By HERMAN JANSEN THE Inner worklngs of the shadowy Clvll Cooperation Bureau have come to light In documents flled with the Pretorla supreme court this week. The documents show that. apart from active field agents, the CCB's 180 employees ranged from doctors to panelbeaters. The structure and financial operations of the CCB are outlined in the organlsations's "staff plan and financial plan", which was placed before the court in support of claims totalling RLG-mtllion by three former agents. Daan du Toit (his CCB codename), who is suing Defence Minister Magnus Malan and the SADF for the retrenchment package he says he was guaranteed, was in line for a senior post In the South West Afncan Department of Agriculture when he was recruited. ProSpects Mr Du Tolt, 39, the father of four children aged from three to eight. has a BSc in agriculture and worked for the Department of Agriculture. Armscor and the Eastern Transvaal Agricultural Cooperative before he moved to South West Africa in 1985. Two years later, he was approached by Colonel Joe erster, former managing dlrector of the CCB. Mr Du Toit says in his Court documents reveal secret details of pilot, printer, panelbeater - and a PRO By HERMAN JANSEN affidavit that, because he was in line for promotion. he insisted on knowing his prospects for financial advancement. He was told by Colonel Verster that, if the CCB disbanded before he reached pensionable age, his pay-out would be calculated as if he had been employed by the_ public service until the age 01 60. This was continued in the service contract he signed on January 3 1989, as a co-ordinator with specialist functions in Region 8, which conducted operations beyond South Africa's borders. The SADF has offered Mr Du Toit - whose present salary is R69009 a year - a retrenchment package of R111 678, but he is claiming R379 728. According to his affidavit, the CCB staff plan which covers all employee benefits - and the financial plan were drawn up by Raymond Pretorius, a senior Amiscor official. Compulsory Plerre Theron, an audltor tiappointed by the First Respondent" (General Malan) had acted as consultant in the formulation of the plans, claims Mr Du Toit. The staff plan divided the CCB into eight regions, each run by a manager and deputy manager, with 14 other posts - including salesmen, secretaries and two "black workers". An organisational chart of the CCB's top structure shows it was divided into six sections _ production planning. production, security, marketing, support and specialists. The next line of manage ment was divided into finance, personnel, methods and organisation, training, liaison and communication sections. Sreeialists included pub ic relations officers, computer experts, pilots, lawyers. shipping experts, translators and printers. The methods and organisation division included posts for at least one doctor, a psychologist, an ethnologist. a social worker. electronics and mechanical engineers and scientists; while the support division had panelbeaters. mechanics, caterers and communications experts. Their perks included one hundred percent medical aid cover and a full funeral scheme. Membership of the organisation's social club was compulsory and agents were encouraged to join outside sports and recreation clubs, for which they were also reimbursed.

Refused Funds were advanced to agents for the purchase of cars for their personal use and they were paid lBe a kilometre for "workerelated" travel. Agents were also provided with capital to set up a variety of front organisations, but were not permitted to uchase profits". Two former SADF officers, codenamed Derrick Farrell and Riaan Bosch. also filed claims against the CCB in Pretoria this Mr Farrell, 31 --- who is claiming R377 886 joined the SADF in May 1982 after doing his national service. He was stationed in the operational area as an intelligence officer until the beginning of 1986. when he was transferred to Special Forces "on the orders of General A J M Joubert". When he joined the CCB in January 1989, he had to resign his commission six months before he was to be promoted to major. Mr Farrell -- who is married and the father of a five-year-old child and an 18-month-old baby - is now earning R44 766 a year. He has refused the SADF's offer of re-appointment as it would not provide him with the same finanvial benefits he onjoyed as a CCB agent. Mr Bosch. 36, is demanding R874 514 in settlement of his services. A policeman for six years before he joined the SADF'S Special Forces. Mr Bosch was recruited for the CCB while studying for a BMil degree at the Military Academy in Saldanha Bay. He also had to lesign from the SADF and has refused the offer of reappointment to 5 Revonnaissance Regiment. Mr Bosch - married and the father of three children # is currently earning 1162 118 a year. The three claimants are among 30 dissident CCB agents who have refused the SADF's retrenchment

packages and are expected

to claim more than RSO-million.
Their application will be heard on Thursday.

.. - - i.._.. --.-' _._._. -.9. eun_- - mw .0..... .-u.. u. . Death squads ride again ' \$6.15 VKXRXCH HE parcel bomb murder of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni recalls the assassination of David Webster in May 1989. Both were killed by sophisticated assassins. Mr Mlangenis colleagues justifiably describe his murder as a thigh technology assassination'i With equal reason, Dr Websterts friends see his death as a "political execution carried out by a crack death squad? Both men were investigating the activities of death squads when they were killed. Mr Mlangeniis death has already triggered charges that State death squads are still operating, despite assurances from Defence Minister Magnus Malan that the secret Civil Co-Operation Bureau has ceased to exist and the. finding of the ,Harms Commission that police-sponsored assassins do not hunt "State enemies". The parcel bomb which killed Mr Mlano geni was addressed to Dirk Coetzee, the former policeman whose disclosures about the subterranean activities of the police helped force President de Klerk to appoint the Harms Commission. The parcel was posted last May. If it had reached its target. Mr Coetzee would not have been alive to give evidence in General Lothar N'eethlingts defamation case against Vrye Weekblad and The Weekly Mail; if he had been silenced, Mr Justice Johan Kriegler may not have found that, on the balance of probabilities, General Neethling did - as Mr Coetzee claimed - supply him with poison for his former murderous activities. General Malan told Parliament hardly more than a fortnight ago that the CCB ceased to exist in February last year, or two months before the parcel bomb that killed Mr Mlangeni was posted. The CCB, however, is a corporate suspect in Mr Mlangenits murder. General Malan has dis-

missed those who still voice concern about the CCB as people who udo not know what they are talking about". It will require more than arrogant disclaimers to assuage

their genuine anxieties.

. a q VTW-W''

NeEEling Challenges court findings on poison Claims SAP forensics chief Lt-Gen Lothar Neethhng has applied for leave to appeal against a Supreme Court judgment which found he could have supplied poison to former police captain Dirk Coetzee for use in an attempt to murder ANC members. Neethling sued Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail for RLSm in damages for stories published in November and December 1989 which alleged Neethling had supplied Coetzee with the poison. The general denied he had ever supplied Coetzee with poison or had ever met the man.

Both newspapers defended the action on the grounds of truth and public interest.

Mr Justice Kriegler dismissed Neethling's claim with costs in January this year after finding that Coetzees disclosures about the pcison and the eXistence of a covert police hit squad were true and had been published in the SUSAN RUSSELL

public interest.

While the Judge did not accept that the specific allegations published in the Weekly Mail article had been proved to be true. he held that debate over the issue had been of such importance that the public had a right to be informed. The judge also found that Neethling had deliberately misled the court and the Harms Commission on several aspects.

Neethling's appeal began before Mr Justice Kriegler in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

His counsel Fanie Cilliers SC submitted that there was a reasonable prospect of success on appeal.

Cilliers said the court had erred in finding that the self-supporting statements Coetzee gave to Journalists and the Harms Commissxon were admxssxble eVidence.

The court. he argued. had also erred in making a factual finding that Neethling had personally supplied Coetzee With p0ison.

This finding was based mainly on the court's acceptance of Coetzee's description of Neethling's office and house. Cilliers said Coetzee was a single witness who had a motive for discrediting the police and senior officers. Coetzee was also known to have tab-

ricated evidence. '

He said the court had also erred in making factual findings about the alleged offences committed by Coetzee and other members of the security and wide-ranging to be relevant to the dispute between them.

Sapa reports the two newspapers gave notice that they would oppose the application. which is also aimed at reversmg the "with costs" ruling against Neethling.
Argument continues today.

BLOOD spattered the pavement of Durbanis busy Warwick Avenue last week as ANC member MthunZt Xiakazi was shot to death.

The ANC says askaris did the dirty work. but the SAP says policemen killed Njakazi.

A woman bystander was injured in the shooting and a handgrenade was allegedly seized.

Askaris are former members of the ANC's military wing. Umkhonto weSizwe (MK). who have. subsequently joined the SAP and are now responsable for tracking down former comrades.

SAP liaison officer Captain Coert Marais said police "confronted two suspects in Warwick Avenue, while investigating a robbery.

He said the suspects pointed a gun at policemen before fleeing. One was later shot while being arrested.

But the ANC and Durban lawyer Kwenm Mlaba. representing the deceased's family. disputed the police version of the incident.

Mlaba said he had been informed by Njakazfs companion. known only as Vusi. that they were on the way to take an Umlazi-bound taxi when they came across two local men with whom they hadiundergone military training outside the country.

Unaware that their former comrades (A?

