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Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

The folly of power politics

IN the second half of this decade, the government of South Africa — whoever its members — will be wrestling with the economic consequences of what happens in the next year or two. If a new growth cycle can be set in motion, the last years of the century may bring prosperity and hope; if there is no growth, the government will confront a people made dangerous by deprivation and anger.

This trite prediction would hardly be necessary but for the persistence of the ANC in the folly of destructive politics. It is necessary, somehow, to bring home to Nelson Mandela and his inner circle two thoughts: firstly, black rule is both inevitable and imminent, and secondly, the damage done today will fall heavily on the first government that can claim to represent the masses.

Already it is plain that the current expectations of black people are unrealistic. They will not be met. There is no font of money, no feasible way to redistribute houses in Houghton or Constantia, no possibility of handing out managerial posts in the big corporations to BA graduates. The only way to meet some of the aspirations — modest aspirations for jobs and shelter — is to set in motion a process of sustained, non-inflationary economic growth.

That process requires, above all, confidence in the future. Without that confidence, there is no reason to save or to invest, or to build, or to plant a tree. South Africa teeters now on the edge of a catastrophic loss of confidence which will persuade everybody to grab what he can, by whatever means he can, and run. Already we see signs of that attitude all around us.

President De Klerk, accustomed to office, has been going around the world trying to drum up confidence in

South Africa's future, no matter what the race of the government, and investment in its economy; Mr Mandela, schooled only in the struggle for power, has been following in his footsteps, trying to damage the economy and hold off investment until he is sure of power.

There is no need for Mr Mandela to do what he is doing. If negotiations fail, the economy will crash and he will have conditions of distress and disorder to satisfy the most anarchic of revolutionary instincts; if negotiations succeed, he will need today's investment in order to meet tomorrow's clamour for jobs and prosperity. If he measures success by the damage he does to the interests of white South Africans, he will destroy the economic engine of the country, as Frelimo's victory over the Portuguese destroyed the economic engine of Mozambique; if he hopes to govern well, he must comfort, reassure, encourage and lead.

Most of the educated world understands this. That is why international leaders are falling in, one by one, behind Mr De Klerk's appeal to abolish sanctions. There is manifestly less and less patience abroad with the appeal for foreign countries to inflict further damage on South Africa, even in places like Denmark and Ireland, where the cost of moral posturing is low and the satisfaction of doing so is great.

The world expects the ANC to engage in negotiations, to achieve compromise, and to co-operate in making South Africa the prosperous multi-racial democracy that it can be. Unless the ANC understands this, it is destined to find itself, rather than the government, subjected to isolation and rejection.

16/1/11

ANC losing out on South Coast: Thompson

CITIZEN 28/04/94

THERE would be far less Black on Black violence if Whites did not get involved, Mr Aubrey Thompson (NP South Coast) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Natal Provincial Budget debate in Pietermaritzburg, he said: "We would have far less trouble if it were not for White interference . . . (by people) who create not only trouble, but create expectations they know can never be met."

He paid tribute to the police in the Port Shepstone area where they were working hard at trying to restore order after

recent outbreaks of bloody violence.

"The ANC are losing out in my constituency notwithstanding the radical White support. They seem to think they can draw up hit lists and kill at will. The police and Inkatha are not going to stand by with their arms folded. For every action of the ANC there is a reaction."

Calling for the province to be allowed to generate its own income, he said it expected to derive about R50 million from betting taxes and licences — just over 25 per cent of the province's tax base. —Sapa.

Amnesty 'on

CITY PRESS 28 APRIL 1991

schedule'

De Klerk confident as ANC deadline approaches

by SEKOLA SELLO

WITH just two days before the April 30 deadline for the release of political prisoners and return of exiles, President FW de Klerk insisted the government was "on schedule in terms of the agreements with the ANC".

He was speaking yesterday morning at Jan Smuts Airport after arriving home from a week-long visit to England, Ireland and Denmark.

He criticised those promoting the "propaganda image" of the government not moving fast enough to meet the deadline.



De Klerk ... criticised "propaganda image"

Although De Klerk says the government is on schedule, it seems unlikely the process for the return of exiles will be completed by Tuesday.

There are about 20 000 to 40 000 people still in exile.

De Klerk is expected to make an announcement in Parliament this week on the ANC's May 9 ultimatum. At the airport yesterday he refused to say whether the government would be able to meet the ANC's demands.

The ANC has said negotiations with the government may be derailed if Pretoria does not meet the April 30 deadline for exiles and amnesty for political

prisoners and fails to respond positively to its May 9 ultimatum.

The ultimatum demands include the dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

There is a discrepancy between the number of political prisoners the government says are still incarcerated and the figure given by the Human Rights Commission.

De Klerk said in London there were less than 200, while the HRC puts the figure at 1 146.

This is because some political prisoners are regarded by the government as "common law criminals".

The State President said he was warmly received in Ireland and Denmark, countries which in the past were vehement opponents of South Africa.

Although De Klerk

denied he had gone to Europe with a "shopping list", he said trade with overseas countries was opening up and there was an inflow of capital, even if this was not on a large scale.

See reports on Page 10.

Broederstroom trialists freed

CP Correspondent and Sapa

HISTORY was made in Cape Town yesterday when five members of the PAC were freed from Robben Island without having signed indemnity forms.

And Broederstroom trialists Damian de Lange and Iain Hugh Robertson were released from Pretoria Prison, along with ANC bomber Marion Sparg.

The third jailed Broederstroom trialist, Susan Westcott, who married De Lange in prison, was not released as the government apparently aims to deport her. She entered the country on a British passport.

The five PAC members were among a group of 36 prisoners, mainly ANC members, released yesterday. Among the ANC members was James Lucky Mange, who stood trial in Maritzburg in 1979 and was sentenced to death, but this was later commuted to 20 years' imprisonment.

The prisoners received a tumultuous welcome as they landed in Cape Town harbour on a wet, cold and miserable day which did not dampen the spirits of those waiting for them.

Last night they attended a "welcome home" service held by the Rev Chris Wessels at Cowley House - a transit house.

National PAC spokesman Barney

Desai said the release of the men was a significant change in the government's policy. "The PAC welcomes this development as a vindication of our stand that our imprisoned members will not sign a document of indemnity or bargain for their freedom."

