

I didn't torture anyone, says Hani

STAR 15/1/93

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

He said he witnessed no executions while he was in exile.

Hani admitted to visiting the notorious Quatro detention camp and interviewing some of the detainees for written reports to the leadership.



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

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

Some of the detainees told him of "gruesome torture" which he reported to the NEC.

However, he denied any personal involvement or giving orders for anyone to be tortured or executed.

The report directly implicated camp guards for the violation of human rights. Hani said they were appointed and controlled by the ANC department of security and he was never part of the specific department.

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

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

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

The CP found it inexplic-

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

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

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

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

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

IFF southern Africa executive director Russel Crystal — who is a National Party member of the President's Council — said the ANC's response was consistent with what the Douglas report described as the organisation's "antagonism to democratic procedures".

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Top ANC man tied to attacks on police

The Weekly Mail 15-21/1/93
Sapa and Weekly Mail Reporter

AFRICAN National Congress security chief Joe Nhlanhla personally armed three Umkhonto weSizwe fighters at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg before they embarked on an investigation of policemen, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

Nhlanhla also told the cadres to report to him after their reconnaissance operation, so that plans for the execution of the policemen could be made, according to a self-proclaimed MK member currently serving a sentence for illegal arms possession.

Brendan Sampson told a Goldstone committee sitting in Pretoria and inquiring into attacks on policemen that Nhlanhla had instructed them to gather information on three policemen allegedly harassing ANC members in Piet Retief.

The witness said Nhlanhla organised for him and two colleagues to collect .38 and .45 pistols as well as an AK47 rifle and ammunition from Shell House, the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters.

He alleged Nhlanhla instructed him in June last year to kill any policemen who hindered their reconnaissance mission.

Thereafter, he claimed, he was to report back to Nhlanhla at Shell House, where further plans would be made to "execute" these policemen.

Sampson, who was arrested soon after he arrived in Piet Retief, is serving a prison sentence for possession of arms and ammunition. He was convicted in July.

Sampson said he was trained at an Angolan camp after he had met Nhlanhla in Lusaka, Zambia in 1986.

Under cross-examination, he admitted to ANC legal counsel Azar Cachalia that he was not a card-carrying, paid-up member of the organisation.

He explained that he had joined the ANC in 1986, when it was still banned. He did not require a card — a system introduced after the ANC's unbanning in 1990 — to prove his membership. It was in his heart, he added.

16/1/11

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

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

The word is brought to mind by the latest report on the African National Congress detention camps, published this week by the so-called Douglas Commission. The commission is a one-man inquiry conducted by Advocate Robert Douglas SC, a distinguished member of the Natal Bar. His investigation was conducted under the aegis of the International Freedom Foundation (IFF), well known as a conservative pressure group.

It is, of course, the third published report on the subject, the two previous inquiries having been produced by the ANC itself and Amnesty International. The shameful story of the ANC detention camps is therefore well-known and the litany of horrors in Douglas's 64-page document contains little new about these skeletons which have been rattling in the liberation movement's cupboards. But his report does give other cause for regret.

Scanning the report during the IFF press conference at which it was released this week, my attention was caught by a reference to Harry Gwala, the ANC leader in the Natal Midlands. Douglas writes that, according to "a report in the *Sunday Times*", Gwala had recently "set up a fund to help Cuba..."

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

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

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

A word about the Douglas report

N. Mail
15/01/93

The latest report on the ANC detention camps can be described with one word — and it's not 'impartial' or 'accurate'.

By **DAVID BERESFORD**

— shows himself to be a virulent anti-communist. "Everything I have seen, or heard indicates that the SACP is controlled by a group of unrehabilitated Stalinists whose views remain largely unaffected by the momentous collapse of communism," he declares in the opening pages, promising that the "basis for this viewpoint" will be dealt with later in the report.

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

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

KGB and Gestapo redounds to the credit of the latter — in that the Mbokodo victimised loyal supporters of the ANC, while the Nazis and Russians "at least ... murdered and tortured real, or perceived enemies of the state".

The report opens with an evocation of the Soweto uprising, an episode which Douglas states "culminated in a march on 16th June, 1976" — a novel chronology which may be blamed on a misprint, rather than historical inexactitude, but which alerts one to the factual basis of the report. With some justification, as it transpires. He relies, for his account as to what happened in the camps, on 25 "sworn depositions and statements" without distinguishing between the two. He concedes that the witnesses were not subjected to cross-examination, but states that their evidence was subject to corroboration — the nature, or existence of which is not apparent from the report.

