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# South Africa's year of all years



Conquering hero: Mandela brought whites to tears *Glynn Griffiths*

Centuries from now South Africans will commemorate 1994 as a year as rich in historical significance as 1776 was for the Americans and 1789 for the French. It was the sort of year granted to nations - if they are lucky and deserving - once in a millennium.

The highlight of a year rich in extraordinary moments - of patience, generosity, forbearance and deliverance - was the spectacle of millions of black people waiting to vote. They waited with sacramental reverence, in queues up to two miles long as the sun beat down upon them. But they were used to it. They had waited since 1652 for their first opportunity to vote since the arrival of the European settlers.

Then there was General Constand Viljoen, erstwhile Moses of the separatist far right, who was mobbed by African National Congress MPs straining to shake his hand after he made a speech in parliament calling for cuts in the defence budget so more might be spent on black townships.

And there was the Resistance Against Communism leader, Eddie von Maltitz - well to the right of General Viljoen. Two weeks before the 27 April elections he was train-

ing his storm-troopers for war. Two months later, charmed by Nelson Mandela, he appeared in arm at a party with his ANC provincial premier, Terror Lekota, pledging to help "rebuild the nation".

There was also F W de Klerk in the speech to his National Party supporters in Pretoria conceding electoral victory to the ANC; a transcendent moment, which the last apartheid president carried off with grace.

Yet some whites indulged in immense foolishness. Some suburban whites spent April stockpiling candles, gas-burners and tins of sardines in anticipation of the chaos that they thought would follow the ANC's electoral victory.

The most chilling image of the year came from the folly of Eugene Terreblanche's Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), which stormed Mma-batho, the capital of the now defunct homeland of Bophuthatswana. The *volk's* finest were shooed out of town like frightened sheep by the Bophuthatswana army, whose officers had wisely judged the time had come to switch allegiances from Mangope to Mandela. A photograph of a middle-aged, overweight AWB warrior pleading

for his life just before his execution, captured a moment of stark truth for the Afrikaner right that the holy war was not for them.

Terreblanche was exposed as a fraud, but for many South Africans there was great satisfaction at the unmasking of two other frauds: Winnie Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Winnie - the mother of the nation, champion of the poor, deputy minister of arts, science, culture and technology - is being sued for non-payment by a private airline whose Lear jet she hired last June for a trip to Angola. According to court documents, she planned the trip with a convicted gem smuggler: the mission, to fetch diamonds from Angola. She confirmed the hiring arrangements for the jet in a letter headed "Co-ordinated Anti-Poverty Programmes", a charity whose executive officer she was at the time.

Buthelezi finally revealed the discrepancy between his studiedly "moderate" public persona and his thuggish private self. The man who Margaret Thatcher and most white South Africans chose for many years to admire as a model of peace-loving, democratic rectitude stormed into an SABC stu-

dio with half a dozen bodyguards during an interview with a royal Zulu prince. In front of the watching millions, Buthelezi harangued the prince for two minutes before his bodyguards jostled him out of the studio.

The new South Africa has yielded surprising opportunities for private enterprise. Smart ad companies have latched onto the feel-good associations that the flag - compared by some to a beach towel with a Y-front design - has swiftly inspired among the black and white populations.

The year's spirit of free enterprise prize must go to Joe Slovo, the Communist Party chairman who, in his new capacity as Minister of Housing, has been chastising the masses for failing to pay their rents and striking deals with the corporate banks with a view to extending private property to the proletariat.

Yet in a remarkable year one figure towered over all others: the septuagenarian legend whose stature dwarfs every other politician on the planet. The wonder of Nelson Mandela's great political achievement rests on the balance he has struck between humane idealism and hard-nosed pragmatism.

I recall a banquet that he addressed two months after the inauguration in Pretoria City Hall, attended by 200 members of the Afrikaner establishment: the white city fathers, elders of the Dutch Reformed Church. The mayor, Cor Uys, introduced Mandela in English. Mandela spoke entirely in Afrikaans, a language he learnt during his 27 years in prison. The first black president to stand before such company, he began by showering extravagant praise on their Boer forefathers, "African freedom fighters" who had stood up to British imperialism.

The Afrikaner people had made mistakes along the way, certainly, but now, Mandela said, was the time for them to join hands with him in a new crusade to make South Africa a better place for all its people. He ended his speech with his customary "I thank you" and resumed his seat. The audience, flabbergasted, sat in total silence. Until one man stood up to applaud. Then another. In seconds every burgher in the room was on his feet. Massive, craggy faced men were seen wiping tears from their eyes.

John Carlin

THE INDEPENDENT • MONDAY 26 DECEMBER 1994

# Plans for revolutionary health care ...

**A new health scheme favoured by the government is likely to prove hugely popular. Pat Sidley reports**

**T**HE government is actively investigating a national health insurance plan which would, if implemented, revolutionise the country's health system and provide the funds for basic health care to all citizens.

Three options are under consideration. The *Weekly Mail & Guardian* has been given a copy of a summary of the option most favoured by the Department of National Health, which is the most contentious of the three.

This plan, if implemented, is likely to be hugely popular with the majority of South Africans; resisted by those already paying large amounts of income tax; alienate many doctors; and, at the very least, set off widespread debate about its merits.

It would, if implemented:

- Be funded by a payroll tax of three percent of annual income to be shared equally by the employer and employee. Self-employed people would pay two percent of their income. This tax, which would be levied in addition to normal taxes, would raise about R5-billion a year, to which the state would add a further R1-billion.

- Provide basic care at the level of general practitioner (and nurse) throughout the country, with no exceptions. Included would be certain basic medicines identified on a drug list.

- Private practices, clinics or community health centres would be accredited as national health practices and would be funded upfront with a global payment to run the practice. General practitioners could not charge on a "fee for service" basis, as they do now.

- Patients would not necessarily be treated by doctors. At least half to a third of complaints would be attended to by a nurse or other health professional.

- All primary or general practice care would be removed from existing medical aid and insurance packages. These institutions would accordingly lower the premiums they charge their members.

- It is envisaged that most of the basic care and medicines would be offered free of charge, although there is the possibility of a nominal charge for visits. Some procedures, such as immunisations, would attract a small charge; the plan suggests R10. However, pregnant women and children under six would continue to receive free health care.

The department is in the process of setting up an "implementation committee" to review all three options and



**Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma**

is unlikely to have a plan in place until the 1996/97 budget. The introduction of any such major change is likely to undergo a great deal of debate, including a separate debate in parliament.

The plan the department currently favours was put forward by Australian health economist Dr Jonathan Deeble, who has visited the country on two occasions. In 1992 he came at the request of the ANC health support group, bringing with him the experience of Australia's own relatively recent introduction of a national health system. He returned this year, spending two weeks investigating options for the introduction locally of a

national health insurance scheme.

According to a summary of Deeble's proposals in the hands of the *WM&G* patients would be covered for three visits a year to primary care centres — a substantial drop in the coverage they are getting from medical aids. The number of visits is currently an area of widespread abuse by both doctors and patients.

Deeble recognises in his summary that it would be "unrealistic" to expect medical aid members to "reduce their GP use immediately".

Some people whose salaries are low and who are either not on medical aids, or who pay very little into their medical aid schemes, would probably have to pay more for their health care through the insurance scheme than they pay now.

