis for what became a slanging match was a document tabled by Inkatha alleging ANC-government connivance in negotiation. The government called the Inkatha document "blatant, untrue, hard propaganda", adding that it left "a shocked sense of disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from the ranks of a respected political party".

Such a sudden cooling in relations between the National party and Chief Buthelezi, who used to be an ally, is bad news for many in the party. The *Natal Witness*, an independent daily published in Pietermaritzburg, suggested that many, if not most, Nationalists see a federal constitution, with a weak centre and strong regions, as the surest way of preventing an abuse of power by the ANC. Chief Buthelezi's proposed constitution for KwaZulu-Natal, unveiled last month, would have this effect.

The Natal element is crucial in all this, for George Bartlett, the Natal leader of the Nationalists and an influential member of Mr de Klerk's cabinet, together with all Natal Nationalist MPs, favour Chief Buthelezi and his federal ideas.

An opinion poll published yesterday gives an idea of the way the wind is blowing. According to a Gallup poll carried out by the Markinor research group, the National party has lost support dramatically. Last year 75 per cent of whites questioned would have voted Nationalist. This year only 58 per cent said they would do so. Mr de Klerk also fared badly, obtaining the lowest approval rating, 69 per cent, for a president since the survey started in 1976.

□ Johannesburg: Winnie Mandela launched a blatant bid for power in the ANC yesterday, accusing its leaders, including Nelson Mandela, her estranged husband and ANC president, of failing blacks and setting the stage for civil uprisings.

Mrs Mandela made clear she hoped to engineer a powerful role for herself in the ANC. "I am not about to abandon the ANC to the mercies of elitist politicians," she wrote in *The Sunday Times* here. (AP)

# Inkatha clashes with De Klerk

David Beresford  
in Johannesburg

A POLITICAL brawl with racial overtones, centring on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha organisation, is setting the scene for what is likely to prove a crucial week for South Africa's negotiating process.

Government politicians and factions in Inkatha were busily exchanging insults at the weekend in the wake of a row between negotiators over allegations by the De Klerk administration that a mysterious group of whites was manipulating Chief Buthelezi.

It began last week when talks between Inkatha and the government broke up after President F.W. de Klerk's team accused Chief Buthelezi's representatives of manufacturing lies and distortions.

They were responding to a memorandum read out by the Inkatha chairman, Frank Mdlalose, accusing the government of trying to cling to power by reaching secret deals with the African National Congress. "Where is Afrikaner integrity and National Party honour?" it demanded.

The minister of constitu-

tional development, Roelf Meyer, was so incensed by the attack that he asked for an adjournment to write a stinging rebuke. In language unprecedented between the two political groupings, the nationalists described the Inkatha document as "banal nonsense" written by "a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified and with questionable ulterior motives."

The government negotiators also referred to "forces intent on destroying the trust and common purpose between us".

Dr Meyer had latched on to the fact that the memorandum had been written by a shadowy adviser to Chief Buthelezi, Walter Feigate, an influential figure in Inkatha since the mid-1970s. The reference to destructive forces was seen as an attack on other white advisers, including a former chief-of-staff of South African military intelligence, Major General Tiene Groenewald, and two US constitutional experts, Albert Blaustein and Mario Ambrosini — who are credited with devising constitutional proposals recently produced by Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi reacted with fury, denouncing the government attack as a racist insult.

"Are they saying that because I am a kaffir I can't think for myself?" he demanded.

Nevertheless, the government broadside appears to have hit a sore spot in Inkatha. Newspapers yesterday quoted unidentified but senior figures in the party — resentful at the role of whites — as applauding Dr Meyer's attack.

Meanwhile the ANC is suffering its own internal ructions with a renewed attack on its leadership by Nelson Mandela's estranged wife, Winnie, who appears to be edging towards an outright challenge for power.

In an article run by several Sunday newspapers, Mrs Mandela reiterated her allegations, made at the recent funeral of the anti-apartheid campaigner, Helen Joseph, that an ANC elite was selling out the liberation struggle.

● Five people were shot dead and 15 wounded in an attack on a group of mourners in South Africa, taking the weekend death toll in township violence to at least 14, police said yesterday. A spokesman said churchgoers ran for their lives when gunmen, apparently members of the ANC and Inkatha shot at each other in Mbali, near Pietermaritzburg in Natal Province.

## Winnie Mandela on the warpath

WHAT IS Winnie Mandela up to? Is she out to destroy the African National Congress? Is she planning to establish a radical break-away wing? Is she after the job of the husband who left her?

