



Political tolerance worn thin - stud?- LEVELS of political intolerance among opinion leaders are "disturbingly high", a new study of attitudes among South Africays national elite has found. The researchers warn that this factor, plus continued political violence. could retard South Africals transition process and jeopardise election plans. In a report released today. they recommend a concerted effort by all political groupings and the State to launch programmes to reduce political intolerance. The study. based on attitude surveys among opinion leaders across a wide spectrunt was conducted by the Centre for International and Comparative Politics at the University of Stellenbosch under political science department head Professor Hennie Kotze.

Rightwingers

The highest intolerance level was 73.9 percent - among supporters of right-wing parties. Almost 48 percent of rightwingers fell into the category of ltextremely intolerant".

Inkatha Freedom Party respondents also showed a high level of intolerance (52.1 percent). followed by supporters of the Indian parties (40,9 percent), the National Party (37,2 percent). the PAC (28.5 percent) and the ANC-SACP alliance (15.7 percent). The most tolerant grouping was the Democratic Party. with an in-

A HIGH-LEVEL political research project has disclosed some disturbing trends in the attitudes of the people who ought to be leading us out of the doldrums. But the Stellenbosch University researchers also found optimistic signs of possible early progress in South Africa's peace process, writes FRANS ESTERHUYSE.

100%  
90%  
80%  
70%  
60%  
50%

40%  
30%  
20%  
10%  
CF

I Tolerant

tolerance level of just  
8.1 percent.

Military leaders were  
found to be politically  
the most intolerant  
(67.5 percent), followed  
by farmers (52.9 per-  
cent). labour (40.9 per-  
cent), churches (33.3 per-  
cent) and bureaucracy  
(31.3 percent).

However, in a survey  
to test support for politi-  
cal parties among opinv  
ion leaders, those in the  
military sector showed  
the strongest support for  
the NP (93 percent), fol-  
lowed by agriculture  
(76 percent) and parasta-  
tal institutions (68 per  
cent).

Uncertain

Tolerance index by political party support

Ni: DP Indian IFP ANC/ PAC

Parties

Intolerant

SACP

No less than 68 per-  
cent of respondents pre-  
ferred a federal system  
of government as a first  
constitutional choice.  
with a "unitary" state as  
second choice.

Only 4 percent prefer-  
red hpartition" and  
2 percent wanted white  
domination.

More than 75 percent  
of ANC-SACP supporters  
among respondents and  
49 percent of PAC sup-  
porters favoured a uni-  
tary model. while 96 per-  
cent of IFP supporters  
joined the majority of  
NP. DP and Indian party  
supporters in preferring  
federalism.

Apart from Conserva-  
tive Party supporters.  
respondents had no  
problems in accepting  
liberal constitutional de-  
vices such as a bill of  
rights. judicial review.  
regular elections. a  
guaranteed multiparty  
system and proportional  
representation.

While 57,5 percent of  
ANC-SACP supporters  
backed a mixed econ-  
omy. PAC respondents

favoured State control. With the exception of right-wing supporters, affirmative action in the civil service was supported.

The researchers concluded that if violence continued at its present level, the transition process - and with it any planned election late in 1993 or early 1994 - would face tremendous pressure.

Only when the National Peace Accord had a real effect would the violence decline and the trust needed for binding agreements have a chance to grow.

"A concerted effort to get programmes started to reduce intolerance should be made by all political groupings as well as the State," said Kotze.

Compromises

Progress in the transition process would depend on the emergence of strong leaders with the ability to impose unpleasant compromises.

It was unlikely that an elite settlement coupled with pact-forming would be arranged in a udemocratic or mass-inedia fishbowl".

A factor that could become a driving force in the transition process was the realisation that the Government (the NP and supporters of the 'lcore State") was not strong enough to provide the necessary economic growth and strong government.

At the same time the ANC-SACP alliance and PAC were not strong enough to enforce a "peoples democracy".

The immediate policy priorities of any government - transitional or permanent - would be political stability and economic reconstruction.

The end result might be a limited democracy.

W0 compensation for  
ANC camp Victims  
VICTIMS of African Nut-  
ional Congress detention  
camps will receive no  
compensation. ANC  
Youth League president  
Mr Peter Mokabu said  
yesterday.  
Referring to Mr Bob  
Douglas' inquiry into  
atrocities at these camps.  
Mr Mokaba said the ad-  
vocate was "simply day- :  
dreaming and hallucina-  
ting" when suggesting  
that apartheid agents be  
compensated for the dirty  
work they had conducted  
against the liberation  
movement.  
"They got caught and  
received their punish-  
ment How on earth  
can any straight-thinking  
person suggest that the  
victims must compensate  
their aggressorsT', he  
asked in a statement.  
Indeed. some of the  
people detained in these  
camps were "fortunate to  
have been arrested. tried  
and held in custody by  
our movement for pur-  
poses of their rehabilitat-  
Ilnn .  
Mr Mokaba acknowl-  
edged that some cadres  
had been detained by mis-  
take, but said they had  
been released as soon as  
the mistake had been rea-  
Iixcd  
He denied the ANC  
had a policy to arrest and  
detain its members and  
dissidents. This was "one  
of the many giaring lies  
contained in the report".  
\_ Saput

Protection of 31 on:  
This list is ridiculous,  
says ANC

By Carol Hills  
POLICE security  
measures to protect 30  
Hoopstad farmers and  
a businessman named  
in an alleged African  
National Congress hit-  
list were "ridiculous"  
the ANC said yester-  
day.

At a Press conference  
in Johannesburg yester-  
day the ANC Northern  
Free State branch again  
denied any knowledge  
whatsoever of the list  
The hitlist. calling on  
"L.C() members" to "attack  
and kill these Boers". was  
posted on the Pep Stores  
branch in Hoopstad and  
on the townie During-  
hoom Restaurant on  
Monday.

The police immediately  
provided those people  
named in the list with  
round-the-clock protec-  
tion. stationing two  
policemen at the home of  
each.

The appearance of the  
hitlist sullied last Satur-  
day's ANC march to  
Hoopstad as part of a  
Consumer boycott which  
started in November last  
year after the dismissal of  
a Pep Stores employee.

The march was also  
held to protest against the  
alleged kidnapping and  
assault of ANC member  
Mr Samuel Papala on De-  
cember 19 last year.

"We find it quite ridicu-  
lous that an unfounded al-  
legation of a "hitlist" can  
prompt such heightened  
security measures taken  
by the police to protect  
Ch 2

1  
7% ?3  
those White farmers.  
whereas a case of torture.  
abduction and attempted  
murder lies unresolved by  
the SAP." ANC Northern  
Free State media officer.  
Mr Joe Khambule said in  
a prepared statement yes-  
terday.

"We reject these ac-  
tions by the police with  
the contempt they de-  
serve.  
Such action confirms

that in this country the life of a Black person is taken very Cheaply.

"It confirms that there are non-Nazis deeply rooted within the security forces." said Mr Khambule.

Three men were, in fact, arrested and appeared briefly in the Hoopstad Magistrates Court on Thursday on charges of kidnapping and abduction.

The case was postponed until February 1, and the men were released on bail of R1100 each.

The ANC yesterday criticised the police for failing to take action to find Mr Pztpalais alleged assailant for three weeks after the alleged incident.

However, Northern Free State ANC regional chairman, Mr Ace Magashule, admitted that the ANC was not aware of two earlier attempts to hold identity parades which were called off when Mr Papala failed to attend them.

The police had not notified the ANC of these identity parades, he said.

Mr Papala described his alleged ordeal at yesterday's Press conference.

In his statement, Mr Khambule said a decision on whether or not to continue the Hoopstad consumer meeting would be made at a meeting of the Bloemfontein regional dispute resolution committee.

We appeal to all

White farmers and peace-loving South Africans to throw their weight behind the transitional phase in our country, and we commend the efforts of individual SAP members who are trying their best to bring the culprits to

A case built on Quicksand  
Z PALLO JORDAN says the Douglas commission was one more lurid chapter in the Cold War  
ADVOCATE Douglas and his one-man inquiry added nothing new to our knowledge of human rights violations in ANC detention centres.  
The evidence led before him did not differ substantially from that placed before the ANC's inquiry. What Douglas brought to his inquiry was a particularly virulent animosity against communism.  
The editor of the Sunday Times, who appears to share Douglas's zeal, claims that this is an attribute of all civilised persons. (Whom does the learned scribe include in such "civilised" company? Senator Joe McCarthy? B.) Vorster? General Pinochet?)  
After reading Douglas's report, it became clear to me that anti-communism had tempted him into gross exaggerations, hyperbole and the acceptance of outright lies. (The alleged ANC delegation to Kampuchea in 1978 is a case in point.)  
Since the age of Homer it has been standard practice for states or armies engaged in war to attempt to penetrate the defences of their opponents by guile, deceit or any other means, fair or foul. In our own indigenous literary tradition, in Thomas Mofolts's novel, Chaka, we encounter the character Ndlebe, an extremely efficient spymaster. -  
Douglas is over the top in suggesting that the ANC leadership required the Soviet KGB and the SACP to make it aware of SA government penetration and infiltration. If indeed the ANC was not that vigilant, it was very ably alerted by Pretoria's intelligence services who boasted about their successes.  
The SA public only recently became aware of the violent deeds of the likes of Ferdi Barnard. But those at the receiving end know what they are capable of. Opponents of the apartheid regime have been the victims of poisonings, letter-bombings, aerial bombardments, shootings and much worse.  
Infiltrated agents were crucial to the success of these attacks. The hit squads oper-



ated not only inside SA but beyond its borders. And the squad that almost "took out" Albie Sachs, was applauded by Mr Ken Owen, then editor of Business Dayf

Any responsible liberation movement would create a specialised organ to defend its cause and membership against such assault.

Any form of torture or third-degree interrogation methods are morally reprehensible and should be unequivocally opposed. Such abuses should be rejected on principle - whether perpetrated in the name of God, as Torquemada of the Spanish Inquisition claimed; in the name of the proletariat, as Stalin and his followers claimed; or in defence of the "free world", as the US military claimed in Vietnam.

The same strictures apply to those in the ANC who, motivated by whatever lofty reason, saw fit to employ such measures.

But Douglas's purpose, it would appear, was not merely to expose the sins of the ANC. He was determined to pin responsibility for them specifically on the communists.

Douglas charges Joe Slovo with coatesponsibility for the violations, going so far as to claim that he encouraged them. But Slovo. is mentioned by only one witness in the report.

To substantiate a case built on quicksand, Douglas had recourse to a story that tests one's credulity. In evidence placed before the commission, a former inmate of Quatro claims that Slovo visited the camp incognito. This former inmate. it transpires. did not see Slovo but heard of this :4Hmw//f;;zis 911/4 f3

"visit" from the guards.

Chris Hani, fingered by Douglas as one of the principal villains in the councils of the ANC, was one of the sternest critics of the security organs.

Ronnie Kasrils has become the favourite whipping boy of the South African media since Bisho. It appears that the Douglas commission could not resist taking a swipe at him as well. He has offered his own account of the

events surrounding the accusations against him. I have no reason to doubt his veracity.

How many others have been the victims of Douglas's anti-communist zeal?

The Douglas commission, sponsored by an international body whose sole purpose is waging the Cold War, had a very special axe to grind. Those who had hoped that it could assist in getting to the root of the illness that afflicted the ANC security organs have been ill-served by this commission.

D Z Pallo Jordan is the ANC's secretary of information, but this article is written in his personal capacity.

1 Business Day did not applaud the attack on Mr Sachs which it described in a comment written by Ken ()wen us the mom! equiv aim! of neckhu'ing

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\_Visit vengeance for the camps

. . . on those pr

HE stories which have emerged from the ANC detention camps are horrible. For months now. we have heard tale after chilling tale of arbitrary degradation, mindless cruelty and murder. That the ANC's security wing was guilty of these despicable acts is a matter of unchallenged historical record.

Like Swapols "internal security" 'ghouls deep in the African bush. the men of Mbokodo became paranoid and crazed - hundreds of tinpot Colonel Kurtzes playing roles in their own versions of Apocalypse Now, able and willing at a whim to visit unimaginable horrors on their victims.

Now that the magnitude of the crime is known, there are really only three questions to be answered. Will the perpetrators be punished? Will the victims be compensated? Will steps be taken to ensure that the Mbokodo can never resurface, in any form?

The ANC says that the second of its commissions of inquiry into the tragedy of the detainees will deal with these issues once and for all. South Africans, black and white, demand that outcome without further delay.

But there is a wild element to the recriminations which have followed the revelations. and it is dangerous. In the report of the Douglas Commission - and much of the commentary it has inspired - unqualified, direct blame is attached to a variety of prominent individuals. This cloud will hang over them in the coming elections; the blight could even follow them to their graves. It is our duty to ask whether this public "sentencing" is just. for our society cannot exorcise itself of the shame of the camps by aping the arbitrary approach of the Colonel Kurtzes and executing the innocent along with the guilty.

I have looked very carefully into just one case: that of Joe Slovo. Advocate Douglas is un-

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Johnson

THE report of the Douglas Commission convicts Joe Slovo of the most heinous crime, but fails to provide the evidence. It is our duty to ask whether this public isentencingi is just.

equivocal on this subject: "I come to the conclusion." he writes, tthat Joe Slovo, on the evidence, was responsible and accountable for the crimes committed by Mbokodo. He was the most powerful communist in the movement at the time. He was seen visiting the camps, including Quatro. He saw for himself what was going on and clearly must have approved of it." One would expect that such a damning statement would be made only on the strength of irrefutable evidence. I have searched the 64-page report in vain for such evidence.

Douglas tells us he interviewed about 100 witnesses. In his report he quotes from the heart-rending stories of 25 of them. Of those. two mention Joe Slovo.

Witness 22 says: HJoe Slovo visited Quatro. to

my knowledge. during 1984. He visited the prison at night so that inmates would not recognise oven

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guilty

b.7564 I might add that we had always had the highest regard for Joe Slovo, who was head of special operations. The fact that he could associate himself with the brutality of our imprisonment came as a great shock to me. I was told by the warders of his visit and recall their boasting of his being in their company."

Witness 23, who refused to swear an affidavit, says: "In my opinion all the top leadership of the NEC knew about the abuse of human rights that took place, especially Slovo. Tambo, Kasrils and Hani."

Nowhere else in the reams of evidence does Slovo's name appear. It does not require legal training for one to conclude that the case against him rests on hearsay evidence from an Mbokodo warder, who would have had an obvious interest in making such a boast, and the speculation of one other witness. Nevertheless Douglas states flatly that Slovo was seen msitting the camps (the plural is particularly gratuitous). therefore "saw what was going on" and "clearly must have approved of it". Suffice to say that I. as an ordinary citizen, would feel deeply aggrieved were I to be convicted of anything at all based on such leaps of logic.

Slovo swears that he never, ever visited an ANC detention camp. He has challenged anyone to come forward and testify that he was seen at one. On the principle of the assumption of innocence in the absence of proof of guilt. then. he surely has reason to question the findings against him.

You may or may not like Joe Slovo and what he stands for. That is irrelevant.

Everyone is entitled to a fair trial. And if justice is to be done to the wretched victims of the camps. then the right culprits must be properly identified. The Douglas report convicts Slovo of the most heinous crime. It fails to provide the evidence.

concerted attempt has been made by some members of the media, and by some members of the ANC National Executive. to trivialise or sidestep the criticisms levelled by me at the organisation during the funeral of Mama Helen Joseph. Little is being done to interpret or assess the validity of what I had to say.

