

22/09/93
D. News

There are many spoilers in the ANC alliance

SIR — Much printer's ink has been used in your columns on the subject of 'spoilers', with Chief Buthelezi cast as the villain. But he realises more than his detractors the danger of any interim government writing the final constitution because of the possibility of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu conspiracy being the majority party.

There are other spoilers who are members of the above conspiracy. For example, Mandela will not call for the lifting of sanctions until an interim government is in place.

Furthermore, it has been reported that the faceless economic experts in the above alliance threaten to derail the government's tariff reform package due to be presented to Gatt this very month. Are these not also 'spoilers'? There are many other examples: the current teachers' strikes and the unacceptable behaviour of students at some universities.

P.J.W. HENDERSON
Hillcrest

16/1/11

■ STAFF REPORTERS

Security forces today sealed off Phola Park on the East Rand to search for gunmen police said had fled into the squatter camp after killing 19 commuters and injuring 16 others south of Johannesburg last night.

But the search failed to yield any trace of the killers who, travelling in two vehicles, shot dead pedestrians and motorists on a 6 km stretch of the Old Kliprivier/Heidelberg Road at about 6.30 pm.

Earlier, ANC PWV spokes-

man Vusi Gunene hit out at the police for launching the Phola Park raid.

"I was at the scene last night and all the witnesses I spoke to said the attackers had fled in the direction of Alberton, and not to Phola Park."

During this morning's raid police arrested two men in

connection with the illegal possession of a firearm -- but police said they were not connected to the massacres.

Phola Park residents claimed police broke into their homes and damaged property during today's raid. Police said they had to force doors open, but had caused "no other damage".

At least 40 people have died since yesterday morning in separate senseless attacks on the East and West Rand.

Police said another nine people were killed in Kaitleng and Tokoza overnight, including two men whose bodies were found with their hands tied behind their backs, bullet holes in their heads.

On the West Rand at about 8 pm yesterday, at least six people were killed and 31 injured when a large group of men attacked hostel dwellers at the Durban Deep mine in Roodepoort, police said. The ANC's Terror Ndzimane claimed that nine people had died in the attack on the ANC-controlled hostel.

Mine management said today that miners had refused to go to work today because of the attacks.

Referring to last night's Heidelberg Road attack, police said gunmen in a bakkie and a minibus opened fire on pedestrians and motorists along an unlit 6 km stretch of the road.

Vaal Triangle police spokes-

man Major Piet van Deventer said police chased the suspected vehicles for "some distance" and shots were fired, but the vehicles escaped.

Speaking from the murder scene last night, Van Deventer said it was "utter chaos". Dead and injured people were lying strewn along the road. Other victims had been shot in their cars.

At least three vehicles were hit during the attack and a large number of the injured included passengers in a

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Massacre: Phola Park raided

Meyer called 'despicable traitor'

X

CP MP brings House to a halt

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
AND NORMAN CHANDLER

As the right-wing opposition to the proposed Transitional Executive Council (TEC) became increasingly vociferous last night, an unprecedented scene brought yesterday's proceedings at Parliament to an early halt.

Kuruman MP Jan Hoon refused to leave the House after being "named" and ordered out by the chairman for calling Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer a "despicable traitor".

The incident, thought to be the first of its kind in the 83 years of Parliament's existence, forced a closure to proceedings at 10.50 pm and before Meyer had closed debate on the TEC Bill.

Police have today been instructed to bar Hoon from the premises of Parliament. Officials in Parliament's Serjeant-at-Arms's office confirmed today that police had been ordered to prevent Hoon from entering the grounds.

Early yesterday Hoon said from his home that he was waiting for the outcome of discussions between CP chief whip Frank le Roux and the Speaker on Parliament Eli Louw.

He would then decide whether to return to Parliament.

Meanwhile, CP leaders were

RIGHT-wing MP Jan Hoon refuses to leave Parliament after insulting Minister Roelf Meyer during debate on historic Bill

locked in discussions this morning on the next step the party should take. However, sources in the CP indicated that Hoon would probably not attempt to defy the ruling.

Last night's incident began at 10.25 pm when Meyer rose to answer to the marathon debate on the controversial Bill.

Hoon shouted insults from his party's benches.

Asked by chairman Helgard van Rensburg to withdraw his comments, Hoon refused amid heated exchanges between the NP and CP benches.

Proceedings were suspended for the night pending consultation with the Speaker.

In Parliament earlier yesterday, deputy CP leader Willie Snyman said the CP would have no choice but to see the Afrikaner Volksfront (AV) executive as its transitional government if the TEC Bill were passed by Parliament.

The Bill is expected to be voted on tomorrow or Friday.

Snyman said the Afrikaner had reached another Vegkop,

the 1836 battle where Boers fought off black attackers. If the TEC came into being it would be time to "shut the laager".

"If you side with the enemy against your volk, the ultimate split will come ... Yes, unfortunately, even a civil war as my leader warned," he said. Later he said his reference to the laager was symbolic but acknowledged his comments could "translate into secession".

IFP MPs in Parliament have, meanwhile, indicated that they will also be voting against the TEC Bill.

And in Pretoria last night, right-wing Afrikaners made a dramatic torch-light appeal to President de Klerk to reverse the negotiations process.

In the shadow of the Union Buildings in Pretoria, speakers passionately implored the President and the Government to change course before the April 27 general election.

Led by the AV, delegates handed a series of notes of protest to Jannie Dippenaar, representing De Klerk.

Organisations included the CP and its youth wing, the Pretoria Boerekommando, Oranjerwerkers, the SA Bureau of Racial Affairs, the Transvaal Agricultural Union, the Afrikaner Kulturbond, the Dietse Federasie, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Iron and Steel Federation and the AWB.

Apla, MK rift on peace force

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA

A crucial two-day meeting between leaders of the armed wings of the ANC and the PAC to discuss the formation of a national peacekeeping force (NPF) in the run-up to next year's election was cut short after disagreements.

The meeting, in the Zimbabwean capital of Harare, lasted for about seven hours on Monday.

Although both sides denied reports that the talks collapsed because of "irreconcilable differences" between the guerrilla forces, they admit-

ted that not much progress had been made.

The PAC this week said it would not participate in the Transitional Executive Council.

Spokesmen for both MK and Apla admitted their differences concerned the international community's involvement in the NPF.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said Apla's main problem with the proposed NPF was that its administration and legal control would be in the hands of the Ministers of Defence and Law and

Order.

■ The Star Africa Service reports from Harare that the ANC is preparing to move members of its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) into assembly points, according to a report today following the meeting between leaders of MK and the PAC's Apla. The Herald, quoting MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda, said the organisation was preparing to send its cadres into assembly points within three weeks of the passing of legislation to establish the Transitional Executive Council.

Violence surges linked to reform

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Several violence-monitoring organisations have noted a link between an increase in violence and developments in the negotiations and political processes.

But they also point out that a "low-intensity conflict", not directly linked to political developments, simmers in the country.

United Nations Observer Mission spokesman James Kanu said yesterday: "We have observed during the 12 months we have been here that whenever there is a big announcement or breakthrough, something happens — a big disruption or something."

He stressed that it was important to identify and eliminate the causes of violence.

The political adviser at the Organisation for African Unity Observer Mission, Sam Ibok, said: "Every time there is a political breakthrough, there is an upsurge in violence."

The national director for the Human Rights Commission, Safura Sadek, said the four highest peaks in violence since August 1990 took place during the months which were marked by political developments.

In August 1990 — when the Pretoria Minute was signed between the Government and ANC — 709 people were killed.

During March last year — when the whites-only referendum took place — 437 people were killed in political violence.

In July this year — when the Negotiating Forum confirmed the April election date — 604 were killed. Sadek said the July violence spilt over into last month, when 554 were killed.

However, a "low-intensity conflict", which appeared to be orchestrated, had continued unabated for the past three years but was sometimes directly linked to specific political events.

ANC to invite king to rally

The ANC is going ahead with plans to invite Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to attend an ANC gathering in Durban. ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the rally would take place on October 24. The region would send a senior delegation to the king to ask him to attend the meeting. Makhaye said Zwelithini would be asked "to bless the gathering with his presence". Zwelithini's response would prove whether he was above partisan politics "as he often stated".
— Political Staff.

Mandela 'ready to meet Buthelezi'

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC president Nelson Mandela has reiterated his readiness to visit IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi and to welcome Buthelezi to the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, according to church leaders who arranged the June 23 meeting between the two.

In a statement after their meeting with Mandela yesterday, Methodist Church presiding bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba and the Anglican Church's Bishop Michael Nuttall said the ANC leader also "indicated his continued willingness to address joint rallies in violent-stricken areas with Buthelezi".

The two leaders have not addressed a rally jointly since their meeting outside Johannesburg on June 23.

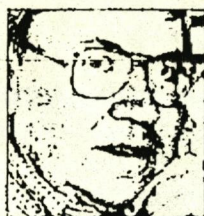
Mogoba and Nuttall said they had briefed Mandela about their meeting with Buthelezi in Durban on Saturday.



Mandela ... "prepared to hold joint rallies."

They said Mandela, who stated his continued commitment to carrying out "all aspects of the agreements made" at their previous meeting, now wanted to discuss dates for the joint rallies with Buthelezi.

