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CAPE TIMES

18 NOVEMBER 1992

# MI linked to Moz 'killer' in Natal

## Political Staff

A FORMER Frelimo soldier, who claimed he had been employed to murder township residents in Natal, had his hotel bills paid by a credit card linked to Military Intelligence.

This was confirmed by Mr Tory Pretorius of the Goldstone Commission yesterday.

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow last night said this "needs an urgent investigation and the Goldstone Commission needs to be empowered to undertake it".

Mr Joao Alberto Cuna, a former Mozambican soldier who reportedly deserted, told the Vrye Weekblad newspaper recently that SA Police narcotics squad officer Mr "Boy" Schultz had employed him in Johannesburg to carry out political murders.

The SAP have since denied that Mr Schultz was ever a member and that Mr Cuna's claims were untrue.

SAP liaison chief General Leon Mellett was yesterday unable to say whether Mr Schultz had been a member of MI, although he thought it unlikely.

Mr Cuna claimed that in March or April this year he had helped shoot a house full of residents near Durban. He and Mr Schultz had stayed in a Maritzburg hotel en route to the township killing.

Mr Pretorius confirmed to the Mercury newspaper yesterday that the commission had followed this up and discovered that Mr Cuna had stayed in the Hilton Hotel near Maritzburg.

The commission visited the hotel and recovered the counterfoils of the credit card used to pay the bill.

These were checked and the commission then traced the name and address of the company which held the credit card.

It was a front company for the MI centre raided by the commission last week — from which the five files detailing double killer and former CCB member Ferdi Barnard's employment by MI were removed by the commission's investigators.

Mr Pretorius said he could not comment on whether this linked MI to violence in Natal but "in due course all these things" would be investigated.

Mr Gastrow said the information available "results in a reasonable inference that there was direct MI involvement in the Natal violence".

"But inferences are not sufficient to establish fact and this needs to be investigated urgently," he said.

"For as long as these bits of evidence float around all allegations relating to third force co-responsibility for violence will continue to have some credibility."

Attempts to get comment from the Defence Ministry yesterday failed.



CAPE TIMES 18 NOVEMBER 1992

## Farmers, FW in frank talks

Own Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — "Frank and constructive" discussions were held yesterday between President FW de Klerk and a delegation from the South African Agricultural Union regarding the implementation of labour legislation in agriculture.

A government spokesman said Mr De Klerk, Agriculture Minister Dr Kraai van Niekerk and Manpower Minister Mr Leon Wessels met the delegation led by SAAU president Mr Boet Fourie at the Union Buildings.

Mr De Klerk had returned from Britain only a few hours before the meeting.

"The discussions were frank and constructive. It was agreed that Mr Wessels and a delegation from the SAAU will meet again on November 20 to take further the consensus reached today," he said.

The talks followed condemnation of a decision by Mr Wessels earlier this month to extend labour legislation to the agricultural industry and domestic workers from March next year.

Farmers threatened action if the matter was not reconsidered. Eastern Cape Agricultural Union manager Mr Rory O'Moore said the decision by the minister was unacceptable to the ECAU.

He said the government could expect no co-operation from farmers with the one-sided implementation of the labour legislation.

CAPE TIMES 18 NOVEMBER 1992

## 'I'm being framed' — Barnard

JOHANNESBURG. — The security forces' intelligence gathering units were in disarray following recent disclosures of government-linked covert operations, with members seeking to distance themselves from any wrongdoings, former CCB operative Ferdi Barnard claimed yesterday.

Addressing a press conference here, Barnard also claimed he was told by his Military Intelligence superiors in December 1991 that he was to be relieved of his duties because the Defence Minister at the time, Mr Roelf Meyer, had thought his profile was too high.

This was after an Uzi sub-machinegun was found in the possession of a Johannesburg man who claimed Barnard had given it to him.

Mr Meyer, now Constitutional Development Minister, yesterday denied he had known of Barnard's SA Defence Force connections.

Barnard also claimed evidence by General Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst at the Webster Inquest that he had never met him was "not the truth" and that he had asked the general for a job in MI.

Barnard earlier yesterday admitted he was a MI operative, but claimed the project he proposed to his MI superiors to discredit uMkhonto weSizwe was turned down.

Barnard said since revelations of covert state activities had emerged, like the Goldstone report and evidence at the Webster inquest, he had the impression he was being framed.

Too much "sensitive information" was being revealed, which meant security force people were disseminating information, he claimed. — Sapa



# UN hits at Buthelezi

From SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK. — United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali told the General Assembly yesterday that he is losing patience with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a report to the Assembly timed to coincide with the start of its annual debate on apartheid, Dr Boutros-Ghali said he was "particularly concerned" by Chief Buthelezi's "rejection" of the September 26 agreement between President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"I have emphasised to all concerned the need . . . to remove any obstacles that might impede the resumption of negotiations."

Diplomatic sources said the

secretary-general had written to Chief Buthelezi but had received no reply and had also not been able to raise him by telephone.

While Dr Boutros-Ghali was encouraged by the De Klerk-Mandela pact, he stressed that "great perils persist, not least in the volatility of the political atmosphere and the tendency to resort to political violence".

He indicated he was against expanding the size or scope of the UN Observer Mission (UNOMSA).

The 44 observers at the end of October had been "well received" by the National Peace Accord structures, with which they were working "effectively".

However, UNOMSA's mandate could be contentious. A draft res-

olution prepared by the ANC and frontline states wants the General Assembly to endorse the possibility of splitting the observers from the NPA, turning them into independent monitors.

● If the government and the ANC believe their Record of Understanding is good for South Africa, they should put it to a multi-party conference of review, Chief Buthelezi reiterated in an address to Canada's official opposition Liberal Party caucus in Ottawa on Monday.