Police' acc

'- 3?:

were now policemen. they exchanged greetings and Njakazi and his f riend asked the askaris for money. Mlaba said.

Njakazi was given a R50 note by one of the askaris. whom Mlaba identified as coming from Chesterville in Durban. They then parted.

As Njakazi and his friend were about to board the Umlazi-bound taxi. the two former comrades confronted them with guns blazing. Vusi managed to escape unhurt but a passerby was wounded and Njakazi killed.

The ANCis southern Natal chairman and the organisations chief of intellieence. Jacob Zuma. supported Mlaba's iota On

sed of.

using traitors to do their dirty work version.

Zuma said Njakazi udid not attempt to run away at all. Neither was he armed nor on any military mission nor involved in any robbery?

He said there was doubt whether the handgrenade allegedly found by police had been in Njakaziis possession.

"Njakazi's murder is more proof of the continuatiOn of the State's cam-

the continuatiOn of the State's campaigns against members of the ANC. We note that police have admitted to killing him."

Zuma said Njakazi was one of the MK guerrillas already in the country at the time when the ANCis armed strug-

gle was suspended and he was at times

acting "under orders of the ANC in line with the Pretoria Minute".
iiMK soldiers are under orders not to carry out any military activities."
The SAP this week stood by its original report, but emphasised they had not stated that Njakazi was a robbery suspect.

I Two recent civil actions against Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in the Durban Supreme Court indicated askaris were active in Natal and operated from safe-houses in Durban and Maritzburg.

MK guerrillas Mbuyiselo
Mkontwana and Fonono Mchunu told
how they were "detained overnight" at
a farmhouse about (30km from Durban. i
A white security policeman threat-.
ened to douse Mkontwana with acid if
he did not co-operate and join the askaris

A judge ordered police to stop harassing. abducting or torturing Mkontwana.

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Widespread suspicions ofa
police cover up surround this
weeks demand by the
attorney general of Natal that
a top police general be
withdrawn from a probe into
the Trust F eeds massacre.
The general has denied being
deployed to whitewash
police involvement in
political crimes. but many
questions remain. reports
GAVE DAVIS
N extraordinary row between
one of the counu'yis top police
officers and the auomey gen-
eral of Natal has raised new
doubts about police impar.
tiality in investigating politi.
cal killings.
The future erupted this week with re-
ports that Lieutenant General Ronnie
van der Westhuizen. controversial
chief of countrywide investigations
into political crimes. had been pulled
offtheprobeintoagnsly Natal massa-
cre amid a backdrop of suspicion that
evidence may have been tampered
with.
"the controversy centres on the trial of
six policemen. including two senior
white officers. charged with 1 1 counts
of murder arismg out of a massacre at
Thtst Feeds township. near New Han-
over. in 1988.
Natal Attorney General Mike Imberis
demand for Van der Westhutzea to be
withdrawn from the case. apparently
basedona beliefthatthegeneiat was at-
tempung a cover-up. ted to a top-level
meeting of police generals. Among
those present were Commtssxoner of
Police General Johan van der Merwe,
Imber. CID chief Lieutenant General
Basie Smit and Van der Westhuizen
himself.
In an interview with The Weekly
Mail. the general denied that he was a
ufixer" being deployed to whitewash
police involvement in political crimes.
But in Natal there is widespread sus-
picion that lmber wanted the general
called off the case because he believed
evidence of police involvement in the
massacre was betnz covered up.
The AC has denied reports that Van
der Wesmuizen was about to be arresr-
ed because of commaints from his 01'.
fice about the generat's behaviour. But
Imber did not dispute that he had de-
manch that Van aer Westhuizcn be
. Withdrawn or that he had cvxdcnce of a
potice cover ub.
ht am not mated to comment in de-
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statement this week.
"I wish to state emphatically. howev-

mi on these attegauons. as such comments may prove prejudicial to the ongoing investigations." Imber said in a

er. that there is no truth whatsoever in the allegation that 14051 Ronnie van der Westhttizen ts about to be arrested. or indeed that any grounds fa his arrest extSt." But serious questions still surround the role played by the geneiai in the tnvesuganons into the Tntst Feeds massacre and other political killings: 0 Why did Imba want Van (is Westhuiaen withdrawn from the case? Statements hum the potice and the AG's office have failed to clarify this question. 0 Is the controversial General. whose career has seen him at the helm of a number of politically sensitive investigations. being deployed as a police trouble-shooter entntsted with playing down police involvement? When he was chief investigating otTicer m the Harms inquiry into political killings. lawyers said in court papers that he had failed to provule "evidence of any significance adverse to the SAP" - yet the lawyers said they were able to obtain such information Without much effort. During the marathon KTC trial. Van der Wesmutzen - who was CID chief in the WeStem Cape wnen wuaoek Vigilantes razeo shacks m the Old Crossroaas and KTC squatter camps - testified that he 'd seen no need to invesu gate allegations of police coma plicuy tn the attacks because no formal compta'mts had been taid. Yet at the time Video footage was broaacast by the BBC which snowed wecw 'LW' 36 13% I HIt-squad contenton .. Chlet Mhlabunzima Mashumulo (left), burgln February. SiphoMadlala(nght)daimshewasamemberofmehit squadrespensible white men fighting on the side of the witdoeke. a This week Van der Westhuizen told The Weekly Mail he saw his ditty as being to place the "true facts" before the country's attomeys-generai. To suggest that. havmg ordered the arrestoftheaewsedmme TntstFeeth trial. he would now set about with evidence was hfoolish". he said. "Only a bloody fool would think that" He decried being labelled a "fixer". deployed to camoutiage possxble ooliee involvement in the cnmes under invesugatton. "Iamproud to beapoliceman. Ifapoliceman does wrong. he must go. 1 don't want bad cops tn the force." Van der Westhutzen said he was considering legal action against the newsmrs which published reports that his arrest was tmmtnent. Six women and two children were

Six women and two children were among those gunned down at Trust Feeds dunng a funeml vigil in December 1988. At a subsequent inquest. it was found that circumstantial evidence linkedtwospeciaipolioemmtothe killtags.

Finally brought to court at the beginning of this month. the men admitted being the gunmai and said other specxai constables were tnvolved.

But they claimed the orders for the attack had come t'rom senior. w'nite officers who had atterwams told them to iidisappear". They had then Jomed Chief Mangosutnu Butheiezn's kwaZulu police force.

This weett. tour specxai constables aireauy arrested were tomed in the dock by former New Hanover ponce stauon killed outside his home In PI etennarltz-

WEBMAYEY

comtamierCaptaianm Mitehelianc riotsquad mnberCaptainJPvander Heever - the most seniu' police Offlr caseverd'iargedwithapolititzluime The twomenplwdednotguilty. Allstx have been suspended pending the outcome oftheirmal.

Expected to get puberty underway tr. 8 the Natal Supreme Court in October. t: is hoped the that Will shed lighten the true circumstances of the Tntst Feeds massacre.

But the ramifications of the trial ex tendfarbeyomithecomuotxnandholt potentially exp'tOSive unpucations for : police force battling tomaimainasemblance of credibility amid a wetter d at legauons that it is unable to investigatt itself.

According to Democratic Party MP for Greytown Pierre Cronje members of the Trust Feeds community sen! frantic appeals for help to police authorities and then State President PW Botha. anucxpanng the violence in their area. Yet nothing was done - and alt those so tar charged axe membas of the SAP.

"The whole pack of cans is going t(
come down With this case." sait
Cronje. "Mitchell is unlikely to take the
rap Without Letting all. if there waspo
lice oompticity in these killings then it h
gomg to come out soon."

These developments came in the samc week that former poiice agent. Siphc Madlaia. was subpoenaed to testify ir the inaueSt mm the death of Chie:
Mhiabunztma Maohumuio. He ha alt reaay eontessed to killing the Commie sa leaner anti ciatms he did this on order horn the secunty police.

