

The star 25/03/93

Don't attend Natal rally, IFP urged

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has called on its supporters on Natal's lower South Coast not to attend a joint IFP/ANC rally there this weekend.

The IFP claimed at a news conference yesterday that it had not been consulted nor integrated as an active partner in planning the rally near Port Shepstone this Sunday.

The rally is a celebration of the restoration of peace in two chieftainships on the lower South Coast, and is being organised under the auspices of Port Shepstone's Local Dispute Resolution Committee.

The IFP pulled out of this LDRC in September last year due to several grievances and has not since formally returned

to the peace structure.

These and other grievances have left the IFP outside the peace initiative in this area, Inkatha central committee member Moses Magubane said.

He questioned how the LDRC could operate without the IFP's participation adding that only once its grievances, which are wide ranging, were adequately addressed would it return to the peace initiative.

He claimed tribal authorities in the area had also not been consulted about this weekend's joint rally and called on IFP supporters not to attend.

Magubane said that it was an insult to the Zulu nation for people to feast while some people were still being killed. — Sapa.

The Star 25/03/93

If murder is not exceptionally serious, what is?

I was astounded to read (The Star, 9 March) that three killers sentenced to death for a gruesome murder have all been saved from the gallows by the appeal court in Bloemfontein. Read this, and ask yourself: whither South African justice?

"Without in any way detracting from the heinous nature of the offence, this is not a matter of such exceptional seriousness that it could be said that the death sentence was the only proper sentence, long-term imprisonment was equally appropriate." This was part of the appeal court judgment.

If murder is not "of such exceptional seriousness," for heaven's sake what is?

Our prisons cannot contain all the criminals, many who should have been hanged. Murderers and thugs of the lowest calibre are walking about free, some of whom, by their own admission, would kill again.

Then come the howls from Lawyers for Human Rights. Human rights from whom?

Who is responsible for instituting the moratorium on the death penalty, and why is the judiciary kow-towing to it? Is the judiciary in this country independent?

In conclusion may I add that the belief held by many that the death penalty is not a deterrent to the crime of murder is fallacious. The real criterion is that any cold-blooded murderer is of no use to society and should be removed by applying the death penalty — and without delay.

I quote from A Read (Letters, November 25), who advocates Middle Eastern treatment for criminals.

"The thief is marked for life for society to scorn" (he loses

a hand), and "the murderer doesn't get a second chance and the would-be criminal can witness the system of punishment first hand".

I and a million others fully concur with these sentiments. For murder, execution on the turn; for theft, cut off one hand, and for rape, cut off the offending appendage.

Where, oh where are judges such as the Greenbergs, the De Wets, the Ramsbottoms, the Krauses and the Blackwells!

Basil Goldstone

Yeoville,
Johannesburg

The Star 25/03/93

Azapo to reconsider talks stand

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Azanian People's Organisation will hold a consultative conference in Johannesburg at the weekend to review its policies, including its position on negotiations, Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said yesterday.

The Star understands that the two-day meeting, which Mokae called "a strategic planning session", will bring the organisation's policies under the most critical review in years.

Mokae said former Azapo deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape, who now heads the organisation's strategic planning division, will facilitate discussion at the meeting.

Azapo, the only organisation on the Left still not involved in negotiations, is re-thinking its stance and is engaged in internal consultation.

Among those being consulted are Azapo's student and women's wings, as well as its sister organisation, the Zimbabwe-based Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Following this weekend's consultation will be a meeting of Azapo's policy-making body, the national council, in Bloemfontein on April 3 and 4. Azapo sources say it is that meeting which will spell out the organisation's new position on negotiations.

Mokae confirmed yesterday that Azapo would not attend this weekend's Patriotic Front conference in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg. But high on his organisation's priority list, he said, was improving relations between itself and the other liberation movements, the ANC and the PAC.

The star
Winnie
25/03-93
**fails to
appear at
hearing**

By Susan Smuts
and Bronwyn Wilkinson

BLOEMFONTEIN — About 60 people packed into the Appeal Court yesterday and eagerly awaited the beginning of the hearing in which Winnie Mandela is appealing against her convictions for kidnapping and being an accessory after the fact to assault.

But after a while, it dawned on the crowd that Mandela was not going to appear.

Defence counsel George Bizos, SC, told the court Mandela was convicted because the trial judge assumed she and co-accused Xoliswa Falati shared the intention to discredit Methodist minister, the Reverend Paul Verryn.

Bizos said Mr Justice Stegmann had "gone off on a tangent" when he found Mandela had authorised the abduction of four young men to her Soweto home in December 1988 as part of a smear campaign against Verryn. Allegations against Verryn were that he was sexually abusing youths in his care at the Methodist manse.

Besides Mandela's appeal, Falati is appealing against her conviction on four counts each of kidnapping and assault and John Morgan is appealing against his conviction for kidnapping.

Bizos said Falati may have had an agenda to discredit Verryn, but there was no allegation that Mandela had been part of a campaign or that she knew of one.

The trial court judge had described Falati as a vindictive person who wanted to get rid of Verryn by hook or by crook. She was a clever, resourceful and, therefore, a particularly dangerous liar, he had said.

Bizos said the judge had confused Mandela's state of mind with that of Falati. Had he not misdirected himself in this manner, he might have arrived at a different conclusion regarding Mandela's culpability.

While Falati wanted to remove Verryn, Mandela had wanted to solve a problem which had been brought to her attention, Bizos argued.

He said there had not been sufficient reliable evidence for the conviction.

Masterminds of PAC military wing named

Daily News 25/03/93
MARTIN CHALLENGOR Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The masterminds behind the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army campaign against policemen and white people were exposed in the Goldstone Commission's report on Apla.

Apla is the military wing on the Pan Africanist Congress.

Apla's High Command (External) is in overall command of all Apla operations and activities inside South Africa and abroad. The High Command consists of about 30 people. Those exposed by the Goldstone Commission were:

Apla commander-in-chief: Johnson Phillip Mlambo.

Commander and secretary of defence: Victor Gqweta, alias Sabelo Phama

Chief of staff: Barney Normal Hlatwayo Mzolo

Director of operations: Skhulu

Director of logistics and finance: Myombo

Director of military intelligence: Mbulelo Raymond Fithla

Director of communications and signals: Keith Nkomo

Director of ordnance and supplies: Ntsiki

Director of training and manpower: Willy Nkonynei alias Siyaya alias Willy Brown

Chief of intelligence and political commissariat: Daniel Mohato Mofokeng alias Romero Daniels

Director of ideological training and culture: Rufus Zonyane

Director of research, information and publicity, and of mass work: Zambi Zweni.

Three members of the PAC's military commission were also members of the PAC national executive council. They are Mr Johnson Mlambo, Mr Joe Makwanazi and Mr Thobile Gola.

The report said that PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, and Mr Mlambo served on the Apla High Command.

The report said each regional command had established a number of local command structures, under the command of a local commander. A local command structure was responsible for a specific area and controlled units consisting of three to eight people. Each unit had a commander.

These units were used for attacks on targets in South Africa. In line with the PAC's military policy as determined by its military commissions, orders originated from the High Command. These orders were passed on by the regional commands to the appropriate local commands. The necessary arms, ammunition and other equipment was supplied by the regional commands.

The local commands identified targets, planned the operations, and ordered a particular unit or units to carry out the operation. The same channels were followed to report back on actions taken.

Units and local commands were not allowed to contact each other horizontally. Vertical contact between the various structures was seen by the Apla High Command as an important factor in maintaining security, the report said.

Insight/The President's Address

Bid to safeguard peaceful hi-tech programme

FW defuses grim nuclear secret

DAILY NEWS

Martin Challenor
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT



IT was the biggest secret in South Africa's history. Many of the people who knew were terrified by their knowledge. They were not aware who else knew, and it was a thing one could not even discuss with one's wife.

The secret was that South Africa had six nuclear devices ... about two metres in length, kept somewhere near Pretoria, and if delivered by a Buccaneer jet of the South African Air Force could each have caused as much damage and loss of life as the American bomb dropped on Hiroshima which helped knock Japan out of World War 2.

They would have obliterated Harare, Maputo, Lusaka or Luanda.

President de Klerk, who is rolling back apartheid and introducing reform, last night rolled away the label "Top Secret" from South Africa's nuclear capability.

One of the people who knew South Africa's deepest secret said last night: "It is a great relief to have this out in the open, a terrible weight off my mind."

Many people in the know were last night still too cautious to speak openly about The Bomb, and referred all inquiries to President de Klerk's office.

Only Dr D.A.S. Herbst, who was so closely linked with the era when General Magnus Malan was Defence Minister — he was the general's official spokesman — would speak on the record.

HE said: "My whole attitude was determined by two principles: loyalty and belief in what you do."

"When my former Minister, General Malan, informed me, I took an oath not to reveal what I knew. In doing so I served his position, and through that South Africa's interests at a particular stage of its history," Dr Herbst said.

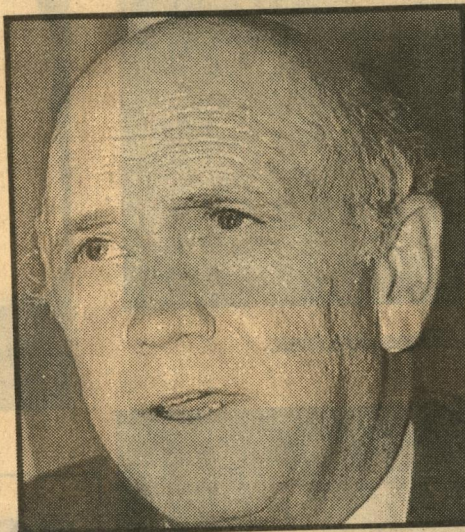
"I do not feel guilty that I had to give vague answers when confronted on this matter. This answer flowed from my loyalty and is in any case a way of managing one's job in order to serve a cause," Dr Herbst said.

Those in the know were the top politicians, starting with Prime Minister John Vorster who in 1974 set the nuclear programme in action, and his warlike Defence Minister Mr P.W. Botha. They acted against what they saw as a Soviet expansionist threat to Southern Africa, and uncertainty over what the Warsaw Pact countries wanted in South Africa.

Armstrong managed and implemented the programme, and the Atomic Energy Corporation knew what was going on.

Albeit unknowingly, taxpayers spent between R700 million and R800 million developing the nuclear bomb and related spin-offs. The bombs were meant to be a deterrent.

Dr Tielman de Waal, head of Armstrong, said



COMING CLEAN: President de Klerk at the nuclear news conference.

last night that it was never the intention to use them. If South Africa was threatened sufficiently, the first step would have been to test one bomb underground to demonstrate Pretoria's capability and to persuade a major power like America to intervene on South Africa's behalf.

It was strictly a need-to-know operation at all levels. The man who was to reverse the process, Mr de Klerk, joined the Cabinet in 1974. "The Cabinet as a Cabinet never knew of it," he told the world last night. "It was a decision taken by the head of government and knowledge of it was strictly limited."

"I only received information when I became Minister responsible for the Atomic Energy Corporation in the 1980s."

Mr de Klerk went on to change portfolios and only became involved again when he became head of state in September 1989.

In Mr de Klerk's famous February 2, 1990 speech, he emphasised the normalisation of South Africa's international relations. For him this meant non-proliferation of all weapons of mass destruction.

He said at the news conference yesterday: "The prospect of moving away from a confrontational relationship with the international community in general, and with our neighbours in Africa in particular, to one of co-operation and development, was good. In these circumstances a nuclear deterrent had become not only superfluous but, in fact, an obstacle to the development of South Africa's international relations."

Mr de Klerk ordered the pilot enrichment plant at Pelindaba closed and decommissioned. Early in 1990 all the nuclear devices were dismantled and destroyed. All the nuclear material in Armstrong's possession was recast and returned to the AEC, and the weapons-grade uranium was placed in sealed safes where it is guarded and inspected every few weeks.

Armstrong's facilities were decontaminated and used only for non-nuclear commercial purposes.

An eminent professor of nuclear physics, Professor Wynand Mouton, was appointed to satisfy himself and Mr de Klerk, to whom he reported directly, that every gram of nuclear

material had been accounted for and that all the hardware and design information was destroyed.

The Government then signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) on July 10, 1991. South Africa undertook from that date not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons, or pass the technology to other countries, and to use nuclear technology for peaceful purposes only. Normally a country has 18 months to sign a follow-up Safeguards Agreement and present a comprehensive inventory of all the nuclear material and nuclear facilities to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

South Africa was in such a hurry to get rid of its nuclear weapons, according to Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was also at the news conference, that it agreed to a safeguard programme in September 1991.

This subjects South Africa's nuclear facilities and material to international inspection and verification to ensure its nuclear capabilities are used only for peaceful purposes. South Africa resumed its seat at the IAEA in September 1991.

On October 30, 1991, South Africa submitted a complete inventory to the IAEA.

America lifted its nuclear sanctions against South Africa. South African and other African scientists began visiting each other to discuss medical isotopes and training programmes. South Africa became a member of the African Regional Co-operative Agreement, which coordinates peaceful nuclear projects and co-operation between African states.

This is where the matter — and the secrets — should have rested.

HOWEVER, Iraq violated the NPT with a clandestine nuclear weapons programme. Some countries questioned the effectiveness of IAEA checks. Some countries alleged South Africa had stockpiled nuclear bombs, was selling to irresponsible governments and had not fully disclosed its enriched uranium. The Press, locally and internationally, took up the issue.

All this, in Mr de Klerk's judgment, threatened South Africa's present nuclear programme, which is directed toward commercialisation, including the export of high technology products.

To safeguard the programme — and torpedo what Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha saw as a looming campaign against the country — the President decided to tell all about the past nuclear programme. While the NPT does not require this, it was intended to restore international trust in South Africa.

At the conference, Mr Botha read out a news flash that the IAEA welcomed the public disclosure by South Africa, and took note that the nuclear armaments programmes was terminated prior to South Africa signing the NPT.

In response, the African National Congress said Mr de Klerk was acting because of international and domestic pressures. The Clinton Administration had demanded disclosure during Mr Botha's visit last week to the US, the ANC said.

Mr Botha last night confirmed the Americans had pressed the issue in Washington.

