

LOOKING AHEAD TO THE LIKELY ROLL-CALL IN PRESIDENT NELSON
I New-look: The Cabinet next year PRIME E FOREIGN
with Nelson Mandela (right) as pres- MINISTER E AFFAIRS
idem is likely to look like a cross- ANC secretary-gen- ' 5 'lhabo Mbeld
section of South 'Africa instead of the much This mmono Wm
old Nwhohs who ln the Broederbond" and NatiOnal Party almost cerfainly go
that ruled the country for 45 years. It : leader M de I(lerk 5 Niximc 5 Thabo
will be appointed in proportion to the 5 m? bii't?olhgeoffor E '
1 number of yotes the major parties rotafizg Prime FINANCE
receive nationally. Call It a ugovem- E Minister, if the : DENIKKETS
ment of national unity and recon- g gattiOqa' Parzh E
. _- ,. - - u e z e 3 5 WBY- e :Anoutsider
:stnifllon or J'USI plam power shar- 5 ANC objects to a 5 brought In bythe
: mg , but the IS how sucha Cabmct. , . , . w. -. . . , M 3 rotating Prime 5 Nats, Derek
Keys,
I' could look hke. . . : . - \$ 3 Mumster. ; isapossibility.
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Coloured
and Indian MPs join cabinet for all-race polls test h
FW GEARS UP
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e
FQR ELECTION
all-race elections.
brace of new deputy ministers,
sg_zim summc
Political Correspondent
FRESIDENT FW de Klerk
last night dramatically
refashioned his Cabinet
to prepare for non-
elggglons. racial
o coloureds, Jac Rabi
anti Abe Williams, and al:
Indian. Dr Bhadra Ranchod
were promoted, giving full
Cabinet representat'
ion to
members of the two minority
communities from which
National Party hopes til:
attract Significant support in
Mr de Klerk also brought in a
A 0 Administration and Tourism
Minister Org Marais. !
Mr de Klerk said the ministers' :
decisions to retire were "selfless-
ly motivated by the recognition
that we are now entering a new
and election-oriented phase of the
political process".
The new coloured and Indian
members of the Cabinet re-
; viously held 905ts 1" the
Affairs ministers councils. They
retain these positions.
The Cabinet portfolios allocat-
ed to them are minor ones, leav-
ing white NP ministers in charge
of the key departments.
Mr Rabie was allocated
Population Development,
Mr Williams Sport and Dr
Ranchod Tourism.
Mr de Klerk said he had
seriously considered
appointing a black person
reallocated a few ke '
. y rtfoh
and disphatched five g?niste:
gut he failed to promote some 0!
e brightest young talent in his
party.
Motivated
To_ make way for the new
appomtees five ministers have
been retired in Mr de Klerkts
e seventh rahuffle since assuming
1 the presidency.
They are:
Minister Magnus Maian try
already announced 111.8ersz
ment from politics.
Lo:wl.)efenee Minister Gene
.. _ .Regionai and Land Aft '
Minute: Jacbb de Villiers. airs
Home Aft ' ' '
Pienaar. mrs Minister Louis

to the Cabinet. But, after consulting opinion makers, he had decided this would probably be counterproductive at this delicate stage in negotiations.

Others promoted to the Cabinet in the reshuffle were Japie van Wyk (Environment and Water Affairs), Andre Fourie (Regional and Land Affairs) and Danie Schutte (Home Affairs).

All had previously served as deputy ministers, and are not associated with either the reformist or the more reactionary wings of the party.

The reshuffle surprised observers, who had expected Mr de Klerk to streamline portfolios in preparation for the introduction of the proposed transitional executive council in June, heralding the first stage of multiparty rule.

Instead, he limited the reshuffle to accommodating members of the differ-

N EW CABINET

1:1 From Page 1

ent population groups and putting new faces into two key areas affected by negotiations.

The vitally important Defence portfolio was allocated to Free State NP leader Kobie Coetsee, who also retains the Justice ; portfolio.

This means Mr Coetsee, a conservative and tough negotiator. will oversee the planned integration of all armed forces.

He will also be responsible for bringing rogue elements in the military under control.

The other appointment which will have a significant impact on negotiations is that of Mr Schutte at Home Affairs.

He Will have to oversee the holding of elections. a task which most observers - and now, apparently. Mr de Klerk as well - have felt was beyond the present incumbent. Louis Pienaar.

The new appointments become effective on April 1. Mr de Klerk also announced his intention to restructure the Ministry of National Housing from June 1.

The person to fill this post. he said, would come from the private sector. and had already accepted the appointment. His name would be announced in due course. and his portfolio would be National Housing and Public Works.

In the meantime. Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett would also act as Minister of Public Works.

E-

JAC RABIE

This is seen as a sop to Mr Bartlett. whose unhappiness in the party over the perceived treatment of nkatha in negotiations is well known.

The task of overseeing the integration of the various Own Affairs education departments into a single, non-racial department was given to National Education Minister Piet Ma'rais. His new designation is Minister of

National Education and Education Co-ordination. Two new deputy ministers were appointed. They are Mrs Sheila Camerer (Justice) and Mr Yakoob Makda (Local Government).

NORMAN WEST reports that Mr Rabie was "surprised but proud" to be elevated to full Cabinet status.

He said: "The essential difference between the present multiracial Cabinet of Mr de Klerk and that of Mr PW Botha is that we have been appointed on merit as members of a non-racial NP. and not co-opted. as was the case with Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi, who were in the PW Botha Cabinet for the sake of tokenism and window-dressing.

As far as the coming non-racial election is concerned, it gives me the opportunity to enter the fray as a fully-fledged Cabinet minister.

Apart from already being involved in winning over the hearts and minds of my community for the NP, I also intend to be a part of the the first non-racial government on the side of the NP."

Mr Williams said the appointment of coloured people to the Cabinet showed Mr de Klerk was committed to a truly non-racial new South Africa.

Dr Ranchod has made two giant political leaps in as many weeks. Oddly, he does not belong to any political party and has no intention of joining the NP.

In a surprise move last week. Mr de Klerk overlooked all the Indian Nat MPs in the House of Delegates and appointed Dr Ranchod from the top civil position of Director-General of the ROD to chairman of the Ministers' Council in the HOD.

Dr Ranchod said yesterday he was delighted about his "elevation to a senior Cabinet post that followed so quickly on my appointment as chairman of the Ministers, Council".

0 ANC foreign secretary

Thabo Mbeki said last night the reshuffle was unmeaningless". He said Mr Williams. Mr Rabie and Dr Ranchod were "people from those discredited institutions of the tri-cameral parliament" and that the Cabinet would still "run a government that operates and maintains apartheid".

i

NO BLACKS appointed at this delicate stage Tand Coetsee takes on defence

3 brown faces in Cabinet

I Musical chairs: Out go

some familiar faces,

others stay put and there

will be three brown faces

with important portfolios

in Cabinet.

7 BY limo BIEIEII

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THREE brown MR have been ap-

pointed to full Ministerial posts in

President F W de Klerk's latest Cab-

inet reshuffle

They are Minister of Sport Abe

Williams, Minister of Population De-

velo t Jac Rabie and Minister

of Tourism Bhadra Ranchovl

And Minister of Justice Kohie

Coetsee has taken on the additional

portfolio of Defence.

De Klerk has decided against ap-

pointing any black Minister as he

has heard advised this would be too

controversial during the current del-

icate state of negotiations.

And contrary to expectations. the

president has injected no fresh blood

into his Cabinet from the private

sector yet. although he has invited

an "expert from the private sector",

whose identity has not been di-

divulged. to become Minister of Na-

tional Housing and of Public Works

from June 1.

IOU go Gene Louw (Defence and

Public Works), Louis Pimaar (Home

Affairs and Environment Affairs,

Jacob de Villiers (Regional and

Land Affairs) and Org Marais (Ad-

eil____

Deputy

one of the NPTs

gandlsts. 7

ministration and Tourism). They are

in addition to Magnus Malan (Water

Affairs and Forestry) who announc-

ed his retirement earlier.

Coloured "own affairs" Minister

Andrew J ulia is also retiring.

IIN come Williams. Rabie. Ran-

chod as well as various Deputy Min-

isten who become full Ministers.

They are Andre Fourie (Regional

and Land Affairs), Danie Schutte

(Home Affairs) and Japie van Wyk

(Environment and Water Affairs).

In the reshuffle, which is to take

effect from April 1 and was an-

simu citizen: the new :

Minister of Justice was '

:chiefpropa- '

New appointments for Highveld politicians.

in ME: as Minister of Pohw

iationDevelopment. will run

the W'szblnh magi

nounoed last night. Coetsee now be-

comes Minister of Justice and De-

fence. He will also assist De Klerk in

the day-today management of the

National Intelligence Service al-

though De Klerk will once again assume direct responsibility for N18. Coetsee has clashed on negotiations with Cabinet doves such as Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer who retain his key portfolio.

Some observers see Coetsee's elevation in the Cabinet as a get-tough attitude by De Klerk, but military
QMW 5747 77/772

INDIE mm: the new Minister of Regional and Land matters known as the fighting code
eml of the NP '

sources told the Sunday Star that Defence had clearly been downgraded by being lumped with Justice. The President's three new brown Ministers are the first Cabinet members of colour since Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi left PW Botha's Cabinet amid controversy in the Eighties. As neither of them had a portfolio, this is the first time that people of colour have held a full Cabinet post

It is also the first time since the Piet Koomhof era that South Africa has had a specialist Minister of Sport in the form of ex-rugby administrator Williams. In recent years Sport has been tacked on to the National Education portfolio. William said he believed Government might now give more financial backing to sport.

The Minister of Correctional Services Adriaan Vlok whose departure was widely predicted, retains his post. The pick of a handful of new Deputy Ministers is Sheila Camerer who becomes Deputy Minister of Justice. An Indian Deputy Minister, who will also become a Deputy Minister in the main Cabinet, is Yakoob Makda.

FOR THE RECORD

A HEADLINE reading "Topless dances under the spotlight" in the Sunday Star of February 7 gave the impression that all the dancers in the accompanying picture were auditioning for roles as topless dancers. In fact they were auditioning for dancing roles, but not as topless men J W

:9! .07

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

Not confusing

WE don't see why Mr Roelf Meyer. Minister of Constitutional Development. should .be confused over the ANC National Executive Committees statement on constitutional ne-Tiztiitllllogsendorsed a government of national unity comprising all parties which receive more than five percent of the votes in the en election. .

Ttl-iesgggerment of national unity would be 18 office for up to five years, although the AN made it clear that the duration of the govern-ment was still subject to negotiation at a '- art forum.

ATiigsgmeytime the ANC rejected a proposal to share power with the National Party. d'f Mr Meyer said plaintively: uIican t see the l - ference between power shanng and a govern-ment of national unity, and the ANC Will have to explain that."

Itl clear enough. _

Tliie ANC does not want to share power With the National Party on equal terms but. confi- dent of victory in the electiori. wants the ma- ' ' art is views to prevai ._ 1

A&EtZegretiry-general. Mr Cynl Ramaphosai said: uOur idea of a government of nationa unity means majority rule should not be sac- rificed in any way. We see the .preSident. as being able to take deCISIons wrthout being t n .

Almgiiig ?o the ANC, the presrdent shall be ' ' ' tituent

lected b srmples majority of the.con_s :ssembly? Representatives of mrnonty par- ties in the Cabinet will be appornted - in proportion to their voting support - by the president in consultation with the leaders of these parties.

On most issues the president would have the final say. On certain issues not yet agreed to, decisions would require the support of two- thirds of the Cabinet.

None of the parties will have powers of veto, since this ucould paralyse the effectiveness of government".

And the government's proposal for a rotating chairmanship of the Cabinet is also rejected. The ANC. in other words. wants a govern- ment of national unity in which it has its own way.

How that fosters national unity - or assuages the fears or accommodates the views of min- ority parties - is not clear.

What is patently obvious is that the present style of government in which the Cabinet acts by Consensus is rejected by the ANC. which prefers decisions to be taken according to its president's wishes or, in some instances, by a two-thirds majority vote.

Mr Ramaphosa claims that last week's bilate- ral meeting with the government saw the National Party concede on two vital issues. uOn the question of the presidency. the gov- ernment wanted the president to be elected by popular vote.

uThey dropped that and agreed that a presi- dent must be elected by representatives of

the Constituent Assembly. They also dropped the demand for a rotating presidency of three or five people."

The government made other concessions in its talks with the ANC.

It agreed the boundaries, functions and duties of regions would be finally decided by the Constituent Assembly, whereas it had insisted these be predetermined.

It also agreed that the constitution-making body could take all its decisions by a two-thirds majority instead of the 75 percent it had been demanding at Codesa 11 on what it considered sensitive issues, such as regional powers.

Unless the government makes it clear that it is not going to play ball, that the controversy over a government of national unity is more than just a matter of semantics, and that power will, in fact, be shared, the government will be falling into a trap laid for it by the ANC.

If the government makes any more concessions, it might as well give up now and hand the country over to the ANC, since the ANC is getting its way on most vital issues.

IT IS 5 "on February
Journs' tsgathered iiii a
small conference room on
the 11th floor of the Hen-
drik Verwoerd building in
Cape Town aze at the
man at the ead ot the
table with stunned glee
He Is Fanus Schoeman.
the little known De puty
Minister of Constltutlional
Develop ment, Boelt
shadow. for-
mer qBWig ent and the
president' a old snooker
mate.

Alter six weeks of furi-
ous denials that any consti-
tutional deal had been
hammered out by the gov-
ernment and the ANC. Mr
Schoeman hlandly an-
nourmd the deal was done.

"The ANC and the gov-
ernment have agreed that
a gova-nment at national
unity will govern the coun-
try for five years." he re-
pelled to a routine question
on constitutional progress
CRAZY

The assembled journal-
iltl started whispering:
"Roelt is going to eat him
Gatsha is going to eat
Reel! ..."

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Deputy Constitutional Minister Fanus Schoeman fuelled a fire last
week when he announced it had been agreed with the ANC that a
government of national unity would rule South Africa for five
years. EDYTII BlllBltlllG reports
after the talks

Mr Ramaphosa dld so
because he wanted to tell
his constituency that he
and his team had managed
to extract this signitificant
concession from the gov-
ernment.

However. he carefully
avoided disclosing the full
tnith - which was that, in
return for the concession.
the ANC had accepted
there would be a prolonged
government of national
unity.

At 3.30pm. Mr Meyers
prm secretary. lsak Re
tiet. heard the news. With
his boss in another meet-
ing. it fell upon Mr Schoe
man to douse the flames.
The only liquid available
was petroL

In announcin that the
ANC had agr to I pro-
longed period of unity gov-
ernment. Mr Schoeman

was telling his constituency the government had won a major victory in families power sharing-A. His statement fuelled a fire that came close to dave, anything achieved in the ANC-government talks.

When the news broke, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi thundered that the combined might of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SADF would have to be used to achieve compliance in Kwazulu/Natal.

PACIFY

Negotiators feared from this response that four months of work to get multiparty talks off the ground would be scup

On the other side. the ANC's fiery Natal Midlands leader, Harry Gwala, howled that he had been sold out by the organisation's negotiators. and threatened he would have nothing to do with the deal.

The next couple of days saw President PW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela performing semantic contortions in an attempt to pacify their constituents, outr Chiet theled and ate several other previous pollute. 1 pl. -, v--'.r

At a Sandton banquet on Saturday night, Mr Mandela "categorically" denied the ANC had agreed to power sharing for five years. What it had accepted was an interim government of national unity - and this was "not power sharing".

