

*Only tip of iceberg, says
the ANC's Nyanda*

Purge in SADF may go on, says Louw

Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The South African Defence Force purge has axed the entire top structure of Army Intelligence and wiped out the second command layer of Military Intelligence.

And, Defence Minister Gene Louw said yesterday more Defence Force members could be identified in the continuing investigation by SADF second-in-command Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn and the Goldstone Commission into the SADF's four intelligence branches.

In a bold move President de Klerk announced on Saturday that 16 SADF members, including two generals and four brigadiers, would go on immediate compulsory pension, while seven others would go on immediate compulsory leave.

The names of the 23 officers identified in the preliminary probe have not yet been publicly announced because in some cases their officers commanding were still trying to reach them.

In addition to the other SADF security arms, it is understood that MI has more than 1 000 members.

However, Mr de Klerk said it was hoped the names would be made public before the end of the month.

SADF spokesmen would not confirm the names that have surfaced, but it is understood

that those who have been pensioned off have been given their regular retirement packages.

The chief of Army Intelligence, Major-General Hennie Roux, and his second-in-command, Brigadier Ferdi van Wyk, have been put on immediate retirement.

The director, Brigadier Koos van der Merwe, recently took early retirement, but he was not implicated in the purge in any way.

A senior officer serving directly under Brigadier van Wyk, Colonel Corrie van Rensburg, was earlier this month suddenly transferred from Army Intelligence to Wits Command.

Military Intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen has been left without a second-in-command after the sudden purge.

His deputy, Major-General Chris Thirion, was placed on compulsory retirement.

■ The purge could ease the process of establishing joint control over the security forces, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Sphiwe Nyanda said yesterday.

But he stressed that the joint control would be installed "with, or without the purge".

In its reaction to the retirement and suspensions of 23 SADF officers, the ANC said the purge was "only the tip of the iceberg".

~~1~~ Daily News 22-12-92

IFP's harsh attack on Roelf Meyer

MARTIN CHALLENGOR Political Correspondent

PEOPLE did not have to take the inane Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, too seriously, because not even his own party did, Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said today.

Mr Meyer is in trouble with Ulundi again, this time over remarks he made in Washington about the IFP, its leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and its role in negotiations.

According to reports in South African newspapers, Mr Meyer said in Washington at the weekend that Dr Buthelezi must rejoin multi-party talks soon or face the risk of being left out of negotiations.

Failure to meet the timetable for political change set by the Government would lead to South Africa written off by the international community, Mr Meyer said, suggesting that Dr Buthelezi might take much of the blame for this.

Mr Meyer also said the IFP's unilateral demands for quasi-autonomy were not feasible because the structure of regionalism had to be decided from the top down, rather than from the bottom up.

In response, Dr Mdlalose said: "I fear Mr Meyer is getting a little too big for his boots. It is a bit rich for him to pontificate abroad about the need for multi-party talks when he himself has just emerged from bilateral talks with a party that unilaterally withdrew from Codesa to scupper the process.

"Mr Meyer sounds rather like a demigod laying down the law from what he believes to be his Mount Olympus."

Dr Mdlalose described Mr Meyer's stand on federalism as inane and undemocratic: "Fortunately, one does not have to take too much note of what he says, since his own party does not take him all that seriously."

Dr Buthelezi, addressing KwaZulu Government officials at a Christmas dinner in Ulundi yesterday, said Mr Meyer's threat was "the clearest rejection of a federal formula by the Government".

"It is old baasskap for a mere Minister to threaten me with being left out merely because I do not fall in his line of trotting behind the African National Congress/SA Communist Party alliance as he has been doing for quite some time," Dr Buthelezi said.

DAILY NEWS 22-12-92

Court decides banished KwaZulu farmer can now go back home

A FARMER who was banished exactly four years ago from his home in Umbumbulu by the KwaZulu Government can now go back.

This follows a decision by the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg yesterday to set aside the banishment order against Mr Mkhandi Shozi.

The order was served on Mr Shozi by the KwaZulu Minister of Justice on December 22, 1988, after he had been blamed for unrest in the Umbumbulu district.

It said the KwaZulu Cabinet was satisfied that Mr Shozi's presence in that area was "inimical to the peace, order and good government of the blacks..."

Mr Shozi was ordered to live in the Ubombo area, but he took the matter to the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg last year.

KEITH ROSS

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

He told the court that he wanted to return to the Umbumbulu district: "According to Zulu custom, I am supposed to visit the graves of my ancestors once a year for spiritual guidance."

Mr Shozi said of his new home: "The area is foreign to me and I find life unbearable."

But Mr Justice J. Magid dismissed the action. Mr Shozi appealed and this was heard yesterday by a full Bench of Mr Justice J. Didcott, Mr Justice J. Squires and Mr Justice J. van der Reyden.

Judge Didcott said in his judgment that the original banishment order was issued in terms of legislation that had already been repealed in South Africa.

"The question which we have to decide is this narrow one. Did the repeal operate in KwaZulu."

He decided that it did. This meant that the KwaZulu Government had no power to issue the banishment order in the first place.

Judge Didcott said: "I consider it follows that the appellant should have won his case in the court below."

He ordered: "The costs of both the appeal and the proceedings at first instance must be paid by the respondent."

FEDERALISM

NOT EQUAL TO

WEAK GOVERNMENT

Interview with Inkosi Simon Gumede, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) central committee executive

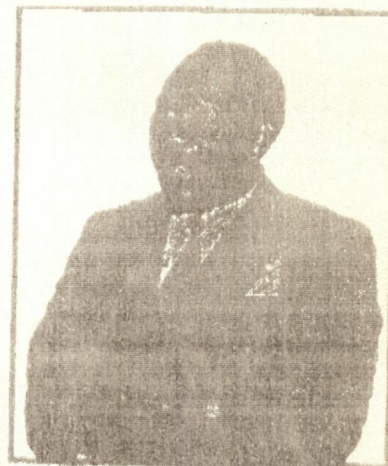


Photo: Courtesy of Elmond Jiyane

Accept federalism first

At this stage, the major thrust of our proposals concerns the principle of federalism rather than the details. This applies also to other federal parties.

What we have to sort out first is broad acceptance of federalism as the most rational way forward. Once we have done this, the nitty gritty of marrying varying proposals will be attended to.

Development regions as basis

We have not been too prescriptive regarding the possible units of the federation, and are happy to take the nine development regions as a basis around which negotiations should be conducted. We are thus not saying there must be 7, 8, 9 or 10 states. The exact number will be determined through negotiations.

What we are saying, however, is that the units themselves must make sense from a number of viewpoints - especially economic and geographic.

We are certainly not arguing for ethnic units per se, though clearly there are certain pertinent implications that will flow from the formulation of second-tier government in different regions of the country.

Future of TBVC states

Everything is negotiable in principle. However, there is no problem regarding the TBVC states since at Codesa there was consensus on the way forward. For instance, TBVC inhabitants will participate in the election for the second stage of the transition. Again, it was accepted at Codesa that the decision regarding reincorporation was theirs alone.

Devolve upwards

Our starting point is that certain necessary and agreed powers are devolved upwards from the states to central government. The balance resides in the states. Allied to this is the notion of subsidiarity, whereby functions of government should be handled at the lowest possible level of government.

In other words, we are looking for a high degree of autonomy over those areas where there should be autonomy. But federalism does not imply a weak federal government. There must be a balance between the two. We believe also that the creation of federal units enjoying wide autonomy is meaningless unless there is a high level of fiscal autonomy as well. To accept that states shall implement their own educational policies, for example, but to permit central government to withhold funding is nonsense.

Bi-cameral representation

Federal government should be bi-cameral - representative of the people in general in one house, and of the states in the second.

Support poorer states

Let's start off by drawing a distinction between a unitary system and a federal system as far as "ownership" of funds is concerned. When we talk of federation, this means that the various tiers of government have their own independent tax bases. The states therefore raise their own taxes and control them. The federal government does likewise. What we have to sort out are the precise mechanics of this. For instance, what formula is negotiated to ensure VAT receipts are distributed in an equitable fashion? Are taxes channelled directly to the states and federal government, or are they collected by one agency and thereafter distributed upwards or downwards?

