

The judge, the general, two presidents and  
a political hot potato no-one wanted to touch finally

# Goldstone report

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A Goldstone report urging action against police 'dirty tricks' was never released by president FW de Klerk. **Stefaans Brümmer and Eddie Koch report**

**T**HE Mail & Guardian today publishes a secret Goldstone Commission report, sent to former President FW de Klerk weeks before the April 27 election, and which urged immediate action to "neutralise" police security structures involved in "murder, fraud, blackmail and political disinformation".

The report recommended that then-police chief General Johan van der Merwe and senior generals be "effectively relieved of their positions forthwith", saying it "is a bleak prospect that this country enters its first democratic election with this security structure in place".

De Klerk failed to act against Van der Merwe and the police branch which Judge Richard Goldstone implicated, the Crime Intelligence Service (successor to the security branch), and Van der Merwe retired only in March a year

later. While Van der Merwe maintained his resignation was voluntary, the M&G has information that he was forced out by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi.

The explosive document — to which President Nelson Mandela's office and key government of national unity figures had access, but which was never made public — was given to the M&G by former security policeman Paul Erasmus this week.

"The report corroborates statements I have made over the last three weeks and rebuts claims by FW de Klerk and a senior member of the police that they were unaware of or not involved in covert actions against the liberation movements," Erasmus said. "The reports show these activities included bombings and other Third Force activities that continued well after the release of Mandela and various agreements with the ANC to end them."

The report raises serious questions about the role of De Klerk, who appears to have handed his successor a political hot potato, despite the urgent request from Goldstone that "immediate steps must be taken to neutralise the activities of the CIS" before the election.

It may also be asked why the ANC-

led government of national unity did not release the report publicly after the elections. And why it took a year before Van der Merwe was forced out and new police commissioner George Fivaz appointed. Sources suggest Mandela's concerns about a possible police revolt may have caused him to sit on the report.

Fink Haysom, legal advisor to Mandela, yesterday said Mandela's office was "not in a position to respond" to the report. Although it had been made available to Mandela, "this office has never received it as an official report. It appears to be Goldstone's advice to the office of the previous President."

De Klerk, who is abroad, was unable to respond at the time of going to press.

Goldstone is known originally to have favoured the public release of the report, like the 47 other reports he authored during the commission's three-year mandate to investigate violence. Goldstone was apparently convinced otherwise, but, betraying his strong feelings, said in November: "The information, I imagine, will go to the Truth Commission. The information should be made public then. If it's not made public, I will do so ... as a citizen."

The document was completed in the month before the April elections last



# Money or the boss?

## Chiefs choose the cash

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Chiefs may still profess loyalty to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but the lure of parliamentary payment is stronger, write **Mehlo Mvelase** and **Ann Eveleth**

**T**HE Inkatha Freedom Party has pledged an all-out battle to halt the implementation of the controversial Renumeration of Traditional Leaders Act passed in Parliament last week, but rumblings on the ground indicate such moves may do more to alienate the party from its traditional support base than to secure it.

IFP leaders last week vowed to challenge the Act in the Constitutional Court and provincial leaders have indicated they plan to pass legislation restricting chiefs from accepting the central government payment outlined in the Act.

An informal poll by the *Mail & Guardian* over the past two weeks suggests, however, that such a call may fall on a growing number of deaf ears. Twelve out of 14 Zulu chiefs interviewed randomly and spanning the north to the south coasts of KwaZulu/Natal say they would welcome central government payment — especially if it would see their stipends increased.

Only two chiefs — both known to belong to a small circle of IFP chiefs close to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — said they would refuse such payment, as well as the "parliamentary" perks promised by President Nelson Mandela last month. While the IFP has alternately claimed the support of between 260 and 280 of KwaZulu/Natal's 300-odd chiefs, excluding only a tiny minority linked to the ANC, none of the 12 positive respondents have had previous public links to either the ANC or the Congress of South African Traditional Leaders (Contralesa).

Many said they support Buthelezi and all had attended the Ulundi meetings of *Iso le Sizwe* (Eye of the Nation), the organisation of former KwaZulu homeland officials formed by Buthelezi prior to last year's election, whose attendance the IFP has used to confirm their support levels.

The poll results, however, also suggest personal security for tradi-

tional leaders remains the largest single stumbling block to freeing chiefs from political control. None of the 12 positive respondents were willing to have their names published, fearing reprisals. The chiefs spoke to the *Mail & Guardian* on condition of anonymity.

Most of those interviewed said they could not afford to reject the prospect of higher living standards, while their communities sought benefits from the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

One chief pointed out that "If the government starts to build houses for the people, they will have better houses than us and they will undermine us. We heard Mandela last year promising the king a better life and he has bought the king a fleet of cars, so the king lives like a real king now. We also want cars and a better life."

The chiefs also said they welcomed plans to standardise payments. "The problem with the KwaZulu government is that right now, some chiefs are not getting equal salaries. Some chiefs are getting cars from Ulundi, and others are not. Some indunas or chairmen of the IFP are getting cars from Ulundi and they live a far better life and end up instructing us what to do in our areas. They become more powerful than us and take decisions over us," said one chief.

Another chief pointed to his ramshackle home and said: "Look at my house — it's like a shack. Even though my home and my family were attacked during the violence because I supported the IFP, I was never compensated from Ulundi."

Another chief asked: "If someone can offer you a better salary than where you work, wouldn't you take the offer? The life we live under presently is very bad. If Mandela's aim is not to destroy the Zulu kingdom, then it is a good thing he is doing."

One chief, who stressed that he likes Buthelezi, because "he is fighting for traditional norms and standards of the Zulu nation", said he supported the ANC's call for chiefs to abandon party politics. "Unless all

chiefs become neutral we will have problems. When chiefs take sides, people on the ground start to fight."

Suggesting the ANC strategy is beginning to bear fruit, the poll results also support claims by ANC KwaZulu/Natal deputy chairman chief Zibuse Mlaba that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Contralesa's neutrality calls are receiving growing support from chiefs in the province.

Mlaba claims up to a third of KwaZulu/Natal chiefs have given their support to the call, following a chiefdom-to-chiefdom campaign initiated last year by the late ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala, which saw Gwala and Mlaba leading delegations to visit individual chiefs and convince them to abandon politics.

Mlaba said many chiefs had indicated they would support Contralesa, once they were convinced it had become neutral following its formal separation from the ANC alliance.

Observers note that if such a trend continues it could cause the planned provincial legislation to "become stillborn" and deliver a psychological blow to IFP attempts to mount a constitutional challenge to the Renumeration Act. While a small number of chiefs continued to benefit financially from their high status

in the IFP and positions in parliament, the reality was that most chiefs in the province had lived in poverty under the KwaZulu government and many continued to do so.

The IFP argues that the Act is unconstitutional because it interferes with the schedule six powers of provinces, which include traditional leaders — and has indicated it may fight the Act on a technicality over the ANC's failure to consult the non-existent Council of Traditional Leaders provided for in the Interim Constitution.

Observers point out that this is an ironic strategy, given that the IFP has opposed the formation of such a council, and note that the leaders likely to comprise the council had, nevertheless, been consulted by Mandela, with only the IFP-aligned KwaZulu/Natal leaders objecting.



President Mandela: Promised perks