

APRIL 4, 1993

SUNDAY TRIBUNE

Rowan Cronje served the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana
 — but he's been accused of mainly acting for South Africa

Sam Sole

WAS Bophuthatswana kingpin Rowan Cronje acting for the South African government when he went to work, first for Ciskei's ex-President Lennox Sebe, and then for Dr Lucas Mangope?

In parliament this week Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan again raised the question of whether Mr Cronje and Inkatha advisors Walter Felgate and Albert Blauwstein were paid by the state for "certain activities".

Mr Jordaan quoted from an "intelligence package" he claimed had been sent to him anonymously in September 1990 and which formed the basis for blowing the lid off the Inkathagate scandal.

He said the package contained the names of people who were used by SA intelligence community to "turn" homeland leaders, including the IFP's Mr Felgate and Mr Cronje. Both men have denied the charges and challenged Mr Jordaan to repeat them outside the protection of Parliament.

Mr Jordaan said Mr Felgate's association with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi was "described as an absolute success story".

On Mr Cronje, Mr Jordaan quoted the following from his documents: "Cronje was sent to Ciskei but could not counter the negative influences (a number of names are mentioned) around Sebe. In Boputhatswana he is however extremely successful."

If Mr Jordaan's claims are true they would explain some of the circumstances surrounding Mr Cronje's movements after he left Zimbabwe where he was a minister in Ian Smith's government.

In November 1981, shortly before he left Zimbabwe, it was reported that Mr Cronje had been appointed a director of Jalc Holdings and would be involved in the development of the Queenstown area.

Jalc was later revealed by the Harms Commission to have been used by Military Intelligence as a cover organisation to infiltrate agents into the homelands. Jalc director Chris van Rensburg told the Tribune this week Mr Cronje had been called in because of his industrial development expertise, but his directorship had "never gone through".

Who's his real boss?

In January 1982 Mr Cronje was appointed as a special advisor to Ciskei President Lennox Sebe, but was sacked suddenly after only nine weeks in office.

At the time President Sebe said the reasons for his dismissal would "shock" the country. Mr Sebe refused to elaborate at the time but would only say: "The truth will come out" and "he will be unmasked".

Later the official reason given for the sacking was that Mr Cronje had been disparaging about Ciskei while on an overseas visit accompanying Mr Sebe, but the deposed president told the Tribune this week that this was definitely not the reason for Mr Cronje's dismissal.

Mr Sebe, who said he feared litigation if he spoke out, said the real reasons were "very sensitive". He would not be drawn ex-

cept to say that the disclosures made by Mr Jordaan did not surprise him.

A month after his sacking Mr Cronje was appointed an advisor to President Mangope in Boputhatswana.

Meanwhile *Africa Confidential*, a British magazine with close ties to the British intelligence community, this week reported that Mr Jordaan's disclosures had weakened the hawks within Inkatha.

It said National Party "yuppies" — supporters of dovish chief negotiator Roelf Meyer — were privately jubilant at Mr Jordaan's questions, but that Law and Order minister Hernus Kriel had confronted him in the parliamentary corridors and asked him if he was intent on destroying the government's intelligence capability. Both responses were confirmed by Mr Jordaan this week.

It's 'bulldust' says ex-Intelligence chief

Brendan Seery

FORMER Military Intelligence chief General Tienie Groenewald has rejected as "bulldust" allegations that he was the power behind a covert plot to manipulate homeland leaders.

The allegations were levelled by Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan in Parliament this week. He claimed he had been given information which proved General Groenewald had used politicians like Rowan Cronje and Walter Felgate in attempts to control homeland leaders.

General Groenewald, who is a member of the federalist anti-ANC alliance Cosag (Concerned South Africans Group), said Mr Jordaan had been "fed disinformation" as part of a plot to drive a wedge between the members of Cosag. Both Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President Lucas Mangope are involved in the alliance.

"To think that a very very liberal person like Walter Felgate could be used by Military Intelligence is laughable. And to suggest that a very strong character like Chief Buthelezi can be manipulated by anyone is just as ridiculous," said the Natal-born general.

He added he would like to see Mr Jordaan's documentary "proof" and would like to know where the information came from.

General Groenewald was scathing about Mr Jordaan, whom he met a number of times when the MP was a civil servant involved in constitutional planning during the mid-1980s.

At one such meeting, Mr Jordaan appeared before a group of the SADF's top brass and proclaimed neither he nor the government "had the faintest idea" about where the reform process was headed.

04 APRIL 1993

INSIDE APLA

APLA is the latest dreaded acronym in the lexicon of South Africa's political violence.

It has emerged dramatically and rapidly, seemingly out of nowhere; in fact, it has been incubating for decades to become white South Africa's Public Enemy Number One, as well as the tormentor of the African National Congress, the principal representative of black opinion.

So great is the ANC's hostility that Chris Hani, the former commander of the ANC's guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and now General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, has angrily accused Apla of being a secret force working in collusion with the "Boers" security forces.

Apla's killing of white civilians, including children, has met with blanket condemnation, but without any serious attempt to understand what it represents, or why its graffiti slogan, "one settler, one bullet", is displayed so widely.

A year ago when I asked Clarence Makwetu, president of the Pan-Africanist Congress, how he justified the use of the slogan, he answered that it should not be taken too literally. "It is something," he said, "which the boys picked up from the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe."

It was seemingly useful as agit-prop; now it has become proper action.

APLA stands for the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the armed wing of the PAC. While the PAC works legally above ground, and is even participating in the all-party talks for a democratic constitution, Apla works underground as a violent movement. The two are umbilically joined, yet it is unclear whether the PAC exercises effective control over its armed wing, or whether it approves of its tactics. It has justified Apla's existence, and reacts to its more indefensible attacks with ambiguous and ambivalent statements.

What is clear, though, is that even if it chose to do so, the PAC cannot impose its discipline over Apla. It is a force with its own leadership and agenda.

So, what is Apla? What is its appeal? And what is its strength?