My point at the funeral was that the politics of transition are being dominated by a political elite which are merging in themselves the opposuional interests of those who traditionally pursued the cause of apartheid and those who traditionally opposed it. It is inevitable that in this sort of a compromise the interests of the vast majority of South Africans. who are both black and poor. will be sacrificed

My criticism is directed against political elitism, and I see elitism here in its classical definitions: A recourse to or advocacy of leadership or dominance by a select group. The lifestyle of the individuals constituting such a group is in itself irrelevant; it becomes relevant only when this new elite takes its new-tound membership of the material elite to the negotiations table and projects it as the mandate of the impoverished people it claims to represent,

The apparent relationship between the ANC and the National Party elites is just such a partnership. The NP elite is getting into bed with the ANC in order to preserve its silken sheets. and the leadership elite in the ANC is getting HOW THE ELITE ARE THINKING

Sam Solo

SOUTH African leaders across the political and metal spectrum are moving closer together in their attitudes - a situation which bodes well for the negotiation process. That's the finding of the latest survey of the attitudes of the nation's movers and shakers carried out by Professor Hennie Katie O! Stellenbosch University's department of political science. Professor Kotz'e' polled just over 1000 of the country: political. business. media. labour. agriculture, church. civil service and military leaders on key political attitudes and found an increasing degree of convergence among South Atricals elites

"Since the first survey in 1990 there has been a lot of convergence on certain issues. notably the economy." he explained.

"Nationalisation seems to have

dropped from the picture. and  
from both sides - business, gov-

Why they

are sell-outs

Winnie Mandela. estranged wife of African National  
Congress leader Nelson Mandela. believes the ANC  
leadership is set on a self-serving course that will  
compromise the interests of the vast majority of South  
Africans who have fought long and hard against the evil of  
apartheid. She argues that quick-fix notations engineered  
by the political elite in the ANC and the National Party will  
benefit a few at the expense of the many.

Sliding into bed with the NP to enjoy  
this new-found luxury The concern  
is that this new amalgam of power  
is promoting its own self-interest  
and overlooking the plight and  
needs of the underprivileged  
masses. both black and white.

Where in this can we find the  
promise of the brave new non-racial,  
non-sexist democracy?

The quick-fix solutions sought by  
our leaders can only benefit a few.  
and will backfire massively on the  
country as a whole, The disillusion  
that will follow when the masses  
awaken to the fact that they have  
not been included in the new free-  
dom and in the new wealth enjoyed  
by their leaders will have worse  
implications than what we experi-  
enced in the 1970s and 1980s. and  
will plunge the country irrevoca-  
bly into yet another vortex of mass  
violence and protest; this time not  
against the NP but against the new  
government which the masses will  
have discovered to be representing  
the same class interest as the NP  
it fought so bravely.

A democratic and peaceful solu-  
tion depends on the continuous in-  
volvement of the people through  
their elected representatives in the  
negotiation process. Negotiations  
cannot be confined to the exclusive  
influence and the eventual benefit  
of only a select group of individu-  
als

The leadership of the ANC has a  
responsibility to continue to pro-  
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Those principles were based on  
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ANC member. as it does to every other ordinary ANC member. just Mindshift in a minefield  
ernment and the extra-parliamentary groups - there has been convergence to a middle ground where some redistribution of wealth is seen as necessary."  
Another interesting result of the survey was the response of the military, especially given the tears the President FW de Klerk might be facing resistance to reform from within the security forces  
Professor Kotzé' polled 46 of the Defence Force's top generals and brigadiers and found that 97 per cent still supported the National Party. There was no support among the top brass for the Conservative Party,  
"With such a strong identification with the party (the NP) which initiated the transition in South Africa. it could be speculated the military will submit to the compromises the NP negotiates  
Professor Kotzé's survey also reveals a solid attachment to the institutions of state - the courts. the police, the SABC. the office of state president - among the right wing, despite the public revolutionary rhetoric to the contrary.  
He also found that 71 percent of CP supporters among those polled would accept a set of minority protection devices similar to those favoured by the NP,  
However. the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress leadership is still strongly opposed to the concept of minority protection.

He warned that the real threat

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5/12

as much as it does to the leadership.

I am not about to abandon the ANC to the mercies of elitist politicians: Because the leadership is failing the people does not mean that the organisation has failed; that leadership can and will be changed by the people in order to resurrect the organisation into one which represents their interests. If I have support, I will locate that support within the ANC. The speculation that I speak in order to "win support" because I want to form a new party is therefore way off the mark.

The fact that the leadership seeks quick-fix solutions reflects its lack of confidence in the goals of the ANC and the goals of the vast mass of South Africans who have for generations supported the ANC. The government has always

had military power; the people have always taught with their own power. it was people's power that drove the NP to negotiate with the ANC. and there is no need and no justification for abandoning people's power when we have come so far on the strength of that power and that power alone now to scuttle that power and become co-opted into the National regime IMrs Mandela. who resigned her position as an elected member of the ANC's National Executive Committee in 1992. is I final year BA student at the University of the Witwatersrand. She is studying politics, social anthropology and international relations.

to a democratic South Africa lay in the levels of political intolerance that were a feature even among South Africa's elite.

Among whites the most opposed organisation was the PAC, and among blacks it was the Alrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

In a test. he polled attitudes to peaceful activities by opposition groups and found high levels of intolerance, particularly among CP, NP. Inkatha Freedom Party and PAC supporters. The levels were also up from the 1991 survey.

"When there is intolerance among leaders it. of course. spills over in an amplified way to supporters. We need to initiate a state programme. with multi-party support. to teach people the concept of political tolerance."

Overall, however. Prof Kotze is hugely encouraged by the "national mindshift" revealed in his survey, "There has been a tremendous shift since 1990. on the white side especially. You could call it a revolution in terms of attitudes."

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The NP elite is getting into bed with the ANC in order to preserve its silken Sheets, and the leadership elite in the ANC is getting into bed with the NP to enjoy this new-found luxmy

Winnie strikes back

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isation has failed; that leadership can and will be changed by the people in order to resurrect the organisation into one which represents their interests. If I have support. I will locate that support within the ANC. The speculation that I speak in order to win support' because I want to form a new party is therefore way off the mark.

The fact that the leadership seeks quick-hx solutions reflects its lack of confidence in the goals of the ANC and the goals of the vast mass of South Africans who have for generations supported the ANC. The government has always had military power: the people have always fought with their own power. It was people's power that drove the NP to negotiate with the ANC. and there is ; no need and no justification for ; abandoning people's power when we have come so far on the strength of that power and that power alone . and become co-opted into the Nationalist regime. ,

JAY NAIDOO, general secretary of ('osatu. has complained about an article which appeared in the early editions of last week's Sunday Star. The article dealt with Winnie. Mandela's attack on the ANC' elite and compared her lifestyle with that of the ANC-SATP-(Tosatu alliance. In his complaint Nllltltlo questions the ethics of the Sunday Star. points out that although he is a member of the AM? he occupies no official position and "I there'ore fail to see how the journalist decided that I am a member of a so called elite".

But Brendan St-vry (the reporter) had the courtesy of establishing the facts from my office or me personally rather than writing on the basis of rumour and speculation he would have avoided making a number of factual inaccuracies.

I Mr Romy would be welcome to provide me with a list of well wishers who want to donate a house to me. Unfortunately I have a 25 year bond that I have to pay.

My house did not cost R185 000 but R150 000. Unless I live on another planet this certainly does not place me even near the scale of the real big business and Government elite in South Africa who spend triple this amount on their holiday homes, which remain unoccupied for most of the year. Does Mr Seery wish the excluded majority to continue living in shacks and matchbox houses?

I drive a Ford Sapphire 1981 model purchased second hand by ('osatu and for which I still pay a monthly instalment.

But these and other inaccuracies. amongst which is the misspelling of my wife's name. I can only assume that this article is part of an attempt to discredit leaders of the democratic movement.

"If this article contained so many inaccuracies just in relation to myself. how many more did it contain in relation to other leadership figures it attempted to smear by innuendo?"

"Good journalists. if only because they are sensitive to the laws of defamation. pride themselves on checking their facts thoroughly, to avoid publishing articles based on rumour. This was certainly not the case with Mr Seery."

ME HJITOR REPLIES:

Naitloo has misinterpreted the tone and intention of the article. The article stated plainly that it was an examination of the lifestyles of people within the ANC-SA(?P/t'osatu alliance -- all this in reaction to earlier allegations about the alleged ANC/

al 00

elite by Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Far from being an attempt to  
ttsnlear" the democratic movement's  
leaders. it was intended to show to  
ordinary South Africans that, far  
from living uhigh off the hog'l. many  
in the alliance live very normal,  
unluxnrrious lives. A careful reading  
of the article will show this beyond  
dispute.

The. information conceminghim  
was garnered from friends and  
acquaintances, in view of Mr Nai-  
(lotfs olten-stated position that his  
private life is private. That people  
fairly close to him are less than  
knowledgeable about his life is a tes-  
tamenttothe effectiveness ol'hispol-  
n-y

The Sunday Star regrets the errors  
and aplogises for any embarrass  
nwnt they may have caused both Mr  
and Mrs Naidoo.

W 47 6/1/ Zif/f/ ff;

Pd rather die than suffer  
in jail, says Cebekhulu  
LUSAKA - Detained South  
African Katiza Cebekhulu  
(20) is frustrated and de-  
pressed with his indefinite  
detention and is willing to  
attempt to escape from Lu-  
saka Central Prison in Zam-  
bia.

hOne day I will just run  
and the policemen might  
shoot me. Maybe it is better  
to be dead than to be aiive  
and sultering like this."

The South Airican-detain-  
ee was quoted by the Zam-  
bian newspaper Weekly Post  
yesterday as saying Zam-  
bian immigration authori-  
ties had found he was not a  
prohibited immigrant.

"I was kidnapped by the  
ANC iron; Ssuth Africa -- I  
did not come here on my  
own." he said from prison.  
He conceded that an escape  
attempt would probably be  
suicidal.

He claimed to have been  
at the Zambian Ministry of  
Home Affairs where he met  
two South African whites  
from the Department of  
Foreign Affairs.

"I told the two white men  
from South Africa that I will  
never set foot in that cous-  
S u  
try because I wiii be killed.  
My mother is my only fami-  
ly and she stays in Natal. I  
have no education and no  
iob, so how can I go to South  
Africa? I am prepared to go  
anywhere. even the Soviet  
Union, as long as I am safe."  
he said.

Heme Afici:s Minister  
Newstead Zimba earlier  
confirmed that Cebekhulu  
was H'EC to go anywhere. but  
it appeared as other country  
would have him.

Chief immigration officer  
Ciement Mbangweta said  
Cebekhulu had been given  
the chdice of leaving the  
country (1" "enzi'xflg in de-  
tentictn U" he was not  
wanted- :... .samhia.

Several Western coun-  
tries. including Britain and  
Denmark. had withdrawn  
offers to take Cebekhulu be-  
cause they could not guaran-  
tee his safety.

South African authorities  
have been anxwus to inter-  
view Cebekhulu since he dis-  
appeared shortly before the

Winnie Mandela kidnap and  
assault trial in which he was  
to have- appcared as a co-  
accused. - Sapa.

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Hani hails court verdict

BY SIBIISISO Mannso

CHRIS Hanits bodyguard, Jabu Ngobese, was this week acquitted of possessing an illegal firearm - a decision that left the South African Communist Party secretary-general delighted. It is very exciting to note that the court accepted that Ngobese did not possess the firearm to commit crime, but that he carried it to protect the ANC leadership," Hani said.

On Thursday, Magistrate D Smith said the court accepted Ngobese's defence that he had been armed by the ANC and worked as Hanits bodyguard. Ngobese (29), a former Robben Island prisoner who admitted receiving military training outside the country, was arrested last May.

Police searched his car and found a Stechkin automatic pistol and 21 rounds of ammunition under the seat. The magistrate said it was clear that Ngobese did not intend using the firearm for criminal purposes since the gun was never used.

"I welcome the court verdict and want to congratulate both the magistrate and prosecutor HP Schomper (who conceded reasonable doubt) for their fair judgment," Hani said.

"It is interesting that courts are now moving away from a situation where they were seen to be siding with the State. I hope that other magistrates in similar cases, will exercise similar judgment."

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## MANDELA AND SANCTIONS

ANC sets tone  
for relations

With business

WHILE some find the call to freeze retrenchments naive, others feel it signals a more pragmatic approach towards dealing with business, writes DUNCAN INNES.

ELSON Mandela's statement this week that he was willing to ask the ANC's national executive to call off sanctions if business froze retrenchments and made a "significant contribution" towards reducing unemployment has caused ripples within the business community,

Many see this statement as yet another example of the ANC's misunderstanding of the way business functions. They argue that sanctions have largely been revoked. so even if the ANC drops its call for sanctions. it would make little difference to business.

Calling for a freeze on retrenchments before an economic upswing is in place puts the cart before the horse: first there should be stable conditions for economic growth so that investments can occur. These. in turn. will reduce unemployment. Some see in Mandela's statement signs of a greater awareness of the economic crisis in South Africa and a more pragmatic approach towards dealing with business. They argue that business should respond accordingly, taking Mandela's proposal seriously. However. it is very unlikely that Mandela's proposal will win wide support within the business community.

Business is not a single homogeneous entity. It is a multitude of different enterprises. some aligned in federations which are either industry-based (the Chamber of Mines. Seifsa. Bitso) or culturally based (the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut. Nafcoc).

These federations are autonomous. Within their ranks. wide differences of opinion exist. especially on controversial issues such as Mandela's proposal. How then. will the ANC respond if some businesses freeze retrenchments and others do not?

The second problem is that many businesses. which held back on retrenchments last year in the hope that the economy might turn. have now been forced to retrench or face collapse. Their difficulty is that they might simply not be able to afford to freeze retrenchments for a further period.

Related to this is the argument that the only way to ensure that

business stops retrenching and reduces unemployment in the longer term is to provide a stable SOCIO-political and economic environment within which business can operate - something South Africa does not have at present. However, on the more positive side, it is possible to detect in Mandela's proposal signs of a change of heart within the ANC which might contribute, albeit in a small way, to a more stable environment for business. What is clear from the proposal is that the ANC wishes to return the economy to a growth footing and that it is willing to jettison ideological and political obstacles used to restrict economic growth.

Some sections of the business community will no doubt welcome this more pragmatic and realistic approach from the ANC. They will draw strength from the fact that Finance Minister Derek Keyser's message on the economic crisis South Africa faces has been heard at the highest level within the ANC; this might begin to improve business confidence.

But regardless of how business responds to the proposal, there is a very important message in what Mandela said which all sections of the business community would be foolish to ignore. And that is that while the ANC is becoming more aware of business's needs, it will not respond to these without asking for something in return.

What Mandela is in effect saying is that business wants the ANC's support in getting sanctions lifted and in gaining access to the IMF and World Bank. Then the ANC expects business to work broadly within the framework of ANC policy on unemployment.

This approach will characterise the ANC's attitude towards business during the next few years.

If business wants ANC support in promoting exports, the ANC will insist on knowing what business is doing to promote black advancement. If business wants access to cheaper credit, the ANC will want to know what business is doing to develop black housing and township facilities. If business wants access to wider markets, the ANC will want business to put a stop to monopolistic tendencies and collusion within its ranks.

During the next few years business will have to adjust to the fact that the ANC is going to try to assert its influence over the white-dominated business power structure. The extent of that influence

and the way in which bmin& responds will be the subject of intense debate.