These and similar questions were on the lips of every observer of the South African political scene yesterday after the country's two biggest Sunday newspapers carried what amounted to an open letter from the erstwhile "mother of the nation" urging the masses to revolt.

The message, in essence, was that ANC negotiators, by compromising on the question of "power-sharing", had sold out to the ruling National Party (NP). The time had come for the leadership to be replaced by a new breed truly representative of the aspirations of "the oppressed".

"The NP elite is getting into bed with the ANC," Mrs Mandela wrote in the *Sunday Star* and the *Sunday Times*, "in order to preserve its silken sheets. And the leadership in the ANC is getting into bed with the NP to enjoy this new-found luxury."

"The concern is that this new amalgam of power is promoting its own self-interest and overlooking the plight and needs of the underprivileged masses..."

"The quick-fix solutions sought by our leaders," she went on, "can only benefit a few and will back-

fire massively on the country as a whole.

From John Carlin  
in Johannesburg

"The disillusion that will follow when the masses awaken to the fact that they have not been included in the new freedom and in the new wealth enjoyed by their leaders will have worse implications than what we experienced in the 1970s and 1980s, and will plunge the country irrevocably into yet another vortex of mass violence and protest."

Mrs Mandela, whose conviction on charges of assaulting and kidnapping a black teenager is due for appeal in the first half of this year, went out of her way to dispel speculation — which has been rife for some months — that she was planning to form a new political party. No, her ambitions were something more akin to an internal revolt.

"I am not about to abandon the ANC to the mercies of elitist politicians," she said, "because the leadership is failing the people does not mean that the organisation has failed; that leadership can and will be changed by the people in order to resurrect the organisation into one which represents their interests. If I have support I will locate that support within the ANC."

25/1/93  
London  
GUARDIAN

INDEPENDENT - London

25/1/93

# Can Africa handle the ballot box?

**W**ITH every apparent failure of the "free world" ideology in Africa, more and more people wonder if the besieged continent is ready for democracy.

There are those sages who insist that democracy is foreign to Africa, that it stands no chance of succeeding because the traditional African is easily impressed by authority and that the tribal identity in Africa is too strong to allow for true people's democracy.

But then there are those, who claim to be equally in the know, who insist that grassroots African society has always been democratic. That chiefs ruled through the will of the people.

Whatever the truth about traditional Africa, the fact is democracy has taken hold of the

imagination of millions throughout the continent.

Angolans were eager to cast their votes — their first opportunity ever to do so — in the elections of September 29 and 30 last year. Hours after the polls closed on a generally successful campaign, the country began a slide back into civil war.

The reasons for the failure in Angola? Some of the more obvious include the rush job in merging the two armies and Jonas Savimbi's refusal to accept defeat.

The continued thwarting of a handover to an elected civilian government in Nigeria has convinced many that civilian rule

will just not be able to control Africa's most populous and fragmented nation.

In an effort to undermine the ethnic, religious and regional domination that has plagued Nigeria the military government created, and wrote the manifestoes, of the only two legal political parties.

Kenya has just completed an election process which was marred by ethnic violence and ballot rigging. Prior to the election, some opposition nominees were kidnapped to allow the ruling party candidates to run unopposed.

Tribalism turned out to be a significant factor in the elections. Apart from the ethnic

**As South Africa approaches the test of democracy, Africa's many failures are causing concern.**  
**HANS-PETER BAKKER reports.**

clashes which left many hundreds dead, President Daniel arap Moi can thank his return to power to the fact that the majority Kikuyu tribe's vote was split between two other presidential candidates.

In troubled Zaire, all attempts to change from dictatorial control to a more representative government have resulted in tragedy as strongman

leader Mobutu Sese Seko continues to exercise control over the country's security forces and hampers any attempts by the interim government, led by Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi, to restore order.

An ominous beginning in Africa, but democracy has by no means been an outright failure.

In Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda handed over to a democratically elected government after peaceful elections, showing that demigod leaders could be toppled. Slowly the new president, Frederick Chiluba, is resuscitating the economy and turning the country into one of Africa's success stories.

Zambia was lucky. It had a leader of the stature of Chiluba and it had a generally peaceful post-colonial era.

In Kenya, although the elections were severely marred, President Moi now has to rule with a vociferous opposition. His days of dictatorial rule are over.

With South Africa on the brink of joining those African countries which have attempted democracy, the question about this country's chance of success is being asked.

South Africa has been a society under siege and its history of violence and low tolerance for opposing views bodes badly for a future democracy. Its

tribal rifts, emphasised by the years of apartheid, are sure to be a major factor — as they were in Kenya — in any future elections.

