Co-accused abducted b

Sandey

men t0 protect

ALTHOUGH free to leave his cell \hat{a} 200\230in Lusaka Central prison, a fugitive m South African justice said this week he was too terrified to return home.

Katiza Cebekhulu claims he was abducted and spirited out of SA by the ANC to protect Winnie Mandela during her trial for the kidnapping and assault of a young boy.

Speaking from his cell this week, Mr Cebekhulu said he had already survived an attempt on his life in SA before his kidnapping.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ am afraid of going to South Africa, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said. $\hat{a}\200\234E$ ven if someone came with an air ticket, I would make so much trouble at the airport that the pilot would refuse to take me.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ am prepared to go anywhere in the world, even the Soviet Union, but the United Nations has said that I am not a refugee. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Mr Cebekhulu, 23, has been in the prison for nearly two years after being picked up in Lusaka as an illegal imn t.

However, Zambian authorities say he has been free to leave since Se&t:mber last year.

Cebekhulu, one of three of Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s co-accused charged with kidnapping and assaulting teenage activist Stompie Seipei, jumped bail in December 1990. \ He recounted the events which led to his imprisonment in Lusakaâ\200\231s inhospitable prison. Two men had approached him one afternoon in January 1991 while he was selling newspapers in Soweto.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ They asked who Katiza was, and 1 said it was me. They took me to a

kmes

By CHRIS CHITANDA: Lusaka

house in Orlando, where bollini7\201

water was poured over my head, \hat{a} \200\235

he said.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Then they put me in the boot of a car, but during the drive $\hat{a}\200\224$ which was supposed to be my last ride $\hat{a}\200\224$ I managed to escape.

 $a\200\234I$ don $a\200\231t$ know what happened after that. I woke up in Baragwan-ath Hospital, covered in bandages. $a\200\235$

Mr Cebekhulu said that when he was discharged from hospital, he sought refuge in the home of John Morgan, Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s driver and another co-accused.

Hiding

 \hat{a} 200\234I told him to say I was dead, but

he went and told Winnie I was hiding in his house. \hat{a} \200\235

On February 8 $\hat{a}\200\224$ four days after Mrs Mandela $\hat{a}\200\231$ s trial began in the Rand Supreme court $\hat{a}\200\224$ he had been abducted $\hat{a}\200\234$ by two men from the ANC $\hat{a}\200\235$ and driven to the Mozambican border.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We drove across a fence to get into Mozambique and went to Maputo, where I was put on a plane to Angola, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said. $\hat{a}\200\234$ I travelled without any identity documents, but I stayed for one week in Angola and then flew to Zambia. $\hat{a}\200\235$

He said he was accommodated at

the Fairview hotel under a false name $\hat{a}200\224$ Mr Jones $\hat{a}200\224$ and at an ANC safe house in Lusaka where he was given $\hat{a}200\234$ a whole set of rules $\hat{a}200\235$.

 $a\200\234I$ was told not to go into town

Winnie

\@I(

dEzsens 17092

and not to leave the house. After some time, I ran away, and that $200\231s$ when a policeman picked me up.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ All I wanted was an opportunity

to get educated since I only went up to Std7 in South Africa, but in March 1991, the Zambians locked me up.â\200\235

Since President Frederick Chilubaâ\200\231s Movement for Multi-Party Democracy took office, Mr Cebekhulu has had an audience with Zambian Foreign Affairs Minister Vernon Mwaanga and Minister of Home Affairs Newstead Zimba.

 $\hat{a}\200\234Last$ September, I was called to Newstead Zimba $\hat{a}\200\231s$ office, then to Foreign Affairs. Mwaanga was not there, but his deputy said everythingwasgoingtobeallright.

 $\hat{a}\200\234Both$ Zimba and Mwaanga told me they did not want me in Zambia any longer.

â\200\234The first time I was taken to Foreign Affairs, I was asked if I wanted to meet (ANC president Nelson) Mandela, who was supposed to come to Lusaka the next week.

â\200\234I said I would, but I was never taken (to meet Mr Mandela). Afterwards, I read in the newspapers that Mr Mandela had been to Lusaka and gone back to South Africa.â\200\235 :

Mr Cebekhulu said he also met two white South African government officials, who had travelled to Lusaka to expedite his return to SA.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ saw them at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and they said they would not arrest me when I got back to South Africa.

