



It is a lovely word: "unfortunate". So English. Not just of the English language but also somehow redolent of the English character, of the use of understatement which they have made such an art form.

"Unfortunate" and "regrettable", - two key words of English diplomacy. One could imagine the British foreign secretary summoning the German ambassador in 1939 to inform him that the invasion of Poland would be "unfortunate".

The word is brought to mind by the latest report on the African National Congress detention camps, published this

week by the so-called Douglas Commission. The commission is a one-man inquiry conducted by Advocate Robert Douglas SC, - a distinguished member of the Natal Bar. His investigation was conducted under the aegis of the international Freedom Foundation (IFF), well known as a conservative pressure

STOW-  
It is, of course, the third published report on the subject, the two previous inquiries having been produced by the ANC itself and Amnesty International. The shameful story of the ANC detention camps is therefore well-known and the litany of horrors in Douglas's 64-page document contains little new about these skeletons which have been rattled in the liberation movement's cupboards. But his report does give otherwise forum I. Scanning the report during the IFF press conference at which it was released this week, my attention was caught by a reference to Harry Gwala, the ANC leader in the Natal Midlands. Douglas writes that, according to a report in the Sunday Times: Gwala has recently set up a fund to help Cuba...

One's mind boggles at such lunacy," declares the advocate. "Money desperately needed by the black community is to be donated to Cuba to prop up the discredited and dying dictatorship of Fidel Castro."

Somewhat baffled by this outburst on the part of the distinguished advocate, I asked if he regarded South African funding of Israel a similar act of lunacy, to which he replied by demanding whether I dared to draw a parallel between Cuba and Israel. I then inquired whether, before arriving at the finding that Gwala was a lunatic, he had invited the ANC leader to appear before his commission. To which he replied that the inference of insanity could not be drawn from his statement. At which point I subsided, mentally chiding myself for momentarily forgetting the principle that press conferences should not be arenas for point-scoring, at least by journalists.

Reading the report more fully, however, the opportunities for point scoring provided by the Douglas report prove legion. For a start, the advocate - whose task was to conduct an impartial inquiry into activities of the South African Communist Party as well as the ANC

did not in the least attempt to be accurate

3 DAVID. 358533030

shows himself to be a virulent anti-communist. Everything I have seen, or heard indicates

that the SAC? is controlled by a group of unrehabilitated Stalinists whose views remain largely unaffected by the momentous collapse of communism." he declares' In the opening pages, promising that the "basis for this viewpoint" will be dealt with later In the report.

The titlaterii proves to be a chapter headed tithe SACP, which contains the fulmination against Gwala and his charitable works fot Fidel Castro. There Douglas repeats his character'sation of the SACP leadetship as nStalinist" (he also gratuitously dismisses Joe Slovo as a ttctank") but the only basis he offers for the viewpoint is a less than remarkable extract from a recent speech by Charles Nquakula, deputy secretary general of the SACP, insisting social. ism has not been destroyed in Eastern Europe and that capitalism remains ultimately doomed. It is, however, sufficient for the advocate to conclude that the views of uSACP luminaries all coincide and point to resolute, unreformed communists without shame, or conscience who ate determined to remould South Africa in the communist image?

An oven prejudice against the subjects of his inquiry is not the only startling aspect of the Douglas report. It is matched by an indulgence in hyperbole and sweeping generalisations. He declares, without qualification: "The saga of the ANC/SACP in exile is one of tyranny, tenor, brutality. forced labour in concentration amps and mass mutder." The detention mmmps \_ in which the numbers of victims probably numbered in their hundreds, rather than thousands - are said to tireadily conjure up a comparison with Nazi concentration camps and the Gulag". He suggests the only difference between the ANC security apparatus, the Mbokodo, and the WHMMQ H11

KGB and Gestapo Iedounds to the credit hile the Nazis and Russians itat least murdered and tenured real, or perceived nemies of the state".

The report opens with an evocation of the oweto uprising, an episode which Douglas states ttculminated in a march on 6th June, 1976" - a novel chronology hich may be blamed on a misprint, rather han historical inexactitude, but which lens one to the factual basis of the report. With some justification, as it transpires. e relies, for his'awount as to what happened in the camps, on 25 itsworn deposi-'ons and statements" without distinguish-itnesses were not subjected to cross-examination, but states that their evidence His leaps of logic are, on occasion, reathtaking. Quoting extensively from tatements by Chris Hani that he was not -: responsible for the creation of the detention amps and had tried to halt summary executions taking place in them, Douglas concludes, incomprehensibly, that uon the evidence and the probabilities l have no hesitation in concluding that Hani was a leading figure In the reign of tenor unleashed by the ANC/SACP or its members in exile"

Dealing with the celebrated case of Thami Zulu, the ANC commander who died in mysterious circumstances after being detained as an nenemy agent". the advocate produces bizarre

allegations by an unidentified witness that he had his spine broken" and that he had been taken to hospital and then injected with blood contaminated by the HIV virus. He says the autopsy showed Zulu had died of heart failure", that traces of the poison diazinon were found in his body, that he was found to be HIV positive and that the overwhelming probabilities are that he was murdered. He declares that one can safely infer (from what, it is not clear) that "very important people" in the ANC leadership encouraged the Mbokodo to get rid of Zulu.

Readers who have followed The Weekly Mail 's attempts to unravel the Thami Zulu story will know that he appears, from a post-mortem report, to have been killed with diazinon, an organo phosphorous pesticide. So far it is known the South African security services are the only side to have used poison - specifically organo-phosphates - a detail which is not conclusive in apportioning blame for the Thami Zulu killing, but suggests Douglas' "inference" is less than safe.

It is the sort of mish-mash of prejudice, gossip, illogicality, generalisation and unsustained allegation which make the Douglas report of little credit to the reputation of the South African legal profession.

In a word, it is unfortunate.

I didn't torture  
anyone, says Hani  
Political Staff

SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani yesterday denied he had tortured or executed detainees in ANC camps or that such occurrences ever took place in his presence.

He was reacting to allegations in Durban advocate Bob Douglass report which identified him as the "leading figure in the reign of terror".

The Douglas inquiry into human rights abuses in ANC camps was a "mixture of truths and lies" intended to discredit the organisation, said Hani.

' Discussing individually the allegations made in the report, he admitted to a leading role in suppressing the 1984 mutiny in Angola. He said he stepped in to stop the disintegration of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and saw his task as restoring authority through "persuasive discussions and not the use of force".

The report linked him specifically to the execution of four ANC members. Hani said a tribunal sentenced several members to death after the mutiny. After "some" were executed. Hani said. he and ANC Women's League president Gertrude Shope asked the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) to halt the executions.

He said he witnessed no executions while he was in exile. Hani admitted to visiting the notorious Quatro detention camp and interviewing some of the detainees for written reports to the leadership.

Chris Hani . . . says he opposed the use of force.

He said he visited Quatro several times as the then MK commissar and later chief of staff. Since his first visit to the camp he had requested the upgrading of conditions.

Some of the detainees told him of "ugruesome torture" which he reported to the NEC. However, he denied any personal involvement or giving orders for anyone to be tortured or executed.

The report directly implicated camp guards for the violation of human rights. Hani said they were appointed and controlled by the ANC de-

partment of security and he was never part of the specific department.

The Douglas report said Hani was "most pleased" with the death of senior MK commander Thami Zulu.

Hani yesterday described Zulu as having been a close friend" with whom he shared confidences

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday said the report vindicated the CPS refusal to negotiate with the ANC.

The CP found it inexplicable that the Government could enter into binding bilateral agreements with such an organisation or that it could consider the ANC as the co-builder of a constitutional dispensation for South Africa, Treurnicht said.

"The CP attaches no value to ANC talk about democracy and tolerance for our cultural and religious heritage," he said.

Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon said yesterday that the report made a grim reading" and confirmed the findings of both the ANC-appointed and the Amnesty International commissions of inquiry into allegations of torture in ANC prison camps in exile, released in September.

However, Leon also said it was procedurally unfair" for the Douglas Commission to have published serious allegations against named ANC leaders without allowing them the opportunity to refute the allegations against them.

The International Freedom Foundation (IFF) yesterday condemned the ANC for its unpredictable and hollow response" to the Douglas Commission's report. saying it demonstrated the organisations unwillingness to come clean on the issue of human rights abuses".

IFF southern Africa executive director Russel Crystal - who is an NP member of the Presidents Council - said the ANC's response was consistent with what the Douglas report described as the organisations "antagonism to democratic procedures".

Camp torture: ANC  
response tshallow,  
inadequatel

By Arthur Kemp and  
Fred de Lange

THE International  
Freedom Foundation  
(IFF) has condemned  
the ANC's response to  
the Douglas Report on  
alleged abuses in ANC  
detention camps in  
neighbouring countries  
as tshallow, inade-  
quate and predic-  
table ' '.

' Mr Russel Crystal, ex-  
ecutive director of the  
MT in Southern Africa,  
said in a statement yester-  
day that the ANC's re-  
sponse was a demonstra-  
tion of that organisations  
unwillingness to come  
clean on the issue of hu-  
man rights abuses".

The ANC yesterday re-  
jected the Douglas Re-  
port, which named sever-  
al top ANC leaders re-  
sponsible for alleged hu-  
man rights abuses in  
exile, as being unmislead-  
ing, propagandistlc, anti-  
Communist slander and  
of revealing nothing  
new".

Mr Crystal said that uas  
predicted publicly the  
ANC has once again cho-  
sen to simply attack the  
bona fides of both the IFF  
and the commissioner,  
Advocate Bob Douglas,  
rather than dealing with  
the damning evidence  
contained in the report or  
addressing the accounta-  
bility of its office bearers.

"This hostility towards  
those who have publicly  
raised questions is en-  
tirely consistent with what  
the Douglas Report de-  
scribed as an uantagonism  
to democratic procedures  
within the ANC," he  
said.

In response to the alle-  
gation that the Douglas  
Report was "anti-Com-  
munist slander" Mr Crys-  
tal said it uappears as if  
only the ANC continues  
to believe that to be anti-  
Communist is slanderous.  
Ninety nine percent of the  
world also happens to  
have rejected Com-

(/5"N /'/'7/?

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- democracy and tolerance  
munism".

Mr Crystal said the  
ANC was being con-  
tradictory by on the one  
hand rejecting the Doug-  
las Report but also saying  
that it had added noth-  
ing to what the ANC's  
own commission of in-  
quiry had established".

"This means one of two  
things, either that the  
ANC leadership also re-  
jects the findings of its  
own internal commission  
or that, as we have sus-  
pected all along, the orga-  
nisation really does know  
who is responsible and ac-  
countable for the human  
rights abuses committed  
in exile".

The Conservative Party  
yesterday said the report  
continued the correctness  
of the CP's view that one  
could not negotiate with  
these parties for the free-  
dom of the Afrikaner  
volk.

The leader of the CP,  
Dr Andries Treurnicht,  
said the CP did not regard  
the ANC's promises on  
for the Afrikaners cul-  
ture and religion, as being  
of much value.

"The Douglas Report  
leaves no doubts on the  
lies contained in these  
promises. the brutality of  
their actions and the fatal  
consequences of any  
ANC rule as far as the  
rights. security and free-  
doms of our nation were  
concerned," he said.

Mr Tony Bevan. DP MP  
for Houghton and that  
party's spokesman on jus-  
tice. said that the ANC  
should take swift. deci-  
sive and far reaching ac-  
tion into the proven viola-  
tion of fundamental hu-  
man rights committed in  
its name and in camps  
under its command".

The National Party said  
in a statement the ANC  
was always quick to point  
fingers at other organisa-  
tions on the flimsiest ba-  
sis. but its reaction to evi-  
dence of misdeeds on its  
own turf had led to the  
appointment of just another  
internal commission  
of enquiry". - Sapa.

E Weekly Mailis new columnist,  
Dennis Davis, levels two charges at  
South Africa's advocates (WM  
December 11-17 1992): they are little  
involved in preparing the public for a new con-  
stitution, and are "simply intent on preserving  
their own position.

He himself does not put it that shortly. The  
indictment staggers under the weight of cliché  
and invective. While judges within the con-  
fines of their office" have been willing to par-  
ticipate in discussions concerning the "range  
of implications for the legal profession of a  
Bill of Rights, the same cannot be said of the  
Side Bar (the attorneys) and particularly" of  
the Bar.

The Barjournal Consultus is edited by a former  
secretary of justice during the Vorster per-  
miership and is only noteworthy for its intel-  
lectual inanity and libreathtaking ignorance"  
in suggesting that practising advocates alone  
should be judges in general and constitutional  
judges in particular. The Bar's concern with  
constitutional education is simply the preser-  
vation of privilege.

The first charge is that advocates do not par-  
ticipate in discussions". To what does Davis  
refer? He does not tell us. Surely not the  
(closed) annual gatherings to which selected  
judges, academic lawyers and practitioners  
have been invited, nor the annual national gath-  
erings on labour law. Those few members of  
the Bar who have been fortunate enough to  
receive invitations to the former have partici-  
pated readily.

Idiscussions" is newspeak for symposiums  
organised by universities or by Lawyers for  
Human Rights (currently in fact led by an advo-  
cate and with many advocate members) then  
the complaint is equally ill-considered. If the  
complaint is not (as Davis has framed it) that  
advocates do not participate" in such discus-  
sions. but that they do not organise them, then  
the criticism is still incorrect.

Fairly recently, the General Council of the Bar  
(GCB) organised a national conference for all  
advocates dealing with the anticipated new  
constitutional order and the role of advocates  
within it. It was addressed by prominent foreign  
constitutional lawyers, the Chief Justice, and  
the legal spokesmen for the African National  
Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The second charge levelled against the Bar is  
its self-interest. Advocates, it seems, want to be  
judges, and are determined to retain this park-  
like preserve of seigneurial privilege for them-  
selves

The evidence offered for this charge is a little  
confused. It rests heavily upon a single editori-  
al in Consultus. Read with the slightest care, the  
editorial does not imply that only advocates  
should become judges. The editorial was deal-

Advocates

not just

propping

up the Bar

. What is the role of advocates in

devising and implementing a Bill

of Rights? JJ GAUN'ILE'IT, SC,

takes issue with a Weekly Mail

columnist

obliged to admit in his article, that editorial does not even purport to reflect the views of South African many constituent bars and their members!

There can be little doubt that many advocates in fact share the view of our present Chief Justice who, when addressing the national Bar conference, noted that where candidacies (marked by particular experience in practice or outstanding scholarship) exist outside the ranks of the Bar for judicial office, they must receive consideration.

To rebut the charges dashed off by Davis is not to say the Bar is beyond criticism. But what the Bar has done, and does do, in this particular field deserves at least some mention.

The GCB's Parliamentary Committee scrutinises all draft legislation before parliament and criticises it in detailed written submissions where these are thought to be warranted.

In particular it has submitted full recommendations relating to the introduction of a Bill of Rights, and a subsequent comment on the Olivier Report.

It has submitted memoranda on electoral systems and critiques on the ream indemnity legislation.

When Codesa was still in motion, the GCB generally offered its services as a further resource in the constitution-making process.

Various articles relating to aspects of the anticipated new constitutional dispensation have been published in Consultus.

The GCB has also set up a Human Rights Committee.

The GCB moreover participates with the Association of Law Societies and the Society of University Teachers of Law in a national legal education liaison committee.

Along with the proposed constitutional chamber; it is not to be said that nothing more could be done. Members of

W 'are however, single practitioners.

LU'iMa-LQ (13pm

Their lives are madly spent not in lecture theatres or libraries but in committees and their members trying to vindicate their clients' rights. 'They do not have the backing of firms or families.

They are by nature doers rather than thinkers. It would be naive to expect a concerted enthusiasm or indeed interest in rarefied planes of constitution-making from individual members of such a professional breed. As a teacher of law in three South African universities it is not my own recollection that even in law faculty tearooms (as Sergeant O'Sullivan ventured of the docn'ine of violent non-jury in Ireland) they speak of little else.

One last point which needs to be made relates to the characterisation of the editor of Consultus. It is true that J.P.J. Coetzee made his debut in the Department of Justice and ultimately became its head before he joined the Bar. It is not clear what point Davis wishes to make of this other than that Coetzee lacks political correctness.

It is surely not that "within the confines of his office" Coetzee held a high position under an administration characterised by a strenuous application of repressive legislation. The same point would then need to be made of the Chief

Justice, and most South African judges. One way or another all those of us who have lived long years imide the whale - sworn constitutional fealty oraccepted letters patentorprofw-sorships - must be found to suffer some taint. If, however, Davis intends to impute an earlier lack of enthusiasm on Coetzerls part for a Bill of Rights. then the point is equally unhelpful. lf Coetzer was formerly no fan of a Bill of Rights (and I do not know whether or not that is even so), then Davis should disclose to your readers that until recently he was himself a doughty opponent.

When Malcolm Muggeridge discovered religion late in life there was a debate as towwhether he had tmlyseen lighton theDamascusroadmr simply fallen off his horse. The inquiry is real. ly not very useful.

It is an unfortunate irony that the call for a "debate" should at its outset be marked by a tribal resort among us lawyers to the cultural weapons of pen and podium. Onlookers with even some acquaintance with the realities of legal practice must wonder atvtthe seeming vocational mdmness of some lawyers and in particular, the jockeying for judicial jobs. They must struggle to relate this to the current unglamorpous burdens of judicial ohice-from motion court to marathon murder trials ren-detted nomsierby thespasmodicrworttoactivity by the current minister of justice and his ml-league, the minister of prisons. "

The public at large may be initially entertained . ' bythespectacleoftlme internecimanadtsbut ? hardly educated, or at least in the way Davis intencb.

.Jo-Anne Collinge perceives ta lurid anti-communist glossi to findings

Gaps in third report on ANC camps

HE DOUGLAS Commission

report on abuses in ANC

camps is an uneven mixture of de-tailed tirst-person evidence of tor-ture and killing, on the one hand, and political analysis which relies on much less stringent hearsay in-formation, on the other.

On the question of establishing abuse, the study - sponsored by the International Freedom Foun-dation - corroborates and sub-stantially expands the evidence set out in the ANCis own prelimi-nary inquiry undertaken last year and in a more recent Amnesty ln-ternational report.

To some extent the corroborata-tion reinforces the veracity of all three reports, although it must be borne in mind that the coincidence of evidence is owed partly to the fact that some witnesses testified for all three inquiries.

Douglas's efforts to establish the thesis that the camps were the brainchild of the South African Communist Party and were but an instance of "the SACP taking con-trol of the ANC in exile and using it for its own purposes" rest on far more shaky foundations. The only direct evidence of the SACP's role is the reference by witnesses to the actions of leading ANC com-munists at the camps and in the ANC security structures.

Commissioner Robert Douglas depends to a large extent on the views of Stephen Ellis, co-author of Comrades against Apart-heid, because he is "satisfied that his (Ellis's) information on the role of the SACP in exile is about as accurate as one is likely to get".

The report, however, suggests that Douglas's political acumen does not equal his diligent legal application in gathering evidence of torture. For instance, he makes such obvious errors as referring to the student protest march of June 16 1976 as the culmination of the Soweto uprising rather than its starting point.

In chapter two of the report, Douglas concludes - without first-hand back-up evidence -- that the ANC's security arm, the notorious Mbokodo, was set up by the SACP "under the tutelage of the KGB".

In chapter 8. he stath "... the idea, so I heard, to create Quatro (an ANC camp in Angola) came from none other than (Khmer Rouge leader) Pol Pot who, so it is claimed, murdered some three

million of his fellow Cambodians."

In contrast to the strong evidence of torture, there is not a single witness statement presented to back this assertion.

Statements such as these lend to the report a lurid anti-communist gloss, at odds with its legalistic methodology.