Indigent citizens would still be able to get most of their basic health care needs met through state facilities.

Somebody earning R50 000 a year (around R4 000 a month) would pay about R1 500 a year on the proposed national health insurance scheme. People receiving higher salaries would also effectively pay more than they have been paying for general practice care. This would have the effect, according to Deeble's paper, of redistributing wealth for health care.

After his 1992 visit, he produced a report which compared the South African and Australian systems, from which it emerged that South African doctors charge fees similar to those charged by their Australian counterparts. However, he noted that the care costs South Africans relatively more because their incomes, even among whites, are much lower than Australia's average income.

He remarked in 1992: "The problem is not just one of affordability, however. Insurance-supported fees now yield private doctors in South Africa, particularly GPs, relative incomes very much greater than their Australian counterparts, which makes their incorporation into any financially viable public system very difficult indeed."

The proposals by Deeble form one of the three options which have been offered as alternatives. Among the points of departure are the nature of payment to doctors, whether they should be paid on a fee-for-service basis or by "capitation" (whereby they would be paid upfront to run the practice).

Other options include providing primary care through state facilities only — leaving private doctors out of that system.

## ... while the budget must cut

**T**HE country's national health budget is likely to be slashed in real terms for the 1995/96 financial year, with further cuts likely if the department does not present plans for reallocating the budget to reflect reconstruction and development programme concerns.

Special adviser to the minister of health, Dr Olive Chissana, said this week that the department will be requesting the same amount it was allocated for the current year. That amount was R14,2-billion, which in real terms — considering inflation — will mean a 10 percent cut.

The department overspent considerably this year; the projected deficit stands at R800-million, trimmed from an earlier estimate of more than R2-billion.

Chissana said the department is obliged to trim further. There simply isn't the money to soak up the deficit. "We are asking for R14-billion

and also asking for bridging finance," she said. The bridging finance would help sort out some of the disparities and inequities of the past.

The department, she said, is faced with three priorities for its funds:

- A geographical redistribution of resources, from urban to rural.

- Changing from hi-tech care to more basic systems.

- A limitation on staff packages.

The department is likely to face some painful tasks next year, which will be shared by the provinces. Some of the provinces, like the Western and Eastern Cape and Gauteng, face major deficits already, with larger ones projected for next year.

This means the closure of various health facilities, sections of existing facilities and possibly the retrenchment of staff. Of the R14,2-billion budget, 70 percent is spent on staff. This is an obvious place to cut costs.

According to Chissana, planning

for the next budget has involved countless meetings which have included provinces, the departments of state enterprise, the RDP office of the president, the central economic advisory services, the Public Service Commission and the Finance and Fiscal Commission.

The department is working to a set of rules which will prohibit the use of RDP funds for items normally spent out of the normal budget; RDP funds allocated to health are to help correct expenditure so that the department may adopt a properly balanced system. The programme of clinic building, she said, is using these funds as well as money set aside from the trimming of the budgets of academic hospitals.

Plans for the shifting of funding into new priorities have to be submitted to the government by January 15; otherwise, says Chissana, the budget may face further cuts.

David Beresford  
in Johannesburg

**A** QUIET struggle being waged for the soul of the African National Congress surfaced at its party conference yesterday with the extraordinary spectacle of Nelson Mandela being slapped down on an issue of principle.

A proposal by the South African president, for the establishment of a committee to choose the leadership of the organisation, was abandoned in the face of strong hostility among the 3,000 delegates attending the five-day conference in Bloemfontein.

The Sisulu committee, a group of six senior officials headed by Mr Mandela's close friend and aide, Walter Sisulu, was to have been given the task of producing a list of favoured

candidates for the ANC's national executive.

But a group of regional leaders warned Mr Mandela he faced a humiliating defeat if the initiative were put to the vote. One of the ANC's leading intellectuals, Pallo Jordan, the minister of posts, telecommunications and broadcasting, reportedly told Mr Mandela that the move was comparable to attempts by Communist Party leaders to circumvent the democratic process.

"This is a happy conference," the secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, told reporters. But incidents such as the Sisulu committee initiative pointed to undercurrents within the party, which could have a significant impact on the emerging society.

Mr Mandela's attempt to set up the committee reflects an inclination by the party leadership — faced with huge prob-

lems inherent in social transformation and frustrated by the inefficiencies of consultation — to short-circuit democratic ideals in the name of pragmatism. Mr Mandela argued this was needed to counter over-representation of urban males in the leadership.

Another example of this "pragmatic" trend is that most of the conference proceedings are being conducted behind closed doors. The intention is to avoid creating an image of division — which might be encouraged by media coverage of policy debates — but many see it as a betrayal of the ANC's commitment to transparency.

A tendency towards evading accountability is also evident in the ANC's failure to deal with scandals in its ranks — such as the allegation that Winnie Mandela has been engaged in questionable diamond-dealings in Angola. Although the

deputy president, Thabo Mbeki, said this was being investigated, few anticipate the ANC will get rid of her.

There is similarly a seeming reluctance to deal with the scandal growing around the Rev Allan Boesak, the former Cape leader of the ANC and ambassador-designate to the UN. Mr Boesak has admitted improperly using Swedish aid money to help finance a video production company run by his wife. Now Danish funders of his foundation for peace and justice have evidence that £370,000 in donations is in private pockets. But there is no indication Mr Boesak's UN appointment is being reconsidered.

Another notable aspect of the ANC conference, its first since coming to power, is the impression that its main pre-occupation is the race for official positions, rather than policy matters. Underlying this, is the long-simmering rivalry between the two contenders for the Mandela succession, Mr Mbeki and Mr Ramaphosa.

Mr Ramaphosa's chances have been written off by local commentators. But this has been confounded in Bloemfontein, with his unopposed re-election as secretary-general and his enthusiastic reception from delegates. Mr Ramaphosa's cultivation of grassroots support may still rob Mr Mbeki of the presidency.

The Ramaphosa camp was strengthened yesterday by the election of Cheryl Carolus to the post of deputy secretary-general. The Natal leader, Jacob Zuma, also won a comfortable victory, to become party chairman. He succeeded Mr Mbeki, who was elected unopposed as deputy president, a post vacated by the retirement of Mr Sisulu. Mr Mandela was not opposed for the presidency.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1994

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

THE African National Congress elected its leaders yesterday, all but completing an almost seamless transfer of power from the stalwarts of the 1950s to those who will lead the party into the next century.

President Nelson Mandela was unsurprisingly returned unopposed as president and is now the only survivor in office from the old guard who were imprisoned for treason in 1963.

The five other office bearers reflect a balance of the party's various components, suggesting that voters responded to the message from Mr Mandela for factional interests to be put aside in the interests of unity.

First Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, 52, was the sole nominee for the vice-presidency after Mr Walter Sisulu, the 82-year-old incumbent and Mr Mandela's closest confidante, announced his retirement at the weekend.

Mr Mbeki's election and his dominant role in the party's triennial congress at Bloemfontein come as final confirmation that he is seen as the chosen one to succeed Mr Mandela when he stands down at the next election in 1999.

The secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, 42, who was tipped in the past two

By Alec Russell  
in Bloemfontein

years as a challenger in the leadership stakes, was returned unopposed to his current post, contrary to predictions this autumn that he would be resigning.