To find some answers to these questions I went to Sharpeville to observe the PAC's commemoration service of the cold-blooded killing and wounding of 249 unarmed and frightened civilians on that dark day of March 21 1960 which became a red letter day in South Africa's political history. Apart from a few media cameramen, my wife and I were the only whites at the gathering.

The crowd was small, no more than 3 000. Sharpeville's other 20 000 or so residents chose to spend the day in Sunday relaxation, despite the attraction of PAC luminaries, including its president.

The most striking feature of the crowd was that it comprised some 90 percent of keen-faced, alert youngsters in their teens or early twenties. Many wore T-shirts emblazoned with slogans such as "One Settler, One Bullet", "Arm the Students for Liberation", and "Forward to Victory with Apla".

While the older people greeted us in a friendly manner, the youngsters' reaction was more mixed. A few were quite friendly with my wife, but my reception was cold, with many muttered utterances of "settler".

The speeches, understandably emotional in recalling what happened in Sharpeville 33 years ago, were punctuated by cries of "one settler, one bullet", and with the excited adolescent game of aiming imaginary weapons accompanied with the ringing rat-a-tat-tat of automatic fire. The atmosphere was

decidedly militaristic.

It was an occasion for the release of deep anger which was provoked early by an elderly party leader who explained that her husband was absent because, the night before, their backdoor had been broken down by security forces, and her young son was taken away screaming. She did not know what had since happened to him. Her statement was greeted by angry cries of "one settler, one bullet".

One speaker, referring to the previous day's events when four Apla cadres had opened fire on a passing car, killing a white woman and two children and wounding several other children (after their declared intention of ambushing a bus-load of schoolchildren had

gone astray), declared: "The whites scream when their children are killed; but what did they say when thousands of our children were shot and imprisoned? Let them now feel what we have felt for so long."

In this pregnant sentence lies a clue to the emotional appeal of Apla: the need for revenge for the shootings in Soweto in 1976 and 1978, the imprisonment of 8 000 black children, and many other similar episodes which have left deep scars in the black memory.

The long years of apartheid bred two generations of alienated and angry youngsters — one of the worst of the lingering legacies of apartheid. Yet, if this is true, why is so little open expression of vengeful anger and frustration shown by the majority of black youngsters, most of whom support the ANC with its policy of non-racism and its active discouragement of revanchism?

There is strong evidence to suggest that, on the whole, black youngsters only desire to see an end to the insecurity and oppression they have experienced for most of their lives, and want only to make up for the locust years by pursuing their education and careers. However, there is also evidence pointing to considerable dissatisfaction among the ANC's younger supporters over its conciliatory policies and its alleged "softness" in the negotiating process which many of them believe is leading nowhere.

One hears criticism of the ANC's policy having the effect of stifling the emotional feelings of its younger members, while Apla and the PAC encourages the release of this anger. Evidence of grassroots discontent in the ANC is to be found in the temper of its youth wing's resolutions, and in tensions between it and the older leadership. For example, black youngsters

continue to defy the ANC's line against organised school boycotts and some are actively involved in the political violence in the townships and homelands.

However, Apla is engaged not only in promoting policies of revenge and in aggressive demands for the redress of age-old grievances; its resistance is based on a belief that the current negotiations are premature and that it is necessary to continue the armed struggle "against the enemy" to secure

Vengeful young blacks have found a vehicle for their anger and, as understandable as it might be, Apla's emergence at this critical period in South Africa's history could have terrifying repercussions. Although it is at odds with the major black players, and even its legal wing, the PAC, all parties sense the danger of alienating the disaffected youth in their own ranks, all potential supporters of Apla and its aims. Africa expert COLIN LEGUM reports.

"true liberation; otherwise, it argues, the outcome of the negotiations between parties of unequal power will result only in a watered-down compromise that would leave most of the political and economic control in the hands of whites.

The PAC insists that there is no inconsistency between its reluctant involvement in the negotiating process and its support for armed violence. Its policies differ fundamentally from the ANC's. It rejects the ANC's decision to "suspend the armed struggle" which it insists must be kept up until — and here its conditions vary — the security forces are disarmed, or until there is agreement about elections on a universal franchise for an interim government.

While the PAC's position is likely to be weakened if the multi-party talks succeed in achieving these conditions, the appeal of Apla to the younger generation is unlikely to be similarly weakened before the promised reforms begin to show positive results on the ground.

Meanwhile, the PAC itself seems to be divided into three groups: those who believe the movement will become marginalised if it is not part of a negotiated settlement; those who favour militant policies but favour suspending the armed struggle; and those who give unqualified support to Apla. What seems certain is that if the PAC



GOVERNMENT-ANC DEAL IS AT THE HEART OF NEGOTIATIONS

IT WAS a strange spectacle. Inkatha's Joe Matthews backing communist boss Joe Slovo, the Indian Congress's Firoz Cachalia supporting the government's Tertius Delpont and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa amicably agreeing with everyone.

What was agitating them was a subject so arcane that the nuances escaped most observers: should the issue of the form of the state of the new South Africa be discussed as a separate item or should it be lumped with constitutional principles?

After more than half an hour they agreed on the latter. Such is the nature of our constitutional negotiations — tedious and impenetrable.

But on another level they are also a charade.

At the heart of this involved process is the deal between the government and the ANC which ushers in the first phase of multi-party rule in June, elections in the first half of next year and joint rule by the most powerful parties for five years thereafter.

Struck two months ago, the deal is rarely, if ever, mentioned at the World Trade Centre — the two key players realise that unless all the par-

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT By EDYTH BULBRING

ties are made to feel part of the deal its legitimacy will be questioned and stability will be uncertain.

The task for the government and the ANC in the months ahead is to sell their agreed constitutional settlement to the other parties.



They will attempt to keep all the participants together for as long as possible. But when major problems arise with the smaller parties, and they undoubtedly will arise, the ANC and the government will continue without them, backed by the majority of the parties.

At the World Trade Centre on Thursday the key players made the

breakthrough to the point at which the serious work of selling the ANC-government package could begin.