But then, South Africans are generally better educated than other Africans. The country's economy and its infrastructure are more advanced than others in Africa. And more than a decade of effective — and mostly democratic — trade unionism has instilled a sense of what democracy is all about in millions of South Africans.

Incidents of intolerance or tribal violence are too easily attributed to the African way of doing things. That Africa — and therefore South Africa — is too

tribal and its electorate too unsophisticated to succeed in its drive to democracy and better governance. The slaughter of Bosnians and Serbians in an orgy of "ethnic cleansing" in the Balkans should be a reminder that such failings are human rather than limited to Africa.

It is simply too easy to lump together the failed attempts at democracy and to proclaim Africa not ready for the ideology of the "free world". Three decades of dictatorial rule and flagrant abuse of power have dragged the continent down as far as it can go. Now Africa has no other alternative but to struggle on towards democracy. A far-from-perfect democracy is preferable to the abuses of the past. — Star Africa Service. □

President Lucas Mangope responds to criticism of Bophuthatswana and how it is governed

# Bop proud of its achievements

IT IS the unfortunate lot of developing countries that they seem to attract nomadic political academics.

People like John Seiler (see footnote) attach themselves to a victim, suck it dry for all they are worth, then abandon it when it is of no further use.

I wish to take issue with several assertions made by him.

Anyone who knows Bophuthatswana will reject Seiler's rantings with the contempt they deserve.

The Tswana people of Bophuthatswana are justifiably proud and protective of what they have achieved since independence 15 years ago.

Ours is a young nation striving to use limited resources to best effect — particularly in the field of education. Every qualified young person is precious to us.

Seilers and his ilk abuse their positions and, tragically, it is always the gullible young they manipulate in order to achieve the objectives of their sinister agendas.

Let me state categorically that Bop cannot afford the type of disruption sown by these people —

and we will not tolerate it. Seiler calls this autocracy. We call it responsibility.

When a system stands by and allows its youth to be manipulated into outright rebellion — such as we have had the misfortune of seeing occur in South Africa — then something has gone very, very wrong with that system.

Seiler's claim that the media adulates Bophuthatswana because of its successes is difficult to comprehend. Anyone familiar with the South African media will know that we are a constant target for attack. However, our more high-profiled successes simply cannot be ignored, as much as our detractors would have it otherwise.

We wish also to point out that our case for independence is difficult to dispute.

Were it not for the British betrayal of the Tswana people in 1871, the map of southern Africa would be substantially different from the concoction it is today. That is the only "obscenity" in the Bophuthatswana equation.

Not even a federal dispensation could fully repair the damage inflicted on our people by colonialism and apartheid, but on this

question we remain flexible.

The indisputable fact of the matter, which Seiler and his kind choose conveniently to ignore, is that Bophuthatswana has a legitimate historical and contemporary claim to independence which we are not going to relinquish at the whim of the political agendas of others.

We are not alone — either in our region or the rest of the world — in insisting on our inalienable right to be the masters of our own destiny. It is a deep-rooted reawakening of a right to nationhood which is sweeping the globe, and the Seilers of this world should wake up to this reality.

We take pride in our entertainment and tourism industries which provide tens of thousands of jobs. The proceeds contribute to such achievements as the highest standard of education for black people in southern Africa. (The media once again largely ignored the fact that our 1992 matrics achieved a pass rate of 70 percent plus.)

One of the reasons for this is that we unashamedly discourage the abuse and disruption of our education system by political ele-

ments. This is why thousands of South African youngsters are desperate to enrol in our schools.

Seiler is hopelessly misinformed about our rural population. From where does he think the voter support has come which has consistently returned my government to power since independence?

He should not need reminding that ours can honestly be said to be the only truly democratically elected government south of the Limpopo.

All Seiler's statements and allegations are rendered questionable by blatant lies such as his assertion that I lay claim to being a paramount chief.

This is extremely rich, coming from a former political science lecturer at the University of Bophuthatswana. Any first-year doing a cursory check of the records will tell you this is mischievous nonsense. I am where I am through the votes of my constituency.

Seiler's sweeping claim about corruption in Bophuthatswana cannot go unchallenged. We do not deny that we have made mistakes, and that we have had bad eggs in

our government. But please produce for me one government in the world, either past or present, that has not had these problems. The record shows that whenever malpractices have emerged we have moved swiftly and decisively to deal with them.

These hiccups are, however, outweighed by our achievements, which are largely ignored by the media.

Just one example was the opening last year of Bophuthatswana's eighth teacher training college. The bulk of the people in southern Africa do not know about this because the media saw fit not to use this information. The same can be said for our achievements in commerce, industry, health, communications, agriculture etc.

