

AP1992-18-12-21

THE CITIZEN 21-12-92

APLA blamed for new attacks

By Arthur Kemp

A POLICE spokesman said yesterday it was likely that the Pan Africanist Congress' armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was responsible for two attacks on Whites at the weekend which left a 15-year-old girl dead and four people injured.

The South African Police have offered a R100 000 reward for any information leading to the arrest of the persons responsible for the attack in which 15-year-old Leone Pretorius, was killed and at the same time will start guarding farms in the region on a 24-hour basis.

The Conservative Party has threatened to use its home guard system to

launch "retribution attacks into Lesotho against APLA bases" should the South African Government not act within seven days.

In attacks on Saturday on the Queenstown-Dordrecht Road, 7 km inside Transkei, Mr Isak Schutte (45), Mr Louis Coetzer (52), his wife, Mrs Hester Coetzer (43) and their son, Mr Riaan Coetzer (22), were injured.

The attacks occurred in regions which have recently been centres of APLA activity.

The type of weapons used — hand-grenades and automatic rifles — also pointed to APLA, said the police spokesman.

"It is senseless. I suppose the people who killed my daughter will go to Codesa tomorrow and get amnesty," said Mr Gerrit Pretorius, the father of Leone Pretorius, who was killed in the Ficksburg attack at midnight on Saturday.

"Why kill a young girl who has never done anything to anybody," said Mr Pretorius yesterday. "Murder remains murder, no matter what. No one should get off just because they say they are political. Why should in-

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New York Times
12/21/92

About-Face By de Klerk

Will Purge of Military Cost Him Credibility?

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Dec. 20 — It has long been the accepted wisdom among many South African whites that an endemic "black-on-black" violence in the nation's townships reinforced the notion that blacks are unsuited for self-

government and capable of expressing political dissent only through intimidation and force.

News
Analysis

Yet now, in announcing a decision to dismiss or suspend 23 military officers accused of using assassination and other means to resist black power, President F. W. de Klerk has tacitly acknowledged that, particularly in the most hallowed of supposedly apolitical white institutions, officers pursuing their own political agendas had also resorted to murder to follow their vision of apartheid.

The existence of what has been called a "third force" of die-hard whites in positions of influence, particularly in Military Intelligence, had been long suspected and often evoked by both Mr. de Klerk's adversaries and human rights groups. In announcing Saturday the dismissals of military officers who he said were involved in what he called "illegal and/or unauthorized activities and malpractices" after circling, skirting and disavowing the issue for so long, Mr. de Klerk lost moral ground to his detractors.

Yet, it is part of the tragedy of his land that, while he spoke Saturday of excising a 'sore' in the white body politic, neither he nor his adversaries believe they have cauterized South Africa's cancerous political violence — a phenomenon that will haunt the land as it nudges towards and into majority rule, however that is constituted.

"At this stage, violence has got out of hand completely and you don't need conspiracies anymore," said Tom Lodge, a professor of political science at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg.

New Attacks on Whites

Less than a day after Mr. de Klerk announced his military purge in Cape Town — satisfying adversaries such as the African National Congress, which has long called on him to move against Military Intelligence — the police today reported an upsurge in attacks thought to have been carried out by black guerrillas on whites in remote farming areas — violence that has deepened conservative whites' aversion to any racial accommodation.

The casualties among whites from violence by the little-known Azanian People's Liberation Army have been minuscule compared to the thousands killed in what the authorities like to call 'black-on-black' violence, often pitting Mr. Mandela's African National Congress against Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthezi's Zulu nationalist Inkatha Freedom Party.

The question that arises is whether this guerrilla violence, or Mr. de Klerk's purge of military officers suspected of association with it, will derail the process of negotiation between black and white on a new order. Many analysts suspect that the answer is no.

A Deal With Mandela's Group?

Firstly, said Dr. Lodge, the dismissal or suspension of officers including two full generals and four brigadiers seemed to be part of a deal struck by the government and the congress at secret negotiations last month. Although those to be dismissed were not identified, it was understood that the six generals would be included, and an Afrikaans-language newspaper said the dismissals would go no higher than the deputies in some important departments.

The results of the talks were not made public, but it has been the supposition among many analysts here that both the authorities and the A.N.C. charted concessions to be made by both sides to restart the broader, multi-party negotiations for a new non-racial South Africa.

Mr. de Klerk indicated Saturday that he expected his own moves to be followed by a similar house-cleaning among his adversaries. "Fine words and clever public relations are not enough," he said.

Secondly, other political analysts said, the beginnings of the excision the so-called "third force" of high-ranking military intelligence officers could possibly avert the planning of covert operations intended to sow discord among rival blacks.

Yet, as they seek some kind of middle ground, each needing the other, Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela face challenges from the outer extremities of South Africa's competing nationalisms.

Challenges From Extremes

The black guerrillas who have attacked whites in remote farming areas in recent weeks fight under the banner of the Pan-Africanist Congress, which opposes the multiparty negotiations that Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela are seeking to restart.

And their attacks have deepened the resolve of some conservative whites to take the law into their own hands.

Most significant, though, Mr. de Klerk moved against the covert group in his own security forces far too late to prevent the historical divide-and-rule tactic of whites in Africa from feeding on the existing deep-rooted antagonisms between the A.N.C. and Inkatha that underpin much of the country's bloodletting.

"Only one tenth of the violence is caused by third forces," said Dr. Lodge. "Most of it is tit-for-tat."

By moving now against some of his generals, Mr. de Klerk seems to have been calculating that this might be the most expeditious moment to avert a more drastic settling of the scores.

"In some cases this was a protective measure," said Dr. Lodge. "The deal to the army was: 'Go now, go quietly, and get your pensions.' It's realpolitik all the way."

Sacked SADF men to be charged for 'dirty tricks'

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — Some of the 16 sacked and seven suspended Defence Force officers are suspected of "dirty tricks" and actions which led to civilian deaths, and they will be prosecuted, State-President De Klerk told a weekend media conference.

Should further investigation reveal criminal activity, some military intelligence informers and civilians on the payroll may also be charged.

Mr De Klerk challenged other political organisations — without mentioning either the ANC or PAC directly — to take similar disciplinary or criminal action against those in their ranks guilty of crimes and malpractices.

Among the heads that rolled at the weekend are those of two generals and four brigadiers, placed on compulsory retirement with immediate effect.

Not all of the 16 sacked officers are suspected of criminal activity. Some were ordered out as part of a restructuring process

— they are not wanted in the reorganisation of military intelligence.

Mr De Klerk said there was no "Third Force" within the SADF, nor was there any evidence of a plot to overthrow the government. Only a handful of individuals had been involved in actions aimed at undermining the reform process.

Asked whether people had died in these actions, he replied: "Yes. The findings will lead to the conclusion that some of the activities have led to the death of people."

Questioned about a possible Right-wing link, Mr De Klerk said: "It is not impossible. I don't want to give further details. It might prejudice the investigations."

The immediate sackings and suspensions had taken place to forestall any attempt by those involved to destroy evidence or cover-up their actions. Some of the officers were on holiday and unaware of their dis-

missals at the weekend.

"One of the results is that not one of these people will be able to cover their tracks."

"We are not dealing with kids. We are dealing with well-trained people who are taking constant precautions to prevent being found out," said Mr De Klerk.

For this reason the names of those sacked or suspended would only be revealed later, possible by the end of the month. Further facts would be revealed in the course of court proceedings and in reports of the Auditor-General and of Commissions of Investigation.

The State President's action came exactly a month after the appointment of Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn, Chief of Defence Force Staff, to command all intelligence functions of SADF, and to investigate irregularities, assisted by Lt-Gen Alwyn Conradie of the SA Police.