The Douglas Commission differs from both the ANC and the Amnesty reports in that it names those it concludes are responsible for abuses in the camps. Only in the case of 11 leading ANC and SACP figures does the report marshal the case against them.

The other 50-odd people are simply listed. While the majority are mentioned in the published statements of witnesses, only a few are referred to by several witnesses Douglas was unable to explain what level of corroboration of evidence was required in order for an alleged torturer's name to appear on the list. ., 4- , Douglas said the IFF had allowed him to pursue his brief with professional independence. He admitted he was an anti-communist but said this had not interfered with his job as sole commissioner. The IFF's southern African director, Russel Crystal, this week described his organisation, which has its headquarters in Washington, as "libertarian". At its launch in the region in 1986, the IFF professed support for rebel groups such as Renamo and Unita, and during the state of emergency actively opposed the United Democratic Front campaign for the ANC's unbanning. D

THE CITIZEN

\_ COMMENT

Brutality

THE ANC does its own credibility no good by condemning the Douglas report on ANC camps as having a heavy propaganda slant, reflected in the anti-Communist slander, Vitriolic attacks on selected ANC leaders, and blatant fabrications.

Mr Bob Douglas, SC, is a respected advocate, and his report suggests that he approached his inquiry with the care and impartiality that such a probe required. ' . \_

Bear in mind that an ANC-appointed inquiry had reported abuses of the most chilling kind perpetrated in the organisations detention camps, including torture, humiliation and "staggering brutalities".

Its commissions report stressed the need for the ANC to cleanse its own ranks of those responsible for acts of brutality, \_ declaring: "No person who is guilty of committing atrocities should ever again be allowed to assume a position of power."

Homer, the report did not list the names of the ANC officials. .

The names would be withheld until those implicated had been heard. said the ANC, which announced that a follow-up investigation would be held into allegations attributed to certain individuals". .

Subsequently Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organisations issued a report in which it said the ANC executed, tortured and ill-treated prisoners in its camps over a period of at least 12 years. Amnesty said: "Individual torturers should be identified in order to ensure- that they hold no future position in the ANC or government security apparatus." \_ . .

The Douglas commission this week said evidence by 100 witnesses, including 40 survivors of ANC camps in Uganda, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, amounted to a litany of unbridled and sustained horror.

1'0! .

WM;

It revealed appalling brutality and deprivation, torture to extract confessions from innocent people, and murder committed by the ANC's security arm - Mbokodo, which means "the boulder that crushes".

The commission named 14 ANC/SA Communist Party leaders - including Chris Hani. Joe Slovo. Oliver Tambo and Jacob Zuma - as being directly or indirectly accountable. Other senior members who had known about the crimes were Joe Modise. Joe Nhlanhla. Andrew Maseko, Ronnie Kasrils, Alfred Nzo and Thomas Nkobi, it said.

An additional 57 people were also named. Mr Douglas, whose commission was appointed by the International Freedom Foundation, recommended that those guilty of offences be punished and that their victims be rehabilitated and compensated.

This could be achieved by expanding the Goldstone Commission to enable it to investigate human rights abuses by the ANC! SACP alliance while in exile.

Asked at a Press conference about the reliability of his witnesses, Mr Douglas said the sheer number of people who had detailed the same stories of torture, murder and other abuses had convinced him they were genuine and unrehearsed.

Despite its own inquiry's findings, the Amnesty findings and the Douglas commission's report, the ANC insists that its record on human rights is impeccable.

It has appointed an independent commission consisting of Ms Margaret Burnham, chairman of the Black Lawyers Association of America, Mr David Zamchiya, former chairman of the Zimbabwe Parliamentary Committee for Justice, and Mr Sam Motsoenyane, a prominent South African businessman, to make its follow-up inquiry.

Whatever the credentials of these commissioners are, the fact they are appointed by the ANC will cast suspicion among former detainees that the probe will not be impartial. With three condemnatory reports out, each complementing the other on the extent of the brutality and torture in the detention camps, a fourth inquiry seems unnecessary.

But if there is one, then Mr Douglas's suggestion that the Goldstone Commission should carry out the investigation is the most appropriate. '

MK chief Modise meets SADFis No 2

By Esther Waugh

Political Reporter

SADF second-in-command

Lieutenant-General Pierre

Steyn - the man hand-

picked by President de Klerk

to investigate uthird force"

allegations - held a secret

meeting with Umkhonto we

Sizwe (MK) commander Joe

Modise this week.

The meeting, which took

place on Tuesday afternoon,

is understood to have dealt

By Michael Sparks

with issues surrounding a

new defence force.

Part of Steyns brief is to

look into the possible re-

structuring of Military Intel-

ligence (MI). and sourees

said this week's meeting

could have had a bearing on

this matter.

Yesterday Steyn would not

comment on the meeting

with Modise or discuss pro-

gress in his investigation into

MI.

News of the meeting be-

eastern Transvaal to find

. A witness yesterday told

the Goldstone Commis-

sion that an executive

member of the ANC had

provided weapons for an

attack on police in Piet

Retief. while at the same

time being involved in

negotiations at Codesa 2.

Brandan Samson was

giving evidence to the

committee investigating

attacks on police. He

said NEC member Joe

Nhlanhla had told him to

go to Piet Retief in the

out the movements of po-

licemen and later to re.

turn and attack them.

Samson told the com-

mittee he was given two

handguns and an AK-47

in Nhlanhlais office at

ANC headquarters in

Shell House in Johannes-

burg in June 1992.

Samson was later con-

victed for illegal possess-

ion of arms and ammuni-

tion but acquitted of

threatening a policeman.

He is due for release

today after serving six

tween two of South Africais

top military men - on 9p-

posing sides - was met with

surprise both in ANC and

SADF circles.

Codesa groups agreed last

year to establish multiparty control of the security forces in pursuance of the levelling of the political playing field in the run-up to elections for a transitional government.

The decision was, however, not ratified at Codua 2.

At a meeting with the months of his sentence.

Giving testimony in language described by one person as the kind used by Koevoet, Samson claimed to have been a member of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe since 1986.

When questioned by ANC legal counsel Azhar Cachalia, Samson said while he did not carry a membership card for the organisation, he regarded himself as a member. On a separate hearing into activities 'of the ANC gave me weapons & witness ANC in May, Steyn outlined' suggestions for a new defence force to MK officials' 'Modise was not part of the MK group which attended the meeting.

However, the MK commander was part of a meeting - disclosed in The Star, - with M1 chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen in Pretoria last July. Modise' was not available for comment last night.

"third force", George Milaras, who had employed Mozambican Joao Cuna, said he had suggested to Cuna that he talk to the Vrye Weekblad, hoping it might give him personal security.

Cuna later claimed that a report that he had been paid to kill ANC activists was not what he told the paper.

- The hearing was adjourned until Monday.

.Police said to add to , violence - Page 6

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Hani's  
bodyguard  
In court  
AN SACP security  
guard's been with the  
law for being in possession  
- he didn't - had I understood  
In court this week.  
But Judgment was  
reserved and former  
Hobben Islander, Jabu  
Ngobese, 29. who works  
as SACP secretary-general  
Chris Hani's personal  
bodyguard. will have to  
appear in court again next  
week.  
Ngobese was arrested  
last May when police  
found a Steehkin automatic  
pistol and 21 rounds of  
ammunition on him.  
This week he appeared  
In the Protea Regional  
Court In Soweto for being  
In possession of an unlicensed  
firearm.  
He pleaded not guilty -  
his defence was that he  
had been armed by the  
ANC and worked as  
Hani's bodyguard. He  
argued that he was  
assured that it was lawful  
for him to possess the gun  
and ammunition when the  
ANC offered for Hani's  
safety.  
His brief as a lawfully  
employed bodyguard.  
Ngobese said, was that he  
had to carry a firearm -  
even if not issued with a  
licence, provided his  
employer had the licence  
and a permit issued by the  
Commissioner of Police.  
He believed that the ANC  
did have a licence.  
Judgment in the case  
will be handed down on  
January 21.

Sapa aria Weekly Mall Reporter  
AFRICAN National Congress security 'chiefJ  
' :weSizwe' fighters: at .the' ANG headquarter: A  
Johannesburg Mmmeyanbarkedonanw Mmmmmmm  
. policemeocouldhem G"?  
lmm; seu-pmchlmad MKW. ., .,  
g-theANC'a Johannesburg magnum

Maharaj attacked  
osmas Desmond, ex-Catholic priest,  
author and ne  
per commenptator,  
says the ANC national executive com-  
mittee member, Mac Maharaj, is mis-  
chievous by claimin that National Party  
leader W de Klerk  
(Desmond).

I welcome Mac  
Maharaj's response in  
your last edition (Decem-  
ber 18 - lanuary 14 on  
Page 4). it shows that at  
least he read my article,  
even though not very  
carefully. Otherwise he is  
merely being mischievous  
when he claims that it  
indicates that i am mes-  
merised by De Klerk.  
i said that he was a bet-  
ter (perhaps more skilfull  
is a more appropriate  
description) politician; not  
that his politics were bet-  
ter. Even this was a grudg-  
ing admision, being qual-  
iied by "despite his all too  
obvious failings". He has,  
however, been more suc-  
cessful in defending the  
interest of his constituency  
than the opposition has,  
in furthering the interest  
of theirs. Whites are even  
making gains during the  
period of transition. it is  
they primarily. who have  
benefited from such things  
as the raising of the sports  
boycott or the restrictions  
on foreign travel. I haven't  
noticed any improvement  
in the conditions of the  
blacks l meet; but then, i  
do not meet many politi-  
cians.

if there is to be a shar-  
ing of power on any  
as mesmerised him  
terms. there must be some  
agreement about the  
nature of power. For the  
Nationalists, upower" has  
always meant the ability  
to dominate. to control, to  
impose one's views. There  
has been no indication  
that they have changed  
their understanding of it.  
Presumably, therefore, the  
ANC/SACP are prepared  
to share power in that  
sense.

Claim

Maharai claims that  
the ANC's goal is "the  
transfer of power to the  
people as a whole". i  
would have thought that

the best way to achieve that would be to empower the people as a whole now, to have some say in the process. instead. he continues, "To facilitate this, we have set out very clear objectives for the immediate phase". But if wheeling and dealing and secret consultations are part of the process, they will be part of the new system. Open government cannot be.: nurtured behind closed doors, especially in company with the Nationalists who have been brought up in that environment. That is a white way of doing things: an elite telling the plebs what is good for them. i suppose it is also a Stalinist way. it is certainly not the way in which we were led to believe things would be done, we were supposed to be struggling for a qualitatively different sort of society. And there were - according to all reports - real signs of the prospective birth of such a society in the heady days of the United Democratic Front (UDF). But now people are just as much as excluded from the political process as they were under apartheid. i fear that white power could go on forever. any real change would scare the bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy and the security apparatus. And, obviously, we cannot do that, they have made themselves indispensable for running the country in the way we all know and love. it is doubtless true, as Maharaj says, that Mandela will head the next government. But "white" in the context i was using it, is a political concept, it referred to the nature of the power being exercised not the pigmentation of the power holders. The evilness of apartheid had very little to do with either the colour or the personal morality of the individuals in power. Evil was, and is, inherent in the whole system. if anything of that

H liJL/iLW f U' / '03  
Cosmas Desmond

system is carried over into the new, it can only have a corrupting influence. On a practical level, if both the economy and the bureaucracy are to remain essentially in white hands, there will be no way in which the ANC, even with an overwhelming majority of votes, can implement its policies. 50 white rule will, in effect, continue. To repeat, the particular individuals who hold power is of little concern, even less so is their colour. What matters is that they use power to bring freedom and equality to all the people. There is no way De Klerk and his bureaucrats will co-operate in achieving that.

iANC' is losing touch with the masses  
 One-time unofficial First Lady Winnie Mandela is back in the public eye after a blistering  
 attack on ANC elitism and  
 alienation from the masses, delivered at Helen Joseph's funeral. She was quickly repudiated  
 by ANC secretary-  
 general (Ml Ramaphosa and by her husband, Nelson. A senior ANC-leader even referred to her  
 "elitist lifestyle  
 in a mansion". In an exclusive interview with HENNIE SERFONTEIN she defends herself and  
 explains her position  
 there.  
 Aomohmdhldngyouoold  
 'my poopioorooulllnbond-  
 ogo'. Vlh-tdldyoumoonf  
 I mean precisely what I tried to say in  
 my speech at the funeral. Here is the full  
 text. (See separate story) I have been totally  
 misunderstood and taken out of context in  
 the media.  
 I was not apologetically referring to any  
 individual in the first place, I planned  
 that a national issue of importance  
 should be reduced to personalities  
 and individuals.  
 I did not refer to negotiations at all.  
 Because we are all agreed on the concept  
 of negotiations I was talking purely about  
 power sharing,  
 it is a duty to take the masses along  
 with us on the question of power sharing.  
 And the masses whom we must give a  
 mandate to the leadership about the inter-  
 pretation of power sharing. Because if we  
 do not do that we are likely to lose  
 the support of the elite group leading the masses  
 while we are not in touch with them. We  
 do not know their aspirations.  
 The general feeling on the ground is  
 that our organisation may enter into big  
 compromises with the government. And it  
 is a duty to have a debate about this  
 that we go along with the leadership to the  
 negotiating table.  
 I also raised the question of the Women's  
 League in the speech. The leadership  
 should treat very seriously.  
 It is the question because it was my  
 mother's funeral. I would like to believe  
 that the democracy that we are fighting for  
 is the same democracy known to be in the  
 dictionary. One has every duty to try  
 to express one's view. For those views to  
 be reduced to material elitism is totally horri-  
 fying to me.  
 I don't know what that stage is now  
 when we discuss national unity: We must  
 pass over the stage of cabal intrigues,  
 shrouded in mysteriously unnamed lead-  
 ership. That is not how we should deal  
 with the issue; I was talking about  
 political elitism and not material elitism.  
 Do you mean you are not fully  
 behind the mounting pressure.  
 (Do you support who? Support  
 with God's Support the full  
 process?  
 Yet, but that should be done carefully  
 with the masses behind the leadership  
 and the masses.  
 behind the process and the masses.  
 would be by various means.  
 and so.

Approval at conference: is not consultation with the mass. The mass needs a debate tight now to the understanding of power sharing. The whole debate has thus missed the point.

Thilo: oo-oollod ourm ohuoo o!

Slovo: Halo NEG plan. um

Intorlm cmmom of national noonoluotlon...

It must not be seen as a shortcut to parliament for a few elite individuals in the organisation. The masses must be part of that debate.

WINNIE'S STATEMENT AT THE HELEN JOSEPH FUNERAL:

U  
80 mm nuol tho party do?  
How must it got to tho cnoo-  
took?  
Surely the African National Congress is  
the spokespason of the mam of this  
country. They know very well what to do.  
Iwouldnawanttobethemetopreeaibe  
to the ladudiip.  
Your Prooidom Noloos Mandol-  
In I oioor wmoiom of your  
pooMon oold politic. on not  
about pooplo Ind Momd to  
dbolpllnod mouborohlp. How  
do you nopond?

banleadetshipwillfinditdilhcultttotalkin  
teams of political elitism, they are new in  
the me, they are aught up in the fever  
of atbutban elitism.  
My mansion, which is in the black  
township, is of my own wt and blood  
and has nothing to do with the debate. As  
you know it was built front the monies i  
received from the international rights of  
my book.  
So you do not wont opoomoolly  
to Mor to what Cyril  
Ramaphooo Ind Nohon  
Mondol- ooid?  
Oh no, lwillnotdothatfihe debate has  
nothing to do whatsoever with any indi-  
viduals whoever they may be.  
Thuoyouhovonopnblomll  
mm.ondlllll  
oomothooniyw-ylogotout  
oHNopnoontlnpooootor  
ta W/CW/ Mm 93

oomo yours. you need to havo I  
national govommont of rooon-  
cilllotlon. or a ooalltton govern-  
moat. You have no prohlom  
with that?

I have no problem with that at all. But  
I have every problem with the translation  
of power sharing. There are very many  
issues we have not even begun to address  
in the ANC, because of the political situa-  
tion in the country.

With what luuoo o! powor  
oharing do you IIIV. problomo?

The leadership ought to be aware that  
the masses fear being compromised. They  
fear that our orga nisation is about to enter  
into big compromises with the State. it  
must be obvious for the ordinary men in  
the street how he should fear the question  
of joint control for example of the security  
forces. That needs to be explained thor-  
oughly to the people. \_

It must be explained properly to the  
ordinary cadres what it means when there  
is talk of integration of the SADF with MK.  
We have been fighting all along. We  
regard each other as enemies. Surely the  
ordinary cadres need to understand a little  
bit more before you can enter into any  
compromise.

You youroolf havo no problom  
wltll tho prlnolplo of tho Into-  
gntlon o! tho forcoo?

If the masses agree that that is the  
solution, I have no problem with that at all.  
But that crucial decision cannot be in-  
cluded in sunset clauses, it must come  
from the people, from the branches to the  
regions, from the regions to the NEC.

You an notralolng thou  
Iooouoo on your own behalf no  
Wlnnlo Mandela but on bolus"  
of tho pooplo?

You know I have always worked with  
the masses.

How do you propooo to got this  
doboto going?

The leadership will know.

And what or. you going to do?

No, it is not my personal task. It is a  
national debate. My view as an individual  
is of no significance at all. I will merely  
pattieipate in the debate like any other  
member of the ANC. And if it is viewed as  
being undisciplined to exercise the demo-  
cratic right to express one's views, then I  
have a problem with that.

Are you blttor or angry about  
tho loadorohlp'o reaction?

Not at all. You know me better. I am  
only appealing to the leadership to enter  
into a serious national debate which is of  
concern to every freedom-loving person  
in this country, and not necessarily only  
members of the ANC - everyone who is  
lightingfordemoaacy,whoevertheymight  
be.

There has boon opooulatlan  
that you might want to load I  
new party.

(laughs) Why would I do it? It is

laughable. i have an organisation, the ANC. I do not belong to any other organisation. It is our people's movement. I have been branded as a hawk in the movement. "Chris Hani, Harry Gwala and myself have been branded as hawks in the movement. We did not brand ourselves. Do you then say you on a dove?

(laughs)! am not a dove at all. I shall never be that. You know me better. Since your resignation you have no platform left in the ANC. How will you promote your ideas?

There is the silly perception that I have resigned from the ANC. I have only resigned from the NEC. There has been a lot of nonsense in the press lately about me leaving because of corruption. It is the old trick that has been used by the government with people inside the organisation playing along. I will no longer tolerate such reports and intend taking legal action.

How do you too 1993 - which is supposed to be the year of the negotiation breakthrough?