Having skilfully managed to lock all the parties into a process and achieved agreement on an agenda and body for constitutional talks, the legitimacy of the process has been established.

That body will be known as the negotiating council. All 26 parties participating in the talks will be represented on it and it will meet for four days a week from April 19 until the deal has been wrapped up.

Its work will be conducted in public, reinforcing the perception that the country's future is being negotiated openly and democratically by all the parties.

But the real hard-sell will take place in a 10-person planning committee which will meet daily behind

closed doors to thrash out compromises which can be placed before the public forum.

The ANC and the government want endorsement of their deal before the end of June. That month will see the establishment of the transitional executive council, the body which will effectively oversee the holding of free and fair elections.



It will comprise a member from all the participating parties and will operate in conjunction with the government. In effect, the government will no longer have the unbridled power to do as it pleases.

With the establishment of the TEC, an election date will be set and the parties will begin their campaigns. The government and the ANC want elections to be held before April next year.

For an elected government to rule the country, the existing constitution will have to be amended substantially or replaced to allow a unity government to operate.

This will be done by the Tricameral Parliament at a special parliamentary sitting in September.

The government and the ANC envisage a new parliament comprising all the parties that poll three percent in an election. Both national and regional representatives will be elected on the basis of proportional representation.

The president will be elected by the biggest party and he will choose a cabinet from all the parties that poll five to 10 percent of the vote, in proportion to their representation.

This government of national unity will rule the country for five years under an interim constitution, which

will also contain a bill of rights, while it negotiates a final constitution.

The only limits being placed on the writing of the new constitution are constitutional principles to be agreed in advance by all parties, and that it should be endorsed by two thirds of the members of the new parliament, which will double as a constitution-making body.

Constitutional principles already agreed to include an independent judiciary, a bill of rights, three tiers of democratically elected government with entrenched constitutional powers, a multi-party democracy and the accommodation of the diversity of languages, religions and cultures.



Until multi-racial elections are held, the country will undoubtedly witness incidents of shocking violence orchestrated by elements opposed to a constitutional settlement.

We are also likely to see walkouts by negotiators, grandstanding and deadlocks, even between the two key players. But the deal hammered out by the ANC and the government is on track and unlikely to be diverted.

WEEKEND ARGUS 4-4-93

Reincorporation moves gain impetus

Bantustans cost R16bn

MOVES to reincorporate homelands into South Africa come at a time when subsidies of all 10 rickety "bantustan" administrations are due to rocket to a staggering R16,8 billion this year.

The impending reincorporation of the failed homelands was negotiated at Codesa and has gained impetus over the past few months. It has come to a head following the latest crisis between South Africa and Transkei over Apla bases in Transkei.

The government now finally concedes that the Verwoerdian dream has turned into a political and financial nightmare which has cost South African taxpayers untold billions in propping up corrupt and wasteful homeland governments.

African National Congress negotiators said that the moves to reincorporate the homelands were subject to discussions with various homelands.

"We must try to ensure that

The impending reincorporation of the homelands could save South African taxpayers billions.

DAVID BREIER 4.4.93

Weekend Argus Political Staff

in the move to reincorporation, the involvement of bantustan residents in South African elections must be secured as well as their right to free political activity," an ANC negotiator said.

* The ANC is due to hold discussions soon with nominally-independent Bophuthatswana and the Inkatha Freedom Party in "self-governing" KwaZulu — the strongest homeland governments who both advocate strong regional government in the new South Africa.

With the estimated population of the four independent and six self-governing homelands now put at 16,7 million,

the South African taxpayer is subsidising each homeland resident by about R1 000 a year. But much of this ends up in the pockets of politicians, bureaucrats and shrewd operators.

Government sources this week confirmed plans to end the independence of the TBVC homelands within the next few months. The plan is to replace their existing governments with Administrator-Generals and Administrative Councils until an elected interim government takes over.

The exception could be Bophuthatswana which is the only TBVC state to have a civilian government and which has been less of a financial disaster than the other three.

At the same time the government is engaged in drawing the six self-governing homelands closer into the South African administration with a view to reducing the sort of vast corruption and abuses that were exposed last year in Lebowa and KwaNdebele.

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armed cadres to a many as 7 000 trained, though not yet fully armed, men. This latter figure was suggested to me by a PAC supporter who is himself strongly opposed to Apla and therefore is not likely to exaggerate the figure. But whatever the true figure, the reservoir of potential strength from among the angry youth, is undoubtedly large enough to enable Apla to continue waging IRA-Provo terrorism.

The present prospect is that Apla will continue its campaign of "killing whites", and of refusing to make a distinction between "soft" and "hard" targets. In the words of its commander, Sabelo Phama: "I have a problem with the term 'soft target' because even children are taught in school to shoot, and that there is a need for an armed South Africa. In other words, immediately you teach a person to handle a firearm, the issue of being a civilian is subject to debate."

He has promised that 1993 will be "The Year of the Storm; it means we will be increasing our activities and continue with our programme on all fronts".

One of the troubles with this kind of statement is that 1993 has also been designated by right-wing Afrikaners as the year for blocking the negotiating process.

Showing some understanding for what motivates Apla is one thing, but judging its role in the present critical situation is a different matter. Apart from the inhumanity of shooting children and other, mostly randomly chosen, white civilians, however this is rationalised, Apla's policies are questionable for a number of other reasons.

First, although an armed struggle can be justified when no other constitutional alternative exists, it cannot be justified politically when opportunities for negotiating fundamental change exist, as is now the case in South Africa.

Second, in the existing highly-charged environment of political violence, a policy of "killing whites" can lead only to inflaming racial passions and make the task of achieving a negotiated settlement even more difficult than it already is.

Third, already one immediate result has been to invite an illegal response from the right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, acting allegedly "in defence of innocent whites", and so giving them greater credibility among whites.

Fourth, there is no possibility of Apla developing an effective military challenge to the security forces, especially since, in this instance, they would have the support of the ANC and other major black political parties.