0 The author is manager of The Innes Labour Brief and is co-author of Power and Profit; Politics, Labour and Business in SA (Oxford University Press, 1992li

Sanctions again  
man who has spent more  
than a quarter of a century  
in prison, but it needs to be said  
bluntly that Mr Nelson Mandelals  
offer to call off sanctions in re-  
turn for a promise by business-  
men to suspend retrenchments  
rests on a woeful ignorance of  
business life.  
OBODY wishes to mock  
gaps in the knowledge of a  
Mr Mandela shares with the  
Marxist ideologues of his party a  
misconception that business -  
especially "big business" - is a  
single entity, with a single set of  
interests. The truth, as anybody  
may testify who has watched im-  
porters brawl with local manu-  
facturers, is that every business-  
man has his own interests, and he  
pursues them with all his might  
because (contrary to what many  
in sheltered employment on cam-  
puses may think) it is not easy to  
make money.  
If sanctions vanish. the chance  
of retrenchments will recede,  
provided many other precondi-  
tions for economic growth are  
also fulfilled; if sanctions remain,  
the chance of retrenchments will  
grow as the economy decays. Mr  
Mandela must make his own  
choice, but the longer he delays,  
the greater the difficulties he will  
face next year, and the year after,  
and the year after that, in keeping  
his people employed. If he waits  
too long, sanctions may destroy  
him.  
Todayis unemployed pay the  
price for yesterdayls sanctions  
campaign by Archbishop Des-  
mond Tutu; the price for today's  
vacillation by Mr Mandela in  
calling off sanctions will be paid  
by tomorrowls unemployed.  
That's that.  
4rif/f/147///z1/Qs ?l/W/Z;

Clinton hand-shake

BY MAUREEN ISAACSON

BACK FROM the inauguration of US president Bill Clinton. fatigued ANC President Nelson Mandela told the press that he was the only one of about 2000 people to have been called to shake hands with US president-elect Bill Clinton at a convention centre last Monday.

Mandela insisted that he was relating this event in all humility: he said that he was simply illustrating "that the ANC is recognised in the US as the key to establishing democracy in this country".

To emphasise his point he said that he had been called away from ' the ball that followed the conventinn

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for a photo session with Clinton, Mandela. looking haggard after an 18-hour flight from New York. spnke briefly to the press at Jan 5 May (\$7M :w/V P3

Smuts Airport yesterday.

Flanked by fellow travellers, national executive committee members Aziz Pahad and Barbara Masekela. he told the press he had been invited to attend the inauguration of President Clinton by the Black Caucus of the US Congress.

Mandela told the press that he had met top figures from the Democratic and Republican parties. "Journalists." said Mandela. "as opinion makers. have an important role to play. I don't want you to speak for the ANC. but we need you for the process."

When asked for his reaction to the angry reaction of Azapo to his softening attitude on sanctions. Mandela said: "We are a democratic organisation and we believe that people are perfectly free to state their points of view."

PRESIDENT Ijill Clinton has sent a strong signal that ANC president Nelson Mandela will get what he wants out of US policy on Africa - no major chanson

In Washington this week for Mr Clinton's inauguration. Mr Mandela paid tribute to outgoing President George Bush and said he hoped there would be no major change in course under the new administration. The appointment of professional diplomat George Moose to succeed assistant Secretary of State for Africa Hank Cohen means it is likely that Mr Mandela will get his wish.

Mr Moose, the fastest rising African-American in the State Department, may owe his new job in part to President Clinton's commitment to "diversity".

There was also pressure from AMERICA'S new First Lady. Mrs Hillary Clinton has emerged as a powerful force in her husband's government, should substantial rearmament for the health of the environment.

Mr Clinton has also taken an office among his top aides in the White House's west wing shunning the more traditional office in the remote east wing. The only thing that surprised the Congressional Black Caucus that Washington's top Africanist be selected on racial grounds. But his colleagues say he was headed for the top anyway.

In the past, the 49-year-old New Yorker's career has chiefly been advanced by Republicans, starting with former secretary of state Henry Kissinger, whose attention

attracted him to the speed with which President Clinton has permitted his wife to vote one of America's top 100 lawyers, to move into an executive role.

Her task puts her in the front rank of the president's domestic policy advisers. The Democrats' commitment to reconstruction; health care - on which they cannot renege - in causing severe financial headaches. The Telegraph, London

he caught with a brilliant analysis of the Angolan civil war in 1976.

Mr Moose was promoted to desk officer for Rhodesia that September, and participated in Kissinger's efforts to broker a Rhodesian settlement.

In 1978, he became deputy director of the State Department's Southern Africa bureau. sewing

under mutant Secretary Richard Moon before heading for the UN as deputy counsellor for political and security affairs. '.

Former president Ronald Reagan's UN ambassador, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, was generally scathing at officials who had served under Jimmy Carter. but she was impressed with Mr Moon's talents and kept him on for more than two years.

She then lobbied hard for him to be rewarded with his first ambassadorship, Benin. in June 1983. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crochet was equally impressed. and after a two-year stint back in Washington. he was given another African embassy - Nigeria.

In 1991, Mr Moose was assigned as deputy US representative at the UN. He returned to Washington to serve on a task force overhauling the State Department's management system last year, and was asked to join the Clinton transition team after the election.

Farook Meer: Congress members will probably stand as ANC candidates.

Vanilla Yoganathe

ETHNIC political organisations are clinging to their ethnic name tags in a last bid to woo minority groups as the countdown begins (or South Africa's tint non-racial elections predicted to take place next year.

Solidarity - the ruling party in the House of Delegates - the National People's Party (NPP) and the Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses will not disband and align themselves with the major political parties as yet, their leaders said this week. instead the "Indian" political groups believe they have a definite role to play in the build-up to non-racial elections and in a future, democratic South Attica.

In the midst of a takeover threat by the National Party which last week ousted the NPP to become the official opposition in the HoD, Solidarity decided at its national executive committee meeting on Sunday to remain non-aligned and to continue to function in its present state. The decision will be discussed further at Solidarity's national congress on February 14 when delegates will also discuss how Solidarity should tackle the issue of the first non-racial elections. The days of the Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses, too, are far from over. NIC secretary Farook Meer said this week.

Both the MC and TIC will meet this week to re-evaluate their roles in the Indian community prior to and after elections. Dr Meer said because most of the NIC/TIC members were also members of the African National Congress, at which some were senior executive members. individual members would probably contest the upcoming elections as ANC candidates.

Dhevalh Rajah: The three main players don't cater for the needs of minorities.

Indian party leaders opt to stay ethnic

Johan Steenkamp: HOD MP5 and ministers want to join the NP.

The NIC and TIC, both closely aligned to the ANC, chose to retain their present status and not join the ANC as was widely expected of them shortly after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, Dr Meer said the task of recruiting and mobilising specific groups for a democratic election could not be successfully carried



out by the major political players alone

Smaller groups, such as the NIC, TIC which were able to reach out to specific target groups, could solve this problem, he said

Although the NIC/TIC had not made substantial inroads in the Indian community because of "administrative and structural problems", Dr Meer was confident that with the implementation of new strategies - especially those used by the now defunct United Democratic Front - the NIC/TIC could woo the community again

There is an increasing realisation among all the major political players that there is a definite need for smaller groups, preferably aligned to one or the other bigger parties, to represent minority groups at this stage," he said.

He said even though the smaller parties may not be in a position to contest the elections on their own, it was important for them to continue to function as there was still a great need for representation of minority groups,

Dr Meer's view was shared by both the leader of the NPP, Amichand Relbansi: All the small groups should form one large Indian caucus, Amichand Rajbansi, and Solidarity executive committee member Dhevrajh Rajah.

Dr Rajah said at present the South African political arena was shared by three main players which did not adequately cater for the needs of the minority groups,

Solidarity, he believed, would be able to fill this gap, claiming the party had a strong following in the community.

"The public at large, too, needs to be given a wider chance," he said,

Next on Solidarity's agenda would be the "tracking of new blood" and getting rid of the "tricameral stigma" which had stuck with the party since its inception. Dr Rajah said.

Reflecting on talk that more HOD MPs, including Solidarity members, were considering following in the footsteps of the eight HOD MPs who had thus far switched alliance to the NP.

Dr Rajah said the party was confident of support from most of its members.

But, NP spokesman Johan Steenkamp last week said sever-

al HoD ministers and MP5 were showing a keen interest in joining his party. adding that he would not be surprised at all if the NP took control of the "ob. Controversial Mr Raibansi, however, has a vision for an "indian caucus". which he believes would be the answer to the thorny ethnicity issue. The various small ethnic parties. which had been at loggerheads with one another for years, could not exist as separate groups, he said.

"An ideal situation would be a combination of all the small indian groups to form a large indian caucus which would not be in opposition to other groups and not contest the first non-racial Dumileani Makhaye: South Africa's Indian community cannot go it alone. elections but merely serve as a protector of the rights of the indian community "

Mr Raibansi said while the major players in South Africa had promised to 'unsmear' minority groups in the interim, they often tended to concentrate on black white issues, A party which would cater specifically for the needs of minority groups was essential he said

The NPP. meanwhile, would not be contesting the forthcoming elections as a party and would not disband but would play a "Significant role" in the build-up to the elections. especially in the negotiation process, he said.

within live or SIX years from now when we are in a better position, we will be able to stand up to the pressure of the bigger groups," Mr Raibansi said.

Spokesman for the ANC's southern Natal region, Dumisani Makhaye, said from the experiences of indian communities in other African countries, it was clear that South Africa's Indian community "cannot go it alone". However, Mr Makhaye said the ANC could not ignore the issue of ethnicity and realised the need for smaller groups, aligned to the ANC. which could work within the community.

"These smaller groups include those which were associated with the tricameral system because regardless of how little support they have within the community. they are still representative of some people.

"If we are to truly adhere to our principles of democracy, we

Will be obliged to accept this  
even though the issue still re-  
mains a very senSitive one in  
ANC Circles. '

"But we have to let bygones be  
bygones."

Winnie- trial run-  
away set to  
LUSAKA. -De-  
tained South African  
Kzltizu Cebekhulu  
(20). is frustrated and  
depressed with his in-  
definite detention and  
is willing to attempt to  
escape from Lusaka  
Central Prison in Zam-  
bia.

HOne day I will just run  
and the policemen mighl  
shoot me. Maybe it is bet-  
ter to be dead than to be  
alive and suffering like  
this."

. South African authors  
ities have been anxious tu  
interview Mr Cehekhulu  
since he disappeared  
shortly before the Winnie  
Mandela kidnap and ass  
sault trial in which he was  
to have appeared as a co-  
accused.

The South African de  
l% 1.3/75;  
flee

Zambian jail  
tainee was quoted by the  
Zambian newspaper  
Weekly Post yesterday as  
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that country because I  
will be killed. My mother  
is my only family and she  
stays in Natal. l have no  
education and nu job. so  
how can I go to South  
Africa? I am prepared to  
go anywhere. even the  
Soviet Union (sic). as  
long as I am safe." he  
said.

Home Affairs Minister  
Newstead Zimhn earlier

confirmed that Mr Cebekhulu was free to go anywhere but it appeared no other country would have him.

Chief immigration officer Clement Mbangwetn said Mr Cebekhulu had been given the choice of leaving the country or remaining in detention because he was not wanted in Zambia.

Several Western countries, among them Britain and Denmark, had withdrawn their offers to take Mr Cebekhulu because they could not guarantee his safety.

Hm

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Ferdi: From CCB  
 spy to media star  
 I Lying for a living: Ferdi  
 Barnard can rest easy. An  
 inquest judge has found that  
 it could not be established  
 beyond a reasonable doubt  
 that the former CCB spy had  
 bragged to friends that he  
 murdered Dr David Webster.  
 BY PETA Tuonuvcnnon  
 FERDI Barnard has become a media  
 star. He seemed to enjoy the attention.  
 the flashing cameras and the micro-  
 phones, as he swaggered out from  
 under the dome of the Supreme Court  
 into Pritchard Street.  
 He has learned to play the press pret-  
 ty well, but then anyone who thought  
 Barnard was stupid would have been  
 very, very wrong.  
 He's a man who these days calls  
 pm conferences and is always good  
 for quote. Humorous. quick off the  
 mark. and quite popular. Not bad for a  
 double convicted murderer who has  
 spent the last few years lying for a liv-  
 ing. But then many of the former State  
 employees among the witnesses who  
 appeared in the Rand Supreme Court  
 were liars.  
 That neat and most precise of judges  
 Mr Justice Michael Stegmann, in  
 clipped. clear speech. called them "pro-  
 fwsional liars".  
 And while the dissemblers prosper in  
 the glow of golden handshakes. another  
 South African. an honourable. decent  
 man by all accounts. rests in his grave.  
 David Webster is dead and his murder-  
 ers are free men.  
 But then it is a time-honoured South  
 African tradition that most political  
 killers escape justice.  
 Judge Stegmann had to sift through  
 hundreds of pages of lies which came  
 tumbling out of the mouths of those  
 who were ordered to live beyond all  
 norms of civilised behaviour to protect  
 this country from itself.  
 Yet some of the WllneSSCS -- the  
 l'lllai'si' whom Judge Stugmann teeters to  
 i 73  
 - were given th court's protection.  
 Their phowgraphs r-ould neither be  
 taken nor published, their evnlence.  
 though made public. was given behind  
 closed doors; and in at least one in-  
 stance. a Witnessis real name could not  
 berevealed.  
 There was a discernable sigh of dis-  
 appointment when the judge was un- E  
 able to find a probable murderer.  
 In this inquest more was possible be-  
 cause the definition of an enemy of the  
 State had changed; the villains and vic-  
 tims. the spies and the spied-upon. were  
 called to give evidence.  
 The evidence led in the David Web-  
 ster inquest pin-pointed the most de-  
 vious period of South Airicats history

when Pretoriats war-lords reigned supreme over parliament.

So Joe Verstei: Chairman O! the CCB - according to Judge Stegmann - may have been less believable than generals "Witkop" Badenhorst, Eddie Webb and "Krappies" Engelbrecht.

Threatened

And CCB co-ordinator Laffras Luitingh also lied, either to the Harms Commission in 1990 and in a later affidavit, or to the Webster Inquest. Another witness changed his evidence shortly after he gave it, claiming later he had been threatened.

The substance of the inquest centred around Ferdi Bamardts mouth. He had either admitted or bragged to friends and colleagues that he had murdered David Webster. or he hadn't.

Among the maze of contradictions the court couldn't find beyond any reasonable doubt that Ferdi Barnard had admitted killing David Webster. Nor could the court reasonably establish that he had carried out the killing. Ferdi Barnard. relieved that his ordeal was over. said he was going away for a few days and will now sleep peacefully.

David Webster's family and Maggie Friedman may find their nights still troubled by the unfinished business of not knowing who fired that gun. and why.

Truth not brought to light,  
says judge

By Deborah Fine

"THE truth has not  
been brought to light?  
Mr Justice Michael  
Stegmann said in the  
Rand Supreme Court  
yesterday in finding  
that based on the evi-  
dence before him, it  
could not be proved  
that the ('iyil (io-oper-  
ation Bureau (CCB).  
or former policeman  
and CCB member. Mr  
Ferdinand Barnard.  
had assassinated Wits  
University lecturer and  
Left-wing activist. Dr  
David Joseph Webster  
(44).

The judge found that  
unknown persons had  
conspired to murder. and  
had fatally shot the Wits  
academic with a sawn- -otl  
shotgun outside his Eleaa  
nor Street home in  
'l'royeyille. Johannes-  
burg. on May 1. 1989.  
'l'he evidence incrimi-  
nating the "prime saw  
peel". Mr Barnard. had  
been circumstantial. and  
it could not be proved  
beyond reasonable  
doubt" that Mr Barnard  
had pulled the fatal shot.  
Targeted

"Mr Barnard must be  
given the benefit of the  
doubt." he said. adding  
that the former policeman  
had an "agile and inven-  
tive mind". and knew  
how to "exploit the hen-  
etite of reasonable doubt"  
Mr Barnard's denial of  
the allegations against  
him were also "reasonab-  
le". possibly true".  
The judge found fur-  
ther that it could not be  
conclusively proved that  
Dr Webster had been an  
"officially sanctioned ("CB  
project". or that the orga-  
nisation. or any of its  
members. had killed him,  
This was despite the  
fact that evidence before  
him indicated that the  
(TB included as part of  
its programme the pro-  
posed elimination of CUP  
against "targeted" left-wing  
activists including senior  
United Democratic Front  
(UDF) official. advocate  
Mr Ilyullah Omar. and



End Conscription Campaign (ECC) members Mt (Iain Evans.