● Sapa reports that Chief Buthelezi's spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos said he is out the country and they would have to see the full text of Dr Boutros-Ghali's statement before responding. — Sapa





# The Argus

LIBERTY  
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Editor-in-Chief:  
A P DRYSDALE

Deputy Editor:  
J C B HOBDAV

122 St Georges Mall,  
Cape Town, 8000  
Telephone: 488 4911

## FW must clean up, take over Defence

**F**OR President De Klerk, the next two days will be decisive. His personal integrity and the competence of his government are on the line after Mr Justice Goldstone's revelations about SADF "dirty tricks".

The war of words that has ensued between the judge and the SADF has added to the confusion and crisis.

Today Mr De Klerk confronts the problem at a cabinet meeting in Pretoria; tomorrow in Cape Town, he comes face-to-face with the caucus of the National Party. He must show his mettle; the crisis is also an opportunity and he has already promised he will give urgent attention to the matter.

As it is, the situation has been allowed to drift for far too long. Indeed, that the president appears to have failed to bring the generals to heel has become his political Achilles heel.

Clearly, the government cannot get away with obfuscation. What is needed now is not cover-up but clean-up.

Mr De Klerk must seize the chance once and for all to cut the Gordian knot of military interference in political affairs, an insidious legacy of his predecessor's administration that left too many people with too many secret agendas.

Mr De Klerk needs a credible and independent investigation of the whole issue. Judge Goldstone, if given the proper powers, could do that. Onerous as the additional burden may be, the president should himself now assume direct control of the Defence Ministry until the mess is sorted out.



# Strife Spreads in Zulu Countryside, Boding Ill for Mandela's Black Rival

Continued From Page A1

are nervous in their allegiance.

So nervous, in fact, that when Inkatha announced that the killings here in Mpumali were almost certainly the grisly work of partisans from the rival African National Congress, the Sabelos and their neighbors declined to go along with the party line.

Mr. Sabelo, contradicting the local Inkatha boss, insisted to reporters that he was never even a member of the party, although he shares Inkatha's conservative, Zulu-traditionalist views. The family eagerly volunteered that 9 or 10 of the slain guests were African National Congress members.

"We are following the Zulu tradition," said Mr. Sabelo's 16-year-old daughter, Maureen. "We are not following organizations."

[Five men aged 18 to 22 were charged Tuesday with the killings, according to a state radio broadcast from Durban. The radio identified two of the five as members of the African National Congress.]

## Vigilante Bands

The end game has convulsed Natal with new political violence in which each side has done its share of killing. Most of the carnage appears to be the work of partisan vigilantes operating outside the direct control of their organizations, or thugs masquerading as political guerrillas.

Human rights monitors count 1,147 people killed in political violence in Natal in the first 10 months of this year. Even more striking is how they died. Faceless terrorism, like the assault on the Sabelo homestead, has become more common, as has political assassination: Inkatha alone lists 62 party officials killed in the last 14 months.

In contrast to the past, when the lines were clearly drawn and the skirmishes out in the open, the carnage now tends to be more sudden and stealthy, unaccountable and immune to the preventive tactics of foreign peace monitors and local dispute resolution committees and army reinforcements.

"You can't arbitrate, you can't mediate, you don't have any solutions, because you don't know who the enemy is," lamented the Rev. Danny Cheti, a minister who serves Natal's south coast region. "I think we're looking at a totally hopeless situation. As a churchman, I'm frustrated in my own faith."

## Arms Are Plentiful

The region is awash in weapons. Many of them are guns supplied years ago by South Africa to anti-Communist rebels in Mozambique that are now flowing back across the border. Others are said to spill from the caches stowed by the African National Congress when it suspended its guerrilla war against apartheid.

Since it is hard to imagine South Africa completing its transition to a democratic constitution and free elections while Natal bleeds, Mr. Cheti and many others suspect that the mayhem is welcomed, if not actively promoted, by opponents of change, including the white rulers of South Africa, the security forces and Inkatha.

If so, the carnage will only worsen as the transfer of power becomes imminent.

"The closer any kind of election comes, the more we're in trouble in Natal," said John Wright of the University of Natal at Pietermaritzburg, a leading historian of the province and Inkatha critic.

Chief Buthelezi's most secure domain is the conservative countryside, where Zulu chiefs still rule and where



The violence in Natal is a major impediment to South Africa's transition to democracy.

Chief Buthelezi has consolidated his hold by playing the theme of Zulu nationalism with increasing ferocity.

In Patheni, a Zulu farming village in an undulating valley high above the city of Richmond, both the wellsprings and the limits of Chief Buthelezi's power are visible.

Outside the tribal headquarters, many of Patheni's 500 pensioners loiter waiting for a KwaZulu government official to deliver envelopes of cash. Presiding is Paulus Vezzi, an induna, or lieutenant, of the local Zulu chief, and the conduit for KwaZulu government largesse.

Locals say that no one gets on the pension list without Mr. Vezzi's approval. He also advises the KwaZulu government about which roads need paving, and he can send candidates to be trained as "special constables" by the KwaZulu police.

Mr. Vezzi is also the local Inkatha chairman.

It is this fusion of KwaZulu patronage, Inkatha politics and tribal authority that has made the countryside Chief Buthelezi's stronghold. Chief Buthelezi has co-opted the tribal system by putting all chiefs into the KwaZulu legislature, and by his close alliance with the Zulu king.

But even there, a visitor finds a sense of siege.

The reason a messenger is delivering pension envelopes to Patheni is that Richmond is now such an African National Congress stronghold that elderly villagers are afraid to venture there to the banks. Surrounding villages have also gone over to the congress.

When patronage fails to keep things under control, tribal officials have a reputation for playing rough.

Mr. Vezzi's chief and the chief's bodyguard are currently under indictment for 14 counts of murder in a vicious feud between Patheni and the nearby pro-congress town of Indaleni.