Apla: Transkei is blamed

Daily News 25-03-93
MARTIN CHALLENGOR Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: Transkei authorities saw members of the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army training to kill white people in South Africa, yet took no action against them, says the Goldstone Commission report on Apla.

The report, released yesterday, said Apla's internal high command was based in Transkei. Apla is the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

A committee of the commission heard evidence on Apla in Port Elizabeth and Pretoria earlier this year. The committee consisted of Mr G Steyn, a member of the Goldstone Commission, Port Elizabeth advocate Mr Fikile Bam, and a Hoopstad attorney, Mr Nico Coetzer. The United Nations appointed Professor Kwame Frimpong of the University of Botswana to observe the proceedings.

At the time of the hearings, 16 people had been killed in 15 alleged Apla attacks on policemen, 13 attacks on farmhouses, three attacks on houses in Ficksburg, an attack on the golf club at King William's Town, and attacks on restaurants in Queenstown and Cape Town.

The committee was told that Apla members received training at a formal base in Tanzania, in other African countries, Eastern Europe and Asia. There was no evidence of a formal base camp in Transkei, but training took place at various places in Transkei, including Sterkspruit, Coffee Bay and Mount Frere.

"Trainees were supplied with arms and ammunition. There was nothing secret about their training or the carrying of arms." Witnesses told the committee that the Transkeian authorities "saw them, but took no action".

"It therefore appears that their presence was no secret to the Transkeian authorities," the report said. "The presence of armed Apla members in Transkei was known to members of the Transkei police."

Apla members trained to use AK47 rifles, Scorpion machine pistols, G3 assault rifles, SK5 assault rifles, hand grenades, Chinese stick grenades, land mines, mortars and RPG7 rocket launchers. Such weapons were stored in Transkei.

Police told the committee that

Apla used arms infiltration routes via Botswana through the Ramatlabama border post as well as an air route via Lesotho to Transkei.

"From the evidence we received, it would appear that Apla has weapons available in Transkei and that these weapons are used in attacks on the police and public."

The report said Apla had about 120 members in South Africa who had undergone military training abroad, with about 2 700 members abroad, mostly in Tanzania. This number included women, children and people working on agricultural projects. The number of recruits trained locally was not known.

Apla's policy was to kill policemen and white farmers in rural areas and white people in general in South Africa, the report said, using Transkei as a springboard for the attacks.

Transkei had supplied Apla with arms, allegedly for VIP protection, the report said.

The committee recommended that the security forces "arrest and prosecute the perpetrators of violence in

terms of the common law".

It asked the international community to "request all nations to withhold assistance to Apla".

It also asked the international community to pressurise the PAC to stop condoning Apla violence and "to join other political groups in South Africa in their search for a negotiated settlement".

The international community should also ask Transkei to respond to SAP and SADF allegations about it hosting Apla training and bases.

South Africa and all political groups should pressurise Transkei "to prohibit the use of any part of their territory as a springboard for attacks against South African citizens".

All negotiating parties should pressurise the PAC and Apla "to suspend the armed struggle and to join these parties in their search for a peaceful negotiated settlement".

Through negotiations, pressure should be brought to bear on the PAC and other political parties to sign the National Peace Accord and take part in peace structures.

Transkei, the PAC and Apla refused to give evidence to the committee.



JUDGE GOLDSTONE

His commission's report says Transkei knew of Apla's existence and had supplied arms.

Inkatha adviser challenges MP

Political Correspondent

INKATHA constitutional adviser Professor Albert Blaustein has challenged Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga Mr Kobus Jordaan to make public allegations he aired in Parliament so they can be tested in court.

Prof Blaustein said Mr Jordaan had used his parliamentary privilege "to make the innuendo that I received payments from the South African government ... to provide information related to my client, the IFP".

Mr Jordaan named Prof Blaustein, IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate and the Bophuthatswana government's Mr Rowan Cronje in a question he had tabled in Parliament on payments by the government to certain individuals.

Prof Blaustein's angry statement — issued from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office — said Mr Jordaan's comments suggested he was "a vile, despicable traitor to my own clients and my own principles".

"I dare Mr Jordaan to repeat his innuendos outside the safety of parliamentary privilege," he said. Mr Felgate has also challenged Mr Jordaan to air the allegations in public.

Professor apologises to IFP leader over ballot symbols

Daily News Reporter 25/03/93

PROFESSOR Andrew Reynolds has apologised to IFP president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi for using animals as ballot paper symbols in his recent plans for a new electoral system for South Africans.

The ballot paper symbols are contained within his book entitled Voting For a New South Africa, by Andrew Reynolds, of the University of California. He spent 1991 and 1992 teaching and studying at the University of Cape Town.

In his model ballot paper, Professor Reynolds used animal symbols to identify the various candidates.

This prompted the KwaZulu Chief Minister to stage his objection to the use of symbols chosen without consultation. The IFP leader urged negotiating parties to oppose its publications, saying it would cause confusion among voters.

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Dr Buthelezi read a faxed statement in which Professor Reynolds apologised.

The Daily News

FOUNDED IN 1878

March 25 1993

Wagging finger on the button

PRESIDENT De Klerk's revelation in Parliament yesterday about South Africa's recent possession of nuclear bombs is a chilling reminder of how close his predecessors had brought this country to becoming an international outlaw. The strategy of "deterrence" was in fact one of nuclear blackmail. It in fact brought South Africa no security whatever. The world powers would have been as uncomfortable about a nuclear-armed apartheid state in a perceived life or death struggle as they would be about a nuclear-armed Iraq or Iran. Nothing could have prompted massive international military intervention against this country more swiftly than a threat to use nuclear weapons to protect apartheid. The nuclear stakes are high. Saddam Hussein could testify to that.

Why should South Africa have chosen this lonely and perilous course? Other small countries managed to ride out the Cold War without going nuclear. The truth is that South Africa's racial policies, entwined as they were with an increasingly truculent sense of white nationalism and destiny, removed us from the protective cover of the Western alliance. We moved inexorably into the mentality of the garrison state fending off a "total onslaught" and the process reaching its apogee under the cantankerous and temperamental P.W. Botha. That he should have had his finger on the firing button is a truly frightening thought, a glimpse of the Gotterdammerung scenario.

Many will be sceptical of President De Klerk's claim that no other country contributed to South Africa's programme of nuclear weapons. Others will be astonished that it cost relatively so little.

But the entire world will be relieved that South Africa has voluntarily dismantled its capacity for nuclear destruction. Who knows what kind of government might be in control in the future?

'Too much was expected of Codesa 2'

THE failure of Codesa 2 was a painful reminder of the legacy of apartheid and the need to build trust in the midst of conflict, Idasa executive director Alex Boraine says in the Idasa monthly journal Democracy in Action.

In a post-Codesa analysis, Dr Boraine looks at what went wrong at the country's prime negotiations forum.

"Many naively believed in almost inevitable progress towards normality, as if the negotiation process would move steadily out of the valley of dis-

cord and distrust to new vistas of understanding and acceptance."

Dr Boraine said that the other problem with Codesa was that the negotiations process had been largely confined to a group of elites which may result in an ever-widening gap between the grassroots and those at the top.

Another reason given by Dr Boraine for Codesa's failure was that the deliberations at the forum had had no effect in lessening violence.

A CONSTITUTION is like one of the ancient clocks made of a complicated and intricate system of gears and mechanisms...

So said Dr Frank Mdlalose, Minister attached to the Office of the Chief Minister, when he presented Inkatha's proposed constitution for a new state of KwaZulu/Natal to the KwaZulu Legislature.

The mechanisms of Inkatha's constitution are indeed complicated and intricate; but its gears are designed only to disengage. They are engineered to disconnect Natal from South Africa.

Inkatha's constitution offers to create a state in Natal into which South African armed forces might enter only with permission. Within the state of KwaZulu/Natal, South Africa would be able to tax only with the consent of KwaZulu/Natal. KwaNatal, as it is convenient to abbreviate it, would boast its own "autonomous" central bank, empowered "to use tools of monetary intervention".

The cornerstone of the constitution, says Dr Mdlalose, is the KwaNatal Constitutional Court. That court would enjoy exclusive jurisdiction to decide whether the laws of the South African Parliament fell within the narrow legislative competence imposed upon it within KwaNatal by the KwaNatal constitution.

The effect would be to exclude the jurisdiction of the South African courts to decide whether South African laws are valid.

All this the KwaNatal constitution proposes in the name of federalism. And only a federal system, says the resolution of the KwaZulu Legislature approving this constitution, "can ensure long-lasting freedom and democracy". Is federalism essential to democracy?

WHAT is true of a federal system is that it generates political energy. In a true federation, like the United States, a legitimate cause need never die. If a cause is lost in Congress, it can be raised again in the legislature of New York. If it is lost there, it can be raised in California, and Illinois and Texas.

And by the time you have worked your way through all the possibilities, the party controlling the legislature you started in has gone out of office, so you can try there again. Power is

Far from energising South African politics, far from diversifying our democracy, KwaNatal would require a separate and insular statehood, just as Verwoerd might have hoped, **ETIENNE MUREINIK**, Professor of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand, writes.

dispersed so widely that it is very difficult altogether to suppress a cogent case.

A unitary system can much more easily degenerate into a monolith. South Africa is a fine illustration. For much of our recent history, if an issue was settled in the Cabinet, that settled it in Parliament. And if it was settled in Parliament, it was settled in the provinces; and practically everywhere else, right down to the Tweespruit Town Council.

WHEN an issue is settled so finally, debate dies. With it dies citizens' capacity to influence policy, to take part in government decision-making.

There are, of course, other causes of the monolithic character of South African politics. An authoritarian culture, minority rule, strict party discipline, parliamentary sovereignty and a weak separation of powers have all played their part.

But tight centralisation has deprived us of the alternative forums from which at least some of those features of our constitution might sooner have been challenged.

So a successful federation diffuses power in a way which cultivates political energy, and with it public participation in politics. But far from striving for that, the authors of the KwaNatal constitution seem to be aspiring to a new monolith in Natal.

Their constitution declares the sovereignty of KwaNatal to be "indivisible, inalienable and untransferable". It is in service of that goal that South Africa would be denied title to tax in KwaNatal, to station its forces there, properly to legislate there, even to resort to its own courts to decide the validity of its own laws there.

The effect would be to cut Natal off from the South African political process, creating a newly independent state.

Far from energising South African politics, far from diversifying our democracy, KwaNatal would require a separate and insular statehood, just as Verwoerd might have hoped.

If that be doubted, we need only turn to the "economic constitution", to use Dr Mdlalose's

candid expression, within this constitution. The KwaNatal constitution imposes duties on the State to assist small businesses, and to privatise.

In what may prove to be a contradiction of the latter duty, the State is also required, as a matter of priority, to promote the full employment of all citizens. The constitution also protects comparative advertising, and establishes an economic development commission, whose members must be qualified experts in "futurism", whatever that may be.

However wise, unwise or incoherent these provisions may be, they are a clear effort to entrench their authors' economic policies. Here the document ceases to be a framework for government, ceases to be a constitution, and becomes an effort to foreclose economic controversies which are pre-eminently the province of democratic decision-making.

Here the project is very remote from the pluralism that the constitution professes. Far from enriching the democratic process, the idea is to cast the new Natal in the idiosyncratic image of its makers.

Nor are the makers content to impose their will through the constitution alone. That document proposes also that the members of the existing Joint Executive Authority of KwaZulu/Natal, comprising representatives of the KwaZulu Government and the Natal provincial government, should become life members of a body to be called the "Fathers of the State Advisory Board".

THE Fathers of the State would be entitled, for life, to the remuneration of a member of the KwaNatal legislature, and they would be empowered to make recommendations "to any of the powers of the State in any matter related to the implementation" of the constitution.

So the constitution would guarantee both their pay and their say. The effect of entrenching this sinister life aristocracy would plainly be to stultify democracy, not invigorate it.

Developing the idea of constitution as a clock, Minister Mdlalose offered the assurance that this constitution "provides for those hard stones, like rubies, which will be able to absorb the unavoidable stresses and frictions which result from the function of the institutional machine".

Here the Minister is correct. There are indeed rocks in this clock. They have been put there to jam the machinery of South African nationhood.

Scaring off the investors

Daily news

25/03/93

Violence is not the only stumbling block

South Africa's shift from apartheid has been met with international acclaim and worldwide interest but why have the foreign investors and financiers not come calling? The South Africa Foundation believes that the disasters of 1992 — including violence, the stop-start negotiations process, a badly-behaved Springbok rugby team and an advertisement slighting Italian pilots — have done a lot to hamper all the work being done to attract foreign investment. Political Reporter **VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU** reports.

MARKETING South Africa has not proved the easy task that it appeared in the halcyon days after President F.W. de Klerk's February 1990 speech.

The optimism and hopes that followed that speech has been dealt repeated blows with the breakdown of Codesa, continuing violence, economic stagnation and "unguarded political rhetoric with

predictably damaging consequences for overseas perceptions".

Director General of the South Africa Foundation (SAF), Mr Kurt von Schirnding, said this week at the Durban report-back meeting of the SAF that the country must not lose sight of the fact that it is not obvious to foreign investors and financiers why South Africa should be an opportunity for them.

"This country, marked by deep ethnic and political conflict, is undergoing an inevitably turbulent process of fundamental change, and is part of a continent which has become a byword for catastrophe," Mr von Schirnding said.

He said the SAF was in a position to capitalise on the international interest to market this country, and the region, to secure trade and investment and to ensure that the transition produces a liberal economy and a growing market economy.

This however was negated by the repeated "dashing of hopes" that symbolised 1992.

London director of the Foundation, Mr John Montgomery, added that South Africa's responses to Britain's — and the international community's — increasingly positive efforts, have been far from helpful.

"Such things as violence, with the highly visible and devastating tragedies of Boipatong and Bisho and now the gunning down of schoolchildren in Natal, play a major role in cautioning against economic development.

"The avalanche of skeletons from the national closet, with widespread charges of corruption, financial misappropriation, and general malfeasance have thrown

up even allegations of State-sponsored murder.

"Similar charges have been made of those who aspire to power, and confusing tactics and utterances have given no encouragement to those in the world whom the new South Africa will be forced to woo," Mr Montgomery said.

Paris director of the SAF, Mr Desmond Colborne, said too much "inward-looking" isolationism has made too many South Africans lose sight of how the world works and of this country's place in this world.