 $a\200\234$ I told them I could not go back

y ANC/| Mandela

to Natal, where I killed a man. I have got a case there. That was during the 1985 fighting between- in 202ie UDF and Inkatha. \$\alpha \cdot 200 \cdot 235\$
A spokesman for \$\alpha \cdot 200 \cdot 230\$ ath Africa \$\alpha \cdot 200 \cdot 231s\$ 'Department of Fc eign Affairs confirmed this week that a meeting had taken place between Mr Cebekhulu, the SA representative in Lusaka, Mr Sam Sterban, and his dep-

uty.

He said their talks centred on Mr Cebekhuluâ\200\231s wellbeing and treat-

ment in the prison, as well as the question of extradition.

Wearing a pair of takkies given to him last November by former Zambian president Kenneth Kaundaâ\200\231s son Kambarage, who was in prison on murder charges, Mr Cebekhulu said he was not being treated well behind bars.

Desperate

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ don $\hat{a}\200\231t$ get proper meals, I have no other clothes, and there is a lot of disease in this jail, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ told (High Court) Judge Weston Muzyamba when he came to visit the prison last year that I wanted to get out, and that I would commit suicide if I stayed here any longer.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ have had no food and I am sick. Plenty of people die every day ino4 loalgeans dled rghi n Tront of ed t t o my eyes.

Althoughl he is desperate to get out of jail, he says he has nowhere else to go. $a\200\234$ Maybe one day I will just run and the policemen will shoot me. Maybe it is better to be dead than stay here, $a\200\235$ he said.

By DAWN BARKHUI
ANC activist Valence Watson and Hammer Unit
member Dave Mandel are
among 34 witnesses subpoenaed by the State to testify in-the murder trial of
Addo farmer Andre de Vil-

liers.
â\200\230 | Also on the list is the dead manâ\200\231s son, Louis, who || cradled his dying father in | his arms after he had been /| fatally wounded by gun- | men outside their farm-house on August 17 last year.

â\200\231 MANC Wltness in A}iilo

just four hours after Mr de Villiers telephoned Mr Watson to say he had information on the Hammer Unit, which was allegedly responsible for killing Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe in 1985.

Two of three men arrested in connection with the murder $\hat{a}\geq00\geq24$ MK members Thamsanqua Mali, 23, and Lindile Stemele, 25, of KwaZakhele, are also due to testify at the trial which

trial

Port Elizabeth Supreme Court on Febru-

The third man, Xolani Ncinane, 24, died of what police said was an AIDSrelated illness while in cus-

» tody.

Mr Mali is also ill and is currently receiving medication for a lung-related problem, according to SAP Eastern Cape spokesman }Jeutemt Lisbe Vermeuen Tutu
hails £'¢
Careyâ\200\231s
arrival
in SAÂ¥

| By DIRK VAN EEDEN
â\200\230THE spiritual leader of 70
million Anglicans
around the world was
given an enthusiastic
welcome on his arrival
in Cape Town yesterday.
The Archbishop of Canter-bury, the Most Reverend
Dr George Carey, said
he was â\200\234delightedâ\200\235 to be
in Africa for the first
time.

He was met on the tarmac at DF Malan Airport by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who said it was $a \geq 00 \geq 34$ wonderful to extend a warm $a \geq 00 \geq 24$ in more ways than one $a \geq 00 \geq 24$ welcome to Dr Carey $a \geq 00 \geq 35$.

 $a\200\234$ In the short time since his

. appointment, Dr Carey
i and his wife have managed to endear themselves to us all,â\200\235 Archbishop Tutu said.
â\200\230Among the other digni| taries who met Dr Carey
and his entourage at the
airport were the acting
mayor of Cape Town,
Mr Clive Keegan, and
the mayor of Bellville,
Mr Awie Kempen.

Progress

Dr Carey, along with 30 other archbishops, bishops, clergy and laity of the Anglican communion worldwide, will attend a joint meeting of the Primates of the Anglican Communion (Senior Prelates) and the Anglican Consultative Council. i The two groups meet every two to three years in dif-- ferent countries. Dr Carey is also scheduled to meet State President FW de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Mango-. suthu Buthelezi during
~ his two-week stay in the

â\200\234The world has been
encouraged by the promade in South
Africa, but we long to
. see the process complet. ed and gâ\200\231emocracy-

1

' stablished, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Dr Carey

oIz

 $\hat{a}\200\230\$ Quibaxe $\hat{a}\200\224$ had come under the spotlight since the . ANC published results of its own commission in October last year.