His leaps of logic are, on occasion, breathtaking. Quoting extensively from statements by Chris Hani that he was not responsible for the creation of the detention camps and had tried to halt summary executions taking place in them, Douglas concludes, incomprehensibly, that "on the evidence and the probabilities I have no hesitation in concluding that Hani was a leading figure in the reign of terror unleashed by the ANC/SACP or its members in exile".

Dealing with the celebrated case of Thami Zulu, the ANC commander who died in mysterious circumstances after being detained as an "enemy agent", the advocate produces bizarre allegations by an unidentified witness that he had his spine "broken" and that he had been taken to hospital and there injected with blood contaminated by the HIV virus. He says the autopsy showed Zulu had died of "heart failure", that traces of the poison diazinon were found in his body, that he was found to be HIV positive and that "the overwhelming probabilities are that he was murdered". He declares that one can "safely infer" (from what, it is not clear) that "very important people" in the ANC leadership encouraged the Mbokodo to get rid of Zulu.

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

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

In a word, it is unfortunate.

ANC branch agrees to join peace talks

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

AFTER boycotting two rounds of high-powered meetings with Inkatha, the African National Congress' northern Natal region has decided to attend a peace meeting scheduled for today.

But the ANC's Natal Midlands region — led by the fiery Harry Gwala — is sticking to its guns and will continue boycotting the peace initiative.

The northern Natal region shifted its position after an emergency "consultative conference" in Empangeni on Sunday attended by branch representatives and national executive committee

members Thabo Mbeki, Sydney Mufamadi and Aziz Pahad.

Northern Natal regional secretary Senzo Mchunu said yesterday the conference had agreed to attend today's meeting "with strong reservations and fears". He said Inkatha had "broken to pieces" previous agreements, and that current talks should not lead to a "repeat of past failures".

Today's meeting is one of a series aiming to pave the way for a summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and their

executive committees.

The chairman of the ANC's northern Natal region, Aaron Ndlovu, said the preparatory talks had to lead to a guarantee that there would be free political activity and free access to facilities in territories controlled by both organisations, and to a mechanism to uphold such an agreement.

ANC Midlands secretary Sifiso Nkabinde said the Midlands region planned to hold a "special meeting" in the near future — similar to the one in northern Natal — to review its position.

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The Weekly Mail 15-21/1/93

Buthelezi the kingmaker

MANGOSUTHU Buthelezi, leader of the IFP, has become popular again in white circles. He draws large audiences, not only in Natal, and he now appears to be confident enough of his backing from moderate whites to want to distance himself from the curious company he has latterly been keeping. Even his honeymoon with Apla may soon be a thing of the past.

One wonders why this is so, given everything that has happened to discredit him. Is it because people are fed up with President de Klerk's tepid leadership and much prefer a politician who "stands up" and is not averse to saying "bullshit" occasionally in public? Certainly Buthelezi cuts a far more confident figure these days than the slouch-shouldered, apologetic fellow who walked in De Klerk's shadow just the other day. Now it is De Klerk who looks apologetic. Buthelezi also knows by now, following the example of General Bantu Holomisa, that his water won't be cut off by Pretoria if he does a little growling of his own.

But there is another more subtle reason for the Zulu leader's growing popularity. This has to do with the potential of Buthelezi as kingmaker in white politics. He has become the new touchstone for the flowing currents within the NP, polarising around the issue of centralism versus federalism. In the cabinet the Nats are openly split on this issue, with De Klerk opting for a form of centralism and other ministers inclining the other way.

The NP federalists realise time is running out now that the timetable for elections later this year makes a lengthy debate on federalism impossible. If Buthelezi can sufficiently galvanise the federalist school, and if he can reach beyond the narrow parameters of his Zuluness to the broad white community, then it is not impos-

sible that the NP cabinet and party could oust De Klerk in favour of another NP leader with a commitment to federalism at all costs. A strong and fresh IFP-NP alliance could then be forged. Such a development would probably bring the current political process to a grinding halt ... "back from the brink" ... before elections take place and completely change the political landscape.

There are big-canvas reasons behind these events, which have been masked by the pettiness and squabbling of everyday politics. The ending of the cold war not only made it possible for many countries to cut loose from old commitments, but also for frozen postures to become unfrozen. In South Africa's case we have De Klerk unbanning the ANC, in the process extending to it the courtesy of a shared NP-ANC goal, and also in the process jettisoning old friends like Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

There are also cold war historical similarities with South Africa which explain what is happening in the cabinet, and why Buthelezi's hour may come at last if he plays his cards right. The principal one is the parallel with the end of World War 2, when the wartime allies equipped the former Axis powers, Japan, Germany and Italy, with constitutions in which strong

leadership was very difficult if not impossible. The purpose was to keep the communists from power, and Christian Democracy was in the case of Germany and Italy the electorates' guarantee that these countries would remain in the West and underpin Christianity at the same time.

