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About-Face
By de Klerk

Will Purge of Military
Cost Him Credibility?

By ALAN COWELL
Special to The New York Times ;

JOHANNESBURG, Dec. 20 It has.
long been the accepted wisdom among:
many South African whites that an ?
endemic black-on-black violence in|
the nation's townships reinforced the,

notion that blacks are unsuited for self-
government and capable.

of expressing political dis-
sent only through intimi-
dation and force.

< Yet now, in announcing
a decision to dismiss or
suspend 23 military officers accused of
using assassination and other means to.
resist black power, President F. W. de
Klerk has tacitly acknowledged that,
particularly in the most hallowed of*
supposedly apolitical white institu-
tions, officers pursuing their own politi-
cal agendas had also resorted to mur-
der to follow their vision of apartheid. |
The existence of what has been |
called a third force of die-hard!
whites in positions of influence, partic-|
ularly in Military Intelligence, had!
been long suspected and often evoked|

by both Mr. de Klerk's adversaries and,
- human rights groups. In announcing!
Saturday the dismissals of military:
officers who he said were involved in
what he called illegal and/or unau-
thorized activities and malpractices
after circling, skirting and disavowing
the issue for so long, Mr. de Klerk lost
moral ground to his detractors. |
Yet, it is part of the tragedy of his;
land that, while he spoke Saturday of
excising a sore in the white body]
politic, neither he nor his adversaries;
believe they have cauterized South Af-
rica's cancerous political violence a
phenomenon that will haunt the land as'
it nudges towards and into majority
rule, however that is constituted. :
At this stage, violence has got out of
hand completely and you don't need:
conspiracies anymore, said Tom,
Lodge, a professor of political science:

at Witwatersrand University in Johan-
nesburg. L :

- ~ News
- Analysis

black-on-black violence, often pitting

pected of association with it, will derail

New Attacks on Whites :

Less than a day after Mr. de Klerk,
announced his military purge in Cape
Town satisfying adversaries such as:
the African National Congress, which
has long called on him to move against;
Military Intelligence the police to-
day reported an upsurge in attacks
thought to have
black guerrillas on whites in remote
farming areas violence that has
deepened conservative whites aver-

* sion to any racial accommodation.

The casualties among whites from ||

violence by the little-known Azanian

People's Liberation Army have been

minuscule compared to the thousands

killed in what the authorities like to call

Mr. Mandela's African National Congress against Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's Zulu nationalist Inkatha Freedom Party.

The question that arises is whether: this guerrilla violence, or Mr. de Klerk's purge of military officers sus-

the process of negotiation between

black and white on a new order. Many || ~ analysts suspect that the answer is no.

_ A Deal With Mandela's Group?

Firstly, said Dr. Lodge, the dismissal or suspension of officers including two |. full generals and four brigadiers seemed to be part of a deal struck by the government and the congress at secret negotiations last month. Although those to be dismissed were not

Ascertained, it was understood that the six generals would be included, and an Afrikaans-language newspaper said the dismissals would go no higher than the deputies in some important departments. The

The results of the talks were not made public, but it has been the supposition among many analysts here that both the authorities and the A.N.C. charted concessions to be made by both sides to restart the broader, multi-party negotiations for a new non-racial South Africa. ;

Mr. de Klerk indicated Saturday that he expected his own moves to be followed by a similar house-cleaning among his adversaries. Fine words and clever public relations are not enough, he said. :

Secondly, other political analysts said, the beginnings of the excision the

so-called "third force" of high-ranking military intelligence officers could possibly avert the launching of covert operations intended to sow discord among

rival blacks: Yet, as they seek some kind of mid-

I\

been carried out by || A°

middle ground, each needing the other, Mr.

de Klerk and Mr. Mandela face chal-

Jenges from the outer extremities of
iSouth Africaâ\200\231s competing national-
sms. !

" deal to the army was: â\200\230Go now, go
realpolitik all the way."

Challenges From Extremes

The black guerrillas who have at-
tacked whites in remote farming areas
in recent weeks fight under the banner
of the Pan-Africanist Congress, which
opposes the multiparty negotiations
that Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela are
seeking to restart.

And their attacks have deepened the
resolve of some conservative whites (0

take the law into their own hands.
Most significant, though, Mr. de
Klerk moved against the covert group
in his own security forces far too late to
prevent the historical divide-and-rule
tactic of whites in Africa from feeding
on the existing deep-rooted antago-
nisms between the AN.C. and Inkatha
that underpin much of the countryâ\200\231s
bloodletting. - ;
Â«Only one tenth of the violence is
caused by third forces,â\200\235 said Dr.
Lodge. â\200\234Most of it is tit-for-tat.â\200\235â\200\235
By moving now against some of his
generals, Mr. de Klerk seems to have
been calculating that this might be the
most expeditious moment to avert a
more drastic settling of the scores.
â\200\234In some cases this a was a protec-
tive measure,â\200\235â\200\231 said Dr. Lodge. â\200\234The
quietly, and get your pensions.â\200\231 It's

Sacked SADF men
to be charged for
â\200\230dirty trlcks

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN. â\200\224
Some of the 16 sacked
and seven suspended
Defence Force officers
are suspected of â\200\234dirty
tricksâ\200\235 and actions
which led to civilian
deaths, and they will
be prosecuted, State-
President De Klerk
told a weekend media
conference.

Should further investi-
gation reveal criminal ac-
tivity, some military intel-
ligence informers and civ-
ilians on the payroll may
also be charged. :

Mr De Klerk chal-

; balptehmmarympoiï-\202by

told. L Sy

â\200\234The officials - believe that the recent rationalisation measures -- announced by the Chief of the Defence Force, General - Kat = Liebenberg, whereby 6 000 members of the Permanent Force are to make way for 6 000 volunteers, is part of the process of purging the â\200\230SADF. : S Members of the Permanent Force, who had fought against both Swapo and the ANC, were considered to be the elements within the SADF - most likely - to present problems when joint control and absorption of MK members starts taking place. - .

% The- recent - premature_

retirement of police gen-

" erals, some of whom were â\200\230egarded as being reactio-

-pary, was also viewed as â\200\234part of the purging process, and there was, speculation yesterday that further retirements of police

â\200\234officers could not be ruled out.

â\200\234to be axed.

The Citizen last night

. confirmed that the two

generals who are to go are General Chris Thirion, Deputy Chief of Staff Intelligence, and General Hennie Roux, chief of Army Staff Intelligence.

.+ It â\200\234could not confirm. - which brigadiers had been given the axe. : : Â£3:5

Neither the Chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg, nor the Chief of the Army, Lt-General Georg Meiring, are going

o

â\200\230: (-)'eâ\200\230ner.al Meiring, in

- particular, has been out-

spoken in his criticism of
the ANC and on a num-
ber of occasions has level-
led charges that MK ele-

| led oAl B
â\200\234ments were Snvolved in

the violence in Natal.

President
said at his weekend Press
conference ~in Cape
Town, for which he inter-
rupted his holiday, that
charges would be brought
against those involved

De Klerk .

where c;iminai acts took
place.

In terms of the rational-

isation plan announced by
General Liebenberg on

December 9, 6 000 Per-__

manÃ©nt Force members

are to make way- for 6 000

volunteers, who will serve

for periods varying from
two to six years.

â\200\230MK members would be -
eligible to join â\200\230this new
force â\200\230of: volunteers,â\200\234but
because APLA had de-
clared war on the govern-
ment, its members would
not be considered unless

- they resigned and showed

aâ\200\231serious commitment to
joining â\200\234the - -Defence |
FOICe. - i ie s

The creation. of this
new force, which :got
underway at_the begin-
ning of the month, was

' seen by officials as open-

_ing the way for MK mem-
bers to become part of the
- SADF ahead of an inter-

im government.â\200\235 . % .

e

.ence,

â\200\234MK has about 10 000
trained members, and
about 5 000 presently out-
side the country in Ugan-
da â\200\230and elsewhere. â\200\230They
are said to be undergoing
training in . conventional
warfare, TR

Prior to the collapse of
the Codesa talks, bilateral .
discussions ~ were taking
place between the gov-
ernment and the ANC on
the question of the inte-
gration of MK members
into the Defence Force.

â\200\230At his Press confer-
ence General Lieben-
berg indicated that these
talks might resume soon. .