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Police told me
0 kill - claim
A CARLEFONVIIJJ-Z mttn has ciaimed- he By IKE MOTSAPI
was told to km NS mece II he wanted to tom
the poilce force. a wmless told the probe Into
. . I . , IeIzedIy toId to kill. is one of the Witnesses In a
allegen Irregutanttes Invotvmg the Werer- V
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'S e mcxaen; occsnz'z for the nosmon ot a policeman t'or thch he
His ntece. MonzI Moeate whom he was ai- . TO Page 2 h"
I was told to kill
my niece - claim
0 From Page 1
Mapmted. Hedidnotmowmathewouidbeaskedto
ItilIhia niece in orderto "get the job".
In an afiidavit submitted to Major Dries Stear by
Mongi' 3 mother Mt: Jane Mogale and MI- Dan Ndzeht.
chairman of the Carietonviue branch of the ANC and
Sally Sealey of the Independent Board of Inquiry Into
Formal Repression. she said:
"I am an adult female aged 41 who Is the mother of
Mong-I and reside: at 5315 Khutsong Township.
"1 am the mother of Mongt who Is the wanes: against
poliee-men accused of term: and assault at WeremIend
Police Unrest Unit.
"On Saturday. August 17 1991. my brother was
called to CanetonvIIIe Police Station.
"He had ptevtoust applied for a position of a
policeman and he thought he was gomg to be inter.
viewed on that day.
: "When he arrived at the police station nothing was
said about his .job application.
"He was asked whether he knew Mongi MogaIe and
he said he did. .
"He was then told that Many has caused a lot of
problems to the panama: who had been suspended
from duty due to Investigating being Iaunehed agatnst
the cop: III Welvetdiend. -
"A polieeman known as Bessie ordemd him to kill
Mongi if he wanted to be cmponed as a policeanan but
he refused. " she addetL '-
athm 316%
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i ...ill111 "IE ESSESEIIS BIIIIIIIBI'S, lilill11'BS allll Wl'llllll target;
THERE are two things that Pieter Botes loves to boast
About. The one ts how he "stirred the enemy" in
Mozambique; the other is the gravy" he made out ofAlbie

Sachs's right arm.

On the surface. the chubby and ruddy-faced Petrus jacobus "Pieter" Botes seems like a gentle and mild mannered person. Not the highly trained reconnaissance soldier he really is. But one Friday afternoon in April 1990 this 55-year-old former employee of the CCB became the first spy to break tanks and tell how this secretive organtsatton went about its nasty business. He did mention. however. that shortly before he left the CCB, he had been involved in a project in Namibia to disrupt Swapo before the November 1989 independence elections. "Verster told us to put cholera gerrm in the drinking water of a Swapo refugee Camp. There were many other protects 1 wrll tell you about. like Anton Lubowski who should never have died. The murder was a terrible mistake."

I asked Botes how many eliminations he has been involved in.

"Six," came the matter-of-fact reply. The look on his face was posttively cherubtc as he added: 'He constantly referred to the Sachs operation in his very smug and macabre way: tWe made a little gravy out of Albie's arm". using the word gravy to the Afrikaans dimunitive 'sousie'.

"I was a soldier and Albie was a soldier. no matter what - he said The psychological impact of the explosion delivered a tremendous blow to the enemy It had set them back for months. Other ANC members got the scare of their lives and left Mozambique.

"In the end. it was fortunate for us that Sachs did not die. You know, in a war it is sometimes better to maim than to kill the enemy. We knew that everywhere Sachs went in Maputo, people would see his stump arm and say: 'Look. the Boers blew it off. knowmg that we can do the same to anybody we choose.'

He showed me some of his documents, amongst others a false passport. a so called "shopping list" of Russian and East Bloc weapons he had been ordered to purchase in Mozambique. the official guidelines of the CCB. some letters and a death tile. marked tSecret', on a young Moumbican academic whose life was probably saved by the exposure of the CCB and the resignation of Botes. The day before Vote Weekblad was about to publish Botes's revelations, he phoned me and said he wanted to see me and Max du Preez as he was uncertain whether he should go ahead with publication. In order to persuade Botes of the importance of his story. a night of heavy drinking started. After many double btandies and coke. he lifted his glass and announced: hl am going to stuffthem up.

Over his haltlempty glass that night Botes confessed that he was a hom soldier and needed the excutement of hunting the "enemy" down. He said he believed totally in the concept of the CCB and that the excrtement of seaet warfare was still in his blood, "I miss the war. I need the action. I have asked friends what l can do to put some excitement back into my life. Somebody suggested that i should go tor tlying lessons. He said the sensation of freedom would still my urge for action But I told him: what do l do when I get back on the ground and I still haven't stuffed an up?"

Late that night Botes took us to his house because he had a bottle of pear mampoer he wanted us to taste. By that time. Max and 1 were extremely drunk. Boles, on the other hand. showed few Signs of intoxication We sat around the dinner table gulping down the mampoer. After two or

three tots, we told him that we could not posrubly down another one.

"I Will show you what I do to people who refuse to drink my mampoer." he said. He left the room and tame back WlIh a grain bag, from which he drew a Russian-manutactured RPG rocket launcher. He put the launcher against the wall and said: "Now you Will drink my pear mampoer." We finished the bottle. On the way back to Johannesburg. Du Preez was overcome by temporary blindness and stopped the car in the middle of the 11-17 OKTOBER 1991

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hıghway

Botes himself made a mockery out of the belief that the CCB was professional and that assassmations were planned to the finest detail. There was the murder attempt on Sachs that maimed him for life There was the attempt on the life of South African Communist Party leader Ioe Slovo that never materialtsed and a death plan for Durban anomey Kwenza Mlaba that could not possibly succeed (The CCB planned to kill him by usmg a ponsoned razor. although Mlaba has a beard and never shaves.) Botes and the CCB wasted hundreds of thousands of rands of taxpayers' money on ridiculous and far'fetched protects like buying an island olT the Moumbicztn coast. bribing a Zimbabwean opposrnon politicnan and paying Swapo members to throw cholera germs lnl0 drinking water. This man's bizarre personality is perha ps nest illustrated by a conversation we had just before he sold his Pretoria plot and moved down to the Cape west coast to start a new business venture. He told me that he believed that members of the CCB could constttute the core of a future rightwing revolution against State Prestdent F W tle Klerk and his government.

This is nothing new. otfcourse: the fear has been Widely expressed. We know the CCB generate their own funds, have weapons and are constituted so as to be able to survrve without any support trom the SADF. lue Verster had testified before the Harms Commission that "'10 CCB felt threatened by the changes In the political SIIUZHOD tn South Africa. But Botes had his own solution to the problem. He wanted me to arrange a meeting tor him With the MOS intelligence Chiefulacob Zuma. who was at one time also on his death list. Botes had a proposal he wanted to present to the ANC: if they would pay him R250 000. he would raise, command and arm a small but very special ANC army unit consrsttng of trusted former operatives. He wanted to tell Zuma that the ANC would need :I specml person and a specnl unit to fight against the threat the CCB tmy pose in futures tl am the man they need, I would stir the CCB, " he swore.

FROM TEACHER TO APARTHELD ASSASSIN

A famous black South African author once said: "God does not have enough tears to wash South Africa clean." As the story of Lesliejohannes Lesia unfolded before me these words came irres'Lstibly to mind. It was a tale of deceit. betrayal and misuse; oi'a simple and middleaged Bloemfontein bricklaver and shebeen keeper who woke one day to find himself an apartheid assassm. Becker and Brown had brought a selection of poisons With them. They gave Lesra a ponson ring With a hollow top tn which the ponson could be kept and then surreptitiously slipped into a Victim's drink. He was instructed to try and porson any senior ANC otlicial. Gibson Ncube died a horrible death on 5 April 1987. Shortly after drinking the poisoned beer. Ncube tell I" when his feet became paralysed. The paralysu gradually spread over his body and he died eight days latert

Before Lesia left for Maputo to attend Neube's funeral. Becker gave him a booby-trapped televismn set to take with him and hand over to Thabo. Lesm travelled to Naputo through Swaziland and once he was in Mozambique he activated the bomb so it could be set off by a radio from a distance. Leslie arrived in Maputo unaware that the television set had already been taken to Zimbabwe. where it had exploded accrdentally on 11 May 1987. Lesia was taken to the notorious Goromonzt detention centre where he was stripped naked and thrown into cell number one, known as "Mugabe's cell". "My hands were manacled behind my back and attached to an iron ring on the wet cement Hoot and my feet to another. I lay on my back and could not move. I was left for three days without food or water. I forced my mouth to the cement floor to lick up the wetness to try and quench my thirst." Miriam was never allowed to visit her husband and the monthly exchange of letters became their only means of communicating. Lesials letters. written on iail paper and heavily censored by the wardets. depict a man in dire need and pain. In August 1988 he wrote a letter to Miariam: tHi there love,

"Gee my love, have you any idea what they have done to me? It's barbaric and I mean that in the full uyiness of the word. Otherwise my love. 1 am a believer and I hope and trust that my faith in God will never desert me. Though 1 must admit your letter made me a womed man TO PAGE 8

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STALKERS OF THE NIGHT

It was a late afternoon on the banks of the Komati River, between Komatipoort and the Mozambique border. A small group of men stood around two prLsonets. watching as the drug at last took effect. The prisoners. manacled together, were dull-eyed and slack-jawed. swaying slightly. As they finally lapsed into unconsciousness one of their captors

well built. blond. stepped forward. in his hand a Russian-made Makamv pistol tittedwith a silencer. He placed his foot against the neck of one of his aptives, pressed the barre! to his head and pulled the trigger. The body gave a slight ierk. then lay still, blood oo zing

from the wound. Seconds later, the other was executed in the same manner.

