

Boy tossed back into blaze

THABO THULO
Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. After escaping from her hut when it was set on fire, an Umgababa woman watched helplessly through her smoke-filled eyes as her six-year-old son was beaten up and tossed back into the blazing inferno.

Mrs Nokuthulo Mzobe's hut was among dwellings at Amagcino, an area in Umgababa supporting the African National Congress, raided by men allegedly from the neighbouring IFP stronghold of Ehlazeni Reserve.

Nine people died as invaders threw lighted matches after dousing 10 huts with petrol.

Mrs Mzobe dashed out holding her baby and shouted to her two toddlers to follow.

Her son Nosipho, 7, now in hospital, was stabbed with spears after being severely burnt — but escaped.

But his six-year-old brother, who had been sleeping in another room, was stopped at the door, assaulted and thrown screaming back into the flames.

Mrs Mzobe said the horrifying saga started just before dawn when they were awakened by gunfire. When they peeped through the windows, they found their area flooded by a searchlight.

"At first my husband and I thought it was a police raid because of the searchlight, but when they smashed doors and windows he decided to flee. He had to retreat and take cover under the bed when a shot went off just outside the door.

"He finally broke out and fled when they doused the house in petrol and the flames engulfed our house. I then picked up my daughter Lungelani, 18 months, and shouted for the two sons to follow", said Mrs Mzobe.

Mrs Mzobe has not seen her husband again but had heard that he was in hospital.

The massacre followed on the heels of the death of eight IFP supporters. Police have arrested suspects in both incidents.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose visited the area this week and a meeting of all chiefs on November 1 was announced.

ANC sources were not optimistic about the possibility of the IFP meeting being successful as previous attempts ended in failure.

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Natal on a knife-edge

■ The township killing fields of Natal are "veld firing" into the rural areas. And this could be the final nudge into a full-scale civil war, says KwaZulu Minister of Health Ben Ngubane. By **GRAHAM SPENCE**, Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — Statistics show that 64 Inkatha Freedom Party members, including 15 chiefs and community leaders, have been murdered in military-style operations during the past three months. Angry IFP officials have claimed that if these victims were ANC members, the outcry would be overwhelming. As it is, the deaths have largely gone unnoticed.

"We're at a critical situation," said Dr Ngubane. "The police are stretched to the limit and cannot protect us. Our options are stark: either we run for cover or we defend ourselves. Obviously we are opting for the latter."

Dr Ngubane, a medical doctor and one of the most respected members of the KwaZulu cabinet, says there is now overwhelming evidence that the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) is responsible for the recent attacks. He said "anyone" could deduce that the military precision was far too sophisticated to be the work of radical youths or criminals.

"Our information is that highly mobile, highly efficient MK members, dressed in SADF or police uniforms, are based in from the Transkei. They move quickly, digging up hidden arms caches, killing community leaders and whoever else is in the way, bury their guns again, and then flee back across the border. Whenever arrests have been made, those convicted have almost all claimed to be ANC members. Also the SADF apparently has evidence that MK is being integrated into and trained by the Transkei Defence Force, at South African taxpayers' expense. This was exposed, albeit in an obtuse way, by the New Nation newspaper which is hardly sympathetic to the IFP."

Dr Ngubane said they were organising vulnerable IFP communities into self defence units, which would be activated in the event of an attack. He said this would be purely for defence, not for counter-attacks.

"Sadly, our people have little trust in the police anymore. We do not want to break the law, but it may come to the time when we have no option."

Asked if he foresaw a situation where peasants armed with sticks and spears would be defending their families against AK gunmen, Dr Ngubane said that was "already happening".

"If you kill community leaders, that community becomes rudderless and this is where the ANC will try to step in and wrest control."

"But the miracle is that even where people have been terrorised, there has been no loss of support for the IFP."

"The ANC say they will win at the ballot box in Natal/KwaZulu. Why then are they killing our people? They would not have to if they truly believed they would win."

He said this was one of the prime reasons for the IFP demand that MK be disbanded. "Natal Midlands ANC leader

Reggie Hadebe says if MK were disbanded they would become 'loose cannons', instead of operating within ANC structures. Consequently we must assume that the recent massacres of IFP leaders are on ANC orders."

However, Dr Ngubane said their information was that the alleged ANC offensive had backfired, and "done more recruitment" for the IFP than they had managed to do themselves recently.

"The difference between the IFP and the ANC is that we operate on the ground. Our branch leaders live with their

communities, they share in their sufferings. We do not have an elitist group, like the ANC leaders who live in wealthy suburbs. This may be detrimental to us in westernised propaganda, but we are a roots party. And we are prepared to contest this through the ballot box."

Regarding accusations of IFP "ethnicity" as a Zulu party, Dr Ngubane said the ANC was in itself ethnically based. "In their map of a new South Africa they have drawn up a Xhosaland which they call Kei. Their poets write about it, there are songs about it — it's

basically their homeland. They mustn't come and play games with the IFP about this. If anything, with their vicious attacks on KwaZulu, they have done more to foster ethnicity than any other party."

"That's why they're targeting KwaZulu. The British said last century that when they defeated the Zulus, they would win South Africa. The ANC believes the same, but it's not going to happen."

However, he said although South Africa was already involved in a low-intensity civil war, he did not believe this

would escalate into a full blooded conflict. "We are working day and night to prevent this. I don't think that the rest of the world will allow it to happen."

What then is the bottom line for peace?

"The ANC must realise it is not the sole spokesman for oppressed South Africans. Once they acknowledge this, we will be able to talk and work with them."

"Also the ANC cannot persist with their concept of centralism. KwaZulu/Natal will sim-

ply not accept it: there is no doubt that federalism is the solution in a diverse country such as ours."

"I also believe that when people, particularly those at the frontline of violence, are persuaded that there actually are prospects for genuine peace with a revitalised economy, more jobs, more schools and homes and a chance for a better life, the hatchet on both sides will be buried."

"Our people are indeed intensely angry. But they are also sick and tired of burying their loved ones."

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This was the parliamentary session the NP will try to forget as soon as possible. It was not necessary, nobody wanted it and it has damaged party morale. **JOHN MacLENNAN** and **DAVID BREIER** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff look back on events.

De Klerk DeKline - a disaster!

FOR President De Klerk the short session of parliament was one unmitigated disaster.

His fellow-Nationalists are now rapidly losing confidence in him as he limps from one crisis to another.

Nat MPs returning home after the disastrous session privately expressed their growing unhappiness at the way the De Klerk government was floundering against the African National Congress. De Klerk is being seen increasingly as a lame duck president losing the will to govern.

When he announced the session he hoped to place pressure on the ANC. The idea was that they would be pushed into reaching early agreement on a range of measures which would make transitional arrangements possible later this year.

But the ANC would not play. As a result the short session became even shorter. That legislation was not even produced and parliament was adjourned two days ahead of schedule.

In a defensive speech, Mr De Klerk turned on his critics in parliament and said there was a need to talk out the issues, that the people could not be silenced and that MPs — as their representatives — had a right to be there.

But his critics point to the fact that he had just wound up the congress season, addressing NP audi-

ences in Durban, Kempton Park, East London and Bloemfontein. The people had received every chance to talk out those issues.

Once committed to the session, Mr De Klerk had no alternative but to press ahead. A cancellation would have been regarded as an admission that the NP had blundered in trying to put the heat on the ANC.

Parliament, with two exceptions, was faced with a mini programme of inconsequential legislation. Both exceptions caused the government great embarrassment.

The Constitution Amendment Bill failed to go through the first time because the NP-controlled House of Representatives did not provide the requisite majority when it was put to the vote. Government had to introduce the measure a second time this week.

The normally well-oiled Nat machine ground to a halt again when the controversial Further Indemnity Bill failed to pass through the House of Delegates. Now Mr De Klerk has had to refer it to the President's Council in the face of opposition in his own caucus.

The party ends the session more rattled than when it started. Nat MPs hold that the "Record of Understanding" ratified by Mr De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela at their summit on September 25 left the grassroots as well as MPs feeling out of step with the leadership.

The session provided Mr De Klerk with the opportunity to stiffen the troops. He did so in caucus meetings. In his speeches in Parliament it was

clear he was talking to nobody more than to his constituency.

NP MPs are now claiming they have a clear indication of party strategy and direction. Once again they feel part of a family, they say, and will be able to explain to restive NP members just what De Klerk seems to be getting up to.

But in spite of that assertion, there is absolutely no good news to report. The session cost millions and little was achieved. The NP also had the unusual experience of failing to pass two bills.

As the Nat MPs left for home, or for overseas trips as members of study groups, they did not go as winners.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht twisted the knife when he said events at parliament showed the NP had become isolated and weak.

"The tables have been turned on the NP. The collapse of Codesa and the federalism talks, the non-appearance of interim government legislation, the failure of the Amnesty Bill and the rumours of deep disquiet among NP MPs and rank and file supporters have illustrated the NPs weakness and obvious obeisance to the ANC.

"In terms of the Record of Understanding co-signed with the ANC, the government was clearly desperate to pass the indemnity legislation. Its toying with parliament and the consequent waste of taxpayers' money has sullied this country's proud parliamentary traditions."

It is being seen as yet another de-

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Nats blame Coetsee for defeat

SOURCES in the National Party are blaming Mr Kobie Coetsee for the defeat of the Further Indemnity Bill in parliament and President De Klerk's subsequent humiliation in being forced to put the measure to the President's Council.

The Bill will be passed by the overwhelming NP majority in the PC, but not even his party wants the legislation in its present form. Mr De Klerk has already given notice that amended legislation will be introduced next year.

It is also likely that the amended legislation would have been approved in parliament if it had been made available for discussion at standing committee level in time.

NP sources note that Mr Coetsee's department now has a record of producing legislation in the final days of parliament, as shown in the past three sessions. As a result, some of it failed and other Bills had to be postponed.