After the steps an-
nounced by Mr De Klerk, Â°
officials believed an effort
was being made to rid the
security forces of all ele- .
ments still indulging in
dirty tricks and of those
unlikely to â\200\234adjust to a-
new force that would in-
clude members of the
â\200\234armiesâ\200\235 - of " liberation
movements, such as MK.

The Gizes 21~ 12.=92
â\200\235'1ts electlon trail to

MR NELSON Mande-""

laâ\200\231s+ African Â«National Â« -+
: Congress .(ANC). has,, , :
â\200\234hit the election trail â\200\224 * *

_not with speeches, but
by ensuring its, â\200\230sup- -

-porters â\200\234will ibe* readys

â\200\230and able'to vote â\200\230come
â\200\234the first non-racial poll
a'year down the line. -
The risk of a low turn-
out if voters fear intimi-
dation, and the possibility
that'-Blacks â\200\234who â\200\234â\200\234have "
never voted will inadver- "
tently spoil- their ballots,
areâ\200\231 the â\200\230two major . con-
_cerns,â\200\235 ANC electoral of
ficial Mr Khotso Gordh
said. & e T e o

xMr* Mandela â\200\234said the

'ANC' was worlning hard"â\200\230 o L]
_ -+ '18 million will be doing so *

~on the problem. *
~Â¢As well it might. In the

electnons, the ANC* will !
. erate -

.be up against the National |

Party, "whose" well-oiled <

_election machine has kept

"the party in power for the â\200\230a
past44 years.: - g 7.

. "Inkatha '

Black rivals ' too have
- been tackling the problem |/

2 ==:" Chief Mangosuthu,

- Buthelezi . of â\200\230the â\200\230ANCâ\200\231s "
closest - rival the Inkatha *
< Freedom Party (IFP), last 7
September Â¢ =~ offered *
R4 000 to'the first:IFP 3,

â\200\234+ Youth Brigade - member =

to get 4 000 IFP support- y

â\200\230I ersâ\200\231 voting papers m order

-Â« by next July. * b
Some 21 million voters
will be voting, and around

for the first time. Of those .
some 63 percent are left ;

People have difficulty
understanding - 'what' - 'an

:j educating

election is,â\200\235
' 'Gordhan. â\200\234We've started
our â\200\234struc-
tures.â\200\235â\200\231, â\200\230 2

With . the â\200\230off
churches and education

and development founda- ..., . .

. tions, the ANC has set up
â\200\234election !
where voting procedures
are explained and poten-

tial voters are encouraged, ,

to carry out mock polls ;
"Theâ\200\231 first results have
- 'revealed . . considerable
problems â\200\234â\200\230Some believe
it is only for the â\200\230ANC,â\200\235
saidâ\200\231 " Mr . Gordhan.â\200\235
â\200\234Others think you have to
put your name in a box.â\200\235 .

In mock. polls so far,j;

one in-every. two ballots ;

/. has been spoilt, Mr Gord-.

said 'Mr

+ing with_ the: government . :
bt â\200\230Oneâ\200\231 concern accordâ\200\224
_ing to â\200\230Mr Gordhan, is
: whether polling should "
â\200\230 â\200\234*take" place -over one or
â\200\230workshopsâ\200\235,â\200\235

â\200\234In theâ\200\230 meantime, â\200\230the Â¥:
ANC has been negotiat-

this monthâ\200\231 aboutâ\200\231 electo-
ral procedures R

â\200\230Distortâ\200\231
/ Mr ! Mandela stressed

the _importance of setting -

up an electoral commis- "

sion_before the electrons,
and wamed that the' NP
had the capacity to â\200\234dls-

_ tortâ\200\235 the outcome.â\200\231

For example, the NP

"could campaign to natu-"
ralise â\200\230and â\200\230recruit - up to -

half â\200\230a million foreigners
already in South 'Africa,
Mr Mandela said, just as
it had urged:British and -
other foreign residents to

ers

become citizens and vote
for change in the Whites-
only lreferendum in
-March.s: '

â\200\234 threeâ\200\231 days. â\200\234One- â\200\234is
- enough for the Whites,
but not for us,â\200\235 he said.
Fear' isâ\200\230 the key. In
South Africaâ\200\231s - Black

.townshnps, where around

â\200\230300 people are killed each
month in politically-moti-
vated violence, to vote
could be life-threatening.
Many will stay away on
the first day, to see how

the polling goes, and ven-
ture out later if all is calm,
* Mr Gordhan said.

. â\200\230begun a

â\200\230 campaign to urge voters

. to get their papers in or-
-der.

document.

;. Another problem is
what kind of documentsâ\200\231

â\200\230voters will need.- As many

as 4,5 million potential

voters do not have the ID

â\200\230that_ will entitle' them to:

.vote, acoordmg to Mr.
.4Gordhan

And ' in . the: Transkel
Bophuthatswana Venda

d . Ciskei different .
papers are needed.

The ANCâ\200\231s workers in
the Cape Province have
door-to-door

But ANC ofï¬\201cxals fear

,there is not enough time

to get correct papers_for

all voters, and will be

pressing- the government

.to accept baptism certifi- -

cates,â\200\224 the only relevant -
most - Black
people possess â\200\224 as valid
ID. â\200\224 Sapa-AFP.

NEWS ANC wants full disclosures on army crimes

Revelations

DOWEY ari

could â\200\234create

CIISIS In

B Proof that third force was real:

PRESIDENT De Klerkâ\200\231s acknowl-
edgement that members of the SA
Defence force were involved in seri-
ous malpractice and illegal activities
had created a crisis in the negotiation
process, the ANC has said.

While commending De Klerk on
his revelations, senior African Na-
tional Congress NEC member, Mr
Mac Maharaj, said attempts at cover-
ups would be an unforgivable be-
trayal of all South Africans and would
have serious implications.

Although reticent on what the seri-
ous implications would be, Maharaj
sounded a clear warning to De Klerk
to be open about the matter.

Maharaj said De Klerkâ\200\231s announce-
ment on Saturday morning was a step
in the right direction but â\200\234not nearly
enoughâ\200\235.

â\200\234There should be full public disclo-
sure of all criminal activities and at-
tempts at destabilisation. The names

f those members involved, the acts
ommitted together with the units in-
olved, must be made public immedi-
tely.â\200\235

De Klerk had also acknowledged

A ARy e

that some of the activities included
attempts to undermine negotiations.
~ Maharaj demanded that discipli-
nary steps be taken against security
force members involved.
Â® The Pan Africanist Congress has
said the axing of top SADF members

by De Klerk was an acceptance by the Government of the existence of a Third Force within its ranks, reports Sonti Maseko.

The organisation's National Executive Committee member, Mr

Ntsundeni Madzunya, said the meas-

ures against the top military men on suspicions of involvement in dirty tricks, aimed at derailing the negotiations process, was also a demonstration that the Government had the capacity to stop and start the violence in the black townships. o 3

The fact that there are now generals implicated in the violence puts a big question mark on the SADF and the police.

We cannot rely on them, we cannot have a stable political environment where free and fair elections can take place, said Madzunya.

% - s

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HE CI'TIZ,EM 2//... 12, =92,

nocent pÃ©iiple

the Orange Free State
said that the attack took
place after Mr Pretorius
and his wife, Marcel, had
gone to bed at 11.45 pm,
leaving Leone and her 11-
year-old brother, Step-
han, watching television.
One - of Stephanâ\200\231s
friends, Gustav Roux
(11), was also at the
house at the time. =%
â\200\234A stick-grenade _of
Chinese origin -~ was
thrown at the house on its
western _ side and . ex-
ploded against a wall,â\200\235
said the =~ spokesman.
Shots were then fired
Â«through the lounge win-
dows and Leone was hit,

-dying of her wounds. The

other two children were
pot injured.