In a dry ditch on the slightly elevated river bank, a shallow grave was dug and Filled With bushveid wood and tyres. The two corpses were lifted onto the pyre and as the sun set over the Eastern Transvaal iowveld two fires were lit, one to burn the bodies to ashes, the other for the security policemen and their askaris to sit around, drinking the ir

beer and brandy and grilling meat. All night long they drank. boasted and cracked jokes as they wa ited for the bodies to be cremated. They slapped the executioner on the back and commended his neat crat'tmanship.

Every hour or so. one ot'them got up to add a new pile of wood to the fire and turn the bodies over. It took about seven hours for the dead men to be reduced to ashes. and early the next morning their remains were scooped into the river.

By midday - dirty, tired. hungover - the executioner and his friend had returned to base near Pretoria, Their commander reported a successful mission: the "terronsts' had been eliminated: no tmcks and no traces had been left behind.

A LICENCE TO KILL

it was a macabre ritual in the Piet Retief mortuary: four semrtty policemen walking gloatingiy around the bloodied bodim of four mfiitratoxs they had shot an hour earlier, passing a bottle of Old Brown sherry from one to the other and taking deep gulps as they congratulated each other on the magnificent blow they had dealt the enemy. One of them turned to jams Stevens and Marthinus Grobler, pointing at a body: "You see this one here, He's mine."

For the young constables watching the exhibition, it was iust too much to stomach. Grobler and Stevens, appalled by what they saw. retreated back into the police station where Grobler was on charge omce duty.

Earlier that night. Grobler had booked out weapons to the security policemen on their way to a spot outside the small FJstem Transvaal town to lay an ambush for ANC members who were expected to infiltrate South Africa from Swaziland. They told Grobler they were going 0!? on nspecial duties". Around midnight they returned with four bodies - three female and one male. ripped to pieces by high-veiocity bullets - in the back of a police van.

The bodies were moved into the adjoining mortuary where a woman constable was called to perform internal searches on the women. later that night, one of the security policemen told Grobler that after the shooting had stopped, the door of the vehicle in which the intiitrators had been traveiling fell open and a wounded woman started pleading for mercy as the policeman approached the vehicle. One of them shot her point-blank. Groblers informer also confessed that the wrong people had been killed. The intelligence on which the people had acted had been inaccurate. However, four days later, another four bodies were delivered to the mortuary This time they were supposedly the "right people".

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Ploter Batu. COB Mum
"Iim-d Able Sech- Ind muted
ix other pooote In Moz-mlquo.
APARTHEID'S ULNMATE WEAPON

johannesburg, 1 September 1989, A group of former South African policemen, amor them Staal Burger and Chappie Maree. secretly met at a plush Johannesburg hotel discuss a speCIal project The meeting was conducted according to the strict milita "need-to-know" principle and two of their former colleagues. Slang van Zyl and C25 Botha. were asked to leave the room as they were not directly involved in the project The project the two men were discussing concerned the weihknown foe of aparthe and Swapo's so-calied uwhite son". Namibian advocate Anton Lubowski. Six days befo the meeting took place, Van Zyl had done surveillance on Lubowski who had ju returned from an overseas visitt He was not told why he had to monitor the Sway leader.

Around this time. Acheson and Maree met each other three times in Swaziland. Aft. each meeting. Maree handed R5 000 to Acheson. who would fly back to Windhoe where he stayed in a R70-a-day Hat rented from a German landlady. Acheson's last trip to Namibia took piace on 10 September 1989. On September I he hired a white Volkswagen Fox in Windhoek. On the same day. Acheson's handle Chappie Maree. flew into Windhoek. The next morning, Acheson returned the car an

complained of faulty brakes. He said he did not want a white car and swopped th vehicle for a red Toyota Conquest. In the meantime, Staal Burger. who was unknow to Acheson, had tiown into Windhoek under the pseudonym of "Gagiano'. On the night of 12 September Achesonis German landlady watched him get into h, hired car carrying something that appeared to be a motor mr jack hidden inside a saci By the time he returned to his nat, Anton Lubowski had been slain in front of h-Windhoek home.

On the night of 11 September Lubowski had been seen on South Afrimn televisio' as he greeted Swapo exiles at the Windhoek airport. He was six inches taller tha-anybody else around him as he embraced Swapo leader Andimba Toivo ta TOiW' welcoming him back on Namibian soil. Two days later. Lubowski appeared on the fror page of The Star as policeman put his corspe into a body bag. He had died the previou night in a hail of bullets fired from an AK-47 ritlet 11-17 OKTOBER 199

IT was shortly before midnight, Philemon Malinga recalls, that he heard a heavy vehicle pull up in hunt of his house and a voice inquire in Afrikaans: "is this the place?" He peered through the kitchen window and saw a ()asspir otf-loading men. A white Volkswagen kombi thew up behind it and Philemon saw more men get out. Some he recognised as p0lim-men. others as local members ol the lnkatha Freedom Moments later a policeman kicked open the iront door and stormed in, with others following. There iollowed what can only be called the sacking of the Malinga household in the small black township of Kwadela, Iovated just 0" the main road between Bethal and Ermelo in eastern Tiansvaal. In a bedroom Philemon's pensioner mother, Balesia, scrambled in terror under a bed. but the attackers found her and shot her dead. ltis younger brother. Sibusi' so. climbed on top of a cupboard where he was skewered with a spear. As he tell to the floor he was stabbed again. Miraculously he survived. Philemon himself managed i to escape from the house and NIH for his life. Eleven sworn affidavits by members of the little community tell the story of how the (Jasspir drove around Kwade-In that night, dropping OH armed men to attack the homes of members of the local ANC branch committee. then picking them up again. It was the night of July 26. rum u-nr-lr nitor the exposure idnight terror engulfs a nation Police and Inkatha mounting vengeance raids, Claims ANC oi the lnkathagate scandal. yet. despite that damning disclosure and the assurances that followed it. here were the police once again in brazen collusion with lnkatha. conducting a campaign against the ANC. Nor is Kwadela an isolated instance. REPORTS pouring in to ANC headquarters in Johannesburg from branches all over

the country indicate that. far from being brought under control, joint police-lnkatha operations against ANC members have intensified and become more widespread since the inkathagate disclosures. "It's like an outburst of anger. a bit like vengeance." says Gill Marcusi the ANC's chief Spokesman. in Johannesburg's Alexandra township. 100 heavily armed lnkatha men. escorted by pnlice in tour Casspirs, two ronventionai troop carriers and a number of smaller vehicles. launched what was supposed to be a litter clean-up campaign on August 3 which turned. instead into a week-Inne ram-

ALLISTER SPARKS

page against local residents that lett 28 dead and 70 injured. Violence has flared up again throughout the Natal Midlands. and on Wednesday night the chauffeur of a pro-ANC Zulu chief. Mhlabunzima Maphumuto, who was assassinated last February. was himself quietly eliminated before the start on Thursday of a judicial inquiry into the assassination. This calls into question once again either the sincerity oi President F W de Klerk, or his ability to bring his security iorces under control. Either way, it is now clearer than ever that he cannot play the role of an impartial supervisor oi the transition process in South Africa. There is growing suspicion that the president deliberately courted trouble by venturing into a right-wing hot-bed at Ventersdorp last weekend in order to divert attention from lnkathagate and cast himself as an embattled man-insthemiddle. The plain (act is the violence

The plain (act is the violence is getting wurse. not better, and Mr de Klerk appears to be doing nothing to stop it.

The evidence of police involvement in that violence has become overwhelming, yet the President and his Ministers continue to deny it.

