

Africa's debt crisis deepens

THE drastic economic reforms demanded by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have always looked to African countries like kill-or-cure remedies.

African governments are now increasingly becoming convinced that the IMF prescriptions are destroying rather than healing their societies.

Yet there seems to be no alternative, no other way to escape from the deadly spiral of debt and decline that has got Africa by the throat.

The dilemma has become the dominant economic issue in Africa today.

It will again overshadow this year's Organisation of African Unity summit, to be held in Cairo in June.

Desperation has set in as many OAU members battle to survive economically.

The prescriptions by the IMF and the World Bank, once seen as the panacea for the continent's economic ills, are now thought by many to have failed.

At a recent conference of African economic ministers on ways to stem the growing poverty and economic decline in the continent, Layashi Yaker, executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, said that the

'It must be pointed out that it would be unwise to push us any further, beyond what is humanly bearable.'

**OAU secretary-general
Salim Ahmed Salim**

commission's report painted a picture of "unmitigated grimness".

The IMF and World Bank programmes, he said, were taking too long to reverse the declining economies.

Africa, Yaker said, needed \$950 billion (R3 000 billion) in aid in the 1990s to emerge from its cycle of economic ills.

Western aid officials say living standards have fallen consistently and the continent's massive debt burden has grown, despite the granting of \$105 billion (R325 billion) of net development assistance in the 1980s.

But OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim told the conference that reforms already made created political and social problems.

"We do not know how far we have to travel," he said, "but it must be pointed out that it would be unwise to push us any further, beyond what is humanly bearable."

The poverty of African countries is persistent, remaining constant in a study of per capita incomes between 1960 and 1985. Since then it has deteriorated sharply in spite of intervention through IMF-imposed structural adjustment programmes.

In many countries the people have begun asking whether it was still worth taking the medicine after having endured so much pain without much gain.

Structural adjustment programmes were designed as a response to African economic crises, which were seen as a product of economic distortions, and this meant that they dealt only with the macro-economic policies and indicators. The devastating effects of structural adjustment programmes on living conditions

of the majority of the people were not even considered.

The British charity Oxfam has criticised the international community for the "lack of vision, political will and moral purpose that is condemning the world's most impoverished region to deepening poverty".

Since 1983, the IMF has drained \$3 billion (R10 billion) of resources out of Africa, the organisation says.

The Africa Institute's Africa Debt profile shows that in 1991, debt service as a percentage of exports averaged 32.6 percent, a figure which will forever relegate most African countries to extreme poverty — unless their debts are written off.

Debt has doubled to \$290 billion (R900 billion) since 1982, despite African countries having paid more than \$200 billion (R620 billion) in debt service between 1983 and 1991 — more than the whole debt burden in 1982.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has described the continent's debt as a millstone around the neck of

Africa. He has urged the international community to give Africa time so that it "can prepare for the future without always having its back to the wall and always having to deal with one dreadful emergency after another".

The high hopes that came with independence have disappeared into the mist; those who were poor have become poorer.

By 1991, only four African countries could lay claim to be current on their payments on both interest and principal.

By 1992, the continent's debt of US\$290 billion (R900 billion)

was 2.5 times greater than in 1980.

The continent's debt liability constitutes approximately 20 percent of the developing world's total debt, according to the African Institute Bulletin.

The continent spends four times more on debt servicing than on the provision of health care to its population of 600 million.

Recently, Kenya abandoned the programme prescribed by the Washington agencies.

For years, this country had been the role model for Africa: free-market oriented, competi-

tive. However, in 1991 donors suspended all non-humanitarian aid to the country because of its lack of democracy and economic accountability.

Kenyans are now bitter because they believe they have done as much as can be done, or can be expected.

They had liberalised foreign exchange regulations, floated their currency, promised tighter monetary policy and devalued their currency.

When the IMF said this was not enough President Daniel arap Moi denounced the demands as politically suicidal.

Even the country most scrupulous in taking the IMF prescription, Ghana, has not achieved much success.

Since the introduction of its structural adjustment programme in 1983 the economy has showed only slight recovery and Ghanaians are asking whether it was worth the pain.

In that first year, 18 000 civil servants were laid off and many more were affected by retrenchment and redeployment policies.

All of this led to mass impoverishment as the price of food and other basic services soared.

In justifying its prescriptions, the World Bank refers to the success of structural adjustment programmes in countries like South Korea, Indonesia, Mexico and Morocco.

But a recent assessment of lending policies concludes that the number of projects with major problems virtually doubled from 11 percent in 1981 to 20 percent 10 years later. The number of projects which were unsatisfactory at completion rose to 37 percent.

However, the success of the Asian countries has been largely due to their having better terms of trade because they diversified and reduced their dependence on commodity exports, while most African countries remained one-commodity exporters.

During commodity booms countries like Tanzania and Kenya have used the windfall to raise public sector expenditure, increasing public service salaries and starting new capital projects. But they have been unable to sustain these when commodity prices fell.

Nigeria's petrol subsidies cost the country \$2.5 billion (R8 billion), which is 8 percent of its GDP.

Debt arrears are paid from aid provided by donors, since the Washington agencies are not allowed to reschedule, let alone forgive debt, and this has led to reduced social expenditure, and the collapse of services like health and education.

'Give Africa time so that it can prepare for the future without having to deal with one dreadful emergency after another'.

**UN secretary-general
Boutros
Boutros-Ghali**

A report by the United Nations Children's Fund in 1989 estimated that more than half a million children under five years old were dying in the developing world every year because of conditions relating to the debt crisis.



Government and parastatals are overmanned, and civil servants are poorly paid, resulting in corruption.

The message to recipient countries remains blunt, however: they are going to have to show the IMF that they have the capacity to use resources effectively through sound economic policies and effective governance.

But while theorists design programmes for Africa from ivory towers in Washington, questions remain over whether those programmes are appropriate.

Had Kenya not abandoned the structural adjustment programme it could have faced the worst food riots in its history. The sharp increases in consumer prices had made life virtually unbearable for most people and it was clear any more price rises would have proved politically suicidal.

The bitter medicine prescribed by the donor agencies for Africa's economic ills seems not to be working and the search for alternatives is becoming desperate. JOE LATAKOMO reports for The Star's Africa Service.



Some African governments see only one way for them to break out of the vicious cycle of debt and that is for at least some of the debts to be written off.

This option could be canvassed extensively at the OAU summit next month. □

Let's end the war, Gwala tells IFP

by LAKELA KAUNDA

THE African National Congress's "man of war" Harry Gwala wants to blaze a trail of peace through the Natal midlands together with the IFP leadership of the area.

Gwala said yesterday he was overcome by the devastation he saw at Maqongqo in Table Mountain last week and he feels the time has come to bring the war to an end.

He visited Table Mountain last week with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and IFP leaders Velaphi Ndlovu and David Ntombela after three ambushes which claimed 20 lives within a week.

SAP pays R1 mln in civil claims

MORE than 4 000 civil claims were instituted against the police in 1992, costing the taxpayer more than R1 million in out-of-court settlements. This emerged in answers to questions tabled in Parliament.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday told Durban Central DP MP Peter Gastrow 4 211 civil claims were instituted and of these 187 were settled out of court, which cost R1 123 479. In cases resolved in court the police were ordered to pay damages of R6 496.

DP MP for Hillbrow, Lester Fuchs, asked Kriel how many policemen and women were convicted of crimes in the course of duty. Kriel replied 876 members of the SAP were convicted of crimes. There were 6 865 complaints of assault laid resulting in 1 041 prosecutions and 306 convictions; 3 497 assault complaints have resulted in civil claims.

In response to questions from DP MP for Bryanston, Rupert Lorimer, Kriel said 2 465 people died in unrest incidents during 1992 — 960 in Natal — and of these 96 were SAP members.

— Political Editor.

Gwala repeated an invitation he issued to the IFP on Sunday to hold joint rallies with ANC leaders in the city and all the trouble spots in the region.

The call has been welcomed by KwaZulu deputy minister of works Velaphi Ndlovu, who said that if the idea becomes a reality "it would mark the end of hostilities" between the two organisations. Ndlovu said the ANC should issue a formal invitation to the IFP regional executive committee to meet with the ANC committee so that the two organisations can begin to prepare the groundwork for the joint peace crusade.

Gwala first issued the call on television on Sunday at the end of Nelson Mandela's visit to the region. The Mandela visit and the funeral of victims of the three massacres at the weekend brought about an unprecedented rapprochement between ANC and IFP leaders in the midlands and nationally.

On Monday Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he is prepared to meet Mandela without any preconditions. One of his conditions had been the dissolution of Mkhonto Wesizwe.

Gwala said yesterday while there are different opinions on such a meeting "what is clear is that it is not the leaders who are fighting, it is the people on the ground. That is why I made an earnest proposal to Ndlovu that we set the ball rolling by calling mass meetings of all our followers in Pietermaritzburg on Market Square to tell them why there should be peace. I think that starting from below is a proper solution to the violence".

• About 200 supporters of the ANC and IFP from the war-torn Ndwedwe district, near Durban, came together peacefully yesterday in ongoing efforts to end violence. The aim was to establish a permanent Local Dispute Resolution Committee. Although this was not achieved, it was decided that an interim peace forum, established two weeks ago, would continue operating.

Mandela's peace roadshow also a vote campaign?

ELECTION fever has hit political organisations in the midlands long before the polling date has been officially announced. LAKELA KAUNDA and KHABA MKHIZE review last week's visit by Nelson Mandela.

NELSON Mandela said he came to the midlands to launch a campaign for peace. But to all who followed him and his entourage around, it was clear they had also come to launch the ANC's election campaign.

This was the first time that a high-powered ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance delegation has spent three days in the region working from 9 am to midnight. This could mean they take Natal seriously.

The Mandela roadshow has been the most extensive outreach to grassroots by any party in the region, even though they were not the first to start.

The IFP started the election roadshow with a rally by its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the city hall late last year. The party is also known to be busy with a campaign to get supporters to apply for identity documents. The Democratic Party recently launched its campaign with rallies in the city hall and Northdale.

The Conservative Party will launch its election campaign on March 23 with a rally to be addressed by Andries Treurnicht.