The stick grenade is a
weapon traditionally as-
| sociated with APLA.
-Â«It is suspected that

-attack and their tracks
were followed to the tar
_road in Lesotho,â\200\235 said the
â\200\234spokesman. Twenty five
R4 or RS cartridges
â\200\230were found at the scene as

the farm Donside, is 800
â\200\234metres from the Lesotho

neighbour ~some 8 km
away. The Free State Le-
sotho border region has
been the scene of at least
four serious attacks in re-
cent times. ., -

H

A police_spokÃ©sih in

- driving,

three â\200\230men launched the

- well as 9mm cartridges. -
. The Pretorius home, on

border, with the nearest .-

School and was a brilliant
athlete and hockey play-
er, said her father. =
The attack on the
Queenstown-Dordrecht

road took place at 4 pm

on Saturday.
One of three Black

men in a light yellow bak- -

kie, stood on the back of
the bakkie with an auto-
matic rifle and suddenly
started shooting at the
other cars. i

peared. S T
Mr Coetzer was hit in

the knee, and his wife was

hit in the back. Mr Coetz-

" er, jnr, was hit in the right

shoulder and suffered
lacerations to his head,
apparently caused by fly-
ing glass. = - - .
Mr Coetzerâ\200\231s mother,
Mrs Johanna Coetzer (78)
and his daughter Miss

Hannalie Coetzer (18), "

who were also in the bak-
kie, only suffered minor

cuts caused by flying

â\200\230I'he first vehicle to_be glass

attacked was a bakkie be- -

longing to the Coetzer
family ~of
Their vehicle had just
passed a truck. belonging

to â\200\230an acquaintance oOf
theirs, when the light yel-

low bakkie -overtook
them and the "~ gunman
started shooting.

. -Mr Coetzer, who was
immediately -

turned his vehicle around
and started to head back
in the same direction - .of

. Queenstown. The light

yellow bakkie, however,
also turned round and

. pursued the Coetzers,

with the gunman still fir-
ing at them. Mr Coetzer
managed to return a few
shots at the attackers.

The two vehicles then

passed Mr Schutte's

truck, which was still trav-
elling towards Dordrecht.

The gunman on the yel-
low bakkie also fired a

few shots at him as well,

hitting Mr Schutte in the
neck.

The two attacked ve-
hicles sped off- without

stopping and the light yel-
Leone had just written : opping e light y

low bakkie then disap-

E.g. 1

Dordrecht.

" Mr Coetzer and his son

were both discharged

from the Frontier hospital
yesterday morning, and

returned home to Dor-
- drecht. :

Mrs Coetzter was trans-
ferred to 'the intensive

care unit at the Rosepark

hospital in Bloemfontein.
According to a family
member, the bullet in her

back was a few milli-
metres from her spinal =

cord. ;

Mr Schutte, - whose
windpipe . had been

crushed by the bullet in
his neck, drove on 40 km
to Dordrecht, only being
able to breath by sticking
his fingers into the wound

and keeping his windpipe
open.

He was then trans-
ported by ambulance to
the Hydromet hospital in
Bloemfontein, where his
condition late yesterday

_was described as satisfac-
tory.

.. Mrs .. Koekie : Schutte-
said_yesterday ,that her,
: hyshand had miraculausly,. .of. mappQe
., assistancg in!

\ blamed for attacks:<
e e Ficksburg High

T
have:-to .

recovered ~â\200\234from the
wound he had sustained.
â\200\234His condition is stable,
- although he cannot talk
because of the wound,â\200\235
shesaid. Â©
-Mr Schutte wrote down
a description of what had
happened. He said that
he had been driving his
truck at 4 pm on Saturday
when the Coetzer family,
_ whom he knows, as they
â\200\234 live in the same district of
Dordrecht, - drove = past
.. ~â\200\234When I got to the top
â\200\234of a rise the Coetzers
â\200\230went out of sight and the
pext thing I heard gun-
shots. The Coetzers turn-

- "ed around in the road and

~ came back past me, witha
light yellow bakkie in pur-
suit. On the back of the
bakkie was a Black man
.holding what looked like
an AK-47 or a R-4. He
. â\200\230was shooting at - the
" Coetzers,â\200\235 he wrote. -
* Â«As they passed by, the

-~ Black fired a few shots at

â\200\230me as well. I threw myself
flat, but still one bullet hit

me in the neck.â\200\235 pic.

e To prevent a repeti-
tion of the Ficksburg at-
tack, police had been sta-
tioned on a 24-hour basis
on all farms which have
been identified as poss-
ible â\200\234targets, a .policeâ\200\231
spokesman said. o

â\200\234This action is being
implemented from Cla-
rens to Zastron, a dis-
tance of 650 km which in-
cludes about 200 farms.
The police have also ap-

- preached the â\200\230SADF for J
;lz}e.promon B

Ve saazemann ad

.....

r purge

â\200\234acknowledgement
i De Klerk that

in

The Conservative Partyâ\200\231s
Home Guards will launch
retribution raids against
Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Liber-
ation Army bases in Leso-
tho unless the govern-
ment neutralised and de-
stroyed these bases, CP
parliamentarian Charl
Hertzog said yesterday.

Aggressive

Mr Hertzog, CP MP for
Ladybrand, said in the
light of the latest attack
on White farmers in the
Ficksburg area, which
killed a 15-year-old teen-

| age girl on Saturday, the

CP warning

changed from a defensive
one to an aggressive oneâ\200\235.

â\200\234The CP in Ficksburg'
will be forced to activateâ\200\231
retribution raids on:
APLA bases in Lesotho
should the South Africanâ\200\231
government fail to act
within seven days to neu-
tralise and destroy APLA
bases in this neighbouring
countryâ\200\235.

Innocent

â\200\234The CP is not pre-
pared to allow APLA or
any other terrorist organi-
sation to ruthlessly mur-
der innocent people withâ\200\231

. ther attempts at cover-ups

may not hide the implica-
tions of this crisis and fur-
will be an Â¢
betrayal of all South Afri-

role of his partyâ\200\231s Home jmpunity â\200\235 Mr Hertzog cans,â\200\235 said the ANC.
â\200\230Guardsâ\200\231 â\200\234is_ready to _be Â°, Bl A
RPN L O .â\200\224râ\200\230&?aâ\200\230?i¬\201%k e

TV

WASHINGTON AND

THE

WORLD

USA TODAY - MONDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1992 -5A

Critics: De Klerk's purge is not enough

Agence France Press

DE KLERK: Suspended or
ousted top officers

By Chris Erasmus
Special for USA TODAY

CAPE TOWN, South Africa
â South African President
F.W. de Klerk's purge of mili-
tary officers, begun over the
weekend with the forced re-
tirement or suspension of 23 se-
nior officers, hasn't cut deep
enough, critics say.

~The African National Con-
gress, the largest of South Afri-
ca's black nationalist move-

ments, said de Klerk's move â is -

a step in the right direction but
does not go nearly far enough.â

Weekend revelations of po-
litical assassinations and sabo-

tage of the peace process by se-
nior army officers brings a
new crisis to South Africa's
fragile constitutional negotia-
tions, the ANC says.

DeKlerk, who announced
on Saturday the ouster of se-
nior army intelligence officers
involved in as-yet-unspecified
illegal acts, said he was

. â shocked and disappoin

discover the officers had been
working directly against the
peace process.

DeKlerk has not detailed
what the officers engaged in.
He said, however, that some
had links with right-wing white
supremacist organizations and

that some of their reported ac-
tivities resulted in deaths.

De Klerk denied that the in-
ternal investigation by army
chief of staff Pierre Steyn had
uncovered any so-called â third

force,â\200\235 which the ANC and other parties have charged is behind the violence in black townships.

â\200\234What we have uncovered in no way represents the so-called â\200\230third force.â\200\231 ... There is no question of such a force existing in the Defense Force or the police,â\200\235 de Klerk said.

. DeKlerk promised to continue the probe, adding that any person or organization pro-

moting conflict or undermining negotiations would be â\200\234standing in the path of the majority of South Africans.â\200\235

â\200\234We dare not allow these elements who are delaying a new dispensation and who continue to promote conflict to succeed in their objectives,â\200\235 de Klerk added.

While the purge is likely to

â\200\230claim very senior officers it

will probably fall short of demands from the ANC and others for a clean sweep of those believed to be linked to organized anti-reform activities. The ANC demanded â\200\234full disclosure on everything.â\200\235

10A THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER Monday,

The Charlotte Observer

ROLFE NEILL, Chairman and Publisher

RICHARD OPPEL, Editor JOHN LUBY, General Manager

GENE WILLIAMS, Executive Vice President ')

ED WILLIAMS, Editor of the Editorial Pages JANE SHOEMAKER, I:â\200\230.x.ecu;;/lc:t (I;Z:ht
or

" Tom BRADBURY, Associate Editor FRANK BARROWS, Managing

The Observer Forum P

Observer misinformed
about South Africa

I have just returned -from a
3%-week trip to South Africa. Your
paper regularly refers to the Afri-
can National Congress as â\200\230â\200\230the
nationâ\200\231s leading black groupâ\200\235 or
â\200\234â\200\230the countryâ\200\231s most powerful black
opposition movement.â\200\235 In reality,
the Inkatha Freedom Party is far
larger and is committed to peace-
ful change, while the ANC has a
military wing for violent change. It
is obvious you get your disinforma-
tion from the leftist lobby that
feeds the press and elected offi-
cials with biased information.