Ms Marcus sees a pattern emerging

The campaign which began in Natal. then spread to the black townships oi the Witwatersrand via the Zulu Inigrant workers hostels. is now

being extended to smaller rural communities all over the country, she says, Kwadela is one of these. a tiny community 240km east of Johannaburg. Reports 0! similar attacks have come from Tigane. 160km .-.__. west of Johannesburg. from Steynsburg in the Eastern Cape, trom Heilbron and Kroonstad in the Free State, from Wesselton. Bushbuckridge and Drieiontein in eastern Transvaal, and from communities close to the Swaziland bor-They follow a similar pattern, according to Ms Marcus. First there is the announcement of a curiew. either by the police or by someone who drives around with a loudhailer, looking official. People are warned to be indoors by 9 pm. "That makes them sitting ducks and ensures that there are no witnesses out on the streets to see what is happening." says Ms Marcus. I HE attacks then take place around midnight. The local ANC branch chairman and members of his cornmittee are the targets. Their houses are petrolbombed and members 0! their families attacked. Sometimes it is an attack of generalised terror_against the community at large. says Ms Marcus, but within that the ANC committee members are specifically targeted for elimination. Nine have been killed in these attacks since the lnkathagate revelations. The aim is to stunt the ANC's growth as a political movement preparing for South Atrica's iirst one-man one-vote elections by inhibiting the tormation 0! branches around the country. gunacui SW Kai oalq I investigating officer in the case Is one of those named as having participated in the attacks. -Observer News Service. .' t4... uuoun; iciuuam to 10m: to become a member of an ANC commlttee is to set yourself and your tamily up as targets for these death

squads that enjoy immunity from prosecution because of

ltheir relationship with the po-It works. i travelled to Kwadela last week and found people fearful :tNgeing associated with the kl've been an ANC supporter all my lite. but l'm not going to 'die for the ANC." said Joseph Nhosi. one of those whose home was burnt in the raid. "It's doing a lot of harm to our efforts to get a branch gomg here," said branch chairman Jeremiah Mashinini. who had his own house burnt, a son Injured and a daughter-hrlaw killed in the Kwadela attacks. But it is largely due to Mr Mashinini's strength of personalin that some members of the community have come forward to testify to what they saw. No arrests have been made although, when some angry ANC members carried out a reprisal attack on three Inkatha homes a few days later, 11 were promptly arrested. Mr Mashimni doubts whether there has been any police investigation. Although his family was attacked and his house burnt. he says no-one has been to take a statement from him. This could be because the x_-

Poiice iink Inkatha to J eppe massacre By Montshiwa Moroke The two alleged ringleaders of the Jeppe Stauon tram massacre laSL year were "without any doubt" Inkatha members. a Johannesuurg poltce spoxesman said at the weekend. Police released their names last week and said a top pnorltv search was on. A third suspect has been arrested and will appear m the Johannesburg Magtstratets Court on Fnday, The two principal suspects bemg sought have been named as John qumalo talias Mataksy and Jencho Manyoni. At the txme of the killings. which claimed 26 lives on a Soweto-bound train between George Goch and Benrose statxons. the men had been staymg at the Jeppe hostel. Warrant-Officer D Wessels of Jeppe Police Station said Mr qumalo comes trom Weenen in Natal. Mr Manyom is thought to be 34-0: astoalm the gang leader and is from the . T ugela Ferry area m Zululand. He was employed at the Jacaranda Hotel. Hillbrow. until September last year. WarrantOfficer Wessels said: ttWe have visited (the men's) kraals in Natal on various occa-"We spent weeks in Zululand. People tell you they don't now , where the men are. ; "According to mformauon we f get there. they are m J ohannes- h

burgi'e

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hHit-man names
his police bosses
A SELF-CONFESSED hit-
man and informer. giving
evidence at an inquest. this
week named several
members of the security
 police and SADF as his
i
i
commanders.
Sipho Madladla. 28.
claims he was a member of
a SADF hitosquad with
security police connections
1 that killed several people
and carried out a number
of attacks in Natal.
Mr Madladla. who disap-
peared after givmg a
dramatic newspaper inter-
view in April. was escorted
by ANC officials and police
into the Maritzburg
Supreme Court on Thurs-
day and Friday. He was
wearing a bulletproof vest
under his shirt
Giving evidence into the
death of Chief Mhlabum
zima Maphumulo. who was
shot earlier this year out-
side his Maritzburg home,
Mr Madladla told the court
that he and other men in
the SADF had operated
from me military police
offices in Stanger Street in
Durban tor more than four
years.
Those he named in
evidence were a Staff
Sergeant Grobbeiaar of the
military pohce. and secur-
By RYAN CRESSWELL
ity police warrant officers
Wolfgang Warber and
Peter Scott.
Police spokesman Major
Coert Marais said the
police were Waking note"
of the inquest. A spokes-
man for the SADF said:
"We are aware of this in-
qua II
Mr Madladla said he was
paid R9 800 extra by the
army for taking part in a
number of attacks.
He said he started work-
ing as an informer for the
military pohce as a teen-
ager in 1977. but was later
employed full time and
received training in the use
of R4 rifles. .38 revolvers.
9mm pistols and hand gre-
nades.
Shot
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In April. Mr Madlala confessed in a tape-recorded interView with the Natal Witness that he and four others shot Chief Maphumuio during an operation planned by Maritzburg pohce security branch officers and members of the military police from Natal Command. This week. Mr Madladla told a packed court that: O In February this year he was present when a security policeman ordered four colleagues to kill former Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa head Chief Maphumulo. Mr Madiadia said he was not with the hit-squad at the time of the shooting. 0 In 1987 he was instructed by a security policeman to shoot UDF recruiter Mr Nato We. who was attending a school meeting in Imbali. Mr Madiadla "shot him and saw him fall". Missmn OOne night Mr Madladla and others - some in military pohce uniform gunned down several men who had tried to petrol bomb the Lindelani home of lnkatha leader Mandla Shabalala. Mr Madladla said Sergeant Grobbeiaar headed the operation. Speaking about the murder of Chief Maphumulo. Mr Madladla said that on February 10 he and the others were called to the SADF offices in Stanger Street and told by Warrant Officers Warber and Scott and Sergeant Grobbelaar that they were gomg on a misswn to Maritzburg. He told Mr Justice NS Page and two assessors that he and a Mr Van Rooyen. a Mr Sabasaba. a Mr Gumede and a man whose name he did not know were shown photo-010 Page a i ' (' Sunday iWL i HIT-SQUAD NAMED D From Page 1 graphs of Chief Maphumulo and told to "get rid of him because he was a danger to the government and a bad influence on the

general public".
Mr Madladla said Chief
Maphumulo was kept
under surveillance for
some time while the squad
stayed at the Watson Hotel
in Maritzburg. '
He said Warrant Officer
l Warber gave his tour col: leagues 9mm pistols and
i overalls at the Alexandra

Road police station in Maritzburg on February 25 and told them: "Today is the day - the coast is clear."

He claimed he stayed at the police station with Warrant Officers Warber and Scott until the men returned about two hours later and said they had finished.

MrMadladla said he and i
the other four men each
received R5000 for their
part in the murder.
On Friday. Mr Madladla
said he gained the "impression" that even Chief
Maphumulois bodyguards
had been warned off
because the chief was
unguarded for some time
before his death.

MI agent claims police forgeddocuments I SELF-CONFESSED military intelligence agent. Sipho Madlala. told the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court this week that police allegedly-forged his handwriting in some documents presented before the court in order to discredit his evidence.

Madlala was giving evidence during the inquest into the death of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, who was gunned down on February 25. The chief was head of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Madlala was responding to some documents brought before the court by Kobus Booyens.

representing the South African Police. The

documents allege that

Madlala was not an Ml

agent, but a police

informer based at

Alexandra police station

in Pietermaritzburg.

He said he came to

Pietermaritzburg in 1986

after being summoned by

warrant officer Wolfgang

Warber to carry out a

mission to assassinate an v

Imbali schoolteacher and Chlel Maohumulo.. , hls UDF member. Thami assassinswemelleqedly

Mseleku. paid Rs 000 eacn

Madlala said he

resigned from the MI after the failed assassination attempt on Mseleku. He said he disliked killing people.

He then joined a security Firm known as Lodge Security Servxces but was later persuaded to return to MI by his handler. a sergeant Grobbelaar. Madlala said that on the day the chief was murdered. he had remained at the police station with Warber and detective warrant officer Piet Scott. Sabasaba Gumede. a man called van Rooyen and an unidentified young man went to do the job. He said he and four Ml men were paid R5 000 each for their successful mission. Madlala also told the court how the assassination squad had killed political activists. including a trade unionist from Imhnli. Jabu Ndlovu.

The Inquest was adjourned until Monday.

Page 12 t THE CITIZEN Maritz destabilised Black groups for By Fred de Lange FORMER Orde Boervolk hunger striker, Mr Andriaan Maritz. had been an active member of Military lntelligence since 1985 . and had been involved in a special military unit with the task of destabilising Black political organisations, his wife. Karen. said in Pretoria yesterday. She also said her husband was considering taking all the evidence he had to the ANC because he had been "informed by the authorities that he would never be allowed to testify before a Commission of Inquiry" and bewuse the security police were "deliberately starving him and his family'. Asked to comment on her claims. South African Defence Force spokesman said the SADF had denied them on an earlier _ occasion. Mr Maritz was free to put his case and his OHM 3/6 SADF: Wife:i evidence to the soon-tobe appointed commission into violence and intimidation. Mrs Maritz said yesterday she had proof of Mr Maritz's involvement in Military Intelligence. She said during 1987 he had been employed in a unit. similar to the CCB. tasked to destabilise Black political organisations. She would not elaborate. but said her hus. band was considering making available to the ANC documents dealing with this unit. liThe unit is popularly known as the Third Forcei. although it has never been officially named. The commanding officer is a senior Defence Force officer and the unit is funded by the SADF."