The movement had always insisted there could not be meaningful talks unless the regime met conditions set out in the Harare Declaration and United Nations consensus preconditions.

The release of De Lange and Robertson was confirmed by Department of Correctional Services spokesman Col D Immelman.

They were freed in terms of the Pretoria Minute, he said, with specific reference to the new category announced by the Minister of Justice and Correctional Services, Kobie Coetsee, on April 24. Immelman could not confirm Susan Westcott's release.

Marion Sparg was similarly released in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

De Lange immediately vowed to fight his wife's deportation.

They were met by lawyer Norman Manoim and Rob Adams, who was also recently released from prison.

The Broederstroom trialists were sentenced to lengthy prison terms by the Pretoria Regional Court after some of its members had amassed a huge arsenal

of Soviet-made weaponry.

De Lange also detonated a remote-controlled charge that injured a number of SAAF members in an SADF bus on the East Rand.

De Lange was apparently met at the prison by his former wife, Diane, and their twin boys. Wearing tackies, black sweater, trousers and a black T-shirt, he said he was "anxious" about the negotiation process because "we still have a long way to go".

Red-haired Westcott was the communications officer in the ANC guerrilla cell De Lange commanded. Iain Robertson was the political commissar.

Sparg, wearing a blue outfit, and emerging with cardboard boxes full of files and Unisa study guides, said her release had come to her as "a great surprise". The former *Sunday Times* reporter said she would first go to Johannesburg and later to her parents' home in East London.

De Lange, a former *Rand Daily Mail* journalist, fled South Africa with Sparg in the early 1980s, initially taking refuge in Botswana. Sparg was later convicted of having planted explosive devices in police offices in Johannesburg.

There are 57 ANC, 10 PAC and two Azapo members still in detention on Robben Island.

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'Comrade' councillor shakes up Diepmeadow

CITY PRESS

28/04/91

By THEMBA KHUMALO

DIEPMEADOW councillor Benjamin Mtimkulu is a controversial character.

He is often snubbed by his colleagues on the council and is rejected by the ANC – though he claims he is a member.

His double-storey house in Zone 6 Diepkloof has been petrol-bombed twice in two years – first in 1988 and again last month.

With friends like his, who needs enemies?

"It was not the comrades. It was thugs hired by my colleagues in the council to kill me," he said.

"My comrades would not kill me. I'm a hard-carrying member of the ANC."

Mtimkulu claims to have been recruited as an underground operative by the ANC when the organisation was banned.

Whether you love him or you hate him.

He wants an all-black council – a position that has angered white officials.

"I remind them that we cannot afford the luxury of unqualified white officials in influential positions when we have black graduates," he said.

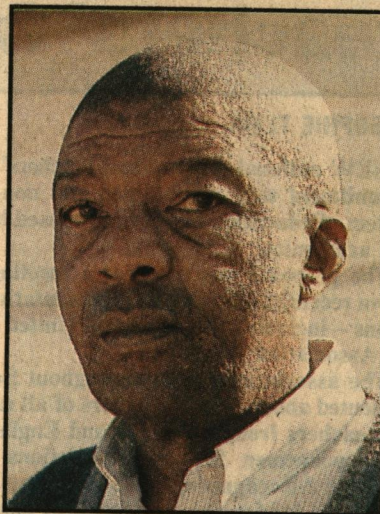
At council meetings Mtimkulu has suggested that money be set aside to pay council employees so they can match their white counterparts.

He has been known to infuriate some councillors by accusing them of corruption.

"Just look at that rubbish," he said, pointing to a mountain of rubbish.

It has been lying there for weeks.

A white official has been given a car jack where refuse is being dumped, he is not doing his job."



Maverick . . . Diepmeadow councillor Benjamin Mtimkulu.

But how is it possible for Mtimkulu to be a member of the ANC and a councillor when the two are fundamentally opposed?

He explained that ANC negotiations with the government had urged a peaceful transformation from black town councils to democratic local structures.

Mtimkulu has two sons, one in exile in the US who fled the country in 1976. He said his family had a long history of ANC membership.

"My father was a driver for leaders of the ANC in the 60s and I helped my son to skip the country."

Mtimkulu may never become a national leader, but his irreverence will probably keep him in the public eye for years – that is, if he does not tire of playing the maverick.

Corruption allegations 'unfounded' — SACC

WE are very surprised by the articles which appeared in last week's issue of *Vrye Weekblad*.

We consider the articles scurrilous and are very concerned about the undeserved negative impression they may create.

The SACC is going through a difficult period meeting its budget at present, as are many organisations which have depended on foreign funding.

Firstly, with the changing climate in South Africa and the economic recession in Europe, donors are re-evaluating how much they can continue to allocate to long-time recipients of their aid in South Africa.

Secondly, the SACC has also to be cognizant of developments in South Africa and re-assess our projects and personpower needs accordingly. Some of our projects are winding down and other new development projects have to be initiated.

These factors have meant that personnel needs have had to be reviewed.

As a result there have had to be retrenchments, which have been particularly upsetting for the SACC as it is an organisation where close bonds have been forged in fighting the injustices of apartheid society.

We reject the allegations implicit in the article that the SACC could be carrying out a vendetta against individual staff members. We are particularly disturbed by the tacit suggestions that the SACC could be involved in attacks on people and property.

We believe these and other unfounded allegations border on defamation and we reserve any further comment.

We think the *Vrye Weekblad* articles are misleading

in that they create the impression that the opinions expressed in the articles are endorsed by the majority of staff.

The other matters about thefts of money and equipment from the SACC were already under investigation long before the publication of the articles in the *Vrye Weekblad*. — On behalf of the General Secretariat, SA Council of Churches.

Inkatha NOT a liberation party

IN the My Way column in *City Press* on April 14, 1991, Khulu Sibiyi comments on the importance and desirability of forming a patriotic front. I agree with this, but for Mr Sibiyi to include Inkatha in such a coalition is really comic.

Be realistic, Mr Sibiyi! Do you really believe Inkatha stands for true liberation? Do you think Inkatha will ever agree on the formation of an interim government and a constituent assembly? Of course not! So why do you believe

Inkatha would ever join a patriotic front, even if asked to?