"Too many South Africans have exaggerated our importance in the world, whether as an indispensable strategic stronghold or the focus of a cosmic moral crusade. Now it is

time to catch up with global realities.

"For a start, we have to compete to keep up interest, let alone constructive engagement in South Africa. Given all the other dramatic goings-on in the world, attention spans are shortening and South Africa is slipping off the international agenda.

"We can't afford to be seen, at best, as 'free and forgotten' like Namibia, or at worst as another African disaster. And we have to keep our friends, and potential friends, looking beyond the stop-starts of negotiation and beyond the on-going violence towards a more hopeful future."

Mr Colborne said the country needed to learn from its two recent faux pas, what he called "case

studies in dropping clangers" — the behaviour of the Springbok rugby side that toured France and the South African Airway's advertisement slighting Italian pilots.

"If we, as a country, need a crash course in the diplomacy of successfully rejoining the world, our rugby team gave us a textbook illustration of how not to do things," he said.

Mr Colborne recalled how the rugby side walked out of a sumptuous dinner laid on by their French hosts on the pretext that the other guests were late; had a beer party in their hotel which they insisted would have to be paid for by their hosts; and added insult to injury by publicly complaining about French food while they were in England.

"In the book of anti-diplomacy, our rugby players would find themselves in good company. They would yield pride of place to ex-

President P.W. Botha, who had former German leader Willy Brandt body-searched before wagging his finger at him at Tuynhuis."

He also cited the example of the advertising copy-writer who wrote the announcement that wine on South African Airways flights would be a little Italian, but that the pilot, thank goodness, would not.

The advert, subsequently withdrawn, raised a furore in Italy.

Mr von Schirnding said the developments of 1993 will have a similar impact on foreign perceptions of South Africa.

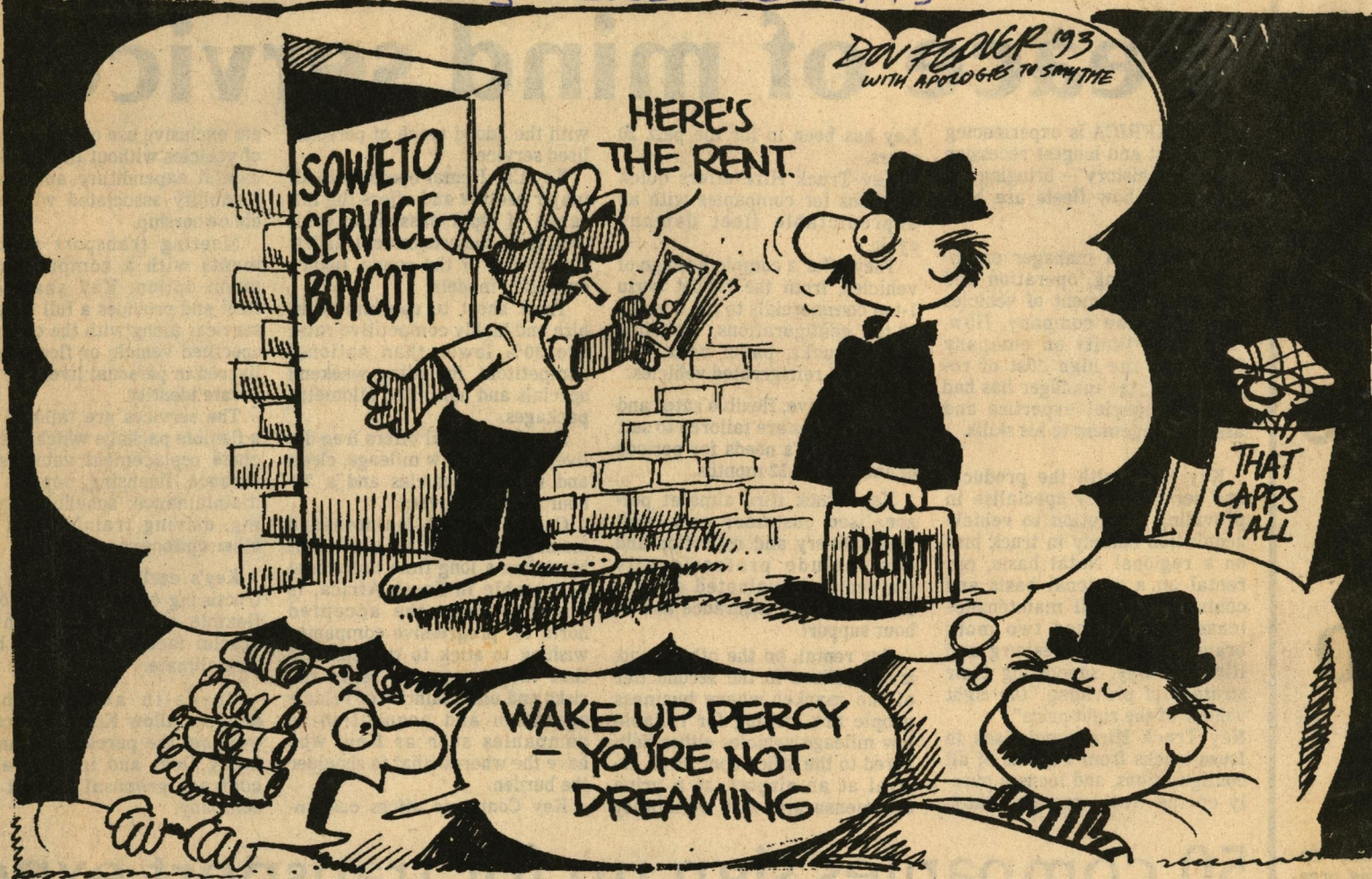
"This year will probably see the establishment of a Transitional Executive authority for South Africa and preparations for elections for a Constituent Assembly.

"Once again, inevitably, we face high levels of pre-election rhetoric, and continuing social tensions, against a backdrop of slow economic recovery."

"These developments will, as in 1992, impact on foreign perceptions of South Africa and the foundation will once again be called upon to interact with the international community."

Insight

Daily news 25/03/93



Constitutional plan has little to do with federalism

Inkatha bid to separate Natal from South Africa

Daily

News

R2 billion in arrears now owed

MARTIN CHALLENGOR
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: Black South Africans who refused to pay for rent and service charges now owed nearly R2 billion in arrears to the four provincial administrations, Dr Tertius Delpot, Minister of Local Government, said here.

Only when black people started paying for municipal services could the principle of one city, one tax base be introduced, he warned.

He was replying to a question in Parliament put by Mr Peter Soal, the Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North.

Mr Soal asked what amount of money was owed to the black local authorities for house rentals and service charges at December 31, 1992.

Black local authorities fall under the four provincial administrations, and these figures exclude areas falling under the homelands.

Dr Delpot said it was not possible to analyse arrears accounts in terms of separate housing rentals and service charges as local authorities mostly sent out consolidated bills.

However, the housing rentals and service charge arrears were: Transvaal R1 606 640 880, Cape R166 716 725, Free State R128 795 760, and Natal R10 650 641.

Of the 18 townships in Natal that fall under the Natal Provincial Administration, the biggest arrear build-up was in Ningizimu: R5 620 730, followed by Sibongile with an arrears bill of R1 074 823.

The arrears backlog in Soweto was R562 082 794; Diepmeadow R146 281 877 and Sebokeng R120 514 661.

Dr Delpot said the debt owed by residents to black local authorities had increased substantially since 1984, because of rent and service charge boycotts supported by residents.

The absence of a political forum where grievances could be discussed resulted in a total country-wide boycott of rent and service charges during 1990, instigated by local civic associations.

Effective suppression of violence, the achievement of the political aspirations of all inhabitants and the rendering of effective services is seen by black communities as the solution to rent and service boycotts.

"A culture of non-payment has, however, already established itself and it will take a major effort to vest the responsibility of payment of service charges on residents. After this, economic tariffs could be negotiated, and only then could a shift be made to the principle of one city, one tax base," Dr Delpot said.

The Star 25/03/93

ANC, communists decry racial killings

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

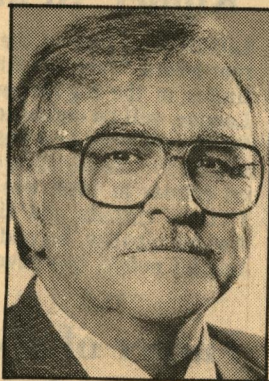
The ANC and SACP have condemned the new cycle of racial killings, and the ANC has appealed to people to remain calm.

The SACP further called for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, and his spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze.

The ANC slammed the Government for its "racially biased response" to the killings, saying that it was not showing equal concern for murders in black areas.

In separate statements, the organisations yesterday called for immediate multiparty supervision and control of all armed formations.

The ANC commended Kriel for visiting Eikenhof and Walkerville,



Kriel . . . "has shown his incompetence in restoring peace."

where four whites have been killed. But, the organisation said, the SAP took no action to stop "blatant acts of racist intimidation" by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging demonstrators along the Johannesburg-Vereeniging highway, where "black commuters were being harassed and

threatened with violence" on Monday.

The SACP said Kriel had consistently shown his incompetence in restoring peace and security.

"Both Kriel and Captain Kotze constantly succumb to the temptations of politicising, and premature finger-pointing, when even their own SAP investigating officers are more cautious about attributing premature blame."

The ANC noted that it was still uncertain whether Apla was involved in the ambushes on whites.

It was opposed to calls for the PAC to be excluded from negotiations: "Pandering to emotional calls for the PAC's exclusion is counter-productive and will only add to polarisation and lack of communication."

The Star 25/03/93

Transkei asked to respond on Apla

CAPE TOWN — The Government would urgently ask for the Transkei government's reaction to the Goldstone Commission's initial report into the Azanian People's Liberation Army, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

In a special address to Parliament, he said the Government broadly accepted the commission's recommendations.

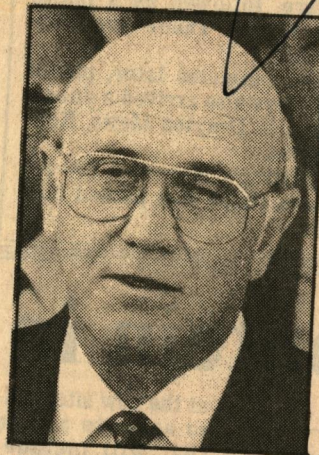
Given the serious allegations that certain official Transkei institutions were engaged in Apla activities, the commission chairman had specifically invited the Transkei to take part in the commission's activities.

The Transkei government had turned down repeated invitations to take part.

The commission's initial findings gave rise to serious concern and the Government considered these in an extremely serious light.

The commission had found that Apla used the Transkei as a springboard for attacks in South Africa, and that Apla's internal South African command was based in Transkei.

The commission also found that the territory was used to stockpile arms and ammunition for Apla units.



De Klerk . . . accepted the recommendations.

The SAP was aware that Apla units were present in Transkei and being trained there, and that arms and explosives were being smuggled into South Africa for Apla's use.

De Klerk said it has been decided that the Transkei government's reaction would be urgently called for and that it had to be stressed that it was not only the Government but the commission itself which wanted the reaction. The Government's actions would depend on the reaction of the Transkei government. — Sapa.

Bus. Day 25/3/93

{Damage to St Lucia 'irreparable'}

PRETORIA — Opencast mining at St Lucia would result in major, irreparable damage to the habitat, an international wetlands monitoring body has found.

In a report issued yesterday, the Convention on Wetlands of International Importance (Especially as Waterfowl Habitat), or Ramsar, said the mining operation would alter the soil characteristics, dune structure and beaches of the area significantly.

"The SA authorities should consider whether, in view of the importance of the St Lucia system, the

ADRIAN NADLAND

application to exercise mining rights should be refused on principle.

SA was one of the seven countries which established the Ramsar convention in 1971. St Lucia is one of 12 SA sites on the Ramsar list of wetlands of international importance.

The Environmental Affairs Department said the report "may be presented to the review panel or indeed used as a supplementary document by the Cabinet when it reviews the findings of the EIA".

Civics call for the removal of white local authorities

THE civics and the ANC are calling for the removal of white local authorities, and mass action may be used if they do not make way for "interim structures" within the next year.

The organisations, which have run campaigns since the early '80s aimed at removing black local authorities, say the emphasis will now switch to removing white town councils.

On Monday, ANC local government department head Thozamile Botha told the local government negotiation forum that: "Up to now the emphasis has been on black local authorities, as if these were the only apartheid structures.

"White councils must

GAVIN DU VENAGE

also be replaced with interim structures."

These should be in place before an interim government was installed.

Cast general secretary Dan Mofokeng said yesterday that the civics wanted to see white local authorities replaced "very soon" with a system that would lead to nonracial cities with a single tax base.

He said Sanco did not recognise the legitimacy of the white local authorities, which were also set up under apartheid law. Now that a forum had been set up to establish interim structures, the white au-

thorities should resign, he said.

Mofokeng said that while the forum was the preferred avenue for facilitating their removal, he did not rule out mass action.

If no agreement was reached, he said, "the masses will respond."

Alexandra Civic Association general secretary Richard Mdakane said yesterday that the Sandton Town Council should resign "by the end of July." The launch of the forum this week would lead to their replacement, whether they liked it or not, he said.

He added to the call for white local authorities to resign.

Sandton 'neglecting duties'

THE Sandton Town Council is neglecting its responsibility to its neighbouring township, says Alexandra Civic Association secretary-general Richard Mdakane.

He was reacting yesterday to the council's decision on Monday to turn down a TPA request that it take over administration of the township from next month.

"Sandton cannot escape its responsibility for uplifting the standard of living of Alexandra," he said, adding that it was "unavoidable" that Sandton, Randburg and Alexandra would become a single authority.

Mdakane accused the

GAVIN DU VENAGE

council of dragging its heels, and said these matters would probably be decided at a national level once negotiations started.

Sandton management committee chairman Bruce Stewart denied the council was dragging its heels, and said it had resolved to extend the assistance agreement between Sandton, Randburg and Alexandra.

This would allow the council to provide assistance to the township without taking on the political responsibility that direct management would involve. It would also allow

assistance to be given without over-extending Sandton council staff, he said.

Meanwhile, the Witwatersrand RSC recommended last night that R10m be granted to the Johannesburg City Council to pay for various urbanisation projects. The RSC also approved a grant to the Sandton Town Council to assist with transfer projects including the construction of taxi lay-bys and road construction work at a cost of between R100 000 and R7m an item.