Headed by a non-ANC
' member, advocate Gilbert

A FASCINATING court case will ensue if SACP member Ronnie Kasrils carries out a threat to sue the International Freedom Foundation and dvocate Bob Douglas for

Red Ronnie Kasrils

SUND A Yimes Lhm S8R0

efamation.

Mr Kasrils said a â\200\234tissue of liesâ\200\235
 | thad been woven about him in the
 |/Douglas commission report into

ANC death camps released this week by the anti-communist IFF.

He said there were â\200\234scoresâ\200\235 of people who could refute allegations in the report that he was responsible for having 14 Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres held in a concrete basement in Quibaxe camp (in Angola) where a diesel engine nearby flooded the basement with noxious fumes.

Mr Kasrils, who yesterday consulted lawyers on the report,

believed those who would defend him include 11 of the 14 (the other three died over the years) who were still alive and now live in SA. All had remained ANC members and some were active in ANC structures.

By CHARLENE SMITH

If Mr Kasrils goes ahead the case will attract wide attention and could open past activities of top SACP and ANC members to scrutiny. It could also set new ground rules for defamation actions against political figures.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ One has to ask on what information Mr Douglas $\hat{a}\200\234$ based his findings, or sought to check information put before him. He never asked me to testify, $\hat{a}\200\235$ said Mr Kasrils yesterday.

But would he have testified given that the ANC rejected the commission which began its inquiries soon after its own had ended? â\200\234I donâ\200\231t operate as an individual. I am under dis-

cipline from my organisa- -

tion; I wonâ\200\231t break ranks

with my colleaguesâ\200\235.

Mr Kasrils was camp commissar and political instructor at Quibaxe from September 1977 to January 1978, when he left.

Interviewed in his small office at ANC headquarters this week, where he is head of the ANC campaigns committee, Mr Kastils sketched a very different picture of the December 1977 event to that of the Douglas commission.

The 14 men allegedly held imprisoned had received basic military training at Novo Catengue camp, 90km south of Ben-

Ll

threatens to sue over $a\200\230$ tissue of lies $a\200\231$ about his role in

 \hat{a} 200\231s death camps

guela, but rebelled when they were not immediately sent on missions to South Africa.

They were brought to Quibaxe, about 400km north of Luanda. A former coffee plantation, it was one of the smallest and poorest ANC camps. Surrounded by scrub land, ravines, villages and banana plantations, its old abandoned buildings were usually not used by ANC cadres. They slept in tents and, in later years, dugouts as a \200\230protection against air strikes.

```
â\200\230Mr Kasrils said all slept
on bedding on concrete
floors \hat{a}\200\234whether command\hat{a}\200\224
\hat{a}\200\230ers or trainees\hat{a}\200\235. A former
was infested with mosqui-
toes and it was not a place
he would have liked to stay
in long. Until 1986 \hat{a}\200\224 when \
it became a training camp
a\200\224 it was used as a transit
camp for newly trained
ANC guerrillas who were
sent there prior to postings
or missions elsewhere.
MK soldier said the camp \
Mr Kasrils said the 14
arrived at Quibaxe â\200\234angry
and unco-operative \hat{200}235. They
were told they would have
to assist with such camp
chores as cooking, gather-
ing firewood and construc-
tion.
â\200\230Door
They refused and were
given the option other mili-
tary commanders might
give: \hat{a}\200\234Abide by our terms '
or get locked up.â\200\235
The men persisted and
were put in a storage base-
ment.
Mr Kasrils said their
door was left open for
ventilation and they were
allowed into a fenced-in
open area off the base-
ment.
During that time, Mr
Kasrils said the men
climbed on top of two die-
sel drums, used for storing
water, in an attempt to go
through a trap-door into
the doctor\hat{a}\200\231s surgery. They
fell off the drums, which in
turn saturated their bed-
ding. They were given
```

fresh bedding.

After three days, he said, he asked them to join the campâ\200\231s morning exercises. Within a month, Mr Kasrils said, they were all integrated mto MK and removed from the basement.

Scathing
Torture in ANC camps,
in particular the notorious

- Quatro \hat{a} 200\224 far to the east of

Marcus, that report concurred with a witness who called Quatro a â\200\234concentration campâ\200\235.

However, Mr Kasrils was not mentioned as a torturer, or an accessory to abuse in either that report

. or a scathing Amnesty In-

ternational report released late last year.

