

Cape Times

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Time to come clean

THE time has arrived for Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, to come clean on the precise nature of the relationship between his homeland government and the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

South Africans have a right to know what is going on not only because of the recent spate of terrorist attacks on civilians for which Apla has claimed responsibility. General Holomisa's administration, which has never been subjected to a test of the popular will of Transkeians, is being kept afloat by South African taxpayers.

In the current explosive political climate, it is simply not good enough for General Holomisa to call for ongoing claims, and evidence, of Transkeian involvement with Apla to be placed before a Transkei commission of enquiry which will begin sitting next year. This is underlined by the military dictator's latest admission that Transkei regularly "loaned" weapons, presumably purchased with South African taxpayers' money, to Apla.

Misgivings about the role being played by the Transkeian government have been fuelled by General Holomisa's refusal to cooperate with the Goldstone Commission's thoroughgoing investigation into the possible involvement of a variety of military structures in South Africa in public violence and intimidation. General Holomisa's submission yesterday that the Transkei has "absolutely nothing to hide" regarding its relationship with Apla would be more convincing if he was prepared to play open cards with Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

General Holomisa has had a field day thumbing his nose at Pretoria of late because he believes President F W de Klerk's options for decisive action are being limited by diplomatic and logistical considerations. Warnings by government ministers and spokespersons about possible cross-border raids into Transkei and elsewhere may help to soothe the troubled brows of many citizens angered by the latest spate of terror attacks. But the prospects of P W Botha-style raids into neighboring territories would appear to have diminished after painstakingly efforts by government to rehabilitate its international image in recent years.

But there are other ways of ensuring the cooperation of homeland leaders with a diminished sense of accountability towards those who heavily subsidize their administrations. Just ask the South African taxpayer.

Need to curb

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The Argus

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Playing with firepower

BY passing weapons to members of Apla, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, Transkei ruler General Bantu Holomisa is playing a dangerous game. His explanation that they were only pistols "on loan" does not alter the fact that it is tantamount to gunrunning.

The general says the weapons are for the "protection" of Apla members when they are in Transkei. But what possible control is there after they have been "loaned" out?

The disturbing aspect is that Apla claims responsibility for attacks on "soft targets" in South Africa and is dedicated to a racist campaign of terrorism. That General Holomisa's military regime should be associated with such elements is extraordinarily provocative.

Furthermore, General Holomisa, who adopted such a self-righteous posture in exposing alleged SADF dirty tricks, has now been caught out on covert activities of his own.

All this complicates matters at a time when the region is beset by problems. General Holomisa would do wisely to concentrate on getting his house in order.

In spite of Transkei's troublesome activities, South Africa should be circumspect about carrying out hot pursuit raids. They might be a balm for angry border farmers but, in the longer term, it would do little good. Some secret Apla "bases" might be traced and wiped out — but any bloodshed would exacerbate passions at a delicate time in the national negotiation cycle. It would also provide a smokescreen of martyrdom for General Holomisa's double game.

There are other, better, ways of bringing the general to his senses. Persuasion is one option — and that should include putting pressure on the general's mentors, the ANC, who have already condemned the Apla attacks.

A tightening of the economic screws and other reminders of the extent to which Transkei depends on South African goodwill and largesse would almost certainly bring home the message that now is the time for sensible leadership, not reckless adventurism.

ANC-Inkatha rivalry behind unrest: judge

Johannesburg, Monday

South Africa's standing inquiry into violence has played down the army's role in unrest in the country, branding political rivalry between two key black groups as the main cause of violence.

In scathing criticism of both the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, head of the anti-violence commission, said today that their rivalry overrode any role the security forces had played in fanning the violence that has claimed more than 3000 lives in black communities since January.

The army's hand in the violence still had to be determined, the report said, but "whatever role, it remains clear that a primary trigger of current violence remains the rivalry between, and fight for territory ... by the IFP and the ANC".

Judge Goldstone revealed last month that the South African army's Military Intelligence had mounted a dirty-tricks campaign against the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, which included employing a convicted murderer, Ferdi Barnard, from May to December last year.

The report accused leadership in the two organisations of lacking in accountability and of tardiness in curbing undisciplined members, especially in Natal province, where the ANC and the regionally based IFP are waging a virtual civil war.

"In Natal/KwaZulu the position has, if anything, deteriorated," the commission's third interim report said, noting that whole

tracts of land had become "no-go areas" for one party or the other.

It also singled out ANC and Inkatha leadership for verbal attacks which flouted the National Peace Accord, a code of political conduct aimed at quelling violence signed last year by most political players, including the ANC and Inkatha.

Both the ANC and Inkatha had complained about the South African and KwaZulu police's ineptness in dealing with politically motivated crime.

The report suggested that international police observers might help oversee investigations into such crime.