One NP source said: "What happened this week has caused unnecessary criticism of the party.

"If the legislation had been handled the way it should have been handled,

■ Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee is the focus of Nationalist anger because of the ham-handed way he handled the controversial indemnity legislation. **JOHN MacLENNAN** reports.

then this could have been avoided.

"Minister Coetsee is competent in that he has a good legal brain, but he has shown lack of concentration. This has caused a strong sense of irritation and frustration in the party.

"The Bill could have been debated much earlier without the unholy pressure we have been experiencing."

The measure, described by the Democratic Party's Mr Tony Leon as a "charter for crooks, criminals and assassins", enables the government to indemnify those not covered in earlier agreements with the ANC and is seen as an attempt by the government to sanction secretly the crimes of those involved in State dirty tricks.

Legal advisers worked what one MP described as "barbaric hours" in preparing about 25 amendments in the hope these would make the legislation acceptable.

Mr Leon said: "The secret 'Star Chamber' created by this Bill is simply the precursor to fully fledged Nuremberg trials in a future South Africa. I predict that if today's Bill is passed, we will be inviting a victor's retribution on the electorally vanquished in the new South Africa."

The ANC has rejected the measure.

Mr Coetsee went to extraordinary lengths to get the Bill passed. The NP was assured of getting the Bill through both the House of Assembly and the House of Representatives, where it has majorities. But opposition in the House of Delegates would mean that the legislation would fail.

There was division in the HoD's ruling Solidarity Party on the Bill. The opposition National People's Party was not in principle opposed to it, but only to the rush in which it was introduced.

Mr Coetsee then tried to sway

them when he addressed members of both parties together for nearly two hours on Wednesday night.

He said the Bill was only an extension of an understanding reached previously with the ANC and wanted to know why the HoD — which has supported the government in the past — was not willing to do so now.

What he did now know was that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had called Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy on Monday and asked him to reject the Bill. It is not known whether he called NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi as well.

But Mr Coetsee was rebuffed and the NP then started white-anting both parties.

NP sources said they received assurances from members of both the NPP and Solidarity that they would help get the Bill passed by absenting themselves during the vote, abstaining or voting 'yes'.

In the end the behind-the-scenes manoeuvre failed, but the vote was close: 17 noes, 10 ayes and four abstentions. Fourteen MPs were also absent when the vote was taken.

Nats to move for Delegates control after Bill defeat

JOHN MacLENNAN

Weekend Argus Political Staff

NATIONALISTS are set to take over control of the House of Delegates following their humiliating parliamentary defeat this week over the controversial Further Indemnity Bill.

The loss is being seen as a victory for ANC leader Nelson Mandela over President De Klerk.

The NP was assured majorities in both the House of Assembly and the House of Representatives. The fate of the Bill therefore depended entirely on a Yes vote in the House of Delegates, but Mr Mandela's intervention in calls to Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy ensured it was rejected.

Now Mr De Klerk has been forced to take the humiliating route of pushing the measure through the President's Council.

But he has decided he will not be thwarted again by a House which he regarded as an ally and has now given the long awaited go-ahead for the NP to take over the Delegates.

The NP is confident it can easily muster the 23 defections it needs to become the majority party. Natal leader Mr George Bartlett has had talks about the future of at least 18 MPs who want to join the NP.

Among them is National People's Party leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi as well as the four members of the Minister's Council. But there will be no home for Mr Rajbansi in the NP. The possibility of his membership was apparently discussed in committee. An NP source said: "Ninety percent of the committee said if he was allowed to join then they would leave."

The extraordinary tussle for influence between the ANC and the NP in parliament this week surfaced when the controversial Further Indemnity Bill ran into trouble in standing committee.

At that stage the NPP was not in principle opposed to the Bill but only to the rush in which it was being introduced. There was also a division in Solidarity.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee then tried to sway them when he addressed members of both parties together for nearly two hours on Wednesday night.

He said the Bill was only an extension of an understanding reached previously with the ANC and wanted to know why the Delegates — which has slavishly supported the government in the past — was not willing to do so now.

What he did not know was that Mr Mandela had called Mr Reddy on Monday and asked him to reject the Bill.

Mr Coetsee was rebuffed and the NP then started white-anting both parties. NP sources said they received assurances from members of both the NPP and Solidarity that they would help in getting the Bill passed by absenting themselves during the vote, abstaining or voting yes.

In the end the behind-the-scenes manoeuvre failed, but the vote was perilously close: 17 no-votes, 10 ayes and four abstentions. Fourteen MPs were also absent when the vote was taken.

The abstentions came from the four ministers in the House — Messrs Reddy, P I Devan, Baldeo Dookie and Kisten Rajoo — who were clearly trying to please both the ANC and the NP. But Solidarity's chief whip later rose with the transparent excuse that the four had not understood the electronic voting system and their abstentions are now reflected in the minutes as no votes.

NP sources said Mr De Klerk wants no more embarrassments in the House of Delegates and has therefore approved a takeover. This is likely to occur at the start of the session next year.

Until now the NP has resisted them on board because they formed part of the NP alliance at Codesa and had equal say with the main players. But the NP will be willing to sacrifice this because their clout will be much diminished in the more streamlined forum which is likely to replace Codesa.

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■ ANC leader Nelson Mandela has infuriated many people in Britain by expressing support for the IRA's "anti-colonialism" campaign. JEREMY BROOKS of the Weekend Argus Bureau in London reports ...

Mandela sparks UK fury

ANC leader backs IRA — as bombs rock London

LONDON. — Blithely hopping about a political minefield, Nelson Mandela chatted in Britain about life, love, music ... and the Irish Republican Army's moral standing.

As the ANC leader spoke of his support for the group and its "struggle against colonialism", the 13th bomb in a terror campaign running up towards Christmas exploded in a London pub, killing one person and injuring several.

Politicians expressed outrage at Mr Mandela's comments.

Elsewhere, millions of pale British men ditched their cornflakes and crossed their legs. Mr Mandela had warmed to another theme — circumcision.

The bizarre interview with pop star Bob Geldof, filmed more than a month ago, was screened daily in short segments on the recently launched *Big Breakfast* TV Show.

The singer tackled Mr Mandela on ANC support of the IRA. The warm rapport quickly frosted.

Geldof: When you came out of jail, some of the things you said seemed slightly naive ... endorsing people like the IRA.

Mandela: The enemies of Europe are not my enemies.

Geldof: But ...

Mandela (waving his finger): Just listen! The IRA is conducting a struggle for self-assertion. They do not want Britain, a foreign country, to run a colony.

Geldof: But the majority of people there (in Northern Ireland) do want them there.

Mandela: Yes ...

Geldof: They get to vote every four years.

Mandela: There is a large number of people who do not believe what we're saying. Nevertheless, we are convinced that what we are saying is correct. We don't want any form of colonialism.

Geldof: I don't agree ...

Mandela: Wherever colonialism is found, we support those who fight it. People should have self-expression.

Geldof: I come from the south of Ireland and I can't accept your analysis.

Geldof said he could not accept any campaign of violence in which "innocents" — ordinary civilians — would be killed.

Mr Mandela replied: "In any conflict civilians must be hit by crossfire. That has happened throughout history. It is sufficient that we sought to avoid it and that by and large we succeeded."

He added that once the South African government banned the ANC, all channels which people could use to deal with their political grievances were closed.

"They surely never expected us to fold our arms. They must have realised that once we were closed we would look for other methods of asserting ourselves."

But it was on circumcision that Mr Mandela had a flushed Geldof sitting on the edge of his chair, shifting uncomfortably and crossing his legs.

Mr Mandela described how he was taken up into the mountains for three weeks with other boys of his tribe. They were made to kneel naked, with a blanket laid on the ground between their knees.

Mr Mandela, as the son of a chief and part of a royal house, had the son of a commoner next to him.

"The circumcision expert will come round with a sharp assegai. The commoner must be cut first. If the assegai is poisoned, or bewitched, then he will die first."

"He catches your foreskin, cutting in a two-way motion, this way and that (demonstrating)."

Geldof, fanning his face with his notes and glancing at the cameraman, asked: "Did you scream? Didn't it hurt?"

Mr Mandela replied: "That is the point. Everyone is looking at you to find out which of the boys is the bravest. You must stay absolutely unmoved."

Geldof remarked: "I wouldn't like to be at the end of the line. The blade must be blunt by then."

Geldof, formerly of the punk Boomtown Rats, blanched as Mr Mandela listed his musical interests: Bach, Handel — and Abba. It was like dropping a bomb on the studio.

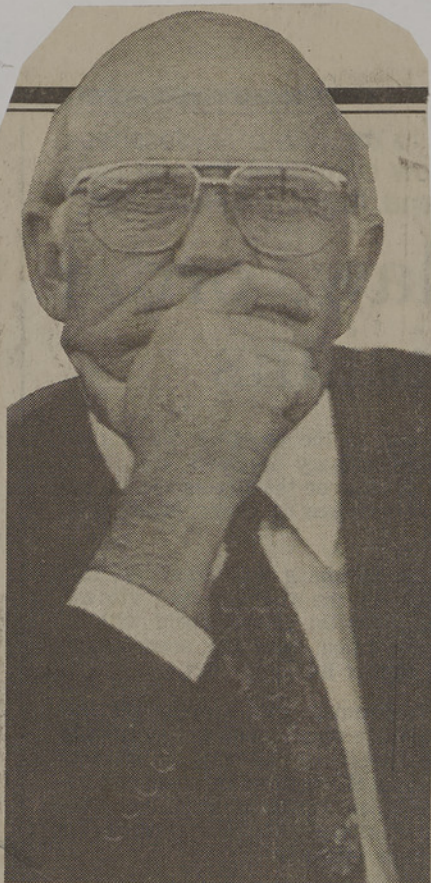
"You actually like Abba?" Geldof asked with amazement. "Now you've blown it. I was just getting impressed."