Mr De Klerk said the action was taken on information contained in a ver-

bal preliminary report by Lt-Gen Steyn to him and other Cabinet members, including Mr Gene Louw, Minister of Defence, as well as General Kat Liebenberg, Chief of the SADF.

A full report by Lt-Gen Steyn, on the activities of all the intelligence functions of the SADF, would follow later.

There would be co-operation with the SAP, the Goldstone Commission and Attorneys-General in bringing to book those suspected of illegal or unauthorised activities.

The "handful of people" responsible for illegal and unauthorised action were scattered through a number of units, which included the Directorate of Covert Collection. The DCC would now be restructured.

It was in the nature of the covert collection of information that some latitude had to be allowed in the procedures they followed. But these procedures had to be well regulated and managed.

While there had already been a tightening-up, further control measures would now be introduced.

Mr De Klerk's statements at the media conference suggested that a few top Defence Force officers had lied to their seniors, including the Ministers of Defence.

"The activities which have now come to my attention point to a process in which political office bearers, Defence Force commanders and the Auditor-General were not fully informed or, very often, were misled," said Mr De Klerk.

"I would like to emphasise that only a limited number of persons and a few units were involved."

"Nevertheless, the information at my disposal indicates a serious and unacceptable state of affairs."

"This cannot, and will not, be tolerated."

The Citizen 21-12-92

The Citizen 21-12-92

BEHIND THE PURGE OF OFFICERS

Move ahead of interim govt, joint control

Citizen Reporter

PRESIDENT De Klerk's sacking of two Defence Force generals and 14 other officers, along with the suspension of seven others, is seen as part of a purge of the security forces by the government ahead of interim government and joint control of the security forces, according to informed government officials.

The probings of the Goldstone Commission — which now include an investigation of the military wings of both the ANC and PAC — are being used to identify elements in the security forces engaged in activities likely to prejudice negotiations.

The security forces were getting rid of these and other elements who might present a future problem, The Citizen was

told.

The officials believe that the recent rationalisation measures announced by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Kat Liebenberg, whereby 6 000 members of the Permanent Force are to make way for 6 000 volunteers, is part of the process of purging the SADF.

Members of the Permanent Force, who had fought against both Swapo and the ANC, were considered to be the elements within the SADF most likely to present problems when joint control and absorption of MK members starts taking place.

The recent premature retirement of police gen-

erals, some of whom were regarded as being reactionary, was also viewed as part of the purging process, and there was speculation yesterday that further retirements of police officers could not be ruled out.

The Citizen last night confirmed that the two generals who are to go are General Chris Thirion, Deputy Chief of Staff Intelligence, and General Hennie Roux, chief of Army Staff Intelligence.

It could not confirm which brigadiers had been given the axe.

Neither the Chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg, nor the Chief of the Army, Lt-General Georg Meiring, are going to be axed.

General Meiring, in particular, has been outspoken in his criticism of the ANC and on a number of occasions has levelled charges that MK elements were involved in the violence in Natal.

President De Klerk said at his weekend Press conference in Cape Town, for which he interrupted his holiday, that charges would be brought against those involved

where criminal acts took place.

In terms of the rationalisation plan announced by General Liebenberg on December 9, 6 000 Permanent Force members are to make way for 6 000 volunteers, who will serve for periods varying from two to six years.

MK members would be eligible to join this new force of volunteers, but because APLA had declared war on the government, its members would not be considered unless they resigned and showed a serious commitment to joining the Defence Force.

The creation of this new force, which got underway at the beginning of the month, was seen by officials as opening the way for MK members to become part of the SADF ahead of an interim government.

MK has about 10 000 trained members, and about 5 000 presently outside the country in Uganda and elsewhere. They are said to be undergoing training in conventional warfare.

Prior to the collapse of the Codesa talks, bilateral discussions were taking place between the government and the ANC on the question of the integration of MK members into the Defence Force.

At his Press conference, General Liebenberg indicated that these talks might resume soon.

After the steps announced by Mr De Klerk, officials believed an effort was being made to rid the security forces of all elements still indulging in dirty tricks and of those unlikely to adjust to a new force that would include members of the "armies" of liberation movements, such as MK.

The Citizen 21-12-92

ANC hits election trail to educate its voters

MR NELSON Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) has hit the election trail — not with speeches, but by ensuring its supporters will be ready and able to vote come the first non-racial poll a year down the line.

The risk of a low turnout if voters fear intimidation, and the possibility that Blacks who have never voted will inadvertently spoil their ballots, are the two major concerns, ANC electoral official Mr Khotso Gordhan said.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was working hard on the problem.

As well it might. In the elections, the ANC will be up against the National Party, whose well-oiled election machine has kept

the party in power for the past 44 years.

Inkatha

Black rivals too have been tackling the problem — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the ANC's closest rival the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), last September offered R4 000 to the first IFP Youth Brigade member to get 4 000 IFP supporters' voting papers in order by next July.

Some 21 million voters will be voting, and around 18 million will be doing so for the first time. Of those some 63 percent are illiterate.

"People have difficulty understanding what an

election is," said Mr Gordhan. "We've started educating our structures."

With the help of churches and education and development foundations, the ANC has set up "election workshops", where voting procedures are explained and potential voters are encouraged to carry out mock polls.

The first results have revealed considerable problems. "Some believe it is only for the ANC," said Mr Gordhan. "Others think you have to put your name in a box."

In mock polls so far, one in every two ballots has been spoilt, Mr Gord-

han said.

In the meantime, the ANC has been negotiating with the government this month about electoral procedures.

'Distort'

Mr Mandela stressed the importance of setting up an electoral commission before the elections, and warned that the NP had the capacity to "distort" the outcome.

For example, the NP could campaign to naturalise and recruit up to half a million foreigners already in South Africa, Mr Mandela said, just as it had urged British and other foreign residents to

become citizens and vote for change in the Whites-only referendum in March.

One concern, according to Mr Gordhan, is whether polling should take place over one or three days. "One is enough for the Whites, but not for us," he said.

Fear is the key. In South Africa's Black townships, where around 300 people are killed each month in politically-motivated violence, to vote could be life-threatening.

Many will stay away on the first day, to see how the polling goes, and venture out later if all is calm, Mr Gordhan said.

Another problem is what kind of documents voters will need. As many as 4,5 million potential voters do not have the ID that will entitle them to vote, according to Mr Gordhan.

And in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei different papers are needed.

The ANC's workers in the Cape Province have begun a door-to-door campaign to urge voters to get their papers in order.

But ANC officials fear there is not enough time to get correct papers for all voters, and will be pressing the government to accept baptism certificates, — the only relevant document most Black people possess — as valid ID. — Sapa-AFP.

NEWS ANC wants full disclosures on army crimes

Revelations could create crisis in talks

■ Proof that third force was real:

PRESIDENT De Klerk's acknowledgement that members of the SA Defence force were involved in serious malpractice and illegal activities had created a crisis in the negotiation process, the ANC has said.

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

Although reticent on what the serious implications would be, Maharaj sounded a clear warning to De Klerk to be open about the matter.

Maharaj said De Klerk's announcement on Saturday morning was a step in the right direction but "not nearly enough".

"There should be full public disclosure of all criminal activities and attempts at destabilisation. The names of those members involved, the acts committed together with the units involved, must be made public immediately."

De Klerk had also acknowledged

that some of the activities included attempts to undermine negotiations.

Maharaj demanded that disciplinary steps be taken against security force members involved.

● The Pan Africanist Congress has said the axing of top SADF members by De Klerk was an acceptance by the Government of the existence of a Third Force within its ranks, reports **Sonti Maseko**.