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she said.

She said the section in

which her husband had worked dealt mainly with spreading disinformation. although her husband had been aware of another section dealing exclusively with so-called ttwet work". This was an assassination squad consisting mainly of former members of the police. During the initial period in which he worked for the Defence Force. he had received payment in the form of a salary. After 1987 and up to last year. when he was arrested. he had received his payments in cash in the bar of the Holiday lnn in Pretoria. she claimed. hHe has never been ionnally discharged from the unit and I guess he is still a member of it. The only difference is that he no longer gets paid by them." she said. i torta and Durban. Mrs Maritz said up to now her husband had been under the impression that he would be able to give all his evidence to the specially appointed Commission of Inquiry into these matters. nNow we have been informed that we will never be allowed to testify before that Commission. If 2 you add to that the fact ' that the police have broken my husband's computer _ our only means of support - and the fact that we do not even have money to buy food because of this. we have decided to come forward and reveal everything to the ANC," she said. According to a quote Mr Maritz received from a well-known Pretoria computer firm. the computer had been damaged when the powercord was "intentionally pulled out 2 while the computer was still switched on. The repairs to the computer which Mr Mantz uses to write computer programmes for several busmesses in South Africa - would cost about R800. Mrs Maritz said the security police had been informed of this. but tefused to repair the computer.

uBecause of this we are starving. There is no food in the house." she said. The police yesterday said they were aware of Mr Maritz's problems with his computer and that the matter was receivmg attention. Mr Maritz. Mr Henry Martin and Dr Lood van Schalkwyk are due to appear in court later this month on several charges of murder. attempted murder and damage to property relating to two bomb explosmns. in Prelast year.

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End 0! the road for a dissident Zulu chief. shot as he oarked his car outside'his home.
Pietermaritzburg
'g peacemaker
;! had survived
several attacks
1'twnx
Slain Zulu chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.
ofa. chief . . .
THE life and times of Chief Mhla-
bunzima Maphumuio shot dead in
his car outSide his Pietermaritz-
burg home on Monday. are like a
puzzle whose image will remain
unclear until the final piece - the
idenuty of his killers - falls into
place.
The slain chief had many ene-
mics.
His file reveals an almost life
long opposition to KwaZulu Chief
Minister Maugosutho Butheiezi. 1n
the mid '70s the young chief was
involved in the setting up of a polit-
ical party - the Inala Party - to
oppose Dr Buthelezi's Inkatha
movement. Chief Maphumulo at-
tempted. but failed. to gain the sup
port of young Zulu King Goodwill
Zweiithihi, and it later emerged
that Inaia was secretly funded by
the Department of Information
and. allegedly. the Bureau at State
Security.
The government was anxious to
instal a KwaZulu leader who. un-
like Dr Butheien. would accept in-
dependence for the homeland and it
appeared they thought Chief Ma-
phumulo was their man.
Inala failed. and Chief Maphumu-
lo later apologised for his role in
the affair. but his critics have sug-
gested his links with the state secu-
rity aparatus may have continued
up to the time of his death.
The efforts of the KwaZulu gov-
ernment to sideline the trouble-
some chiei were sustained.
In 1978 he was suspended without
pay from the KwaZulu legislative
assembly for trying to wxn support
from the King for his party po-
litical adventure. He fought and
won a Supreme Court action
against the ruling.
In 1980 his posmon as chairman
of the Mpumuianga Regional Au-
thority was revoked by Uiundi soon
after his election to the position.
Later that year Chief Maphumu-
10 made a surprise public state-
ment promising never to oppose In-
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katha again or interfere With the

KwaZulu government. It was a promise he appears to have Kept for three years.

Then in 1983 the chief was attacked and beaten senseim outsme the KwaZuiu legislative assembly - allegedly by members of the In. Sam Sole

katha Youth Brigade.

The next day Dr Buthelezi launched a verbal attack on the inJured chief. calling him "a political curse" and stating: "Whoever challenge: me challenges the people and the people will deal with

Dr Buthelezi later said Chief Maphumulo had provoked the attack by "nearly assaulting" members of the Inkatha central committee when they had wished to address an Inkatha meeting in his area two months preVIously.

However. the next year the two men publicly patched up their disagreement and little was heard of the chief until his role as a peace-V matter In strife-torn Pietermaritz-burg was highlighted.

Chief Maphumulo's Table Mountain area outside Pietermaritzhurg ippeared to be the only one not am by fighting and the chief ascribed this to his non-aiigned stance and the fact that he allowed both Inkatha and United Democratic Front people to live peacefully in his area.

Inkatha sources told a different story. however. They spoke of a growmg animosity shown towards Chief Maphumuio by his tribe. He was accused of misustng the funds of the tribe and that his rule was autocratic.

The flood of UDF-aligned refugees - and particularly militant and active young comrades - caused great anger among his own people. the Inkatha sources said. setting the scene for Chief Maphu. mulois expuiswn by his own tribe. Ulundi. too. got in on the act. Whether in good faith or not. a directive was issued in November 1988 summoning the chief to explain "dissatisfaction among tribes" over his administration. Chief Maphumulo ignored the summons.

The first serious evidence of conflict in his own area came when Chief Maphumulo's house was burned down. He blamed lhkatha. but his own tribesmeh and indunas took responsibility for the action. Meanwhile. his attention turned , to national politics. In 1989 he was elected leader of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contraiesai. a UDF-aligned organi-

sation of chiefs throughout the country intended to challenge the traditional loyalty of the chiefs to homeland leaders.

Dr Buthelezi rose to the challange, slammmg Contraiesa as an attempt to "thrust a spear into the very heart of Zulu unity". He told an assembly of chiefs: "We have come to close ranks and to tell lnkosi Maphumuio to go to helli" Chief Maphumulo remained on the national stage, calling on PreSident FW de Klerk to institute a commissmn of inquiry into the Vioience. but back home at Table Mountain his position deteriorated until. in February last year. he was driven out of the area. He remained an outcast until his death: Just a week before the killing. members oi the tribe iied by the Inkatha leader in the area: drew up a petition blaming the chief as well as the security forces for the Violence in the area. The chiefs role in Contralesa was also clouded by controversy In August last year. he was suspended as preSident. No details of the reasons were made public except mention of "certain serious allegations of misconduct" but it was learned that Chief Maphumuio had travelled extenstvely. locally and overseas. in the name of the organisa- t tion Without consulting the execu-

Chief Maphumiiio's life was constantly threatened. There were several attacks on his house at Table Mountain and threats against him personally. In July last year he claimed to have been abducted by Askaris (former members of the African National Congress in the employ of the SAP) and threatened. Police denied the claim. Last month. a bus on which he was traveling was attacked after a meeting at his tribal court. but Maphumulo survwed.

tivei

On Monday night the chief came to the end of the road. Shot at close range With a 9mm pistol as he parked his car. it siammed into me wail of his Pietermantzburg house. He died on the way to hospital.

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By WALLY MBHELE
THIS place (pictured right) is called
Mshayazafe - which means "beat
him to death". It has become notori-
ous as the place where a reign of tenor
that governs the lives of Thokom resia
dents is planned and executed.
The following evidence. collected by
The Weekly Mail over the last nine
months. demands an urgent investiga-
tion by the National Peace Committee
into the hostel.
.More than six people were at-
tacked by hostel dwellers on their way
to the funeral of 'Ihokom's slain civic
leader Sam Ntuli on Monday - in-
cluding Mary Mngomezulu, Annah
Mortame and 'Ihami Kwala - accord-
ing to the Civics Association of
Southem Transvaal (Cast).
.Another of the injured people,
'Ihcmbeni Shongwe, confirmed from
his hospital bed on Tuesday that he
and three other mounters were at-
tacked in Khumalo Street by hostel
dwellers on their way to the funeral.
Mthcmbeni Shongwe is still missing
ii, -
. "Le '92
unknown people arrived at the home
of an African National Congress
Youth League activist, Matanza Mgali,
looking for Ntuli. When they did not
find him, Mgali and her friend, Sibon-
gile Maseko, were dragged into the
Mshayazafe hostel compound and at-
tacked with rincs and "traditional
after allegwa being taken forcibly irtto weapons".
Mshayawfe hostel on Monday.
Maseko died and Mgali. only by tre-
OOn March 31 this year, a grourt of tending to be dead. lived to tell of the
'b.t..ie'J
lice watch the hostel during Nttll's funeral
at :,,,.-.,:g t He;
ordeal from her hospital bed. Mgali
said upon their arrival at the hostel,
they were asked to point out the
homes of other ANC members in
Thokoza and questioned about Ntuli's
whereabouts.
.Ntuiiis father. James Ntuli, says
residents of the hostel warned the
family on February 3 that they would
come and attack their home. Later that
day the house was attacked with gre-
ttltoICti
deuce against paramilitary hostel '
trades and four people. among them
two children. were injured.
Ol.ocal Inkatha officials last month
told The Weekly Mail that the hostel is
run along paramilitary lines. Rooms
are organised along the lines of tradi-
tional age regiments and fall under the
command of hostel indunas, whose
task it is to oversee defence and mili-
tary matters.
Inkatha Freedom Party official, Ab-
ram Mzizi, said this system of military
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regiments was imported from rural

f Damning evi

Natal, where it is traditional for men to belong to a regiment with responsibilities of defending the tribe in case of war.