It is such misleading comments from people of your calibre that causes all the confusion. Of course Mr Sibiyi may be bending over backwards in his attempt to be open-minded. But one should be realistic, and Mr Sibiyi is definitely not being realistic here. The BCM, Azapo, PAC, ANC, Unity Front, etc, yes! But Inkatha? This must be a joke. — Be Real, Nlagate

28/4/91

I HELPED KILL

CITY PRESS

28 April 1991

MAPHUMULO

SAP, SADF implicated in murder of chief

By S'BU MNGADI

A MAN claiming to be a Military Intelligence agent has confessed to being a member of a hit squad that assassinated Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, in Maritzburg in February.

Sipho Alfred Madlala, 28, said he was agent 810 of the SADF Military Intelligence at the Natal

Command in Durban. In an affidavit, he implicated both the SAP and MI in Maphumulo's assassination.

A spokesman for the SADF yesterday denied SADF involvement in the assassination. He said Madlala was known to the SADF because on several occasions he provided information about stolen weapons – but he was not paid for it. The SADF fully supported police investigations into the matter, the spokesman said.

Madlala named a prominent Murder and Robbery Squad officer in Maritzburg as a co-conspirator in Maphumulo's murder.

Madlala, of Imbali in Maritzburg, this week walked into *City Press*' offices and confessed to taking part in the killing. He named Security Police, the Murder and Robbery squad and SADF officers as part of the plot.

He also identified the commanding officer and members of the hit squad.

He said the assassination

was carried out by himself and men from Matatiele, Mandini on the North Coast and Richards Bay.

In an affidavit given to *City Press*, Madlala said on February 10 he and four other MI men returned to the military police offices in Stanger Street, Durban, after investigating the possession of weapons by people in Umlazi.

At the police office a sergeant told them they had to carry out an operation in Maritzburg. On February 15 the sergeant gave each of them R50 for transport to Maritzburg.

He called the men in individually, and told Madlala to go to the Watson Hotel in Maritzburg where he would find the head of the hit squad.

When he arrived there, Madlala was told by the hit squad leader that if he was questioned he should say he worked for a security firm. He later went to the hit squad leader's office at the Alexander police station, where he found the other members of the hit squad team.

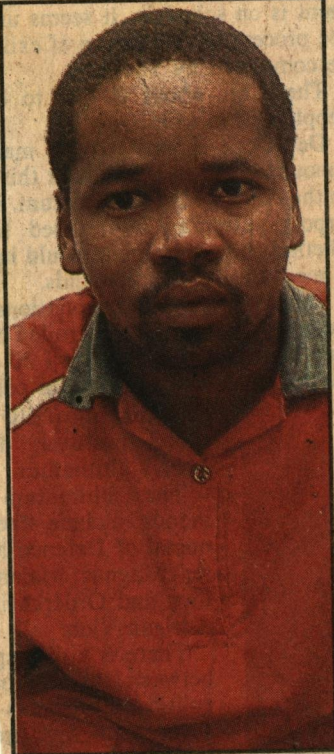
The hit squad leader took a photograph of Chief Maphumulo from his desk and asked the men whether they knew him. Madlala recognised him, but the others did not.

The leader "said that was the person we were to get rid of". When asked why, he said the chief was a problem to the government.

He showed them the chief's house behind the

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MAPHUMULO FROM
Pg 1



**Sipho Madlala: each killer
got R5 000.**

Sunday Times - 28 April 1991

Courting trouble

CHRIS HANI'S warning in the United States this week that there would be "mass action" in the event of the conviction of Winnie Mandela is in contempt of his own leader and, possibly, the courts.

The ANC won some credit at the beginning of this tawdry affair by calling on all parties, including the press, not to prejudge the issue and to allow the law to take its course. Nelson Mandela, no less, welcomed the opportunity for his wife to clear her name through the courts.

That opportunity has now been granted. Clearly not all members of the ANC are delighted.

The guilt, or otherwise, of Mrs Mandela on kidnapping and assault

charges is for the court to decide. But it is noticeable how, since the commencement of the trial, ANC supporters have repeatedly attempted to challenge the court's status. Mr Hani's statement this week is merely the latest, if most provocative.

Some in the ANC, once again, want it both ways: to protect the wife of their deputy president from public comment through the sub judice rule, while simultaneously attempting to undermine the judicial process and the credibility of any findings.

Mr Mandela should say if he shares the views of his subordinates. Does he now wish that his wife had never been brought to trial?

A WORM of doubt gnaws at the mind as obstacles pile up in the path of negotiations and as the atmosphere becomes clouded by threats, deadlines, ultimatums and an array of tactics that seem to put the very process of negotiation at risk.

The doubt is whether the ANC, politically outmanoeuvred by President De Klerk and abandoned by foreign allies, still has the confidence to negotiate — or whether, in desperation, it is reverting to the more familiar terrain of revolutionary myth and violent method.

Four sets of obstacles to negotiations have recently arisen: the release of prisoners and the return of exiles; the ultimatum on the question of violence; the unreadiness of the ANC; and the proposal to form a common front with the PAC.

These adverse factors have coincided with an alarming deterioration in the tone of discourse, so that even the relationship between Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk is showing strain. The air is filled with tension-raising talk of mass action and land invasions, and by demands for sanctions. The creation of township self-defence units, while understandable, has raised a spectre of private armies.

The most immediate of these problems is the dispute which erupted here (with predictable, well-timed support in London) over the release of the remaining ANC prisoners by next Tuesday, the deadline set by the Pretoria Minute. In the event, the dispute was defused by the creation of a new category of prisoners entitled to release, leaving only about 200 cases unsettled.

The dispute itself was not surprising. The Pretoria Minute envisaged the release of all "categories" of prisoners by the end of 1990, leaving only individual cases to be settled by April 30; but the process has not gone badly, considering the difficulties — bureaucratic and legal.

The troubling question is why the issue has had to be elevated to the level of a threat to negotiations. Why was it internationalised, and why was it pursued most vociferously by people who were party to the negotiations? If nothing else, it suggests the existence on the ANC side of a lobby that seizes on every pretext to discredit negotiations or to make the process difficult.