In other words, the funds of central government are simply those funds that do not accrue to the states or local government - they are not the entire revenue cake. The one area of federal distribution, however, concerns federal transfers - revenue collected from richer states by the federal government to assist the poorer states. Again, this must be negotiated. ■

NEGOTIATIONS

New year wishes

Despite complications tossed into the negotiations brew by the strong federal push of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his group of "concerned South Africans" (Cosag), as well as the PAC's ambivalence about violence, government is "convinced the timescales and objectives it has proposed for 1993 are attainable." That's according to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The timetable for elections is not hard and fast, though there is agreement, notably with the ANC, on the steps to be followed towards:

- ☐ A multilateral negotiating forum;
- ☐ The contents of the transitional constitu-

tion;

- ☐ The principles of a constitution; and
- ☐ Implementation of the transitional executive council.

This programme follows the outline given by President F W de Klerk last month, when he spoke of an election not later than March or April 1994. The date could be brought forward depending on how fast the process moves.

In his last media briefing for the year ("unless something dramatic happens over the next weeks, which we are not predicting"), Meyer told journalists that government had reached this optimistic conclusion as a result of continuous contact with all significant political groups in the country.

"In spite of differences regarding the process and the contents of constitutional development, notable common factors can be identified across the political spectrum."

While the process had been delayed, Meyer said, the interaction among parties and the influence on them of external factors such as the economy and violence "has led to a more pragmatic attitude in most parties."

He gave as examples the "necessity" for strong regional government, a growing economy, power-sharing and constitutional continuity.

He added that the "nature and style" of discussions had changed during the year. This applied especially to the depth of dis-

cussions and their seriousness and intensity.

In the new year, government intends doing everything in its power to get all parties together as soon as possible in one conference. Resumption of multilateral negotiations — in whatever form — had to be the next step. He appealed for the process not to be delayed by arguing over whether to change the name of Codesa. The matter is, however, somewhat more complex given Cosag's insistence on a new forum and Buthelezi's demand for a conference to review decisions reached in Codesa.

Pressed on the question, Meyer pointed to the agreement reached with the ANC that Codesa should be restructured — to bring in other parties — "but it might also be necessary to restructure it from other angles, especially as far as decision-making or at least the structure of its operation is concerned." He thought it was too large and needed to be streamlined.

It was significant that the Minister had "no certainty" about whether Inkatha would accept the Codesa agreements. This would be clarified at next month's meeting.

However, all parties are agreed, Meyer added, that change can be effected only through "a forum of a multiparty nature." A concerted effort to this end would be made over the next two months in bilateral and multilateral talks.

Meetings already arranged with govern-

ment for next month include: Cosag; representatives of the self-governing states; the Afrikaner Volksunie; the ANC; and "maybe" others as well.

It was important to note that multilateral talks should not necessarily replace the one-on-one contact between parties and groups. This presumably includes the critical government-ANC talks, which so rile Buthelezi.

In the coming year, government would encourage talks at regional level on the subject of local authorities. It is here, presum-

ably, that greater clarity will emerge on the status of Buthelezi's regional constitution and its implications.

FINANCIAL MAIL

13 DEC 1992

BUTHELEZI'S PROPOSALS

On the road to UDI?

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that his controversial confederalist draft constitution will be tested at the polls one way or another — with or without government blessing.

Though he says he is confident that President F W de Klerk will accede to a request to hold a regional referendum on the proposals, he adds: "However, should government fail to fulfil this responsibility, the referendum will be organised by a committee established in terms of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly resolution which approved the constitution."

His assertion came from his office in response to an *FM* suggestion that there is speculation that the popularity of the constitution may never be tested because the referendum must be sanctioned by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Natal. Such blessing seems improbable since government has already voiced its displeasure at the constitution and the timing of its publication.

But even this is disputed by Buthelezi: "We are under the impression that the decision to organise and hold a referendum is an activity which requires no approval from any legislative or administrative entity."

In promulgating the proposals (on December 1), Buthelezi said the intention, following its ratification in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, would be to seek approval of a referendum through the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA), a consensus-based, regional power-sharing, administrative body.

However, NPA executive member and JEA vice-chairman Val Volker claims that even if the poll is endorsed by the JEA, it must also be ratified by central government.

Meanwhile, the political hornet's nest stirred by the publication of the document continues buzzing.

The latest agitator is General Bantu Holomisa who launched a vitriolic attack on Buthelezi and Inkatha at the weekend, claiming that the IFP was trying to force its hand in the constitutional arrangements now being mooted. Buthelezi understandably claims that Holomisa, as the head of an unelected military government, is on shaky ground when it comes to pointing democratic fingers.

But the controversy over the timing of the constitution's publication and whether it has a chance of being tested at the polls all but eclipses the proposals.

The constitution outlines a three-tier governing structure comprising a state governor, a senate elected through proportional representation and a legislature elected from small constituencies which respects existing cultural divisions. It also envisages consider-



Buthelezi... determined to hold a regional referendum

able devolution of powers to the regional authorities within the State.

The most controversial aspects of the document centre on the clauses which create a virtually independent State and an impotent central government — and have led to it being labelled a confederal constitution — and on the proposal to establish KwaZulu/Natal state militia and tax systems.

Less controversial are the establishment of a bill of rights, pluralism, universal franchise, minority protection mechanisms, entrenched employment, housing rights, an independent judiciary and a free press. There are safeguards against a burgeoning public sector and sex discrimination.

The document also protects the role of traditional leaders in terms of law and communal property.

On the economic side, there is a commitment to private property ownership, free enterprise and the establishment of structures to promote economic growth. Safeguards against government abuses will be provided through a civil service commission, the appointment of an ombudsman and a constitutional court.

On the face of it, this is a liberal and broadminded document with a lot going for it — hence the apparently growing level of support for it among Natalians.

Wits University's professor Alf Stadler agrees that the constitution is "probably very expertly drafted" and that though theoretically federal systems are terrific and some even work, he has always taken an anti-federal line in the SA context because systems cannot be judged purely on merit.

"It must be considered in the SA context based on structures established by Verwoerd. Unless a way can be devised of estab-

lishing a federal system that does not coincide largely with homeland borders, the concept has an inescapable major weakness.

"However, I have never seen a plausible case, so we're probably stuck with homeland-type structures or a unitary state — and even then, as the ANC is discovering, compromises must be made with some of the leaders."

Natal University's law professor George Devenish points out that while the Buthelezi constitution carries similar clauses to other proposals in terms of civil liberties and checks and balances, his main concern centres on the *de facto* confederal connotations of the constitution. "SA needs a balanced regional system which will probably effectively be federal, though I prefer the term regionalism because it is less contentious."

"However, a strong central government is also needed. It must be capable of dealing with national crises as well as the process of national reconstruction."

Devenish maintains that strong regional and central governments are not incompatible, as demonstrated by the US. He points out that the ANC has increasingly indicated its willingness to accept entrenched regional power, though it initially strongly opposed the principles of federalism. Based on this, he believes the Buthelezi constitution may simply be an "opening" in the constitutional debate.

"Obviously there are good aspects to it," he says. "These proposals build on what the pioneering Natal/KwaZulu Indaba built; so the baby shouldn't be thrown out of the basket. However, so much of it revolves around Buthelezi's negative, arrogant and undiplomatic public image."

If the pragmatists can gain the upper hand, it should be possible for government, the ANC and the IFP to throw their proposals into a melting pot and cook up a workable regional government — balanced against a strong central structure. ■

equipment, the rain still has to fall."

Mr Johan van Wyk, director of the northern Cape Agricultural Union, said last night: "We have an enormous region and feel the drought in every spot."

"Healthy showers fell

and isolated parts of Upington."

Mr Steve Shone, director of the Natal Agricultural Union in Pietermaritzburg, said: "The rain is very localised. In the interior and hinterland we need rain to get the dams full. The Mooi River is no longer flow-

try were caused by worked upper trough to the west," he said.

Some of the best rainfall readings taken yesterday for the 24 hours before 8 am, were Sasolburg 58 mm, Wolmaransstad 42 mm, Vereeniging 41 mm, Pot-

because at the wrong

D
n

AN African National Congress campaign highlight the drought mainly rural areas be today when ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu visits the southern State.

On November 16 Sisulu will tour the Eastern Transvaal, where ANC president Nelson Mandela will visit Northern Transvaal at end of the month.

