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Eradicate the lot, De Klerk orders SADF general

Can of worms

John MacLennan

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk moved with all haste to neutralise the subversive core which has been plotting to stop reform. He still does not even have a written report from the man he appointed to "cut to the bone" — Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, Chief of Staff of the SADF.

This week he received a briefing from Gen Steyn and confessed he was "shocked" at the can of worms which has been opened since the investigation started on November 18.

Some of the 23 officers who face the purge do not even know that they have reached the end of their careers. They are being tracked down now at their holiday retreats to be given the bad news.

Now it is being speculated that President De Klerk might have picked the holiday period to announce the shake-up in order to prevent any concerted response by disaffected SADF members.

Questioned about the difficulties surrounding the investigation and the possibility that the officers involved might attempt to destroy evidence, he said: "We are not dealing with kids ... We are dealing with well-trained people taking constant precautions against being caught out."

The bad core in the SADF apple managed their anti-re-

form agenda, he said, through a process "in which political office-bearers, defence force commanders and the Auditor-General were not fully informed or, very often, were misled".

Asked specifically whether this agenda would have involved political killings, he conceded: "The evidence will lead to the conclusion that some of the activities led to the death of some people."

And when asked how such a situation could have come about, he said there were historical reasons. "We came out of what many describe as a war. In that period very special measures were taken and many powers were given."

The men behind the controls in the SADF

WHO controls the heart and soul of the SADF? According to Rockall Williams of the Military Research Group this is now in the hands of a small and powerful faction.

They determine the SADF's strategic and political direction and hold key positions in its executive structures.

They are headed by the present chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg. Other members of the faction, says Mr Williams, include Lieutenant General George Meiring, Major General Eras-

mus, Lieutenant General Bischoff, Lieutenant General Joffel van der Westhuizen — who was implicated in the Goniwe "death signal" — Major General Joep Joubert and Major General Jan Klopper.

It was in this "shadow world" of the security establishment that people misused the extraordinary latitude they had enjoyed, he said.

At the same time there seems to be a right-wing connection. He said it was "not impossible" some of those targeted in the investigation had right-wing links and that their aim was "to prevent us succeeding in our constitutional objectives".

He said the good name of the entire defence force was being threatened by the activities of a handful of individuals and it was his absolute duty to uphold its well-earned reputation by cutting to the root of malpractices.

He promised on-going inves-

tigations, quick and firm disciplinary action on additional information which might come to light, and said there would be criminal prosecutions.

"We dare not allow our security forces in general, and our intelligence services in particular, to be crippled in their capacity to work against the evil plans of those responsible for violence and unrest ... The government demands that its political opponents should act with equal decisiveness against crime and malpractices in their ranks."

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "These findings confirm many of the worst suspicions we have had. Indeed, faced with repeated ANC allegations that elements in the security forces were acting illegally and violently against the reform process, I have to recognise that I myself have been too cautious in the interpretation of the scanty evidence that was available."

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone commented: "The commission welcomes the firm steps announced by the State President."

The CP's defence spokesman, Dr Willie Snyman, accused the government of running a witch hunt and said: "We think there is a definite onslaught against the senior officers of the SADF from the left."

The CP would close ranks with SADF senior officers whose feelings coincided with the party.

BRASS AXED ARMY

JOHN MACLENNAN, Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday purged what he termed the "shadowy" recesses of the SADF of senior elements who are trying to sabotage reform. He confirmed some of them could be guilty of political murders.

So far 23 SADF members — including two generals and four brigadiers — have been forced to retire or go on compulsory leave while investigations continue.

His action will confirm the worst suspicions of his political opponents who have always claimed that a sinister third force with its own agenda is attempting to derail negotiations leading to a democratic government.

At the same time Mr De Klerk made it clear that all available evidence indicated only a small core of activists — some with right-wing connections — were involved. "We are not dealing with just the tip of an iceberg."

He also denied there was ever a danger to the State or the threat of a coup.

President De Klerk's actions have been welcomed by the United Nations' observer mission in



Chief of Staff, Intelligence, General 'Joffel' van der Westhuizen ... his head's on the block.

the country and it was "gratified at the speed with which Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn's investigation has proceeded".

It also welcomed the State President's decision to make available relevant information to the Goldstone Commission in its own investigation into military intelligence activities.