Mr Ramaphosa, a former trade union leader, has enemies among the powerful ANC lobby of former exiles and is also shunned by Mrs Winnie Mandela, the president's estranged wife, for publicly condemning her involvement in the kidnapping of a boy who was later murdered by one of her bodyguards.

Mr Mandela, however, is believed to have persuaded Mr Ramaphosa to stand and also the party to back him. This was partly to retain the services of one of the ANC's ablest politicians but also to avert a damaging split.

The ANC's chief parliamentary whip, the Rev Arnold Stofile, who is from the party's Eastern Cape heartland and was tipped as a rival for the secretary-generalship, was elected unopposed as treasurer-general. He inherits a poisoned chalice of financial mismanagement and debts, estimated at £14 million.

His predecessor, Thomas Nkobi, one of the old guard, died this summer. In the last

few years he was ailing at a time when more than ever the ANC needed a firm hand on its purse.

Mr Stofile's elevation should satisfy the Eastern Cape-Xhosa tribal lobby. Mr Mbeki, whose father, Govan, was one of the leading lights in the 1950s, is also from that region.

The only serious competition yesterday was for the national chairmanship, which was comfortably won by Mr Jacob Zuma, 52, a former chief of intelligence, and the ANC's leader in the sensitive KwaZulu-Natal region.

Mr Zuma is the ANC's most prominent Zulu. Mr Mandela was known to have been keen to have him elected, to counter perceptions that the ANC is a Xhosa-dominated party.

The sixth position, the deputy secretary-generalship, was won by Mrs Cheryl Carolus, 37, a senior member of the Communist Party, the ANC's ally, who was a prominent figure in the internal fight against apartheid.

The elevation of a woman who is of mixed race neatly rounds off the team of office-bearers. To the outside world the new leadership is a perfect balance. The results of last night's elections for the national executive were expected to be more revealing of possible tensions.

## Reaction strengthens against secrecy compromise on truth commission

Pressure is mounting in a number of quarters against the most recent announcement that a political compromise worked out in cabinet over the 'truth commission' would involve closing amnesty hearings to the public. It is widely believed the intention is to protect senior National Party members and other officials who were part of the former establishment.

The NP has already signalled its concern about the truth commission, and pressure to force revelations could lead early in the new year to unbridgeable splits in the government of national unity.

A number of statements from those formerly involved in the covert hit squad actions of the '80s have been leaked to the media in what appears a bid to reverse the watering down of the commission. After the most recent revelation, Justice Minister Dullah Omar this week promised a full and thorough investigation into claims that a security force hit squad murdered three Port Elizabeth civic activists in 1985.

Earlier the *Sowetan* newspaper ran copies of affidavits taken from three former agents sent abroad to Denmark for their own safety by the Goldstone commission.

Copies of the affidavits are with the attorney-general and with the Lawyers for Human Rights group, according to the *Sowetan*.

Then a former security policeman described how a group of prominent Eastern Cape activists known as the Pebco Three had been murdered.

According to the *Sowetan* report policemen admit to information and events leading up to the killing of Bheki Mlangeni, a civil rights activist and member of the African National Congress. They tell how the exploding earphones of a Walkman tape player that killed Mlangeni were tested on a pig's head at Vlakplaas, the police hit-squad centre near Pretoria.

It was believed that the bomb was intended originally for Dirk Coetzee, the defector from Vlakplaas, who was at the time with the ANC in Lusaka. Coetzee presented the ANC with a list of those in the know about the covert and illegal war. It included senior officers and cabinet ministers.

In their affidavits the three policemen reveal actions that allegedly included:

- Sending former captured guerrillas, tested HIV-positive, who had become agents, to the Johannesburg suburb of Hillbrow to spread AIDS among black prostitutes,
  - Bombing of the head offices of the SA Council of Churches in 1988, and how an unnamed senior cabinet minister congratulated the bombing team at a party at Vlakplaas,
  - Involvement of Vlakplaas policemen in acquiring and supplying arms to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) through well-known members of parliament, a KwaZulu cabinet minister and other senior officials in Johannesburg and Ulundi, the KwaZulu 'homeland' capital,
  - Bombing of cinemas to stop the showing of the movie 'Cry Freedom', and
  - Killings of defected ANC guerrillas who were suspected of knowing too much.
- "The minister who was

named in the affidavits as having gone to Vlakplaas was former law and order minister Adriaan Vlok. He denied the claim. The IFP MP identified was Themba Khoza, and PWV member of the legislature Humphrey Ndlovu. According to the sworn statement they received a large quantity of weapons from the police since 1990 (*SouthScan passim*).

The affidavits were made public in SA by the national director of the Lawyers for Human Rights group, Brian Currin.

He said LHR would not support a bill on the commission if it included the National Party provision for secret testimony, because information on the illegal

police operations would not be made public as hearing sessions would be held behind closed doors.

The SA Council of Churches has also weighed in to demand transparency at the truth commission. Speaking in Port Elizabeth

on Monday where he delivered the keynote address to a Human Rights convention, Omar said he did not see any need for lengthy delays if the alleged killers could be identified. "There are some things that cannot wait for the truth commission," he said.

He reiterated that there would be no amnesty without disclosure. But, he also warned opponents of the truth commission that the only alternative to it was Nuremberg-type trials, and there "was no third alternative".

Adding his voice, former Idasa director and founder Alex Boraine said South Africans needed a "common memory to remind us what our society was like and the dark era we have passed through".

While the question of amnesty was important to the process, it was equally important not to forget the victims of apartheid atrocities. "There must be some form of reparation and compensation for the victims".

Boraine said the commission could help ensure that the past would never happen again.

"We have been warned that power corrupts, absolutely." South Africa would have been a different place if a truth commission had been held into atrocities committed by the English during the Boer War.

### Pebco Three revelations

According to weekend news reports, a former security policeman, known only as Sergeant X, said three men Qaqawuli Godolozzi, and his colleagues, Siphon Hashe and Champion Galela, members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) were murdered by a hit squad which included policemen

from Pretoria's security police headquarters, Koevoet, Military Intelligence and Askaris.

Most of the murders happened at a time when the PW Botha government was facing widespread political revolt in the East Cape.

The truth commission can as a result expect a flood of cases of unsolved mysteries from the Eastern Cape. In the case of the two-year Goniwe inquest the judge concluded in May that the security forces had planned and executed the killings, but there was insufficient evidence to identify the individual murderers.

Evidence from the Goniwe inquest indicated that Botha had wanted his armed forces to restore order in the region at all costs.

His obsession with the resistance led to the formulation of grandiose plans, like those contained in the 'Katzen' documents.

Operation Katzen, named after former army chief General Kat Liebenberg, was the brainchild of former MI head General Joffel Van Der Westhuizen. Van Der Westhuizen, who retired shortly before the inquest findings, planned the overthrow of former Ciskei strongman Lennox Sebe and creation of a docile Xhosa homeland.

There may also be further information about the death of student activist Siphon Mtimkhulu. It was at the start of the popular revolt that student activist Mtimkhulu and his friend Topsy Madaka went missing from Port Elizabeth's Livingstone Hospital on April 14, 1982.

Evidence to emerge was that Mtimkhulu was poisoned during a five-month spell in detention with thallium, a rare and deadly slow working poison which crippled Mtimkhulu and left him confined to a wheelchair. At the time there was speculation that police had learned of its use by studying the methods of Argentinean secret police.