The ANC's theme in all stops from Wembezi to Cato Ridge was "work for peace" and "vote ANC". The peace signals from the IFP and ANC which have followed the visit and the Mboyi funeral of the six children killed two weeks ago, have raised hopes that arrangements are being made to produce a climate conducive to free elections. Some ANC supporters at the Wembezi rally were wearing T-shirts inscribed "Operation Restore Hope".

Mandela was a different man last weekend. He was casual, cheerful and informal. Gone were his long prepared speeches and endless frown. He spoke off the cuff throughout and was able to keep his audience's attention. Pietermaritzburg audiences have walked out on him twice when his English speeches alienated them.

The first time was at Wadley stadium in 1990 and the second during the funeral of Reggie Hadebe last year. Supporters said he was addressing the media and not them. This time there were no prepared speeches and the people came first. In all township meetings he first addressed his audience in the vernacular and thereafter switched to English for the benefit of the media.

In true campaign style he changed his speeches according to audiences. In the townships he addressed fears about violence and commended people for "sacrificing your lives to defend the ANC's right to exist". In Northdale, the Richmond public library and at the university he addressed minority fears and at least an hour was allocated to question time.

The Northdale meeting on Friday night had a surprisingly large attendance by a highly receptive crowd. The hall was so packed that latecomers had to be accommo-

dated in another wing to watch proceedings on television. Mandela was asked many questions. He was told that his kind words to the Indian community do not reflect on the factory floor where there are constant tensions between African and Indian workers. He was also called upon to explain if affirmative action will mean fewer opportunities for Indians and more for Africans.

He used his meeting at the university to address concerns of midlands ANC members about power sharing.

"The ANC resisted power sharing from the beginning and in our negotiations document the words 'powers sharing' are mentioned only once, where we say we reject it. Power sharing to the government means that the party that loses the election will remain in government and veto legislation put forward by the majority party. We have totally rejected that."

He said the ANC wants a government of national unity to which the winning party will invite other parties who get more than 5% of the election to join the government. The ANC president said the thinking behind this is to block counter-revolution.

The last leg of the "hearts and minds" tour in KwaXimba, near Cato Ridge proved a real winner. Mandela was so excited to see a large crowd of spear and shield-wielding amabutho (warriors) coming to welcome him that he postponed a press conference by about two hours.

The ANC has an urban image and it was most unusual to see a massive rural crowd carrying ANC flags. And to win rural Natal, ANC leaders will have to prove that they also respect Zulu tradition and customs.

From Mandela's speech it appeared that the ANC intends moving into the rural areas more vigorously. He announced intentions to meet traditional rulers of these areas to sort out the problem of free political activity. Rural areas are controlled mainly by chiefs loyal to the IFP and KwaXimba is one of only a few with ANC-aligned rulers.

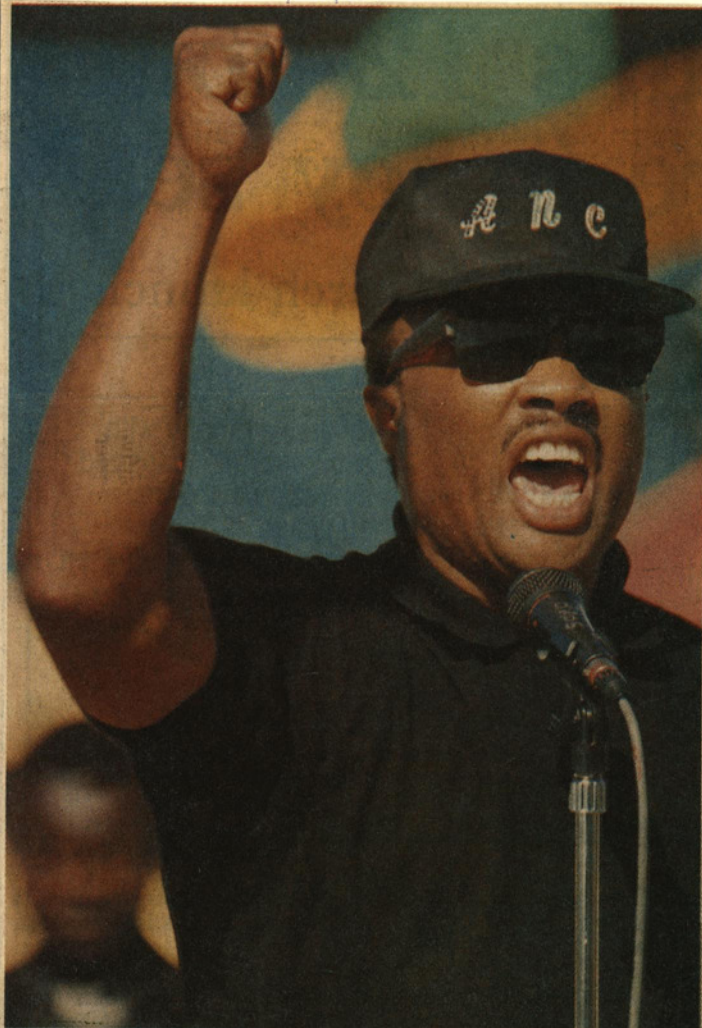
Also significantly, Mandela's visit launched a new openness within the region, with local ANC leaders confirming a willingness to talk to the IFP. Besides that, the visit was clearly also a house-keeping one, designed to iron out relations between Shell House (ANC headquarters) and the midlands region. There have been lots of complaints from the local leaders that the national executive sits in Johannesburg and tries to dictate terms about how violence and other issues should be resolved in Natal. Natal leaders claim there is a lack of understanding of the Natal militancy, arising from seven years of war.

Mandela and Harry Gwala showered each other with praises at every meeting and it was visible to all that any misunderstandings had been resolved.

NATAL
WITNESS

17/03/93

THE ARGUS 17 MAY 1993



RALLYING CRY: Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC regional secretary for the Western Cape.

ANC won't fight poll as a political party ✕

□ Yengeni says change would send out 'wrong signal'

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff**

THE African National Congress will not fight the first nonracial election as a political party, but as a broad liberation movement which includes its ally, the SA Communist Party.

ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said registering as a political party now would send out the wrong message to the world.

"They'll think things have changed. It will be the wrong message. We don't have a new democratic and social order in South Africa."

The ANC would consider becoming a political party only after the adoption of a new constitution reflecting that fundamental changes had taken place.

Mr Yengeni said the question of financial support for the ANC might well have played a role in the decision to remain a liberation movement.

Norway, one of the ANC's traditional supporters, has assured the movement "we will not abandon friends when they are about to succeed".

Norway is constrained from giving money to political parties.

Sweden has said the ANC will lose R35,5 million a year if it fights an election as a political party.

Swedish law prohibits assistance to political parties.

The present legal position in South Africa is that parties have to register to take part in elections.

They do not have to register formally as parties, but legally they would probably be regarded as such.

Director General of Home Affairs Mr Piet Colyn said that without some form of registration, it would not be possible to get the names of those standing on to ballot papers.

Provision had to be made, among other things, for cases

where the name of one party was so near to that of another that one had reason to object.

In the coming election, the names of parties on ballot papers would be even more important than in the past, as there would be a system of proportional representation.

This meant only the names of parties, not of individual candidates, would appear on ballot papers.

Mr Colyn emphasised that all the rules for an election next year would have to be negotiated. So far, agreement had been reached that there would be an electoral commission to work out details.

At present, there were no restrictions on overseas funding or how and how much parties could spend.

The experience in some overseas countries, including the United States, could lead to some rules on these issues.

This would have to be worked out by the proposed electoral commission.

IMF aid medicine no cure for Africa

The bitter medicine prescribed by the donor agencies for Africa's economic ills seems not to be working and the search for alternatives is becoming desperate, reports **Joe Latakomo** of The Daily News Africa Service.

THE drastic economic reforms demanded by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have always looked to African countries like kill-or-cure remedies.

African governments are now increasingly becoming convinced that the IMF prescriptions are destroying rather than healing their societies.

Yet there seems to be no alternative, no other way to escape from the deadly spiral of debt and decline that has got Africa by the throat.

The dilemma has become the dominant economic issue in Africa today. It will again overshadow this year's Organisation of African Unity summit, to be held in Cairo next month.

Desperation has set in as many OAU members battle to survive economically. The prescriptions by the IMF and the World Bank, once seen as the panacea for the continent's economic ills, are now thought by many to have failed.

At a recent conference of African Economic Ministers on ways to stem the growing poverty and economic decline in the continent, Layashi Yaker, executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, said that the commission's report painted a picture of "unmitigated grimness". The IMF and World Bank programmes, he said, were taking too long to reverse the declining economies.

Africa needed \$950 billion in aid in the 1990s to emerge from its cycle of economic ills. Western aid officials say living standards have fallen consistently and the continent's massive debt burden has grown despite the granting of \$105 billion of net development assistance in the 1980s.

But OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim told the conference that reforms already made created political and social problems.

The poverty of African countries is persistent, remaining constant in a study of per capita incomes between 1960 and 1985. Since then it has deteriorated sharply in spite of intervention through IMF-imposed Structural Adjustment Pro-



AHMED SALIM
OAU Secretary-General



BOUTROS-GHALI
UN Secretary-General

grammes.

The British charity Oxfam has criticised the international community for the "lack of vision, political will and moral purpose that is condemning the world's most impoverished region to deepening poverty". Since 1983, the IMF has drained \$3 billion of resources out of Africa, the organisation says.

The Africa Institute's Africa debt profile shows that in 1991, debt service as a percentage of exports averaged 32.6%, a figure which will forever relegate most African countries to extreme poverty — unless their debts are written off.

DEBT has doubled to \$290 billion since 1982 despite African countries having paid more than \$200 billion in debt service between 1983 and 1991 — more than the whole debt burden of 1982.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has described the continent's debt as a millstone around the neck of Africa.

The high hopes that came with independence have disappeared into thin mist; those who were poor have become poorer. By 1991, only four African countries could lay claim to be current on their payments on both interest and principal.

THE STAR 17 MAY 1993

SA awash with unknown number of AK-47 rifles

The AK-47 has become the focus of controversy after its repeated use in violent attacks in South Africa. MICHAEL SPARKS reports.