In another dramatic section, the Douglas commission said: $\hat{a}\200\234$ There is also evidence that a top-level delegation headed by Oli-

ver Tambo, which included Joe Slovo Joe Modise, Cassius Make and Ronme Kasrils, visited Cambodxa Laos and Vietnam in 1978. â\200\234The idea, so I heard, to create Quatro came from

none other than Pol Pot

who, so it is claimed, murdered some three million

= fellow Cambodians. \hat{a} \200\235

Mr Kasrils disputed the charge.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ That $\hat{a}\200\231$ s absolute rubbish. There was a trip to Viet-nam in 1978 to study their military techniques, but no one went to Laos or Cambodia. I was not part of that

| trip.

â\200\234Quatro began because

the Angolans made it clear

they did not have sufficient facilities in their prisons

| for our people. Quatro

began as a rehabilitation camp, essentially a prison, but also a place where we | would try to turn confwsed | South African spxes sure. 1imES, 17 JANUARY 1993

OPI
PINION
Torture camps

]LAI the $r\n^2\00\230$, $a^2\00\234$ with the SACP, employed torture murder, cruelty and gross violations of human rights in its African punishment camps is no ionger in dispute. In this 4Spect of 1ts policies, leadership and methods, as in many other aspects, the ANC 1s barely distingulshable from the $a\200\234$ hit squads $a\200\235$, police interrogators and tortur. ers employed by the apartheid state. Comparisons with the Nazis and the KGB are appropriale, but not realjy necessary. It is suificient to say that the ANC has wrrored its own oppressors. stillin dispute 1s where responsibihity for the atrogities in the ANC camps lies. The ANC $\hat{a}\200\231s$ first cornuission of inquiry has identified some of the perpetrators of atrocity, but the findings have ' suppressed on the grounds, rficially reasonable, that it is lant not to aceuse innocent A second commission has dmed (o fix hlame more but it is doubtfuw Qether any commission of inqui-Iy can usurp the function of the L, ard doubt will surely

nwhile, the Douglas comfussion appointed by the right Wing International Freedom Foundation has made its own Iinding. It needs to be said that the personal reputation of Mr RS Douglas offsets the reputation of his sponsors: he is, like most ofvi ople, anti-communist, hot barrigter of integrity and tair-mindedness, has been guided by his Jegal tr aining He does not flinch at assigning $a\200\230$ responsibility. The complicity of Mr Chris Hani in human rights abuses, he says, is canclusively

established by the evidence: My

e Tsl [Eyyie

Joe Slovo, the recently reformed Stalinist, \hat{a} \200\234was responsible and accountable for the ecrimes \hat{A} comtnitied by Mbokodo \hat{a} \200\235 My Roanie Kasrils, who led the Bisho marchers to their death, confined 14 people into what seems to have been an African equivalent of the Black Hole of Calcutta; and .so forth.

'Predzctablyv, the ANGC, - the SACP, and their many apologists have Jaunched 3 propaganda counter-attack against Mr Douglas himseif: equally predictably, the counter-attack hag bheen largely an attempt, not to deny the charges, but to exonerate the SACP. Mr Douglas accuses the Security apparatus, Mbokodo, of $ei^2201x:a^200^230$ proymg terror, and says Mbo-Kodo was established by the SACP $\hat{a}\200\224$ not the ANC $\hat{a}\200\224$ and frained by the KGR. He cites as his source the author of a history of the SACP in exile, Stephen Ellis, whose left- wing credentials are unchallengeable,

This attempt to exonerate the

security establishmentâ\200\235 of the ANC, and to cover up its erimes, bears striking resemblance to the governmentâ\200\231s attempts to exon. erate its own securily establishment and to cover up its own crimes,

The ANC claims moral superi ority because its beastliness purported to serve the cause of liberation, while the beastliness of the National Party was an insirunient of oppression. The argument is baroque. Most South Africans know that torture s torture, murder js murder, and that the guilty - all the guilty - must be brought to justice - if necessary, by the international community

ofLfee. R}

sure 1wiES, 17 JANUARY 1993

 \hat{a} \200\234Théy hanged | me from a . |

tree and then
burnt my feet
with candlesâ\200\231

THE Dougles comm slon oo ANC prigon camps is s griw ltany of the evil patpetrated by Mbokodo $a\200\224$ the ANC-tug which means the $a\200\234$ Boulder Which

/SACP security appart Chuhu". !

Releaged this week it culls from alfidavits the stories of &d people like Alice, kidnapped with in Botswana in 1967, The two

separatad. She haso't seep

anoaymous and ber boyfriend whlle hiojiday were marched into Zambiz, bhim since.