On Friday the UN General Assembly in a resolution said it was the primary responsibility of the government "to bring an end to ongoing violence" and bring perpetrators to justice. It also recommended a review of restrictions against Pretoria as it seeks to form a non-racial government.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, in his reaction, welcomed "the firm steps announced by the State President".

President De Klerk was at pains to point out that the SADF dissidents had covered their tracks and misled commanders as well as the Auditor-General.

Defence Minister Gene Louw told the Sunday Tribune he had no knowledge whatsoever of what had been happening in his department and therefore could not be expected to take responsibility. He added that investigations were continuing and heads would roll if they

showed his predecessors had known what was happening.

This fuels suspicion that former Defence Minister Magnus Malan might yet be found to have been involved.

In that case he will lose his present low-profile job in the Cabinet.

By taking swift action — just over a month after Lt-General Pierre Steyn, SADF Chief of Staff, was appointed by him to inquire into dirty tricks — President De Klerk has again proved his bona fides.

But he will be criticised for allowing the senior officers involved in white-anting the government to retire with pensions.

In opening the stunning can

of worms at a press conference yesterday Mr De Klerk said: "I am shocked, I am disappointed, but I am also resolute."

He promised again to "cut out the sore".

None of the officers involved has been named, nor has any of the various units to which they are attached.

This will occur once they have themselves been informed during the next few days and before the end of the month.

In answer to a question he also made a backhanded swipe at the Army Commander, Lt-General George Meiring, as well as the army deputy chief Major-General Jan Klopper.

Both attracted flak recently for getting involved in politics.

Mr De Klerk said: "We expect the SADF to be politically neutral. Whether it is a general or a corporal the same rule applies."

There is intense speculation that among the victims of the purge could be General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, Chief of Staff: Intelligence, who was involved in the scandal surrounding the "death signal" which allegedly gave the go-ahead for the execution of Goniwe and the Cradock Four.

In military circles, though, it is known that he is a close personal friend of both General

Steyn and President De Klerk and had only been in charge of running Military Intelligence recently and not during the period being investigated. He has also had secret meetings with the ANC this year, and this would not have happened without instructions from higher up.

There are questions also about the future of Brigadier "Tolletjie" Botha, head of the Directorate of Covert Collection.

It is understood most of those affected are close to or members of the military intelligence

The Chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg, seems to be in the clear. President De Klerk said he had been given the job of sacking those involved.

Natal attacks are X escalating: IFP

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party in the Natal Midlands is concerned at the escalation of attacks on its members in the region, and fears this will jeopardise the peace process.

Speaking at a Press conference in Durban yesterday, IFP Midlands secretary Philip Powell said, "There have been more attacks in this month than any other month of the year."

On Wednesday three people were killed in Wembezi near Estcourt, two in Bulwer in the Midlands and one in Phatheni, also in the Midlands. All six people were IFP supporters, he claimed.

The attacks have been confirmed by police.

Mr Powell said the attacks were levelled indiscriminately at their members, either as a group or as individuals. The people who were attacked were only "peripherally" involved in the political processes.

He cited a possible reason for the attacks as an attempt to derail the peace process. The attacks started at the same time as the IFP and the African National Congress engaged in discussions aiming to address the violence in the area.

"The IFP fears (this) ... may be an attempt to destabilise the peace process and place strain on the tentative moves towards the resumption of dialogue," said Mr Powell.

The IFP would call an emergency meeting in

the region within seven days to decide on a strategy against the killings. Mr Powell said the steps would include making sure that members defend themselves when provoked.

In response the ANC's Midlands spokesman Mr Blade Nzimande said ANC members were being killed as well.

He claimed at least five prominent leaders of the ANC were killed in December.

Mr Nzimande also rejected any intimation that his movement was responsible for the ongoing violence. "If Inkatha is serious about ending the violence they should stop pointing fingers at us."

He reiterated that the ANC was not opposed to any meeting with the IFP. — Sapa.

Bodies of 4 women found

THE bodies of four women with bullet and stab wounds were found early yesterday at a rubbish dump behind the KwaMasise Hostel in Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, police said.

Initial investigations indicated the unidentified women, aged between 18 and 23, had been raped. Each had been stabbed several times in the face and body and had been gagged with Muslin-type cloths, said Vaal Triangle police spokesman, Maj Piet van Deventer.