This system, said Mzizi, was necessitated by the upsurge of violence surrounding the hostels and was key to defending the hostel.

In an apparent reference to the Thokoza hostel, Cast president Moses Mnyekiso on Monday told thousands of moumers that uhostels have become the barracks for hit squads and criminals".

He was speaking shortly after he had rueivod news of people being assaulted and dragged into the hostel. THERE were scenes of pandemonium at Natalspmit Hospital's casualty ward on Wednesday moming when police tried to hustle away two alleged train attackers beaten up by passengers. Hospital staff fired questions at the two, demanding to be told why they had attempted the attack. A survivor, who was admitted to hospital at the same time, told Weekly Mail

A survivor, who was admitted to hospital at the same time, told Weekly Mail he hmrd one of the men say he had been "sent by the police".

But minutes after the alleged attackers had been admitted, a group of men later identified by hospital security as "an Inkatha delegation" arrived to negotiate with police for the transfer of the two to another hospital.

Weekly Mail journalists phnlogmphing the group were ejected front the hospital by police.

Interviews with survivors hours after the train attack elicited details of a mutine trip to work that turned into a nightmare.

It was just alter 6am when four men boarded the Gennistonebound train at Katlehong, according to witnesses. They immediately began shooting, hacking and stabbing their way through the train.

'lhere was cltaos as passengers tried to escape the massacre. Police said some of the dead and injured were thrown out of the train, or jumped off for fear of their lives.

One survivor. whose hands. head and face bore pzmga wounds, said he opened a window to escape the attack but when he saw how fast the train was moving he hesitated m illltl then he .. passer! uttt,

The day passengers turn -. n. ,. e tables on t For the first time in the recent history of hit squad' attacks, train passengers this week captured two men they said had just shot and hacked their way through the coaches. Who were they? LINDA HULASHE reports

Three passengers died and 10 were admnitteti to Natalspruit Hospital with serious mJunes.

It was similar to other train attacks this year m except that this time, some members of the public decided to take matters into their own hands by assaulting two of the attackers, seriously wounding one.

The two were overpowered and handed over to the police at the next stop in Wadeville.

Another victim said: uI would have gone home to Natal for the long week-end after knocking off from work it this hadn't happened."

His hands were so swollen he could barely sign a consent form agreeing to talk to the press; one eye was swollen shut from a beating; his head, amts and hands were covered in cuts sustained when trying to defend himself from the knife and panga-wielding men.

The passenger who said he heard an alleged attacker say he had been sent by police had been shot and thrown off the train. The passenger, who asked to be referred to only as "Mr Lekhuwune", said the alleged attacker had been taken away by police before he could elalxorate on his claim.

Apartyolmemdosalbedbyhosplusecuttyasm'hkatha delegation'mmveatthehospltdtonegotlateonbehaltotthe captured attackers.

He said one of the attackers had three guns in his possessim at the time of the attack.

Liaison Officer for the Witwatersrand, Captain Eugene Opponnan, said however that no guns had been found. He said the two were in protective custody in an undisclosed hospital. Photograph: KEVIN CARTER Meanwhile, Inkatha has vigorously denied allegations that an htkatha delegation visited the alleged attackers and that the organsiation arranged to have the two transferred to another hospital. Inkatha's West Rand general secretary, Humphrey Ndhlovu. said that the

initely notii members of the Inkatha Freedom Party as their members were "disciplined".

DCFINTIHHUFS of the massacre were "def-

Inkatha Central Committee member
Musa Myeni said that according to information he had received from some
survivors, the two alleged attackers
were actually Xhosa-speaking. He said
, his sources told him that one of them
was a ureturned exile belonging to a"
certain military wing of an organisation". He also claimed eight of the vietims were "(md-canying Inkatha members".

Inkatha national othce representative Suzanne Vos said she resented Inkatha's name being implicated in the incident. "This sort of rumour-mongoring must stop because this is what is killing people."

.In other incidents, the bodies of six more people were found in the East Rand townships yesterday.

Police found the bodies of three people in a bumteut vehicle in Kathlchong and the bodies of two other people with bullet and stab wounds outside a hostel.

One body with stab wounds was found in 'Ihokom.

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lSADF members shot ust ellle Mstnelwa told New Nmon trom Vhls Natalsprult hospltal bed that the soldiers who shot hlm vlslted hlm at the hospltal a few hours atter he was admltted.

He sald the soldlers asked tor hls name and where he was staying.

Recalling the shooting, Mslnelwa sald mourners were returning from the funeral when soldiers travelling In a Casspir stopped a car that was travelling In front of them. He sald that the soldiers searched an occupant of the car and took his tirearm. Another Casspir then arrived and, without a word, some of the soldiers opened tire on the mourners, Mslnelwa sald.

"I ran to a nearby house feellng that I had been shot ln my leg." $\,$

New Nation

The police just stood theret habo Maslna, Interviewed at Natalsprult Hospltal told New Nmou that, whlle he was walking with a group of about 200 mourners down Khumalo Road on their way to Phola Park squatter camp, they were tired on with an AK47 by a man dressed in civilian clothes.

"The assallant then took shelter inside a derelict building which used to be a bar lounge.

"The man thred tndiscrlmlnately at mourners without provocation and people scattered In all directions during the shooting.

"After the shooting, I noticed a number of people lying on the ground. One of the Injured was struck by a bullet which plerced his abdomen.

"It Is stlll a mystery how this person survived. Some of my colleagues at Phola Park brought him here to hospital and I understand he is still alive."

Maslna sald he was surprised by the incident because about 100 metres away, there was a parked police Casspir.

"The pollce just stood there and never took any action. But, when residents regrouped and surrounded the bar, pollce tired teargas and rubber bullets."

According to Masina, no visible attempt was made to apprehend the gunman.

When asked If he could Identity the soldlers who shot hlm, Mslnelwa sald he had seen armed black and white soldiers advancing towards hlm. He was not sure who pulled the trigger.

"My bellet was that pollce were there to help us, but I was surprised when they started shootlng at us," Mslnelwa sald.

Another vlctlm, Mnlnawe Mphuwana ot Natalsprult. said that he and other mourners were 90an home after the funeral when two occupants ot a white Toyota Corolla opened tire with AK47 rltles at them.

Mphuwana was shot In the buttocks and abdomen as he trled to flee.

Pollce comment had not been received at the time of going to press. I HIIOHI

Another wltness, Bernard Ntsele. said: "We were part of the last group to leave the sta-

dlum for the cemetery. Cassplrs which were following trom behind moved In In front of us. Then we noticed a white mini-bus with black occupants following trom a distance. "Initially we thought that they had also come to the funeral. But when they were not very far from us, they opened tire on our group. I saw two men fall on the ground as I ran to a nearby houses.

"The car took a turn at a T-lunctlon and disappeared," sald Ntsele. Pollce were not more than 100 metres from us. But they made no attempt to apprehend the occupants of the mlnl-bus.

Another witness said he was standing at the gate of his home when he saw a Jetta coming from the direction of the hostel at high speed. The car's occupants opened tire at people who were standing at the taxi rank before disappearing down the road. Alfred Mahlangu said that he saw a Toyota Cressida with four occupants coming from the direction of Katlehong to Thokoza, tiring at people on the street with automatic ritles.