In an interview with British journalist Sir David Frost on Sunday night. Mr de Klerk said the interpretation that fixed agreements had been entered into was wrong. "We believe final agreement must be reached at a multiparty conference." he added. This week. the negotiators had to get through three crucial meetings if their deal was to survive and lead to the revival of Codaa. The first was relatively easy. The Cabinet meeting on Wednesday saw an out-

raged Natal leader. George
Bartlett. exprmlng huge
' dlasatisfactlon It the way
he perceived lnkatha was
being treatedo
:Buti .the Cabipet. en-
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dorsed the deal after gov-
ernment negotiators
explained that the arrange-
- ment with the ANC was
simply something the two
parties would present to a
multiparty conference for
consideration.

It was now up to the
ANC's national executive
committee to give the
agreement its support.
The NEC gathered on
Tuesday to Stan three days
of deliberations in a
cramped room at the lpe-
legeng community centre
in Sowatoo

lt tell to international
affairs director Thabo
Mbeki to defuse the anger
and explain what had actu-
ally been agreed with the
government This he did
with consummate skill
AlllNG

Just as the government
negotiators had to expand
on Mr de Klerk's stateL
ment, Mr Mbeki had to
expand on Mr Mandela's
assertion that a govern-
ment of national unity did
not equal power sharing.
Mr Mandela. whose doc-
tor had ordered him to take
a rest because he was suf-
fering from exhaustion.
presided over the first two
days of the meeting. Like
an old-style judge. he
pqigstattingly hated down

,, t M A mtmmge;
the contributions of every
speaker in long hand
Over the course of the
three days. 63 speakers
aired their views. with 5
Speaking in favour of the
agreement and eight
against

The ailing Mr Gwala,
who can no longer eat with-
out assulance, made his
objections known. and left
early on the second day to
lead a march in his home
region. It appears that. at
this point. he realised the
moderates had won the
day.

SECRET

it was agreed that the
deal would be taken back

to the branches and regions
(or explanation - not endorsement)
The negotiators were euphoric
The third and most difficult meeting was between the government and Inkatha.

Gathered at the Bay View Inn at Richards Bay on Wednesday night. the government's negotiating team. along with Deputy Foreign Minister Renter Schoeman and Mr Bartlett. faced the Inkatha and Kwazulu government delegations. which included. for the first time. white MPs
...lu Matt: and Mike

Ta 1

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FANUS SCHOEMAN . . . fuelled the fire that came close to destroying everything achieved in talks

It was up to Mr Meyer to

convince Inkatha there

was no secret deal.

Inkatha national chairman

Frank Mdlalose appeared

satisfied, but Inkatha

representatives

insisted they had to take

the matter back to their

principals

The government and the

ANC had hoped to hold a

meeting of all parties this

week/ 12/24/ 1995

to plan the reconvening

of Codrington.

It has now been postponed

until after the Inkatha

Central Committee

meets next Sunday to hear

a report-back on the meeting

Negotiators have pencilled

in March 5 and 6 as

possible dates for the planning

conference.

Meanwhile, Chief Buthe

will occupy centre

courts,

SaturdayStar

Tattered

morals

OLITICIANS do it; business-
man do it; doctors, civil ser-
vants and - as we discovered
recently - even bankers do it.

South Africa is being cheated to death.

Latest figures estimate that fraud and
corruption have so far stripped this
country of the equivalent of all its
earnings for 1991: some R350 billion.

Now a firm of chartered accountants
has decided to do something about this
wholesale theft of public money. It is
launching a major conference on Mon-
day to address the issue. But steal-
ing money is only the symptom of a
deeper problem.

This country is widespread disregard
for ethical practices, and its seeming
inability to punish corruption when it is
discovered, are powered by the notion
that "The only sin is being found out".
South Africans have lived with this lie
for so long that we have come to be-
lieve it. Now, facing the inevitable con-
sequences of dishonesty, we realise we
can no longer afford them.

But how to stop it? Conferences, such
as the one planned for Monday, are
praiseworthy initiatives and are hope-
ful signs that there is a reservoir of
concern that things cannot go on the
way they have. But without active sup-
port they run the risk of going the way
of so many other good intentions.

Some system of better ethical educa-
tion is obviously needed. But moral be-
haviour is not simply the result of
books and lectures. It is equally the re-
sult of culture, family life and social
environment. Clearly, if our moral cli-
mate is to improve, much work lies
ahead.

But we do not have time to wait for
cultures to change. We need to per-
suade citizens now to behave more re-
sponsibly. To achieve that, there needs
to be much stricter controls, more ef-
fective monitoring mechanisms and
tougher penalties for dishonesty. The
police, as was evident in the Bob Ald-
worth case, act too slowly against cases
of commercial crime, giving the perpe-.,
trators time to evade punishment.

None of this, however, eliminates the
need for some sort of public awareness
programme. Policing measures must
be bolstered by imaginative, aggressive
campaigns to highlight the damage that
stealing, lying and cheating do.

The aim is not simply to foster good
character (although that in itself might
not be such a bad thing). It is to stop
our being bled to death.

Now joint
talks are
set for
934-! ,4,
3) March

DURBAN - The mul-
tiparty Elanning con-
ference as been post-
poned until March 5,
according to Constitu-
tional Develo ment
Minister Roelf eyer.
Meyer said in a
statement yesterday,
after bilateral talks be-
tween the Inkatha
Freedom Party and
the Government, that
this decision had been
taken after the IF?
had req nested time to
consult its central
committee.

Agreed
He said the African
National Congress had
also agreed to the post-
ponement.
The conference had
initially been planned
for February 25 and 26.
In the brief state-
ment. Meyer said
gress had been ma e in
the three-day talks
with the IF? at Ri-
chards Bay, but-he did
not elaborate. - Sapa.

IKE him or not. Ken
 Owen really can
 write His prose
 sometimes reaches a
 purple intensiTy that
 is quite overwhelming.
 Two articles in his recently
 published book These Times.
 one after Owen's first meeting
 with ANC exiles in 1989 and the
 other on the white Right before
 our 1992 referendum. rank with
 some of the best writing on
 South Africa I have read,
 The book is a collection of
 155 of his political columns
 published between June and
 October 1992 in the three
 newspapers Owen worked for
 during that period - the Sun
 day Express. Business Day and
 the Sunday Times.
 He also gets a number of
 issues right He is right in his
 scathing analysis of the Nation-
 al Party and its apartheid pro-
 ject. a project he abhors. he
 paints P W Botha as a Dure-
 the Bullyboy With flair, he saw
 the limit constitutiun for what it
 was. a fatally flawed Charade
 to disguise continued NP domi-
 nation: and he hacks back good
 people who have developed
 blindspots those who can see
 no wrong in some politicians
 and no right in others. despite.
 often. clear evidence of bail be-
 haviour from good boys In all
 of this he is exciting. colourful
 and lively - a good read
 My problems begin with his
 selectivity. He covers the elec-
 tions and referendum of white
 politics with heat and light.
 But it is what he leaves out
 that is instructive.
 He devotes no space to many
 of the most significant events
 of the decade he writes about:
 the formation of. rise and
 banning of the UDF; the growth
 in influence and reputation of the
 ANC in exile: the allied and
 highly successful coordination
 and growth of sanctions cam-
 paigns against apartheid.
 nor is any space devoted to
 the rising of Crossroads and
 . Langa: the destabilisation of
 , Angola and Mozambique: the
 counter-revolutionary war
 ' against the UDF. the End Con-
 - scription Campaign and other
 opponents of the National
 , Party's projects.
 i. Readers interested in the
 - Biko massacre are rewarded
 with two lines - both. of
 . course. blaming the ANC for
 '- getting shot up.

a This selectivity is just part of the whole conservative. preiudiced log that Owen develops . around South Africa's politics. This is ironical. considering he 3 is arguably South Alricais most ardently sell-proclaimed liberal. But what is the basis of this "liberalism"?

Technically he qualifies as a liberal: he propagates freedom: he does back the individual against the collective: he is egalitarian and speaks up for human rights; he proclaims the importance of limiting government by constitutional and other means: and he ardently backs private ownership and free enterprise.

But his is an old-fashioned n.anel conservative liberalism , , Firstly. liberals traditionally .. believe in human freedom and iin the importance ol the indi- Ividual. What follows from that lls that individual and tree human behaviour will exhibit enormous variety.

: And what follows from that Iis a requirement. for a liberal. of tolerance

KEN OWEN: There is a whole prejudicedfog in his otherwise spot-on writing, but what he leaves out is often instructive 5; w a/ ,S'r/W maze;

The intoleran liberal

LIBERALISM is one of the most misunderstood and vigorously debated topics in South Africa's political lexicon. Here RORY RIORDAN expands the debate by examining the beliefs of a commentator lwho is arguably the country's most ardently self-proelaimed liberul'.

P W BOTHA: Owen paints him as H Duce who "set up u bureauuotie state which reduced Pavliument to a talking show".

CHIEF IUTNELIZI: The only mciey hluel t pellileul tigme to regularly mop. Owen's seem. He writes of him us a black Iibeml.

Owen. however. exhibits. cerv tainly in these writings. very little tolerance.

His other failures as a liberal follow from his conservatism His conception ol rights is old-tashioned and hackneyed - today's debate on rights is about social and economic rights as ordained in 1966 by the United Nations Owen is stuck in civil liberties and hasn't moved any further in the 12 years of These Times IS liberalism is generally uninlormed by contemporary debate and greatly

informed by the past. A few examples of this:

0 For most of this writing the term "Alrikaner" is used by Owen as a generalisation. all instances of which are white people who all support the NP or the white Right. The fact that a third of Alrikaners are not white. and a great number of white and non-white Alrikaners have fought apartheid with real courage and commitment appears lost on him.

VAN ZYL SLABBERT: Owen said his departure from Parliament in 1986 was "wonderful, solid-indulgent, politically indefensible".

AICHIISHO' YUTUI A man who was umtically zoned on the value of sanctions in detecting apartheid. Owen owes him an apology.

0 While Owen rightly clubbers other commentators for having blindspots. there is only one black political figure who escapes his withering scorn - Chief Buthelezi. He writes of him as a black liberal and. while trumpeting the importance of free speech and free association. he devotes not a line to the deplorable lack of these freedoms in KwaZulu.

While the ANC is torn apart as a totalitarian bully-boy. Inkatha is all pure and Buthelezi is a person the NP should strike a deal with. to hold off the ANC's revolutionary hordes.

Sanctions campaigns are. at course. "against South Africa". not against apartheid in South Africa. and will take 25 years from 1986 to be effective - and then at the cost of allowing Marxist revolutionaries to trample everything of value in South Africa underfoot.

0 "Apartheid will be truly dead" when the Population Registration Act goes. In 1987. the NP is seen as having "abandoned apartheid" and. by 1990, it's seen to be extolling "all the values and principles which liberals. in the main. have urged in this country (or so many years) and so on

HI WITNESS WITH A PROFOUND INTENSITY. BUT IS NOT RIGHT:

"Ken Owen's liberalism is off-fashion and maverick. and his conception of light is old-fashioned and hokey," says the author of this snide.

These are the writings of a conservative man. with few friends and with millions of Reds-under-the-bed enemies. many of whom are subject to invective of the most elaborate

type.

Take the case of Owen vs the Archbishop. There are 14 references to Desmond Tutu - divided between attacks on Tutu for supporting sanctions and attacks on Tutu for an apparently ambivalent attitude to violence.

Here are a few Owenisms:

.ttThe language of violence rolls so smoothly off his tongue. as though he savour: the words. Somehow he seems to be saying more than he says."

."That poor man. Archbishop Tutu. continues to proclaim a touching and childlike faith in sanctions; it he were more acute..."

I think it is time (or a few honest admissions. and a few honest conclusions. about sanctions. They did work. They were part of that package of pressures that broke the NP's will to be endlessly intransigent about the continuation of white minority domination.

On the sanctions issue. Ken Owen. among others. owes Desmond Tutu an apology.

Then take Van Zyl Slabbert When he left Parliament in 1986 he said South Africa had. by early 1986. become an "extra-parliamentary government and an extra-parliamentary opposition". and that he was wasting his time in Parliament under such circumstances. He had better things to do elsewhere

WEN WROTE of

that event thus: t1Dr Slabbert has now joined the extra-parliamentary forces who are understandably jubilant that. by throwing up his hands in despair, he has supported their claim that Parliament is powerless to change our society.

"He has delivered us to the totalitarianism of Left and Right his departure was sudden. a self-indulgent. politically Wenaible - and history will in time deliver its verdict." Well. history did deliver its verdict. and some of it was not lost on Owen

Three years and two months later. he said this about P W Botha's presidency: "He has set up a centralised bureaucratic state which. like Bismarck's Germany. reduced Parliament to a talking show and iocates power where it can be seized and wielded by any savage who may come along"

Nest. look at Owen's writings about the ANC. in particular about the Freedom Charter. . "The Freedom Charter. hall of it trite and hall of it socialist-inspired rubbish . . . Oi 'The Freedom Charter. contained within it clauses that were a blueprint for a communist state"

Ot 'The Freedom Charter says 'all the land' shall be redivided among the people. implying a redistribution of wealth on a scale to satisfy Lenin."

O "The Chartet says "there will be a committee of workers to run the gold mines' and 'the workers will take over and run the factories' i tl'he Freedom Charter contains no such clauses).

Compare this approach to that of the peasant (and Owen) agree is South Africa's finest intellectual lie. Charles Simkins. in his book like Prisoners of Tradition. he looks at the whole Freedom Charter and not just the clauses that inspire Owen's vitriol. He divides the substantive clauses of the Charter into the following groups

.Demands for equal political participation.

.Demands for civil liberties and due process.

Demands for free entry into the labour market and productive activities. and minimum wages and conditions at work.

Demands for basic needs. education. housing, health.

W .

.Demands for nationalisation (of banks and monopoly industry) and asset redistribution (in the case of land;

In Simkins's reading of the W Oam. he concludes that the first five groups of demands are unreluctantly compatible with the principles of justice: and adds that "the sixth demand - interestingly - accommodates the demands of Afrikaner nationalism".

Only the seventh group - property rights - "does not satisfy the principles of justice". but Simkins conclude:

"This does not imply property rights do not need change. but the argument about what these changes should be needs

W"

There is the difference between Simkins's liberalism and Owen's - Owen disagrees with

two clause in a long document.
dismisses others ("trite").
abuse the drafts: and builds
a massive poem against the
ANCuth'sh-huoo.
Probably one is asking too
much. What I ash from a book
is that the mom 0! reading
it should be rewarded with a
small increase in one's know-
ledge of our world. These
Times. insted. only broadens
one's m at one mania
though: - mil. cramped up,
mauve and prejudiced.
.The author is director of
the Hm Rid": Trust and
a member of the ANC. He
also eonm'butes 0 weekly col-
umn to the Eastern Province
Herold.