## Return to Homes Blocked

In mid-October, African National Congress supporters who had been expelled from Patheni tried to return to their homes. Despite the presence of 200 police and soldiers and several church monitors, they were driven off by a barrage of gunfire.

Mr. Vezzi, the induna, said the families are not welcome to return unless they submit to his authority, including his ban on unauthorized political gatherings.

The refugees are no less Zulu than their neighbors — on their abortive return, they carried the spears and shields that are traditional regalia in the countryside — but to pay homage to the chief, they say, is to pay homage to Inkatha.

Mr. Vezzi, like many rural tribal leaders, says he believes civil war is inevitable in Natal between adherents of tribal order and those he regards as infidels of the African National Congress. He does not shrink from the prospect.

"If they come for peace, they are welcome," he said. "If they come for fighting, they are also welcome."

One bloodless measure of Chief Buthelezi's waning fortunes can be found at the Emandleni Youth Camp, built a decade ago to train future leaders of the Zulu homeland.

On a bluff overlooking the broad Umfolozi River outside the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi, young men and women nominated by Zulu chiefs and Inkatha officials spend a year, courtesy of the KwaZulu government, learning mechanics, farming, dressmaking and other skills, accompanied by a course in "leadership," where students are indoctrinated in Zulu tradition as preached by Inkatha.

"The most important thing we teach is respect for authority, for traditional



"All the News  
That's Fit to Print"

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## Strife Spreads in Zulu Region, Boding Ill for Mandela's Rival

By **BILL KELLER**

Special to The New York Times

MPUSHINI, South Africa — On the night of Oct. 24, Mbonwa Sabelo thought he was playing it safe.

He knew his little compound of huts and livestock pens was too cramped for the celebration to mark his daughter's coming of age in Zulu society. But he thought, at least, that this village on a muddy slope southwest of Durban was outside the range of the political brutality that has ravaged the black townships and bigger rural settlements of Natal Province.

The blood-splashed walls where 24 of Mr. Sabelo's guests fell dead under bursts of machine-gun fire testify that he badly misjudged the widening ambit of Natal's civil war.

### **Buthelezi's Fortunes Waning**

Residents interviewed over several days of travel across Natal said the spread of the violence into the countryside, including villages like Mpushini, reflects the waning strength of Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party in an area regarded as Mr. Buthelezi's stronghold.

The rising bloodshed in the easternmost province of South Africa is a major impediment to the nation's transition to a democratic constitution and free elections.

Pushed toward the sidelines of national politics by the recent reconciliation of President F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, Chief Buthelezi has fallen back to his home base, the place he once viewed as his springboard to

nationwide political influence.

That is KwaZulu, the quasi-autonomous state created within Natal by apartheid cartographers, heavily subsidized by the white Government of South Africa, and ruled by Chief Buthelezi as chief minister.

But here he faces an aggressive challenge by Mr. Mandela's African National Congress. Black townships where Inkatha was once strong have been conquered by the congress, and even pro-Inkatha villages like this one

*Continued on Page A6, Column 1*

### **Late Edition**

New York: Today, some clouds but becoming sunny by afternoon. High 50. Tonight, clearing. Low 35. Tomorrow, mostly cloudy. High 45. Yesterday, high 53, low 37. Details, page A24.

**50 CENTS**





Louise Gubb/ JB Pictures

The spread of violence across Natal into the countryside is a major impediment to South Africa's transition to a democratic constitution and free

elections. Mourners paid their respects to Elizabeth Mbhele, who was killed in a drive-by shooting by members of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

structures, respect for adults, respect for manual labor," said the headmaster, Cyril Phakati. "This is Zulu tradition."

Emandleni was built to be the nucleus of a camp system that would groom 2,000 new leaders each year, Mr. Phakati said. But the camp, strapped for funds, never expanded beyond 200 students, a majority of them women

who study cooking and sewing.

And where the camp once drew Zulu youngsters from urban black townships in Natal and the neighboring Transvaal, now the students come mostly from secure villages.

"People from the townships are afraid that if they come here, when they go back they will be targeted," Mr. Phakati said. Inkatha has lost the

townships to the African National Congress, Mr. Phakati reasons, because the congress takes a more permissive attitude toward the young.

"This situation where youth can take over a township and organize things is foreign to the Zulu tradition," he said, shaking his head. But, he added, it is understandable. "Which young man doesn't want to have power?"



DAVID STYLES takes issue with a Mercury opinion

# Buthelezi, Mandela must meet

**M**AY I take issue with your article in The Natal Mercury on November 13. It is entitled "Zulu king a pawn in the political chessboard." There are a number of issues you ignore which show your article up as partisan opinion rather than serious analysis.

Commentators like yourself seem to seize upon any statement by Mandela and try to present it in a favourable light, while no similar effort is made for Buthelezi. What is needed to diminish violence is a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi as a start to normalising relations between their parties.

The Zulu king is marginal to this. Buthelezi has stated repeatedly he would like to meet Mandela, the ANC has said it will not do so. This is bottom line. But, very surprisingly, there is no consideration of this in your article.

In fact the ANC goes out of the way not to concede any recognition to the IFP, and to pointedly delegitimise it. Mandela can appeal to the Zulu king to end the violence, but there is no mention of what is really important, conciliation with the IFP.

Nevertheless when Mandela (or should I say SACP baron Raymond Suttner, who is his principal speech writer) appeals to the king to help end bloodletting it is significant. The ANC has shown flexibility while Buthelezi's response is negative.

But surely if you believe Mandela's appeal to the Zulu king to help is significant, is Buthelezi's willingness to meet directly with Mandela not by the same logic of a far more significant peace gesture? To take the cake is your assertion that Dr Buthelezi's response to the

Record of Understanding has undone all the good work Mr Mandela and President FW de Klerk thought they had done.