"Mandela said he shared the church leaders' view that the present situation in South Africa is a national crisis. He called for a meeting of all political parties and said the church leaders could facilitate such a meeting," the churchmen said.



Allister
Sparks

FW can only give Buthelezi two-week deadline

President de Klerk can allow two weeks, no more, for his system of parallel negotiating to succeed in drawing the Inkatha Freedom Party into the various agreements and transitional structures that have to be implemented in preparation for the April 27 election.

If he has not succeeded by then, if Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is still stalling, then he must abandon the attempt and call a snap all-race referendum to get a democratic mandate to implement the interim constitution which by that time should have been finalised by the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre.

Support for the holding of a referendum, suggested in this column four weeks ago as a way of outflanking the obstructionism of the IFP and its Cosag allies, is growing. Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and the Editor-in-Chief of The Star have come out strongly in favour of it. Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer made it clear at a press briefing in Cape Town last week that it was an option being seriously considered by the Government; and conversations with senior members of the ANC indicate that it has some support there as well.

Growing numbers of people realise the country cannot continue being held to ransom by a group of minority parties who have great disruptive potential but little popular support. We are stuck in a dangerously unstable interregnum and must now move forward decisively or things will really start falling apart.

Commendable

De Klerk's efforts to draw Inkatha back into the negotiating process are commendable. He has performed a remarkable job in persuading Buthelezi to accept a parallel negotiating system that the prickly Inkatha leader rejected out of hand only a month ago. But the attempt cannot be allowed to drag on to the point where it forces a delay in the April election. That would be disastrous. Frustrations in the black community are already at explosive levels, and a postponement of the election could touch off a major eruption.

The Government knows this. "Any postponement of the election would lead to more violence and therefore we should not even consider it," Meyer told the press briefing.

Nor can De Klerk expect too many concessions to appease Buthelezi. The ANC and the National Party have made all the concessions so far

in the two years of negotiating. Both are close to the limits of what their constituencies will accept without major defections. The IFP has not made a single one.

To expect the ANC now to make further major concessions to accommodate Buthelezi who has made none at all is unreasonable — and dangerous for the stability of what is already a fragile political centre.

The parallel negotiating procedure will in any event be awkward and will put new strains on the relationship between the Government and the ANC. With Buthelezi still refusing to let the IFP return to the Negotiating Council, the Government will be acting as a kind of proxy for him.

Two Government-IFP committees have been set up to discuss violence and constitutional issues. These will hold bilateral meetings, then the Government members will take agreed issues to the World Trade Centre and try to negotiate them there.

According to Meyer there are five issues on which they will push the ANC for concessions: widening the scope of constitutional principles, increasing regional powers, ensuring that regional powers can't be changed without the consent of the regions, the composition and functions of the constitutional court and the dead-

lock-breaking mechanism in negotiating the final constitution.

This does not sound too radical and the ANC may be willing to make some further, modest shifts in these areas. But will that really satisfy Inkatha? Already the intransigent Walter Felgate has cast doubt on such a possibility. He says the IFP will demand that the Natal/KwaZulu regional constitution be drafted before the April election, and that the elected constituent assembly should not have the power to change it.

What an outrageous proposition. Who would write such a constitution with no election to establish representativeness? The IFP no doubt, despite opinion polls showing it has only 31 percent support in Natal/KwaZulu. Perhaps with a little input from old Natal MPCs. And the shadowy Mario Ambrosini, Buthelezi's hired hand from an American law firm that has also helped Renamo.

Secession

Clearly what Felgate has in mind is the straightforward adoption of the controversial draft Natal/KwaZulu constitution which Inkatha has already prepared.

This is a constitution which would make Natal/KwaZulu a sovereign state whose laws would take prece-

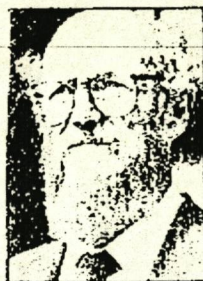
dence over those of South Africa, which would have its own president, its own constitutional court, its own central bank and its own army. A state where the South African government would not be able to raise taxes or send armed forces.

A constitution, in other words, that would set up Natal/KwaZulu for secession under IFP rule.

That, not federation, is what Buthelezi and Felgate really want, and one must expect that they will filibuster and stall and continue to hold South Africa to ransom in their attempts to get it. For with their crumbling support base they have no other way of gaining the power they so desperately crave.

Obviously it is better if the negotiating process is as inclusive as possible. One understands, too, that with the divisions in his Cabinet, where seven Ministers are said to be threatening defection if the Government gets tough with the Cosag alliance, De Klerk must do everything he can to try to bring Buthelezi and the rightwingers back into the process.

If he succeeds it will be great. But that can happen only if he is able to persuade the IFP that it, too, must be prepared to make concessions — or face the judgment of the people of South Africa at an all-race referendum.



Patrick Laurence reports on the President's bid to extricate himself from a fix

Realpolitik drives De Klerk

President de Klerk and his ruling National Party are manoeuvring to escape from a political predicament caused by a combination of their own poor judgment and the superior negotiating skills of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

The signals from the De Klerk administration since its eight-hour meeting last week with Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party point strongly in one direction: a tougher stand against the ANC by De Klerk's men at the multiparty negotiations, especially on the pivotal issue of federalism.

These signals are confusing, because, over the past few months, De Klerk and his chief negotiator, Roelf Meyer, have been assuring NP followers that they have made substantial progress in their bid to negotiate a federal system for the new South Africa.

De Klerk has told NP members in the Free State that their region will have a high degree of autonomy, in-

cluding exclusive jurisdiction over some areas of public life and access to reasonable sources of taxation. Meyer has taken a similarly confident line, boasting that "on certain issues we have achieved more than we set out to".

Paradox

These statements highlight the paradox: if De Klerk's negotiators have advanced so far down the road to a federal South Africa, why do they suddenly have to adopt a tougher stand to attain one of their main declared objectives?

A partial answer to the conundrum is that De Klerk is anxious to persuade Buthelezi, a vocal advocate of undiluted federalism, to return to the negotiating table. One way of achieving that is for De Klerk to raise the ante sharply at the negotiations by bargaining more uncompromisingly for federalism. But the explanation to the enigma goes beyond assuaging Buthelezi's anxieties.

Examination of the draft transitional constitution, and the 27 fundamental constitutional principles asso-

ciated with it, shows that neither guarantees the adoption of federalism in post-apartheid South Africa.

There are different forms of federalism but they contain one core element: federal systems grant exclusive powers to the regional states that comprise the federation; the length and nature of the list may vary but the core is insoluble.

The transitional constitution grants nominally exclusive powers to proposed regions. The qualifying word *nominally* is necessary because the powers of regional governments are subject to the overriding powers of the central government.

The list of exclusive powers is in any case not impressive. It includes powers which belong to municipal rather than regional government. The vitally important power to tax is severely circumscribed; they have to be recommended by a fiscal commission and approved by the central government.

The constitutional principles contained in schedule seven of the transitional constitution are designed to serve as constraining parameters for the popularly elected constitutional

assembly when it drafts a permanent — as distinct from interim — constitution.

The principles are supposed to secure strong regional government. They are, however, so broad as to be open to widely divergent interpretations. A unitary constitution in which the central government delegates minimal — and perhaps revocable — power to provinces will fit into the framework as easily as a federal system.

The De Klerk administration, having been almost complacent about the deal emerging at the negotiations, is now starting to balk for reasons which are independent of the Buthelezi factor.

Compelling

Mervyn Frost, professor in political studies at the University of Natal, provides a compelling explanation for De Klerk's volte-face.

Frost argues that, for months, the De Klerk administration was talking about federalism but actually negotiating a "consociational power-sharing deal" with the ANC. He defines

"consociational democracy" as a power-sharing agreement worked out between elites and then presented to their followers as *fait accompli*.

Frost reckons that the arrangement appealed to the NP leaders initially because, buoyed by the party's success in the March 1992 referendum and by opinion polls showing high ratings for the NP in the coloured and Indian communities, they felt confident that the NP would have a meaningful role to play in the government of national unity.

Now, however, as the NP's support dwindles alarmingly, the NP realises that it can only hope to become a junior partner in the envisaged government of national unity. It is thus, belatedly looking for alternative ways of checking ANC power.

Federalism attracts for two reasons. It will restrict the power of an ANC-controlled central government and simultaneously offer the means of re-building broken political bridges with two implacable foes of the ANC whose support may be vital in the months ahead: the IFP and, perhaps, the Afrikaner Volksfront.

Trade bloc ready for South Africa's entry

The man who was at the helm of the Southern African Development Community for almost a decade believes that, contrary to general belief, the organisation has achieved most of its objectives.

Dr Simbarashe (Simba) Makoni, the retiring executive secretary, said the SADC had achieved many successes, most importantly the cementing of relationships between member countries and the strengthening of solidarity and confidence in each other.

When the SADC was founded 13 years ago the thought of co-operation with South Africa at least publicly, was anathema. While many believed that the whole *raison d'être* for the SADC was to move away from the apartheid state, and develop strategies and mechanisms to reduce dependence of southern African states on the Republic, an equal objective was to promote co-operation and regional development.