Announcing the campaign at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC said widespread rains in

ANC using Natal as a testing ground: CP

VIOLENCE would not cease while the government allowed the African National Congress to use Natal as a "testing ground" to topple Black governments resisting its intimidation, Conservative Party MP for Potgietersrus Schalk Pienaar said yesterday.

He was commenting in a statement on the deployment of police and troops in Natal and the proposed funeral oration by ANC leader Nelson Mandela on Sunday.

FW to open exhibition

PRESIDENT De Klerk will open an American-style presidential exhibition which depicts his career from day one, in Vereeniging on November 28.

The permanent exhibition forms part of Vereeniging's centenary celebrations. — Sapa.

Mr Pienaar said the ANC would continue to destabilise South Africa and try to neutralise the Zulu nation as long as the government lacked the courage to actively enforce law and order by acting decisively against the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

"Calling upon thousands of extra-troops and police is merely nursing the symptoms without curing the root cause of the problem — the forcing together of disparate groups into a single conflict-ridden political system.

"The economy cannot bear the burden of this conflict any longer and irreparable harm is being done to the very fabric of society," Mr Pienaar said.

He added that Mr Mandela's proposed oration at the funeral of slain ANC regional leader Reggie Hadebe in the strife-torn Midlands area on Sunday "promises to send the

revolutionary temperature soaring.

"The CP calls on the government to act decisively against the ANC and its armed wing, the MK murder machine, failing which the National Party should abandon the sinking ship — the new South Africa — and resign," Mr Pienaar said. — Sapa.

Storm floods

Citizen Reporter

AT least five houses in the previously drought-stricken far Western Transvaal town of Delareyville were flooded on Wednesday evening, during a sudden thunderstorm in which an estimated 75 mm rain fell in an hour. Mr Piet Cloete, whose house is situated at a crossroads in the town, told The Citizen yesterday it was the third time his home had been flooded — the first having been in 1976 and the most recent three years ago.

He hopes his car will be saved from ruin after the lengthy drying treatment they were subjected to yesterday.

"Luckily the (K) police came to help pile up my furniture most of it would be wet," said Mr Cloete.

Policemen from Delareyville Police station waded knee-deep through water through Cloete's home, where level was above the window ledges in some places.

"We did not dare open

KwaZulu policeman dies at ANC peace meeting

Citizen Reporter

A KWAZULU policeman was killed and another seriously injured at an African National Congress peace meeting in Ndwedwe on the Natal North Coast on Sunday.

A police vehicle was damaged and a Nissan van was burnt in the incident, which started when Warrant Officer R T Nzimande and Constable S D Nqobo, were attacked by a

group of about 20 people when they arrived for guard duties at the meeting, in a football stadium.

Shots were fired and in the crossfire, W/O Nzimande was shot dead and Const Nqobo was shot in the right shoulder, according to KwaZulu police spokesman Lieutenant R M Jiyane.

A G3 rifle with 15 rounds, a 7.65 mm pistol, an appointment cer-

tificate and a pair of shoes were taken from W/O Nzimande.

ANC regional organiser, Mr Bheki Cele, said the organisation was looking into the matter and would comment as soon as "all the facts are known."

Mr Cele confirmed that the meeting was a peace meeting called by the various leaders in the area.

No arrests have been made.

Monday 30 November 1992

ANC probe into camps cover-up attempt: MP

Citizen Reporter

AMNESTY International's latest report on ANC torture camps proved "beyond doubt" that the ANC's own recent investigations were no more than a cover-up attempt, Dr Johan Steenkamp, MP for Umlazi and Director of Information of the National Party in Natal, said yesterday.

He was reacting to the 26-page report by Amnesty International which was released in London last week, and revealed illegal cases of ANC abuse at camps in Angola, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

from an organisation that has always maintained the South African security establishment is unfit to investigate transgressions by its own members."

Because these atrocities took place beyond South Africa's borders, Dr Steenkamp said, such investigations should be done by an objective panel of experienced international investigators.

"After all, our government has allowed such into South Africa to watch closely the investigations undertaken by our police force, the Goldstone Commission and others."

takes on an even more sinister character."

He said the NP agreed with Amnesty International that none of the offenders was fit for political or any other office in a future South Africa. "This, in our view, also applies to the present ANC leadership, which has accepted full responsibility for these crimes against humanity."

The ANC, according to Dr Steenkamp, is an organisation that shows no respect for the lives of its members, has on its record hundreds of charred, necklaced corpses of the so-called oppressed, has maimed innocent people with

Min's warning to IFP 'a bit rich': Mdlalose

DURBAN. — Having just emerged from bilateral talks with a party that effectively scuppered South Africa's multi-party forum, Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer had no right to issue warnings to Inkatha on this matter, IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

Dr Mdlalose was reacting to a statement in Washington at the weekend by Mr Meyer, warning IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he might be left out of negotiations if he did not agree to join multi-party talks soon.

"I fear Mr Meyer is getting a little too big for his boots. It is a bit rich for him to pontificate abroad about the need for multi-party

talks, when he himself has just emerged from bilateral talks with a party that unilaterally withdrew from Codesa to scupper the process," said Dr Mdlalose. — Sapa.

'Clear rejection of a federal formula in SA'

ULUNDI. — Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer's threat that the Inkatha Freedom Party could be left out of upcoming negotiations was "the clearest rejection of a federal formula by the government", IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Referring to Mr Meyer's weekend criticism in Washington of the IFP for its proposed constitution for the State of Kwa-

Zulu/Natal, he said the Minister's statement smacked of "baasskap".

"It is old 'baasskap' for a mere Minister to threaten me with being left out merely because I do not fall in his line of trotting behind the ANC/SACP alliance as he has been doing for quite some time."

Addressing KwaZulu Government officials at a Christmas dinner in the homeland capital of

Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi pointed out that he already considered himself excluded from Codesa, the multi-party negotiation forum which collapsed earlier this year.

"The decision, taken by the government in cahoots with the ANC/SACP alliance to exclude the Zulu nation from Codesa ... remains the position and as long as that is the position, I consider myself to be already excluded."

Referring to the proposed State of KwaZulu/Natal, Chief Buthelezi said the constitution would have to be negotiated with political parties at central level.

"No-one should interpret this constitution as an act of secession. We

are not suggesting that the State of KwaZulu/Natal should be independent or even self-sufficient.

"Clearly our state will need to be part of a greater whole organised around federal principles."

I blame the govt

I FULLY agree with the letter from Mannon Lee (The Citizen December 10), that the death penalty should be reintroduced immediately.

During the past three years, the number of senseless murders in this country has reached completely unacceptable figures, yet the government seems to turn a blind eye to these murders, for fear of antagonising the ANC, who object to these murderers being hanged.

I therefore blame the government for the murder of more than 200 of their own policemen during the past year, and almost the same number last year, and I predict the same number again next year.

I blame the government for the almost daily brutal murders of our farmers and their wives.

I blame the government for the almost daily murders of defenceless elderly citizens.

I blame the government for the almost daily murders of innocent victims of vicious armed robberies.

I blame the government for the murders of train commuters who are peacefully travelling to work.

I blame the government for all the other senseless murders which have taken place recently, because they, and they alone, had the power to have prevented most of these murders, by carry-

ing out the death penalty, when imposed.

I know that if I commit a murder that I will not be hanged for it, and so do all of those who have already committed murder these past few years, and also those who will commit murder in the coming years.

They all know that they will escape the hangman's noose.

If the death penalty were to be carried out when required, and the government has the power to reintroduce it, they would save hundreds of lives in the future.

The choice is up to them.

ACT NOW

Vereeniging

Armed gangs terrorising Evaton: ANC

CRIME in Evaton township south of Johannesburg had reached alarming proportions and local businessmen had to deal with armed gangs extorting thousands of rands, the local African National Congress Youth League branch said yesterday.

Ancyl spokesman Mr Sipho Nhlapo said efforts were being made to co-ordinate resistance within

the community to criminal gangs.

Mr Nhlapo said one of the latest ploys of criminals was to deliver threatening letters to business people demanding sums of money.

Businessmen, church leaders and community-based organisations would discuss the matter at a meeting in Sebokeng today. — Sapa.

