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Death of conspirators pleased me, says Gqozo

CISKEI'S Brigadier Oupa Gqozo this week finally gave evidence before a Bisho inquest court probing the killings of two alleged coup conspirators.

General Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana were killed during a Ciskei military operation in January 1991.

Brigadier Gqozo issued two decrees to prevent him from having to testify. These were overturned by the homeland's courts before he was compelled to appear before Mr Justice Mike Claasens, who had earlier labelled his failure to come to court as "reprehensible".

The small public gallery was packed with supporters, including cabinet members, as he took the stand on Monday.

The brigadier spent three days giving evidence. Questions focused on an interview he had with Durban journalist Yogin Devan after the killings.

Choosing to speak in Xhosa, though

By ANDREW TRENCH

breaking frequently into English, Brigadier Gqozo told the court his references to a "seek and destroy" order and to "taking out" the two had been taken out of context.

Pressed by Ciskei's deputy attorney-general, Mr Leon Langeveld, to explain the "seek and destroy" order, the brigadier said: "(That) is when we talk about a tracking down or follow-up operation of an enemy. Well, search and destroy, in this case, means if you find such a person or that enemy in a situation dangerous to you, you are supposed to take him down, throw a stone at him, apprehend him, intimidate him and, if the need arises, you can shoot that person."

Sitting in a corner of the court was Colonel Guzana's widow, Vive, who succeeded in getting the Appeal Court to overturn the brigadier's two decrees.

THE Kwazulu government was forced to leave the negotiating table after it had exhausted all other available options and remedies to ensure the cause of federalism and constitutional guarantees triumph over authoritarian and centralistic hidden agendas.

With all the means available within the process, we tried to change the course taken by negotiations. However, on every occasion we were overruled, ignored and even cut short. Our entire vision for the establishment of a federation prior to elections was not even put on the table.

In fact, on June 15 1993 we walked out for the first time precisely because the ANC/SACP alliance and the South African government/National Party delegation refused to instruct the technical committee to give full consideration to our proposal for a final federal constitution by the end of 1994 as an alternative to their proposal for a two-stage transition process centred on the empowerment of a constituent assembly and a substantially unitary state.

On that occasion propaganda attempted to describe our walkout as a reaction to the setting of a date for a democratic election, while our opposition to the election date was based on the fact that the ANC/SACP alliance and the government/NP were steamrolling the process into elections for a constituent assembly and avoiding the issue of federalism.

Our second walkout was at the meeting of the negotiation forum on July 2, and was caused by the decision to instruct the technical committee to draft a constitution to empower a constituent assembly and to establish a unitary state with some provincial or regional characteristics, rather than a true federation of states, such as the United States, Germany or Australia.

The decisions to instruct the technical committee and ratify the election date were taken over our most fundamental objections, which proved the point that our presence at the World Trade Centre is required only to rubberstamp what the ANC/-



BEN NGUBANE, leader of the Kwazulu government delegation at the multi-party talks, tells why he walked out a month ago

Overruled, ignored and often snubbed

SACP alliance and the government/NP have already decided.

If the process allows these two organisations to make decisions over our most fundamental objections, our continuing presence in the process is not required.

The hard fact of the matter is that we were right, for the draft constitution submitted by the technical committee conclusively proved our contentions and confirmed our and South Africa's worst fears.

Under the draft an extremely limited range of powers are considered for the regions, which are far less than those presently exercised by the self-governing territories. However, no power whatever will vest in the regions until and unless a decision in this sense is made by the new government and by two-thirds of the constituent assembly.

This process will decide how much power will be exercised by the regions and whether such power will be exercised as exclusive or concurrent power under the control of the national government's overriding powers.

Therefore, a one-third minority lobby in the con-

stituent assembly would have effective power to prevent the vesting of any functions in the regions.

Similarly, the regions have no power to truly organise themselves in autonomy to participate effectively in the decision-making of the national legislature due to the limitations set forth on the adoption and contents of regional constitutions, and by the fact that the senate will have no say on any matter which has financial implications.

However, and most importantly, whatever is written in this draft constitution is totally volatile because the draft empowers a constituent assembly and charges it with a specific constitutional duty to tear apart the interim constitution and replace it with a "total revision".

Because of treacherous deadlock-breaking mechanisms, a 51-percent majority will have the effective power to adopt the final constitution and the full discretion to decide on its contents.

Even if the draft provides for a 60-percent majority to ratify the final constitution at a referendum, this requirement is defeated by another provision in the draft which

makes it political suicide for any party to oppose the ratification at the referendum of the constitution adopted by a 51-percent majority of the constituent assembly.

In fact, if a 51-percent majority of the constituent assembly is defeated at a referendum it will be entitled to an absolute blank cheque to do whatever it pleases the next time round.

Ostensibly, the draft attempts to circumscribe the discretion of a future constituent assembly, but we strongly believe that the techniques used for such a purpose are totally ineffective and tantamount to a token of faith and good intentions.

We are fighting for the establishment of a federation with residual powers to the member states and with devolution to the federal government of only those powers which cannot be adequately or properly exercised at state level. We are also demanding the recognition of the constitution of the state of Kwazulu/Natal as one of the founding blocks of the new federation.

The draft constitution presented by the technical committee excludes the very notion of federalism and gives a 51-percent majority of the constituent assembly a final say over what our destiny is going to be. To us, this is a formula for sure disaster, irrespective of whoever controls the constituent assembly.

The Kwazulu government believes its constitutional goals should be achieved through negotiations. However, it sees no point in returning to negotiations until the rules of decision-making have been either clarified or amended to ensure that its participation in negotiations is not circumscribed to the role of a mere rubber stamp.

To have true negotiations, the rules of the game need to force the participants into real give and take. It appears clear that, irrespective of the many promises and high-sounding declarations, there have been no real concessions coming from the ANC/SACP alliance for the cause of federalism and pluralism in our country.

FOUR weeks ago a daily newspaper took regional maps drawn up by the main political parties and fed them into its graphics computer.

What emerged was a compromise map for regions in South Africa.

The exercise in educated guessing by Beeld could have saved the democracy talks at Kempton Park a lot of time, because the map tabled by the Commission on the Delimitation of Regions this week is almost identical.

There is no suggestion that the commission copied the map, but the coincidence fuels fears that the body acted as little more than a computer program itself, rigidly interpreting its brief and never questioning vested interests when it simply married the maps of the larger parties.

The commission did what it was asked to do — but was doomed from the start by the instructions it received from the negotiating council, and its unwillingness or inability to question these, say detractors of its report.

The worst of it is that problems identified weeks ago — the PWV and the Natal/eastern Cape border, whether the eastern Cape should be one region or two, whether the northern Cape should be separate from the Western Cape — have not been solved by neutral experts and are now back in the hands of the politicians.

The plea from Miss Ann Bernstein, Urban Foundation director and commission black sheep for having dared to submit a minority report, is that the commission be sent back to the drawing-board.

The commission — and the negotiating council — needed to know several things before it could pronounce upon regions, Miss Bernstein argued — not least of all what real people living in real cities and villages wanted for their future.

Deeper questions, if answered earlier, could have prevented some of the glaring inconsistencies and holes in the report. Are local or national interests paramount in deciding regions? Should economic and developmental criteria not take precedence over — or at least equal — political issues? Should criteria be applied uniformly?

Her temerity was pounced upon by the highly defensive commission and ignored, but

The eagerly awaited regional map of South Africa was tabled this week, but the haste of its drafting may prove to be its undoing, reports **CLAIRE ROBERTSON**

Back to the drawing-board?

for one slighting reference, by the negotiating council's planning committee.

But, in introducing his report, the co-chairman, economist Dr Bax Nomvete, spent 10 minutes making excuses for it.

Indeed, the commission was given only six weeks to prepare its report. And it met only seven times.

