



*Address by Nelson R. Mandela to the plenary session of the Multi Party negotiations process held at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, Johannesburg, on 17 November 1993;*

We have reached the end of an era. We are at the beginning of a new era. Whereas apartheid deprived millions of our people of their citizenship, we are restoring that citizenship. Whereas apartheid sought to fragment our country, we are re-uniting our country.

The central theme of the Constitution for the Transition is the unity of our country and people. This Constitution recognises the diversity of our people. Gone will be the days when one language dominated. Gone will be the days when one religion was elevated to a position of privilege over other religions. Gone will be the days when one culture was elevated to a position of superiority and others denigrated and denied. We emerge from a conflict-ridden society, a society in which colour, class and ethnicity were manipulated to sow hatred and division. We emerge from a society which was structured on violence and which raised the spectre of a nation in danger of never being able to live at peace with itself. Our agreements have put that era behind us. This shameful past dictates the crucial need for a Government of National Unity. We are firmly on the road to a non-racial and non-sexist democracy.



For the first time in the history of our country on April 27th, 1994, all South Africans whatever their language, religion and culture, whatever their colour or class, will vote as equal citizens. Millions who were not allowed to vote will do so. I, too, for the first time in my short life, will vote.

There are some people who still express fears and concerns. To them we say: you have a place in our country. You have a right to raise your fears and your concerns. We, for our part, are committed to giving you the opportunity to bring forth those views so that they may be addressed within the framework of democracy. The democratic order gives to each and all of us the instruments to address problems constructively and through dialogue. Let this, however, be clear: there is no place in a democracy for any community or section of a community to impose its will at the expense of the fundamental rights of any other citizen. Let us all grasp the opportunities that democracy offers.

Democracy has no place for talk of civil war. Those who persist with such threats do not care for human life. Democracy is about empowerment. Now together we can begin to make the equality of education the right of all our children; to begin to remove homelessness, hunger and joblessness; to begin to restore land to those who were deprived by force and injustice; to break the cycle of stagnation in our economy.

Together we can build a society free of violence We can build a society grounded on friendship and our common humanity, a society founded on tolerance. That is the only road open to us. It is a road to a glorious future in this beautiful country of ours. Let us join hands and march into the future.

# South Africa set for uhuru

THE GUARDIAN  
Friday November 19 1993

While the negotiators celebrate, the right is rallying for war. The constitution may be the foundation for a new society but it is by no means the end of the battle for it

David Beresford

**A**N outsider wandering into Kempton Park's World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg in the early hours of yesterday morning might have been forgiven for thinking a riot was in progress, particularly on seeing smoke billowing from the canteen which looked for all the world like tear gas.

Closer examination would have shown it was a raucous "disco-party" and one without precedent in South Africa. The Minister of Constitutional Affairs was dancing with the ANC's secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa. Other distinguished politicians, law professors and at least one guerrilla commander roared lyrics in boisterous harmony with Bob Marley and the Beach Boys.

They were celebrating the extraordinary overnight achievement of South Africa's negotiators in finalising the interim constitution now set to take the land of apartheid into the new, democratic era. And if the 164-page document itself was the climax of months of intellectual effort, the party was the culmination of an extraordinary process of social engagement across what once seemed an unbridgeable chasm of hostility.

Covering the multi-party talks, one has been struck above all by the spirit of friendship which has developed between the negotiators. Watching the likes of the one-armed law professor, Albie Sachs, in affable discourse with men who quite possibly ordered the planting of the car bomb which

maimed him in Mozambique, the temptation is to talk of miracles of reconciliation. But if the new constitution was born out of friendship, it is the colder realities of the document itself which are likely to determine whether social rapport in the conference hall can give birth to a wider reconciliation. And it was with that in mind that South Africa was yesterday anxiously examining their new "book of rules".

The constitution is, without doubt, flawed. As President FW de Klerk told the plenary session, before the partying got under way, it is "the product of compromise... it does not satisfy any of us completely."

The negotiations have, of course, been about the enfranchisement of the black majority. Kadar Asmal, the former Trinity law professor who has been one of the key ANC negotiators, told the council late on Wednesday night that there were more than 300 ways of electing a government in a democracy. One cannot help feeling that a better model could have been discovered among them than the agreed single ballot, party list system of proportional representation.

April 27 is going to be a "uhuru election". Among the newly enfranchised, the niceties of policy are likely to be little considered when they mark their ballot papers; they will be voting for "liberation" and little more. And there is a



need in South Africa, if the country is to become a truly pluralistic democracy, to get beyond liberation euphoria and restructure party politics across the lines of racial polarisation. But that is a process which will be little encouraged by the list system. A break-away, for example, by a socialist faction in the ANC parliamentary caucus will cost them their seats.

Similarly the single ballot —

swamped by uhuru in the form of the ANC which prompted the De Klerk administration to fight for minority vetoes in the entrenched coalition cabinet. Their last minute abandonment of that stance is likely to cause some recriminations in the National Party, but provokes admiration for the perspicacity of its leaders. The sort of majorities for decision-making which might have been wrung out of the ANC — not more than 60 per cent — could only too easily

be achieved by the liberation movement with a landslide at the polls. And that in turn could have given vent to an unquestionably authoritarian streak in the ANC and

landed the country with de facto one-party rule. The formula arrived at for decision-making — in the "spirit of consensus" — might sound a nonsense, but could well prove more effective in promoting a government of national unity than any blocking mechanism.

For liberals, the core of the constitution is its chapter of "fundamental rights". Again, it is likely to be a flawed charter in the eyes of purists, who might blanch at the provision for a "right" to an environment which is not detrimental to health. And some might feel betrayed by the fact that the ANC has put its name to a Bill of Rights which allows indefinite detention without trial, circumscribed though it might be by a phalanx of "safeguards". But, thanks in part to a rearguard action by the liberal Democratic Party — which succeeded at the 11th hour in diluting presidential powers to make political appointments to the constitutional court — there is enough to enforce them to introduce the rule of law.

The constitution may be the foundations for the "new South Africa", but it is in no way the end of the battle for it. Just as the Kempton Park negotiators were excitedly putting the finishing touches to the document late on Wednesday, South Africa's "Rommel", the right-wing leader General Constand Viljoen, was telling a crowded Pretoria rally that "we are in a disastrous situation tonight". Constitutions were nothing and power was everything, he pronounced. Urging his audience to prepare themselves, he declared that South Africa was "on the brink of war".

Whether or not war is in the offing, some form of confrontation with the right is certainly looming. While tying up the constitution and ancillary legislation on Wednesday, the multi-party council also agreed to repeal laws giving recognition to the homelands — both the "self-governing" variety and the four "independent" territories of Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei, the Transkei and Venda.

If, as is likely, the repeal goes through in a special parliamentary session which begins in Cape Town on Monday, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for one will find himself stripped of office and powers in KwaZulu.

Because the independence of South Africa's homelands is not recognised in international law, the withdrawal of recognition by parliament would appear to present recalcitrant homeland leaders, like Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope, with the threat of treason charges and invasion if he resists.

The step will amount to throwing down the gauntlet to opponents of the new constitution — challenging them to give practical and inevitably violent effect to their rhetoric of defiance. It is a prospect which suggests it may be too early for celebrations in South Africa, even if there were grounds for partying at Kempton Park.

# Historic bargain for 'stalemate'



THE INDEPENDENT

THURSDAY 18 NOVEMBER 1993

JOHN CARLIN  
in Johannesburg

WHATEVER else changes under the new constitution, there are already early indications that the power of South Africa's press will be substantially enhanced. An article in the latest issue of the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* sent the cabinet into such a spin that a meeting scheduled with the African National Congress to hammer out some of the final points in the new constitution had to be delayed for 14 hours.

It is quite likely that, had the article not appeared, negotiators at the multi-party talks would not have had to continue working yesterday till 3.30am, ironing out the final wording of the constitution in time for the leaders' summit in the afternoon.

The article said that the government of F W de Klerk had caved in to the ANC, that the role of government negotiators had been "to sell off the family silver gracefully". With national support for the long-ruling National Party, apartheid's inventors, having dropped from 24 to 13 per cent in the last year, according to the opinion polls, the last thing President de Klerk wanted was

an article on the front page of the country's biggest-selling newspaper reinforcing popular perceptions that he had sold out his white constituency.