In South Africa the early reformist blueprint was based on a

BUTHELEZI THE KINGMAKER

constitution similar to that of Italy's, where the weighted proportional representative system has ensured the exclusion of communists since the war. I remember being extensively briefed on this by Stoffel van der Merwe when he was still an academic at the Rand Afrikaans University 11 years ago, before he entered government. Van der Merwe is widely credited with constructing the intellectual edifice of the NP's former constitutional position during the PW era.

Van der Merwe had lived in Italy for several years and studied its constitution thoroughly. In his adaptation of the system to South African conditions the idea was that weak government at the centre would make it impossible for the ANC or any other black grouping for that matter to effectively govern. Van der Merwe persuaded former Constitutional Minister Gerritt Viljoen to share his vision which was not difficult since they were both at the same university. For Viljoen the strategy had merit since the ANC had yet to be unbanned and if Van der Merwe's proposals could be implemented before Mandela came out of prison then so much the better.

PW Botha lacked Van der Merwe's farsightedness however, and through his cack-handed governance torpedoed the dreams of the federalist reformists. They shifted their support to De Klerk, who has disap-

pointed in turn. But what has happened now is that many if not a majority of Nationalists still see an Italian-type constitution with a weak centre and strong regional periphery as the surest way of preventing an abuse of power by the ANC. Buthelezi is

central to this debate because his proposed constitution for South Africa and KwaNatal, if adopted, would have precisely the effect of ensuring weak central government. Hence the growing support for him from rank and file whites across South Africa. Buthelezi and his potential allies in the NP represent the only hope against an excessive concentration of power at the centre, and his appeal is no longer limited solely to Natal for this reason. If he can garner enough populist white support for his federalist vision then he could conceivably trigger a palace revolution within the ranks of the NP itself.

De Klerk is in an awkward position. His main Achilles heel is the budget. Students of Italy will know that the Italian constitution, forever favouring alliances and compromises, has made budgetary rigour difficult for political reasons. This is the reason Italy is in the mess it is. With high international concern very evident over South Africa's parlous economic situation, De Klerk is in no position to toy with federal experiments that could weaken state financial discipline, if this is not already a contradiction in terms. De Klerk and Mandela are coalescing for different reasons, one financial and the other political, both wedded to centralism. The collapse of apartheid has removed the "power source" which previously bound Ulundi and Pretoria together, leaving Buthelezi with everything to play for and De Klerk with nothing left except to hand power to the ANC.

16/1/11

ANC wants farm policy negotiated

The Weekly Mail 15-21/1/93

The ANC has welcomed many of the recommendations of the Kassier committee but believes that agricultural policy decisions should be part of political negotiations. By PAT SIDLEY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Questioned on this yesterday, Kassier noted that agricultural co-operatives, which existed under the force of law, and which had always excluded black farmers, remained a problem.

The Co-operative Act would come under the spotlight this year he said. Although he believed co-operatives were essentially voluntary organisations and could restrict their membership, he believed it would not be possible for them to "do anything other than throw open their doors to all members".

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

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

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

STAR 15/1/83

MK chief Modise meets SADF's No 2

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

SADF second-in-command Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn — the man hand-picked by President de Klerk to investigate "third force" allegations — held a secret meeting with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise this week.

The meeting, which took place on Tuesday afternoon, is understood to have dealt

with issues surrounding a new defence force.

Part of Steyn's brief is to look into the possible restructuring of Military Intelligence (MI), and sources said this week's meeting could have had a bearing on this matter.

Yesterday Steyn would not comment on the meeting with Modise or discuss progress in his investigation into MI.

News of the meeting be-

tween two of South Africa's top military men — on opposing sides — was met with surprise both in ANC and SADF circles.

Codesa groups agreed last year to establish multiparty control of the security forces in pursuance of the levelling of the political playing field in the run-up to elections for a transitional government. The decision was, however, not ratified at Codesa 2.

At a meeting with the

ANC in May, Steyn outlined suggestions for a new defence force to MK officials.

Modise was not part of the MK group which attended the meeting.

However, the MK commander was part of a meeting — disclosed in The Star — with MI chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen in Pretoria last July.

Modise was not available for comment last night.

16/1/11

SADF No 2 meets MK X commander

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Political Reporter

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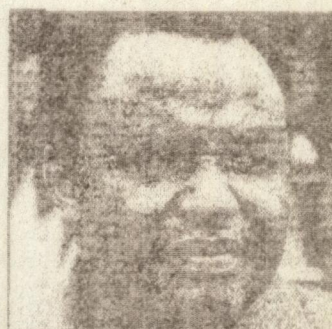
Yesterday Steyn would not comment on the meeting with Modise or discuss progress in his probe into MI.