The suspect,
the policeman
and the pool
LIEUTENANT Henry
Beukes of the Sowe-
to Murder and Rob-
bery Unit was there
when Bethuel Maphu-
mulo died, and he has
an explanation for
what happened - but
the question is wheth-
er an inquest magis-
trate will believe it.
Maphumulo. a Soweto
man suspected of armed
robbery, heard that po-
lice were looking for
him and gave himself up
for questioning.
Two days later he was
dead. on the eve of a court
appearance at which his
lawyers intended applying
for bail. That was back in
December 1990. The one-
sided explanation at the
time was that Maphumulo
had drowned in the Pro-
tea police station swim-
ming pool after a fight
with a policeman.
Unattended
Post-mortem studies
conducted by State pathol-
ogist Dr Michelle Foster
and by Dr Jonathan
Gluckman, found that Ma-
phumulo had multiple in-
juries and that the hyoid
bone in his neck was bro-
ken,
For five days this week,
a Johannesburg court.
with magistrate C de
Lange presiding, has tried
to piece together what
happened,
This case has reso-
nances beyond the imme-
diate details at what hap-
pened.
THE Inquest held this week on the
death of an armed robbery suspect
in police custody carries a
significance far beyond that of the
death of one man, writes Chief
Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.
Was it drowning
or strangulation?
opened to Bethuel Maphu-
mulo. it is the first judi-
cial test of the claims and
counter-claims of Gluck-
man and Law and Order
Minister Hernus Kriel.
whose public row about
deaths in custody is far
from over.
Benita. who at the time
of the incident had spent
11 years in the force and

was a warrant-officer.
says Maphumulo was in
his charge at the Protea
police station after a
fruitless trip to Vanda in
search of a missing cash-
box. The phone rang in a
nearby office and Beukes
went to answer it. leaving
the prisoner unattended in
an unlocked room.
He says he heard a
noise and went to look.
Maphumulo. who was
handcuffed at the time.
had fled.
Beukes went in search
at the fugitive _ without
his gun - and noticed that
the gate to the station
swimming pool was open.
He knew the fugitive was
there - "Let's say It was
instinct", he told the court
- entered. and was at-
tacked by Maphumulo.
who leapt out from behind
the swimming pool filter.
thrust his manacled hands
over Beukes's head and
began squeezing his neck.
"A terrific struggle" en-
sued. said Beukes. a large.
fleshy man, He says he
told on top at Maphumulo
and that Maphumulo
somehow managed to get
on top of him.
Using his knees, Beukes
told the court. he then
managed to (tip Maphu-
mulo over his head and
into the pool. The hand-
cuffs, however. remained
clamped to his neck and
the momentum of Maphu-
mulo was sufficient to
hurl Beukes's 111 kg
frame head over heels
into the water - still face
to face with Maphumulo,
The two men. still
linked by the handcuffs.
tumbled in water "up to
neck-height". says Beukes.
At one point Maphumulo
forced his head under the
water - 'I thought I
would die". Beukes says.
Then he broke free,
throttled Maphumulo for
"15 to 20 seconds" and.
when the fugitive was still
"lull of life and lighting".
began landing punches on
him. One blow knocked
Maphumulo cold and he
tumbled face-first into the
water.
Beukes scrambled out.
then got back into the pool

to haul Maphumulo out e
"It was my human duty."
he said - and went to
Lieutenant Johan Radley.
his senior officer. for helps
However, Maphumulo
was already dead.
Beukes told his story in
vivid detail. The State
prosecutor. Francois
Roos. yesterday told the
court he did not believe a
word of it.
Selt-dotence
He said the story at Ma.
phumulo's escape was
"strange". and medical
evidence regarding his in-
juries was not consistent
with what Beukes had de-
scribed.
There was no question
about the policeman act-
ing in self-defence. Roos
said: the cause of death
was "manual strangula-
tion by Lieutenant
Beukes".
Denis Kuny. counsel for
the Maphumulo family.
described Beukes's story
WEIGHTY MATTERS: lieutenant Henry Beak
as "so ludicrous that it's
an insult to the intelli-
gence at this court".
Throughout the week he
had chipped away at the
official version. Could
Beukes explain why a
man who had given him-
self up and was to appear
in court should suddenly
ree? Beukea said he could
not. although in his state-
ment he said Maphumulo
had possibly fled "because
he had already incrimin-
ated himself".
Under cross-examina-
tion he conceded that the
deceased had not in fact
made a statement.
Kuny asked Beukes if
it was really believable
that he could have been
nipped into the water by
Maphumulots momentum
- "The whole 5 kilos?"
Beukes replied that "any-
thing can happen,
Kuny asked why he
made no mention of chok-
ing Maphumulo in his ac-
count of the fight in his
pocket book, but described
it in his affidavit. "I put it
to you that the only rea-
son you put choking in
was after you saw the
post-mortem report."
However. Beukes insisted

he had never seen the post-mortem report. Confronted with photographs of Maphumulo's injuries - which included eight fractured ribs - Beukes insisted that these must have happened in the light. The ribs, he said, could have been broken by a man at my weight" falling on Maphumulo. Some could have been the result of blows. others caused by tailing and fighting on rough ground. "It's strange, then. that you don't have any marks like that." Kuny said, Strungulatlon

Beukes's own injuries were then subjected to further scrutiny. Kuny pointed out that Radley, the tint man to see him, made no mention of injuries in his affidavit. "Why didn't you go to a private doctor and not to the district surgeon?" the magistrate asked. Because in Soweto, he is a black doctor, Beukes said. and I prefer a white doctor.

Kuny pointed out that while the affidavit from Beukes's doctor said he examined him at 11 am. Beukes's own pocket book recorded that he was in court at the time. Later. both Foster and Gluckman testified that the mark on Beukes's neck which was allegedly caused by Maphumulo's handcuffs could not have been caused like that. notwithstanding the fact that police say one of the policeman's hairs was found

as (right) and Captain Johan Radley (left) leave the West Magistrate's Court. With them is Neville Thorns, hood of the Soweto Murder and Robbery Unit, which is under scrutiny in the Maphumulo inquest. 0 Photographs: STEVE HILLTON-DAIBE

in the linking chain. The momentum of both men flying into the pack. Foster said, would certainly have injured Beukes's neck and could have broken it. had that indeed happened.

Etienne du Toit, counsel for the police, was highly critical of the pathologists' reports. During cross-examination he highlighted differences between what each of them had found

Gluckman, for instance.
recorded that six ribs
were broken on one side.
whence Pater described
them as on the other. Foe-
ter observed haemorrhag-
ing in the eyes - which
Du Toit argued was one of
the classic signs of death
due to lack of air
whereas Gluckman
did not see this. v
Du Toit said that both
pathologists, 3
manual strangulation -
the cause of death, neither - '
had ruled out "dry as-
phyxiation" - neurogenic
circulatory failure.
there were any other
possible explanations
Maphumulo's death
Beukes should have enquired
into the benefit of the doctor.
He argued further that if
Beukes were to find out
that he had caused Maphumulo's
death, this was to settle -

Nats must admit mistakes, says Carlisle

DAWIE DE VILLIERS:

Conceded that SATS
audits were unsatisfactory.

CAPE TOWN - The
Government should
admit its mistakes and
make its Ministers publicly accountable, Robin
Carlisle (DP Wynberg)
said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the first
reading debate on the
Transport Services Un-
appropriated Expenditure Bill, he said the
Government had made
the poorest attempt yet
to justify the mismanagement of the South
African Transport Services.

The financial statement of the SATS had
been received six
months late, was inaccurate to the tune of
R487 million when received, and fixed assets
could not be verified to the satisfaction of the
auditors.

"The fixed assets of
SATS at the time were
R4 billion, but there was
no asset register. This
amounted to atrocious management."

The Government had
also had no idea how the
R40 million in the expense account had been
used.

"They should have
known that someone was
stealing the cash. With
6million people unemployed, 7 million inadequately housed how
can you justify this sort of thing?"

Carlisle said that instead of the Minister
being made accountable,
he had been moved from
one department to another. Who knew what
inaccuracies or absent-minded mismanagement
was going on in his current department?

Replying, Minister of
Public Enterprises Dr
Dawie de Villiers conceded that the audits
and financial reporting
of the SATS had been no.
satisfactory.

He said Transn'et

management had adjustv
ed the system so that a
team of external audi.
tors now audited com-
pany books and issued fi-
nancial reports. 2

uWhat is important is
that steps are being
taken to put things
right." - Sapa. -,

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,_.._

P w BOTHA Faces

charge of assault;

PORT ELIZABETH - P w

Botha's ex-gardener has laid a charge of assault against the former State President and his bodyguard, the George police confirmed yesterday.

The assault charge stems from an allegation by the gardener, Jan Louw, that Botha slapped him on Monday, February 8 because Louw had been drinking the previous day, his day off.

Colonel Johan Claassen of the George police confirmed that a charge of assault had been laid against Botha and his bodyguard, SHADLEY NASH

Major Fanie Botes.

Claassen said the investigation had been completed and that the docket would be forwarded to the Attorney-General in Cape Town for a decision.

The alleged assault took place on Botha's Wilderness smallholding, 8011 de Gloria. Louw was quoted after the incident as saying Botha had arrived at his home on the Monday and told him to remove his spectacles.

PW's slapish gardener lays charge
He then ordered Louw's three children to go and play. and allegedly slapped Louw four times in the face.

Botha reportedly told Louw's wife Deiena to remove the family's clothing from the washing line "because he was giving us just three hours to leave the property".

Louw had worked for six years as a gardener for Botha, who refused to confirm or deny Louw's claims but reportedly said he believed people were trying to go at him through Louw.- PEN

The moment of birth is the
moment of greatest

'Yf/

mind. Out of the intense debate and mind-
work of many since February 2 1990, the
"new" South Africa will be born. However, the pro-
cess of birth is also the moment of greatest danger,
requiring foresight as to what should be preserved.
One input to the debate on this important facet of
our national household was the release earlier this
week of an ANC, Cosatu and SA National Civic Or-
ganisation-commissioned report titled 'Towards a
Science and Technology Policy for a Democratic
South Africa' by the International Development
Research Centre. Errors and omissions will be fol-
lowed up. However, the release was accompanied
by criticism of the Government for a "policy vacu-
um at the highest levels".

I was asked to take over the chairmanship of a
reconstituted Scientific Advisory Council (SAC) in
July 1991. It was my conviction that the science
system could be improved and a precondition of
my acceptance was that the SAC could initiate in-
vestigation on matters regarding science policy.
On February 2 1987 important science policy
changes were announced. These were in agreement
with the Government's declared commitment to
the largest possible measure of devolution of deci-
sion-making. The science councils (SCs) # CSIR,
HSRC, Mintek, Medical Research Council and
SABS, and later the Foundation for Research De-
velopment (FRD) and the Agricultural Research
Council _ were granted greater autonomy within
prescribed guidelines for public accountability. so-
called framework autonomy. The responsibility for
research within Government departments was
placed with those departments. The Government's
contribution to the activities of the SCs was based
on the advice of the greatest scientists, Louis Pas-
teur, said that chance favours the prepared
on those activities which should be funded by pub-
lic funds. so-called baseline funding. The SAC,
which acted as a mouthpiece for the broad scient-
ific community, relinquished this task to umbrella
professional institutions and interest groups.
The objectives of framework autonomy was to
decrease the SCs' dependence on direct State sub-
vention, to enhance orientation towards local needs
and encourage the rendering of services on a con-
tract basis to private and Government sectors.
The State's baseline funding was not maintained
in real terms and contract income for research
from State departments declined dramatically,
leading to staff losses of one in five in some SCs.
The system of framework autonomy provides
for a periodic fundamental evaluation. Such a revi-
sion is now under way.

In stressing the strengths of the science sys-
tem and the impact of framework autonomy, one
could highlight:
O A well-established infrastructure for the practice

of science, including internationally recognised training facilities at tertiary level.

0 The freeing of research institutions from bureaucratic control and interference. 1

.Enhanced flexibility for the SOS to adapt to a fast-changing world of science.

.The SCs' capability to address a broad spectrum of demands: from high technology to problems of developing communities. For example, the CSIR conducts thousands of contracts annually for clients in South Africa as well as millions of rands worth of contracts with 16 African countries on 47 projects in the fields of infrastructure, environment, developing communities, agribusiness and energy. The CSIR performs about 10 percent of all R&D conducted on the African continent.

0 The operation of \$05 under the guidance of strong council leadership and financial control.

.The science vote being part of the forward budget planning.

danger

This list is not exhaustive. The South African research and development expenditure constitutes approximately half of Africa's research and development. It is a great national asset.

The SAC is widely criticised. However, it received many inputs regarding its future functioning in holistic planning, together with multi-year R&D expenditure planning. This is receiving attention. In addition, the need for an annual/bi-annual review to Parliament on the state of science on a national basis is being investigated. As a first step, organisation of Government's R&D infrastructure and spending was determined, bringing possible reorganisational issues to the fore.

Many further issues are currently under investigation. Five studies were commissioned, namely, the methods for determining strategic priorities in science (FRD); an audit on the science policy and system (CSIR); a funding approach for incorporating priorities in budget allocations (FED); a follow-up review on SA's expenditure on R&D in 1991/92 (FRD/HSRC); a study of science systems in centrally/regionally administered economies (HSRC).

Inputs were made to the Cabinet on science and engineering manpower trends and the Government's shrinking contribution to R&D expenditure. The outcome will be reflected in the science vote for 1993/94. Other issues concern the balance between big and small science; the balance between SCs' own R&D and those of universities, technikons and museums; unfair competition with the private sector, and the appropriate funding level for the new entrant, the Agricultural Research Council.

Two issues need attention: maintaining the existing science system with accommodation of new inputs, and developing a science (and technology) policy for the new SA. In the spirit of the possible emergence of a government of national unity, this should be a joint endeavour of all role-players. Indeed, scientific capability at the disposal of the future government emerges from decades of dedication and will present a powerful force in its armour for positive change throughout the subcontinent.

OShaun Johnson is overseas. Undercurrent Affairs will resume on March 20.

PIETERMARITZ-

BURG. The 101

sacked Pietermaritzburg prison warders should submit written representations to Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok within 30 days of their dismissal for him to reconsider their cases, the Department of Correctional Services said yesterday.

This information had been conveyed to a delegation of the African National Congress Natal region by Correctional Services regional commissioner Major-General J Griessel at a meeting in Pietermaritzburg yesterday, the department said in a statement.

Gen Griessel had also informed the delegation that Mr Vlok was prepared to meet Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala.

Issues beyond Gen Griessel's authority, raised at the previous meeting between the two parties, would be channelled to the higher authorities".

Gen Griessel had explained to the ANC delegation that Mr Vlok did not have the authority to simply arbitrarily reverse Pietermaritzburg prison commander Colonel I de Kierk's decision to dismiss the warders.

He said the only way in which the Minister can apply his mind and reconsider the merit of the dismissal of each of the 101 former members is for them to make representations to him as soon as possible, within 30 days from date of dismissal."

Gen Griessel also said warders must ask Vlok to reconsider cases appealed to the ANC delegation to influence the warders absent from duty to return to work to prevent them from jeopardising their careers any further.

Correctional Services spokesman Colonel Barry Eksteen said 259 prison wardens were still striking and 27 prisoners were still

on hunger strike yesterday.

This was the position despite South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights official Golden Miles Bhudu's announcement on Thursday that the hunger strike had been suspended. -

Sapa

AA WV)

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IN an angry attack which is likely to create new tensions within the ANC, Winnie Mandela today lashes out at "elitist cabals" which she says are plotting to oust her estranged husband Nelson Mandela;

In an article written exclusively for the Sunday Star, Mrs Mandela claims that two secret documents reveal the cabals' objectives are to replace Nelson Mandela with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa; to infiltrate the organisation's negotiating teams; and if it suits its purposes, to keep the National Party in power even if the ANC wins an election. , 24 '

Angry Winnie Mandela lashes out for the first time about secret cabals within the ANC's ranks. Ignoring doctor's orders, Nelson Mandela turned up at the ANC's solidarity conference at Nasrec yesterday looking anything but exhausted. But he managed to restrain himself from using the pair of boxing gloves given him by Riddick Bowe to spar a few rounds with the world champ.