But on Friday delegates were openly asking to see the submissions which had helped the commission arrive at its decisions — with the clear implication that these were open to other interpretations.

Delegates asked whether the much-criticised criteria it

had set the commission for delimiting each region had been adequate.

THIS question did not need to be answered, as it was covered in the report, said the chairman of the debate, Mr Pravin Gordhan of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses.

Dr Nomvete, answered anyway, saying that the criteria were those used in other countries and were "adequate".

The brief exchange masked a heated debate in the commission itself.

Then, as in the council this week, Big Brother had

stepped in to squash uncomfortable questions.

Papers tabled at the commission show that Miss Bernstein asked right at the start that the commission receive three things to help it interpret its brief: A briefing from politicians, a workshop on why boundaries mattered and what the commission could realistically achieve in the available time.

A sub-committee of the talks' planning committee — three men known by the nickname "the facilitators" because of their efficiency at carrying out the will of their bosses — rejected the first request. The commission agreed to the second — but it

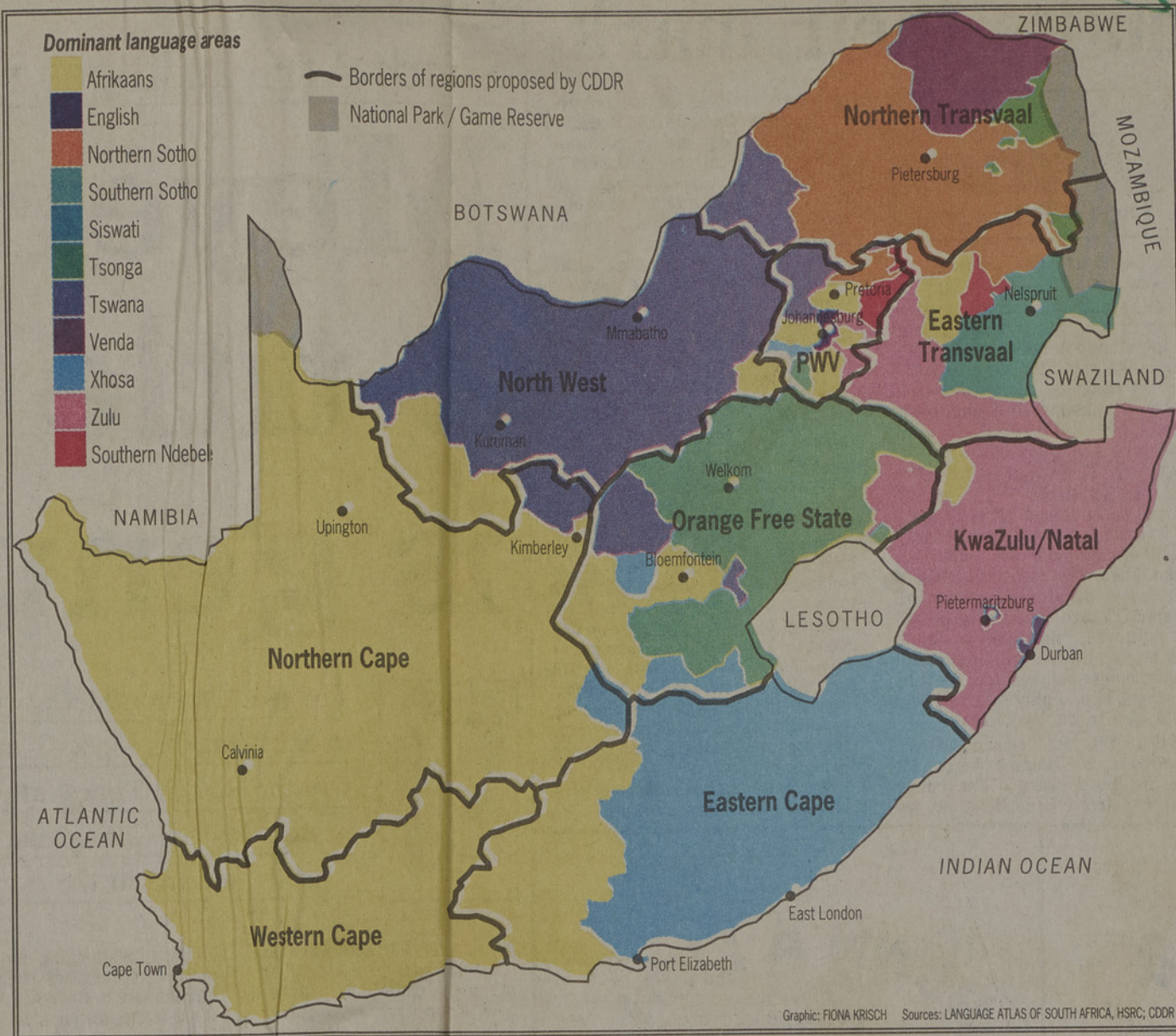
never actually happened — an ignored third.

Another commission nod to thoroughness failed to materialise. Early on it agreed to appoint a "senior team of specialists" to read the final report.

The men named are among the country's pre-eminent economists: Wits University professor of economics Charles Simkins; Cape Town University professor of economics Philip Black; Stellenbosch University professor of economics Colin McCarthy, and Natal University's Economic Research Unit director Professor Gavin Maasr.

They never saw the report.

"I suspect they ran out of time at the end. The commission was given terms of reference that were unsatisfactory, and was put under immense pressure," Professor Maasr said this week.



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH Sources: LANGUAGE ATLAS OF SOUTH AFRICA, HSRC, CDDR

Slovo's right on time

JOE SLOVO took it upon himself this week to reassure female delegates at the Kempton Park talks, and some members of the commission on regions, that they "were as good as, and almost better, than the men" in the room.

As he chose to launch into his "completely uncontroversial reflection", as he termed it, in the week in which the maligned status of the female delegates has begun to be debated in public, it would be charitable to believe that Mr Slovo has a fine sense of irony marred only by dreadful timing.

Either that, or he wouldn't know a controversial remark if it bit him on his slim and shapely ankle.



'Like some parties said to the commissioners who draw up the regional boundaries, I don't like your map!'

Buthelezi by the book

REDOUBTABLE Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has honed his stone-walling tactics to a point where not even the most pointed representations by foreign dignitaries make a dent.

The chief has long been known for his lengthy aide memoirs which he painstakingly reads to every delegation he meets and then distributes publicly immediately afterwards.

What can now be revealed is that he also reads off a prepared statement even in one-to-one meetings with prominent visitors — rarely deviating from the text and discouraging questions.

Diplomacy often involves poring over the sub-text. At Ulundi, it appears, the challenge is to escape the text.



Big AK-47 bonfire, few guests

By **MPHO KOBUE**

THE ANC, IFP and PAC failed to attend the destruction of more than 1 000 firearms, including AK-47s, by the SAP in Pretoria this week.

The SAP invited officials from the organisations to attend as observers. A member of the National Party was the only political representative present at the SAP logistics buildings, despite the fact that numerous calls for the public destruction of illegal weapons had been made by political and civic organisations.

The firearms were packed into 25

steel trunks and destroyed in an Iscor furnace while Advocate Solly Sithole, representing the Goldstone commission, and members of the media looked on.

SAP public relations chief Major-General Leon Mellet said the SAP had often been accused of arming itself and criminals with firearms confiscated by the police.

That allegation, together with the fact that some political organisations had asked their followers not to hand their "weapons of war" to the SAP during the present amnesty, had led

the SAP to invite members of the media and political leaders to the ceremony.

The IFP's chief co-ordinator for the Transvaal, Mr Hennie Bekker, said his region had not been aware of the invitation, and had only heard about it afterwards.

The ANC confirmed it had received an invitation, but said it could not attend because of "other commitments".

Last year, 891 AK-47 rifles were seized by the SAP.