Deputy Minister

After nine years as executive secretary, Makoni, a Zimbabwean, left the post at the end of August. His successor, Kaire Mbuende, was named following the recent meeting of heads of state of member countries in Mbabane.

Mbuende, who is Deputy Minister of Agriculture in Namibia, formally takes over the chief executive post on January 1 and Makoni will stay until then.

In an interview, Makoni said that the organisation expected that South Africa would want to join the SADC, "but it is up to them. We do not impose membership and we would not expect anything more from South Africa than we expect

THE widespread view that the SADC is a failure has been rejected by its retiring chief executive in an interview with Joe Latakomo of the Star Africa Service

from other members."

He said South Africans were already participating in the SADC through the ANC and the PAC.

"However, the South African state will only formally be able to participate when a new national sovereign authority deriving its mandate from the majority is in place.

"Our understanding is that South Africans wish to relate with their neighbours in the region, that they find the mechanisms and arrangements as provided by SADC as being appropriate to their own interests, and so we do expect South Africa will want to join.

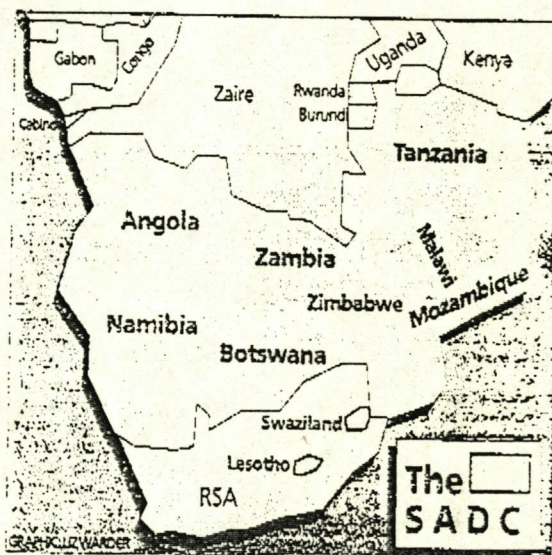
"However, while we want South Africa to join we have not carved out a special role for her when or if she does join; we don't expect anything more from South Africa than we expect from other members of SADC.

"We co-operate on the basis of principles of equity, balance and mutual benefit."

Makoni does not share the view that South Africa's size will overwhelm other countries in the region.

"We don't believe South Africa is too big, or that it is too advanced, or that it is too developed to co-operate meaningfully with us," he said.

"This is not to suggest that



South Africa is equal to Botswana or Swaziland. But Zimbabwe is not equal to Lesotho, nor is Tanzania equal to Malawi."

Imbalances and differences between countries will not be new.

To deal with these differences, he said, the SADC bases its foundation on "the principle of equitable co-operation ... between countries of different endowments, different capacities and different levels of development, but the bottom line is — and even your white counterparts are beginning to say this — your country is as much a developing country as any one of us."

Many believe that the SADC has failed in its mission to reduce dependence on South Africa and this seems to be borne out by the fact that trade between SADC members and South Africa is about

seven times higher than trade among SADC members.

Makoni believes, however, that much had been achieved since the formation of the SADC.

"The most important of our achievements has been the cementing of relationships between our countries and the solidarity that already existed before SADC is much stronger, and we have more confidence in each other, not only in the common concerns and problems that we confront but also in the common solutions that we can find together," he said.

He pointed to the various roles member states have played.

Makoni admits there were failures. The SADC, he said, was too much of a governmental organisation and there was a need for people directly affected by political events to become centrally involved.

"The region's most important resource is its people," Makoni said. "They hold intellectual capacities, the skills, expertise and material resources, including finance. That we did not get our people as a whole more involved also circumscribed the extent to which we could deploy our own resources."

Makoni said he was concerned that he was leaving the SADC before the organisation had resolved its relationship with the Preferential Trade Area, which embraces east African as well as southern African countries.

While PTA secretary Bingwa Mutharika says his organisation will continue to push for a merger with the SADC, the SADC resists because it is seen as being too unwieldy and bureaucratic. In Namibia last year, the SADC voted against the merger.

"I would very much have liked to have this matter resolved and clarified, but it has proved difficult," said Makoni.

People's servant

Asked whether he would be playing a political role on his return to Zimbabwe, Makoni said he had "always considered myself as a servant of the people ... I hope to be able to serve Zimbabweans or southern Africa. I must stress that while I held political office I never had a political career as such. I am going back home, to do what I do not yet know."

Leaving the SADC at this crucial time had been a dilemma, he said.

"I could have sought another term, but I was exactly nine years in this position. One cannot stay in any place for ever. There is always the danger of being too long in an office."

THE STAR, WED. DAY 22 SEPTEMBER 1993

The South African Defence Force is steady for the great leap forward into the new South Africa. Defence Correspondent Norman Chandler spoke to the men who run the SADF about changes on the way

Nothing 3rd class about new SADF

The new South Africa holds no fears for the South African Defence Force, say top generals and other officers.

While exploratory talks on the integration of Umkhonto weSizwe and other private armies with the SADF have been held at the multiparty negotiations and certainly at *high level* attended by military strategists and other planners, no formal decision has been taken on how this will be achieved or when it will come into effect.

The SADF is determined that, when integration does come, standards of training and personnel will not be allowed to drop.

The Chief of the SADF, General "Kat" Liebenberg, says "rationalisation should not lower standards. We have a laid down minimum qualification to be complied with and this cannot be lowered".

"If you allow the SADF to become an unemployment solution, then you are doing away with the defence force."

Rear Admiral Piet Loedloff, Deputy Chief

of Staff, Personnel, says that if a man or woman has the capability to do the job, then the SADF will back him or her to the hilt.

Brigadier P O Verbeek, Officer Commanding the Military Academy at Saldanha on the west coast, says human skills preparatory courses have been introduced to assist new comers meet high academic, officer and junior leader standards.

Chief of the Army General Georg Meiring, who is to succeed Liebenberg on November 1, views talks on integration as "building blocks in the process of negotiation".

He says common ground needs to be found and that, to date, the talks have covered a wide spectrum.

Decisions taken so far about integration by the Defence Command Council are acceptable to him -- "I am in full agreement with what has been discussed" -- and confirmed that the SADF intended in the new South Africa to retain its apolitical character, develop its part-time forces, and maintain stan-

dards.

He added: "If you allow standards to fall, what are you going to get? A third class defence force."

Chief of the Air Force General James Kriel also says he has "no problem with equal opportunity".

He laments that there has been a poor reaction from blacks to joining the SAAF as professional pilots or as engineers.

"If there should be any military-trained pilots from Umkhonto weSizwe, we would definitely like to integrate them into the SAAF."

He emphasised that "qualifications are not negotiable, and we are prepared to discuss this with anyone interested".

Kriel added: "Although standards and the end result are never negotiable, how one gets there is obviously negotiable and that, to this instance, the curriculum could change."

Vice-Admiral Robert Simpson-Anderson, Chief of the Navy, is willing to compromise

on some things "but not on the capabilities of our people".

The Navy intends to help improve on an individual's standards "and even lengthen a course to accommodate a bloke, but before he steps on the (ship's) bridge, he must be of the same standard as the fellow who was there before him".

Simpson-Anderson says the Navy is ready and willing to serve the new South Africa.

"The Navy can and should play a major role in nation building in the new South Africa. It has the training infrastructure, the discipline and a universal tradition within which large numbers of our youth could be moulded and educated."

He is also looking to foreign-trained navy personnel to join the Navy: "I want to extend an invitation to all those movements, groups and organisations that are training people overseas to fill posts in the Navy in the new South Africa."

"These people are welcome in the Navy

now, but the Navy requires that they keep politics out of the Navy, that they be willing to undergo its training, and that they meet its requirements.

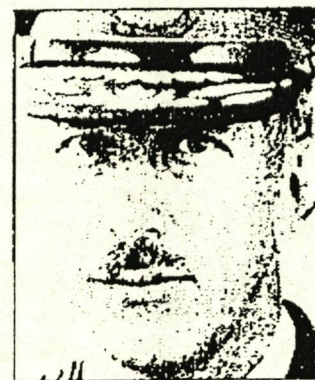
"Let us all make a contribution towards giving our country a fine, well-structured, operationally-prepared, technologically up-to-date and political neutral, professional navy."

The Navy has since 1968 actively embarked on an integration policy.

At that time, it was all-white but then began to recruit coloured people as uniformed staff.

By this year, the composition of races in the Navy has reached 60 percent white, 40 percent non-white, which is made up of 37 percent coloured and Indian personnel and 3 percent black.

"We intend to improve on the number of black people in our navy and plan for a good balance of South African population groups in the future," Simpson-Anderson said.



Georg Meiring... next SADF chief.

Six dead 9 hurt in Tokoza minibus ambush

◀ From Page 1

minibus taxi. Ambulances took the injured to Natalspruit and Vereeniging hospitals.

The names of the dead and injured, mostly black commuters, have not been released.

Police offered a R250 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers.

Yesterday morning, in an ambush on a minibus in Tokoza on the East Rand, six commuters were shot dead and nine were injured.