The organisation's National Executive Committee member, Mr Ntsundeni Madzunya, said the measures against the top military men on suspicions of involvement in dirty tricks, aimed at derailing the negotiations process, was also a demonstration that the Government had the capacity to stop and start the violence in the black townships.

"The fact that there are now generals implicated in the violence puts a big question mark on the SADF and the police.

"We cannot rely on them, we cannot have a stable political environment where free and fair elections can take place," said Madzunya.

16/1/11

APLA blamed for attacks

FROM PAGE 1

nocent people have to die?"

A police spokesman in the Orange Free State said that the attack took place after Mr Pretorius and his wife, Marcel, had gone to bed at 11.45 pm, leaving Leone and her 11-year-old brother, Stephan, watching television.

One of Stephan's friends, Gustav Roux (11), was also at the house at the time.

"A stick-grenade of Chinese origin was thrown at the house on its western side and exploded against a wall," said the spokesman. Shots were then fired through the lounge windows and Leone was hit, dying of her wounds. The other two children were not injured.

The stick grenade is a weapon traditionally associated with APLA.

"It is suspected that three men launched the attack and their tracks were followed to the tar road in Lesotho," said the spokesman. Twenty five R-4 or R-5 cartridges were found at the scene as well as 9mm cartridges.

The Pretorius home, on the farm Donside, is 800 metres from the Lesotho border, with the nearest neighbour some 8 km away. The Free State Lesotho border region has been the scene of at least four serious attacks in recent times.

Leone had just written

her Standard Eight exams at the Ficksburg High School and was a brilliant athlete and hockey player, said her father.

The attack on the Queenstown-Dordrecht road took place at 4 pm on Saturday.

One of three Black men in a light yellow bakkie, stood on the back of the bakkie with an automatic rifle and suddenly started shooting at the other cars.

The first vehicle to be attacked was a bakkie belonging to the Coetzer family of Dordrecht. Their vehicle had just passed a truck belonging to an acquaintance of theirs, when the light yellow bakkie overtook them and the gunman started shooting.

Mr Coetzer, who was driving, immediately turned his vehicle around and started to head back in the direction of Queenstown. The light yellow bakkie, however, also turned round and pursued the Coetzers, with the gunman still firing at them. Mr Coetzer managed to return a few shots at the attackers.

The two vehicles then passed Mr Schutte's truck, which was still travelling towards Dordrecht. The gunman on the yellow bakkie also fired a few shots at him as well, hitting Mr Schutte in the neck.

The two attacked vehicles sped off without stopping and the light yellow bakkie then disappeared.

peared.

Mrs Coetzer was hit in the knee, and his wife was hit in the back. Mr Coetzer, jnr, was hit in the right shoulder and suffered lacerations to his head, apparently caused by flying glass.

Mr Coetzer's mother, Mrs Johanna Coetzer (78) and his daughter Miss Hannalie Coetzer (18), who were also in the bakkie, only suffered minor cuts caused by flying glass.

Mr Coetzer and his son were both discharged from the Frontier hospital yesterday morning, and returned home to Dordrecht.

Mrs Coetzer was transferred to the intensive care unit at the Rosepark hospital in Bloemfontein. According to a family member, the bullet in her back was "a few millimetres" from her spinal cord.

Mr Schutte, whose windpipe had been crushed by the bullet in his neck, drove on 40 km to Dordrecht, only being able to breathe by sticking his fingers into the wound and keeping his windpipe open.

He was then transported by ambulance to the Hydromet hospital in Bloemfontein, where his condition late yesterday was described as satisfactory.

Mrs Koekie Schutte said yesterday that her husband had miraculously

recovered from the wound he had sustained. "His condition is stable, although he cannot talk because of the wound," she said.

Mr Schutte wrote down a description of what had happened. He said that he had been driving his truck at 4 pm on Saturday when the Coetzer family, whom he knows, as they live in the same district of Dordrecht, drove past him.

"When I got to the top of a rise the Coetzers went out of sight and the next thing I heard gunshots. The Coetzers turned around in the road and came back past me, with a light yellow bakkie in pursuit. On the back of the bakkie was a Black man holding what looked like an AK-47 or a R-4. He was shooting at the Coetzers," he wrote.

"As they passed by, the Black fired a few shots at me as well. I threw myself flat, but still one bullet hit me in the neck."

• To prevent a repetition of the Ficksburg attack, police had been stationed on a 24-hour basis on all farms which have been identified as possible targets, a police spokesman said.

"This action is being implemented from Clarens to Zastron, a distance of 650 km which includes about 200 farms. The police have also approached the SADF for assistance in the provision of manpower."

ANC praises FW for purge in SADF

Citizen Reporter

THE ANC has commended State President De Klerk for taking steps against senior military men and has at the same time called for a similar investigation into the police and "all other security arms of the state".

In an official response to the announcement by President De Klerk that several senior SADF members were being put on immediate pension, the ANC said "it is sad that it took (the State President) so long to respond to a situation that has been glaringly apparent".

The ANC said the

"acknowledgement" by President De Klerk that "serious malpractices and activities that undermine organisations and events originates from the security forces confirmed what the ANC had said for along time".

"There is clearly a third force operating within the security forces and it was exactly because of such a Third Force that the ANC suspended negotiations in 1991. If President De Klerk had acted then many lives could have been saved," said the ANC.

The ANC also said that the steps taken by President De Klerk "were not enough. There should be

full public disclosure of all criminal activities and attempts at destabilisation".

"The names of those members of the security forces, the acts committed, together with the units involved, must be made public immediately. We also demand that the units involved must be prevented from continuing with their activities and that those responsible for criminal activities be charged immediately."

The ANC said it was inadequate to "simply announce" that senior SADF members were to be put on retirement as "this strengthens the impression that the SADF is a partisan and private army of the NP government".

The ANC also called on President De Klerk to hand a full report of the activities which had been brought to his attention to Justice Richard Goldstone.

"The current revelations are only the tip of the iceberg since Lt General (Pierre) Steyn's brief is only to investigate Military Intelligence," said the ANC. "Further comprehensive investigations must take place into the SADF, the SAP and all other security arms of the state.

"This is a crisis of major proportions which has a direct bearing on the negotiating process.

President De Klerk may not hide the implications of this crisis and further attempts at cover-ups will be an unforgivable betrayal of all South Africans," said the ANC.

CP warning

The Conservative Party's Home Guards will launch retribution raids against Azanian People's Liberation Army bases in Lesotho unless the government neutralised and destroyed these bases, CP parliamentary Charl Hertzog said yesterday.

Aggressive

Mr Hertzog, CP MP for Ladybrand, said in the light of the latest attack on White farmers in the Ficksburg area, which killed a 15-year-old teenage girl on Saturday, the role of his party's Home Guards "is ready to be

changed from a defensive one to an aggressive one".

"The CP in Ficksburg will be forced to activate retribution raids on APLA bases in Lesotho should the South African government fail to act within seven days to neutralise and destroy APLA bases in this neighbouring country".

Innocent

"The CP is not prepared to allow APLA or any other terrorist organisation to ruthlessly murder innocent people with impunity," Mr Hertzog added. — Sapa.

WASHINGTON AND THE WORLD

Critics: De Klerk's purge is not enough



Agence France-Presse

DE KLERK: Suspended or ousted top officers

By Chris Erasmus
Special for USA TODAY

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — South African President F.W. de Klerk's purge of military officers, begun over the weekend with the forced retirement or suspension of 23 senior officers, hasn't cut deep enough, critics say.

The African National Congress, the largest of South Africa's black nationalist movements, said de Klerk's move "is a step in the right direction but does not go nearly far enough."

Weekend revelations of political assassinations and sabo-

tage of the peace process by senior army officers brings a new crisis to South Africa's fragile constitutional negotiations, the ANC says.