Dr Webster was connected to both organisations. while the ((13 was a covert wing of the SADF's Special Forces Unit.

Mr Justice Stegmann also rejected a submission by Mr Eberhardt Bertelsmann. representing Mr Gavin Webster. Dr Webster's brother. that senior CCB officials. including CCB chairman. retired (General Eddie Webb. and the organisations managing director.

Mr Joe Verster. be charged with incitement to murder Dr Webster. He said that while the officials might have told (TB members that the organisations aim of "maximally disrupting enemies of the State" could include the elimination of individuals. it could not be said that this included incitement to specifically assassinate the Witwatersrand academic.

The judge also stated that it could not be proved that Military Intelligence (MI). or the Security Branch of the South African Police. were responsible for the assassination.

Dr Webster's fiancée.

Ms Meggie Friedman. claimed in her evidence at the start of the judicial inquiry that the Security Branch of the SAP had harassed Dr Webster because of his connections with the then restricted Detainees Education and Welfare organisation (DEW). as well as his activities with the Detainees Parents' Support Committee (DPSC). the FCC Johannesburg (.UIHIIIIICC for Democratic Action (HIOI) -X() and the Fixed Reedon's lorum (FTF ). ttSuspicion"

Mr Justice Stegmann said. however. that "suspicion breeds suspicion" and that only free and public access to all MI and security files would dispel suspicion. This access.

was not teasible.

There was also no evidence with which to state beyond reasonable doubt that former ('CB regional head. former Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit commander. Captain Daniel "Staal" Burger. or other CCB operatives. Mr ('arel "Calla" Botha. and Mr Leon "(happies' Maree. had perpetrated the assassination.

The same applied to former narcotics policeman. MI l-tteene Riley. who was a triend of Mr Barnard.

Mr Justice Stegmann said that Mr Barnard. who had "proved his propensity to kill". had been incriminated by the evidence of eye-witness. Mr Cornelius ()tto tlu Plessts. who identified the former policeman as the man who shot l)t' Websteri Mr l)u Plessis's et'i-tlenee. however, had not been corroborated by other Witnesses. includingy Ms l-riedntan. who saitl that MI" (lll Plessis had not arrived at tlte murder scene as quickly as he claimed.

This threw doubt on his ability to correectly lanlle ty the killers.

'lhe exidenee ol (Vol V'erster. (.ili intormation ol'lieer. Mt Derek Lotmz antl (I'll 'thantll-ei". Mr Letras Luitingh -- all of whom Claimed that Mr Barnard had "contesetl" to murdering the social anthropologist \_hatl to be regarded with though.

scepticism because the men were all "proteessional liars trained in the art of deeeption"

"They are accomplished in the art (it secret conspiracies." Mr Justice Stegmann said. adding that this included Mr Barnard.

The testimonies ot Florida businessman. Mr Willie Smit, and his mother, Mrs Johanna Smit \_ both of whom stated that Mr Barnard had insinuated his involvement in the murder

by describing how Dr Webster's body flew through the air" after being shot - could not be taken as proof of Mr Barnardis guilt because Mr Smit had later retracted his evidence as false.

commenting on the discrepancies between the testimonies of Col Verster's. Mr Louw and Mr Luitingh. and the evidence of Mr Chief. General Rudolph "Witkopi" Badenhorst. who led an internal investigation into the activities of the CCB in November 1971. the judge stated that the discrepancies may not be a "conflict between the truth and falsehood", (Col Verster. Mr Louw and Mr Luitingh admitted they had informed General Badenhorst of Mr Barnard's confession during his investigation. but for reasons of their own withheld this information from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. which examined the unsolved murders of 71 political activists.

The general. who also did not mention Mr Barnard's alleged confession at the commission claimed he had not done so because he was not informed of it. but only of "rumours" that Mr Barnard had been involved in a . file

/ (A) 1/(' M/ 1971 1 . the killing.

Mr Justice Stegmann said that these differences could be due to "conflict in: falsehoods" on the part of all of the men. Col Verster's testimony in particular. had been "one of calculated ambivalence" in which the "promotion of clarity" had not been attempted. The judge also found that there was no mention of Dr Webster in the diary of CCB co-ordinator. Mr Wouter Basson (alias Christo Britz). and this suggested that Dr Webster had not been an official CCB project. As the planned elimi-

nations of Mr ( )mar and Mr Evans had been entered in the book. it was unlikely that Dr Webster should have been omitted if the organisation had. indeed. planned to assassinate him

The judge further dismissed as "irrelevant" the evidence of senior Namibian police official. Colonel "Jumbo" Smit. who claimed that the CCB is internal unit. Region SH. had murdered Namibian advocate and senior Swapo official. Mr Anton Lubowski. and had also possibly murdered Dr Webster.

Mr Justice Stegmann said that even if Col Smit had positive proof that the Region had killed Mr Lubowski. it could not be inferred that they had been responsible for Dr Webster's death.

He stated. however. that his findings were not final and binding. and that the police investigation into Dr Webster's death would remain open.

Mr Leet (1977) (SC). i represented the SAD" ' and Captain Burger. Mr Jurie Wessels appeared for Col Verster. Mr Luitingh and Mr Louw. and Mr Piet du Toit represented Mr Barnard and Mr Botha.

erdl Barnard has become a media-star. He seemed to enjoy the attention, the flashing cameras and microphones as he swaggered out from under the dome of the Supreme Court into the street. He has learned to play the media pretty well, but then anyone who thought he was stupid would have been very, very wrong.

He's a man who these days calls press conferences and is always good for a quote. Humorous, quick off the mark. and rather popular. Not bad for a double convicted murderer who has spent the better part of the past few years lying for a living - but then many of the former state employees among the witnesses who appeared in the Rand Supreme Court lied. That neat and most precise of judges, Mr Justice Stegman, in clipped, clear speech, called them "professional liars".

And while the dissemblers prosper, smothered with the jam of golden handshakes, another South African, an honourable, decent man by all accounts, rests in his grave David Webster is dead and his murderers are free. - But then it is a time-honoured, South African tradition that most political killers escape justice. - Mr Justice Stegman had to sift through hundreds of pages of lies which came tumbling out of the mouths of those who were ordered to live beyond all norms of civilised behaviour to protect this country from itself.

- When David Webster returned home from a nursery on May 1. 1989, he didn't even have a pot plant to hide behind when someone blasted him with a shotgun. However, some of the witnesses, the "liars" to whom Judge Stegman referred, were given the court's protection. Their photographs could neither be taken nor published, their evidence, though made public, was given behind closed doors, and in at least one instance, a witness's real name could not be revealed.

V 'There was a discernable sigh of disappointment in court 4F  
Truth is masked . . .  
and the killers are free  
when Judge Stegman was unable to find a probable murderer.  
It had been a long inquest, one of the most important in South Africa's recent legal history. A popular democrat had been  
gunned down in front of his house

and in front of his lover.

In this inquest, more was possible because the definition of an enemy of the state had changed, the villains and victims. the spies and the spied-upon. were called to give evidence.

The evidence led in the Webster inquest pinpointed the most devious period of South Africa's history when Pretoria's warlords reigned supreme over Parliament, and the duplicity of a doomed society demanded even more lies and subterfuge.

So Joe Verster, chairman of the CCB, according to Judge Stegman, may have been less believable than generals "Witkop" Badenhorst. Eddie Webb and "Krappies" Engelbrecht - and CCB coordinator Latfras Luitingh also lied, either to the Harms Commission in 1990 and in a later affidavit. or to the Web-

\_\_\_\_\_, ' ' \_\_\_\_-  
ster inquest.

The substance of the inquest centred around Ferdi Barnard's mouth. He had either admitted or bragged to friends and colleagues that he had murdered David Webster, or he hadn't.

Among the maze of contradictions the court couldn't find beyond any reasonable doubt that Mr Barnard had admitted to killing David Webster. And the court could not establish reasonably that it was he who had fired a shotgun with deadly accuracy from a white car as it passed Webster's Troyville home.

Mr Barnard, relieved that his ordeal was over, said he was going away for a few days and would sleep peacefully now that the inquest was over.

Dr Webster's family and his tenacious lover Maggie Friedman may find their nights still troubled by the unfinished business of not knowing who fired that gun, and why.

THE MEN who gunned down Wits uttudemic Dr David Vt t-micr Hm) nctcr lie ln'uuglil m llirw iltit;

The truth has not beentold, ' I Tissue of lies: At the end of the inquest into the death of Dr David Webster, Mr Justice Stegmann found that although there had definitely been a conspiracy to murder the Wits academic, he could not make any finding as to who was responsible tor the killing.

BY BRENDAN Smnr

SITTING in court 4F of the Rand Supreme Court at the climax of one of the most important inquests in South African legal history, into the killing of David Webster. was like watching the Dance of the Seven Veils.

As Judge Michael Stegmann evaluated seven weeks of testimony and removed one diaphanous strand of 'evidence, another. just as uiapha-enous, would take its place. In the end there was nothing to see.

"The tmth has not been tmd" was the judge's most striking comment. It came a sentence helorr his ruling that. although there had (l-clmilo ly been a conspum-y to murder l): Webster. and the murder had lwen carried out. he could not record any finlding as to the identities ol those responsnble,

Dr Webster's girlfriend, Maggie Friedman (who was at his side when he died). blinked disbehevingiy. Former CCB operative Ferd: Bare nard, who was, by the judge's own remarks, one of the prime suspet-ts in the killing, visibly relaxed his big-musclcd body in his smart double-breasted suit as the impact ol the judge's words went home That the truth could not be found after a most exhaustive search was not unexpected, though.

Liars

In the words of Mr Justice Stegmann, many of the suspect witnesses were "professional liurs who make their living in deception" and who were uunblushmgly resourceful" ln building up tissues of "conflicting lalsehoods'h

' CCB co-ordinator Lafras Luilingh was described by the judgeus a master of "pseudo plans" where the "enemy'l would be duped into taking a certain course of at-tion so that the security forces could cause "maximum disruption".

Putting such Hpseudo plum" lnl - operation required keepingI om- step ahead of the opposition ull tlu lime being ready to react to whuu-vu' courSe events might take

There was enough prmm lant-  
evidence \_ evidence on whn-h, ul  
first glance, a reasonable poison or  
jury would convict -- to bring Ferdi  
Barnard to court on a murder  
charge and to change Lmtmgl. (?l'l)  
Managing Director Colonel Jot- Vctv  
ster and CCB operative Derek Lnuw  
with conspiracy to commit murder  
However. if those responsibl-- hat.  
to be identified "beyond 2. mason  
able doubt", he could not m- :4. ln-  
added.

A host of unanswered gut-Mmm  
remain after the inquest They lll-  
clude:

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implicit in the CCB's stated objec-  
tive to cause "maximum disruption"  
to the perceived enemies ol the UUVi  
ermncnl?

IDid Ferdi Barnum NlllltNh u-  
Lafras Luitlngh that hlf nuu lulled  
Dr Webster?

IWas this confession passer: nu u:  
police and SADF investigators flu:  
eral "Kruppies" Engelhn-ch: anll  
General uWitkop" Badelmorst' um?  
IWas there a plot among "lL tfttli ,t  
"lnnel circle" to put the hmnn Ull  
Barnard"! If so. why?

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scnoo VIEWS FROM .

Training is strictly for nerds, says pupil

ti iievelops leadership'

I THE TED said the purpose of

cadet training - an "enforceable"

subject for boys from Std 6 to

matric - was to provide pupils

with certain skills to enhance the

quality oftheir lives. It included

"adventure programmes to help

develop leadership and a sense of

responsibility and essential skills  
such as first aid".

The department said teachers  
were trained to teach the subject  
and that weapons were not lian-  
dletl by the pupils unless they  
were involved in target shooting  
and ttisley cnmpetitinnss carried  
out at a shooting range

The TED said that as no teacher  
was involved in the shooting at  
Delun-yville it would not (-om  
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mtlt-ttrninuwill hv npin tin-nn'

'Also. tht- 'i'i-Il) in the pns1 snp

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the pupils mockvanacked.

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and umhnsing with other in the  
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DEFENCE ORCE

'it enhances life-skills'

ITIIE SADF says with the advent  
of a new political disti'ensition  
the emphasis of the cadet pm.

gramme has shined from a mili;

taristic approach to "citizeii Ib'

training" teaching skills sue .33

first aid and road safety. Cadets

are still taught rine drill and tar-

get practice, however

Said a spokesman in "It'

SAIW'S Directorate of (Indets:

"Many people accuse us of train

ing sch0ulboys purely so that they

can better serve the SADF' when

they are called up, Nothing is fur

ther hum the truth.We are playing

a big role in preparing these

schoolvhiidron For the new South

Africa, and :m- tem-hing them

subjects which will make them

useful illl'tlliu'rs of suriety,"

New-look force for 1993

I Police for the public: In a radical shake-up Of the South African Police, a ttstate-of-the-art policing approach" is to take over from the present autocratic set-up.

BY louu MACLENNAN

POI ll ICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE SAP yesterday announced its commitment to sweeping changes aimed at creating a new-look force within the next five years.

In a special briefing by the pol hierarchy in Knysna the force mn-eeded it had failed to secure the backing of the population in the past because it had to enforce an unpopu-lar political system.

The new strategy has been de-vised to meet an unprecedented wave of criminality as well as the demands posed by society in the throes of massive political change.

According to Major General

George Fivaz the SAP will abandon its present autocratic set-up for what he termed a "new stattrrotv tlle-ai't policing approach".

In terms of this the force will seek community backing for policing He said that to achieve this the police force would have to be totally impartial. It would use minimum force to maintain law and order. it would allow no discrimination and it would prove itself accountable to the people.

At the same time he emphasised that police would be courteous, no policeman was above the law and the force existed to serve the public.

In order to establish community links head office staff has already been cut drastically to move much (lecisione-making to regional levels.

A new division has been created spe-cially to improve police relations with the people.

Fivaz said this indicated Ha real change from a clased. legalistic, mil-itary police style to an open. com-inunity-sensitive policing style."

Hernus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, said that the SAP was be-sieged with criticism and unable to cope with crime and political vio-lence without the assistance of the public.

He said he was well aware that the police were not acceptable in SAP thas penetrated Apla,

BY lmm MACLENNAN

THE SAP has penetrated Apla and even has information emanating from the terror group's :m-called high ruminantl.

Minister of Law and l)rdei'

llnruus Kriel yesterday disclosed that members of the PAC. including

its leader Mr Clarence Makhwetu.  
serve an Apla's high command,  
thit these formal links are about

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Dtt 1:27

to be broken. Mr Kriel said the organisation is in process of distancing itself from Apla<sup>4</sup>

Police information is that PAC of-  
tit-e bearers, who have in the past  
always denied any knowledge of  
Apla activities, will no longer serve  
on Apla structures.

This is seen as a ploy by the PAC  
to ease its embarrassment at being  
linked to attacks on soft targets car-  
ried out by Apla.

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certain areas because they were  
seen as partial and incompetent  
He said the Government had al-  
ready discussed its new strategies  
with both the ANC and Inkatha and  
said it was imperative they provided  
their blessing for the initiative to  
work.

He disclosed that the SAP were  
facing problems in changing atti-  
tudes of some policemen. This is be-  
cause the ANC and PAC were re-  
garded as the enemy before they  
were unbanned.

"A number of their supporters  
still see the SAP as their enemy and  
that must also change."

Lieutenant Colonel Christo David-  
son said there were orchestrated at-  
tempts by political groups to drive a  
wedge between the police and the  
people through unfounded allega-  
tions and the police were also un-  
popular for having to enforce apart-  
heid legislation.

Now the police tare a backlash  
with 226 killed during the course of  
last year Major General Mike Bes-  
ter noted that a larger number of  
policemen died in the course of duty  
last-year than in any other year  
since the vstahlislneut of the SAP  
in 1913.