Other activists who vanished or were found murdered were Mzwanele Fazzie of East London and Somerset East doctor Norman Gcipe.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the affidavits published last week, as well as the Pebco revelation, is that they recycle, in the main, incidents well known to the public, and in any event generally assumed to have been the work of the secret police. It could well be that the core of the covert operation

was small, and the main names already known. The truth commission's hearing could then be focussed and fulfill its cathartic need, without generating race tension.

# True colours of a rainbow nation

EARLY this year, when fears of an uprising by the white Right against South Africa's transition to majority rule were growing, Nelson Mandela sought out the most unlikely of allies.

He flew to the retirement retreat of former President P. W. Botha, the strongman whose government rendered South Africa a virtual police state in the Eighties, and asked him for his support. Mandela wanted him to use his influence to persuade the right-wing to stop planning violence and join in the building of the new South Africa.

Amazingly enough, Mandela said last week, Botha agreed and said he would help to organise a summit of Afrikaner leaders to urge them to support a democratic South Africa. But it fell through, according to Mandela, because of the hostility of F. W. de Klerk, then President, towards Botha.

In a wide-ranging interview last week with *The Observer*, Mandela reviewed what he called an 'epoch-making year'. Mandela is now President of South Africa but, only 10 months ago, it looked like the entire election might have to be abandoned in the face of threats of violence from the Right.

It is a measure of the man that he, who was jailed for 27 years by

a succession of Afrikaner governments, responded to this threat by trying to win the co-operation of his erstwhile enemies. It is perhaps a measure of the enemies that the plan was frustrated by their enmity towards each other.

'There was a serious threat of a national disaster in the form of a civil war, from the right-wing and elements in the security forces ... but by assuring the white people that they have nothing to fear from an African National Congress government, we were able to create an environment where this transition took place smoothly.'

Mandela said he travelled to see Botha — living in obscurity at the Cape resort known as the Wilderness — to tell him that he had 'an obligation to speak to the right-wing to join us in building the new South Africa'.

Botha suggested that Mandela bring together all the Afrikaner leaders, though he balked at Mandela's request that they include Eugene Terre Blanche, the leader of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. 'I then came back and spoke to these leaders. My problem was De Klerk. He just wouldn't co-operate. He was emotionally opposed to P. W. Botha intervening.'

Mandela credits this meeting with Botha as a turning point in

## Phillip van Niekerk discusses South Africa's momentous year with a man who now likes to be known as Madiba — Nelson Mandela.

convincing Afrikaner leaders that he 'was trying to bring about peace in our country'.

General Constand Viljoen, who split the right-wing by leading his Freedom Front into the elections, confirmed the story. He said Botha, who had urged whites to vote against De Klerk's reforms in the 1992 referendum, had been impressed by the lengths Mandela had gone to include him. Viljoen confirmed that he and other right-wing leaders were in contact with Botha throughout that period.

THE INTERVIEW began stiffly as we seated ourselves in floral armchairs in an ornately-appointed room in The Presidency, the Pretoria mansion that has been the traditional home of South African presidents. After he assumed office, Mandela slept five nights here, but found it too cold and impersonal. His official residence is Libertas — renamed Mahlamb'andlovu — but he spends most nights at his family home in the northern Johannesburg suburb of Houghton.

On Monday night, he ap-

peared on a Johannesburg talk radio show. At the beginning of the programme, he said that he preferred to be called by his Thembu clan name, Madiba, because 'then you are talking to my heart'. The callers — many of them white suburbanites — complied, and the chemistry worked. Madiba stayed for half an hour longer than scheduled.

After seven months in office, Nelson Mandela exudes self-confidence. If anything, he is pushing himself too hard.

The ANC is meeting in Bloemfontein this weekend, where rumblings that too much energy has been expended on reconciliation and too little on delivering benefits to the black majority will be vigorously aired.

'I don't take seriously the complaints that we are spending more time on whites because that is not the truth,' he said. 'But I fully appreciate the impatience of our people at the rate at which we are moving.' Mandela said the problems could not be remedied overnight and defended his government, saying that despite budgetary constraints, it had

launched a free medical scheme for children under six and pregnant mothers. It would soon feed four million children and begin free primary education. It had also passed a Land Restitution Act enabling people removed from their land to claim it back.

He said the white community's response to change had been generally very positive: 'Even among the most conservative sections, our message of nation-building, of forgetting the past, was reaching their hearts.' He is determined, however, to proceed with the Truth Commission into atrocities of the apartheid era: 'Before reconciliation is applied, we must know what crimes were committed. It is impossible to forget the past if we don't know what each individual did'.

He said General Viljoen had suggested to him that the Truth Commission must not be allowed to victimise only subordinates. 'He felt the leaders of political parties in government must also come forward and confess the sins they committed or authorised. I was impressed by this approach. I asked him to appear before the cabinet and address them. But De Klerk was not very co-operative.'

Mandela said that not all perpetrators would be given amnesty. He said it was 'entirely

unlikely' that police Colonel Eugene De Kok, who is alleged to have orchestrated large-scale violence in black communities for which he faces more than 100 charges, would be given amnesty.

Mandela's approval rating in all communities is high, as is his standing in the rest of the continent, but he has resisted calls to involve himself in the problems of Africa. 'I will assist in any efforts towards solving the problems of the continent as a whole, but it would be a mistake for me to get caught up in the problems of Africa and neglect the problems of my country.'

He rejected sending a peace-keeping force to Angola. 'The South African National Defence Force brings a baggage from the past. We are very cautious about going to countries which were invaded by the South African army. We can perform non-military services.'

Mandela foresees 'immense challenges' for the new year. The ethnic character of South African society cannot be easily changed. 'But whereas the National Party government used the different cultures to keep our people divided, we are using them to unite our people. That is why we have come forward with the concept of a rainbow nation. It is the type of work that is going to take years.'

# Discontent makes it red hot in Alex

FROM KARL MAIER  
in Alexandra township,  
Johannesburg

Elizabeth Dikotla's face broke into a pained grimace as she shouted: "Satisfied? How can you ask if I am satisfied with this government?"

This will be the fourth Christmas Mrs Dikotla, 49, her four children and two grandchildren will spend living like refugees in the old municipal offices of Alexandra township - Alex to the inhabitants. Like 3,000 other families in Alexandra, the Dikotlas were driven out of their home in an area known as "Beirut" during fighting in 1990 between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

When Nelson Mandela led the ANC to victory in South Africa's first all-race elections in April, Mrs Dikotla believed her prayers of returning home would be answered. They have not. Inkatha supporters still inhabit Beirut, and Mrs Dikotla says, "We in Alexandra have been forgotten."

The sense that the ANC-led government of national unity has forgotten South Africa's largely impoverished black majority is spreading rapidly in townships like Alexandra, where the Congress won 95 per cent of the vote in April.

It is a message that residents of Alexandra hope will catch the attention of the 3,000 delegates gathering today for a five-day national congress in Bloemfontein where the organisation was born

in 1912. High on the agenda will be elections for six senior posts and more than 50 members of the policy-making National Executive Committee. So will discussion of a "Strategy and Tactics" document written by Thabo Mbeki, who is expected to win election as the ANC's deputy president and effectively as heir to Mr Mandela's throne.