The great question when the country's first democratic elections are held on 27 April will not be whether Nelson Mandela emerges as South Africa's first black president — barring assassination or ill-health he will — but whether Mr de Klerk manages to scrape in as vice-president. According to the new constitutional rules any party that wins more than 20 per cent of the vote is entitled to appoint a vice-president in the coalition government of national unity that will rule until 1999.

The great question today, now that two years of constitutional talks have formally come to an end, is who won and who lost. Who succeeded best in imposing its will on the new political system, the ANC or the government?

The answer provided by the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* is convincing within the narrow parameters of the chess game that the 21 parties at the windowless World Trade Centre

building have been engaged in since 20 December 1991. The government, the newspaper said, "has capitulated to the ANC on key checks and balances in the constitution".

This is true in the sense that, diluting somewhat the constitution's federalist pretensions, central government has the power to override decisions taken by provincial governments; President Mandela will be able theoretically to impose his will on Vice-President (or cabinet minister) de Klerk; President Mandela will appoint most of the judges in the new constitutional court, which is democracy's final arbiter.

However, upon emerging from the rarified atmosphere of the talks one discovers that, whatever might be written down on paper, an ANC-led government will be severely limited in its practical capacity to set about the sort of revolutionary social changes the "comrades" might have dreamt of in exile, in prison or on the barricades.

Right-wing fears, for example, that the Communist element in the ANC alliance will

install another Cuba are greatly exaggerated.

The ANC flag will not become the national flag — intense and, as yet, unresolved debate on what the new flag will look like has served as a metaphor for the relentless search for compromise which has marked the negotiations from the start. The new anthem will not be the liberation anthem. No suggestion has been made that Pretoria will change its name, much less that South Africa will.

More substantially, white civil servants — apartheid was at one level a huge affirmative action programme for Africans — will not lose their jobs and their pensions will be honoured. White farmers, as Mr Mandela reiterated in a speech on Monday, will not lose their land; blacks forcibly dispossessed under the apartheid system will be entitled to state-owned land. The economic system, as again Mr Mandela has insisted, will continue to function on free market lines

— if anything, new incentives will be provided to foreign capital to invest. All in all, for the foreseeable future whites will continue to be a privileged minority in a sea of black poverty. If improvements are seen in the standard of livings of blacks they will be gradual, with perhaps the educated black elite benefiting most visibly in the short term.

What is more, there will be no Nurembergs.

These guarantees are ultimately contained not in the

constitution, in the formal checks and balances, but in the security forces — the pillar of state power in South Africa since the first European settlers arrived in 1652.

The ANC has already agreed that the most senior commander of the South African Defence Force, General Georg Meiring, will keep his job after the elections. The army, navy and air force will not be taken over by black officers from the ANC's notoriously ineffectual armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (Spear of the Nation). Some black faces will appear in the high command, but for the most part the current personnel will remain in place. Those who leave will, again, have their pensions guaranteed.

In a speech on Monday General Meiring made it plain that the SADF would stand by the new democratic order, to the extent even of adopting what he called a new socio-economic role building houses and assisting in job training schemes

for unemployed blacks. But the quid pro quo, in a message conveyed by the general and his officers in numerous (remarkably cordial) meetings with ANC officials, has been that the SADF will not tolerate Communism or any attempt to undermine the quality of life of the white population.

So long as everything changes but much remains the same, the SADF may be relied upon to come to the assistance of the new government in the manner of the Russian army in Boris Yeltsin's hour of need.

In the end, the great unstated truth of the South African negotiations has been that the new deal has emerged from a historic bargain between those who have the numbers and those who have the guns. The result is what a politics professor at the University of Cape Town has called "a stalemate". War in South Africa has been conducted successfully by other means.

## Five years to build for the future

THE coalition government of national unity will run for five years from the elections on 27 April next year. The constitution — "interim" officially — ratified today will run for that period, too. It will be formally passed into law next month by the existing parliament (which will effectively dissolve itself where the government has an inbuilt majority).

"A final constitution" — not likely dramatically to alter from the first one — will be adopted by the new government.

■ Under the first constitution, there will be a president and up to two vice-presidents — any party that obtains 20 per cent of the vote qualifies for a vice-president, which means the African National Congress and the National Party might be able to appoint one each. As for the cabinet, parties can appoint members in proportions of five per cent of the vote — for instance, if a party gets 25 per cent it appoints five ministers to a cabinet which will have a maximum of 27 members.

■ The system of government will be proportional representation. There will be a 400-seat National Assembly which, together with a 90-member Senate (upper house), will be the parliament. The parliament will not only pass laws, it will draft and adopt the final constitution. It will be based, at least for the

first year, in Cape Town, where parliament is now. (The administration of government will continue largely from Pretoria.)

■ The nine newly demarcated provinces — Eastern Cape; Eastern Transvaal; KwaZulu/Natal; Northern Cape; Northern Transvaal; Orange Free State; Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging; Western Cape — will each have a provincial legislature, the number of seats reached by dividing the total votes cast in the province by 50,000. No province will have fewer than 30 or more than 100 seats.

■ A constitutional court, democracy's referee, will be appointed to resolve potential disputes between the centre and the provinces. The court will also safeguard the rights of individuals under the terms of the new Bill of Rights — a document according to which all are equal and safe from discrimination of any kind.

■ As for the period up to the elections, a Transitional Executive Council representing all parties involved in the negotiations will be appointed before the end of the year. Its task will be to work with government — power-sharing, effectively — on all areas such as defence, police and finance that will have an impact on whether the elections are free and fair. The TEC will be based in a building already allocated in Pretoria.

# Language deals create new Babel

DEMOCRACY in South Africa is being carried to extremes. In the interest of compromise, of accommodating the fears and aspirations of the greatest number of citizens, it has been decided that the country will have 11 official languages.

English, it is generally recognised, will naturally become dominant. It was, for example, the only language spoken during two years of multi-party talks.

But the government insisted that the home language of almost all its MPs and cabinet ministers, Afrikaans, should retain the privileged position it acquired under apartheid. Still today every official state document — everything from parliamentary bills to parking fine slips — is carried in both Afrikaans and English. The same goes for road signs and even road names, which change language every alternate block.

The ANC, highly sensitive to the dangers of upsetting the *wolk*, agreed but, so as not to lose face with its diverse constituency, demanded a concession of its own. The nine indigenous black languages — prominent among which are Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho — have also been declared "official" under the new constitution.

The potential would seem to be high for ecological catastrophe in the forests of Natal. Traffic accidents could also rise spectacularly

should it be decided that "Stop" signs in the affluent northern suburbs of Johannesburg should be carried in Xhosa at one junction, Zulu the next.

Things could have been a great deal worse, however. On Tuesday afternoon, with the deadline looming alarmingly for the negotiators to conclude their constitutional work, a delegate at the Negotiating Council suggested in all seriousness that Hebrew, Arabic and Urdu should be added to the official list in deference to the sensibilities of the non-Christian minorities.

When someone responded that they might just as plausibly include Portuguese, Italian, German and even Polish — languages which are still spoken by some recent immigrants — consensus was rapidly reached that 11 was, after all, an acceptable number.

The importance of the decision is that South Africans will not be forced, if they so choose, to speak any language other than the one that they learned at home. Civil wars, after all, have erupted over less.

The Soweto uprising of 1976, the event which, more than any other, precipitated the mass mobilisation for democracy in South Africa, arose after the government insisted that Afrikaans should become the medium of instruction for black schoolchildren.

# Women prepare for power in new state

BLACKS are not the only winners in the new constitution. Women are too.

A battle that has simmered since the negotiations began between an informal, cross-party women's coalition and traditional African leaders represented at the forum resulted on Tuesday in a crushing victory for the women. Tribal law, which is weighted spectacularly in favour of men, has been accommodated in the new constitution only in passing. Polygamy, if it is engaged in at all, will not be the legal prerogative of men only. Men will not necessarily occupy the position of tribal chief.