60 axed from SADF Military Intelligence  
Ex-Rhodesians  
in the firing line  
Brendan Seery  
EX-RHODESIANS in the South  
African Defence Force's Military  
Intelligence arm are in the firing  
line - and more than 60 of them  
have been dismissed in the latest  
government purge of the SADF's  
shadowy spy organisation.  
Many of them have been deeply  
involved in the SADF's "dirty  
tricks" operations, including political  
assassinations.  
The figure of 60 plus people -  
from Durban, Johannesburg, Cape  
Town and Pretoria - who have  
been fired contrasts strongly with  
the official figure of seven civilians  
said by President FW de Klerk to  
have been sacked in the wake of an  
investigation into MI by Lieuten-  
ant-General Pierre Steyn.  
The ex-Rhodesians appear to be a  
particular target in the purge,  
which began after Goldstone Com-  
mission investigators raided the of-  
fices of MI's Directorate of Covert  
Collection (DCC) in Pretoria in No-  
vember last year.  
Now they are angry and have got  
together to brief a senior legal  
counsel to act for them in suits  
which they say they will be bring-  
ing against the government and the  
SADF.

A former Rhodesian in MI said:  
"They used us over all those years.  
They were happy to get us to carry  
out their dirty work - and I mean  
dirty work. Who do you think they  
used to do eliminations? - and now  
they want to dump us."

He added: "Don't believe them  
when they say they have cleaned up  
their act by getting rid of us be-  
cause we are the renegades. It's  
bullshit. We did what we were told.  
And when we are gone, they will  
carry on."

Among the ex-Rhodesians given  
the boot are Geoffrey Burton Price  
- former head of close security for  
Zimbabwe President Robert Mu-  
gabe - who is said to be Zim-  
babwe's Number One wanted man  
after an alleged attempt to assassi-  
nate Mr Mugabe in the early 1980s.  
Other ex-Rhodesians to have been  
fired include Colin Evans, a former  
Zimbabwe Central Intelligence Or-  
ganisation operative who served  
time in Harare's maximum securi-  
ty Chikurubi Prison in the early  
1980s for alleged treasonous activi-  
ties.

Mr Evans, who held the rank of  
lieutenant-colonel in the SADF, was  
offered a "take it or leave it"  
payout of about R70 000 by the

SADF.

Bob Wishart, a former Rhodesian police special branch officer who joined SADF MI after he left Zimbabwe in the early 1980s. was one of the senior officers in the civilian section of DCC.

Mr Wishart, who has a wooden leg after being injured in a landmine blast in Rhodesia. was one of the top officers running M115 DCC. Another prominent former Rhodesian special branch officer who joined MI and who had just been fired is Alec West.

One Of the former Rhodesians told the Sunday Tribune: "Apart from using the Rhodesians to do their dirty work. because we were better than some of those Afrikaners. they used us a lot in external ops. I mean. can you imagine a South African trying to show his face in Lusaka or Dar-es-Salaam? Their accents would have landed them in jail in two seconds!"



Choking on a lavish  
feast of innocence  
ITI-I luck. I shall soon become  
the first person to be convicted  
of a criminal offence as a re-  
sult of the work of the Gold-  
stone commission and other  
August inquiries into our violent  
national life. My only rival for the hon-  
our, so far as I can discover, is Maj-Gen  
Eddie Webb, who is charged with per-  
jury.

The police captain investigating my  
case appeared a bit uncertain about the  
exact charge against me. so we sug-  
gested helpfully that it was probably  
contempt, a bizarre legal term to apply  
to any misdemeanour supposedly com-  
mitted by so great an admirer of the  
Goldstone commission as I. \_

There is, of course. a danger that I  
shall be acquitted. Like all members of  
the criminal class, my instinct is hotly  
to proclaim my innocence. as my law-  
yers will in due course do for me. but I  
am loath to be declared innocent in a  
country where innocence has such a  
special meaning. '

The police, for example. are innocent  
of the death of Steve Biko who, to judge  
by the evidence, was beaten to death in  
the cells, no doubt by his cousins moth-  
er-in-law. The Vorster administration,  
including the Defence Department then  
under Mr PW Botha, were innocent of  
the diversion of public monies to fund  
the nefarious. if silly, activities of the  
Eschel Rhoodie era.

The former head of the Bureau of  
State Security. General "Lang Hen-  
drik" van den Bergh, was innocent of  
crimes for which the government re-  
fused to prosecute him, even when he  
signed a petition asking them to do so.  
The brain of the Broederbond, Dr  
Gerrit Viljoen, . was innocent of the cor-  
ruption - running into millions. or per-  
haps billions - in the departments over  
which he had authority and for which  
he bore responsibility. As evidence he  
can point to Toilet Town, the last Ver-  
woerdian monument erected by the  
Nationalists in honour of themselves. of  
which he was wholly innocent.

Corruption, we all know, is perva-  
sive, so that Bantustan leaders and for-  
mer government ministers are com-  
pelled to go before television to assure  
us of their lack of accountability. They  
are. they solemnly say. innocent.

Many more people, of course, are  
innocent of the crimes against human-  
ity committed under lawful authority,  
like smashing down people's homes, or  
ripping plastic covers off the heads of  
old ladies cowering in the rain on the  
Cape Flats. Only a few people. 'like  
lovers of unmatched hues have been  
found guilty. and jailed by the innocent.  
The list of petty misdeeds and minor  
cruelties of which we, as a nation. are

innocent is endless. but in recent years innocence has taken on a more sinister aspect: nobody is guilty of assassinations like the very professional slaughter of David Webster or of Anton Lubowski.

Evidence has been destroyed, secret files have been hidden or lost, commissions of inquiry have been diddled and lied to, but except for General Webb \_ and me, nobody is accused or charged. Innocence is pervasive. No South African can Eichmann can be found to stand , trial for ordering the dreadful deeds, 4 that, we all know, were committed to . sustain the white oligarchy.

Innocence is sometimes confusing. Not long ago President de Klerk booted . a platoon of generals into premature retirement, but the Minister of Defence announced firmly afterwards that they were all innocent. If so, I can't understand why they were booted out. but the episode makes me more reluctant than ever to join the ranks of the innocent. HE ANC, let it be said, is as afflicted with innocence as the government. Brutalities to make Albie Sachs weep were inflicted on prisoners in the ANC stalags (or gulags?) in the African bush. but the commanding commissars are as innocent as SADF officers.

Ronnie Kasrils. who served as Groot Krokodil of Stalag Quibache in Angola, has been accused by the Douglas commission of confining men in a cell where the air was rendered noxious by the fumes from a nearby diesel engine. He hotly rejects the charge, saying the door of the place of confinement was left ajar for ventilation. and he threatens to sue to prove his innocence. Here at last is a ray of light. If Ronnie Kasrils is happy to have the courts pronounce on his innocence, I am content for them to pronounce on my guilt. Our courts have a splendid record of establishing the innocence of people in cases of brutality in prisons. ranging from the death of Looksmart Ngudle to the torture of Neil Aggett; they will surely pronounce Mr Kasrils innocent if he puts the evidence before them, and submits to cross-examination. .

That is our South African way, and it has established innocence in a society of extraordinary venality. cruelty, indifference, and brutality. If the ANC leaders want to show themselves as innocent as the Nationalist leaders, they know how to go about it.

S for me. I am not sure I wish to be counted among the South African innocents. I would not wish to have presided innocently over a department of state which indulged in corruption on a scale of "millions, perhaps billions" of rands. I would not wish innocently to have com-

manded a secret hit squad. nor to have innocently lost the files of my department; I would not wish to have been the innocent commander of a punishment camp in the bush where the atrocities made Albie Sachs weep.

In the days when editorship of a South African newspaper was so hazardous that any editor came to be regarded as the criminal in charge of a newspaper. I somehow managed, whether by low cunning or by cowardice, to evade prosecution and conviction. Now that we are a free society, when any innocent person may be put in charge of a newspaper. it seems proper that my innocence be tested.

But I must confess that when my lawyers rise to argue my innocence, I shall watch with mixed feelings. I cannot decide whether it is worse to be consigned to the ranks of all the other innocents in South Africa. or to be declared guilty and run the risk of being forgiven. like Barend Strydom or Robert McBride. I think I'd rather just be an honest crook. K E N O w E N

6thz/7/7/jwz \$1M! / Y;

-Goniwe  
inquest  
resumes  
Glenn McDougall  
WHO was responsible for  
the brutal murders of  
Eastern Cape actxvxsts  
Matthew Goniwe. Spar-  
row Mkonto. Fort Calata  
and Sicelo Mhluali'?  
Were the murders car-  
ried out by a covert unit  
of the SADF. under the  
instruction of the State  
Security Council. as al-  
leged by the media after  
the disclosure last year  
of a top secret military  
signal. allegedly ordering  
that Mr Goniwe be ttp-  
er-  
manently removed from  
society as a matter of ur-  
gency": or were the four  
men. as then Deputy Min-  
ister of Forelgn Affaxrs,  
Louis Nel claxmed. vlc-  
tims of an "internecine  
power struggle by oppos- '  
mg radxcal orgamsa-  
ttons".

These are some of the  
questions that the Gon-  
xwe inquest. which re-  
sumes on March 1. will  
attempt to address.  
Among those to be sub-  
poenaed are: SADF intel-  
ligence chief-of-staff,  
General CP van der  
Westhuizen. former state  
securlty council member.  
Major-General JFJ van  
Rensburg. and former  
Eastern Provcmce Com-  
mand member. Colonel  
Lourens du Plessis.  
The bodies of the four  
men and Mr Goniwe's  
gutted car were found on  
the outskirts of Port Eliz-  
abeth days after they  
were reported missmg on  
a journey from Port Eliz-  
abeth to Cradocx on June  
27,1983

A GOLDSTONE Com-missinn lawyer has re-jected the possibility that the SAP pressur-ised Mozambican Army descrter Joao Cuna to change his story. follow-ing his arrest.

The commission is in-vestigating ziilegations attributed to Mr Cuna in Vrye Weekblad that he had been urdered to kill African National Congress activists in a township outside Durr him last year. Mr Cunu hlh uince reiected the h-

newspuper article. hi-helling it false

Lawyer Mr Torie Pre-torius told the commit-tee hearing he cuuld rule out the possibility that the SAP had exerted pressure on Mr (Tuna to change his ver-sion of events after his arrest. and following the publication of the Vrye Weekblad report.

Yesterday SAP cuun-sel Mr Luther Wepcner asked the committee to reiect as false the Vrye Weekblzid report imnli-tSAP pressure on Cuna rejected cuting police in a ttthird force".

ANC and Vrye Weekblnd counsel Mr Norman Manoim asked tor further investigation into the claims which led to the report in the newspaper.

The commissionis in-itiul probing of Mr Cu-nzi's allegations led to the uncovering of a plan by Mr Ferdi Barnard to discredit members of Umkhunto we Sizwe zutd to blackmail people to become informers:

The ralzm wm annarenttv rejected by Military ln-telligenc.

"We know the signifi-cance of the raid and the political ramifications it had. Cuna was linked to that investigation and we submit that the whole incident be wide-ly investigated." Mr Manoim said.

The hearing has been adjourned. Mr Pre-torius has asked the

committee chairman.  
Mr Rob Wise. to issue  
an interim report. -  
Sapa.  
\$772 257/ 457

SATs leaders  
moving closer

I Hopeful signs: A new survey has found that the country's leaders are converging on an economic middle ground, the army's top brass supports the National Party and CP supporters may not be as revolutionary as they appear. But high levels of political intolerance remain.

BY SAM SOLE

SOUTH AFRICAN leaders across the political and social spectrum are moving closer together in their attitudes. a situation which bodes well for the negotiation process. That's the finding of the latest survey of the attitudes of the nation's movers and shakers carried out by Professor Hennie Kotze of Stellenbosch University's department of political science. Professor Kotze polled just over 1 000 of the country's political, business, media, labour, agriculture, church, civil service and military leaders on key political attitudes and found an increasing degree of convergence among South Africa's elite.

Since the first survey in 1990 there has been a lot of convergence on certain issues. notably the economy," he explained.

"Nationalisation seems to have dropped from the picture. and from both sides. business. government and the extra parliamentary groups. there has been convergence to a middle ground where some redistribution of wealth is seen as necessary."

Another interesting result of the survey was the response of the military, especially given the fears that President F W de Klerk might be facing resistance to reform from within the security forces. Professor Kotze polled 46 of the Defence Force's top generals and brigadiers and found that almost all still supported the National Party. There was simply no support among the top brass for the Conservative Party.

"With such a strong identification with the party (the NP) which initiated the transition in South Africa. it could be speculated the military will submit to the compromises the NP negotiates."

Professor Kotze's survey also reveals a solid attachment to the institutions of State. the courts. the police. the SABC and the office of State President among the right

wmg. despite the public revolutione  
ary rhetoric to the contrary.  
He also found that 71 percent of  
CP supporters among those polled  
would accept a set of minority pro.  
tectton devices Similar to those la-  
voured by the NP  
However. the ANC and Pan Afri-  
t'unist Congress leadership is, still  
strongly opposed to the concept of  
minortty protecttton  
He warned that the. rt-nl threat to  
a democratic South Africa lay in  
the levels of polttitrul Intolerance  
that were a feature even among  
South Africa's elite.  
Among whites the must opposed  
orgarnsauon was the PAC. and  
among blacks it was the Afrikaner  
Weerstandsbewegingv  
In a lest. he polled attttudcs to  
peaceful actmties by opposition  
groups and found high levels of in-  
tolerance. particularly among CP.  
NP. Inkatha Freedom Party and  
PAC supporters. The levels were  
also up from the 1991 survey.  
hWhen there is intolerance  
among leaders it. 01 course. spills  
over in an amplilted way to sup-  
porters. We need to initiate a State  
programme, with multiparty sup-  
port. to teach people the concept of  
political tolerance."  
Overall. however. Prof Kotze is  
hugely encouraged by the "nation-  
al mindshift" his survey reveals  
"There has been a tremendous  
shift Since 199a on the white side  
especially. You could call it a revo-  
lution in terms of attitudes."



Invective boils over as important bilateral talks end in bitter acrimony

THE government has accused "strange foreigners" and advisers "with questionable ulterior motives" of tomenting unprecedented acrimony between it and Inkatha.

At the centre of the row are invective-laden memorandums, presented by both sides this week during the first bilateral talks between the two parties in nine months.

While the government suggested , foreign advisers were trying to . create acrimony between it and its former ally, Inkatha hit back with accusations of baasskap.

Insulted

Kwazulu chief minister and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not at the meeting, but was briefed on Thursday by members of the delegation led by chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Mr Buthelezi said there had not been such acrimony between his organisation and the government

Reports by CHARLENE SMITH

since former President PW Botha was in power.

"I felt insulted by the government's suggestion that I could be misled." he said.

"Are they saying that because I am a kaffir. I can't think for myself? This sounds like baasskap. and suggests the government is prepared to go ahead without us"

Senior government sources privately say they believe Mr Buthelezi is being misled by:

0 Founder IFP member Walter Felgate;

0 Former military intelligence chief of staff Major-General Tienie Groenewald; and

0 US constitutional advisers Professor Albert P Blaustein and Dr Mario Ambrosini.

Constitutional Minister Roelt Meyer, who headed the government negotiating team. defended the strong language of the government's memorandum.

"If you look at their memo, it is clear that we had every right, particularly when you take note of the lies in their document." he said.

The government described the IFP memorandum - drafted by Mr Felgate and approved by Mr Buthelezi - as ubanal nonsense" unworthy of t'the proud Zulu nation".

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed. technically unqualified and with questionable ulterior motives" said a spokesman.

Mr Felgate. who, with Dr Ambrosini, was injured in a head-on collision early on Friday. said from his

hospital bed in Richards Bay: "I believe the document will be endorsed by an extraordinary meeting of the full central committee today.

"The document we presented represents the way the IFP feels. The government document is a Roelf Meyer document; he is spoiling for Dr Buthelezi."