The Zulu-dominated
Freedom Party claims a member-
ship of 2 million, while the African
National Congress has a broader-
based, multiracial membership
estimated at less than 500,000.
The ANC, howeuer, is regarded as
South Africaâ\200\231s most influential
black opposition group. While it
still maintains its military wing,
the ANC suspended its armed
struggle after it was legalized in
1990. â\200\224 Editors, The Observer.

Ratha |

Write the Forum

We welcome letters. Please sign and include your address and day-time telephone number.

We edit letters for brevity, grammar and clarity, and we reject those published elsewhere. Edited letters typically address a single idea and do not exceed 150 words. Because of the volume received, we cannot return letters not used. i

: â\200\224 Editors, The Observer

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THE INDEPENDENT

40 CITY ROAD, LONDON EC1Y 208 (telephone 071-253-1222; general fax 071-9\$6-1435)

De Klerk's belated purge

IT IS hard not to agree with the reaction of an ANC representative to the news that President F W de Klerk of South Africa had, at last, decided to purge the country's security forces by suspending or sacking 23 officers, including six generals. It is a pity, she said, that so many people should have had to die before any action was taken.

The damage went much wider than the killings, which the security forces were widely believed, and in justly shown, to have aided in Mr de Klerk's assertions that the forces were under control, save perhaps the odd bad apple, drastically eroded their credibility. Just as

if violence intensified

suspensions and hatred between South

as racial, tribal and political

y between ANC follow-

only Zulu Inkatha Freedom

red the confidence of poten-

Ultimately, it threatened anar-
war,

There seem to be three possible explanations for Mr de Klerk's inordinate delay. First, he genuinely believed that the security forces were not seriously implicated in the violence. Second, he suspected they might be, but needed time to secure incontrovertible evidence. Third, he knew they were in it up to their necks, but feared a cabinet coup in fa-

vour of the military if he took action to purge those guilty. !

None of these explanations is, by itself, convincing. Given the complexity of South Africa's problems and the strength of the forces arrayed against him, Mr de Klerk may well have believed all three at much the same time. A fourth possibility, that he actively condoned the crimes of the security forces while negotiating with the ANC, can almost

intended, the to

Clly ana's

. certainly be dismissed.

In the bright sunshine of his early days as the reformer who released Nelson Mandela from jail, did he realise the tentacular nature

of the country's security establishment that his predecessor, President PW Botha, had done so much to create? The damage to the blacks from four decades of apartheid was obvious enough, that to the whites less so. For more than 10 years the military had created their own rules. Hot pursuit of their enemies across the borders of neighbouring

" states was normal, as was the fomenting of

civil wars in those countries. What more natural than to switch those tactics to the domestic scene when relations with the front-line states were normalised? ok :

The military and the police still have their allies in Mr de Klerk's cabinet. The President has no doubt calculated that he can prevail against them: a safeish bet ever since the March referendum in which the white population voted in favour of constitutional reform. His belated coup was carried out with a degree of surprise that the affected officers, mainly from military intelligence, must admire. Most were on holiday, and thus unable to destroy evidence that might be used to prosecute them.

One effect of Mr de Klerk's move will be to drive his National Party and the ANC closer together, since a white conservative backlash would be even more disastrous for the black majority than for reformist whites. Just how well pragmatists from both camps understand each other was shown in a secret three-day meeting in a bush resort earlier this month. From it emerged a possible timetable which sees multi-party constitutional negotiations being resumed in February or early March, and black leaders sharing in decision-making through a transitional governing council by early summer. Democratic elections for a constituent assembly could be held late next year or in early 1994, Yet such cal-

culations leave out the destructive capacity of |
those who feel marginalised or threatened â\200\224
notably Inkatha and the very forces against
which Mr_de Klerk has at last taken action.

INEATHRA

SA generals under
fire in army purge

CAPE TOWN ~ Senior generals
are in the firing line in South Af-
rica as President FW de Klerk
takes on the military hawks hos-
tile to his reform programme, Byt
leaks to a leading Afrikaans news.
Paper yesterday suggested the
purge of officers plotting to block
the transition from white rule to
democracy would leave the top
men in place,

Mr de Klerk revealed at a rare
news conference that an inquiry
had uncovered security force
plots against political reform, I
think I can say that the findings
will lead to the conclusion that
some of the activities did lead to
the deaths of people, he said,
Some of the activities and some
of the individuals might have been
motivated by a wish to prevent us
from succeeding in our [reform]
goals.

President de Klerk said he had
sacked or suspended 23 military
officers, including two generals,
and had ordered state prosecu-
tors to lay charges wherever pos-
sible, Mr de Klerk postponed the
identification of the people dis.

missed until they had been told, .
Speculated yes.

but newspapers
terday that the list could include
1 top military and intelligence
chiefs, :
The Johannesburg Sunday

2frfrz-

From Brendan Boyle

of Reuters

Times named as likely candidates the military intelligence chief, Joffel van der Westhuizen, who {s alleged to have signed a 'warrant for the assassination of " black activisf, and Major-GenÃ©ral Georg Meiring, the army chief of staff alleged to have authorised a covert plan in April to discredit the African National Congress (ANC) .

â\200\234President de Klerk's actions, belated as they may be, signal an end to this reign of the ... sedi- tious samurai,â\200\235 the newspaper said. But Rapport, g pro-govern- ment newspaper, named Hennje Roux; the chief of army intelli.

- gence staff, and Chris Thirion, his

deputy, as the gencrals sacked on Saturday. The paper said that Kat Liebenberg, the defence force chief, Gen Meiring and Gen van der Westhuizen would not be sac- rificed,

W QUEENSTOWN â\200\224 Police put an armed guard on every South African farm -adjoining Lesotho | Yesterday after a teenage girl died ' and five whites were . wounded in' black attacks on' whites, Reuter: reports. B R

Lcadz';zg 'Ezrï¬\202'cle, page 16

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VOS T'F P

BUSINESS DAY, Teasday, January 21 1992

Codesa groups activated

CODESA workang groups dae to begin negotia
Bons on SAâ\200\231s political future were yesterday
activated with the appointment of steering
comumrittees to direct their work.

The steering committees will provide chair
men for sessions between now and March when
the working groups will presear their Teports to
the second plenary sesvion of Codesa.

Yesterday, about 200 delegates representing

19 political groups, hameland governments apd
the SA govermmnt met at the World Trade
Ceatre at Kempton Park to start drawing op
agendas for working group meetings and to
appoint, by consensus, steermg committees for
the working groups.

The only chafrman amornced was that for
the working group examining transitional ar-
rangements, DP MP Ken Andrew. Tn the work-
ng group dealing with constitutional principles
and 2 constitmtion-making bhody/process, the
ANCâ\200\231s Mohammed Valli Moosa and Deputy
Constitutional Development Minister Tertins
Delpport were chosen joint conveners. Steering
commnittee representatives in this group were
chesen on the basis of their competegce in the
constitniional field and pot on party affiliation

The other three working groups will disenss
the futare of the TBVC states, a time frame and
unplemegtation of Codesa decisions and the
creatiog of a free political climate and role of
the internatiopal community.

The working group steering committees are
dominated by the ANC, the NP/SA govern-
ment, Inkatha and the Labour Party. Parties
represented on some, but not all the steering
commiftees inciude the Transkel government,

& PATRICK BULGER]

the SA Comrmumist Party and the DP. e
Codesa daily management committee chair-
man Zach de Beer said that while yesterdayâ\200\231s
proceedings had gove slowly, they were part of
2 process of trust building. He said the aim was
stll to covene Codesa agaw in Mareh, bot i -
depended largely onâ\200\234the progress within the::
five working groups. 5 e

It had been proposed to spend two days a week in working group meetings, but the workload made this impossible. Instead, delegates would meet each Monday at the World Trade Centre, Sapa reports. SRR

Delegates at Monday's meeting generally felt that Codes IT would most likely be held in the first part of April, when they expected the working groups to have made substantial progress in their work. : SR

Yesterday's full-day meetings of the Working ETOUs were attended by high-ranking government officials and members of political groups.