People in Alexandra, however, said they were tired of discussions and wanted more action. "I am not even thinking about Bloemfontein, who is running against whom in elections. Who cares?" said a 34-year-old shopowner who refused to be named. "The government must start doing something concrete."

Mr Mandela recently made a highly publicised tour of several squatter camps in the Johannesburg area, warning that it would be years before his government could tackle the daunting problems of unemployment, housing and education.

But his government has come under fire for pandering to the concerns of the white minority and for allowing ministers to draw huge salaries at a time when millions of South Africans live in poverty. It was a feeling summed up by Linda Twala, director of the Phutadichaba community centre for the elderly, who said: "If we put the displaced in the big houses of the people who claim to be our leaders, then there would be movement. Then they would feel the pain."

Alexandra residents said they were not expecting miracles, and many said they realised



Nelson Mandela greeting a young resident of Eiderdale township outside Bloemfontein, Orange Free State

Photograph: Reuter

that the government had too little time to effect drastic changes. While political violence between ANC and Inkatha fighters had fallen away, crime was rising rapidly, they said.

"If a section of society has been excluded for so long, it is not feasible to make it up, even in five years," said Nkele Ntingane, a founder member of the Alexandra Civic Organisation, a pro-ANC community group. "Just because we voted for the ANC, it does not mean that everything will change."

But they also said they did ex-

pect at least some tangible signs that living standards would improve. Housing is the major problem: Alexandra is home to nearly 400,000 people crammed into a one square mile of dilapidated brick homes and tin shacks.

The government maintains that its "reconstruction and development programme", with the equivalent of more than £1bn in funding next year, will begin to make a difference. "We now have the machinery up and running," Jay Naidoo, a Minister without portfolio, told *Busi-*

*ness Day* newspaper. The goal is to build 1 million homes in the next five years.

But so far in Alexandra, squabbling among leaders of black landowners, whose property was expropriated by the former white minority government, and those of the shack dwellers has paralysed housing development plans.

"Our MPs were supposed to come to the rescue, but they have done nothing," said Mr Twala. "We are about to explode in Alex. Our local leadership is weak, and our government has

been forgotten about us."

Unemployment in Alex is running at 65 per cent, health facilities are terribly inadequate, and the mood among the youth, many of whom are armed, is one of seething frustration.

"Many of us think that maybe we should start the violence again so that the leaders remember we are here," said Lucky Baloyi, a 27-year-old member of the pro-ANC armed "self defence units". "People are tired of talking, and now they think it might be time to start fighting."

# ANC urged to deliver results on economy

FROM KARL MAIER  
in Bloemfontein

No smoking, no milling about, and no use of cellular telephones. The warning, issued by South African deputy president Thabo Mbeki to 3,000 African National Congress officials, seemed to symbolise how far the party, a banned underground movement only four years ago, had come.

But the reference to hi-tech communications may have reinforced the growing belief that just seven months after taking power, the ANC is increasingly out of touch with the mass of black voters who gave it a landslide victory in April's general elections.

"We could end up attracting to our ranks merely those who seek careers in government," President Nelson Mandela told the ANC's five-day national congress at the University of Bloemfontein.

After two days of meetings and a rowdy party on Saturday night, top ANC officials have rendered a clear verdict. So far, the party has failed to begin cleaning up what Mr Mandela called "the mess" left by the white minority government and leading millions of impoverished South Africans towards a better life.

That solemn message has overshadowed what should have been a celebration of the movement's victory in its 83-year campaign for majority rule.

"The ANC has struggled to find its feet in the political terrain of the new South Africa," the secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, said yesterday. "Even within ANC ranks there has been confusion about the positions of the organisation

on certain issues." His report to the conference said the party lacked decisive leadership, had a serious shortage of funds and was out of touch with its supporters.

The ANC's senior ranks had been depleted by the move of officials to government, he said, and the party relied too heavily on Mr Mandela. ANC branch structures and membership lists were in disarray.

Mr Mbeki appealed for unity and told the congress: "At all times, we should strive to bring the leadership of the ANC and government closer to the people."

Mr Mandela acknowledged popular impatience for better living standards, especially in the highly politicised black townships and squatter camps, during his opening address on Saturday. Judgement of the congress, the ANC's 49th since it was formed in Bloemfontein in 1912, would depend on "whether the decisions we take bring practical relief to the millions who so graphically demonstrated their confidence in the ANC and democracy last April," he said. "Visible change will need to be the prime feature of government operations next year."

The mess Mr Mandela said the ANC had to clean up included corruption, unemployment at 40 per cent, seven million people without proper housing and an economy growing by 2 per cent this year, slower than the rise in population. Only efficient government spending and management, a disciplined labour force and a stable investment climate would promote the growth needed to uplift the poor, he said.

The ANC's slow movement on redistributing income and reforming the civil service and security forces, he said, were due to a desire to ensure a smooth transition and not "pandering to white fears".

Threats to the success of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme came from "rearguard resistance from the parties of apartheid and white privilege", conspiracies in the security forces, and continued conflict with Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party in the province of Kwazulu-Natal.

Disputing the claim of Inkatha to represent the Zulu people, Mr Mandela went on: "A desperate struggle by elements of the IFP to maintain a power base among traditional leaders as an extension of the party does pose a danger of an eruption." The ANC should "challenge the notion that any party anywhere in South Africa can arrogate to itself the status of being representative of any king or kingdom."

Rebuilding the country would be far more difficult than freeing it from white minority rule, said the former party deputy president, Walter Sisulu, who announced his retirement after 50 years of service to the ANC. "Ours is but the first step of a long journey on the road to transfer power to the people."

Mr Sisulu's departure and the presentation of the ANC's highest honour, the Isitwalandwe, to Joe Slovo, the Communist anti-apartheid campaigner and bogeyman to the white right, were the most electric moments during the first two days of the congress. As Mr Slovo's frail body, eaten away by cancer, rose to acknowledge the award, the crowd roared "Slovo, Slovo, Slovo" and broke into the anthem of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, which he helped to build.

It seemed to mark the passing of a generation. Among the old leaders of the ANC, only Mr Mandela has remained, certain to be re-elected as president. Under him will be the princes in waiting, Mr Mbeki, sure to be elected as party deputy president, and Mr Ramaphosa, the secretary general who negotiated the interim constitution with the National Party.

Johannesburg — Prison conditions have never been among South Africa's strong points. Yet the suspected linchpin of the notorious "Third Force", which terrorised campaigners for majority rule and township leaders in the run-up to last April's general elections, wanted for nothing behind bars, writes Karl Maier.

Colonel Eugene de Kock, who faces 106 charges of murder, kidnapping, fraud and theft when his trial opens on 20 February, was held at Adriaan Vlok police station in Verwoerdburg after being arrested seven months ago. He enjoyed a television, video recorder, and a cellular telephone to call parliament, reporters and Portugal, where his wife Audrey and two sons are believed to be living. Friends came over for supper, and visitors, some police officers, queued to see him. On times, he left the jail to attend social functions at a rugby club. The telephone allowed him to transfer about £180,000 from his Swiss bank account. He also

made calls to Chief Mangosuthu's Inkatha Freedom Party, with which Third Force members in the security forces were alleged to have worked to attack supporters of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress. Colonel de Kock even mounted an alarm system, saying someone had tried to get into his cell one night.