The dispute over the return of the exiles is hardly different. The number of exiles abroad is uncertain — figures of 40 000 or more are banded about — but so far fewer than 6 000

KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY



have actually applied for indemnity in order to return.

Here, too, the government is accused of foot-dragging and excessive bureaucracy, and I suppose the accusation is valid. Why, after all, should a government which is inept and overbearing at everything else suddenly become efficient in processing exile applications?

But it is hard to know whether the exiles actually exist in any numbers.

ALL attempts to send independent journalists to the ANC camps to verify those numbers have been blocked and the air is filled with suggestions that the ANC itself is reluctant to bring back victims of its none-too-tender "discipline". Some "exiles" have simply come home by themselves and

others clearly intend never to return.

Whatever the truth, the issue need not delay negotiations unless the ANC is actually looking for pretexts to do so. After all, the people who matter are here, and free to come and go as they please.

As the April 30 deadline passes, the government in any event faces the more serious deadline of May 9. By then, the government must have yielded to various demands, or see negotiations come to an end.

Since the ANC demands include the firing of Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, as well as a purge of counter-insurgency units, suspension of police implicated in various killings, and a legislative ban on so-called "cultural weapons", it will require ingenuity to resolve the deadlock without making

the ANC leaders look like windbags. A climb-down looks almost inevitable.

This ultimatum has been defended as the ANC's way of dramatising its concern over violence. If so, it has made its point, but at a high price. Anyway, it is distinctly odd that the need to "dramatise violence" came not at the height of the trouble but after a steady, month-by-month decline in violence.

LIKE the questions of prisoners and exiles, the ultimatum on violence smells of a manufactured grievance, intended to delay, if not to stop, the process of negotiation. Assuming, however, that political ingenuity can overcome this obstacle, President De Klerk faces another.

The ANC leadership elections, originally intended for last December, were postponed until late June, and have now been shifted to July. There has been no formal threat to suspend negotiations until the new leaders are in position, but pre-election posturing and the manoeuvring already beggar negotiations.

The leadership contest is bound to beggar the talks until the new leaders are in place. They may then need time to settle in.

Meanwhile, the attempt to form a common front with the PAC raises another set of problems. Like the leadership elections, the unity talks will complicate the negotiations, especially as the first step is to prepare for a multi-party conference where the status of the PAC — as independent body or as a component of the common front — will be an issue.

All these obstacles are surmountable, given mutual goodwill, but it is not so easy to ignore the deteriorating tone of public discourse: the revival of the rhetoric of revolution, and of the methods to bring it about.

Mr Mandela continues, in the face of the massive unemployment that (he must know) feeds the violence of which he complains, to call for the economic strangulation of the coun-

try he hopes to lead. Both "mass action" and "armed struggle" have come back into vogue (and it is worth recalling the court cases in which learned counsel sought to excuse the filthiest deeds on the grounds that individuals were swept along by the passions of the mob).

Why should the ANC, standing at the threshold of negotiations which offer its easiest and fastest path to power, revert to sanctions, to mass action with its concomitant mob violence, and to all the tactics of confrontation?

THE worm of doubt suggests one answer: the ANC, schooled in the obsolete assumptions of socialist revolution and engaged for 30 years in the secret processes of conspiracy, has now found itself deficient in the political skills needed to engage President De Klerk in the political arena.

Abroad, the sanctions battle has been all but lost, and the anti-apartheid movement is disbanding. At home, where the ANC expected merely to negotiate the modalities of white surrender, it is engaged in a complex, confusing political process. It flounders in disorganisation and confusion.

It is weak, demoralised, and fighting for time.

We would do it again if needed, say white

SUNDAY TIMES 28 APRIL 1991

guerrillas

FREEDOM FOR ANC BOMB TRIO

By DE WET POTGIETER

THREE of the ANC's top white guerrillas walked out of Pretoria Central Prison yesterday afternoon.

They were two of the famous Broederstroom sabotage cell, Damian de Lange, 35, and Iain Hugh Robertson, 37, and ANC bomber and former journalist, Marion Sparg, 34.

Left behind and awaiting a deportation order was Mr De Lange's wife Susan Westcott, 25, who entered the country on a British passport. The couple married in jail last month.

At an impromptu press conference a few hours after their release Miss Sparg and Mr Robertson said they would "do it



De Lange and Sparg: yesterday's picture

again" but hoped it would not be necessary.

In 1986, at the age of 29, Miss Sparg was jailed for an effective 25 years by the Rand Supreme Court for treason and arson after planting bombs in police stations. She was the first white South African woman known to have served as an ANC soldier.

Damian de Lange, Iain Robertson and Susan Westcott, known as the "Broederstroom Three", were part of a five-person ANC unit which blew up a high-voltage electricity pylon in Alberton and a radio mast in Linksfield and attacked a military bus in Benoni, injuring 16 SA Air Force personnel.

Yesterday afternoon a visibly nervous and frail-looking Iain Hugh Robertson was whisked away from the prison by a former fellow inmate, Rob Adam.

Late in the afternoon Damian de Lange was still locked in a battle to reverse his wife's deportation order.

Mr De Lange was met at the prison by his ex-wife, Diane, and their children. Wearing takkies, black trousers and a black T-shirt, Mr De Lange said he was

anxious about the negotiation process because "we still have a long way to go".

Fighting

He said he had seen his wife in prison yesterday and that he had been visiting her once a week. The red-haired Susan Westcott was the communications officer in the ANC guerrilla cell her husband commanded.

Although she was technically freed with the others yesterday, she was kept in custody by prison officials pending the deportation order.

"I'm fighting her deportation at the moment on the grounds that she is my wife," said Mr De Lange.

He said he would "proceed in helping to create the new society".

Dazed and overwhelmed by her sudden freedom, a reserved but smiling Miss Sparg said she had heard only yesterday morning that she would be freed.

"I'm going to spend time with friends in Johannesburg and then I'm going to visit my parents in East

London," she said. She hoped to resume work in the media.

Her attorney, Norman Manoim, had great difficulty in fitting into his car the piles of boxes filled with her personal belongings — even a huge fish tank.

"I left the fishes behind with somebody still in prison," she said.

