

26 charges include arms infiltration

Alleged white *THE STAR* ANC terror *12 JUNE 1989* unit on trial *7*

By Norman Chandler,
Pretoria Bureau

The "Broederstroom Three" trial begins today in Pretoria Regional Court and the spotlight is expected to fall on methods used by an alleged African National Congress terror unit in infiltrating South Africa and bringing arms into the country.

Three whites, Mrs Susan Catherine Donnelly formerly Westcott (24), Mr Damian Michael de Lange (31) and Mr Ian Hugh Robertson (36), are alleged by the State to be members of an ANC unit.

They, with Mr Hugh Lugg, were arrested on a remote farm at Broederstroom, south-west of Pretoria, on May 8 last year and have been in custody since.

Mrs Donnelly, a former teacher, Mr de Lange, a former journalist, and Mr Robertson, whose profession is unknown, appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on January 25 and on February 7 this year, when bail was refused in terms of section 30 of the Internal Security Act. Mr Lugg has not appeared in court since his arrest.

The trio are facing 26 charges, including one of terrorism, 14 of attempted murder, and a charge of malicious damage to property arising from an attempt to blow up a South African Air Force passenger bus in Benoni in March last year.

They are also charged with the illegal possession of bombs, hand grenades, machine-guns and ammunition found in the Broederstroom house as well as in the vicinity of the Buffelspoort Dam and in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park.

Mr de Lange, a former journalist on the defunct *Rand Daily Mail*, is also facing two charges of arson and a charge of attempted arson arising from fires at the Progressive Federal Party's offices in Norwood and Illovo, Johannesburg.

Training in Angola

The charge sheet, compiled by the Attorney-General, alleges that he left South Africa in June 1981 to join the ANC and underwent military training in Angola. He returned in 1986 as commander of a unit of four members to establish a terrorist unit in SA.

Mr de Lange was born in Kitwe, Zambia, and did his national service in the South African Navy. A former miner at Phalaborwa, Mr de Lange became a journalist in 1980 when he joined the *Cape Times*. He transferred to the now defunct *Sunday Express* in Johannesburg and then joined the *Rand Daily Mail*.

Mr Robertson was born in Johannesburg and attended Highlands North High School.

He dropped out of the University of the Witwatersrand while studying for a BA degree and the State alleges he joined the ANC some time after 1977 and worked in Botswana and Zambia. No details are known of Mr Lugg's background.

Mrs Donnelly was born in Swaziland and educated at the Kamhlaba High School in Mbabane.

According to the charge sheet, Mrs Donnelly, a British subject, is alleged to be a member of the ANC. The charge sheet alleges she joined Mr de Lange's group in 1987 as communications officer.

DEMANDS for redistribution of wealth confuse the political debate because the word "redistribution" means such different things to different people.

The Freedom Charter, which lays down the party line for the ANC and its allies, says "all the land" shall be re-divided among the people, implying a redistribution of wealth on a scale to satisfy Lenin (and, presumably, to be achieved by the methods of Stalin, since nothing less would suffice).

The Freedom Charter also says that the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and "monopoly industry" shall be transferred to the ownership of the people. It adds, for good measure, that "all other industries" shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people (It does contain one guarantee of private property, saying: "People shall not be robbed of their cattle").

All this has been the subject of long and heated exegesis, but Wits lecturer Raymond Suttner has said, in a T B Davie memorial lecture at UCT, that the Charter intends the nationalisation of businesses down to the level of barbershops.

The ANC is not alone in envisaging a massive redistribution of property. UCT law professor Denis Davis has urged the Law Commission to exercise extreme caution about recommending a property protection clause for the commission's proposed bill of rights. He foresees a need for major policies of redistribution and welfare and fears that a property clause could limit a future government's ability to implement policies of redistribution of income.

At the other end of the spectrum, liberals argue that private property is necessary to liberty. When there is only one car manufacturer, the motorist is deprived of any choice of cars to buy — or, at best, he might be able to choose (as in the Soviet Union) between two models in one of two colours, black or white.

When the only newspaper owner is

Seize the land, *BUSINESS DAY* soak the rich, *12 JUNE 1989* spare the cow

KEN OWEN

the state, the reader is deprived of a choice of information, and of the choice of a vehicle in which to express his own views. When the only shoe manufacturer is the state, and the only retailer also the state, everybody ends up waiting in line to buy shoddy products.

Therefore, in the liberal view, the case for private property extends beyond the normal (and often dubious) argument that it encourages effort and productivity. The important point is that private ownership is necessary to choice, and hence to freedom.