A further R500 000 was budgeted for the Randburg and Sandton assistance agreement with Alexandra.

Winnie's kidnapping appeal to start today

WINNIE Mandela's appeal against her conviction and six-year prison sentence for kidnapping teenager Stompie Seipei and three other young men begins today before a full bench of five judges in the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein.

Judge M Stegmann sentenced Mandela on May 14 1991 to five years for the kidnappings and a further one year's imprisonment for being an accessory to assault.

Mandela was acquitted of assaulting the four after the judge found that her alibi that she was in Brandfort when the assaults took place could "reasonably, possibly be true".

The State is to ask the Appeal Court to confirm her conviction and sentence on the kidnapping charges and to also find her guilty on the four counts of assault, with an appropriate adjustment of her sentence.

Her co-accused Xoliswa Falati is also appealing against her conviction and six-year sentence on all eight counts of assault and kidnapping.

Mandela's driver, John Morgan, who was found guilty of kidnapping for driving the minibus in which the four were abduct-

SUSAN RUSSELL

ed from the manse, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment which was wholly suspended.

He is also appealing against his conviction and sentence.

Seipei, 14, Gabriel Mkgwe, 22, Barend Mono, 21, and Kenneth Kgase, 31, were kidnapped from the Methodist manse in Orlando West, Soweto by Falati, Morgan and Mandela United football coach Jerry Richardson on December 29 1988.

The judge found that the four were kidnapped and held in rooms behind Mandela's house, where they were assaulted, as part of a campaign aimed at ousting the Rev Paul Verryn from the manse.

During the trial the State was unable to disprove Mandela's alibi.

However, the judge convicted her of being an accessory after finding she had been aware the four had been assaulted and kept against their will by Richardson, but had done nothing to secure their release.

Mandela has been out on R200 bail since her conviction and sentence.

Black universities close 'to financial collapse'

EDUCATION organisations said yesterday they would take urgent steps to prevent the "financial collapse" of black universities, including appealing to President F W de Klerk to intervene.

The National Education Co-ordination Committee (NECC) told a news conference that outstanding fees for last year at black universities exceeded R50m and thousands of students had insufficient funds to register for this academic year.

A forum representing seven black universities, the NECC, the Independent Development Trust, the Kagiso Trust, the Education Development Trust and the Bursary Council of SA was formed two weeks ago to address the crisis and to salvage the 1993 academic year.

At a meeting yesterday, the forum

STEPHANE BOTHMA

decided to meet major funders of black universities to develop a collective approach to funding financially disadvantaged students. Thereafter, it would meet De Klerk to secure his support for, among other things, the correcting of the historical imbalances in government funding.

The forum also decided to hold a number of donor conferences with key international institutions and the private sector, and to establish a committee of experts to visit black universities to identify ways of strengthening institutional capacity.

NECC general secretary James Maseko told the news briefing that the 1993 academic year had already been lost to several thousand students who could not attend classes

until registration fees, which they could not afford, were paid.

This had led to a drop in registration numbers for 1993.

He said although white universities were also experiencing problems, by comparison the problems at black universities were acute.

"Some are literally unable to pay salaries and to provide basic services," he said.

Maseko said the forum would have talks with the IDT and the Kagiso Trust before a possible meeting with De Klerk.

The trusts and government are black universities' major funders.

The universities facing financial problems are those of Zululand, Durban-Westville, the North, the Western Cape, Fort Hare, Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Medunsa.

Inkatha switches poll position

INKATHA has shifted its position on elections away from its original stance favouring proportional representation.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday he rejected all forms of proportional representation favoured by the NP or the ANC.

However, Inkatha chose proportional representation as the preferred system for elections just four months ago when it published its constitutional proposals.

Now Inkatha has staked its chances on the existing Westminster system of individual constituency elections, he said.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos yesterday said one of the party's working groups had studied systems and had now refined its recommendations to the executive, which had been accepted.

She denied this was a shift in Inkatha's position, arguing that when the Codesa declaration of intent was signed, most parties had not come to grips with the detail of most issues they were confronting. The declaration, which Inkatha signed, states that elections would be based on proportional representation.

Inkatha's shift, which will be supported by the KwaZulu delegation to multiparty

BILLY PADDOCK

talks, will be a further problem for negotiators and will hold up the launch of an independent electoral commission.

Buthelezi said he demanded a single constituency system where individual politicians were elected rather than political parties. He wanted this system to operate at regional level as well as national level.

Political observers were surprised yesterday by this "turnaround" and said the proportional representation route was the better option for Inkatha because it would allow it more seats in a parliament than constituency or "first past the winning post" systems which favoured the more powerful parties like the ANC.

In an article in the Journal of Democracy, US Institute of Peace programme officer Timothy Sisk, currently writing a book on SA's constitutional process, argued that Inkatha chose proportional representation as the most advantageous because of its lack of popularity in non-Zulu areas.

It is understood that the constituency system has great potential for distortion where a party with shallow support distributed across a wide area could win more seats if the opposition is divided.

LETTERS

More pressing problems than ethnicity

Dear Sir,

ALAN Fine's comments on Gerhard Mare's *Brothers Born of Warrior Blood* (Books, March 8) has unfortunately tended to accept Mare's case at face value.

The "really interesting" part of the book, says Fine, is Mare's portrayal of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi "skillfully building his political base using (and sometimes abusing) symbols of Zulu history". Fine quotes with approval ("a remarkably nuanced observation") Mare's view that Buthelezi mixes myth and reality in a manner suggestive of a psychological disorder. Mare is being malicious, and it is a pity Fine is less analytical.

More critical is that Fine appears to have an inadequate appreciation of what is really important. He notes the book is timely, given ethnicity "is probably the most burning issue currently facing SA as it claws its way towards democracy".

This surprises me. There are far

more pressing problems — political intolerance, conflicting constitutional models, our desperate socio-economic plight, and straightforward political violence. There is also almost complete consensus across the political spectrum on a united, non-racial, non-sexist and non-ethnic SA.

Since the book is as much an attack on Inkatha as an analysis of ethnicity per se, it is pertinent to note that Inkatha is the party most likely to end up having the most ethnically representative support base of any party. While it does have a powerful Zulu support base, especially in KwaZulu/Natal, it needs to be recognised that whites have flocked to the party by the tens of thousands, and that in the Transvaal we have more Tswana than Zulu support. Sothos are also extremely prominent, and in Natal and the

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Transvaal we are getting strong support from Indians. There is a political realignment taking place in SA, symbolised by the spate of recent defections, of which we will be the largest beneficiary.

Furthermore, Inkatha has taken the position that it will field candidates for every state/regional and national constituency throughout the country, and has already started the process of selecting candidates. Strange behaviour from an ethnic party, don't you think?

B S NGUBANE
Central committee executive
IFP

Secret meeting with Mandela

De Klerk calls crisis session on violence

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk has summoned a special joint sitting of Parliament today to tackle a series of looming crises, particularly violence and fears of a race war.

The special sitting follows a secret meeting De Klerk held with ANC president Nelson Mandela on Monday.

One of the major issues to be addressed today will be the deteriorating security situation and the killing of innocent people. It is understood this was the focus of De Klerk's discussions with Mandela.

The President's office announced yesterday that the Goldstone commission's preliminary report on Apla's activities would be released today. The commission received submissions only from the SAP and the SADF.

Parliamentary sources said De Klerk would address wide-ranging issues and would take "major steps" to address fears that the recent violence would lead to a race war.

The ANC confirmed that De Klerk, Mandela, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer met to discuss constitutional issues.

At the meeting — the first between the two since December — Mandela is understood to have expressed concern about the recent spate of killings.

TIM COHEN

The special sitting will be followed by a "major" international news conference, sparking speculation that De Klerk would also address negotiations-related issues, and possibly an election date.

Among the issues De Klerk could address are the banning of Apla from future negotiations, allegations that SA has an enriched uranium stockpile and reports of clandestine security force activity. There is speculation that Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa is about to release a new set of documents on "dirty tricks" operations in the Eastern Cape.

The DP called on De Klerk to clarify his position on the role of the security forces, including that of Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen in the military plot Project Katzen.

The CP said De Klerk should not shirk his responsibility for the security situation, which would require as a first step an immediate end to negotiations with "terrorist" organisations.

Sapa reports that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said government had to insist on the disbanding of all private armies if SA was not to be torn apart by violence. He said the country was gripped in a web of fear which threatened its future survival as a democracy.

□ To Page 2

De Klerk

LLOYD COUTTS reports that the PAC yesterday made a conciliatory six-point proposal aimed at securing a lasting peace in SA, in an apparent attempt to downplay the recent spate of Apla attacks on whites.

But hopes for an end to hostilities dimmed with an AWB announcement that it had formed an underground "retribution unit" to act against terrorist organisations, and warnings from the white Mineworkers' Union of vigilante action.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander yesterday called for a "sober" and "structural" approach to the resolution of violence. He said the PAC would propose the formation of a technical committee on armed formations as an offshoot of the multiparty negotiations forum.

The committee should investigate the best way of placing all armed formations under the control of a transitional authority after the signing of an agreement on a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Alexander said a transitional authority involving the international community should also control state-owned electronic media, foreign affairs, the supervision of elections and defined areas of the Budget. He said most organisations involved in multilateral negotiations were implicated in violence.

Meanwhile, AWB leader Eugene Terre-

Blanche said he had been informed of the formation of the retribution unit, which consisted of AWB and commando members with specialist training in guerrilla warfare and terrorist eradication. He said he had long expected the formation of the unit, but distanced the AWB from its "imminent" actions.

"The incompetent methods of government and the chaotic, powerless, condition of the SADF and the SAP have been placed in, have necessitated that thinking and honest people take action against child murderers who call themselves freedom fighters."

The SACP, meanwhile, expressed its outrage at "the cycle of senseless race killings" and demanded that those responsible be brought to book. Spokesman Jeremy Cronin said the "Apla problem" undermined the SACP view that immediate multiparty supervision of all armed formations in the country was necessary.

Sapa reports that the SACP also called for the immediate resignation of Law and Order Minister Hervis Kriel and his spokesman Capt Craig Kolze, saying they were unsuited for office in a complex transition period.

□ Sapa reports that "Boerestaal" Bosman yesterday denied that his faction of the Wit Wolwe was responsible for the shooting of a five-year-old black girl at Nigel.

□ From Page 1

How to beat rife
corruption? First
try a few big fish

Should not be conceived as a detached event or the act of a subordinate official. Corruption involves systems of information, incentives and rules. To combat it, we must think through these systems and change them.

Successful change requires a strategy against corruption that may sound obvious, but so called anti-corruption campaigns often lack just this.

Having a strategy means recognizing that we cannot attack forms of corruption at once, even if we do not declare this publicly. We must distinguish various types of corruption and recognize that they are not all equally harmful, even if we do not say so in public. For example, corruption in the courts or in the police is usually more pernicious than corruption in the customs bureau or the driver's license department. In general, inspectors of all varieties must be cleaner than service providers must be.

Having a strategy means developing

ing a clear idea of ends and means in the short, medium, and long terms. To be credible, an anti-corruption campaign needs a success in its first six months. But it also requires a kind of five-year plan with phased, realistic goals.

Encouragingly, a wave of new leaders around the world is developing strategies against corruption. Sometimes the anti-corruption crusaders themselves prove corruptible, witness Brazil's recently impeached President Fernando Collor de Mello. But there is a global effort to address corruption.

tion. There is also a remarkable new change in the formerly labour-subject by international organisations such as the World Bank and the UN, and bilateral donors such as Britain and France. They can help with governments with the financing. But only if we have a strategy.

CORRUPTION is in the news again, and finally, almost schizophrenically, we like to public respond. On the one hand we call for firings and purges, for a new constitution and perhaps a new morality. On the other hand, we passively reflect that nothing, really, can be done about corruption isn't it everywhere, a fact of life?

Controlling corruption demands a different response, in SA as elsewhere. Corruption is a problem of policy and management, and to combat it we must forge a strategy. Corruption can be defined as the misuse of office for personal gain. Usage varies across countries and over time and, at any particular place and time, law and custom may not coincide.

Still, virtually all countries have laws that condemn extortion, bribery, "speed money," fraud and embezzlement, kickbacks, nepotism and every other form of corruption. As careful research repeatedly shows, people of every culture well understand the difference between a gift and a bribe, and they routinely name corruption as one of their country's most serious problems.

of neither laws nor popular condemnation are lacking, why does corruption exist? It is obvious that corruption is not confined to developing countries, although its effects there are particularly damaging. Not is corruption confined to the public sector. Corruption occurs in private companies, labour unions and universities. Even in the case of public sector corruption, where the stakes are so high, most forms of corruption involve the private sector. There are bribe givers as well as bribe takers. Corruption is best understood as a structural problem rather than a problem of deficient morality, education or leadership.

For example, dual exchange rates, such as the commercial and financial rates, invite illicit behaviour. So do quantitative restrictions on imports, the non-compettitive provision of services, and regulations, notices

pite head Jasper Nicewand has un-
 derestimated increase accountability.
 They tell us more. For exam-
 ple, corruption will flourish when
 penalties are weak. The probability
 of being caught low, and rewards for
 superb performance small.
 Like me, you may be suspicious of
 theory without successful example.
 Fortunately, in both public and pri-
 vate sectors, success stories provide
 the necessary evidence. My book
 Controlling Corruption presents a
 number of successful case studies.
 Regarding strategies, several les-
 sons emerge.

Some political leaders seem to believe they can excuse the apparent absence of a strategy against corruption by saying they were not aware of corrupt acts were occurring. "In no case," President de Klerk remarked at question time on March 10, "where corruption or maladministration has been revealed were there any facts to show that the Minister in charge knew about it, or was negligent. When we discovered irregularities we took firm action and continue to do so."

An "irregularity" may indeed mean "firm action," but corruption

First, try the big fish. Big corrupt actors must be publicly named and punished before a cynical public believes that an anti-corruption drive is more than words, more than a campaign against one's political opponents. Importantly, therefore, the first big fish must come from within the party in power.

Second, begin bureaucratic reforms with positive steps that help civil servants. In particular, work with line officials to devise ways to measure public sector success, and then hook part of the officials' salaries to these measures.

