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IFP letter contradicts arms claim

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party hopes to hand to the Goldstone Commission a letter in which deported party official Mr Bruce Anderson states "unequivocally" that he had never supplied arms to the organisation.

Mr Anderson claimed at the weekend he had helped smuggle Renamo weapons into South Africa for use by the IFP.

Yesterday IFP spokesman Ms Sue Vos said the party intended to present Mr Anderson's earlier letter to the Goldstone Commission.

Ms Vos said that in his letter to the IFP leadership, Mr Anderson had written: "... the press have made certain speculations about my deportation, including that I am a British intelligence agent, I was supplying guns to the IFP, I was behind the violence.

'On my honour'

"I must state, unequivocally, on my honour, that I have never been guilty of any of the above and have never intentionally betrayed ... our party."

Ms Vos said the letter was dated August 10 — after Mr Anderson's deportation.

● The IFP is to ask the Goldstone Commission to investigate the role of the ANC's armed wing in attacks on the party, it was announced yesterday.

● An estimated 40 IFP Women's Brigade supporters in Durban marched on the home of Natal Indian Congress and ANC member Mr Pravin Gordhan yesterday.

A spokesman said the group of widows and orphans marched on Mr Gordhan's home to demand he point out arms caches they believed were hidden in Natal. — Sapa

16/1/11

ANC wants transfers of public land frozen

THE African National Congress yesterday called for an immediate moratorium on the sale and transfer of public land until an interim government was in place.

In addition, the movement warned it will not consider itself to be bound to honour any such transactions if the ANC came to power.

"Pretoria's recent agreements to transfer 380 000 hectares of land to the control of Lebowa and 52 000 hectares to the control of Qwa-Qwa is a reversion to the apartheid policy of Bantustan consolidation," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a media conference in Johannesburg.

In taking unilateral decisions to transfer the South African Development Trust land to the two homelands, the government inhibited any co-operative efforts to resolve the "difficult but explosive issues of landlessness, homelessness and rural poverty", Mr Ramaphosa added.

Much of the land to be transferred had been identified in the government's White Paper of Land Reform to provide the basis of settlement for emergent farmers, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said the transfers were "extremely disingenuous in light of ongoing negotiations dealing with the re-incorporation of the 10 bantustans into South Africa".

The transfers were also an abuse of a number of issues central to South Africa's negotiations process, including the debate around second-tier government and an abuse of minority power by "reinforcing discredited institutions whose future is a matter for negotiations", he said.

Mr Ramaphosa also accused the government of trying to buy or reward political support for the National Party's policy of regionalism/federalism.

A recent spate of urban land disinvestments by

state departments, local authorities and some parastatal organisations had the real possibility of pre-empting the process of reconstruction of the country's urban areas in a non-racial and socially integrative way. — Sapa.

Man shot 'by mistake'

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC confirmed yesterday a member of its PWV regional executive committee was shot and wounded by an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) member who mistook him for a policeman.

Mr Bayumile Vilakazi was discharged from Johannesburg's Garden City Clinic yesterday after being seriously wounded in an attack in the Vaal Triangle on September 17.

The ANC said it had conducted its own investigation during which an SDU member approached it and confessed to the shooting. "According to the SDU member, Vilakazi was shot because he was mistakenly identified as a policeman." — Sapa

Arms stash 5 'are ANC'

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The ANC Youth League yesterday admitted five men arrested with a stash of arms by the Ciskei Defence Force at the weekend were local youth league leaders.

ANC Youth League regional spokesman Mr Phakamisa Hobongwana said if the men were found to be MK members or to have had the weapons then it should be viewed in "a particular context".

"People are killed, shot at, day and night. These alone might be the factors which led to the situation the comrades find themselves in today where they have to defend themselves and their people against the enemy." — Sapa

J.F.J. has to defend them selves

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Argus 4.11.
**Inkatha branch
expels Anderson**

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party Sandton branch has expelled Mr Bruce Anderson, who was allegedly involved in the infiltration of arms from Mozambique through South Africa's Directorate of Military Intelligence to the IFP.

In a statement today the branch also recommended that Mr Anderson be expelled from the IFP.

In an affidavit, Mr Anderson, a senior IFP official, has alleged that he arranged a supply of arms for the movement after being approached by a senior Inkatha official.