The Citizen 22-12-92

Murdered whore's client robbed while naked

By Sandra Lieberum

BAREND Pretorius (22), the young fiancé of murdered Hillbrow prostitute Mrs Brenda van Zyl (49) — whose naked body was found on a mine dump near Wemmer Pan — was yesterday jailed for eight years for hiding in a cupboard and robbing one of her clients when the client was naked.

A co-accused, Hugh Bothma (21), of Albertsvier was jailed for 10 years for his part in the robbery on June 31 this year of Mr J Bester.

Regional court magistrate, Mr P C B Luyt, ordered that both accused attend the jail drug rehabilitation programme.

He noted that while Pretorius was a first of-

fender, Bothma admitted numerous previous offences dating from 1984.

Passing sentence he described the robbery as "a cowardly reprehensible crime which was well planned".

Mrs Van Zyl and the accused planned that the two accused would rob Mrs Van Zyl's client. They waited in a cupboard until Mrs Van Zyl and the client were busy on the bed.

The client, said the magistrate, "was helpless — he was naked on the bed" — and he was held up at knife point, and then tied up and robbed not only of his money and his car, but of his clothing as well.

The magistrate said that he had given consideration to the argument by defence counsel, Mr S Kuny of the office of the Public Defender that the two accused, both abusers of dagga and Mandrax, should be sent to a rehabilitation centre.

The probation officer's report stated that Bothma had been in jail previously and had not been motivated to participate in the rehabilitation programme.

However, after his release he stopped using drugs for seven months but started again about two weeks before the crime.

While rehabilitation

was an important part of sentence, said the magistrate, it appeared that the robbery had been planned beforehand and that the two accused had used dagga and Mandrax on the day of the crime and not on the day the crime was planned. The drugs therefore did not appear to have caused the crime, although money obtained from the crime was used to purchase drugs.

The court rejected the request that the two be sent to drug rehabilitation centres.

They previously pleaded guilty to robbing the client and admitted hiding in the cupboard and waiting until he was naked and helpless.

Yesterday the prosecutor, Mr W Matekan, called probation officer, Mr A Krause to testify.

His evidence was that both accused came from homes where alcohol was abused.

The first accused kept running away from home and ended up in an industrial school. The second accused kept running away from the children's home and ended up in an industrial school.

Both abused Mandrax and dagga and had unstable work records.

KwaZulu policeman dies at ANC peace meeting

Citizen Reporter

A KWAZULU policeman was killed and another seriously injured at an African National Congress peace meeting in Ndwedwe on the Natal North Coast on Sunday.

A police vehicle was damaged and a Nissan van was burnt in the incident, which started when Warrant Officer R T Nzimande and Constable S D Nqobobo, were attacked by a

group of about 20 people when they arrived for guard duties at the meeting, in a football stadium.

Shots were fired and in the crossfire, W/O Nzimande was shot dead and Const Nqobobo was shot in the right shoulder, according to KwaZulu police spokesman Lieutenant R M Jiyane.

A G3 rifle with 15 rounds, a 7.65 mm pistol, an appointment cer-

tificate and a pair of shoes were taken from W/O Nzimande.

ANC regional organiser, Mr Bheki Cele, said the organisation was looking into the matter and would comment as soon as "all the facts are known."

Mr Cele confirmed that the meeting was a peace meeting called by the various leaders in the area.

No arrests have been made.

The Citizen 22-12-92

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Enough

22-12-92

An 18-year-old girl and her boyfriend enter the driveway of his parents' home in Kew, Johannesburg.

Two robbers run up to the vehicle, force open the doors and, without warning, shoot the girl in the chest, fatally wounding her, and snatch her handbag.

At Ficksburg, in the Orange Free State, a 15-year-old girl is shot dead in an attack on her parents' farmhouse.

Police suspect her killers were APLA terrorists.

The two incidents are unrelated – in the case of the girl killed in Kew, the murder was a manifestation of utter gangsterism.

In the Ficksburg killing, the attack was a terrorist one.

But both are indications of the terrible lawlessness gripping this country.

It shows how vicious people are, it shows contempt for the life of victims, but above all it shows a disrespect for the law and dismissal of the possible consequences.

We are all insecure. We are all possible victims. We are all terrified that gangsters will kill us in the driveways of our homes, or rape our womenfolk, or hijack our cars, or, if we are farmers, attack us in our farm homesteads.

The country is no longer suffering just from political violence. It is being subjected to the most vicious, the most ruthless gangsterism imaginable.

There must be an end to it. And the only way to bring an end to it is to reinstate hanging, the only deterrent that can make people think twice before they pull the trigger and take a life.

Of course, the bleeding hearts will say No, the death penalty is not a deterrent.

Balderdash.

If a political thug thinks he can plead political motives and can get amnesty instead of being hanged, and if the criminal thug thinks he can kill and not be executed, they will shoot without mercy.

Some, including Cabinet Ministers, will place the blame on poor socio-economic conditions.

Yes, some people turn to crime because they are out of work and desperate, but they don't kill to get food or clothes.

Those who kill are thugs who find it easy to acquire AK-47s and other guns; they are killers who think nothing of shooting their victims, and they know that nobody gets executed these days as there is a moratorium on hangings.

Ah, the bleeding hearts will say, if everyone is nicely educated, and has a job, and has something to live for, there wouldn't be gangsters.

Balderdash.

People are gangsters because they don't have any regard for life, because they have become accustomed to violence in the townships, and because they are vicious robbers and murderers.

There will also be people who will say the Whites are crying only because they have become victims, both of criminals and political thugs.

Not so. We cry for all the thousands of Blacks who have been killed in the war between Blacks for power and in violent crime.

It is time, then, that the government acted to curb the killings, the gangsterism, the thugery that menaces us all, whatever our colour, whatever our race.

Police are now patrolling 200 farms along the Lesotho border because of APLA attacks.

The government, however, should impose a state of emergency in the Eastern Cape and ban APLA.

Sure, the police are doing their best to catch the murderers in our suburbs and to prevent violent crime, but it is a hopeless task to keep an eye on every home, or patrol every street. So it comes down to one thing: Start hanging murderers and to heck with the ANC or anyone else who says don't.

The government has to show that crime, especially violent crime, does not pay – and that coldblooded murderers will not only be sentenced to death, but that the sentence will be carried out.

LP appears set to align with ANC

CAPE TOWN. — The Labour Party appears set to formalise its fraternal relationship with the African National Congress after its 27th annual congress in Port Elizabeth on December 28 and 29.

Depleted by defections and fractured by uncertainty over its viability as an independent entity, the LP now regards an alignment of sorts with the ANC as a logical next step to cement the close ties which developed between the two organisations within Codesa and the Patriotic Front.

But the LP is clearly divided over whether to disband and formally join the ANC, or whether to retain its identity and enter a formal or informal alliance with the liberation movement.

The LP leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, is known to strongly favour alignment with the ANC, prompting weekend news media reports that he would announce his retirement at congress to preserve party unity.

Party spokesman Peter Hendrickse said speculation that his father, who is 65, would quit as party leader was "news to me"

and described it as "unlikely" — but did not rule out that possibility.

Observers believe, however, the LP cannot afford to lose Mr Hendrickse Senior's considerable political acumen and experience at this critical stage in its history.

Peter Hendrickse said yesterday a formal LP-ANC alliance, which would see the LP becoming a de facto fourth partner in the ANC-SACP-Cosatu tri-partite alliance, had the support of the majority of the LP caucus.

"I believe the majority are in favour of an alliance with the ANC," he said.

However, a less-structured working alliance may in fact prove a compromise option to placate those MPs who oppose formal ties with the ANC because of its links with the South African Communist Party.

A number of MPs, notably those representing conservative rural constituencies, are known to reject links with the ANC because of its association with the SACP.

Animosity within the LP caucus toward the National Party also makes any form of co-operation with the NP a non-starter.

The NP's carefully-orchestrated "palace coup" in the House of Representatives earlier this year, which led to a mass defection of LP MPs and Allan Hendrickse's demise as chairman of the Minister's Council, has left a legacy of bitterness toward the NP.

A number of the LP's older MPs have, however, indicated their desire to retire or move out of public life, leaving younger men to chart the party's future course.

The LP "Young Turks", which include Peter Hendrickse, his brother Michael, brother-in-law Desmond Lockey and MP for Durban Suburbs Llewellyn Landers, are regarded as close to the ANC.