But even before Tuesday's consensus resolution, women won substantial victories during the process of the negotiations. According to one rule, each party at the talks was entitled to two delegates, one of whom had to be a woman.

The vocabulary of the talks holds to the strictest norms of

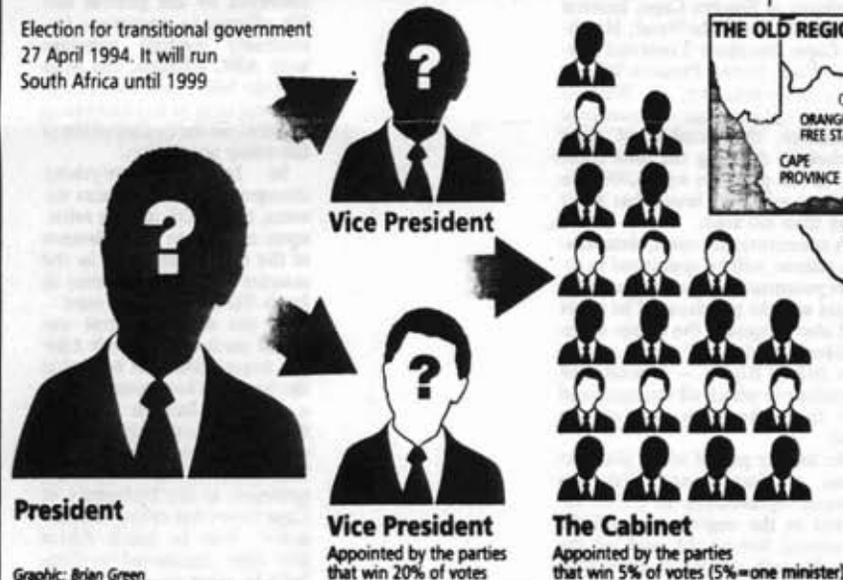
political correctness. Every clause in the tomes that make up the new constitution and bill of rights carries the words "and women" whenever men are mentioned. The word "chairperson" replaces "chairman".

Perhaps the most dramatic blow for women's rights has been struck by the African National Congress. In recent years the long-standing call for a "non-racial South Africa" has been unflinchingly supplemented at ANC rallies and in ANC documents by the additional demand for a "non-sexist" South Africa. Backing up words with deeds, the ANC announced last week that when they put forward their list of candidates for next year's elections a third of them will be women.

South Africa's first democratic parliament will almost certainly contain one of the highest proportions of women of any parliament in the world.

## How the government of national unity might look

Election for transitional government  
27 April 1994. It will run  
South Africa until 1999



## The new regions of South Africa



Graphic: Brian Green

# Inkatha vows to destroy constitution

David Beresford in  
Johannesburg and Agencies

**S**OUTH AFRICA'S conservative black leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned President F.W. de Klerk yesterday that he would fight the new interim constitution which was approved overnight, and reduce it to "the rubble of passing history".

Chief Buthelezi, who left the constitutional talks five months ago, said in a statement that Mr De Klerk and the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, had decided "to go it alone" without his participation or approval.

"We will meet the present draft constitution with determined resistance," Chief Buthelezi said. He is demanding autonomy for his power base, the Natal-KwaZulu region.

Meanwhile, the ANC and rightwing leaders in the Afrikaner Volksfront began two days of talks yesterday as South Africa basked in euphoria over the new constitution.

The latest ANC talks, aimed at bringing rightwing extremists into a political settlement, took place at a secret venue. The ANC delegation was led by its chairman, Thabo Mbeki, and the Volksfront by the former commander of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen.

He was believed to be presenting the ANC with maps showing revised proposals for an Afrikaner homeland, the broad principle of which has previously been accepted by Mr Mandela in personal meetings with the general.

A Volksfront spokesman, Koos van Rensburg, said yesterday that chances of agreement

were "better than 50 per cent", adding that the alternative to a negotiated deal with the ANC was "unthinkable".

Newspaper headlines trumpeted the "dawn of the new South Africa" yesterday morning, announcing the overnight endorsement of the new constitution by a plenary session of political leaders.

But a scare in Natal for Mr Mandela's safety was a reminder of South Africa's volatility. Police arrested 10 men carrying guns near a stadium outside Durban where Mr Mandela was addressing a meeting.

The ANC had already decided to step up his security after Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party called on followers to attend rallies being addressed by Mr Mandela in the region.

Earlier this week Inkatha announced the launch of a fund to provide money if Pretoria tries to shut down the KwaZulu administration by cutting budgetary assistance.

Inkatha has confirmed it has set up military camps in Natal to train supporters for "self-defence". It has justified the move on the grounds that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has been receiving training with government connivance.

Ziba Jiyane, a spokesman for Inkatha, claimed yesterday that its leaders were being assassinated at the rate of one every six days by ANC death squads. "Safe in the knowledge that Pretoria has been browbeaten into submission, ANC hit squad activity has intensified dramatically," he said.

Mr De Klerk warned in Natal yesterday that the government would not tolerate organisations threatening violence.

## David Beresford outlines the interim constitution

THE GUARDIAN  
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"In humble submission to Almighty God, we the people of South Africa declare that whereas there is a need to create a new order in which all South Africans will be entitled to a common citizenship in a sovereign and democratic constitutional state . . ."

*Preamble to the new constitution*

**T**HE following are some of the highlights of South Africa's new "interim" constitution, under which the country's first non-racial elections are due to be contested on April 27. Some minor changes may still be made to the document.

**National symbols:** A national anthem and flag will be introduced by an act of the new parliament. The existing coat of arms and seal will remain.

**Languages:** There will be 11 official languages. Rights relating to the existing status of languages cannot be "diminished", and there are provisions for legislatures and courts to make "practical" arrangements for the use of languages. This suggests that the status quo, in which English and Afrikaans are the languages of record, will not materially change. Members of parliament are, however, allowed to address parliament in any of the 11 recognised languages.

**The franchise:** All citizens over the age of 18 have the vote.

**The president:** An executive post, the incumbent being elected by the national assembly from among its members. Can be removed by a vote of no confidence or by impeachment.

**Executive deputy presidents:** Every party with at least 80 seats in the national assembly will be entitled to one deputy president. If no parties, or only one party, get 80 seats there will be two deputy presidents, one chosen by the second-largest party. The deputies will stand in for the president on a rotational basis in his absence from office and will have to be consulted by him.

**The cabinet:** Made up of the president, deputy presidents and up to 27 ministers. Any party with at least 20 seats in the national assembly will be entitled to a proportional number of cabinet portfolios and deputy ministerial posts. The president will allocate portfolios after consultation with party leaders, who can request their replacement. The cabinet will reach decisions "in a consensus-seeking spirit", no majorities being specified.

**National Assembly:** Made up of 400 members elected under the list system of proportional representation; 200 will be elected on national and 200 on provincial party lists.

**The Senate:** Made up of 90 senators — 10 elected by each of the nine provincial legislatures. It will be headed by a president of the senate and will have to agree by special majorities to categories of legislation relat-

ing to the provinces, such as changes to their boundaries.

**Constitutional Assembly:** Made up of a joint sitting of the national assembly and the senate. It will have to devise a "final" constitution for South Africa in terms of a "solemn pact" of 32 "principles", guaranteeing such things as multi-party democracy, entrenched clauses, provincial "integrity" and the independence of the reserve bank.

The final constitution will have to be agreed by a two-thirds majority in the constitutional assembly. If it gets only a simple majority the draft will have to be subjected to a refer-

Many of these 'fundamental human rights' can be suspended by a state of emergency

endum, in which it can be approved by a 60 per cent majority.

If this fails, the final constitution will have to wait until the next general election — the first of which will be held only after five years (in 1999). Then the new constitutional assembly can try again, this time subject to a reduced, 60 per cent majority.

**Bill of rights:** Contained in a chapter setting out "fundamental human rights", it lists rights which are largely familiar in such documents. They include equality before the law and the rights to life, human dignity, property, freedom of expression, information, assembly, association, movement, fair and speedy trial, religious tolerance, "basic education" and "an environment which is not detrimental [to] health, or well-being".