The Sandton branch criticised Mr Anderson's "self-confessed alleged complicity in the alleged infiltration of arms supplies allegedly for the IFP, and the public disclosure thereof through the press".

Mr Anderson's action "represents a totally unacceptable course of conduct against the interests of the party and of the branch, from which the branch dissociates itself entirely".

The statement added: "His action represents a flagrant breach of the acknowledgment and undertaking furnished by him as a result of the disciplinary inquiry held on 25 September 1991 into his conduct at that time." — Sapa.

Argus 4-11-92

16/1/11

The Citizen 4/11/92

Force ANC to name torturers, FW urged

A GROUP of former African National Congress members appealed to President De Klerk yesterday to compel the ANC to disclose names of leaders accused of torture in its camps.

The names of some leaders have been published in a report by an International Freedom Foundation-appointed commission inquiring into the torture allegations.

The Weekly Mail recently published names, following its own investigation, of the people it said had been responsible for the atrocities.

The ANC has not made the identities public.

In a letter to Mr De Klerk, released yesterday, the Returned Exiles Committee said it "strongly believes that you (Mr De Klerk) can persuade the African Nat-

ional Congress president Nelson Mandela to meet our ... demands as soon as possible".

The REC demanded that the ANC should name its alleged torturers, release people allegedly still being held in its camps in Tanzania and that International Red Cross workers should be allowed to visit these camps.

"We strongly oppose the idea of an interim government until such time that the ANC has met our demands," the letter said.

"We foresee the eruption of violence in our country if those ANC leaders who were involved in atrocities should play any role in a future government." — Sapa.

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JOHANNESBURG. — SA's Department of Trade and Industry is to lead a selling mission to the US next year.

The department said yesterday the trade mission to the US in February 1993 was a key element in its strategy to return SA to international trade.

The easing of US trade and financial sanctions against SA, particularly at the federal state level, presents the country's enterprises with an important opportunity to re-enter the massive American market.

The US was SA's second-largest trading partner in 1991 with bilateral trade valued at almost \$4bn.

Chances exploited now by SA businessmen could be well-rewarded with the likely ratification of the North

Key US trade mission planned

American Free Trade Agreement, signed by the US, Canada and Mexico in August, opening up a market of 360 million consumers.

● Meanwhile, a large delegation of SA businessmen will start a three-day visit to Morocco on Sunday to meet government officials and manufacturers.

The team will be led by SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) president Spencer Stirling and will include representatives of more than 120 companies affiliated to the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto). — Sapa-Reuter-AFP

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Top ANC man in car accident

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC Southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe has emerged with only minor injuries from an accident in which his car was written-off.

A family member said yesterday Mr Radebe had been on his way to a meeting in Highflats on Wednesday when his car rolled.

He had been taken to hospital yesterday as a precaution but his condition was "not serious", said the family member. "He has a small scratch but the car was written-off," he added.

Terror attack: Hope message

Own Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — It was hoped tragic events like the Bisho massacre and the King William's Town golf club attack would spur people on to bring about peace, justice and true democracy.

This was said by Anglican Bishop Eric Pike of Queenstown at the memorial service of two of the four killed in last weekend's attack, Mr Ian and Mrs Rhoda MacDonald. He said the church was "shocked and saddened" by the attack.

A traffic official armed with a rifle stood at the entrance to the church grounds.

Transkei — 'haven for criminals'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Transkeian territory was being used as a training centre, haven and springboard for "common criminals" who launched attacks on the ANC's opponents in Natal, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

Commanders of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) submitted requisitions to the Transkei Defence Force for arms and ammunition, which were then supplied by the TDF's chief of logistics and smuggled into South Africa, said the SAP representative, Mr Chris Marnewick, SC.

He said the primary cause of the violence in Natal was the "intolerant, violent, murderous and even military" political battle between the ANC and Inkatha, in which innocent people were "slaughtered with monotonous regularity".

The recruitment and training of private armies such as MK combined with the theft, manufacture and importation of firearms and explosives to add fuel to the conflict.

"Both ANC and Inkatha supporters have been guilty of assassinations or participation in the massacre of po-

litical opponents (and) of intimidation and intolerance of the political rights of others," he said, giving examples.

The SAP said a G3 assault rifle — such as those issued by the KwaZulu government to chieftains and civil servants for their protection — was used in the October ambush near Richmond in which ANC Midlands leader Mr Reggie Hadebe was killed and a colleague wounded.