Mr Mandela said his first marriage had fallen apart because of opposition by his wife, a devout Seventh Day Adventist, to politics.

The IRA discussion provoked a roar from rightwing politicians. Tory Mr Nicholas Winterton said he was appalled: "It shows how naive Mr Mandela really is."

"Mr Geldof has identified his ignorance. I don't think any rational person could support terrorism, particularly when it is completely mindless and kills innocent people."

Mr Winston Churchill, MP, added: "It is quite clear Mr Mandela has never been to Ulster."



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□ DE KLERK

Has he lost the will to govern?

feat for the Nats at the hands of the ANC. Nat MPs are convinced that Mr De Klerk suffered a similar defeat at last month's summit with Mr Mandela.

Mr De Klerk tried to rally his forces through hardline ANC-bashing speeches at the recent Cape Nat congress and the opening of parliament.

This was after intense criticism in closed Nat meetings which emerged into the open at the congress and in a highly critical article in the official Nat Cape organ, *Die Burger*.

But after the government's inept display in the short session, worried Nat MPs have gone home voicing even less confidence in Mr De Klerk's ability to stand up to the ANC.

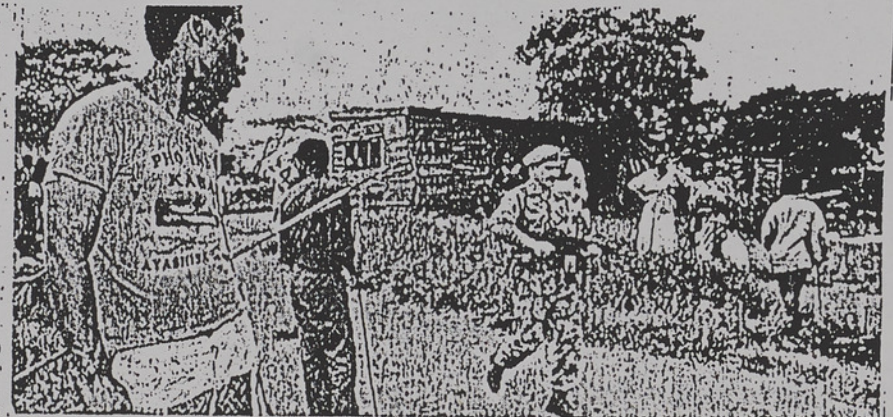
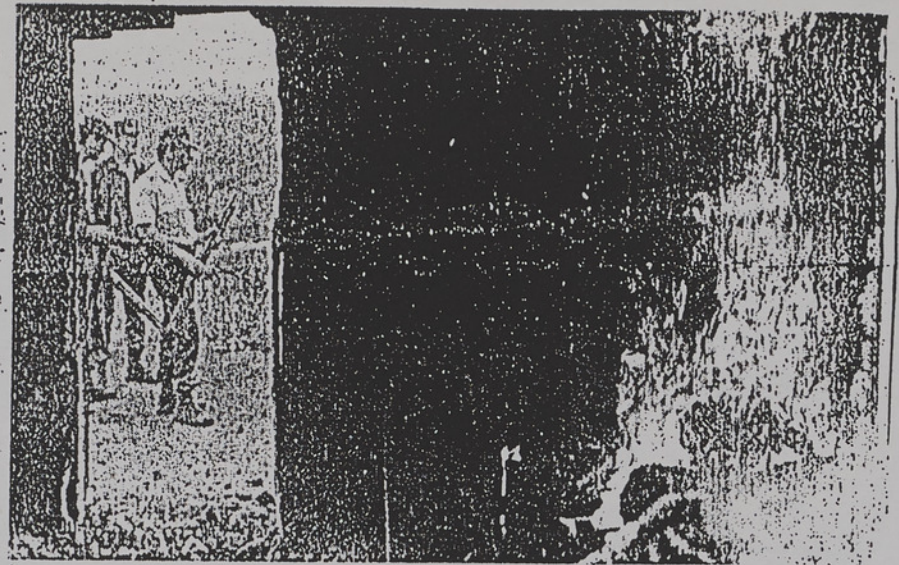
The government bungled the Constitution Amendment Bill, at first failing to achieve the required majority. Then the Indian house vetoed the Indemnity Bill.

Mr De Klerk, apparently under pressure from the security establishment, is trying to force the bill through the President's Council.

Democratic Party Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon, who has favoured closer contact with the NP, said he was worried at Mr De Klerk's decline.

"The thing that worries me about Mr De Klerk is that he is paying the costs of any reformist of a profoundly authoritarian structure. He is trying to change the state in mid-course. History is littered with examples of men like him — Kerensky and Gorbachev in Russia, and now De Klerk."

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□ SCENES FROM THE KILLING FIELDS: Violence in Natal is spreading like a veld fire and fears are growing that it could blaze into a full-scale civil war.

Who in ANC could stand accused?

■ In taking the first tentative steps this week to exorcise the ghosts of its brutal detention camps, the ANC left more questions hanging in the air than were answered by the report of its investigative commission.

BRENDAN SEERY, Weekend Argus Reporter

NAMES of ANC members implicated in torture and brutalities at camps in Angola and elsewhere have been forwarded to Nelson Mandela, but the organisation says it will not make the names public until those accused have had a chance to defend themselves.

However, from the accounts of former ANC detainees, from the ANC's own report and from evidence given by ANC dissidents given to the Douglas Commission of Inquiry set up by the International Freedom Foundation, Weekend Argus has pieced together a list of names of ANC officials who may possibly stand accused:

■ Mzwandile "Mzwai" Piliso, an ex-communist, ran the ANC's security department at the time of the worst excesses in the late 1970s and early 1980s. During this time scores, if not hundreds, of detainees were brutalised, and even killed in the notorious Quatro camp in northern Angola.

Mr Piliso, who headed the feared security special force, Mbokodo, admitted to the ANC commission that he had been present when suspected assassination plotters were interrogated in 1981.

He is singled out repeatedly by former prisoners as being responsible for the excesses of the security department at Quatro and elsewhere.

Now effectively sidelined in the leadership, Mr Piliso was relieved of his security job in 1985 following the investigation and report of the ANC's Stuart Commission into the causes and effects of



□ JOE MODISE ...
"at interrogations"



□ ALFRED NZO ...
"saw Quatro"

the 1984 mutiny. He is now in the organisation's manpower department.

■ Andrew Masondo, a former Robben Island prisoner who is now the ANC's Chief Representative in Uganda. In the mid-1980s he was the organisation's National Political Commissar.

Accused of involvement in the running of Quatro, Mr Masondo is seen by many former camp inmates as the man who ordered detentions, tortures and executions and imposed the unflaggingly cruel way of life in the prison camps.

■ Joe Modise, head of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Evidence from a number of former detainees places Mr Modise and his wife at interrogations of dissidents, and also confirms that he was a regular visitor to Quatro.

■ Chris Hani, MK Chief of Staff, and Oliver Tambo ANC president are said to have visited Quatro. Mr Hani was apparently appalled by conditions at Quatro and tried to have them changed.

■ One former detainee also claims SA Communist Party stalwart and former MK Chief of Special Operations Joe Slovo visited Quatro on one occasion — allegedly at night.

■ Former ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo and the late SACP leader Moses Mabhida, also visited Quatro.

■ Peter Seelso, Regional Chief of Staff in MK in Angola; National Executive Committee and Security Department directorate member John Motshabi; and ANC representative in Tanzania Reddi Mazimbu are accused of being at a firing squad execution.

■ Livingstone Gaza, commander at Quibaxe camp, allegedly ordered two desperately ill prisoners to be "finished off".

■ Thami Zulu — otherwise known as Muzi Ngwenya — ran Camalundi camp in the Malanje province of Angola at the time dissident Oupa Moloi was beaten to death during interrogation. Ironically, Zulu himself died later of suspected poisoning after being held in custody for 14 months by the ANC's security department.

■ Morris Seabelo, a Soviet-trained intelligence officer, was one-time commander of Quatro and ordered many assaults. He died in Lesotho in 1985 in circumstances as yet not fully explained.

■ The head of the ANC's Intelligence Department, Sizakhele Sigxashe, was present with Mr Seabelo in a military tribunal which summarily ordered the executions of mutineers at Pango camp in Angola in May 1984.

■ Sizwe Mkhonto, trained at the Moscow Party Institute, was also a brutal Quatro camp commander. He is believed to now be with the ANC's security department in the PWV region.

■ Africa Nkwe, trained by the Soviets as an intelligence officer, was a senior commander and commissar at Quatro. He was allegedly involved in ordering abuse and assaults. Also believed to be serving in the ANC's PWV security department.

■ Dan Mashigo, Quatro's Chief of Staff, who allegedly ordered floggings so severe that at least one of the victims died.

■ "Jomo", reportedly known as JB Mavuso and who is now a security guard for Mr Mandela, allegedly beat inmates with electrical cable.

BRENDAN SEERY
Weekend Argus Reporter

QUATRO was set up in 1979 as a "re-education" facility for people in danger of losing their way in the struggle. It quickly developed into a brutal detention centre run by heartless young guards fiercely loyal to their superiors in the ANC's security department, known as Mbokodo.

Its first inmates were largely Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) guerrillas, who had been too outspoken about what they perceived to be a lack of direction from the military leadership and alleged corruption within senior ANC ranks. Rumours of diamond smuggling, car theft and drug running were rife in the organisation's ranks in the late 1970s.

The security department's crackdown on dissenters was to grow later into what MK Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani himself described as an "atmosphere of fear and paranoia" about the presence of South African agents and infiltrators. There is no doubt that South Africa's intelligence and military communities did manage to penetrate deeply into the ANC's ranks — in some cases probably up to very high levels.