De Klerk, who announced on Saturday the ouster of senior army intelligence officers involved in as-yet-unspecified illegal acts, said he was "shocked and disappointed" to discover the officers had been working directly against the peace process.

De Klerk has not detailed what the officers engaged in. He said, however, that some had links with right-wing white supremacist organizations and

that some of their reported activities resulted in deaths.

De Klerk denied that the internal investigation by army chief of staff Pierre Steyn had uncovered any so-called "third force," which the ANC and other parties have charged is behind the violence in black townships.

"What we have uncovered in no way represents the so-called 'third force.' ... There is no question of such a force existing in the Defense Force or the police," de Klerk said.

De Klerk promised to continue the probe, adding that any person or organization pro-

moting conflict or undermining negotiations would be "standing in the path of the majority of South Africans."

"We dare not allow these elements who are delaying a new dispensation and who continue to promote conflict to succeed in their objectives," de Klerk added.

While the purge is likely to claim very senior officers it will probably fall short of demands from the ANC and others for a clean sweep of those believed to be linked to organized anti-reform activities.

The ANC demanded "full disclosure on everything."

The Charlotte Observer

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The Observer Forum

Observer misinformed about South Africa

I have just returned from a 3½-week trip to South Africa. Your paper regularly refers to the African National Congress as "the nation's leading black group" or "the country's most powerful black opposition movement." In reality, the Inkatha Freedom Party is far larger and is committed to peaceful change, while the ANC has a military wing for violent change. It is obvious you get your disinformation from the leftist lobby that feeds the press and elected officials with biased information.

N. HUNT HEUBECK
Pinehurst

The Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party claims a membership of 2 million, while the African National Congress has a broader-based, multiracial membership estimated at less than 500,000. The ANC, however, is regarded as South Africa's most influential black opposition group. While it still maintains its military wing, the ANC suspended its armed struggle after it was legalized in 1990. — Editors, The Observer.

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De Klerk's belated purge

IT IS hard not to agree with the reaction of an ANC representative to the news that President F W de Klerk of South Africa had, at last, decided to purge the country's security forces by suspending or sacking 23 officers, including six generals. "It is a pity," she said, "that so many people should have had to die before any action was taken."

The damage went much wider than the killings, which the security forces were widely believed, and increasingly frequently shown, to have aided and abetted. Mr de Klerk's assertions that the security forces were under control, save perhaps for the odd bad apple, drastically eroded his own credibility. Just as intended, the township violence intensified mutual suspicions and hatred between South Africa's various racial, tribal and political groups, but especially between ANC followers and the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party. It shattered the confidence of potential investors. Ultimately, it threatened anarchy and civil war.

There seem to be three possible explanations for Mr de Klerk's inordinate delay. First, he genuinely believed that the security forces were not seriously implicated in the violence. Second, he suspected they might be, but needed time to secure incontrovertible evidence. Third, he knew they were in it up to their necks, but feared a cabinet coup in favour of the military if he took action to purge those guilty.

None of these explanations is, by itself, convincing. Given the complexity of South Africa's problems and the strength of the forces arrayed against him, Mr de Klerk may well have believed all three at much the same time. A fourth possibility, that he actively condoned the crimes of the security forces while negotiating with the ANC, can almost certainly be dismissed.

In the bright sunshine of his early days as the reformer who released Nelson Mandela from jail, did he realise the tentacular nature

of the country's security establishment that his predecessor, President P W Botha, had done so much to create? The damage to the blacks from four decades of apartheid was obvious enough, that to the whites less so. For more than 10 years the military had created their own rules. Hot pursuit of their enemies across the borders of neighbouring states was normal, as was the fomenting of civil wars in those countries. What more natural than to switch those tactics to the domestic scene when relations with the "front-line states" were normalised?

The military and the police still have their allies in Mr de Klerk's cabinet. The President has no doubt calculated that he can prevail against them: a safeish bet ever since the March referendum in which the white population voted in favour of constitutional reform. His belated coup was carried out with a degree of surprise that the affected officers, mainly from military intelligence, must admire. Most were on holiday, and thus unable to destroy evidence that might be used to prosecute them.

One effect of Mr de Klerk's move will be to drive his National Party and the ANC closer together, since a white conservative backlash would be even more disastrous for the black majority than for reformist whites. Just how well pragmatists from both camps understand each other was shown in a secret three-day meeting in a bush resort earlier this month. From it emerged a possible timetable which sees multi-party constitutional negotiations being resumed in February or early March, and black leaders sharing in decision-making through a transitional governing council by early summer. Democratic elections for a constituent assembly could be held late next year or in early 1994. Yet such calculations leave out the destructive capacity of those who feel marginalised or threatened — notably Inkatha and the very forces against which Mr de Klerk has at last taken action.

21/12/92
London

SA generals under fire in army purge

CAPE TOWN — Senior generals are in the firing line in South Africa as President FW de Klerk takes on the military hawks hostile to his reform programme. But leaks to a leading Afrikaans newspaper yesterday suggested the purge of officers plotting to block the transition from white rule to democracy would leave the top men in place.

Mr de Klerk revealed at a rare news conference that an inquiry had uncovered security force plots against political reform. "I think I can say that the findings will lead to the conclusion that some of the activities did lead to the deaths of people," he said. "Some of the activities and some of the individuals might have been motivated by a wish to prevent us from succeeding in our [reform] goals."

President de Klerk said he had sacked or suspended 23 military officers, including two generals, and had ordered state prosecutors to lay charges wherever possible. Mr de Klerk postponed the identification of the people dismissed until they had been told, but newspapers speculated yesterday that the list could include top military and intelligence chiefs.

The Johannesburg Sunday

From Brendan Boyle
of Reuters

Times named as likely candidates the military intelligence chief, Joffel van der Westhuizen, who is alleged to have signed a warrant for the assassination of a black activist, and Major-General Georg Meiring, the army chief of staff alleged to have authorised a covert plan in April to discredit the African National Congress (ANC).

"President de Klerk's actions, belated as they may be, signal an end to this reign of the ... seditious *samurai*," the newspaper said. But *Rapport*, a pro-government newspaper, named Hennie Roux, the chief of army intelligence staff, and Chris Thirion, his deputy, as the generals sacked on Saturday. The paper said that Kat Liebenberg, the defence force chief, Gen Meiring and Gen van der Westhuizen would not be sacrificed.

■ QUEENSTOWN — Police put an armed guard on every South African farm adjoining Lesotho yesterday after a teenage girl died and five whites were wounded in black attacks on whites, Reuter reports.

Leading article, page 16

The Independent
21/12/92 - London

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, January 21 1992

Codesa groups activated

PATRICK BULGER

CODESA working groups due to begin negotiations on SA's political future were yesterday activated with the appointment of steering committees to direct their work.

The steering committees will provide chairmen for sessions between now and March when the working groups will present their reports to the second plenary session of Codesa.

Yesterday, about 200 delegates representing 19 political groups, homeland governments and the SA government met at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park to start drawing up agendas for working group meetings and to appoint, by consensus, steering committees for the working groups.

The only chairman announced was that for the working group examining transitional arrangements, DP MP Ken Andrew. In the working group dealing with constitutional principles and a constitution-making body/process, the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpoit were chosen joint conveners. Steering committee representatives in this group were chosen on the basis of their competence in the constitutional field and not on party affiliation.

The other three working groups will discuss the future of the TBVC states, a time frame and implementation of Codesa decisions and the creation of a free political climate and role of the international community.

The working group steering committees are dominated by the ANC, the NP/SA government, Inkatha and the Labour Party. Parties represented on some, but not all the steering committees include the Transkei government,

the SA Communist Party and the DP.