The Colonel was enjoying what one police lieutenant said, with great understatement in an affidavit, "greater freedom of movement and more privileges

than an awaiting-trial prisoner would, in my experience, normally have". However, his life of luxury ended on 8 December when it was discovered by Captain Kobus Swartz, Colonel de Kock was transferred to Pretoria Central Prison, visits are limited, and he can telephone only from a pay phone after a prison officer has dialled the number.

He is not allowed alcohol, but can keep a television, as long as it is battery powered. His new cell does not have electricity.

## Colonel lived life of luxury in cell

THE INDEPENDENT • MONDAY 19 DECEMBER 1994

by Fred Bridgland  
in Johannesburg

JUST when it looked like the troublesome Zulu issue had been laid to rest in Nelson Mandela's "new South Africa", the spears and shields are rattling and ancient war chants can be heard.

Hardline Zulu nationalists in Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party want to withdraw from the ANC-dominated government of national unity and concentrate on strengthening their party's control of the provincial government in KwaZulu-Natal, Inkatha's power base.

The strategy, to be discussed at a party conference next month, would first involve dissolving the KwaZulu-Natal Assembly and calling fresh provincial elections to strengthen Inkatha's 51 per cent majority.

The hardliners believe Inkatha would win an increased majority. It would then be possible to claim "real federal powers" on issues such as housing and policing. This would spark a constitutional confrontation with the African National Congress and the Cape Town-based coalition central government, which has overriding powers on housing and police matters.

Senior party figures are arguing that participation in the national coalition has handcuffed Inkatha to decisions steamrollered through Cabinet by the ANC's ministerial majority.

As the ANC inevitably makes mistakes and becomes discredited, Inkatha — whose three members of the 30-strong Cabinet include Chief Buthelezi as Home Minister — would also be blamed.

Inkatha sources say the hardliners want Chief Buthelezi to withdraw from Mr Mandela's government and take over as prime minister of KwaZulu-Natal.

An Inkatha withdrawal from the central government

would severely dent international business confidence in South Africa. Under the present interim constitution, the ANC and its minority Inkatha and National Party partners share responsibility for decisions, cutting the chance of serious political conflict.

The spectre of political violence would also rise again in KwaZulu-Natal, where 20,000 people died in ANC-Inkatha fighting in the decade before last April's first all-race general election.

By Zulu standards there

has been peace in KwaZulu-Natal since the general election; nevertheless about 600 people have died in the past seven months.

What may make Chief Buthelezi bold enough to withdraw from the government is the victory he seems to have won against Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini for the loyalty of tribal chiefs.

In September King Zwelethini announced that he was severing all ties with Inkatha and dismissed Chief Buthelezi as his "traditional prime minister". During the apartheid era King Zwelethini was firmly under the thumb of Chief Buthelezi, who was chief minister of the one-party tribal homeland of KwaZulu and controlled the King's purse-strings.

But the ANC's wooing of King Zwelethini seems to have backfired — although he has the support of some princes exiled from KwaZulu by Chief Buthelezi, hundreds of princes, chiefs and headmen have pledged their loyalty to the Inkatha leader.

Chief Buthelezi called two meetings of the 300 or so chiefs this month at which they snubbed the King by affirming Chief Buthelezi as his "traditional prime minister".

The Inkatha-dominated KwaZulu-Natal Assembly has passed a controversial law creating a House of Traditional Leaders in which the chiefs sit and receive stipends of up to £7,000 a year — a big increase over the previous era. However, King Zwethelini has refused to accept the legislation, which drastically cuts his powers and allows the chiefs to vote him from the throne.

Theminkosi Memela, spokesman for the Inkatha-

led KwaZulu-Natal provincial government, said the issue of Inkatha's withdrawal from Mandela's cabinet would top the agenda at the party conference.

Mr Memela said, in a reference to the ANC's alleged attempts to draw King Zwelethini into its camp: "Chief Buthelezi has said on several occasions that it doesn't seem that the ANC is truly interested in reconciliation."

And the distant rattle of spears was audible when he added: "The decision to stay or pull out will depend on the level of conflict between the ANC and Inkatha both nationally and provincially at the time."

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ANGOLA

## Namibia seals off border near Unita's Jamba base

The Namibian border south of Unita's Jamba base has been effectively sealed, adding to pressure on the rebel movement.

Namibian security forces, acting on President Sam Nujoma's orders (*SouthScan* v9/45), have already shot dead a number of Angolans attempting the crossing, according to local press reports.

Nujoma instructed the police and defence force soldiers patrolling the northern border to shoot anybody crossing the Kavango river illegally.

The border was closed following an attack on the Namibian side which left three people dead, and which was blamed on Unita, which controls most of the 550-km long stretch.

As a result of the closure thousands of Angolans are threatened with starvation since their main source of food has been shut off.

"We have stopped them completely. Maybe they are starving," said Kavango military commander Col. Thomas Shuuya.

Meanwhile in Luanda in talks mediated by the UN Unita has discussed arrangements for assembling Unita troops in 15 sectors in order to disarm and demobilise them under UN supervision.

Unita has already rejected any role for South African, Namibian or Zimbabwean soldiers in the future UN contingent in Angola because of their "closeness" to the Luanda regime.

Unita has accused mercenaries from the SA private company Executive Outcomes of fighting for the government.

A first contingent of 350 UN troops will be deployed in Angola as soon as the UN is certain each side is observing the ceasefire which came into force on November 22.

### Civilian parties

The government meanwhile is facing mounting criticism from civilian opposition parties who claim post-war Angola is becoming a bi-partisan affair in which they are being effectively sidelined.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos announced Tuesday a decision to "create an organism to enable (civilian opposition) political parties to play a role in implementing the Lusaka Protocol (the peace accords signed in the Zambian capital)."

He announced the decision at a meeting with opposition parties in the presidential palace during which he also promised to consult them regularly over unrest in Cabinda enclave where separatists have been waging a low-level guerrilla war for independence for nearly two decades.

Meanwhile Unita on Wednesday asked Portugal for "clarification" about its alleged illegal sales of arms to the Angolan government during a period when arms sales to parties to the Angolan conflict were banned.

Vorgan, the Unita radio monitored in Luanda, said Lisbon had "violated" the arms embargo imposed after the signature on May 31 1991 in Bicesse Portugal of a first series of peace accords between Unita and the MPLA government.

The allegations have created a political storm in Portugal pitting the presidency against the army and Prime Minister Cavaco Silva (*SouthScan* v9/45 p357).

**ANGOLA**  
Libération → mercredi 21 décembre 1994

## Jonas Savimbi n'est pas mort, il se cache dans la brousse

Bailundo, envoyé spécial

Sur un pan de ruine, le graffiti est délavé, à peine lisible: «*Deus no Ceu, Savimbi em Angola*» (Dieu au ciel, Savimbi en Angola). Un mois après la signature d'un «protocole d'accord» qui aurait dû apporter la paix à l'Angola, potentiellement le pays le plus riche d'Afrique mais, depuis trente-trois ans, le plus dévasté par la guerre sur le continent, l'absence de Dieu est aussi certaine que la présence de Jonas Malheiro Savimbi. Contrairement aux rumeurs, le chef rebelle angolais n'est pas mort, il jure n'avoir jamais été blessé et il explique sa longue éclipse – pas d'interview cette année et une dernière apparition en public qui remonte au mois de juillet – par «une situation confuse qui ne se prêtait pas aux déclarations» et, surtout, les «tentatives répétées du gouvernement» de l'assassiner.