Police suspected the bodies were dumped behind the hostel after the murders had taken place elsewhere. The bodies were found at 5 am. The motive for the killings was not known.

Police have offered a R20 000 reward for in-

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4 bodies

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formation leading to the arrest and conviction of the murderer or murderers.

Anyone with information which can assist the police in their investigation is asked to contact the investigating officer, Detective-Sergeant Sarel Coetzee at Tel: (016) 33-8579 — Sapa.

US slates APLA terrorism

WASHINGTON. — The US Government protested to the Pan Africanist Congress about its armed wing's terrorist threats even before last month's attacks in King William's Town and Queens-town.

But the PAC leadership replied it had no control over the Azanian People's Liberation Army, according to US Assistant Secretary of State Herman J Cohen.

Mr Cohen was asked to comment on the two attacks for which APLA has been blamed. He described them as blatant acts of terrorism.

"I can't confirm that they (APLA) are the perpetrators, but if they say they are the perpetrators I believe it," he said.

"We condemn that as a blatant act of terrorism.

"I note that over the past year the APLA has threatened to take violent measures so that the negotiations could be undermined.

"When we first heard of these threats we protested to the PAC leadership and throughout that period the PAC leadership said they were opposed to such measures

but told us they were not in control of the armed wing. And they are continuing to say that."

Asked whether he ac-

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US slates APLA

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cepted the PAC statement that it did not control APLA, Mr Cohen said: "We certainly condemn the actions in the strongest possible terms".

On the negotiation process in South Africa, Mr Cohen said the US was disappointed by the lack of progress since Codesa's last session in May.

"We hope the government and representatives of the Black majority will

take advantage of recent events, including the terrorist acts, to speed up the process," he said.

"We have been very disappointed that in so many cases actions have been designed to refrain from negotiations rather than to push them forward and we hope that we will now be entering the last phase ... basically we are not satisfied with the performance of any side in South Africa." —Sapa.

No Renamo-KwaZulu police link: Goldstone

GOLDSTONE Commission investigators found no link between Renamo and the KwaZulu Police as claimed earlier this year by the African National Congress, the commission's chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, announced yesterday.

Commission investigations showed that the claims were based on the presence of 10 armed Portuguese speaking men at a bar in Nseleni in August this year.

The presence of the men was the sole origin of the belief or rumour concerning a relationship between

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No Renamo link

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tween the KwaZulu Police and Renamo.

In September reports said Northern Natal ANC leaders had claimed Renamo soldiers were in KwaZulu and that their presence was linked to alleged hit-squad training.

But an extensive probe by the commission's investigative team in Natal found, "there is no justification for the allegations of a Renamo connection with the KwaZulu Police... or of the presence of Renamo soldiers in KwaZulu".

In addition, KwaZulu's Police commissioner had told the Goldstone Commission KZP investigations showed no substance to the allegations.

The commissioner had

also assured the commission that the KZP had no involvement in hit-squad activities.

Mr Justice Goldstone

said if further evidence was placed before the commission, this would immediately be investigated. — Sapa.

Axed officers linked to shadowy



KAT LIEBENBERG ... his defence force under scrutiny.

BY SUNSTAR REPORTER

MOST of the officers axed yesterday by President FW de Klerk are believed to be linked to the sinister Military Intelligence unit, the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC).

The unit was brought to the public eye last month following a raid on its operational centre in Pretoria by the Goldstone Commission, which found evidence of suspected hitman Ferdi Barnard's project — known as "Project Echoes" — to discredit the African National Congress.

The Sunday Star established last night that DCC head Brigadier Tolletjie Botha is among those who have been immediately retired on



FERDI BARNARD ... tried to discredit the ANC.

pension.

Afrikaans-language Sunday newspaper Rapport last night named the mastermind behind Project Echoes, Brigadier Ferdi van Wyk, as also having received his marching orders.

The newspaper named the two generals axed by De Klerk as Chief of Staff of the Army, General Henric Roux, and Deputy Chief of Staff of Intelligence, General Chris Thirion.