After the ambush, residents in the area claimed that the Internal Stability Unit was responsible.

Weapons

Yesterday youths erected barricades to "keep the ISU out of our township". And at a meeting of the Tokoza Taxi Association it was resolved that township residents should donate money to buy "weapons and bullets to protect ourselves against the hostel dwellers and the ISU".

"The ANC yesterday demanded that Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel take full responsibility for the "alleged actions of this unit".

East Rand police spokesman Captain Wikus Weber said a group of men had fired on the



On the defensive . . . Tokoza residents erect street barricades to "keep the ISU out" after yesterday's taxi attack in which six passengers were killed. Residents claim the South African Police assisted the gunmen.

PICTURE - KEVIN CARTER

minibus with AK-47s at 6 am on the old Vereeniging road. After the first bullet struck, the driver lost control and the minibus overturned. The gunmen then closed in and shot passengers.

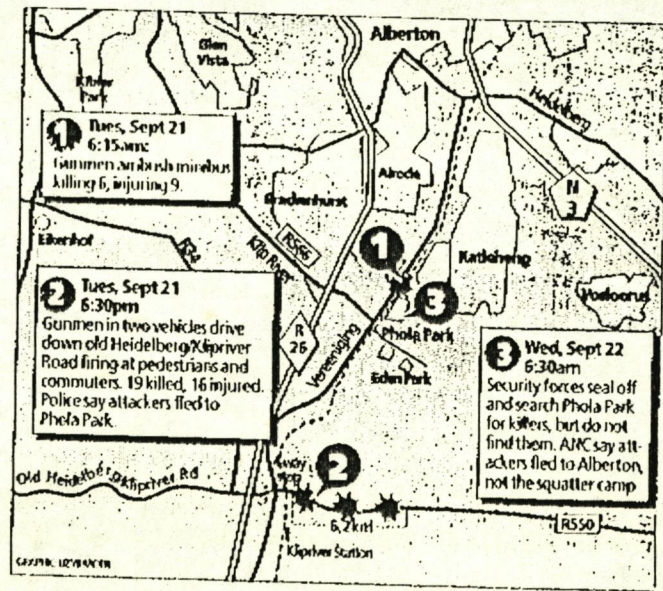
Bystanders said they saw an SAP armoured vehicle force the minibus on to its side, allowing a BMW transporting the gunmen to move in and then escape.

The SAP last night rejected claims of police involvement in the attack. Regional police commissioner Lieutenant-General Koos Calitz ordered immediate forensic tests to determine the

validity of the claims.

The IFP today held a media tour of East Rand hostels. Inmates complained to IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose today that they were prisoners in the hostels, with no transport to get to work and no food coming into the battered buildings.

At the Mazibuko Hostel in Katlehong, the media delegation received a tense, cool reception from the IFP supporters. Mdlalose told supporters he had been told of their plight and had come to see for himself so that he could help.



ANC and Buthelezi to discuss joint rallies

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela wants to discuss dates with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to address joint rallies in violence-stricken areas, clergymen said yesterday.

Speaking after meeting Mr Mandela in Johannesburg, Methodist bishop the Rev. Stanley Mogoba and Anglican Bishop Mi-

chael Nuttall said the ANC leader was willing to visit Chief Buthelezi at Ulundi and welcome him at the ANC's headquarters in Johannesburg.

Today's meeting is a follow-up to the church-organised summit between the two leaders in June, as was talks between the clergymen and Chief Buthelezi at the weekend.

"He (Mr Mandela) also indicated his continued willingness to address joint rallies in violence-stricken areas with Chief Buthelezi.

"Mr Mandela would like to discuss dates for such rallies with the IFP leader."

The ANC president also called for a meeting of all political parties and said church leaders could facilitate this.

COMMENT

Essence of time

SOUTH Africans have suffered too many disappointments over the past three years to be euphoric at the passage of the Transitional Executive Council Bill through Parliament this week. The best illustration of the direness of the situation is the fact that, contrary to its original policy, the ANC intends calling for the lifting of sanctions as soon as the Bill is passed, even though the law will not have been promulgated and the transition, legally speaking, will not have begun.

We need to be clear about which of the obstacles ahead are substantial, and which can simply be stepped over. Into the latter category fall the objections from the Pan Africanist Congress and the Conservative Party. The PAC faces the choice of being marginalised if it withdraws from the process, or humiliated in the election if it stays in. The CP seeks to resist the change about to overwhelm it.

Both have the capacity to cause problems, but their actions can only make the process of change more painful, not derail it. Neither controls any territory, and therefore neither will be able to undermine the intent of the TEC Bill. Its purpose, let it not be forgotten, is to ensure that next year's election is free and fair. It recognises the mutual distrust existing between prospective participants, and accepts that multiparty supervision is necessary to make a fair election possible.

By the same token, though, it is

necessary to have the TEC structures and procedures acknowledged and accepted by the administrators of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu, in whose territories 22% of the population reside.

Each would find it hard to argue that they have been models of democracy, any more so than the two main parties, especially when it comes to freedom of speech and movement. The TEC will have extensive powers, but these are aimed principally at preventing government, homeland and security force bias where the election is concerned. The homelands' complaints that their essential administrative and developmental powers will be endangered before an election are nonsense.

But their resistance is a reality, and it needs to be resolved. This should be achieved through negotiation rather than coercion, such as financial sanctions. Legal forms of coercion would become necessary and justified if the resistance continued even once an acceptable, federal constitution was on offer.

Securing a negotiated solution might be a lengthy process, but it would be worth sacrificing the time if the payoff was a more peaceful transition. It is becoming increasingly difficult to see how the April 27 election date can be met. Now that the mechanics of the transition are almost in place, it may be time for sensible political leaders to start preparing for the possibility of a slightly delayed election.

WE KILLED him and then we burned his body." Shall I bother to ask why, as though reason can comprehend the primordial hatred which spurred the deed and the bloodlust which carried it through? But I cling to reason. I insist on a rational motive for the deed and it is chillingly simple. Kallehong is at war. And the dead man was the enemy.

He was a resident of a migrant workers' hostel — which means he was probably also a Zulu and a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party. And his killers — these young black men who tell the tale in a cramped township kitchen, while I glance nervously at their AK-47 rifles — are residents of the area surrounding the hostel, who owe allegiance primarily to the ANC.

They are obviously filled with a sense of righteousness at their deed, a victory in the just war against the cruel aggressor: "hostel dwellers" have killed scores of residents in this section of Kallehong; burned, looted and destroyed their homes; forced them to flee. Now the residents have formed a "self-defence unit" to protect their territory.

The dead hostel dweller was found well behind enemy lines, at the taxi rank. On his way home to the hostel, he was caught, killed and set alight. When I ask who killed him, the reply is obvious: "the community".

Thabo, 27, is the leader of this band of urban guerrillas. Disarmingly shy, with a slow, wide smile and a gentle manner, he inspires no fear.

It is near midnight, and we are in the kitchen of an abandoned house which the self-defence unit uses as a base, on the front line with a neighbouring area colonised by hostel residents. (The latter have established security zones around the hostels, driving out the residents and settling up their own, ostensibly defensive bases.) Thabo claims to have 15 such bases, 150 fighters, and to have killed 200 hostel dwellers.

We both know he exaggerates, but his point is clear: the self-defence unit is big and relatively well armed — and it is winning the just war against the hostels.

Thabo guides me into a pitch-dark sitting room, and cautiously shifts the net curtain a few centimetres to point out the enemy base opposite.

He recounts numerous recent incidents of police collusion with the hostel dwellers — on such-and-such a day they brought Inkatha men in armoured cars to attack the residents, another night they brought guns to the hostel fighters, or attacked the residents entirely of their own accord.

Some of the stories must be apocryphal, but they cannot all be untrue. And it is clear that Thabo's motives for launching the self-defence unit were, in his view, unassailably righteous: the community was under attack from the hostels; he could not stand by while defenceless women and children were killed.

But the worst savagery often proceeds from the purest motives, and the just war is notoriously hard to end. Thabo's troops might not thank him for ending it, even if he would; for they are the "lost generation", teenagers who have known only the fight against apartheid, and now the battle against police and Inkatha. They clearly enjoy the exalted status which SDU membership brings, preferring the romanticised life of the guerrilla to the desperate boredom of the hopeless unemployed.

These young men are my bodyguards as I join one of the unit's nightly patrols, following a maze of paths between houses which crowd upon each other, wall to wall, past malodorous outdoor toilets. All the houses are dark — residents observe the self-defence unit's 8.30pm curfew, and black out windows with blankets — and Thabo explains that he will shoot at anything that moves.

Luckily, nothing does. It is a quiet night. Occasionally, Thabo scratches quietly at a back door, and a resident lets us silently into a warm kitchen where the patrol deposits me for a while. One terrified resident after another tells a horrifying tale of life in Kallehong: the fear, the nights of shooting; the gratitude to the self-defence unit, which has substantially improved security.

Then we are out again into the night. A police armoured vehicle trundles by, with its powerful spotlights trained on the houses, we freeze, a single shot rings out (not aimed at us, they have not seen us), and then we move on.