Speaking outside the prison, bearded Mr Robertson said the release had come as a big surprise.

"We had lived on the edge for the past few weeks, waiting for freedom," he said, shaking with excitement. He said he wanted to continue working within the ANC.

In Cape Town, meanwhile, another 36 prisoners left Robben Island as part of an accelerated tempo of prisoner releases aimed at meeting a deadline for the release of all political prisoners by Tuesday.

ANC will limit power — not water it down

IN your generally favourable leading article (April 14) on the ANC's two-part discussion paper on constitutional principles for a free South Africa, you made the rather odd statement that the ANC's proposed Bill of Rights is of "uncertain content".

This is remarkable as the ANC published a very detailed Bill of Rights in November 1990 which your newspaper reviewed, though in a rather erratic fashion, empha-

sising merely one aspect of a 37-page document.

In the "principles" document published a few days ago, we drew attention to the text of this approach through a Bill of Rights. The Bill imposes severe constraints and restrictions on state power and supports political, cultural, economic and environmental rights. It also proposes an ombudsman, a constitutional court and the more effective pro-

tection of citizens' rights. It's perplexing therefore, that you should take issue with the ANC's adherence to a unitary state. There is a fundamental difference between limitation of state power and diffusion of power which could be used to build frontiers around privilege on a local and regional basis.

Government proposals suggest not only a federal state but the

conferring of inherent constitutional power on local authorities. The ostensible reason for this is to grant regional and local autonomy. But the real effect will be to emasculate central government and reduce its capacity to meet the challenges of reconstruction and development.

The ANC documents propose a democratic and participative society. The government would like to entrench, in one guise or

another, ethnicity in governmental organs, especially the Senate. With a rotating prime minister and a cabinet made up of representatives of all parties deciding all issues by consensus, you will have a talking-shop of powerless politicians.

Under this grand scheme, South Africa will truly be ungovernable, as decisions will be taken elsewhere, if at all. Is this what the Sunday Times wants? — PROFESSOR KADER ASMAL, member of the ANC Constitutional Committee, University of the Western Cape, Bellville.

ANC 'ploy'

THE current negotiations are a classic example of the revolutionary tactics employed by those who seek power.

The ANC, carefully guided by Joe Slovo, is doing exactly what Lenin advocated.

First, they work to the dictum: "You must seek to enter into agreements with your enemy in order to gain advantage over him."

Communists do not believe that agreements are there to be honoured.

The next tactic is to "negotiate peace with one hand and build up your military strength with the other". — QUO VADIS? Durban.

HOGARTH

Sunday Times
An evening
with death
on the menu

THE Inkatha Freedom Party held a meeting at an expensive Johannesburg northern suburbs hotel last Friday night.

Shortly before it began a worried manager telephoned Inkatha officials to say that hotel staff refused to serve at the function — they had been threatened with death by unnamed people if they waited on any Inkatha supporters.

The function went ahead, smoothly, only after the management was able to persuade the staff that it was not an Inkatha function — merely a group of local residents who had invited Inkatha to address them.

Union may lose millions

□ From Page 1

regional offices. Most of the space, including a large ground-floor supermarket, is unlet and the investment is losing money.

The Fidelity group holds as security first-mortgage bonds on the Texas Panama property for R3-million, sale agreements of R1,1-million with respect to supermarket equipment and fixed deposits of R1,5-million pledged by the benevolent fund.

According to documents obtained by the Sunday Times, the union's internal inquiry was unable to establish why Naawu and its benevolent fund invested in Texas Panama in the first place.

Nor does it know the whereabouts of Naawu resolutions authorising the expenditure on the project or the whereabouts of financial correspondence between the banks and Texas Panama.

The commission of inquiry, which consists of Numsa executive mem-

bers, could also find no feasibility studies of the co-operative projects undertaken by Texas Panama and could not ascertain why the projects were begun when it became clear that there were no funds available.

It could not establish who the signatories of the accounts of Texas Panama and the benevolent fund were, nor could it establish who authorised Mr Sauls to enter into financial transactions on behalf of Naawu and the benevolent fund.

Deposit

While more than 50 questions could not be answered, the commission did establish that Mr Sauls deposited R220 000 in a fixed deposit account with the Perm in the name of Numsa without Numsa's authorisation.

The commission also found that Mr Sauls signed a suretyship and pledge for R760 000 on behalf of Numsa in favour of Fidelity Bank on June 26, 1989.

Numsa had not authorised the pledge.

The commission's inquiry is continuing and another prominent union member, John Gomomo, Cosatu vice-president and former Naawu treasurer, will be asked to assist.

Mr Mayekiso said Numsa was satisfied that the inability of Texas Panama to make its bank payments was a result of mismanagement caused by inexperience in running a co-operative.

The union had ruled out corruption.

He said the commission had completed its investigation into financial aspects of Texas Panama and was now looking at areas of mismanagement.

An example was an allegation that Mr Sauls and another union member removed stock from the Siyanda supermarket during the night at the end of 1989.

Mr Sauls was not available for comment.

Trade union boss in payouts probe

Sunday Times 28/4/91

By EDYTH BULBRING

ONE of South Africa's biggest trade unions stands to lose millions of rands of workers' money because of mismanaged, "reckless" and unauthorised investments by a senior official.

The National Union of Metalworkers of SA, representing 200 000 workers, has already ploughed in R2-million to protect a shaky investment in a Port Elizabeth building — and is committed to another R8,5-million.

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"Yes, it's terrible," he said.

Mr Mayekiso said a "rudimentary" feasibility study had shown the investment still to be viable.

But the union's commission found that the project had been entered into "recklessly and undemocratically".

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Texas Panama owns the Co-Operative Centre in Korsten, near Port Elizabeth, where Numsa and a few trade unions have

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Geneva talks on SA exiles

By MIKE ROBERTSON
and EDYTH BULBRING

FOREIGN AFFAIRS director general Neil van Heerden is in Geneva for high-level talks with representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to finalise their involvement in the return of South African exiles.

His visit comes on the eve of a summit in Johannesburg between the ANC, SA Communist Party and Cosatu to discuss protest action if the government fails to meet a Tuesday deadline for releasing all political prisoners and indemnifying exiles.