THE AK-47, used increasingly in political and criminal violence has become the best known of rifles available in South Africa today. Yet nobody can say how many of these guns there are the country.

According to the police, the 891 AK-47s recovered last year were just a small proportion of all such weapons in the country. They said any estimate of the numbers would be "pure speculation".

ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki said recently that many of the weapons filtering into the country were originally sent by the South African Government to support the rebel Renamo forces in Mozambique, though this slowed after the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984.

Although the AK-47 has been linked with the ANC and PAC, their opponents have also smuggled it into the country. It has been used by both the ANC and the IFP in incidents of violence in Natal.

There have also been allegations that the so-called "Third

Force" has access to the weapons and is using them, often resulting in organisations like the ANC being blamed for attacks.

The only statistics available for the number of weapons in the region are from Harare where press reports quoted military sources as estimating that at least 1.5 million AK-47s had been introduced to Mozambique since the beginning of the civil war in 1975.

Many of these weapons have been smuggled into the country through Swaziland and Mozambique and have subsequently been sold in the PWV-region very cheaply. In January, police liaison officer Captain Nina Barkhuizen said illegal AK-47s could be bought for as little as R100, although one in good condition could fetch up to R2 000.

Their cheap price and ready availability have also made it easy for criminals to lay their hands on the weapons.

According to Military Research Group executive member Ian Robertson, one of the reasons the weapon has developed "mystique" is that it was readily available when the Soviet Union supplied it in the 1960s to those fighting for their liberation.

Robertson said it could easily survive harsh conditions and

had proved to be adaptable to battle conditions better than many other weapons.

Its range, velocity and weight meant that it compared favourably with the weapons used by the SA Defence Force.

The weapon was originally developed in 1947 by Mikhael Kalashnikov, and that is where most of the name comes from. The A is for the Russian word *Awtomat* or automatic, while K is for Kalashnikov and the rest is for the year the designer offered the weapon design to the Soviet government.

The original weapon was very heavy and susceptible to blockages from dirt. So a revised, lighter version of the weapon was developed by 1952, resulting in the superior battle weapon that has been in wide circulation ever since.

Tefo Raditapole, who submitted the ANC's representations to the Goldstone Commission hearings on firearms in Cape Town last month, said one suggestion the delegation had made was for the police, in conjunction with the Mozambican government, to buy up very cheaply all the AK-47s they could, and then destroy them.

When asked whether this was a valid proposition, police spokesman Colonel Ray Har-

rald said: "This question cannot be answered meaningfully. The SA Police has no jurisdiction in Mozambique. There are a number of other problems, for example, financial implications, logistics, etc."

But Raditapole said that starving Mozambicans were happy to give their weapons away for food, and that it could be done if South Africa made arrangements with the Mozambique government.

He added that while the AK-47 certainly had a reputation as a powerful weapon misused by many criminals, far more crimes were committed with stolen, previously legal firearms than with AK-47s.

Police statistics show that last year there were 537 firearm licences issued daily, with more than 3.5 million guns owned by 1.3 million people.

Janine Rauch, a researcher at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation at the University of the Witwatersrand, agreed, saying a culture of firearms existed, where people believed it was legitimate to own a firearm.

Double standards over pacifism

Desmond Tutu once said: "The Americans had their civil war, the French had their revolution, the Boer fought the British, but as soon as a black man decides to take up arms to fight for freedom, everyone around him becomes a pacifist!"

Over the years the black liberation movement has been urged to talk and negotiate, and when that fails the Christian thing is to suffer and tolerate; in the end good will conquer evil. But killing and maiming is definitely out.

Suddenly now with the impending shift in power, to kill and die for a cause is a high honour. Talk of fighting to the last drop of blood is glorified.

Even those political commentators who were vociferous critics of armed struggle are relatively muted. Double

standards are increasingly gaining new respectability.

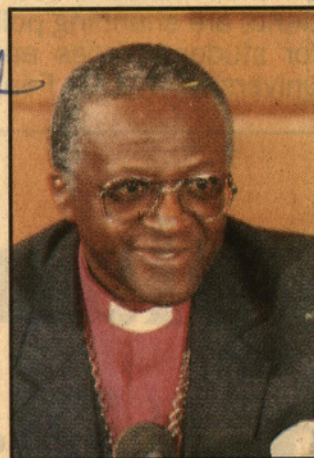
A B Dawjee

Isipingo

□ □ □

I see that Tutu (The Star, April 29) says: "To ignore the past is to allow it to return to haunt you, and to deal with it inadequately is a sure recipe for it to re-emerge somewhere else".

But the past goes far beyond 1948, 1910 and even 1652. The past that he ignores was graphically sketched by A T Culwick. "This," he wrote, "was a land without a wheel, a lamp, a match to light a fire, without a book, a pencil or a pen, without a blanket. None could make a button, or a buttonhole to fasten his skins about him in the wind. Superstition, pestilence and famine



Tutu . . . should ponder his debt, says a reader.

stalked the land and ruled men's lives. War and raiding were never ending.

"Who changed it? Who

brought peace and progress, education and the modern arts of healing, the written word and computation, commerce, coinage, banking, credit, transport, towns and cities, ships and harbours, power, intensive agriculture, enough to eat? Who brought law and order, security of life and property, respect for other tribes and races?"

The answers are self-evident. Tutu might well ponder what he and his owe to those whom Culwick describes as "those who brought a thousand benefits". And Tutu might also ask himself in what way and in what form the past outlined above will re-emerge if it is not adequately understood now.

J A Marais

Rietondale,
Pretoria

THE STAR 17 MAY 1993

US investment in SA depends on ANC actions in coming months

Old barriers must come down

THE future relationship between South Africa and the world's largest and most innovative economy will depend, to a considerable extent, on certain actions and pronouncements of the ANC over the next few months.

Contrary to what is generally assumed, there exists substantial interest among American businessmen to create new business ties in South Africa or to re-establish old ones. This is important to South Africa's prospects for economic recovery and consequently it is important that the barriers to US business involvement in South Africa be removed.

The ANC knows this and the organisation has said that as soon as there is an announcement of an agreed date for elections and a Transitional Executive Council has been established, it will call for the lifting of economic sanctions on South Africa.

Among the most important of these are the sanctions maintained by more than 160 state and local governments in the US.

These remain a severe disincentive to businessmen who will not commit themselves to South Africa in any substantial sense until they are removed.

When the ANC calls for the lifting of sanctions many of these authorities are likely to respond accordingly, although the complete process will inevitably be slow and complicated. But this is not the problem. The real problem lies in the process whereby these sanctions were erected in the first place.

During the late 1960s and the decade that followed, the ANC and its allies worked assiduously and systematically to establish a network of sympathetic activists and organisations throughout the US, to exert pressure on apartheid and those who implemented it. This became an extensive network which was responsible not only for the across-the-board sanctions at state and city level but for the pressure on hundreds of US corporations which persuaded them to cut their ties with South Africa.

This network still exists and represents a considerable potential for mobilising support for South Africa in future. But many of its members still adhere to the assumptions upon which they based their activism in the past and will not be easily persuaded to completely reverse their approach to US business and South Africa — to change from forcing them out of the country, to encouraging them to go back.

In the literature of this movement it is easy to detect views ranging from a scepticism of the motives of business to an assumption of the exploitative nature of capitalism and, in particular, of large, multinational corporations.

It was not surprising therefore, that when it became evident that the negotiation process in South Africa was moving to a point at which the ANC, in particular, would feel free to call for the lifting of economic sanctions, and that this was imminent, that the more alert and committed of these activists would devise a means of supplanting sanctions with different means of exercising

a degree of control over US business activities in South Africa.

It is now the stated policy of many of these groups to ensure that when sanctions are lifted they are supplanted by a mandatory requirement that any US business operating in South Africa should adhere to Cosatu's investment code or some similar code. The clear implication of this is that adherence to this code by US corporations would be monitored from the US with the involvement of the activist network.

This would mean that what ought to become an economic relationship would remain a politicised one. It would mean that the reasons why so many US corporations left South Africa in the first place would still apply. It would mean merely replacing one set of severe disincentives with another. It would mean that, in any substantial sense, US business would not return.

What has to be clearly understood is that US business does not object to the principle of an investment code. Investment codes can be written to protect the interests of all parties. Their concern is about having their activities in South Africa monitored and judged by activist groups in the US, rather than by South Africans themselves. And for South Africa it comes down to a matter of sovereignty and the freedom to attract to its economy those foreign investors it wishes to, and to decide for itself the terms upon which it wishes to do business.

This is not an easy matter for the ANC. During its years of exile it relied on the support and assistance of its allies. Now it is having to ask them to change course and, if they are unable to, to step aside.

It is easy to suggest these activists are largely motivated by narrower interests. Certainly this would be true of many. Inevitably such a large grouping takes on a life of its own — its own views, its own bureaucracy and its own need to live. Also, the issue of South Africa always was, and still is, an extension of the civil rights debate in the US.

But it would be wrong to overlook the reality that many of these people became involved because of a genuine desire to see a decent society emerge in South Africa. They presumably would wish it to be a prosperous one. They are therefore a constituency that could be mobilised to get resources to flow into South Africa rather than out of it.

The call for the lifting of sanctions is consequently more than just that. It will be a call to put aside accumulated animosities from the past, to assist with the growing of the South African economy, and to those who have resources and are prepared to take risks to join in the South African enterprise on mutually agreed terms set in South Africa and not elsewhere.

This is another complex and difficult responsibility that the legacy of apartheid has thrust upon the ANC. But, as always, the overriding consideration is the magnitude of what is at stake.

● Michael Christie is director of the South Africa Foundation's Washington office. □

The Natal Witness

Opinion

Monday, May 17, 1993

by Gerald Shaw

South Africa

A new kind of violence

J

AS factional violence in the black townships eases in most areas, and a negotiated settlement approaches, a new and truly alarming pattern of inter-racial violence seems to be emerging. The danger is that a spiral of racial attacks and counter-attacks will go out of control unless there is a quick political settlement.

What at first sight seems to be classic terrorism is now claiming victims in city and country alike. The white rural community, old people particularly, are bearing the brunt of it, coming on top of the murderous plague of armed robbery in rural areas of the Transvaal, Eastern Cape and Orange Free State.