When I decide I have had enough, sometime in the early hours, Thabo sends two young runners to negotiate my safe passage out of the township. But before I go, he has some serious complaints to lodge against Nelson Mandela. Thabo was a member of the SACP. But the SACP "betrayed the struggle of the working class" to the ANC, whose moderation he condemns, and so he has joined the "Communist International". He opposes negotiation, resents Mandela for suspending the armed struggle and leaving Kallehong residents unprotected, and thinks the ANC should go back into exile.

Mandela cannot control him, and neither can the police, how will the new SA survive him? But it would be

wrong to suggest that Thabo is the worst threat to post-apartheid Kallehong. For every party to the conflict believes that right is on its side; all excuse the most ghastly acts on the grounds of just cause.

That cause is not ideological, or theological, or even truly "political"; their battle is for survival. Wilson, a young resident of Madala hostel in Thokoza, puts it simply: "They think we are going to attack them and we think they are going to attack us." Residents think the hostel dwellers want their homes; and hostel residents think the residents want the hostels demolished. For both, poor people who live perilously close to the edge of survival, housing is a life-and-death issue. Even the police have seen 1 000 of their members killed in the past decade, and they too know fear.

But the triple township — Kallehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus — was relatively quiet until 1990, in spite of its desperate poverty, intense competition for housing, high population density and low employment. Something set people at each other's throats, and no one knows for certain what it was.

Peter Harris, director of the Wit-Vaal peace secretariat, says: "There is a powerful cocktail of ingredients in the social make-up of [the area] that contributes to the violence: a complete disintegration of civil society, a large criminal element that uses violence as a shield; a total breakdown in law and order; intense political confrontation; conflict around housing..." The list goes on.

But possibly the worst problem of all is the belief among residents that the police are the real enemy, worse even than Inkatha. Residents do not believe police will protect them, so they form self-defence units; they will not co-operate with police, so crimes are not solved. Until they trust the security forces — and until police give them cause to do so — violence can only drag on.

"Time for our regular dose of adrenalin," says Sgt James Bleeker, as he pulls up beside the moonlit shacks of Thokoza's Phola Park squatter camp. He is driving a M40 armoured personnel carrier filled with members of the internal stability division. "If we sit here long enough they always shoot at us," he says, behind us, their assault rifle at the ready, young constables taunt the shack residents in Afrikaans. "Come, shoot at us," they cry out, not even trying to conceal their lust for action. If they will go this far with a journalist present, I wonder what they will do when I have gone.

During eight hours of night-time patrol, I (not surprisingly) see them commit none of the much-romoured atrocities. But I leave with a new understanding of why township residents complain of harassment, intimidation, insults.

And the events I saw at Phda Park lend credence to the claim that police often shoot at residents with little or no provocation.

But the real problem is their attitude. Maybe they, too, have been brutalised by violence, but when we stop to collect a dead body they laugh and joke in the face of the bereaved husband and sister, when they dump the body on to a stretcher, they do not notice that the wind has blown her skirt up above her waist (the husband hastily reaches forward to make her decent).

They look for no witnesses, ask no questions, merely collect a cartridge for ballistics testing. They assure me "these people" don't notice death any more, and neither do the police, for, one suspects, do they try very hard to stop it.

With the best will in the world, they could not in any case: there are too many guns, too much hatred, too many scores to be settled. One can only weep for the people; their lives are unending nightmares.

The new SA, from which they expect so much, can do little for them. — Financial Times.

Blind hatred fuels a brutal war that both sides see as just

PATTI WALDMEIR

NOT DEAD

33 die in three massacres

FROM PAGE 1

Roodepoort, last night.

• At day break a minibus taxi en route from Phola Park to Germiston came under a hail of AK-

47 bullets. Six of the occupants were killed and nine wounded.

Police last night said they were investigating whether the two taxi killings were linked.

In the Klip River/Heldberg Road attack, the gunmen left a trail of carnage.

Besides firing on pedestrians, they shot up three vehicles, including a minibus, killing 14 passengers.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman, Major Piet van Deventer, said police pursued the killers and shots were fired during the chase. The attackers evaded the police by fleeing into the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand.

The area was surrounded and a helicopter was called to assist in the search.

Maj Van Deventer said dead and injured people lay along the road, and others had been shot in their cars.

The motive for the attack was not known but it appeared that the killers had fired randomly at "anything and anyone" in their path.

When a Citizen reporter arrived at the scene, police had cordoned off the area.

Reporters were later allowed near the taxi after police had removed all the bodies. Abandoned possessions, including handbags, clothing and groceries, were strewn about.

All the windows of the taxi were shattered, seats were blood-stained and there were numerous bullet holes in the bodywork.

At the rear, a bumper sticker proclaimed: "If you worry you die — so why worry."

The gunmen also opened fire on a white truck, killing the driver, who lost control of the vehicle, which careered into a tree.

The driver of another

truck was wounded in the back of the neck.

The injured were admitted to the Natalspruit and Vereeniging Hospitals.

Police Regional Commissioner, Major-General Koos Calitz, was at the scene, accompanied by police spokesman, Major Eugene Opperman.

At an impromptu press conference, Maj Opperman condemned the killings, saying the attack was "callous and brutal".

"The attackers are animals. They killed innocent people who were returning home from work.

"All parties must condemn the carnage on the East Rand in the strongest possible terms."

At the Durban Deep hostel, men, armed with guns, spears and knives attacked residents in the beerhall and dining-room.

ANC branch chairman Terror Ndlemane said the men arrived in cars which they parked outside the

hostel.

According to witnesses, only a single shot was fired in the attack.

The men then fled, and it was feared the killing might have continued outside the hostel.

According to Mr Ndeimane, the injured were taken to the nearby Durban Deep Hospital.

Tensions rose in Tokozazi yesterday after the early-morning attack by gunmen in Alberton's Alrode south industrial area.

The injured were all admitted to the Natalspruit Hospital in a serious condition and police were yesterday afternoon unable to say whether they had suffered bullet wounds or had been injured when the taxi overturned as the driver lost control.

Expressing the police's "utter disgust" with the attack, Major Opperman said it was "yet another callous and brutal attack on innocent people".

33 DIE, 45 HURT IN 3 MASSACRES

By Angeia Qulntal, Sapa and Hugo Hagen

THIRTY-three people were killed and 45 were injured in three massacres yesterday.

- Gunmen armed with AK-47s fired from a mini-bus taxi and a bakkie at motorists and pedestrians along a six km stretch of the old Klip River/Heidelberg Road, south of Johannesburg, last night killing 18 people and wounding 16 others.

Police have offered a

reward of R250 000 for information leading to the arrest and the conviction of the gunmen.

- Nine people were shot or stabbed to death and more than 20 injured in an attack on the Durban Reef Hostel, near

TO PAGE 2

Winnie transgressions proved, says ANCWL

Citizen Reporter

SOME allegations which led to the suspension of Mrs Winnie Mandela and four others from the African National Congress' PWV regional leadership had already been proved, said ANC Women's League spokesperson, Ms Lindie Zulu.

She was reacting to renewed moves by Mrs Mandela's supporters in the organisation to have her reinstated.

Mrs Mandela and four other members were suspended in July for a year for allegedly displaying defiance, insubordination

and total disloyalty to the ANC.

Their suspension was a sequel to the suspension of the entire Women's League PWV Regional Executive Committee in May last year.

Ms Zulu told The Citizen yeaterday that the REC had continued to incur expenses after its suspension, and after a task force had been established at ANC headquarters to handle business until the matter had been sorted out.

"The task force was elected by the branches to continue until the issue

was resolved.

"But the REC continued to use their office, the telephones, etc. We had to pay the rent. We paid double for everything," she said.

"And our treasurer had to go to court over T-shirts that were printed by the REC after their suspension. The league couldn't pay."

Ms Zulu said the Women's League "definitely had to resolve this situation".

"The only way to do it is for the ANC and other structures to get involved. And that definitely includes the leadership," she said.

Ms Zulu said a meeting would be held soon, and a formal statement would afterwards be issued by the Women's League.

She said it had been resolved at a meeting on Monday between some members of the ANC's NEC and the women who occupied the second floor at Shell House in support of Mrs Mandela, that the organisation had to look at the matter "more thoroughly and broadly".

The group was confident that Mrs Mandela would be reinstated.

Hostel death 'not political'

■ BY MOKONE MOLETE

Organisations in Alexandra have moved swiftly to quell fears that the murder of a man outside the KwaNobuhle hostel in Alexandra on Sunday could be the start of renewed political fighting in the area.

Police said the man was stoned and his body set alight.

A police spokesman said an injured man was arrested near the hostel and a Tokarev pistol confiscated.

A local IFP committee member and an Induna at the hostel, Mthutheni Mlambo, said the fight was a result of people settling scores. "This was not a political fight," he said.

The dead man, identified only as Mazibuko, was killed because he had given refuge to a friend who was being sought by men from Natal, he said.

According to Mlambo, a group of men came looking for Mazibuko's friend on Saturday. When they could not find him they left. When they returned on Sunday and again could not find him, they attacked Mazibuko.

Other hostel dwellers tried to defend him and in the ensuing fight another man was shot. He has been admitted to hospital in a stable condition.