We are all very disappointed about the progress made. We did not think that in 1993 we would still be debating these particular issues. The euphoria of the release of the leadership four years ago brought along a lot of expectations. The brutal truth is we did not expect the interim government to take this long. Four years later we are still not free.

he-ANC this week decided net'to L  
 attend the multiparty preparatory, '  
 . . conference being organised by-the  
 Igevemment and the Concerned South  
 Africans Group (Cosag) aimed at paving  
 the way for full-eeeel constitutional nego-  
 tletione.  
 ANC negotiator, Matthew Phase. told Ntw  
 NAnthethls organisation mmneedtoriech  
 e conference to take place. 'We thlnk thls contac-  
 eneelsetmedetrevlewingtheCodesaprocesseas  
 well as the decisions reached there." said Phase.  
 The ANC, Phase added. believed that such a  
 conference was similar to the one lnkatha Free-  
 dom Party (IFP) leader Chiet Mangosuthu  
 Buthelezi had been calling for to review the Code.  
 as process.  
 'As tar as we are concerned there is nothing  
 wrong with the Codesa process. Our position is  
 that all pertieeshould retum to Codese and those  
 that have not been there before. must join in,' he  
 'Fmourbllatempltelkswlththegevemmentwe,  
 have teedted en undemendlng that after we have  
 Wemenmensusencemih keytssueewe  
 ehouldenengetorththe convening ot a meeting of  
 the Codeea management committee to decide on  
 the resumption ot consMonaInegotlations.  
 'Weerenotlnterestedlnmovlngamundmdr-  
 . des,' said Phase;  
 Wlthout the ANC. the plannlng eonterenoe is  
 unlikely to dellver any agreement of substance.  
 And any multiparty constitution melting tomm that  
 '- emergeewlltbestilthemwnhognmeANC'spanId-  
 - :m .  
 - Domoaaucpanymmeador DrZad'IdeBeer  
 sold It would be disappointing it any parties would  
 teetetthereemhptlenotmultlpartytetks.'Wehthe  
 DP believe. that multiparty "talks now need to be.  
 resumed.I said De Beet  
 DeBeertookleemwlthentyntentlontouseethe  
 :scheduled preparatory conference to lnvelldste  
 :W.mdl0dat Gedese. 'We would oer.  
 'tetnlybeeencemed-andlthlnkthlelethepmb-  
 tent at the ANC-- It the won! 'levlew' meant that  
 'ellthetwee edtlevedset Cadeeels null-sndmld':  
 De Beer addedh . .  
 Meanwhile. ANC and IFP delegetlons theet  
 today in Johannesburg to pupae tor the meeting  
 between ANC president Nelson Mendel: end '-  
 Buthelea.  
 l'de theettne has. however already  
 " come up egetmt opposition from the Natal Mld- ,  
 tends and Northern Natal regions. Both have  
 celled for e halt to all bilateral meetings with  
 tnkethe. mm s pneidentat summit 'uhtil prob-  
 lems lttheteglon have been eddteeeed' ' l  
 These lnclude the alleged scuttling of peace  
 -eftom try lhltehe and continuing attacks eoelnet  
 ANC .euppettete tn the Midlands end Northern

Bilateral meetings  
to plot talks path

THREE vital bilateral meetings in the next 10 days between the three key political players are set to prepare the groundwork for a multiparty planning conference leading to a resumption of , 'constitutional talks.

Government and ANC delegations met each other in Cape Town yesterday to prepare for the five-day extended secret bilateral meeting starting on Wednesday. Neither ANC president Nelson Mandela nor President FW de Klerk will attend Wednesday's meeting.

It is understood the teams discussed the progress of the joint committee set up at the last bilateral meeting in December to fine-tune proposals put to that meeting. Since the December meeting there have been several meetings between the two sides to discuss constitutional issues; leveling the playing fields for elections; creating a climate for free political activity; armed formations such as Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla; and removal of remaining ' repressive legislation.

The bilateral meeting next week is a continuation of the one in December. It is likely to evaluate how the two sides can bring their allies into the process and how to accommodate members of the Concerned South Africans Group, especially Inkatha which is to meet both parties soon. The ANC meets Inkatha today in Durban in the hope of finalising a date for a summit of their respective leaders and their organisations executives.

Today's meeting, led by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, follows two previous rounds of talks by leaders of the organisations in an attempt to lay the foundation for a successful summit meeting.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus warned  
(M W;

BILLY PADDOCK  
yesterday that it was wrong to pre-empt Eh: meeting and assume that a date would set.

However, the two earlier meetings had made good progress and the four committees set up at the previous meeting had made progress. '

The committees were expected to prepare proposals on free political activity, militarisation of politics, implementation of peace accord structures and reconstruction of communities ravaged by violence. Meanwhile, the executive of the national peace committee met last night in routine session to consider the agenda of a meeting of the peace accord. The meeting of signatories had been scheduled for yesterday but was cancelled after Buthelezi said he had not yet met Mandela.

And in another development. government and Inkatha are to meet in a two-day bilateral for the first time since Inkatha broke off talks with- government in Sep-

tember. This is expected to be in Durban on Monday and Tuesday.

It is understood Inkatha is loosening its ties with the Concerned South Africans Group and wants to negotiate with government on its own. An Inkatha spokesman indicated also that the party would negotiate independently at the multiparty planning conference, expected to take place next month.

The meeting between government and Inkatha is expected to revolve around the same issues of Codesa agreements, and transitional arrangements including a two-phased transitional approach - an interim government and constitution leading to elections for a constitution-making body.

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Crisis prompts sanctions rethink

By Hugh Robertson

Star Bureau

WASHINGTON -- Because of South Africa's massive unemployment, ANC president Nelson Mandela is considering a call for all remaining sanctions to be lifted as soon as a date for non-racial elections has been set and a multiparty committee established to monitor them, according to .The Washington Post.

In an interview with the newspapers South African correspondent Paul Taylor. Mandela is quoted as saying he and other political leaders had been "ttsobered up" by the derailment of negotiations in recent months.

The interview includes a prediction by Mandela that non-racial elections will be held some time this year. Taylor noted that official ANC policy on sanctions was 'to retain them until an elected democratic interim government was in place. But he reported that Mandela had said that once a date for a non-racial election had been set, and once multiparty authorities had been established to ensure the fairness of such an election he would consider asking the ANC to call for an end to' . sanctions. .

Taylor said both those steps were expected to occur within a few months.

Mandela told the newspaper he did not expect to serve in the interim government creation . concern

Nelson Mandela . about high unemployment. ed by such elections, but would seek the country's highest elective office after a new constitution had been drawn up.

Referring to the resumption of negotiations between the Government and the ANC, Mandela said: "All of us made mistakes in the past. But I think there is a realisation that the international community, the business community, academics and church groups are getting fed up with politicians.

"We can't afford to call . each other names, point fingers, say that I am virtuous - and so-and-so is wrong Nobody is prepared to put up with that today."

The interview quotes Mandela as saying the condition of the economy had injected a sense at urgency to the political process.

"One cannot overemphasise the importance of a very quick solution so that we can have investments from the international community," he told the newspaper.

Mandela said he envisaged a series of bilateral discussions between the ANC, the Government and other political groups over the next several months. coinciding with a resumption of the multiparty negotiating forum that was suspended six months ago when the ANC withdrew from Codesa.

Commenting on an outburst from his estranged wife, Winnie. at last week's funeral of civil rights activist Helen Joseph. at which Mrs Mandela denounced negotiations as a pact between "the elite of the oppressed and the oppressor", Mandela said: 'Where in the world do you not have extremists? The important thing is to keep your head cool and to be sure your organisation is disciplined "

He was quoted as saying that although he had been frustrated by the slow pace of change, a beneficial side effect may have been the lowering of inflated expectations.

"One of these things that I worried me when I was in jail I was the tendency to make one I a demigod, a messiah. I am very happy to be seen now as I an ordinary human being." I

34 M /47/// i4

AN C warns against optimism.  
over summit with Inkatha  
By Keller Nyatsumba  
Political Reporter  
The ANC and the Inkatha  
Freedom Party will meet in  
Durban today to assess pro-  
gress made in preparations  
for a summit involving the  
two organisations leaders.  
The meeting follows two  
previous rounds of talks by  
the tlcontact group1, appoint-  
ed to liaise between the or-  
ganisations.

It is expected to be held at  
a beachfront hotel this morn-  
mg.

The delegations will be led  
by ANC assistant secretary-  
general Jacob Zuma and IF?  
national chairman Dr Frank  
Mdlalose. neither of whom  
could be reached for com-  
ment yesterday.

Mdlalose was said to be at-  
tending a meeting in Ulundi  
and Zuma was reported to  
be in Cape Town to attend his  
organisationls meeting with  
the Government.

However. ANC national ex-  
ecutive committee member  
and deputy international af-  
fairs head Aziz Pahad this  
week cautioned against opti-  
mism.

Today's meeting. he said.  
was scheduled to assess pro-  
gress made in preparations  
for a summit between the  
two organisations. and not to  
set a date for the summit  
Pahad said four joint sub-  
committees elected at the  
last meeting between the two  
organisations were charged  
with the responsibihty to pre-  
pare the groundwork for a  
summit between the ANC and  
the IFP.

The last such meeting, held  
in Durban on January 29 last  
year. did not yield any con-  
crete multst

According to Pahad, both  
organisations wanted thor-  
ough preparations to be made  
before the summit took place,  
and neither side was insisting  
on setting a date for such a  
meeting at this stage.

The tour subcommittees  
whose work will be assessed  
at todayls meeting were  
asked to look at

'...;:.

OThe creation OL/a climate: .  
for tree political activityfiifx;  
OThe strengthening of Na?  
tional Peace Accord struc-

turns. a r, a

.The militarisation of politics in the country.

0 The reconstruction and development of violence-affected areas.

Nested interests must not halt

Kassieris proposals, says ANC!

THE ANC yesterday welcomed the

Kassie:- committeets recommenda-

tion that agricultural produce control

boards be scrapped but said much

would depend on how or whether the

proposals were implemented.

The organisation said strong vat-

ed interests dominating agricultural

marketing should not be allowed to

hinder proposed changes.

The recommendations towards

more free and emclent agricultural

markets should benefit the economy

as a whole. especially food consum-

ers and new producers if they were

implemented properly, the ANC said.

The Marketing Act had in most

cm worked against the interests of

most South Africans. Existing mar-

ketlng schemes did not favour con-

sumers or most producers, and ex-

cluded new entrants into marketing

and processing.

"They have been lnequltable. and

have encouraged monopolies end ln-

efflclency. . . .Mnrketlng boards have

acted in a manner that relntorcu

discriminatory land legislation."

LLOYD 600178

In reforming marketing systems, it

would be important to ensure

national and household food security

land to improve access by a wider

range of producers to the services

they needed to participate fully in the

agricultural sector. it said.

The ANC expected full consulta-

tion on the composition of the agri-

cultural marketing council. lt point-

ed out that the policy evaluation

committee announced by Agriculture I

l

r

L/

Minister Kraal van Nlekerk had less

than 20% black representation.

Sapa reports that Sacob has urged

consultation on implementation of

the report's proposals. as "a more i

mnrket-releted approach to the pro-

duction and distribution of a

tural commodities will but serve the

grlcul- E

lntemts of consumers and. in the

longer term, also producers". To

mlnlmlse dumpton practical policy

formulation and the tlme-frame in

which restructuring was undertaken

should be considered carefully.

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THE African National Congress is in broad agreement with much of the Kassier committee report on the Marketing Act, but is demanding negotiations on future changes to agricultural policy.

These views were expressed by the ANC's agricultural spokesman, Derek Hanekom. Hanekom said he had not read the full report, but on the basis of press accounts welcomed the recommendations and in general would agree with many of the points in the report, in particular the primary point that agriculture should move towards a non-compulsory, more voluntary marketing system".

Hanekom said the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) which has objected to many of the committee's findings - had never been representative of all producers and that there was no justification for the SAAU's compulsory levies on farmers.

He echoed the remarks of committee chairman Professor WE Kassier that small farmers - particularly black farmers - had been excluded from all aspects of agriculture.

Hanekom said the ANC was concerned with the implementation of the recommendations. To date, there had been no representation on the issue by the ANC.

Both Kassier and the government have proposed boards out of which it is likely policy proposals would arise, and Hanekom warned that this should not become another case of unilateral restructuring. Even if consumer interests are between AN C wants farm

policy negotiated

should be art 0

ter represented, agricultural policy decisions should be part of political negotiations as well," he said.

Responding to fears that if the statutory control boards disappeared, the large monopolies would have a free hand in controlling agriculture, both Hanekom and Kassier agreed that this was the province of laws designed to deal with such issues. This would mean either the introduction of effective anti-trust laws or the breaking up of the present Competition Board. The Marketing Act, both said, should not be the instrument to ensure competition.

Neither the ANC nor Kassier himself argue for an immediate dropping of all controls.

The ANC has welcomed many of the recommendations of the Kassier committee but believes that agricultural li

political negotiations. B PAT SIDLEY

decisions

Hanekom said that while the ANC considered voluntary marketing boards the ideal, it also believed that some statutory control, or even a form of single-channel marketing, might be needed in respect of strategic agricultural produce such as basic foods (meat and maize) and certain export products.

Kassier cautioned against the notion that the free market was a panacea for all the ills of past decades and drew attention to the difficulties former communist countries were now experiencing in trying to convert to free market economies.

The government had a role to play. "It should act to ensure that there is a level playing field with due consideration of the legacies of past policies," he commented in his report.

b0 Irma Wt 9:;

Questioned on this yesterday, Kassier noted that agricultural co-operatives, which existed under the force of law, and which had always excluded black farmers, remained a problem. The Co-operative Act would come under the spotlight this year he said. Although he believed cooperatives were essentially voluntary organisations and could restrict their membership, he believed it would not be possible for them to ltdo anything other than throw open their doors to all members".

Many cooperatives acted in terms of the Marketing Act as agents of the control boards and therefore acted with statutory power. tln those cases they would certainly have to throw their doors open to everybody," Kassier said. Co-operatives were so entrenched in the area of agricultural inputs as well as in agricultun'ng marketing, they would have to open their doors.

The Kassier report is a glaring indictment of how the marketing arm of the agricultural system in its present form has acted toexclude farmers-black farmers because they were black, and others who were outmanoeuvred.

At the end of the report, Kassier quotes Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu as saying that 'tit is absurd to imagine that .\_ alter many years of restricted choices in education, careers, job opportunities and places of residence - the people of South Africa will settle for an economic system that offers fewer choices than the present system".

The ANC's question: Who'll stand by me?

WALLY MBHELE looks at the ANC's strategies for possible alliances in the coming elections

WITH hopes high that the country's first multi-party election may take place this year, the African National Congress has begun to align its facet

In the wake of the organisation's statement of intent for 1993 in which Nelson Mandela outlined the ANC's vision of elections before the end of this year, the organisation's PWV region sealed a formal election deal with KwaNdebele's ruling Inkando ye Sizwe.

The agreement, waited out in a two day conference also unaided by the UN demarcation

last weekend, committed the two parties to 'approach the coming national elections as a united front'.

The ANC this week described the agreement as a 'pace setter' and said the possibility that similar arrangements could be entered with other parties was not excluded.

So who are the ANC's potential alliances for the forthcoming elections?

Although the ANC/KwaNdebele alliance is an interesting case, for some time since February 1990 the ANC has been entering into informal alliances with some homeland parties and administrations.

Since the organisation is now faced with the prospect of an election, it is likely to formalise an election pact with all its homeland Patriotic Front allies

According to Steven Friedman of the Centre for Policy Studies, although the KwaNdebele agreement continues a trend which has already started, sometimes alliances formed at the top are not welcomed at the grassroots level.

FOR INSTANCE, says Friedman, there is a tentative alliance between the ANC and Nelson Mandela of Lesotho, but there is an obvious tension between the ANC constituency and the homeland's leader.

Another example is the alliance between the ANC aligned organisations and Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda, who firmly stood by the ANC throughout Codrington.

Friedman believes that it will be a lot more difficult to persuade ANC members in those regions to enter into formal election alliances, whereas in KwaNdebele it is much easier.

He points out that there has always been a cordial relationship between the ANC and the traditional rulers of KwaNdebele. And the KwaNdebele agreement clearly shows the ANC's willingness to work with traditional leaders'.

Further within the ANC says the organisation would continue to woo Venda, Lesotho, KwaNdebele, Transkei and the Labour Party of Rev Allan Hendricks and allow a group for dual membership on condition that the homeland parties accept 'the leadership of the ANC in the forthcoming elections'.

Hendricks is keen and almost impatient that members of his party enter into a coalition with the ANC - a proposal that was calmly turned down at the party's congress two weeks ago. However it is believed that Hendricks, who was elected the party leader again, will finally succeed in convincing his constituency that a deal with the ANC in the forthcoming negotiations - like in Codesa - is something to rely on for the party's future in elections.

Using his still admired leadership among the traditional loyalists, Hendricks is likely to finally succeed in convincing them to strike an agreement with the ANC. The ANC is said to be 'very careful' not to lose Hendricks as his support can play an important role in helping the organisation to get a vote from the coloureds.

There is also a possibility that, like KwaNdebele, Kgama will also join the ANC alliance. Since the time of this homeland's former leader Enos Mabuza.

Kgama has always been open about its support to the ANC. It is one of the few homelands where Mandela enjoys to spend a holiday.

Although Transkei has always been the ANC's PF partner in Codesa, there is no doubt that it will still stand with the ANC if the PAC decides to contest the elections.

Holomisa has always been wary not to choose sides between the ANC and the PAC. Moreover, there is a rumour that the Transkeian delegation at Codesa included some PAC members. Holomisa is the only homeland leader who addressed the PAC's congress last year.

All MGs aligned with the PAC at the moment are still in a state of flux. Since the PAC's withdrawal from the PF, the ANC - Nelson Mandela in particular - has been very sensitive about a possible alliance with the PAC.

The ANC still refuses to meet the PAC for the so-called revival of the PF. This was made more clear recently when Mandela rejected an offer from Zimbabwe's president Robert Mugabe to mediate between the two organisations for the revival of the PF. Instead, Mandela preferred to meet Mugabe separately from the PAC president, Clarence Makwethu.

An election alliance only makes sense if one aligns with a party that has significant support. The PAC is riddled with divisions. Whether it has any significant support to boost the ANC is doubtful.

Also the recent attacks on whites by the PAC's militant wing, Apla, have become so sensitive that the ANC is afraid to risk its improved image during the election period.

The ANC is also likely to conclude some form of election alliance strategy with civic organisations. The majority of them are already led by ANC activists and officials.

DTP, ANC planning  
moves end disruptions  
Citizen Reporter  
CAPE TOWN. - The  
Democratic Party and  
African National Con-  
gress are hoping to thrash  
out strategies next week,  
to stop the violent disrup-  
tion of DP meetings in the  
Black townships.  
The DP and ANC plan  
to meet, possibly on Mon-  
day. to form a working  
group to monitor the vol-  
atile political situation in  
the Western Cape.  
This follows the violent  
disruption of a DP meet-  
ing in Guguletu on Mon-  
day night, allegedly by  
youth organisations of the  
Azanian People's Organi-  
sation and the Pan-Afri-  
canist Congress.  
The working group will

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also consider ways and  
means to promote a cul-  
ture of democratic toler-  
ance. open debate and  
democratic mobilisation  
in the region, and both  
the DP and ANC delega-  
tions are to approach  
other organisations as  
well to achieve these ob-  
jectives.

In a joint statement.  
the DP and ANC express-  
ed their concern that the  
political playing fields  
were not yet levelled and  
called on all involved to  
achieve this as soon as  
possible to make free and  
fair elections possible.  
The statement said the :  
DP and ANC recognised  
that they would have dif-  
ferences in policy from  
time to time, but never-  
theless acknowledged  
each other's commitment  
to the creation of an  
apartheid-free, democrat-  
ic. non-racial South Afri-  
C8.

ANCYL, SAUJS off to Israel

By JACQUIE GOLDING

JEWISH students and African National Congress Youth League (Sagis) members leave on a joint tour of Israel tomorrow in a bid to strengthen ties between the ANC and the South African Jewish community and Israel.

The South African Union of Jewish Students (Saujs) proposed the tour - the first of its kind - to the ANCYL six months ago and the trip is being funded by Jewish organisations. ttSaujs and the Jewish community have invested large amounts of money to ensure the success of the tour, said tour committee political consultant Howard Sackstein.

It appears that pro-Israel organisations financing the tour have turned a blind eye to the MOS support of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO). ttWe are hoping they will support the Israeli government in the future and not only focus on the negative side, said Zionist Federation executive director Ronnie Sillhermann.