Let merit follow its course

DENE SMUTS warns against the sort of gender tokenism practised at the World Trade Centre talks

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TWENTY-TWO years ago, I was vice-chair of the SRC at Stellenbosch University when the opportunity arose to send a few students to England on an Abe Bailey Travel Bursary.

I was one of those elected by my fellow SRC members. When the names were sent in, we were advised that females were not eligible.

So someone else went. I didn't like it.

This year, I have experienced exactly the opposite, and I don't like that either.

A decision was taken — by sufficient consensus — by the planning committee of the Multi-party Negotiation Council that every negotiating party would have two delegates, one of whom had to be a woman.

One of the Afrikaans newspapers featured a cartoon on the first morning of this programme of affirmative action, showing a very muscular person, with hairy legs and dressed in women's clothing, mincing up to the World Trade Centre. One security staff member mutters to another: "Should we check for steroids?"

We have reached the point

where the matter must be discussed openly, since there are lessons to be learnt. My party was not a part of the sufficient consensus.

The decision was largely driven by Inkatha, which proceeds from an Ulundi decision that seats should be reserved for women in all future public bodies, including parliament. This is, in my view, retrogressive, since it perpetuates the marginalisation of women.

Of all the parliaments in the world, only four reserve seats for women: Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Tanzania. But it does not work, according to a Bangladeshi delegate who addressed a recent conference of our National Women's Coalition.

Clearly, the non-interventionist approach does not work either — only the Scandinavian countries have 30 percent-plus female representation in parliament. Until very recently, the old democracies — the US, Britain and France — have all had only six percent female MPs.

The position is improving, but slowly. One of the problems is structural rather than the product of prejudice: few

women with young children can decamp to the legislative capital for part of the year.

The same applies at the World Trade Centre. I am able to be an MP because I live in Cape Town. But I can't decamp to Johannesburg full-time, so I share our women's seat with one of the DP's most senior elected female officers, Martheanne Finemore, party leader in the Eastern Cape.

Since few parties or organisations have senior female office bearers, there was a problem to start with.

You run the risk with this sort of arrangement of placing people at a disadvantage, and in the full glare of public scrutiny, instead of the other way around. You run the further risk of inviting unfair questions about their competence and of creating the impression that they are passengers — sidecar riders on a machine driven by men.

It is important to put senior party women in the hot seats because they have been elected to speak for their parties and because they are then already part of the process of policy formation.

It is expecting the impossi-

ble of a woman from outside those structures to slot in — especially part-time or now and then.

Discrimination is often simply a pattern of behaviour that can be broken. But we have to be careful not to disadvantage people all over again by tokenism.

Our policy approach is influenced by Linda Human: bring people into the system and up to the point of selection (or election), but let that take place on merit.

In the case of the World Trade Centre, we proposed a technical committee of women on women, an upgrading of the gender advisory committee which the DP was the first to propose; and once the sufficient consensus started going against us, we pleaded for compulsory inclusion on the full teams, but not reserve delegates' seats.

In that way, you are genuinely serving the interests of the group in need of affirmative action. Beware of empty measures which can backfire!

□ Dene Smuts is DP MP for Groote Schuur. This is extracted from an address to a recent conference on affirmative action at the University of Stellenbosch

Buthlezi goes to the brink

□ From Page 1

event of all others being unacceptable — but we would like to exhaust all other options", said Ciskei delegate Mick Webb.

Mr Buthelezi has been accused on all sides of having ulterior motives for threatening to split the talks.

IFP ambivalence is attributed in equal parts to attempts to stall elections, to internal divisions among the party's constitutional advisers, and to Mr Buthelezi's fury at being "marginalised" by the ANC.

The internal divisions were highlighted yesterday when a senior IFP negotiator, asked to explain what lay behind the latest Ulundi threat, said: "Don't ask me — ask the person who wrote the speech."

Mr Niehaus said: "One hopes the reason the IFP is playing this game is not simply because they are afraid they will not get support in elections."

Negotiators are growing dizzy trying to keep up with Inkatha's constant shifts in position.

Two weeks ago, Inkatha said it would "not participate in the debate" until it saw a draft constitution which met its needs.

On Wednesday, IFP delegates revived the war talk by stressing their unhappiness at the sufficient-consensus method of reaching decisions. Mr Felgate demanded that no decision could be seen as binding unless Inkatha agreed to it.

On Thursday, Inkatha said it would boycott the talks altogether until it saw the constitution.

And on Friday, Mr Buthelezi threatened to split the talks.

But yesterday, he re-committed himself to the talks as long as the draft constitution was acceptable, and made no mention of forming a breakaway grouping.

NEWS ROUND-UP

Meyer hits out at Mandela threat

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer accused ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday of wanting to dictate discussions with the government through unilateral threats.

Mr Meyer said in a statement the government had taken note of Mr Mandela's statement on Friday that unless a date for an elected interim government was set at the next meeting between the two sides the ANC would cut all bilateral links.

"The agenda for the expected bilateral discussions with the ANC has not been determined. It is therefore a pity Mr Mandela is creating the impression that he wants to determine the agenda and dictate discussions by unilateral threats," Mr Meyer said.

He added the government had already committed itself to the implementation of an elected interim government.

OPINION

Violence gathers new momentum

LOOSE talk about civil war, often expressed as a prediction of descent into Bosnia, has been around for some time; this week, the reality of violence seemed to be catching up with the rhetoric.

When organised forces ambush trains, rolling boulders onto the rails and attacking with firearms from both sides of the cuttings, or when huge tank traps are dug in the streets so that Casspir crews can be ambushed, or when arms smugglers masquerade as priests, then it is fatuous to talk of "unrest" or "riots" or "faction fighting". We are dealing with paramilitary conflict.

The causes of the violence are becoming irrelevant. The killing is driven by fierce hatreds, as Mr Nelson Mandela discovered when, to a chorus of boos, he asked his followers to seek conciliation with members of the Inkatha Freedom Party. ANC leaders still trot out their ritual accusation that a "third force", which is an ill-disguised code word for whites, is responsible for the violence, but the accusation has lost credibility; it is simply not believable that any force could unleash violence and slaughter on this scale, month after month, without being caught.

Hatred accounts for the savage character of the conflict, but the conflict itself is politically driven, by the determination of rival parties to secure their own turf. Tolerance of dissent, or acceptance of diversity, are not con-

cepts that govern the hearts and minds of the people in the townships, the hostels, or the squatter camps. Instead, rival political groups are establishing no-go areas.

This situation has been a long time coming; the new factor, it appears, is that the police have lost all control over the illegal arms trade. They are attacked still with petrol bombs or primitive instruments, but more and more often find themselves up against automatic rifles.

Unfortunately, but not unexpectedly, these conditions have at last driven the police back to using the paramilitary methods, including machine guns mounted on armoured vehicles, which have always been their preference but which have always failed in the past. It is not difficult to see why: the use of armoured vehicles which separate police from the community, or of automatic weapons that can flatten a squatter's hut in seconds, raise immensely the chances that innocent people will be killed or maimed. Sensible people know it is only a matter of time before the police, or the soliders, will again stand accused of massacre.

The long-term answer to violence is one which our police are least equipped to apply: a stolid determination to ensure the proper administration of justice: arrest, trial, conviction and sentence. But that prospect has, in the past week, receded farther than ever before. The outlook is grim.

OLD school ties always annoy those who do not have them, but when they are coloured green, black and gold, and the alumnus is the future government, the resentment is tinged with dismay. The Thebe Investment Corporation (TIC) wears such a tie.

A year-old firm based in central Johannesburg, it is aggressively committed to black economic empowerment. It runs its own black-owned companies and brokers deals involving black investors. It is training people to work in areas previously inaccessible to black entrepreneurs.