Both the ANC and the local peace committee have confirmed that the fight was not the result of political conflict.

The Interim Crisis Committee, which monitors violence, also confirmed that the incident was not politically motivated.

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SEP 22 '93 12:19 SUZANNE WOS

'ANC fails to halt violence by the PAC'

HARARE. — The African National Congress said yesterday it had failed to persuade the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to end attacks on the government as South Africa makes the transition to multiracial democracy.

The ANC said a meeting in Harare with commanders of the armed wing of the PAC, blamed for recent attacks on Whites, ended in stalemate late on Monday.

Two days of talks had been scheduled, but the meeting broke up after only a few hours.

Commanders of the Azania People's Liberation Army, the PAC's military wing, in Harare refused to comment.

The APLA refused to call off attacks or partici-

pate in a transitional peacekeeping force before elections set for April 27, said Mr Siphwe Nyanda, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing.

The group's political leaders have taken a similar position, refusing to participate in a panel that is to act as a shadow government until a new Parliament is elected.

"Their participation is important but not critical. The process will go on," Mr Nyanda said.

The Pan Africanist Congress has taken a more radical stance than the ANC, and complains that the proposed Transitional Executive Council would not have enough power to oversee security forces and foreign affairs.

The ANC has agreed to provide peacekeepers to patrol alongside South African Police and army

units before and during polling.

That presents the prospect of Azania People's Liberation Army guerrillas fighting ANC troops.

"Tentatively, they are saying they won't attack the national peacekeeping force, but they say they will continue fighting against the present regime and the security forces," said Mr Nyanda.

Mr Nyanda said the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party, had also refused to join a unified force. — Sapa-AP.

P.13

SEP 22 '93 12:20 SUZANNE WOS

Govt, CP clash over TEC Bill

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The government has warned the Conservative Party that it will be held responsible for its actions if it promotes resistance to reform moves approved by Parliament.

There was a dramatic clash between the CP and the government in Parliament yesterday over threats of a civil war, with CP speakers equating the present situation with that before the two South African Wars.

The CP said that if a

Transitional Executive Council was set up, it would regard the Afrikaner Volksfront as the transitional government of the "Boere Afrikaner-volk".

In the meantime, pass-

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Govt, CP clash over TEC

FROM PAGE 1

ive resistance would be replaced by active resistance, with an armed struggle "if necessary".

The government said the CP had failed every test of opinion on its claim that it represented the majority of Afrikaners.

Mr Ruell Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, said the CP's threats were aimed against a decision of Parliament, South Africa's sovereign legislative authority.

The CP and its followers had to accept the decisions of Parliament, including the Transitional Executive Council Bill and other reform measures, or they would be held responsible for their actions.

"The approval of this Bill will be the result of the operation of the legislative supremacy or sovereignty of Parliament.

"And the approval later this year, in the prescribed manner, of a new constitution in terms of which this Parliament will change its own composi-

tion will be the best example of the working of that supremacy.

"You cannot stop this process. It would be extremely irresponsible of you to try to do so," Mr Meyer said during the debate on the TEC Bill.

In resisting the proposed TEC, the CP found itself in the same company as the PAC.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, CP leader, had made the claim that this Bill, which would represent the will of Parliament, would be "a declaration of war against a people who would be free".

"I must warn him that he is making reckless and irresponsible statements, the consequences of which he does not realise," said Mr Meyer.

"If he and his followers resist the will of the sovereign Parliament of this country, then they will have to accept the moral and other consequences of their deeds and of irresponsible actions inspired by talk of violence."

Mr Meyer asked whether Dr Hartzenberg had ever considered the

implications of a civil war in South Africa, and against whom it should be directed.

Who would be the targets of the violence and resistance which CP leaders had announced?

Would it be their brethren who accepted that change was necessary, and who believed in a peaceful and negotiated settlement between all South Africans?

"In the interests of all peace-loving South Africans, I would urgently and seriously warn you to consider the implications of your statements and your intentions," Mr Meyer told Dr Hartzenberg.

Dr Willie Snyman, CP deputy leader, said the Boere Afrikaner volk claimed the ethnic right to self-government, which was the trend worldwide.

"With this legislation, the constitutional road is finally closed to us.

"We will be forced to view the general council of the Afrikaner Volksfront as our transitional Parliament, and the executive council of the Afrikaner Volksfront as

our transitional government, until we have elected a government for our volk.

"The way of resistance has already begun for our volk.

"Passive resistance will be followed by active resistance, and, eventually, an armed struggle; if necessary, to free us from Communist, anti-Christian domination.

"If we, in accordance with our Calvinist conviction, had a right at the turn of the century to rise up against foreign domination, then we do not only have a right now but a bounden duty to resist a Communist domination.

The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, said the CP was basing its whole argument on the fallacy that the TEC would replace the government. Nobody but the CP believed this was the case.

"They (the CP) have the audacity to claim that they speak on behalf of the majority of Afrikaners.

"Nothing on the TEC Bill is expected to take place tomorrow.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

CP threats

THE passing of the Transitional Executive Council Bill will enable Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC president, to call on the United Nations to lift sanctions.

Since the ANC insisted that sanctions be maintained, almost wrecking the country's economy, there won't be any thanks for Mr Mandela from those who have been retrenched, have lost their jobs, or couldn't find work.

Nevertheless, we will welcome the end of sanctions, which have been a curse.

It will, however, take months before we see any benefits from having all financial restrictions (the last remaining sanctions other than the UN arms and oil embargoes) lifted by the UN, the Commonwealth, the European Community and individual countries.

The economies of other countries are depressed, and South Africa will not receive a helping hand commensurate with its needs.

Overseas investors will also shy away from this country because of the violence. Besides, they have other countries — the former Soviet Union states, Eastern Europe and mainland China — which offer better opportunities for investment.

Despite that, we wish Mr Mandela and his team good fortune in their mission to the United States to get investments for South Africa.

We could do with some good news for a change.

However, it is in South Africa itself that the portents are not favourable.

The Transitional Executive Council Bill is opposed by the Afrikaner Volksfront, the Conservative Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress.

State President De Klerk has admitted that the TEC is a form of power sharing. However, he says it should not be seen as a handover by the government.

If the TEC is to be misused to bring power sharing before an election with regard to the total field of activity, we will (prevent) that ... that is not what it is intended to be."

But Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, the leader of the CP, says that the "revolutionary" Bill is the most draconian in South African history.

Acceptance of the Bill will amount to a declaration of war against the majority of peace-loving South African citizens.

The CP will not recognise the TEC and will create its own alternative.

"You are abdicating ... the ANC is taking over power even before the election," he says.

The CP deputy leader, Dr Willie Snyman, threatens civil war, saying the Afrikaner has reached another Vegkop (the 1836 battle where Boers fought off Zulu attackers).

If the TEC, and particularly its subcommittee on defence, come into being, then it will be time to shut the laager "and those who are outside will be out and those who are inside will be in," says Dr Snyman.

With this Bill, Afrikaners have arrived at a final crossroads, he claims. "If you side with the enemy against your volk, the ultimate split will come ... yes, unfortunately even a civil war as my leader warned."

The legislation will finally close the constitutional option to the CP, and it will be forced to regard the Afrikaner Volksfront's general council as its transitional Parliament (a far-fetched notion) and the front's executive as its transitional government until the Afrikaner has elected his own government.

We do not under-estimate the threats of the Right to take up arms against what it sees as a betrayal of the volk.

However, the Volksfront should think carefully about doing anything that can plunge this country into a civil war in which, like Bosnia, there will be no winners and the country — or much of it — could be wrecked, if not destroyed.

Our view at all times has been that the Afrikaner's aspirations should be recognised — and this applies to the aspirations of Zulus in Natal/KwaZulu as well.

If NP and government negotiators cannot achieve this, then Mr Mandela, who recognises the danger of Right-wing resistance, will have to do so.

What we need is an end to violence — not an escalation in which the Right-wing is a new and dangerous combatant.

MP in 'traitor' row is named

PARLIAMENT. — Parliamentary proceedings were stopped abruptly last night when a Conservative Party MP refused to retract an interjection that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer was a "despicable traitor".

Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) interjected moments after Mr Meyer started replying to the second reading debate on the Transitional Executive Council Bill at about 10.25 pm.

"Roelf Meyer, you are a despicable traitor (n' veragtelike ver-

TO PAGE 2

MP in 'traitor' row

FROM PAGE 1

maier), a traitor to Parliament," Mr Hoon said.

The chairman, Dr Helgard Janse van Rensburg, named Mr Hoon, repeatedly ordering him to leave the chamber. Mr Hoon refused and stayed seated.

Earlier, CP Chief Whip, Mr Frank le Roux, and MP Mr Fanie

Jacobs tried to persuade the Chairman to postpone the debate, citing points of order.

CP and National Party Members exchanged loud remarks before Dr Van Rensburg ruled that proceedings were to be suspended until the bells rang.

Most CP MPs stayed in their benches as members from other parties gathered in conversation or filed out.

The Mace was removed about 10.33, with Mr S P Barnard (CP Hercules) shouting that it dated from Empire and constituted part of his history.

"Bring it back. I want to put my hand on it. It is part of my history."