An elderly couple living on a smallholding outside White River, near the Kruger National Park, were attacked in their beds last week by gunmen who burst into their house as they slept. As the husband lay seriously wounded, his wife bled to death at his side. Robbery was not the motive, say police. Also in the Eastern Transvaal, an 80-year-old couple were shot and killed in their car at Breyten by attackers using AK47 rifles. There were similar attacks, it will be recalled, a few weeks back on highways south of Johannesburg.

Supported by helicopters and spotter aircraft, police are sweeping the Eastern Trans-

vaal. Yet their chances of tracking down the killers are not good unless they can win the confidence and support of the local communities in which the killers have gone to ground. The statistics of attacks on farmers and smallholders are horrendous. There have been 434 such attacks since January 1992. Robbery was the motive, almost invariably, although evidence in subsequent trials has on occasion suggested that there was also an element of anti-white bitterness and resentment.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johann van der Merwe, sees the latest attacks as a new kind of crime which arises out of the atmosphere of increasing political intolerance — and radical rhetoric which cultivates a culture of violence. No one is suggesting that Mkhonto Wesizwe is responsible or that the terms of agreement between the ANC and the government suspending armed hostilities have not been honoured. And although some terror attacks in the Eastern Cape may have been the work of the PAC's Apla or of Azanla, these are small groups with limited resources and mobility.

The problem of grassroots violence is rather more pervasive and difficult to counter

because so much of it does not seem to be planned or executed by organised political structures and so cannot be curbed by negotiated agreements. General van der Merwe is probably right in his diagnosis of a new kind of quasi-political crime. It seems the traditional master-servant relationship of deference in the rural areas may be breaking down in ways that the older generation of rural whites cannot always understand or readily accept.

Given the reach of radio news into rural communities, a psychological shift is taking place. Where there was deference, there is now assertiveness. In today's social climate many farm workers will not accept the verbal and physical abuse which might have been stoically endured in the past. Some resort to violence. It is alarming to see cattle maimed and hamstrung on Eastern Cape farms, a cruel manifestation of the kind of agrarian terror which outraged Ireland in the bitter 19th century strike over land.

The police will do their best but this kind of violence can only be effectively stamped out, ultimately, by redressing grievances and making restitution, which will not really begin until there is a political settlement. It is not only the farmers and their cattle who are at risk, as an

unfortunate Johannesburg woman discovered one evening last week when a gunman started blazing away at her car with an AK47 rifle — at a traffic light in the middle of Hillbrow!

And consider the renewed wave of stonings and petrol bombings on roads in the Cape Peninsula and the rampages of rebel school children, defying the ANC's attempts to call them to order. This appalling outburst, which is rightly attracting a strong police response, offers a foretaste of the hazards of life and limb which urban dwellers could regularly face if things are allowed to drift.

What is needed is a quick political settlement — and a government of national unity — so that the police and security forces can go into action with the entire community behind them. Meanwhile, the danger of intensification is great. Stonings and petrol bombings on the East Rand are already prompting retaliatory attacks by white vigilantes on squatter camps whose hapless inhabitants are held to have been responsible. This is the way of lynch law and anarchy. Let there be no further delays in the talks.

• Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the Cape Times.

Good-humoured doctor a beacon of hope in troubled times

Profile

Dr Nthato Motlana was recently appointed chairman of the Council for Population Development. MICHAEL SHAFTO reports on his encounter with one of today's most influential leaders.

HE IS a dapper, neat man, with just a touch of frost at the edge of his beard, and eyes as lively as a bird's on a bright winter's day.

He is smaller than he seems in photographs of him or on television. But such is the energy, the magnetism of Dr H Nthato Motlana that one walks away from a meeting with him feeling buoyed up, glowing.

A born leader of men, he is the newly appointed chairman of the Council for Population Development. It is a Government position, but the ANC member and Soweto community leader shrugs that off with a mischievous grin.

"With an interim government pending," he says, "I could square my conscience ... soon I could be working for the next government."

As a person of high standing in the medical and socio-political worlds, Motlana brings a

wonderful sense of good humour to everything he touches upon, be it a story about his years as a rabid supporter of Benoni United — he was chairman, after all, for 10 years — or the plight of a woman with 11 children.

He's the sort of man who inspires one with hope, who makes you believe there is still

a future here in this new South Africa of ours — despite the uncertainty, the daily killings, the distrust that is withering the vine of goodwill on both sides of the colour fence.

Constantly in demand and a member of more boards — well, almost — than he can recall, we had just enough time for an early breakfast at his Diepkloof Extension home before he left for a morning packed with appointments and meetings. And this would be followed, as usual, by the daily opening of his rooms at the Lesedi clinic in Soweto at 2.30 pm.

We had got on to soccer and the fluctuating fortunes of his favourite team, Orlando Pirates, when suddenly he looked at his watch and apologised that he had to be "off ... away, another busy day".

He confesses to sleeping like a baby. No wonder. He deserves it.

As an only child — an unusual circumstance in the black community — you might say he is the perfect choice for his new Population Development as-

signment. On the other hand, he admits to marrying a second time (after divorce) and having six children from the two marriages.

"But perhaps it's like the expoucher becoming the game-keeper," he laughs, that innate good humour emerging again, "I have the experience to preach to others."

People often tell him that he is smaller than they expected. Well, that's fine because Motlana in Tswana means "small". His given name, Nthato, means "the loved one". Sixty-eight

years ago when he was born in the western Transvaal at Marapyane — or, in Afrikaans, Skilpadfontein — his mother told him he was "a lovely little boy who never gave any trouble".

Being an only child was lucky for him, says Motlana. "Otherwise my mother, as a domestic worker, on £10 a month, could never have afforded to educate me. If I'd had brothers and sisters, there would have been no education and no Dr Motlana today."

His first teacher — "under the traditional maroela tree" — at primary school in Marapyane, had himself only a Std 2 education. "He chewed tobacco, gave you a good kafferklap if you didn't pay attention ... and did a wonderful job. And we didn't rubbish him, tell him to go to hell as kids have been doing to teachers for far too long now."

"It is the major problem of black education today. It has left black teachers demotivated and destroyed their credibility and confidence."

He matriculated at Kilnerton High School — later closed down by Dr H F Verwoerd because it was in the wrong area — and went on to Fort Hare University where one of his fellow-members in the ANC Youth League was leader of the IFP, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Luck seemed to crop up for Motlana at just the right moments, like sixpences in a Christmas pudding. His only problem when he emerged from Fort Hare with a BSc was that he had matriculated without maths, and that was essential if he was to enter Wits University to study medicine. Of

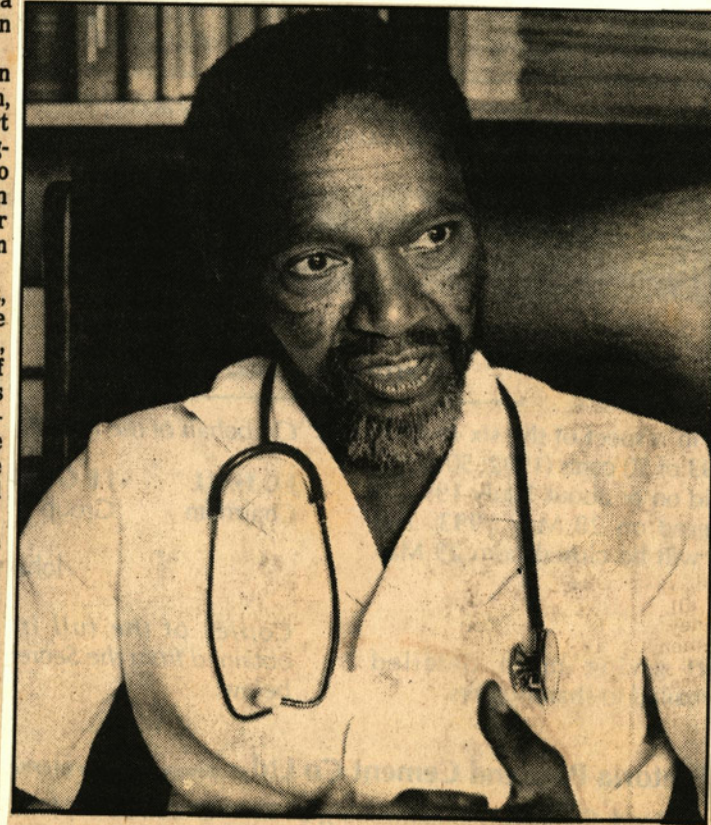
course he worked hard and is specially gifted, but who should be on hand as a neighbour in Benoni at just that moment? None other than the late Oliver Tambo, then practising as a lawyer in Johannesburg. With personal tuition, he got Motlana through matric mathematics in just six months!

Motlana, who today is Nelson Mandela's personal physician, did his housemanship in Port Elizabeth and joined Baragwanath Hospital, intending to specialise. But, never far from controversy, he resigned over the discrimination existing in canteen facilities.

His chief areas of interest, the doctor will tell you, are black education in all its forms, economic empowerment of black people, and health. He is chairman of the Lesedi clinic — the first black-owned private hospital — and a founder of the only exclusively black medical aid scheme in the country.

He passionately believes in the future of this country. "We have to get it right ... just as the IFP and ANC must get it right. We cannot afford another Angola here."

He looks sombre for a moment, then, smiling, he adds: "Whites must have faith; things will come right for us all. And to blacks, whenever they feel down, I say this: remember what Helen Suzman said, years ago, in our darkest times. She said, 'I wish I were a 10-year-old black child now ... that is who the future would belong to.'"



Influential leader ... Dr Nthato Motlana.

The Star

Established 1887

Challenging dialogue

THE ANC has resolved, after three days of deliberations, to engage the newly-formed Afrikaner Volksfront in dialogue. Recognising the danger of a resurgent Afrikaner Right, the ANC's intention is to avert conflict and find a peaceful solution through negotiations.

The Volksfront hopes to speak on behalf of the Afrikaner Right, but discordant voices are already audible within its ranks.

Hopeful signs have emanated from the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU). The most verlig of the Afrikaner-based political parties in the Volksfront, the AVU is — according to its leader, Andries Beyers — prepared to seek fulfilment of its aim of an Afrikaner polity within a federal South Africa.