If the alliance option is adopted, they are certain to figure prominently in the new party leadership.

But the acid test will be the ability of a new-look LP to carry its conservative rural constituency into any alliance with the ANC.

The NP's 2 500-majority by-election win over the LP in the Diamant (Kimberley) constituency earlier this year does not bode well for the political fortunes of a Left-leaning LP. — Sapa.

The Citizen 22-12-92

The Star 22-12-92

Thirion packs bags, goes 'quietly'

Pretoria Correspondent

Major-General Chris Thirion, Deputy Chief of Staff Intelligence, will not fight the State President's decision to place him on early retirement as part of a major purge of the top structure of the SA Defence Force.

Speaking from his office yesterday, where he was packing his bags, Thirion said it would be in the best interests of South Africa, the SADF and Military Intelligence (MI) if he quietly retired.

"Appealing against these al-

legations and my forced retirement would not be in the best interests of the constitutional process in South Africa," he said.

Thirion was one of two generals, four brigadiers and 17 other senior officers to be suspended or retired by President de Klerk after a preliminary investigation of intelligence operations by Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, the SADF Chief of Staff.

Steyn was asked to conduct the investigation after the Goldstone Commission's revelations of a secret MI unit which was

set up to discredit the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Thirion said he had nothing to hide but "could have made mistakes".

"I won't say I never did anything wrong. It is possible I made mistakes, but I never intentionally did anything to sabotage the constitutional process. I consider myself a good professional soldier but I'm only human," he said.

The other general purged is Major-General Hennie Roux, Chief of Army Intelligence, who yesterday said he did not wish to comment at this stage.

What if war broke out?

HOW much did the President know? How much did his Cabinet know? And can anyone accept that it takes two weeks to trace the whereabouts of the country's top brass on their Christmas break?

These are the questions being asked in London following the announcement in Cape Town on Saturday that President de Klerk was sacking or suspending 23 senior military officers.

The news has been given major prominence throughout Europe in radio and television newscasts and in Sunday newspapers.

But it is generally too early for informed comment on the long-suspected revelations that some of the most powerful military chiefs in the land were involved in attempts to sabotage the government's political reform policies, that they may have stirred up the bloody township fighting and even been the architects of murder.

John Carlin of the Independent on Sunday is quite incredulous. He writes: "De Klerk's line is that elements of the security forces were out of control, Ministers were not told what was going on ... but the evidence has long been so overwhelming that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he could have escaped knowing about it only by deliberately averting his gaze."

People abroad will also be baffled that many of the country's Defence Force kingpins don't leave a contact address over Christmas. What if a war should break out? — Star Bureau. □

The Star 22-12-92

Purge creates intelligence crisis

By Jacques Pauw
and Esther Waugh

The SA Defence Force purge has axed the entire top structure of Army Intelligence (AI) and wiped out the second command layer of Military Intelligence (MI).

Military sources told The Star that the compulsory retirements and suspensions had caught them by surprise and caused a crisis in the SADF's military intelligence establishment.

And Defence Minister Gene Louw said yesterday that more defence force members could be identified in the continuing investiga-

tion by SADF second-in-command Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn and the Goldstone Commission into the SADF's four intelligence branches.

In a bold move, President de Klerk announced on Saturday that 16 SADF members, including two generals and four brigadiers, would go on immediate compulsory pension while seven others would go on immediate compulsory leave.

The names of the 23 officers identified in the preliminary probe have not yet been publicly announced because, in some cases, their officers commanding were

still trying to reach them. In addition to the other SADF security arms, it is understood that MI has more than 1 000 members.

However, De Klerk said the names would hopefully be made public before the end of the month.

SADF spokesmen would not confirm the names which have surfaced, but it is understood that those who have been pensioned off have been given their regular retirement packages.

The chief of AI, Major-General Hennie Roux, and his second-in-command, Brigadier Ferdi van Wyk, have been put on immediate

retirement.

The director of AI, Brigadier Oos van der Merwe, recently took early retirement but he was not implicated in the purge.

A senior officer serving directly under Van Wyk — Colonel Corrie van Rensburg — was earlier this month suddenly transferred from AI to Wits Command.

MI chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen has been left without a second-in-command after the sudden purge.

His deputy, Major-General Chris Thirion, was placed on

● To Page 3

SADF intelligence crisis after purge

● From Page 1

compulsory retirement.

Military sources said Thirion enjoyed widespread support and respect in MI, and his retirement had caused unhappiness in MI ranks.

They said he was not opposed to the Government's reform policies and was one of the few MI officers to go through the ranks in the intelligence arm of the SADF.

They said the divisions within

MI could not simply be drawn along anti- and pro-reform lines. There were cases of anti-reform members supporting pro-reform seniors because of personal loyalty.

Sources labelled the purge as "damage control" by De Klerk, saying it was unlikely that the very top structure of the SADF would be axed.

Democratic Party defence spokesman Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers said it could be that

those placed on compulsory pension were SADF members who did not support the Government's reform programme — a move similar to the retirement of SAP generals earlier this year.

SADF members put on compulsory leave could have been actively involved in activities against the Government's policies and could possibly face charges pending the completion of Steyn's investigation.

Peace to the peacemakers

WHO would be a Peace Accord official in South Africa? Derided by the public for failing to produce immediate results, mucked about by unreliable and often disingenuous politicians ... peacemaking is not a job for the faint-hearted or thin-skinned.

As this year — in which there has been so little to celebrate — draws to a close, we should be grateful that the National Peace Accord is still intact, and that the people who seek to make it work are motivated to achieve more in 1993. Largely invisible are the advances that have been made at grassroots level in some areas; yet it is among ordinary people that the battle must be fought and won.

The National Peace Committee has just launched a major advertising campaign to promote peace over the festive season. Obviously this will not in itself ensure that fewer people kill each other, but it is a timely reminder to all of us that South Africa has just about reached its limit in terms of absorbing violence and its grim effects.

Officials are calling on individual South Africans of all stripes to put their minds to peace over this season of supposed goodwill. The Peace Committee asks that all of us "think about what peace means to us personally and to look for ways in which each one of us can do something to promote peace".

Cynics may argue that this is a meaningless gesture, but we do not think so. The violence ripping our country apart affects each one of us, whether we live in a battle-scarred township or a fortress-like suburb. The nation's psyche has been deeply damaged by the fact that we have allowed the death count to spiral in the past year.

Why not try to think of ways, however small, in which you can promote the concept of peace in your immediate environment?

As the National Peace Committee points out so accurately: "The message we need to preach is that we can no longer wait for our leaders to promote peace, as too many of them are paying lip service while more people are dying and homes and families are being destroyed."

Black states keep things cleaner

I was walking in Johannesburg city centre the other day when I was suddenly seized by a desire to cart the city fathers en masse off to Asmara in Eritrea, or Lusaka, Zambia.

South Africans keep saying: "What can those people teach us." Cleanliness, I'd say. They keep their streets clean and you're not likely to collide with a rotten cabbage on the pavement or skid on a banana skin and break a leg in the main street.

This is a rather delicate area which calls for some diplomatic language.

The new South Africa is at hand and has ushered in all these freedoms which we need not, dare not, trample upon. People are coming out from all walks of life to claim the turf, so to speak, long denied them.

But if I can help it, I give the city centre a wide berth, especially now during the festive season, when people fight for every little space on the pavement.

The other day I knocked over one poor fellow's box of samoosas. I wasn't amused, I can tell you. Neither was he.

This is obviously a subject that will concentrate serious minds for some years to come. Robert Mugabe discovered, when he came into power, that he had to demolish some squatters' shacks, much to the delight of his detractors. I can see it happening here.

When the taxi business started some years ago, those who worship the market cheered. Now black taxis are something to be feared by both passengers and motorists.

But a trip to Eritrea would be an eye-opener. The streets are spick-and-span and free of crime.

Politicians, former fighters and the general populace are all pulling together to build their war-ravaged country. Can you imagine our politicians working without pay? Or ex-guerillas building roads for nothing but food and accommodation?

And they fought a real war. The trenches and the weapons have now been turned into tourist attractions.

Out of Africa

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI



The Eritrea experience certainly puts the word "struggle" in its proper perspective. We haven't seen anything like it here.