Codesa daily management committee chairman Zach de Beer said that while yesterday's proceedings had gone slowly, they were part of a process of trust building. He said the aim was still to convene Codesa again in March, but it depended largely on the progress within the five working groups.

It had been proposed to spend two days a week in working group meetings, but the workload made this impossible. Instead, delegates would meet each Monday at the World Trade Centre, Sapa reports.

Delegates at Monday's meeting generally felt that Codesa II would most likely be held in the first part of April, when they expected the working groups to have made substantial progress in their work.

Yesterday's full-day meetings of the working groups were attended by high-ranking government officials and members of political groups.

These included National Intelligence Service director Neil Barnard who is an adviser to government in the working group on creating a free political climate, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa in the constitution group, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and his director-general Neil van Heerden in the TBVC states group.

Finance director-general Gerhard Croeser was named government adviser on the TBVC group.

Negotiations will begin next month.

Disaffected officers

We must hope that the manner and timing of the purge indicates a confidence on De Klerk's part that he retains the loyalty of the bulk of the security forces. His right-wing opponents can be expected to exploit to the full the swelling ranks of disaffected police and military officers who made careers out of apartheid and have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. It is probable, too, that the latest recruits to these ranks will try to bring the temple down with them. Stand by for a steady stream of leaks claiming that what was done had the blessing, implied or otherwise, of senior members of the De Klerk cabinet.

If the once proud SADF is to regain the respect it enjoyed before being corrupted by apartheid, there must be a cutting to the bone, as promised by De Klerk when he appointed the Harms Commission more than two years ago. Those who tolerated or were guilty of foul deeds must go, and the Force entrusted to a new breed of officers who understand that they are there to defend the country, not a particular ideology or political party. As for the culprits, they must be given their day in court — and not allowed to fade into retirement, comforted by fat pensions and an amnesty for their crimes and misdemeanours.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Army purge

WHICHEVER way one looks at it, the purge of 23 officers of the Defence Force, including at least two generals and four brigadiers, is a stunning decision with far-reaching implications.

Sixteen of the officers have been sacked and seven suspended.

Some of them are suspected of dirty tricks and actions which led to civilian deaths. They will be prosecuted.

If further investigations reveal criminal activity, some military intelligence informers and civilians on the payroll may also be charged. Other officers are accused of trying to block reforms, State President De Klerk emphasising:

"There were indications that some activities and individuals might have been motivated to prevent success in constitutional goals, but there is at yet no evidence pointing to anyone wanting to violently overthrow the government."

If the investigation into covert operations by the SADF Chief of Staff, General Pierre Steyn, has, in fact, uncovered evidence that officers and civilian collaborators involved themselves in criminal and unauthorised actions, or tried to prevent Mr De Klerk's constitutional goals succeeding, then Mr De Klerk has every justification in acting against them.

No government can allow officers to engage in criminal activities, or interfere in political matters.

As commander-in-chief of the forces, Mr De Klerk has to ensure that his officers are politically impartial and that their actions are above board.

The purge has come about as a result of the Goldstone Commission's raid on a military intelligence unit, followed by the appointment of General Steyn to command all intelligence functions of the SADF and to investigate irregularities, assisted by Lieut-General Alwyn Conradie, of the South African Police.

One supposes that the haste with which Mr De Klerk has acted has been due to his desire to anticipate the row that would have broken out when General Steyn's verbal preliminary report was followed by a full report.

However, there are also suggestions that Mr De Klerk is purging the police and army of elements who would oppose an interim government and joint control of the security forces.

As evidence, it is pointed out that the SADF purge closely follows the announcement that 6 000 Permanent Force members are to be replaced by 6 000 volunteers, and that members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the military wing of the ANC, are welcome to join up if they abandon their MK links.

In the case of the police, a group of Right-wing generals have been retired — and more may be retired soon.

Whether this is correct or not, the security forces have been immeasurably weakened.

The decline in morale began when the government destroyed the influence of the securocrats.

The retirement of police officers and now the purge of SADF officers will further undermine morale.

This is happening at a time when political violence is at its worst, there is considerable opposition, even within government, to the Record of Understanding reached with the ANC and the subsequent bosberaad, and the alienation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the IFP, backed by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini.

We have always believed that this country needs strong and dedicated security forces so that it is not destabilised and a settlement can be achieved that is fair and reasonable.

Perhaps the purges will prevent any possible coup, but on the other hand they may cause a further Right-wing backlash and threats of armed resistance, since any purge of officers is bound to have an adverse reaction, particularly if it is felt that the ANC will benefit.

Taking all factors into account, we hope Mr De Klerk has not been rushed into a decision that he and the country will regret in the months to come.

ANC praises FW for purge in SADF

Citizen Reporter

THE ANC has commended State President De Klerk for taking steps against senior military men and has at the same time called for a similar investigation into the police and "all other security arms of the state".

In an official response to the announcement by President De Klerk that several senior SADF members were being put on immediate pension, the ANC said "it is sad that it took (the State President) so long to respond to a situation that has been glaringly apparent".

The ANC said the

"acknowledgement" by President De Klerk that "serious malpractices and activities that undermine organisations and events originates from the security forces confirmed what the ANC had said for along time".

"There is clearly a third force operating within the security forces and it was exactly because of such a Third Force that the ANC suspended negotiations in 1991. If President De Klerk had acted then many lives could have been saved," said the ANC.

The ANC also said that the steps taken by President De Klerk "were not enough. There should be

full public disclosure of all criminal activities and attempts at destabilisation".

"The names of those members of the security forces, the acts committed, together with the units involved, must be made public immediately. We also demand that the units involved must be prevented from continuing with their activities and that those responsible for criminal activities be charged immediately."

The ANC said it was inadequate to "simply announce" that senior SADF members were to be put on retirement as "this strengthens the impression that the SADF is a partisan and private army of the NP government".

The ANC also called on President De Klerk to hand a full report of the activities which had been brought to his attention to Justice Richard Goldstone.

"The current revelations are only the tip of the iceberg since Lt General (Pierre) Steyn's brief is only to investigate Military Intelligence," said the ANC. "Further comprehensive investigations must take place into the SADF, the SAP and all other security arms of the state."

"This is a crisis of major proportions which has a direct bearing on the negotiating process."

President De Klerk may not hide the implications of this crisis and further attempts at cover-ups will be an unforgivable betrayal of all South Africans," said the ANC.

ANC hits election trail to educate its voters

MR NELSON Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) has hit the election trail — not with speeches, but by ensuring its supporters will be ready and able to vote come the first non-racial poll a year down the line.

The risk of a low turnout if voters fear intimidation, and the possibility that Blacks who have never voted will inadvertently spoil their ballots, are the two major concerns, ANC electoral official Mr Khotso Gordhan said.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was working hard on the problem.

As well it might. In the elections, the ANC will be up against the National Party, whose well-oiled election machine has kept

the party in power for the past 44 years.

Inkatha

Black rivals too have been tackling the problem — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the ANC's closest rival the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), last September offered R4 000 to the first IFP Youth Brigade member to get 4 000 IFP supporters' voting papers in order by next July.

Some 21 million voters will be voting, and around 18 million will be doing so for the first time. Of those some 63 percent are illiterate.

"People have difficulty understanding what an

election is," said Mr Gordhan. "We've started educating our structures."

With the help of churches and education and development foundations, the ANC has set up "election workshops", where voting procedures are explained and potential voters are encouraged to carry out mock polls.

The first results have revealed considerable problems. "Some believe it is only for the ANC," said Mr Gordhan. "Others think you have to put your name in a box."

In mock polls so far, one in every two ballots has been spoiled, Mr Gord-

han said.

In the meantime, the ANC has been negotiating with the government this month about electoral procedures.