" These included National Intelligence Service director Neil Barnard who is an adviser to government in the working group on creating a free political climate, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa in the constitutional group, Foreign Affairs' J, erPr?kBotha and his director-general Neil van Heerden in the TBVC

Finance director-general Gertuud Croeser - Was named government adviser on the TRYC - group. i

negotiations will begin next month.

HE > lan, muNUAT Z1 DECEMBER 1992

Disaffected officers

We must hope that the manner and U
ing of the z-a;r;.fe indicates a confidence on
De Klerk's part that he retains the loy-
alty of .n.x bulk of the security forces. His
uÃ@,*r' wing opponents can be expected to
exploit to the Aul' the swelling ranks of dis-
affected police and military. officers waa
rmade r*a.â\200\234Â»?Ã@rs out of apartheid and have
vested interest in maintaining the status
quo. It is probable, too, that the latest re-
cruits to these ranks will try to bring the
temple down with them. Stand by for a
urâ\200\224am stream of leaks claiming that what
was done had the blessing, implied or oth-
erwise, of senior members of the De Klerk
cabinet

TÃ¢ the once proud SADF is to regain the
respect it enjoyed before being corrupted
a-*av-r)wm there must be a cutting to the
bone, as promised by De Klerk when he

ppointed the Harms Commission more
"u; } two years ago. Those who tolerated or
were guilty of foul deeds must go, and the
Force entrusted to a new breed of officers
who understand that they are there to de-
fend the country. not a particular ideology
or political party. As for the culprits, they
must be given their day in court â\200\224 and not
allowed to fade into retirement, comforted
by fat pensions and an amnesty for their
crimes and misdemeanours.,

B T T N pâ\200\224â\200\224 i..-

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THE CITIZEN

LCOMMENT

Army purge

WHICHEVER way one looks at it, the purge

of 23 officers of the Defence Force, including !

at least two generals and four brigadiers, isa
stunning decision with far-reaching implica-
tions.

Sixteen of the officers have been sacked and
seven suspended.

Some of them are suspected of dirty tricks and
actions which led to civilian deaths. They will
be prosecuted.

If further investigations reveal criminal activ- |
ity, some mulitary intelligence informers and
civilians on the payroll may also be charged.

Other officers are accused of trying to block
reforms, State President De Klerk emphasis.
\ng:

â\200\234There were indications that some activities
and individuals might have been motivated
to prevent success in constitutional goals, but
there is at yet no evidence poiunting to anyone
wanting to violently overthrow the povern-
ment.â\200\235

If the investigation into covert operations by
the SADF Chief of Staff, General Pierre
Steyn, has, in fact, uncovered evidence that
officers and avilian collaboratore involved
themselves in criminal and unauthonged ae-
tions, or tried to prevent Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s con-

stitutional goals succeeding, then Mr De |

Klerk has every justification in acting against
them.

No government can allow officers to engage in
criminal activities or interfere in political
matters.

As commander-in-chief of the forces, Mr De Klerk has to ensure that his officers are politically impartial and that their actions are above board.

The purge has come about as a result of the Goldstone Commission's raid on a military intelligence unit, followed by the appointment of General Steyn to command all intelligence functions of the SADF and to investigate irregularities, assisted by Lieut-General Alwyn Conradie, of the South African Police.

One supposes that the haste with which Mr De Klerk has acted has been due to his desire to anticipate the row that would have broken out when General Steyn's verbal preliminary report was followed by a full report.

However, there are also suggestions that Mr De Klerk is purging the police and army of elements who would oppose an interim gov-

As evidence, it is pointed out that the SADF purge closely follows the announcement that 6 000 Permanent Force members are to be replaced by 6 000 volunteers, and that members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the military wing of the ANC, are welcome to join up if they abandon their MK links.

In the case of the police, a group of Right-wing generals have been retired and more will be retired soon.

Whether this is correct or not, the security forces have been immeasurably weakened.

The decline in morale began when the government destroyed the influence of the security forces,

The retirement of police officers and now the purge of SADF officers will further undermine morale.

This is happening at a time when political violence is at its worst, there is considerable opposition, even within government, to the Record of Understanding reached with the ANC and the subsequent bosberaad, and the alienation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the IFP, backed by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

We have always believed that this country needs strong and dedicated security forces so that it is not destabilised and a settlement can be achieved that is fair and reasonable.

Perhaps the purges will prevent any possible coup, but on the other hand they may cause a

further Right-wing backlash and threats of armed resistance, since any purge of officers is bound to have an adverse reaction, particularly if it is felt that the ANC will benefit.

Taking all factors into account, we hope Mr
De Klerk has not been rushed into a decision
that he and the country will regret in the
months to come. z

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emmmment and joint control of the security
forces. .

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"THE CIVIC, MURNUAI 21 DECEMBER 1992

ANC praises FW
for purge in SADF

Citizen Reporter

THE ANC has commended
ed State President De
Klerk for taking steps
against senior military
men and has at the same
time called for a similar
investigation into the
police and all other se-
curity arms of the sta-

In an official response
to the announcement by
President De Klerk that
several senior SADF
members were being
on immediate pension
the ANC said it says
that it took (the State
President) so long
to respond to a situation that
has been glaringly appar-
ent.

The ANC said the

acknowledgement by
President De Klerk that
serious malpractices and
activities that undermine
organisations and events
originate from the secur-
ity forces confirmed what
the ANC had said for
along time.

There is clearly a third
force operating within the
security forces and it was
exactly because of such a
Third Force that the ANC
suspended negotiations in
1991. If President De
Klerk had acted then
many lives could have
been saved, said the
ANC

The ANC also said that
the steps taken by Presi-
dent De Klerk were not
enough. There should be

full public disclosure of all
criminal activities and at-
tempts at destabilisa-
tion.

The names of those

members of the security forces, the acts committed, together with the units involved, must be made public immediately. We also demand that the units involved must be prevented from continuing with their activities and that those responsible for criminal activities be charged immediately.â\200\235

The ANC said it was inadequate to â\200\234simply announceâ\200\235 that some SADF members were to be put on retirement as â\200\234this strengthens the impression that the SADF is a partisan and private army of the NP government.â\200\235

[he ANC also called on President De Klerk to hand a full report of the activities which had been brought to his attention to Justice Richard Goldstone

â\200\234The current revelations are only the tip of the iceberg since Lt General (Pierre) Steynâ\200\235s briefs only 10 investigate Military Intelligence,â\200\235 said the ANC. â\200\234Further comprehensive investigations must take place into the SADF, the SAP and all other security arms of the State

â\200\234This is a crisis of major proportions which has a direct bearing on the negotiation process |

President De Klerk may not hide the implications of this crisis and further attempts at cover-ups will be an unforgivable betrayal of all South Africans.

ans,â\200\235 said the ANC.

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AN

MR NELSON Mande-
la's African National
Congress (ANC) has
hit the election trail â\200\224
not with speeches, but
by ensuring its sup-
porters will be ready
and able to vote come
the first non-racial poll
a year down the line.
The risk of a low turn-
out if voters fear intimi-
dation, and the possibility
that Blacks who have

< never voted will inadver-

tently spoil their ballots,
are the two major con-
cerns, ANC electoral of-
ficial Mx Khotso Gordhan
said.

Mr Mandela said the
ANC was working hard
on the problem.

As well it might. In the
elections, the ANC will
be up against the National
Party, whose well-oiled
election machine has kept

C hits election trail to,
educate it

the party in power for the
past 44 years.

Inkatha

Black rivals too have
been tackling the problem
â\200\224 Cheef Mangosuthu
Buthelezi of the ANC's
closest rival the Inkatha
Freedom Party (IFP), last
September offered
R4 000 10 the first IFP
Youth Brigade member
to get 4 000 IFP support-
ersâ\200\231 voting papers in order

by next July.