The treatment of dissidents at Quatro soon filtered back to MK guerrillas in Angolan rural camps, who were becoming increasingly disillusioned from the early 1980s onwards.

In August 1983, a full MK brigade under the command of Mr Hani — a veteran of previous MK operations — was deployed alongside the MPLA to drive Unlita out of Angola's Malanje province. After initial successes, during which the MK fighters impressed Soviet officers attached to the MPLA, the South Africans began to take casualties in Unlita ambushes.

More and more of the MK cadres began to speak out about

Ghosts of Quatro and the Viana revolt

■ Quatro and Viana are names many in the ANC leadership would like to forget, symbolising as they do the organisation's dark past.

their role against Unlita, demanding of their leaders that they be deployed fighting "the real enemy" inside South Africa.

There was also strong criticism of the allegedly "easy" lifestyle of some of the top leaders, chief among them being MK commander Mr Joe Modise.

Things came to a head in January 1984, when guerrillas at Kangandala in Malanje province began firing their weapons into the sky as a sign of protest. Mr Hani met the protesters but the then president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, refused to do so.

Demands put forward to Mr Hani included the disbanding of the security department, the dismantling of Quatro. There were also demands that more efforts should be made to pursue the war inside South Africa.

The following month, February 1984, disgruntled cadres from all over Malanje province headed for Luanda to make their demands plain to the ANC leadership. Some accounts say that as many as 90 percent of the

ANC's fighters in Malanje were on the side of the dissidents.

They congregated at Viana camp, on the outskirts of the city, and made some forays into Luanda to capture ANC senior officials to come and talk to the dissidents.

Other ANC members from the organisation's offices in the city went to join the mutineers. One account says Mr Hani appeared on the side of the loyalists, firing at those who were trying to join the mutineers.

Mr Modise was refused entry to Viana when he attempted to negotiate, but later Mr Hani was given a list of demands, including one for a national consultative conference, the last of which had been held in 1969.

The ANC hierarchy then enlisted the help of the Angolans and the Presidential Brigade in Luanda was deployed to encircle Viana. There was an exchange of fire in which at least one Angolan and one MK man were killed. An Angolan armoured personnel carrier was set ablaze during a hit from an RPG-7 rocket.

Eventually, many of the rebels handed over their weapons to the Angolans after being assured that the ANC's security men would likewise be disarmed. But the security men were not and, with the Angolans standing by, the ANC leadership resumed control. They ordered those considered as ringleaders to be taken away. For many this meant up to nine months in Luanda central prison and then years in Quatro.

The Viana mutiny was minor in terms of bloodshed, but it cut to the core of the ANC. On the one hand, vengeance was exacted on those perceived to have been involved, while on the other, their complaints were what probably led to the hasty calling of the 1985 Consultative Conference in Kabwe, Zambia.

Pressure on govt as ANC admits brutality

By **MONWABISI
NOMADOLO**

THE ANC's recently released commission report on "staggering brutalities" in its detention camps has drawn widespread reaction.

The report is likely to feature prominently in any future elections and has put pressure on the government to "hang its dirty linen in public".

ANC president Nelson Mandela said this week the organisation accepted "collective responsibility" for the abuses.

Peter Vale, director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the

Western Cape, said while it was good for the ANC to have instituted investigations, it now put pressure on the government to follow suit.

Vale added that the ANC's initiative set an "important precedent".

"In a way the ANC is saying to the government 'If we can do it, why can't you?'," Vale said.

The conservative US-based International Freedom Foundation said in a statement: "When elections are held in the not-too-distant future, the names of individuals directly involved in severe human rights transgressions may well appear on ANC elec-

tion lists." CP 25/10/92 However, he said it was "unfair" that innocent men like Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela - whom he described as men of integrity - had to assume responsibility for acts they never committed.

Twala vowed that he would not rest until those involved in atrocities were "purged" from the organisation.

In a statement, Azapo said though it was aware that there were infiltrations into liberation movements by the "white settler colonialist regime", the organisation did not believe the ANC should use that as "... an excuse for brutal actions against innocent people".

'I'll sue Hani'

ANC dissident Mwezi Twala announced that he intends instituting a civil claim for defamation against SACP secretary-general Chris Hani.

Twala, leader of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, said his claims of massive torture in ANC detention camps had been vindicated.

He said Hani had accused him of "stealing blankets in Mozambique" and had implicated him in the killing of ANC mutineers in 1984.

16/1/11

THE CITIZEN 25/8/92

Necklaced

MAADANI. — Echo...
police on Sunday found
the body of a man who
had been necklaced at
Ngoleni.

Capt Bala Nalduu said
yesterday the body was
found at 9 am. A car tyre
had apparently been
placed on the man before
he had been doused with
petrol and set alight.

A burnt-out car was
found about 500 m away.

— Sapa.

Digging into the entrails

CITY PRESS 25-10-92

By QUINTON RHODES

THE ANC's report of the commission of inquiry into abuses of power reads in a depressingly familiar way.

Brutality and the stupidity of unbridled power mixed in more or less equal measure; deprivation of food and sleep; long periods in the hell of solitary confinement; detention for periods of up to four years without ever resulting in a trial; extended tortures; confessions extracted by torture including suffocation of the victims, burying them alive, hanging them upside down and beating the soles of their feet and burning them with candles.

But mainly the report lists a bread-and-butter brutality of often unprovoked beatings which just go on and on.

It reads pretty much like the news on any given day in past decades. Only this time the shoe is on the other foot: this is a report commissioned by the ANC into allegations of torture within ANC prison camps. The torturers are not the security police but ANC cadres and the victims not those suspected of furthering the aims of the ANC, but those within the ranks suspected of furthering the aims of the apartheid State.

The irony is inescapable. But there is a difference: The report of the "Commission of Enquiry into Complaints by Former African National Congress Prisoners and Detainees" was commissioned by the organisation itself.

And, though responding to public concern - it is in part an exercise in damage control - it does not read as a cover-up of the order we have come to expect from government-appointed commissions; it finds the organisation guilty as charged.

At least within its own

terms of reference, the report - prepared by advocates Louis Skweyiya and Gilbert Marcus and ANC functionary Bridget Mabandla with evidence presented by an independent lawyer - pulls few punches.

Prompted by allegations made by a group of 32 former ANC detainees, who later constituted themselves as the fiercely anti-ANC Returned Exiles Committee under the patronage of Inkatha and the leadership of suspected police agent Patrick Hlongwane, the commission invited both loyal ANC members and dissidents to present evidence of abuses in detention.

While the REC refused officially to participate in what it labelled a "tame commission", the evidence of 11 of its members, as well as that of five serving ANC members and various members of the ANC's leadership corps, was heard.

Largely because of the consistency of evidence presented before it, the commission was left in no doubt at all that the substance of the allegations were true. It found unambiguously that serious violations routinely took place in the prison camps despite the ANC's commitment to the Geneva Convention and its own code of conduct - which specifies that detention should aim at re-education rather than punishment.

The code also states that torture should never be practised, that life and limb should at all times be respected, and that the principles of justice should at all times guide ANC members' conduct.

Yet the picture which emerges of the ANC's specially constituted Quatro camp - set up to house those suspected of being agents of the SA regime - is of a place of unrelenting and unredeemed horror.

Food was inadequate,



Names of those implicated

THE Weekly Mail this week published a list of names of people it said were involved in abuses in the ANC's camps.

- **Mzwandile "Mzwai" Piliso**, NEC member until last year, head of the security department until 1985, and now head of manpower;
- **Andrew Masondo**, NEC member and SACP central committee member until 1985, now chief representative in Uganda;
- **Thami Zulu (Muzi Ngwenya)**, former commander of Camalundi camp and MK head in Swaziland. He was detained from 1988-9 and died of suspected poisoning soon after his release;
- **Morris Seabelo**, the one-time Quatro camp commander and chief of security in Angola who died mysteriously in Lesotho in 1985;

mask" in which a hollowed out pawpaw shell was pushed over the face of the detainee until

breathing was impossible. Another practice - psychologically as much as physically cruel - was

- **"Africa Nkwe" (Oupa Shadrack Khumalo)**, former Quatro commissar and now a security official in the ANC's PWV headquarters.
- **"Cyril Burton"**, former Quatro official;
- **"Sizwe Mkhonto"**, former Quatro commander and now in the ANC's directorate of intelligence and security (PWV region);
- **Griffiths Seboni**, former senior Quatro camp official;
- **"Itumeleng"**, senior security department official who once worked in Quatro;
- **"MK Doctor"**, MK security official in Tanzania;
- **MB Mavuso ("Jomo")**, currently Nelson Mandela's bodyguard and based at the ANC's Shell House headquarters;

known as "slaughter" in which a detainee was thrown into a pit. As he scabbled to get out, the

guards would throw heaps of soil over him.

Evidence was also presented of detainees being

forced to crawl through colonies of red ants, sometimes with pork fat smeared on their bodies to make the ants even more savage.

Then there were the beatings, often on the soles of the victims' feet, where all the nerves in the body terminate, or burning a victims' soles with candles, and the near drownings ...

The guards at Quatro may not have had the specially constructed professional torture equipment their counterparts in Pretoria possessed, but they improvised with gusto and they proved themselves to be most enthusiastic amateurs.

Such abuses were justified by the need to extract information and confessions from the detainees. And as the report notes, such confessions flowed free and fast, so unrelenting were the means used to arrive at them.

And, as the report again notes, the confessions were as often as not useless: instances are recorded of detainees confessing to "killing" people they had never met or who were still very much alive. In one memorable instance, a detainee was shown to have confessed (under his nom de guerre) to having murdered himself.

Considering the evidence the commissioners conclude with a comprehensive set of recommendations.

