

# Govt clears SADF men

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

MOST of the Defence Force members — including two generals and three brigadiers — sidelined 10 days ago by President F W de Klerk in an apparent "dirty tricks" purge were yesterday cleared by the government.

The move comes as a major surprise, as Mr De Klerk said the 23 SADF members were being put on compulsory leave or retirement because the preliminary findings of an internal probe of the SADF's intelligence functions pointed to illegal and/or unauthorised activities and malpractices.

Yesterday's development was described by security sources as "a terrible blunder and an embarrassment" for Mr De Klerk and condemned by the ANC as a "disturbing" move which fuelled suspicions of a cover-up.

One Defence Force source said some of the officers might demand a court martial to clear their names or sue the government for libel.

## ANC disturbed over 'cover-up'

The government's spokesman in the State President's Office, Mr Dave Steward, emphasized that the internal investigation by Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn into possible wrong-doing in the force is still proceeding.

But yesterday Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw announced that at least 15 SADF members — including six senior Permanent Force officers — forced into immediate and compulsory retirement on December 19 were not linked to any illegal or criminal actions.

The officers are Army Chief of Staff Major-General Hennie Roux, Deputy Chief of Staff of Intelligence Major-

General Chris Thirion, Brigadier F J van Wyk, Brigadier J J Botha, Brigadier J O van der Merwe and Commander H J Widdowson.

Nine non-uniformed intelligence operatives in the Defence Force who were forced to retire were also cleared. A Defence Force spokesman refused to identify them.

The minister said an investigation was continuing into the status of a Permanent Force officer — believed to be a brigadier.

A Board of Inquiry convened by the chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg, would investigate "possible illegal and/or criminal or unauthorised" activities against three Defence Force officers and four civilian SADF members.

The officers are Colonel A J Nel, Colonel C J C Prinsloo and Commandant S Snyders.

A Defence Force source said it appeared as if Mr De Klerk had "called for heads and they were served up for him" — only some of the "fall guys" were on their way out anyway as part of the rationalisation of the Defence Force.

### **Inkatha, ANC talks not yet on agenda**

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — South Africa's two main black political groups on Tuesday failed to clear the way for peace talks between their leaders.

Officials of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party said after six hours of talks they set up committees to try to resolve differences between the groups, whose supporters have waged bloody clashes for years.

Both sides said they hope to set a date for a meeting between ANC President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi after the committees report back Jan. 15.

— Edited by Gary C. Reed

# Mandela, Buthelezi talks closer

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The long-awaited face-to-face peace talks between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a bid to stop the on-going carnage was taken a step further yesterday.

However, no date has yet been

set for the meeting.

After a day-long meeting in an hotel here, delegates from the two groups agreed to set up four ad hoc committees to "expedite and accelerate the convening of the meeting between the two leaders".

The committees, due to meet on January 15, would prepare pro-

posals on a climate for free political activity, the militarisation of politics in South Africa, the implementation of various accords such as the ANC/IFP accord signed on January 29 last year and the structures of the National Peace Accord.

ANC delegation leader Mr Jacob Zuma and Dr Frank Mdlal-

lose, leader of the IFP delegation, said the meeting was conducted in a "frank and cordial atmosphere".

"Our discussions continued to demonstrate that it is possible and necessary to resolve the various matters which have led to conflict between the two organisations," they said.

## ANC, IFP slam report findings

MARITZBURG. — Both the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party in the Natal Midlands have objected to findings of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry relating to the Mooi River/Bruntville area.

The regional IFP said it had never agreed to be disarmed simply because the ANC agreed to abide by the National Peace Accord.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Velaphi Ndlovu said the regional IFP leadership had also never agreed to the fencing of the Bruntville hostel.

The region's ANC deputy chairman, Dr Blade Nzimande, said the report failed to unearth the underlying causes of the violence in the area.

Dr Nzimande said his organisation had been proved correct about police bias.

The IFP, in a statement from Durban, said the commission had not "reported as objectively as it should".

There was merit in suggestions that adequate notice be given to authorities of public meetings, breaches of the Peace Accord be penalised, the release of suspects on bail be reviewed, the role of tribal chiefs be defined and recognised and parties refrain from inflammatory attacks on the authorities.

"We also find it strange that the Commission takes absolutely no cognisance of the continuing assassination of IFP leaders, more than 240 of whom have been murdered in Natal/KwaZulu as part of a long-standing and deliberate strategy," the IFP said.

The Azanian People's Organisation, reacting to the report which said rivalry between the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party was the main cause of violence in the Mooi River area, said donors should discontinue their funding of these organisations until they have inculcated a culture of tolerance within their members." — Sapa

## South Africa's lethal politics

SOUTH Africa's uneven progress towards a new, multiracial order has properly received a great deal of overseas encouragement. But a report of the Goldstone Inquiry should serve as a timely reminder that no amount of success in constitutional talks will help South Africa if its culture of political violence cannot be remedied.

To an extent, the violence documented by Justice Goldstone's standing inquiry is due to political forces jockeying for position at a time of transition in power. But it also has longer standing causes. And the inescapable conclusion remains that unless all parties to the talks discipline and re-educate their followers, violence will come to be seen as a legitimate, if not the preferred means of seeking and exercising power in South Africa.

Justice Goldstone, whose independence is accepted, has concluded that the main reason for political violence, which has left more than 3000 dead this year, is the rivalry between Mr Mandela's African National Congress and

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Chief Buthelezi's predominantly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party. An element of the violence is tribal but its nature is mainly political. Justice Goldstone has yet to determine the extent of the undoubted contribution by the rogue military but it is abundantly clear that the subversive activities of a "third force" are only possible because the rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha remains unrestrained.