After the signing of the Record, South Africans had to ask themselves whether negotiations were going to be multi-lateral, or proceed by stealthy agreement between the ANC alliance and the NP. The ANC stated very clearly after the breakdown of Codesa 2 that negotiations should take bilateral form. Agreements should simply be cemented between itself and the present government. Thereafter they could be negotiated in a multi-party context, but other parties should not be able to destabilise such pacts.

But is this negotiation? Do you really feel the NP and the ANC should alone hammer out the future of the country between them. Do you have that much faith in the principles of either of these parties? The IFP's constituency doesn't. Many other South Africans don't either.

After the Record of Understanding, who was prepared to stand up and make this valid point? Only the IFP was prepared to do so. So what is the basis of your objection? The IFP's stand was not expedient, it was a principled one. And it was not that the Record of Understanding was the first manifestation of this problem.

The IFP has insisted that negotiations be inclusive. It has said that no organisation whose absence from negotiations can weaken the process should be excluded. On this basis, the strength of nationalist consciousness and mobilisation among Zulu speakers means they should be represented by the Zulu king. Moreover, the IFP is not simply a Zulu party.

Ever increasingly, it is a non-racial party. If other national groups were represented by homeland governments, why not Zulus by KwaZulu?

All homeland governments were present at Codesa, except KwaZulu. And a number of these governments did nothing else than obsequiously support the ANC on all positions. They were clearly no more than ANC fronts. On top of this, other parties were represented, notably the Indian congresses, which were also merely ANC fronts.

However when the KwaZulu Governments and the IFP wanted KwaZulu to be represented this was strongly opposed by the ANC. There was no principled basis for excluding the KwaZulu Government. It was unfair and cynical. Yet after initially supporting the IFP's point of view, the government, as has become the pattern in negotiations, then agreed with the ANC.

So what significance does Mandela's statement about the Zulu king have in this context? The ANC with all its might and main wanted KwaZulu and the Zulu king excluded from negotiations about South Africa's political future. Passing reference in a speech to the king in the role of Natal peacemaker is hardly likely to change the equation, though you seem to read something like this into it.

You also make one particularly serious allegation in your article. You claim Buthelezi does not want peace at the expense of political position. But what more does Buthelezi have to do? He has said he will work with Mandela to end violence. This is in spite of increasing polarisation between the ANC and IFP constituencies, and the great anger among IFP

supporters on the ground.

If the ANC were sincere about ending the bloodletting, would appeal to the Zulu king while refusing to meet Buthelezi. Who really does not want peace at the expense of political position, as you put it?

Finally, if as you say the IFP has worked for recognition of the king's authority, and the ANC now concedes it, why should the IFP object? It is not true that this threatens the initiative Buthelezi holds, or drives a wedge between the king and Buthelezi.

Anyone who knows anything about current Zulu politics knows this is nonsense, and one only has to read any of the king's recent speeches to see where he stands on political issues. There is certainly no affection at all towards the ANC.

The facts, and you dismiss these as ploys, are that the ANC has shown consummate bad manners in its approach to the king before. Moreover the ANC launched a campaign to dismantle KwaZulu in 1991, has threatened to march on Ulundi since then, and has a history of mobilising the lost generation of urban and peri-urban youth against traditional structures. This makes the ANC's recent reference to the Zulu king rather rich.

Mandela's posturings may find resonance amongst the press gallery, for which they are substantially intended, but the ANC's behaviour will only begin to be regarded as less insincere by the IFP when the ANC allows Mandela to meet Buthelezi. Buthelezi is holding out his hand, but there is still no real response.

David Styles is a Researcher at the Inkatha Institute for South Africa

16/1/14



The Star 18/11/92

## Zulu king lays into communists



King Zwelithini ... we'll fight if we have to.

Attempts by the ANC to woo King Goodwill Zwelithini appeared to founder yesterday after the Zulu monarch said his people would resist rule by the "communist followers" of Nelson Mandela's organisation.

Mandela expressed disappointment at the king's response to the ANC's recent call for him to use his powers to curb Natal violence. At the time, observers saw the call as an

attempt to deal with the king independently.

In a BBC interview yesterday, Zwelithini said although he preferred not to fight, "if it is the time, we'll have to face it to save this country from being led by the communist man". Political analysts said he was referring to Mandela.

Mandela said the king should not align himself with any political party.

— Political Staff



The Star 18/11/92

## Buthelezi keen to talk to ANC

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he was open to meeting ANC leader Nelson Mandela to try to stop continuing violence in the country. "I'm prepared to talk to Dr Mandela ... but it seems he is not prepared to see me," Buthelezi told a Canadian parliamentary committee.



## ANC and IFP warn of civil war in Natal

Brian King

THE prospect of a civil war in Natal is increasing, according to IFP and ANC-alliance sources.

The ANC and Cosatu claim widespread IFP-supported violence in northern Natal against their members, while Inkatha alleges a new phase of covert ANC hit-squad operations in southern Natal.

Says IFP spokesman Kim Hodgson: "There certainly has been an escalation in the ANC's military operations over the past six weeks."

"There has been one massacre every week for the past six weeks. In four of these cases, ANC or MK cadres have been arrested."

In Northern Natal, Cosatu's Neil Coleman says members are being terrorised, beaten and killed.

Workers at Alusaf, Spoornet, Richards Bay Minerals and Indian Ocean Fertilizer reported being confronted by armed vigilante group demanding to inspect their pay slips for union deductions, Mr Coleman said. Those who were union members were threatened and beaten up.

According to Numsa's regional secretary in Empaneni, Mike Mabuyakhulu, it appeared there was an intensification of the campaign against Cosatu-affiliates, particularly in the Enseleni township and surrounding areas.