Some 2t million voters
will be voting, and around
i& million will be doing so
for the first time. Of those
some 63 pereent are kit
erate

â\200\234people have difficulty
understanding what an

etection is,â\200\235 said M1
Gordhan. â\200\234We've started
zduating out stric-
tures.â\200\235â\200\231

With the help of
churches and education
and development founda
tions, the ANC has set up
â\200\234election workshops',
where voting procedures
are explained and poten
tial voters are encouraged
to carry out mock polls

The fiest sesulis have
revealed considerable
problems. â\200\234Some believe
it is only for the ANC."
said Mr Gordhan
â\200\234Others think you have to
put your name in a box %

In mock polls so far,
one in every iwo baliots
has been spoilt, Mt Gord

D s,

In the meantime, the
ANC has been negotiat-
ing with the governmct
this month about efecto-
ol procedures

â\200\230Distortâ\200\231

Mr Mandela stressed
the importance of setting
up an efectoral conmis-
sion before the elections,
and warned that the NP
had the capacity to â\200\234dis-
tortâ\200\235 the outcome.

For example, the NP
could campaiga to natu
ralise and recruit up to
half 2 million foreigners
already in South Alrica,
Mr Mandela said, just as
it had urged Buitish and
other foreign residents to

s voters

become citizens and vote
for change in the Whites-
only referendum in
March.

One concern, accord-
ing to M Gordhan, is
whether polling should
take place over one or
three days. "One is
enough for the Whites,
but not for us," he said.

Fear is the key. In
South Africa's Black
townships, where around
100 people are killed each
month in politically-moti-
vated violence, to vote
could be life-threatening.

Many will stay away on
the first day, to see how
the polling goes, and ven-
ture out later if all is calm
M Gordhan said,

Another problem is
what kind of documents
voters will need. As many
as 4.5 million potential
voters do not have the ID
that will entitle them to
vote, according to Mr
Gordhan.

And in the Transkei,
Bophuthatswana, Venda
and Ciskei different
papers are needed.

The ANC's workers in
the Cape Province have
begun a door-to-door
campaign to urge voters
to get their papers in or-
der.

But ANC officials fear
there is not enough time
to get correct papers for
all voters, and will be
pressing the government
to accept baptism certifi-
cates, "the only relevant
document most Black
people possess" as valid
ID. Sapa-AFP.

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' THE CiTicTis, momm

21 DECEMBER 1532

Citizen Reporter
THE Conservative Pamy spokesman on De-

fence, Dr Willie Snyman, yesterday called
President De Klerkâ\200\231s purge of the Defence
Force a *calamitous blunderâ\200\235 and called on all
â\200\234'patriotsâ\200\235 in the SADF lo reconsider their
position.

â\200\234The government's
purge of so-called
Right-wing elements in
the Defence Force is a
calamitous biunder.
This reckiess action wili
rÃ@sult in mass defections
from the NP; it will pre-
cipitate insecurity and
even insubordination in
the SADF, and it could
cause a rift in the Cabi-

â\200\234This latest purge
now â\202¬xposes lo those
who remain in the
SADF how loyalty to
one's country and one's
people is rewarded.

â\200\234This purge is, as
well, ap mtimidatory
tactic aimed at forcing
remaining SADF mem-
bers to loÂ¢ the party hine

net

Blunder, sa

_FROM PAGE 1

and to accept the government's sellout to their alliance partners, the ANC, 2nd to permit the amalgamation of the remnants of the SADF with the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's APLA killers. We remind Mr De Klerk that the SADF is not there to set in terms of government policy. It

is there to ensure

safety of the country, even in spite of government policy if necessary. The SADF's loyalty is to the South African state and not to the continually changing policies of the South African Government,

The purge is only widely welcomed by the enemies of South Africa, and in giving in to overseas pressure the NP has seriously under-

estimated the growing resistance among Whites to whom it is now clear that the government's March 17 mandate was fraudulently obtained.

This purge will only encourage further acts of terrorism in the country.

The CP is particularly disturbed about proposed court-related actions and criminal prosecutions which may result from further investigations.

.Leutons which may re. &

sult from further investigations.

The ANC, South Africa's enemy, had been effectively neutralised since the sixties by the SADF. It is thus treachery to now con-

sider criminal prosecutions for covert actions against the ANC and other terrorist movements still perpetrating their crimes in this country. The govern-

ys CP ;7

\
ment should rather be acting against the i-r\201wc and tie PAC

"The government's feeble call to their terrorist allies to act with â\200\230equai decisivenessâ\200\231 against crimes in their ranks is a pathetic attempt to cover up their refusal to act against the real cause of terrorism and crime in South Africa

â\200\234Their obsession with negotiations now results in our security force personnel being prosecuted to pacify the NP's negotiation partners.

â\200\234The CP calls upon those patriots still within the SADF to take note of the treachery of the government and to join with the SADF personnel who have already made contact with us. "

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21 DECEMBER 1%%

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THE

â\200\230Dirty tricksâ\200\231: Some

sacked SADF men '

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. "â\200\224
Some of the 16 sacked
and seven suspended
Defence Force officers
are suspected of â\200\234dirty
tricksâ\200\235 and = actions
which led to civilian
deaths, and they will
be prosecuted, State-
President De Klerk
told a weekend media
conference.

Should further investi-
gation reveal criminal ac-
tivity, some military intel-
ligence informers and civ-
ilians on the payroll may
also be charged.

Mr De Klerk chal-
lenged other political or-
ganisations -~ without
mentioning either the
ANC or PAC directly â\200\224
i0 take similar discipli-

nary or criminal * abtity -

against those it their
ranks guilty of crimes and
malpractices.

Among the heads that
rolled at the weekend are
those of two generals and
four brigadiers, placed on
compulsory retirement
with immediate effect.

to be charged

â\200\224 they are not wanted in the reorganisation of military intelligence.

Mr De Klerk said there was â\200\234no â\200\234Third Forceâ\200\235 within the SADF, nor was there any evidence of a plot to overthrow the government. Only a handful of individuals had been involved in actions aimed at undermining the reform process.

Asked whether people had died in these actions, he replied: â\200\234Yes. The findings will lead to the conclusion that some of the activities have led to the death of people.â\204¢

Prejudice

Questioned - about a possible Right-wing link, Mr De Klerk said: â\200\234It is not impossible. I don't want to give further details. It might prejudice the investigations.â\200\235

The immediate sackings and suspensions had

â\200\224Nat-all-of the-t6-sackedâ\200\224takenâ\200\224pk

officers are suspected of criminal activity. Some were ordered out as part of a restructuring process

any attempt by those involved to destroy evidence or cover-up their actions. Some of the offi-

cers were on holiday and unaware of their dismissals at the weekend.

â\200\234One of the results is that not one of these people will be able to cover their tracks.

â\200\234We are not dealing with kids. We are dealing with well-trained people who are taking constant precautions to prevent being found out,â\200\235 said Mr De Klerk.

For this reason the

names of those sacked or suspended would only be revealed later, possible by the end of the month. Further facts would be revealed in the course of court proceedings and in reports of the Auditor-General and of Commissions of Investigation.

The State President's action came exactly a month after the appointment of Lt-Gen Piecre Steyn, Chief of Defence Force Staff, to command all intelligence functions

action was taken on information contained in a verbal preliminary report by Lt-Gen Steyn to him and other Cabinet members, including Mr Gene Louw, Minister of Defence, as well as General Kat Liebenberg, Chief of the SADF.

A full report by Lt-Gen Steyn, on the activities of all the intelligence functions of the SADF, would follow later.

There would be co-operation with the SAP, the Goldstone Commission and Attorneys-General in bringing to book those suspected of illegal or unauthorized activities.

The handful of people responsible for illegal and unauthorized action were scattered through a number of units, which included the Directorate of Covert Collection. The DCC would now be restructured.

It was in the nature of the covert collection of information that some latitude had to be allowed in the procedures they followed. But these procedures had to be well regulated and managed.

While there had already been a tightening-

p. further control measures would now be intro-

duced.

Mr De Klerk's statements at the media conference suggested that a few top Defence Force officers had lied to their seniors, including the Ministers of Defence.

â\200\234The activities which have come to my attention point to a process in which political office bearers, Defence Force commanders and the Auditor-General were not fully informed or, very often, were misled,â\200\235 said Mr De Klerk.

â\200\234I would like to emphasise that only a limited number of persons and a few units were involved.

â\200\234Nevertheless, the information at my disposal indicates a serious and unacceptable state of af-

fairness irregularities, assisted

by Lt-Gen Alwyn Con-

stant of the SA Police.