As a measure to rein in the two organisations, the commission urged a public commitment by the KwaZulu Government, the KwaZulu police, Inkatha and the ANC to allow political activity in all areas, a step that would be an essential precondition to elections.

It also suggested that welfare organisations take over where the politicians had failed and embark on a massive education program to entrench political tolerance.

Although the report was almost entirely devoted to the conflict between the ANC and Inkatha, the commission has several other probes under way including violence triggered by rivalry between minibus taxi companies, the proliferation of weapons in the country, and the activities of the official security forces and private armies.

The commission, appointed by President F. W. de Klerk, has the respect of most organisations across the political spectrum.

— AFP

City AWB leader in court

Staff Reporter

WESTERN CAPE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Steph Jacobson appeared briefly in the Simon's Town Magistrate's Court yesterday for refusing to hand over his firearm and ammunition after his licence was cancelled.

Mr Jacobson's licence for a 9mm pistol was withdrawn after his convictions in May last year for malicious damage to property, intimidation and making a bomb threat. These followed the smashing of a bust in the SA National Gallery of AWB leader Mr

Eugene Terre'Blanche and a threat to gallery director Ms Marilyn Martin never to display a similar piece or he would "blow up the gallery".

According to the charge against him, Mr Jacobson, of Fish Hoek, failed to comply with an order or notice on or about August 8 last year to hand over all weapons and ammunition to the Fish Hoek police station commander.

Mr Jacobson, 46, yesterday pleaded not guilty. His appearance was attended by three uniformed AWB members.

The magistrate, Mr W S Cornelius, postponed the case until January 28.

Minister's resignation a blow to Solidarity

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — House of Delegates Minister of Local Government, Budgetary and Auxiliary Services Mr Yunus Moolla yesterday resigned from active politics — a move which is likely to throw the ruling Solidarity Party into disarray.

Solidarity — already suffering the loss of two MPs to the National Party — is to decide its future at a national congress next month.

Mr Moolla, MP for Stanger, who recently underwent a brain operation and heart by-pass surgery, announced yesterday that he was quitting because of ill health.

Angolan govt rebuffs Unita

LUANDA. — Angolan Prime Minister Mr Marcolin Moco rebuffed a call yesterday for an immediate cease-fire by rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi as government troops besieged two towns near the capital and Unita rebel headquarters in central Angola.

"Unita has this mania for proposing talks every time they lose

territory. We are sick of this attitude. Unita has to learn that neither side benefits from war," Mr Moco said after a cabinet meeting.

"If Unita wanted to comply with peace accords we wouldn't need a cease-fire," Mr Moco said.

Dr Savimbi, whose troops were defeated this week in two

major western cities, had earlier asked Washington to help arrange a meeting by today between government and rebel military leaders, said US assistant secretary of state Mr Jeffrey Davidow yesterday.

"I think the government has adopted a militaristic stance... that is the principal cause for the breakdown in talks."

CP, IFP 'can't be split'

PRETORIA. — The government would not succeed in its alleged strategy to drive a wedge between the Conservative Party and Inkatha at its meeting with the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) today, CP MP Mr Tom Langley said yesterday.

Media speculation to this effect was aimed at sowing distrust between the CP and the IFP but there was "too much common ground" between them.

Cosag was unanimous in its rejection of a unitary state and in its support for regionalism and strong autonomous regional powers, he said.

A government spokesman said the

government delegation's priority at the meeting with Cosag — which consists of the CP, Inkatha, the Afrikaner Volksunie, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — would be to "discuss the earliest possible resumption of multi-party talks". Also on the agenda will be the government/ANC Record of Understanding.

The CP said all Cosag members also agreed that residual powers belonged to the various states and only a "limited and listed number of powers" would be reserved by the states for the central government. — Sapa

Business Report

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TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29 1992

GENEVA. — A reduction in the external debt of African countries was essential to attract private investment to the poorest continent, UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said yesterday.

The UN chief, addressing a new think-tank of experts on African development, said three issues had been tackled afresh: external debt, regional integration and economic diversification.

"We need to bear in mind that Afro-pessimism is widespread in the world outside," he said.

"We must overcome the pessimists. Africa's development can and will be achieved by co-ordinated international effort."

He pointed out that external debt in sub-Saharan Africa represented 106% of the region's gross national product, far higher than the 37.4% in

UN chief squares up to 'Afro-pessimism'

Latin America, which is already considered heavily in debt.

He said that the reduction of official bilateral debt for low- or medium-income countries would have to be accelerated — but he gave no precise formula.

In some countries — Mozambique, Somalia, Tanzania, Guinea Bissau and Mauritania — external debt exceeded GDP.

"When African governments become tagged as bad debtors or bad

prospects, private investment goes elsewhere," he added.

Long-term financial flows into sub-Saharan Africa declined to \$4.7bn in 1990 from \$10bn in 1982, mainly due to a drop in private investment flows.