'Distort'

Mr Mandela stressed the importance of setting up an electoral commission before the elections, and warned that the NP had the capacity to "distort" the outcome.

For example, the NP could campaign to naturalise and recruit up to half a million foreigners already in South Africa, Mr Mandela said, just as it had urged British and other foreign residents to

become citizens and vote for change in the Whites-only referendum in March.

One concern, according to Mr Gordhan, is whether polling should take place over one or three days. "One is enough for the Whites, but not for us," he said.

Fear is the key. In South Africa's Black townships, where around 300 people are killed each month in politically-motivated violence, to vote could be life-threatening.

Many will stay away on the first day, to see how the polling goes, and venture out later if all is calm, Mr Gordhan said.

Another problem is what kind of documents voters will need. As many as 4,5 million potential voters do not have the ID that will entitle them to vote, according to Mr Gordhan.

And in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei different papers are needed.

The ANC's workers in the Cape Province have begun a door-to-door campaign to urge voters to get their papers in order.

But ANC officials fear there is not enough time to get correct papers for all voters, and will be pressing the government to accept baptism certificates, — the only relevant document most Black people possess — as valid ID. — Sapa-AFP.

Calamitous blunder, says CP

Citizen Reporter

THE Conservative Party spokesman on Defence, Dr Willie Snyman, yesterday called President De Klerk's purge of the Defence Force a "calamitous blunder" and called on all "patriots" in the SADF to reconsider their position.

"The government's purge of so-called Right-wing elements in the Defence Force is a calamitous blunder. This reckless action will result in mass defections from the NP; it will precipitate insecurity and even insubordination in the SADF, and it could cause a rift in the Cabinet.

"This latest purge now exposes to those who remain in the SADF how loyalty to one's country and one's people is rewarded.

"This purge is, as well, an intimidatory tactic aimed at forcing remaining SADF members to toe the party line

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Blunder, says CP

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and to accept the government's sellout to their alliance partners, the ANC, and to permit the amalgamation of the remnants of the SADF with the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's APLA killers.

"We remind Mr De Klerk that the SADF is not there to act in terms of government policy. It is there to ensure the safety of the country, even in spite of government policy if necessary. The SADF's loyalty is to the South African state and not to the continually changing policies of the South African Government.

"The purge is only 'widely welcomed' by the enemies of South Africa, and in caving in to overseas pressure the NP has seriously under-

estimated the growing resistance among Whites to whom it is now clear that the government's March 17 'mandate' was fraudulently obtained.

"This purge will only encourage further acts of terrorism in the country.

"The CP is particularly disturbed about proposed court-related actions and criminal prosecutions which may result from further investigations."

"The ANC, South Africa's enemy, had been effectively neutralised since the sixties by the SADF. It is thus treachery to now consider criminal prosecutions for covert actions against the ANC and other terrorist movements still perpetrating their crimes in this country. The govern-

ment should rather be acting against the ANC and the PAC.

"The government's feeble call to their terrorist allies to act with 'equal decisiveness' against crimes in their ranks is a pathetic attempt to cover up their refusal to act against the real cause of terrorism and crime in South Africa.

"Their obsession with negotiations now results in our security force personnel being prosecuted to pacify the NP's negotiation partners.

"The CP calls upon those patriots still within the SADF to take note of the treachery of the government and to join with the SADF personnel who have already made contact with us."

'Dirty tricks': Some sacked SADF men to be charged

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — Some of the 16 sacked and seven suspended Defence Force officers are suspected of "dirty tricks" and actions which led to civilian deaths, and they will be prosecuted, State-President De Klerk told a weekend media conference.

Should further investigation reveal criminal activity, some military intelligence informers and civilians on the payroll may also be charged.

Mr De Klerk challenged other political organisations — without mentioning either the ANC or PAC directly — to take similar disciplinary or criminal action against those in their ranks guilty of crimes and malpractices.

Among the heads that rolled at the weekend are those of two generals and four brigadiers, placed on compulsory retirement with immediate effect.

Not all of the 16 sacked officers are suspected of criminal activity. Some were ordered out as part of a restructuring process

— they are not wanted in the reorganisation of military intelligence.

Mr De Klerk said there was "no 'Third Force' within the SADF, nor was there any evidence of a plot to overthrow the government. Only a handful of individuals had been involved in actions aimed at undermining the reform process.

Asked whether people had died in these actions, he replied: "Yes. The findings will lead to the conclusion that some of the activities have led to the death of people."

Prejudice

Questioned about a possible Right-wing link, Mr De Klerk said: "It is not impossible. I don't want to give further details. It might prejudice the investigations."

The immediate sackings and suspensions had taken place to forestall any attempt by those involved to destroy evidence or cover-up their actions. Some of the offi-

cers were on holiday and unaware of their dismissals at the weekend.

"One of the results is that not one of these people will be able to cover their tracks.

"We are not dealing with kids. We are dealing with well-trained people who are taking constant precautions to prevent being found out," said Mr De Klerk.

For this reason the names of those sacked or suspended would only be revealed later, possible by the end of the month. Further facts would be revealed in the course of court proceedings and in reports of the Auditor-General and of Commissions of Investigation.

The State President's action came exactly a month after the appointment of Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn, Chief of Defence Force Staff, to command all intelligence functions of SADF, and to investigate irregularities, assisted by Lt-Gen Alwyn Conradie of the SA Police.

Mr De Klerk said the

action was taken on information contained in a verbal preliminary report by Lt-Gen Steyn to him and other Cabinet members, including Mr Gene Louw, Minister of Defence, as well as General Kat Liebenberg, Chief of the SADF.

A full report by Lt-Gen Steyn, on the activities of all the intelligence functions of the SADF, would follow later.

There would be co-operation with the SAP, the Goldstone Commission and Attorneys-General in bringing to book those suspected of illegal or unauthorised activities.

The "handful of people" responsible for illegal and unauthorised action were scattered through a number of units, which included the Directorate of Covert Collection. The DCC would now be restructured.

It was in the nature of the covert collection of information that some latitude had to be allowed in the procedures they followed. But these procedures had to be well regulated and managed.

While there had already been a tightening-up, further control measures would now be introduced.

Mr De Klerk's statements at the media conference suggested that a few top Defence Force officers had lied to their seniors, including the Ministers of Defence.

"The activities which have now come to my attention point to a process in which political office bearers, Defence Force commanders and the Auditor-General were not fully informed or, very often, were misled," said Mr De Klerk.

"I would like to emphasise that only a limited number of persons and a few units were involved.

"Nevertheless, the information at my disposal indicates a serious and unacceptable state of affairs."

Effectiveness of SADF won't be harmed — Louw

Citizen Reporter

THE Minister of Defence, Mr Gene Louw, said yesterday that the effectiveness of the Defence Force would not be harmed by the sacking of two generals along with the suspension of a further seven officers.

He had learnt with "disappointment" of the involvement of a small element of the Defence Force in illegal and/or unauthorised activities and malpractices.

Mr Louw said:

"Although it can be emphasised that only a small group has been involved, it is necessary for the South African Defence Force as a whole to be cleared of all irregularities. In the transition period, the Defence Force must be unstained and perform its military functions professionally and be above suspicion of possible political motives.

"The Defence Force must in every respect be politically non-aligned and act strictly in accord-

ance with military procedures and the laws of the country. No soldier is

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Louw on purge

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above the laws of the country or the military code.

"The Defence Force as a whole is bigger than individuals. For this reason, I want to assure every soldier in the country, no matter in what capacity he or she serves, that the government and I, as the responsible Minister, are behind them.

"There is high appreciation and gratitude for the work and sacrifice of our soldiers did and still are doing in difficult circumstances.