I must also deal with Seiler's inferences regarding nepotism and positions held by members of my family.

To begin with, Rosemary Mangope is my daughter-in-law, not my daughter. The concept of the now world-renowned Mmabana cultural centres was as much hers as anyone else's.

Anyone who has seen her operating would find it difficult to

fault her. In other words, she holds down her position on merit and, like any other members of my family, the pressure is on her to produce — or be shown the door with my full concurrence.

Seiler also has the audacity to charge that my government is intolerant of opposition.

The record shows that we have bent over backwards to encourage effective and healthy opposition. And despite threats to my life and those of members of my Cabinet, we have repeatedly invited the ANC to complete the simple formality of registering as a political party in Bophuthatswana so that it can challenge us through the ballot box.

This is a requirement of most civilised democracies. Why should we bend the rules for a group which persists in remaining a beligerent so-called "liberation" movement?

● This is a reply to comments in an article by a US political scientist and former University of Bophuthatswana lecturer, John Seiler, which appeared in *The Star* on January 5 under the headline, "What must be done about Bop?"

## 4 killed in Tokoza violence

By Charmeela Bhagwat  
Crime Reporter

Four people have died in Tokoza after the funeral of a controversial Tokoza clergyman's wife degenerated into a violent confrontation between mourners and residents at the weekend.

On Saturday, one person was killed and another injured. Last night three people were shot dead and another three injured in the area.

The bodies were discovered during joint SADF-SAP patrols. In other incidents on the Reef and in Natal, at least 13 people were killed at the weekend.

Tokoza residents erected barricades on Saturday to prevent mourners from marching to the cemetery for the funeral of the wife of Bishop Solomon Khumalo.

Khumalo is alleged to be the leader of the Khumalo Gang, which residents of the East Rand township claim has been responsible for at least 17 murders in Tokoza. He recently appeared in court on charges of murder and attempted murder.

His wife was gunned down last week.

Before mourners reached the cemetery, one man was shot dead and another wounded in two separate shootings from a vehicle which formed part of the procession.

Police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherbe said the first shooting was reported shortly after the funeral procession began at 12.30 pm.

Police found an injured man with gunshot wounds. Residents claimed the shots were fired from a red Colt, YBB 19925, said Malherbe.

Police traced the car and six suspects were arrested.

Later, near the graveyard, police arrested a 67-year-old man for being in possession of an AK-47 rifle when they searched his car.

The SADF was called to a house where the body of Philemon Legonyane, who had been shot, was found.

In another East Rand township, Kathlehong, four people were killed on Friday night.

In Ratanda near Heidelberg, a man was shot dead and two others were wounded on Friday night.

At least eight people were killed in weekend violence in Natal. In Bulwer, the bodies of three Dhlamini family members were discovered in their home.

# Vital week for SA negotiations

Staff Reporters

The negotiation process enters a crucial stage this week, with the immediate future of multiparty talks depending on the Government's meetings with the ANC and Inkatha.

The future of multiparty discussions hangs on the outcome of three separate events — the ANC-Government bosboraad, the second round of talks between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, and President de Klerk's opening address to Parliament on Friday.

The bosboraad, which started in Pretoria last week, is expected to end in Cape Town tomorrow. According to sources, the ANC and the Government were to discuss constitutional matters, including the reincorporation of the TBVC states and a draft electoral Bill.

The second round of IFP-Government talks is to resume on Wednesday after the collapse of discussions last week, when a flurry of acrimonious and accusatory memoranda changed hands.

Sapa reports that the IFP yesterday demanded "open disclosure" by the Government of transitional and constitutional discussions between itself and

the ANC-SA Communist Party alliance. It was reacting to the Government's angry response to the IFP document submitted to it last week.

However, IFP chief negotiator Dr Frank Mdlalose today attempted to throw cold water on the row between his party and the Government, saying he was optimistic they would "find one another" at this week's talks.

Speaking from Ulundi, national chairman Mdlalose said it was "unfortunate" that "someone clever" had leaked the memoranda which had made public the degree of difference between the IFP and the Government.

De Klerk's speech will set the tone for the forthcoming legislative session — probably the last under the present dispensation. The talks with the ANC will be critical in this regard, and the Government is confident the discussions will be concluded successfully.

If all goes well, legislation easing the way for transition will be passed. This includes the creation of transitional executive councils, legislation to facilitate a transition, and the passing of an interim constitution effectively ending the present dispensation.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday: "This is a fairly decisive week. The whole function of Parliament is to intro-

duce legislation to facilitate the transition process. This legislation should be drawn up according to the agreements reached with other parties, and hinges on the talks with the ANC."