The people holding these contradictory sets of views are natural enemies, and it is unusual for both systems to exist in the same state. However, South Africa has until very recently had a system of private property for whites, who therefore live in suburbs and pay rates, and a system of state-controlled distribution for blacks, who therefore live in townships and pay rents (or conduct rent boycotts).

The question for the future is whether post-apartheid South Africa will extend to black people the property rights enjoyed by whites, or whether

it will turn whites into tenants of the state like blacks.

Most sensible people want to free blacks (which is another way of saying that they should also enjoy property rights and choices that are not determined for them by the state), rather than enslave whites (which is another way of saying that they should lose their property rights), but they worry that past discrimination has so skewed the distribution of wealth between the races that black people will be left at a permanent disadvantage.

Hence they talk of a "redistribution" to overcome past disadvantages. One compelling reason adduced for such a redistribution is the fear that black people, who are often deemed by whites not to be capable of understanding free markets, will reject any system that does not at the outset give them reasonable financial parity with whites.

The idea, then, is to give them enough money to calm them down, so that we can all continue to live in

a condition of liberty and private property afterwards.

The difficulty is to know what this "redistribution" means. Among the people who call often for such redistribution of wealth is Johannesburg philanthropist and businessman Bob Tucker, who was challenged last week to spell out the aims and the costs of his proposals for redistribution.

His answer was surprising: subsidised hospitals and medical services, free transfer of the ownership of township houses to their tenants, and education. He rejected the confiscation of private assets to fund this redistribution, and described as simplistic and emotional any suggestion that marginal tax rates might have to rise to 70% or 80% to fund redistribution. In fact, he pointed out that present tax rates in South Africa, which rise to 45%, are already demotivating.

Frankly, I find it very difficult to discern any difference between these views and the present policy of the National Party. It is true that the state still charges small sums for the purchase of township houses, which has slowed down the formation of a

property-owning class with a hedge against inflation and assets to pass on to their children (or to mortgage, as the rest of us do, for their children's higher education).

(For this foolish delay I blame Louis Rive, who dismissed as mad-cap my suggestion a decade ago that all the houses in Soweto be given to their occupants free of charge — a proposal that might well have averted the Soweto horrors of 1985/86. It would have been the most sensible of all privatisations).

In fact, what Tucker is calling for is not "redistribution" of wealth by coercion, as the opponents of private property and the authors of the Freedom Charter envisage it; he is calling for welfare programmes to improve the condition of the poor, at least to the point where they will accept private property and abandon notions of a ferocious revolution.

Where he parts company with the free enterprise liberals is in believing that the state — the incompetent, bungling, blind, oppressive Stalinist or Verwoerdian state — can order the affairs of society in such a way that the outcome will be fairer to the poor.

The truth, for which there is now voluminous evidence in the modern world, is that the state welfare system benefits mainly its own bureaucracies. This is as true of Britain's National Health, where capital costs per patient have risen to consume ever larger proportions of revenue, as it is of Soviet grocery shops or township housing in South Africa.

To talk of state-run welfare as "redistribution" is profoundly misleading, on two levels.

At one level, it confuses well-meaning philanthropists with revolutionary socialists, and invites massive resistance to their suggestions. At the other, it raises false expectations that the state can, by seizing power and property from its citizens, create jobs, or build houses, or eliminate poverty. In fact, as we well know from our own bitter experience, it can do none of these things, not even by tyranny.

Nat Press welcomes foreign mediation in SA's problems

The Natal Mercury June 12, 1989

THE important role that Mrs Thatcher and President Bush could play in helping to solve South Africa's problems has been stressed in Government-supporting newspapers.

Rapport noted that in a television interview the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, had struck a negative note on the possibility of foreign mediation between the Government and the black opposition.

'Nevertheless,' said *Rapport*, 'if responsible foreign leaders like Mrs Thatcher and President Bush could help to bridge the appalling chasms between South Africans by bringing them together at the conference table, we are simply not in a position to say no thank you.'

Dawie, political columnist of the *Nasionale* group, said it looked as though Mr De Klerk was going to have opportunities most of his predecessors had not enjoyed in a long time.

'It will be a brand-new situation for Mr De Klerk if he can spell out his policies to the two leaders face to face. He will be able to hear what they have to say, but it is clear that he will also have plenty to tell them.'

Second thoughts

BEELD has criticised the Government for overdoing flexibility and creating an appearance of inconsistency.

'Punch-drunk consumers cannot be blamed for being delighted at the concessions on the contemplated increase in the cost of telephone calls and the prospects for those in trouble over mortgage payments,' said *Beeld*. 'At the same time, they also cannot be blamed if they are beginning to have doubts about the consistency of the authorities.'