So far, so good — and about time in a country to be governed by its black majority where only two percent of private-sector assets are black-owned and fewer than 10 percent of top managers are black.

But the corporation's sole shareholder is a trust whose founder-members are the two most senior men in the African National Congress; a senior ANC official serves on the board; the MD is the former head of the ANC finance department.

The TIC runs two divisions, property and trading, and seven wholly owned or subsidiary companies operating in a number of fields from computers, catering and car hire to selling ANC badges.

It was originally financed with an undisclosed amount of share capital by the Batho-Batho ("people-people") Trust, which has ANC president Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu as founding trustees.

Any dividends which Thebe decides to declare will accrue to the trust, whose only project at present is Thebe, and which is bound to use funds for the "benefit of the community".

Because of its umbilical link to the future government, the TIC has gathered itself an astonishingly bad press in the year since it opened for business. "Shady dealings", "corruption", "something fishy" ... it has attracted these epithets and more.

It has also had to pull back suddenly from other deals because these would offend "the community" — discovering rather rudely that being seen as the "ANC's company" cuts both ways.

"We are not part of the government and will not be part of a government," insists TIC MD Vusi Khanyile, once known to millions as the National Education Crisis Committee head, one of the Kine 3 who took refuge from the police in the US consulate in Johannesburg in 1988.

"Frankly, we will not apologise for our relationship with the ANC — but that does not cloud our business vision. "It is about time people learnt to live with independent black business people."

IT will be a bitter lesson for corporate South Africa. When bids are made for government contracts from next year, the issue will probably be decided on race in the same way that it used to be decided on language.

Whoops of alarm at the turning of the tables will fall on deaf ears. The government will be able to cite scores of examples of authorities in other countries favouring the disadvantaged when handing out contracts.

But when one of the black-owned companies standing in line was founded by the ruling party, both the company and the government will have to weigh the cost of selling textbooks against the taint of corruption.

And wresting a slice of the corporate cake away from those who now own it will be

THE ANC-linked Thebe Investment Corporation is steeped in controversy, but it could represent the new way of doing business in South Africa. CLAIRE ROBERTSON reports.

difficult enough without pandering to the view that black business will flourish only if fed by the muck of corruption.

Mr Khanyile refuses to admit there is a problem.

Criticism of the TIC and its ANC ties is racist, or a diffuse sort of industrial sabotage, he counters.

"Anyone who has negative information about Thebe can command a very high premium in the marketplace.

"The people who have made accusations against us may not have meant them to be racist, but at the end of the day one is left with the feeling that says it is going to be extremely difficult for a black company that is totally autonomous from white control to emerge and to be a power.

"The kind of criticism we have gone through is a reflection (of this).

"It makes us tougher; it makes us more resolute.

"We must be doing something right. If the white establishment that has benefited from apartheid thought we were the best thing to happen we would say: Are we doing something wrong?"

"We recognise that these kinds of desperate attacks which are below the belt happen on the verge of mounting something new. This happened almost days after we had announced the formation of Bhakisizwe Computer Systems and won a lucrative and very impressive contract with Digital (the vast US-based Digital Equipment Corporation)," Mr Khanyile said.

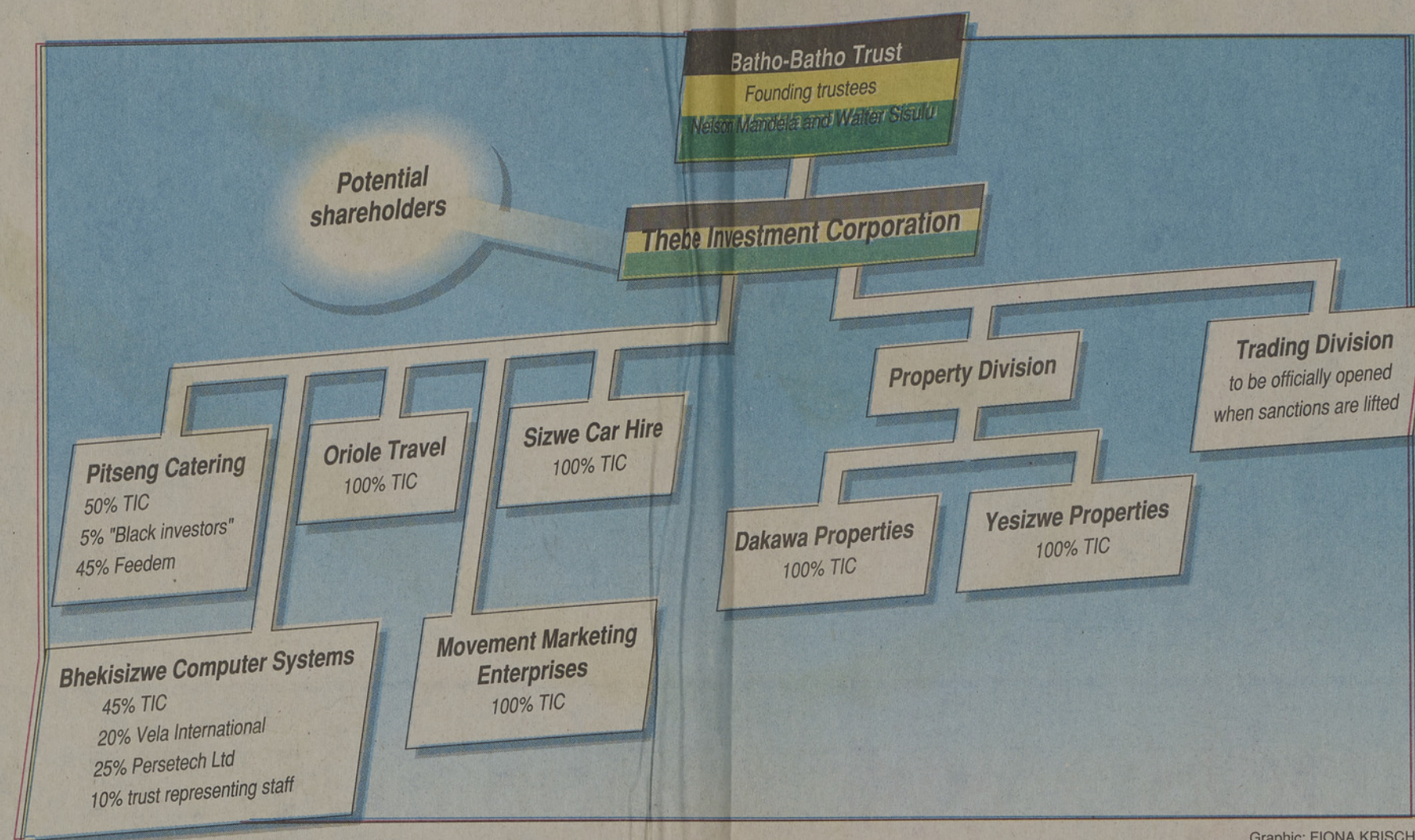
The most serious of the criticisms levelled at the TIC involves its part in a proposed deal to enter the educational publishing market.

The market is lucrative, with the supply of school textbooks alone said to be worth R500-million.

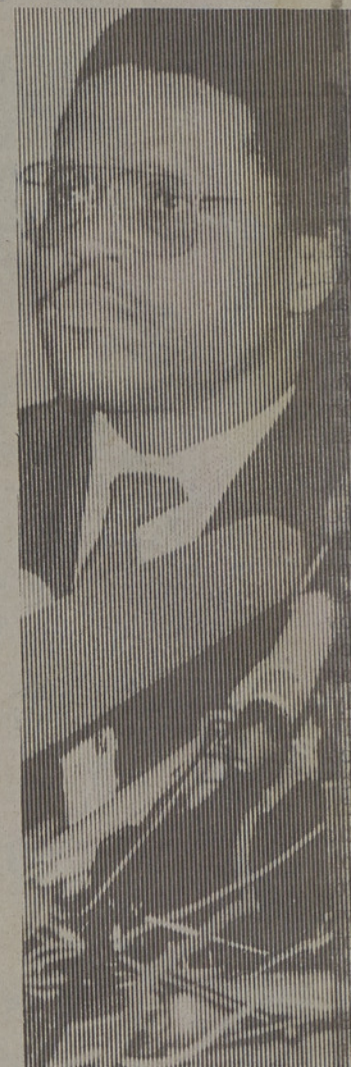
It was reported that the proposed deal traded an easy passage with the education department for a 20-percent cut of the company set up by Macmillan Boleswa to provide the books.