KwaZulu Police (KZP) representative Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Reed admitted that G3s were used, albeit "unlawfully", in the fighting.

He said the rifles were being replaced by shotguns and revolvers, but ANC South Coast chairman Mr Jeff Radebe claimed that G3s were still being issued to headmen.

Colonel Reed disputed the ANC allegation that the KZP was Inkatha's "private army", saying no KZP member was allowed to be a member of any political party.

KwaZulu Health Minister Dr Ben Ngubane blamed the violence on the policy adopted in the mid-1980s by the ANC-allied United Democratic Front to render "apartheid structures" such as the homelands, local authorities and tribal systems ungovernable.

Business bid to ease Natal crisis

WILSON ZWANE

BUSINESS had become involved in negotiations with the ANC and Inkatha in a desperate bid to find solutions to the deepening crisis in Natal, an ANC official said yesterday.

ANC southern Natal official Bheki Cele said ANC regional leaders, Inkatha and business representatives were engaged in low-profile negotiations aimed at removing obstacles to a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Cele said the ANC's three Natal regions were opposed to a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting until the resolution of certain problems, including the bar on ANC members using school buildings in KwaZulu-controlled areas for political meetings, and the withdrawal of Inkatha from several local dispute resolution committees.

Natal-KwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee chairman M C Pretorius refused to comment on the business/ANC/Inkatha negotiations. He said the talks were delicate and to comment could jeopardise the process.

Meanwhile, last night's meeting of the national peace committee's executive was postponed until tomorrow because ANC officials could not attend as they were travelling to Natal to work on defusing tensions.

Our political staff reports that hundreds of Natal servicemen are being called up to help

stem the violence ravaging the province.

The army said yesterday Natal citizen force and commando units would have to be called up to supplement troops being transferred to the province from other areas.

President F W de Klerk promised last week that the number of troops deployed in the province in support of the SAP would be doubled by tomorrow.

Commenting on the decision to deploy more troops, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, said the ANC had "grave concerns ... in light of President de Klerk's statement that one of the specific duties would be to hunt down MK people."

Inkatha spokesman Kim Hodgson welcomed the move and said the organisation had called for this step several months ago.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Inkatha is to ask the Goldstone commission to investigate the role of the ANC armed wing in attacks on the mainly Zulu party.

Hodgson said Inkatha would also ask the commission to investigate MK arms caches. "We are convinced that such arms, ammunition and explosive devices are being used by the ANC in its military operations."

ANC rejects land grants

B/D 4/11/92
RAY HARTLEY

A FUTURE ANC government would not feel obliged to honour government efforts to restructure SA's economy and re-allocate land before an interim government took power, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Ramaphosa told a media conference the recently gazetted transfer of 380 000ha to Lebowa and 52 000ha to QwaQwa could be reversed by a future ANC government.

"Any form of unilateral restructuring by a discredited government should stop forthwith," he said.

Ramaphosa said the matter would be discussed at the November 22 summit between the ANC and government.

Speaking at the same briefing, ANC local government spokesman Thozamile Botha said the ANC believed central government should retain control over defence, foreign affairs and finances, among other areas of government.

"Where there is conflict between central and regional government, the central gov-

ernment should prevail," he said.

The ANC did not support regional control over any aspect of government, but joint control over education, housing, health and related issues was desirable.

The ANC's latest draft document on regional policy, released yesterday, said regions should be allowed limited fiscal powers to help them "carry out their functions effectively and efficiently."

"A permanent Advisory Fiscal Commission structured on a non party-political basis, in which certain powers for advising on the structure and mechanism of fiscal decentralisation would be vested," would have to be established.

The document said the ANC was not "too concerned with the labels 'unitary state and federation'".

Between 10 and 16 new regions should be considered for a future SA, according to the document.

Proponents and opponents of apartheid are equally caught up in bad 'family' habits, writes R W Johnson

The curse of South Africa's ethnic politics

THE row over the atrocities in the ANC camps should not be seen as one more moral fable, but rather as one more instance of the family code by the ethnic organisation of politics in South Africa.

To say this is not to allude to the fact that Zulus got the worst of it in the camps, but to point to something far deeper. For the ethnic organisation of politics was not just about the crudity of racial domination. It is a far subtler, more comprehensive phenomenon that has affected the opponents of apartheid quite equally with its proponents, and has created wider behavioural habits that span all political tendencies.