Beeld recalled other matters, such as the Group Areas Act, toll roads and Sunday trading, on which the Government had had second thoughts.

'It is sometimes good to lend a sympathetic

Sayings of the week

□ In 1948 we lost our political innocence. We acquired political power, and with it political guilt. — An 'Alternative Afrikaner', as quoted in *Rapport*.

□ I am sick of people who parade in Voortrekker bonnets or khaki clothes and pretend to be the representatives of the Boers, the Afrikaners and the 'mothers of the nation'. — Miss J E Brand of Pretoria in a letter to *Beeld*.

□ Mr F W de Klerk says the NP is going to ask the voters for a further mandate for reform. Our view is that the NP must take a further step forward by outlining new guidelines. — *Transvaler*.

ear to appeals of the citizenry. Flexibility can be a virtue in public administration. But too much chopping and changing undermines the credibility of those in office.'

Controversy

THE NP's apparent willingness to accept Dr Hennie Senekal, a former NGK predikant whose extreme Right-wing views caused a scandal some years ago, as its candidate for Delmas in the general election has evoked a minor controversy.

Beeld's political diarist, Lood, quoted some of the extremist attitudes once adopted by Dr Senekal — including his 'deadly' opposition to the presence of black Christians at white funerals — and advised him to speak out about his political past before the CP called attention to it.

Dr Senekal then issued a statement acknowledging his past errors and protesting his present devotion to the NP's policies. Lood commented that it was no crime to change one's opinions, but the big question was how one lived up to one's new political creed.

Less charitably, Mr Paul Maree, of Fairland,

asked in a letter to *Beeld* whether this was not another case of the NP trying to outbid the CP in CP territory while singing a very different tune in 'verligte' urban constituencies.

Executions

DAWIE, political columnist of the *Nasionale* group, said there was a worldwide view that in South Africa far too many people were sent to the gallows for far too many sorts of crimes and that judges were not allowed enough discretion when called on to decide on this most severe of all punishments.

'The inquiry already ordered by the Government is timely. It is now clear that it is also urgent.'

Dawie said it must be acknowledged that foreign pressure against the number of executions was mounting steadily, and it could not be denied that the reprieve granted to the 'Sharpsville Six' was closely connected with this. The reaction to the death sentence passed on 14 persons at Upington should also be noted.

Privatisation

BEELD queried the curtailment of M-Net's open time on the SABC's TV transmitters in the light of the Government's proclaimed policy of privatisation.

What made the decision all the more surprising, *Beeld* said, was that it came so close on the heels of the outstanding financial results announced by the SABC for last year.

'It is not always clear what our political leaders mean by a 'new' South Africa. In such a South Africa they will have to share all forms of power, including those touching on their large say over the SABC.'

'Privatisation is, after all, clearly a method of ensuring that as many voices as possible are audible, however the country may be governed.'

Monday 12 June 1989

THE CITIZEN

Matanzima estate sequestered in Transkei

By Arthur Kemp

THE estate of former Transkeian Prime Minister, George Matanzima, was sequestered on June 9 by order of the Supreme Court of the Transkei, head of that country's military council, Major-General Bantu Holimisa, announced yesterday.

In a major policy speech in Umtata yesterday, Gen Holimisa said Chief Matanzima's assets which still had to be realised included an amount of R250 000 which is being claimed by the insolvent estate from Miss Stella Sigcau, another former Prime Minister of the Transkei, three other people and former Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, brother of George.

"They all owe the estate an amount of R50 000 each in respect of monies given to them prior to the date of sequestration," Gen Holimisa said.

"Summons have been issued in respect of the

amounts owed by these individuals."

Turning to financial matters, Gen Holimisa said as much as 70 percent of GST collections were not being paid over to the Transkei Government, leading to a loss of almost R200 million in revenue.

"Steps are being taken to implement a system which will trace and bring to court those persons who are party to this very serious offence," he said.

"A total of 15 new large scale and 500 new small scale industries were established in the Transkei during the past year, with a total investment of R71,8 million."

Some 6 800 new jobs were created as a result of this investment, he said.

"Gross domestic product has improved by seven percent per annum compared to other TVBC countries for the period 1980 to 1985."

Gen Holimisa an-

nounced that the new Transkei broadcasting building would be ready early in the new year, and this facility would enable Transkei to start its own television station as well.

He also announced that the International Red Cross would for the first time since Transkei's independence, be visiting the country next month and would investigate conditions in prisons there.

CITIZEN

12 JUNE 1989

New opposition in Zimbabwe locked out of stadium

CHITUNGWIZA. — Zimbabwe's new opposition party cancelled a public rally planned for yesterday when it found itself locked out of the stadium where the meeting was to take place.