### Une déroute

Vingt-huit ans après avoir fondé l'Union nationale pour l'indépendance totale de l'Angola (Unita), avec pour seule arme un pistolet Tokarev

de fabrication russe, Jonas Savimbi est de retour à la case départ. Ayant perdu le contrôle de toutes les villes et, notamment, de Huambo, capitale de son fief ethnique, le rebelle sexagénaire parcourt la brousse pour réorganiser son mouvement rebelle, moins défait que mis en déroute.

En 1976, l'an I de l'indépendance, Huambo était tombé une première fois et, par la suite, le Mouvement populaire de libération de l'Angola (MPLA) avait exercé le pouvoir dans la capitale Luanda, sur la côte et dans les villes de l'intérieur. Jusqu'à ce que, l'an passé, l'Unita réussisse à sortir de la brousse et à prendre, une à une, les villes de province. Puis, en pleine négociation-marathon pour un accord de paix, la fortune de la guerre a de nouveau changé de camp.



Le 9 novembre dernier, Huambo est tombé aux mains des gouvernementaux. Six semaines plus tard, l'Unita s'est réinstallée en brousse.

Un monticule solitaire avec, à flanc de colline, au milieu de l'herbe haute, une petite église portugaise, vestige du temps colonial: «*Jamais la messe n'a été lue ici, nos ancêtres l'ont toujours empêché*», explique Paolo Gato, le bras droit politique de Jonas Savimbi. L'homme, un temps représentant de l'Unita à Paris, est du pays, né à cinq kilomètres d'ici. En haut de la colline, il fait découvrir la modeste sépulture de deux rois ovimbundu, l'ethnie représentant, à elle seule, un tiers de la population angolaise.

«*On ne peut pas nous exclure du pouvoir*», affirme-t-il. Il y a cinq ans, avant le départ des 50 000 Cubains venus prêter main forte au gouvernement au nom de «l'internationalisme prolétarien», l'Unita se targuait de mener une lutte «anticommuniste». A Washington, les maquisards angolais passaient alors pour des «combattants de la liberté» et le pouvoir de

Luanda pour un régime «marxiste». Aujourd'hui, le gouvernement angolais, reconnu l'an dernier par les Etats-Unis, dispose toujours d'un pactole pétrolier de 500 000 barils par jour.

La direction politique de l'Unita a provisoirement installé ses quartiers à Bailundo, la bourgade la plus proche de Huambo. Ici, autour d'un puits et d'une cuisine de fortune, dans des chambres aménagées en bureaux, s'affairent le secrétaire général de l'Unita, Eugenio Manuvakola, l'homme qui a signé la paix le 20 novembre, Jorge Valentin, l'ex-porte-parole, Jaka Jamba, chargé de la Culture, et Abel Chivukuvuku, l'ancien chef de la diplomatie.

### Suspensions

Ce dernier, grièvement blessé et fait prisonnier le 1<sup>er</sup> novembre 1992 à Luanda, au moment où les dirigeants de l'Unita étaient pourchassés dans la capitale, n'a été libéré qu'il y a un mois, dans les coulisses de la cérémonie de signature du «protocole d'accord» de Lusaka. Bien qu'ayant résisté à toutes les tentatives de «retournement», il n'a pas

encore retrouvé de fonctions officielles. Il est vrai que l'Unita n'a plus d'organigramme officiel et, à en croire les rumeurs à l'étranger, la moitié de ses hommes auraient trahi Savimbi ou été exécutés par lui.

Lorsque «le patron» annonce qu'il n'ira pas à Luanda, qu'il refuse le cantonnement de ses combattants et qu'il doute de la volonté du gouvernement de faire la paix, la direction de l'Unita l'entoure au grand complet. Pas un mot, pas un geste, alors qu'il y va, en cette heure sombre pour l'Unita, de la vie de tout un chacun et, au-delà, du destin de l'Afrique australe. Sans l'Angola, avec son pétrole, ses diamants et ses terres fertiles faiblement peuplées de douze millions d'habitants, la «révolution tranquille» en Afrique du Sud et la paix fragile au Mozambique ne suffiront pas à rendre prospère le sud du continent. Mais Jonas Savimbi, en pleine possession de ses moyens physiques et intellectuels, parle seul, d'autorité. Ici, dans ce Hinterland, il reste, malgré tout, Dieu en Angola.

S.Sm.



Jonas Savimbi (au centre) entouré de la direction politique de l'Unita à Bailundo, le 14 décembre. A l'extrême droite, Abel Chivukuvuku, libéré le 20 novembre à Lusaka, après deux ans de détention à Luanda.



# Libération

\$ 2,00

**JONAS SAVIMBI, FONDATEUR ET CHEF MILITAIRE DE L'UNITA**

## « Je me bats depuis 1958

Bailundo, envoyé spécial

## et je ne suis pas fatigué »

CONSTAMMENT EN MOUVEMENT, sur la ligne de front ou de réunion en réunion, Jonas Savimbi dort peu et reçoit, de préférence, la nuit. « La peur d'être tué ne me hante pas », affirme le plus ancien chef rebelle d'Afrique qui, mercredi dernier, dans une salle bétonnée et agrémentée seulement d'un drapeau, avait préféré chemise blanche et blazer bleu à l'habituel tenue militaire. La fin de la guerre en Angola? Le leader de l'Unita est loin d'y croire.

► Le cessez-le-feu en vigueur depuis le 16 novembre est-il respecté?

Après tant d'années de guerre, on pourrait trouver normal que, par-ci par-là, des accrochages ponctuels aient encore lieu. Mais, je le crains fort, ce n'est pas de cela qu'il s'agit. Un peu partout dans le pays, dans le sud-est autant que dans le nord, les forces gouvernementales sont sur l'offensive. Ce matin même, elles sont sorties de Huambo et, au terme de deux heures de combats avec des chars et au canon, elles ont pris l'une de nos positions. Toujours pour intervenir ici, d'après nos informations, des bombardiers viennent d'être transférés à Catumbela, la plus grande

base aérienne sur la côte, où il n'y a pas encore un seul observateur de l'ONU. Ma plus grande crainte est que le gouvernement espère pouvoir conquérir tout le territoire qu'il avait perdu avant même l'arrivée en nombre des Casques bleus. Dans ce cas, pourquoi accepterait-il encore la présence de l'ONU? Ce n'est plus la logique d'incidents isolés...

Non, la volonté du gouvernement de faire la paix

### INTERVIEW

PAR STEPHEN SMITH

est en question. Le MPLA n'a pas changé de philosophie: c'est toujours la réconciliation par la force. Nous avons conclu l'accord, le 31 octobre, alors que les troupes gouvernementales étaient encore à 80 km de Huambo. Puis elles ont pris la ville, le 9 novembre. Uige, dans le nord, a été prise la trêve déjà signée. Or, nous ne pouvons pas accepter la paix dans l'humiliation! Pour nous, l'accord de Lusaka, c'est l'arrêt des hostilités et, aussi et surtout, la volonté réelle de faire la paix.