Throughout South African history the primary form of political organisation has been what we may call the "ethnic huddle" where a group of Xhosas/Afrikaners/Zulus/Hindus, or whatever, puts their heads together to devise a defensive strategy vis-a-vis other groups who are seen as menacing the interests of their ethnic "family".

Within that huddle the solidarities are intense and the worst crime is that of treason to the "family". In the eyes of one's own group, the members of opposing groups lost some of their reality as people: they were just part of the hostile world without and social contact with them was kept to a minimum. This attitude allows one to contemplate with equanimity even quite appalling disasters or atrocities befalling "enemy" groups.

These habits of behaviour were long since transposed on to political groups, including those most deeply opposed to ethnic politics on principle. Thus the Angolan atrocities.

The men in Quatro were accused of treachery — the worst crime the ethnic "family" knows — and thus, in the eyes of their captors, had become a virtually sub-human category, fair game for the most unspeakable treatment. Much the same social dynamics lay behind the multiple atrocities that have occurred in police cells or Koevoet camps.

The habits of the ethnic "family" have been transposed on to the political "family" at everyday level as well. It is a prime rule of the ethnic huddle that one does not socialise with members of enemy groups — and so today, 2½ years on from February 2 1990, it remains a matter for excited public comment that, for example, a Joe Slovo should be seen talking to a Roelf Meyer, and whether or not Mandela and Euthelazi should meet at all.

South Africans are so inured to this sort of thing that they seldom realise how peculiar it is that such meetings do not take place all the time as a matter of course.

Similarly, there is often a blank disbelief that anyone can be genuinely independent — if you try to think or write without fear or favour, you will typically find that others will credit you with a "secret agenda" of Machiavellian complexity rather than accept that genuine independence is possible. For, of course, there is no role for independents in the ethnic huddle and that is the sub-con-

scious model always in mind. Such a model is naturally sectarian and produces a "be who is not with us is against us" attitude.

The corollary is that those who remain snugly within the ethnic huddle are "family" and benefit from the same split-level morality that is seen in Mafia clans; a Michael Corleone can kill a policeman with impunity because outside the family rules are made to be broken, but his brother Alfredo has to be executed because he commits treachery.

These same instincts can be seen at work within all the major South African political families.

Ministers like Vlok, Viljoen and Pik Botha, all implicated in major scandals, were kept on within the Cabinet simply because they were "family".

Moreover, even in a government bereft of talent, it is a cardinal rule that appointments still have to be kept within the family. It was bad enough having an outsider like Derek Keys brought in at Economics, but when De Klerk wanted someone with ability to

take over from Barend du Plessis at Finance he was not allowed a second outsider: the only solution was to give Keys both jobs.

Similarly, the Government has been trying to raise heaven and earth to indemnify its police and army killers, for they too are "family". Even Barend Strydom, it turned out, was regarded as "family" in the end, had his name been Jim Smith he would doubtless still be in jail.

In the same way, the ANC has maintained in important positions not only many who are far too old or incompetent to do anything but harm to the organisation, but also many officials with known criminal careers.

It is no secret that in exile several leading ANC figures were deeply involved in the stolen-car and Mandrax-smuggling rackets in neighbouring countries, any more than it is a secret that since their return to South Africa a number of ANC leaders have been getting rich at a rate inexplicable in terms of the salaries they draw from the movement. Such misde-

meanours are tolerated with the same ease with which the Government accommodates corruption in its own midst: again, both are "family".

More remarkable, the ANC has actually maintained in office those whose records include torture and murder. No problem arises where such crimes were committed against outsiders (e.g. necklacing an alleged informer), the row over the Quatro camp atrocities arises precisely because in that case the victims were members of the ANC "family".

In Britain or America a political party implicated in torture or murder would lose power for a generation or more. Here, thanks to the curse of ethnic politics, both major contenders have such records, want us to let the culprits go free — and then vote for one or other of them as champions of human rights. As Yossarian was wont to say, "That's quite some catch, that Catch-22." □ R W Johnson is on sabbatical from Oxford University at the University of Natal, Durban.

The ANC once more debates regional government issues, reports Jo-Anne Collinge

Redistribution a cornerstone

IT IS no secret that the ANC constitutional committee was sent back to the drawing board after publishing its first thoughts on regional government.