Page 2 PICTURE: coun DAVIS
guay gfai 14(71 43

WHEELING AND DEALING reaches fever pitch as Nats and
The key to power

I So what's GNU? A Union

Government was negotiated at the
beginning of the century. A

Government of National Unity (GNU)

will take over before the end. That is

the broad outline - the details still

have to be worked out.

THERE are more than just semantics in the cur-

rent debate over the ANC's proposed Govern-

ment of National Unity versus the Nats' power-

sharing plan. There are real issues at stake.

The name itself is of little importance - the

Nats are quite happy with the name ttGovern-

ment of 'National Unity'.

The addition of the words "and Recon-

struction" is line too -- especially if it avoids

the droll abbreviation of ttGNU" meaning

"wildebeest" _- not that 'IGNUR" is much

better.

in a nutshell. the gap between the ANC and

Nats has now narrowed to the point where they

have decided the shape of the GNU What still

has to be decided is whether the Nats will have

any real power in it.

Firstly there are differences over the presi-

dency.

The Nats have dropped their old plan of a

presidential troika. They accept that the major-

ity party # in other words the ANC - will

choose the State President. who will no doubt

be Nelson Mandela - health permitting.

But the Nats want the new President to have

drastically reduced powers compared to the

existing State President. whose powers in terms

of the tricameral constitution are extraordi-

nary.

The ANC smells a rat here and suspects the

Nats merely want to relegate Mandela to a

toothless figurehead whose prestige will give

legitimacy to the Government without having

much actual power.

Then there is the question of the Cabinet.

Generous to minorities

It is common cause that the Cabinet will be

composed in proportion to the number of votes

1 each party receives. On the surface the ANC is

even more generous to minorities than the Nats:

the ANC accepts a threshold of 5 percent

while the Nats talk of?) or 10 percent.

inevitably this will result in an ANC majority

in the Cabinet. with a significant Nat minority

and perhaps one or two others.

The Nats have resigned themselves to minori-

ty status in the Cabinet while the Inkatha

Freedom Party is far less interested in having

one or two Cabinet seats than in keeping a

regional power base in KwaZulu/Natal.

The key difference between the ANC and

Nats lies in how the Cabinet will take decisions.

Traditionally. Cabinets work on the basis of

consensus - in other words unanimity. If a

Minister does not like a decision he can shut up

or get out. All Ministers have co-responsibility

to Cabinet decisions.

But in a multiparty Cabinet this time-hon-

oured formula would be unworkable. as it

would allow a minority to veto every Cabinet

decision. The Nats accept that pure consensus

in such a Cabinet is not on.

What the Nats want is a Cabinet that operates
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on the basis of consensus only in determining
broad directions such as economic policy and
security matters. while normal day-to-day is-
sues could be decided on a majority basis.
in effect this would enable the Nats to direct
economic and security policy, perhaps the two
most vital issues facing the country.
The ANC on the other hand accepts that a
simple majority would amount to domination:
few doubt the ANC would win a majority in an
election.

Instead the ANC opts for the interim Cabinet
Operating on the basis of a two-thirds majority
in cases where parties disagree.

DAVip

Breier

POLITICAL

CORRESPONDENT

This is a gamble. as the ANC cannot rely on
obtaining a two-thirds majority in an election
and therefore in the Cabinet. which is why SA
Communist Party leader Chris Hani wants to
mobilise support for a 70percent majority to
ensure comfortable Cabinet control for the
ANC/SACP alliance.

However. this in turn would be a gamble for
the Nats. If the Nats win more than a third of the
votes. they are in the pound seats. If the
ANC/SACP alliance wins two-thirds or more at
the polls, they render the Nats totally powerless
in the Cabinet. The NP would merely have a
token presence.

And since F W de Klerk is not a gambling
man, the Nats are going to kick and scream be-
fore they accept a twtrthirds formula.

When it comes to the lifespan of the GNU (or
GNUR), the differences are less significant.

W

Both sides believe a new constitution will be
negotiated by the interim Parliament. which
will also act as a constitution-making body.
They both believe that this new constitution
could be phased-in in stages after it is adopted.
The Nats want the GNU to last five years.
from the first elections next year to the second
elections in terms of a new constitution.
The time it takes for the constitution to be
negotiated would therefore be insignificant
provided it is less than five years. say the Nats.
But they concede that if it takes less than five
years, a Government of National Unity can
shorten this period slightly -- or even extend it.
The ANC has accepted a "hallparkll figure of
five years as well. but lays more emphasis on
the GNU. alter the adoption of a new consti-
tution. having the option of shortening its life-
span.

Hani blows hot and cold on the issue. This
week he said the GNU should last until the
adoption of a new constitution atter about nine
months, when there should be another election
in terms of the new constitution.

But later Hani softened this by saying the
GNU could decide. after the adoption of a new
constitution. how long it should last. This is
close to the orthodox ANC view.

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lotfunmldlnohlikeinSouulAn-iu'Im-It
nonndul eledion- with l hIming list of
Ml
hon. r
Nwtrybr-dinmmmitenuorml
polllmhoothhedueueninihhleelem'on
ondutelhmtuetenmonbeummou-
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w/lg/M/ 571/ ,7//3/V77
the ANC manoeuvre for position before the birth of a new government
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The voting procedure harm by
political Men is likely to be close to that
used in last year's white referendum. when
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Project Vote was claimed after Fred
Hamlin. of the US polling om Peter Hart
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'THE battle (6!! ihoihkru
and minds of the talcuredy
community has brought
simmering,dee seated dl-
visions over Cstretegy
in the Western Cape blit'
into the ope h.
At the heart of the rob-
lem is the failure so au- of
.the ANC to win i vital
coloured. support and a
realisation that, unless
something is done to recti-
fy the problem, , the
National Party is likely to
capture the majority vote
in the region in an election.
Over the past few weeks
there have been behind-
the- scenes discussions.
among coloured ANC ac-
tivists; some of whom.
. proposing the formation
a new coloured organisa-
tion to mobilise support
within the community.
Revival ,
Strategies that have
'veen discussed informally
within some ANC circles
include the revival of the
Coloured Peoples Congress
(CPC) or else uentering and
transforming" the Labour
C d ,. 9" 'dmd 'flight
:Wlm
.:r 'u i,-.
for the colour
(1 vote
' Party which was previous-
-ly regarded as a "paria ah"
because of its involvement
in the tricameral system.
-So sensitive is the issue
fthat although the matter ll.
being widely discussed in
the Western Cape. none of
the peop ple involved are
' willing to go on the record.
The8 debate comes short- ,
ly after the Western Cape
ANC managed to persuade
its chairman, Dr Allan
Boesak, not to resign from
the organisation and return
to the church.
Dr Boeeak is seen as cru.
cial to any attempt by the
_____-. ANC to win coloured sup-
port.
Conservative
! Proponents of the CPC
' idea say such an organisa-
tion would provide "a less
threatening" political
home for coloureds, but
would he an alliance part-
ner of the ANC.
"We are dealing with a
relatively conservative

community which is concerned about African domination under an ANC
W8

AQLAN BOESAK

goveminent," said a Cape Flats activist.

But critics of the idea say moves to revive the CPC are motivated 1055 by political necessity than by "persona! grudges and ambition"

The ANtE's regional secretary im-the Western Cape. Mr Willie Hofmeyr, said the organisation was "puzzled as in why some of our activists seem to feel this debate should take place thrpugh the press and not throng h the structures to which they have access". a

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THE ANGRY OLD MAN

CARMEL RICHARD talks to Harry Gwala, the ANC Natal Midlands leader who opposes an interim government of national unity

HE MAKE no bones about it: 'I am very angry.' says Hurry Gwelu.

Sitting at a conference table in one corner of his large, meticulously tidy office, the Natal Midlands chairman of the ANC speaks so quietly, calmly, with such economy of passion, that he might be describing someone else.

"Yes, I am angry." He repeats. "Every day I meet people badly wounded. I see acts of cruelty I cannot believe. I have seen bodies burnt into blocks of charcoal. When you see such wounds and misery you become extremely angry. You read about the atrocities of the Nazi camps, but I never thought I would see it in real life."

Not that Mr Gwala could be called squeamish. We speak of Stalin and the Stalinist label often used of him.

"I find people usually resort to labels when they do not know how to counter my arguments. I have been called a Trotskyite, a maniac and now I Stalinist. I am not a pious man. I am: very realistic in my approach.

There were people in the Soviet Union who deserved to die, but there were also many who should not have died. Just like South Africa. Many people here should not have died. But others deserve to die - people who kill innocents."

Mr Gwala differs strongly from the ANC about the death penalty. His organisation wants to scrap it; he clings to this ultimate weapon.

He also Men with the ANC on two other ' ' t issue: on details of the proposed government of national unity as well as: on a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The national executive committee of the ANC this week agreed it would participate in a government of national unity consisting of representatives from parties which poll above a certain percentage of votes. Gwala calls this a mistake. His Midlands region pushed a scheme to invite parties vachmofnsimihrmind"ijMthe ANC in a coalition.

_ Inviting possibly hostile parties merely 61

on the basis of support courts disaster it they fundamentally disagree with the ANC policies and approach to government.

"There will be problem: all the time and no progress."

However, the Gwala line was roundly defeated in the NEC and he concedes defeat - he will back the decision.

Does he feel similarly bound by the organisation's decision to go ahead with a one-on-one Buthelezi-Mandela meeting?

He bridle: and his voice takes on a new edge. "It is a matter of life and death. I am totally opposed to such a meeting. Nothing will drag me into it."

He compares himself to a soldier. "If an

order is reput to the moral: and good
order of society, you have a right to refuse
to carry it out."

The ANC in northern Natal backs his
refusal. So does the Youth League in all
three Natal regions, although southern
Natal has agreed that preparations for the
talks should go ahead.

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The big; est challenge facing the region
is the "escalating and deliberate violence" ,
the solution lies in the hands of the national
peace committee and a multiparty confer-
ence, not a one-on-one meeting. That route
has been tried before audit failed.

Mr Gwala, a high school teacher and
trade unionist before he was detained,
charged, jailed. banned and eventually sen-
tenced to life imprisonment, has captured
the ear of the comrades. "We experience
the same problems. In our attempts to find
a solution we seem to think alike. Like the
comrades, I say that while we must encour-
age peace efforts we must still increase the
capacity of the people to defend them-
selves."

There are qualifications: comrades who
attach members of the IF? without provo-
cation "deserve to be expelled from the
ANC". No one should attack members of
the IFP going peacefully about their busi-
ness. "I here is nothing wrong with being an
IF? member. Just because the ANC is the
best organisation doesn't mean everyone
has to join up."

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ByS'BU MNGADI . ANC backs

THE ANC's national executive committee, the organisation's down to earth as Hart's, most powerful decision-making body, this week tried to sideline outspoken Natal ANC leader Othello Moseki to Cillit Harry Gwala. t

HOWEVER. Gwala refused to conference to review the negotiations budget. Instead, he offered to resign strategy. Gwala was supported by the from the NEC and retain the chair- northern Natal ANC region - led by Dr manship of his militant Natal Mid- Aaron Ndlovu. southern Natal Cosatu lands region- an offer which forced and the ANC Youth League from all the ANC to back down. three Natal regions. Central to the NEC's surprise move At the NEC meeting on Tuesday, was an open revolt - led by the Natal Mandela put up the matter of Gwala's- Midlands region - against the power- unconstitutional" positions for discussion- sharing pact between the ANC and the SiOn.

SA government and the planned summit reiterated my regions position mit meeting of ANC president Nelson that if it came to a push I should resign Mandela and Inkatha president Mthembu- from the NEC and retain the regional suthu Buthelezi. chairmanship," the ANC leader said.

Senior ANC sources told City Press The NEC did not accept Gwala's most NEC members were "too scared offer to resign. The NEC then decided to touch Gwala? for fear of earning his that. because of two interpretations of and other militants' wrath, - 30 Man- the contentious clause in the constitution- dela took on Gwala, invoking a clause in the constitution and because the matter was not the ANC constitution which effectively urgent, the matter should be left over precluded the Natal leader from being for further informal discussion," said regional chairman because he had been Gwala.

directly elected to the NEC in 1991. On Thursday the ANC announced "The region executive felt that because of the three-day NEC meeting had because of special circumstances in the dposed the interim government of area; they preferred me to retain both national unity for up to five years after 1993- They added, if it came to a_ the country's First non-racial elections - push, I should resign from the NEC, a move which paved the way for a 9fdef to DOMO date the ANC strength, planning conference for the resumption "1 the war-ravaged region." 72-year-old of multilateral constitutional talks. Gwala said in an interview this week. Yesterday Gwala softened his stance On Monday, Gwala lashed out at the and reluctantly supported the plan. ANC moderates. ult's the most practical in the circumstances, " he said.

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Kaunelel urges ANC: 'Keep on ldlking'

ByMOSES MAMAILA

FORMER Zambian

President Kenneth

Kaunda has called on the ANC to ignore criticisms and :continue with talks for a' peaceful resolution of SAis political prob-

lems. Speaking at Nasrec during the lntemational Solidarity Conference at the i weekend, Kaunda said; i'You may be ac-cused of selling out by people on the left or righty, whatever that means. but you must prws ahead with the negotiations.

"If we do not follow the ANC leadership. we are heading for another So-malia. We will have 20 Somalias in one," he warned.

"You are on the right course." he encouraged the ANC, which organ-C217

ised the conference. The trans-continental gathering was the true re-fection of the saying that "blood that unites us is thicker than water that divides us" said Rev Wy-att Tee Walker of the New York-based Black Coalition.

Walker, who cam-paigned against racism alongside Martin Luther King Jr., was one of the

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147

many speakers. f s'

The gathering was at-tended by more than 400 delegates from various governments and non-government movements throughout the world.

ANC national chair-man Oliver Tambo spoke on behalf of ANC presi-dent Nelson Mandela who was told by doctors to take leave. Tambo thanked "progressive"

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governments and other organisations for their steadfast stand against apartheid.

Tambo noted that had it not been for countries

such as Zambia. under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda. the struggle for democracy in SA would not be where it was.

"To those participants who have come from outside South Africa, we say we are here today because your actions have brought the system of apartheid to its knees.