Mr De Klerk said the

fact is â\204¢

THE Cliicen

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Effectiveness of
SADF won't be
harmed â\200\224 Louw

Citizen Reporter
THE Minister of De-
fence, Mr Gene Louw,
said yesterday that the
effectiveness of the
Defence Force would
not be harmed by the
secking of Iwg eenerajs
along with the suspen-
sion of a further seven
officers

He bhad iearnt with
â\200\234â\200\230disappointmentâ\200\235 of the
involvement of a2 small
eclement of the Defence
Force in illegal and/or un-
authorised activities and
majpracrices

Mr Louw said:

â\200\234Although it can be
emphasised that only a
small group has been ln-
volved, it is necessary for
the South African De-
fence Force as a whole to
be cleared of ail mwregular.
lâ\200\234qh i [T TP PRSIV
period, the Defence
ForÂçe rmust be unstamned
and perform its military
functions professionally
and be above suspicion of
possible political motives.

â\200\234The Defence Force
must in Âçvery respect be
polincally non-aligned
and act strictly 10 accord-

l.ouw on purgeâ\200\231

ubove the laws of the
countey or the military
code

â\200\234The Defence Force as
y wholc is bigger than in-
dividuals. For this reasen
[want to assure every sol-
dier in the country, no
matter in what capacity
he or she serves, that the
government and I, as the
responsible Minister, are
behind them

â\200\234There 18 high appre-
ciation and gratitude for

the work and sacrifice of
our soldiers did and still
are doing in difficult cir-
cumstances.

â\200\230In the future South
Africa will need our De-
fence Force. There still is
nonsensical violence and
the actions of radicals that
will have to be curbed and
which can even increase

â\200\234Without the stabilis-
ing and anchor role of the
Defence Force, these ac-
tions can easily become
beyond control.

â\200\234Where necessary, the
organisation will take
place and the readiness of
the Defence Force will
not be harmed.

â\200\234Neither defence force in
the world can survive
without a sophisticated
intelligence-gathering
capability.

â\200\234The most effective
and improved restructuring
of the Defence
Force's intelligence-gath-
ering action in its totality.
therefore, will have to be
looked into immediately.

â\200\234For this reason I se-
riously appeal to political
movements and parties â\200\224
Left and Right of the
spectrum = not to exploit
the current events for pol-
itical purposes or to cast
suspicion.â\200\235

ance with military pro-
cedures and the laws of
the country. No soldier 13

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. FF'CERS interim govt,
9) â\200\230 joint control

Citizen Reporier

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NC and PAC are he
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WL MSRDAY 21 DECEMBER 1992

Unity is strength/

OSATU'S proposals for an

election pact with the ANC

and SACP would appear !0

have been influenced more by
pragmatic economics than by a bid
for political leverage. The latter
raises the spectre of a government/
union relationship akin to that be-
tween Britainâ\200\231s Labour Party and
the unions.

The Cosatu move is more in line
with the Australian example where
the social accord between that
country's unions and its Labor Par-
ty translated into the wage re-
straint which allowed Australiaâ\200\231s
inflation to be cut to almost zero.

Influences are one thing, results

- anofhier. Paradoxically, South Afri-
ca's present circumstances, with
steadily rising unemployment and

the negative foreign perceptions
eloquently summed up by the UN's
Angela King, provide an opportuni-
ty to turn a pogt-apartheid
â\200\234reconstruction pactâ\200\235 into a major
platform for sustainable growth.

Cosatuâ\200\231s proposais imply a real-
isation that peopleâ\200\231's ecopomic ex-
pectations cannot be met immedi-
ately in a post-Nat South Africa;
that economic empowerment Will
take years and can be achieved only
by growth, not redistribution or
confiscation.

A Cosatu-ANC social pact would
probably need something of a cloak
of radical rhetoric to persuade peo-
ple of its revolutionary credentials.
Even that must be moderated if
foreign investors are not to be
scared off.

THE > lan, munuaY 21 DECEMBER 1992

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BSP agains spurns Codesa /f

Boerestaat Party leader
Robert van Tonder yes-
terday reiterated his or-
gamsations stance that
t would not take part in
â\200\230nulparty negotiations:
at Codesa. He was
speaking at a wreath-
laying ceremony at Pre-
toriaâ\200\231s Herces' Acre in
commemoration of the
death 78 years ago of
Boer rebel Jopie Fourie.

A

Policeman shot dead | \

L

A KwaZule policeman was killed ang another

' lgeq at an ANC meelng yesterday

Â@dwe on the Natal North Coast, police

sald. The policemen were attacked whep they

arrived for guard dutias at the meeting in a foot-

ball stadtum. Warrant Officer R T Nzimande

Was shot dead and Constable \$D Ngeobo was

Shot in his right s lder

THE S 1AK MUNDAY 21 DECEMBER 1992

Louw promises immediate and effective SADF restructuring

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By Jacques Pauw
and Esther Waugh

Defence Minister Gene
Louw last night called for
the immediate, effective
and improved restructur-
ing of the SADF following
President de Klerk's
shock announcement
which placed 23 Defence
Force officers on compul-
sory pension or leave.

De Klerk's announcement
on Saturday was made after
he was briefed on the pre-
liminary findings of Lieuten-
ant-General Pierre Steyn,
who was appointed by the
State President to investi-
gate all SADF intelligence
services.

ANC call

Steyn was asked to con-
duct the investigation after
the Goldstone Commission's
revelations of a secret Mili-
tary Intelligence (MI) unit
which was set up to discredit
Urnkhonto we Sizwe.

Two generals and four
brigadiers are among the 16
officers who have been re-
tired with immediate effect.

The ANC last night called for a comprehensive investigation into the SADF, SA Police and other security arms of the State.

It said: "This is a crisis of major proportions which has a direct bearing on the negotiating process, transparency is essential, and President de Klerk may not hide the implications of this crisis to the people of South Africa.

Any further attempts at cover-ups will be an unforgivable betrayal of all South Africans."

Rift in the ANC Party slammed the purge, saying it was a calamitous blunder aimed at intimidating the remaining members of the SADF to toe the National Party line and to accept the Government's sell-out to the ANC.

In his reaction last night, ! Loew said: "The most effective and improved restructuring of the Defence Force's intelligence-gathering action in its totality will have to be looked into immediately."

He appealed to political opponents not to exploit for political purposes the measures to purge the SADF.

SADF sources yesterday said it was likely that the senior officers involved were Chief of Army Intelligence Major-General Hennie Roux, Deputy Chief of Staff Intelligence Major-General Chris

van der Merwe and Director of Army Communications Brigadier Ferdi van Wyk.

The names of two more brigadiers are to be revealed soon, the sources indicated. But it is understood that not all of the officers involved have been informed.

Names mentioned in the probe indicate that Steyn's investigation points not only to MI but also Army Intelligence,

but not Air Force or Navy Intelligence.

Army Intelligence has allegedly been involved in clandestine activities such as the 1981 Seycheiles coup, the training of 200 Inkatha members in the Caprivi in 1987 and the activities of the Johannesburg spy ring.

MI, on the other hand, has allegedly been involved in operations to discredit the Governmesnt's main negotiating partner, the ANC, as well as the murder of eastern Cape anti-apartheid activist Matthew Goniwe and the running of â\200\234Hammer Unitâ\200\231â\200\235 hit squads.

Democratie Party defence spokesman Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers said the an-

mAumesenont rmuet have baca

-~ a terrific shock and a tre-

mendous knock to the SADF

He said the purge could have been the largest in the Defence Force since the 1314 Rebellion.

@ To Page 3 i

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Police sent
to protect
border farms

Police are being sent to the
border with Lesotho to pro-
tect white farmers after
Saturday's attack on a
Ficksburg farmhouse in
which Leonie Pretorius (14)
was killed by gunmen.

And after a weekend attack
in Transkei, police have warned
motorists to avoid the area or
enter it at their own risk.

Free State Police Commis-
sioner Major-General Tertius
Calitz said last night that po-
licemen be sent imme-
diately to forms between
Clarens and St. John'sburg.

There are about 200 farms
along the Lesotho border.

Police said the three men
who launched the attack had
fled across the border
Free State Agricultural
Union president Dr Pieter Gous
warned that farmers would
take the law into their own
hands and root out attackers

He was commenting after the
farmhouse attack and a second
attack on whites in Transkei
earlier on Saturday

A joint SA-Lesotho hunt was
launched after the attack in
which Leonie died. The gunmen
had fired shots into the room
where she, her mother and a
friend were watching TV.