□ □ □

One man who made the trip to Eritrea is Actstop activist Cas Coovadia, and he brought himself a memento: a 1982 copy of The African Communist, mouthpiece of the SA Communist Party.

Cas was browsing in a bookshop in Asmara when he came across the booklet, dedicated to the ANC's 70th anniversary.

"I just had to buy it," he chuckled.

The contents are enough to water the buds of every true comrade. A man who goes by the unlikely name of Bamb'uzufekhona writes a treatise from Maputo on "Why I want to join the Communist Party".

Atol Fugard gets a pasting from a reviewer for a reference to authors like Camus, Sartre and Beckett while not making mention of Nyerere, Ngugi and Fanon.

□ □ □

Some Ethiopians say they know why the rains haven't been falling in their part of the world. It's all Mengistu Haile Mariam's fault.

Ethiopia experienced one of its harshest droughts during Mengistu's reign. Now, more than a year after he was overthrown, Ethiopia has good rainfalls and a bumper crop is expected.

But, in the meantime, southern Africa where Mengistu fled to, has had one of its harshest droughts.

Here are some interesting statistics on Ethiopia: the country has 42 million sheep and goats; seven million horses and donkeys; a million camels; 42 million poultry and 27 million cattle. It has a population of 51 million.

As one man asked: "So why are people starving?"

Good question. □

Patrick Laurence looks at 1992, the year in which blinkered politicians ruled

Dancing too close to the abyss

NOT even the most incorrigible optimist could describe 1992 as a good year for South Africa.

To rephrase Charles Dickens, 1992 was — for the most part — the worst of times unleavened by hope from the best of times, a year when South Africa's foolish politicians refused to recognise the need for wise statesmanship.

The year began on a buoyant note. Codesa, launched shortly before Christmas last year, kindled hopes that South Africa's political leaders would resolve their differences amicably and jointly launch a new, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

But within weeks Codesa began to be a synonym for confusion, a South African Tower of Babel, unintelligible to the layman. Attempts by political analysts to explain the issues recalled Mark Twain's aphorism: "The more you explain it, the less I understand it."

By the end of May, however, it was clear that the two main actors, the De Klerk administration and the ANC, could or would not agree.

The differences appeared to be marginal: a question of whether regional issues — the borders and powers of regions in a future

South Africa — would be decided by a 70 or 75 percent majority in the envisaged constituent assembly. Beneath the seemingly negligible difference was deep mutual distrust.

South Africa's Winter of Discontent began shortly after. The Boipatong massacre, in which more than 40 men, women and children were massacred by nocturnal marauders on the night of June 17.

The ANC lost no time in accusing De Klerk of being party to a conspiracy to murder and maim innocent people. When De Klerk, perhaps responding to calls in the media for him to show solidarity with the bereaved families, visited the township, he was accused of opportunism and, confronted by angry youths, forced to leave.

Churchmen and politicians, who had been conspicuously silent in April when black people sympathetic to Inkatha had been hacked and burnt to death by unidentified attackers, chorused their protest and pointed fingers at De Klerk. The ANC broke off talks and formally withdrew from Codesa.

South Africa then braced itself for an ANC campaign of mass action — protest marches, strikes and sit-ins — in support of its demands for popular elections for a constituent assembly and an inter-

im government of national unity.

The ANC's mass action campaign was seen by observers as fulfilling another objective: re-establishing contact between the ANC leaders and their rank-and-file supporters, many of whom were suspicious of Codesa.

Then came another dreadful massacre, when at least 28 ANC marchers were shot dead by Ciskei soldiers while attempting to march on and — according to some accounts — to occupy the Ciskei's capital of Bisho.

The Ciskei soldiers were sharply condemned by Judge Richard Goldstone in his report of the killings. The ANC — and more espe-

cially one of the march leaders, Ronnie Kasrils — was also condemned for attempting to lead the marchers out of a sports stadium in contravention of the conditions under which permission for the march to take place had been granted.

Fortunately, however, the Bisho massacre — which earned the Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo the sobriquet "Butcher of Bisho" — brought home to the De Klerk administration and the ANC just how close South Africa was to the abyss. They pulled back and gradually relations between them began to improve.

The process led to the Record of Understanding of September 26. De Klerk and the ANC president, Nelson Mandela, once more exchanged smiles and handshakes in public; more important, they agreed to work together to resolve outstanding problems.

Their pact included a threefold agreement: first, to fence selected migrant worker hostels which the ANC saw as barracks used by IFP vigilantes to attack township folk; second, to outlaw the carrying of "traditional weapons" by IFP members in public places; and, third, to facilitate the installation of an interim government of national unity and the holding of national elections for a constituent assembly as soon as practically possible.

The agreement was later consolidated when the two sides met for three days at a secluded venue for intense discussions. The "bos-beraad" led Joe Slovo, the astute national chairman of the SACP, to observe that he thought the De Klerk government had finally resolved to "walk the last mile" in the quest for a just settlement.

But the rekindled hope had to be balanced against a countervailing development. The rapprochement between the De Klerk administration and the ANC

aroused intense opposition from Mangosuthu Buthelezi; he saw it as collusion by the two parties to impose a settlement on the rest of South Africa.

As early as April, Buthelezi and his two closest allies, Lucas Mangope and Gqozo, sensing that De Klerk might conclude a deal with the ANC, had warned him not to mistake his enemies for friends and his friends for enemies.

After the Record of Understanding, Buthelezi and his allies joined forces with Afrikaners in the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie to oppose the Mandela-De Klerk accord and to raise the vision of an alternative South Africa to the one they believed Mandela and De Klerk were trying to foist on them.

The politicians conducted their manoeuvres to a cacophony generated by the violent conflict in the black townships and even in the white-controlled towns. The border between political and criminal violence continued to blur as the death toll increased by nearly 20 percent of the 1991 total.

The year ended on an ominous note after units of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, filled with a spirit of revanchism, launched two attacks on white civilians; the attacks evoked threats

of revenge from the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and precipitated fears of race wars.

Suspensions that De Klerk was unable or unwilling to control his generals grew during the year, especially after Judge Goldstone unveiled the existence of the Directorate of Covert Collections, a military department which uncannily resembled the supposedly disbanded and dreaded Civilian Cooperation Bureau. De Klerk, however, went some way to recouping his position when he dismissed or suspended 23 military officers for involvement in illegal or unauthorised activities.

The ANC's security force department was shown to contain men who could not be trusted with power; two investigations, one, a hopeful development, by the ANC itself and another by Amnesty International, showed that top security men, with the connivance of unnamed ANC leaders, had abused power and tortured prisoners in ANC detention camps.

To sum up: 1992 was, or should have been, a year in which illusions were destroyed, naive hopes abandoned and South Africans toughened for the arduous task of negotiating a settlement, grit by gritty bit. □

COMMENT

New constellation

REGIONAL integration in the western hemisphere has been talked about for decades. Only lately, however, have countries begun to commit themselves to the substance of years of lofty resolution-making in the Americas, Europe — and now in sub-Saharan Africa.

Virtually the last foreign policy achievement of the outgoing Bush administration has been to engage the US in the North American Free Trade Area (Nafta) along with Canada and Mexico. The result will be a single market stretching from the Bering Strait to the Guatemalan border.

At the end of next week the European single market comes into being, and the nationals of EC member states will no longer need to possess work permits or traverse customs posts to move from country to country.

It is only natural that some of this renewed fervour for international commercial cohabitation has spread to Africa. Up to now, many of the attempts at regional integration south of the Sahara have been of the clenched-teeth variety, based more on the arm-twisting of the defunct Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) that wrestled together the former command economies of eastern Europe.

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland of the '60s, the East African Community of the '70s and the

Southern African Development Coordination Conference of the '80s were all ill-fated and ineffectual attempts to whip up regional camaraderie. P W Botha's proposed constellation of southern African states was likewise always a non-given South Africa's political isolation and the region's chronic famine and growing impoverishment.

Today, however, conditions are much more favourable for a new and wider sub-Saharan constellation of the type proposed by the Organisation of African Unity, the World Bank and 16 African countries including South Africa. Internal wars are being supplanted by agreements and multiparty elections; economic restructuring is under way with the support of multilateral lending organisations. Domestic political reform has brought South Africa back into the equation.