They are extended to "juristic persons", in other words legal entities such as companies and associations. Many of the rights — notably those relating to trial, privacy, freedom of expression and political activity — can be suspended by a state of emergency. This allows for indefinite detention without trial, subject to judicial review after 10 days to determine whether the detention is "necessary to restore peace, or order".

The emergency itself can only be declared if "necessary to restore peace, or order" and is limited to 21 days, renewable only with two-thirds majority support in the national assembly. The courts, again, have powers of review.

**The judiciary:** Independent of the executive, apart from appointment by the president after a complex series of "consultations". There will be a separate supreme court, headed by the chief justice, and an 11-strong constitutional court, headed by a president. Members of the constitutional court will hold office for a maximum of seven years.

To strengthen the human rights element of the constitution there will also be a national ombudsman — called the "public protector" in deference to feminist sentiment — and a human rights commission, intended to promote "fundamental rights" and help victims of their violation.

**Provinces:** The country will be made up of nine regions: Eastern Cape, Eastern Transvaal, KwaZulu/Natal, Northern Cape, Northern Transvaal, Northwest, Orange Free State, Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging and Western Cape.

**Provincial government:** There will be provincial legislatures, with between 30 and 100 seats, depending on the size of the local electorate. Each will elect a premier who will head an executive council — provincial cabinet — with up to 10 members. Parties holding at least 10 per cent of seats in the legislature will be entitled to a proportional number of portfolios in the executive council.

The powers of provincial legislatures are set out in a schedule and range from control of gambling to local language policy, urban and rural development and control of the "provincial public media". They will be able to design their own constitutions, provided they comply with the principles governing the national constitution.

**Local government:** Under a complex formulation white voters in existing municipalities will elect 30 per cent of seats on new, multi-racial town and city councils. Black rate- and rent-payers will get another 30 per cent and the rest will be elected on a non-racial basis. Municipal budgets will have to be passed by a two-thirds majority.

**Restitution of land:** Communities or individuals will be entitled to claim — through a special commission and the courts — restitution of land dispossessed under any racial law going back to 1913. The courts have to take into account a string of factors, including potential hardship, the use to which the property is being put and the history of the acquisition by the present owner. Any expropriation of land as a result of a claim has to be compensated by the state.

**Public service:** The jobs of all existing civil servants — including those in the homeland administrations — are specifically guaranteed.

**Special pensions:** Pensions will be paid to "persons who have made sacrifices, or who have served the public interest in the establishment of a democratic constitutional order"; anti-apartheid activists, such as ANC leaders and guerrillas, and their dependants.

## INTERNATIONAL

## S. African Farmers Take Up Arms

Worried about black majority rule, they are joining a network of commando units

By John Batteraby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

GRAAFF-REINET, SOUTH AFRICA

ARE rains have brought temporary respite to this drought-ravaged expanse of semi-desert in South Africa's Cape Province, allowing the white farmers here to shift their focus from dwindling herds to what they see as another looming threat: black rule.

Worried about losing their land and privileges under majority rule after the country's first nonracial ballot on April 27, farmers here have joined a local commando unit supplied with guns by the South African Defense Forces (SADF).

They are part of a nationwide trend. More than 80 percent of South African farmers have bolstered the ranks of a national network of district militias that some black leaders worry could form the nucleus of a rebel right-wing army to challenge a majority government.

"I can't tell you when this thing is going to erupt, but things are building up to a climax," says Richard Rudman, a sheep and goat farmer in the district of Steytleville, about 75 miles south of here.

"I have 15 rifles in my strongroom and haven't used one of them yet. But what are you going to do when your family is threatened? I will defend them," says Mr. Rudman, a supporter of the right-wing Conservative Party and head of the local ward of the SADF commando network, which includes about 250 units nationwide.

In the past six months, farmers' wives and children have swollen the ranks of this 130,000-strong network by responding to the calls of right-wing leaders to join the commandos, which are made up of former Army conscripts and volunteers. Roughly 700,000 whites have undergone military training and could be mobilized in a national call-up by the SADF.

In just one sub-section of the sparsely populated Graaff-Reinet region, some 500 automatic R-1 rifles, 60 rounds of ammunition, and military uniforms have been handed out - mainly to women - in the past six months.

Children as young as 10 years old take part in target practice at the commando shooting ranges; at 16 years they can be issued with their own automatic weapons.

The eruption of black anger after the assassination of populist black leader

Chris Hani in April and slogans by young radicals of the African National Congress (ANC) - such as "kill a Boer [Afrikaner], kill a farmer" - have mobilized the country's 40,000 white farmers.

Etienne Marx, a white rail worker in the remote rural town of Klipplaat, says that the events following Hani's assassination persuaded him to join the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

"The fact that the SADF has suffered major budget cuts and consolidations that have weakened its structures made me realize I had to contribute to a paramilitary effort to defend my people," says Mr.

plaat area of Cape Province who is sympathetic to the ANC, worries that a rebellion is inevitable. He says right-wing leaders have manipulated the farmers' fear of the future to build a force that could be used to thwart majority-rule policies.

"I think Gen. Constand Viljoen [head of the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront] was successful in pressuring the government to hand out guns to the farmers," Mr. Whitlock says. "The guns were handed out legally, but it was done under disguise. I am not fooled because I have done 17 years of training. But I think most people were fooled."

But Commandant Rocco Gouws, a Citizen Force officer who heads the commando in Graaff-Reinet, says the commandos are a non-political structure that could ultimately have a stabilizing influence on a new government. "I don't think the reaction of a new government will be very positive initially, but they will need the commandos to achieve stability in the rural areas," Commandant Gouws says.

Some military analysts agree that the commandos could play a stabilizing role.

"They will fight to protect their farms, but they will not take on the SADF," says Brig. Gen. Bill Sass, a retired SADF officer who now works for the independent Institute for Defense Politics. "The real threat is not a rebellion by right-wing commandos but the threat of right-wing sabotage and terrorism.... There is likely to be a confrontation between the SADF and these elements at some point which will force Afrikaners to choose."

The generals of the SADF have reached an accord with the ANC leaders whereby the SADF will remain loyal to a black-led government as long as its command structures are left intact for a five-year period of coalition rule following the election.

The government has agreed that the SADF will absorb a large part of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

But ANC leaders, while eager to maintain the confidence of farmers who are the backbone of the country's food production, worry that elements of the commandos could turn against them.

"The SADF is handing out firearms to white women who don't even know how to use them," says Tokyo Sexwale, a senior ANC leader. "The right-wingers know that they can acquire arms legally through the commandos ... and arms are being stockpiled."



FARMERS RALLY: Angry farmers gathered in Potchefstroom in May to demand government protection from black attacks. About 80 percent of South African farmers have joined local commando units of the South African Defense Forces to guard against a feared loss of land and privilege.

Marx, a member of the local commando.

He says he would not hesitate to fire on soldiers of the SADF if they were defending what he sees as a communist-controlled African National Congress government. (The ANC maintains an alliance with the South African Communist Party.)

"By that stage there will be a clear division between those acting on behalf of the Boere volk [Afrikaners of right-wing persuasion] and those acting on behalf of the communists," Marx says. "I will fight to preserve my land, my culture, my language, and my religion."

William Whitlock, a farmer in the Klip-

# Retarded recruits trained as special combat unit

THE WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN  
October 22 to 28 1993

The BWB is training slow-witted rightwingers as Special Forces. The recruits are housed at secret communes in the Northern Transvaal run by a racist fundamentalist Christian sect, reports **Jan Taljaard**

**I**N a bizarre and sinister development, an ultra-radical splinter army of the right is training mentally handicapped people in combat techniques and the use of explosives.

A Mail & Guardian investigation has revealed that members of the army belong to a rightwing, fundamentalist and racist sect, called Israel Vision. They are being trained in isolation in the Pietersburg/Potgietersrus area and prevented from communicating with their families.

A former commander of the Boere-weerstandsbeweging (BWB) in the Northern Transvaal, commandant Dawie Jacobs, broke silence this week to confirm long-circulating rumours of the existence of this special unit. Jacobs was "suspended for life" from the BWB after falling out with its leadership on this use of these "specials".

The unit consisting almost entirely of mentally handicapped people has been formed under the auspices of the BWB in the Northern Transvaal.