News of the meeting between two of South Africa's top military men — on opposing sides — was met with surprise in both ANC and SADF circles.

ANC sources said they thought the meeting was part of a series started in May before Codesa 2 to discuss a future defence force.

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At a meeting with the ANC in May, Steyn outlined suggestions for a new defence force to MK officials.



No big deal . . . ANC thought Joe Modise was keeping contacts open with SADF.

Modise was not part of the MK group which attended the meeting.

However, the MK commander was part of a meeting — disclosed in The Star — with MI chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen in Pretoria in July.

Modise was not available for comment last night.

• The meeting is understood to have been arranged by the director of UCT's Centre for Intergroup Studies, Laurie Nathan.

Nathan would not confirm his involvement.

He said: "If the meeting took place, it would have been an important exercise in building confidences between the SADF and MK."

"In my opinion it is imperative that such meetings in future become open, public and extend to other ranks of the armed formations."

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Busting in on the 'Bond

Chaos erupted at a secret Broederbond meeting held on a farm in the Northern Transvaal on Saturday when a journalist demanded to attend the meeting.

"Your chairman has said that the Broederbond is becoming more open and I therefore would like to attend the meeting," journalist Hennie Serfontein told members of the Broederbond local welcoming committee.

For the next 15 minutes, luxury German cars were seen speeding away from the proposed meeting place. Other broeders tried to hide their faces.

To the broeders, the name of Hennie Serfontein brings bad memories. Many remember him as the man who 30 years ago, did an expose of the Broederbond.

Since then, he has published many reports and written a book on the Broederbond.

Saturday's meeting of the district council of northern Transvaal was held on the farm 'Geduld' near Rustenburg. Broeders from all over the Transvaal were invited.

The main item on the agenda was a "very special speaker" who addressed the expected 700 members at three o'clock. It could not be confirmed that the speaker was F W de Klerk, a long-time Broeder himself.

J P de Lange may talk about opening up the Broederbond, but the way in which members reacted to the exposure of their meeting place, shows that it is a long way away from being prepared for public scrutiny, Serfontein says.

Crisis prompts sanctions rethink

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

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

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

The interview includes a prediction by Mandela that non-racial elections will be held some time this year.

Taylor noted that official ANC policy on sanctions was to retain them until an elected democratic interim government was in place. But he reported that Mandela had said that once a date for a non-racial election had been set, and once multiparty authorities had been established to ensure the fairness of such an election, he would consider asking the ANC to call for an end to sanctions.

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

Mandela told the newspaper he did not expect to serve in the interim government creat-



Nelson Mandela ... concern about high unemployment.

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

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

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

The interview quotes Mandela as saying the condition of the economy had injected a

sense of urgency to the political process.

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

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

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

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

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

Soweto's future

TRANSVAAL'S Administrator has finally fired the town councils of Soweto and Diepsmeadow, ostensibly because they couldn't solve the financial crisis caused largely by a six-year service tariff boycott. Of course, there must be more to the move than a need to find a better debt collector.

It cannot be that the Province — or any white municipality professing to have Soweto's interests at heart — will rest content with an appointed administrator governing the country's most populous local authority. Despots, however benevolent, are no answer.

Significantly, Administrator Zakkie Lombard will fill the gap left by the disbanded councils only until February 28. This is time enough to sort out how Johannesburg and Roodepoort can help bring a decent level of service to Soweto; time enough to spell out how this sharing of services will be a first step toward nonracial interim government for Greater Johannesburg. A bold lead is needed from white councillors and Soweto civic leaders to kindle faith in the potential of effective and fair local government and lift the gloom from Soweto, weightiest of apartheid's shadow cities.

Jo-Anne Collinge perceives 'a lurid anti-communist gloss' to findings

Gaps in third report on ANC camps

THE DOUGLAS Commission report on abuses in ANC camps is an uneven mixture of detailed first-person evidence of torture and killing, on the one hand, and political analysis which relies on much less stringent hearsay information, on the other.

On the question of establishing abuse, the study — sponsored by the International Freedom Foundation — corroborates and substantially expands the evidence set out in the ANC's own preliminary inquiry undertaken last year and in a more recent Amnesty International report.

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

Douglas's efforts to establish the thesis that the camps were the brainchild of the South African Communist Party and were but an instance of "the SACP taking con-

trol of the ANC in exile and using it for its own purposes" rest on far more shaky foundations. The only direct evidence of the SACP's role is the reference by witnesses to the actions of leading ANC communists at the camps and in the ANC security structures.