And fifth, Apla's strategy undermines the PAC's own political standing with everybody except the angry minority of youths, and so weakens its potential of becoming a major political player in the current negotiations to build a democratic South Africa. For these five reasons, Apla's appearance at this stage is about as welcome as a cobra at a children's party.

Even the ANC still refuses to go beyond its decision to suspend its armed struggle and to declare that it has finally been abandoned: such a decision, one is told, would lose it considerable support in favour of the PAC since there are still strong feelings that a resumed armed struggle must be retained as an ANC option because of mistrust of the real intentions of the government, and because such a threat is needed to force concessions.

How strong is Apla? Estimates vary between several hundred

were to call for the suspension of the armed struggle, it would cut itself off from Apla and so lose the support of the angry youth constituency.

However, there are those, and not only in the ANC, who do not believe that all the recent killings of whites have been the work of Apla. They argue it is possible that the crimes have been committed by white extremist groups intent on blocking the success of the multi-party negotiations by creating a racially-charged climate that would put a kaaibosch on the talks.

In the present suspicious climate, conspiracy theories thrive; but because so many strange and terrible things have happened in the past, these suspicions will remain until there is convincing evidence that Apla is the culprit.

SUNDAY TIMES 04-04-93

Mandela will make time to meet Ali

By JACK BLADES

MUHAMMAD ALI will meet his friend and fan Nelson Mandela during his 12-day visit to South Africa, which begins on Saturday.

Yesterday's announcement ended speculation about when Mr Mandela's busy political schedule would allow an opportunity for the meeting.

Ali will call at Shell House, the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, on Monday, April 19. The meeting will be private.

They will no doubt recall their first meeting at a Hollywood banquet in 1990, when they embraced emotionally. An observer said they seemed very much in awe of each other.

Later, appearing on video at Ali's 50th-birthday party in Los Angeles, Nelson Mandela paid tribute to the former world heavyweight champion's support for the democratic struggle.

He said: "Ali's visit has my full blessing and I trust he will be welcomed by the country's entire community."

Ali's tour will take him to Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg. As a Black Muslim, he will meet members of the Muslim community and in Johannesburg

and Durban he will be given ticker-tape welcomes.

He will be guest of honour at three banquets, where celebrities like PJ Powers will sing and tributes will be paid by leading sportsmen.

The visit has been arranged by the Durban-based Boxing Development Network, which hopes to boost its trust fund for under-privileged boxers by R250 000. The eventual aim is also to build stadiums in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.

Premiere

On Sunday, April 18, Ali will tour Soweto and see for himself gyms like the Dube Club, whose facilities were recently described by world heavyweight champion Riddick Bowe as "the worst I've ever seen". The club has nevertheless produced 20 South African champions.

On Wednesday, April 21, Ali will be guest of honour at the premiere of Mbongeni Ngema's musical *Magic At 4am*, which is based on Ali's life.

Ali will be accompanied by his wife, Lonnie, who will talk to women's clubs about life with Ali.

Sunday Times 04/04/93

Troops beat the heat in Mogadishu

MOGADISHU — Sergeant "Gunny" Davis is the envy of all the US soldiers in Somalia.

As the newly appointed "sun, sand and surf" expert, he oversees a beach resort created by US troops in the capital Mogadishu where soldiers unwind after patrolling the dusty streets.

"Man, this is best job I've ever had," Davis said from the balcony of the two-storey wooden beach chalet he constructed on Arroyo beach.

"This is a haven where the soldiers can dump their weapons for the day, work on their tans and just have fun. It's real important to unwind when you're in stressful situations like Somalia," said Davis, a Californian.

The sheltered beach, in an exclusively military zone, is packed daily with off-duty soldiers from the 23-nation force which arrived last December to stop the looting of aid convoys and get food to the starving. — Sapa-Reuter.

WEEKEND ARGUS 4/4/93

Bapetikosweti to return all funds and be reincorporated

Special Correspondent

KEMPTON PARK. — Bapetikosweti, a self-proclaimed "independent" homeland, is to be reincorporated into South Africa voluntarily as an "example" to the four other homelands.

This development was announced at the start of the renewed Codesa talks in Johannesburg by South Africa's charismatic ambassador to Bapetikosweti, Mrs Evita Bezuidenhout.

Accompanied by the Homelands Foreign Affairs Chief Blanda Giwendi and the Minister of Finance, Esra Ndaklamba, Mrs Bezuidenhout also announced that:

- All financial aid received from South Africa would be refused and refunded.

- The controversial 35 percent rise in salary and perks awarded to all civil servants by the South African parliament would be "donated to education and health charities".

Mrs Bezuidenhout hoped all homeland and government officials would follow suit.

Before addressing delegates, Mrs Bezuidenhout was met outside the World Trade Centre by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha. The speech was televised live worldwide on CNN.

The immediate re-incorporation of Bapetikosweti has drawn into question Mrs Bezuidenhout's future as envoy to the homeland.

Mr Botha later refused to comment on speculation that Mrs Bezuidenhout would be sent to Russia to represent South Africa there.

Asked where he would like to send Mrs Bezuidenhout, Mr Botha replied tersely: "Siberia".

This is the full text of Mrs Bezuidenhout's speech:

'Good day, Dumela, Goeie Dag. Gentlemen of the various political, cultural and extra-military groupings, Menere in die Nuwe Nasionale Party, Here in die ou Konserwatiewe Party, Comrades in the ANC and their allies, the two ladies present and all other interested parties, the Press, catering people and police.

Today is a great day for South Africa. It is on this day that in the past foundation stones of our country as we know it were formed.

On this day in 1974 the Publications Act came to be and thanks to that we have a country that need stand back for no one when it comes to morals and mores.

On this day too, in 1983, the homeland of Bapetikosweti became the fifth part of our beloved fatherland to be carved into small arid independent pieces and handed over to a democratic system of government, as it were.

It has been my honour to serve my country as the South African representative in Bapetikosweti for 10 years. It is my pleasure today to congratulate President Makoeloele on his 10th year in power.