Boutros-Ghali said there was an urgent need to create regional economic zones, as seen in other parts of the world. The building of new African institutions, catering for regions and sub-regions, would be essential.

But he warned that African countries needed to reform their political systems and bureaucracies if they wanted to reform their economies.

● The UN chief is chairing the new advisory group, which he set up to assist him in implementing a new agenda for the development of Africa in the 1990s, adopted by the UN general assembly a year ago.

Participants include: Bronson Dede, deputy executive secretary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU); Edward Jaycox, vice-president, Africa region of the World Bank; Simba Makoni, executive secretary of the Southern African Development Community and Olusegun Obasanjo, former president of Nigeria and chairman of the Africa Leadership Forum. — Sapa-AFP and Reuter

Gold, red, green for new flag?

PRETORIA. — South Africa's new national flag is unlikely to be a pink and circular — but that is just about where consensus ends. Writing in the Human Sciences Research Council journal *Prospects*, HSRC cultural studies unit researcher Mr Charles Malan has made some suggestions. He said few leaders seemed

to be in favour of retaining the present flag, and said a new flag containing yellow/gold, red and green should prove the most popular.

"It is logical that communalities should primarily be sought as regards colour preferences."

The most popular heraldic colours and colour combina-

tions were green and yellow/gold (ANC, PAC, IFP, Springboks, Zion Christian Church). Then came black and yellow/gold (PAC, ANC, IFP, Azapo) and orange (national flag, NP).

In addition, an indigenous African tradition of heraldry had developed and features such as the hide-bound shield, spear and knobkerrie, and ani-

mals such as the leopard and elephant might be incorporated in a flag design.

Mr Malan said there were strong arguments for adopting *Nkosi Sikelel i'Afrika* as the new national anthem. It was widely accepted in Southern Africa because it was a prayer without political references. — Sapa

HSRC: Firm leaders needed

PRETORIA. — Political leaders should start exercising firm leadership or face another Angola, according to the Human Sciences Research Council's Prof Lawrence Schlemmer.

In the latest issue of the HSRC journal, *Prospects*, he says the politics of ambiguity allow leaders to postpone the need to exercise firm leadership and to evade the difficult tasks of establishing and promoting the bottom line of the party.

"In terms of political culture, we are not far away from Angola," he said. — Sapa

Cosatu warns of mass action

PORT ELIZABETH. — Cosatu president Mr John Gomomo yesterday warned of renewed mass action in the new year if the government increases taxes.

Speaking at the Labour Party conference here, Mr Gomomo said Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys had indicated he was likely to announce tax increases in his 1993 budget speech.

"We are not going to accept the government manipulating and misusing our taxes."

Mr Gomomo said political freedom had to be fought for, and mass action played an integral role. — Sapa

Gag plan for fiery politicians

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Goldstone Commission has recommended that political leaders who attack opposition parties in ways that breach the peace accord should be banned from addressing public meetings for a set period.

The commission also wanted all confrontational and inflammatory political attacks on the authorities to stop while constitutional negotiations were in progress, it said in the commission's third interim report.

Yesterday the ANC said it did not want to respond in detail to the recommendations, as they had to be studied by the national working committee.

However, it agreed with the principle that leaders should not publicly attack each other and their parties, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said, adding that he was not sure Mr Justice Goldstone's idea was the right way to go about sanctioning leaders.

The commission, seemingly frustrated at the lack of progress in reducing tensions in Natal

Peace mediator for Mooi River

Own Correspondent

THE SA Police were being disingenuous in trying to argue that their actions had no bearing on violence in Natal and that they should not be scrutinised, the final Goldstone Commission report into violence in the Mooi River, Natal, area stated.

An outside mediator would be appointed to facilitate the peace process in the violence-racked Mooi River/Bruntville region, it said.

The committee said both ANC and Inkatha had agreed to meet proposed mediator Mr Nico Coetzer, who had

been recommended by the Association of Law Societies.

Following extensive criticism of the efficiency of police investigations into violence which plagued the township in December 1991, a commission committee said between January 21 and July 21, 1992, 22 murders, 15 incidents of arson, seven handgrenade explosions and at least 20 gun attacks were recorded in the Mooi River township.

The report, released yesterday, was compiled by a committee established by the Goldstone Commission to investigate the unrelenting violence in the township since January 1992.

since the second interim report in April, suggested harsh measures.

It said there had to be a legally enforceable penalty for breach of the peace accord by political leaders.

"Leaders of both the ANC and the IFP continue to attack each other and each other's parties in terms that clearly constitute breaches of the national peace accord. The absence of an appropriate sanction for such breaches has often been raised," said the third interim report

Therefore consideration should be given to getting agreement that permission be withheld for leaders who were levelling attacks to address public meetings for a given time "as a legally enforceable penalty for clear breaches of this kind".