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

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

In chapter two of the report, Douglas concludes — without

first-hand back-up evidence — that the ANC's security arm, the notorious Mbokodo, was set up by the SACP "under the tutelage of the KGB".

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

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

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

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

The other 50-odd people are

simply listed. While the majority are mentioned in the published statements of witnesses, only a few are referred to by several witnesses. Douglas was unable to explain what level of corroboration of evidence was required in order for an alleged torturer's name to appear on the list.

Douglas said the IFF had allowed him to pursue his brief with professional independence. He admitted he was an anti-communist but said this had not interfered with his job as sole commissioner.

The IFF's southern African director, Russel Crystal, this week described his organisation, which has its headquarters in Washington, as "libertarian". At its launch in the region in 1986, the IFF professed support for rebel groups such as Renamo and Unita, and during the state of emergency actively opposed the United Democratic Front campaign for the ANC's unbanning. □

Broederbond aims to secure a key role in new SA

● From Page 1

"The AB and the Future", circulated countrywide to cells and members, the council says: "Membership remains confidential and even secret. Selection leading to membership remains secret."

Addressing the possibility of opening its ranks to other races, the council says in its memorandum that the selection process and requirement for membership remain unchanged. However, the word "white" is to be removed from its constitution.

The council does not foresee the possibility of women becoming members but says husbands should make more



Pieter de Lange . . . chairman since 1983.

use of their wives' skills.

It is not only membership that will remain secret. Discussions and documents containing sensitive information

will still be treated secretly.

In a memorandum sent to all 1382 AB cells in January last year, members are once again reminded how important secrecy and confidentiality are. If a member corresponds with head office in Johannesburg, only a reference number must be used. Only the membership numbers of other members must be used.

The executive council of the Broederbond consists of 18 members, although for the first 60 years of its existence there were only 12.

De Lange, member No 7 842, has been chairman since 1983.

Probably the most remarkable name on the list of executive council members is that



Claus van Zyl . . . prominent Broeder.

of Mr Justice W H Booysen of the Natal Bench of the Supreme Court.

Johannesburg Bar Council chairman Advocate Wim

Trengove (SC) said the presence of a judge on the executive council of the AB was "inappropriate and undesirable" and could undermine confidence in the Bench.

Mr Justice Booysen is on leave and was unavailable for comment.

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

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

Hani denies torture, killing

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

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

He said he witnessed no executions while he was in exile.

Hani admitted to visiting the notorious Quatro detention camp and interviewing some of the detainees for written reports to the leadership.

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

Some of the detainees told him of "gruesome torture" which he reported to the NEC.

However, he denied any personal involvement or giving orders for anyone to be tortured or executed.



Chris Hani... says he asked for an end to execution of mutineers.

The report directly implicated camp guards for the violation of human rights. Hani said they were appointed and controlled by the ANC department of security and he was never part of the specific department.

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

Hani yesterday described

Zulu as having been "a close friend" with whom he shared confidences. He had visited him twice while Zulu was detained by the ANC and also when he was released.

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

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

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

Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon said yesterday that the report made "grim reading" and confirmed the findings of both the ANC-appointed and the Amnesty International commis-

sions of inquiry into allegations of torture in ANC prison camps in exile, released in September.

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

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

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

• Gaps in report — Page 6

A frontline cop speaks out

A POLICEMAN from a unit stationed in Natal's battle zone provides a candid inside view of the fear and confusion along the frontline. Among his surprising revelations:

- Police carry home-made guns called "ghosts" which they leave in the hands of township residents who have been shot dead in error. Errors are common because frightened police-

men prefer to shoot first rather than be shot at.

- Police resent the presence of the SADF, whose members are often inexperienced, but who "pull rank" and order the policemen about.

- Ammunition and bullet-proof vests for police are in short supply, forcing men either to buy their own — or to steal.

Full details: PAGE 5

Policing the front lines

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

Police response: Make yourself public

THE South African Police yesterday declined to comment on *The Weekly Mail's* interview with an Internal Stability Unit member in southern Natal. The story was faxed in its entirety to the SAP's public relations department.

"The SAP is not prepared to comment on allegations made by an alleged and unidentified member of the South African Police," the SAP said in a statement.

"If the person concerned was in any sense of the word a 'dedicated' policeman with the rank of warrant officer, he would know what to do regarding the criminal acts he allegedly witnessed.

"We view these allegations very seriously and are most concerned that, if true, they must be properly dealt with."

● Editors' note

The policeman interviewed in this article has asked to have his name withheld for his own safety. Where possible, his claims have been cross-checked with other sources and found authentic.

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of 60-70 men, it's "first come first serve" and officers like himself must buy their own at R1 000 a jacket.