And it is today, on this very suspicious occasion, here with the re-launching of this titanic task of negotiating a future nonracial democracy for all peoples in South Africa (give or take a few who will always want to choose chaos above common sense), it is on this day that, on behalf of the presi-

dent of this august homeland (who can unfortunately not take his seat here with other homeland representatives, as he is in Geneva Switzerland on important business, you know, medical checkups and deposits), it is on his behalf that I say to the eternal Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa:

Therefore, on this first day of April 1993, as a senior member of the South African Diplomatic Corpse, I hereby serve the following notice: that the homeland of Bapetikosweti in all its eight pieces, will return its precious sovereignty to Pretoria and be reincorporated back into the body politic of the Beloved Country.

This is a voluntary gesture of faith in the negotiating process recommencing here today and I am sure the other remaining homeland republics: Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana will just be too happy to follow suit.

Bapetikosweti will also refuse all further financial help from the South African government — the few billion rand, secondhand Mercedeses and zozo huts — in the light of the greater financial needs of the South African public. The proposed 35 percent increase in salary and perks recently awarded the Government of Bapetikosweti by the South Africa parliament will immediately be do-

nated in full to education and health charities.

Members of the South African government and other homeland leaders who also received 35 percent increases or more, will no doubt be happy to do the same.

Then finally on this day, this special day, this 1st day of April 1993, here we are once again attempting to lift the spaceship of a new state off the rusty moorings.

It is three minutes to midnight. No one here has been democratically elected by anyone out there. We all assume that what we contribute here will be of use to the future.

We are happy to know that no one here today has any ambitions other than the need and duty to bring peace and happiness to every man, woman and child in South Africa regardless of colour or creed.

We are assured that power is not the issue here.

We can assure the public that they have the right to ask questions of us, and if we cannot answer those questions, we, not they, are the employed and we, not they, will be declared redundant. If that becomes the alternative to negotiation because of dishonesty and confusion, it is an alternative too ghastly to contemplate.

Remember now, you all have seven minutes to make your speeches. Kort is kragtig. We do not want to have more entries in the Guinness Book of Records.

Let us have no finger pointing. Remember for every finger pointed out, four fingers point in.

Let us discuss and argue and negotiate with humour, for to take ourselves seriously as mere pawns in the greater plans of the future, is to belittle the greatness of what we hope to achieve here.

And that is a future where all our dreams can come true.

And so on this first day of April 1993, I can say two things: I can say Happy April Fool's Day, or I can say: Mazeltov! Today can become the first day of the rest of our lives.

Amandla! Vrystaat!'

SUNDAY TIMES 04-04-93

Circumscribing Bartlett

ONE man decides the petrol price for SA. The Petroleum Products Act gives this power to the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, George Bartlett. The Act says simply that the Minister shall prescribe the price at which any petroleum product may be sold.

Bartlett uses a complex array of prices, calculations and formulae to arrive at the pump price he charges the South African motorist.

He also keeps a weather eye on industry calculations of how the South African price, exclusive of taxes and levies, compares with those in Europe.

These comparisons have until recently shown that South African pre-tax prices track the European average.

Bartlett and the industry take some satisfaction from this, although it is acknowledged that in recent times our average price has begun to move above that of Europe's. And this was before this week's price hike.

Unleashed

Why deregulate, the reasoning goes, if we track the European average?

But in business, like sport, you don't succeed by being average. SA's athletes won't do well at the Olympics if they aim for the mid-range. They will only win if they aim to win.

It's the same for business. For our economy to be competitive, as government's normative economic model stresses, the forces of competition have to be unleashed.

Petrol, the fuel of the economy, went up by 10% this week. But a cheap solution could be at hand.

Comment by KEVIN DAVIE

But price-fixing Bartlett, who is likeable but hopelessly socialist in his economics, says deregulation will push up prices in the rural areas. It probably will, but it is common cause in the industry that it will push prices down in urban areas.

And, again according to government's NEM, 80% of SA's economy is in the urban areas. Rural SA has held Urban SA hostage for far too long.

One of the reasons Bartlett has put up his prices is a 3c a litre increase, from 6c to 9c, to help the corruption-plagued insurance fund, the MMF (he was, coincidentally, in the firing line in Parliament this week for his handling of the MMF while Minister of Transport).

A survey by the oil industry finds that SA's inland price is fourth-highest of 14 countries surveyed over the past five years, while the coastal price is second-lowest.

The survey blames Transnet's pipeline charges for this, saying this pricing acts as a subsidy for Sasol because only a small amount of fuel is transported up-country.

This transport charge has now been hiked from 10,2c a litre to 10,9c a litre, an increase which Petronet defends as it is only 6,8%, "well below CPI".

Bartlett's central defence against deregulation is that competition will put many of SA's 50 000 petrol jockeys out of work as service stations change to self-service.

Job losses are not to be taken lightly in current circumstances, but if taxpayers are to subsidise petrol jockeys this should be by vote of Parliament, not hidden in over-priced petrol.

Taxpayers are unlikely to want to subsidise petrol jockeys. We have not subsidised retrenched gold miners or any other workers blighted by the recession, so why petrol jockeys?

Liberal

Rather assist them with small business loans to buy redundant petrol bowlers and a storage tank to set up one-man outlets in areas not adequately served by our restaurant-grade service stations.

Bartlett is liberal in some respects. He told reporters earlier this year that he did not mind Zulus carrying cultural accoutrements and that he had no problem with Jews being circumcised ("not that I ever was," he revealed).

But don't truck with his petrol price. Here's a deal for the taxpayer which is cheap at the price. Put Bartlett on pension and bring in a modern thinker to set the petrol price free.

OPINION

The consensus

SUNDAY TIMES 04-04-93

THE South African genius for converting any democratic conflict into a bureaucratic process came into play at Kempton Park this week, enabling widely disparate parties to work through a two-day agenda in one day, and to depart happy in the knowledge that all unsolved problems had been delegated to the safe hands of bureaucratic committees. If this means that nothing will be solved it also means, perhaps, that nothing need be solved, which is not necessarily a bad thing. Final solutions, threatening wherever they are put forward, tend to be lethal in deeply divided societies.