Alusaf's technical director Peter De Waal said the company had lost about 18 employees in the past 18 months due to violence.

An RBM spokesman admitted he had heard of "rumours" recently that workers had been stopped and asked to produce their payslips, but added he knew of no problems on the premises or outside.

The Human Rights Commission says 195 deaths occurred in Natal in August and 125 in the province last month.



# In search of the 'excesses'

Brian King

WHAT really happened at the ANC's training camps in exile? Who was responsible for the human rights abuses

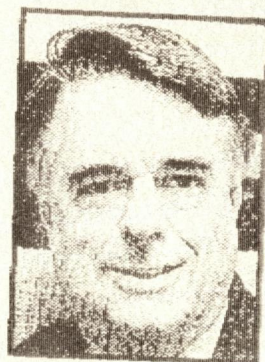
committed by the ANC's security department against the cadres they detained?

These are the key questions confronting Durban advocate Robert Douglas (SC), who is chairing who looks to become the most comprehensive inquiry into this thorny matter ever staged.

South Africa Communist Party (SACP) chief Chris Hani has already admitted that 'excesses' did occur — that there was a period in exile when both guilty and innocent people were targeted in their efforts to unmask South African government "spies".

"... there was a time when our security actually dealt with detainees in a way I never accepted," Mr Hani is on record as saying.

Mr Douglas told the Sunday Tribune on Friday that he would begather-



Robert Douglas

ing evidence from as many exiles as possible, both in South Africa and abroad.

"It's not always an easy task because they are scattered overseas and all around South Africa," he said.

In 1990, Mr Douglas conducted a similar private commission of inquiry on behalf of the ANC-affiliated Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa. This inqui-

## Durban advocate's duty is to dig out dark secrets of ANC training camps

ry was into the causes of violence in the Natal Midlands area during that time, and in May 1990 he delivered an interim report to the International Commission of Jurists which was largely favourable to the ANC/UDF.

This time he is chairing the independent Commission of Inquiry convened by the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation (IFF) into the ANC's alleged human rights abuses in the camps in exile.

Mr Douglas — one-time mayor of Umhlanga Rocks who stood for the Progressive Party in 1970 — has already met with exiles in London and held discussions in Holland with the professor of

African Studies at Leiden University, Stephen Ellis, who wrote *Comrades Against Apartheid*, a history of the SACP in exile.

Mr Douglas has also held discussions in London with Amnesty International's (AI) Southern African head Richard Carver — AI is conducting its own inquiry — and, if time permits, Mr Douglas will be travelling to Sweden to gather evidence from about 10 exiles who have asked for political asylum there.

"I'll also probably go over to Washington to see the witnesses who gave evidence before a senate inquiry (into the ANC detention camps)," he said.

"I've heard a number of allegations from about 40 exiles of very serious

human rights abuses: torture, murder, abduction, severe brutality by camp guards, including the shooting of prisoners.

"I've heard evidence from many MK cadres detained in Quatro (the notorious camp) and also from a number of relatives, whose sons and brothers have simply disappeared after joining the ANC in exile, and who have never been heard of again.

"One of my terms of reference is to find out what happened to them and whether they're still alive. I also have to ascertain whether the ANC is still holding prisoners in Uganda and Tanzania," he said.

Although it is not one of the terms of reference of the Douglas Commission, the question whether the victims of these human rights abuses in exile have a legal remedy in South Africa has arisen during the hearing's discussions.

It is a matter which the victims will probably take up in due course, said Mr Douglas. It is believed that if they are successful in their claims against the ANC, the organisation could find itself paying out millions of rands.



## Standoff at Richmond



DEFENCE Force members separate IFP supporters, in the background, from ANC supporters during yesterday's tense stand-off near Richmond after angry Inkatha members tried to prevent more than 200 ANC refugees from returning to their homes in Phateni, from which they fled more than a year ago.

Right: IFP member Paulus Vezi tells SADF members that the ANC supporters must "get-out".

*Pictures: Garth Stead*





Inkatha leaders could face charges as . . .

# Buthelezi leads massive march



IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose (left) and Kwazulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi lead thousands of supporters through Johannesburg yesterday.

**Brondan Seery**

KWAZULU Chief Minister and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, together with other leaders, was at the head of the mass Zulu protest march through Johannesburg yesterday. They could find themselves facing charges after their supporters blatantly ignored the recent ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

SAP liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said police would open investigation dockets and forward them to the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand for a decision on whether the Zulu leaders would be prosecuted.

Among the evidence included with the dockets would be videotaped footage of the march, filmed from the air and the ground.

As the kilometre-long river of marchers surged through Johannesburg from George Goch hostel to John Vorster Square police station, police riot units made no effort to disarm the protesters.

Captain Opperman said marchers had ignored police requests to them

prior to the event to leave their "traditional weapons" at home. He said no attempt had been made to remove weapons because of "the tremendous numbers of people involved".

He estimated the size of the crowd at between 10 000 and 15 000 and said the people were "by and large very well-behaved and well-disciplined".

IFP Transvaal organiser Themba Khoza, clad in leopard-skin loin cloth and headgear, said he thought the march was "a great success" and a "signal that we, the Zulus, will not stand by and allow other people to decide our future without consulting us".

Dr Buthelezi and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose handed over a petition to police Brigadier Braam Strauss, in which they called for the setting up of a "national multiparty conference of review".

The petition rejected the "record of understanding" reached between the ANC and the government and charged that the agreement that there would be elections for a constituent assembly was a "denial of trust and a flagrant breaking of undertakings given to the parties at Codesa by the government".



## Tension takes toll at poll

Thabo Thulo

FIFTEEN people, the same number as that of a rugby side, turned out to vote in municipal elections that took place this

week in the jittery and tension-filled KwaZulu capital of Ulundi.