"But we have been tried and crucified without proper information," Mr Khanyile said of the deal — "one of the medium smaller projects

Old school tie binds ANC's business empire



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH



THEBE COMPANIES: Graph shows a breakdown of Thebe Investment Corporation subsidiaries; right, Thebe MD Vusi Khanyile

we'll be working on" — which will be completed within a month.

The TIC would be satisfied with nothing less than control of a firm entering this particularly frustrating market — one whose main customer is the black child, but which is almost totally dominated by white companies.

"Macmillan did make an offer that we would get 20 percent in a company. We indicated that for us it was an important enough sector, if we did get involved, for us to wish to be active in a more meaningful manner.

"We had an indication that they are not opposed to losing control of that company — a black company that could have shareholding by a white publishing firm which has the expertise and critical skills that are needed.

"We believe it is important for people to find innovative ways of bringing black entrepreneurs to the party.

"One of the innovative ways is for a company to say: 'We will structure the capital of a company so that we will end up paying more than you do, or giving you some of the shares free' ... we do not say that is corruption so long as those black entrepreneurs are still in a position of control within that company, so

there are no strings attached to that assistance."

Is Macmillan Boleswa prepared to do this out of the goodness of its heart?

"I cannot say what motivated Macmillan. We have made it very clear to Macmillan that we do not have the capacity to deliver the education department — either now or in the future," Mr Khanyile said.

The TIC is discussing the Macmillan deal with other black-owned companies, a strategy it employs in other ventures.

It is part of one of the three consortiums bidding for cellular-phone licences — and should know in September whether it has been successful.

And "we do seek a presence in the printing sector. A lot of work has been done. We think it is quite within reach."

The corporation is geared — in more ways than one — to bring life to its trading division once sanctions are lifted — "our projection is that within three months Thebe Trading will be up and running" — having spent the past year training staff in this field.

Mr Khanyile believes the headache caused by ANC ties will go away once the firm is functioning to the extent that

it can go public.

The funds were raised through the Batho-Batho Trust because "we felt it would not be prudent to go out and collect funds for an idea which had not been tested", Mr Khanyile said.

"At the right time Thebe will be very happy to float the shares in the black community so that we can begin to pay off the loans we have raised.

"When that happens the trust will be perfectly free to say: 'Well, our investment has done well. We will reduce and keep 10 percent of the shares in Thebe, or we'll totally bale out and put the money into Anglo American' ... it will be entirely up to the Trust."

But it is already too late for Thebe, according to Dr Duncan Innes of the Innes Labour Brief.

"It would have been so much better to have set up an independent trust, but the reason they have Mandela is that they obviously want to

use his name for clout. These links will always raise in people's minds the question of corruption," he said.

PERHAPS only in some minds: A Kwa-zulu businessman, who cannot expect to benefit if government contracts go to ANC-supporting, rather than simply black, business, said he "has no problem with any political party setting up a company — if they do so openly" — though tendering against Thebe would make him "uneasy".

Whether or not he shares the new-found ethical concerns of corporate SA, and he is sceptical about their sudden emergence where black companies are concerned — Mr Khanyile is making an effort to create distance between the TIC and ANC in the public mind.

A wholly owned TIC company, Movement Marketing

Enterprises, was recently yanked across town from TIC-owned Shell House, which it shared with ANC headquarters, to the Glencairn office block, where TIC is based.

The company markets ANC memorabilia, and recently made the news when staff members who were re-trenched threatened to take their case to Mr Mandela, having no doubt in their minds about who really ran the company.

"It was a problem having MME in Shell House — to be seen as a department of the ANC," Mr Khanyile said.

"MME is one clear example of how you cannot have a mix-up between political and business aspects. If a company makes a commercial decision to close certain divisions, that remains so."

Thebe is doing well — this week it celebrated the fact that one of its subsidiaries, Sizwe Car Hire, had become

profitable after only three months.

Mr Khanyile, more concerned about brokering access to capital for black business in almost any way he can, makes the point that Thebe will follow ethical guidelines if they ever emerge.

"Our mission is to maximise the value of the wealth of our equity holders within certain constraints: public morality, public policy and the law."

"It is not for us as a company to start setting these parameters or defining them. It is society that defines them, and the public authority."

The timing is tricky: If the Batho-Batho Trust keeps its stake in Thebe until the corporation can make it to the JSE, it and Mr Mandela's involvement will overlap by at least a year with his presidency.

And that is an old school tie that may turn out to be a milestone.

Township residents celebrate as the Kheswa mystery grows

THE SMILING MONSTER

THE last time lawyer Anina van der Westhuizen saw Victor Kheswa was a Friday afternoon. He was accompanied by two policemen and waving to her from a car as it pulled out of the Vanderbijlpark police station.

Less than 24 hours later, the man known to people throughout the sprawling Vaal Triangle townships as the Vaal Monster was dead — his wrists white from the bonds that had tied him, a streak of dried mucus running up his cheek.

For the past week, as the tale of the

CHARIS PERKINS and BRIAN SOKUTU trace the background of the man who came to be known as the 'Vaal Monster'

man known as Khetisi has unfolded, conflicting reports of his political affiliations have been punctured with vivid accounts of the gruesome murders and massacres which, township residents said, made him one of the most feared men in their midst.

Once admired by pensioner William Mabaso as his neighbour's "bright" toddler, Khetisi was no longer so

chummy 23 years later when he led his gang to attack the Mabaso family.

Mr Mabaso, his wife Maria and four children say they fled their home in Zone 7, Sebokeng, after Khetisi and his gang looted the building, set it alight, and sprayed the walls with gunfire.

"I knew that child. He was a bright toddler who grew up very well — but he got the name Vaal Monster because of what he did to people," said Mr Mabaso.

He believes Khetisi's "cruel and greedy" mother, Emma, is to blame. "She spoilt him by allowing him to steal cars when he was a kid."