The Conservative Party (CP), having unanimously elected Ferdi Hartzenberg to succeed Andries Treurnicht as its leader, is less compromising. Hartzenberg has rejected the idea of self-determination within a unitary state as an "ANC trick."

He has called for an Afrikaner volkstaat within a confederal system, with the volkstaat consisting of — at the least — the area comprised of all the constituencies won by the CP in intra-white elections.

Eugene TerreBlanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), having originally adopted a scornful attitude towards the Volksfront, represents a much shriller voice. Its demagogic leader and its armed bully-boys, with their fascist ideology, constitute forces with whom rational discussion will be difficult, if not impossible.

The challenge that lies ahead applies as much — if not more — to Constand Viljoen, the former chief of the SADF who heads the Committee of Generals, as it does to the ANC. The generals formed the Volksfront for two main purposes: to unify the Afrikaner Right and to fight, politically, for Afrikaner self-determination.

The ANC's willingness to enter into dialogue with the Right is an opportunity for Viljoen and his men to formulate a coherent list of demands for discussion and, as important, to discipline the roughnecks in the AWB. It is a chance that they must seize boldly.

Spineless COSAG

MR Lambson's letter in The Citizen (May 11) is a sad acceptance that COSAG is a too loosely-knit, spineless organisation.

All the tough statements made before seem to be abandoned as soon as they enter the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park. The ease with which they are silenced by the ANC/SACP/NP alliance is frightening, and a clear sign that nothing can be expected from them.

For the Whites, who are setting their hopes on the IFP, it should now be clear that Dr Buthelezi, although being a man of reason and integrity, lacks the drive and determination to stand up against the radical Left, supported by the NP.

P MEYBOOM

Sasolburg

Hopefuls stress education

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The important role of a new SABC in education was again stressed by nominees to the board during the final day of public hearings today.

Professor A C Nkabinde, rector of Zululand University, said the SABC had to lose its Eurocentric emphasis and instead educate South African cultures about one another.

Nkabinde and Professor Jalram Reddy, vice-rector of the University of Durban Westville, both spoke about the educational role television and radio could play

in informing communities about the forthcoming election.

In a lighter moment, Reddy was asked by panel co-chairman Mr Justice P J Schabert if he would like to be "well done" or "medium rare". He was referring to reports that the panel had been "grilling" nominees.

Brigalia Bam, assistant to the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, said the SABC should present real role models and not racial or gender stereotypes.

Jewish Board of Deputies chairman Mervyn Smith said the Jewish community had a wealth

of experience of what it was to be a minority.

By the end of today the selection panel will have interviewed 86 nominees for the 25 posts on the SABC board.

Sources say the panel hopes to submit its recommendation for the board to the State President by the end of this week.

The Campaign for Independent Broadcasting urged recently that the final list of names should be made public at the same time as it was submitted to the State President, but panel members could not confirm this would be done.

New symbol

THE MORE one sees of the latest fruits of Bantu Education, the continuing political results of apartheid and even what will hopefully be the last squabble about playing the Maoris, the more one realises the incalculable harm done by Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd.

But things have changed. Last week the ANC held its first meeting in the conservative stronghold of Parow, and present with a new message was the grandson of the man who rent the fabric of South African society. Wilhelm Verwoerd declared that he was "much more than just the grandson of a symbol, but the symbol of a new generation which wants to stand up for democracy".

Further, said the younger Verwoerd, "it is wonderful to no longer be part of a tiny threatened minority". And then followed the indictment that "apartheid was not just the failure of a well-meaning experiment — it was a moral failure, an injustice".

The good news is that the Maoris are now welcome to play here — and that is a piece of history that neither South Africa nor New Zealand can be very proud of. The bad news is that the education crisis is still with us and many years will pass before the apartheid legacy is finally expunged. But, as we have been told by the new generation, things do change for the better.

Probe 'serial killings': IFP call to Goldstone

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has reiterated its call for Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to investigate the "serial killing" of IFP members.

At a meeting in Ulundi this weekend, the IFP central committee expressed its concern that the issue of Umkhontu we Sizwe was being submergled by other considerations and was not being given the priority it deserved.

The committee noted the extent to which "serial killing of the IFP and violence against the party is undertaken to weaken our negotiating position".

It said the disbandment of private armies, including MK, should be given the highest priority at multi-party talks, and resolved to instruct Inkatha's negotiation team to take "whatever steps are necessary" to establish this.

"Repeated requests to Mr Justice Goldstone already made to investigate the status of the inquiries into the deaths of IFP members (will) be pursued."

The committee once again endorsed the need for a federal system for the new South Africa, and reiterated that regional powers and boundaries needed to be in place before an election.

It noted the need, from all parties, for compromises "which will not negate essential democratic principles". — Sapa.

Page 8 *

No finality on merger of SADF, MK

By Fred de Lange

THE Ministry of Defence yesterday said the South African Defence Force and other organisations were still in a process of exploratory talks on the question of merging all military and paramilitary forces in South Africa, and no finality had yet been reached on the issue.

Yesterday the newspaper, Rapport, claimed the SADF and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), were on the verge of an agreement on a possible merger and that such a merger could take place within a few weeks.

This would mean that the commander in chief of

MK, Mr Joe Modise, would become a general in the new defence force and that the between 8 000 and 12 000 alleged members of MK would be incorporated in the SADF on all levels.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, Cmdt Riaan Louw, said in Cape Town yesterday it was known that exploratory talks concerning the future of the SADF were taking place between the Defence Force and other organisations — not only the ANC.

It was only logical that changes in the SADF would have to be made and that all military and paramilitary capabilities should be consolidated as soon as possible in the interest of peace.

"Furthermore, it speaks for itself that the

SADF has to play a leading role in this regard.

"The report in the Sunday newspaper is a synopsis of ideas, possibilities and speculation which are circulating without any finality having been reached," Cmdt Louw said.

Talks between the SADF and others include the possibility of incorporating the defence forces of the TBVC states into the SADF.

The Chief of the Defence Force, General Kat Liebenberg, is also on record as saying he would like to see all military or armed groups included in this agreement.

He specifically mentioned the Wenkommando of the AWB, MK and APLA, the armed wing of the PAC.

Six 'executed' at homestead

PIETERMARITZ-

BURG. — Six people, including a child, died when two men allegedly wearing South African Defence Force uniforms attacked a homestead in Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg, on Saturday night.

Police said two men in balaclavas confronted residents at Sibiya's Kraal

in Edendale's Zayeka area at about 9 pm, while the dwellers were seated around a fire.

The attackers made their victims lie on the ground before apparently shooting each one in the head with a 9 mm pistol.

Four were killed instantly.

A 12-year-old child, Sifiso Ndlela, died in hospital

yesterday morning after being critically injured.

Police also found a woman's body near the scene later yesterday.

Police said the incident might be related to a feud in which two women were gunned down last week.

The names of the dead are Mr Themba Luthuli, 28, Mr Khehla Madladla, 33, Mr Bonginkosi Mnikathi, 23, Mr Fakimali Ndlovu, age unknown, and Ms Florence Ndlela, age also unknown.

— Sapa.

'Bill of Rights before an election'

HERMANUS. — An election date could not be set unless there was broad agreement on constitutional principles and a Bill of Rights, senior Democratic Party negotiator, Mr Colin Eglin, said at the weekend.

Mr Eglin, a member of the 10-man Planning Committee at the Multi-Party Negotiating Process (MPNP), briefed the media at a special

workshop held at Hermanus, near Cape Town.

He said the DP believed it would also not be possible to follow the direction of the present process without first putting a Charter of Human Rights in place for the transitional stage.

The acceptable constitutional principles would approximate those established in the Codesa process which were being

considered as the basis for agreement at the World Trade Centre talks.

The DP would be presenting its position broadly supporting these principles but with additional conditions it believed were essential if the other parties were intent on proceeding.

These included a basic statement that the form of government would be federal in nature with ap-

propriate and adequate legislative, executive and fiscal autonomy and responsibility constitutionally entrenched.

Another necessity was a specific provision for a government of national unity lasting four to five years.

The need for greater clarity in the separation of the legislative, executive and judiciary functions of

government needed to be written into the agreed constitutional principles.

Guarantees for the openness and transparency of government was also a prerequisite.

Mr Eglin said these proposals were contained in the party's input to the relative technical sub-committee dealing with constitutional principles.

— Sapa.

1993

THE WORLD  AROUND US

UN insists UNITA must sign protocol

ABIDJAN. — The United Nations demanded yesterday that UNITA sign a peace protocol, and suspended the negotiations it has been brokering here with the Luanda Government.

UN spokesman Mr Joao Albuquerque said UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had sent a "personal

message" to this effect to Dr Jonas Savimbi, the leader of UNITA.

"For the meantime, the United Nations will not even consider a refusal from Savimbi," said Mr Albuquerque in this Ivory Coast city.

The demand came a day after the deputy chief negotiator for the Angolan Government warned that the five-week peace talks would col-

lapse unless the rebels compromised on the issue of troop withdrawal.

"If UNITA remains intransigent, (the talks) will be broken off," said General Higinio Carneiro.

The Angolan Government has already accepted the peace protocol.

But UNITA has consistently refused to withdraw from towns it occupies.

Its withdrawal is required by the protocol as by UN Security Council resolutions 808 and 811.

UNITA has also rejected the validity of UN resolutions. UN spokesman Mr Jorge Lentim has said: "The negotiations are not the application of Security Council resolutions."

But diplomatic pressure on UNITA is mounting. A Portuguese representative said on Saturday that there was no chance the protocol could be negotiated. And a Finnish observer at the talks said UNITA "must" accept the UN resolution. Portugal and Russia are attending the talks as signatories with the United States to the May 1991 peace accord that put a temporary end to Angola's 16-year civil war.

The war revived after UNITA refused to recognise that it had lost the UN-supervised elections last September.

Angolan state radio reported on Saturday that at least 150 people had been seriously wounded in UNITA's heavy shelling of Kuito, the main town of the central-southern province of Bié. — Sapa-AFP.

Mandela to meet FW

KIMBERLEY. — African National Congress president, Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday told hundreds of people in the Galeshwe township, outside Kimberley, that he would soon meet State President De Klerk to discuss the education crisis.