ANCYL secretary of information, h Parks Mankahlane said that accepting the invitation did not lessen the leagues support for the PU). However, We do not want to get involved in the internal conflict, he said. ttWe invited them to see and interact with a broader spectrum of Jewish and Palestinian -and give them a chance to see what is happening on the ground," said Sackstein.

PIETERMARITZ-

BURG. - The Aftimn

National Congress north-  
ern Natal and Midlands  
regions have milled on  
ANC president Nelson  
Mandela to suspend all  
bilateral talks with the  
Inkatha Freedom Party,  
including a proposed  
summit with Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi, until violence  
and policing problems in  
their areas have been ad-  
dressed.

This was announced at  
a Pietermaritzburg march  
by several hundred ANC  
supporters protesting  
against a police clamp-  
down in Mooi River and  
Estwurt and a month-  
long "state of emergen-  
cy" in Richmond.  
ANC Midlands deputy  
chairman Blade Nzi-  
mande told the crowd the  
two regions met Mr Man-  
dela in Johannesburg on  
Wednesdaymlllgfqrnan I  
end to talks with the IFP. J

Mr Nzimande told Sapa  
the all did not apply to  
today's top-level ANC-  
IFP meeting in Durban.  
No further bilateral meet-  
ings should, however,  
take place.

It has been speculated  
that a date for a Mandela/  
Butheled summit will be  
announced after todast  
meeting but Mr Nzi-  
mande stressed that the  
Midlands and northern  
Natal regions were  
strongly opposed to the  
summit.

"Until attacks by Inka-  
tha and police harassment  
of our people cease we  
want no further talks with  
the IFP," said Mr Nzi-  
mande.

He claimed violence  
engulfing many Midlands J  
townships was being or- J  
chestmted by Inhtha  
with little action by police '

to stop it. 1  
Instead, police were '  
'Junilaterally" declaring 3  
unrest areas without con- J  
ANC in Natal calls  
for end to IFP talks  
suiing Peace Accord  
structures as required by  
a clause in the National  
Peace Accord.

The lFP yesterday lev-  
elled a similar charge

against the police, claiming the Minister of Law and Order had violated the Peace Accord by his unilateral actions. Outlining further grievances against Inkatha, Mr Nzimande claimed the IFP continually scuttled peace efforts in the Midlands which had left the peace process there in tatters.

Inkatha spokesmen were unavailable yesterday for comment on the ANC's claims.

In an address to about 800 protesters outside police headquarters in J

Pietermaritzburg, ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala threatened a monumental consumer boycott in the Midlands to pressure police to lift unrest regulations in the region.

A memorandum was then delivered to Regional Police Commissioner Bn'g Chris Wolhuter demanding the immediate lifting of the "state of emergency" and the release of those detained in terms of unrest regulations.

The memo also demanded the withdrawal of the SAP's Internal Stability Unit from Midlands townships because "they have always supported Inkatha and terrorised our communities".

Sana.

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V Head Qflbe ANC's ekdkm  
 amymign, ANC national  
 executive committee member  
 Phpo Molefa The organisation  
 Preparing the  
 people for the polls  
 he ANC is gearing all  
 its efforts towards  
 preparing for an elec-  
 tion this year.  
 Forelgn electlons experts, some of  
 130lme pumgsem whom were patt 0f the team that  
 brought Bill Clinton into power in the  
 Whme'y MW United States are being  
 / consulted with the view to  
 bringing them to South  
 Africa to help the ANC.  
 Bltltsh experts who  
 worked as strategists for  
 the Labour Party during  
 last year's election, are  
 also being consulted.  
 Workshops on voter  
 education are taklng  
 place week after week  
 at all levels of the  
 ANC.  
 With its election  
 machinery led by  
 Papa Molele, who ls  
 best known for his  
 mohillsing experl-  
 ence as general sec-  
 retary ol the United  
 Democratic Front,  
 the ANC is poised  
 to net about 17  
 millllon of the esti-  
 mated 20 to 22  
 million voters.  
 The ANC  
 hopes to reap the  
 benefits of Its  
 allllance with  
 several home-  
 land parties.  
 Molete says  
 pacts will be  
 worked out  
 between the  
 ANC and  
 these parties  
 where some  
 of thelr lead-  
 ers can be put on  
 ANC llsts.  
 But this could present problems to the  
 ANC, given that some of these leaders  
 do not enjoy any meaningful support in  
 the areas where they are based. This,  
 however, is not of concern. Molel'e  
 states  
 "In the first election, there won't be  
 candidates for each and every con-  
 stituency which wlll be voted for. The  
 election wlll be based on the total num-  
 ber of votes that each organisation gets  
 Train the overall counts  
 "50 we might as well declde that only  
 five leaders will speak for the ANC In  
 the entlte country. In that case, If we

have a certain leader who does not enjoy the support of people from a certain area, it will not be possible for him to be hand-picked.

"But, we will also scrutinise the people we put on our list. We are going into this election to win it. Therefore, we cannot hold people who will give us problems at the polls," he said.

Molefe says that those homeland parties that choose to go it alone and light the ANC at the polls, "are free to do so. but I am afraid they will be crushed."

Regarding an election pact with organisations such as the PAC and A10-po, Molefe says this is not a possibility in view of the difficulties that seem to exist between the two bodies when it comes to joint action.

"We have called several mass action campaigns and they have opposed them and we do not see them joining us in the election," says Molefe.

What is needed in an election is a high profile. We cannot afford to light an election together if we are not consistent (in the commonality of views."

The ANC hopes to train and appoint 170 regional and branch election managers who will work full-time on the campaign. This will follow a national workshop next month where an election strategy will be drawn up and presented to the organisation's National Executive Committee (NEC) for adoption.

Not much effort will be made to canvass white voters, Molefe says. "Whites who will vote are in the region of four million. Most of them have been voting. so they know how to do it. We will concentrate on the blacks, coloureds and Indians."

To deal with the problem that few South Africans carry the official Identity Document (ID), the ANC will argue that a variety of documents should qualify voters to vote.

"We want an agreement, during the negotiations process, that several types of Identity be recognised for the purposes of voting. These could be baptism certificates or sworn affidavits, for example, in which neighbours of a certain person state that they know him, he is a South African citizen and has the required age," he says.

Molefe says the ANC is not convinced that this way of identifying voters could be abused in a situation where foreigners find their way to the ballot box.

"That will possibly happen. To what extent, we don't know. But we cannot say 'the ID is going to be the only document that will be accepted', because that will lead to the exclusion of more South African citizens than it will open doors for non-South Africans to vote," he argues,

Molele says the ANC banks on the establishment of strict monitoring mechanisms as well as punitive measures to catch candidates or parties that try to solicit the votes of foreigners. National Party spokesperson Piet Caetzer agrees with Molefe on the need for a mechanism. "A mechanism will have to be agreed upon . . . and this must be one that will ensure that all voters are South African citizens and that they are eligible," he says.

...

## GEARING UP FOR ELECTIONS

Following the signing of the Record of Understanding and bilateral talks between the ANC and the government last year, it seems the question is no longer whether there will be a non-racial election, but rather when such an election will be held.

While the two parties have proposed different dates for the elections, both agree that consensus on this is within reach. And, given popular support for elections, neither the Cosag coalition on the one side nor the PAC and Azapo on the other will be able to stymie the process.

The fruits of decades of struggle against white minority domination could be reaped this year when South Africans of all races cast their votes in the country's first non-racial election.

'We are now closer to achieving this goal than we have ever been before.' proclaims ANC legal expert and leading negotiator, Matthew Goniwe.

The tone for the realisation of this goal, he explains, was set by the signing of the Record of Understanding between the ANC and the government in September last year.

'The bilateral talks between the ANC and the government at the beginning of December further strengthened our resolve to have elections held before the end of 1993.' Phisoa said. National Party (NP) spokesperson Piet Coetzee says the last bilateral meeting "broadened the basis for consensus between us and the ANC".

On the question of the date of the elections, he says he is "cautiously optimistic" that it will be possible to keep to the schedules envisaged by both the ANC and his party.

"But this will be a question of logistics rather than will," he says.

Phisoa says there will be plenty of time to deal with logistical problems.

'Atter all,' he says. "the gap between our date for elections and that of the government is a narrow one. We have proposed September this year and they have proposed March 1994. This is a gap that I believe we can certainly bridge without making any painful compromise."

Coetzee shares Phisoa's view that the gap can easily be bridged. 'Yes . . . we can hold an election between October and March, at least,' he says.

Phisoa, who is known for his militancy and pragmatism within the ANC leadership, says that, for the time being, he trusts the National Party's (NP) readiness to hold a non-racial election.

"I trust them in their seriousness about this issue, although I do not mean they will be honest during the (election) campaign," he said.

During the December bilateral talks, six ANC/government sub-committees were formed and, according to Phisoa, these have

since been meeting to discuss elections. state media. foreign affairs, finance, the security forces and the TBVC states (Transkei.

Bophuthatswana. Venda and Ciskei).

This week, ANC members of the sub-committees were reporting to the organisation's president, Nelson Mandela.

The ANC. Phosa said. is taking the issue of installing an interim government in the first semester of 1993 very seriously. ANC legal experts are currently working on legislation for the functioning of the Transitional Executive Councils (TEC). which the organisation says should be established by March or April.

'When we go to the multiparty talks - which we would like to see taking place next month - we want to be in a position to table both our political and legal positions for the functioning of the TEC's." says Phosa.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

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He says the ANC disagrees with the government's position that legislation for the TEC's should be debated around April or May, after agreement has been reached on the political framework of these structures.

Coetzer's view is that this issue also boils down to logistics. "it is not realistically possibly to install TEC's by then. It is purely going to be a question of logistics."

session would be able to legislate all transitional structures, Coetzer said: "I hope so. But all will depend on the progress we can make in the negotiations."

He dismisses as mere speculation reports that this year's parliamentary session will either be divided into two sessions or involve one longer session. With the first option, the first session would be short. Members of parliament would then go into recess to be able to take part in the negotiations process. Parliament would resume at a later stage to legislate agreements reached at the negotiations.

"This is all speculation of politicians and journalists. There is nothing that has already been discussed in either of the two scenarios," said Coetzer.

But, no matter how smoothly the negotiations between the ANC and the government might be running, the ANC is faced with problems from within its rank and file, its sympathisers and several aligned bodies. These stem from the adoption by the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) of the "strategic perspective" document, which suggests power-sharing with the National Party and the preservation of jobs and packages of members of the current civil service. .

a sked whether this year's parliamentary Phosa concedes this. "The document has caused a lot of problems within the ANC and debate has been taking place since the document was made public.

"But it should be noted that most ANC members who are vocal about the document are not challenging the views expressed in it. They are concerned with the manner in which. the process leading to the adoption of the document was conducted," says Phosa.

He added that ANC members are concerned with the ANC leadership's decision to present the document to members of the Patriotic front before it was known to ANC regions and branches. This concern is gradually being addressed with several ANC regional annual conferences adopting the document, he said. But Phosa does not discount the possibility of a further furore being raised about the document. "Should the dissatisfaction justify the reviewing of the adoption of the document, i do not think that the NEC would have problems in reinitiating debate on the it," he said. The threat to the negotiations process which is apparently being presented by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) is not taken seriously by the ANC, Phosa says.

.i osag opposes several agreements reached by the ANC and the government. These include the undertaking that the new constitution should be drawn up

by an elected body. Several Cosag members, including the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments, are also against the holding of elections for this body.

"We know that their agenda is to complicate the process. But we are happy that both the ANC and the government have publicly stated that they would not allow anybody to delay the process.

"Those people don't represent the 'I'Elgfllepe of our people. We cannot, therefore, be delayed by them," he said.

Coetzer says he does not regard Cosag as representing any threat to the process of negotiations. His fears stem from the AWB and "elements like Apla";

He says that the NP has agreed that the new constitution will have to be drawn up by an elected body. "The NP has already entered into an agreement on that issue and we are certainly bound by the agreements we enter into," he stated.

on this view, Cosag can be marginalised by the ANC and the NP, The two are, in the eyes of most South Africans, the parties that really matter in the whole process.

Equally, Phosa says, the process cannot be delayed by the PAC and Azapo, who have so far taken extremist views on the negotiations process.

"The PAC walked out of the negotiations process and told lies about the Patriotic front (PF) agreements, accusing us of violating them. It is up to them to rejoin both the PF and the negotiations process.

"We cannot lick their heels to get them back into the process," says Phosa. He insists that, should the PAC and Azapo, or any other organisation, choose to stay out of elections - as they have already indicated - the ANC would go ahead mobilising people to go to the polls.

"We will assess the mood of the people of South Africa regarding elections. We cannot assess the mood of political groupings.

"if we feel that the mood of the people is in favour of elections - as we believe the case is now - we will go ahead with the poll," says

?h959:- V . . .;sl;.4-mw.mmw:e ..

In real terms, and if the NP can stand fast

Gluckman claims ?  
 face test in court  
 another delay in the inquest  
 . into the death in police custody  
 of a robbery suspect, Bethuel  
 Maphumulo, has left the ques-  
 tion about the cause of his death unan-  
 swered. ...  
 Maphumulo's death was one of those  
 mentioned by independent pathologist  
 Jonathan Gluckman when he revealed,  
 in July last year, that 190 percent of  
 more than 1,000 postmortems he had per-  
 formed on people who had died in  
 police custody indicated the subjects  
 had been killed by the police.  
 The inquest is the first judicial hear-  
 ing for which Gluckman has prepared a  
 report since his revelations. The inquest  
 is viewed as a test of the validity of  
 Gluckman's allegations, which were  
 largely dismissed by Law and Order  
 Minister Hemus Kn'el.  
 In December, Kriel released the  
 results of a police investigation into  
 Gluckman's allegations. In a statement  
 he accused Gluckman of making false  
 allegations, saying of 118 cases taken  
 from Gluckman's records, only 34 had  
 died in police custody.  
 The inquest has generated tremen-  
 dous international interest. Yesterday's  
 hearing was attended Professor Derrick  
 Funder, the head of the department of  
 forensic medicine at Dundee Universi-  
 ty, who was acting as an observer for the  
 respected human rights organisation  
 Amnesty International.  
 Maphumulo was arrested on Decem-  
 ber 11 1990 in connection with a rob-  
 bery. Jonathan Gluckman is  
 claims that police have killed  
 numerous people in custody  
 will be a hearing at an  
 inquest which has drawn  
 international media attention.  
 PAUL STOBBER reports:  
 bery. Two days later he died in custody.  
 Maphumulo's attorney, Lawley  
 Shein, said he was told by a Colonel  
 Oosthuizen that Maphumulo had tried  
 to escape but had been caught in the  
 swimming pool, at Protea police station.  
 Oosthuizen said Maphumulo had resist-  
 ed arrest and in the resulting struggle  
 had fallen into the pool and drowned.  
 However, post-mortems on the body  
 revealed abrasions and bruises on  
 Maphumulo's face, legs, and neck.  
 Both the state pathologist and Gluck-  
 man recorded multiple injuries as the  
 likely cause of death.  
 A relative of Maphumulo laid  
 charges against the police, alleging that  
 she and Maphumulo were beaten and  
 given electric shocks when they were  
 interrogated together about the robbery.  
 The attorney-general ordered an  
 inquest into the death when the post-  
 mortem reports called into question the  
 police version of Maphumulo's death.

The inquest, which was postponed  
became senior counsel for the SAP fell  
sick, will reconvene on February 15.  
VWM xmqh

By Vlvlen Werby and  
Sandra Lleberum  
PATHOLOGIST Dr  
Jonathan Gluckman  
(78) said last night he  
would be retiring to  
the south of France,  
but refused to give a  
date for his depar-  
ture .

FROM PAGE 1

I illtction to retire to  
France. Nothing elsc  
has momma this deci-  
sion," he said.  
havenlt packed my bags  
yet."

Dr Gluckman said he  
had the right of perma-  
nent luidence in  
France. but would not  
be taking "P French nat-  
ionality.

"9 would appoint a  
Person to pursue his 31-  
legations of cell death;  
"he" he emigrated. but  
until then would con-  
tinuc dOinS 50 himself.  
The fact that Dr  
Gluckman is emmu-ns

"5 m known in the  
Johannesburg Mm  
Conn Werday when  
3" MI! W called  
into the m in mm  
phumulo (31). Mr Ma-  
Phnmulo handed him.  
self over to the Soweto  
Murder ma Robbery  
Unit on December 11,  
1990. mmmmed by  
Glucklml)

Asked when he would ,  
dy of Mr Bethuel m.  
Dr Gluckman, who  
caused a storm of con-  
troversy last year when  
he alleged that 90 per-  
cent of about 200 people  
he had examined after  
they had died in custody  
had been killed by the  
police, said it had \_al-  
ways been his intention  
to emigrate to France.  
an advocate, and died  
0" BMW 13. 1990.

It was alleged that he  
fell into a Slimming  
poolmddrownedwm-le  
trying to escape fmm  
mstody.  
that the cause of death  
W to be strangu-  
lation and multiple inju-  
"5- "6 rejected the  
claim that Mt Maphu-  
mulo had drowned.  
The inqm Was due  
'0 bcsin on OCTober 15

last year but the mm,  
magistrate was ill.  
YMY counsel for  
die Police. Mr 5mm:  
du Toit, sc, m not  
available as he had be-  
come ill on Wednesday  
evening.  
M' D Kimy. SC, in-  
W by Mr L Shein  
( '0' '1' family of the dc-  
w I Postponement,  
submitting that both  
pathologist; involved  
were 1min: South  
Africa.  
Dr Gluckman was re-  
He has had a house in  
Provence, in the south  
of France, for about 10  
years. and visits it twice  
a year.  
been developing  
house over the years.  
"It has always been my  
life going .  
Gluckman has  
Dr the  
travelling to France and  
state pathologist, Dr  
MiqhCUC Vorster, was  
enough to new Zea-  
land at the end of April.  
The imam was then  
scheduled (50f February  
15 to 18 for the hearing  
of the evidence by Dr  
Gluckman and Dr  
Venter.  
The msismte, Mr C  
de Lange. said that if  
"in the court  
would also sit on Feb.  
mary 19 and 20,  
He applied to Pro-  
fessor Denick Founder,  
at WW Internat-  
ional. who had returned  
from the United King-  
dom: to South Africa to  
act as an observer at the  
inquest. .  
The courtroom was  
crowded and there were  
also observers from  
Lawyers for Human  
Rights.  
Mr De Lange indi-  
cated that he would .9.  
Poi!!! assessor: to assist  
in the inquest. since the  
medical evidence would  
be crucial.

Probe told of APLA  
 -- bases, MK,s Tvl  
 mission  
 TOP-LEVEL African  
 National Congress in-  
 volvement in armed  
 struggle, possibly dur-  
 ing proceedings of the  
 Convention for a  
 Democratic South  
 Africa -- and evidence  
 of Azanian Peoples  
 Liberation Army bases  
 in Transkei emerged at  
 a Goldstone hearing in  
 Pretoria yesterday.  
 The Goldstone com-  
 mittee, inquiring into at-  
 tacks on policemen since  
 July 17, 1991, heard evi-  
 dence from two men who  
 had been involved with  
 the military wings of the  
 ANC. its armed wing  
 Umkhonto we Sizwe  
 (MK). the Pan Afn'mnist  
 Congress and its military  
 wing, APLA.  
 Self-proclaimed MK  
 member Brandan Salmon  
 said ANC National Ex-  
 ecutive Committee mem-  
 ber Joe Nhlanhla gave  
 him two pistols, an AK-47  
 assault rifle and ammuni-  
 tion at the organisation's  
 Shell House head office in  
 Johannesburg in June last  
 year.  
 This followed about  
 tEve or six" meetings  
 with Mr Nhlanhla who he  
 thought was negotiating  
 at Codesa at the time.  
 Samson, who ends a  
 nine-month prison sen-  
 tence today, was instruc-  
 ted to investigate the ac-  
 tivities of certain police-  
 men in the conservative  
 southeastern Transvaal  
 town of Piet Retief. The  
 policemen were involved  
 in harassing ANC branch  
 members. he said.  
 He was supposed to re-  
 port back to Mr Nhlanhla  
 after the reoonnaissance,  
 whereafter these police-  
 men and possibly others  
 identified during the in-  
 vestigation were to be  
 texeeuted".  
 Samson was arrested  
 soon after his arrival at  
 Piet Relief and was later  
 found guilty of possession  
 of am and ammunition.  
 During questioning,  
 Samson admitted he was  
 not a paid-up mrd-mrry-

ing member of the ANC. ;  
However, he considered  
himself to be a member  
because he had joined the  
organisation when it was  
still banned and before  
membership mrds were  
introduced. His mem-  
bership was in his heart.  
not on paper.