At an ANC camp in \mid Zambia she was tortured in order to By BILL KRIGE J

expose her bovfriend as a double \hat{a} 200\234agent. Therpafier she was imprisoned sand raped. She believed the axperfence would \hat{a} 200\234drive me mad \hat{a} 200\235.

- But Mbekodo's p:&; num

and criminal spite did not typleally target bystanders like Allce. Rather it wpeded cst â\200\234infiltratorsâ\200\231| and â\200\234spiesâ\200\235, processing aod rÃ@edacating them in primitive camps scatferesd thronghout southern Africa. The first camps |were founded In secret {n the late 708 under- the aegls of the SACP. and the tutelage of the KGB.

A diy In.the life nfï¬\201 prisoner thers was sheer jhell.

Screams,

Four women &t Angola'y potorious Quatro dawp

went ingane after belng imcessantly beaten and sex. uaily abused $a\200\234$ Eventuhlly $a\200\235$ Wwitness recalls, Ythev were gil axscuted hecayse it was impossible for th $a\200\235$

Today former camp commanders, commijgars and gusrds walk free

When they want to drown out the screams from all-night tortare sesstons, they turned up gheir radlos foll blast,

The names of those | who vigited the camps and saw nothing wrong include Oliver Tambs, Cheis Hasi Alfred N2o, Roonte Kï¬\202;ï¬\202f&,

Joe Slovo aad Jacodh Zama There was plenty | for them to see and investigste The probe by Bob Douglas, a ban edvocate, | involved Interviews with some 40 camp sarvivors and about 106 withessas. It was commissioned by the Wag a-based Internatiopal om Founddtion and hax had a frosty repeption from the ANC. |

 $-\hat{a}\200\230$ L A Sewage

The ANC/SACP prisen sysiem was founded on the need o Impose discipline on the thousands of defiant ind angry exiles from the 1978 uprising. Mast wanted fo be traied to fight the hated apartheld government, but for many their noble ideals were axtin. wisbhed in blood and vionence, in â\200\234confessionsâ\200\235 exiracted under tarture or fn years of detestion in dis-Rasting cells

At Quatro the celis were windowless. At nearby

Nova Instalacao â\200\224 an Angolan state prison â\200\224 raw sewage overflowed on to hare concrete floors from permanently blocked toi. lets.

Oftean the sins of dissideats were frivial, echaing the w arbitrariness of the Soviet Guolag. People

were incarcerated hecause they asked questions or read the wrong books or crfticiged leaders. One man was detained becanse he and «n Mbokodo gusrd loved the same woman, When the liberation movements â\200\224 near death until the 1876 Woflux - were unbanned in 1990, prison canmips existed ip Tanzania, gands, Zambia, Mozam-M%?Q and Angola. saw boiling water being poured on the head of an. inmate, \hat{a} \200\235 recalls a former Quatro detainee. â\200\2340n

another occasion I saw ao

inmate being compelied to
walk oo buruing coals.â\200\235

â\200\234We were housed in tiny
cells where we were
crammed like gardines. In
1987 Oliver Tambo visited
Quatro snd we had the op-

ty to' tell him our

story, \hat{a} 200\235 recalled the manp, a trained cadre named Frederick. \hat{a} 200\234He did no o alleviate oar position.

-The commission bighlights, as have earlier investigations, a sadistic regimen of lies and deceit and viclence on an intolerahle scale,

Fractures

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ They banged me from o tree and burnt the soles of my feet with candles and beat me op the hack, $\hat{a}\200\235$ recalls a former SAP cop. stable and Quatro inmate who claimed hé was lured

to Zambia under falge pre. teuces,

Another survi; la:med the Quatro g; aâ\200\230; 'g:

®IC cronfes of ewnpre SACP boss Chris Hant o actually witnessed the death of ope of my comrades due to erhanstion, an-::st::?, :fahydnnon and the namerous best. hi"" he t::ld. o nursing sister at Pan <camp in Angola recollectsd?</pre> convicted of cmounq dagga, \hat{a} \200\234The -Ishmentâ\200\235, she said, "wa':n:o Severe some of them lager died of their lojuries, â\200\235 They had skin burng, hoye fracfures and suffered Internal bleedlng After people Jumped on their stomachs. At Bokolota, in Uganda, starving Mbokodo prison. ors stayed allve by eating du& and snakes, December 18 1896, long after the ANC wag unbanned, inmates at Quatry Rvâ\200\230c;r(g Bpproached by top INC gecurt > thuhla.ur ty afficlal Joe - "He apologtsed h ng bappened ¢4 â\200\230::;, "f :1: date recalied drily. \hat{a} \200\234g $s:a\200\230i(:: ;:;td the wron"g th:$ lâ\200\231urgorteu."o â\2027 WUst now be

towards

SOUR year | lies behind us, an uncertain year ahead. The national d{lemma can be sticeinetly Stated: if we take the time we p to thrash out a

sound constitution fontnuing violence may drag us into a Balkan nightmare; but if we rush into a Jerry-built interim government of Nats and ANC, we put ourselves at the marcy of two sets of political gangsters, hng May never see democracy. â\200\230