● Optimism for the transitional process was underlined by the ANC PWV region's plan for a mass recruitment drive for voters, which was announced at the weekend.

The three-phase campaign, aimed at about 5 million potential voters in the region, kicks off today with the mobilisation of all ANC activists.

The first phase prepares the organisation for elections.

According to a press statement, the second phase begins in mid-March with a mass recruitment drive and a campaign to educate voters about ANC policies and fund-raising.

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and other sympathetic organisations will establish election structures during this phase.

The final phase is to begin in May with a "Votes for All Campaign", including house meetings, public meetings and debates, and visits to voters by regional and national ANC leaders.

Peace summits are to be organised in all regions. "There can be no free and fair elections unless peace prevails," the statement says.

## Three-phase campaign to woo PWV voters

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC PWV region said yesterday it would go all out for voters in the coming elections.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg, secretary-general Paul Mashatile said his organisation would embark on a three-phase campaign aimed at wooing the estimated 5-million voters in the region.

The programme, which would begin today, was adopted at the organisation's general council meeting at the weekend.

The first phase would focus on consolidation of ANC structures and on the rebuilding of street and block committees. Meetings would be held with "mass democratic formations", such as civic organisations, with a

view to getting their co-operation.

During the second phase, which would begin in mid-March, a massive recruitment drive would be launched. Election structures, comprising the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance and "mass democratic formations", would be launched to "intensify the voter education campaign" and canvass for election money.

The third phase, scheduled for the end of May, would be characterised by house meetings, public debates and visits to voters by the organisation's leaders.

Asked what voter education was, assistant secretary-general Obed Ba-

pela said it was teaching people who "have never voted before" the intricacies surrounding elections, such as a secret ballot and eligibility.

Mashatile stressed that, at the same time, his organisation would urge the people to vote for the ANC.

The ANC is consulting about 90 organisations, including the Labour Party and KwaNdebele's ruling Inkando Ye Sizwe Party, with a view to getting them back into its fold in the coming elections for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Bapela dismissed as "unfounded" allegations by Winnie Mandela that there was an ANC elite intent on getting into bed with the NP to "enjoy new-found luxury".

# The Star

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South Africa's largest daily newspaper

## Independent airwaves

**T**HIS newspaper's revelations about the imminent independence of the SABC board should be welcomed by all South Africans: it is a very belated development, but perhaps it is not too late.

A national broadcasting corporation is a tremendously powerful social and political force, and it can be used for good or ill. In this country, during the transition and after, we are going to need a credible broadcasting service more, even, than most other countries.

This has been recognised by the National Party — which is concerned that no other party should ever again enjoy the sort of control over the SABC which it exercised shamelessly for close on half a century — and other groups will find it difficult to argue against the principle.

But what transpires in the coming months, and the way in which the changes are undertaken, are critically important. We require an open, demonstrably fair process of reconstruction, which will in turn underpin a demonstrably fair outcome.

For that reason it is in the public interest that the negotiations which are now under way for the appointment of a board which is representative of our polyglot populace should be conducted as transparently as possible. Perhaps the publicity given to the issue by this newspaper will encourage all the participants to take the public into their confidence when shaping the broadcasting future.

One idea currently being floated has great merit: that candidates for top positions in the "new SABC" should be subjected to US-style hearings. In this way interest groups (the advertising industry springs to mind) which until now have simply had to play to the SABC's rules or be left out will be able to exercise proper influence.

The restructured SABC is almost certain to be an improvement on what we have endured all these years. But we must go further: there is a chance to create a great institution. We must do the job properly.

## ANC 'not feathering its own nest'

Staff Reporter

The ANC yesterday denied Winnie Mandela's accusation that the ANC leadership was interested only in feathering its own nest.

In reports in the Sunday press, Mandela — who was separated from her husband, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, last year — accused the NP and the ANC of political elitism.

"The NP is getting into bed with the ANC in order to preserve its silken sheets, and the leadership elite in the ANC is getting into bed with the NP to enjoy this new-found luxury," she said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus retorted: "The ANC is struggling to achieve one person, one vote in South Africa. The question has to be asked: 'How can anyone say it is only in the interests of the elite?'"

Marcus said the national executive committee of the ANC — of which Winnie Mandela is a member — would meet early next month. The committee might then decide to debate whether its members could make personal statements about the organisation.

In any case, Mandela was entitled to her views, said Marcus.

She added that the ANC's main preoccupation was to set a date for elections. It was definitely not acting only in the interests of the elite.