In later evidence.

APLA member Mr X.

who did not want to be  
named, reported the high  
commander of the PAC's  
military wing, Sabelo  
Phama. as saying police-  
men in uniform had to be  
attacked.

Mr X received military  
training in Tanzania and  
Kenya between 1989 and  
1991. Later, he was or-  
dered to return to k0b-  
serve police activities" in  
South Africa.

He was stationed in  
Transkei. He claim' ed  
there were four APLA  
mili Tm . . 3

base: in the homeland.

- Sapa.

ROENINK: Although your commission's work is highly praised in and outside South Africa, there has also been criticism. You pinpoint problems, but you have no powers to solve them, to enforce your recommendations, to arrest people... .

GOLDSTONE: I wouldn't like to have those powers. If we had them, I think nobody would talk to us. We need to be accepted by all parties, so our recommendations won't be ignored. In fact, none of the major parties - I am not talking about the extremes - can afford to ignore them.

Q: Which of your recommendations have been most successfully carried out?

A: We had the police, the African National Congress alliance and the Inkatha Freedom Party - with one reservation, on traditional weapons - agree to rules for mass marches. Since that agreement there has been a lot less difficulty, less killing, during marches.

Q: But you couldn't keep Brigadier - quo from shooting at the marchers on Bisho

A: That was quite different. Our recommendations did not apply to a situation where one party perceived a match as an invasion of his capital. The homeland issue is a question that politicians must resolve, though we have said that people must have the right to march wherever they want. Marching is the only non-violent political activity that blacks can engage in in this country. They don't have the vote, so what else can they do? We criticised the Ciskei authorities. But the specific recommendation on mass marches simply did not apply. Of course, we also made recommendations that were not carried out, like the ones on dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels. But a sub-committee is looking into that now, and the Human Sciences Research Council will shortly issue a report on how hostel inmates perceive their situation.

Q: To outsiders, it seems strange that Judge Richard Goldstone avoids giving interviews to the South African press.

But he spoke frankly to a Dutch journalist

EVELYN GROENINK.

The following is an abridged version of the interview, published in the Dutch weekly magazine Vrij Nederland this week. You investigate one institution - for instance the police - and then use that to investigate another. Right now, you want the South African Police to help investigate the KwaZulu Police...

A: Yes to think that we used SAP men to carry out the raid on Military

Intelligence! In how many countries in the world could that happen? It is a great reason for optimism, because it shows that the whole peace accord structure can exist, can work.

Q: You mean you're not up against a monolithic bloc?

A: Yes. Take Israel, you couldn't find a single Jewish judge, or Arab lawyer, who would be acceptable to the other side. Or Yugoslavia, or Northern Ireland you won't find people who are acceptable to all sides. We have that very positive reason for optimism. In South Africa, all the major issues are capable of resolution. That is the fascination of South Africa for many foreign observers: that there is a prospect of success.

O: You could interpret the fact that everybody is fighting everybody else as positive, of course...

A: Goldstone: Absolutely, yes.

Q: But you could also be negative, and say that the SAP or the South African Defence Force could use your commission to get back at each other. Wasn't it the SADF that leaked dam-Judge Hlehard Goldstone Has he power to pinpoint problems but not to enforce his recommendations aging information about the SAP?

Couldn't it have been the SAP that leaked the existence of the MI '5 Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC)? It is hard to believe the Mozambican Joao Cunha led you to that...

A: No. I have never had the feeling of being used in this way. The DCC revelation did come out of our own investigation. Absolutely.

Q: You did not, however, seize all the documents that you found in the DCC's office.

A: You can't legally do that. To seize, you need evidence that there is something you are following up in those documents. We had evidence that, in Co-operation the key for Goldstone those specific tiles, a particular person was involved. That is why we asked for co-operation of the authorities in our further investigations. We didn't ask for extended legal powers -- that has been misunderstood. What we wanted was for their people, and ours, to assess the institutions, their activities, their arms positions, together. Investigating through the front door, so to speak, instead of the back door. Then you don't have to raid The SADF has, as you know, agreed to that, and so has Umkhonto weSizwe. And I hope to do the same with the KwaZulu Police.

Q: Does that mean that now, in the investigation into the SADF that you are conducting with General Pierre Steyn, you are looking into drawers everywhere?

A: Yes. Together. Their people and ours.

O: Recently, random attacks have been directed at whites. Appalled as everybody is, it is also recognised that blacks have had to suffer this type of attack for a long time. I have heard people say that maybe now something will be done about the violence, as the victims are now whites...

A: I don't believe the violence can be stopped until we have a legitimate, i.e., credible, acceptable police force. When the police go and investigate an attack on whites, all the people in the white community will co-operate with the police. But if an attack takes place in a black area, with black victims, there will be no co-operation. There will be at best suspicion, at worst, fear. The reason why the police are more successful in solving white crime is not only because they are more eager to solve it white police may not be as keen to investigate cases where the victims are black, but it is not only a racial thing. It would be an oversimplification to say that police only investigate cases where whites are victims.

O: People also believe that no real measures have been taken against the violence, because the government has not been interested in solving the problem.

A: No. I don't accept the theory that the government is behind the violence. The violence is not in the interest of the government. If the negotiations process fails, then this government has failed.

O: In any democratic country, after so many scandals, the government would have resigned 11) times...

A: Yes but then you would have another government to take over.

Q: You mean South Africa needs an interim government?

A: Yes. I hope there will be one shortly.

nkatha steps in  
it LFP meets with sacked Soweto and Dobsonw'lle councillors in  
the wake gttbe Transvaal Provincial Administration 3 Qurgg\_\_  
Soweto and Diepmeadow councillors  
tired b the Transvaal Provincial Admin-  
Inkatha this week rushed to the aid of  
istration

A) for all mismanagement  
of the townships' aff ts.  
A meeting between the  
sacked councillors and  
lnkatha's Tmnsvaal lead-  
ership was huntedly con-  
vened at the organisa-  
tion's lohannesbmng 0mm  
0 day after the TPA  
announced the dissolution  
of the two councils.  
Although lnkatha and  
the councillors held joint  
consultations with  
lawyers, It is not clear  
what course of action  
lnkatha expects to take in  
support of the councillors.  
However, the organisa-  
tln's spokesperson  
Humphrey Ndlovu was  
unambiguous in his criti-  
cism of the dismissals. He  
told New NAnON: "We do  
not support what the TPA  
has done."

Thls is not the first time  
that lnkatha has rushed  
to the aid of township  
councillors. During the  
mld-eighties at the height  
of the rent boycott, the  
organisation pledged Its  
support for the councillors  
In their fight against a  
clvic association cam-  
palgn to force the dissolu-  
tion of black local author-  
lties.

Former Soweto Mayor  
Oscar Maseko, said the  
meeting with lnkatha was  
meant to discuss a plan of  
action which would help  
restore the councils.  
A bitter Maseko accused  
the TPA of hypocrisy by  
dissolving the councll a  
day before the council was  
to pass a motion to  
remove more than 30  
senlor whlte officials sec-  
onded to the councll.  
Maseko told New  
NAIIION that some of the  
white offticial, who earn In  
excess of R10 000 a  
month, were rejoicing In  
the council offices after  
news of the purge by the  
TPA became known.  
Lawyers in the mean-  
time have resorted to  
Supreme Court action to

challenge the validity of the TPA decision.

TPA administrator Daniel Hough announced this week that the Soweto Council was in arrears to the tune of R417-million. By August last year, the council was only able to collect about 13 percent of money due to it.

He said that Diepsloot residents owed the council a total of R129-million by the end of August.

Commenting on the dissolution of the council, Soweto Civic Association Spokesperson Kgabane Mosunkutu said the decision did not go far enough.

"We could have been impressed had the decision applied to all local authorities, black and white," Mosunkutu said.

The first test case in the Dobsonville Council's plans to recover more than R23-million in rent and service charges arrears goes to court early next week.

It is believed that most of the township's 4 000 residents have already been summonsed. But the council is unlikely to proceed with further legal steps until its strategy had been tested in court.

Councils cave-in no surprise

By Ike Motsap

THE COLLAPSE of Soweto

and Diepmeadow coun-

cils this week came as no

surprise.

Like many others

throughout the country,

they have been rejected by the residents,

liberation movements, churches and

civic organisations.

They did not have the support of the

people. This is made clear by the fact

that less than 19 percent of residents

voted for the councillors. ' '

In fact, the collapse of the Soweto

and Diepmeadow councils - the No

power examples of Black Local

Authorities - sounds the death knell for

, 'all still existing apartheid structures as

the country prepares itself for a new

democratic order.

The main reason for the collapse of the

two councils has been given by the

Transvaal Provincial Administration

(TPA) as misadministration and misap-

propriation of funds.

Mr Danie Hough, Administrator of

the Transvaal, announced the dismissal

of all councillors in Soweto and

Diepmeadow on Wednesday.

THEir NO SUPPORT Rejected by most

members of the black community:

They joined a long list of others who

have met a similar fate since the intro-

duction of Black Local Authorities in

1982.

Among the councils that have col-

lapsed are Vaal. Alexandra, Mamelodi,

Atteridgeville, Tembisa, BelavBela near

Wannabaths. bebohang near Leandra,

Tsakane near Brakpan, Botleng near

Delm , Tokoza near Alberton and

Kwa ga near Witbank'. t

Black councillors a .

In 1991 almost half of the sitting black

councillors resigned following collapse

of local authorities countrywide.

Figures provided by the four provin-

cial administrators showed that 48 per-

cent of local authorities had crumbled

by then.

Worst-hit was the Orange Free State

where 60 percent of the 442 council

posts were vacant.

Of the province's 71 councils, 63,4

percent had collapsed.

During the same year Mr RP

Wronsley. Auditor-General, reported

CA large number of

council employees

were not paying

, their rent and

service charges

to the council .

' took no action

' against them a

that the council had lost hundreds of

millions of rands in rent and service

charges. '

He said Soweto alone suffered a loss

of more than R255 million in rent and service charges.

Hough this week said the TPA had agreed to waive R417 million in arrears for rent and services last year.

By August last year the Soweto Council managed to collect only 13 percent of municipal service charges.

He said a large number of council employees were also not paying their rent and service charges, while the council took no action against them.

He said Eskom sent the council a bill of R131 million for electricity. While Power Park residents paid between R400 and R700 rent a month for their houses, eight councillors in the area each paid only R100 and R20 for services.

He said: "Even these amounts appear to be credited against the purchasing of the houses by the eight councillors."

Single out Hough singled out councillor Buthelezi, who had his house damaged and restored "to a much higher standard than other houses which the council lets in Soweto, at a cost of R100 000".

He said Buthelezi paid only R85 a month for his house in terms of the Greater Soweto Accord.

The Diepmeadow Council lost R129 million by the end of August last year, while it managed to collect only about 4,8 percent for rent in the area.

The Black Local Authorities Act was passed by Parliament in June 23 1982 and came into effect on August 1 1983.

This law made provision for the establishment of local authorities, village councils and town councils for black people in certain areas after the collapse of the Community Councils.

The Community Councils, which replaced the Urban Bantu Councils, did not last long because people were opposed to them.

There was an outcry from residents when the Black Local Authorities were introduced and it was clear that they were doomed to failure. —

It was evident from the beginning of last year that the Government was not too happy with these councils' financial statements. ' —

Towards the middle of last year the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA), warned the Soweto and Diepmeadow councils to put their houses in order or face the possibility of being scrapped.

The main complaint by the TPA was that these councils were not financially viable. They were in fact running at a huge deficit since residents started boycotting payments for rent and services such as water, electricity and refuse removal.

There has been a lot of pressure from churches, black liberation movements

and civic organisations for the scrap-  
ping of the Black Local Authorities.

Councils will fight back

A BIG BLUNDER Reason for sacking by TPA is flimsy say sacked councillors:

By Tsale Makam

HF, Soweto and Diepmeadow councils are considering applying jointly for a court interdict against the Transvaal Provincial Administration's decision to sack councillors in both chambers.

Both councils were dissolved with effect from Wednesday after they failed to meet the requirements of a TPA directive issued on December 4 last year which had urged them to put their finances in order.

The TPA gave the two councils until December 15 to come up with viable strategies to help sort out their joint debt of R697 million.

Reacting to the TPA decision, Soweto mayor Mr Oscar Maseko, who was elected in November last year, said: "We are very very bitter about the TPA's step. We are meeting with the Diepmeadow Council to discuss applying for an interdict."

He said they would use every legal means possible to get the decision reversed.

Maseko said the reason for their dismissal was 'flimsy' because when they were elected to office in 1988 they inherited a financially unsound council and the TPA knew it.

The real reason for firing them was to appease the civic associations and the African National Congress.

"They have been under pressure from the ANC and the civics to dissolve councils and the TPA finally gave in."

He accused the TPA of being run by the civics "and yet the civics are the very people who instigated the rent boycott that has led to the major part of the debt".

Diepmeadow Council mayor Mr Josiah Matlala, who yesterday described himself as "ex-mayor", said when they took over in 1988 residents were not paying rent. They had thus inherited the financial problems of the previous council.

The TPA had blundered in sacking them.

"The TPA is a mafia which wants to harass residents into paying. whereas we believe in speaking to the people and explaining the reasons why they should pay for services," he said.

Matlala continued that the two councils were taking legal action.

PAC linked to 'quzo's Inkatha'

By CLAIRE KEETON

EVIDENCE is mounting of links between the Pan Africanist Congress and Brigadier Oupa quzo's iilnkatha" - the African Democratic Movement (ADM) - in the Border region.

This has muddied the waters around last year's attack on the King William's Town golf club, whose sophistication led to doubts about Apia involvement.

The evidence of PAC-ADM lies also raises questions about quzo's claims this week that the PAC is plotting with the African National Congress and the Transkei government to top-ple him.

The PAC has maintained notably more cordial relations with the Ciskei Council of State than the ANC, and many Ciskei villagers are believed to hold both ADM and PAC membership.

ADM general secretary Thamsanqa Linda told a rally in King William's Town last Saturday that loyal ADM members, including some chiefs, had taken on PAC membership to get protection from ANC radicalism.

He later claimed to have instructed ADM members to drop their PAC membership because of Apia violence, according to the Independent Monitoring Network (IMN).

A PAC information and recruitment drive in Ciskei late last year saw the PAC specifically invite ADM members to attend. As part of the campaign last August, PAC president Clarence Makwethu addressed Ciskei chiefs, many of them ADM members, at the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

PAC publicity secretary Waters Toboti said at the time it is the "PAC'S programme to win every African to our side".

Given the ANC's conflict with the Ciskei, this convergence of membership may mean the PAC is being drawn into the violence.

The ADM, a Ciskei government organ, has easy access to weapons, and may serve as a conduit for arms to Apia. When former police commissioner General .lan Viktor suddenly left the Ciskei last year, he expressed concern about the way in which firearms were being handed out to headmen, who often have ADM ties.

An incident days before quzo made his claims dramatised the murky politics at play. Ciskei Police announced they had arrested seven PAC members last Friday for possession of illegal weapons -- RI and R5 rifles, and Scorpion machine pistols - alleging the seven planned to disrupt an ANC Youth league meeting (ANCYL). The ANC immediately claimed

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the seven were in fact ADM members masquerading as PAC.

ANCYL Border president Themba Kinana said he was sure the youths got their sophisticated firearms from ADM headmen.

Residents of Bhele, where tensions have been rising for months, told the IMN many local PAC supporters had previously been ADM members. The PAC identified the seven as members, but could not exclude the possibility they had previously belonged to the ADM.

The Ciskei also said it would pm the armson

to the South African Police for ballistic tests to determine any link with the King William's Town attack. The SAP's Captain Nina Barkhuizen said no weapons had yet been received. .

Evidence of links between the ADM and the PAC follows other highly expedient alliances between different anti-ANC elements in the Border, an ANC stronghold.

In past years, township councillors in towns like Komga and Cathcart emerged as PAC supporters, despite some PAC embarrassment.

' Asked about the links with the ADM, PAC secretary general Bennie Alexander said 'the PAC recruits for its own party in any territory' and 'talks to anybody at any time at any place'. He said he did not know about dual membership, but agreed that 'when I took over the PAC when he first took over, he later adopted a neutral attitude'.

Feeding directly into the current paranoia about the PAC and Apla. The ANC-PAC-Transkei plot claims may serve to distance him from the PAC, and perhaps to strengthen his conservative reputation in the Concerned South Africans Group. -\_ Ecna '

Eliot!) act on HP row  
By AYESHA ISMAlt Cape Town  
THE Azanian People's Organisation  
(Anpo) has pledged to discipline any members guilty of political intolerance in the wake of this week's violent disruption of a Democratic Party meeting in Guguletu.  
Anpo acting regional chairman Jimmy Yekiso said his organisation had not yet established whether members were involved in disrupting the DP meeting. If they had, he said, it was not a matter of finding the leadership of Anpo.  
Anpo believes that free political activity is a cornerstone of democracy. However, this principle can only be applied in a situation of normality, Yekiso said. Anpo did not condone the disruption of political meetings and believed in freedom of speech and free political activity.  
The DP will hold meetings with the ANC, PAC and Anpo on the 10th of this week and also to discuss future DP meetings in the future.  
Muslims:-  
W/MZ / W M;

-New CCV jobs spark row  
 HE alleged sidelining of a  
 senior black journalist at the  
 SABC has provoked a furore  
 and underscored tensions at  
 the corporation as it moves towards  
 a new broadcasting order. CCV  
 staffers are outraged, seeing the  
 move as political manipulation.  
 Both the Media Workers Associa-  
 tion of South Africa (Mwasa) and  
 the African National Congress have  
 stepped in to take up their muse.  
 At the root of the conflict is the  
 , appointment of economics journal-  
 ist Ixslie Mashokwe as senior editor  
 of Newsline, CCV's little sibling of  
 Agenda, and the alleged sidelining  
 of Newsline's executive producer  
 Pkwane Mashishi Mashalwane,  
 who has been sent off to report from  
 parliament. Adding fuel to the  
 flames is the appointment of Mand-  
 la Msibi, a news producer, to a  
 newly created position in charge of  
 all CCV news and current affairs  
 programming  
 Johan Pretorius, editor-in-chief of  
 TNP, the SABC uproduction com-  
 pany, which controls actuality pro-  
 gramming on both CCV and W1,  
 claims that their promotions were  
 based entirely on merit" and that  
 Mashalwane's new post is in no  
 way a sidelining". But the entire  
 staff of Newsline, along with Mwasa  
 and the ANC, disagree  
 The bottom line? says a  
 Newsline senior producer, is that  
 the white managers of TNP felt that  
 they were unable to control CCV  
 news and particularly Newsline,  
 which was seen as being far too  
 accommodating of the liberation  
 struggle at the CCV news  
 department has led to  
 allegations, from SABC  
 staffers themselves, that  
 Mashalwane is alive and  
 kicking at Auckland Park.  
 BY MARK GEVISSER  
 movements?  
 ANC spokesman Gill Marcus  
 adds: "In our meetings with senior  
 TNP officials it was raised as a point  
 of concern that CCV journalists  
 were showing their partisanship. It  
 seems they were doing their job:  
 reflecting the experiences of black  
 South Africans. What seems to have  
 happened is a reshuffle that smacks  
 of fundamental restructuring -  
 which is against the spirit of our  
 ongoing discussions with the  
 SABC. The  
 Pretorius acknowledges that there  
 is a crisis. Mwasa-of which all but  
 one of the Newsline staffers are  
 members - will be holding an  
 emergency meeting with TNP man-  
 agement today. The union is investi-

gating the possibility of an unfair labour practice.