Local authorities in Chitungwiza, a working class suburb 25 km south of Harare, said the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (Zum) had failed to pay a booking fee of 1 000 Zimbabwean dollars (about R1 250) to use the soccer stadium.

"They have no confirmed booking," Chitungwiza Town Council chairman, Mr Forbes Magadu, told reporters. Mr Magadu is chairman of the ruling Zanu (PF) party in Harare Province.

Supporters of the Zum, formed in April and led by Edgar Tekere, a former top official of Zanu (PF) who once expressed

pride in having killed a White farmer, said local council officials had refused to take the deposit.

"They were simply passing the buck. Nobody was prepared to take responsibility," Mr Morgan Changamire, convener of the Zum rally, told journalists.

"We are quarreling with the councillors," Tekere told hundreds of cheering supporters outside the stadium.

The rally would have tested the strength of public support for Tekere, one-time mentor to President Robert Mugabe, who was expelled from Zanu (PF) after publicly attacking corruption.

Two other rallies planned by the Zum in Harare last month were banned

by the police, who gave no reason for their decision.

Last week, police detained two top officials of the Zum. They gave no reason for their action, which came after the arrest of four Zimbabwean Army officers and a former brigadier in connection with an alleged attempt to steal weapons from an armoury in Tekere's home province of Mutare.

Political sources said the former brigadier had attended Zum meetings.

Mr Changamire, his voice drowned by singing from a handful of anti-Zum demonstrators sportig Zanu (PF) emblems, accused the ruling party of interference.

"The local authority is controlled by party political grasshoppers who are interfering," he said.

Mr Changamire said the Zum expected around 45 000 people to turn up for the rally.

Outside the stadium, scores of police in riot gear formed a screen to

keep apart frenzied supporters of the ruling party and the Zum.

There was no violence, however, and the mood remained good humoured as Tekere told his supporters to disperse quietly. — Sapa-Reuter.



EDGAR TEKERE

Portugal stamps out Socialism

LISBON. — Some might say 15 is too early to come of age. But Portugal's democracy is looking fully formed now, with its first majority government bringing uncommon political stability.

And with a major constitutional revision that has scrapped the last vestiges of the 1974 socialist revolution, Portugal seems ready to take a giant step closer to the economies of its European Community partners.

The nation has now turned its back on the pledge of the "Revolution of the Carnations," which toppled 48 years of rightist dictatorship, "to build a classless society ... in transition to Socialism."

In fact, a recently approved constitutional amendment clears the way for a sell-off of industries and services from a significant state sector and brings Portugal closer to the norm of its free-market-oriented EEC partners as the trade bloc prepares to drop trade barriers after 1992.

But critics say the centre-right government should go easy on self-congratulation, as the revision could become a vital test of Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva's liberal reputation and popularity.

When he won a landslide election victory in July 1987 and formed Portugal's first-ever absolute majority government, Mr Cavaco Silva was heralded as an efficient technocrat whose free-market policies would turn around the plodding, centralised economy.

But the ascetic economist has been slower to loosen these public-sector reins than many would like. His government, facing growing economic woes and rumours of high-level scandal, has been slipping gradually in popularity.

In a curious alliance, the main opposition Socialists and many businessmen have accused Mr Cavaco Silva of using the constitution as an excuse to delay economic liberalisation.

"Once the revision is completed, the government can't blame the constitution to justify its failures," leading opposition deputy Antonio Guterres said recently.

The old constitution described 1975 nationalisations as "irreversible," but the government could have liberalised by granting concessions or management contracts with options to buy state companies, once the constitution changed.

"The revision means the government is now free to sell — the real test now is going to be whether it actually does privatise or not," said Alvaro Vasconcelos, political analyst at Lisbon's Institute for International and Strategic Studies.

He sees the government as loathe to cede control for fear of upsetting state-sector employees who "have formed a new political class in Portugal."

Workers and management alike in over-manned nationalised industries could lose their

jobs if private business took over:

Mr Cavaco Silva, stubbornly ignoring critics, claims proudly that under his government, Portugal is no longer Western Europe's poorest nation.

He says confidence is growing and cites rapid economic growth which has been averaging 4.3 percent in gross domestic product terms over the last three years. That is matched in the EEC only by booming neighbour Spain. Foreign investment more than doubled in 1988 to 138 billion escudos (960 million dollars). Unemployment is about 6 percent, one of Europe's lowest rates.

Lisbon's narrow streets seem to get more congested by the day as more people show off recently acquired prosperity in new cars. And more than 1.5 million shoppers a month buy at chic stores in the marble malls of Lisbon's Amoreiras business-residential complex. — Sapa-AP.