



FLINERAL: Triggered violence

IMVO ZABANTSUNDU

Umtata father grieves

For some people October's SADF raid in Umtata is over and almost forgotten. But for those it struck so viciously, the anger and pain linger on, says ZOLA SONDLLO.

A GROUP of men armed with automatic rifles drive into Umtata under cover of night, their target: a house in Northrest that allegedly harbours Apla "terrorists".

They stop in front of the house, jump out of their vehicle and boot down the door. Guns fitted with silencers, the murderers pump 18 bullets into each of the five figures - not terrorists, but sleeping schoolchildren.

The South African Defence Force has struck again. The spirit of Rambo lives on.

Hours later, a man arrives home from a business trip to find the bodies of his children lying in pools of blood. His 12-year-old son

groups, their angry chants mounting as they move downtown. They stone cars belonging to whites and assault passengers.

Recalling that day, Liezi Baucher, who has lived in Umtata for more than 20 years said: "I was driving along when I saw the mob, I thought I had nothing to fear because I've been living here for years. But then rocks started hitting my car.

"My car stalled and the crowd surrounded me. I was pulled out and beaten. Some people pulled my hair and others stoned me." She was saved by the arrival of police.

"I bear no grudges," said Baucher. "I understand people's anger."

Since the Umtata massacre, white business people are tense. They signed a petition protesting against the raid and said they abhorred the actions of the South African government.

But they also abhorred the destruction of their property by angry youths who smashed windows and looted businesses.

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HENNER FRANKENFELD, Southlight

it facilitates denial," he said.

However, this does not mean that covert operations have no place in a democracy. The question is rather what their place should be – a question debated in an effort to formulate a new doctrine.

Covert operations have no place within the borders of a country, according to General Du Toit. He said the culture of manipulation and intervention in domestic policy developed in the South African Defence Force over the years was the result of hijacking by dominant personalities (read Magnus Malan and PW Botha) who ignored the laws setting out the parameters for permissible action.

The general was supported by Annette Seegers (University of Cape Town), who spoke on the ethics of covert operations in South Africa. She said that the military should never be used in action against fellow citizens.

"Be they right-wing, left-wing, communist, fascist – they are, for better or worse, our communists, fascists and miscreants who are entitled to protection not persecution from their military." It is an indication of the extent to which the continued misuse of the state apparatus in South Africa has blurred these lines that Seegers's point seemed a fresh and

original one.

Beyond South African borders, the policy of destabilising frontline states such as Angola, Zimbabwe and especially Mozambique, cost \$45 billion (R148 billion) and half a million lives, according to a 1989 Commonwealth statistic. This year, according to Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission, R6 billion – nine percent of the national budget – was allocated to secret funds about which the public know nothing.

What does one do? Rocky Williams of the Military Research Group argued that political mechanisms are insufficient for coping with covert operations because there is always a limit to the oversight that is possible, a precarious balance between control and efficacy. However, formal structures are a beginning, he said.

Intelligence oversight committees can perform a monitoring function. Legislation such as the Freedom of Information Act in the United States allows the public limited access, but access nevertheless, to the kind of information currently "classified" in South Africa.

Then there is the important issue of budget oversight. The German parliament exerts financial control over the military by means of a committee, composed of a representative

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Covert ops 'a necessary evil'

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security or, to be more accurate, a move away from the notion that security is only state-centric. Threats to security could come in the form of poverty, injustice and oppression. Territorial integrity was but one aspect of state security, albeit an important one.

Another problem with covert operations is that often they are started neatly but soon gain their own messy momentum. Their existence can justify their need to exist.

After the end of the Cold War all secret services had to readjust - the angst at having an enemy is always only slightly greater than the angst at not having one.

Who is the enemy now? One has existing structures, therefore there must be an enemy. Make one.

This logic is far from ludicrous. Large portions of any country's security service depend on a threat to keep their jobs. It becomes tempting to manufacture one, or at least to exaggerate the existing one. This threat becomes hard to assess in the sober light of day because of the secrecy which surrounds it, and immediately one is back in what seems to be the perpetual circle that is part of covert operations.

"Necessary murder" was how WH Auden described the Spanish Civil War. Poets don't make good seurocrats, this is true, and romantics should be kept far from the levers of power.

But, allowing that covert operations are necessary, what can be done to preserve the new South Africa from the excesses and aberrations such operations seem to trail in their wake?

Differences of definition and framework aside, there was all-round agreement at the conference on one issue: without a healthy political culture all will fail. The character that covert operations take in a society is shaped by the political philosophy of a

Any Smileys out

CAN one speak of ethics in relation to covert operations? They seem in opposition. The covert involves concepts like "plausible denial"; the ethical is truthful - "transparent" in the political jargon.

Whatever they may be in fact, fictional spies and spy stories continue to fascinate large numbers of readers. When they emanate from a corrupt system like apartheid, however, such tales are often one-dimensional, the intrigue centred around the lengths to which some will go in order to stay in power.

In the democracy that we are inching towards the tales - and the issues, ethical or otherwise - become more complex. Good people may be doing bad things for a good cause. According to the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting's Carel Boshoff junior, it is not the morality of covert operations but the morality of the state protected by them that is the issue.

Annette Seegers (University of Cape Town) asserted in her address on "Ethics and Covert Operations" that the covert operatives of this world are a homeless species, hunted by the enemy, rejected by their own. The result is a sub-culture in which they clubbishly gather together for support.

The Hammer Unit which was active in the Eastern Cape is a case in point. Sam Sole of *The Sunday Tribune*, who spoke on "The Hammer Unit and the Goniwe Murders", characterised the unit as an "old boys' club" whose members looked out for each other, living in their own world according to their own rules.

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