Monopoly equals corruption. Monopoly grants the power to charge a higher than optimal price for a service, and to provide less of it to boot. Discretion means that an official has the power to say "how much" without what lawyers call "bright lines" to limit this power. A lack of accountability means that these transactions take place in the dark. Therefore, in an anti-corruption effort, we should mitigate monopoly, whether public or private. Limit discretion and provide clear rules of the game for bureaucratic behaviour. Above all, as Office for Public Integrity.

As these may be in particular cases, it is true, as Iokubata president Longosuthu Buthelezi and others have remarked, that large public works invite more corruption than smaller-sized governments. It is also true, as ANC president Nelson Mandela and others have said, that multi-party democracy will, in the long run, do whatever the mix of public

of private, and whatever the type of government, corruption remains a threat. Theory teaches us that a enough formula for corruption holds. Monopoly plus discretion minus accountability equals corruption. Monopoly, whether public or private, grants the power to charge a higher than optimal price for a service, and to provide less of it to boot. Discretion means that an official has the power to say "how much" without what lawyers call "bright lines" to limit this power. A lack of accountability means that these transactions take place in the dark. Therefore, in an anti-corruption effort, we should mitigate monopoly, whether public or private. Limit discretion and provide clear rules of the game for bureaucratic behaviour. Above all, as Office for Public Integrity

Seven die since Sunday as violence shakes Natal

By Charmelle Bhagwat
Crime Reporter

While the country's attention was focused on three ambushes on white motorists in the Vaal Triangle, at least seven people — including two IFP officials — have been killed in Natal since Sunday.

In Umlazi, an IFP councillor and prominent peace activist was gunned down with a friend at a house at about 9 pm on Tuesday.

The KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC), which said yesterday it was "shocked and outraged" over the murders, said Ndebele was actively involved in implementing the National Peace Accord in the township.

It appealed to the community to help police with investigations.

In the northern Natal township of Wembezi on Tuesday, another prominent IFP member was injured when a man hurled an F1 handgrenade into

his shop, Zamokuhle General Dealer, after a meeting between ANC and IFP leaders.

Ndiswa Miya (45) is the IFP's Wembezi branch chairman. Shop assistant Zodwa Sokhela (30) was also injured.

Natal police spokesman Major Hamilton Ngidi said both men were taken to hospital. Two suspects were being held.

In Paddock, near Port Shepstone, unidentified gunmen sprayed a bakkie with automatic gunfire at 1 pm on Sunday, killing four people, said Ngidi.

And Jabulani Zingwazi (35) was shot dead in his Umlazi home on Tuesday. The motive for the murder appeared to be political, said Ngidi.

In Elands kop, near Maritzburg, unidentified men yesterday fired at a minibus driver, wounding him in the chest and stomach, said Ngidi. The man, whose name has been withheld, was reported to be in a serious condition.

Local logic

THERE are times when it seems the bad news will overwhelm us. The headline in yesterday's paper said "Blacks owe R2 billion for service charges". This was revealed in Parliament by Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delpont, who warned that only when township residents started paying for municipal services could the principle of one city, one tax base be introduced.

He acknowledged that the absence of a political forum where grievances could be discussed had led to countrywide boycotts inspired by civic associations.

The good news is that the Local Government Negotiating Forum got off the ground this week. Its aim is to promote democracy, non-racialism and financial viability at local level. There are still differences in approach. President of the SA National Civic Organisation Moses Mayekiso says Sanco regards all present local authorities as illegitimate. It wants single tax-base structures sooner than later.

Delpont warns that it will take a major effort to change the culture of non-payment that has set in. Yet the gap is not unbridgeable and at least a widely acceptable forum now exists in which crucial issues can be addressed.

Policeman shot dead from bus

VEREENIGING. — A policeman was killed and another wounded in a shooting in the Vaal Triangle yesterday.

A police spokesman said the shooting occurred when two policemen on patrol stopped at a T-junction between Zamdela and the Chris Hani squatter camp near Sasolburg.

A minibus approached at high speed and stopped

alongside the police vehicle.

One of the policemen, Constable S J. Maloka, got out and warned the driver not to drive so fast.

A man opened fire on the policemen as the minibus pulled away.

Constable Maloka was seriously wounded and Constable N Gabeshe, who had remained in the patrol car, was killed. — Sapa.

FW: Govt does use ~~X~~ anti-crime measures

THE government rejected insinuations that it was not implementing measures it had announced to curb crime, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

Replying to a question from Mr Douglas Gibson (DP Yeoville), asked during the State President's

Question Time, he said legislation which would further curtail the carrying of firearms had been approved by the Cabinet, and would be presented to Parliament next week.

He said the 10 point plan he had announced earlier yesterday would

contribute to the curtailment of crime.

The dramatic increase in manpower would enable the police to upgrade their presence where it was needed.

"An improvement will be brought about."

Leaders must boost Peace Accord: FW

ALL political leaders should commit themselves to strengthening the National Peace Accord and its mechanisms, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

Replying to a question from Mr Chris Fisser (NP Rissik) during the State President's question

time, he said strong leadership and discipline would be necessary to curb the violence.

"It is of key importance that the leaders of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC find ways to come together and visibly show they can agree on the rules of the game."

Until they met and

made peace he feared their followers would continue acting violently.

He agreed with Mr Fisser that those arrested for smuggling arms into the country should be disciplined internally by leaders of the political organisations they belonged to.

'Foreign countries helped SA develop nuclear arms'

PARIS. — Israel, the United States, Germany and France helped South Africa develop nuclear arms during the 1970s and 80s, according to an expert at the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Separately, a Sweden-based research institute says Pretoria began a secret programme to produce enriched plutonium, the raw material for nuclear arms, at the start of the 1960s.

Marie-Helene Labbe, in her book *Nuclear Proliferation in 50 Questions* published last year, said Israel helped by supplying nuclear experts in exchange for South African uranium and permission to conduct nuclear tests on South African territory.

A double flash in 1979 over the south Atlantic may have been an Israeli nuclear test explosion conducted on a South African island, she wrote, adding that Pretoria would have had access to the results of the test.

The United States, which Labbe said had bought uranium from South Africa since the late 1940s, had helped by signing a number of co-operation agreements, she said.

These had included training of South African engineers in the United States, and US technical aid at reactors in South Africa, she said.

She said France and Germany helped, the latter clandestinely and the former by providing two

nuclear power plants.

Separately, in Sweden, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) has said that South Africa began a secret programme to produce enriched plutonium — the raw material for nuclear arms — at the start of the 1960s.

In a report published at the start of this month, SIPRI said only a few Ministers knew of the programme.

"The existence of this programme was known to only a few people within the government until 1970, when Prime Minister John Vorster announced that South African scientists had developed a unique and economical enrichment process based on the aerody-

namic technique," it said.

"Following Vorster's announcement in 1970, the government formed the state-controlled Uranium Enrichment Corporation (UCOR) to build the pilot-scale plant, called the Y-plant, at Valindaba, next to the National Nuclear Research Centre at Pelindaba."

The SIPRI report was part of the first investigation of worldwide stocks of enriched uranium and plutonium.

The International Atomic Energy Agency said yesterday in Vienna it would verify Mr De Klerk's statement that the nuclear weapons programme had been dismantled. The IAEA has already carried out 115 inspections in South Africa.

Mr De Klerk said South Africa had produced six nuclear devices between 1974 and 1989, but that the weapons and the facilities used to develop them had been destroyed. South Africa signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1991.

The IAEA statement said it had no evidence that the list of destroyed installations provided by South Africa was incomplete and welcomed Mr De Klerk's statement. — Sapa-AFP

Suspected truth finally out — Zach



CAPE TOWN. — What had long been suspected and had been covered by a stream of untruths by the government, had finally been confirmed by the State President, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday.

He said in a statement the good news from the State President's address to Parliament was that the government had cleaned up its act in regard to nuclear weaponry.

The bad news was that the country did manufacture weapons of mass destruction which could have been used to destroy human life on a frightful scale.

"One wonders when, if ever, all the shameful truth about what the Nats really did is going to come out."

• Mr De Klerk's admission yesterday that South Africa manufactured nuclear weapons, and his statement that these weapons had since been dismantled, has been welcomed by the African National Congress (ANC).

The ANC said it was clear Mr De Klerk had made the admission "under the compulsion of international and domestic pressures".

The ANC also welcomed the government's compliance with the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT), but was concerned that the government was not required to disclose its nuclear activities before accession to the treaty.

It demanded the public release of the report compiled by independent observer Prof W L Mouton, an eminent professor of nuclear physics, on the dismantling of the nuclear weapons.

The public also had the right to know what happened to the stockpile of weapons-grade uranium.

The ANC said Mr De Klerk's statement that there had been no testing of nuclear weapons was at odds with the reported sighting of an apparent nuclear flash in the Indian Ocean in 1979.

• South Africa lied to and deceived the international community about its nuclear weapons programme for nearly three decades, the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement said in a statement yesterday.

It said urgent action by the United Nations and the international nuclear watchdog International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was needed to ensure South Africa had abandoned its nuclear weapons ambitions.

Strict measures were also needed to prevent co-operation with South Africa in the nuclear field, AAM said after Mr De Klerk's announcement IAEA had no evidence that South Africa still had nuclear weapons, but would check sites previously involved in their construction. — Sapa.

Too little, too late, claims Treurnicht

Political Correspondent
and Sapa

CAPE TOWN. — State President De Klerk should have suspended immediately all negotia-

tions with terrorist organisations, and steps announced did not go far enough to end terrorism, Dr Andries Treurnicht, Conservative Party leader, said last night.

Reacting to Mr De Klerk's speech to Parliament, Dr Treurnicht described it as: "Too little, too late."

The CP congratulated the SA Police on the arrest of 18 APLA members, especially considering that in 1990 the government had placed a prohibition on the police investigating APLA and MK and keeping them under observation.

"The increase in the manpower levels of the security forces is evidence of how seriously South Africa's security is being threatened.

"There are now more police officials and Defence Force units deployed in the country than at any time since the South West Africa/Angola war was at its worst.

"The State President's refusal on the one hand to suspend the negotiation progress and on the other to act against the PAC/APLA and the ANC/MK, shows that his negotiation concessions have made him a hostage to the ANC/PAC/SACP alliance.

ce," Dr Treurnicht added.

The State President should at least have ended immediately all negotiations with terrorist organisations, suspended the negotiation process until the right climate was restored, banned APLA and MK, and instructed the security forces to resume their covert and overt actions against them.

Dr Treurnicht said the two terrorist organisations should be considered enemies of the state, and their terrorist capabilities wiped out.

Their leaders, commanders and members should be detained and prosecuted in terms of the law.

"The government must accept full responsibility for the blood of the innocent victims and police officers and the damage to infrastructure and personal property that has flowed from this terrorism," Dr Treurnicht said.

• APLA and MK had to be fought with the full might of the state as the Goldstone Commission's recommendations would not deter their war, CP law and order spokesman Mr Schalk Pienaar said yesterday.

He said the commission's preliminary findings had confirmed that APLA and the PAC were an integrated terrorist organisation which waged a self-declared war against policemen and White civilians.

The commission's recommendations would not deter APLA and the PAC, as the Transkei was part of the revolutionary onslaught against South Africa.

Likewise, the PAC and APLA would not co-operate towards peace and stability at negotiations.

ANC 'concerned' at FW's 10-point violence plan

THE African National Congress yesterday strongly criticised State President De Klerk's announcement of a 10-point plan of action and increased police and army powers to end violence in South Africa.

It also insisted the 18 Azanian Peoples Liberation Army operatives arrested as part of the plan "be charged or released forthwith".

The ANC was reacting to a special address to a joint sitting of Parliament in which President De Klerk threw down the gauntlet to APLA, its backers and other militarised political parties.

"Given the National Party's record of lawlessness, we are extremely concerned at the undisclosed 10-point plan of action, and the implicit increase of powers for both police and army," the ANC said in a statement.

"The announcement of the arrest of unidentified people raises real concerns about detention without trial. We insist that these people be charged or released forthwith, that the government give public guarantees that no coercive measures be used to extract information, and that the next-of-kin be informed so that they are given the opportunity to arrange proper

defence."

It also called for the names of all those arrested to be made public.

Reacting to the State President's announcement of a motion for a free vote in Parliament on the re-implementation of the death penalty, the ANC said: "We reiterate the ANC's principled opposition to the death penalty, and regret that Mr De Klerk has taken this opportunity to re-introduce this matter, in such an emotive climate, when the existing moratorium should stand.

"We are living with the consequences of the destabilisation plans elaborated by leading military and police officials. Details of such a conspiracy have recently been disclosed in relation to the eastern Cape."

It said Mr De Klerk could demonstrate his se-

rious intent to make the question of violence a major priority by acting against those who were implicated in the eastern Cape plot, in which senior military figures were accused of planning to topple the Ciskei Government and form a Xhosa-based power bloc to oppose the ANC.

However, the ANC reiterated its condemnation of all the killings that have taken place and called on all South Africans not to allow themselves to be drawn deeper into the spiral of racially motivated violence.

"These murders are an act of provocation, designed to derail the negotiation and peace processes. The perpetrators should not be allowed to succeed, but must be brought to book to the full extent of the law." — Sapa.

Violence: DP back talks move

CAPE TOWN. — The suggestion that political violence and lawlessness be placed on the negotiation agenda for joint action by all political groups was welcomed, the Democratic Party spokesman on law and order, Mr Peter Gastrow, said yesterday.

"We also support a greater police presence and need for unambiguous response from the Transkei on the APLA issue," he said in reaction to President De Klerk's address to a special joint meeting of Parliament.

The suggestion that the moratorium on the death sentence should be lifted needed to be debated with circumspection. — Sapa.

Looting, mugging as student marchers turn violent

By Tracey Melass,
Charlotte James and
Sapa.

A MARCH by a crowd of 15 000 students through the city centre yesterday turned violent when random groups looted shops, damaged three vehicles, and allegedly mugged passersby.

The students, who were protesting against high examination fees, represented the Azanian Students Movement (AZASM), Congress of South African Students (COSAS), and the Pan Africanist Students Organisation (PASO).

The crowd turned volatile before the march began when members of the SAP apprehended a man for allegedly smoking dagga outside the Johannesburg library.