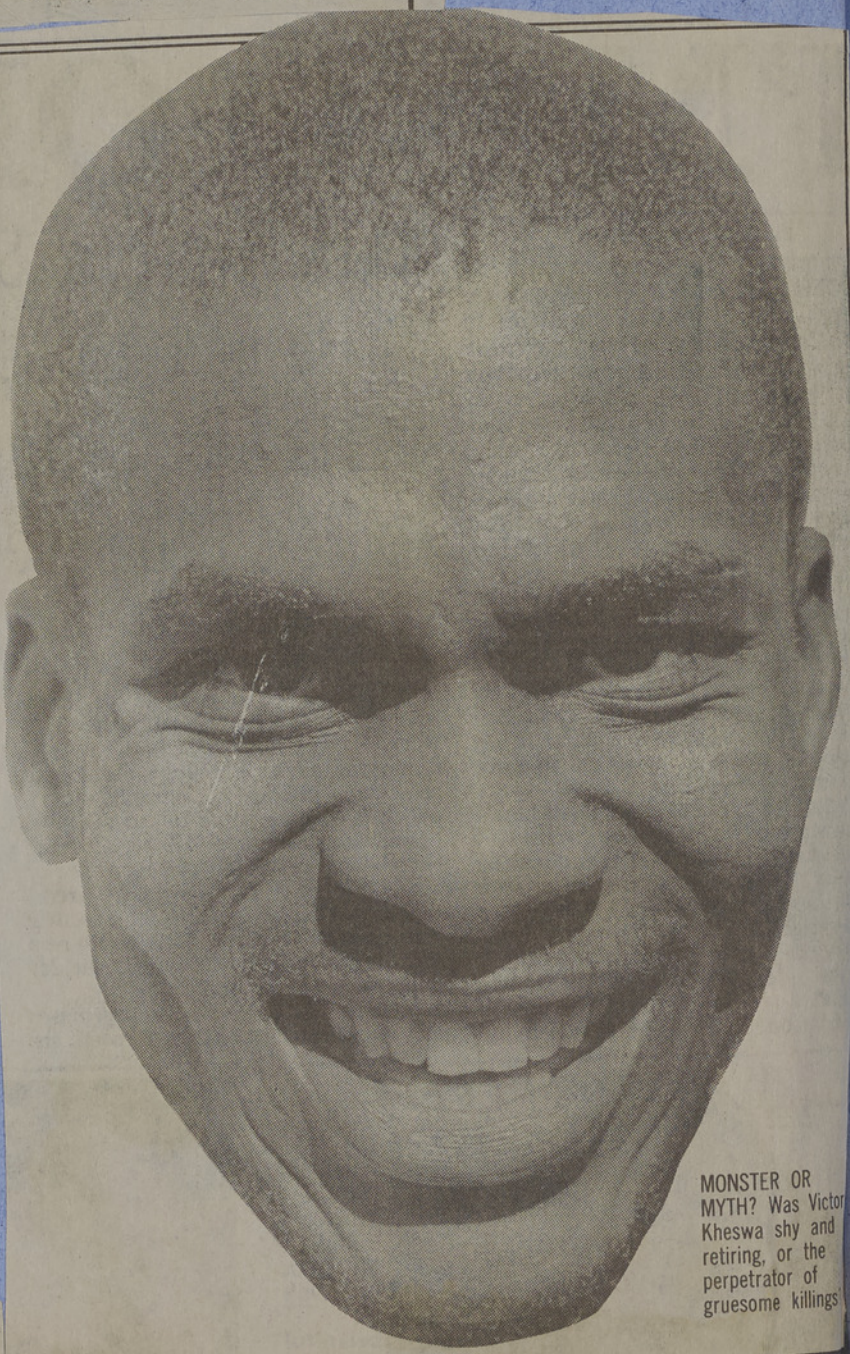
The boy's father, Samuel, deserted the family "after a confrontation with his wife over their son's activities".

By the time Khetisi was 12, he was driving stolen cars and selling dagga. He also led a small gang terrorising Sebokeng residents, Mr Mabaso said.

The youngster ran into trouble with former friends in March 1990 when ANC-aligned comrades tried to persuade him to stop robbing customers at a petrol station.

In December 1990, he escaped an attempt by comrades to necklace him and fled to KwaMadala hostel.

That, according to ANC branch



MONSTER OR MYTH? Was Victor Kheswa shy and retiring, or the perpetrator of gruesome killings

chairman Tsietso Kekepetso, was when random attacks on residents by gunmen in cars began.

Mr Kekepetso, who first met Khetisi in 1987, said one of the first victims of the KwaMadala gang was ANC Youth League Sebokeng member Christoffel Nangalemba.

He and Khetisi had been childhood friends, but Khetisi was angry that Christoffel had accused him of forcing a woman to drink poison. The woman later died.

On January 6 1991, Mr Nangalemba's body was found on a refuse dump in Boipatong's Tsirela hostel. He had been garrotted with wire.

Gunmen linked by survivors to the Khetisi gang fired on mourners attending an all-night funeral vigil for Mr Nangalemba, killing 45 people and wounding more than 50.

Khetisi became an Inkatha Freedom Party member at the hostel and, according to Vaal regional secretary William Nhlapo, rose to become chairman of the IFP's Sebokeng branch.

Police

The IFP claims the Khetisi affair is part of a campaign by state intelligence agencies to link it with right-wing violence. The ANC insists Khetisi was a state agent, killed in custody to prevent information about the source of Vaal violence coming to light in court.

The police have appointed a special task force to probe the matter.

But the residents of Sebokeng have already considered their verdict. They danced in the streets when Khetisi died.

Charged

Several witnesses saw him observe the funeral service for the murdered wife and daughter of ANC activist Ernest Sotsu in July 1991 from inside a police van.

Khetisi had been charged with the murders, but he was not in custody at the time and no one can explain his presence in an SAP vehicle that day.

Stranger still are the links, first claimed then denied, with the ultra-right World Apartheid Movement — recently renamed the World Preservationist Movement.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said a police investigation had shown there was no evidence to prove Khetisi had ever been a WPM member.

Khetisi's lawyer drew a different picture of her client, claiming he was an "intelligent young man".

"His teachers liked him very much. He was popular with the girls and a good organiser. He was one of the big boys in the school."

"His father, who lives in Lesotho, bought him a car. Maybe that is where the trouble started, because it caused jealousy among the people in Sebokeng."

"He was known as a monster, yet I knew him to be shy and retiring," she said.

OPINION

Chief Buthelezi in a corner

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi's latest display of bellicosity has brought him close to the point where, politically, he will find it impossible to retreat without serious humiliation. At that point he will have destroyed himself and his cause, and subjected his people to yet greater misery; already it is difficult to see how he can manoeuvre himself out of the tight corner into which his bluster and intransigence have put him.

Chief Buthelezi's warlike utterances must be seen against a background of growing weakness in the Inkatha Freedom Party's political position. The ANC is steadily extending its hegemony over new areas of Natal formerly controlled by Inkatha chieftains, and the opinion polls — admittedly scrappy — suggest that the IFP faces a severe mauling in the coming elections. It may do better than expected with Natal's dissident Nationalists and eccentric whites, but among Zulus it is plainly a minority party, and losing ground. That, no doubt, is why Chief Buthelezi is so bitterly opposed to the April 1994 election date.

While his support erodes, Chief Buthelezi falls ever more deeply into a dangerous isolation. He alone among the major leaders of the country has been cut off — by his own choice — from the softening influence of Codesa, where other leaders managed to strip away each other's demon-masks and overcome their own worst prejudices about each other. Like the Turnhalle in Namibia, Codesa was perhaps most useful in

changing the participants in the process, leaving Chief Buthelezi as the last major inhabitant of the old South Africa, viewing the world from the village atmosphere of Ulundi, and cut off from the intellectual and political mainstream of the country.

His isolation from Codesa was exacerbated, and continues to be exacerbated, by his odd retinue of alienated whites who seem to regard themselves as honorary Zulu warriors. Their influence seems often to offset the ameliorating counsel of men like Joe Matthews and Frank Mdlalose, who have participated constructively in the negotiations at Kempton Park, and who have themselves been changed by their participation.

Chief Buthelezi, once widely regarded as destined to lead South Africa to new uplands of democracy, has fallen into the shabby company of white racists and black eccentrics like Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — people with whom a younger Buthelezi would not have deigned to associate. His international connections are falling away, and his decline, as measured by the company he keeps, is tragic.

Only one thing, ironically, sustains him: the South African taxpayer. The subsidies from the government enable him to strut the stage, building up his paramilitary forces as he throws out increasingly belligerent challenges, and puts us all at peril. A tighter rein on his expenditures, if that can be engineered, might well prove the most effective way to curb his warlike passions.

HOGARTH

All leaders must stop crying 'fire'

THE ANC's furious reaction to General Constand Viljoen's call to whites to arm themselves smacks, as he has correctly pointed out, more than a little of double standards.

After all, Nelson Mandela has offered to arm youths who join Umkhonto we Sizwe.