These include:

- That an independent structure be set up to investigate and act upon abuses not dealt with by the commission and the whole matter be laid open, as State President De Klerk would say, to the bone;
- That alleged murders and disappearances within the prison camps be further investigated;
- That the names of those detainees who were never brought to trial be immediately and unequivocally cleared;
- That financial compensation be provided to victims of prison camp abuses, and medical and psychiatric care be made available;
- That those guards and ANC members guilty of violations of human rights be identified and made accountable for their actions. Especially at issue here are serving members of the ANC's security department frequently named by witnesses before the commission (see box story); and
- That the ANC be seen to be making public the shame in its history and thereby showing its accountability to the public.

The report is in many ways a fine and honest document, but we should not therefore suspend criticism. The only offender named is Mzwai Piliso, head of security until 1986. Present incumbents in senior positions are given a more or less clean bill of health, and, though the report does note failure to root out abuses and the condoning of abuses by the leadership, one is still left with a sense that a certain amount of scapegoating is being performed.

At the same time the fact that the ANC has refused to release the names of offenders, while understandable in the short term - as the report notes, they have not been given an opportunity to defend themselves - will need to be reversed if the organisation is really to come out smelling of roses.

It should not be forgotten that whether or not it was designed to do this, the report has served the ANC very effectively.

Firstly, the release has largely pre-empted and neutralised the effect of an avowedly hostile commission of inquiry being sponsored by the right wing International Freedom Foundation.

But more immediately, in the timing of its release, it has thrown into a sharp and unflattering relief attempts by De Klerk to push a general no-questions-asked amnesty through an uncharacteristically resistant tricameral parliament.

While De Klerk is seen to be trying to cover up the dark past of his security forces and government, the ANC is demonstrating its own willingness to seriously examine and redeem itself.

Meanwhile, De Klerk's undignified parliamentary *schlentering* has caused a drain of support from foreign governments who initially supported his reformist moves.

Ghosts that won't rest

Detention camps report leaves many questions hanging

Brendan Seery

In taking the first tentative steps this week to exorcise the ghosts of its brutal detention camps, the ANC left more questions hanging in the air than were answered by the report of its investigative commission.

A list of names of ANC members implicated in torture and brutalities at camps in Angola and elsewhere has been forwarded to Nelson Mandela, but the organisation says it will not reveal them until those accused have had a chance to defend themselves.

However, from accounts of former ANC detainees, from the ANC's own report and from evidence given by ANC dissidents to the Douglas Commission set up by the International Freedom Foundation, the Sunday Tribune has pieced together names of officials who may be involved in further investigations:

■ Mzwandile "Mzwai" Piliso, an ex-Communist who ran the ANC's security department at the time of the worst excesses in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when scores, if not hundreds, of detainees were brutalised and many died in the notorious "Quatro" camp in northern Angola.

Mr Piliso, who headed the feared security special force Mbokodo, admitted to the ANC commission he was present when suspected assassination plotters were interrogated in 1981. According to his evidence, the suspects were beaten on the soles of their feet because any other parts of the body "easily rupture".

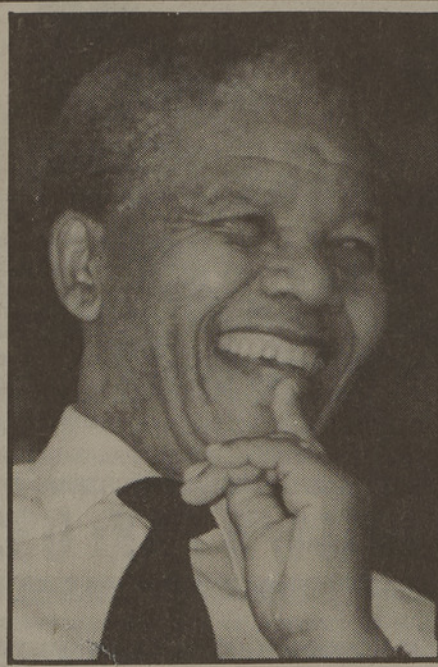
■ Andrew Masondo, a former Robben Island prisoner who is now the ANC's chief representative in Uganda, and who in the mid-1980s was the organisation's National Political Commissar. Accused of involvement in the running of Quatro, Mr Masondo is seen by many former camp inmates as the man who ordered detentions, tortures and executions.

Mr Masondo was responsible for the formation of an elite unit called the People's Defence Organisation, which was supposed to protect the ANC leadership, but used as a Gestapo/SS team to suppress dissent.

■ Joe Modise, the head of ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Evidence from a number of former detainees places Mr Modise and his wife at interrogations of dissidents, and also confirms he was a regular visitor to Quatro.

■ Chris Hani, the MK Chief of Staff. He appeared to come off well in the ANC commission report, having said he was appalled by conditions at Quatro and tried to have them changed. He also played a peace-making role in the Viana mutiny of 1984.

However, former Quatro detainee Alfred Kunene claims Mr Hani was present when four Quatro detainees were executed by firing squad.



Jeremy Brooks in London

Blithely hopping about a political minefield, Nelson Mandela chatted in Britain this week of life, love, music ... and the IRA's moral standing.

As the ANC leader spoke of his support for the group and its "struggle against colonialism", the 13th bomb in a terror campaign running up towards Christmas exploded in a London pub, killing a victim and injuring others.

MPs and politicians were still expressing outrage at Mr Mandela's comments. Elsewhere, millions of British men ditched their cornflakes and crossed their legs.

He had warmed to another theme — circumcision.

Segments of the bizarre talk with pop star Bob Geldof, filmed more than a month ago, were screened daily in short segments on the recently-launched Big Breakfast TV show. The singer tackled Mr Mandela on the ANC support of the IRA.

The warm rapport quickly frosted. Geldof: When you came out of jail, some of the things you said seemed slightly naive ... Endorsing people

ANC president Nelson Mandela

Breakfast show host Bob Geldof

NELSON ON THE BOB GELDOF SHOW

like the IRA.

Mandela: The enemies of Europe are not my enemies.

Geldof: But ...

Mandela (waving his finger): Just listen ... The IRA is conducting a struggle for self-assertion. They do not want Britain, a foreign country, to run a colony.

Geldof: But the majority of people there (in Northern Ireland) do want them there.

Mandela: Yes ...

Geldof: They get to vote every four years.

Mandela: There is a large number of people who do not believe what we're saying. Nevertheless we are convinced that what we are saying is correct. We don't want any form of colonialism.

Geldof: I don't agree ...

Mandela: Wherever colonialism is found, we support those who fight it. People should have self-expression.

Geldof: I come from the south of Ireland, and I can't accept your analysis.

Geldof said he could not accept any campaign of violence in which "innocents" — ordinary civilians — would be killed.

Mr Mandela replied: "In any con-

flict civilians must be hit by crossfire. That has happened throughout history. It is sufficient that we sought to avoid it, and that by and large we succeeded."

He added that once the government banned the ANC, all channels with which people could deal with their political grievances were closed.

"They surely never expected us to fold our arms. They must have realised that once we were closed we would look for other methods of asserting ourselves."

But it was on circumcision that Mr Mandela had a flushed Geldof sitting on the edge of his chair, shifting uncomfortably and crossing his legs.

Mr Mandela described how he was taken up into the mountains for three weeks with other boys of his tribe. They were made to kneel naked, with a blanket laid on the ground between their knees.

Mr Mandela, as the son of a chief and part of the royal house, had the son of a commoner alongside him.

"The circumcision expert will come round with a sharp assegai. The commoner must be cut first. If the assegai is poisoned, or bewitched, then he will die first."

"He catches your foreskin, cutting



Brendan Seery

QUATRO and Viana are names many in the ANC leadership would like to forget — symbolising as they do the organisation's dark past.

Quatro was set up in 1979 as a "re-education" facility for people in danger of losing their way in the struggle. It quickly developed into a brutal detention centre run by heartless young guards fiercely loyal to their superiors in the ANC's security department, known as Mbokodo.

Its first inmates were largely Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) guerrillas, who had been too outspoken about what they perceived to be a lack of direction from the military leadership and alleged corruption within senior ANC ranks — rumours of diamond smuggling, car theft and drug running were rife in the organisation's ranks in the late 1970s.

The security department's crackdown on dissenters was to grow later into what MK Chief of Staff Chris Hani himself described as an "atmosphere of fear and paranoia" about the presence of South African agents and infiltrators.

There is no doubt that South Africa's intelligence and military communities did manage to penetrate deeply into the ANC's ranks — in some cases probably up to very high levels.

The treatment of dissidents at Quatro soon filtered back to MK guerrillas in Angolan rural camps, who were becoming more disillusioned from the early 1980s onwards.

In August 1983, a full MK brigade under the command of Chris Hani — a veteran of previous MK operations — was deployed alongside the MPLA to drive Unita out of Angola's Malanje province. After initial successes, during which the MK fighters impressed Soviet officers attached to the MPLA, the South Africans began to take casualties in Unita ambushes.

More and more of the MK cadres began to speak out about their role against Unita, demanding of their leaders that they be deployed fighting "the real enemy" inside South Africa.

There was also strong criticism of the allegedly "easy" lifestyle of some of the top leaders, chief among them being MK commander Joe Modise.

Things came to a head in January 1984, when guerrillas at Kangandala in the Malanje province, began firing their weapons into the sky as a sign of protest. Chief of Staff Chris Hani met the protesters, but the then president of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, refused to do so.

Demands put forward to Mr Hani included the disbanding of the security department and the dismantling of Quatro. There were also demands that more efforts should be made to prosecute the war inside South Africa.

The following month, February 1984, disgruntled cadres from all over the Malanje province headed for Luanda to make their demands plain to the ANC leadership. Some accounts say that as many as 90 percent of the ANC's fighters in the Malanje were on the side of the dissidents.