Yet, behind all the fudging and evasion, the process is being driven relentlessly now by the combined will of the two major players, the National Party and the African National Congress — or at least by their elites. Neither Bophuthatswana nor Transkei, neither the Inkatha Freedom Party nor the Conservative Party can obstruct progress so long as the Nationalists and the ANC are united in determination to establish a government of national unity.

This does not imply anything so crude as a formal agreement between the two parties. To understand the fierce drive to keep to President de Klerk's timetable for elections a year hence — and we are still on track — it is necessary only to lift one's gaze from the World Trade Centre to the wider context in which the politicians operate.

The disintegration of Angola as it retreats down the centuries

into the Stone Age looms over our future; the negotiators at the World Trade Centre would not be human if they did not contemplate, if only at midnight, the possibility that the same fate which has overtaken all Africa may overtake us. If the Nationalists have relinquished their vain hopes of eternal domination, the ANC has relinquished the illusions of revolution. Mr Joe Slovo, a poignant sight as he tries to breathe a little life into the dead dreams of his youth, may still talk up a storm about socialism, but it is he who warns against taking South Africa into a post-revolutionary vortex, and who pleads the cause of the civil servants. Bureaucracy, even Nationalist bureaucracy, is preferable to chaos.

Closer to home, political problems have given way to economic terrors. Black people in millions ask only for order, and for jobs; whites, having abandoned almost all political ambition, ask only for security of life and property. On both sides of the racial divide, the mood is edgy, volatile, and impatient: get on with it! Concern about the shape of the new South Africa, its constitution and its structures, is confined now to elites, none of them especially democratic.

Concern for order has displaced concern for liberty, and it is this concern that drives both major parties towards a single point: barring the most appalling accident, we should have a government of national unity within a year or so. For good or ill.

ANC chief denies link with bank robberies

Weekend Argus Correspondent

THE chairman of the ANC's PWV region and former guerrilla cadre, Tokyo Sexwale, has acknowledged that some Umkhonto we Sizwe members have "gone astray" and drifted into a life of crime.

But Mr Sexwale describes allegations that he and Chris Hani are behind bank robberies as part of a "deliberate strategy to discredit ANC leaders in the run-up to the election".

"The miracle of the whole thing is that all these trained MK members have not gone off and formed their own army and caused havoc."

In his small office, with campaign material and pamphlets everywhere, the one-time Robben Island prisoner is surprisingly candid about Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"They are under tremendous strain, these people. It has now been three years since the ANC was unbanned and many of them returned home. But what they fought for has still not been achieved. They did get a little money when they came back, but we cannot provide for them. There are very few jobs around and they cannot feed themselves and their families."

The current hedging around the negotiations and the apparently unbending stance by the white upper echelons of the SADF on the question of integration of MK gives the cadres little hope.

"They only have to look at these statements by these generals. They end up frustrated and demoralised."

In such a situation, he added, it was not surprising that some of them wanted to take matters into their own hands.

He added: "Put yourself in their position. These people you have fought against still control things. They still come barging through your home, slapping your mother, kicking over your cooking pots. What would you feel?"

Nevertheless, the ANC leadership had made it plain that it would not defend any MK member involved in illegal activities.

"If they are guilty, they must be punished. Does the government say the same thing about their security forces which commit a huge variety and number of crimes against the people of this country?"

Allegations that he and SACP secretary general Hani — also a trained MK soldier, although, like Mr Sexwale, now out of the military leadership — were involved in organising "fund raising" bank robberies were "ludicrous".

"If that was true, I would be sitting on a beach in the Bahamas."

Mr Sexwale was referring to allegations made in court by a man appearing on charges of armed robbery. The accused claimed that money from bank robberies in the PWV was being channelled to the ANC through Mr Sexwale and Mr Hani.

Police detectives are saying privately that while they are catching bank robbers, they are recovering little money because it is being transferred to bank accounts elsewhere. The inference is that the ANC is controlling those bank accounts.

Mr Sexwale says the bank account allegations should be proved and suggests the Goldstone Commission be brought in to investigate all the claims, "because who can trust the SAP?"

The court allegations came as Law and Order Minister Kobie Coetsee accused MK of being involved in a spate of criminal acts around the country.

WEEKEND ARGUS 4/4/93

Thorn in SA's flesh

Weekend
Correspondent

Argus

SINCE Mr Chris Hani became leader of the South African Communist Party and began sounding more like a sparrow than a hawk, the man the South African government loves to hate has become, pre-eminently, Major General Harrington Bantubonke Holomisa.

Indeed, when the history of the demise of apartheid is written, the role of General Holomisa may be seen to have been crucial.

For six years since he ousted the Matanzimas in a bloodless coup in 1987 General Holomisa has been using the sham independence apartheid conferred on Transkei as a stick to beat Pretoria.

Transkei has been the domino which didn't fall into line with Boputhatswana, Kwazulu and Co to create black anti-African National Congress bastions buffering white South Africa. On the contrary, he set about turning Transkei into the first true "liberated zone" where the liberation move-

■ The man the SA government loves to hate, General Holomisa may have played a crucial role in the demise of apartheid.

ments could operate with impunity, even before their unbanning in South Africa. When Mr Hani was on the run from the South African Police following the disclosure of Operation Vula, he sought refuge with General Holomisa.

It appears that this week's blockade of Transkei and the government's continuing public barrage against the general may have less to do with the issue of Apla bases in and attacks from Transkei, than General Holomisa's avowed intent to act as a watchdog to ensure the birth of democracy and counter Pretoria's attempts to manipulate the negotiating process.

It is significant that, according to reports, none of the Apla suspects arrested last week originated from Transkei.

"Transkei will assist the birth of democracy," General Holomisa promised this week just before his meeting with the President De Klerk. "We

shall never allow ourselves to be pitted against the people. If the leaders who have spent decades in jail and are in their 70s are still committed to achieving freedom, how much more determined are we in our prime age?"