Military sources told the Sunday Star last night that Intelligence Chief Lt-Gen C P "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, allegedly involved in the Matthew Goniwe "death signal" in 1985, and Chief of the Army, Gen-



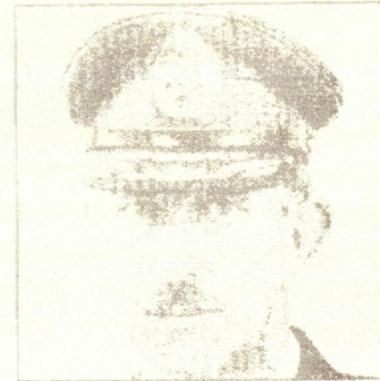
JOFFEL VAN DER WEST-HUIZEN ... off the hook.

eral Georg Meiring, also involved in Project Echoes, had both escaped the axe.

It is doubtful whether the activities of the DCC would ever have come to light had Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's investigators not swooped on its operational centre at Momentum Mews in Pretoria.

In a swift raid at 1 pm on November 11 seven Goldstone untouchables, led by Commissioner Tory Pretorius and accompanied by two international investigators, marched into the building and sealed it off.

They ordered immediate closure of the switchboard to cut off the telephone lines and seized seven files.



GEORG MEIRING ... escaped the axe.

The Goldstone commissioners then called for SAP reinforcements to ensure that no files were destroyed.

Brigadier Botha, whose job included the co-ordination of covert information-gathering projects, gave the commission his full co-operation and handed over files when he was requested.

After examining the files, Goldstone called a press conference and blew the whistle on Project Echoes.

De Klerk responded by appointing Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn, Chief of the Defence Force and second-in-command to SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg, to investigate whether the DCC had been acting in contra-

project



PIERRE STEYN ... conducted the investigation.

vention of the law or of government policy.

Steyn presented his report earlier this week to De Klerk, who, according to Rapport, discussed it with cabinet colleagues on Friday.

Yesterday he announced that 16 officers had been retired forthwith and another seven sent on compulsory leave while further investigations are carried out.

His action will confirm the worst suspicions of his political opponents who have always claimed that a sinister third force with its own agenda is attempting to derail negotiations leading to a democratic government.



GOVERNMENT CRISIS ... President FW de Klerk and Defence Minister Eugene Louw at the press conference.

(2)

'dirty tricks' by defence force's covert rightwing cabal

political killers

Attorneys-General for possible prosecution.

If there was evidence of political murders or theft, this would be brought to court, he said.

"The findings will lead to the conclusion that some of the activities have led to the deaths of people," he predicted.

De Klerk said the culprits had links with rightwing political groups outside Government.

He said there were indications that their political agenda was to "prevent us succeeding with our constitutional goals".

De Klerk's previous attempt to clean up SADF covert dirty tricks through the Kahn Committee have now proved to be a failure.

He confessed in Cape Town yesterday he was "shocked and disappointed" at the latest revelations.

The President and other Government members interrupted their holidays to be briefed by SADF chief-of-staff Pierre Steyn, who was delegated last month to conduct a lightning probe into SADF dirty tricks.

The need to act against these elements was so urgent that De

Klerk did not wait for a written report.

He has acted against the covert elements after a verbal preliminary briefing by Steyn, who is now continuing his probe to cut out the rightwing cabals.

This follows the Goldstone Commission's raid on Military Intelligence's DCC in Pretoria last month, which found evidence of suspected hitman Ferdi Barnard's project to discredit the African National Congress.

Denied

But despite the latest revelations, De Klerk steadfastly denied at a press conference that the long-suspected "third force" had now been uncovered in the SADF.

He insisted that a "handful" of SADF members were involved in illegal or unauthorised activities and malpractices.

He denied they were the tip of the iceberg.

De Klerk said the culprits had misled political office-bearers, Defence Force commanders and the Auditor-General.

De Klerk, as Commander-in-

Chief of the SADF, has assumed responsibility for the crisis.

He said "relevant" information would be fed to Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who is investigating the security forces and other armed groups.

The President promised that further public information would emerge in reports of the Commission, of the Auditor-General and in criminal court proceedings.

"We dare not allow that these elements, who are delaying a new dispensation and who continue to promote conflict, to succeed with their objectives," the President said.

He said the Government would not hesitate to act against them, whoever they were or wherever they were found.