A new constellation extending from the Cape to Kampala may, like its predecessors, have full lifelines such as the Benguela railway to Lobito and the Tazara line to Dar es Salaam, as well as no-stops access to South Africa's First Transvaal infrastructure.

The horrors of economic collapse in the Horn of Africa should supply all the impetus governments there south need to accelerate regional integration. The 1992 drought should be the last that countries of southern Africa have to combat alone.

Right-wing threats of revenge

Govt steps up pressure over border raids

GOVERNMENT handed a formal protest note to Transkei and stepped up diplomatic pressure on Lesotho yesterday as right-wingers threatened to take the law into their own hands and strike at Apla bases in the two countries.

The CP has vowed to take unilateral action against the alleged bases unless government implements strong measures against the PAC's armed wing within a week.

The weekend slaying of a 14-year-old girl in Ficksburg, near the Lesotho border, has also prompted threats of arbitrary revenge attacks on blacks by right-wing extremists in the area.

While the CP has welcomed the deployment of policemen on the 200 farms along the SA border with Lesotho, it has urged that hot pursuit operations be authorised into the country. "Mere statements of co-operation with the Lesotho police are not enough," the CP said.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the "fullest co-operation" was being received from Lesotho, where the girl's killers fled.

Another source said the attack was probably launched from within SA, and not from bases in Lesotho. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has mentioned Transkei and Zimbabwe as possible sites for Apla-bases.

Foreign Affairs said the diplomatic protest to Transkei demanded strong action against gunmen who attacked SA vehicles on a section of the Queenstown-Dordrecht road which passes through Transkei.

Tonight, Ficksburg farmers, police,

RAY HARTLEY
and DIRK HARTFORD

army and AWB officials plan to hold a meeting to discuss the spate of attacks against residents in the area. Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee — who is also the Free State leader of the NP — are expected to attend the meeting.

At the same time, Sapa reports the Lesotho government has called a special meeting to discuss the deteriorating security situation along the border.

Two more deaths occurred on a Free State farm yesterday, but police suspected the motive for the attack was robbery. Koos Ward, 70, and his 34-year-old daughter Ammi were shot dead by an intruder on their farm outside Theunissen yesterday.

Foreign Affairs and police spokesmen have expressed fear that right-wing action might upset delicate operations, in co-operation with other governments, to stop the killings. "While channels between the governments of SA, Transkei and Lesotho remain open, we believe any unilateral action by groups will be unfortunate," the Foreign Affairs spokesman said.

Government wished to decide on a joint strategy with Transkei to counter the attacks, but would first evaluate the homeland's response to the protest note, he said.

Police spokesman Col Louis Botha said heightened security, including additional Internal Stability Unit bases, permanent and mobile roadblocks, farm patrols and spot checks on vehicles, were being implemented. He said it was clear the perpetrators of incidents in the Border region were

□ To Page 2

Border raids

□ From Page 1

coming from Transkei and returning there afterwards, "frustrating" police who could operate only in SA.

Individuals were being advised at border roadblocks not to travel through Transkei, and Transkei police had begun escorting vehicles in some areas.

Police would testify about the size and nature of Apla forces before a Goldstone commission hearing today and early in January, he said, adding that Apla was "not a very large grouping" which confined its attacks to within a couple of kilometres of the Transkei border.

The latest attacks showed that slow-moving vehicles on isolated roads were being targeted.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said right-wing organisations were co-ordinating efforts to defend SA's borders with Lesotho and Transkei. An undis-

closed number of right-wing commandos were moving into the border areas, he said.

Sapa reports that the Boere Weerstandsbeweging has warned its supporters to prepare for civil war. The organisation said it had deployed a platoon of its military wing on the SA border with Transkei.

Van Tonder said the time had come for people to defend themselves. Urging the police and SADF to intervene before this happened, he insisted there were Apla bases in both Lesotho and Transkei, and that plans were being orchestrated there to get farmers off their land.

Sapa reports that Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said the union had confidential information that attacks on Free State and Cape farms could spread to the Transvaal at the weekend. He called on government to use the SADF to restore law and order.

Forum delayed by Cabinet shuffle

ADRIAN HAOLAND

PLANS to launch a national forum on the future of local government by the end of this year had been delayed following recent changes in the Cabinet, a SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) spokesman said.

Sanco publicity secretary Max Mabase said the appointment of Tertius Delpont as Local Government Minister on December 1 had "disrupted the whole process".

Manpower Minister Leon Wessels dropped the post in favour of a greater role in

national negotiations.

Mabase suggested the portfolio change was a deliberate action by the Cabinet to delay the establishment of the national forum.

Mabase said civic leaders were suspicious of Delpont's role in the collapse of Codesa and were wary of his intentions regarding strengthening NP influence at local government level.

A Local Government Department spokesman said

establishing a national negotiating structure was one of Delpont's highest priorities and that he envisaged a far broader forum than negotiations between government and the civics.

Mabase said a local government steering committee comprising representatives of Sanco, the four provincial administrations and local authorities, would be meeting in January to continue discussions about a new national forum for local government.

Inkatha's absence will not derail govt's reform train

SIMON BARBER in Washington

RELATIONS between government and Inkatha were now worse than those between Inkatha and the ANC, government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said last Friday. Strong stuff, seeing as how supporters of the ANC and Inkatha are still killing each other.

The Constitutional Development Minister was speaking at one of the SA "breakfasts" hosted by the Aspen Institute's Pauline Baker in Washington. He probably would have said the same thing to US President-elect Bill Clinton's transitional advisers had they agreed to see him. They would not (although no slight was implied by this) so he did the next best thing. Baker is still in the running for a Clinton Africa policy slot.

Some in the audience thought he was being insincere and that government was only faking estrangement from Inkatha to show that Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not the "surrogate" ANC president Nelson Mandela claimed he was in his address to the UN Security Council in July. These critics believe Pretoria is in cahoots with Inkatha to derail negotiations and impose a settlement without the ANC.

Clearly, they were not listening very hard to what Meyer was saying. Either that, or they have a very low opinion of the political belt of the ANC and see the poor dears in its leadership being tricked at every turn. As so often, behind admiration lurks condescension. Truth is, the Minister could scarcely have been clearer.

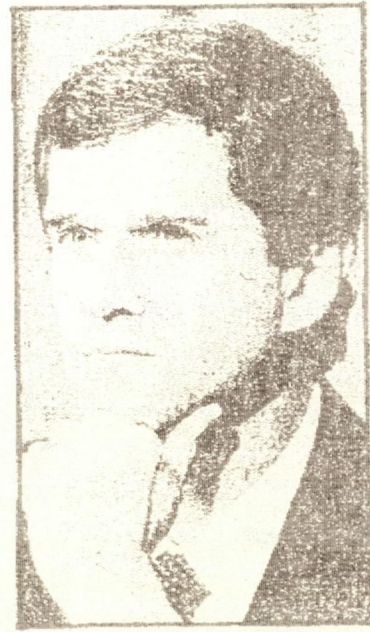
He left no room for doubt that the dominant players in government and the ANC, the latter after a somewhat prolonged informal referendum, have reached broad agreement on the sequence of events and decisions that will lead to an elected nonracial government over the next 12-15 months. Others, principally Buthelezi and the PAC, were still free to come aboard, of course. Indeed, that would be preferable. However, their participation was not indispensable. Fixes could and would be found.

The sequence, as outlined by Meyer to his American listeners, looks like this. Government will hold a

second retreat with the ANC on January 20, lasting four to five days, to review progress on the seven basic steps to an election they have already agreed upon. The first of these is that a reformulated Codesa should meet by the end of February.

The new multiparty forum will then set about drawing up the rules for a transitional election commission to take charge of the security forces (including the integration of the SADF, MK and other elements), finance, local government, the SABC and preparations for elections for a transitional government/constituent assembly. Agreement should also be reached on an interim constitution and bill of rights, principles for a final constitution and a court to ensure adherence to those principles when the document is being drafted in the assembly.

Authorised by Act of Parliament, the transitional election commission will effectively become the government, ideally by June, by which time independent homelands wishing to participate will have had the opportunity to rejoin the republic. Among other things, it is hoped that the commission will formally invite in the World Bank and call for the removal of remaining economic sanctions, including the de facto US ban on IMF lending (but not the UN arms embargo). The re-engagement of both the bank and IMF at this stage is specifically



□ MEYER

referred to in resolutions adopted by the General Assembly last week, as is the possibility of UN support for elections.