SAP members arrived on the scene with police dogs and were taunted and abused by some of the marchers.

Chanting

The crowd chanted "SAP, SAP" and ran towards the policemen.

According to a police officer on the scene the man was released soon afterwards to avoid further confrontation.

Marshalls, European Community and United Nations observers attempted to keep marchers away from the police but some of the crowd kicked one of the police cars and pelted it with objects as it pulled away from the side of the road.

A pharmacist in Harrison Street said a woman was punched by the crowd as she stood outside the Old Mutual building.

"She was punched in the face and she came into the pharmacy. Luckily there was a doctor next door who treated her for a broken nose. I don't know what hospital she has gone to," Mr Basil Levy said.

They then marched to the Department of Education and Training offices in Braamfontein, where they presented a memorandum to the Chief Education Specialist, Mr Jacobus du Plessis.

Mugged

Here random groups broke away from the crowd, smashed windows, and damaged cars parked in Biccard Street.

An advertising executive in Braamfontein, Mr Grant McNicol, said his motorbike was knocked over and the engine cover, a mirror and the handlebars were damaged.

A man walking down Biccard Street carrying a load of files was mugged by the crowd who ran off with the files, he said.

Another dealer in Biccard Street, who also refused to be named, said a group of youths broke her window with a knobkerrie and cleared out about R1 000 worth of cosmetics.

Police spokesman Major Eugene Opperman confirmed incidents of mugging, looting and damaging cars. He also said a pregnant woman was dragged by the marchers, but was not seriously injured, and that journalists and a television crew were harassed.

In a statement yesterday afternoon, the student alliances distanced themselves completely from the isolated incidences of ill-discipline, and said they could never condone actions which were designed to discredit legitimate demands and democratic actions.

Demands in the students' memorandum included a call on the government to stop the unilateral restructuring of education, the scrapping of exam fees, the employment of more teachers, the repair and further building of schools, and the supply of more textbooks and stationery.

DET's Mr Jacobus du Plessis said after the march yesterday the students' memorandum had been sent to the Director General of the DET and the Minister of Education and was awaiting a response.

Control

SAP Witwatersrand police commissioner Lt-Gen Koos Calitz condemned the unruliness, saying it had been the organisers' responsibility to maintain crowd control.

ANC spokesman Cheryl Carolus said the three student movements distanced themselves from what she claimed were "rogue elements who had joined the march".

Racist slogans chanted by a section of the marchers were harshly criticised by the ANC PWV region. Many pupils chanted the Pan Africanist Congress slogan, "One settler, one bullet."

The ANC PWV in a

statement also distanced itself from the thuggery which it said was "unacceptable".

Western Cape ANC condemned the Guguletu incident as hoodliganism and expressed disappointment at the pupils' indiscipline.

In East London, European Community and United Nations observers helped defuse a tense dispute over the designated route for the local march.

UN observer Pamela Maponga appealed to marchers to comply "in the interest of peace with the planned route, pointing out that police had shown patience and restraint and that marchers should respond accordingly. The crowd moved on peacefully soon afterwards.

• Two policemen were assaulted in Sidwell, Port Elizabeth, by marchers participating in the nation-wide protest.

Eastern Cape police liaison officer Capt Lisbi Vermeulen said the policemen were assaulted when the marchers, estimated to number between 1 500 and 2 000, were returning to New Brighton.

• Cars were damaged when stones were thrown at Guguletu near Cape Town on Wednesday afternoon.

The incident followed the failure of a march to Parliament.

The march was stopped by police and Spoornet officials at Langa Station because the pupils had no train tickets.

SA made six atom bombs

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basis. Yesterday, Mr De Klerk said the Cabinet as a body was informed of the bomb project for the first time. He had decided to tell them after first consulting with colleagues who were in the know.

"Now I can sleep restfully for the first time," commented Armscor spokesman, Mr Jannie Adler. In all the years he had never shared the secret with his wife, and now that burden was off.

Mr De Waal, asked about the code-names of the project, said he could not remember them all, because the projects name kept changing.

"There were five in the end, but the last is not yet declassified so I am not at liberty to give it.

"The amazing thing is that over 1 000 people worked on the project over the years and not a single one said a word. Many of them died over the years and most of them have been retrenched," he said.

Although he and Dr Stumpf would not be drawn into the question of the kiloton size of the bomb, senior sources said privately that the size of the bombs were equivalent to the one dropped on Hiroshima.

"Would it have worked?"

The answer was quick: "Never has such a device been built that did not work."

To the media conference, Dr Stumpf put it another way — the devices had been built as a deterrent, capable of being delivered by aircraft but were not intended to be used.

If pushed, an underground test would hopefully have been a final deterrent.

Asked why government had persistently answered allegations that it had the bomb with an ambiguous lie expressing opposition to the use of nuclear weapons, Mr De Klerk said the response was neither a lie nor the full truth, but in itself created uncertainty and therefore acted as a deterrent.

The technical details of a nuclear device would remain secret, State President De Klerk told a Press conference in Cape Town shortly after he announced in Parliament that South Africa had once had nuclear weapons, but they had now been dismantled.

However, the information would be made available to the International Atomic Energy Agency, which had inspectors in

South Africa at the moment.

These inspectors would now be looking at the facilities used for building and storing the devices.

"Then they should be fully in a position to satisfy themselves and the international community that there is nothing, nothing, hidden or to hide."

Asked what the Cabinet saw as targets for the devices when it approved their construction, Mr De Klerk said he had not been a member of the Cabinet then.

To the best of his knowledge, the Cabinet as a whole never knew of the programmes.

It was a decision taken by the then-head of government and information was given to Ministers on a need-to-know basis.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, though appointed to the Cabinet in 1977, had only become aware of it in about 1980 or 1981.

Mr Botha told the conference that the information on the nuclear devices had been released now because there was a suspicion that South Africa might have traded nuclear technology to irresponsible governments elsewhere in the world or that it might have sold de-

vices or highly enriched uranium.

"So there was really only one way to manage this matter and this was to come clean," he said.

The government had appointed an auditor to ensure that not every kilogram, but every gram of enriched uranium used in the programme had been accounted for.

Mr De Klerk said the decision to go public had been made well in advance of a report on the programme which had been published in the Washington Post.

Criticism and disbelief in South Africa's bonafides from some countries and important commentators had threatened the Republic's nuclear commercialisation programme.

• Speaking on Agenda, Dr Stumpf said South Africa never had a nuclear bomb as such.

The "device" could have been used in an underground "demonstration". It could also have been swiftly converted into a military weapon — possibly a bomb or a missile warhead.

Reports both here and in London claimed, however, that the "device" was an atomic bomb. — Supa.

SIX ATOM BOMBS S AFRICA MADE

CAPE TOWN. — About 1 000 people worked on and knew of South Africa's nuclear secret — six atom bombs each the equivalent of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima.

That is the inside story of the best kept secret in South African politics revealed by State President De Klerk yesterday.

Details of the bombs and the amazing spread of a secret that never leaked were filled in by senior Armscor and Atomic Energy Board officials who

said that the project had gone under several codenames.

These had not been declassified and were therefore not yet for public knowledge.

The secret project, terminated and ordered to be dismantled to the last gram of enriched bomb-grade uranium in 1989, cost the taxpayer between R700 million and R800

million, hidden in various Budget votes of the Atomic Energy Board, Armscor and the old UCOR.

Mr De Klerk and the current heads of the Atomic Energy Board, Dr Waldo Stumpf, and Armscor, Mr Tielman de Waal, fielded questions at a media conference after the State President's sensational admission to Parliament earlier that South Africa had equipped itself with a nuclear deterrent.

Mr De Waal said after the President's announcement that keeping the secret itself was a most astounding achievement.

Asked how many people knew, he said that about 1 000 people had worked on the project and knew they were manufacturing a nuclear device.

By contrast, the State President himself knew only long after the project was started, as did a select few Cabinet Ministers who were let into the secret on a need-to-know

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Defence call-up

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Klerk said.

If Transkei refused to react, then "the government will have to look very seriously at taking some or other form of firm steps to ensure that the interests of South Africa and all its people are served".

The government believed that the focus at the resumed negotiations on April 1 should lie in the first place on a commitment to the Peace Accord by all the parties to the process.

"The refusal by APLA to dissociate itself from APLA statements and deeds, and its dualistic commitment to a peaceful process as well as its refu-

sal to sign the Peace Accord, constitute a serious obstacle to multi-party negotiations."

The government's point of view was that it had now become vitally important that first priority should be given to binding all participants to the peace agreements.

"Military wings, private armies and militant sub-organisations must be effectively and visibly compelled to abandon all unlawful activities, and they must be kept to this," said Mr De Klerk.

"I don't think we should allow a small lunatic fringe to hold the country at ransom and prevent either the negotiation process or the election."

"But if the country is, generally speaking, in vast areas in a state of violence and unrest, then it would be impossible to succeed with free and fair elections."

Listing some of the cold-blooded and gruesome attacks on children and other innocent people in the past few weeks, Mr De Klerk said

that while APLA was clearly involved in some murders, circumstances indicated that other militant organisations were possibly also involved.

"APLA rightly stands out as a result of its reported acceptance of responsibility for a whole series of acts of terrorism and the arrogant manner in which it continued to propagate and promote political violence."

"The fact is, however, that children were also killed by members of other militant political organisations."

Mr De Klerk said he rejected insinuations and claims that the government reacted with stronger action in cases where Whites were killed than it did to the murder of the children of Blacks.

"The police take action in every case according to the same criteria, and the surrounding circumstances determine what action is possible or desired."

In the case of the Black children murdered in Natal, the police acted strongly and effectively and were successful in bringing the murderers speedily to court.

Claims of this nature merely further racial tension and played into the hands of radicals and those who committed violence. A new spiral of violence, on the basis that violence should be answered with violence, was to be avoided at all cost.

*** Holomisa rejects report**

THE Transkei has rejected the preliminary findings of the Goldstone Commission into the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army and denied its territory has been used as an APLA springboard.

Military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa also denied the Commission's finding that APLA members were receiving training in the Transkei.

"The Transkei is not being used as an APLA

springboard," Gen Holomisa said in a telephonic interview from Umtata yesterday. "They (Goldstone Commission) must bring the evidence."

He said the Goldstone Commission report, in which only the South African Defence Force and SA Police accepted invitations to make submissions, was a "one-sided story".

"APLA members are also not receiving training in the Transkei," Gen

Holomisa said. "We have rejected these allegations in the past, and we still reject them — bring the evidence."

"The Transkei Government is adamant that there are no APLA bases in Transkei," Gen Holomisa said in a separate faxed statement.

The Transkei still upheld its non-aggression pact with South Africa, he said in the interview.

Big defence call-up as govt strikes at APLA

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — A "fairly drastic" and urgent Defence Force call-up to help create stability in all problem areas throughout South Africa, has been announced by State President De Klerk.

Details of this operation will be kept secret. "Since an element of surprise is important if success is to be achieved, full

particulars cannot be made known.

"The implementation of this plan requires that the manpower levels of the security forces will have to be increased fairly drastically for a time.

"Consequently, the Defence Force will issue urgent call-up instructions over a fairly broad front," Mr De Klerk said.

Apart from this surprise operation, a 10-point plan is due to be undertaken by the SA

Police. Details of this country-wide network of additional police action are due to be announced within the next few days.

In yet a third new action, aimed directly at the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, the police have arrested 18 members for questioning, and further steps will be taken to end murder and terrorism by APLA.

Mr De Klerk said he expected the arrests to

have an impact on the negotiation process. The action would be welcomed by some, but he expected a negative reaction from the PAC.

"The government has to do its duty. And when an organisation starts claiming responsibility for deeds of terrorism and cold-blooded murder, then the government has to act, and we are acting.

"We have now taken additional steps to those taken in the past."

In his speech to Parliament, and later at a media conference, Mr De Klerk warned the Transkei Government that it had to cease giving aid to APLA in its programme of terrorism and murder within South Africa, as set out in yesterday's report of the Goldstone Commission.

Mr De Klerk said the active involvement of official institutions of the Transkei in APLA actions within South Africa was a cause of concern.

"It has been decided to request the Transkei Government's urgent reaction to the Commission. It must be emphasised that it is no longer only the SA Government which requires the reaction of the Transkei Government, but the Commission itself.

"The government's actions will depend on the reaction of the Transkei Government," Mr De

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FW: I'll vote for hanging

By Sapa and
Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — State President De Klerk would vote yes when MPs were asked whether hangings should begin again.

Mr De Klerk, a former lawyer, told a Press conference yesterday that he believed the death penalty — in a limited sense — should be part of the judicial system.

Earlier, he told Parliament that in the light of the continuing violence in the country, the government had decided to test MPs' opinions as soon as possible on whether death sentences should be carried out.

Hangings were suspended some time ago pending debate on how the death penalty should be dealt with in a Bill of Rights.

MPs would be given an opportunity to speak in a special debate in Parliament, and according to Mr De Klerk, National Party members

would be allowed to vote freely according to their own convictions.

Replying to a question at the Press confer-

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I'll vote for hanging

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ence, he said he had always believed that the death penalty should be part of the legal system.

He approved of recent reforms which no longer compelled a judge to sentence a person to death for certain offences if no extenuating circumstances were found.

Conservative Party justice spokesman, Mr Jurg Prinsloo, said last night Mr De Klerk had unilaterally declared the moratorium on executions, and had now been forced to acknowledge that the broad community was dissatisfied about it.

"However, he is still shirking his responsibility as Head of State to authorise the carrying out of the death penalty by wanting Members of Parliament to vote on the issue."

"This is typical of a Head of State and ruling party which has lost the will to govern," Mr Prinsloo said.

The Democratic Party is expected to allow its members a free vote as well. Mr Peter Gastrow, spokesman on law and order, said a lifting of the moratorium should be debated with great circumspection.

"Feelings of revenge and retribution can easily cloud a debate which should not be driven by primordial reflexes," said Mr Gastrow.

Earlier, in his address to Parliament, Mr De

Klerk said the government was convinced that the retention of the death penalty was morally and legally correct. The penalty was imposed to protect society's interests.

"In view of the progress already made towards accepting a Bill of Fundamental Rights, the government has regarded it as just and necessary to suspend the carrying out of the death penalty for a reasonable period, pending the result of discussions on an interim Bill of Rights for the transitional phase.