However, the war talk by Viljoen and Mandela, and loose talk about civil war by Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has heightened tensions in an already highly-charged political environment.

US Ambassador Princeton Lyman sounded a timely warning to our bellicose leaders when he said in Durban this week that they were sending out signals that confrontation, rather than negotiation, was the order of the day.

Quoting a US judge, he added: "Free speech does not mean the right to shout fire in a crowded theatre."

It is a warning all our leaders would do well to heed.

IFP's soft-shoe shuffle

SPEAKING of Chief Buthelezi, it is becoming increasingly difficult to keep up with the almost daily changes in the positions his party adopts on developments at the World Trade Centre.

First, Inkatha announced it would boycott the talks until a draft constitution had been tabled for discussion.

Then, the IFP said that even if the draft constitution was tabled, it would boycott the talks until its complaints about the manner in which decisions are taken by the negotiating body had been satisfactorily addressed.

In a further shift, Chief Buthelezi announced in Namibia that he wanted a complete rethink on a new constitution, which should be drawn up by foreign experts — in other words, ignore all the progress achieved at the World Trade Centre and start over again.

It's no wonder that some of the IFP's opponents are beginning to question its commitment to a negotiated settlement.

Former foes unite in drive for peace

By RYAN CRESSWELL

WAR tears people apart, but it can also bring them together. Take Isaac Shandu and Vasco Hlengwa.

Isaac is an Inkatha Freedom Party supporter, and Vasco an ANC member; not so long ago, they would not even have spoken to each other.

But these days, they spend a lot of time together — driving through the troubled Umbumbulu area of Natal on a quest for peace and tolerance.

They are already making their mark. Since they set up a peace sub-committee at KwaMakhutha near Amanzimtoti about a month ago, there have been no incidents of violence in the township, where hundreds have been killed in fighting between IFP and ANC supporters in the past.

The two businessmen spend most of each day together in a borrowed car, driving to townships, rural villages, schools and churches to preach peace and political tolerance, and educate people about the forthcoming elections.

"At one stage, it would have been impossible to speak to each other, but now we are good friends," said Isaac. "We have decided to dedicate our lives to visiting warring areas to educate people about peace."

"The people have accepted us — they want peace."

Vasco added: "We decided to start with KwaMakhutha because it was a flashpoint."

"Now we are already moving into the areas around KwaMakhutha, and hope to establish at least five other peace sub-committees by December."

Picture: HORACE POTTER



THE LONG HAUL... Isaac Shandu and Vasco Hlengwa prepare for another day of travelling through Natal on their quest for peace and tolerance

Holomisa and ANC argue over new Kei border

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE ANC and Major-General Bantu Holomisa are at odds over the Transkei military ruler's insistence that the Border-Kei region remain separate under a new federal dispensation for "at least 15 to 20 years".

Transkei sources said this week that the staunch alliance between the Transkei head of state and the ANC had begun to show cracks after the assassination of SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, and because General Holomisa had failed to take firm action against PAC and Apla operatives in Transkei.

"It appears the general is not entirely sure of his role in a future South Africa, and the ANC is starting to regard him as somewhat of a loose cannon," sources close to General Holomisa said.

General Holomisa said this week the ANC had never discussed with him its plans to cut the number of federal regions from 10 to eight, merging the Eastern Cape and Border-Kei regions with King William's Town as the capital.

"We learnt about the plans only when they released them last week. As far as we know, the new boundaries are for electoral purposes only, so whatever the ANC is doing now

to get more votes is their baby," he told the Sunday Times.

"But if they are shifting their position for the future, the people of Transkei will have to reconsider their stance."

"All new investment will go to cities with established infrastructures like Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, instead of to rural areas," he said.

"We are also opposed to King William's Town as a capital. A regional government should be close to the people. Umtata should be the capital."

Eastern Cape ANC spokesman Linda Mti said there had been "minor differences" between the ANC and General Holomisa over the timing of Transkei's reincorporation into South Africa, but the ANC held the military leader in high regard, and his military expertise would be needed in a new South African army.

Mr Mti denied claims that the ANC was gerrymandering to secure an ANC majority in the region where the PAC has established itself and is gaining support, saying the ANC felt the entire region should be bolstered.

He pointed out that the ANC was flexible about the merger and not about to "fight and die for it".

HOGARTH

Do not ask me, I have lost control

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk assures us his government is in control and that taxpayers' money is being spent wisely.

What then is one to make of replies given to Democratic Party MP Peter Soal by new Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie this week?

Mr Soal received reports that homeland leaders had paid themselves fat bonuses at the end of last year and sold their official cars to themselves at drastically reduced prices.

Mr Fourie replied that "to the best of my knowledge" the homeland leaders were paid according to the guidelines laid down for political office-bearers. As such matters were confidential, he added: "I suggest that you approach the chief ministers with whom you hopefully have a relationship of trust."

As for the cars, he reported that "as far as I could establish" the vehicles were sold by tender or auction.

Strange isn't it? Taxpayers are entitled to know what Mr de Klerk is paid, but not even the minister in charge of homelands knows how much taxpayers' money Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi or Nelson Ramodike pockets each month. *your service never*

Buses and tea parties

BUT, debates in Parliament did provide some light on how taxpayers' money is being spent.

It was disclosed that the office of Chief Minister Buthelezi requested 60 buses from the Maritzburg depot of the Kwazulu Transport Company to transport "Zulus from Maritzburg areas to Durban" for a march in October against the Record of Understanding.

And the National Party spent R3 800 on hosting a tea party for Mrs Marike de Klerk in Atlantis.

Mangosuthu Kissinger

MEANWHILE, the international press corps in London was this week left in no doubt as to Chief Buthelezi's standing on the political stage.

At a media conference in the Foreign Press Association offices, housed in the Regency splendour of Gladstone's old home, journalists were handed an Inkatha Freedom Party publicity pack.

From this they learnt that Mr Buthelezi is not only a "world figure whose opinions are sought by world leaders and in international forums", but that he is also "the most experienced political leader active in South Africa today".

That may come as a surprise to one or two others who might have fancied that accolade for themselves. Well, now they know.



Doctor in the house?

NOTICEABLE by his absence in Parliament this week during the constitutional debate was the DP's MP for Berea Denis Worrall — he of the former leadership troika.

Dr Worrall, who is the DP's spokesman on constitutional affairs, has recently opened a consultancy in Cape Town.

Perhaps the voters in his Durban constituency will be able to find him there.

TO ANYONE familiar with the pariah status of South Africa since 1946, the suggestion that it become a permanent member of the UN Security Council seems absurd. Yet, this could happen within a matter of months.

When the UN came into being in 1945, the world was a very different place. Germany and Japan had recently surrendered unconditionally to the Allied powers and played no role. The colonial empires in Asia and Africa were still intact and their peoples also had no say.

The Big Five — the US, Soviet Union, Britain, France and China — called the tune and constructed a world body in which they would have the last word.

Although all sovereign states, big or small, were represented equally in the General Assembly, that body could take no binding decisions to maintain peace. This was the domain of the Security Council in which the Big Five had permanent seats.

Power

During the 45 years of the Cold War which soon followed the founding of the UN, the Big Five were more often at loggerheads than in agreement. Consequently, although the peace was frequently disturbed, the Security Council could not play the peace-keeping role envisaged for it. The collapse of communism has changed all that.

Provided no new rivalries emerge, there is a real prospect that the Security Council will now be able to assume the responsibilities for which it was originally designed.

The composition of that body, however, no longer represents the balance of power in the world.

The General Assembly now seats 183 sovereign states instead of the 51 at the outset. More importantly, Germany and Japan are once again among them and, as the two most powerful economies in the world after the US, have a manifest claim on a political role which will match the contribution in money and manpower they are called upon to make.