The 37-year-old general appears unconcerned by the "ring of steel" thrown around his territory and emerged from this week's crisis meeting with President De Klerk apparently pleased that he had got what he wanted: an independent Transkei commission to investigate the activities of Apla in the homeland, but one which would "co-operate" with the Goldstone Commission.

The Afrikaans Press suggested the Transkeian military leader had buckled under the dressing-down from President De Klerk but, according to General Holomisa, he was equally frank.

He informed Weekend Argus that he had told Mr De Klerk bluntly, in the presence of Po-



□ FENCING PARTNER: Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa.

lice Commissioner Johan van der Merwe and SADF chief Kat Liebenberg, that he was being misled and "set up" by

his secuocrats.

"I told the president that when the allegations about Apla bases were made I phoned the generals and offered to put a helicopter at their disposal so they could point out these bases in Transkei. Mr De Klerk asked General Liebenberg if this was true and he confirmed it."

In addition, General Holomisa told Mr De Klerk that Transkei would resist unilateral re-incorporation into South Africa.

"We will not return to an apartheid South Africa," he said.

"On the day the tricameral parliament is disbanded, that day Transkei will disband."

He said Transkei would accept re-incorporation under a transitional executive council, as envisaged in secret government proposals leaked this week, only if the TEC had real executive power.

"I suspect they (the government) are driving us towards a big deadlock. They want to have control over everybody. Now the ANC is inside the

country it is under their influence. In Transkei they have no control. They want Transkei inside the net so they can deploy their security forces and extend the strategy of control. Then they will create a deadlock (in the negotiation process) and we will be powerless. We won't allow that. Transkei is an insurance against that kind of manipulation."

With General Holomisa such a thorn in Pretoria's flesh, it is surprising he has lasted so long. Indeed, there have been several counter-coups and assassination attempts, all of which he lays at Pretoria's door.

"Our survival has been based on good intelligence," he said, having last week claimed that security forces in East London were re-spraying vehicles and switching number plates in preparation for a cross-border attack on Apla members in Transkei.

He laughs at the government denial and explanation that Caspiers were being routinely re-sprayed: "At least they admit that part. The public can decide where the truth lies."

SDUs turning into monsters

IN THE early 90s the ANC looked to self-defence units to protect communities — today they are mostly renegade bands of criminals who barricade roads, rape women and hold up shop-owners.

The typical SDU member in the PWV area is either a disgruntled returned Umkhonto we Sizwe member who has no money, no status and years of accumulated grudges, an ANC-organised East Rand peace summit heard this weekend.

Or he may be a youth who through demonstra-

By CHARLENE SMITH

tions and striking teachers has had little education, cannot find a job and carries a Makarov.

● Daveyton, near Benoni, has a renegade SDU which is in the middle of a bloody feud with the ANC Youth League.

● Kaitshong, the ANC's biggest branch with 25 000 paid-up members, experiences attacks from a PAC anti-negotiations faction which calls itself the Revolutionary Watchdogs.

● Vosloorus has an SDU that regularly engages in

gun battles with the police.

While ANC organisers insist there are some "good SDUs" the bad SDUs are in the majority.

This weekend's Peace Summit explored ways to bring SDUs under control. But it did not have its task made easier by receiving conflicting leadership opinions.

Southern Naal chairman Jeff Radele said the ANC's inability to defend people in violent communities affected its standing. He supported the deepening of SDUs and underground ANC structures, saying these were a necessary back-up to peace agreements.

SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani called for SDUs to be transformed into a peace corps. He suggested a paid or voluntary civic service where "say 500 people from a township could do a two-year stint assisting with crime control, clean-up campaigns and service to their township".

He criticised SDUs for not being non-partisan and said undisciplined elements should be expelled.

In truth, the ANC has discovered that SDUs have become uncontrollable monsters that, aside from their criminal activities, will also dampen ANC election chances.

Hani fears for escaped accuser

THE escape of bank robber Solomon Mqanqeni and a group of fellow prisoners must surely go down in the annals of prison breaks.

The ease with which the 16 prisoners escaped from Diepkloof Prison has left many questions unanswered — even for officials at the prison.

Just hours before the escape, a statement was read out in the Rand Supreme Court that Mr Mqanqeni had given some of his loot to the ANC.

SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani smells a rat, and says he fears for Mr Mqanqeni's life.

"Did he disappear? Was he quietly eliminated? He should have been placed under heavy guard after making such allegations," said Mr Hani.

Prison officials say they

By CHARLENE SMITH

cannot recall a similar escape. Only one prisoner got out of "Sun City" last year.

● How did the man who claimed he gave some of his loot to the ANC manage to overpower two armed policemen and two prison warders without the alarm being raised?

● How did he and 15 other escapers manage to drive out of the high-security prison without being stopped or questioned?

● Why were the prison gates left open while the prisoners were off-loaded from their police van?

Mr Mqanqeni's statement — which was admitted as evidence in the Supreme Court last Friday — said that Mr Hani and ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale had master-

mind two bank robberies in which he had been involved, and which left three people dead.

Mr Hani and Mr Sexwale say they have never met Mr Mqanqeni.

Hours after his court appearance, he and 15 other prisoners were free men, having overpowered their guards and driven out of the top-security prison.

All were dressed in civilian clothes.

After the court hearing, the van entered the prison grounds and drove about 3km to the gates of the Medium A prison within the complex.

They were let into the gates of that prison. The gates — contrary to normal prison requirements — remained open while the two policemen let their 16

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The great escape

□ From Page 1

charges out. Two armed prison guards helped them.

Then the prisoners, according to the police and the Department of Correctional Services, overpowered the four guards and disarmed them.

They leapt back into the van and raced out through the still open gates to the main gates.

No alarm sounded, and the van was not stopped at the main gate.

This was because "the prisoners were dressed in private clothes and travelling in an official SAP vehicle", according to the Department of Correctional Services.

But the usual practice is to stop all vehicles — official or otherwise — and question the drivers before allowing them in or out of the complex.