They congregated at Viana camp, on the outskirts of the city, and made some forays into Luanda to capture ANC senior officials to come and talk to the dissidents. Other ANC members from the organisation's offices in the city went to join the mutineers.

One account says Mr Hani appeared on the side of the loyalists, firing at

Names they wish they could forget

those who were trying to join the mutineers.

Army commander Joe Modise was refused entry to Viana when he attempted to negotiate, but later Mr Hani was given a list of demands, including one for a national consultative conference, the last of which had been held in 1969.

The ANC hierarchy then enlisted the help of the Angolans and the Presidential Brigade in Luanda was deployed to encircle Viana. There was an exchange of fire, in which at least one Angolan and one MK man were killed and an Angolan armoured personnel carrier set ablaze by a hit from an RPG-7 rocket.

Eventually, many of the rebels handed over their weapons to the Angolans, after being assured that the ANC's security men would likewise be disarmed.

However, they were not and, with the Angolans standing by, the ANC leadership resumed control, ordering those considered as ringleaders to be taken away — for many this was first up to nine months in Luanda central prison and then years in Quatro.

The Viana mutiny was minor in terms of blood shed, but cut to the very core of the ANC.

On the one hand, vengeance was exacted on those perceived to have been involved, while on the other, their complaints were what probably led to the hasty calling of the 1985 Consultative Conference in Kabwe, Zambia.

Tambo remarked on gloomy conditions with little effect

■ Oliver Tambo, former ANC president, is also said to have made frequent visits to Quatro. He did, on occasions, comment on the gloomy conditions in the underground cells and about prisoners' food, but little was done.

■ One former detainee also claims South African Communist Party stalwart and former MK Chief of Special Operations Joe Slovo also visited Quatro on one occasion.

■ Former ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo and the late SA Communist Party leader, Moses Mabhida, also visited Quatro, but their visits left no apparent improvement.

■ Peter Seeiso, Regional Chief of Staff in MK in Angola, National Executive Committee and Security Department directorate member John Motshabi and ANC representative in Tanzania Reddi Mazimbu are all said to have been present at the same firing squad execution attended by Chris Hani.

Other ANC officials (many of them known only by their guerrilla names) are accused of direct involvement in brutalities:

■ Livingstone Gaza, commander at Quibaxe camp, who allegedly ordered two desperately ill prisoners "finished off".

■ Thami Zulu — otherwise known as Muzi Ngwenya — ran Camalundi camp in the Malanje province of Angola when dissident Oupa Moloi was beaten to death during interrogation. Zulu died later of suspected poisoning after being held for 14 months by the ANC's security department.

■ Morris Seabelo, a Soviet-trained intelligence officer, was a former commander of Quatro and ordered many assaults. He died in Lesotho in 1985 in circumstances not fully explained.

■ The head of the ANC's Intelligence Department, Eizakhele Sigxashe, was present with Seabelo in a military tribunal which summarily ordered the executions of mutineers at Hango

Camp in Angola in May 1984.

■ Sizwe Mkhonto, trained at the Moscow Party Institute, was also a Quatro camp commander. He is believed to be currently with the ANC's security department in the PWV region, or with the ANC headquarters staff in Johannesburg.

■ Africa Nkwe, trained by the Soviets as an intelligence officer, was a senior commander and commissar at Quatro, allegedly involved in ordering abuse and assaults. Also believed to be serving in the ANC's PWV security department.

■ Others known only as Mountain and Johnson, were also Quatro commanders.

■ Cyril Burton, Griffiths Seboni and "Itumuleng", the guerrilla names of members of the security department allegedly responsible for torture and assaults.

■ Dan Mashigo, Quatro's Chief of Staff, who allegedly ordered floggings.

■ Dexter Mbona, security chief at Quatro, who would tell detainees that the camp was a "rehabilitation centre" and then allowed them to be brutalised as prisoners.

■ A Quatro security guard named "Brian" — now allegedly employed by the SAP — who shot prisoner Alfred Kunene on two occasions with a Makarov pistol.

■ A man known as "The Professor" or "Pro" for short, who allegedly murdered a man called Vusi Nhlapo after forcing him into a metal container.

■ "Jomo", reportedly otherwise known as JB Mavusa, who is now a security guard for Mr Mandela, and who allegedly beat inmates with electrical cable.

■ Security guard George Zulu, also allegedly involved in electrical cable whippings.

■ Security guard "Donald", who allegedly beat to death an Indian prisoner named Jimmy.

NEWS ROUND-UP

ANC 'not capable of governing'

THE ANC "does not have the capacity to govern", a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee has conceded.

"There are no cadres ready to govern... we need to train them," said Thozamile Botha, who is head of the ANC's department of local and regional government and planning. His blunt words were delivered on Friday to delegates at a conference entitled "Towards a democratic sub-national government".

Mr Botha said it was not enough to be able to run institutions; the ANC also had to "run them efficiently. We have to empower ourselves to be able to enter the system".

"We need town clerks, heads of departments, engineers and councillors who know how to take decisions... and for all these things people need training."

Alf's tale of two cities

ENGLISH pensioner Alf Whybrow booked a flight to Panama, Florida — and ended up 3 200km away in Panama City, Panama.

Mr Whybrow was upset that his daughter wasn't there to meet him when he got off the plane from London, and couldn't understand why no one at the airport spoke English.

He spent five baffling hours wandering around before a US airman told him: "Gee, buddy, you're in the wrong country." He flew on to Panama, Florida, the next day.

Jumbos join space age

NAMIBIAN conservation authorities will fit satellite tracking collars to 10 elephants in Kavango and Caprivi to research conflict between humans and elephants.

Namibia's estimated 7 000 elephants cause extensive damage to crops.

Shock Natal AIDS deaths

AT least 43 people have died of full-blown AIDS and another 158 have died of AIDS-related complications in a single Natal hospital this year.

Staff at the Ngwelezane hospital near Empangeni have diagnosed nearly 500 people as HIV positive this year.

Smuggler had drug implants

POLICE in Bogota detained a woman who had eight plastic bags of heroin surgically implanted in her buttocks. The woman said she did not know she was carrying the drug.

Denis Aguilar was en route to Miami, Florida, when she was stopped in the airport and ordered to have her "disproportionately large" buttocks X-rayed.

Girl, aged 11, raped

A MAN armed with a knife walked into a flat in Gladstone Heights, Pretoria Street, Hillbrow, on Friday afternoon, threatened and then raped an 11-year-old girl. She was in a room with two other children, said police.

PAC will not disband army

THE South African government failed yesterday to force the Pan Africanist Congress to disband its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Hurley new chancellor

TIRELESS human rights campaigner and leading clergyman Archbishop Denis Hurley is to succeed Mr Justice Leon as Chancellor of the University of Natal.

ANC fury over rape arrest

By HEATHER ROBERTSON

THE Yeoville branch of the ANC has slammed the police for arresting a suspect in connection with a series of rapes in the Johannesburg suburb without "proper investigation".

Mr Errol Teddy Mattera, 28, son of internationally acclaimed poet and activist Don Mattera, appeared in court on Friday.

He has not been charged and his bail application will continue in the Johannesburg magistrate's court today.

The ANC branch's media officer, Miss Kerry Cullinan, said the organisation wanted to see the rapist brought to book,

but the latest suspect was being "tried by the police and media before he had been proved guilty".

Mr Mattera was arrested on Thursday after two women saw him in a coffee shop.

Two of the rapist's victims, who spoke at a press conference yesterday, were upset that they were unable to see Mr Mattera this weekend because they "still don't know whether the right person is behind bars".

Another victim said she had met Mr Mattera three weeks ago at the coffee shop and she was certain that he was not her attacker.

Victims and police have speculated that there is more than one rapist in the suburb.

Report: RYAN CRESSWELL
Picture: HORACE POTTER

A SCENIC stretch of the Natal South Coast freeway along which thousands of holiday-makers will travel this Christmas is so dangerous it has been dubbed the "Hell Run".

In the past two months there have been about 20 incidents of stoppings, beatings and hijackings on the 10km stretch of the N2 which starts just after Kingsburgh and ends at the Shell Ultra City.

Last month, sales representative Gita Martens, 48, of Umhlanga was injured when a rock smashed through her windscreen and hit her in the face. Earlier this month, Gwen Viljoen, 25, of Durban, was found unconscious and lying in a pool of blood next to the freeway. Last weekend, Dan Moodley, of Chatsworth, careered off the

freeway after his car hit rocks placed in the road.

Two other motorists crashed through a rock roadblock on the opposite side of the road at about the same time and, a day later, five vehicles were involved in a collision after two motorists were stoned. The townships bordering the freeway have been the scene of vicious fighting between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha.

Hazard

In the Umgababa area, the settlements nestle in groves of banana trees, looking out on the Indian Ocean, and cows graze on the banks of fat rivers and mangrove lagoons.

But the area is one of the most violent in the country and scenes of ugly devastation mar the exotic landscape.

Groups of soldiers and army vehicles perch on top of the hills, silhouetted against the blue skyline.

At least eight people died and 18 were injured in fighting last weekend. A few weeks earlier, a bakkie was ambushed on a major road just 300m from the freeway. Five charred bodies were left in the back, welded together by fire.

Umnini Tribal Authority head Phathisizwe Luthuli has called a mass meeting of residents to discuss the situation and IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose visited the region this week on a fact-finding mission.

Rock

The Umhlanga side-road that links the main Durban-Johannesburg highway near Maritzburg to the N2 also presents a serious hazard to travellers. Some residents feel the South Coast is slowly being choked by a ring of violence.

Thugs have been stoning vehicles on the N2 for years, but the pace has recently stepped up and more imaginative methods of bringing cars to a halt have appeared.