Addressing teachers and pupils at the Perseverance College of Education in the township, the ANC leader said, in particular, he would deal with the retrenchment of

teachers and their plight throughout the country.

He urged teachers and pupils to go about their mass action campaign in a disciplined and orderly fashion, adding that protesters should use the correct channels to air their grievances.

"Only when matters need high-level negotiations should you contact top ANC officials," said Mr Mandela.

The ANC leader later condemned the setting

fire last week to the St Boniface High School, Kimberley.

Addressing city residents at the A R Abass Stadium, Mr Mandela said he did not know the reason for the action, "but whatever their reasons, this is something which should never have happened".

"If you don't improve yourselves, better qualified people from neighbouring countries will come and fill your posts."

— Sapa.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Crisis

THE crisis in Black education — boycotts, chalkdowns, burning of classrooms, attacks on headmasters and teachers, stoning of police and delivery vehicles — is about to deepen.

The South African Democratic Teachers' Union has called a strike of teachers from next Monday.

The Congress of South African Students, whose mass action has already led to violence, particularly in the Cape, is to intensify its mass protest against examination fees.

And the National Education Co-ordinating Committee is to go ahead with its plans to occupy White schools from May 26, but confining this to unused and "under-utilised" schools.

ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, while agreeing to the occupation of unused schools, warned an education crisis summit on Saturday: "We can't have a campaign seen as anti-White, racist or reduced to confrontation between Black and White."

This warning fell on deaf ears and nobody is paying any attention to the threats by White parents to defend their schools against those seeking to occupy them.

One reason for the crisis is rejection of Matric examination fees of R48, which has resulted in protest action, some of it violent.

Congress of South African Students' leaders ordered their members back to school last Monday, but told them to enroll for the Matric exams without paying the fee.

Mr Ramaphosa said he saw no reason why pupils should pay exam fees (White Matrics do), since "examinations are an integral part of the activities that constitute a school year".

However, he conceded there were differing views and called for a suspension of fees until a "negotiated solution" to the problem manifested itself.

However, the summit decided that examination fees should be scrapped totally and that pupils who had already paid them should be reimbursed.

Another bone of contention is the five percent salary increase for teachers.

The Teachers' Federal Council, which is an umbrella body, has come out strongly against the five percent increase, but the government has been adamant that no higher salaries can be paid in the present period of economic stringency.

The government's decision that this issue is non-negotiable has added further fuel to the flames of discontent in the teaching profession.

Nevertheless, the decision of 65 000 teachers from Black, Coloured and Indian schools to go on an indefinite strike, demanding a 30 percent pay hike, is totally unacceptable.

Teachers are not allowed by law to strike. Even worse, the chalkdown means that pupils will be deprived of schooling.

Black pupils, who have suffered so much from chalkdowns, boycotts and other upheavals in their education, will suffer a further heavy blow.

Mr Ramaphosa's appeal — "We cannot allow another wasted year, we can't afford another 1976 (the year of the Soweto student uprising)" — made no impression.

So strike it is.

Mr Sam de Beer, the Minister of Education and Training, has called the chalkdown "totally unwarranted and irresponsible".

"A strike is bound to create havoc in the education of Black children," he said.

The teachers and radical student leaders are not going to listen to the Minister.

Nor will they listen to the African National Congress, which should now be able to see what kind of militant attitude its mass action has inculcated in people:

If you don't get your way, use mass action in an attempt to achieve it.

The economy suffers because of ANC mass action; the education of Black pupils will suffer because of the chalkdown and other forms of mass action by teachers and students.

The ANC and other organisations fear the collapse of Black education.

It will be to the lasting shame of teachers if this happens.

Lonrho plans to launch paper with ANC

LONRHO planned to start a newspaper in partnership with the ANC, Lonrho CE Tiny Rowland said on Friday.

Speaking at a news conference at Mooi-nooi in the western Transvaal, Rowland said former Observer editor Donald Treford would run the paper, which would be similar to British tabloid The Mail on Sunday.

"There are great opportunities in SA and we will have a greater involvement in the country within the next 12 months." However, he said Lonrho had made no firm decisions as it was assessing political and

JONO WATEIS

economic developments.

He said that Lonrho's relationship with the ANC leadership was 'excellent'.

Rowland was in SA for the naming of a new R150m shaft at Western Platinum in his honour. Lonrho has a 71% stake in the unlisted Western Platinum operation. The balance is held by Gencor.

He said Lonrho had no intention of selling its control of Western Platinum to Gencor but it was possible the group might let Gencor increase its stake.

Lonrho SA MD Terence Wilkinson said expanding Western Platinum's annual production of 700 000oz of platinum was not going to bring additional metal on to the market. "We do not sell on the spot market. Our 14 clients take all we can produce."

He said the company could produce a further 150 000oz at a low capital cost.

Lonrho joint CE Dieter Bock said Lonrho would not sell off its interests and focus on one industry as the company wanted to keep a certain level of diversification. "We have to stay flexible."

● Picture: Page 3

TEACHERS' STRIKE PLAN SLAMMED

MAY 18 '93 08:24

CAPE TOWN. —
Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer yesterday criticised the South African Democratic Union for its planned "chalk-down" action starting on May 24, describing it as "totally unwarranted and irresponsible".

Mr De Beer was reacting to the announcement by SADTU officials at a National Education Crisis summit on Saturday that 90 percent of its members had balloted in favour of the strike.

"This is another tragedy."

TO PAGE 2

Teachers' strike plan

FROM PAGE 1

dy in the chain of events that have been destabilising education since 1989 when the labour union movement entered the sphere of education. SADTU and its predecessors have a record of destruction unparalleled in the history of education in South Africa and perhaps in the world.

"A strike is bound to create havoc in the education of Black pupils. The decision is totally unwarranted and irresponsible. It is in direct conflict with the professional values and constructive purpose of education," Mr De Beer said.

He said SADTU had failed in its attempts to create the impression of a reasonable organisation frustrated in its efforts to negotiate a deal with government. It had also failed to convince reasonable people that it was only going on strike as a last resort.

The department's efforts to speak with SADTU last week, Mr De

Beer said, were met with "lame excuses" and showed that SADTU had all along intended forcing a showdown about the issue of a salary adjustment.

"SADTU's demands for a salary increase of 30 percent across the board comes at a time when unemployment is at a record level, when there are consistent and forceful calls on government to keep public spending down and when the economy requires self-restraint and discipline."

"By signing the memorandum of agreement, SADTU has already formally agreed to abide by the law which states that any strike or go-slow by teachers is illegal. The Department of Education and Training will take steps to prevent the fruitless expenditure of taxpayers money," Mr De Beer said.

He accused SADTU of having little regard for pupils who urgently needed to prepare for the Std 10 examinations at the end of the year, "and

who have indicated their wishes by registering for the examinations and paying examination fees".

"In the past, collective action by SADTU was all too often accompanied by blatant intimidation of teachers, whose professional integrity made it impossible for them to abandon their pupils," Mr De Beer said.

About 11 000 out of 70 000 teachers employed by the Department of Education and Training were paid-up members of SADTU, he said.

"I can only hope that sanity will prevail and that the tragic decision by SADTU would not lead to a loss of life and destruction of property."

SADTU assistant general secretary Thulus Nxesi, in a statement yesterday announcing the strike, said the week of May 17-23 had been identified as a "week of mass mobilisation and consultation".

"During this week SADTU will be reporting back to its regions and

branches about the National Executive Committee's decision on the strike, as well as consulting with parent and student structures on issues relating to the welfare of students during the strike," Mr Nxesi said.

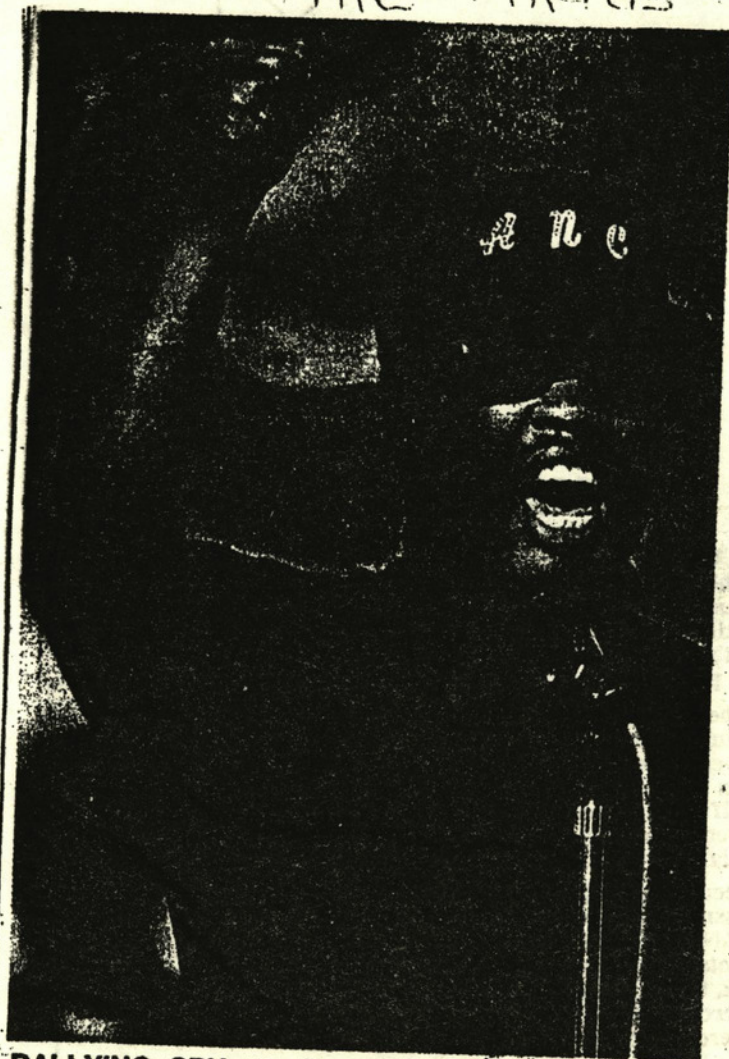
He said SADTU believed its demands were realistic and legitimate and that it was an achievable challenge extended to the government.