"It is not the visas you were issued which enabled you to enter the country, it is your steadfast opposition to racism and domination which opened the gates at the frontiers so that you who stand for justice could be here today."

lGo home,'
Zambia IeIISi
SA exiles
By MOSES MAMMU
CONTROVERSY sur-
rounds the "refusal to go
home" of about 200
ANC exiles who face de-
portation by the Zam-
bian government after
being stripped of their
refugee status.
Lusaka maintains that
the ANC exiles refused
to be repatriated because
they left their country
after committing "filthy"
crimes.
Targeted
However. the stranded
refugees claim they
feared returning to SA
because of the senseless
violence.
But ANC spokesman
Carl Niehaus rejected
claims that the exiles
were afraid to face crimi-
nal charges once they re-
turned, saying that ANC
ANC says the 200
have legitimate
reasons for
refusing to leave
members in Zambia were
there for legitimate rea-
sons.
About 700 South Afri-
cans. some of whom are
ANC cadres. were de-
clared illegal immigrants
by the Zambian govern-
ment in January this year
after failing to comply
with the December 31
deadline set by the
UNHCR for voluntary
repatriation.
The immigrants ar-
gued they feared f or their
lives as political violence
in the country was on the
increase with returnees
being targeted by face-
less killers.
Among other problems
the returnees encoun-
tered were the lack of
financial resources and
failing to trace their fam-
ilies.
However, Zambian
Home Affairs Minister
Newstead Zimba said
the remaining SA exiles
would be repatriated by
the UNHCR.
He said he was not im-
pressed by the reasons
given by the refugees.
"Some of these guys

have been involved in criminal activities. Why should the Zambian government give them a high profile and latitude when some of them are involved in filthy activities" Zimba was quoted as saying. -

Prosecution

Asked if the exiles would be prosecuted if they return to SA, Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said that if they had not been granted indemnity for specific crimes, they would be brought to justice.

"Indemnity is granted for crimes that are considered to be politically motivated," he added.

SACP in-
Sunday
Times
letter
riddle
Sunday Times Reporter
THE SA Communist Party;
has intercepted a private.
letter from the Sunday'
Times to its correspondent;
in Moscow requesting that
he research the history of
the SACP's relationship.
with the Soviet Communist
Party. It is not known whe-
ther the letter was inter-
cepted in South Africa or in
Moscow.

An SACP spokesman
confirmed this week that
the party had a copy of a
letter which deputy editor
Brian Pottinger faxed to.
Izvestia correspondent Bo-
ris Piliatskin in Moscow in
March last year, request-
ing him to search the newly
opened KGB archives for
information.

He was also requested to
verify reports on links be-
tween the Kremlin and
possibly still underground
members of the SACP in
South Africa.

Furious
Material from the ar-
chives was later used in a
series of articles by Piliatsi
kin in the Sunday Times -
including the first full re-
ports of the execution of
dissident SA communists
by Stalin in the 1930s. t
It is not known how the
private letter fell into the
hands of the SACP. '
Piliatskin said this week
he is furious.

"The SACP is full of_
KGB members. They adt
like the KGB " he said, al-
though insisting that thb
correspondence could not
have been leaked from
Moscow.

He did not believe that
old guard communists had
lifted the letter and fed it
to SA communists.

SACP spokesman Essop
Pahad yesterday con-
firmed the party had the
letter, but declined to com-
ment.

N C acts to help
21 , _ petrol station
owner fi

_.-uuu It'-

WALTER SISULU

THE ANC is taking up the cudgels
on behalf of a Natal pbusinessman
who was forced to close his petrel
station after Trek turned off his
pumps this week.

Moosa Desai of Richmond claims he
is prevented from receiving fuel sup-
plies from a competitive oil company
because it is prohibited in terms of the
Rationalisation Plan (Ratplan), an un-
signed agreement between government,
the Motor Industries Federation and the
oil companies to regulate the number of
petrol stations allowed each oil com-
an

p Seziar ANC executive Walter Sisulu made:
representations to Trek's parent Eugen on
behalf of Mr Desai. . . .- . . . ,
Other senior ANC officials are taking a
direct personal interest in the matter, a de-
velopment which could increase pressure on
??Mi/JW' 745446S 44 Z (Z:

ght Trek

By Gilli"! RYAN

oil company to deregulate the indus-
"I am a small businessman who has
been forced to close down. not because I wasn't
making a profit and couldn't pay my bills.
but because Trek needed my quota to open a
larger petrol station elsewhere in the coun-
try," says Ml- Daai. "I want to carry on
selling petrol in Richmond. but I am prevent-
ed from doing so by the Ratplan."
t-This is the second time station Mr Desai
has been forced to close by Trek. The first
was in Glencoe, Natal, two years ago.
The reason given by Trek for terminating
Mr Desai's 5 Richmond contract was the pres-
ence of four petrol stations within 800m of his
premises:

"This is nonsense" says M: Desai. "The
more stations in an area the more viable it is
for them to supply fuel. A tanker comes once
a week and delivers fuel. and it doesn't mat-
ter if there are two. three or
four stations.

"After all, they make their
money by selling fuel."

Con Uys. general manager
in charge of retail at Eugen.
re lies: "The reason Trek de-
cided to terminate Mr De-
sai's contract was that the
site had not proven to be eco- n-
omically viable.

"M: Desai then chose to
argue his case in court. His
case was subsequently dis-
missed with costs and his ap-
plication for appeal turned
down."

When Trek informed Mr
Dani that they would stop
supplying him with fuel he
attempted to secure supplies
from another oil company,

but according to Mr
iTrek stoppedg the deal from
going ahead.

"Thisf is denied by Trek
which say 3 he is free to ap-
proach any other oil supp lier.

"This is not true." claims
Mr Desai. "Trek approached
the competitor and stopped
them from supplying me.'

:2 The Ratp lan carries the
fum'e of law yet it remains
unsigned to circumvent US
anti-trust legislation.

Controlled

Mr Desai says his next
course of action is to inform
all parents of foreign-owned
oil companies that they are
violating anti-trust laws by
upholding the Rat lan.

The growth in e number
of petrol station outlets is
controlled under the . In
order to increase yiumo
sallie:d oil Icomm are
ob mg to 1: one out-
Nth umm

parts of e country to make
way for bigger ones

"This system is unjust"

says M: Desai. "It is forcing
small entrepreneius out of
business."

Mr Daai's attorney says
the Rptplan may contravene
certain of the constitu-
tion an be is investigating
what further action to take.

Trek also claims that the
cost of upgrading Mr Desai' s
premises does not justify
continuing supplies They say
the garage poses a potential
safet hazard This is denied
by Mai.

Mr D631 attempted to
force Trek to supply him with
mehbutlasthiscaseinthe

Durban Supreme Court last
sweekpin which he claimed he
had eeentract obliging Trek
to supply fuel. The court
found that there was no such
contract.

Pressure

A Trek represent
claimed the company haadt l11?:
signed Mr Desai s agreement
and had then torn it up to
save storage space.

worthless i! I cannot sell pet-
; roi "

PTSSure tor the der
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buil ng The I industry 15
deregulation of the industry

ANC plumps
for end of
sanctions

- in weeks

i By CHARLENE SMITH

FACED with a collapsing
economy, the ANC yester-
day proposed a deal that
could mean the end of in-
ternational trade and
financial sanctions against-
removal strategy coupled
with pro-investment
moves was not followed. .

The ANC is keen that
World Bank should
come into the country as
soon as possible. A confer-
ence in Johannesburg to
lift sanctions once a date
had been set for non-racial
elections and agreement
reached with the seven-
member on certain measures
leading to joint rule.

All this could be
achieved within weeks.
iReconvened multi-party
talks early next month
will most likely dispose of
the remaining hurdles -
setting up a transitional
joint executive, the crea-
tion of independent elec-
toral and media commis-
sions. and the introduction.
of 3 Transition To Democ-
racy Act.

The ANC put the pro-
posal before about 500
guests from five conti-
nents, many of them key
anti-apartheid activists.
iattending the Inter-
national Solidarity Confer-
ence near Johannesburg.
- The oil and arms em-
bargo will remain in place
until a democratic govern-
ment has been elected.

Resolved

.. The ANC said that. once
the preconditions had been
met, sanctions affecting
diplomatic relations, gold
reserves, trade and trade
credits, new investment,
loans and other financial
sanctions should be immedi-
ately lifted.

: It also recommended
that no representative of
the present government be
granted accreditation by
any international organi-
sation. "This can be re-
solved once an interim

fgovernment of national
'unity is atablished."
. The ANC is concerned
:that foreign supporters
.should ensure that, once
:sanctions go. there is a
-concerted campaign to lift
;sanctions at city, state and
:national level in their re-
.spective countries.
It does not want SA to
. be" in the position of Nami-
bia which. nearly three
yeau after independence
still has sanctions operat-
ing against it in many
Icitiee and states, particu-
larly in the US, because an
effective sanctions-re-
L opment
contribute toward this
The World Bank will
participate in a conferr
ence in Johannesburg
sponsored by the SA
Foreign Trade Organisa-
tion and the SA Institute of
Civil Engineeexs to advise
contractors on how to
compete tor World Bank t
projects on this continent i
Africaaisamajor recipi-
ent of the R50- billion
awarded by the World
Bank each year for devel-
Opportunity
International Monetary
Fund assistance will not
.be forthcoming until a
democratic government is
in place after multi-party
elections.
However, the ANC be
lievee that the removal of
sanctions soon will give
busineumen and the IMF
the opportunity to begin
studying options for the
rapid implementation of
development projects to
contribute toward ending
violence by providing
work and opportunity.
These steps come after
weeks of the ANC studying
the impact of continued
sanctions on the economy.
coupled with its concern
about a national unem-
ployment figure of 48 per-
cent and as high as 80 per-
cent in some townships.
(7L/ML)//W/ f/l/lbcg I y/Z/Q

IANC decides sanctions can go

I Let's build: The ANC's
announcement that

sanctions are to be lifted
sets the scene for a
programme of national
reconstruction.

Bv Iona Macummi

SANCTIONS are to go and the way
can be open for business as usual for
the country within weeks, after fac-
ing decades of punitive anti-apart-
heid measures worldwide.

The ANC yesterday disclosed that
it has decided sanctions must be lift-
ed on all but oil and arms _ and
they will go later, as soon as the
Government acts on agreements at
the coming multipai-ty talks.

It has taken the decision because
the new government must turn
around the economy soon to satisfy
the expectations of the have-nots,
and it believes the transition process
is now well nigh irreversible.

Now the scene is set for a spec-
tacular international campaign to
harness the energy of the anti-apart-
heid lobby to a programme of na-
tional reconstruction.

The ANC yesterday chose the
venue of its solidarity conference in
Johannesburg, attended by some 500
veteran anti apartheid activists
from around the world, to send out
the new signal- Help us build.

The move comes as a challenge to
all parties at negotiations to move
quickly to interim government and
to help end violence, probably the
main deterrent to investment.

It also brings pressure to bear on
the International Monetary Fund
and the World Bank to open world
gm/gz/ (/00 // 723

money sluim and allow much need-
ed investment here.

The decision on sanctions is tied
to the announcement of an election
date, the passing of a Transition to
Democracy Act, setting up of a
Transitional Executive Council as
well as independent electoral and
media missions. If pending talks are
successful this could be done in a
matter of weeks.

Another highlight of the confer-
ence was a message from Nelson
Mandela, offering a hand of recon-
ciliation to the "oppressors". a mov- _
ing and extraordinary gesture.
Mandelais message was delivered
on his behalf because he is recover.
ing from exhaustion.

It will do much to quell the fears
of many about the new tomorrow
and I predict it will aid the ANC's
chances if it becomes part of their
election rhetoric. Without going over
the top, it is the sort of thing that
makes the history books.

He said it was the ANC's duty to break with the past and start transforming SA into a non-racial country: "to liberate the oppressors from fear of democracy and the future, from guilt, driven by fear of retribution, and dissuade them from the foolhardy temptation to seek ephemeral security by imprisoning themselves' in an armed laager". He said it was the ANC's job, as the biggest political force, to address national reconciliation and national unity and nation building. a 4,3: i What we can certainly not lie black racists who turn their back the philosophy which has inspired the ANC since its birth." To do so would be a betrayal of all the people of this country as well as those all over the world who fought to end apartheid.

Brien Stuln

THE Inkatha Freedom

Party is set to return to constitutional negotiations and multi-party talks appear to be back on track after an apparently successful i three-day IFP-government bilateral meeting in Richards Bay.

IFP negotiator and Central Committee member, Walter Felgate, said after the talks yesterday that differean his pany had with the government could be taken to negotiations.

The IFP was ready to attend a multi-party planning conference which had been postponed to March 5 at Inkatha's request.

Government negotiator. Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development. said the conference had been postponed to give Inkatha time to consult with its Central Committee. The African National Congress had agreed to the delay. .

Government negotiators are due to meet ANC leaders for two days next week to tie up loose ends in preparation for the Talks. delay: IFP to attend FROM PAGE 1

multi-pany planning conference.

Mr Felgate said progress had been made at talks with the government.

The two parties had put their positions on constitutional and other matters directly to each other for the first time.

In a short statement.

Mr Meyer also said progress had been made at the talks. but he did not provide details.

Mr Felgate said the IFP had voiced its opposition 1 to a government of national unity expected to last about five years, and had put its counter "less drawn-out" position to its interlocutors at the three days of talks.

He explained that the IFP was in favour of moving from a multi-party

planning conference to establishing a multi-party negotiation forum where constitutional principles would be decided.

After the forum of the state and negotiation process had been agreed to. a constitution-making body, comprising constitutional experts. would be set up.

The multi-party negotiation forum would then be reconvened to approve the constitution. which would then be put to a referendum for all South Africans to approve before a general election took place.

uThis process will give South Africa a new and definitive constitution and there could be a new government by the end of 1994.

"It avoids a drawn-out process in which the government and the rest of the country are locked into battles over a five-year period about the future of the country," he said.

On the issue of regionalism, Mr Felgate said the IFP maintained that regions and boundaries had to be constitutionally defined. This had become an area of "concern and commonality" between the parties, as both agreed that boundaries should be retrenched in a constitution and put beyond the party political dispute.

On Inkathals accusations of government-ANC connivance. Mr Felgate said: "The government gave us its assurances that the position it put to us is identical to what they put to the ANC.

uWe heard for the first time today that the differences between the ANC and government revolve around fundamental issues."

Although Mr Felgate did not say the IFP's strained relations with the government had improved, he said both parties regarded each other as important role-players

in the political process and had set up formal channels of communication.

"We have established communication channels and there will now be a programme of continued dialogue between us."

State President De Klerk said last night he did not expect the one week's postponement in the planning conference to delay the other target dates for the introduction of a Transitional Executive Council - leading to general elections next year.

The Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) is expected to hold a meeting in Pretoria on Monday to discuss its approach to the proposed planning conference in the light of the government/ANC agreements. This will be a crucial discussion, as the IFP is one of the senior partners in COSAG.

Also within the COSAG organisation are the governing parties of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the Conservative Party.

The IFP is due to explain to other COSAG parties its understanding with the government at this week's three-day bilateral talks at Richard's Bay.

While the AVU remains committed to take part in the planning conference, the CP may make a final decision only later next week.

Speaking at a Rotary International Conference last night at the World Trade Centre, venue for last year's abortive Codesa talks. Mr De Klerk said he was confident the negotiation process would succeed.

Multi-party constitutional talks were still planned before the end of March to reach agreement on the road ahead. This would need agreements on a transitional process, a transitional constitution and the prin-

ciples on which a tinal constitution should be based. checks and balances against the misuse of power, and mechanisms to ensure adherence to the agreements reached.

"We want to appoint a multi-party Transitional Executive Council by the end of June. which will be responsible for preparing for our first one-man one-vote elections. and ensuring that they will be free and fair.

"We plan to adopt a transitional constitution and Bill of Rights by the end of September.

"We are aiming at national elections by March or April next yeat, for a transitional Parliament and a government of National Unity." Mr De Klerk said.

"This is an ambitious timetable. but we are confident. in spite of the many problems we expect to encounter. that we will be able to accomplish it successfully.