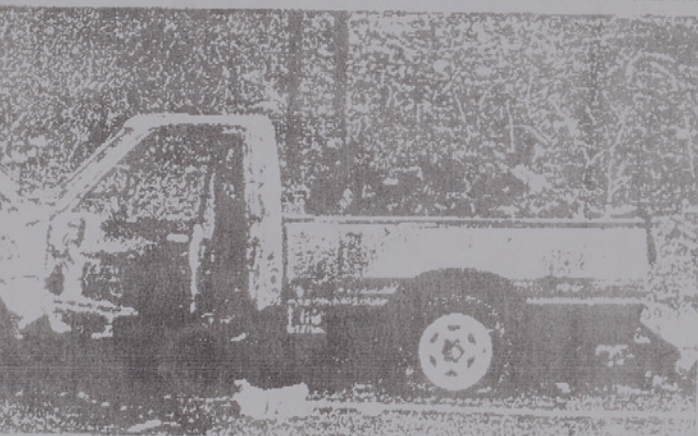
Police confirm the criminals place ash-blocks on the road in packets or covered with sand and some even drive cattle on to the freeway in an effort to get cars to stop so the occupants can be attacked and robbed.

Umkomaas town clerk Adriano Greco ploughed into a rock on the freeway last Saturday night.

"It was well camou-

Cars run
gauntlet
of terror
on scenic
Natal
freeway

HOLIDAY HELL RUN



SUDDEN DEATH ... charred bodies lie in the back of a bakkie which was ambushed and set alight just 300m from the freeway

flaged by sand packed around it. I thought it was some sand that had dropped off a truck," he said.

Mr Greco said he believed the "Hell Run" was really dangerous only after dark.

But Port Shepstone businesswoman Julie Cornwall said a number of sales representatives refused to travel down the South Coast, while others formed convoys to run the gauntlet.

"Some pharmaceutical reps came down a couple of weeks ago and cattle were herded on to the road to stop their cars. Then two

of the cars were stoned. They carried on with their calls, but at the end of the day they gathered together in a convoy and travelled back to Durban.

Things are not very good, I'm afraid," she said. Kingsburgh Protection Services officer Lance Marshall said: "These guys are not shy. If you stop they will rip your radio out in front of you and if you resist they'll kill you."

"Not long ago, I found a man riding his motorcycle on the rims of the wheels. He had been hit over the head with a knobkerrie and his tyres were taken."

Captain Hamilton Ngidi

of the Durban police said security forces had been deployed along the freeway from Amanzimtoti to Umkomaas.

Amanzimtoti policeman Sergeant Mark Cameron and Constable Quentin Hellewege take no chances when they patrol this stretch of freeway. They strap on bullet-proof vests and take along an automatic rifle and pump-action shotgun.

Sergeant Cameron said: "The army has foot patrols along this stretch. But we come out regularly from Amanzimtoti to help out."

"There are always incidents here."

Slipping into anarchy

LLOYD VOGELMAN says the government, by releasing prisoners, has shown that it is insensitive to the fears South Africans experience about crime and violence

THE Department of Correctional Services' announcement that it is to release more non-political prisoners is bewildering. While understanding the need to lessen overcrowding in prisons, the release of more criminals is likely to take South Africa further into the realm of anarchy and brutality.

The release of criminals would be understandable if there was evidence that the incidence of crime was decreasing in South Africa. But the crime statistics for January-May 1992 make sad reading. Compared with the overall figures for 1991, there has been an increase in every major crime with the exception of small decreases in car theft and house-breaking.

According to the figures, we are now averaging 52 murders a day compared with the average 40 murders per day last year. Serious assaults and armed robbery have also shown increases. There are, on average, 374 serious assaults and 135 armed robberies a day in South Africa.

Unfortunately these tragic figures do not tell the whole story since thousands of such offenses go unreported.

It is of concern that the Department of Correctional

Services can speak with such confidence about its success in rehabilitation and its administrative capability of supervising released offenders when its past record and the more recent bungled release of convicted bank robber and murderer, Lucky Malaza, shows the opposite.

Furthermore, even if the Department of Correctional Services' dubious claims that it has an 88 percent success rate in rehabilitation are correct, the effect of the release of these prisoners conveys a number of disturbing and destructive messages to South Africans.

The first is that the government is insensitive to the daily fears that South Africans experience about crime and violence. Given the incidence of crime and the furore over the release of criminals in 1991, it is incomprehensible that the government permits the further release of individuals who have in some way damaged the lives of other South Africans.

The second is it conveys to the victims of crime in South Africa that the trauma of their experience is not taken seriously. Victimisation involves loss, either physically or psychologically. Given the

absence of any substantial programmes of victim aid in South Africa, victims of crime are mostly expected to cope with their sadness, fear, loss of dignity and the financial cost of crime by themselves.

The one sphere that victims of crime have come to partly rely on the government for is retribution. The early release of prisoners negates this.

It says to the victim that his or her offender only has to suffer limited negative consequences for the trauma and pain for which he or she is responsible.

Furthermore, it encourages the perception that the only means to satisfactorily obtain justice is to do it informally or outside the criminal justice system. In so doing, we create a cycle of informal retribution and revenge that is difficult to control and contain.

Third, the release of prisoners undermines the morale of law enforcement and criminal justice agencies. The arrest and conviction of any offender takes a great deal of time and effort. The early release of prisoners inevitably raises the question in the minds of such officials as to what the purpose of

their work is. There are already serious problems with policing in South Africa.

Reduction in morale will further hamper police efforts in reducing crime and amplify the daily criticisms levelled at the police.

Finally, the early release of prisoners informs potential criminals that the consequences of any offence need not be too deleterious. Given the fact that a primary deterrent of crime is the possibility of imprisonment, the early release of prisoners can serve only to heighten the incidence of violence and crime in South Africa.

If there is to be any reduction in crime, not only are we in need of democratic political solutions, socio-economic development, a co-ordinated anti-crime programme and a well-trained, non-partisan and community-oriented police force, but also a social system which breaks the confidence of criminals and potential offenders and indicates to the survivors of crime that they have not been forgotten.

□ Lloyd Vogelmann is the director of the Project for the Study of Violence at the University of the Witwatersrand.

THE SUNDAY STAR, 25 OCTOBER 1992

Disputing parties seek alternatives

NATIONAL Peace Committee adjudicators have recommended seeking alternative solutions to the dispute between the ANC and IFP over Nelson Mandela's address to the United Nations Security Council in July.

The adjudicators, former Zambia president Kenneth Kaunda and Mr Justice G P C Kotze, said the arguments put forward by both parties on October 19 were compelling, which made a decision difficult.

This week Kaunda met both Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to examine possible alternatives to adjudication.

"I am very hopeful because I feel that the country has mechanisms to deal with such difficulties. Any country that can find, among its own people, such as those in the National Peace Committee who can generate confidence and trust from both disputing parties, has a future," said Kaunda before returning to Zambia.

John Hall, chairman of the National Peace Committee, will now explore the avenues which have emerged from the initiative.

THE PAC has wrung a concession from the Govt

Larger forum to replace Codesa?

■ Common ground: The PAC and the Government found much to agree upon in their second meeting outside South Africa.

By NEIL LEWIS

Gaborone — The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday forced a major concession from the South African Government at the close of a two-day summit in Botswana, with the Pretoria delegation conceding that Codesa was unrepresentative.

The Government agreed therefore that a new, more representative forum be established.

This was the gist of a statement read out by PAC deputy-president Dikgang Moseneke and South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik

Botha at the close of their second meeting.

Among the issues agreed upon were that political conflict in South Africa be resolved through peaceful negotiations, and that maximum effort be exerted by all parties to end violence in the country.

South Africa also needed a new non-racial constitution to be drawn up by a body elected on a common voters role.

It was decided that the principles guiding such a body be decided upon by a more representative negotiating forum.

Expanding on Codesa's role at a media conference after the meeting, Botha conceded that its current structure was unrepresentative and should therefore be more inclusive.

Both parties said there was an urgent need to establish a better

forum, adding that such a body should decide on transitional arrangements leading to a new constitution.

In effect, the statement further committed the Government to a constituent assembly which would draw up the final constitution.

"The discussions were cordial and were characterised by mutual understanding of each others' viewpoints. Substantial progress was made in identifying common ground in respect of important elements of the negotiating process," the statement said.

With regard to further discussions between the two delegations, Botha indicated that no firm date had been set, but liaison would be maintained to ensure another meeting took place as soon as possible. — Sapa.

OUR VIEW

Stunning
hypocrisy

The Issue:

The Nats are demanding the ANC release the names of those responsible for killings and torture in its camps.

We suggest:

Quite right. But let the country's super-villains be named, too.

IN the good old days of apartheid racists used the expression: "He's got more cheek than a white man." Well, this week National Party secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe showed he had even more cheek than *that*. The ugly question mark that hung over many ANC leaders would not be removed, he said, if the organisation failed to name those involved in abuses in its detention camps. Of course, he's right. But let's not have a Nat making such a demand.

ANC members, and leading ones at that, did torture and murder and deprave and they must be named and punished. But for every skeleton in the ANC's cupboard, the Nats have thousands. Remember all the deaths in detention, the Bikos, the Salojees, the Imam Harouns, the Aggetts, and the assassinations, the Goniwes, the victims of the hit squads and probably the CCB; and the torture of hundreds of men and women, some of whom the Government has paid substantial compensation "without prejudice"; and the arrest of 18 million people under the pass laws; and the mass removal of millions from their homes; and the deprivation every black child has suffered under Bantu Education; and all the other crimes against humanity committed in the name of apartheid.

The Nats are the self-proclaimed standard-bearers of Christian civilisation, so of course they will name and punish all their henchmen who perpetrated these crimes. Like hell they will. What they are in fact doing is scampering to push through a Bill that will indemnify all their killers and torturers and other criminals. These men's confessions will be heard in secret, their names simply published in the Government Gazette and in all probability, their crimes will never be made public.