Mr Robin Douglas, the Secretary to Parliament, was seen conferring with chief Mr Le Roux and NP Chief Whip, Mr Keppies Niemann. They left the Chamber.

The bells rang again about 10.50 pm.

Taking his seat, Dr Van Rensburg suspended proceedings,

saying he would report developments to the Speaker in terms of Rule 86 of the Standing Rules of Parliament, which determines that in the event of a "grave disorder", the presiding officer may adjourn the meeting or suspend proceedings for a period to be stated by him.

Responding to the CP's points of order, Dr Van Rensburg said he was merely stating that the Joint Sitting was not the time or place for him to give a ruling.

• Naming a Member is the most severe punishment for an MP as he is prohibited access to the precincts of Parliament for a period determined by the presiding officer or the Speaker. — Sapa.

Dear Zuba

This is a copy for your information. Please ensure that I get a response soon.
Cheers. — Kaiser

effort can reduce death rate

has bad child mortality record

ODGATE

Child death rate, five births to 38 world average, of comparable to the United Nations report, child mortality in Africa is the world is claimed more any South Africa from prevent- age five than ed in a country ovel. ssued today by live director London, com- on the progress,

or lack of it, towards the organ- isation's "Year 2000 Goals for Children and Development" agreed on at the 1990 World Summit for Children. (South Africa was not officially represented at the summit.)

South Africa's track record on child mortality lags far behind all industrialised nations worldwide, (despite a drop in the number of deaths from 91 in 1980). However, in African terms, the country is among the top six countries.

African countries boasting a better record include Mauritius (20), Botswana (62), and Morocco (72), compared with shock statistics from Niger (320), Mozambique (297) and Malawi which had 230 deaths per 1000

births in 1990.

Using data from all nations, Unicef calculated how many children on average could be expected to survive the hazardous first five years, reach fifth grade in primary school and have adequate nutrition.

Mauritius, with a lower level of GDP, has a child mortality rate of about one third (26) of that in South Africa.

A disturbing factor is that only 43 percent of SA children are immunised against the killer disease measles. If South Africa is to reduce the present number of child deaths from 73 to 49 by the target date in the year 2000, it must almost double its efforts from a 2,2 percent annual reduction to 4,1 percent.

Mandela 'ready to meet Buthelezi'

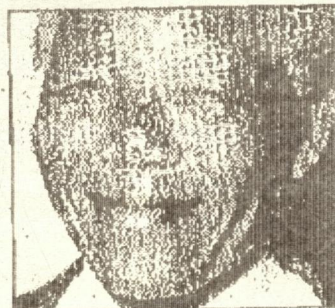
BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC president Nelson Mandela has reiterated his readiness to visit UPF leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi and to welcome Buthelezi to the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, according to church leaders who arranged the June 29 meeting between the two.

In a statement after their meeting with Mandela yesterday, Methodist Church presiding bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba and the Anglican Church's Bishop Michael Nuttall said the ANC leader also "indicated his continued willingness to address joint rallies in violent-stricken areas with Buthelezi".

The two leaders have not addressed a rally jointly since their meeting outside Johannesburg on June 23.

Mogoba and Nuttall said they had briefed Mandela about their meeting with Buthelezi in Durban on Saturday.



Mandela ... "prepared to hold joint rallies."

They said Mandela, who stated his continued commitment to carrying out "all aspects of the agreements made" at their previous meeting, now wanted to discuss dates for the joint rallies with Buthelezi.

"Mandela said he shared the church leaders' view that the present situation in South Africa is a national crisis. He called for a meeting of all political parties and said the church leaders could facilitate such a meeting," the churchmen said.

White man fires on pedestrians

Two black men narrowly escaped death when a white man shot at them from a passing bakke near Wesselsburg, Free State, on Monday, police said.

Paul Serame (43) and a league were returning from work when the man, who had jumped on to this blue bakke from another vehicle, fired several shots and swore at them before driving off to Wesselsburg.

An 18-year-old youth was also trocked in Orkney, western Transvaal, on Monday, police said. Christo Strauss died on his way to Klarksdorp Hospital where he was found on top of a electric cable.

Police said yesterday they were investigating a Johannesburg disco owner's complaint that he and 50 patrons were assaulted by 11 men, five in camouflage uniform, yesterday.

Patrons claimed that some of their attackers had fled to the Downtown Inn police barracks.

Four men attacked and injured a policeman in Commisloner Street, Johannesburg, on Monday night, police said.

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BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA

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LONG

Africa Watch criticises oppression in KwaZulu

US-based human rights agency Africa Watch says a lack of free political activity in KwaZulu will significantly compromise next year's election.

The report was released today and is the third to target a homeland. Previous reports have dealt with Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

It says its study of KwaZulu "does not support Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi's claim that he is the most democratic of SA's black leaders".

The report charges that KwaZulu is a one-party state and that only the Inkatha Freedom Party has the freedom to organise within the homeland. It says freedom of expression, assembly and association for other groups like the ANC are routinely denied. It says the chieftainship system is abused to ensure that chiefs opposed to Inkatha or Buthelezi are removed and support for Inkatha is enforced.

The report says KwaZulu government services are used to promote support for Inkatha among employees and claimants of benefits. The KwaZulu police "are allowed to operate with an almost complete lack of accountability".

"They fail to offer equal protection to individuals and groups believed to support the ANC, engage in acts of random or

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politically directed violence and are widely perceived to be the armed wing of Inkatha," it said.

The report recommends to the SA government that it establishes interim authorities for the administration of KwaZulu and other homelands pending elections for a constituent assembly; authorises an SAP investigation of the KwaZulu police where there is evidence that it is not conducting a proper investigation; that all proposed transfers of land from SA to KwaZulu be frozen; and SA sets up a commission of inquiry into the role of traditional leaders.

It recommends the KwaZulu government should allow other groups to use government facilities for the holding of political meetings; that it investigates victimisation of opponents of Inkatha and metes out appropriate punishment; and that it issues clear instructions to the KwaZulu police not to abuse human rights.

To the US it recommends the retention of all remaining sanctions until the election of a constituent assembly and that it pressures the SA government to ensure that interim authorities are established in the homelands.

'ANC piper will call the election tune'

Citizen Reporter

ANC candidates in the April 27 election would have to adhere to the ANC's election manifesto no matter which political party or organisation they belonged to, ANC media officer, Mr Ronnie Mamocpa, said yesterday.

Candidates contesting the election under the ANC banner will include members of its socialist allies, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Mr Mamocpa said the ANC would not be fighting the election on the basis of socialism, but on its election manifesto.

ANC candidates would be expected to show their allegiance to the ANC's policies, election manifesto and accountability, whether they were members of the ANC, COSATU or the SACP, he said.

SACP central committee member, Mr Jeremy

Cronin, yesterday confirmed that the SACP would contest the election under an ANC banner.

Candidates from the SACP would conform to an ANC election manifesto sanctioned by the tripartite alliance and, if elected to a government of national unity, would be required to serve primarily ANC interests under an ANC Whip, he said.

This would not create any conflict in the short to medium term insofar as the immediate goal was to create a democratic constitution and not a socialist constitution.

There was no contradiction in doing this and still being loyal to the SACP, said Mr Cronin.

"Right now we have to carry the democratisation process forward.

"We think the socialist perspective is best served in the alliance at the moment.

"Should we, in the future, be presented with a

situation in which we think the SACP is being undermined, then we will have to reconsider the alliance," he said.

Mr Cronin acknowledged that problems could arise in the long term out of a move from the democratic context to the socialist context.

If the SACP's hopes of carrying the majority of ANC members with it in its move to socialism did not materialise, there might well be a split within the ANC.

The SACP was, however, confident that, in the longer term, the majority of South Africans would believe a democratic advance to socialism was the way to deeper and strengthen the democratic process in the country.

The SACP has not yet made known its election nominees.

COSATU earlier this month released a list of 20 election nominees headed by former general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo.

SA could return to UN seat as early as November

NEW YORK. —South Africa could return to its seat at the United Nations, from which it was barred in 1974, as early as November.

Sources at the UN in New York said yesterday it was also possible a resolution repealing all UN sanctions resolutions — except the arms embargo — could be passed early next week.

African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to call for the lifting of remaining economic sanctions when he addresses the UN on Friday, and the ANC wants to make

the most out of it.

UN sanctions resolutions are at present expected to be repealed only in November when the annual debate on South Africa is scheduled.

"The ANC's aim is not to lose the impact of Mr Mandela's call for the lifting of sanctions," a UN source explained.

"One option being studied at the moment is to bring the debate forward to early next week, pass the one-line resolution re-

pealing sanctions, and adjourn the debate until November.

"The whole thing could take less than 15 minutes because the resolution would have been fully canvassed before the time."

The sources confirmed there were intense behind-the-scenes efforts at the UN, involving a host of countries, to secure South Africa's return in time for the annual debate on apartheid.

South Africa was bar-

red from participating in UN activities, including occupying its seat in the General Assembly, in 1974. It nevertheless remained a member.

The decision for South Africa to return to its seat would be taken by the Transitional Executive Council which is scheduled to be established after the middle of October.

"President De Klerk, as the State President of South Africa, could then address the UN in November," the UN source said.