"A broad consensus is slowly emerging with regard to what is to follow thereafter. We still have a long way to go. and many details will have to be settled at multi-party talks.

"However, good progress is being made."

HOT AIR: Allegations of an NIS plot are proved to be without foundation

. E Inh- I j. ' W i w The Iisuhda " Inkatha gave him anti told them he had never He told the Sunday Star he had (12qu work-

. 9 :5" d \$2.1? 'tional Intelli y worked for the NIS. s in: for N18 and refused to sign a statement pre-

a' 3" a germ Inkatha spo'kesmad ad Tillett was however pared by inkatha for him. Service (N18) colluded to smearus quoted yesterday as wing that the alleged ; "They wanted me to admit in 'I statement _

' Inka agentmade a "full confusion" and thathis he that; I was aware that Maia; Bethe was 3 N18 1

3:13;? pmvzit' b Egadaauagced . tions had been fully atithorised by the head of agent and my handler Item M31130 \$8

.S 1, _ PF Y Y NIS m Natal Meier Hentie Botha. , knowledge of Major anthem NIs mwibps a Tillett, confronted by the SWW 5W 793' and that it was absurd the .5 mm han-

: . terday about the alleged agent's denial, re- 116,th saidthuweekf j _

fused to say what a Will! confession" was and , : He said the Inkatha investigators had t rans

- what their confession fentailed. Further de. ,3ch of telephone conversations. but no . menti9n of 15118 or any camp. an; 'aeredit

Ink'ath'a was made during any . creation. '

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. It has a no emerged this week that the ham

Mozambican: named by Inkatha at hart ofthe

conspiracy tn since: Inkathn had absolutely

nothingtodowith the Sunday Stampart. ; g,

i One of them. Vasco, is a Mozambican tinti-

nessman whose name had been: given to the

alleged agent in case he needed help. Vasco

has no links with Mozambican Security and had

nothingtodo with the story; I _-5 , ,. .i ;

.., I The second contact, 'iRoiIsaI-io ,is a senibr

official In the government. His real name how.

ever, is not Rousario and he failed to ..

9 the Sunday Star with any infirmation.

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, ' The alleged dint

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9:33,: centers;l hi Durban 5:: 999 as hivgm in'glapisito ??%r

auspet; en at at em 9 un ay

" Commune men enzo Mfayela. who hotel accomm'odathit h;

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e o - ,)9 _

Tillet, asked about his,

NE of the pint" investigators, Ihkatha Ceh- came a correspondent for the ultraiight wing

,

member Phillip Powell was "Aida Parker Newsletter" . N Rhodes, said it had absolutely not

nig to d9

eant Powell" of the SAP's Acc9rding to police records, Powell left the with the NIS plot.

,

' ?while this weeks main "plot force Ii: May 1991 when he took up a position In iiYou are

getting personal, hut Eo ahead and

, Ed Tiliett. is a university exami- the Inkatha Institute. : publish it We have a confes

sion and we will be

. Powell is according to Inkatha, ant of the proved right You may land up 'with egg on yo

ur

Powell ia- Metal police records as . country and could not be reached for comment face."

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4 Sergeant Philli . , i According to Rhodes University records. I In a statem'em to Sapa,

the his says itPowell

Branch policeman. Tillett was expelled from the university in 1988 ' is according to indi

cations an iatotation pad:

f0 rmer Whilep being a Seehrity Branch operative, he for cheating in his journalism exam.

He ap- dler (inligtingsmous) who had been warned' III

WELL '

't . J .. .etwas the leader of "mhdemtudent organic pwemmeyasmh: snap i t, two the pas

t for illegalv presenting time as a

Security Branch policeman I a i sations at the University of Natal and later be- N'yenrs,
allowed to complete his 53335) P ! WW

JOHN u Carre' s twisted plots pale by
comparison And even Smiley 3 people.
masters of that strange world of pert'ect spies
and double-double agents, will envy the i
imagination and audacity of Lhlef
. Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha s chief
propagandists. .

'The story starts three months ago when the
Sunday Star published an investigation under
the headline "Where Inkatha gets its guns" It .- i
dealt with a series of allegations about
Inkatha gun-running and included a short
report about the organisation's alleged links '
with Renamo.

We gave Inkatha ample time and space to '
issue its expected denial. which it duly did.
There the case rested until Wednesday
3 when Buthelezi took over the script
, He had. he informed the world in a press
release, uncovered a plot to discredit Inkatha
Masterminded by the National Intelligence .
. Service (NIS), it was part of a "disgraceful '
. smear campaign" aimed at putting the ANC I I
i into bed with the Government.

i. And two of the villains were Sunday Star '
; mpodum Peta Thornycroft and Jacques Pau,
_i the investigator! who had exposed the gun- .
' . running. And not only was Thornycroft a
villain, but, the statement made clear,
pmbnhlgfen NIS operative herself.

ammo. w'u filled with intrigue. nights across
the border and finally the denouement when
Inkatha's investigators - one of whom
incidentally used to be a police agent -
confronted the secret NIS agent who had
helped engineer the I's "scurrilous" campaign.
He was "astounded". "ashen-faced" and
' almost speechless", said the Inkatha
investigator. No Smiley this agent, for he
quickly regained his voice and decided to
"make a clean breast of it".

His confession was quite remarkable, for
, although there were no threats and no
coercion at all - even though, as me.
claim. he feared that if NIS learnt about his
betrayal. he would be "wiped out".

' Now Inkatha has decided. in order to
protect him. it will not reveal his name .. even
though it would be clear to everyone at NIS
I shady character.

V and shady enough

. novel and who was kicked out of the country
Buuolingo Bili'HELEZI: Inkatha prove
no plot as revealed by Buthelezi, and enter BRUCE ANDERSON o . . seedy arid
by othezi Inkatha members in Chapter II of the "
who he is.

Thus the nob of the Inkatha accusation - w
a web of collusion between the Sunday Star
and NIS.

It's an entertaining version, but far from the
reality

The truth is somewhat different

All the gun- -running allegations came not
from NIS. It's some other sinister Government
agent. but from one of Inkatha's own leaders -
Bruce Anderson, former chairman of its
Hillbrow branch and a man the organisation
trusted enough to send to the Codesa negotia-
tion-

We learnt that Anderson. a character seedy
to come out of: Le Cane

otter an earlier Sunday Star investigation, was
 that fiction 18 stranger than fact
 ' we plot Slickens
 CHIEF eunIELaI ... imagination
 , and audacity.
 ' .. willing to talh about his tote in smuggling guns
 into South Ah-ica for lnkatha.
 The idea originated not at MS but in the
 Sunday Star newsroom among our Insight
 team. And Thornycroft and Pauw, reporters of
 the highest integrity and reputation, were
 assigned to investigate the allegations.
 We tracked Anderson down to his new home
 in Britain and at first he demanded money. We
 told him under no circumstances would we
 pay him a cent. Eventually. otter weeks of
 negotiations, he talked and gave us an '
 nttldavit (for the record we did reimburse him
 R500 for his expenses in travelling to London
 for this atl'idavit and for phone calls to South
 Africa)
 Thornycroft and Paow then started their
 own investigations in in bid to corroborate the -
 - Anderson Among the nllegittio
 . working for N18.
 allegations, including the alleged Inkath'a-
 Rennmo link. As part of the investigation they
 spoke to one ot'Jncques Pauw's sources, a man
 with good contacts in Mozambique.
 As far as we knew and as far as we still
 know. the man is not 8 N18 11 gent.
 In the event Thornycroft was unable to
 speak to any Mozambique official who was .
 willing to talk
 We then put all the Anderson allegations to
 Inkatha and gave them a chance to deny them.
 They did and we published this denial niong
 with the Anderson allegations, including the V
 Reoamo claim, which formed only a tiny pert ,
 of the story.
 There the matter rested until this week ,
 when lnkatha revealed the NISSunday Star
 plot and promised several times in produce
 the manth ms agent to prove it They still
 even
 5lmm
 Instead on Friday night they sentthe
 Sunday Star a long fax. most otwhich'iv
 devoted to discreditin: the lotggg, 1 .
 suspicion that he, too,nlighthhve been
 Itis possible. As we said. Anderson is
 shady character -and we said 893th tint
 But then newspaper investigatofh ire kitties!
 to work with shady characters. whether th
 be police hit squad killers, ANC assassins,
 Government crooks, or Inketha mama
 We dont necessarily accepttheir
 allegations and try to comborim
 In Anderson' 5 case we couldn'tprove. . :1
 beyond doubt his allegations were true. But
 we decided to publish his story becattae ofhis 5:
 position in Inkatha, because we had no reason
 to disbelieve him and because undoubtedlylt :
 was in the public interest
 After all, members oflnkatha, like memw
 of the ANC, do have guns- -hundreds ofthem
 .-and hundreds of people have been mun s
 dered by those guns. And there 3 no doubt
 most of these guns are smuggled into this
 country by gunvrunners
 The Sunday Star hadno reason three

months ago- and still has no reason - to
reject Bruce Anderson s story that he was one
of those gun-ru nners
-The Eclor

Avoiding
the bog
The issue:
M ultiparry talks restart next month but
already there are ominous signs that
i Inkarlm muld ltulzl things up.
We suggest:
The planning ('onfcrent'e must not be
allowed to degenerate into another
dcadlot 'k.
FTER a week of confusion. it has become
apparent that the (jovemment and ANC
have achieved a large measure of agreement
on "power sharing" or "national unity". call
it vthut you will. but that much hard bargaining On
the details lies ahead. This makes it all the more
urgent for multipuny negotiations to resume at
Codexzi. or W hutcver panics choose to call it.
But the lung-ummitcd planning conference to
rwun these niultipztny tulx hits been tlcluwd tor :i
week to allow the IFP to cnxult its Central
Committee. That in itself ix Iiiir enough. The ANC
consulted its own NEC on itx' latest understandings
with the Government. And while at week is u long
time in politics. it is little enough alter three years of
x'tup-Ktztrt ncgntiutmx. But. more ominously.
lnkathu has indicated it mintx t0 tum the conference g y/&/
into something different to xthut most other panics l/
have in mind. It wants thix conference to decide on
basic constitutional issuex. such as whether South
Africa will be a regional or a unitary state.
This clearly suits the LFP's agenda as it wants to
retain as much power as possible in its own
KwaZulu/Natal base before any elections are held.
Understandably. the Government. ANC and most
other parties are becoming increasingly irritated as
they believe a planning cnnfercncc is a planning con-
ference and nothing more. It is a meeting to plan
arrangements for the msumption ot'real negotiations.
not a meeting for real negotiations. otherwise it
wouldn't be called a planning conference.
Of course the LFP sea the planning conference
merely as its own proposed "conference of review"
by another name. aimed at nvenuming decisions
reached at Ctxlesu last year before it deudlmked. In
this the LFP will inevitably be backed by its Cosag i
partners from Buphuthztswatnu and Ciskei and by the '
Conservative Party whose lirst-timc participation in I
negotiations could become more obstructive thun
constructive. It" the planning conference becomes
bogged down over such procedural wrangles. there
is a grave danger that the remarkable progress made
towards national unity could be diluted and even
lost. Negotiators will have to be on their toes to avoid
this trap.

IFP Ethand threatens conference

BY DAVID 8mm

POUTICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE. Inkatha Freedom Party has thrown a bombshell into next month's proposed planning conference.

The Government and African National Congress insist that the conference should be limited to re-starting multiparty talks to take over where Codesa left off.

But IFP spokesman Sue Vos said the IFP wants the conference, at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on March 5 and 6, to decide whether South Africa will be a federal or a unitary state.

The tough IFP stand threatens to delay the start of multiparty talks due to begin before the end of March; --

ennmnywemgtameaww

210nm men he enmncm as the beginning of the negotiation process and not left to an elected constitution-making body which could simply tear up agreements after elections.

It had not accepted the Governments assurances that regional powers could be decided in principle before elections and then left to the constitution-making body. The IFP wanted these powers negotiated first and then put to a referendum before elections were held under a new constitution.

The IFP is likely to be backed at the planning conference by its Cosag partners including the Conservative Party.

Spokesmen for the Pan Africanist Congrm and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation said yesterday that these organisations would consider attending the conference it and when they received formal invitations, reports Monica Oosterbroek.

ttThe government does not want to talk to us unlm we denounce violence - which we cannot do as the armed struggle is part of the political solution.

. ."This issue would have to be Sorted'outbeld'c 'We could meet," a PACSpokesmad-sa'id. t

Anti-IFP iplot,
- alleged agent
is named
By Chris Steyn
THE alleged National
Intelligence Service
spy at the centre of re-
ported plot to discredit
the Inkatha Freedom
Party by implicating it
in illegal gun-running,
IS Wessel Jordaan -
who also used to oper-
ate Under the false
name of Hutchinson.
He has been in the pay
of both NIS and the Afri-
can National Congress.
The Citizen learned yes'
terday,
However
the NIS.
Without naming the man
concerned.
said no re.
Alleged iagent1 named
FROM PAGE 1
telligence department
(DIS) and was paid by
them to recruit members
of the SAP, the SADF
and NIS.
He used official
weapons on numerous oc-
casions to protect top
ANC executives. includ-
ing the organisation's
president. Mr Nelson
Mandela,
The IFP claimed this
week that a NIS "agent".
whom The Citizen has
now identified as Mr Jor-
daan, had made a full
confession to it that he
and two reportets from
The Star newspaper. Mr
Jacques Pauw and Ms
Peta Thomycroft. had at-
tempted to persuade Mo-
zambican Intelligence to
support 3 N18 plot to im-
plicate the IFP in gun-
running to South Africa
and link the organisation
'to Renamo.
The Citizen can dis-
close that Mr Jordan is a
former member of the
First Reconnaissance Unit
of the SADF. He resign-
ed from the Army three
years ago
He had been involved
in a joint venture with
Major Hentie Botha. de-
scribed as an NIS agent
with links to the Crime
Intelligence Unit (CIU).
which had absorbed for-
mer security policemen

when the Security Branch was dismantled. According to The Citizen's informant. that Mr Jordaan was used by NIS to infiltrate the ANC. His contact there was Mo Shaik. the director of DIS in Natal.

He also worked closely with Russel Christopher, who has close links to the Natal Indian Congress and is the second in command of DIS in Natal. His work with the ANC had the full blessing of Major Botha. who also arose about Jordaan. and there was talk of his activities. especially in police circles.

Jordaan then allegedly told a close contact that he was setting up certain SAP people for assassination. In this regard. he had asked an MK member (whose name is known to The Citizen) to kill some SAP members.

The member is one of two ANC intelligence officers who allegedly paid a signed-up member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging R10 000 to eliminate an ANC Askari-turned-police-man, Glory t1September" Sidebe.

Mr Sidebe apparently later resigned from the police and sought to re-join the ANC. but it is believed that during his spell approved the alleged plot c-With the police. he got to discredit the IFP, The Citizen was told.

Mr Jordaan used official weapons on numerous occasions to protect ANC people, including Mr Mandela. released bomber Robert McBride, and Mr Jeff Radebe. the ANC's Natal regional chairman.

He also accompanied these people and various other top-level ANC members on numerous occasions in ANC cars to various projects in Durban.