"But, as I have pointed out, the wave of cruel murder, and homicide, the current disrespect for human life and the delays in the negotiation process, are making it extremely difficult for the government to let the moratorium continue indefinitely."

It was therefore decided to "approach Parliament at the first possible appropriate occasion" to vote on the issue.

"The government will, at the same time, launch an extensive process of consultation with leaders of extra-parliamentary parties and organisations," said Mr De Klerk.

A small, lunatic fringe should not be allowed to hold the country to ransom and prevent an election, Mr De Klerk said.

"If vast areas of the

country are in the grip of violence and unrest, it would be impossible to have a free and fair election. An evaluation would then have to be made," he said at a media conference after addressing a special joint meeting of Parliament.

"It would be a question of attaining stability and bringing down the level of violence and intimidation so that we can say if we proceed with an election it will be free and fair.

"When that evaluation can be made, then we can go ahead with the election." Replying to a question on what impact the arrest of APLA members would have on the negotiation process, Mr De Klerk said: "We must expect the arrests to have an impact. It may be controversial as far as APLA is concerned, but will also be welcomed by many other parties who are part of the negotiation process."

When organisations claimed responsibility for cold-blooded murders, the government had to do its duty.

People reached compromises and changed attitudes through negotiation.

"There is no need for the PAC to compromise because legislation exists where their supporters can apply for indemnity. This legislation was not created for the sole benefit of the ANC." —Sapa.

Probe links APLA to 33 attacks

By Fred de Lange

THE Goldstone Commission has directly linked APLA to 33 terror attacks during which 16 people died and a number injured, with the main target being members of the security forces and Whites in general.

A preliminary investigation by the Goldstone Commission into the activities of APLA, which was released in Pretoria yesterday, has found APLA involvement in at least 15 attacks on policemen, 13 attacks on farm houses, three attacks on houses in Ficksburg, an attack on the golf club at King William's Town and attacks on restaurants in Queenstown and Cape Town.

The 16 people who died in APLA attacks, do not include those who died in recent attacks on cars in the PWV area.

At this stage APLA has approximately 120 members inside South Africa who have undergone military training abroad. The number of locally trained members are not known.

Outside South Africa it is estimated that APLA has about 2 700 members which include women and children working inside Tanzania.

At this stage there is little doubt that APLA was using the Transkei as its springboard for attacks in South Africa and that the Transkei authorities were fully aware of this fact.

APLA recruits received military training in the use of firearms and grenades at Sterkspruit, Coffee Bay, Mount Frere and elsewhere in Trans-

kei.

Three witnesses before the Commission were all trained at these camps inside Transkei and they were all involved in attacks on the police on instructions of Vumankose Ntinkana and Happy Letlapa.

Arms smuggled through Botswana, Lesotho and South Africa to the Transkei were stored with the knowledge of the Transkei authorities.

"There was nothing secret about their training or the carrying of arms. The witnesses said the Transkeian authorities saw them but took no action. It therefore appears that their presence was no secret to the Transkei authorities," the Commission said in its report.

Inside South Africa, APLA operated in units of three to eight persons each with a unit commander under the control of a local commander.

The Commission said it

had enough evidence to make the provisional finding that APLA members did in fact receive training in Transkei but that it appeared that there was no permanent base in Transkei.

It was found that there was little doubt that the PAC and APLA were directly linked, with at least three members of APLA's military commission being members of the PAC's national Executive Council. They are Mr Johnson Mlambo, Mr Joe Makwansazi and Mr Thobile Gola.

At the same time the PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, and the first deputy-president, Mr Johnson Mlambo, serve on the APLA High Command.

The PAC was also responsible for ensuring that APLA was supplied with arms, equipment and financial means.

"Any democratic movement should take re-

sponsibility for and control its members. Its policy cannot be based on conflicting ideals, namely on the one hand the armed struggle and on the other democratic and peaceful change.

"The relationship between APLA and the PAC is a direct one. Indeed, the previous attempts by them to suggest that each was autonomous are no longer seriously relied upon by the PAC in its recent public statements," the report said.

The committee recommended that the security forces protect the citizens of South Africa to the best of their ability and arrest and prosecute the perpetrators of violence in terms of common law.

The international community was also requested to request all nations to withhold assistance to APLA and to bring pressure on the PAC to cease to condone acts of violence by APLA members.

'Apla should be banned'

CAPE TOWN — The Government should take full responsibility for the blood of innocent victims and policemen and for the damage to personal property emanating from the present wave of terrorism, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

"The State President's refusal to stop negotiating and take action against the PAC's Apla and the ANC's MK shows it has become a hostage to these organisations," he said in a statement.

He should at least immediately have stopped negotiating

with "terrorist organisations" and stopped negotiations altogether until a climate for negotiations had been established.

Apla and MK should have been banned and the security forces should have been ordered to continue overt and covert intelligence actions against these two organisations.

"His actions can be described as too little too late.

"Instead of taking essential preventive measures, the President has done nothing to stop terrorism." — Sapa.

Violence 'top priority' —FW

CAPE TOWN — The Government felt strongly that there had to be a shift in emphasis in negotiations to end violence, President de Klerk said at a press conference yesterday.

He told the media that the present spate of violence and the turn it had taken would obviously have an impact on negotiations.

The Government did not intend to disrupt the negotiations.

"But the Government feels very strongly that the emphasis should shift as top priority to bring violence to an end," he said.

All political groupings should be brought to the point where they officially distanced themselves from violence. — Sapa.

Wide-ranging responses to FW, Goldstone

By Esther Waugh
and Kaizer Nyatumba

The PAC came under heavy fire yesterday — in the Goldstone Commission's preliminary findings on Apla and President F W de Klerk's address to Parliament — but its leaders would not comment on the charges last night.

PAC sources said the organisation would hold a press conference today after studying the commission's report and De Klerk's speech.

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa last night rejected the Goldstone Commission's preliminary findings on Apla which implicated his government.

In its response to De Klerk's announcements, the ANC expressed concern over the Government's as yet undisclosed 10-point plan of action to stabilise "problem areas".

The organisation said the arrests of 18 unnamed Apla cadres raised concerns about detention without trial, and said they should be charged or released immediately.

The ANC called on the Government to give public guarantees that no coercive measures would be used to extract information. Their names should be released immediately and their families informed so that they could arrange proper defence for the Apla cadres.

It reiterated its principled opposition to the death penalty.

"President De Klerk could demonstrate his serious intent to make addressing the question of violence the major priority on the agenda by acting against those who were implicated. Despite the recent revelations (Military Intelligence chief) General Joffel van der Westhuizen and (Local Government Minister) Dr Tertius Delport remain in their posts," the ANC said.

Responding to the Goldstone Commission's report, Holomisa said: "The Transkei Government is adamant that there are no Apla bases in Transkei. Since South Africa refused the offer to send a judge to head the

(Transkei Government's proposed) Commission of Inquiry into Apla, we regard the matter as a closed affair."

Referring to 12 secret SADF files he has in his possession, Holomisa said they show that some covert activities have been executed since De Klerk came to power in 1989.

Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin said Parliament as it was presently constituted had no moral right to debate the death penalty and decide on it unilaterally.

"The (execution) of the death sentence in the circumstances will probably be more inflammatory than constructive," Currin said.

Holomisa rejects commission findings

The Transkei has rejected the preliminary findings of the Goldstone Commission into the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army and denied its territory has been used as an Apla springboard.

Military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa also denied the commission's finding that Apla members were receiving training in Transkei.

"Transkei is not being used as an Apla springboard," Holomisa said in a telephonic interview from Umtata yesterday. "They (Goldstone Commission) must bring the evidence."

He said the Goldstone Commission report, in which only the SA Defence Force and SA Police accepted invitations to make submissions, was a "one-sided story".

"Apla members are also not receiving training in the Transkei," Holomisa said.

"The Transkei government is adamant that there are no Apla bases in Transkei," he said in a separate faxed statement.

The Transkei still upheld its non-aggression pact with South Africa, he said in the interview.

Asked about the commission's finding that Apla's internal High Command was based in Transkei, he said the PAC and other liberation organisations were unbanned in 1990 and their members were free to go where they wanted.

The Goldstone committee recommended that Transkei be asked to respond to the SADF and SAP allegations "and if



Bantu Holomisa ... denied Apla members were receiving training in the Transkei.

they are confirmed or not denied to bring pressure to bear on the Transkeian authorities to prohibit the use of any part of their territory as a springboard for attacks against South African citizens".

The Goldstone findings vindicated the Transkei's stand that the inquiry was a "kangaroo court", Holomisa said in the statement.

The Transkei found it hard to regard Goldstone as an eminent judge, especially because he did not personally preside over the inquiry into Apla, he said.

"We reject the findings of the Goldstone Commission which condemn Transkei in view of the ... untested evidence."

He advised the South African Government to talk to the PAC and other organisations to reach a mutual agreement that all parties cease hostilities. — Sapa.

'Strengthen Peace Accord'

CAPE TOWN — All political leaders should commit themselves to strengthening the National Peace Accord and its mechanisms, President de Klerk said yesterday.

Replying to a question from Chris Fisser (NP Rissik) during the State President's question time, he said strong leadership and discipline would be necessary to curb the violence.

"It is of key importance that the leaders of the Inkatha Free-

dom Party and the ANC find ways to come together and visibly show they can agree on the rules of the game."

Until they met and made peace he feared their followers would continue acting violently, he said.

He agreed with Fisser that those arrested for smuggling arms into the country should be disciplined internally by leaders of the political organisations they belonged to. — Sapa.

Seven die since Sunday as violence shakes Natal

By Charmeela Bhagwat
Crime Reporter

While the country's attention was focused on three ambushes on white motorists in the Vaal Triangle, at least seven people — including two IFP officials — have been killed in Natal since Sunday.

In Umlazi, an IFP councillor and prominent peace activist was gunned down with a friend at a house at about 9 pm on Tuesday.

The KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC), which said yesterday it was "shocked and outraged" over the murders, said Ndebele was actively involved in implementing the National Peace Accord in the township.

It appealed to the community to help police with investigations.

In the northern Natal township of Wembezi on Tuesday, another prominent IFP member was injured when a man hurled an F1 handgrenade into

his shop, Zamokuhle General Dealer, after a meeting between ANC and IFP leaders.

Ndiswa Miya (45) is the IFP's Wembezi branch chairman. Shop assistant Zodwa Sokhela (30) was also injured.

Natal police spokesman Major Hamilton Ngidi said both men were taken to hospital. Two suspects were being held.

In Paddock, near Port Shepstone, unidentified gunmen sprayed a bakkie with automatic gunfire at 1 pm on Sunday, killing four people, said Ngidi.

And Jabulani Zingwazi (35) was shot dead in his Umlazi home on Tuesday. The motive for the murder appeared to be political, said Ngidi.

In Elandskop, near Maritzburg, unidentified men yesterday fired at a minibus driver, wounding him in the chest and stomach, said Ngidi. The man, whose name has been withheld, was reported to be in a serious condition.

Local logic

THERE are times when it seems the bad news will overwhelm us. The headline in yesterday's paper said "Blacks owe R2 billion for service charges". This was revealed in Parliament by Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delpport, who warned that only when township residents started paying for municipal services could the principle of one city, one tax base be introduced.

He acknowledged that the absence of a political forum where grievances could be discussed had led to countrywide boycotts inspired by civic associations.

The good news is that the Local Government Negotiating Forum got off the ground this week. Its aim is to promote democracy, non-racialism and financial viability at local level. There are still differences in approach. President of the SA National Civic Organisation Moses Mayekiso says Sanco regards all present local authorities as illegitimate. It wants single tax-base structures sooner than later.

Delpport warns that it will take a major effort to change the culture of non-payment that has set in. Yet the gap is not unbridgeable and at least a widely acceptable forum now exists in which crucial issues can be addressed.

Plan to wipe out cadres alleged

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa today claimed that President de Klerk personally ordered the elimination of Apla cadres in the Transkei.

He charged that the Citizen Force was being mobilised to carry out the operation as part of the Government's 10-point plan.

In a strongly worded diplomatic note sent to the South African Government today, Holomisa again rejected the preliminary findings of the Goldstone Commission and released details of a plan to "wipe out" the Apla cadres.

A report by the Goldstone Commission, released yesterday by De Klerk, implicated the Transkei Government in Apla activities in the homeland.

In a speech to a special session of Parliament, De Klerk yesterday demanded an explanation from Holomisa about the Goldstone Commission's finding that Transkei was being used by



Holomisa . . . sent a strongly worded diplomatic note.

Apla as a springboard for attacks into South Africa.

In the note, Holomisa said: "I would like to alert you to the fact that our Intelligence is aware of the order personally given by you to the effect that certain persons deemed to be Apla members resident in Transkei be wiped out as a matter of extreme urgency.

"Part of the purpose of mobi-

lising the Citizen Force is to achieve this purpose."

He added: "We are reliably informed that as from Monday March 22, 1993, the security forces in East London have started spray-painting cars and changing number plates to stage the operation as part of your 10-point plan.

"Luxury buses purporting to convey tourists to and from Transkei will be used to transport the would-be murderers.

"The Atlas Luxury Coaches (buses) have been identified for the operation."

Holomisa said the security forces met in East London yesterday to finalise "ways and means of eliminating innocent people.

"A certain Mr van Claren, driving a GSK 354 T (VIP Jeep) which has been resprayed as well, attended the meeting yesterday and his car has already been loaded with weapons for use in the operation," he said.

A spokesman for the State President's office said it was uncertain whether the note had been received yet as De Klerk was in a National Party caucus meeting and would be available only later today.

Firearms curbs to come

CAPE TOWN — The Government rejected insinuations that it was not implementing measures it had announced to curb crime, President de Klerk said yesterday.

Replying to a question from Douglas Gibson (DP Yeoville), asked during the State President's question time, he said legislation which would further curtail the carrying of firearms had been approved by the Cabinet and would be presented to Parliament next week.

He said the 10-point plan he had announced earlier on yesterday would also contribute to the curtailment of crime.

The dramatic increase in manpower would enable the police to upgrade their presence. — Sapa.