"In the future South Africa will need our Defence Force. There still is nonsensical violence and the actions of radicals that will have to be curbed and which can even increase.

"Without the stabilis-

ing and anchor role of the Defence Force, these actions can easily become beyond control.

"Where necessary, reorganisation will take place and the readiness of the Defence Force will not be harmed.

"No defence force in the world can survive without a sharp sophisticated intelligence-gathering capability.

"The most effective and improved restructuring of the Defence Force's intelligence-gathering action in its totality, therefore, will have to be looked into immediately.

"For this reason I seriously appeal to political movements and parties — Left and Right of the spectrum — not to exploit the current events for political purposes or to cast suspicion."

BEHIND THE PURGE OF OFFICERS

Move ahead of
interim govt,
joint control

Citizen Reporter

PRESIDENT De Klerk's sacking of two Defence Force generals and 14 other officers, along with the suspension of seven others, is seen as part of a purge of the security forces by the government ahead of interim government and joint control of the security forces, according to informed government officials.

The probings of the Goldstone Commission — which now include an investigation of the military wings of both the ANC and PAC — are being used to identify elements in the security forces engaged in activities likely to prejudice negotiations.

The security forces were getting rid of these and other elements who might present a future problem, The Citizen was

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Unity is strength X

COSATU'S proposals for an election pact with the ANC and SACP would appear to have been influenced more by pragmatic economics than by a bid for political leverage. The latter raises the spectre of a government/union relationship akin to that between Britain's Labour Party and the unions.

The Cosatu move is more in line with the Australian example where the social accord between that country's unions and its Labor Party translated into the wage restraint which allowed Australia's inflation to be cut to almost zero.

Influences are one thing, results another. Paradoxically, South Africa's present circumstances, with steadily rising unemployment and

the negative foreign perceptions eloquently summed up by the UN's Angela King, provide an opportunity to turn a post-apartheid "reconstruction pact" into a major platform for sustainable growth.

Cosatu's proposals imply a realisation that people's economic expectations cannot be met immediately in a post-Nat South Africa; that economic empowerment will take years and can be achieved only by growth, not redistribution or confiscation.

A Cosatu-ANC social pact would probably need something of a cloak of radical rhetoric to persuade people of its revolutionary credentials. Even that must be moderated if foreign investors are not to be scared off.

BSP again spurns Codesa

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder yesterday reiterated his organisation's stance that it would not take part in multiparty negotiations at Codesa. He was speaking at a wreath-laying ceremony at Pretoria's Heroes' Acre in commemoration of the death 78 years ago of Boer rebel Jopie Fourie.



Policeman shot dead

A KwaZulu policeman was killed and another seriously wounded at an ANC meeting yesterday in Ndwedwe on the Natal North Coast, police said. The policemen were attacked when they arrived for guard duties at the meeting in a football stadium. Warrant Officer R T Nzimande was shot dead and Constable S D Ngcobo was shot in his right shoulder.

Louw promises immediate and effective SADF restructuring

Largest purge since 1914

By Jacques Pauw
and Esther Waugh

Defence Minister Gene Louw last night called for the immediate, effective and improved restructuring of the SADF following President de Klerk's shock announcement which placed 23 Defence Force officers on compulsory pension or leave.

De Klerk's announcement on Saturday was made after he was briefed on the preliminary findings of Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, who was appointed by the State President to investigate all SADF intelligence services.

ANC call

Steyn was asked to conduct the investigation after the Goldstone Commission's revelations of a secret Military Intelligence (MI) unit which was set up to discredit Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Two generals and four brigadiers are among the 16 officers who have been retired with immediate effect.

The ANC last night called for a comprehensive investigation into the SADF, SA Police and other security arms of the State.

It said: "This is a crisis of major proportions which has a direct bearing on the negotiating process, transparency is essential, and President de Klerk may not hide the implications of this crisis to the people of South Africa."

"Any further attempts at cover-ups will be an unforgivable betrayal of all South Africans."

But the Conservative Party slammed the purge, saying it was a calamitous blunder aimed at intimidating the remaining members of the SADF to toe the National Party line and to "accept the Government's sell-out" to the ANC.

In his reaction last night, Louw said: "The most effective and improved restructuring of the Defence Force's intelligence-gathering action in its totality will have to be looked into immediately."

He appealed to political opponents not to exploit for political purposes the measures to purge the SADF.

SADF sources yesterday said it was likely that the senior officers involved were Chief of Army Intelligence Major-General Hennie Roux, Deputy Chief of Staff Intelligence Major-General Chris Thirion and Director of Army Communications Brigadier Ferdi van Wyk.

The names of two more brigadiers are to be revealed soon, the sources indicated. But it is understood that not all of the officers involved have been informed.

Names mentioned in the probe indicate that Steyn's investigation points not only to MI but also Army Intelligence, but not Air Force or Navy Intelligence.

Army Intelligence has allegedly been involved in clandestine activities such as the 1981 Seychelles coup, the training of 200 Inkatha members in the Caprivi in 1987 and the activities of the Johannesburg spy ring.

MI, on the other hand, has allegedly been involved in operations to discredit the Government's main negotiating partner, the ANC, as well as the murder of eastern Cape anti-apartheid activist Matthew Goniwe and the running of "Hammer Unit" hit squads.

Democratic Party defence spokesman Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers said the announcement must have been a terrific shock and a tremendous knock to the SADF.

He said the purge could have been the largest in the Defence Force since the 1914 Rebellion.

Louw promises SADF shake-up

● From Page 1

ANC key negotiator Mac Maharaj said his organisation would not break off talks with the Government as a result of Steyn's findings.

It is understood that the ANC may meet the Government before their January 20 "bosberaad" to discuss the sackings and retirements.

In his announcement, De Klerk hinted at Steyn uncovering a deliberate plan to thwart the negotiation process.

He said: "Any individual or organisation which fairs violence, promotes conflict and undermines the constitutional or peace negotiations is standing in the path of the overwhelming majority of all South Africans."

"We dare not allow these elements, who are delaying a new dispensation and who continue to promote conflict, to succeed," he said.

Roux became the Chief of Army Intelligence in June this year. He succeeded Major-General Daan Hamman, former SA military attache to Chile, and was alleged to have masterminded the abortive Seychelles coup in 1981.

According to high-placed Army Intelligence sources, Roux — one of the most unpopular generals — was under suspicion of undermining the talks process since taking office in June.

Very little is known about Thirion, one of the youngest generals and second-in-command to controversial Chief of Military Intelligence Lieutenant-General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen.

Although Van der Westhuizen has not been named as taking early retirement or compulsory leave, his name has been linked to the 1985 assassination of Goniwe and three other activists.

Van der Westhuizen is, however, regarded as a supporter of De Klerk's reforms and has been part of negotiations with ANC military leaders.

Van Wyk — described by a military source as the "king of dirty tricks" — is the former Chief Comops (Communications Operations) in Namibia and was allegedly in charge of the SADF's R100 million campaign to discredit Swapo before the 1989 election.

More reports

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Police sent to protect border farms

Police are being sent to the border with Lesotho to protect white farmers after Saturday's attack on a Ficksburg farmhouse in which Leonie Pretorius (14) was killed by gunmen.

And after a weekend attack in Transkei, police have warned motorists to avoid the area or enter it at their own risk.

Free State Police Commissioner Major-General Tertius Calitz said last night that policemen would be sent immediately to farms between Clarens and Zastron.

There are about 200 farms along the Lesotho border.

Police said the three men who launched the attack had fled across the border.

Free State Agricultural Union president Dr Pieter Gous has warned that farmers would take the law into their own hands and root out attackers.

He was commenting after the farmhouse attack and a second attack on whites in Transkei earlier on Saturday.