SADTU demands include an end to unilateral restructuring of education, the re-opening of negotiations around salary increases, a living wage for underpaid teachers and an end to rationalisation and retrenchment of teachers.

Other demands are the scrapping of examination fees, the reversal of Merit and Specific Awards in the House of Delegates' Department of Education and Culture, parity back-pay for female educators in the Transkei, and collective bargaining rights for teachers, which include the right to strike action. — Sapa.

1993

THE ARGUS 17 Nov 1993



RALLYING CRY: Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC regional secretary for the Western Cape.

ANC won't fight poll as a political party

□ Yengeni says change would send out 'wrong signal'

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff**

THE African National Congress will not fight the first nonracial election as a political party, but as a broad liberation movement which includes its ally, the SA Communist Party.

ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said registering as a political party now would send out the wrong message to the world.

"They'll think things have changed. It will be the wrong message. We don't have a new democratic and social order in South Africa."

The ANC would consider becoming a political party only after the adoption of a new constitution reflecting that fundamental changes had taken place.

Mr Yengeni said the question of financial support for the ANC might well have played a role in the decision to remain a liberation movement.

Norway, one of the ANC's traditional supporters, has assured the movement "we will not abandon friends when they are about to succeed".

Norway is constrained from giving money to political parties.

Sweden has said the ANC will lose R35.5 million a year if it fights an election as a political party.

Swedish law prohibits assistance to political parties.

The present legal position in South Africa is that parties have to register to take part in elections.

They do not have to register formally as parties, but legally they would probably be regarded as such.

Director General of Home Affairs Mr Piet Colyn said that without some form of registration, it would not be possible to get the names of those standing on to ballot papers.

Provision had to be made, among other things, for cases

where the name of one party was so near to that of another that one had reason to object.

In the coming election, the names of parties on ballot papers would be even more important than in the past, as there would be a system of proportional representation.

This meant only the names of parties, not of individual candidates, would appear on ballot papers.

Mr Colyn emphasised that all the rules for an election next year would have to be negotiated. So far, agreement had been reached that there would be an electoral commission to work out details.

At present, there were no restrictions on overseas funding or how and how much parties could spend.

The experience in some overseas countries, including the United States, could lead to some rules on these issues.

This would have to be worked out by the proposed electoral commission.

Labour law shake-up for public sector under spotlight tomorrow

□ Cosatu warns of opposition to Bill giving employers 'best of both worlds'

SHARON SOROUR
and MICHAEL MORRIS
Staff Reporters

CRITICAL talks are due tomorrow between Cosatu and an all-party parliamentary committee on amendments to labour legislation for public sector workers, including those in essential services such as hospitals.

The Public Sector Labour Relations Bill could be passed during the present session of parliament if objections by Cosatu and the Medical Association of South Africa (Masa) are resolved.

Negotiations to have the public sector covered by labour legislation began about two years ago, and parliament's Joint Committee on Home Affairs has been grappling with the problem for about a year.

Cosatu has warned that if the legislation goes through in its present form, it will campaign against it.

Cosatu's chief objection is that while the Bill limits the right to strike to certain categories of public servants, those excluded — workers in essential services — are being denied an alternative.

National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) general secretary Phillip Dexter said Cosatu proposed final and binding arbitration be included in the Bill to ensure employers did not have "the best of both worlds".

"Cosatu has always argued for one consolidated Labour Relations Act for all workers, even if it distinguishes between workers," he said.

Masa has been in favour of a separate, special agreement with the State, outside the provisions of the Bill.

However, the chairman of the Joint Committee on Home Affairs, Patrick McKenzie, was confident last night the Bill would be passed this session.

He said the government was keen to tailor the legislation to meet the needs of all parties involved and that, as a result, the final Bill would differ markedly from the original.

"Many amendments have been proposed, and I am confident we'll be able to reach a win-win agreement with Cosatu and the other key role-players."

DP expects to run third in poll

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party believes it will get more than 18 percent of the national vote in next year's all-in elections.

On the basis of opinion surveys so far, party strategists believe the DP will come third after the ANC and the National Party.

DP national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said that although the party rated its present support at seven percent of the total vote (three percent of the black vote, 18 percent of the white, 14 percent of the coloured and 13 percent of the Indian), he believed its potential

was at least 18,3 percent.

The party aimed to hold the balance of power in the new parliament and wield significant influence on post-transition policy-making.

The DP wanted to shake off its image as a liberal opposition-cum-mediator and planned in an election campaign to sell itself as a more aggressive contender for power in the new parliament.

According to Mr Andrew's assessment of opinion surveys, the ANC will win 49 percent of the total vote (70 percent of the black, two percent of the white, 15 percent of the coloured and 15 percent of the Indian), the

NP 17 percent (seven percent black, 42 percent white, 40 percent coloured and 43 percent Indian), the DP 15 percent (eight percent black, 24 percent white, 40 percent coloured and 40 percent Indian) and the IFP seven percent (seven percent black, eight percent white, one percent coloured and one percent Indian).

Mr Andrew gave the PAC six percent overall and the Conservative Party four percent.

But, he cautioned, his figures were based on a summary of recent independent opinion surveys, which left sentiment among rural blacks almost unexplored.

Coalition best: Helen Suzman

VETERAN anti-apartheid campaigner Mrs Helen Suzman on Saturday night said the violence sweeping South Africa would not be properly controlled until a transitional government was established, stability created and local and foreign investment dealt with the

high unemployment.

Mrs Suzman was addressing the first-ever gathering in Africa of the International Council of Jewish Women. The convention is taking place in Johannesburg.

"What would be best for South Africa would be a non-racial coalition gov-

ernment, which would include the best brains this country has to offer, and certainly would be a better guarantee of stability in the country than one party gaining a massive majority," she said.

She added that the removal of racially discriminatory legislation was es-

sential, but was by no means the panacea for all evils.

"But unless there is a military coup and South Africa descends into an abyss like Yugoslavia, which is highly unlikely, there is no alternative to negotiations.

"The government is on an irreversible course and concerted efforts of the Black and White opposition could not, I believe, displace it by force." — Sapa.

BUSINESS DAY, MONDAY 17 MAY 1993

'Plotter' in court

JOHN Beck, arrested in connection with an alleged plot to kill SACP chairman Joe Slovo, is expected to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court this morning. Police said yesterday that Beck, 38, a former SAAF radio technician, would be charged with conspiracy to murder.

BUSINESS DAY, MONDAY 17 MAY

NEWS

Six shot dead in attack on Edendale home

SIX people died when two men, allegedly wearing SADF uniforms, attacked a homestead in Edendale, near Maritzburg, on Saturday. Police said the attackers made their victims lie down before shooting each in the head.

Two people were killed and 12 wounded in the same area on Saturday when two buses carrying Inkatha members from a Maritzburg march were attacked by gunmen. Two people were shot dead and 16 wounded in violence at Bhambayi squatter camp in Inanda, Durban.

Elsewhere, three off-duty soldiers based at Phalaborwa are being held in Nelspruit police station after they fired at a minibus taxi near Graskop on Saturday, killing three passengers.

BUSINESS DAY, MONDAY 17 MAY 1993

Charges prepared

CISKEI Attorney-General Willem Jurgens is preparing to prosecute 70 people, mostly soldiers, for the massacre of 28 ANC demonstrators during a march in Bisho last September. A lawyer said Jurgens was also considering charging the ANC's Ronnie Kasrils — who led the march — with culpable homicide.

Govt given one-week deadline to respond to demands on education

MORE than 110 organisations, including the ANC, resolved at the weekend to call for the immediate scrapping of matric examination fees and the reimbursement of students who had paid.

At the national education crisis summit at Wits University, they resolved to embark on mass action programmes — which could include a teachers' strike — should government not respond satisfactorily to their demands by the end of this week.

Education Minister Piet Marais said yesterday the principle involved in levying exam fees was under review by his department's officials in consultation with other parties. He would assess their progress "in

a day or so" and a decision would be made.

His department had made it clear that it could not scrap fees unilaterally when it was involved in this consultation process.

The summit also called for the reopening of negotiations on the 5% ceiling on teachers' salary increases, saying it supported their demand for a "living wage" and their right to strike in "the absence of a credible collective bargaining process".

Marais said President F W de Klerk had explained the ceiling to public service organisations. A full overview had been given for the setting of the ceiling and "that is where the matter now stands".

The national education crisis summit

ERICA JANKOWITZ

also gave its support to "the utilisation of all unused and underutilised institutions of learning" and called for the immediate establishment of a national negotiating forum on education and training.

The summit gave government until May 24 to "respond sufficiently to the demands of the various constituencies". Should it not, the organisations would "embark on programmes of mass action".

National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) spokesman Desmond Thompson said this should not be interpreted as the call for a nationwide teach-

ers' strike. Thompson did not, however, rule out the possibility that a strike "may be the SA Democratic Teachers' Union's contribution to mass action".

Reacting to Sadtu officials' announcement at the summit that 90% of members had balloted in favour of a strike, Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer said Sadtu's "decision" to strike from May 24 was "unwarranted and irresponsible" and would only exacerbate the problems in black schools.

He accused Sadtu of having little regard for pupils who needed to prepare for matric exams at the end of the year.

Our correspondent reports from Kim-

berley that ANC president Nelson Mandela, on the campaign trail in the northern Cape, warned that wildcat strikes by teachers were not in the interests of education; co-ordinated action was needed.

Mandela said he would meet De Klerk on the crisis, and it would be necessary "to go onto the streets" only if De Klerk continued "to be negative".

"We don't want our children not to go to school, that is what the reactionaries want. I will say to F W de Klerk, if the government does not address the issue of education the ANC will become involved. I hope

□ To Page 2

Education

the authorities will avoid a crisis."

He said he wanted young people to have the best education possible; if they did not go to school they would be illiterate and the jobs they could have had would go to better educated young people from neighbouring countries.

In Upington, in reply to a question on the integration of the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mandela said MK was a guerrilla army and in building a new army, conven-

□ From Page 1

tionally trained soldiers were needed. The ANC was sending young people overseas for training and hoped to have people as competent and skilful as those in the SADF. "We have serious problems because the educational level of our members is low. It will take some time to upgrade (their) educational qualifications."

He also said the ANC would not respond to requests for arms from people who were not part of "disciplined" structures. "If you want me to give you guns, join MK."