Underlying this dilemma are some harsh truths: the National Party cannot govern without the dequiescence of the black population which it has been losing, irretrievably, since 1976; the ANC cannot govern unless it secures the acquiescence of important constituencies of whites

This is the true impetus behind the drive, evident now in both the ANC and the government, to establish an interim government. The hopg is that the inter-Un government will have sufficient legitimacy to restore order in the streets, to revive locgl business confidence, and to lure foreign investment.

The government, its ability to govern eroding steadily as Afrikaners defect from the National Rarty and as the recent English support flags, is showing signs of desperation: if no interim government ehsues to check the viclence and rebuild confidencs, can the descent Mo thaos be avoidedâ\200\235

The ANC, on the other hand. shows Signs of grasping, at last the daunting task which awaits the next government. Its constituency, too, is eroding, with new challenges from Mrs Winnje Mandela, Apla, and tie nasty class of township youngsters ipining the older challenges of the PAC and Inkaths

The ANC will surely win the first election of the new Solth Alrica; it is the second election t 21 worries its leaders. They have re lised they have no hope of satisfying the soaring aspirations of the townships without the help

the dedicated help $+\hat{a}\setminus200\setminus224$ of the white civil servants, the local business class and the overseas Capr%i¬\202s'. $\hat{a}\setminus200\setminus230s$,

Seme of them hav developed a Louching faith in the abllity of Finance Minister Derek Keys to!work financial miracles, and there hag been talk of including him in the first ANC cabinet, Like the Nationalists, they see econom-

kleptocracy

te growth, violence and lack of business confidence as a vicioys cycle, and like the Nationalists, they are turning to market remedies b

For both sides, as for many liberals, the answers lie in the rapid formation of an interimn government. For both sideg it is a way of avoiding the disruptlons and conflicts that would follow an abrupt transfer of power. Neither party Can govers alone; perhaps together they may do so.

That, at least, is the theory, and it has attracted the support of many people beyond the ranks of the main parties. Political analysts see It as a means of sirengthening $a\200\234$ the centre $a\200\235$ against increasingly violent pressures from hoth the Teft and the ri ht.

The cost of the deal, o course, {s that South Africa will be governed under another defective constitution â\200\224

worse, in some ways, than the 19} $\hat{A} \gg 0/\hat{A}f$

constitution $a\200\224$ while the two gove parties, neither of them democratic, will have ever% incentive to cut new deals to keep themselves in power. Chief Buthelezi has seen the danger, so he Is trying to secure a separate power base in a federal/confedera) System before it is too late. To this end he has allled himself with s motiey crew of bantustan Jeaders and rightwingers, all of whom, by their o position, confer respectability on an NP-ANC deal.

HE one party that has the credibility, and the sophustication, to see the dangers of government $\hat{a}\200\224$ eveninterim government $\hat{a}\200\224$ with-

out constitutional certainty or i $\hat{A} \$ the Demo-

\ : pect, is why the
DP has come under renewed attack
from the left, which would rather deal
with oppressors than compete with
dv.mov_:rats.

But the DP is once again in one of its moods of peace at any price. The party's n-uâ\200\231ddlâ\200\234â\200\230e-c!as:s decency, its abhor. rence of force or even of conflict, is its strength and 1ts weakness Its leaders, one guesses, will support the deal hut try to nudge it in the direction of democracy. Itâ\200\231s & race against time,

Hardly anybody, it seems to me, is asking the hard questions, can an ANC-NP cealition govern without the acquiesence of the Inkatha Freedam

Farty? Is it better to compromise now with the IFP, or to suppress & Zululand based rebellion afterwards? Would the SADF, demoralised and suspicious, be willing to perform the role rmed in Zimbabwe by the North Koreans — the role of putting down the post Uberation challengers to the ruling $\hat{a}\200\235$

There is another problem, perhaps Inore difficult. The National Part \hat{A}^{\pm} government has, over time, become essentially a huge patronage machine, dispensing money and privilege among its mernbers and to its allies. Ex-President Botha smelled the corruption as early as 1978, but his efforts to curb it proved vain and his promises empty.