Last week, all 12 Newsline's stations sent a petition to TNP executive editor Christo Kritzinger protesting against Mashokwe's appointment:

Whatever his merits as a journalist, it says the Newsline producer, Mashokwe has a terrible record as a manager, and is extremely unpopular. The situation is untenable. What

MILK IMM  
made it worse was the way Kritzinger dealt with us. Previously, we have had a say. But this time we were just told to like it or leave it."

Why, he asks, is there this new hardline attitude? We can only assume that the guys at the top are getting jumpy. They know their days are numbered."

CCV employees add that Msibi and his deputy, Mike Nxasala, are known Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, citing as evidence the fact both used to work for the KwaZulu government. Both are said to have demonstrated an unbelievable reverence for any image or utterance of Buthelezi".

Nxasala rejects these allegations: "My first job was as a clerk in Ulundi, and I seem to have been tainted by this and by the fact that I am a speaker. It's nonsense. I am not a member of the IFP and that can be proven."

But one CCV journalist counters: "These guys have senior positions precisely because of their antipathy to the liberation movements." Pretorius dismisses this: "Anyone who knows Mashokwe knows that he is completely independent."

The conflict has highlighted a core problem in the structure of the SABC: that, as Marcus puts it, "CCV is in no way independent. We have discovered, for example, that the only way we can have contact with CCV's black journalists is through their white supervisors."

This is an opinion shared by those in the CCV news and current affairs departments.

WI/Vj

Whole the Baas?

A DISPUTE is brewing between media union Mwsss end the management of the SABC overs serie s of black

promotions recently effected in the CCV channel. which the union believes reflects politi cally motivated unfair labour practices.

One such appointment was that of Mandla Msibi, who was placed in effective online control of the

channels news department. Formerly deputy to news editor Mike Matane. Melbi was recently promoted

above him as part of a recent shakeup. Misibi, like at least two of the other recent prom oteee. is believed

to be a card-carrying member of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Another similar case is that of Newsline producer Lesley Mashokwe, who was selected to be sent off on

a special management training course last year, after he distanced himself from the recen t Mwasa-

organised strike. Meshokwe is believed to be closely connected to the government of Bophu thatswana. via

his wife who serves as a public relations ofhcial for the Mangope regime.

Mashokwe. formerly a minor economics producer. recently reappeared as a senior producer o n

Newsline. the CCV equivalent of Agenda. promoted over far more experienced candidates lik e producer

Mesh Mssiloane.

Such reshuffles are alleged to be part of a concerted plan. Awarding to independent infor mants a

decision was taken to create senior posts for politically sympathetic individuals within the predominantly

blackLrun CCV. At the same time care was taken to lock them into long range contracts - t hus making it

difficult for a new dispensation to dislodge them in advance of elections. The plan was a llegendly explicit in

looking only as far as the elections in its strategy.

Despite the promotions however, the real control of CCV's news and actuality departments continues

to be exerted by whites. For instance Freek Robinson as editor general of Agenda continue s to have the final

say in the programming of Newsline. and the final control of news production stil vests i n the person of

Executive Editor Christo Kritzinger. second in command of the TNP network. and a known me mber of '

Military Intelligenoe's Salti outfit.

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SABC plays Win 'n Spin

THE SABC'S current management has three basic scenarios for the corporation, each of which has according to SABC insiders been formally worked up by specially mandated persons. The first of these and the one which the SABC would like to actualise entails the acceptance by the ANC and other interested groupings of the basic recommendations of last year's Viljoen Task Force repon into the broadcast media. Key among these is the recommendation that existing rights for the SABC and other existing broadcasters (like M-Net and Bop) be cam'ed over into the new dispensation. The acceptance of this so-called grandfather clause would entail minimum disruption of the status quo and would allow for something like business as usual. This would be balanced against the creation of an independent broadcast authority (mooted these days as the IndependentTelecommunicationsAuthoxity) which would among other things license new broadcasters.

THE SECOND OF the scenarios involves a radical privatisation of existing facilities. This is the extreme response of the corporation to feared threats of complete ANC takeover, and could be effected in varying degrees, from the selling off to private interests of not only whole radio stations but also of either or both of the TV! and CCV channels. The possibility of effecting such radical changes through unilateral legislation on the part of government has been facilitated by the carving up of the SABC into four divisions and within these six business units.

While wholly SABC owned and funded from the SABC budget, these business units nevertheless function essentially as independent companies, keeping their own books and tpaying" for one anothers services. Thus for instance drama production outfit Safritel leases or rents equipment for the Technical Services division at specified rates, and W1 "buys" programmes which it has commissioned from the outfit.

Now, in terms of the scenario as it has been developed, such independent units could, should the need arise, be sold off to pn'vate interests, thus removing them from the control of a new govenment.

Panicularly at issue here are W1 and CCV. Two years ago moves were afoot to sell CCV to a consortium of bla ck business interests which went under the name of Black Interest Group (Big). Though these negotiations fell through - Bigs capital resources did not match its name - Chief Executive Television, Quentin Greene, has on numerous occasions intimated off the record that such plans are far from dead. The sop which would accompany such unbundling would be the deployment of at least some of the money realised by means of such a sale to the remitting public broadcaster - usually named as a revamped version of the current TSS.

Interviewed this week by Vrye Weekblad however, Group Chief Executive Wynand Hannse placed his hand over his hean as he denied that the corporation had any intention whatever to privatise the corporation.

He did however point to a purely business logic which suggested the corporation would be well advised in abstract terms to get lid of certain losing operations which it currentl holds. He noted

particularly the case of some 0?, the "regional" - read ethnic - radio stations which survive only because of cross-funding by other stations within the broadcast family. It would make business sense, Hannse argued, to sell such stations to regional interest groups, thus allowing more voices to be heard over the airwaves.

However Harmse was adamant that such restructurings would not be effected by the SABC unilaterally; they would be the work of the Independent Telecommunications Authority which would be formed on a multi-party basis.

FINALLY, IN TERMS of scenarios, the SABC has drawn up a kind of hybrid scenario, which involves the transformation of existing channels along the lines of the national broadcasters in the USA. Here part of the programming would be central and national, but much, especially in the news and current affairs fields, would be programmed by private regional interest groupings which would buy into the national networks.

Thus, given the preponderance of white money and the enormous cost of such ventures, a certain degree of control could still be maintained over the flow of information at the expense of a black-dominated government.

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Reasonable Doubts

- The state of play at the SABC

Broadcasting is creeping towards the top of the negotiations agenda as elections draw closer. But while the ANC and its allies begin belatedly to focus on the picture at the SABC, IVOR POWELL, investigating the corporation, asks: Who is holding the remote control? And, why is the picture so fuzzy?

should be a drama, but then again it

could be a sitcom. Or a tale of some kind of intrigue, or again a comedy of errors.

One thing the unfolding story of the

drama at the SABC is not, is a

thriller. But the ongoing saga is worth

looking at in some detail as the govern-

ment's media propaganda machine

goes to the workshop in advance of elections

On 28 December last year, the ANC

Minister of Communications put out a press

release to political interest groups in South

Africa at large, calling for nominations to a

new and more broadly representative SABC

governing board - to be submitted by 18

January.

Though a merely bureaucratic devel-

opment, the request for the ap-

pointment of a new and broadly repre-

sentative SABC control board has become

one of the most pressing of the issues

facing politicians in advance of South

Africa's first democratic elections

Pienaar's call for nominations was pre-

ceded by a statement on the history of

the current control of the state broad-

casting facility, and he further stressed the

new openness of the policy by also asking

that recommendations be submitted re-

garding procedures for appointment and

regarding the constitution of the board.

But Pienaar's statement was merely a

view of opposition media group-

ings. The attraction of the problem. The imme-

mediate reason for this lies in the fact that

Pienaar was acting in defiance of agree-

ments concluded between himself and

the media lobby group the Campaign

for Independent Broadening - which

represents about 25 interested parties in-

cluding Compu and the Campaign for

Open Media, and has the backing of

among other groupings the existing non-

broadcast media and the ANC

- at a meeting held earlier in the month.

At that meeting the committee had pre-

- sented a proposal as unacceptable on

current procedures for appointing the SABC

governing board. Part of the issue was

the appointment of the president of the

State Presidency of the board -

using Act of 1976. not only appoints the

board but also designates its chairman and

vice chairman - and is in a position to

revoke any of these appointments at will.

The new appointments due to be an-

nounced on 31 March this year, and in

view of the government's stated commit-

ment to demonstrate the aim was, the

claim was that the unilateral move of

power was wholly "inadequate" for the

purpose of appointing an independent

and an 'essential' broadcast authority.

IN THE PAST the procedure of appointment has been effected mainly by means of informal nominations by the mbtnet and members of the National Party caucus - and resulted in an overwhelming Broedetbond presence on the control board.

According to Stellenbosch academic and former SABC board member Professor Sam Rumbold - whose 15 year tenure on the board was prematurely terminated only a month after he resigned from the National Party in 1987 - 'it was common knowledge that at least until the government started appointing small minorities of blacks and women (0 the board in the late 1980s. Broedetbonders constituted an overwhelming majority'. instead of the procedures outlined in the Broadcasting Act. the 03 proposed initially that the appointments be made by a committee headed by the two white people of Codes: and comprising a panel of ten independent people" who should not either. Meanwhile back in Faulty Towers...

WHILE the future of the SABC is creeping to the forefront of the negotiations agenda, members of the corporation - it not the SABC as a whole - have not been merely sitting back and waiting.

According to an informant of Vrye Weekblad. who has a history of dealings with the corporation. he has been offered various items of equipment by members of the SABC in recent months for only a fraction of their worth. He was for instance recently told that he could acquire an Outside Broadcast Unit - valued at around R6 million for only R1 million. The deal. he was told would be written up as part of a series of 'inhouse auctions'; which were currently in progress at Auckland Park headquarters.

The same informant was also told he could acquire any number of Barco television monitors at a mere R200 a piece - that is at one twentieth of their market price.

According to the source he was merely getting some of the money from the state. How else could the 'attempts' made at moving the government to privatise and have an effect on the SABC take over.

We KWMRJ 257, have direct financial interests in the media or be office bearers of any particular political party. Later versions want to depoliticise the process by taking it away from Coda.

This panel would then consider nominations - which were to be publicly canvassed until March 1 - by means of the kind of public hearing process that US senators and judges of the Supreme Court are subjected to before taking office. And only at this point would the State President come into the picture, and even then. merely as a rubber stamp. to give legal force to the decisions of the Eminent Persons panel. None of the decision-making involved would be left to his discretion.

At the December meeting, with National Union of Mineworkers Acting General Secretary Marcel Golding playing a key role in the negotiations, the government agreed to the proposal in principle and a technical committee was set up in order to finalise the process. This committee would meet at 6 January this year to expedite it. Only the process was, at least tempo

rationally sabotaged by Minister Pienaar's preemptive call for nominations of persons to be appointed under the old authoritarian procedures

In the end, however, it was Pienaar who was forced to abandon his attempted hijack, and key members of the C18 coalition are privately describing it as 'an aberration' within an otherwise relatively fluid process.

On JANUARY 6, the mandated technical committee did in fact meet, and though an agreement was struck to keep proceedings confidential, Vrye Weckblat can reveal that the C18 proposal, which also among other things proposed restructuring in the news department, was provisionally endorsed - if only for the reason that the government and SABC delegation had no effective counterproposals to make on how the new board should be set in place. However, a further meeting was scheduled for late January in order to discuss the proposal to be discussed. Whether or not the

p government and SABC representatives will in fact make such counterproposals remains unclear. . a

But, according to representatives of opposition media groupings, fears are growing that Pienaar's prime motivation is rather to stall the process than to expedite it. This is particularly so in the context of another part of the SABC democratisation saga - ongoing negotiations on the subject between the ANC and the government. '

Sources said that at the last government/ANC meeting where the long deferred issue of the SABC was scheduled to be discussed on a bilateral basis, the point was dropped from the agenda for a peculiar reason: Pienaar was reportedly taken ill with stomach problems. However at more or less the same time the point was due to be discussed, he was in fact seen in public, apparently none the worse for wear.

The SABC issue is due to be discussed again during the course of the next ANC/government meeting later this month, on January 25. While the ANC as a party has been careful to keep some distance from the C18, VWB understands that it will nevertheless be putting pressure on the government to accept the 08 proposals, and that it will be forcefully arguing that continued control by the State President over the process will, as they put it, prove an impediment to progress in negotiations.

MEANWHILE YET A THIRD initiative aimed at democratising the SABC and making it more representative also recently juddered into motion. It is namely a multi party drafting committee mandated by Codesa in June and July 1992 to examine legislation governing the SABC and find ways of turning the corporation into an independent broadcaster. In fact the first half life of this drafting committee lasted all of 24 hours; it met for the first time the day before Codesa 2 broke down in tatters. This week, however, on Wednesday, the committee met again as a result of agreements reached at C18/government meetings in December.

Even here however, the government appears to be embarked on its own preemptive measures. VWB is reliably informed that it is busy preparing its own legislation packet, which may be unveiled in March, and which will address some of the issues which will be discussed by the drafting committee.

IT STINKS as a plot of course. Nevertheless the election of the board is of crucial importance to the way the immeasurably influential SABC outfit will function during the runup to elections. Especially in relation to news and actuality production, which in the past has routinely been shown to have been used around election time as little more than an NP propaganda machine, the SABC could significantly influence outcomes and public perceptions.

In specific terms, the board, though it has usually in the past served mainly as a rubber stamp to the government's wishes - witness the summarising of former Director General Riaan Ecksteen when he dared to allow criticism of former State President PW Botha to be carried on the airwaves - in fact has certain important powers. For one thing it determines policy in broad terms, but perhaps more immediately importantly of these is the power to appoint and dismiss the corporation's Director General - or as he is termed these days Group Chief Executive. This functionary in turn is responsible for all other appointments throughout the corporation as well as being in a position to interpret policy and to control programming. . While of course there are limits to how much a new director general could reasonably effect in relation to changing the culture of the SABC - given that the game is being played against the deadline of elections - there are nevertheless a few targeted interventions which, CIB representatives believe, could significantly level out the playing field.

Primary among these would be a shakeup in TNP, the unit within the - SABC controlling news production. Headed up by Chief Executive Johan Pretorius - who has frequently been alleged to function as an internal political censor - the unit also includes in key positions, known members of the Military intelligence outfit, Salti (South African Army Troop Unit). Basically a co-opted civilian force outfit, Salti was exposed by former SADF propaganda agent Nico Basson as being dedicated to infiltrating its members into key positions in the media - allegedly in order to plant pro-government propaganda for propaganda purposes. It was headed by Brigadier Ferdi van Wyk, recently dismissed from the SADF in the purge resulting from the Goldstone Commission's Directorate of Covert Collection exposures.

Included in the list of Salti personnel attached to TNP are Pretorius' second in command and the man who heads up CCV's news and actuality broadcast apparatus, Christiaan Kdtzinget, and Salti Commandant Nico von

Burick, an executive producer for Agenda.

However, in order to effect such changes, the new board would have to appoint its own director general, thus breaking contract with current wmmwhohasanthinmbdmmmd.

Pact heralds new  
balance,

PARIS - Foreign Minister Pik

Botha hailed the signing of the  
Chemical Weapons Convention  
yesterday as the moment man-  
d began to strike a new bal-  
ance between national sovereign-  
ty and global responsibility.

SA was one of the countries to sign  
the treaty in Paris yesterday. Most  
Arab countries boycotted the event.

In a statement tuned through his  
office in Pretoria, Botha said the na-  
tions of the world "had joined hands  
and minds to end the nightmare of  
mass annihilation which we created".

"Those who follow us may hopeful-  
ly look back on today as a turning  
point: when mankind finally began to  
strike a balance between the require-  
ments of national sovereignty  
and global responsibility."

Botha announced that SA would  
present draft legislation to Parlia-  
ment on the non-proliferation of wea-  
pons of mass destruction to meet the t  
objectives of the convention".

He said the support the treaty had  
received from African countries was  
an important step in strengthening  
cooperation throughout the conti-  
nent and specifically in southern  
Africa on freeing Africa from the  
threat of nuclear and chemical wea-  
pons.

By mid-morning yesterday, second  
day of the three-day conference, 40  
more countries had signed. In addi-  
tion to SA, they included South Korea,  
Burma, Costa Rica, El Salvador, New  
Zealand and the former Soviet repub-  
lics, says Pik.

lies of Kazakhstan, Tadzhikistan,  
Georgia and Byelorussia.

Sixty-five nations signed on Wed-  
nesday, including the US, Russia,  
China, India, Pakistan, Iran and  
Israel.

There were no new signatures  
from the tinderbox Middle East by  
midday yesterday. Countries that do  
not sign could face embargoes on  
chemicals used to produce weapons.  
Libya, accused of trying to develop  
chemical weapons, had been placed  
on the speaker's list. Indicating it  
might sign. But it failed to do so  
and was barred from addressing a  
122-nation UN meeting on chemical  
weapons in New York yesterday.

Iraq is the only nation besides the  
US and Russia that admits owning  
chemical weapons. It has said it will ,  
not sign the treaty. ,

SA has already acceded to the Non-  
proliferation Treaty and has conclud-  
ed a Safeguards Agreement with the  
International Atomic Energy Agen-  
cy. It is also party to the Biological  
Weapons Convention.

Both: said SA was prepared to adhere to the Missile Technology Control Regime and become a member. Both: had breakfast with Portuguese Foreign Minister Durao Barosso in Paris yesterday. He later met Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall, Byelorussian Foreign Minister Piotr Kravtchenko and French dignitaries and politicians, Botha's office said. He leaves for London today. - Sapa-Reuter.

Eivil servants  
expect tough  
new message  
By Fred do Lang.  
STATE PRESIDENT  
De Klerk and Finance  
meet in Pretoria today  
with representatives of  
the 12 civil service em-  
Keys, are expected to  
deliver a tough mess-  
age on civil servants'  
Minister, Mr Derek salaries when they ployee organisations t  
TT \_ # . and six teachers' bod- 1  
3 ies. 5  
Speculation among civil  
servants has been rife that  
the government might an-  
nounce a salary and wage  
freeze for civil servants  
l  
l  
I this year.  
The Public Servants'  
Association  
cated,  
while it does not believe  
there will  
freeze, increases will be  
minimal.  
The meeting today was  
TO PAGE 2  
indi-  
that  
has  
however.  
be a total  
T-Tough message  
FROM PAGE 1  
requested by Mr De  
Klerk.  
Taken as an ominus  
sign is the fact that on the  
agenda is a briefing by Mr  
Keys on the state of the  
economy and the outlook  
for this year's Budget.  
Also on the agenda is  
an address by Mr De  
Klerk on the ability of the  
State to improve the sal-  
aries of public servants.  
A spokesman for the  
Public Service Caucus, an  
umbrella organisation for  
the employee organisa-  
tions. said in Pretoria yes.  
terday there were deep  
fears among some of the  
public servants' organisa-  
tions about the possible  
outcome of the meeting.  
The organisations do  
not know what Mr De  
Klerk intends to tell  
them. and they have not  
been able to prepare  
themselves.  
Mr De Klerk's request  
for the meeting came only  
days before the caucus

and the teachers organisations were due to start salary negotiations with the Commission for Administration.