Prince Petrus Zulu, councillor for A ward in Ulundi, retained his seat by a majority of three votes after the results,

which sounded like a score between two well balanced sides, were announced amid tight security.

The councillor, the younger brother to the Zulu monarch King Zwelithini, obtained nine votes while the challenger Mr Richard Ngunjane managed six.

Prince Zulu blamed the disappointing turnout on intimidation, harassment and the state of emergency-like situation that prevails in Ulundi.

The highly charged atmosphere had politicised the municipal elections that were underway and in which Prince Zulu, one of the winners, said he nearly lost his life.

The prince said he fought the election on a land issue but his opponent fought his campaign on his loyalty to the IFP. Charges of being an ANC member have also been made against Prince Zulu which he vehemently denied.

Prince Zulu said he was he was fighting for people in his constituency to have houses.

"All housing sites in my constituency, including those earmarked for business, had been sold by the Ministry of Interior to private developers without consulting the elected councillors".

"I told potential voters who cannot afford the developers' homes what the ministry had done", he said.



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# ROELF 'UNFAIRLY IMPLICATED'

## Goldstone explains

"ON the basis that the reports relied on were false, Minister Meyer has been unfairly implicated in this matter," Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, Chairman of the Goldstone Commission, said in a statement last night.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer had told Mr Justice Goldstone that the two reports found in the files of Military Intelligence, reflecting that he had ordered the termination of former CCB member Ferdi Barnard's services, were not true.

Mr Meyer was Minister of Defence in December last year when Mr Barnard's services with the

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# Roelf 'unfairly implicated'

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SADF were terminated.

Mr Barnard was implicated on Monday by the Goldstone Commission in attempts to smear the African National Congress by linking its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to criminal activities.

Mr Justice Goldstone said it had been assumed by the Goldstone Commission that the references in the MI files "would not have falsely implicated the then Minister of Defence".

"That the files were official files of Military Intelligence was confirmed on oath by the present senior officer of the Military Intelligence establishment from which they were seized."

There had been no other evidence in the files or knowledge by the Commission implicating or suggesting knowledge by the then Minister of Defence with regard to the employment or dismissal of Mr Barnard.

There also was no suggestion in the seized files that Mr Meyer should

have been consulted or informed of Mr Barnard's employment.

"I would like to add that Press reports to the effect that I drew inferences in consequence of the reported knowledge by the Minister of the dismissal of Barnard are not correct. I made no comments at all in that regard," the statement concluded.

Earlier yesterday Mr Meyer denied all knowledge of Mr Barnard's links with the SADF.

He never knew of Mr Barnard's alleged appointment or dismissal from the SADF, Mr Meyer said.

He was reacting to the announcement by the Goldstone Commission on Monday that he had ordered Mr Barnard's dismissal in December 1991 after evidence in a court case that he was still employed by Military Intelligence.

Mr Meyer, in his statement, emphasised that the first time he heard about Mr Barnard's connection with the SADF was on Monday when Mr

Justice Goldstone's report was brought to his attention.

Speaking on Agenda last night, Mr Meyer said his name had been falsely used, at a time when he was out of the country, in Military Intelligence files claiming he had known of the employment and dismissal of Mr Barnard.

Mr Meyer denied ever having known of Mr Barnard's involvement in the SADF.

He had made inquiries as to why his name had falsely been implicated in the MI files.

"The explanation that was given to me was that this was probably used to emphasise the importance of the termination of the services of Mr Barnard ... but falsely so. Even at that stage that this was done, I was not even in the country."

Mr Meyer said when he took over as Defence Minister in August last year, he immediately instructed the Chief of the SADF and other heads of SADF departments that there should be no SADF involvement in any political activity.

He agreed with the in-

terviewer that his instructions had apparently been disobeyed, and stated his belief that strong action would be taken in this regard.

Asked how he could not have known of the alleged military smear campaign while heading the Defence Ministry, Mr Meyer said Mr Barnard had allegedly been used as an informant by the military. It was not common for heads of intelligence agencies or departments to know all the sources used.

"In this case, I think it was not even to the knowledge of the acting — now head of — military intelligence."

On Mr Justice Goldstone's appeal to the government to extend the commission's powers to investigate a wider range of security operations, Mr Meyer said the government would need to discuss with the judge "how far and exactly what kind of powers and authority he would need".

The government, in principle, was not against extending the commission's investigative scope. — Sapa.



## I'm prepared to talk to Mandela: Buthelezi

OTTAWA. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said yesterday he was open to meeting African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela to try to stop continuing violence in their country.

"I'm prepared to talk to Dr Mandela . . . but it

seems he is not prepared to see me," Chief Buthelezi told a Canadian parliamentary foreign affairs committee.

Chief Buthelezi was on a private visit to Canada and was due to meet Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall, who chairs the Commonwealth foreign ministers committee on South Africa.

Ms McDougall said on Monday that she would urge Chief Buthelezi to return to the negotiating table to advance South Africa's transition from White rule to democracy.

Chief Buthelezi, who has not met Mr Mandela

for more than a year, first wants a private session with Mr Mandela to settle their differences before returning to the multilateral talks.

Chief Buthelezi reacted angrily when Canadian Members of Parliament questioned his willingness to help stop the violence in South Africa.

"I really hate some of you Canadians, pontificating about the violence like this, you know, because you are sitting pretty here," he said.

"People always like to put me in a negative light," he complained. "I am not the problem . . . I'm not responsible for the violence in South Africa." — Sapa-Reuters.



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## Zulu king pledges opposition to ANC

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday said South Africa's largest tribe would resist rather than be ruled by what he called the Communist followers of ANC president Nelson Mandela.

"We are not prepared to fight the war — that will find our people have lost a lot," King Goodwill told BBC television.