The furore has set back chances for multiparty negotiations in the near future and has caused strains in the National Party.

Important sections of the party are keen to press ahead without the IFP to ensure that legislation for elections and transitional executive councils go through this year.

However, Natal Nationalists are extremely unhappy about the present impasse and would block any moves to isolate the IFP.

The Sunday Times has transcripts of the meeting showing that gate President FW de Klerk is also not keen to have a political solution without the IFP.

Mr de Klerk was not at the meeting on Monday and Tuesday. but Renier Schoeman, a Natal Nationalist and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Ms 9w, "v.75

Affairs. is quoted in the transcripts as saying the State President had refused to meet "an important overseas delegation" last week because "they were not going to see the IFP". Natal NP leader George Bartlett said that two days before the talks, he and other Natal Nats had met the IFP for an excellent meeting.

"What Inkatha wants and what my party wants for Natal are the same thing," he said. "There's no difference constitutionally - except for technical points around a militia and judiciary - between us and them in Natal/KwaZulu.

"We felt the document (presented this week) was drafted by advisers, and not Zulus,"

In the document read by Dr Mdlosi, the IFP suggested the government was using the ANC to perpetuate its stay in power at the expense of Inkatha and other groups.

"Where is Alrikaner integrity and National Party honour? Is there a selling of Airikaner souls?" asked the document.

It questioned how "the most secure offices and files in intelligence quarters were rifled to expose financial dealings aimed at making Dr Buthelezi look like the Stooge the ANC says he was".

The government response came first in the form of a five-page memorandum, and then in individual documents.

The transcripts of the meeting show the individual responses varied between hurt and anger.

But the government memorandum pulled no punches. saying the IF? document was "the last straw - too many lies and distortions repeated once too often i . . in a document with muddled and confused political and technical arguments and illogical conclusions".

Deals

"it would appear that senior members of the WP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the documents"

The government claimed there were "forces intent on destroying the trust and common purpose between us".

The memorandum said: "If the IF? is being marginalised, it is marginalising itself. it is a lie that the government has negotiated, or is negotiating. private deals with the ANC."

Senior IFP sources claimed the government had been in possession of their memorandum before the meeting. Many senior members of the IF? believe their tax communications are being bugged.

This was strongly denied by the government.

Bilateral talks between the two will resume at a two-hour meeting in Cape Town on Wednesday.

PARLIAMENT sits this year With one primary aim - to legislate itself out of existence and to continue the dismantling of apartheid laws. Whether or not politicians will be successful depends on the progress of bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

Should these fail. Parliament faces a bleak and rudderless five months of frustrating. nuts-and-bolts legislation worth less than the 35c cups of tea dished up in the parliamentary canteen.

Senior Democratic Party MP Colin Eglin said he did not believe Parliament had the authority to pass any legislation involving any significant restructuring without the consensus of interested parties outside Parliament.

main "a'mi is: to talk itself out n faiiff;

Without this consensus. Parliament can look forward to a year in which the Budget aims to restructure the economy, government expenditure is curbed and technical legislation is amended.

However. should talks progress Parliament can expect a rush of legislation paving the way for elections by next April for an interim government of national unity which will also draw up a new constitution.

"Parliament and the multiparty conference must agree on anything relating to getting the country ready  
EDYTH BULBRING

Political Correspondent for an election." Mr Eglin said, The first legislation will be aimed at smoothing the way (or the creation of transitional executive councils - in effect a multiparty cabinet structure. Politicians say they hope this will be achieved before April. Legislation aimed at ensuring fair participation in elections will follow. This will include abolishing all remaining repressive laws. establishing an independent media authority and introducing laws to ensure free political activity.

Few politicians are Optimistic about getting an interim constitution passed before the end of June. which could mean an extended parliamentary session or another short session in September.

This short session will also see the promulgation of election rules. The interim constitution will signal the end of the tricameral system. self-governing territories and begin the process of reincorporating the

/

TBVC states.

This year could also see the introduction of controversial labour legislation. The granting of further rights to farmworkers depends on progress

made in talks between Cosatu and the SA Agricultural Union, should a deal be concluded. the parliamentary session should see amendments to three laws - the Wage Act, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and the Labour Relations Act - before the end of April.

Two other acts - the Workers' Compensation Act and the Machin-

73  
ery and Occupation Safety Act - will also be amended early in the session.

A recession-battered Budget will be delivered on March 17. Finance Minister Derek Keys is expected to seek an increase in revenue to bring a semblance of order to his balance sheets and to address growing socio-economic demands.

VAT is expected to rise by three percent - a risky move without the approval of the VAT Co-ordinating Committee # and will therefore probably include a trade-off against concessions on zero-rating certain foodstuffs. A 10c petrol hike is also expected.

Business cannot expect any tax relief and personal income tax is likely to remain unchanged.

COMMENT \_

Parliamentts

fateful

Friday

ON Friday the State President will open a session of Parliament which just might be the last of the old South Africa. He will speak in the aftermath of polls which show that his own popularity has plunged, along with optimism and confidence. in a people weary of political dithering and bickering.

South Africans will be looking to him for reassurance that this indeed will be the year of fulfilled promise - the year that seals a negotiated settlement on a democratic interim government, allowing the slow healing of our social and economic illness before it becomes terminal.

The keynote at Mr De Klerk's speech will be whether he announces a resumption of multi-party talks for March or April as suggested in the timetable proposed last year. If so, a transitional council, followed by elections, could be on the cards for late this year or early next year.

But before Mr De Klerk puts a line to ink for his crucial speech he must await the outcome of bilateral talks that will set its tone. Portents are that the bosberaad between the government and the ANC is making progress; but Wednesday's government-Inkatha date bristles with problems after this week's bruising encounters.

At the core of the matter are IFP outrage over perceived cosiness between the government and the ABC. especially their September Record of Understanding, and a deadlock over the degree of autonomy for KwaZulu/Natal.

It seems unlikely that Wednesday's meeting will break that deadlock. which in turn could delay multi-party talks and the timetable of transition. That would be a serious setback - but it would be preferable to last-straw impatience causing Mr De Klerk to dump Dr Buthelezi and the IFP and announce negotiations at all costs with or without them.

IFP intransigence could well mean that President De Klerk's speech will be a damp squib. Better that than the explosive consequences of trying to ride roughshod over so-called minor players.

## OPINION

The last act

week to sign its own death warrant. The government is determined to enact legislation to establish a transitional executive council which will in turn prepare for national elections. probably early next year. It does not matter that relations between the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party have descended to the point of Vituperation, or that the lesser parties who sat so proudly and importantly at Codesa have fallen away: the Verwoerdian republic is exhausted. and whimpers towards its death.

The liberals who naively thought that the making of a constitution to replace Westminster would draw on the idealism of the nation and the best experience of mankind, on Jeffersonian visions and German institutions, have discovered that ideals do not easily flourish on a blighted landscape. Ancient hatred feeds a thirst for vengeance. and new animosities arise to displace the old; amid such passions, the first concern is not liberty but survival. not civilisation but order. That is why the government's secret bosberaad with the ANC this week began with the question of security: the integration of the SADF with Umkhonto we Sizwe and with other minor forces, and presumably also the political control of the hybrid that is to be created. Romantics, whether on the left or the right, may note that scant attention is being paid to the highly trained right-wing militias, some of them much more dangerous than the ragged cohorts of Umkhonto. Nor is it certain what will happen to, say, the Kwazulu police or the Bophuthatswana army; they are not at the core, and they may well be defined in the end as enemies of the state, to be treated accordingly. To recount these well-known details is simply to acknowledge that the powerful centrifugal forces operating on the periphery of political life serve, somewhat perversely, to drive the government and the ANC together. The result, however, is constitution-making for the people, not by the people.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, in an article on the opposite page, accuses the government and the ANC of elitism, and while we

have almost nothing in common with Mrs Mandela we can see the point of her accusation: the people, not only her own ANC faction but all the people, have only the dimmest perception of what is happening.

Of course, in complex situations, when the dangers are great and time pressing, the path to solution may have to be discovered and charted by elites, and there is nothing disreputable about that. But at some point, the bosberaad must expand into a national debate, and it must do so before solutions are set in concrete. Nothing is more certain that a solution which ignores important or powerful minorities, or which fails to encapsulate the broad sense of the people, will be challenged as "elitism". Democracy must, after all, be democratic.



Why car

SOUTH African politics is Janus-faced: at the top there's an emerging consensus about multiparty democracy, an interim government and an imminent universal franchise election. But at the grassroots level it's a poisonous cocktail in which incivility nourishes, political meetings get broken up and people die for carrying the wrong party card.

Leaders issue pious statements and declaim nobly about free speech and political competition. But is anyone out there listening?

Mushy sentiment and dangerous naivete inform the Professional opportunists and liberation spin artists who TONY LEON says we need a voting system

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that inoculates against intolerance assume (as Jonathan Eyal noted in another context) that the mob licence now display. in; its warm is some form of growing pain, a mere childhood disease which when confronted with the elixir of an election will find its own cure. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

We are, right now, storing up trouble for the future. If the DP gets thrown out of the townships, what happens when the NP enters them? Civil war? And if the NP can't campaign in Soweto, and the

g\_.

ANC in Ulundi. how do you have an election based on an informed choice rather than dictated by an army or a street committee?

Kenya is a useful recent example of the grotesque mockery of conducting a poll when the government declares certain key areas "no go" zones to all but its own supporters.

And place faint hope in foreign observers. They were there - and in Angola - in droves. And when the polls appeared rigged they wrung and stick

their hands and packed their bags for more temperate political climes.

There is, of course, nothing uniquely African in this tide running towards mob rule. In

revolutionary France the Jacobin ascendancy cried: "Those who are not for us are against us;" Saint-Just told the Assembly: "What are they but enemies of the people" There you had to be clerical or anti-clerical. Here if you weren't for "the oppress " you must be in opposition to them In both contexts middle positions or suspended judgments, or even indifferences. get dramatically and violently denounced. Robespierre: meet Winnie Mandela. Yet it the incipient freedoms of speech, assembly and movement are not exercised they stagnate and wither. Those who oppose their exercise will know the truth behind the arch observation of Bernard Crick: "When you give people liberty you never know what they will do with it. The actions of free men and women are always unpredictable."

The key solution does not lie in platitudinous statements and hotel summits. It lies in designing a voting system which induces changes in behaviour while remaining consistent with accepted democratic practices. It must inoculate against the spread of the disease we're now witnessing. In sum, it must reward democrats and penalise totalitarians.

Edward de Bono recently extended his lateral thinking to the issue of making extremism a non-viable strategy. He suggests that South Africans be given a negative vote as well as a positive one. For a party to seek support by creating an "enemy" group will simply ensure that all the "enemy" supporters will cast negative votes against candidates of the hostile group.

It. for example. 60 percent like a candidate but 40 percent don't, then he will receive only 20 percent of the vote Equally, if 30 percent like another candidate and 70 percent are indifferent. he will receive 30 percent of the vote.

There are a host of objections, no doubt. to such a system. It rewards blandness and is highly peculiar. But it

has the merit of simplicity -  
and originality  
Far more sophisticated , \_  
and in a sense easier to sell to  
powerful political interests  
- is uvote pooling".

The 1991 study by master  
political scientist and conflict  
expert Donald Horowitz ex-  
amined the ethnic fault lines  
dividing South Africa. He  
tells us that moderation and  
democratic behaviour have  
to be made politically profit-  
able. Horowitz is unsenti-  
mental about politicians u  
make the incentives strong  
enough. he says. and you'll  
alter their conduct.

By designing the right vot-  
ing system, you can avoid the  
first election being simply a  
"polarising census'l In sum.  
the system must make poli-  
ticians t'reciproically depen-  
dent" on the votes of parties  
other than their own,  
By making the elertoral  
system (rather than post-  
voting arrangements or con-  
stitutional jiggery-pokery)  
centre stage. you oblige poliv  
tical leaders to communicate  
and persuade their followers  
to toe the line up front,  
Decisive

Preferential votlmg '(vla  
alternative voting In multi-  
member seats or the single  
transferable vote in propor-  
tional representatlon) means  
that the second or third pref-  
erences of those voters whose  
tlrst preference is eliminated  
can play a key role in deter-  
mining the winner.

Under this system such  
second and third choices can  
be decisive. since many can-  
didates will not be elected  
without pooling second and  
third preferences across  
party and ethnic lines.

When the difference  
between power and no power  
lies in obtaining your politi-  
cal opponent's second or third  
vote, you're less likely to  
break up his meetings or kill  
her su porters. Of course it's  
compl cated, but variants of  
it have been used in Nigeria  
and Sri Lanka. hardly overe  
sophlsticated countries.

Anyway. some imagination  
will be required If we're to  
Revent the freedom - that  
ard-won freedom - to  
choose becoming another  
casualty of the new South  
Al\_rica. '

Domestics turn out at DP meeting

By KURT SWART

DOMESTIC workers

turned up in their hundreds at a meeting organised by the Houghton Democratic Party in Norwood yesterday.

In blistering heat, a lively and sometimes restive crowd, estimated at more than 2 000, watched a play designed to educate them about voting and ballot box procedures and listened to 5m 0&7

Houghton MP Tony Leon explain proposed legislation to improve the rights and working conditions of domestic workers.

DP organisers expressed surprise at the turnout.

"This is an historic moment for democracy," declared city councillor Cecil Bass.

Another DP councillor, Jack Bloom was equally euphoric. "The Democratic Party is a sleeping giant. We are going places, and we are serious about it. There is a huge middle ground of people tired of the Nats and the ANC and their undemocratic practices," he declared.

However, most of the domestics interviewed said they did not know the DP or what it stood for. Most said they had come here

because they had heard of an important meeting which would address their grievances as workers.

"I heard about the meeting from my aunt. No, I don't know what the DP is," said Miss Rachel Moti-teia, an Olivedale domestic.

"The main reason we're here is because we want better money and paid leave and sick leave benefits. We also want to hear what this party is about, but if there's an election, I'll vote for the ANC," said Mrs Elizabeth Sanyane who works in Sydenham.

The play, designed to explain voting procedures, fizzled out when the sound system failed and the crowd demanded to hear Mr Leon speak.

Applause and cheers

greeted Mr Leon's simplified explanation of the improvements for domestic workers in the pipeline if new legislation bringing domestics under the protection of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act was passed in Parliament.

"Some of your employers are fine people and treat you well, but there are others who exploit you.

Several youths were wearing DP T-shirts. Their spokesman, who asked to be called "Mr A". a 21-year-old from Alexandra, I said he had joined the DP because he agreed with its human rights policies.

Felgate in  
centre of  
IFP storm

8v Suusnn REPORIER

TOP Inkatha Freedom Party official Walter Felgate. Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's chief speechwriter. is at the centre of a political storm on the breakdown of talks between the Government and the IFP.

Felgate, who has been with the IFP for more than a decade and wields immense power within the party. has been named as one of those responsible for a fiery IFP memorandum accusing the Government of planning to hijack power in a future dispensation with the ANC. According to IFP sources, the document has dismayed IFP leaders who were unaware of its volatile content until it was read at the Government IFP talks on Tuesday this week. Most have distanced themselves from its contents.

It has also provoked an equally hostile Government reaction. where spokesmen said the "highly inflammatory" memorandum had been // 4/

drawn up by a person who is poorly 6V/t4l/ -i 6 l/vl) informed. technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives". The document was directly responsible for the talks breakdown. . 1/; f '7

Felgate was injured in a car accident 2/97 7/ 5  
on Monday morning. apparently after a Central Committee meeting where. according to sources. "he flew". Basically. he was accused of attempting to manipulate IFP policy.

No IFP spokesman would go on record this week. but sources have pointed out that there has long been resentment against alleged paternal manipulation" by whites within IFP ranks. Names being bandied around were those of Felgate and Inkama. both IFP stalwarts for the past 15 years.