A joint SA-Lesotho hunt was launched after the attack in which Leonie died. The gunmen had fired shots into the room where she, her brother and a friend were watching TV.

Police Commissioner General Johann van der Merwe has of-

fered a R100 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers.

The second attack took place about 7 km inside Transkei when a man in a bakkie opened fire with an automatic rifle on a Dordrecht family, wounding J D Coetzer (78) and her son, L Coetzer (52), his wife (43) and their son (22).

One of the Coetzer family returned fire and, in the ensuing gunbattle, the driver of a passing truck, I J Schutte from Dordrecht, was wounded.

Police warned motorists to use an alternative route.

● A 56-year-old man was found stabbed to death on the Border farm, Oaklands, yesterday morning.

● Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa yesterday condemned the attack on motorists on the Queenstown-Dordrecht road in Transkei, but added that "the whole thing is becoming suspicious".

"I fail to understand that if it was Apia (that carried out the attack) why they would be concentrating these things in and around Transkei."

Apia is the Azanian People's Liberation Army, which has claimed responsibility for two recent attacks on whites in the Border area. — Staff Reporter and Sapa.

Right fragmented

A major factor in the acceleration of De Klerk's policy of appeasement and surrender to the ANC/SACP's ever more strident demands is the fatal fragmentation of the white conservative groupings and their inability to present alternative policy options.

The initiative to oppose unilaterally the ANC/NP axis has passed out of white right-wing hands into the IFP-led alliance of black leaders led by Chief Buthelezi.

Here is an eleventh-hour opportunity for all conservative whites who are appalled at the lawlessness, political corruption and moral decay that is afflicting our

land, to unite with those black leaders who share their political objectives of a decentralised federal structure.

The key to any organised and successful anti-De Klerk movement is the security forces. If they are tired and disillusioned with being cannon fodder in the townships, of seeing unrepentant killers released back on the streets to continue their blood-thirsty activities, then they should join this new conservative alliance to rid this country of its radical and neo-communist politicians.

Phyllis McCarthy
Bedfordview

The Star

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The Third Force

BRING me the evidence — that has been President de Klerk's stock response whenever confronted with allegations about a shadowy group of security force personnel thought to be deliberately subverting the reform process. The evidence was never forthcoming for the simple reason that the investigators had a vested interest in keeping it under wraps.

Thanks mainly to Mr Justice Goldstone, De Klerk has finally been forced to admit what this newspaper and others have long suspected (and been abused for suggesting) — the presence of a dirty-tricks brigade in the upper reaches of the security establishment whose activities have undermined the peace process. To deny still the existence of a Third Force is to indulge in sophistry.

As revelations of malpractice have dribbled out through half-baked commissions, court cases and inquests, even De Klerk's sympathisers have been forced to one of two uncomfortable conclusions: either the president was a party to destabilising his political opponents or he was not in full control of the security forces. Saturday's dramatic announcement that a cadre of senior generals and brigadiers has been given its marching orders suggests the latter to be the case. The only consolation to be had from this miserable business is that an honest general has moved swiftly to clean up the mess created by his superiors.

1992 was horrible but hopeful, says Alex Boraine

At last something's going right

QUEEN Elizabeth II has described 1992 as "a horrible year" for the royal family. It hasn't been very good for South Africa either.

Despite the promising start to the year with the formation of Codesa and the long-awaited multilateral negotiations getting off the ground, it has been in many ways a "horrible" year.

We have witnessed the breakdown of negotiations and a display of petty politicking which, in the present climate, is a luxury South Africa cannot afford. We have seen a sickening increase in violence which has left thousands of South Africans dead and many more injured. Thousands have been displaced with the consequent break-up of family life.

Disclosures have been made of massive corruption in government departments and wholesale squandering of money in the "homelands". Lying and deceit by people in high places in the SADF have apparently become the norm. In almost every instance, no one has had to accept the blame for this abuse of power.

In its recent report, Amnesty International discloses widespread abuse of fundamental

human rights in African National Congress camps over a period of more than 10 years.

As if this catalogue of woe was not enough, the cold-blooded attacks on King William's Town and Queenstown have seen the South African conflict cross a new threshold (although in some ways this is an old threshold, bearing in mind the PAC's planned attacks on whites in the early 1960s).

But the deliberate killing and maiming of whites is news because it is a new dimension and takes nothing away from the tragic deaths of blacks which have occurred in many parts of South Africa. The posturing by the leadership of the PAC in regard to these attacks is unacceptable.

In the same way that the ANC must accept responsibility for the actions of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and in the same way as President de Klerk must accept responsibility for action or inaction by the security forces, so too must the PAC accept its responsibility in relation to the actions of Apla.

All life is precious and the PAC cannot hide behind the excuse that the media is making too much fuss of the death of a handful of

whites.

The president of the PAC, Clarence Makwetu, has no choice other than to condemn unambiguously the recent actions and continued threats by the PAC's military wing.

The PAC in recent months has opted for negotiation as a way of resolving the current conflict. It simply cannot subscribe in any way to blatant violence and, at the same time, maintain its commitment to negotiation.

South Africans have the right to know whether or not the PAC leadership condones the current wave of violence or whether it stands for peace and rejects acts of violence.

In making up its mind, the PAC should recognise that a possible outcome of the recent attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown could be further acts of violence from an angry right wing. This simply means a very real possibility of innocent black victims being added to the long list of casualties and a continuing spiral of violence.

Violence begets violence and in the fragile climate in which we live, there can be no pussyfooting on this important question.

The announcement by Mangosuthu Buthe of plans for the adoption of a regional constitution is irresponsible in the extreme. Not because here should not be a constant examination of all options, not because the devolution of power is undesirable, not because federalism does not have many attractive features, but because inherent in his proposal is the threat of secession.

The threat of the regional constitution which he offers has far more to do with confederalism than with federalism. There is no way that Naal or KwaZulu can go it alone, and therefore this intervention at his time brings only heat and no light to the current debate.

It is like pouring petrol on a blazing fire, and has all the ingredients for further violence and conflict in Naal.

Chief Buthe's public alliance with Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and the Conservative Party can only lead him down a cul-de-sac. At this critical time his energies ought to be put towards a national solution to a national problem.

It has been a horrible year, but in many ways it has been a better

year than the long, dark night of apartheid which preceded the State President's watershed speech in 1990.

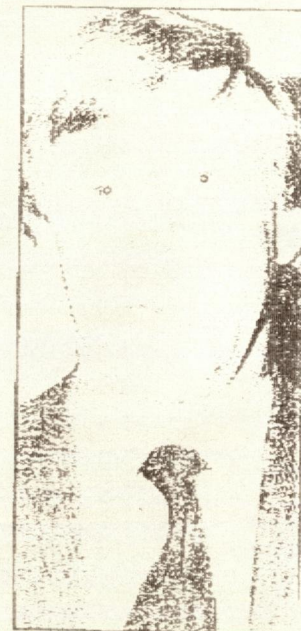
Despite all the violence, the double-speak, the lack of vision and leadership, would anyone really want to go back to the bad old days of entrenched racism and injustice?

South Africa is paying a heavy price now for those 40 years of National Party rule and much of what we have witnessed during 1992 constitutes the birth pangs of a new South Africa struggling to be born.

There is a genuine prospect of multilateral negotiations being resumed early in 1993, there is a clear commitment at least from the two major actors, namely the Government and the ANC, to an interim government and this may well come into being by the end of 1993 or early in 1994.

It has been a grim year, but for all who are committed to peace and justice there awaits hope and encouragement for the future.

● Alex Boraine is Executive Director of Idasa. This article appears in the current edition of *Democracy in Action*.



Looking ahead... despite 1992's problems, Alex Boraine is very hopeful.