Mr Jordan was asked by the ANC to recruit SAP, SADF and NIS members, and was paid by the organisation. However. suspicions

know the
police agents still operating within the ANC.
It is understood that the ANC also paid the AWB member R12 000 to have him conduct an investigation into arms deals involving various Right-wing groups.
?The AWB man had apparently undertaken various arms buying trips to Mozambique for various senior members of a number of Right-wing groups. Commenting on The Citizen's information. ANC Secretary of Information. Dr Pallo Jordan. relationship existed or had ever existed between the alleged agent and the service.
"The alleged agent is. according to indications an information peddler (inllgtingsmous) who had been_wamed in the past tflor illzегally presenting imse as a MS" member of
The statement said Maj Hentie Botha. the mains alleged handler. was not a member of N15 and never identities of '
said: "If this is true. the I ANC will regard it in a very serious light. We will i investigate."
_____#_____-.
had been.
T'Seen in the light of this. it is clear that MS was in no way involved in this unpleasant incident "
I! said. i
The NIS was lodging a L'OlTlplilini with the South African Police against the alleged agent.
The Citizens informant alleged that Mr Jordaan had Infiltrated the Alti-can National Congress in-

Editoris fair comment
plea backed by judge
CAPE TOWN. _ The
R250 000 defamation ac-
tion brought by former
Cape Times editor Tony
Heard against Financial
Mail editor Nigel Bruce
and the magazine's pub-
lishers. Times Media
Limited, is set to con-
tinue.

Yesterday an exception
by Mr Heard to a plea of
fair comment by Mr
Bruce in the defamation
action was dismissed with
costs in the Cape Town
Supreme Court.

Mr Heard brought the
action after a leading arti-
cle in the January 17,
1992 edition of the Finan-
cial Mail.

In his particulars of
claim Mr Heard said
statements and allega-
tions, in the context of the
article. represented a se-
rious refelection on his in-
tegrity. independence and
competence as a journal-
ist and were wrongful and
defamatory because they
were intended and under-
stood by FM readers to
mean:

0 That he was incapa-
ble of doing his job as edi-
tor of the Cape Times as
he showed a lack of
awareness. alertness and
responsiveness to current
issues; and

0 That he was sacked
for those reasons. that he
was intellectually dishon-
est. formed views for
commercial reasons and
needed a job and lacked
the ability to make quick
decisions and was unable
to communicate.

Mr Heard said a pur-
ported partial apology
published on January 22
last year was itself de-
famatory and aggravated
the defamation.

Mr ' Bruce and TML
said the statements com-
plained of. in the context.
constituted fair comment
on matters of public inter-
est: Press freedom and
ownership of the Press.
The facts on which the
comment was based was
substantially true, they
said.

Mr Heard filed a notice

of exception to the ttfair
comment" plea and said
the facts on which the
comment was based
lacked the allegations
which would sustain that
plea.

In his judgment..ludge- a
President Mr Justice G
Friedman. said the facts
on which the comment
nperhaps he just wants a
job", was based on those
contained in the FM arti-
cle as a whole.

"It cannot be said that
there are no facts pleaded
to justify the comment.
The comment is clearly b
based on the facts set out
in the article and it was
accordingly unnecessary
for any further facts to be
alleged in the plea.

uln my judgment there
is sufficient substratum of
fact contained in the arti-
cle to form the subject I
matter of the plea of fair
comment."

Mr J ustice Friedman
said for these reasons the
exception application was
dismissed with costs.

A date for the defama-
tion hearing to begin must
now be set by the court.

- Sapa.

POLICE claim to have evidence that Soweto schoolchildren have been sent out of the country for military training and that certain organisations have planned to disrupt schools.

Soweto police spokesman, Col Tienie Halgryn, made these claims as violence by schoolchildren continued in Soweto yesterday. He claimed the information had been obtained after the arrest of four youths for the murder the previous Friday of a policeman who died in a hand-grenade attack while he was helping to remove a street barricade.

Col Halgryn' denied

TO PAGE 2

FROM PAGE 1

that the reasons for school violence was high exam fees and the non-payment of a teacher last month.

He said the plans laid down last year were to attack and disarm policemen and security guards accompanying delivery vehicles in order to acquire firearms. A number of these incidents had already occurred this year.

Two vehicles, valued at more than R160 000, had been burnt out in Emdeni and Thladi, a third had been burnt out elsewhere, and various other vehicles had been firebombed or stoned. Police estimated that since Thursday more than R1 million damage had been caused to vehicles.

At Protea High School windows were smashed by stone throwers.

As a result of the Soweto plot of burning of delivery vehicles yesterday, police have advised companies not to make deliveries to the township.

Col Halgryn said the police apologised for the inconvenience, but they could not guarantee the safety of vehicles and occupants.

Police had managed to intervene in some attacks on delivery vehicles and tear smoke

had been used to dis-
perse schoolchildren.
Deputy Commission-
er of Police in Soweto,
Maj-Gen Braam
Strauss, has called on
the community to rea-
lise the importance of
education and to work
with the police in get-
ting the situation back
to normal.

He also called on
teachers to return to
schools, and warned
that police could not al-
low destruction of ve-
hicles and property. -
Sapa.

'Ahla is
ignoring
the PAC'

By mzm somsu

THE desire of the PAC to enter the
next round of constitutional talks is
being thwarted by its military wing
Apla - which sees the armed struggle as
the only way forward.

— This emerged from an interview with
' an Apla cadre published by the weekly
publication Vrye Weekblad in which
the Apla operative said the PAC was
not recognised as the "authenticii repre-

sentative of African philosophy".
The operative, who claims to have
participated in a number of assassina-
tions by Apla, says the PAC is out of
touch with Apla activities because
'there is no official link between the
mother body and its military compo-

nent.
It is not that the PAC doesn't want to
disclose information about us . . . they
don't know we don't
report to them." says the
Apla operative.

Political observers say
tension between pro-nego-
tiators and anti-negotia-
tors has all but brought
the organisation to a
standstill as it cannot find
a common direction.

Apla is at the forefront
of a "no negotiations with
the enemy" campaign,
particularly in the PAC's
militant regions on the
East Rand and the Cape.
The souring of relations
within the PAC, accord-
ing to sources, goes back
to November 1991 when
the PAC was engaged in a
series of bilateral talks
with the government
which culminated in the

I To Page 2

I From Page 1

PAC attending the initial
planning meeting for Co-
desa.

A structure calling it-
self the East and West
Rand Facilitating Com-
mittee convened a confer-
ence at Katlehong in
which PAC leaders were
denounced as "sellouts".
Attended by delegates
from more than 50
branches around the
country, they declared
their autonomy from the
PAC's leadership and its
present policies". They
also accused the organisa-
tion of non-consultation
with its members.
Perhaps not surprising-

ly, the PAC delegation walked out of the pre-Co-desa process shortly afterwards. accusing the ANC and the government of collusion.

The PAC then said it would convene a congress in December 1992 in Cape Town to obtain a mandate on whether to take part or boycott Co-desa.

With the Katlehong conference having reached decisions with far reaching implications - such as declaring that 1 only the armed struggle i would win back the land - j ,

-/

J7 /

the writing was on the wall for the PAC.

It was at the congress held in Umtata, also addressed by Bantu Holomisa, that these militant structures lobbied and forced a resolution that Apla must intensify the armed struggle. '

Attacks on policemen. particularly in Katlehong, then became common.

with Apla claimed responsibility while the PAC refused to be drawn on the issue.

According to the Apla cadre. relations have worsened after the attacks with Apla stating it was going to operate independently from the PAC. However, according to ' PAC information director Waters Toboti, only the PAC can change the programme of Apla, though he added that Apla reports to its high command in Tanzania, not to the PAC.

The whole issue has been compounded by the governments insistence that the PAC - in its bilateral meetings last year with the government - agree to suspend the armed struggle. Apla says PAC grassroots supporters would not accept this view.

W265 (/4533

Mmabatho govt probe ____s_ W Tvl land purchase claims

AFTER reports in the Saturday Star about a Bophuthatswana government front company buying land in the western Transvaal at inflated prices, the Mmabatho authorities this week appointed a judicial commission of inquiry to probe the affairs of the company.

Tens of thousands of hectares of farming land have been bought by the company

- Bala Farms (Pty) Ltd - which was registered in Johannesburg in 1987.

One of the directors of the company is disgraced former National Party deputy minister Hennie van der Walt, who was released from jail in late 1989 after serving 20 months of a 10-year sentence for fraud.

Van der Walt, who has worked for the Bophuthats-

STAFF REPORTER

tswana government since his parole from jail in 1989, was involved in drawing up the original boundaries for the homeland in the early 1970s, when similar large-scale purchases of white-owned farming land took place.

It is understood that two of the directors of Bala have been suspended, and that a number of top civil servants, including the Surveyor-General, have been brought in to determine whether purchase prices were padded.

The Saturday Star's report said farmers in the western Transvaal regarded the prices paid for land in the latest buying spree as being "way over the going rate".

There were also allegations that some of the properties bought by Bala were later leased back to the original owners for "ridiculously low rentals".

Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje, who is President Lucas Mago's right-hand man, was appointed to the board of directors of Bala late last year.

with a brief to investigate Conservative farmers in

52% M m we

the western Transvaal have questioned the motives behind the land purchases, alleging the buying spree was a way for Bophuthatswana to expand its territorial area.

Cronje told the Saturday
Star the farms were bought
to be used by trainees from
the Taung Agricultural. Col-
lege to enable them to get
hands-on experience" :run
ning farms. :

TROUBLE FOUND a bystander swept into the confused Clashes between taximen and police - he wanted to assist but found himself in hiding The witness the cops tried to gag

I Cover-up exposed:

Police involved In the killing of a bystander during the Johannesburg taxi . protests allegedly assaulted and intimidated a witness to the shooting after he offered to make a statement. They allegedly terrorised him into silence. Until now.

BY PETER DE IONNO

JONES Ramatse was not looking for trouble, but when he tried to help the police, a policeman allegedly smashed him in the face with a pistol butt. Trouble had found him.

Ramatse, a pavement hawker, got swept into the whirlpool of confusion as fighting between police and taxi-drivers swirled around the Bree Street minibus rank on Tuesday, February 2. About 1.30pm he was in a crowd in West Street, between Bree and Pim streets, trying to escape teargas drifting from the rank.

A bekkle driven by a white man blundered into West Street and a mob started throwing stones, bringing police storming down from Bree Street. The crowd scattered. .

Ramatse, standing near the doorway of the Six bar, the police coming noticed a policeman running in, holding a pistol.

Anna he knew as Jabu was behind him as he ducked into Pim Street. He heard a shot behind him and he heard Jabu cry out.

When he looked back Jabu was dead, lying face down on the ground, a shopping bag gripped in each hand.

I arrived in West Street several minutes after the incident and saw Ramatse standing near the body. He was distressed but he insisted he knew who had fired the fatal shot

As a policeman told him to remain in the area. because he would need-
#

TRUSIING . , ' . Jones Ramatse (centre) with the police he claims assaulted him. Ramatse's fear was plain. "You will shoot me, too, just as you shot him down."

I took his name and address and gave him a Sunday Star telephone number before police stopped the interview. Accentins police assurances that he would be safe with them and that his statement would be taken - urged him to cooperate.

That night police said the dead man had been shot while trying to hijack a vehicle.

Four days later the Saturday Star quoted police spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Dave Bruce as saying a witness named "Joseph", now identified as Ramatse, had been taken to John Vorster Square but "with all the con-

fusion there was nobody to take his statement". He had been asked to return but had not done so. A photograph of Ramatse being bundled into a police car accompanied the article. The dead man, known to Ramatse as Juba, was identified as Tefo Harry Duba, an un-
- Last weekend Saturday Star reported that Duba, a founder member of the Democratic Party in Soweto, who was partially blind. had been walking with his common-law wife Benedict Mogale to find a taxi in Pim Street. In a sworn statement Mogale says police prevented her from rendering assistance to her dying husband.

Police remained insistent that Duba was a hijacker and he had been shot while fleeing. "Joseph" had neither come forward nor been traced.

When I found Ramatse this week it was obvious why he was keeping quiet. He was terrified.

The area of Soweto was blacked out by a power failure and at first it seemed as though the house was empty. I identified myself and called his name several times. Just as I was about to leave he came to the door with my hastily scribbled note in his hand. He said he had stayed silent because he thought I was a policeman.

"3 Mar" At what happened after he offered his cooperation and entrusted his safety to the police has embarrassed and angered officers at the highest levels.

Ramatse has agreed to be interviewed this week by Colonel Dan Vermaak, who has been appointed to investigate the killing and Ramatse's allegations of assault

Brigadier Frans Malherbe, head of community relations, has offered Ramatse his assurance of protection.

"If police did act in this way towards a witness, serious action will be taken," he said.

Mike Moriarty, Hillbrow branch chairman of the Democratic Party, who was a friend of Duba, accompanied me to meet Ramatse.

"He has been shaken up and intimidated by the treatment he received from the police," he said.

"If this is an indication of the way people in the townships are dealt with, then I understand why police are held in such low esteem by black people."

You talk

too much,

he was told

ON FRIDAY Jones

Ramatse made an

statement under oath

at V John Vorster

Square.

In summary, it says that after he waited for his statement to be taken, a police-

man. who said, "you
talk too much" had
pushed him forcibly
into the back seat of a
police Flying Squad
vehicle, registration
number sums
(see picture?)
' "He hurt my neck
as he forced me into
the vehicle. I saw the
name 1103' on his
motorplate."
Then the police-
man, who Ramtse
believed killed Duba,
got into the front seat.
He had been left in
the hands of the man
he was accusing
"Bos" got into the
front seat, turned
around and allegedly
hit Ramtse in the
mouth with the butt
of his pistol splitting
his lip. "The driver
said: Why do you talk
so much? If you make
this man lose his job,
can you give in:
mother one?"
He was driven to
Westgate Shopping
Centre and told:
"Fok off, set out." No
statement": token.

SA missile technology

could hit IMF loans

From

Simon Barber

In Washington

SOUTH AFRICA's multi-billion

rand commercial space launch

programme could prove a serious

predicament to World Bank and

IMF loans if a new government

decides to continue subsidising it,

assistant-secretary of State for

Africa Herman Cohen warned in a

(Irewell interview.

"The new government is going

to have to decide whether this is

something they want to spend

money on the IMF and World

Bank may have. trouble giving

South Africa cash and having it

flow into this sort of project."

Armcor-successor Denel and

its subsidiaries, Houwteq, Som-

chem, Kentron and Eloptro, plan

to launch a low-orbit imaging sat-

ellite developed with a K firm,

Surrey Satellite Technology, from

the De Hoop range in 1995.

If sufficient foreign investment

can be found, the Denel group

hopes to become a major competi-

tor in the currently glutted and

stagnant commercial launch busi-

ness.

The US, the largest World Bank

and IMF shareholder, already

takes a dim view of the pro-

gramme, and fears it may contrib-

ute to the spread of "weapons of

mass destruction".

MANAMA, Bahrain: South Afri-

ca's arms industry

is back on Israel II it contin-

ues to woo the Arab world.

A senior official of Armcor this

week told a Gulf state newspa-

per that the company intends

to cease military co-operation

with the Hebrew state.

The close military co-operation

which linked South Africa to

Israel was the result of its

"needs" and with the end of

those needs South Africa "is

moving to end that co-operation,"

laid Tielman de laar,

executive general manager of

Armcor.

Mr de laar was reported in the

daily Al-Hayat as saying that

although "there are still a num-

ber of contracts being execut-

ed with Israel, these will not be

renewed".