But he added: "If it is the time (to fight), well, we'll have to face it, to save this country from being led by the Communist man."

He did not identify "the Communist man", but political analysts said he was referring to Mr Mandela, whose ANC is allied to the South African Communist Party.

Mr Mandela is not a member of the Communist Party, which is influential among large Black trade unions, but says the alliance is necessary to bring White minority rule to an end.

About 8 000 people have been killed in Natal since feuding broke out in

1984 between rival Zulus allied to the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party led by the king's uncle, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

King Goodwill, who denies actively supporting traditionalist Inkatha, said he would not allow his people to be "slaves again" under an ANC government.

"I won't allow my people to be slaves again. That was enough with apartheid," he said.

### Calm

Last week Mr Mandela called on the king to appeal for calm among rival factions in Natal. Chief Buthelezi accused Mr Mandela of trying to drive a wedge between him and his nephew.

Chief Buthelezi told the BBC he agreed with the king's sentiments, adding it would take time before the power struggle between his supporters and Mr Mandela's could end.

"I have worked all my life for peaceful change in this country but, of

course, if I am forced to lead my people through the dark water, I will be there."

Senior ANC Natal official Mr Harry Gwala, notorious for his fiery statements denouncing Inkatha, told the BBC: "If they come to kill us, we won't meet them with Bibles. We'll kill them if they come to kill us."

• Mr Mandela yesterday expressed disappointment at the "negative" response to his call for King Zwelithini to use his power to end the Natal violence.

Mr Mandela said he regarded the Zulu king as an independent monarch and that he had expected a positive response to his call.

He said the monarch should not align himself with any political party, including the Inkatha Freedom Party.

King Zwelithini should not allow himself to be used by reactionary forces by making statements damaging to the democratic cause. — Sapa-Reuters.



# Top officials: Clash with judge looming

Citizen Reporter

**WARNINGS** of a confrontation between Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and the security forces over the manner in which he dealt with the Ferdi Barnard affair were last night circulating in Pretoria.

This was said to The Citizen by top-ranking officials after the qualified retraction by Mr Justice Goldstone of the allegations he made concerning the role the former Minister of Defence, now Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roel Meyer, in dismissal of Mr Barnard from Military Intelligence.

Gen Leon Mellet, chief of the public relations division of the SA Police, said the police were high-

ly upset about allegations made by Mr Justice Goldstone on the basis of evidence it had not been given the opportunity to reply to.

He mentioned the allegation that Mr Barnard had access to the criminal records of the police.

It could have been that Mr Barnard had access through some unauthorised channel, but it had definitely not been police policy to provide him with such access.

Counsel and legal advisers last night also questioned whether the powers vested in the commission superseded those of other Acts, such as the Official Secrets Act or the Protection of Information Act.

Mr Justice Goldstone had been challenged in this regard at a previous

hearing of the commission, by Mr Anton Mostert SC, but the matter had not been taken to court for adjudication.

Mr Justice Goldstone had exceeded his mandate in making public disclosures on the Ferdi Barnard affair, and other matters previously, said two advocates familiar with the commissions proceedings.

The provisions of the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act, in terms of which the commission operates, makes specific provision for the disclosure of information arising from the commission's investigations.

Section 10 (1) of the Act states:

"The commission shall after completion of an in-

quiry prepare a report for submission to the State President and may at any time before completion of the inquiry submit an interim report to the State President in respect of any matter which in its opinion should be urgently brought to the attention of the State President.

Section 10 (2) states: "The State President may at any time after the conclusion of an inquiry in accordance with the provisions of this Act, whether before or after a report referred to in subsection (1) make known for public information the facts in question and the findings of the commission which he deems necessary in the public interest."

The advocates said this specific provision of the Act was reinforced by other provisions in Section Seven and Section Eight.

From the nature of the disclosures made by Mr Justice Goldstone, there was no doubt that the statement he had made was based on an inquiry of the commission, and the proper authority to whom a report should have been made was the State President, who was overseas.

It made no provision for disclosure by a nominee of the State President.

The question of similar actions in the past had been raised by counsel with parties represented at the commission.

The State President's office said in response to a question by The Citizen that it could make no statement on the matter before President De Klerk had been consulted.

Mr Justice Goldstone, who was in Durban yesterday, could not be reached for comment.

According to information given to The Citizen, Mr Justice Goldstone made his allegations on the basis of evidence heard in camera. Various parties against whom the allegations were directed were not represented.

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# Ferdi: My plan wasn't accepted

By Sapa,  
Fred de Lange  
and Hugo Hagen

FORMER Military Intelligence operative Ferdi Barnard yesterday denied that MI's Directorate of Covert Information (DCI) had accepted his proposals to compromise members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In a statement handed to reporters at the Webster inquest by his lawyers, he said he was disappointed Mr Justice Richard Goldstone had "thought it well" not to report the fact that DCI had never implemented his proposals and had, in fact, rejected them.

Mr Justice Goldstone said on Monday that

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seized MI files showed MI had approved a plan submitted by Mr Barnard to subvert MK by linking it to criminal acts and crime syndicates by using a network of prostitutes, homosexuals and drug dealers.

In addition, the SA Defence Force had denied the former Civil Co-operation Bureau operative was in its employ as late as December 19, 1991, while it "was known in high quarters that such denial was untrue", Mr Justice Goldstone told a news conference.

Mr Barnard confirmed he had been in the employ of MI from May 1991 to December 31, 1991.

He said after his appointment to MI he was asked by Col Gerrie Borman and Cmdt Terence Scallan to make a submission how he would go about to gather information on criminal activities by MK members.

Mr Barnard said he proposed that MK members be compromised "where necessary" about violence in which they were involved, and that his task group have access to telephone bugs and SA Police computers.