Officially known as "Soldiers of Jesus Christ", this former AWB unit is also referred to as the "Specials" or the "Special Forces". Although resembling an elite unit in name, the name is actually derived from the colloquial term for the mentally handicapped in schools, namely the "special class".

To strengthen their already fanatical commitment to the BWB's cause, the "specials" have been brought under the influence of the fundamentalist beliefs of the Israel Vision sect (see accompanying report).

Indications are that the "specials" are on the verge of being "deployed" after training was completed recently. In the past two weeks at least four "specials" have severed all ties with society and virtually disappeared.

Together with fellow members they are at the moment gathering at five different commune-type farms in the Pietersburg/Potgietersrus areas.

Adding to information supplied by Jacobs was information supplied by



Onward Christian soldier ... BWB member Alec Paatz, centrally involved in the 'Soldiers for Jesus Christ' unit, guards freed Hanti trialist Gaye Derby-Lewis and Afrikaner Volkfront leader Constand Viljoen at a rightwing rally at the weekend PHOTOGRAPH: JUHAN KULUS

the father of one of the "specials", himself still a member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). He is Benjamin Bormman of Nylstroom, whose son, Peter, is one of those who left his job and his house last Monday (see report).

Investigation also revealed: ● Intensive training has been taking place on farms in the Pietersburg and Waterberg areas, with a company operating dog kennels fronting for the training. The location of some of the farms and the name of the company is known to the Mail & Guardian.

Training varied from self-defence techniques to the handling of attack dogs and the use of explosives.

● Training officials of the unit (not among the mentally retarded) may be involved in supplying protection services to Gaye Derby-Lewis after she was acquitted in the Hanti trial last week. Alec Paatz, a veld kornet of the unit, was spotted last Saturday guarding her at the Volksfront meeting on Church Square.

● The unit was originally founded by the AWB in the Northern Transvaal after commanding officers found that they were recruiting an unusually high number of mentally handicapped people into the AWB.

Apparently the General Piet Joubert School for "extraordinary education" in Pietersburg unintention-

ally served as a fertile recruiting ground with school leavers not being able to find employment and subsequently joining the AWB.

These people were formed into a separate unit and two veld kornets (the AWB equivalent of lieutenant) were put in charge. They are Johan Kotze and Tjokkie van Staden.

After an acrimonious break with the leadership of the AWB two months ago, Kotze and Van Staden offered the "Special Forces" to Andrew Ford, commandant-general of the BWB.

Ford, who was receiving his information in Rustenburg, accepted the unit with open arms and, according to Jacobs, ordered that all training of the BWB in the Northern Transvaal should take place under the control of the "Special Forces".

This order, together with what Jacobs believed to be an increasingly violent tendency in the BWB, finally caused him to break ties with the BWB and start his own movement, Boere Weerstand (Boer Resistance).

It is alleged that the three rightwingers arrested in connection with a home-made bomb that recently killed a policeman at Bronkhorst-spruit were involved with the BWB.

Ford yesterday admitted the existence of what he calls "our Special Forces".

■ To PAGE 5

Jan Taljaard

SEVERAL perpetrators of rightwing terror attacks in which black people have died have belonged to the Israel Vision sect.

And it is the beliefs of this sect that hold the Boere Weerstandsbeweging's (BWB) "Special Forces" together.

Having made substantial inroads into the support bases of traditional Afrikaans churches on the plateau, the Israel Vision sect has in particular gained support from fundamentalist rightwingers looking for a biblical founda-

tion for racist beliefs.

Examples of rightwing attack-ers who have belonged are Wit Wolf Barend Strydom and Eugene Marais, the man sentenced to death after an attack on a bus in Natal.

Different factions (or congregations as they are known) within the Israelites are divided on a number of issues, such as the exact nature of the promised land and the permissibility of violence; they are bonded together by one basic belief: members of the white race are the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel.

All other races, including the Jews, are sub-human.

Most of these factions describe blacks as "members of the mud races" or "cromlech beasts of the field". Only one congregation, that of pastor Frikkie Nezer, grudgingly admits that blacks may have souls. That does not mean they will enter the promised land, however.

The "proof" of this bizarre belief rests upon selective and fundamentalist interpretation of numerous Biblical texts and a blind, fanatical belief in a Christ-ian god they call Yahweh.

## 'Special' forces of the BWB

■ From PAGE 2

However, he would not elaborate on questions about mentally handicapped people in the "Special Forces".

"These are people who have been saved," he said. "They were forgiven by God and who are we that we should not forgive them too?"

He said the "Special Forces" is a unit that receives special training for the task of "liberating our nation from the Antichrist".

Ford also acknowledged that some of the Special Forces members are at the moment guarding Derby-Lewis. Among them are veldkornet Alex Paatz and Peter Bormman.

Asked about allegations by Bormman's father that his son has disappeared, Ford said that Bormman is an adult with a wife "so how can he disappear?" He said the son was called up for guard duties.

Ford also hit out at Jacobs: "He is a traitor of the volk. When we have our own state, then we will charge him with treason," he said.

## Ciskei chief tried for murder

BISHO, South Africa — The ruler of South Africa's Ciskei "homeland", Oupa Gqozo, went on trial yesterday accused of murdering a political opponent, **Reuter reports.**

Brig Gqozo's lawyer, Dup de Bruyn, called on the Ciskei Supreme Court to throw out the charges, saying Brig Gqozo could not be tried because he was a head of state.

Ciskei is one of 10 so-called homelands set up by Pretoria under apartheid. Brig Gqozo is accused of murder or incitement to murder in the 1991 death of Charles Sebe, who was killed after allegedly plotting a coup.

# Viljoen calls up fear of war

"THE SITUATION is bad and it can get worse." With this ominous statement Constand Viljoen summed up how he sees the South African predicament in a week that ought to generate unprecedented celebration among the vast majority of the population.

By Friday, two years of multi-party negotiations are expected to conclude with the unveiling of the first non-racial, federal, democratic constitution in South Africa.

If celebrations are muted, it will be for fear among both blacks and whites that General Viljoen and his supporters on the white right will go to war. The failure of the government to persuade the right to accept the new constitution and take part in next year's elections has added to the anxiety.

Yesterday, General Viljoen, a former South African Defence Force chief who heads the separatist Afrikaner Volksfront, strove to explain yesterday what the right want and what they will do if they do not get it.

"Things are bad," he said, because of a lack of investor confidence; because of intimidation especially "among our black people"; because of "undue pressure" on South Africa from the outside world to find a quick political solution; because the government had fallen prey to "naïve idealism"; because the ANC believed, no less naïvely, that "instant nationhood" was possible. "You can't build a nation like a cup of instant coffee, just mix-

## John Carlin in Pretoria hears a warning from Afrikaner right

ing in the coffee, the white milk, the brown sugar and the colourless water."

"Things can get worse", if the government and the ANC "pressed on regardless". And this, it seemed, was what they were determined to do. "No real decision has been taken by the government to accommodate the Freedom Alliance."

In other words, self-determination, the creation of a separate state for Afrikaners, was not on the government agenda. Accordingly, "the right wing might resort to more mass action and more armed action".

Most of the questions to General Viljoen sought a clarification of "armed action". Would the armed forces rise up with the right wing? "If any government tries to force an unacceptable solution on the Afrikaners it would happen naturally."

Ten days ago the Volksfront urged its supporters to mobilise, polish their weapons and store rations. What did this mean? "We are not saying people must prepare for war. We say to our people, prepare to defend yourselves." Against whom? "Against terrorist groups... You must bear in mind the anger among the Afrikaner people — it could get out of control."

## Top police officers seeks to combat spreading disaffection in the ranks

Top officers of the SA Police were this week meeting with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel in a bid to defuse what has fast become a dangerous and possibly mutinous situation within their force.

Senior police were describing the "greatest crisis facing the police in a long time".

The issues addressed in the talks included polarisation of the police force along racial lines, and their concern about open alignment of Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) members with the African National Congress.

The matter came to a head over the past two weeks after a mutiny of police at Motherwell in the Eastern Cape Province (*SouthScan* v8/39 p298).