Mr Van Heerden left President De Klerk's party in Britain to fly to Geneva for the talks with the UNHCR.

SA officials said Mr Van Heerden and senior Department of Justice representatives were putting finishing touches to an agreement to allow the UNHCR to oversee the return of exiles.

UN refugee body expected in SA within two weeks

The officials said it was likely that the UNHCR would be active in SA within weeks.

A number of foreign governments which preferred not to deal with the SA authorities have promised to make substantial donations to the UNHCR to help with the exiles' return.

Sure

More than 400 prisoners have been released by the government in the last two weeks and another 200 are likely to go free soon. Human rights groups claim about 761 political prisoners would still remain — although the government disputes this figure.

The ANC's Jackie Selebi, who is handling the return of ANC exiles, said this week that indemnity forms

had been submitted to the government on behalf of 6 000 out of 20 000 ANC exiles.

Of these, indemnity had been granted to 4 000 exiles but only 1 000 had returned to the country. Some of those granted indemnity did not want to come home until they were sure the process worked, Mr Selebi said.

He said once the April 30 deadline had expired the ANC would review the reports on whether the government had fulfilled its conditions on releasing political prisoners, scrapping security legislation and removing obstacles to exiles' return.

The full executive committees of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu will meet for the first time on Monday to look at strategies to deal

with the deadlines of April 30 and May 9, after which the ANC has threatened to suspend negotiations with the government unless it meets its conditions for ending violence.

Meanwhile, government officials and human rights representatives on an audit committee, established two weeks ago, have exchanged lists of political prisoners.

Human Rights Commission member Max Coleman, who sits on the committee, said he was not optimistic that all those prisoners would be released by April 30.

Will

However, the government had made considerable progress in the past two weeks by releasing 400 political prisoners.

"It shows that where there is the political will, the bureaucratic tape can be cut," Mr Coleman said.

He said there were 961 political prisoners on the Human Rights Commission list still to be released.



ALL SMILES: President FW de Klerk and wife Marika with Pik Botha on arrival at Jan S

Jan Smuts yesterday

Assassination plot to scuttle peace process, claims ANC

SUNDAY TIMES

28/4/91

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE ANC claimed yesterday that plans — including the assassination of its key officials and large-scale distribution of arms — were afoot to scuttle the peace process in South Africa.

And ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo was adamant that his organisation would not attend the government's May 24 and 25 summit on violence.

The ANC also reiterated its controversial demands made in an open letter to the government two weeks ago. Should the government fail to respond by May 9, the ANC has threatened to pull out of all peace negotiations.

Offensive

Included in its letter was the "firm demand" that cabinet ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan be dismissed.

Mr Nzo said the ANC had information of an offensive by perpetrators of violence, including "state agencies", aimed at halting the peace process, scotching the peace accord between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party and undermining the ANC.

Plans included:

- The assassination of prominent ANC members;
- Increased attacks on trains and in factories and townships. Weekend and May Day rallies by the National Union of Mine-workers would be targeted;
- Increased vigilante mobilisation. This included a terror campaign that forced hostel dwellers to pay levies used to buy weapons and SADF training of Inkatha Youth Brigade operatives in camps in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal.

The ANC said it had information that most indunas in hostels opposed the ANC-Inkatha peace accord and were actively attempting to sabotage it.

The ANC accused a "third force" of being responsible for the recent assassination of Maritzburg Inkatha leader David Ntombela.

"These facts quite clearly indicate that there are organised forces both within and outside the state bent on sowing fear, death and destruction within African communities.

"Though the primary aim is to discredit and weaken the ANC, it is also aimed at proving the racist notion that black people are not yet fit to rule," Mr Nzo said.

Bandits

"The fact that the state refuses to uncover and act against these bandits reinforces our assertion that they are involved in these acts of destabilisation."

SAP spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday that arrangements had been made for a senior police officer to contact the ANC about its allegations.

● A Ministry of Defence spokesman, Dr Das Herbst, said last night: "Mr Malan has repeatedly denied claims of a 'third force' and so-called 'secret agencies' in the SADF intent on destabilising the country."

WORLD BRIEFS

ANC: Government stirs violence

SOWETO, South Africa — The African National Congress on Saturday accused the nation's defense forces of training ANC rivals as part of a plot to stir up black violence and improve the image of the white minority.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela and Secretary-General Alfred Nzo leveled angry accusations at the government in separate speeches. The ANC didn't say where its information came from or offer specific proof.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze asked the ANC to provide details so police could investigate the claims.

WORLD BRIEFS

Winnie Mandela fails to win post

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, suffered a major political setback by failing to win the presidency of the African National Congress Women's League.

The league on Sunday announced that Gertrude Shope, 65, its president, had been reelected.

Mandela won 196 votes in the secret ballot, against about 400 for Shope, a former schoolteacher who has headed the women's affiliate of the African National Congress for 10 years.

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Jan Smuts yesterday

Union may lose millions

□ From Page 1

regional offices. Most of the space, including a large ground-floor supermarket, is unlet and the investment is losing money.

The Fidelity group holds as security first-mortgage bonds on the Texas Panama property for R3-million, sale agreements of R1,1-million with respect to supermarket equipment and fixed deposits of R1,5-million pledged by the benevolent fund.

According to documents obtained by the Sunday Times, the union's internal inquiry was unable to establish why Naawu and its benevolent fund invested in Texas Panama in the first place.

Nor does it know the whereabouts of Naawu resolutions authorising the expenditure on the project or the whereabouts of financial correspondence between the banks and Texas Panama.

The commission of inquiry, which consists of Numsa executive mem-

bers, could also find no feasibility studies of the co-operative projects undertaken by Texas Panama and could not ascertain why the projects were begun when it became clear that there were no funds available.

It could not establish who the signatories of the accounts of Texas Panama and the benevolent fund were, nor could it establish who authorised Mr Sauls to enter into financial transactions on behalf of Naawu and the benevolent fund.

Deposit

While more than 50 questions could not be answered, the commission did establish that Mr Sauls deposited R220 000 in a fixed deposit account with the Perm in the name of Numsa without Numsa's authorisation.

The commission also found that Mr Sauls signed a suretyship and pledge for R760 000 on behalf of Numsa in favour of Fidelity Bank on June 26, 1989.