Three of the escapers have been recaptured, and the police say they are searching for the other 13.

The ANC's security department is delving into the background of the chain of events.

On the day Mr Mqanqeni made his sensational claims about Mr Hani and Mr Sexwale, he was appearing on 22 charges — including murder, attempted murder, armed robbery and possession of illegal firearms — with two alleged accomplices, Daniel Motaung and William Makhosi (also known as T-Man).

Mr Mqanqeni's claims immediately raised a storm. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel used them as the basis to attack Umkhonto we Sizwe as a criminal organisation.

The SACP said the Mqanqeni affair had all the hallmarks of being a stage-managed operation.

Mr Hani and Mr Sexwale said the affair seemed to be the beginning of "election dirty tricks".

Father died to save his little daughter by distracting demented elephant

Brendan Seery

EVERBODY knows how painful and tormenting a toothache can be.

Hans-Richard Zilligen had no way of knowing the eight-ton bull elephant he had just finished recording on video had a jumbo-sized toothache and that, in its pain-crazed state, it was about to hit back at the world.

That it was plain bad luck that caused the 30-year-old chemical company executive to die a horrible and lonely death will be small comfort to his wife, Ursula, 29, and his daughters — Jenny, 3, and Janine, 14 months.

But when her daughters are old enough, Mrs Zilligen has vowed to tell them the full story (with all the newspaper cuttings she can find) about how their father died giving them the chance to live.

It's a story, though, which will be told far from the heat and dust of Africa: Mrs Zilligen has said she is taking her husband's body back to Germany, where he was born, and that she and the family will also go back to Europe.

When Mr Zilligen stopped his metallic silver Jetta car on a dirt road in Bophuthatswana's Pilanesberg National Park last Saturday he was doing things according to the book — the Parks Board's brochure which he

The Zilligens' family car was tossed like a toy by the enraged elephants. It rolled at least three times and crumpled like cardboard.



CRAZED KILLER!

'Tell Mommy: I love you
... You mustn't move.'

took with him on the game drive.

He didn't know that the elephant he was recording on his video camera had a problem.

That problem was a compression

fracture in one of its tusks — caused, Bop Parks Board experts surmise, through either a mock battle with another bull or by crashing into a tree trunk. The fracture led to an abscess — an abscess causing more

pain as each day passed.

When the animal vented its anger on the closest foreign object — the Zilligen family's car — it did tremendous damage. The medium-sized saloon was tossed like a toy when the animal charged. It rolled at least three times and crumpled like cardboard.

As it rolled the couple's elder daughter, Jenny, was flung out. Mr Zilligen crawled out of the wreck to go to her. Snatching her up, he ran to a nearby bush, pushing her down before running off to try to distract the demented attacking animal.

Last words

He managed to run about 800 metres before he was caught and savaged by the enraged bull and its companion. Mrs Zilligen escaped with Janine to a nearby motorist and Jenny was later found unharmed.

Jenny has said little more than one or two sentences since the traumatic incident.

But she did tell her mother that her father's last words were: "Tell Mommy: I love you ... You mustn't move."



TORMENTED BY TOOTHACHE: In this exclusive picture,

Bophuthatswana Parks Board deputy director Steve Johnson shows why the elephant went crazy with pain. He points to a compression fracture in the tusk, caused possibly in a fight. The fracture in turn caused an abscess in the root of the tusk.

Why the young bull turned rogue — Parks Board experts explain

Brendan Seery

BOP Parks Board officials believe two bull elephants — aged between 16 and 18 (still juveniles in elephant terms) attacked the Zilligens.

Parks Board Deputy Director Steve Johnson told the Sunday Tribune that his experts believe the elephant with the tusk abscess attacked the vehicle and may have screamed out in pain at the contact between the injured tusk and the car body.

The other animal may have interpreted this cry of pain as a sign its

companion was being attacked and may have come to its assistance.

Although Mrs Ursula Zilligen is convinced only one elephant attacked the car, Parks Board trackers established that there were two sets of prints around the vehicle and that two different sets of tusks had inflicted the gaping holes in the car's bodywork.

Trackers followed the two animals about two kilometres from the scene of the tragedy, and a helicopter was called in to survey the area from the air.

The chief warden at Pilanesberg, Koos Herbst, went up in the helicopter

and established there were no other elephants in the vicinity. As the aircraft flew close to the two animals, dark stains of blood could be seen on tusks, and the decision was taken to shoot them. This was done just before dusk.

A post mortem examination of the elephant skulls, conducted by veterinarian Dr R Keffen, revealed the abscess behind a tusk on one of the animals.

Examination of the carcasses of the animals killed also confirmed they were the culprits. Tusk shapes matched puncture holes in the car, and one of

the animals had glass embedded in its foot — glass that could have come from the car.

Mr Johnson said the discovery of the abscess had "gone a long way towards explaining the behaviour of the elephant".

He also denied allegations that the Parks Board had been negligent in the handling of problem elephants in the reserve. He said the park had imported two "semi-tame" elephants from Mabula Lodge in the Northern Transvaal which had caused problems near where the Zilligen tragedy occurred. These animals were recognised as problem ones after a number of reports from

tourists about cars being charged, and plants at the rest camp being ripped up.

The two animals were taken to Botswana on March 16 by elephant trainer Randall Moore and the Parks Board "thought that was the problem taken care of", said Mr Johnson.

"We had no way of knowing there was this animal with a problem roaming around."

He also dismissed suggestions that the behaviour of the rogue animal — which came originally from the Kruger Park as an orphaned cull survivor — had anything to do with the trauma it went through early in its life. As far as

he was aware, he added, there had been no reports of "extreme delinquency" among Kruger Park elephant orphans which had been translocated to either Natal or to private land in the Transvaal.

There was also no substance to rumours that Mr Zilligen may have been responsible by being out of his car.

"Everything we have seen does not support those allegations."

Mr Johnson added that the incident was "very unfortunate" and was extremely rare in his experience and that of a number of colleagues he had spoken to.