Last years negotiations almost resulted in a strike among some civil servants after sections rejected a salary increase of just over 9 percent.

The strike was averted when minimum salaries were increased and service conditions for general assistants were improved.

Despite the rumours, it is believed that the government will, in fact grant increases but that these increases could be even lower than last years due to the economic situation.

The government has already ordered a 5 percent cut in the budgets of government departments.

This has resulted in a large number of retrenchment: and early retirements from the civil service. and it is expected that this measure will be extended to drastically lower salary increase: this year.

Wyw W/f?

Fewer White men are happy With FW: Poll  
CAPE TOWN. -Presi-  
.dent De Klerk's ability to do a good job of running the country is decreasing in the minds of White South African men.

This was found in a study done by the Cape Town based Omnichек. a division of Research Surveys, in December last year, among 500 White men living in metropolitan areas. From a high 61 percent ttypes" vote for him doing a good job in April 1992. his credibility had dropped to 42 percent by December last year.

The ttno" vote, which said he was not doing a good job. also rose from 29 percent in April to 41 percent in December.

"Fence sitters", who said they did not know, amounted to 18 percent.

The question which wasput to the men each time was: "Do you think F W de Klerk is doing a good job as State Preisident of the country?"

In a breakdown into language groups nearly half of the English speakers in the survey (49 percent) felt that Mr De Klerk was doing a good job while 48 percent of Afrikaans-speakers said he was not.

In another survey over half the White men living in metropolitan , 1'

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areas believed that levels of morality and corruption in South Africa had worsened during the past year.

Fewer respondents than before felt that people had just not been caught before.

Omnicheк's survey said most respondents thought the presidenfs effortsto rid the country of corrupt officials would be in vain.

Fewer respondents  
than before thought he  
was likely to succeed in  
achieving an honest or  
clean government.  
Omnicheck director '  
Binky Kellas said this  
loss of confidence could  
lead to a drop in support  
for the governing party  
in an election. - Sapa.  
W9

to ensure Afrikaner influence in new South Africa  
the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) is drawing up a secret plan to ensure its survival and continuing influence even under an ANC government.

Secret Broederbond papers in the possession of The Star show that the organisation, far from being in decline, currently has the highest membership of its 75-year history. and that the AB is planning aggressively to remain a powerful force in the "new South Africa". The documents were presented at a Broederbond meeting held on a farm in the northern Transvaal on Saturday.

Besides its plan for securing Afrikaner influence. no matter what the composition of future governments, the AB has decided to retain its secretive mode of operation and to exclude women from membership.

Only Afrikaner males will be invited to join, although the AB is countenancing membership for coloured males who share the "language and values" of the Afrikaner.

131:8 papers indicate A881, 9 to draw 11 a survival blueprint in the near future. 'AB remains' The executive council is at present conducting a survey among its members, after which a final future strategy will be decided.

de Lease, with KWV chairman Ritzema de la Bat and Billi van der Merwe, a Johannesburg attorney and former chairman of the South African Law Society, as vice-chairmen.

positions in the country as before. their influence will remain very important. It says Afrikaners involved in the negotiations process will attempt to ensure a special place for the Afrikaner in future.

"Sections and members will therefore have to increasingly expand the interest of the Afrikaner within their local communities.'" the council says.

The documents reveal that 20 074 Afrikaners are at present members of the organisation - a clear indication

tion that the controversial  
 tome  
 change in South Africa's po-  
 litical landscape.  
 The documents also reveal  
 0 To Page 3 I  
 in spite of the dramatic  
 The executive council says I  
 that although Afrikaners will i  
 not hold as many prominent i  
 Broederst secret plan  
 to ensure survival  
 0 From Page 1  
 that lot the first tithe in its  
 The la-member executive I history, a Supreme Court  
 council is headed by Pieter l  
 judge la a member of the ex-  
 ecutive council of the Broe-  
 dethohd. Other executive  
 members include prominent  
 Amnhers from virtually  
 every wall: at lite: business,  
 education. law, academia, reli-  
 gion and politics.  
 The secret papers leaked to  
 V e Weekhied. show that de-  
 9 te assurances by De Lang e  
 at the organisation is consid-  
 ering lifting the veil of secre-  
 cy over its activities lhaolute  
 secrecy the confidentiality re-  
 main a priority.  
 De Luge held in hemp: t  
 interview: last year that  
 Breederhohd was discussing  
 the issue at membership ah  
 the possibility at opening its  
 membership to others who  
 shared the language and  
 Values of the Afrikhnet.  
 in a discussion document,  
 "The AB and the Fume", cir.  
 chlhted cauntrywide to cells  
 and members, the executive  
 council says: "Membership re-  
 mains confidential and even  
 secret. eeleetloh leading to  
 membership remalhs secre. "  
 Addressing the lhility of  
 sperm: its rhhs sta other  
 races. e ceuncil Says in its  
 membrahdum that the selec-  
 tion process and requirement  
 for membership remain un-  
 changed. However, the word  
 "White" is to be removed front  
 its constitution.  
 The executive council doe!  
 not forme the possibility of  
 Women becoming members  
 but says husbands should  
 make more use of their WWGW  
 it is not only membership  
 that will remain secret. The  
 eonheil say 3 discussions,  
 illeinolianday and dachmehts  
 containing sensitive infoma-  
 tion will still be trehted se-  
 lh a memorandum sent to. I  
 all 1392 AB cells in January:  
 last year, members are once-

again reminded how important secrecy and confidentiality are. If a member corresponds with head office in Johannesburg, only a reference number must be used. Only the membership numbers of other members must be used. The executive council of the Broederbond consists of 18 members, although for the first 60 years of its existence there were only 12.

De Lange, member No 7 642 has been chairman since 1983. Prohably the most remarkable name on the list of executive council members is that of Mr Justice WH Booysse of the Natal Bench of the Supreme Court.

Another prominent executive council member is Professor Andreas van Wyk, former director-general of the Department of Constitutional Development and now law lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch. He is tipped to be De Lange's successor.

Other executive council members holding top positions are Gencor executive Tom de Beer; Professor O. Reinecke, rector of the University of Potchefstroom; Olaus van Zyl, member of the executive committee of the Transvaal Provincial Administration; Professor Jacquu Cilliers, political scientist of the University of Port Elizabeth; Professor Flip Theron, educationist at the University of the Orange Free State; Koos Steyn, leader of the Transvaal Teachers' Association; and the Rev Pieter Bingle of Cape Town.

Members of the AB still include the most powerful African politicians, including President de Klerk and most members of his Cabinet.

All the right's moves

Far-right groups, with links to  
Rena, are attempting to buy up  
land in Mozambique -possibly with  
a view to 'recolonising' the country.

By EDDIE KOCH and

ARTHUR GAVSHON

RIGHTWINGERS from South Africa are  
colonising parcels of land in deserted rural  
areas of Mozambique so that they can set  
up farming and tourism projects.

At least one of these schemes involves a  
bizarre plan to create a small white homeland in  
the former Marxist state.

A range of far-right splinter groups, disillusioned by moves to end apartheid at home, are  
expanding into Mozambique by offering the Frelimo government farming and business skills  
needed to rebuild a country devastated by 15  
years of civil war.

Some groups have entered into secret pacts  
with Mozambique's rightwing rebel movement.  
Rena, to make sure that their plans succeed.  
Contacts with the Renamo leadership were  
made, in some cases, through South African  
Defence Force officers involved in supplying  
clandestine aid to the rebels during the late  
1980s.

News about one of the more controversial  
projects surfaced in London last month when a  
- man called Danie Oosthuysen, once a senior  
member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging  
and a close friend of its leader, Eugene  
Tene'Blanche, fled the United Kingdom after  
being picked up by British security agents on  
suspicion of buying arms for the AWB.  
Oosthuysen left a pile of documents in his  
London hotel room which show that he was trying  
to raise investment capital for a multi-million  
dollar project that would have given the  
rightwinger a large chunk of land in Mozambique's  
Gaza province in exchange for upgrading the area  
(see accompanying story).

The documents reveal that Oosthuysen's company  
based in the northern Transvaal town of  
Pietersburg, the Suh-Sahara Development Co.  
has been secretly dealing with the leadership of  
Rena while negotiating with the government  
of Mozambique.

"It is the company's firm belief, after initial  
contact with Renamo (sic) that the security of the  
company's property and personnel will not be  
jeopardised in anyway. At no stage must the  
government of Mozambique be informed that  
Rena supports this scheme," says a memo  
contained in the documents.

Oosthuysen's scheme is just the latest in a  
series of controversial projects being set up by  
members of South Africa's far-right in Mozambique.

In 1989 Colonel Gert Otto, commander of  
the SADF's security operations in the Kruger  
National Park, set up a company called the  
Dante Oosthuizen Secret deals with  
Rena.

Mozambique Assistance and Investment Corporation (Mozaic) with plans to develop a large  
game reserve on the Mozambique side of  
Zimbabwe.

A senior officer in the South African Police  
told The Weekly Mail that Otto had extensive

dealings with Renamo. supplying the rebels with arms and supplies until as late as 1989, while he was setting up the company.

One of the colonel's stated objectives, according to the company's mission statement, was to "provide productive security information to the security community".

The SADF officer's plans were scuttled when he was transferred from his post in the Kruger Park to the northern Transvaal. Some of Otto's men were using their contacts with Renamo to smuggle tusks from elephants poached in Mozambique into South Africa.

In the middle of last year Mozambican wildlife officers foiled plans by a consortium of South African businessmen - including a member of the AWB convicted of fraud and dealing in illicit diamonds - to bulldoze a coral reef off an island in the Bazaruto archipelago so that they could build an upmarket tourist resort there.

The plan was aborted by ecologists working for the Mozambican government.

An even more bizarre project in Mozambique involves an offshoot of the militant Wit Wolwe called the Israelites.

Jan Taljaard reports that the Israelites, a fanatical religious sect with extreme rightwing views, have set up a chapter in Mozambique with the idea of creating a small all-white enclave in the southern province of Maputo.

The Israelites believe that members of the "Lydian race"

white race are the descendants of the tribes of Israel and that all other races, including blacks and Jews, are subhuman. The sect's members appear to be unconcerned that Mozambique is ruled by a black government - even though they refer to Africans as "members of the mud races" or "crownless animals of the field". Eddie von Mallitz, one-time leader of the Boerewoestandsbeweging (BWB) and now head of an organisation called Resistance Against Communism, says he has been asked by Israelite members to help run a dairy farm they have established near Maputo (See PAGE 10).

Terre Blanche this week told Mozambican journalists he was aware of plans by various rightwing groups to settle on land but said his organisation was not interested in this project. "The fact is that if I had a single rand I would use it to buy bullets, not land." Terre Blanche is quoted as saying by the Mozambican newsletter, Mediaflu.

These groups are able to get into Mozambique because the authorities there are desperate to raise foreign investment capital.

Large tracts of land in the country's hinterland have been left fallow for many years because millions of villagers and peasant farmers have fled to large towns and the relatively safe coastline to escape Renamo attacks.

Abdul Adamo, former director of Mozambique's Department of Wildlife and Forestry, says his government encourages South Africans to invest in productive business projects in South Africa but that each scheme is examined by the Mozambican cabinet before being approved.

Augusto Sumhuru, director of the Office for Foreign Investment Promotion in Maputo, told Mediafax that there were four projects formally approved by his office which involved farmers

from South Africa.

One thousand hectares have been granted to Mozambicans who have entered into "joint ventures" with the South Africans for cattle and cotton farming. Some of the deals involve the import of farming equipment in exchange for land. There are no indications that these projects are linked in any way to the rightwing schemes.

(iovement officials in Maputo say it IS easy for foreigners to obtain access to land without going through official channels by getting Mozambicans to act as fronts for them.

Mozambican officials say there has been a recent rush for land and business contracts in their country by South Africans as it appears that the ceasefire between Renamo and government forces will hold. llThere are many more prams- als from South Africa but most are not serious." said Sumburane.

lhere is concern in some government departments that thousands of Mozambican: will return to their rural homes to t'tnd their land occupied by white Afrikaners and that this will become a source of serious social conflict in the future.

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Renamo link

in plan to buy

in Gaza area

By ARTHUR GAVSHON

DOCUMENTS seized by MIS last month tmm twn South Africans allegedly involved in an illicit arms deal indicate a desperate attempt by rightwingers to secure a chunk of land in (jam province. Mozambique.

The prospectus formulated by the Sub-Saharan Development Company - offshoot ol'a group named Soundprops Investment H45 Pty Ltd of Pietelsburg - describes the area in question. promises the programme has the backing of Rename leaders and will be protected by Rennmo guerrillas.

In the pnispectus. the company's managing director. Danie J (Josthuyscn talso referred to as ()osthuizen in the documentt. notes: ttThe company has no intention of becoming involved in the dispute between Remano (sic) and Fn'limo. The fact that most of the Remano tsict guerrillas in the area will be employed by the company would serve as a stabilising l'actor..."

Mentioned in the prospectus are these intentions:

.Extenslve cattle ranching for beef production. wildlife conservation and management in the first phase of a development scheme that sets 20 years as a time span for repaying interest on loans and completing the programme.

.The establishment of a centrally located meat pmcesslniz factory In the second phase.

.Resturation and upgrading of the railway linking Zimbabwe with the Gaza development region and Maputo in the third phase.

Between one and three million hectares would be needed for the development. according to the prospectus.

A Gaza under the sway of latter-day bit-tereinderx could provide a highly useiul fall-back area if anything resembling I white homeland were to arise on the South African

side of the border.

In his presentation to Mozambiquels onm-  
fur the Promotion of Foreign Investment  
(OPFI). ( )nsthuyzen does not mention plans  
for computation with Renault) or his expecta-  
tion of the support of the rebel movement.  
He makes clear that hk company expects the  
allocation of land would vest full ownership in  
the developers. Only when full and final agn-e-  
ment is reached would capital be raised.  
although an amount of SBS-million had been  
pledged in principle by an unnamed invest-  
ment group. All equipment and livestock  
brought into the development area would need  
to be exempted from duties or taxes for five  
years. and income taxes would not be levied on  
the company for the first 10 years of operation.  
Acknowledging the approach. OPFI deputy  
director Jose Julai Maziye wrote from Maputo  
in January last year: nl am pleased to inform  
you that your project is. in principle. accept-  
able. However. to give you the final decision it  
is necessary to present a viable project propos-  
al with a guarantee of investment (safety of related  
investment)

An ordinary policeman provides a rare inside view of what it's like patrolling Natal 19 anarchic front lines, shooting and being shot at

I'HJJPPAEIBSIII

POLICEMAN wearing

amouthge. a battle jacket

and black - halIclava

crunches nervously behind

outdoor toilet. his hand

hovering over his gun. A WImnt

oflitzr in the Internal Stability Divi-

sion had hmhele in southern

Nani". he describes the war in the

purine. in which he pnicipau. I

a battle with no rules.

In hisview it is notme supporteis

of the African NItionIl Congress

and lnkItha who are running amok.

The 'various security tom. unco-

on'linatal on the ground, lack knowl-

edge Ind experience of Natal's

rugged terrain. Corstantly under fire

from hIndtnade shotguns and

AK47s. they team to bizarre meth-

od I) Itn'vive.

I'Cotm: to daddy." he says. as he

puts his favourite handgun into its

holster. He tells you it's the only

thing In Inst: 'l'hele's no law and

otrhr hete. lt tean to get to you after

a while. I get nervous when I go out.

I nevet know if I'm going to come

back. lmuld heamhushed and thafs

it. After years it becomes routine.

YoulenrntobtoekitouLThesm

makes me inclined to pull into my

sin". Ijtn lock myself in my room."

Hematevery sound, ready to

shoot It the slightest provocation. a

siglthathetoo'savictimofthevio-

lenee.

Poieeiasponse: Make yoinsell pililic

MMMMMme

s\_t-quldyMItl'ahtu-viewwlth

ulIu-IWUIttuanheriIn-then

NahlmwwasIImiIisentiretytothe

WI pubic tektinls depItrneIt.

"rheSAPhInth-epuedtoeotmtoudle-

gItton nude hy Ill Illeged Ind unidenttmd

mdtheSouthAm Pullee." the SAP

nithmt.

"Ifthepa-Inlonoca'nedwntnanyaenaol'

the wont I W' pulm- with the nnk

of wIn-nt other. he would know what to do

regarding the Mt Icta he Itlegedly wlt-

lad.

nWewlewtbalhpthumrerym'iooslylmlIl'e

mmmmmmum

mm"

mm

The '

belote you an find them.

He claims that policemen also

scatter hwbyvtrapped bullets mound.

knowing that some youngster will

pick them up and use them in a

homemade gun.

In his view, the police have the

worst time of it. Not only are they

always targets, but they also hear the

brunt of the South African Defence

Foroeis ignorance of local conditions  
and the apathy oi the kwaZulu  
Police.

"The kwaZulu Police

here are so inactive it's

"Wehvesuyslmmnd Ism not true We. the SAP.

3W veryef- lawmd are running the town-

. irsmwtnguotn Is mm ships. We are supposed

vayclneeAgunIlltcnd Illi'llll kl tosuppressriotsandso

to shoot too fast some- W mmimyuesupposed

times. 9! set violent Ind W'WW to do the policing. But

asymme- Many resort all new Ismail we end up doing that as

to excessive drinking to 'vmmmm wall."

cope with the stresses of - He portrays a police

"IP35 WM and defence force Itcon-

Often township resi-

dents are shot dead by mistake, he

says, by trigger-hnppy or nervous

office's whose mouse is to shoot

hefote someone else shoots them.

"It an hawen anytime. If you're

smounding I house and someone

mwatthewindow you mightkill

him."

When I person dies "by accident".

thepolioe know howtomettheir

tracks. using some of the many

hrlnemade shotgun which are con-

W regularly. The shotguns are

never followed up on, because of

'100 much paperwortr" and hearse

therets little point: homemade guns

are m esy to make.

uWe eIny 'ghosts' (homemade

shotguns) in the vans with us on

pols." Whenaperson is killed by

mistake. I "ghost" is placed in his

hand am a round is tired. noviding

an easy explanation of self-delence.

Often when I m can't he found

the killing will go unreported, he

Sly: aiding that inlnhitants of the

alumniin End to bury their hodia

slant loggerheads over who's in

command. SADF battalions, while

permanent features of the contlict.

are comprised of non-Permanent

Fort: members who have little expe-

riena: or knowledge of an area. Yet

their commanders. with superior

MW lnthinnidehas

askedtohavehbnmewithhehltothisownnt'e-

ty.Whenpo-'hle.htsdalnnhaveheeocm

diedctlwihotha'mmdfoundauthentic .,

of 60-70 men. itls 'tfist come first

serve" and officers like himself must

buy their own at Rt 000 a jacket.

"They'll give you two magazines

for a 9mm shotgun. So you have to

buy more or steal them. It's a matter

of life and death. When you get

revved (shot at), you donlt stay

around because you don't have

enough ammo."