Mr Justice Goldstone has welcomed the Government's "firm steps" and said further comment was not appropriate.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said the findings "confirmed many of the worst suspicions we have had" that security force elements were acting illegally and violently against the reform process.

TWO GENERALS and four brigadiers get the axe as Pierre Steyn reports urgently on

FW purges SADF of

■ **Culprits dismissed:** It's official. SADF rightwingers have taken part in political killings to prevent the reform process in the new South Africa.

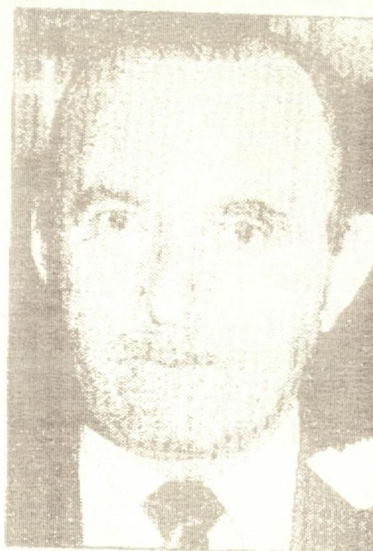
By DAVID BREIER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE Government is in crisis following revelations this weekend that senior SA Defence Force members with rightwing links have been involved in political killings.

A shocked President F W de Klerk, speaking in Cape Town, revealed their political agenda was to prevent the Government's constitutional reforms.

He said there was no evidence of an attempted coup or violent overthrow of the Government and denied the "handful" of culprits were the "third force".

In his first step to handle the crisis, De Klerk announced that two generals and four brigadiers are among 16 SADF members who have been retired forthwith. In addition, another seven SADF members have



ACTION WELCOMED ... Judge Goldstone will get the names.

been placed on compulsory leave pending further investigations.

They belonged to a number of units, including the sinister Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC), which is to be re-organised.

The head of the DCC, Brigadier Tlootjse Botha, is one of the officers concerned, according to a senior source. He has been placed on com-



SUSPICIONS CONFIRMED ... DP leader Zach de Beer

pulsory retirement with immediate effect.

The source said the other officers were not ones that might immediately spring mind. In fact, the two generals concerned were not well-known figures.

Meanwhile, measures have been taken to prevent the destruction of evidence.

Despite their activities, all are in line to receive full pension benefits amounting to hundreds of thousands of rands, Government sources said.

De Klerk said their names would be revealed as soon as possible, hopefully by the end of this month, once all had been informed. A number were on leave and were difficult to trace, he said. The rest are being told this weekend.

Speculation

There has been widespread speculation that among officers out of step with De Klerk's reforms are army chief General Georg Meiring and Military Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen.

De Klerk said the SADF must be politically neutral. If there were transgressions of this rule he would take "appropriate steps". "We are not dealing with kids. We are dealing with well-trained people taking measures to prevent being caught out," De Klerk warned.

However De Klerk said the names of "civilian collaborators" would not be published "in keeping with international practice". Their names would be given to the Goldstone Commission, the SA Police and At-

ANC: Third Force fears vindicated

THE African National Congress said yesterday that De Klerk's acknowledgement that senior members of the SA Defence force were involved in serious malpractices and illegal activities had created a crisis in the negotiation process.

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

"This is a crisis of major proportions which has a direct bearing on the negotiating process, and transparency is essential," Maharaj

said.

In an earlier statement, the ANC said De Klerk's admission confirmed its long-held contention that there was a Third Force operating within the security forces.

'Sad'

The statement said it was "sad" that it had taken so long for the South African leader to respond to "a situation that has been glaringly apparent".

It was Third Force activities by elements of the security forces that had caused the ANC to break off constitutional negotiations in 1991, the statement said.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation said yesterday De Klerk had not gone far enough.

In a statement, Azapo said nothing short of the complete "quarantining" of both the South African Police and SADF would satisfy it.

It added that it did not believe the generals "were a few putrid flies in an otherwise pure ointment".

De Klerk should submit the country's security forces "to neutralisation by a neutral, international force" and resign his own position to make way for a democratic constituent assembly — Sapa.

CP threatens to side with officers

BY SUNSTAR REPORTERS
AND SAPA

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's dramatic decision to axe senior SADF members has been welcomed by a wide range of political players, but rejected by the Conservative Party, which threatened yesterday to close ranks with those officers affected.

While Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and United Nations observers joined the Democratic Party in praising the move, CP defence spokesman Willie Snyman accused De Klerk of conducting a "witch-

hunt" on "loyal members of the force".

"We think there is a definite onslaught against the senior officers of the SADF from the left," Snyman said.

The CP would close ranks with SADF senior officers whose feelings coincided with the right-wing party on matters related to land affairs in the present system, he added.

Mr Justice Goldstone, meanwhile, said in a brief statement yesterday: "The Commission welcomes the firm steps just announced by the State President. Further comment at this time is not appropriate."

The United Nations' Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa) said it was gratified at the speed with which the inquiry of Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn's investigation (into all of the intelligence functions of the SADF) had proceeded so far.

It further welcomed De Klerk's decision to make available relevant information to the Goldstone Commission in its own investigation into military intelligence activities.

"The international community concurs that any individual or organisation which fairs violence, promotes conflict and undermines the

constitutional or peace negotiations, is standing in the path of the overwhelming majority of all South Africans", Unomsa said in a statement.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer was more hesitant, saying the real test of De Klerk's sincerity would be the efficiency with which senior SADF members involved in dirty tricks were prosecuted, and the severity of their sentences.

He said very few corruption cases involving public figures ever reached the courts in this country.

"The chickens of the total onslaught era are beginning to come home to roost," he said.



FW axes army chiefs who
tried to torpedo peace talks

Get out!

BY DAVID BREIER POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President de Klerk took one of the most dramatic steps in South African history yesterday when he axed two generals, four brigadiers and 10 other members of the SADF. Another seven were put on compulsory leave pending investigations. All are relieved to have been involved in dirty tricks and FW accused some of having rightwing links, plotting to derail reforms and being involved in killings. One of the sacked officers is Brigadier Tolletjie Botha, head of the intelligence unit raided by the Goldstone investigators.

Pik's the man to handle Buthelezi

■ Pik in the middle: Pik Botha is the only man who can tame Mangosuthu Buthelezi and maintain unity in the Cabinet, which is divided over whether to ditch Inkatha and its leader.

By DAVID BREIER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

PIK Botha has become the key figure in a growing Cabinet division over whether the time has come to tell Mangosuthu Buthelezi to get lost.

Government sources said this week that the Minister of Foreign Affairs would play a crucial role in the "bosberaad" between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party next month, where Buthelezi will be told to co-operate with Codesa negotiations "or else".

Botha has been a long-standing ally of Buthelezi, and admitted last year to funding Inkatha Freedom Party rallies in what became known as the "Inkathagate" scandal.

Botha has supported a Nat election pact with the IFP, which is now becoming increasingly unfashionable in the NP. He is also a key mover behind an early deal with the ANC next year.

He now finds himself as the key man in the middle of the Cabinet between the pro-Buthelezi hawks and anti-Buthelezi doves and is the only Government member with enough clout and IFP goodwill capable of taming the increasingly irascible Buthelezi.

Unilateral

Cabinet hawks such as Minister of Justice Koble Coetsee, Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel and Minister of Local Government Terence Delpont, as well as Natal Nat leader George Bartlett, are keeping their heads low.

Their pro-IFP feelings are unpopular in Government after President F W de Klerk lashed out at Buthelezi recently for his unilateral KwaZulu Natal proposal.

Many Cabinet members have now lost patience with Buthelezi, whose sparring tactics and ongoing war with the ANC are holding up negotiations.

The anti-Buthelezi Cabinet faction includes Minister of Constitutional Development Gelf Meyer and Manpower Minister Leon Wessels. It is understood Meyer helped draft F W's recent attack on Buthelezi.

This week Cape Nat leader Dawie de Villiers, widely regarded as the No 2 man in the NP after De Klerk, admitted for the first time that there were differences in the Cabinet over the issue of whether to work with the IFP or ANC.

De Villiers said it was possible there were "strategic differences in accent and approach".

If Botha succeeds in taming the IFP and restoring Cabinet unity, his political prestige could overtake that of De Villiers.

BAD COPY

NEWS

INTERNATIONAL BODY welcome to observe SA polls

Govt supports UN election watchdogs

■ **Men in blue:** The UN is due to facilitate peaceful elections in South Africa, and the Government welcomes a large international observer mission to ensure free and fair elections.