Despite assurances from Presi-

dent FW de Klerk that the inten-

tion is purely civilian and peace-

ful, Washington believes the

booster Denel is developing could

easily be converted into a long-

range ballistic missile.

In 1991, the Bush administration was obliged by Congress to let it have turned 4

It will end Israelities
lie made these remarks It the
four-day IDEX 93 It'll be M
thate edthisweektnneigl-
houring Aim Dhahi.

South Africa and Israel have had military links for years, mostly involving hi-tech weapons including fighter aircraft and missile systems.

Speaking from Aim Dhahi, where the 01 Denel's division exhibited more than 90 products, Mr Johan Alberts, managing director of Denel, said the company was going all-out to position itself in the global marketplace. The drive is aimed at the South African and international markets and concentrates on its armaments sales as well as industrial and commercial products, Mr Alberts said.

- Foreign Desk
total embargo on Armscor after determining that it had received a booster component from Israel - on whose Hawk-class launcher the SA programme is based. The administration well disposed towards Amusem- It the time. The company had several subsidiaries were. and was not I

∴ we can't consider South Africa to remain, under indictment for a massive arms smuggling operation.

The sanctions now apply to Denel and its subsidiaries
Mr Cohen, who is to be replaced in mid-March, appeared to be sympathetic to the South African position, stressing that the same - which have also been applied to IIRMI in Russia and in - were the idea of Congress, not the administration.

"Anti: rolltention in the payche of Congress is like anti-communism was in the 50s You must by all means prevent every government that does not have missile technology from getting it We don't care whether they're friends or enemies, we must prevent it." South Africa has made various proposals to obtain a waiver from the sanctions. including a promise not to export its technology. There has been an offer to open facilities for inspection, and eventually has asked to join the Missile Technology Control Regime, a club of nations which have the technology and have pledged to restrict transfers to non-members. The problem, said Mr Cohen,

was that "our experts tell us that
ou- take a Space launcher and
um it 45 degrees and then you've
ot a missile launcher. Therefore
he tree of the proliferation
throat." I

MORE than 90 laws, policies and practices inhibit the South African economy, says the Nedcor/Old Mutual sponsored Professional Economic Panel.

"The problem is that small and medium emerging enterprise: (SMEs) are shackled. The need to reform is urgent." says PEP.

"There has been such legislative diarrhoea over the years that there is now more than one Act for every word the IVEI'I

penonkmmminhisorhermothertongne"

PE has listed the laws and practices where a majority of

PEP members were in consensus. The list is intended to the

removal. relaxation or reform of obstacle to sum;

PEP lays most South African: live under conditions in which the enforcement of most laws is arbitrary, impunible or manitately absurd. Bad law leads to abuse and corruption:

By KEVIN DIVIE

"Corrupt officials and politicians use such laws to get at rivals and to collect bribes and protection money."

P has compiled a 60-page document on legal and policy reform needed to free the economy and create a vibrant small and medium enterprise sector.

Subjects as diverse as animal slaughter and cigarette melting are addressed. including: -

0 The common law of product safety liability is inadequate to deal with cases such as animal slaughtering and meat processing. Grading could be introduced on a voluntary basis for the export and First World sector.

0 Bakeries and butcheries should be treated as ordinary businesses: special licensing provisions should go.

0 Entry barrier: into trades, occupations and professions should be systematically and critically examined: As a rule, formal qualifications should be replaced entirely by tests of competency".

0 IOEs corporations are still subject to excessive formalities, such as registrations that make

tion, record-keeping and reports

0 Most government housing would be condemned under building standards or slum laws. Restrictions on the private sector have exacerbated the housing shortage. Building codes and minimum standards should be scrapped in low-income areas to allow maximum opportunity for owner-builder and SME building contracting
Protection

0 A computer system should be used to name! property transactions. mortgages and leases. allowing conveyancing to be mapped in simple form. "Technology can provide better protection than conveyancers. The only merit in the present system is that it protects conveyancers." says PEP.

0 The small claims court should be extended to include all persons. such as Sherees (at present, only individuals can use these courts). The value of small claims should be increased to R10 000.

0 The Deposit-taking Institution! Act make SA one of the most difficult and costly countries in which to establish a deposit-taking institution. "In the real world, especially in black communities. the DTI laws are transgressed by many stokvels savings and loan societies and co-ops." says PEP. ;7_. :.
"The formal financial institutions are unjustifiably regarded as somewhat of a sacred cow in SA. It is clear that material relaxation in non-celery in the industry of SMEs and the economy in general."

0 Credit controls should be scrapped in their entirety. Absurd

0 Switzerland. a country the size of the Transkei. has 300 independent electricity companies. 100 of which produce electricity. PEP says electricity vending in SA should be decriminalised.

0 An explosion of SMEs occurred in the Ciskei after businesses with fewer than 20 employees were exempted from the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act. despite the extremely unfavourable political climate. "A South African version of the Ciskei Small Business Deregulation Act should be adopted."

0 The present absurd situation where gambling is only allowed in the homeland: should be normalised. subject at most to controls found in other countries.

0 The Businesses Act (which substantially deregulated all licensing provisions but in yet to be implemented in some provinces! became oi

ogpoeition mm bureaucrats)
a ould he brought into opera-
tion throughout the country.
"There is probably no oth-
er single measure that could
create a eater number of
opportunities for SMEES
than this. All the potential
resistance has been raised
and identified. It is clearly
based on selt-serving elitism
and vuted interuts."

Cloning should be suffi-
ciently relaxed to allow (or
ROB LEE . . .

unobtrusive home businesses.

"The automatic or default
ition should be Giat home
unnece- are allowed. to the
extent that they do not un-
duly disturb neighbours."

0 Hotel and boarding
room grading should be op-
tional.

OThe import of all used
products for resale in the in-
formal sector should be
exempt from import quotas
and duties.

0 SMEES should be
exempt from labour legisla-
tion. which has been designed
tor big business and orgav
nised labour. "The majority
of workers and jobmhen
are not respresented by
unions. and it is their inter-
ests that have to be served."

.All forms of black title
to land should be automati-
cally converted to ownership.

Access

0 All SMEES of a certain
size should be exempted
from as many levies (such as
regional service) and charges
as possible.

0 All licensing, except
where s ial circumstances
which c early apply. such as
in the sale of liquor and tire-
arms. should be abolished.
There should be free and easy
access to the liquor trade at
both roduction and distribu-
tion evels.

0 The right to dispense
medicines should he decon-
trouoan um on law pm-
vidu for no more than that a
qualitied person distribute
prescription medicines.

0 Private, competing pos-
tal services should be al-
lowed to the Post Office.

0 The right to public inter-
est or class actions in the
co-ordinator of the PEP panel
courts should be introduced.

0 Private use of trains on
existing tracks should be en-

couraged immediately.
Trains could be bought or
leased from Spoomet.
O The Stump Duties Act.
which applies to a wide variety
of agreements. contractS.
licences and documents.
should be repealed as soon as
possible.

Bizarre
OAll restrictions on the
provision of telephone products
and services should be
lifted and the statutory telephone
monopoly should be
phased out.

OTranster duty in mortgage
and land registration
should be abolished.

O SMEES should not be required
to register their employees
with the Unemployment insurance
Fund.

.A bizarre situation has
arisen where the state employs
costly teams. such as the
Diamond Squad. to lay traps
to prosecute (persecute!) people
engaged in a mutually volitional
trade.

"Clearly, no one is banned
by such trade except a tiny
vested interest. There is an
argument (or restriction on
trade in uncut diamonds.
namely that the international
diamond cartel is of great
value to SA.

"However. it is doubtful
whether this at all can
justify the fact that offenders
are sent to jail for longer
terms than murderers."

India warms
 to SA trade
 WHEELING vultures
 are familiar to the
 Bushveld eye, but I
 never expected to see
 so many out of my five-
 star hotel room in the .
 heart of heaving New
 How do they eat? A lot
 better than much of In-
 dia's 850-million popula-
 tion - dying cows are the
 main food source, one un-
 touched by the Hindus
 who comprise 85% of the
 population.
 The South African
 Foreign Trade Organisa-
 tion (to) was invited to
 India by the Confederation
 of Indian Industry (CII) to
 attend its 10th Engineering
 Trade Fair. The invitation
 was a little too late, or a
 little too sensitive still, to
 allow the delegates to ex-
 hibit.
 Safto was offered a
 small stand to house the
 efforts of the 11 companies
 attending - An 10 Ameri-
 can, Gold Fiel, Dorbyl,
 Foodcorp, Control Logic,
 Voltex, Carlton Paper.
 Oreport, Safcor, CSIR and
 the smallest, Equilateral.
 At a CH reception for the
 arty, Safto chief executive
 n van Zyl said he hoped
 that SA-Indian trade could
 soon-grow openly.
 (It is no surprise that
 third parties have facilitat-
 ed trade between the two
 nations and a small
 amount is undertaken
 directl, albeit without too
 much a -flyin .)
 % Officially, In in toes the
 A October 1991 Common-
 wealth heads of state line
 - that people-to-people,
 cultural and ucient fie
 sanctions could be lifted,
 but trade must wait until
 arrangements for an inter-
 im or transitional govern-
 ment in SA were made.
 We were told by India's
 Trade Ministry that the
 India is defrosting its attitude to
 South Africa as apartheid dies.
 There are many economic simi-
 larities between the two coun-
 tries.
 J ULIE WALKER reports.
 matter was receiving seri-
 ous attention. Perhaps an-
 other few weeks could see
 a breakthrough - certain-

ly, neither the SA contingent nor potential Indian trading partners were too worried.

There are many similarities between the two nations - we have a large poor rural population. so do they.

They are culturally and ethnically diverse. India is divided along religious lines.

We are nurturing corporate social responsibility, so are they.

We both need to export more - what nation does not?

More than 1000 Indian companies vied with 500 from 22 exhibiting countries at the huge fair. For many of our party it was a look-and-learn experience. Most were satisfied with the progress.

Electricity seems to be in demand - India is in the ironic position of having taken the electricity supply to more than 90% of the people. but they remain unconnected at the bitter end. Those who have been linked up are served with interrupted power -- India's generating capacity is insufficient. In SA it is the opposite - Eskom has 5000 megawatts of generating capacity in mothballs with two-thirds of the population sit in candlelight. Control Logic attracted big interest at the trade fair with its pre-paid electricity meter - collecting payment for power is a universal problem.

And always is there irony - our man from Carlton paper was promoting the sale of toilet rolls while another of our party struck by Delhi bells sought in vain to find an Indian toilet supplied with same.

The World Bank is leaning on India to reduce its import duties on consumer goods - currently up to 110% to protect local production. _

It is Budget day shortly and many expect a 'f' reduction to perhaps 85%. It was 400% not so long ago. A year ago a new five-year economic plan was announced to liberalise the

economy and allow it to compete in an increasingly open world of trade. Only a handful of items are banned from entering or leaving India. Duty is lowered if the import is for re-exporting. Exporters may exchange 80% of their foreign exchange at market-related rates. The balance has to be done at less favourable official rates. The intention is to make the rupee fully convertible. Nobody is buying big machinery ahead of an expected cut in Customs duty on capital items - as when we brought in VAT. gzmigoy imgs 21/2/ng

SA/Israel military
links out in favour
of Arabs

MANAMA, Bahrain.

South Africa is
planning to cease mili-
tary co-operation with
Israel to coincide with
an opening up to the
Arab world, a South
African military offic-
ial was quoted yester-
day as saying.

The close military co-
operation which linked
South Africa to the He-
brew state was the result
of its unneeds," and with
the end of those needs
South Africa uis moving
to end that co-opera-
tion", said Mr Tielman de
Waal, executive general
manager of Armscor,
South Afn'cais arms
manufacturing company.

The daily Al-Hayat
said Mr De Waal con-
fessed that "there are still
a number of contracts be-
ing executed with Israel,
but these contracts will
not be renewed when
they end".

The paper said Mr De
Waal "considered this
trend in relations with ls-
rael to be in line with the
counter direction that
South Africa wants to CSe
tablish in the pattern of its
relations with the Arab
states."

Al-Hayat. a Saudi-h-
nanced Lebanese daily
also published in Bahrain,
interviewed Mr De Waal
on the sidelines of the
four-day arms show that
ended on Thursday in
neighbouring Abu Dhabi.
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m '20 / 7:;

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With the collapse of
apartheid, the oil-rich
Gulf region is moving to
end its boycott of South
Africa, which advenised
its military wares at a de-
fence exhibition in Bah-
rain in May 1992, and
then in Abu Dhabi.

The Arab world has
shunned South Africa
even more because of its
close military links with
Israel. which remains
i boycotted by the Arabs
- with the exception of

Egypt - until a Middle East peace settlement is reached.

South Africa and Israel have had military links for years, most of it involving high-tech weapons such as fighter planes and missile systems. Primarily, the trade involved collaboration to develop weapons systems, rather than arms sales.

The highly respected Jane's All The World's Aircraft, based in London, said in 1989 that it was only natural that Israel, Taiwan and South Africa - all subjected to embargoes of one kind or another - pool their technologies to mutual advantage. "

Israel and South Africa have reportedly been co-operating on the development of a long-range ballistic missile. though both deny sharing such technology. There have also been reports that South Africa provided Israel - with enriched uranium for nuclear warheads. but neither has admitted having nuclear weapons.

Under intense US pressure. Israel agreed to sanctions against South Africa in 1987 saying there would be no more new military contracts. However, Israeli officials said they would honour existing ones.

Despite the Arab hands-off policy toward Pretoria, South Africa secretly supplied arms to some Gulf countries, notably Iraq and Iran, Mr De Waal confirmed in his interview with Al-Hayat. He insisted, however, that the arms flow to the northern Gulf countries was not simultaneous during their 1980-88 war. and that it had all stopped some years back. .. Sapa-AP.

O

HARARE - Angola is on the verge of
a food breakdown with 3 million poor
people still from hunger and drought,
the World Food Programme (WFP) said
yesterday. It
The WFP is the only relief agency
fully operational in Angola. It has ten
teams of staff members in the province
of Kunene, including "to ban hunger
in Luanda, who won't in the
area, and a radio operator who will
be in the WFP office. In a report
of the office, the building was destroyed by
a fire.

/'

ROBIN DREW,
Mr Leo Nowi Sorvico
The director of operations in Luanda,
Phillip Saul, said the WFP was
working to help food and aid in the
provincial capital, which had a
population of 400,000 people. Not
do not know how or if they survive
ing," he said.
On Wednesday, Borol himself was in
on the way to the road on by Unilever
for the on the way flying in the
I
War-ravaged Angola verges on total collapse
The same day, in Luanda, a WFP team
which flew there found the relief
, ' learning with hundreds of bleeding,
wounded government troops pleading -
to be evacuated to Luanda. .
Borol said about 300,000 people
had sought refuge in: Mahala. Unilever, .
' fallout in Luanda means the only
troops were only 8km away, and
there was a lot of work in the mountains.
War has disrupted work on the land.
The tough hours in Angola and the food will
in how long. In Luanda, the food is
not only any food available in the
area. "We are looking for the
number of people in need of food as
' the number of people before the
-rations as many as 3 million," he said.
The WFP did not have enough food
to feed in the country and was ex-
isting ways of getting more food in
quickly. Lack of security and power
5,500 tons of maize could be unloaded
in the month.
Currently, WFP is bringing food in
' from Benguela, Ulu, Luanda, Luban-
go, Caxombo, Soweto, Mbanza
Congo, Malito do Zombo and 'I'.