It is reliably learned there had been behind-the-scenes attempts by the South African Government for Mr De Klerk to address the UN when he visits the United States later this week.

However, the ANC objected and said Mr De Klerk would probably get the opportunity in November when South Africa took up its seat.

Instead, Mr De Klerk will meet privately with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali tomorrow afternoon.

Mr De Klerk is expected to brief Dr Boutros-Ghali on South Africa's constitutional transition.

An official at the South African mission at the UN said yesterday he expected South Africa to return to the UN only after the April 27 election.

The problem of South Africa's outstanding UN debt of R286 million, for regular budgetary and peacekeeping purposes, had still to be resolved, he said.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela will be in the US at the same time, mainly addressing conferences intended to woo international investment. —Sapa.

'Federalist groupings should join'

A "LOOSE ASSOCIATION" should be formed among political groupings in South Africa around federalism, Mr Hennie Bekker (IFP Jeppe) said yesterday.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Transitional Executive Council Bill, he said the IFP and its leaders were pressing for a new national movement of moderates.

Inkatha had insisted at the Kempton Park multi-party talks that federalism should be a central part of a future dispensation.

"Let's think about a loose association around federalism."

An NP MP interjected. "That's how a leader talks."

Thebe in group linked to phones row

A CONSORTIUM which includes the ANC-linked Thebe Investment Corporation has been lobbying the ANC to use its influence to stall a final government decision on cellular telephone tender awards.

The African Telecommunications Forum is a consortium of black-owned companies active in the computer and telecommunications field.

Forum convenor Mark Headbush said yesterday it had told the ANC it was being excluded from the cellular market because sanctions prohibited its US negotiating partners from bidding for SA business.

It had been talking to Bell, AT & T and Motorola.

Forum members included Thebe GM

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Litha Nykonyha, Ntatho Motlana, Nafcoc deputy president Gabriel Mokgogo and other black businessmen. Member companies were Thebe, Afritel, Sutel, Media Investment Trust and National Information Technologies.

The involvement of Thebe, whose MD is former ANC treasurer Vusi Khanyile and which was established with R8m from ANC president Nelson Mandela, will fuel charges that it is the investment arm of the ANC and is using ANC muscle to secure agreements with foreign companies keen to invest in a post-sanctions SA.

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Phones

"We have been talking to the liberation movements to see if they can delay the process so that sanctions can be lifted and Africans represented in the industry," Headbush said. Thebe was just one company interested in the industry.

The consortium originally approached Telkom to secure involvement. However, it was told the consortium bidding for the C2 licence was already full. Posts and Telecommunications Minister Piet Welgemoed was then approached but their meeting had not been satisfactory. The ANC was then approached.

Headbush said the ANC-government fallout over cellular telephony had since

taken on a political dimension.

He said the forum had a problem with the first licence and was questioning Rembrandt's participation. A third licence to accommodate the forum was a fall-back position and it was unsure whether the market could accommodate it. However, it believed compromise was possible.

The forum said it opposed unilateral restructuring and wanted a fresh debate on cellular telephony. "The way government has parcelled out the telecommunications industry to existing players will reduce the future role of black business in this most important sector to a minimum and thus create a major credibility gap."

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Drive-by killers murder 18 after six die in taxi ambush

GUNMEN in a minibus shot and killed 18 people at random on an East Rand road last night, and six people were killed when a taxi was ambushed in the vicinity at day-break.

Ambulance staff based at Alberton said the two incidents were the most gruesome in a day in which warring factions fired openly at each other from taxis.

The attacks were a feature of international peace day and brought the East Rand death tally to 54 since the weekend.

Police offered a R250 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of last

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night's Klipriver killers who took refuge at Phola Park squatter camp after being chased by a policeman in a civilian car. Their drive-past killing spree lasted for 6km.

Police spokesman Lt-Col Ray Harrauld said the killers opened fire on commuters and pedestrians on the Old Vereeniging Road shortly after 6pm. People at the side of the road were killed in ones and twos along the route and a group of 13 people died in one spot. Alberton and Meyerton

ambulance staff took up to 14 wounded people to hospitals.

STEPHANE BOTHA reports that much earlier in the day, a taxi travelling on the Old Vereeniging road was ambushed by snipers lying in wait alongside the road. The driver was apparently hit and the taxi overturned. Gunmen then moved in to kill his trapped passengers. Nine people were injured in the attack.

Minutes after the ambush, a man was critically injured when he was shot near the scene, police said, adding that the shots came from the direction of the Thokoza

hostel.

Angry residents marched on the hostel, but policemen and soldiers formed a human chain between the two sides.

Hours later occupants of two minibuses exchanged fire in Alrode, also on the East Rand. Police said no one was injured.

East Rand police spokesman Capt Wikus Weber strongly denied allegations that internal stability unit members were involved in yesterday morning's ambush. Witnesses alleged an SAP Hippo had forced the minibus off the road to allow the

□ To Page 2

Taxi deaths

gunmen to escape.

"We regard the allegations in a serious light. Forensic tests for, among other things, paint samples of both vehicles, are already being performed," he said.

He said only Nyala vehicles were on the scene of the ambush. All the vehicles arrived after the shooting incident.

Sapa reports Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday reiterated his call on all political leaders to urgently address violence. He condemned the ambush.

Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndhlovu appealed to South Africans to stop killing one another, and the ANC expressed its outrage at the killings.

□ From Page 1

The CP said the taxi killings were part of an effort to cripple the country by aiming at its transport arteries.

While police yesterday said incidents of violence in the country were becoming increasingly brutal and callous, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in his peace day statement there was hope that calm would return to SA.

"There are signs that peace is possible. There is hope today in the Middle East, where before there seemed no hope. I am convinced that the list will grow to include the former Yugoslavia, Liberia, Somalia, SA, central Asia and elsewhere."

● See Page 8

ANC fails to persuade Apla to end violence

HARARE — The ANC said yesterday it had failed to persuade the PAC to end its armed struggle as SA makes the transition to nonracial democracy.

The ANC said the meeting with Apla commanders had ended in stalemate late on Monday.

Two days of talks had been scheduled, but the meeting had broken up after only a few hours.

Apla commanders refused to comment.

Apla had refused to call off attacks or participate in a transitional peacekeeping force before the April 27 elections, said MK chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda.

"Their participation is important but not critical. The process will go on," Nyanda said.

The ANC has agreed to provide peacekeepers to patrol alongside SAP and SADF units before and during polling.

That presents the prospect of Apla fighting ANC troops in the election period.

"Tentatively, they are saying they won't attack the national peacekeeping force, but they say they will continue fighting against the present regime and the security forces," Nyanda told reporters.

He said the Inkatha Freedom Party had also refused to join a unified force.

"This will make it more difficult, but we have no doubt whatsoever that it will succeed.

"The arrangements we have decided on are crucial for the election process," he said. — Sapa-AP.

IFP leader is a frenetic megalomaniac – Dalling

Cape Town — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a frenetic megalomaniac who did not command the loyalty of the Zulu people, Dave Dalling (independent) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Transitional Executive Council Bill, he said Inkatha was not the Zulu people and the Zulu people were not Inkatha.

"April 27 1994 will demonstrate this truth," he said.

All calls to ethnic or racial loyalties were retrogressive and damaging to South Africa's people. It did not matter whether the call was to the loyalty and emotions of Zulu South Africans, or to white Afrikaners — the verdict was the same. Both were divisive and evil.

"Let there be no error: nobody, least of all that frenetic megalomaniac from Ulundi, can command obedience from the Zulu people."

Dalling said the Afrikaner had fought and won the right to live and thrive in the whole

DEBATE on TEC Bill condemns calls to ethnic loyalties as damaging to South Africa's people

of South Africa. Afrikanerdom would never be locked into a tiny boerestaat. This was too small and insignificant a role for them.

"The story of the Afrikaner is a history of struggle. They must not allow themselves to be confined by narrowness."

Surname

He asked which Afrikaner AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche was speaking to — the Boer, or the economics professor at Stellenbosch with the same surname as him, who was an ANC sympathiser. "Who is the Afrikaner who will answer this call to the blood? General Constand Viljoen perhaps, but not his twin brother Professor

Braam Viljoen, an ANC member."

South Africa needed the skills, talents and hard work of every South African, regardless of his colour or language. The finger of history was pointing at the Afrikaner and he should not take the path to oblivion.

Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives Pieter Saalman said the ANC had originally announced that it would call for the lifting of sanctions once the process of transition to a new dispensation began.

However, the goals had been shifted continually since then. Now ANC president Nelson Mandela had reached his Rubicon, and the movement realised it had overplayed its hand on sanctions.

They realised that even if sanctions were lifted now, it would take at least a year before this had any effect, and in the meantime the ANC would have to face the monster of the great expectations it had created. — Sapa.

Major in Malaysia

KUALA LUMPUR — British Prime Minister John Major flew in from Tokyo late yesterday for a two-day official visit to Kuala Lumpur, during which he was to hold talks with Malaysian leaders on the conflict in ex-Yugoslavia.

It is Mr Major's first visit to Malaysia since becoming Prime Minister in November 1990.

— Sapa-AFP