Numsa had not authorised the pledge.

The commission's inquiry is continuing and another prominent union member, John Gomomo, Cosatu vice-president and former Naawu treasurer, will be asked to assist.

Mr Mayekiso said Numsa was satisfied that the inability of Texas Panama to make its bank payments was a result of mismanagement caused by inexperience in running a co-operative.

The union had ruled out corruption.

He said the commission had completed its investigation into financial aspects of Texas Panama and was now looking at areas of mismanagement.

An example was an allegation that Mr Sauls and another union member removed stock from the Siyanda supermarket during the night at the end of 1989.

Mr Sauls was not available for comment.

Trade union boss in payouts probe

Sunday Times 28/4/91

By EDYTH BULBRING

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We would do it again if needed, say white

SUNDAY TIMES 28 APRIL 1991

guerrillas

FREEDOM FOR ANC BOMB TRIO

By DE WET POTGIETER

THREE of the ANC's top white guerrillas walked out of Pretoria Central Prison yesterday afternoon.

They were two of the famous Broederstroom sabotage cell, Damian de Lange, 35, and Iain Hugh Robertson, 37, and ANC bomber and former journalist, Marion Sparg, 34.

Left behind and awaiting a deportation order was Mr De Lange's wife Susan Westcott, 25, who entered the country on a British passport. The couple married in jail last month.

At an impromptu press conference a few hours after their release Miss Sparg and Mr Robertson said they would "do it



De Lange and Sparg: yesterday's picture

again" but hoped it would not be necessary.

In 1986, at the age of 29, Miss Sparg was jailed for an effective 25 years by the Rand Supreme Court for treason and arson after planting bombs in police stations. She was the first white South African woman known to have served as an ANC soldier.

Damian de Lange, Iain Robertson and Susan Westcott, known as the "Broederstroom Three", were part of a five-person ANC unit which blew up a high-voltage electricity pylon in Alberton and a radio mast in Linksfield and attacked a military bus in Benoni, injuring 16 SA Air Force personnel.

Yesterday afternoon a visibly nervous and frail-looking Iain Hugh Robertson was whisked away from the prison by a former fellow inmate, Rob Adam.

Late in the afternoon Damian de Lange was still locked in a battle to reverse his wife's deportation order.

Mr De Lange was met at the prison by his ex-wife, Diane, and their children. Wearing takkies, black trousers and a black T-shirt, Mr De Lange said he was

anxious about the negotiation process because "we still have a long way to go".

Fighting

He said he had seen his wife in prison yesterday and that he had been visiting her once a week. The red-haired Susan Westcott was the communications officer in the ANC guerrilla cell her husband commanded.

Although she was technically freed with the others yesterday, she was kept in custody by prison officials pending the deportation order.

"I'm fighting her deportation at the moment on the grounds that she is my wife," said Mr De Lange.

He said he would "proceed in helping to create the new society".

Dazed and overwhelmed by her sudden freedom, a reserved but smiling Miss Sparg said she had heard only yesterday morning that she would be freed.

"I'm going to spend time with friends in Johannesburg and then I'm going to visit my parents in East

London," she said. She hoped to resume work in the media.

Her attorney, Norman Manoim, had great difficulty in fitting into his car the piles of boxes filled with her personal belongings — even a huge fish tank.

"I left the fishes behind with somebody still in prison," she said.

Speaking outside the prison, bearded Mr Robertson said the release had come as a big surprise.

"We had lived on the edge for the past few weeks, waiting for freedom," he said, shaking with excitement. He said he wanted to continue working within the ANC.

In Cape Town, meanwhile, another 36 prisoners left Robben Island as part of an accelerated tempo of prisoner releases aimed at meeting a deadline for the release of all political prisoners by Tuesday.

CHRIS HANI, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, describes himself as a lover of poetry and Shakespeare, a keen jogger, a Barbra Streisand fan — and a reluctant soldier.

Others think differently about his reluctance. Returning exiles who have fallen foul of the ANC hierarchy recount his part in the brutal repression of the revolt by dissidents in the Angolan camps in the mid-1980s.

He was anything but reluctant then, they say.

This week Hani stirred more controversy in speeches in the United States which he is visiting as a guest of the American Communist Party.

Before he left, Hani — or Martin Thembisile Hani, born in 1942 at Cofimvaba, Transkei — told how, when he was 12, he wanted to be a Catholic priest, then a teacher and finally a lawyer.

His father put an end to his clerical ambitions and hatred for Bantu education kept Hani from the classroom. The prospect of spending 18 months in jail after losing an appeal in 1963 under the Suppression of Communism Act interrupted his articles and forced him into exile.

At the age of 48, Hani is an atheist, a member of the SACP Interim Leadership Group, a member of the ANC's negotiating team and is tipped to become deputy president or secretary-general after the ANC's mid-year conference.

He has been visible and active in the townships in the recent violence — negotiating peace between rival groups and even, to the surprise of some, sharing a good word for the security forces.

Hani calls the reported power struggle between himself and international affairs director Thabo Mbeki for second-in-command of the ANC an "absolute myth."

"People don't understand me. I have never gone in for the game

of struggle for power. They should check my background."

Hani finds it strange that the press describes him as a "hardliner and a hawk".

"I think I am the most misunderstood person. I disagree that I am a man of violence, that I am a hardliner. I am certainly none of these things. I love people and am completely dedicated to a non-racial society in this country."

Part of the misunderstanding perhaps stems from his willingness to express an opinion.

"I am forthright, I don't hedge when I feel I am right. I state my views openly."

Hani talks wryly of how he was blamed for the ANC National Executive Committee's ultimatum to the government on violence.

"All the white collars were cursing me for a decision taken by the NEC which had nothing to do with me — and I hate being compared to Magnus Malan."

Given a chance, Hani says he wants to get out of politics one

day and do "something else". Under normal circumstances he says he would never have become a soldier.

This "something else" ranges from getting a teacher's diploma, studying anthropology and sociology, writing biographies on great SA men and women or about the Transkei, about which he waxes lyrical.

Hani attended Fort Hare university and graduated from Rhodes in 1962 with a BA in Latin and English.