Now Popcru says it is building up for a possible nationwide strike, following months of increasing antagonism between itself and the SAP.

Transvaal regional secretary Monwabisi Moto said that tensions were high in the union and that some form of mass action, probably a countrywide strike, was on the cards.

Last Saturday, Popcru staged a march to Orlando Stadium, where Winnie Mandela addressed the mixed Popcru/*Umkhonto weSizwe*/Apla (ANC and Pan-Africanist Congress armed wings) gathering.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze reiterated yesterday that Popcru members were forging a political alliance with the ANC which was unacceptable to the SAP.

The crisis started on October 13 with the suspension and arrest of 88 Motherwell police station staff on charges of mutiny.

The suspension triggered a sympathy strike affecting all five Port Elizabeth township police stations. Subsequently 375 striking police officers have been fired. Port Elizabeth was this week threatened with a consumer boycott and mass action after the SA National Civics Organisation said the community wanted the police matter resolved and the Internal Stability Unit to leave the townships.

Kriel was meanwhile this week considering a request to come to Port Elizabeth to resolve the dispute.

In a bid to overcome the deep animosity felt towards the SAP, senior officers last week announced a radical new "community-friendly" policing strategy.

As part of the initiative community-

based anti-crime committees could be assimilated into a new community policing strategy in the Eastern Cape where the trouble with Popcru erupted.

A "working relationship" already exists between the police in the Eastern Cape and anti-crime committees, with police describing the community effort as "commendable and well-appreciated". But police reformers are already finding resistance within the general staff over the prospect of change, and there has been widespread pessimism about the chances of success: *The Sowetan* newspaper commented that any change in the SAP image was doomed if it failed to come to terms with Popcru. Its handling of the matter showed it had "no inkling of sound labour relations or the depth of anti-SAP feeling in the black community".

Police reformers and the independent police board won the fight to adopt a community policing policy where, through consultations, local communities will have a say in their policing needs and the force will be more accountable.

The police board is an independent committee established by the peace accord to monitor the police on which the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and a number of academics, have representation.

The board assisted in drawing up the plan, a much amended version of the SAP's original proposal.

The push to adopt the strategy was led by the head of the police efficiency services division, Maj-Gen George Fivaz, and community relations divisional chief, Lt-Gen Andre Pruis.

Both believe the police, widely regarded as a bastion of conservatism, needs to change fundamentally as the country heads towards its first democratic elections in April next year. Community policing is only the first step.

With the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) due to begin overseeing the police force at the beginning of November, the two are said to be working together to get the general staff to accept a radical overhaul in the way the force operates.

The commissioner of police, Johan van der Merwe, and his deputies, Lt-Gen Basie Smit and Lt-Gen J Swart, have accepted change as necessary, but they appear reluctant to commit themselves to anything more than statements of intent.

# No easy answers for SA's dispossessed

David Beresford in Queenstown looks at the options for tackling apartheid's thorniest legacy: the unequal distribution of wealth

**T**HE old lady in a Victorian-style dress trimmed with lace broke unexpectedly into a rich contralto. The judge and his assessors — three professors and an archbishop — stood with bowed heads as the entire audience joined her: "Together black and white, let us come together and praise the Lord."

South Africa's judges are not given to tolerating behaviour outside the strictly judicial, even if it is praise to the Almighty. But one sensed the commission on land allocation would put up with much to win acceptance.

The McCroath Commission is the first — totally inadequate — attempt to tackle perhaps the most explosive issue facing post-apartheid South Africa: the redistribution of wealth.

The hearings, in this little country town's main hotel, arise from a squabble over rights to 8,600 acres of local farmland. The dispute is an old and complex one, arising from the fact that, in 1976, 15,000

20,000 people were dumped in the area because of rejigging of black "homeland" borders by apartheid's social engineers.

The resettlement was resented by the 30,000-strong community which had lived in the overcrowded area for more than 150 years, and who insisted that the land had been promised to them.

Judge McCreath's audience of about 130 elderly black people dressed in their Sunday best — men with grizzled white hair in jackets and waistcoats, pork-pie hats neatly tucked under chairs — was representative of the two communities.

Although they sat there decorously under the copper ceiling-fans, they had an air of determination that conjured up spectres of land war. One felt sympathy for the commission because of the exaggerated expectations of its work.

The injustices of apartheid are founded in land theft: whether the "resettlement" of rural black communities or the removal of the Coloureds from

District Six in central Cape Town. With the end of apartheid it is widely assumed that past injustices will be addressed, primarily through the restitution of property.

In the face of popular clamour, the De Klerk government set up the land commission two

## Protection of the property status quo is non-negotiable for the government

years ago to investigate claims. Its jurisdiction was ludicrously limited to land expropriated under the race laws which has never been sold, the title remaining in state coffers.

The protection of the property status quo is non-negotiable for the government. On its insistence, the bill of rights now being finalised offers entrenched protection of property

ownership; this will make significant expropriation by a future government impractical.

As the land issue has become bogged down, the focus for redistribution of wealth has moved to affirmative action. But it is questionable how appropriate this is.

In the US or Europe such measures are designed to empower minority groups otherwise likely to remain disadvantaged. Empowerment of the black majority here is assured, and forced-feeding entails risks for an economy suffering from inefficiency.

It could be argued that South Africa needs to move away from the racism inherent in affirmative action.

But if land redistribution and affirmative action are not the answers to apartheid's heritage, what is?

One refreshing suggestion emerged recently from an unexpected quarter. The Urban Foundation, an institute sponsored by big business, produced a paper arguing that the country should follow the example of postwar Germany in raising a substantial loan levied on fixed assets and wealth for a national reconstruction fund.

The 50 per cent levy, redeemable after 30 years, on surviving assets of DM5,000 (about £2,000) raised DM110 billion (£43bn) by 1978.

"This did more to stabilise society and bridge the gulf between the propertied and the penniless, the unscathed and the ravaged, than any number of fine phrases in the constitution," the report said.

One of South Africa's most powerful businessmen, the chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Julian Ogilvie Thompson, argued that such a levy was a "negative concept", and its punitive element would damage economic growth.

Instead, he suggested a reconstruction fund drawn from capital transfer taxes, tax-deductible voluntary contributions, foreign donations on a matching basis, and a portion of proceeds from a national lottery.

Coming from the man controlling the largest accumulation of assets outside the state sector, the argument is predictably conservative.

But somewhere between that and the German answer may lie an initiative that could relieve Mr Justice McCreath of some of his heavy responsibility.

*"We all have great sympathy for the understandable aspirations of the underprivileged, but the cost of promoting further well-meant socio-economic objectives to the status of fundamental rights (so-called second and third generation human rights) will be to dilute these core freedoms to the lasting detriment of all."*

Julian Ogilvie Thompson, chair of the corporate giant Anglo American, reported in Business Day, 19/10/93

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Associated Press photo

Two right-wing supporters of neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement leader Eugene TerreBlanche demonstrate Wednesday outside a Potchefstroom, South Africa, courtroom during TerreBlanche's sentencing for his involvement in a riot that killed three in August 1991. Saying TerreBlanche showed remorse, the magistrate fined him \$2,967 and sentenced him to 18 months in prison, suspended for five years.

# The Independent Forum for Electoral Education

The Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) is a grouping of around 30 non-government, developmental, educational, church, civic and other organisations involved in non-partisan election education and preparation.

## IFEE Objectives

To draw together non-partisan organisations at national and regional level to provide a co-ordinated and nation wide electoral preparation programme based on existing and supplemented organisational resources.

## Regional Fora

IFEE is developing a number of regional fora which group regional structures of member organisations as well as regionally based voter education organisations. Such regional structures presently exist in Natal, Orange Free State, Pretoria, Border, Western Cape

## Commissions

IFEE has created four working commissions which meet regularly on a range of specific issues.

### Media Commission:

The Media Commission co-ordinates media projects of the member organisations as well as oversees joint media projects of the forum. The main project of this commission is the planning of voter education broadcast programmes.

### Electoral Act Commission:

This commission is responsible for discussing recommendations on the electoral act and other issues related to electoral procedures as well as lobbying relevant bodies on the forum's recommendations in these areas.