The radically overhauled document is just about ready for distribution to ANC structures. And indications are that while the first policy paper was a bland affair, the second will set out unambiguously the liberation movement's differences with the Government and the federal bloc.

The proposals drop into a charged atmosphere. Since the earlier document, "this regions thing" — as one academic calls it — has been at the heart of the breakdown of Codesa and the Bischoff massacre and its aftermath.

A good measure of ANC thinking on regional government was the debate at the recent conference of the Local Government and Planning Policy Research Project (Logopop), a University of the Western Cape thinktank for the ANC-aligned movement.

Activists and researchers looked at some of the central questions — the territoriality of regions, financial considerations,

specific powers and ethnicity.

Economist Philip van Ryneveld argued for fiscal powers and economic planning to be retained largely at the national level. Among the reasons he raised were, firstly, the need for central government to effectively control taxation and public spending as a means to stabilising the economy and controlling inflation.

Secondly, the need to allow markets to operate efficiently by means of the free flow of people and goods. "Differences in taxation and regulations across regions and localities creates distortions which hamper this flow."

And thirdly, the imperative of redistribution, not only on moral grounds but as a factor in stability and development.

He asserted that redistribution could not be tackled successfully on a regional basis because "if one part of the country redistributes less than others, then wealth and investment will have a tendency to flow to this less redistributive region, while the poor will move to more redistributive regions."

As it was, productive capacity varied widely from area to area.

Juggling regional boundaries could not eradicate this inequality, it only made regions unworkable administratively. The solution was to "collect most taxes nationally and allocate them to the regions on a clear and fair basis," submitted Van Ryneveld.

In addition, since social spending rather than taxation was the telling factor in a redistributive fiscal policy, such powers should also be centrally retained.

What did that leave for regional government? Van Ryneveld — and others, including the South African Communist Party's Chris Hani — put the case for the regions to have "concurrent powers" with other levels of government. In other words, each tier would take responsibility for different aspects of the same function — be it health, education, welfare or housing.

Regions, Van Ryneveld said, should "help adapt policies to local conditions and strengthen local control over their implementation". They could have exclusive decision-making on matters with no "spill over" effects on any other regions.

Few taxes lent themselves to being levied regionally, but it was important that the second tier of government have secure sources of financing. There were problems in administering differential regional rates of VAT, income tax and company tax, Van Ryneveld believed. They all opened the door to dodgy practices in a country whose tax morality was less than sterling.

"Fixed property taxes are much more suitable for lower levels of government while some excise duties, such as fuel levies, hold some potential."

And the distribution of centrally levied taxes to the regions should possibly be handled by a permanent, non-partisan fiscal commission which could aim to equalise resources inter-regionally, taking account of needs, backlogs and local tax capacity.

Doreen Lassey and Laurine Platsky of the Cape-based Development Action Group argued that the ANC should depart dramatically from using the Government's development regions as a base, recognising the three major metropolitan areas as sepa-

rate, complete regions.

"The argument for recognising metros as regions in their own right is related both to addressing their own specific problems of rapid urbanisation... as well as to the need to redress rural-urban bias..."

"Rural people must have their own voices and their own rights of representation and funds from central government in order to be able to establish their struggles."

"Metro areas, with so many problems of their own and the pressure on their own single tax bases, cannot be expected to raise rural issues or to remember to hand out to rural areas from their own budgets."

Implicitly and explicitly, therefore, the case is being made in pro-ANC ranks for more regions than the National Party suggests, with fewer "original" powers and with borders that cut across ethnic lines — as, for instance, if the Durban functional area were excised from the rest of Natal.

Massey and Platsky insisted that the ANC should keep the goals of redistribution and reconstruction firmly at the centre of

its regional policy. They pointed out that the democratic movement — unlike the NP and the homeland elites — was free to build regionalism afresh. It did not have a history of strong regional struggle; the apartheid State's security provisions more-or-less forced a concentration on local mobilisation.

Massey and Platsky refused to be seduced into the notion that regions designed around existing homelands would kill two political birds with one stone by satisfying ethnic aspirations and devolving powers.

They pointed out that devolution of powers, as the homelands experiment had shown, did not necessarily fulfil the goals of development or accountable, accessible government.

Furthermore, recent European experiences suggested that neither federalism nor a unitary state of themselves satisfied the needs of minorities. The question, in either case, was "the implementation of policies and programmes of national unity which ensure the fair distribution of resources for all ethnic groups".