Sources agree that Felgate will be difficult to get rid of. as he has been on the IFP Central Committee for so long. he knows the party "inside out. That's why he wields such power. He knows the party can't just dump him." said one official,

Memo tracist,  
 IFP, govt row  
 CAPE TOWN # The  
 row between the gov-  
 ernment and the lnka-  
 thu Freedom Party  
 deepened yesterday  
 when Chief Mangosu-  
 thu Buthelezi. the  
 leader of the IFP. ue-  
 cused government ne-  
 gotiators of using in-  
 sulting and racist ter-  
 minology in a memor-  
 deepens  
 undum sent to him.  
 He reacted to questions  
 on an exchange of mem-  
 nrzindn between the IFP  
 and the government at  
 talks in Pretoria on Mon-  
 day and Tuesday. The  
 .-----'-----'  
 contents of the memoran-  
 du. which contained ex-  
 traordinarily harsh lan-  
 guage. were leaked to the  
 Press yesterday.  
 The talks are scheduled  
 to resume on Wednesday  
 and. Chief Buthelezi said.  
 a formal response to the  
 guvernmant's memoran-  
 dum of last Tuesday  
 would be lnrmuluted by  
 the party's central Cthll'  
 ntitttee IOIITUITUW,  
 He was quizzed utter  
 TO PAGE 4  
 FP, govt row deepens  
 FROM PAGE .1  
 meeting the Archbishop  
 of Canterbury. Dr  
 George Carey. and Angli-  
 can church primates ill  
 the University of Western  
 (iaipe yesterday morning.  
 He rejected the govern-  
 ment claim that  
 "loreignii. "ponrly in-  
 formed and technically  
 unqualified" advisers had  
 drawn up the lFP's mem-  
 orandum and that seniur  
 IFP members in the del-  
 egation had not had it  
 hand in it.  
 The IFP leader said he  
 felt depressed at the gm-  
 ernment suggestion that a  
 politician such as himself.  
 with more than 30 years  
 of political experience.  
 should depend on advis-  
 ers.  
 llWhere were these ad-  
 visers when l opposed  
 apartheid for all these  
 years? Why should I need  
 them now when there are  
 differences over the Re-

cord ()f Understanding?"  
he asked.

The talks earlier this week were aimed at removing differences between the Record of Understanding agreement the government signed with the African National Congress on September 1991.

The IFP has publically denounced the bilateral agreement as political connivance to strike behind its back. Its memorandum. (delivered at the opening of Monday's talks. elaborated on this theme. saying there had been minimal co-operation between the two parties since the collapse of Codesa in May last year.

The National Party government was pursuing a strategy aimed at prolonging an open-ended process in which it would share power with the ANC. said the memorandum.

It obliquely accused the government of conniving to expose certain financial dealings with Chief Buthelezi in order to publically brand him a Stooge.

In return. the government compiled and read a responding memorandum on Tuesday saying the IFP memorandum was

the last straw with "too many lies and distortions repeated once too often". A reading of the document. "leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation". said the government memorandum.

It further accused the IFP of Codesa delegates of absenteeism at important meetings, entering into agreements without mandates from their principals. and of then blaming others for the unpleasant consequences back home.

The IFP had only itself to blame for its misfortunes at Codesa. and should rather discuss



common ground with the government and guard against forces wanting to destroy the trust and common purpose between them.

Chief Buthelezi responded yesterday to the government memorandum by saying: "I regard it as an insult and as racist."

The views expressed in the IFP document were those of the party and he had never before heard the question of authorship being raised thus.

"I have faced a tougher government than this. I have faced Verwoerd and I do not think I will be easily intimidated on what I stand for."

The whole matter would be taken up again on January 27. said Chief Buthelezi. \_ Sapa.

Noparty card, no pension

I Enforced membership:

A party political card is a key to obtaining many basic services in Natal/Kwazulu.

By BRIAN Kim:

TENS of thousands of people in Natal/KwaZulu are having to produce various party political membership cards in order to secure such basic provisions as pensions, land transfers, housing, drought relief and admission to schools. as well as access to public service employment.

This elaborate system of political thuggery is now an extremely widespread problem in the region, many of whose inhabitants are battling to survive. and moves are afoot to make both enforced political patronage and forced political recruitment a criminal offence.

The common practice of carrying both IFP and ANC membership cards to ensure physical safety has been confirmed by ANC sources and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who said in an earlier interview that many of our people carry both cards.

But the extent of the problem of enforced patronage only really became apparent at this week's meeting, the biggest so far, of the Natal/KwaZulu Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC).

The landmark conference, attended by more than 80 senior political leaders in the region, cited this as one of the major obstacles to the cessation of violence in the region.

Representatives of the National Party, the ANC, the IFP, the DP, Solidarity, the National Peoples Party and convenors of the National Peace Accord were in unanimous agreement that forced political patronage and recruitment should be made a criminal offence.

According to the DP representative on the RDRC, MP Roger Burrows, the matter is now in the hands of the RDRC's executive.

Burrows said after the meeting that enforced patronage "cuts all ways" among political parties. "It's a broad-based thing," he explained. and it extended right to CP-controlled city councils.

Burrows said that it was totally unacceptable that drought victims had to produce "the right card" to receive drought relief monies. and that the control of land, schools (either by the authorities or the pupils) and pensions in the region had "a lot to do with producing the right card?" It is a historical fact that being a member of a political party has

brought tangible benefits by way of patronage. It was wrong in the past. it is wrong now and it will be wrong in the future."

Burrows added that a resolution of this issue was absolutely essential for the proper functioning of a democracy in South Africa.

While a Bill of Rights or an interim Bill of Rights guaranteeing free association would, in his understanding, address this issue, the authorities should be looking at it now, in the interim".

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lelll MASSABIIE M N /

llNliEli TO BARKETS

I was moonlighting; I

wanted to make my

million, admits spy

By DE WET POTGIETER

A MILITARY intelli-

gence officer con-

victed of conspir-

acy after the

murder of 14 Zulu

tribesmen con-

fessed this week to

having run private

business rackets

Into and out of An-

gola under cover of

his MI employment.

Mr Rich Verster was

named this week as one

of the civilian mem-

bers of the controver-

sial Directorate of

Covert Collection who

were fired in the purge

ordered by President

de Klerk before Christ-

mas.

But. Mr Verster con-

firmed on Thursday, he

was still employed by the "

secretunit

The 40-year-old former

jailbird, who once drove a

black Porsche 911. ad-

mitted he had formed pri-

vate business partnerships

to trade precious stones

out of Namibia and food

into Angola while still em-

ployed by military intelli-

gence.

Mr Verster's freelancing

came to light after his

deals with a Johannesburg

bank went sour. leaving the

bank hundreds of thou-

sands of rands short.

Nickname

The highly decorated

former paratrooper served

five years of an eight-year

jail sentence for helping a

Zulu clan in the Msinga

area wage war against an-

other clan which resulted

in the deaths of 14 men.

Former paratrooper .

told the court at the time

that Mr Verster had in-

vited them to 'come along

and "shoot houties".

Mr Verster was nick-

named the Soldier of Ter-

Maritzburg Supreme Court

13 years ago, when he was

jailed for eight years on

charges of terrorism, con-

spiring to commit murder,

illegal possession of a fire

arm and of contravening

the Defence Act.

The prosecution claimed he had been hired as a mercenary by one of the factions in the Msinga area and had picked off 14 members of the Opposing clan from a hilltop.

He was acquitted on murder charges because the judge found it was possible that he had not taken part in the slaughter.

Topical inquiries are under way into allegations that military intelligence officer: made fortunes out of smuggling gold, ivory, diamonds and weapons during and after the Mr Verster confirmed that he is also under investigation but vehemently denied any involvement in such activities

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee is studying a docket from the Office for Serious Offences about tender awards for military supplies in which former military intelligence chief Witkop Badenhorst - now retired - was involved.

Connection

Mr Venter told the Sunday Times how he, Pretoria town developer Johan van der Merwe and the former branch manager of MLS Bank in Pretoria, Mr Francois Joubert, had formed two close corporations. Colour Pebbles and JRF Investments, in 1990. Though there is no evidence that his companies were military intelligence fronts. sources close to the ' operations reported " that Mr Venter frequently used his MI connection: to help his entrepreneurial activities and discourage attempts by outsiders to prior during his trial in the Anolan bush war. probe his activities.

The five ifoesi Who are dividing Old ifriendsi BOTH the government and lnkatha believe there are men who are bedevilling relations between them. The government puts lnkatha stalwari Walter Felgate at the top of its list. Mr Felgate's association with Inlmtha goes back to 1974 when he helped draft its constitution. He chaired the group at Codesa that drafted the Declaration of Intent, is a member of the central executive committee and one of a four-man inner executive committee which advises IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi directly. n

The government says it has intelligence that Major-General Tienie Groenewald, former chief of staff Military intelligence and later right-hand man to Communications Services director Dave Steward, has been meeting with key figures in Uiundi. His brother Jan Groenewald was deputy leader of the AWB and he took part in the most recent Concerned SA Group (Cosag) meeting with the government. He is close to Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje and Tom Langley (Mr Cronje's brother-in-law) of the CP - both of whom were also at the Cosag meeting. Government sources say two "strange foreigners" are assisting the IFP - Professor Albert Blaustein and Dr Mario Ambrosini. Prof Blaustein is a US constitutional expert who has participated in the drafting and negotiation of almost 30 constitutions including those of Bosnia, Macedonia, Poland, Uganda, Liberia, Canada, Brazil and Fiji. He has studied SA constitutional policies for 15 years and took part in Codesa I and Little is known about Dr Ambrosini, who is of Italian descent but is based in Washington. A young constitutional lawyer with an international reputation, he arrived in SA in October and has extended his stay to assist Inkatha. He worked with Prof Blaustein on the drafting of the Kwazulu/Natal constitution. Lt/ji47%/w/5 2 4H 4 4 4/7)?

lnkatha believes the person who is their prime stumbling block in negotiations with the government is Constitutional Minister Roeli Meyer. IFP ire was raised after Mr Meyer was quoted in Washington in December as saying that the IFP would be left out of negotiations if Mr Buthelezi did not join multi-party talks soon. IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said Mr Meyer was "getting a little too big for his boots". At the Cosag meeting a fortnight ago, Mr Meyer said he had been misquoted. But, IFP mistrust of him lingers.

Call for urgent Govt  
action on new board  
MANDY JEAN WOODS  
AN ADVERTISING  
boycott of the SABC  
could begin within a  
few weeks if Home Af-  
fairs Minister Louis  
Pienaar fails to send  
t out a signal on the ti-  
" meous appointment of  
y a new SABC board.  
This was said yester-  
day by the co-chairman  
t of the Campaign for Inde-  
pendent Broadcasting  
(CIB). Raymond Louw. He  
said element: within his  
y organisation had pro-  
: posed the boycott to en-  
sure an independent  
broadcasting future.  
However. Pienaar. react-  
ing to a report published  
yesterday outlining a pro-  
cess to select a new board.  
said the report was "totally  
Without foundation".  
"That report constitutes  
the sum of the ANC and C18  
proposals. We couldn't agree  
to them - I still have to  
consult a range of political  
parties." he said.  
The CIB, comprising the  
Congress of South African  
Trade Unions. the South  
African Council of Churches,  
the National Education Cri-  
sis Committee and the Cam-  
paign for Open Media.  
among others. will be meet-  
ing next Saturday.  
Expires  
By then. formal decisions  
will have been taken on the  
implementation of a cam-  
paign - including a possible  
advertising boycott of the  
SABC - if there has been no  
word from Pienaar on what  
has been decided. "The feel-  
ing we are getting is that he  
is trying to delay the pro-  
cess." Louw said.  
Pienaar said. however. he  
was working l'day and  
night" to try to get resolu-  
tion on the appomtment and  
mandate of the board before  
March 31. when the present  
board's term of office ex-  
pires.  
"I will be meeting various  
parties over the next 14 days  
- we are seeing the ANC  
again next week - to refine  
the preposals I have re-  
ceived." he added.  
The three-point plan pub-  
lished yesterday indicated

that President F W de Klerk would appoint a top judge - probably Chief Justice Michael Corbett - to appoint a seven-man panel, possibly headed by Codesa chairmen Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed and Mr Justice Piet Schabert.

j The panel would be charged with appointing a new SABC board.

, 'De Klerk would then have to approve the nominations and confirm appointments.

There were points of convergence in the various proposals on procedure received so far. Pienaar said.

"especxally on the idea of an impartial selection committee of some sort and of a far more representative board whose members have no political affiliations

"But a lot of clarification still has to be discussed. For example. there is the question of the mandate of the SABC board: will it include the random hiring and firing of staff? And then there is the whole question of a code of conduct to settle. and ensuring the impartiality of news. among other things. But we are not at all close to an agreement on procedure for selecting a new board." he said.

Reacting to yesterday's reports. the Conservative Party MP for iSchweizer-Reneke. Pieter Mulder. indicated it was 'debatable whether the CP and the Inkatha Freedom Party should carry on discussions with Pienaar as Hit appears the CPS fear about Government-ANC collusion on the matter is justified".

Appointing judges to select new SABC board members - as proposed by the ANC and C13 - would be no guarantee that the new board would be objective and independent. he said.

"The question is whether the contributions of other parties which. according to listenership and newer figures have just as big a stake in the SABC. would in any way be considered." Mulder saidt

Pienaar also slammed yesterday's report for suggesting that key SABC staffers - such as group



chief executive Wynand Harmse and news chief Johan Pretorius - would probably be axed soon after the new board was appointed to make way for more impartial people. Sapa reported a senior SABC official as saying: "The guys in the top posts are going ape. They are doing anything to bolster their credibility and to build up their contacts With the ANC. But Junior staffers are not really worried because they do not constder their posts important enough." Harmse did not respond to press inquiries yesterday. However. SABC board chairman Christo Viljoen noted that it was the job of the new board. not of individuals. to say what would hay pen to the present management team at the SABC.

- SA C faces ad boycott

Irresponsible to  
 speculate on SABC  
 Sapa and  
 Citizen Reporter  
 SABC Board Chairman  
 Christo Vilioen hits  
 criticised speculation  
 on which stuff mem-  
 bers tire to be replaced  
 under a new dispensa-  
 tion tit the corporation,  
 NHighly competent.  
 knowledguhle and experi-  
 enced personnel are being  
 discriminated against. I  
 view it as arrogant and  
 even irresponsible to  
 identity individual SABC  
 officials who are suppos-  
 ed to make way for  
 othersk Prof Vilioen said  
 in a statement yesterday.  
 "People making such  
 statements only reflect  
 the preconceived notions.  
 prejudices and views they  
 maintain. and can result  
 in their disqualifying  
 themselves from playing  
 any role in a future  
 SABC."  
 Prof Viljoenls response  
 followed on suggestions  
 in news reports yesterday  
 that the pasts of the  
 SABCS group executive  
 chief, Mr Wynand  
 Harmse, and news chief  
 jobs: Viljoen  
 llohtiii Pi'etoritis would he  
 cspct:i.rll\_x sought-utter  
 when '4 new SABC Board  
 was uppuiiited on March  
 31,  
 Observers hoped the  
 new Board would result  
 in u shuke-up ut the  
 SABC and u more ohiece  
 tive news service for SA  
 television VICWCl'b.  
 Commenting on this.  
 Prof Viljoen said he ac-  
 cepted that a new SABC  
 Board had to be more  
 representative of the  
 broad population. How-  
 evert specific expertise  
 was needed on such a  
 Board due to the com-  
 plexity of broadcasting,  
 It would therefore be  
 the SABC Bourtt's pre-  
 rogative to negotiate with  
 the SABC. its structure  
 and its personnel as it saw  
 fit. Prof Viljoen said.  
 The Conservative Party  
 said yesterday its predic-  
 tion after the collapse of  
 Codesti -thut the instru-  
 ments ol state power. the

security forces and limit-  
casting would come into  
the firing line and be  
weakened - was coming  
true.