"They'll give you two magazines for a 9mm shotgun. So you have to buy more or steal them. It's a matter of life and death. When you get revved (shot at), you don't stay around because you don't have enough ammo."

He also complains of the constant pressure to confiscate AK47s which they can never find. It's all a question of luck, he says bitterly. "If you don't show results you get jumped on. But what's heartbreaking is you work your arse off for years and then some young constable kicks a bush and an AK falls out. Then he gets a cache and he gets all the credit."

Almost daily, the patrol vans get shot at so police often prefer to do foot patrols, using non-regulation means like balaciyas and blackened hands and faces to camouflage themselves.

"You can't walk around a township with a white face. We wear balaciyas. If they (his superiors) catch you they burn you but you have to have them." His commanders "know but they don't know" about this practice, he says.

He explains that while it is more common for the SADF to paint their faces, his police unit will follow suit if paint is available. Sometimes black members will go into townships in plain clothes. "They (blacks) have better camo than we do. I've had personal incidents when I've been crouching in the bush and suddenly had an instinct. The next minute you're staring into someone's eyes. He's sitting right next to you."

"These guys are super-quiet. They wear shorts, go round barefoot and

they know the area. They've lived there all their lives. Especially the Inkathas. They've been trained in thing like tracking from when they're small."

This young policeman describes himself as neutral, interested only in stopping the fighting. In his view the ANC is responsible for 70 percent of the violence. "I'm here because I'm dedicated. I don't support either side. Anyway, you don't usually know whether a person is Inkatha or ANC."

However he does tell how people wearing ANC T-shirts are often the targets of trigger-happy shootings. "It's not like there's an order from the top but there's no control. The guys shoot people just to show they have courage."

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

"The IFP are super-disciplined," he says, describing in glowing terms the snake dance and subsequent attack that impis perform when they

weave in a line down a hill. "It's actually beautiful. You have to see it to believe it. The induna controls the whole thing. As the snake runs down the hill in an attack, the first person breaks the windows and doors, the

second throws in petrol bombs, then as people start running out the rest of the snake kills them with spears, knives or guns. They kill anything in their path. Even chickens and dogs."

He is pessimistic about the possibility of ending the cycle of violence in the country. The only

way, he says, is to bring control and order down to the ground. He would support the formation of a peace-keeping force of integrated soldiers from the different political groups and security forces but cautions: "It would only work if you had representatives from all of them in each unit on the ground. It's at the grass-roots where the fighting happens, not around the table."

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

We carry ghosts (home-made guns) in the vans ... if a person is killed by mistake, we place a ghost in his hands

Banks are treading a fine red line

FOR white suburbanites and black township residents alike, the new year has brought bad tidings: last week's statement to *Business Day* by Council of South African Banks director general Tony Norton to the effect that banks "would be hesitant to give new loans for properties in Diepsloot in northern Johannesburg because of the uncertainty surrounding the controversial Zevenfontein squatters' relocation to the area".

Norton's confirmation of bank redlining signals that extensive discussions between the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) and the Association of Mortgage Lenders have failed to bring the bankers into the spirit of a non-racial South Africa.

By refusing mortgages in certain areas banks are missing the spirit of the new South Africa — and leaving themselves open to bond boycotts, argues South African National Civic Organisation president
MOSES MAYEKISO



The discussions began after our bond boycott call last July finally drew attention to township residents' complaints.

Now white homeowners victimised by the banks may better

understand the sentiments in many disadvantaged communities, which began suffering banker withdrawal pains as early as three years ago.

The problem is not limited to Diepsloot, Bloubastrand (where the

Zevenfontein community originally settled), or white areas surrounding Ivory Park in Midrand which banks still redline years after the township was established.

If something is not done, large parts of our metropolis will come under the banks' red pen as shack settlements are introduced by development agencies. Sanco's formal policy guidelines condemn the site-and-service shack schemes favoured by the Independent Development Trust, Urban Foundation, Transvaal Provincial Administration and other establishment agencies. Our position remains that decent housing is a human right.

After all, if northern suburbanites are upset when shacks pop up nearby, think how upsetting it is for seven

million urban South Africans actually to live, and raise a family, in a shack.

The National Housing Forum must find ways to move beyond the current quagmire in which housing policy has been reduced to site, service and toilet policy.

A democratically determined housing policy is a necessary precondition to ending white homeowners' fears — but today, bankers should not wield power to cause an area's demise at their whim. Aside from their financial arbitrariness, there are crucial social considerations. Whether it is the northern suburbs, Hillbrow, or any black township, the effects of redlining are to fuel racist fears of integration and maintain divided cities.