This week's fiasco is as depressing as it is pointless: no new Government will accept this type of amnesty. FW de Klerk should think again — if for no other reason than the fact that he won't get away with it.

WORLD NEWS 1.23

Cash-starved ANC to slash workforce

Crackdown planned on spending and corruption

THE African National Congress (ANC), beset by a financial crisis as it stands on the brink of achieving power, is to make up to a quarter of its workers redundant. The embarrassing cost-cutting measure follows a warning by the movement's financial supremo that it is deeply in the red, despite having received huge foreign donations since the government ban on the organisation was lifted two and a half years ago.

Thomas Nkobi, the ANC's treasurer-general, has also set up tough controls to stamp out overspending and corruption at the Johannesburg headquarters. These include banning personal telephone calls and ending "jobs for the boys".

In a report to Nelson Mandela, the ANC's president, Nkobi warned that despite these measures some 200 redundancies would be inevitable next year. He argued that the ANC's expansion into an "alternative government" — it employs more than 700 people — had been financially crippling. With the prospect of a general election next year, all

by Richard Ellis
Johannesburg

funds should go to the campaign rather than on wages, he said.

It is understood that Nkobi's recommendations have been accepted by Mandela, concerned by the ANC's reputation among businessmen as a bad financial risk. Several Johannesburg companies, including one owed more than £40,000, are considering legal action to recover debts. A cheque recently given to Telkom, the telephone company, to meet bills run up by the ANC's Youth League, bounced; several lines have now been cut off.

The crisis has come to a head partly because of the impasse in negotiations with F W de Klerk's government. Six months ago, many ANC officials had predicted they would by now be part of an interim government with the National party, with salaries and perks paid for by the taxpayer. Instead, the ANC is likely to have to continue

meeting a monthly wage bill of more than £500,000 at least until next year.

There is growing internal criticism about lax financial controls, corruption and spending on what critics call luxuries: BMWs and other expensive cars, lavishly furnished offices and air tickets. The abuse of privileges has been widespread: relatives of ANC staff came to the offices to make overseas calls. There are now security guards on each floor to check visitors.

Some of the most bitter comments have come from former guerrillas who have returned from exile to unemployment to see their leaders flaunting their newfound status. Although few criticise Mandela for leaving Soweto for a mansion in a largely white suburb of Johannesburg, questions are being asked about how some officials can afford to enjoy such comfortable lifestyles.

It has led to some ironic situations: one official narrowly escaped being shot dead by ANC "comrades" recently because, in his new Ford Sapphire car, he was mistaken for

a policeman. "I'd like to know where the money for all these cars and things is coming from," said one former combatant, who has dug up ANC arms caches and sold the guns to survive. "It's our only source of money."

The full extent of the ANC's cash problems is unclear, with many companies owed money but unwilling to talk for fear of annoying the probable future government. "It's a bit of an awkward situation," said Mike Gerhold, the financial director of Xerotech, a Johannesburg office equipment firm said to be owed more than £40,000. "We can't say anything for commercial reasons." Carl Niehaus, an ANC spokesman, blamed "administrative difficulties" for delays in payment.

The ANC, which estimates it needs £40m to fight an election, is relying on Mandela's considerable fundraising abilities. Having raised millions during a world tour after his release in 1990, he has recently hit the road again, soliciting money from Iran, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and China.

The Sunday Times
25/10/92 - London

Sun Times 25-10-92

OPINION

Bungled amnesty

AMNESTY for political crimes and indemnity against prosecution for misdeeds committed in the service of long-dead causes are necessary if this country is to put away its awful past, but the government and the ANC have made such a thorough mess of things that it threatens to poison the future.

The burying of hatchets is a political necessity, rooted in the cessation of hostilities on October 8 1990. Crimes that occurred before that date are regarded as acts of war, committed in good faith as political acts by both sides, and there is no profit in picking over them. The slate is to be wiped clean.

For the government to try now to shift the date in order to indemnify its own agents for atrocities or crimes committed after the cessation of hostilities — that is, after the justification for acts of war had lapsed — is not only outrageous; it risks discrediting the necessary forgiveness of terrible acts committed on both sides before that date. And to suggest that future crimes may, by such trickery, be brought within the terms of amnesty is reckless beyond belief.

For amnesty to succeed, it must be fair and it must be seen to be fair. It must satisfy a sense of natural justice.

This implies full disclosure, whether of the crimes committed in the fight against apartheid or crimes committed in defence of the

apartheid state, or of atrocities in the ANC camps — or, indeed, of crimes committed in the continuing warfare between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, about which no agreement of forgiveness has yet been reached.

This principle has been violated from the start, and the very concept of amnesty has already been severely damaged by the adoption of a procedure that allowed ANC members to be indemnified without public disclosure. The result has been public outcry, and a corrosive debate over the relative wickedness of Robert McBride and Barend Strydom. The use of judges in secret procedures has done more to discredit the judiciary than to impart respectability to a flawed procedure.

Now the government is making matters worse by seeking to indemnify its own people for crimes which are to be disclosed only to members of the government itself. It is making a mockery of forgiveness, and storing up vengeance and retribution for the future, and the attempt to use the judiciary to give a self-serving conspiracy a veneer of judicial respectability will again do more harm than good. Judges are respected when they behave as judges, not necessarily in other roles.

The ANC, to its credit, has promised to identify, after proper investigation, the criminals responsible for atrocities in its camps; the government can do no less.

Sun Times 25-10-92



The small croc snaps, and Great Croc smiles

AT De Anker, his home on the lagoon at the Wilderness, former President Botha must have indulged in a crocodile smile this week as he saw President de Klerk shamelessly resorting to undemocratic methods to ram into law a Murderers' Charter.

Less than three years after displacing the Groot Krokodil, the Klein Krokodil had learnt to snap.

The intriguing question is why? Why does the State President squander his political capital, his personal reputation, his international standing, and possibly his future effectiveness, to pass a squalid law designed to cover up the misdeeds of political thugs?

The law itself is useless. Future governments will not honour it, nor should they. And, even if the government tries to bury the past, journalists and historians — and private citizens — the victims — will burrow into the past until they have discovered the criminals whom President de Klerk is trying to protect.

Much more important, for the moment, is that President de Klerk's mantle of statesmanship has been soiled; he looks to be a lesser man than he seemed two years ago. From end to end of this country, confidence in his leadership — and faith in the future — is draining away.

Time is running out. The National Party itself has become fractious and critical; in the country districts, earthy jokes about Mr de Klerk testify to spreading right-wing sentiment, not for nothing has the National Party abolished by-elections.

Mr de Klerk is not alone in resorting to irrational behaviour. The frantic scramble among civil servants for fat pensions and retrenchment packages, the pervasive corruption that comes to light by the week, imply incipient psychosis.

A moment's reflection will persuade any sensible man that, unless inflation can be brought under control, the money stashed away in this fashion will be worthless. It would be far more sensible to establish, as best one may do in a short time, traditions of probity, frugality and moderation in govern-

ment. The current snatching and grabbing are evidence of sheer panic.

The English voters who supported Mr de Klerk in the referendum are more rational in their panic, but rather less admirable. Their businessmen, once among the most ethical on earth, have undergone a moral collapse in their pursuit of short-term — preferably exportable — gains. Fraud is an epidemic, price-gouging a way of life, and theft an admired accomplishment.

Greg Blank, the cheap little crook who fiddled the stock market, was treated during his trial as the darling of the smart set in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, where his Hockneys and Chagalls are viewed less as paintings than as foreign currency.

Behind the panic, both of civil servants and of businessmen, lies a sense that the wheels are coming off. Codesa has broken down, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has retreated into an angry and destructive isolation, the ANC continues to reject basic democratic mechanisms and President de Klerk busies himself with side-issues.

Crime is endemic, suffering widespread and insecurity is universal. Foreign investors have written us off, and foreign governments may not be far behind. This country is pretty rugged, and its people are staunch, but no society can be expected to endure this kind of stress indefinitely.

THE source of our instability, of course, is minority government. Every day produces more evidence that the capacity of white South Africans to rule this country is exhausted. People flout the law on every side, and the government can do very little about it. There are not enough policemen, or courts, or jails, and there is not enough money to repair the deficiencies.

The logic of the situation is inexorable: if President de Klerk wishes to restore order, which is the prerequisite to restoring confidence, he needs to move quickly to establish an interim government. The ANC, itself alarmed by the disintegration of society, will

surely co-operate, and will call off sanctions as soon as a date for interim government has been agreed.

The outlines of a deal are discernible. Crudely, President de Klerk can offer an interim government in return for the basic democratic principles that the ANC has so far rejected: limitations on the power of central government, federal structures, an independent constitutional court and entrenchment of a market economy.

Such a deal could well be struck between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela in a matter of hours, provided the Nationalists devoted their efforts not towards establishing an electoral coalition but towards securing a democratic system, and provided Mr Mandela was willing to shake off the dead hand of the communist ideologues in the ANC.

THE obstacles are essentially political. Mr Mandela is under some pressure from the radical wing of his party, which is trying to manoeuvre more violent confrontation by making an issue of the right to campaign in the homelands. President de Klerk is under pressure from the right wing and the security establishment, which seduce him into nonsense like the Murderers' Charter.

There is no profit for either of them in pandering to these pressures. Disorder and insecurity are eroding the middle ground, and the violent factions on the outer wings of both sides grow steadily stronger.

Political wisdom lies in recognising that the best hope for South Africa lies in the ordinary, decent, long-suffering black people who want nothing but jobs that they can do in peace, and in the ordinary, decent, hard-working whites who want nothing but security of life and property.

Statesmanship lies in bringing together the two main elements of that middle ground, not in playing cheap political games across it.

KEN OWEN