France, Russia and the US have meanwhile signalled their support for such a move, and although Britain is lukewarm about it and China

Mandela has the key to a great prize



RUDOLPH GRUBER, the Bonn director of the South African Foundation, says South Africa, if it plays its cards right, can secure permanent member status on the UN Security Council

has yet to adopt a standpoint, there can be little doubt that permanent membership will come their way.

A reform of the Security Council which merely added Germany and Japan to its exclusive ranks would, however, not adequately reflect the realities of the contemporary world. The global south would also have to be properly represented.

Accordingly, there is a proposal that India, Nigeria and Brazil be given permanent status at the same time as Asia, Africa and Latin America respectively. The secretary-general has been instructed to take soundings on these lines and report back to the world body by September.

The credentials of India and Brazil need not concern us here, but Nigeria would probably not even be considered if South Africa had a democratically elected government in power.

Although, with a population of 88.5-million at the last count, Nigeria has more than twice the number of inhabitants of South Africa, its GDP is exceeded fourfold by that of the Republic. Its foreign

debt has reached a level equal to 113 percent of GDP, thus making it effectively bankrupt.

On a world league table which measures human development and takes into account such factors as life expectancy, adult literacy, average years of schooling, income levels and media spread, Nigeria is ranked 142nd, South Africa 52nd.

Although South Africa has yet to experience democracy and prove its credentials in this regard, Nigeria has nothing to boast about.

Its present impasse is typical. After six years of military rule during which everything got worse, civilian government was due to be restored by way of managed elections on June 12.

The outcome did not please the generals, however, and the poll was annulled. Given their commitment to the restoration of democracy in Africa, the Western powers were incensed, and said so.

Lacking a democratically elected government, Pretoria can hardly exploit this situation in its favour. In particular, it cannot officially stake

its claim to the African seat in the Security Council as the country best qualified to fulfil the obligations of that post.

Even though President FW de Klerk is committed to a non-racial, democratic government, the legacy of apartheid is such in respect of the party he leads and the government he directs that he cannot possibly take the lead.

Nonetheless, the prize is too great and time too pressing for the issue to be left until a post-apartheid administration is in place. If South Africa is to have the seat at the top table which otherwise would be its for the taking, it must start lobbying now.

This can only be done on the basis of an all-party initiative led by Nelson Mandela. Only he has the moral authority and the manifest popular following to do so. The Transitional Executive Council, once in place, could be the forum for taking such an initiative.

Tact

In the event of success, South Africa would benefit immeasurably. It would not only have a say on all matters of moment in world politics, but it would find itself courted by others as a result.

The domestic bonus in respect of shared pride at the enhanced status of the country will also be substantial.

While many countries in both the developed and developing worlds are likely to welcome the candidature of South Africa on the grounds of its greater capacity to deliver, any canvassing for support will need to be done with sensitivity and tact.

Nigeria should not be denigrated in order to make the case for South Africa. Instead, the capacity to serve and the offer of partnership in the pursuit of common goals should be made the basis of South Africa's candidature. Nelson Mandela has shown he has the wisdom to pursue such goals with statesmanship and vision.

It is not too much to be hoped that he will take the lead and thereby usher South Africa back into the family of nations in a manner and with a role that nobody on either side of the great apartheid divide could ever have imagined.

SUNDAY TIMES 8 AUG 93

A small part of Natal that everybody wants

By RYAN CRESSWELL

THE son of a once-great Basotho chief who was given East Griqualand to rule over by Queen Victoria wants to reclaim the region.

Meanwhile, businessmen, farmers, politicians and workers in East Griqualand — a farming area at the tip of southern Natal — are squabbling over whether the area should be part of Natal or a new eastern Cape/Transkei region.

The Commission of Boundaries of Regions has recommended to the negotiating council that East Griqualand be incorporated into the new eastern Cape region, but the area has been part of Natal/Kwazulu for more than 20 years and the decision has outraged many residents who fear economic disaster.

While the land battle rages around him, Mr Nthlahlokoa Moshesh, 78, sits in his small home on a hill at Queens Mercy and broods on how to reclaim the region for his family and tribe.

He says that on October 10, 1881, and then on December 3, 1883, representatives of Queen Victoria met Chief George Moshesh, then head Griqua chief and parliament member, at Matatiele and Kokstad and promised him that he would be the independent head of the region after 50 years if he kept peace in East Griqualand.

Mr Moshesh said that at times the white community of the area fought against this decision but failed because the chief and his people had the title deeds.

He said that later, after the Lesotho and Natal borders had been drawn up, the government of the day took back the land.

East Griqualand was originally part of the Cape, but some people in the area felt isolated from the administration there, and in 1978 it became part of Natal.

Businessmen and farmers say it makes economic sense to stay that way, but workers in the area have close ties with Transkei and say that, ethnically, it would make sense to combine the region with the new eastern Cape/Transkei zone.

Mr John Vos, director of the East Griqualand Development Association, said that

EAST GRIQUALAND

over the years several commissions had looked at the question of where East Griqualand belonged.

"But we believe the recommendation of the latest commission is economic nonsense."

In its report the commission said the border between

Kwazulu/Natal and Cape/Kei "is a highly complex issue which would require further consultation with affected parties".

"We are waiting to hear what form further consultation will take. As soon as we are aware what channels to pursue we will hold protest meetings, public meetings and even referendums," said Mr Vos.

Although the region is not traditionally a Zulu stronghold the Inkatha Freedom Party also objects to the recommendation.

But Mr Geoff Doidge, a regional executive member of the African National Congress, said that if the region became part of the Cape people should try to be "positive" about the change.

OPINION

Sunday Times 25 July 1993

The outlines of the new state

AFTER three years of unrelenting conflict, both at the negotiating table and in the streets, the new South Africa is being born into an atmosphere of weariness and disillusion. The streets are soaked with blood, the negotiations are attended by ill-tempered uproar, and for millions of people liberation is a matter of being discharged into poverty and want. South Africa, no longer ruled by apartheid, is ruled instead by fear.

The negotiations, under such conditions, have been a triumph of doggedness, resulting finally in a series of agreements that will, in the next few days, sketch the main outlines of the new state: a draft constitution, proposals for joint control of the military forces, the bill of rights, the geography of the regions. The unveiling of these documents will, no doubt, elicit the usual ill-tempered uproar, and the uproar will obscure the extent of the achievement.

Nevertheless, this is the moment of truth. The constitution, given the prejudices and political interests of the main negotiators, will doubtless be flawed; so, too, the bill of rights. The shape of the regions will not, and indeed could not, satisfy all parties. The distribution of powers will be a compromise whose greatest virtue is neither elegance nor philosophical coherence, but that it represents the alternative to war.

The question that now confronts us — and it must not be obscured by mere political noise —

— is whether, as a nation, we have the will to push through an agreement which is, despite any faults it may have, the best we have been able to achieve in three years of pushing and shoving.

During these years, each of the parties has tried to fashion the outcome that would best serve its own political interests — or, rather, its perceived political interests. No politician can be expected to work for his own eclipse, and no politician in these negotiations has done so; but politicians are frequently deceived in their attempts to discern their own interests in a fast-changing future.

The ANC, having acted on the confident assumption that it will sweep the boards in the next election, has lately been confronted with threats from its left, from the militant working class; the National Party, having worked tirelessly to ensure a place for itself in the decision-making mechanisms of the future, is weakening so rapidly that the fruits of its effort may well go to another party — to the Inkatha Freedom Party, perhaps. And so forth.

Such speculations cannot pretend to predict the future; they merely illustrate the folly of trying to rig the game when the future is so murky. Far better to work, as the minor parties have largely done, for a good constitution, for an outcome that will continue to serve South Africa and its people long after the present generation of self-interested leaders is gone.

This is, in a word, a moment for magnanimity.