B/Day 25-3-93

Each bullet takes
us forward - VIVA APLA



Pupils make their feelings known at yesterday's march in Johannesburg. The protest by thousands of schoolchildren against examination fees led to looting and violence in the city centre.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Bus. Day 25/3/93

Report is one-sided — Holomisa

THE Transkei has rejected preliminary findings of the Goldstone commission into activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and denied its territory had been used as an Apla springboard.

Military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa denied the finding that Apla members were receiving training in the Transkei. He said the report, in which only the SADF and SA Police accepted invitations to make submissions, was a "one-sided story".

Asked about the commission's finding that Apla's internal command was based in Transkei, he said the PAC and other liberation organisations were free to go where they wanted.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports Holomisa warned that if SA was to raid Transkei in search of Apla bases it should evacuate all whites because he did not have the manpower to protect them from racial retaliation which would inevitably follow.

If SA acted against his country, it would put an end to multiparty talks because "the ANC will never be allowed to negotiate with the Boers while they are at war with us".

Holomisa said his government would not participate in the inquiry because SA had refused his request for a judge to preside over Transkei's internal inquiry.

"We are still adamant there are no Apla bases in Transkei and we still uphold the non-aggression pact with SA," — Sapa.

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

APLA

STATE President De Klerk yesterday announced strong action to deal with the terror attacks launched by the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

A comprehensive plan has been drawn up for areas affected by terror attacks, but because an "element of surprise" is necessary for success, full details of the plan will not be released, he told Parliament.

The plan will require a fairly drastic increase in manpower levels of the security forces for a period. Accordingly, the Defence Force will urgently send out call-up instructions over a "reasonably wide front".

The police have also drawn up a 10-point plan to deal with terror attacks.

Mr De Klerk announced that 18 APLA members have been arrested for questioning and more arrests will follow.

However, the steps taken by the government will not satisfy those who feel that as a terrorist organisation, APLA should be banned.

Or that the Pan Africanist Congress, of which APLA is the military wing, should be barred from further talks and negotiations until it distances itself from APLA and renounces violence.

The government should also act against the Transkeian Government in the light of the Goldstone Commission committee's provisional findings that:

Both the PAC and APLA still propagate the armed struggle.

APLA uses Transkei as a springboard for attacks into South Africa. Arms and ammunition are stored in Transkei for use by APLA units. The presence of armed APLA members in Transkei was known to members of the Transkeian Police.

The Transkeian Government has supplied APLA with arms allegedly for VIP protection purposes.

APLA's operational activities are aimed at members of the SAP, the SADF and White civilians in general.

The PAC controls APLA's budget.

APLA members have received training in Arms and explosives are being smuggled into the Republic and Transkei for use by APLA members.

APLA's internal High Command for the Republic is based in Transkei.

The committee recommends that the international community be asked to request all nations to withhold assistance to APLA; and to bring pressure to bear on the PAC to cease to condone and support acts of violence by APLA, and to join other political groups in South Africa in their search for a negotiated settlement.

It also wants the international community to ascertain from the government of Tanzania its response to the allegations by the SAP and the SADF concerning the training of APLA members in that country and the existence there of an APLA base.

The government has asked for Transkei's urgent response to the committee's findings.

Transkei military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa's answer is to reject them.

The government should not hesitate, then, to cut the amount of money it pays to Transkei (after all, the Transkei Government cannot expect to live off the very same taxpayers whose lives are endangered by its support of APLA), and raid APLA bases in Transkei, or engage in hot pursuit there.

While we understand the delicacy of the problem facing State President De Klerk at this critical stage in the negotiation process, we feel that the measures he announced yesterday should be regarded as only a first step.

Indeed, we stick to our belief that APLA should be banned.

Furthermore, we believe that with the committee's report providing evidence that APLA and the PAC are jointly responsible, strong action should be taken against the PAC, too, by refusing to have any more dealings with it until it ends its armed struggle and denounces violence by APLA.

Finally, we commend Mr De Klerk's decision to ask Parliament to consider whether the moratorium on hangings should be scrapped.

We hope the answer will be a resounding Yes.

13/Day 25/3/93

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, March 25 1993

Oppose violent campaign to derail talks, ANC urges

THE ANC yesterday appealed to all South Africans to stand together and ensure the process of negotiations was not undermined by perpetrators of violence.

The organisation was commenting on the recent killings of whites in Walkerville in the Vaal Triangle.

The ANC said the planners of such atrocities knew that racial conflict, precipitated by their actions, would derail the peace process.

"The ANC unequivocally condemns these killings. We call on all South Africans to register their outrage (at these crimes) and stand together to ensure that those who are trying to undermine the negotiating process are isolated and called to account to the full extent of the law."

The ANC lashed out at Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and the SAP. It said while the Minister had to be commended for visiting Walkerville residents "it is disturbing that he allowed himself to be photographed

WILSON ZWANE

on the site of a demonstration of the AWB along the M27 Johannesburg/Vereeniging highway where blacks were being harassed and threatened with violence".

The organisation said while Kriel distanced himself from the AWB's actions, police took no action to stop "blatant acts of racist intimidation".

It was also "significant that no arrests had been made so far, particularly in the area where police reportedly have a wide network of covert operations".

The ANC said there was no certainty that the attacks on whites were carried out by the PAC's armed wing Apla. "Whoever the killers are, and whether they attack blacks or whites, they are criminals of the worst sort. The facts about these senseless killings can only be established through intensive investigation that is not motivated by political agendas."

The ANC was opposed to the exclusion of the PAC from multiparty negotiations because of Apla's alleged activities. "Pandering to calls for the PAC's exclusion is counterproductive and will only add to polarisation and lack of communication."

The ANC also said the newly established AWB "secret units" should be exposed and prevented from implementing threats to attack blacks.

Sapa reports a man was killed yesterday and two women injured when shots were fired from a minibus at Soweto's Baragwanath taxi rank.

Police said a white minibus carrying between eight and 12 men drove along the road and occupants opened fire on bystanders.

And on Tuesday Magarnale Buthelezi was accosted by a group of men and fatally shot at Ven Rhyn train station in Benoni. This brings to two the number of people killed on trains or at stations this month.

Katzen was supported by Botha — document

EAST LONDON. — Former State President P W Botha appears to have known about and supported Operation Katzen, the South African Defence Force's covert plan to topple the Ciskei Government five years ago.

And the commanders of the SADF's civil co-operation Bureau (CCB) and the police Vlakplaas Unit, were allegedly briefed on the plans.

The information is con-

tained in documents in the full operation Katzen file, just released by Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

The file has been handed over to Eastern Cape Acting Attorney-General Mike Hodgen.

The 141-page file starts in July 1986 with then officer commanding Eastern Province Command, then Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen's hand-

written plans to snatch rebel Charles Sebe from a Ciskei jail and then to topple his brother Lennox Sebe's government.

It ends early in 1987 after the abortive coup in Ciskei when the operation appears to have been finally scrapped.

During the operation, the SADF was approached by Ciskei for assistance in killing Charles Sebe. At the time, Ciskei was unaware

that the SADF was in fact backing Sebe.

"The (then) State President is aware of the affair and may possibly use it against President (Lennox) Sebe's pressure and demands on the South African Government," states a handwritten top secret document allegedly drafted by Colonel Piet Hall of the Eastern Province Command.

Another handwritten document, apparently drawn up in July or August 1986, lists eight people whom Van der Westhuizen briefed on Operation Katzen. They included then chief of special forces and commander of the CCB, General Joep Joubert and the then head of Vlakplaas Brigadier Willem Schoon.

Current Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, was also linked to Katzen. He was a Commandant in the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) at the time.

Another document, drafted by Charles Sebe, lists Gqozo among those who have "a positive outlook on a change resulting in a new Ciskei".

Van der Westhuizen was said to have warned senior Ciskei and Transkei officials that no blood should be spilled in the conflict around the Sebes — less than 10 days before he himself met with SADF and TDF officers to plot the coup attempt.

'A-bomb project was risky, ridiculous'

By Julianne du Toit

The ANC and Democratic Party last night welcomed the fact that the Government has finally come clean on its nuclear weapons programme, while the Conservative Party said the reasons for a nuclear deterrent still existed.

"It's so ridiculous," said DP energy affairs spokesman Roger Hulley. "Billions of precious rands were spent on an ill-conceived concept that could never have been used.

"What were we going to do? Defend apartheid with an atomic bomb? And in any case, our unrest was national, we were not being attacked by any countries far away."

Hulley said the Koeberg project was probably a smokescreen, since nuclear energy would only really be needed when fossil fuels ran out in the next century.

The costs of making enriched uranium alone ran into hundreds of millions a year. It was a very high-cost technology that was unnecessary at the time, he said.

The ANC welcomed De Klerk's disclosures, but said it insisted the Government reveal what has happened to every gram of the stockpile of weapons grade uranium, which international experts estimate at between 200 and 325 kg.

The organisation also demanded the release of Professor Mouton's report on the dismantling of the weapons in Armscor's possession. The organisation said it could not believe there was no testing of weapons, since a double-flash, indicative of a nuclear test, was sighted in the South Atlantic Ocean in 1979.

It could also not believe there was no foreign assistance for the weapons programme.

Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party said the Government had bowed to overseas pressure and had brought South Africa into a situation where its defence was weakened.

The mere fact of having nuclear weapons was a deterrent to attackers, he said.

The need for these weapons had not disappeared, he added.

Kriel, Kotze must resign – SACP

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The ANC and SACP have condemned the new cycle of racial killings, and the ANC has appealed to people to remain calm.

The SACP further called for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and his spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze.

The ANC slammed the Government for its "racially biased response" to the killings, saying that it was not showing equal concern for murders in black areas.

In separate statements, the organisations yesterday called for immediate multiparty supervision and control of all armed formations.

Both black and white citizens were the victims, and such racially motivated attacks affected everyone in the country, but the Government had yet to demonstrate an equal concern for the murders in black areas.

The ANC commended Kriel for visiting Eikenhof and Wal-kerville, where four whites have been killed. But, the organisa-

tion said, the SAP took no action to stop "blatant acts of racist intimidation" by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging demonstrators along the Johannesburg-Vereeniging highway, where "black commuters were being harassed and threatened with violence" on Monday.

The SACP said Kriel had consistently shown his incompetence in restoring peace and security: "Both Kriel and Captain Kotze constantly succumb to the temptations of politicising, and premature finger-pointing, when even their own SAP investigating officers are more cautious about attributing premature blame."

The ANC noted that it was still uncertain whether Apla was involved in the ambushes on whites.

It was opposed to calls for the PAC to be excluded from negotiations: "Pandering to emotional calls for the PAC's exclusion is counter-productive and will only add to polarisation and lack of communication."

A negotiated settlement was the best guarantee of an end to the violence. This would involve multiparty control of all armed formations, said the ANC.

NEWS

Don't help Apla, urges Goldstone report

All nations should withhold assistance to Apla which, like the Pan Africanist Congress, propagated the armed struggle, a committee of the Goldstone Commission said in a report yesterday.

The committee, under chairman Geri Sleyen, said there was a direct relationship between the Azanian People's Liberation Army and the PAC, which was responsible for ensuring that Apla was supplied with arms, equipment and money.

Apla made no secret that its policy was to kill policemen, white farmers and whites in general.

The committee also found that Apla's internal High Command for South Africa was

based in Transkei, which was being used as a springboard for attacks into South Africa.

Furthermore, the SAP had informed the committee it had received information that Apla planned further attacks.

The committee recommended that all parties engaged in the effort to reach a negotiated settlement should pressure the PAC and Apla to suspend the armed struggle and to join the search for a peaceful negotiated settlement.

The PAC controlled Apla's budget, the committee found.

The international community should also ascertain from the Tanzanian government its response to allegations that Apla members were being trained at a formal base in the country.

The committee also requested the South African Government and all political groups in South Africa to ascertain from Transkei authorities their response to allegations that Apla members were being trained there and that the territory was used as a springboard for attacks.

The SAP said Apla had about 120 members in South Africa who had undergone military training abroad. The number of recruits locally was not known.

The SAP estimated that Apla had about 2 700 members abroad, most of whom were in Tanzania. This included women, children and people working on agricultural projects.

The committee said much of the submissions were hearsay

but that it was careful to have regard only to hearsay that could be regarded as reliable.

While all interested parties were publicly invited to make submissions, only the police and the South African Defence Force had responded.

Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said in a covering letter the commission hoped that the Transkei authorities, the PAC and Apla would reconsider their attitude, in which case the proceedings would reopen.

If no response was forthcoming, these parties could not be heard to complain that the provisional findings were regarded as conclusive by local and international communities.

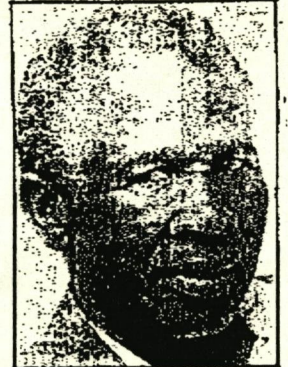
Documents before the com-

mittee showed that Apla was responsible for the execution of the PAC's military policy as decided by the Military Commission.

It was believed that at least three members of the Military Commission were also members of the PAC's National Executive Council. They were Johnson Mlambo, Joe Mkhwanazi and Thobile Gola.

It was further alleged that PAC president Clarence Makwetu, and the first deputy president, Johnson Mlambo, served on the Apla High Command.

It was also alleged that apart from in Tanzania, Apla members received training in other African countries, eastern Europe and Asia. — Sapa.



PAC leader Clarence Makwetu ... allegedly served on the Apla High Command.

Nat MP Bekker to defect to IFP?

CAPE TOWN — National Party Jeppe MP Hennie Bekker is on the verge of defecting to the Inkatha Freedom Party, according to strong rumours in Parliament.

Bekker himself would not confirm or deny the rumours. Parliamentary sources said he was due to hold high-level discussions within the National

Party which would determine whether he stayed or left.

Bekker was poised to join the IFP last week but was apparently dissuaded at the last minute by President de Klerk.

At that time he indicated he might stay on if the NP gave assurances about maintaining friendly relations with the IFP.

The recent rift between the

two parties has caused tensions in the NP caucus between pro and anti-IFP factions.

NP Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz defected to the IFP first, followed by Democratic Party Mike Tarr and Solidarity MP Farouk Cassim.

Bekker would be the first MP outside Natal to join the IFP. — Political Correspondent.