OW President de Klerk is trying, at imrmense political risk to him. self, to bring under control s machine that spews public money through bureaucracies, agricultural control boards advisory groups, tender arrangements, military suppliers, government contractors, bantustans, educational establishments, town councils, and practically every institution in the couniry.

President de Klerk's latest attempt to dismantle the patronage machine that feeds the parasitic agricultural community demonstrates the difficultieg of rei?c')mï¬\201ng a government that â\202¬x1i8ts not primarily to govern, but to fill its own troughs. It shows why the

overnment has once again overshot $\{ts\ udgets.$

The truly frightening prospect $-\hat{a}\setminus 200\setminus 224$ jt seems to frighten even Albie Sachs - 1S that the immense appetites of the ANC

and the corrupt machinery of patron. age of the National Party will simply be commbined in an interim government. The ensuing corruption would be spectacular, and ruinous,

The question to ask now, and I hope it is asked repeatedly when Parliament convenes, is what the chances will be, under such an interirm government, of restoring order, or confidence, or prosperity, or of achieving a later transition to democracy. I think we might very soon end up under our own Papa Doc, with his own probably white â\200\224 Tontons Macoutes.

KEN OWEN

<5

By GLENDA NEVILL and â\200\234DIRK VAN EEDEN

RETIRED ambassador and Cabinet â\200\230Minister Piet Koorn-.
-+ hof admitted yesterday that he
- shared a'bedroomâ\200\231 at his,
seaside â\200\234holiday "home 'lastâ\200\231
â\200\230month with a young coloured
â\200\230woman. .\ (B Haley Mo
- The man who was once respon... 'sible for 'enforcing :apartheid-said -

*his " relationship with' 'Marcelle Adams, 23, described as his secretary, was â\200\234something beautifulâ\200\235.
/" Yesterday his wife Lulu, who this
-"week initiated then withdrew a divorce action, said she was surprised to hear about the relationship.

Inâ\200\231the past four months Dr Koornhof, 67, and Marcelle have been seen dancing at Cape Town nightspot Cafe Atlantico and dining at Bertieâ\200\231s Landing on the Waterfront.

On New Year's Eve they were together at a.party thrown by Sun International supremo Sol Kerzner at his Hout Bay home, Klein Leeukoppie.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Immediately after Christmas, Dr Koornhof and Miss Adams went to his

 \hat{A} « - holiday home in the Oudepost Reserv

at Langebaan. : :
 Affectionat
Dr Koornhof said yesterdaythey:.

" shared a $a\200\230$ bedroom,: but .said $a\200\230$ numer - -

ousâ\200\235 other people were in the house.: \hat{a} \200\234There were people on both sides of us. There isâ\200\230something beautiful hap-

pening here. It will be a pity if you turn \hat{a} \204¢ 4

it into something ugly.â\200\235

A fellow guest at the Kerzner party said: $\hat{a}\200\234$ He was hanging all .over. her. They were openly affectionate $\hat{a}\200\231$ with one another. $\hat{a}\200\235$ '

Yesterday a source close to them said: $\hat{a}\200\234$ They are besotted with each other and obviously in love. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Dr Koornhof and Miss Adams left South Africa together on Tuesday

night for America, where he is attend-

ing a conference. Speaking to the Sunday Times from
Houston, Texas, last night Dr Koorn-

l'aid he knew a_number of photo- .

Â¥

N L A

r

,

graphs of him and Marcelle to \tilde{A} \odot ether had been taken at parties.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ did not arrange any of - these. There were numerous other people

MINISTER OF FUN'S PICTURE ALBUM: P3

there. I can assure you no pictures

were taken in Miss Adamsâ\200\231s flat while

we were alone. \hat{a} \200\235

He said he had employed * Miss Adams because $\hat{a}\200\234I$ was on the lookout for a secretary and somebody told me . about her. She was in trouble and I tried to help her $\hat{a}\200\235$.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ can swear before the Lord my God that there is nothing ugly in our 'relationship. I have a very good relationship with her and a high regard for her competence as my secretary.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ am busy helping somebody and I am helping a community. That is just the way I am, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Dr Koornhof said.

This week Mrs Koornhof, 66, filed a

divorce application with the Cape Town Supreme Court. Yesterday she said she had withdrawn the action after a a^200^234 financial misunderstanding a^200^231 with her husband of 41 years had been cleared up.