Col Borman responded his submission did not fit in with the way the DCI functioned, and that the DCI was not involved in the compromising of people. The DCI was only a

supportive element of the SAP.

Mr Barnard said he sketched this to Mr Justice Goldstone on Monday, and had stated clearly that no actions had been launched to compromise people, and had in fact pointed out that DCI would not become involved in such actions.

He had clearly stated to Mr Justice Goldstone that none of the abilities of the task group he (Barnard) had envisaged were used because the DCI had turned down his proposal.

Mr Barnard said Mr Justice Goldstone's omission to tell the media about his submission had resulted in sensational reportage which had unnecessarily and unfairly discredited the SADF "with obviously the only advantage being a measure of favourable publicity for the commission".

He had given Mr Justice Goldstone his full co-operation when he saw him on Monday, and had supplied all the information required.

He had also seen commission officers Mr T Pretorius and Mr J J du Toit on November 12, and had given them his complete co-operation and supplied all the relevant information they desired.

Mr Barnard further said he had been rewarded by the SAP for information which had led to the arrest of people last year and this year for illicit diamond dealing, dealing in cocaine, armed robbery

and other serious offences.

Mr Barnard said yesterday he was convinced "some forces were at work — maybe even from within National Intelligence — to make a scapegoat out of him".

Addressing a Johannesburg news conference yesterday afternoon to "make the other side of the story known", Mr Barnard said Mr Justice Goldstone, in his Press conference on Monday, never mentioned that he (Barnard) was only involved in intelligence gathering and that all decisions were taken at "very high level".

His task group consisted of an ex-SAP drug squad detective, one Coloured agent and two Black agents.

He said he never knew what other sections of MI were doing as they all worked on a need to know basis, but although he specialised in MK matters it became clear to him that all organisations over a wide front, which might have been involved with political violence and illegal firearms, were being monitored by DCI.

He also strengthened his links with the Mat-drax smugglers and got to know all the smugglers, smuggling routes and networks in Black townships on the Reef.

All this had ceased when he was told on December 31 that Minister Roelf Meyer had ordered his dismissal from MI.



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## Meyer asks for talks with Cosag

MINISTER of Constitutional Affairs Mr Roelf Meyer yesterday once again invited members of the Congress of South Africans Group (Cosag) to join in the negotiation process.

He said in a statement in Pretoria that he had learnt with disappointment of the decision by the group — the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophu-

thatswana, Ciskei, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — to defer a conference with the government on the continuation of the negotiation process.

The conference, which had been planned as a series of meetings in the past weeks, was to have been held in Pretoria yesterday and today, Mr Meyer said. — Sapa.



# Police chief criticises Goldstone

MR JUSTICE Goldstone has come under fire from South African Police Commissioner, Gen Johan van der Merwe, who claimed yesterday that the police were prejudiced by the commission of inquiry.

Gen Van der Merwe's statement followed revelations by Mr Justice Goldstone on Monday that Military Intelligence was involved in a covert

operation aimed at discrediting the African National Congress' military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"It is regretted the South African Police was not given an opportunity to test the allegations which were made before the commission or given an opportunity to present evidence," the commissioner said.

"When untested allegations are presented in such a manner that (they

are) perceived as facts, it contributes to an already false perception that the SAP is unwilling or unable to perform its task,"

Gen Van der Merwe said.

Mr Justice Goldstone indicated that a witness brought before the commission by the SAP had been the initial link in providing clues to the MI's involvement.

Gen Van der Merwe said the witness had been

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## Goldstone is criticised

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brought before the commission "to prove that allegations made to the Vrye Weekblad of 30 October 1992 by Mr Loao Alberto Cuna, a deserter from the Mozambican Army, are false".

The SAP had wanted to refute Mr Cuna's claim that he had been paid by the police, among other things, to commit certain acts of violence.

Certain facts had come to light while the commission questioned the witness, and this had led to the discovery of the MI operational centre, he said.

Gen Van der Merwe said claims that former Civil Co-operation Bureau agent Ferdi Barnard had gained access to the SAP Criminal Bureau's computer system could as

yet not be established.

Police had not been given an opportunity to do so or to respond to the claim, he said.

Gen Van der Merwe also took issue with Mr Justice Goldstone's comment that police "have been singularly unsuccessful in apprehending the culprits responsible for thousands of political murders over the past couple of years".

"I wish to point out that such a statement could fuel the perception that the police are unwilling or incapable of solving such crimes."

"It also contradicts the judge's own view 'that the morale of the SAP is being jeopardised on a daily basis by verbal and physical attacks on its members'."

Mr Justice Goldstone should "take note of the successes that the SA

Police have achieved in solving crimes of a political nature", the general said.

These included 1 241 arrests in connection with 251 cases in which 517 people were killed in political violence.

In addition, 1 704 AK-47 rifles and 2 802 revolvers and pistols had been seized since the beginning of 1991 and since July last year 16 691 cases of illegal possession of firearms were investigated, which resulted in 13 146 prosecutions.

"If the possible consequence of the use of these weapons are considered, thousands of lives were probably saved."

Regarding the case of unlawful possession of an Uzi sub-machinegun referred to by Mr Justice Goldstone, Gen Van der Merwe said the case had been remanded on re-

quest of the defence to February 17, 1993 for the purpose of applying for indemnity.

Mr Justice Goldstone's inference that no action had been taken regarding the carrying of prohibited weapons by Inkatha Freedom Party supporters during recent marches in Durban and Johannesburg, was devoid of truth, Gen Van der Merwe said.

"As far as the Johannesburg march is concerned, the matter is still being investigated and the case docket will be submitted to the Attorney-General in due course."

"With regard to the Durban march, certain contraventions of the law were indeed investigated and the case docket presented to the senior public prosecutor, who declined to prosecute. This matter is however, being investigated further. — Sapa.