Sanco believes that banks have for too long cemented apartheid geography with their lending policies, and it is now time for them to become part of the solution, rather than remain a large part of the problem. Our negotiations seek a common understanding of the banks' rights and responsibilities in home lending — and we reached such an understanding with the more enlightened officials of the Perm (no longer a potential mass action target).

But if Norton's position on Diepsloot is not re-evaluated, it may be necessary to toss out the carrot and begin to use a stick or two. Sanco legal advisers are currently drafting proposed legislation similar to the US Community Reinvestment Act which, once an interim government is in place, could compel banks to drop discriminatory policies.

The stakes are too high to let the redlining continue. Banks' policies today prevent people from selling homes in the same black areas where, in the late 1980s, they were enthusiastically granted loans. As a result there is no secondary sales market to speak of, and so banks are putting at risk the several billion rand they earlier sunk into townships. Moreover, now the future of an integrated residential property market for urban South Africa is also at risk.

Citizens across the political spectrum are getting fed up with the banks' record profits, which are derived from high transaction fees and low interest rates on our saving accounts, combined with high interest rates on several more billions of rands in loans to corrupt apartheid agencies and homelands.

And even Finance Minister Derek Keys and Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals became fed up with the banks' capital flight, and had to call a halt to financing foreign expansion through the finrand. We hope other citizens' groups will join Sanco in developing a feasible and fair response to harmful banking practices such as redlining, so as to assure racial harmony and affordable housing for all.

PAC linked to 'Gqozo's Inkatha'

By CLAIRE KEETON

EVIDENCE is mounting of links between the Pan Africanist Congress and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's "Inkatha" — the African Democratic Movement (ADM) — in the Border region. This has muddied the waters around last year's attack on the King William's Town golf club, whose sophistication led to doubts about Apla involvement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An incident days before Gqozo made his claims dramatised the murky politics at play. Ciskei Police announced they had arrested seven PAC members last Friday for possession of illegal weapons — R1 and R5 rifles, and Scorpion machine pistols — alleging the seven planned to disrupt an ANC Youth League meeting (ANCYL). The ANC immediately claimed

the seven were in fact ADM members masquerading as PAC.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANC warns against optimism over summit with Inkatha

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party will meet in Durban today to assess progress made in preparations for a summit involving the two organisations' leaders.

The meeting follows two previous rounds of talks by the "contact group" appointed to liaise between the organisations.

It is expected to be held at a beachfront hotel this morning.

The delegations will be led by ANC assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, neither of whom could be reached for comment yesterday.

Mdlalose was said to be at-

tending a meeting in Ulundi and Zuma was reported to be in Cape Town to attend his organisation's meeting with the Government.

However, ANC national executive committee member and deputy international affairs head Aziz Pahad this week cautioned against optimism.

Today's meeting, he said, was scheduled to assess progress made in preparations for a summit between the two organisations, and not to set a date for the summit.

Pahad said four joint subcommittees elected at the last meeting between the two organisations were charged with the responsibility to prepare the groundwork for a summit between the ANC and the IFP.

The last such meeting, held in Durban on January 29 last year, did not yield any concrete results.

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

The four subcommittees whose work will be assessed at today's meeting were asked to look at:

- The creation of a climate for free political activity.
- The strengthening of National Peace Accord structures.
- The militarisation of politics in the country.
- The reconstruction and development of violence-affected areas.

Given weapons by ANC – witness

By Michael Sparks

A witness told the Goldstone Commission yesterday that an executive member of the ANC had provided weapons for an attack on police in Piet Retief, while at the same time being involved in negotiations at Codessa 2.

Brandon Samson was giving evidence to the committee investigating attacks on police. He said NEC member Joe

Nhlanhla had told him to go to Piet Retief in the eastern Transvaal to find out the movements of policemen and later to return and attack them.

Samson told the committee he was given two handguns and an AK-47 in Nhlanhla's office at ANC headquarters in Shell House in Johannesburg in June 1992.

Samson was later convicted of illegal possession of arms and ammunition, but acquitted of threatening a policeman. He is due for release today after serving six months of his sentence.

When questioned by ANC counsel Azhar Cachalia, Samson said while he did not carry a membership card for the organisation, he regarded himself as a member.

In a separate hearing into activities of the "third force", George Mlomo, who had employed

Mozambican Joao Cuna, said he had suggested to Cuna that he talk to the Vrye Weekblad, hoping it might give him personal security.

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

The hearing was adjourned until Monday.

Police said in add to violence — Page 5

Scrapping of councils hailed

THE dissolution of the Soweto and Diepmeadow councils had given the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber a "new lease of life", Johannesburg City Council's management committee chairman Ian Davidson said yesterday.

Davidson said the councils' presence in the chamber had hampered negotiations on Johannesburg's involvement in rendering services — on an agency basis — to the Greater Soweto townships.