It is unrestrained, according to Justice Goldstone, because the leaders of these organisations engage in verbal attacks contrary to the National Peace Accord they signed last year, because they fail to be accountable for the actions of their followers, and because they will not or cannot discipline their more headstrong adherents.

However extensive the subversion of elements within the South African Defence Force, the President, Mr De Klerk, at least has taken action to try to curb it. After Justice Goldstone's documentation last month of "dirty tricks" campaigns run by military intelligence, Mr De Klerk announced that 23 officers, including two generals and five brigadiers, would be retired or suspended. The ANC commended his action but predictably said Mr De Klerk's investigations had revealed "only the tip of the iceberg".

That may turn out to be the case, but right now the ANC and Inkatha must attend to their own failings. What Justice Goldstone hopes they will seek to inculcate among their members is political tolerance, especially in Natal province. So far, unfortunately, his seems a vain hope. He also suggests, therefore, that welfare organisations could take the initiative, running a huge education campaign to teach the political tolerance without which a civil society, especially one built on multiracial lines, cannot hope to work. Whatever can be done must be done quickly.

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## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

# ANC, government open key talks

## De Klerk lashes out at Buthelezi over controversial constitutional plan

Associated Press and Reuters

JOHANNESBURG — The government and the African National Congress began three days of talks yesterday aimed at setting a timetable for ending white minority rule in South Africa.

The talks raised hopes of a political breakthrough, but the mood was tempered by President F. W. de Klerk's harsh attack on Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, head of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC's main rival.

Mr. Buthelezi, upset that he has been excluded from the talks, released his own constitutional plans on Tuesday in an apparent effort to upstage the ANC-government meeting. His co-operation is essential to any political settlement because his followers make up the second-largest black group in South Africa after the ANC.

The government and the ANC met at an undisclosed site north of Johannesburg and were not expected to release details of their so-called "bush summit" until it concludes tomorrow.

Mr. de Klerk and the ANC have

rejected each other's timetables for multiracial elections, but their proposed dates are actually only months apart. The ANC wants an elected interim government in place before the end of 1993, while Mr. de Klerk has proposed early 1994.

A successful ANC-government meeting would facilitate resumption of multiparty negotiations, which broke down in June over mounting political violence in black townships. If the ANC and the government fail to reach agreements, there is virtually no prospect for political progress.

The two sides are sharply divided on several issues and must also find ways to stop the political violence that has claimed about 9,000 black lives in the three years since Mr. de Klerk took office.

Mr. de Klerk lashed out at Mr. Buthelezi for issuing his controversial plan at a sensitive time, saying that it could "bring about a further escalation of violence."

The President said he had refrained from speaking out in the past when Mr. Buthelezi "adopted a confrontational course with the govern-

ment." However, the chief's latest statements were too serious to ignore, he said.

Mr. de Klerk's ruling National Party and the conservative Inkatha movement once had warm relations. But Mr. Buthelezi thinks the government is shunting him aside, and relations have grown frosty.

Under the federal system he has proposed, regional governments would have extensive powers and could even override national government policies.

Mr. Buthelezi has hinted that the KwaZulu black homeland he governs might secede from South Africa if he is not satisfied with the new political system being negotiated. But he denied his plan was a first step toward secession.

While the government resumed negotiations with the ANC, it cancelled a session of reform talks with the radical Pan Africanist Congress in protest against its role in the weekend killing of whites, a government source said yesterday.

Meanwhile, the PAC said that it would not allow its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation

Army, to be investigated by Judge Richard Goldstone, head of a commission into South African political violence, who has requested United Nations help in studying the APLA.

The APLA has taken responsibility for the unprecedented attack on 60 mostly white party-goers at a Cape province golf club on Saturday. Four whites were killed and 17 people, mostly whites, were wounded.

The source said the government had called off Dec. 9 negotiations with the PAC that had been expected to hasten the group's return to the multiparty talks.

"The government is waiting for clarification from the PAC on its attitude to armed struggle and its relationship to APLA," the source said. "That meeting will not take place unless and until there is a clear and satisfactory response from the PAC."

The source was clarifying a statement by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who said contact with the PAC was suspended because of the attack.

A PAC spokesman said the Goldstone Commission is pro-government and therefore the group will not co-operate.

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negotiations with the antichrist."

Both the Pan Africanist movement and the African National Congress were banned and made lawful again

These days, in the version offered by Mr. Serero and Mr. Tshepe, it is the African National Congress that has betrayed the black cause because it has abandoned the "armed struggle" while its leaders — living in "mansions" — have become what they described as the petty bourgeoisie.

But with limited political support — some Soweto residents say it is no more than 2 or 3 percent — the Pan Africanist leaders feel they might be

While they scorn the negotiations inside the country, they have met Government representatives in "neutral venues" outside South Africa to press for a different style of settlement.

In doing so, though, they risk losing the militant constituency made up of people like Mr. Serero and Mr. Tshepe that, along with their guerrilla force, provides their claim to a voice in the forming of the future.

"We are not following them, we are not loyal to them," Mr. Tshepe said of the Pan Africanist leaders. "We don't agree with these contacts. The lines have been drawn. You cannot today be seen to shake hands with the enemy, and drinking tea or coffee with them. We want to destroy the enemy."

That seemed to be the message from the liberation army, too, in mounting its attacks on civilian targets just as the party's political leaders seemed to be moving towards accommodation.

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Soweto Journal

# From Die-Hard Camps, the Roll of the War Drums

Supporters of the Pan Africanist Congress like Mphahlele (left) and Terence Serero (right) tell of their fight to end what they have called "the colonial, racist regime" in South Africa.

Two days after the end of apartheid, supporters of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) are seen in Soweto, South Africa.