### Voter Education Resources Commission

This commission co-ordinates the availability and exchange of voter education resources.

### Monitoring Commission

This commission looks into the monitoring of elections and the elections preparation process.

## Membership

Membership of the forum is voluntary and non-binding. The members are identifying areas of the country that are not covered and stimulating organisational development in those regions. The following organisations have attended the quarterly national meetings:

AIC	African Independent Churches Research and Theological Training Institute
.	African Spiritual Church Association
.	Barometer Regional Research and Reporting Corporation
BLACK SASH	
CCH	Centre for Contextual Hermeneutics, Stellenbosch University
CBM	Consultative Business Movement
CCD	Christian Citizenship Department of the Methodist Church of SA
CDS	Centre for Development Studies
CIE	Catholic Institute for Education
CPSA	Church of the Province of SA Justice and Peace
DIAKONIA	
ECF	Ecumenical Confessing Fellowship
.	Free Market Foundation
FDA	Foundation for Democratic Advancement
HAP	Human Awareness Programme
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ICT	Institute for Contextual Theology
IDASA	Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA
IMSSA	Independent Mediation Service of SA
JEP	Joint Enrichment Programme
LHR	Lawyers for Human Rights
.	Learn and Teach Literacy Organisation
MATLA TRUST	
MPD	Institute for Multiparty Democracy
.	National Land Committee
NYDCC	National Youth Development Co-ordinating Committee
SACBC	SA Catholic Bishops Conference Justice and Peace
SACC	SA Council of Churches
.	Storyteller Group
TEP	Theological Exchange Programme
.	Wilgespruit Fellowship
YCS	Young Christian Students
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

ANDRIES BEYERS is the most promiscuous politician in South Africa. In the last two years he has hopped in and out of three parties, returning finally to the forgiving embrace of his first political love.

When Mr Beyers, MP for the Western Transvaal town of Potchefstroom, rejoined FW de Klerk's National Party last week after a 12-year absence, no one expressed outrage. At a time of profound confusion for the Afrikaner *volk*, at the start of a week when South Africa's first democratic constitution is due to be finalised, few doubt the sincerity of his struggle to get to grips with his political identity.

When I met him in his home in northern Pretoria, Mr Beyers, 47, gave an account of what is by any measure an impeccable Boer pedigree. His forebears partook in the Great Trek of 1838; his two grandfathers fought the British in the Boer war; his father was a staunch supporter of the National Party before it came to power on the apartheid ticket in 1948. He himself was a devotee in his youth of Hendrik Verwoerd, the prime minister who jailed Nelson Mandela. He fought attempts by Dr Verwoerd's successors to chip away at the apartheid edifice and in 1981 — "I re-

# Boer MP on a great trek back to where he began

garded P W Botha as dangerously left-leaning" — quit the National Party in disgust.

A year later he joined the Conservative Party (CP), became its national secretary in 1987, and in 1992 he captured Potchefstroom from the National Party in a by-election. His joy was short-lived. A crushing victory for the reformers in the white referendum of March that year finally persuaded him the time had come, in P W Botha's phrase, to adapt or die. He left the diehard CP and set up the Afrikaner Volksunie, a body dedicated to the idea of carving out "a dramatically reduced fatherland". The Volksunie's demise became inevitable in May this year when the ambitiously separatist Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) emerged under the leadership of Constand Viljoen, a retired army general whose charisma has lent credibility to right-wing threats of civil war.

Some of Mr Beyers's Volksunie colleagues have joined the AVF. He hopped left last week rather than right because he has come to

believe that the democracy bus, as he put it, cannot be stopped. "I'm sure the overwhelming majority of people in the right wing will see that too — and sooner than we think."

What does he think of apartheid today? "I have realised it was terribly wrong. I thought it was the best solution to the country's problems but it was wrong because I wanted to prescribe what was good for me and for blacks without asking them for their opinion. It is only now, in the last two or three years, after my whole life in politics that I have communicated with black leaders for the first time. Before I only related to them as labourers."

At that point there was a knock and Mr Beyers opened the door to two black journalists. "Please sit down," he said. "Would you like tea or coffee?" He called to his wife and asked her to make tea for "the two gentlemen".

"Today," he resumed, "I can't understand why in the Sixties my leaders did not talk to the ANC, why they threw them in jail. Because

now I regard the leadership of the ANC as quite moderate people — as social democrats with whom it is possible to share a real democracy. I have met Mr Mandela three or four times and I regard him as a reasonable, responsible leader. I had expected something very different."

But what about those who see Mr Mandela as a closet Communist? What about General Viljoen's call on the *volk* to mobilise and prepare for armed resistance?

"People will resist if they are truly oppressed. But not while they have jobs, investments, property and pen-

sions. And besides, they don't know what they will fight for — even Viljoen doesn't know. Still, at this late stage, they don't even have a map of the *volkstaat* ... I will tell you how some people see this 'war'. They get up in the morning and tell their wives, 'Look after the cattle, will you? I'm going to the war. I'll be back this afternoon'."

Mr Beyers does not rule out the possibility of terrorist violence, but argues that it is not possible to wage an effective war against the South African Defence Force and the South African Police "which I regard as loyal to the government of the day so long as De Klerk plays an important role in the government we will have after the elections".

A *coup d'état* would be possible "only if De Klerk were out of the picture and Mandela ruled alone".



THE INDEPENDENT

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MONDAY 8 NOVEMBER 1993

## Apartheid whites shelter under black right wing

Brendan Wilmer, once deported from SA for racism, now backs Inkatha.

John Carlin spoke to him in Durban

RACISM is no longer fashionable in South Africa, even among racists, some of whom are scurrying to the black right for shelter from the African National Congress. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, once perceived merely as "a good kaffir", is now the great black hope of born-again right-wing whites. The new orthodoxy of the old apartheid campaigners, who are flocking to join forces with Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, is now anti-Communist self-determination.

A number of foreign residents originally attracted to South Africa for political reasons are among those who have discovered a satisfying new identity within the new black-white partnership.

Take Brendan Wilmer, a prosperous landowner who lives in a large house overlooking Durban harbour. Born in Britain 48 years ago, he was a National Front zealot in his youth. In 1969 he found a natural home in South Africa where he acquired political prominence first in the Save Rhodesia Campaign and then — not a man blessed with a winning streak — in the no-less right-wing Save South Africa Society, South Africa First, Civic Action League and Conservative Party, which is today formally bound to Inkatha within the new Freedom Alliance.

For a brief period in the early Eighties he became a local media celebrity. Described by Durban newspapers, even in those days, as an "ultra-rightist", he battled to keep the city beaches white. So excessive

were his racist outbursts that in 1964 the government threw him out of the country, a decision applauded at the time by Chief Buthelezi, who said South Africa "would be much better without the Wilmers of this world".

Back in South Africa since 1969, the white-haired Mr Wilmer is making the headlines again as chairman of yet another right-wing group, the Natal Freedom Campaign. In recent speeches he has alleged that the government is riddled with Communist agents and that the ANC is plotting to assassinate Inkatha leaders — this last information he faxed to 5,500 businesses and 1,000 individuals.

"Moderation in the defence of liberty is a vice, extremism in the defence of liberty is a virtue," he explained over tea in his lounge, quoting, he said, from Barry Goldwater.

What was the problem? "Well, in the campaign we're all convinced anti-socialists and we don't think the press is doing its duty in exposing the underlying political motivations of the ANC. Namely? "Well, look at Thabo Mbeki, what he wants is to create a socialist state straight out of Stalinist Russia."

Such was the ferocity of Mr Wilmer's conviction that it did not

seem worth noting that Mr Mbeki, the national chairman and international secretary of the ANC, is viewed far and wide as the incarnation of social democrat moderation.

But what about Nelson Mandela and his efforts in Britain and America in recent weeks to lure foreign capitalists to South Africa? "Even if it's true what he says, the cabinet under him will be hard left-wing-ers." Apart from Mr Mbeki, who? "Come on, who isn't?" Nor could the army stop Communism — "The ANC can change the whole complexion of the army overnight."

So what was the answer? "A federal system, along US lines. With an ANC government, which I admit is a strong possibility, we need maximum devolution of powers."