By DAVID BREIER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

PROSPECTS for nonracial elections have surged as the Government has indicated it would welcome a substantial international observer presence to ensure free and fair polling.

Government sources told the Sunday Star this week that details such as the size of an international observer mission would have to be agreed by the Election Commission due to be negotiated at Codesa next year, in consultation with interna-

tional agencies such as the UN.

The UN is sending a force of 7 500 to monitor the peace process and elections in neighbouring Mozambique due to be held late next year, possibly at the same time as South Africa's elections for an constituent assembly and interim government.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela is confident that South African elections will be held next year. The Government expects them by April 1994 but does not exclude next year.

The sources stressed that a similar international mission in SA should consist of observers only and not monitors with the power to control the shape of the elections.

He said the elections should be under the control of South African parties through the multiparty Election Commission due to be set up by the middle of next year in terms of President FW de Klerk's negotiation timetable.

This commission will form part of the Transitional Executive Council, which will "level the playing field" to ensure free and fair elections.

The sources said the effect of international bodies observing violence in SA over the past few months had mostly been positive.

The Democratic Party plans to make early use of international observers to prevent its political meetings in black townships being broken up mainly by ANC supporters.

DP Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle, whose meeting in Khayelitsha outside Cape Town was wrecked by ANC supporters this week, said he intended to hold the meeting again early in the new year — this time with international observers.

Carlisle said local ANC structures had also recently intimidated black DP members in the Eastern Transvaal, where a leader's house was burnt down.

"We have been told by some of our members they have been warned that whatever way they vote in the elections will be found out. Unless people believe their vote is genuinely secret, one has to have serious doubts about a free and fair election," Carlisle said.

GOVT UNDER pressure to prevent Moseneke's bid to take silk

PAC leader faced career threat

No prospects: The Government was close to vetoing Dikgang Moseneke's bid to become a senior counsel and ultimately a judge unless he gave up his positions in the PAC.

BY DAVID BREIER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

SENIOR legal circles have disclosed that the Government was considering cutting short Dikgang Moseneke's career prospects in the law profession in the wake of the King William's Town and Queens-town attacks.

Moseneke resigned this week as senior deputy president of the Pan Africanist Congress and from the PAC's national executive. His resignation took place within a week of attacks on whites by Apla, the PAC armed wing.

He cited family and professional reasons, saying full-time political leadership would prevent him from devoting sufficient attention to his legal practice.

Top legal sources have disclosed



RESIGNED FROM PAC . . .
Dikgang Moseneke.

that Moseneke, a Pretoria advocate, has "applied to take silk" — that is to become a senior counsel (SC). His application has been approved by the Transvaal Bar Council.

While it is unheard of for the Government to interfere in the appointment of SCs, the Sunday Star was told that ultimately President de Klerk had the final say on who took silk.

Although it would have set an unhealthy precedent for the Government to veto the appointment

of an SC, it is known in legal circles that there was growing pressure on De Klerk to veto Moseneke's application in the heated political atmosphere after the Apla attacks.

This would have cut Moseneke's career prospects short, preventing him from taking silk. As the Government appoints judges from the ranks of SCs, Moseneke's prospects of becoming a judge in the new South Africa would have been ruined.

The Government had been favourably impressed with Moseneke in recent meetings with the PAC. Moseneke has also been favoured by the ANC — he helped defend Winnie Mandela in the Stomple case before she fell from grace and separated from ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Moseneke has long been known as a PAC "dove", eager to enter into a deal with the Government and ANC, much to the anger of PAC "hawks" believed to be behind the Apla attacks.

Political observers believe his resignation from PAC positions was motivated by a combination of political and professional reasons — his professional prospects are closely tied to his political position.

How the generals got involved in politics

Sunday Times Reporters

A NUMBER of senior military officers have been linked in the past to activities outside normal military duty.

Among them are:

● SADF chief, General **"KAT" LIEBENBERG**, 58, has been linked to the CCB through its predecessors, Project Barnacle and the D40 unit, both operational while he was chief of special forces in the 80s.

Known as a hardliner, there has been speculation that President de Klerk has plans to replace Gen Liebenberg with his second in charge, Chief of Staff Lt-General Pierre Steyn. Gen Liebenberg joined the army in 1955. During the border war, he was commanding officer of Sector 10 (Owamboland). He became chief of the army in 1985 and chief of the SADF in November 1990.