The councils and the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) had been opposed to Johannesburg's involvement. The councils saw the move as hijacking their duties, while the SCA saw it as "propping up" the councils, Davidson said.

Johannesburg would now proceed to "contribute to the upliftment of the people in Soweto".

He stressed the city would render the

WILSON ZWANE

services on an agency basis. The TPA and the Central Witwatersrand RSC would be asked to fund the services.

The ANC PWV local and regional government commission said yesterday the dissolution of the councils on the basis of maladministration vindicated its assertion that the structures were not only "illegitimate and discredited, but were also corrupt and incapable of running the day-to-day affairs of the townships".

It added: "The time has now come for their total dissolution and to make way for interim local government structures which must be the outcome of genuine local negotiations processes."

Soweto PRO Mojaiefa Moseki said yesterday the councillors would contest their dismissals in court.

Battle for St Lucia's future starts

SOUTH Africans should await the outcome of an environmental impact assessment on mining northern Natal's unique St Lucia dunes before judging the situation, mining firm Richards Bay Minerals (RBM) said yesterday.

The company was reacting to the Campaign for St Lucia's (CSL's) relaunch of its anti-mining lobby.

RBM, whose majority shareholder is Canadian-based mining giant Rio Tinto Zinc, was dismayed by CSL's view that mining could radically affect delicate ecosystems, destroy pristine dune forests, flood wetlands and cause erosion.

The campaign's views were "propaganda", and RBM referred to "the most extensive and comprehensive assessment ever undertaken".

A review panel would test public opinion and add their comments before the report was submitted to Cabinet, RBM said.

The impact assessment's findings are due on March 18.

The CSL said there was some hope that a wetlands conservation Bill would be passed by Parliament, preventing all prospecting and mining within internationally recognised wetland sites, including St Lucia.

CSL chairman Dr Nolly Zalouris said St Lucia was too important to gamble with. There were other mining sites available, and ecotourism would generate much more money in the long run. The area was also an integral part of a proposed greater St Lucia wetland park. — Sapa.

Bilateral meetings to plot talks path

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

Government and ANC delegations met each other in Cape Town yesterday to prepare for the five-day extended secret bilateral meeting starting on Wednesday.

Neither ANC president Nelson Mandela nor President F W de Klerk will attend Wednesday's meeting.

It is understood the teams discussed the progress of the joint committee set up at the last bilateral meeting in December to fine-tune proposals put to that meeting.

Since the December meeting there have been several meetings between the two sides to discuss constitutional issues; levelling the playing fields for elections; creating a climate for free political activity; armed formations such as Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla; and removal of remaining repressive legislation.

The bilateral meeting next week is a continuation of the one in December.

It is likely to evaluate how the two sides can bring their allies into the process and how to accommodate members of the Concerned South Africans Group, especially Inkatha which is to meet both parties soon.

The ANC meets Inkatha today in Durban in the hope of finalising a date for a summit of their respective leaders and their organisations' executives.

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

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus warned

BILLY PADDOCK

yesterday that it was wrong to pre-empt the meeting and assume that a date would be set.

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

The committees were expected to prepare proposals on free political activity, militarisation of politics, implementation of peace accord structures and reconstruction of communities ravaged by violence.

Meanwhile, the executive of the national peace committee met last night in routine session to consider the agenda of a meeting of the peace accord. The meeting of signatories had been scheduled for yesterday but was cancelled after Buthelesi said he had not yet met Mandela.

And in another development, government and Inkatha are to meet in a two-day bilateral for the first time since Inkatha broke off talks with government in September. This is expected to be in Durban on Monday and Tuesday.

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

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

Intolerance

POLITICAL tolerance will not be easily achieved in this country, and certainly not by the elections promised in a year or 18 months. International monitors will then have to decide, as they did in Kenya, whether the violence, intimidation and even corruption were so great as to prevent the poll being reasonably free and fair.

That unpleasant reality should not deter political parties, and in particular their leaders, from trying to inculcate a tolerance of opposing viewpoints, of freedom of speech, among a militant and possibly substantial minority plainly averse to either. The more success for tolerance, the greater the prospects for democracy in the new

South Africa, but perfection will not be achieved quickly.

The Democratic Party's troubles in Cape townships are only the start. The ANC, rightly demanding free speech in Inkatha strongholds and hostile homelands, is itself accused of a reign of terror; Inkatha lacks political freedom in ANC bastions while the AWB threatens to prevent meetings or marches of which it disapproves.

It is not an encouraging basis for democracy. The lessons being learned now may diminish electoral abuses in future, but only the naive can expect sweet reasonableness within a year. The unhappy question then will be how much intolerance is tolerable.