In other words, the Inkatha option — which is based on the notion that Chief Buthelezi will win an election in Natal. But didn't he once have a problem with blacks? "Go piece when people mention that. Yes, I was in the National Front as a teenager. Yes, I was vehemently in favour of apartheid. But people change. I have an awful lot more in common now with my Zulu neighbour who shares my political philosophy than with a white opponent."

SUNDAY 31 OCTOBER 1993

# Vaccine won't ward off the killing

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Thwarted in the polls, Unita is destroying Angola. And all Britain offers is medicine

Victoria Brittain

TEN British nurses and 33 tons of medicine were Britain's contribution yesterday to Angola. Seventy thousand children are to be vaccinated this month in Unita-occupied Huambo and in the nightmare city of Cuito, where one third of the population have died by starvation and Unita shelling. It is, of course, an uncontroversial gesture which may save many young lives. But it entirely misses the point of Angola's need.

Britain, like the rest of the international community, is guilty of gross negligence, and a failure to follow through on its responsibility for Angola's failed transition from the 17-year war.

In the aftermath of a UN-supervised election, the losing party, Unita, defied the international community and launched an ambitious war, with considerable help from outside the country, to reverse the choice made at the polls. Now, every week, as the social and economic tragedy worsens and the country sinks into barbarism, the international community is going ever further down a *cul de sac* of duplicitous negotiations which, for nine months, have provided the cover for the war waged by Unita on a largely defenceless population.

The result of this policy can only be a long, drawn-out conflict, or a partition of the country, or the eventual collapse of the government's authority.

The UN estimates that 1,000 people are dying daily in what it calls the worst war in the world. An Angolan minister this week put the toll at twice that. A third of the population has been displaced, the economy has collapsed, and the infrastructure of the country destroyed.

In a radio broadcast on October 3 last year, the Unita leader Jonas Savimbi warned that if the results of the presidential and legislative elections were published he would return to war. He threatened a level of bloodshed which would reduce Angola to the state of Somalia. Overnight he withdrew Unita's generals from the new unified army which Britain, among others, had been responsible for training. Within weeks his remobilised and heavily equipped army had attacked government offices and personnel across the country.

Unlike the tangled interne-cine ethnic power struggles of Somalia, Burundi, or Bosnia, the war in Angola has a simple root: an attempt to seize power by military means after a failure to get it by democratic means. As in Haiti there is no doubt about who won the elections, or the fairness of the elections. But, like Haiti's military chiefs, an old CIA client such as Savimbi has been able to count on the support mechanisms of earlier eras in Washington to prevent the collapse of his hopes for power.

After his broadcast, Savimbi made a secret flight to the central highlands' town of Huambo from the heavily guarded block of streets in the capital Luanda which had been turned into a no-go area for non-Unita residents, including an ambassador and a government minister who had homes there. Unita had also begun to assassinate prominent whites in Huambo as it tightened its grip under the nose of an impotent local government.

In response to what was already a war situation, the United States, the UN and South Africa began placating Savimbi, whose democratic credentials they had lauded for decades, by discussing a future for him better than had been decided by the polls. Today, despite toothless UN sanctions, that placating is still going on.

Since the first round of talks under UN auspices just a year ago in the provincial capital of Namibe, Unita leaders have made it clear that they are demanding power on the basis of their military strength. They have spent the year building it up with help from clandestine networks in South Africa, and from Zaire with the aid of the discredited President Mobutu.

After Unita took Huambo earlier this year, that strength has been demonstrated in the nine-month sieges of towns like Cuito, Luena and Menongue, reduced to rubble just as Savimbi promised a year ago. Unita has laid mines around the towns to make it impossible for the people to go out to the fields to grow food. Keeping UN aid planes out by firing on them repeatedly, they have tried to starve these towns into submission, although the inhabitants gave Unita a majority in the elections here last year. Leaves, insects, and even human bodies were the food that allowed at least some of the towns' inhabitants to survive, though in conditions which defy description.

Every day, Unita's clandestine radio (originally provided by the CIA) pours out a torrent of disinformation and stirs ethnic hatred, poisoning the country's future. Savimbi is a man whose powerful backers, including Mario Soares in Portugal, King Hassan in Morocco, Boutros Boutros Ghali in New York, and countless men behind the scenes in Washington and South Africa who have been working with him for years, have influenced the international community to allow Angolans to be held to ransom until he is given the power the polls denied him.

The UN in Bosnia has sought, ineffectually, to punish war criminals. In Angola the UN needs to find the courage to put the same concept into place against Savimbi before it is too late and he has, as he promised, destroyed the country and rendered those vaccinations futile.

# Angolan toll may be up to 35,000

Tens of thousands have died from war and starvation in Angola. David Orr reports from Cuito.

CUITO was as once known as the prettiest town in Angola. This year, between 18,000 and 35,000 people have died here in a nine-month siege by rebels of the Unita movement.

Graves line the parks and gardens of the town centre. Many of the plots are only a few feet long: few small children are left alive here. In some parts of the town, human bones litter pavements.

Two weeks ago, the United Nations World Food Programme, which gave the estimate of the huge death toll yesterday, got clearance to bring in food. Last week, cargo planes flew in an average of 40 tons of food a day, which was divided between the government and Unita sides.

In a hospital, dozens of emaciated children like the one in the photograph on the left lie listlessly on mattresses and blankets on the ground, too weak to cry or turn their heads.

'We have hardly any medicine or food for the sick,' says Elizabeth Theodoro, Cuito's only doctor. 'We don't even have soap or blankets. Many children are dying of malnutrition on the way to hospital.'

Terrible levels of malnutrition have been discovered in other Angolan towns denied regular food supplies by the fighting.

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THE OBSERVER

# Angola sees death of heroism

Cindy Shiner Luanda

JOAO BATISTA throws himself under the white belly of a cargo plane, scampering in his military fatigues for grains of rice that are falling on to the tarmac from bags of food aid.

Despite his hungry desperation, there is a grace to the former foot soldier's movements. He is being very careful not to shatter the litre of wine that he has tied inside the bottom of his trouser leg where his left leg used to be.

'It was a landmine,' slurs an intoxicated Batista, 30, of the bomb that crippled him while he was fighting for the Angolan army against Unita rebels. That was before he became a beggar stuffing rice into his oily pockets.

Ironically, Batista is from the

south-eastern province of Kuando Kubango where the bags of rice being loaded into the cargo plane are being taken to feed civilians who have been starved by the war that resumed a year ago after Unita refused to accept it had lost the southern African country's first democratic elections.

The Angolan cities of Cuito, Menongue, Malanje and Imena are under siege. The capital, Luanda, is not but it has nonetheless suffered severely and people

like Batista are its mirror image.

The seemingly endless war has turned Luanda into a teeming city of lost, hungry and crippled souls. In the past year alone its population has increased by 40 per cent as people flee fighting and potential famine in the interior.

Former soldiers such as Batista, no longer useful or economically feasible to an army using its

money to buy more weapons, drift through the crowded streets like battle-weary ghosts. Government officials and rebel leaders see no war heroes here, only has-beens. The heroism of Angolans is not reflected in deeds of romantic bravery and patriotism. It lies simply in their ability to survive.

Joao Bondo and his family are typical of Angola's survivors. He was a civil servant in the northern

town of Uige with his own house and a comfortable living until fighting resumed last year and rebels seized the town.

He, his wife and six children sought refuge in Luanda. Here he has no job and is a squatter in an unfinished high-rise building.

Luanda has little resources to cope with people such as Bondo and his family. The city's infrastructure was built for about 400,000 people, not 2.8 million.

Times might be rough now in Luanda, but tougher times are

ahead unless anticipated peace talks are successful. A cholera epidemic is at hand with the onset of the rainy season, relief workers say, and it is expected to infect some 1,000 people per week by March in Luanda alone, where the health system has all but collapsed.

'You have a very fit child in the morning who would be dead by the evening,' says Peter Hawkins of the Save the Children Fund.

'You watch as the child lies on the bed, which generally has a plastic sheet on the top of it with a hole in it to allow the diarrhoea to just flow into a bucket underneath the bed, and you literally see the child's life drain away into this bucket until that child dies.'