Pour mettre en œuvre l'accord de paix, êtes-vous prêt à vous rendre à Luanda?

L'Unita, en la personne d'Isaias Samakuva au sein de la Commission conjointe, est déjà présente à Luanda et participe pleinement à l'application de l'accord. Cela dit, après la tuerie de nos cadres en octobre-novembre 1992, chacun d'entre nous doit lui-même décider de repartir ou non pour Luanda. Après ce qui s'y est passé, c'est un choix qu'on ne peut pas imposer. Chacun est libre, volontaire.

Et vous, irez-vous à Luanda?

Je ne suis pas fou! Pourquoi aller me faire tuer? La paix, c'est pour tout le monde, et donc aussi pour moi. Dans la situation actuelle, je ne pars pas pour Luanda. Tant que l'on projette de m'assassiner, je ne fais pas partie du jeu. Un jour peut-être, quand il y aura des gages sérieux, quand j'aurai le sentiment que les protagonistes à Luanda souhaitent vraiment mon concours. Mais, d'abord, le gouvernement doit donner force probante aux engagements pris. Il ne suffit pas de signer un papier.

Mais, justement, en décidant de ne pas aller à Luanda, n'envoyez-vous pas du poids au processus de paix engagé? Et, pour commencer, qu'allez-vous faire? Partir en exil ou rester au pays?

Je resterai ici, comme toujours, dans la forêt, dans les petites villes de l'intérieur. Pas question de m'exiler! Moi, je me bats depuis 1958 et je ne suis pas fatigué. Il est vrai que le massacre de nos meilleurs cadres à Luanda m'a fait comprendre, comme jamais auparavant, la valeur de la vie et les risques de la politique. Mais je suis un ancien combattant contre le colonialisme, et je préfère mourir ici plutôt que de m'exiler. Je ne fuis pas l'Angola. Si on doit me tuer, ce sera en martyr.

Qu'en est-il des autres engagements du protocole de Lusaka, notamment de l'intégration dans l'armée nationale et, au préalable, du cantonnement de vos combattants?

Tout se jouera sur l'armée, c'est évident. Il faut, pour nos militaires, une part du gâteau. Cela dit, dans l'immédiat, ils ne sont pas près d'y aller, pas près d'accepter le cantonnement. Il faudra des garanties. En 1992, nos forces avaient été cantonnées à plus de 90% alors qu'à peine la moitié des troupes du MPLA avaient été démobilisées. On ne répètera pas cette erreur. La tâche des Casques bleus sera compliquée, d'autant qu'ils ne sont pas encore sur le terrain. Ne faut-il pas craindre l'échec de l'accord de paix?

On peut, en effet, craindre un déraillement du processus de paix engagé. Les Casques bleus, nous dit-on, mettront deux ou trois mois à se déployer. Or, à l'évidence, c'est au début que le processus est fragile, qu'il a le plus besoin de garanties pour être consolidé. Pendant de longues semaines, d'ici au mois de février, il n'y aura pratiquement pas de Casques bleus sur le terrain en Angola. On nous parle de 325 militaires et de 126 policiers de l'ONU. Que l'Angola est petit! Que son problème est mineur! Ici, curieusement, on ne se donne jamais les moyens.

L'Unita s'oppose à l'envoi de certains contingents: du Portugal, de l'Afrique du Sud...

Nous ne disons pas: le Portugal, non. Seulement, il y a eu le scandale de l'aide militaire portugaise accordée à Luanda, les ventes d'hélicoptères, la réparation des avions de chasse. Pour cette raison, le président Mario Soares a refusé de confirmer la nomination du chef d'état-major de l'armée de l'air. Ce n'est pas nous qui avons fait cela, ce

## Angola: Savimbi ne désarme pas



Alors que des rumeurs couraient sur sa disparition, le chef historique de l'Unita a accordé une interview exclusive à Libération où il confie ses doutes sur le processus de

paix engagé en Angola. Jonas Savimbi estime que le cessez-le-feu du 16 novembre n'est pas respecté par les forces du gouvernement d'Eduardo Dos Santos.

sont les Portugais eux-mêmes qui disent: nous n'avons pas été propres dans cette affaire. Qu'ils se lavent donc de tout soupçon, chez eux, avant de venir chez nous... Quant aux Sud-Africains, là encore, nous avons été clairs: il est impensable qu'un contingent de paix sud-africain vienne en Angola tant que 8.000 mercenaires sud-africains se battent aux côtés du MPLA. Qu'ils partent d'abord, pour que nous puissions être sûrs que ceux qui viennent sont de bonne volonté.

Votre confiance en l'ONU semble limitée...

Mais c'est l'ancienne représentante de l'ONU, Margaret Anstee, qui l'a elle-même dit: « On m'a chargée de piloter un Boeing-747 en me donnant du carburant pour un DC-3. » Le problème: ce sont nous, les Angolais, qui étions les passagers. Maintenant, tout au long de la transition conduite au Mozambique, l'ONU n'a eu de cesse d'affirmer qu'il ne fallait pas « répéter les erreurs commises en Angola ». Mais lesquelles? Ici, par manque d'honnêteté, on ne les avait jamais admises...

Le nouveau représentant de l'ONU, Alioune Blondin Beye, a proposé une rencontre entre vous et le président Dos Santos. Qu'en pensez-vous?

Je suis favorable à cette proposition que soutiennent également les Américains et les Sud-Africains. Mais il faut convenir d'un lieu sûr. Maintenant qu'Eduardo dos Santos a pris, de force, pratiquement tous les aéroports du pays, il me demande de venir à Luanda ou dans une autre ville angolaise sous son contrôle. Pour des raisons de sécurité, je ne peux pas accepter. Autant lui demander de venir ici à Bailundo! Nous pourrions, cependant, nous voir à l'étranger, dans un pays voisin. Quant à M<sup>re</sup> Beye, il m'a déçu: ce n'était pas à lui d'affirmer que je n'étais pas venu à Luanda pour la signature de l'accord, le 20 novembre, parce que j'étais « un homme battu », parce que je ne voulais pas être « humilié ». Il parle trop! Maintenant, il veut venir ici me rencontrer. Ce n'est plus la peine. C'est fini. Je ne veux plus m'entretenir avec lui.

Vous ne voulez plus voir le représentant spécial de l'ONU, vous ne voulez pas vous rendre à Luanda et vos troupes refusent d'être cantonnées... N'avez-vous pas l'impression qu'il y a là un problème?

Bien sûr, il y a un problème, et je suis suffisamment franc pour ne pas le cacher: l'Unita traverse sa crise la plus profonde depuis sa création, il y a 28 ans. Dans une guérilla qui gagne, vous avez une seule voie que tout le monde suit. Mais dans l'adversité, il y a plusieurs voies, des groupes différents. Aujourd'hui, ma voie n'est pas la seule au sein de l'Unita. Le régime de Luanda cherche, politiquement, à nous diviser et, physiquement, à m'éliminer. Il aura l'Unita qu'il mérite car, pour nous, il y a cinq, six mois incertains à traverser. Maintenant, au service de la paix, il faut faire preuve de vision politique pour réussir. En ce qui me concerne, c'est simple: il ne faut pas mourir, il ne faut pas se laisser tuer. ◀