US may open further to SA

THE US government is discussing the possibility of extending to SA legislation which gives developing countries better access to American markets.

US diplomatic sources said that, while SA was prohibited from the benefits of the generalised system of preference, it was possible this restriction could be lifted during the current session of Congress.

The review would mean that for the first time SA could qualify for the lower tariffs applied to developing countries' products.

The US system is similar to the EC's Lomé Convention which favours imports of designated Third World countries.

The sources also predicted that US investments in SA could soon qualify for benefits under the federal Overseas Private Investment Corporation (Opic).

While new US investment in SA had been slow to take off since the lifting of sanc-

PETER DELMAR

tions in 1991. Opic benefits, particularly insurance cover, would be important in encouraging such investment.

It was also disclosed that the US Export-Import Bank was processing loan guarantees worth "several hundred million" for supplies to SA. Late last year Exim Bank guaranteed more than R90m for a Boeing 747-400 bought by SAA.

The sources said the US would continue opposing SA's general export incentive scheme and Section 37 export incentives because these were inconsistent with GATT.

SA's tariff structure would be addressed in GATT negotiations, but SA could expect continued US pressure to reduce its import surcharges.

'Policeman ordered bullets destroyed'

By McKeed Kotlolo
Pretoria Bureau

The Boipatong massacre trial took a dramatic turn on Friday when a police lieutenant told the court his senior had ordered the destruction of eight 9-mm bullet shells and heads found at the scene on June 17 last year.

Lieutenant DC van der Merwe of Vereeniging police told the Delmas Circuit Court that he was at the Sebokeng mortuary on June 18 1992, when a woman special constable gave him five bullet shells and three undamaged bullet heads.

Van der Merwe said the shells and heads were destroyed on November 20 1992 at the instruction of a Major van Wyk, according to a police report book.

He said Van Wyk had since retired from the police.

Thirty-two KwaMadala Hostel inmates have pleaded not guilty to 45 counts of murder, one of public violence, 22 attempted murder and 85 of malicious damage to property, arising from the massacre.

He said the constable, who was at the mortuary to identify a corpse, told him that the shells and heads were found by a witness to the murder of three family members at 765 Hlubi Street in Boipatong by three armed men.

The lieutenant said since he was not a member of the team investigating the Boipatong massacre, he submitted the remains to the Vereeniging police station where they were recorded in the SAP 13 book.

He told the court that through his knowledge of explosives, ammunitions and guns, he immediately identified the objects

as 9 mm bullets.

During cross examination, Van der Merwe conceded that the police used 9 mm bullets but said he did not know if they were standard police bullets.

Asked what had happened to the evidence, he said a report in the SAP 13 stated that they were destroyed on November 20 last year.

Responding to a question by Mr Justice Smit, the lieutenant said as far as he knew the shells and heads were not subjected to ballistic tests.

"Had they been ballistically tested, they could have been valuable evidence," he added.

Earlier in the case, Alice Nonjoli, whose mother-in-law, sisters-in-law Ndo (14) and Fikile (8) were killed on the night of the attack, told the court about eight bullet remains she found in the house that night.

The case is proceeding.

ANC denies SADF, MK set to merge

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The ANC has rejected suggestions that Umkhonto we Sizwe is poised to be incorporated into the SADF and that its members would take up positions to the level of general.

However, a Defence Ministry spokesman said yesterday that exploratory talks were taking place with a variety of organisations and it was "only logical" that all armed forces "should be consolidated as soon as possible in the interest of peace".

A senior ANC source and leading negotiator said the organisation did not want MK to be merged into the current SADF "with all its baggage". A report yesterday saying the merging of MK into the SADF could take place within weeks "sounds like a Government kite-flying exercise" to fend off ANC pressure.

He pointed out that the ANC wanted a new defence force created out of existing armed forces. He also said the organisation's first objective was for the security forces to be placed under joint political control.

A Defence Ministry spokesman said the report was "speculative" but confirmed that exploratory talks over a future SADF were taking place.

Six shot in head at Natal home

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

At least 12 people were killed in separate incidents in Natal on Saturday night, including two people who died after a day-long battle between policemen and gangsters who were waiting for a chance to attack a farm.

SAP spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Coert Marais said six people, including a 12-year-old boy, died after they were shot in a home in Zandela.

He said two gunmen wearing balaclavas and SADF uniforms barged into the homestead at about 8 pm.

The gunmen ordered their victims to lie on the floor before shooting each one in the head at close range.

Four people died at the scene: Themba Luthuli (28), Khehla Madlala (33), Bonginkosi Mnikathi (23) and Fakimali Ndlovu.

Sifiso Ndlela (12) died in hospital yesterday and the body of his mother, Florence Ndlela (39), was found near the scene yesterday.

A seventh person is in a critical condition in hospital.

Marais said it would be "presumptuous" for police to speculate about a motive for the killings at this stage.

He said although witnesses had told police the killers wore SADF uniforms, this did not mean they were SADF members as stolen or fake army uniforms were commonly worn during attacks in Natal.

Then, at about 6 pm on Saturday, two buses carrying IFP supporters from a march in Maritzburg were ambushed at Edendale.

Two unidentified people died and another 12 were injured when gunmen sprayed the buses with AK-47 bullets.

No one has been arrested in connection with either attack.

Another two people died in battles in the Bambayi squatter settlement near Durban on Saturday.

Police said 12 houses were set alight in the fighting, which has continued in the area for months.

Also on Saturday, two gang members died in a firefight with policemen in a canefield at Paddock.

Constable Thokozane Mavundla was injured in the leg when a grenade exploded. Two police dogs were killed by the four-man gang.

Marais said nearby farmers reported seeing people hiding in the canefields and police sealed off the area.

Three armoured vehicles were used to flatten the cane in an attempt to flush out the gang while an SA Police helicopter circled overhead.

The gang fired at police, who fired back. During the battle, one of the gang members hurled a grenade at Mavundla.

Marais said two of the gang members were killed, another was arrested and one escaped.

Deadly ambush — Page 7

Man pleads not guilty to Thokoza hostel killings

By Susan Smuts

A 45-year-old man pleaded not guilty in the Rand Supreme Court on Friday to 47 charges, including 21 of murder and 19 of attempted murder following an attack on a group of Thokoza hostel dwellers in 1991.

Michael Phama was allegedly part of a group of people who used AK-47 rifles to fire on a crowd of about 800 people going to the Thokoza sports stadium to attend a meeting organised by the East Rand Hostel Dwellers Association on September 8 1991.

He and his gang allegedly attacked a group of commuters on their way

to work on February 26 1992, and fired on a group of traffic officers on March 27 last year after being caught in a speed trap.

Phama also pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice M C-de Klerk and two assessors to three counts of illegal possession of a machine-gun and ammunition.

The public gallery was packed with Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

Secretary of the IFP Women's Brigade in Thokoza, Gertrude Mzizi, identified Phama as a man she had seen jumping over a fence while the marchers were on route to the stadium.

"As he jumped I saw a rifle. He pulled out a whistle and blew it. He then dropped to his knees and started firing into the crowd," Mzizi said.

She said the meeting had been organised by the hostel dwellers to discuss living conditions and peace.

The IFP, ANC and residents of the township had been invited to the meetings, she added.

Mzizi said a shot entered the car in which she was travelling with her husband.

They had alerted soldiers at a local military base, but were told there were only four soldiers as the others had gone to church.

The trial continues.

Own Correspondent

Deadly ambush mars Inkatha marches

DURBAN — The IFP took to the streets in Natal at the weekend, in some of the biggest marches the province has seen, to protest against the killing of its officials and to demand an end to violence.

But the otherwise peaceful demonstrations of the IFP's strength were marred by at least five incidents of violence against marchers, including two women being killed when a bus returning

from a march in Maritzburg was ambushed.

According to IFP Natal Midlands secretary Philip Powell, a meeting to discuss the IFP's response to the killings was held by chiefs from the Valindela area, members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and senior indunas.

There was a massive security presence in Maritzburg

during the march and the event was monitored from the air by the SADF and SAP.

In Durban, a huge body of IFP supporters swarmed through the city centre en route to SAP headquarters at CR Swart Square, where regional organiser Senzo Mfayela handed over a memorandum — directed to the State President — to deputy district police commissioner

Colonel Steve du Toit.

At the head of the march, a group carried 280 wooden coffins, each representing IFP officials killed in violence since 1985.

Estimates on the size of the crowd ranged from a police tally of 30 000 to an IFP assessment of 70 000.

Addressing the crowd, leaders of the organisation

were full of praise for the participants, saying: "We have shown we are a people of peace, we are not hooligans. We have marched right through Durban from Curries Fountain and the police had no job to do."

The memorandum, which was read out by Mfayela, criticised the Government for failing to arrest and prosecute those responsible for the

killing of IFP leaders.

"They (the killings) constitute a deliberate strategy of serial murder ... to render the IFP incapable of contesting an election by eliminating our leaders.

"We ... demand that the Government set up a commission to supervise the disbandment of private armies," the memorandum read.

Other IFP marches at Estcourt, Empangeni, Ixopo, Ladysmith and Newcastle were reported to have been peaceful.

Be sure to vote NP

PLEASE allow me a space in your newspaper to express my fear too.

All the Whites who fear the ANC government must vote NP, to be a strong opposition party in Parliament, to brake or harness the ANC plunging the country into more darkness of atrocities and lawlessness than this country has ever known.

Being a Black, I am also afraid of the ANC government, because from the word go, it is as powerless as anything to control its members or supporters.

So, irrespective of party differences, policies, systems or personal differences, etc, all the parties, organisations or people opposed to the ANC ruling the country alone must make sure they vote NP to rule this country jointly with the ANC or at least as a strong opposition party.

My appeal is to all Whites and Blacks who feel unsafe in this country.

I also appeal to the national states and self-governing states not to agree to be incorporated in the

RSA, under the banner of the ANC.

See what is happening now. Innocent people, young and old, are murdered mercilessly day by day.

Our Black policemen (our children) and White policemen are shot at, murdered, without any reason or mercy.

Is this democracy, preached day by day by the ANC, PAC, SACP, Cosatu, and their affiliates or allies? Shame!

BLACK FEAR

Theunissen