This was said yesterday  
by the CPS spokesman on  
broadcasting. Dr Pieter  
Mulder. MP for Schvietz-  
er-Reneke.

In the wake of a report  
that a new SABC board  
would be in place within  
two months as part of a  
three-phase procedure to  
making broadcasting in-  
dependent. Dr Mulder  
said the CP was appar-  
ently correct when it ex-  
pressed concern over se-  
cret National Party/Afri-  
can National Congress  
agreements on the re-  
structuring of the SABC.  
In the light of the re-  
port, the CP wanted to  
know from the Minister  
of Home Affairs. Mr  
Louis Pieterse. if there  
was any objection in prin-  
ciple to the INL-  
M (the National Party)  
others holding discussions  
with him concerning re-  
structuring of the SABC.  
The CP had intended  
holding such discussions  
but the question then  
arose whether the contri-  
butions of other parties.  
which in terms of both li-  
censing and viewing fig-  
ures had always been an interest  
in the SABC. would in  
any way be taken into ac-  
count.

Home Affairs Ministry  
spokesman Jack van der  
Merwe said yesterday Mr  
Pieterse would consider  
suggestions from all par-  
ties for the selection pro-  
cess for the appointment  
of IS Board members.

A senior SABC official  
said yesterday: "The guys  
in the top posts are going  
ape. They are doing any-  
thing to bolster their cred-  
ibility and to build up  
their contacts with the  
African National Con-  
gress  
-nga/ 157 t '71";

Whither SABC?

WF see nothing wrong in appointing a more representative board of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. I find that the SABC has for years been accused of being a mouthpiece of the government. Its news selection is regarded as being biased. It gives more time, it is said, to government ministers than to the opposition. It is accused of brainwashing television viewers into accepting the government's policies according to the ANC's wishes. I am alien against it. I doubt that in pre-retirement days much of the criticism of the SABC was well-founded. The news featured Minister Motlaleli speaking here and there. I am on their side. The three news programmes also pushed the idea of a better government VICW at the expense of other opinions.

' ' 20

Former State President P.W. Botha's headliner comment about getting on to the phone even during a news broadcast to criticize the SABC about its handling of a particular item that displeased him. I am - General of the 'Izindaba' or the then Director. Msux'izig L.M. Riaan Eksteen. After he fell foul of Mr. Mlotshwa was the most blatant example of government interference with the SABC.

... there But it was not the only example. Then I would like to politically inspired appointments to the H. H. Tredections to the SABC. There we have the hide above the heads of the board of the SABC.

Today's TV and radio news staff shows a greater degree of independence. Discussion panels are representative of all interests. Parties are given the chance to challenge the government on major issues. The views of the ANC, the South African Communist Party and other "liberation" organisations are freely canvassed.

However, there are organisations - mostly based in favour of the ANC - which are still not satisfied.

They count the time given to ministers in relation to the time given to opponents of the government, without conceding that the government will create more news by being the government.

They want the playing fields levelled - a trite phrase that is used in every conceivable context, from broadcasting to the incorporation of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the SADF.

We agree that in an election in which everyone will have the vote and every party will have a chance to contest the poll on an equal basis, it is important that the government does not use the SABC as a propaganda tool, and if it is necessary to have a new board to ensure this, so be it.

There are suggestions that top judges, probably the (Zodwa co-chairmen Mr Justice Lmail Mahomed and Mr Justice Piet Schabert.

should convene a panel that would recommend such a board.

The panel would be made up of seven or nine eminent South Africans, not office-bearers of any party and representative of the country's overall population.

The panel would present to Mr De Klerk a list of recommended names, which he would approve.

They would replace the current SABC board and would have sweeping powers over the structuring and staffing of the corporation.

It is by no means certain that this procedure will be followed. What is certain is that there will be a new board, as the present board's term of office expires on March 31.

However, while all the well-meaning liberals and ANC backers who are so vociferous about the present set-up will be chuffed when the changeover takes place, we have more than a suspicion that if the ANC comes to power, it will make the SABC an even worse propaganda medium than it was under the National Party government.

Namibia and Zimbabwe are examples of what can happen.

Perhaps the answer is the privatisation of the SABC and the creation of other independent services besides M-Net.

But we doubt that the ANC will agree to this: it smells victory in an election and will want to have control of the SABC in the future.

Out on Tuesday, back on Thursday  
EX-CON? . . . Christopher Nzalo.  
I Short freedom: More  
than 7 500 prisoners are in the  
process of being released under a  
special early release programme.  
Because of the harsh economic  
conditions, more than 80 percent  
of them will be back in jail by  
December this year. One was  
arrested again after only two  
days.

BY NEWTON KANMEMA

CHRISTOPHER Nzalo, an habitual criminal,  
was released on Tuesday under Minister of  
Correctional Services Adriaan Vlok's "early  
, release" programme.

By Thursday, he was back in the police  
cells.

His first night of freedom after serving  
five years of an eight-year jail sentence for  
housebreaking was Spent on a train to Maritz-  
burg, paid for by the National Institute of  
Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Of-  
fenders (Nicro).

He went there to find his grandmother 7 his  
only relative - but was told she had died two  
years ago. Shocked by the news, he decided  
to return to Johannesburg and - once again  
by courtesy of Nicro - found himself on a  
train.

Back in Johannesburg, he went back to  
Nicro to find some accommodation and work.  
They could only promise him a room for  
three days. hereafter he would have to make  
way for other newly released prisoners.  
He decided to go back to Maritzburg to look  
for friends, so on Thursday night it was back  
to Park Station with another one-way ticket.  
This time, however, Nzalo did not make it on  
to the train.

Instead, he decided to seek out a "spliff"  
(dagga cigarette). His luck, after only two  
days, ran out again. He was caught in the  
wrong company and arrested.

The night in the llillbrow cells was nothing  
new to him. He had been in and out of prison  
for the past 16 years - his longest period of  
freedom since 1976 being a mere six months.

On Friday morning he was released again.

The director of Nicro's Johannesburg branch,  
Jeanette Schmid, said it was unclear whether  
he had been charged.

Nicro then gave him mm and he disap-  
peared into the (:rime-filled streets of Johan-  
nesburg.

Speaking to the Sunday Star before he was  
re-arrested on Thursday, Nzalo said it was  
wonderful to be free but added that it was  
impossible to live without. a job.

During the interview he looked weak and  
sick, and when asked whether he was not feel-  
ing well, he said: "No! I am not sick at all, but  
I am hungry."

Since his release on Tuesday he had eaten  
only two biscuits and had drunk one cup of tea.

Asked if he would resort to crime, he re-  
plied: "It's difficult, my friend I have nothing,  
I have no one and I have nowhere to go."

Nzalo, who first went to prison at the age of  
16, said the worst side of prison life was the

rape of young convicts by gangs of old-timers.  
He spent the first two years of his prison uca-  
reer" being raped.

Nzalo, who was born in 1961, never knew his  
father. His mother died when he was in his  
second year of primary school. He then moved  
in with his grandmother, and was arrested for  
the first time at the age of 16. when he was in  
Std 1. '

He said the only crime he ever committed  
was house-breakingl llLook it just comes,  
its natural," he said.

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For some, a  
life in jail  
is preferred

Bv Nmou KANHEMA

ABOUT 30 percent of the 7500 prisoners currently  
being released under a special parole deal are likely  
to be back behind bars before the end of the year,  
according to a rehabilitation expert.

However. some of the prisoners released this week  
told the Sunday Star they believed the figure would  
be closer to 90 percent.

Jeanette Schmid, Johannesburg director of the Na-  
tional Institute of Crime Prevention and Rehabili-  
tation of Offenders (Nicro). said there were several  
reasons why some chose to make prison their home.

"There are those who are unemployed, without  
shelter or family to live with. They openly tell us that  
if they dont get a job they will resort to crime and go  
back. And there are those who have served long sen-  
tences and are used to the routine in prison, and can-  
not adjust to normal life," she added.

Schmid said those who were either accepted by  
their families, or who had children. had a better  
chance of being rehabilitated.

She said that around 80 percent of the 110 000  
people now in jail were repeat-offenders.

White parolees stood a better chance than their  
black counterparts of securing a job, she added.

"Whites do not face as many problems. Blacks are  
in a bad situation mainly because they are less skilled  
and had less secure jobs before they went in.

"Prison punishes. but does not equip a person to  
start a new life after the release." said Schmid.

One newly-released prisoner, who asked not to be  
named. told the Sunday Star that a lack of job oppor-  
tunitia was the biggest problem ex-convicts faced.

ttThe economy is bad and we cannot just accept  
being looked after by relatives. I am a criminal, but  
that does not mean I don't have my pride),

The ex-prisoner was jailed for 19 years for his part  
in the gang murder of a man during a car-theft.

"Stealing cars is an tinstinctt when I get drunk. It  
just happens," he said. uWith this economic situation,  
dont be surprised if I am hired as a hit-man. I would  
just kill to have the money."

He added that he was planning to visit his mother  
in Durban: uPerhaps I can get a job there. I hope so."

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One education system tsoonl  
CAPE TOWN - Education  
in South Africa will be  
brought under a single non-  
racial ministry and depart-  
ment within months, a Gov-  
ernment Minister predicted  
yesterday.

President de Klerk could  
announce this when he opens  
Parliament on Friday, sour-  
ces believe.

It will be done using legis-  
lation passed in October to  
enable the present white,  
black, coloured and Indian  
"own affairs" departments  
to be amalgamated.

It is also indicated that  
the black Department of  
Education and Training and  
the education departments  
of the six self-governing  
homelands would also be  
part of the new single de-  
partment.

MARTIN CHALLENGOR

and PETER FABRICIUS

The move would have far-  
reaching consequences for  
education and would impact  
especially on the present un-  
equal and racial distribution  
of education spending.

Senior National Party  
member Jac Rabie, chair-  
man of the Ministers' Coun-  
cil in the House of Represen-  
tatives, said yesterday the  
Government was moving to-  
wards a single education de-  
partment and he was hope-  
ful it would be achieved dur-  
ing the session of Parlia-  
ment starting on Friday.

He said the idea was to  
amalgamate all the sepa-  
rate offices in each region  
into one office which would  
deliver services "regardless  
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of colour, race or creed".

He said the black educa-  
tion department and those of  
the self-governing terri-  
tories would be included.

Democratic Party educa-  
tion spokesman Roger Bur-  
rows said Rabie's remarks  
confirmed what was being  
said in educational and po-  
litical circles.

The executive directors of  
education were already dis-  
cussing the framework of a  
new dispensation and it  
would be surprising if De  
Klerk did not announce it  
next week, he said

The creation of a single  
ministry would have far-

reaching implications for  
rationalising the use of  
school buildings, distribution  
of teachers and, most impor-  
tantly, equalising spending.

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Burrows said he expected  
De Klerk would also an-  
nounce the scrapping of  
"own affairs" in other areas,  
which would mean the crea-  
tion of a single health min-  
istry as well. He said he had  
heard that the process of in-  
tegrating education might  
be phased in. As a first step,  
a single ministry could be  
created while the present  
separate departments con-  
tinued for a while.

There had also been sug-  
gestions that the ultimate  
aim was one ministry with  
about 10 nonracial region-  
al departments under it.

National Education Minis-  
ter Piet Marais said much  
planning had already been  
done in all education depart-  
ments to fit in with De  
Klerk's timetable

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Early govt move on  
single education  
system  
CAPE TOWN. - The  
government has for-  
mulated plans for ma-  
jor rationalisation and  
uncurly shift to a sin-  
gle education depart-  
ment for South Africa.  
The new department  
will be restructured on re-  
gional rather than the  
provincial clinics  
Advertisements un-  
nouncing the first steps -  
the resumption of rationali-  
sation in the education  
department of the House  
of Representatives -  
have been prepared for  
publication this Sunday  
The proposals (hence  
were confirmed by the  
chairman of the Minis-  
ters Council in the House  
of Representatives. Mr  
Jus Rubia, and negotia-  
tors involved in the cur-  
rent round of talks be-  
tween the government  
and the ANC at the Pruni-  
ciple in Pretoria.  
Mr Rube confirmed  
the government's plan in  
an interview with the  
Township News nex-  
t morning yesterday.  
Sources claim the  
Pretoria talks will con-  
clude the government and  
the ANC was successful in  
the direct financial man-  
aging education in the  
sectors of the community  
Extreme community  
pressure on the school  
system has led the govern-  
ment to agree but in  
continue with the House of  
Representatives's depart-  
ment which was un-  
done after the teacher  
union opposition  
last year.  
Thus only a part of  
the union's propo-  
sitions which the govern-  
ment is now  
considering  
The Department of Education. Mr  
Mazli. has a meeting with  
the Western (government  
union) team at the  
Pretoria talks.  
The meeting will  
discuss the  
schools under a single

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Ulhcr cducunun hudics  
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would try to establish the  
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ahead,

Thux Iur the govern-  
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In his interview Mr Ra-  
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SA plane downed  
in Angola - claim

THE Angolan government claimed yesterday it had shot down a South African transport plane flying out of Jamba, former headquarters in the south of the Unita rebels. "A South African Hercules C-130, flying from Jamba with supplies for Unita troops was hit by government forces yesterday afternoon, crashing in Cachicala-Chiloango," said a statement from the general staff of the Angolan government forces, adding that the incident occurred on Friday;

The statement was broadcast on Angolan radio and monitored by the BBC. South African officials were not immediately available for comment

"This is further proof that South African forces are involved with and taking part in the Angolan war on the side of Unita," the statement said.

South Africa backed Unita in the long Angolan civil war, which began in 1975 and ended with a peace agreement in May 1991. Since then it has tried to play a mediating role between Unita and the ruling MPLA party in Luanda. Unita has resumed civil war with the government after rejecting the results of elections last September as fraudulent.

Earlier this week the rebels captured the oil town of Soyo in the far north, and they appeared to have the upper hand in particularly heavy fighting around the central town of Huambo.

The general staff statement said government forces attacked Unita-controlled areas of Huambo yesterday, killing 12 rebel soldiers and wounding several others.

"Unita, which continues to send reinforcements from Cachicala-Chiloango, is still shelling the town of Huambo with artillery fire. Yesterday, chemical substances were used in artillery shells", it added. !

- Sapa-Reuter.

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NO Russian missiles

for SA, says envoy

Citizen Reporter

THE Russian Ambassador to South Africa. Mr Eugeny Goussarov (inussnmx'. yesterday mid reportx that the Russian chcrutiun planned to provide South Africa with \$8321! missiles to launch satellites' was myth-  
ing more than unintormcd rumnurs.

Speaking in Pretoria yesterday. Mr Goussarov. said the Russian Federation had no intention of contrivcning twisting United Nations einhargoes by providing South Africa with military technology. Furthermore. he said. the Russian Pedcrution did not han'c any SS-Ztl missiles.

'I hey hild hccn destroyed in terms oi the International Nuclear I-orccx Agreement hccm the former USSR and the United States which was signed in WNW

"I'hc person who started thcxc rumours obviously has no kmmlcdgu Ot spun: tcchnnlogy Or aeronautical tlclvelnpmnts because it ix gcncl knowledge that thcsc missiles nu longer cxist" Mr Goussarov said.

He said his cmhuxsy had diwimcd the matter with the South African (iOYCTnlncIH and both parties were aware ot the rcstnctmx in terms (if United Nations resolutions concerning; the trunster Ot technology oi this kind.

The Russian leertlllOH mu. however. fully prepared to cn-operzite with South Africa as far as the Civilian application at xpucc technology was concerned

He believed that Russia Would be able to utter very competitive rates to launch satellites for South Africa but the launching vehicle would have to stay in Russia and could not be exported

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Russian Ambassador. Mr EUGENY GOUS-SAROV, at a Press briefing at which he denied that Russia intended to supply South Africa with \$820 missiles.

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