He also complains of the constant

pressure to confiscate AK47s which

they can never find. It's all a question

of luck. he says bitterly. "If you donlt

show results you get jumped on. But

what's heartbreaking is you work

your arse off for yeats and then some

young constable kicks a bush and an  
 AK falls out. Then he gets a cache  
 and he gets all the credit."  
 Almost daily. the patrol vans get  
 shot at so police often prefer to do  
 foot patrols. using non-regulation  
 means like halaclavas and blackened  
 hancb and faces tocamoutlage them-  
 selves.  
 "You can't walk around a town-  
 ship with a white face. We wear bal-  
 aclavas. If they (his superiors) catch  
 you they burn you but you have to  
 have them." His commanders "know  
 rank to the police, give the but they don't know"  
 orderr: d k h haw :(lut this practice, he  
 ti ey on,t nowt e altioe yi- ,  
 area-hut they pull rank. mitts . e He explains that  
 causing lots of problems "6 km" While It Ismmecommon  
 and unmry canses m btltlwy for the SADF to paint  
 -like hitingoutchoppets ptlrait.msing  
 when you donlt need mam-  
 their faces. his police  
 unit will follow suit ii  
 them." - , paint is available. Some-  
 Sometimthroughlack "(8mm times black members  
 of w-otdination, they end YOU dont "99d, will go into townships in  
 up shooting at each other.  
 uYou're listening on the radio and  
 you hear there's a shooting in the  
 area. Then you say. :3 no man, llm  
 doing the shooting."  
 There is deep resentment in his  
 unit about long hours. poor salaries  
 and inadequate protection for the  
 dangers of the job. Only about 10  
 bulletproof vests Ire issued to a unit  
 plain clothes. "They  
 (blacks) have better camo than we  
 do. I've had personal incidents when  
 I've been ctouching in the bush and  
 suddenly had an instinct. The next  
 minute youlre staring into some-  
 one's eyes. Heis sitting right next to  
 you,  
 'Theie guys are super-quiet. They  
 wear shorts, go round barefoot and  
 Wearing I Mn and his riot  
 they know the area, They've lived  
 there all their lives. Especially the  
 lnkathas. They've been trained in  
 thing like tracking from when  
 theytre smalls"  
 This young policeman describes  
 himself as neutral. inter-  
 ested only in stopping the ecam, bomhse then as people  
 fighting. in his view the start running out the rest ,  
 ANC isresponsibl for 70 gm of the snake kills them .  
 Retcenl Of the ViO'BMEC- (m with spears. knives or  
 I '." here because I m madegmsmthe uns. The killanvthin  
 dedicated ldon'tsuppon , ' g . y . ' ' g  
 either side. Anyway you. vammrfapegsons intheir path. Evenchtck-  
 d . I. .g V; ktlledbymstdte. WW mss- . .  
 0" i "SUB y "0\_ l He Is pttSSlmISllC about  
 whether a 93.35"" Is mmagm m the posuhility ot'ending  
 lnkatha 0" ANC WSW, the cycle of violence in  
 However he does tell  
 how people wearing ANC T-shirts  
 are olten the targets of trigger-happy  
 shootings. "ltls not like there's an  
 order from the top but there's no com

trol. The guys shoot people just to show they have courage."

He also differentiates between lnkatha's more traditional style of fighting and the ANC's guerrilla tactics. though agrees that lnkatha has recently adopted similar guerrilla techniques of identifying individuals for assassinations,

"The IFP are super-disciplined." he says, describing in glowing terms the snake dance and subsequent attack that impis perform when they kit. our potieeman It the ready weave in a line down a hill. "It is '1 actually beautiful. You have to see it to believe it. The induna controls the . . . chitnizem

4M

h.....-me.ewmsi t erh'

i.

E

;

whole thing. As the snake runs down ' the hill in an attack. the first person :: breaks the windows and doors. the i second throws in petrol the country. The only way, he says. is to bring control and order down to the ground. He would support the formation of a peace-keeping force of integrated soldiers from the different political groups and security forces but cautions: "It would only work if you had representatives from all at them in each unit on the ground. It's at the gums-roots where the fighting happens. not around the table"

He would be quite prepared to participate in such structures. which would increase the safety of all involved. "If you go in with an MK guy at least you know the ANC won't be shooting at you."

Gone to the dogs

3:7 Fight to rediaiin a nohbern T fahsvaalbospz'tal t\_bat was  
Eongerjed into\_\_cm\_\_SA Defence Force dogtraining camp

ore than 250 000

people from six

eastern Transvaal

villages are battling to

have their local hospital,

which the South African

Defence Force (SADF)

turned into a dog training

centre, reconvened into a

health care facility.

The communities affected

by the conversion included

those from Mphato, Hla-

bekisa, Leboweng, Mate-

bidu, Phiring, Gazankulu

and Lebowa.

The centre is situated close

to the Blyde River Canyon

which is about 30km south

of Hoedspruit.

Patients from the six

communities are now forced

to travel to the Mapulaneng

Hospital 180 kilometres

away at a cost of R40 0

single trip.

A community leader sald

famllies had complained

that the distance between

their homes and the hospital

had not only made them

poorer but had also

increased the risk of

critically ill patients in need

of urgent treatment dying.

Women were mostly

affected, particularly during

pregnancy, where they often

gave birth before reaching

the hospital. The region does

not even have a clinic which

could treat patients in

emergencies.

Villagers had complained

W Mb 453

of frequent harassment and

intimidation by SADF

members since their arrival

at the camp.

ANC national executive

committee member Ronnie

Kasrils said the SADF action

was indicative of the gross

arrogance and the total

disregard for the people of

the area.

mu

He said while the people

around Bushbuckridge had

to travel for more than

100km in search of medical

treatment, the SADF were

turning animals ' into

"custodians of apartheid".

People in the area had

protested repeatedly against

r 37, / /3

the converslon of the local

hospital into a dog training facility.

Local chiefs who tried to convince the authorities that dogs could not take precedence over human beings failed in their efforts.

Kasn'ls told New NATION he had learnt that there was a chance that the authorities would return the hospital to the people of the area.

SADF spokesperson Colonel John Rolt, confirmed that there were plans to move the centre before the end of the year, but added that the dogs would only be moved after "adequate dog shelters have been erected".

Police said to add to violence  
DURBAN - Security forces  
- particularly the SA Police  
and KwaZulu Police (KZP) -  
contributed to violence in  
northern Natal and Zululand.  
a Goldstone Commission  
committee heard in Empan-  
geni on Wednesday.

Unrest monitor and promi-  
nent anthropologist Mary de  
Haas made this claim in her  
initial submission at a pre-  
liminary meeting of the com-  
missions committee investi-  
gating incidents of violence  
not directly related to the  
ANC-Inkatha Freedom Party  
power struggle.

She appealed to the com-  
mittee, chaired by Durban  
advocate Malcolm Wallis and  
attorney Ray Zondo, to inves-  
tigate the behaviour of the se-  
curity forces, particularly the  
K2? and SAP, in contributing  
to violence in the region  
Describing the situation as  
desperate, De Haas said: "Pm  
pleading for a thorough in-  
vestigation of the role of the  
security forces."

Policemen, she alleged, fre-  
quently failed to take preven-  
tive action in the ongoing  
conflict in northern Natal.

"Perpetrators of violence  
are frequently not brought to  
justice Those who are ar-  
rested, are often granted bail.  
Township residents frequent-  
ly complain of verbal and  
physical abuse as well as life-  
threatening activities by the  
police in the area."

There was a general per-  
ception among township resi-  
dents that the K2? were in-  
volved in violence and were  
6'A7624/

supplying arms to attackers,  
she added.

The ANCLs northern Natal  
region, in its initial submis-  
sion, alleged that tribal chiefs  
in the area had received in-  
structions from Ulundi not to  
tolerate ANC activity within  
their areas of jurisdiction.

ANC northern Natal depu-  
.ty secretary Khulekane

Mhlongo said ANC supporters  
in rural areas were frequent-  
ly the target of attacks, often  
led by tribal chiefs.

In his preliminary submis-  
sion. Congress of South Afri-  
can Trade Unions regional  
executive member Michael  
Mabuyakhulu asked the com-  
mittee to inquire into the

"lack of police protection to Cosatu members in the region". - Own Correspondent.

rel; M;

Row over SADF bid to buy press;  
By Helen Grange

A row has erupted over the SA Defence Force's intended purchase of a R5 million fly-colour lithosheet printing press from Germany to print classified material.

The ANC yesterday called on international suppliers to refrain from concluding the deal, warning that it would not be bound by the contract.

"In the light of President FW de Klerk's own admission that there are elements in the security forces who plan to undermine the democratisation process in South Africa, the concern is raised whether a major propaganda and disinformation campaign is planned in the run-up to the elections," the ANC said.

The ANC added that the sale would also be in contravention of the arms embargo against South Africa.

"If the sale of the printing press proceeds, we will not be bound by any contracts or assume any financial responsibility arising therefrom," the ANC statement said.

The sale of the press has also outraged the printing industry and the Government Printer.

Printing Industries' Federation (PIF) chief executive Christofer Sykes said the purchase was iniquitous and indefensible in the light of the current economic climate.

Classified material could as easily be printed by the Government Printer, which had facilities, he said. — a

An official from the Government Printer's office said an objection had been made by his office, but insisted that the matter was internal and should not be dealt with through the media.

He said he felt the SADF's printing requirements were already being met.

The SADF, in a statement, said the defence force did not normally give classified printing material to the Government Printer. — .

The SADF had also given consideration to the objections by the PIF, but it was decided to invest in a new in-

house press. ;  
SW  
WW3

Cosatu's strategic vision will be put to test this year. The search for the correct strategic the adversarial relationship between apartheid and the democratic movement, will continue to dominate much of the debate in formations to the political left of the National Party. Within Cosatu, this nose for an appropriate megicvtstonhasgone-a lung way. And more and more the emphasis is on engaging in traditional . government and business. in institutions such as the National Economic Forum. the National Manpower Commission. the housing and electricity forums. Leadership in Cosatu has gone to significant lengths to stress that this strategic engagement did not necessarily abandon resistance as a way of securing the needs of its members. but entailed "confronting challenges that face the labour movement in a more active way". Some in Cosatu are convinced that the political terrain has shifted enough to allow for a type of engagement that will deliver the goods to its members. namely housing, electricity, education, health care etc. They point to agreement on the NE. which was secured without the need for mass action. Although the demand for an economic negotiating forum was taken up following the VAT strike In 1991. negotiations for in membership we concluded without the need for industrial action. Much of the optimism around the potential for negotiations in the various forums to deliver also derives from the belief that sufficient steps would have been taken in the next 12 to 18 months towards the establishment of a democratic government. Cosatu hopes that dur-

ing this period. and at  
least before a constituent  
assembly gets down to  
the business of doing a  
constitution, key worker  
rights will have been  
negotiated into place.  
An attempt to secure  
these rights. at least by  
the time the CA is consti-  
tuted. will no doubt in  
itself translate into pres-  
sure on the federation to  
deliver.

And it is also during  
this period that the cor-  
rectness of Cosatu's deci-  
sion to opt for some form  
of strategic engagement  
with government and big  
business will be put to the  
test.

Septic in Cosatu. who  
are concerned that the  
federation may be on its  
way to being muted  
through vehicles like the  
economic forum, will  
watch closely as labour  
leaders ply their negoti-  
ating skills in an attempt  
to strike a deal with state  
and capital in these insti-  
tutions.

Senior organisers in  
some of Cosatu's affili-  
ates have expressed con-  
cern that the 'revolu-  
tionary energy' that  
characterised the federa-  
tion in the years after its  
birth has been institu-  
tionalised. And they  
remain convinced. that  
Cosatu's decision to pur-  
sue a deal with govern-  
ment and business will  
not help deliver the

One of the ultimate tests of  
the correctness of  
Cosatu's decision to cre-  
ate institutions through  
which it hopes to draw  
government and business  
into a democratic recon-  
struction process. will  
come in March.

m

This is when govern-  
ment has promised to  
promulgate legislation  
which will extend basic  
labour rights to farm-  
workers despite strong  
opposition from a con-  
servative section in the  
SA Agricultural Union.  
And in spite of a con-  
siderable warming up of  
relations between Cosatu  
and manpower minister

' towards the end of last year. the tederation's general secretary lay Naldoo remains mutious and acutely aware of the NP's past record.

"We are dealing with a government that has reneged on past agreements. And therefore it is imponant for the federation to ensure that it has a sufficiently organised base. which will enable it to putsue through sting gle what it hopes to achieve through negotiations."

Naldoo ls unambigu-ous in his warning that l! the federation is unable to deliver the necessary goods to its members through negotiations.

"we will take to the streets".

But this may well go no further than a wam-ling unless Cosatu makes a serious effort in the next few months towards strengthening its organi-sational base. a priority it has neglected for most of the past 12 months.

Naldoo ls mindful of this task and says the federation will have to enhance its building capadty it recruitment is to outstrip shrinkage in membership brought about as a result a! retrenchments.

The federation is cur-rently engaged in intense training pmlcts through its summer school pro-gramme. Naiaoo says hundreds at trade union leaders are being trained in economic, negotiat-ing skills and labour law in order to prepare them for the challenges this year is likely to present.

"We must contain the erosion of our organisa-tional base and reverse cunent trends. in fact a large part at our energies this year will go into building organisation," he says

"We will have to com-pel the other parties - big bushes and government - to act democratically and we will have to use our strength on the ground to do so."

Without this important organisational prnqui-site. Casatu's strategic vision will certainly ilotmder.

Alongude its organisa-tional priorities lot the year will be oomlldatng the gains - namely agiee ments for the extension of basic rights to farm and domestic workers as well as the establishment .of an economic forum.

Naldoo says this will have to be done in a way that will hnally deliver the goods - such as labs.

Ml

Consolidating these gains in the new year will thuefole not only entail lighting retrenchments - "but lighting retrenchments in such a way that we force a type of economic iestmcturing that will create jobs". Naidoo explains.

'We will not lust be reacting to retrenchments. Instead. we will be saying: these are our pmposals on economic restmctuting, these are the industrial ponds we need. this is the type of education and training that is needed, these are the public works programmes that we want.

In broad terms we will be pmposing a growth path that will be labour driven and labour orientated." Naldoo acids.

A central priority, he says. therefore will be to debate and formulate demands that workers will want to make at forums like the NE.

But in formulating these demands. the federation will have to establish clear bottom lines before engaging government and buein. in these forums.

These bottom lines. however, will only be meaningful to the extent that the iedemtion's leadership sticks to mandat. ed positions.

In this regard Cosatu will have to take note of criticism from within its own ranks directed against tendencies among leaders to "take

liberties" with mandates  
This will be important if  
the tedemtion expects the  
process to be mass driv-  
en.

Another area of audai  
importance is negotiat-  
Ing a reconstruction pact  
with the ANC

Whatever the content  
of a leaonstructionian pact,  
It will have a lar-leach-  
lng impact on the extent  
to which Cosatu will be  
able to influence the  
national reconstruction  
agenda in a way that  
reflects the aspirations of  
its members.

it will also define the  
basis of organised  
labours future relation.  
ship with an ANC gov-  
ernment and impact on  
the demands that will be  
made in forums like the  
NE.

ILtLK/Lfdjb / 177/ / 73

Man of the Year' awards  
New NATION is to host a major  
event in honour of the recipients  
of the publication's  
awards for "Man of the Year"  
and "Businessman of the  
Year".

This is the first time that  
New NATION has made these  
awards and from now on, they  
will become a permanent fea-  
ture in the paper's plans to  
acknowledge contributions  
made by individuals or Insti-  
tutions in helping the uplin-  
ement of the majority of peo-  
ple.

The three recipients, ANC  
secretary-general, Cyril Rama-  
phosa and constitutional  
affairs and communications  
minister, Roelf Meyer, as well  
as National Sorghum Brew-  
eries executive chairman,  
Mahale Mahanyele, have  
accepted the awards.

The awards will be present-  
ed to the three leaders in a  
major event to be held in the  
next few weeks. A leading per-  
sonality from an African state  
will be invited to make the  
presentations.

Ramaphosa and Meyer were  
given the award for their "tire-  
less efforts in holding the  
negotiations process together  
during very arduous and dif-  
ficult times".

Mahanyele was given the  
award for providing "magl-  
native leadership in the busi-  
ness world".

Mahanyele, according to  
New NATION editor, Zwelakhe  
Sisulu, is "one of the business  
leaders who will ensure that  
black people reclaim their  
 rightful place in the economic  
life of the country".

Man of the Year

Cyril Ramaphosa

Man of the Year

Roelf Meyer

Businessman of the Year

Mahale Mahanyele

Bush's tormentor  
still in power as  
Clinton takes Over

RESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

decided on- Wednesday to end his 4  
presidency with a bang, much as  
he has conducted a four-year term  
marked by repeated deployments of an  
American military force unrestrained by  
the caution imposed by the Soviet Union  
during the cold war.

Bequeathing his successor Bill Clinton  
US troops in action in Somalia and  
y Amefimn warplanes once more pound-  
ing Iraqi targets, Bush returned to his  
unfinished strategic business with the  
full backing of the new Democratic president  
who takes office next week.

But the limited scope of Wednesdays  
air strikes suggests that the political  
objective had been finely calibrated. In  
effect, they showed that allied policy was  
to keep Iraq in a state of reduced  
sovereignty, forced to exist within the  
geographical and military - -  
constraints set by the United Nations.

The air strikes were too —  
modest to suggest that the :  
ultimate political target had  
been Saddam Hussein himself. The Bush  
presidency seems likely to end without  
a resolution of what had ,  
become an extraordinary  
personal duel between the  
American and the Iraqi  
leaders. -

The final week of the '  
administration offers the  
last chance of toppling an  
Iraqi regime which was  
wooed by the Americans,  
then challenged and fought President George Bush  
them, and has thumbed its  
nose at the White House ever since the  
end of the Gulf war. It is a chance, on the  
evidence of Wednesday's operations, is  
not being taken.

The way in which the US and its allies  
refrained from inflicting a crushing  
defeat in the last days of the Gulf war  
suggests the political constraints which  
still affect US policy. While the British  
and French are strong in their support of  
the need to teach Saddam another lesson,  
Saudi Arabia remains distinctly nervous  
of a strike so devastating that it destroys  
Iraq's capacity to remain a strategic  
counterweight to the growing regional  
power of Iran.

Having served US interests in the war  
against Iran throughout the 1980s, Saddam  
then opposed them, and paid the  
price with the Gulf war. But despite the  
.W.. O

While George Bush prepares to  
relinquish the presidency,  
his battle with Iraq  
Saddam Hussein continues.

By MARTIN WALKER ' . ,

deployment of 500 000 allied troops,  
and the destruction of Iraqis air force and  
the cream of its armoured striking form,  
Saddam remained in .

Even after the Gulf war, he was able to  
crush the rebellion of the Shi'ites of the  
south, and begin to drive back the Kur-  
dish rebellion in the north until the allies  
created a protective zone for Kurdish  
refugees. -

Bush was left with the worst of all  
worlds, a Baghdad regime that looked  
strong enough to remain  
in power but too weak to  
fulfil Washington's tra-  
ditional strategic role of a  
bulwark against the aya-  
toliahs.

Wednesday night's  
limited air strikes were  
militarily of little signifi-  
cance. The attacks were a  
political message to Sad-  
dam and his generals that  
the allies can strike at  
will.

In the past six  
months, Iraq has been  
probing the allied will.  
Baghdad has increased  
its pressure on the  
humanitarian supply line  
to the Kurds, has used  
ground troops against the Shiites and  
marsh Arabs, and has tried to rebuild its  
air defence network.

And as if to send a personal message  
that George Bush was leaving office  
with his main opponent still jabbing at  
American pride, Saddam chose the last  
10 days of the presidency to send troops  
across the demilitarised border. I  
Bush's retaliation had thus a personal  
and psychological component. It was a  
final swat at a despised opponent who  
has refused to accept the terms of Bush's  
New World Order.

It leaves Bill Clinton with a troubling  
legacy. He faces an irrepressible Iraqi  
leader, and next week assumes com-  
mand of an overwhelming US military i  
force which seems oddly incapable of