Discredit

● Lt-General **GEORG MEIRING**, 53, chief of the army, is the man whose signature appears on top of secret documents giving final approval to Project Echoes' clandestine operation launched in April to discredit the ANC by linking its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to the IRA. The project was aborted when two MI agents, Leon Flores and Captain Pamela du Randt, were arrested in London.

● Military Intelligence chief General **JOFFEL VAN DER WESTHUIZEN** has been at the centre of renewed calls for a new inquest into the murder of East Cape activist Matthew Goniwe. While officer commanding Eastern Province Command, Gen van der Westhuizen founded the Hammer Unit, a covert squad that has been accused of murdering activists.

● Brigadier **TOLLE-**

TJIE BOTHA, director Covert Collection, whose job included co-ordination of covert information-gathering projects. He was the man in charge of DCC's operational headquarters in Momentum Mews, Lynnwood, Pretoria, when it was raided last month by investigators from the Goldstone commission.

According to the Goldstone commission, Brig Botha sanctioned the recruitment of convicted murderer and sacked CCB

agent Ferdi Barnard for a "dirty tricks" campaign aimed at discrediting the ANC.

● Military Intelligence officer Brigadier **FERDI VAN WYK**, whose name was in top secret military documents presented at the inquest into the murder of lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, who died when a tape recorder exploded. The documents revealed that Brig van Wyk was the mastermind behind Project Echoes.

● Colonel **GERRIE BORMAN** and Commandant **TERENCE SCALLAN** were named by former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard in a statement after the Goldstone commission's raid on the Directorate Covert Collection. He claimed they had told him there was a need for intelligence on "certain criminal activities of members of Umkhonto we Sizwe" and ordered him to submit a proposal on how he would go about it.

PAC hawks now in charge

THE dramatic resignation of one of the PAC's top strategists, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, has finally put the hawks in the PAC in control of the movement — and dashed almost all hope that the organisation will form part of the envisaged new negotiation forum.

Mr Moseneke is understood to have thrown in the towel after a top PAC official, first deputy president Johnson Mlambo, this week admitted that Apla (the PAC's military wing) was involved in the recent Eastern Cape atrocities.

It was mainly through the hard work of Mr Moseneke (second deputy president) and the PAC's Cape Town-based secretary for information and publicity, Barney Desai, a former London-based lawyer, that the PAC and the government had progressed to within days of final preparatory talks, scheduled for December 9.

A historic summit meeting would have followed later next month between PAC president Clarence Makwetu and President FW de Klerk.

But, even as the finishing touches were being put to the plan, Apla launched its attacks against civilians in Queenstown and King William's Town, killing five whites and leaving scores seriously injured.

Mr Moseneke — regarded by many as a future leader of the PAC — was abroad at the time. Ironically, he was trying to pro-

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

mote a new image of the organisation and briefing African leaders on the PAC's forthcoming talks with the government.

Mr Moseneke arrived back in South Africa on December 10.

Four days later Mr Mlambo confirmed that "Apla structures were involved" in the Eastern Cape killings.

That same day Mr Moseneke delivered by hand his letter of resignation, marked "private and confidential", to Mr Makwetu and sent a copy to the organisation's secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander.

Mr Makwetu and Mr Alexander were so stunned by the suddenness of the Moseneke resignation that they conspired to keep the letter "secret" to try to talk Mr Moseneke out of his plans to quit.

Circular

On December 16 Mr Moseneke, despite having marked his letter confidential, made a statement to the media about his resignation.

The next day Mr Alexander sent a circular to all PAC units, including foreign missions, officially informing them of the letter, and confessing that he and Mr Makwetu wanted to keep the matter "secret"

because they still had "a duty for Comrade Moseneke to perform in his official capacity in early January.

"We were to discuss the matter with him," he wrote.

"It would appear as though our comrade has made up his mind on this matter."

The consensus among those who know Mr Moseneke well is that the Apla killings, compounded by contradictory, ambivalent and convoluted attempts by PAC officials at "explaining" the "rationale" behind them, was so incompatible with Mr Moseneke's commitment to the rule of law that it left him with no alternative but to quit.