He has a dream of getting a piece of land and growing vegetables and flowers.

"I have a passion for the soil. I wouldn't mind some land just to grow something and to feel the soil. I want to watch plants grow."

The image of Hani, the daily jogger, the nature lover, the lover of classical music and of Yeats, Shelley, Byron and TS Eliot — his favourite poets — contrasts sharply with that of Hani the soldier and chief of staff of the SA government's public enemy number one, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

His dress and manner are also confusing. The hectoring khaki-clad militant of the mass rally slips easily into the tastefully dressed, quietly-spoken ANC executive.

Hani has spent two thirds of his life in the ANC. He joined the ANC Youth League at 15 and joined MK at 20. He was its political commissar and deputy commander at 40 and took over from Joe Slovo as chief of staff at 45.

Hani, who operates on five hours of light sleep a night, has faced Rhodesia's army with the Zimbabwe African People's Union, fought against Unita in 1983 and worked as an organiser in Angola in 1986 and 1987.

He says he has spent much of his life in training camps, training, encouraging, enduring hardships, sadnesses and fears with his fellow soldiers.

How does he respond to charges that he participated in murder and torture against dissident MK soldiers in the camps during the mutiny of 1983?

TO PG 2



ENIGMA... Chris Hani says he is opposed to war

Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

Hani attempts to justify this incident by saying that the armed dissidents killed more than 15 loyal soldiers and led a mutiny against MK in Angola.

He says they had a political agenda to destabilise MK.

"It was a sad episode in our history. I didn't derive any pleasure from the death of the mutineers. It was our duty to save MK from disintegration.

"I agree I took part in the suppression of the mutiny on orders

from the ANC. I was political commissar at the time. But it is a lie that I took part in the arrests and torture. I am not in the department of security. I have never arrested anybody.

"I am not saying that everything we have done has been holy and pure. I think we have made some mistakes. We are aware of our responsibility to democratise our movement."

From 1974 to 1982, Hani slipped back and forth into SA from

Lesotho to organise cadres within the country, a time he describes as "scary".

"That was a very difficult time. There was no sign of an active organisation. You had to look over your shoulder all the time. You had the feeling you could be arrested at any time."

Running an army and living the life of a fugitive has not given Hani much time for his family. He sees his wife Limpho, a secretary for a Swedish company, and

his three children when he visits them in Maseru for about a month every year.

But he does feel protective towards them. Hani has survived two assassination attempts, one in 1981 and another in 1982 which also involved family members.

"My eldest daughter was there when a bomb was placed under my car in 1981 and now and then, she shows signs of that trauma," he says.

The other attempt in 1982 resulted in neighbours being killed after their house was mistaken for his. Hani was out of the country at the time.

He insists that he is opposed to war.

"It is going to be important not to glorify war in this country, war should be the last resort."

If talks with government collapse, Hani says he is not eager to rush back into the bush.

"I don't think armed struggle should be elevated above other forms of struggle. There are other equally decisive methods like mass action.

"Don't think we will just press a button and go back to armed struggle. My colleagues and I will have to look at the cost to the country. We are keen to put an end to the bloodletting."

And Hani has no love for his old foe Magnus Malan.

"I have never discussed anything serious and substantial with Magnus, he charges like a mad rhinoceros. He threatens."

Hani's favourite cabinet minister is the deputy minister of constitutional planning Roelf Meyer.

"I enjoy the sharp exchanges and sharp differences. I think he is a young man who is prepared to move out of circumscribed party positions."

The minister, meanwhile, says he has met Hani on a working group level and is glad to note that there is mutual personal respect.

— Edyth Bulbring

ANC will limit power — not water it down

IN your generally favourable leading article (April 14) on the ANC's two-part discussion paper on constitutional principles for a free South Africa, you made the rather odd statement that the ANC's proposed Bill of Rights is of "uncertain content".

This is remarkable as the ANC published a very detailed Bill of Rights in November 1990 which your newspaper reviewed, though in a rather erratic fashion, empha-

sising merely one aspect of a 37-page document.

In the "principles" document published a few days ago, we drew attention to the text of this approach through a Bill of Rights. The Bill imposes severe constraints and restrictions on state power and supports political, cultural, economic and environmental rights. It also proposes an ombudsman, a constitutional court and the more effective pro-

tection of citizens' rights. It's perplexing therefore, that you should take issue with the ANC's adherence to a unitary state. There is a fundamental difference between limitation of state power and diffusion of power which could be used to build frontiers around privilege on a local and regional basis.

Government proposals suggest not only a federal state but the

conferring of inherent constitutional power on local authorities. The ostensible reason for this is to grant regional and local autonomy. But the real effect will be to emasculate central government and reduce its capacity to meet the challenges of reconstruction and development.

The ANC documents propose a democratic and participative society. The government would like to entrench, in one guise or another, ethnicity in governmental organs, especially the Senate. With a rotating prime minister and a cabinet made up of representatives of all parties deciding all issues by consensus, you will have a talking-shop of powerless politicians.

Under this grand scheme, South Africa will truly be ungovernable, as decisions will be taken elsewhere, if at all. Is this what the Sunday Times wants? — PROFESSOR KADER ASMAL, member of the ANC Constitutional Committee, University of the Western Cape, Bellville.

ANC 'ploy'

THE current negotiations are a classic example of the revolutionary tactics employed by those who seek power.

The ANC, carefully guided by Joe Slovo, is doing exactly what Lenin advocated.

First, they work to the dictum: "You must seek to enter into agreements with your enemy in order to gain advantage over him."

Communists do not believe that agreements are there to be honoured.

The next tactic is to "negotiate peace with one hand and build up your military strength with the other". — QUO VADIS? Durban.

HOGARTH

Sunday Times
28 April 1991
An evening
with death
on the menu

THE Inkatha Freedom Party held a meeting at an expensive Johannesburg northern suburbs hotel last Friday night.

Shortly before it began a worried manager telephoned Inkatha officials to say that hotel staff refused to serve at the function — they had been threatened with death by unnamed people if they waited on any Inkatha supporters.

The function went ahead, smoothly, only after the management was able to persuade the staff that it was not an Inkatha function — merely a group of local residents who had invited Inkatha to address them.