Police Commissioner General
Johann van der Merwe has of-

fered a R100 000 reward for in-
formation leading to the arrest
and conviction of the killers.

The second attack took place
about 7km inside Transkei
when two men in a vehicle opened
fire with an automatic rifle on a
Dordrecht family, wounding J D
Coetzer (78) and her son,
1 Coetzer (52), his wife (43) and
their son (22).

One of the Coetzer family re

turned fire and, in the â\202¬nsuidg
gunbattle, the driver of a pass-
ing truck, 1J Schutte from Dor-
recht, was wounded.

Pollee warned motorists to
use an alternative route.

@ A 56-year-old man was found
siabbed to death on the Border
farm, Oaklands, yesterday
morning.

@ Transkei leades Major-Gener-
al Bantu Holomisa yesterday
condemned the attack on mo-
torists on the Queenstown-Dor-
recht road in Transkei, but
added that â\200\234the whole thing 18
becoming suspiciousâ\200\235

1 fail to understand that if it
was Apla (that carried out the
attack) why they would be con-
centrating these things in and
around Transkei.â\200\235

Apla is the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s
f.iberation Army, which has
claimed responsibility for two
recent attacks on whites in the
Border area. â\200\224 Staff Reporter
and Sapa. â\200\231

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THE >lan MunuaT 21 DECEMBER 1997

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or factor in the ac
on of De Klerk's

nolicy of :â\200\230p{â\200\230;fâ\200\230i¬\202::'z!fâ\200\230.&!â\200\230.' .
nd surrender 10 LIS
ANC/SACPâ\200\231s ever more
strident demands is the
fatal fragmentation of
the white conservauve
groupings and their in-
sâ\200\231n""v to prescnr aâ\200\234er

Ahe .mha! ve to op-
pose unilateraly the
ANC/NP axis has passed
out of white right-wing
hands into the IFP-led
alliance of black leaders
led by Chief Buthelezi

Kere is an eieventh-
hour opportunity for all
conservative whites wno

ppailed at the law-
sness, political cot
jon and moral decay
afflicting our

land, to aunite with thot
Black leaders who share
â\200\230 R R

al structure

The key to any organ
lised aud successful anti
De Klerk movement 13
the security forces, If
they are tired and distl-
lusioned with Deing cÂçan
non fodder in the town
ships, of seeing mrrpe
tant killers â\200\234released
back on the streeis 10
continue their blood-
thirsty activities, ther
they =houâ\200\230d join this new
conservative alliance to
rid this country of it
radical and neoc-commau-
nist politicians

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Redfardview

THE > lan, munuaT 21 DECEMBER 1992

dhe Star

Established 1887

South Africaâ\200\231s largest dailly newspaper

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The Third
Force

RING me the evidence â\200\224 that has
been President de Klerkâ\200\231s stock re-
sponse whenever confronted with

allegations about a shadowy group
of security force personnel thought to be
deliberately subverting the reform process.
The evidence was never forthcoming far
the simple reason that the investigators
had a vested interest in keeping it under
wraps.

Thanks mainly to Mr Justice Goldstone,
De Klerk has finally been forced to admit
what this newspaper and others have long
suspected (and been abused for suggesting)
-~ the presence of a dirty-tricks brigade in
the upper reaches of the security establish-
ment whose activities have undermined the
peace process. To deny still the existence
of a Third Force is to indulge in sophistry.

As revelations of malpractice have drib-
bled out through hali-baked commissions,
court cases and inquests, even De Klerkâ\200\231s
sympathisers have been forced to one of
two uncomfortable conclusions: either the
president was a party to destabilising his
political opponents or he was not in full
control of the security forces. Saturdayâ\200\231s
dramatic announcement that a cadre of se-
nior generals and brigadiers has been
given its marching orders suggests the lat-
ter to be the case. The only consolation
to be had from this miserable business is
that 4n honest general has moved swiltly
r0 Âçlean up the mess created by his superi-

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1992 was horr

table but hopeful

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I, says Alex Boraine

that last somethingâ\200\231s going right

QUEEN Elizabeth U has de-

scribed 1992 as â\200\234a horrible

yearâ\200\235 for the royal family

I have been very good
for South Africans either.

Despite the promising start to
the year with the formation of
Codesa and the long-awaited
multilateral negotiations getting
off the ground, it has been in
many ways a â\200\234horribleâ\200\235 year

We have witnessed the break-
down of negotiations and a display
of petty politicking which, in the
present climate, is a Juxvry South
Africa cannot afford. We have
seen a sickening increase in vio-
lence which has killed thousands of
South Africans dead and many
more injured. Thousands have
been displaced with the conse-
quent break-up of family life.

Disclosures have been made of
INASSIVE Corruption in government
departments and wholesale squan-
dering of money in the â\200\234home-
landsâ\204¢. Looting and deceit by people
in high places in the SADF have
apparently become the norm. In
almost every instance, no one has
had to accept the blame for [his
abuse of power.

In its recent report, Amnesty
international discloses wide-
spread abuse of fundamental

human rights in African National
Congress camps over a period of
more than 10 years.

As if its catalogue of woes was
not enough, the cold-blooded at-
tacks on King Willem's Town and
Queenstown have seen the South
African conflict cross a new
threshold (although in some ways

this is 2n old threshold, bearing in mind the PAC's planned attacks on whites from the early 1960s).

But the deliberate killing and maiming of whites is heinous because it is a new dimension and takes nothing away from the tragic deaths of blacks which have occurred in many parts of South Africa. The posturing by the leadership of the PAC in regard to these attacks is unacceptable.

In the same way that the ANC must accept responsibility for the actions of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and in the same way as President de Klerk must accept responsibility for action of nation by, the security forces, so too must the PAC accept its responsibility in relation to the actions of Apla.

All life is precious and the PAC cannot hide behind the excuse that the media is making too much fuss of the death of a handful of

whites.

The president of the PAC, Clarence Makwe, has no choice other than to commandeer unambiguously the recent actions and continued threats by the PAC's military wing.

The PAC in recent months has opted for negotiation as a way of resolving the current conflict. It simply cannot subscribe in any way to blatant violence and, at the same time, maintain a commitment to negotiation.

South Africans have the right to know whether or not the PAC leadership condones the current wave of violence or whether it stands for peace and specific acts of violence.

In making up our mind, the PAC should recognise that a possible outcome of the recent attacks on King William's Town and Queenstown could be further acts of violence from an angry night wing. This simply means a very real possibility of innocent black victims being added to the long list of casualties and a continuing spiral of violence.

Violence begets violence and in the fragile climate in which we live, there can be no pussyfooting

on this important question

The announcement by Manpos
vihi Buthe) of plans for the
adoption of regional constitution
3S responsibility in the extreme
Not because here should not be a
constant expropriation of all
power, not because the devolution
of power is undesirable, not be-
cause leadership does not have
many attractive features, but be-
cause inherent in his proposal is
the threat of secession

The threat of the regional con-
stitution which he offers has far
more to do with confederalism
than with federalism. There is no
way that Natal or KwaZulu can
go it alone, and therefore South in-
tervention at this time brings only
heat and no light to the current
debate

But like pouring petrol on a
blazing fire, it has all the in-
gredients for further violence and
conflict in Natal

Chief Buthe's public alliance
with Ciskei, Japheth's and
the Conservative Party can only
lead us down a dead-end. At
this critical time his emergence
ought to be a step towards a na-
tional solution with 2 parties
prohibited

It has been a horrible year, but
in many ways has been a better

year than the long, dark night of
apartheid which preceded it.
State President's wailing
speech in 1980

Despite all the violence, the
double-speak, the lack of vision
and leadership, would anyone
really want to go back to the bad
old days of entrenched racism and
injustice?

South Africa is paying a heavy
price now for those 46 years of
National Party rule and much of
what we have witnessed during
1932 constitutes the bitter pangs of
4 years South Africa struggling to
be born

There is a genuine prospect of
multilateral negotiations being re-
solved early in 1993, there is a
clear commitment at least from
the two major actors, namely the
Government and the ANC, (0 an
interim government and this may

well come into being by the end of
1993 or early in 1994

It has been a grim year, but for
all who are committed to peace
and justice there awaits hope and
encouragement for the future

Atex Borame is Executive
Director of Ildasa This article
appears in the current edition
of Democracy in Action.

despite
1992's problems, Alex
Bovaine is very hopeful.

Looking ahead

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