Depending on how swiftly the revised Codesa and the commission can get their work done, elections

could be held by year's end, but not later than March 1994. Representation would be on a proportional basis.

As for how power sharing would be achieved at the executive level, Meyer suggested two options: separate direct election of a president who would then pick his cabinet to meet the power-sharing objective, or using the outcome of the general election to assign cabinet seats on the basis of votes cast for each party. As for how long the interim/transitional/constituent assembly would sit, Meyer guessed the NP would split its current difference with the ANC and settle for two years.

In the light of its unwillingness to disavow Apla's terrorism, the Minister did not sound particularly confident that the PAC would be at the table when multiparty talks resumed in the new year. The resignation of deputy leader Dikgang Moseneke was "a great pity — it will have a negative effect".

As for Buthelezi, he had to get a grip on reality and stop seeing a conspiracy between the two major players. To begin with, he must understand the dynamics of a situation in which parties had to work together to reach agreement on a constitutional playing field while at the same time contesting for support. "We are looking at power sharing where the ANC and NP co-operate in a govern-

ment of national unity. We have to be nice to each other and compete at the same time — it is important for parties to read this correctly."

The Inkatha leader also needed to revise his notions of federalism. "We" did not use that word any more, said the Minister, but rather preferred to talk of regionalism and "maximum devolution", and to make the boundaries of future regions subject to negotiation at the national level. "Inkatha wants a bottom up approach. We say no, we have to work from the top down."

Meyer calmly observed that if Inkatha chose not "to be part of the solution", there would probably be "ongoing conflict" in Natal. It was to be hoped, therefore, that the ANC would help bring Buthelezi back to the table. If not, "we" would proceed "through other ways and means without the participation of all parties". SA's future, he suggested, would not be sacrificed on the altar of consensus. It was necessary only to achieve "the majority of support of all South Africans" — something the NP and ANC evidently feel is within their reach.

The Minister would undoubtedly be unhappy to hear this called tyranny. The only tyrant, as he repeatedly stressed, was time. At the simplest level, the clock runs out on the present constitution in September 1994, when President F W de Klerk would have to call another white election. That could not be allowed to happen.

Even more pressing, however, was the economy and the fact that there could be no growth without "stability" and "certainty". Thirdly, there was the question of international patience. It was about to run out, and when it did SA would be abandoned.

That being the case, it would, of course, be totally unfair to describe present developments as a compact between the mayor of Chicago and Al Capone to manage the city jointly and make recalcitrants offers they cannot refuse. Obviously, what we have here are two groups of highly committed democrats exercising their prerogatives for the common good. The next US administration is hardly likely to get in their way — or complain if they have to get a bit rough with dissidents.

Roelf Meyer too big for his boots, says Inkatha official

INKATHA chairman Frank Mdlalose accused Constitutional Development Minister and key government negotiator Roelf Meyer yesterday of "getting a little too big for his boots".

Mdlalose was responding to recent statements by Meyer in the US that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be left out of negotiations if he did not agree to join multiparty talks soon.

"I fear Meyer is getting a little too big for his boots. It is a bit rich for him to pontificate abroad about the need for multiparty talks when he himself has just emerged from bilateral talks with a party that unilaterally withdrew from Codesa to scupper the process."

Fortunately, Inkatha did not have to take too much note of what Meyer said, since his own party did not take him all that seriously, Mdlalose said.

Sapa reports from Ulundi that Buthelezi said Meyer's threat to leave Inkatha out of talks was "the clearest rejection of a federal formula by government" and smacked of baasskap.

LLOYD GOUTTS

"It is old baasskap for a mere Minister to threaten me with being left out merely because I do not fall in with his line of trotting behind the ANC/SACP alliance as he has been doing for quite some time."

Addressing KwaZulu government officials at a Christmas dinner, Buthelezi said: "(The decision), taken by government in cahoots with the ANC/SACP alliance to exclude the Zulu nation from Codesa ... remains the position and as long as that is the position, I consider myself to be already excluded."

Referring to the proposed state of KwaZulu/Natal, Buthelezi said the constitution would have to be negotiated with political parties at central level.

"No one should interpret this constitution as an act of secession. We are not suggesting that the state of KwaZulu/Natal should be independent or even self-sufficient," he said.

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THE CITIZEN, TUESDAY 22 DECEMBER 1992

Pik under fire for Transkei warning

Citizen Reporter

MAJOR-General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei yesterday launched an attack on the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, for not warning him in advance about the impending police warning to motorists to avoid the Transkei.

"The warning by the South African Police seemed to have fallen on deaf ears because (South African) traffic through the Transkei was normal," Gen Holomisa told The Citizen.

His reaction followed this weekend's warning by the SAP to travellers to avoid the Transkei, following attacks on motorists between Queenstown and Dordrecht.

He said one would have expected Mr Botha to have had the courtesy to inform him about the warning beforehand, particularly since South Africa and Transkei enjoyed diplomatic ties.

Opportunity

General Holomisa said he appreciated the fact that the South African Cabinet was in recess and that the Ministers were away on holiday, but "this seems to have given (Minister of Law and Order) Kriel and his secur-

have taken their own unilateral decisions.

"It seems that one department is running the entire holiday government."

General Holomisa claimed close co-operation between the SAP and the Transkei Police and said there were no complaints yet about that "but unfortunately the SAP are always very secretive and have not brought forward any evidence or witnesses" to start his own investigations as the Transkei Government strongly condemned the APLA attacks and murders.

He claimed that traffic was flowing normally through the Transkei between Durban and East London along the N2 route.

"There are hundreds of trucks transporting food and other goods, and there are also hundreds of South Africans towing their caravans, proving

that holiday traffic is going its way peacefully."

He said the Transkei Police, assisted by the Army, have for two weeks now been patrolling the entire route to safeguard tourists and have also mounted extra patrols on the road between Queenstown and Dordrecht since the weekend.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman yesterday said Mr Pik Botha was not in the habit of replying to famous statements such as General Holomisa's and would in no way interfere with actions which the SAP considered essential to ensure the safety of South African citizens.

"The lives of South African citizens are at stake and the South African Government considers it necessary that General Holomisa should pay serious attention to problems emanating from the Transkei."

Azayo plans anti-poll campaign, backs APLA

THE Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) yesterday resolved to campaign against elections for an interim government which they denounced as a "sell-out" and a "neo-colonial trap".

Newly elected Azayo president George Biya said the interim govern-

ment would not deliver anything to the people, and Azayo would launch its "I will only vote for a free Azania" campaign next year.

This campaign calls for a boycott of interim government elections in favour of voting only for a constituent assembly.

At its annual congress in QwaQwa last weekend, Azayo also called for the amalgamation of the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (APLA) with the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla).

"We have no problems with APLA's actions which are aimed at freeing Black people," the Azayo president said of APLA's recent attacks on Whites.

Azayo also decided to intensify the cultural isolation of South Africa, to campaign against township crime and to work for a patriotic front of youth organisations.

Mr Biya said the African National Congress-led Patriotic Front was problematic as it included homeland leaders who were "not legitimate patriots". — Sapa.

IISRC urges disparate regional power system

DIFFERENT regions should have different powers, depending on the region's needs, infrastructure and economic ability, a report by the Human Sciences Research Council's Centre for Constitutional Analysis on regional powers in a new constitution has recommended.

Pragmatic

The report refers to the "pragmatic" approach in regional government over the past few months.

Dr Bertus de Villiers, head of the centre, says although the word "federation" still causes suspi-

cion, South Africa's new constitution will probably have a federal character.

This means powers of the regions will be protected by the constitution.

Differ

Dr De Villiers proposes a system of "asymmetrical autonomy" in terms of which regional powers can differ.

Depending on the economic ability, infrastructure and needs of a region, it can receive more or fewer powers than other regions.

The report refers to countries such as Canada, Belgium, Malaysia, and

Spain that use asymmetrical or varying regionalism.

The report argues that varying levels of autonomy are internationally

regarded as one of the best ways of defusing conflict, bringing diversity into account and ensuring effective government. — Sapa.