Speaking from her home in Stellenbosch, Mrs Koornhof said:

â\200\234Miss Adams is a secretary who has been in my husbandâ\200\231s service for several months. I have met her and received her in my home. I found. her a likeable woman.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ hear that he has been seen with Miss Adams. I don $\hat{a}\200\231t$ know why he does it. Is the man stupid or what? I was extremely surprised to hear about it. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Mrs Koornhof said she was aware that Miss Adams and Dr Koornhof

27 at his Oudepost holiday home. $\hat{a}\200\234$ In fact, $\hat{a}\200\235$ I made them padkos for the trip. My husband told me Marcelle was helping him to write a book. $\hat{a}\200\235$

| However, friends who saw the couple at Oudepost said they entertained a large number of people and also threw a party,

â\200\2300To Page 3

had spent December 26 and

AS these pictures S never seems to stop

ister of many p
Koornhof.

curiously name

party animal. And

ian Marcelle Adams, withw has been seen cu

s THE

how, the fun nowadays for South Africaâ\200\231s erstwhile ambassa-

ngton and former mino gyl ortfolios Piet

ho once managed the The manw o Department of

Plural Relations for the Groot Kro-

me something of a
kodil has beco the centre of his

attention has been jolly Capeton-

ddling and dan-

PIET KCQRNHOF PARTY ALBUM

RERA

bove and below).

clnBgut (athe biggest kick the former
Minister of Sport and Recreation
got during the Christmas season
was when saucy Marcelle hiked up
her dress during a party at her
Long Street, Cape Town, flat
("%m) fun didnâ\200\231t end therg either.
Next stop was Dr Koornhofâ\200\231s Oudepost holiday home at Langebaan,
on the West Coast, where a group
of friends joined him and Marcelle
for a festive braai (bottom).

```
f
i
The night saucy Marcelle showed a le
g for the |
MINISTER OF FUN

g
ey
```

et

Ρ

£\ - secretary. Piet: We; shared bedroom OFrom Page 1 at which Dr Koornhof and Miss Adams danced $a\200\234$ closely $a\200\235$ and cuddled one another round the braai fire in full view of their guests. $a\200\234$ They went for drives along the private beach in a jeep and he took a whole crowd of people out to Club Mykonos one night. When the managers saw who it was, they allowed the party to sit in the residentsâ\200\231 lounge instead of the visiforsâ\200\231 area.â\200\235 One of $^{\sim}$ Miss Adamsâ\200\231s closest friends laughed when she heard that Miss Adams was being described as Dr Koornhofâ\200\231s \hat{a} 200\234Marcelle has no secretarial qualifications.â\200\235; Dr Koornhof 1s a frequent visitor to Miss Adamsâ $\200\231s$ flat in Long Street, Cape Town, said friends and neighbours. $a\200\234$ He $a\200\231$ s there a lot. We see him regularly and his car is always in the street in the mornings. He seems to have been practically living there for about four months, \hat{a} \200\235 said one. Speech $a\200\234At$ first they pretended it was platonic and he used to park his. car round the

corner, but after about a month they dropped the

sham.â\200\235 '

Dr Koornhof has â\200\234showeredâ\200\235 Miss Adams with gifts in the past few months, said another friend, including a secondhand Alfa Romeo, new lounge furniture, a diningroom suite, a watch and a ring.:

â\200\234He threw a Christmas party for Marcelle and her friends and made a speech saying Marcelle deserved all the gifts he had given her for the work she had

done for $him, \hat{a} \geq 200 \geq 35$ said a

woman guest at the party.

Piet â\200\234Promisesâ\200\235 Koornhof has one of the best-known faces in South African politics â\200\224 not least due to his treatment at the hands of satirist Pieter-Dirk Uys. His Cabinet portfolios from 1968 to 1984 included Co-operation and Development â\200\224 in which capacity he was responsible for the relocation of millions of black and coloured people through forced removals.

Dr Koornhof tells wife not to upset herself

! CAPE TOWNâ\200\224AnR upset and emotionally drained Lulu Koornhof, whose husband, former Cabinet minister Dr Piet Koornhof has admitted a â\200\234warmâ\200\235 relationship with his young coloured secretary,

said yesterday she had telephoned him in the United States on Sunday to ask what was going on.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ He told me there was nothing to worry about and I should not upset myself. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Mrs Koornhof was also shocked by a report in a morning newspaper yesterday

. which claimed Miss Adams,

was pregnant, but the baby was not: Dr Koornhofâ\200\231s â\200\224 (Sapa) {