The commission also recommended that attacks on all existing authorities cease.

An agreement to do so would materially assist in defusing tensions and reducing the potential for violence in many areas of Natal/KwaZulu.

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For Some in South Africa, War Is the Sole Solution

By Alan Cowell

New York Times Service

SOWETO, South Africa — On a patch of green and perfect lawn that mimicked the greater estates of the rich over the hill, Terence Serero and Mpisa Tshepe took stock of their land the other day and decided that everyone else had gotten it all wrong.

What is needed, the two 22-year-old college students from the Pan Africanist Congress said, is not talk of peace but "people's war," an insurgency to end "the colonial, settler regime" so that the new land of Azania, as they call South Africa, might raise the banner of scientific socialism.

Such relative belligerence may seem at odds with the nation's move toward harmony and majority rule. Yet the sentiments have found an echo among many South African blacks, particularly since members of the Pan Africanist Congress's tiny wing, the Azan-

ian People's Liberation Army, killed four whites and wounded many others in two attacks on civilians over the past month.

The killings were condemned by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and by the white authorities. But, Mr. Serero said, the murders "made the people feel delighted because they have been dying in great numbers and now it was happening to European settlers."

It is not only the two students on the lawn in Soweto — an unusual feature in this gritty township outside Johannesburg — who speak these days of disruption and war.

Eugene Terre Blanche, leader of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement, seemed to borrow their language recently when he told his followers: "We must reach out to everyone who is white and Christian to join our people's army."

There must be no doubt, war is coming to South Africa," Mr. Terre

Blanche told followers on Dec. 16 as they celebrated the Day of the Vow marking the victory of Afrikaners over a Zulu army at the Battle of Blood River in 1838.

Mr. Terre Blanche and the Pan Africanist Congress are diametrically opposed in their aspirations. He and his followers want a white state. Mr. Serero and Mr. Tshepe want to destroy white rule and turn South Africa into a one-party, Marxist state.

Yet the two groups also have much in common. Both revile the negotiations between Mr. Mandela and President Frederik W. de Klerk because both, from opposed perspectives, think that the talks are a sellout, and both threaten yet more violence to oppose the creation of an interim, multiracial government.

"A nation's borders," said Mr. Terre Blanche, "are drawn in blood on the battlefield, not in offices or negotiations with the Antichrist."

Perhaps the most significant similarity, however, lies not so much in the words as in the numbers. In a land of over 30 million, Mr. Terre Blanche drew 700 followers. The most recent Pan Africanist rally in the so-called homeland of Lebowa drew 300.

Neither, thus, is a major political force; but members of both have proven themselves ready to try to back their words with violence. The Pan Africanist movement was formed in 1959 when its leader, Robert Sobukwe, broke with Mr. Mandela's ANC, and it took much credit one year later for organizing a march in the township of Sharpeville when blacks sought to hand in their passes — the apartheid document that ruled their lives. The police opened fire on the protesters, killing 67 of them.

Both the Pan Africanist movement and the ANC were banned and made lawful again only in 1990. In the intervening period,

they operated from different headquarters in exile.

The distinction between the two touched a central and enduring division in black politics. The Pan Africanist movement, espousing the ideology of the Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah, advocated the idea that blacks alone should fight for their own liberation.

These days, in the version offered by Mr. Serero and Mr. Tshepe, it is the ANC that has betrayed the black cause because it has abandoned the "armed struggle" while its leaders — living in "mansions" — have become petty bourgeois.

The Pan Africanist movement, which has not disowned either its own guerrillas, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, nor the attacks on "European settlers," is thus depicted as the vanguard of a revolutionary war, fighting under a banner — discredited elsewhere on this continent — of Marxist orthodoxy and African nationalism.

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Blacks, Not Army, Blamed for Violence

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

JOHANNESBURG — A commission investigating violence in South Africa played down the army's role in the unrest, saying Monday that the main cause was the political rivalry between the country's two major black groups.

In scathing criticism of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, the panel said that the two groups' rivalry overrode any role the security forces had played in the violence, which has claimed more than 3,000 lives in black communities in 1992.

The army's hand in the violence is still to be determined, according to the interim report, but it "remains clear that a primary trigger of current violence" is the rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC.

The government set up the commission under Justice Richard Goldstone in 1991 to investigate the causes of political violence, a major obstacle in South Africa's transition to nonracial democracy. Last month, the panel revealed that the South African Army's military intelligence unit had mounted a dirty tricks campaign against the ANC's armed wing, which included employing a convicted murderer, Ferdi Barnard, last year.

It accused the leaders of the ANC, led by Nelson Mandela, and Inkatha, headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, of not doing enough to stop violence and impose discipline among members.

(AFP, Reuters)