He sald he saw one body before he dashed Into a nearby house tor safety. I

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Police implicated '
in Tokoza violence
Sefako Nyaka _
and Nomavenda Mathlane
ttTHIS is the man who shot me." In
t a dramatic development, a Victim
of the Tokoza funeral massacre
pointed to a photograph of twopo-
lice officers whom he claims fired
at mourners from a moving car.
Ina sworn statement he said he was
shot in the buttocks and stomach by one
of the policemen. His statement impli-
cates two East Rand lice officers at-
tached to the Crime nformatlon Ser-
vices in the killing, in which.20 people
died and more than 24 were injured.
Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman
confirmed that the men identified in a hoto-
graph by the victim as his attackers are 0 ficers
attached to the CIS.
Captain Opperman, shown the same photographs,
said: "The men are from the Crime Information Ser-
vice. It was a police car. It was with the Casspirs and
other police vehicles in the vicinity the whole day.
ttThe car is brand new and the number plates have
been ordered. That is why it did not have number
plates," he said.
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Yesterday police liaison officer Captain Peter van
Deventer said he was aware the car had been in Toko-
za. He said normally police cars that were not issued
. with number plates would display a temporary SAP
registration number.
In an affidavit sworn in his hospital bed, the wound-
ed man said he ran into Skosana section to escape the
shooting. .
"As I was running I noticed a white four-door vehi-
cle in which two black men were seated, one of whom
was driving, the other sitting directly behind the driv-
er, " his affidavit says. i
Hid in ditch
ttThe vehicle was moving and both men were shoot-
ing at the crowd with automatic weapons. I saw at
least two people fall as a result of the shooting. I saw
no number plates on the vehicle."
He said he hid in a ditch with another man, but
when he heard gunfire coming closer he tried to run
away.
"As I stood up, I saw a man carrying an automatic
weapon jumping over a nearby fence and running to-
wards me. While in the ditch, I had seen the white
vehicle drive past a few metres away from where I
. was. I was able to see the two occupants clearly. The
man who jumped over the fence and ran towards me,
I clearly recognised as having been the passenger sit-
ting behind the driver in the white vehicle.
"As I saw the man running towards me I turned and
fled. I was shot in the buttocks and fell face down to
the ground. I tried to pull myself up but was unable to
do so and fell on to my back".
Sundw'i 5hr
:31 uolql
The man said he passed out, but when he awoke he
was being helped to a vehicle and realised he had been
shot in the stomach while he was unconscious.
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His allegation fuelled suspicions that the SAP is in-

volved in "third force" killings in the townships.

' When told that the men were accused of shooting people in Tokoza, Captain van Deventer said: "We deny all the allegations from all organisations and people making them; they should bear in mind that; ' there were hundreds of media reporters, photogra- Q phers and TV crews that were roaming Tokoza and a Katlehong and the vicinity of Kumalo Street."

This week Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal spokesman Amos Masondo claimed police were asked to provide patrols around the hospital in the light of the May Day attack.

Captain Opperman said police did patrol the area on the day of the shooting. uWe can only take steps we Aeem necessary at the time," Captain Opperman said. i He denied that police were shooting at mourners. but said police would investigate all allegations thoroughly.

leaders. including that of slain Civic WottheSotnha'n Transvaal (Cast) general secretary Sam Ntuli. e . he cattnl to the activism mnanon It the weekend. The list was sent to a top Cast official some h. manta ago by an unknown sauce. NEW NATION has established that invmlgattom into the hjt-list were launchul immediately after its movery but It: origin runam unlmown. It has also emerged that Ntuli's m had visited his home and drank beawith h'sfntha mlyminms befae they shut and killed him. Ne...) Nathan 3! (clan This is according to Thelma activists interviewed by NEW NATION this week. many of whom have gmemtohiding amidfealsthatNtuli wasonlythehxst victim of the mm: operatmg aside the township. Acuvisssaytheyareawuednttheyuebemgmgm by a gang of killer: tn the township and have oeen unable to stay at home in fear of their lives. The masks fust came to lei's house on Sunday moms and asked for beer. While two of the alleged mmmtwmmwmtwomnajnedmthe home drinking the beer. A short while later. they followed Ntnli out of the $hom {\tt MmeCastle-detgotmtohiscarmddmve}$ off. the met who had earlier been drilling beer followed in their vehicle. Ntuli wu gunned down minutu late. lthxalsoanagedthatleiwuwr-edbym inthebtsinesconunmityjtsuday hefarehisam simtimthatananempton hislifewuimminent. Police aid in a statumentthat let m driving down Khmmlostnetm'lhoknmatabmn llamwhenoecupantsofawtnvell'mg inmeoppositedimcuonhred about 12 shots at his w. killing him Instantly. However. a wimm said a blue Toyota Cresslda. 'followed Ntuli andtrled to fame him otttheroad. What Ntuli stopped. shots were fired at him 5 the car overtookmemtlamsmatstoppedandtookn U-turnand drove towards Ntuli's w ftrlng shots. They that drove past and sped away. Sunday's attack was the third known attempt on Ntuli's life. Hismsinatimaddstothelistofmorethanwthe number of activists killed by shadowy hlt-squads 'tn the last 15 monds. The Human RightsCommtsion (HRC) has also rworded an equal nmn buo fan unpted as as rs'mattom. However. in the pm few months. the HRC has noted a maxkedly upward trend in htt-squad actions. Most of these striks bear the hallmarls of highly organised. well equxpped- and well-infonned professional groups. the HRC says. "Suspicton must inevitably fall on the agents and supponexs of apartheid." the HRC said. Munw'nile. the funexal co-ordinaunz oommtttee consisting of Cast. ANC CPWW. Cosatu Wits regton. the SACP and local civic leadets. said a memorial mm for Ntul't will be held on Sunday 2pm at the Thokoza Auditorium. The funeral service will be held on Mondav 9am at

the mokou stadium.

Shooting down the Peace Accord

HE National Peace Accord was one of the casualties of the attacks that followed the hmaal of civic lmder Sam Ntuli this week.

The problem is that the accord sets out rules and regulations for the behaviour of politicians and policemen - when the real menace '5 the hit squads that operate according to no mles.

The significantly worsening relations between the African National Congress and the government. and the mort to language that verges on a breach of the accord, has prompted fears that the accord is being stretched to breaking point.

Reaction in the black community to the shootings was well summed up in a headline acm\$ the front page of The Star, which quoted residents as saying:
"Our leaders sign pace accords, but nothing seems to WW1!

The accord is an extremely valuable document, setting out guidelines for the country as it proceeds into the precarious phase of negotiations for a new constitution, elections and the transfer of power from the white minority.

It ought to have created a level playing field for free and fair polidml discourse. In a more ideal world, where no armies with hidden agendas could be concealed in the crevices, it stood a chance of creating that playing field.

But this is South Africa -and the events of the pm! week have shown that the failing of the accord Ls due to a pmblem more fundamental than the shon space of time it has had to take effect.

The violence has increasingly changed its nature. In recent months there have been fewer direct dashes baweensupponasoftheANCandInkathaand more clearly planned attacks from armed nmfessinnals. wank, Mail)

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So much so that, given the military-style precision of the operations, it Is not absurd to' Imagine that the same people who attacked ANC members at Sam NtulPS funeral on Monday gunned down 23 Inkatha Freedom Party members on their way to a rally in Thoke- on September 8.

The assasination of Ntuli, a pn'me mover for peace in Thokom, wggests that the main motive behind the violence is to sabotage the peam. The strongest due to the identity of the milants is their probable elfect - undumining the prom of change that would lead to one person, one vote elections and a probable ANC victory at the polls.

If the accord has limitations. it '5 because the way the contlidisclmmder's ed's aucial to whether it mnbe contained. If we see it simply as a light between Inkatha and the ANC, fanned by a partisan police force, then the provisions of the accord should be smicient to end the violence.

President FW de Klerk and his advisers have to accept that the killings ambeing perpetrated by an organised, professional force dedicated to undermining the peace plum While at least some of t'I cials appeared to edge closer to that view this week, there 5 still a reluctance to grasp the nettle. There Is a stubborn refusal by the government to look within its own ranks for the causes of the violenaa. An acceptance that evmifthey amnobinger employed by the state, the assassins were probably trained and employed by the state at some point, would be a start towark stabl'shing who they me. Newspapels have attempted, with modat sum,

mfmomdwidmdtyaxidallegianceofmosebdihid the violence. The government, with its awesome access to secret tiles, Is much better placed to melt into the dark reams of the covert community, past and prsent, for dum to their idmtity. Failure to do so would not just let mass murderers gofreelftheyamnotstoppedtheycouldsuoeeedin snufting out a democratic South Africa before it is tIlIo/ql

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necessary mechanisms
implement it, is indisputable.
The accord's
tou hesttest;
EVENTS in Thokoza in the past 6
two weeks have subjected the
National Peace Accord to its
toughest credibility test since j
its signing almost a month ago
on September 14.
Its perceived worth in the
eyes at victims at violence has
dlpped to its lowest yet. And its
ineffectiveness in arresting the
country's slide into a state of
chronic violence now seems
conclusive.
To a large measure, it is the
failure at the police and the
SADF to honour their commit-
ment to the accord that has
helped erode whatever credibil-
Ity the peace treaty mlght have
enjoyed until thls week.
Allegations against the police
range from claims at direct oom-
pllcity in the Thokoza shootings ,-
to a general unwillingness to act -
against killel's In the township.
It" Is natural for police to deny?- '5
these allegations. But how then :
does one explain the attacks
that are carried out - in broad
daylight - and with such impuni-
ty?
The National Peace Commit-
tee (NPC) blames its own paral-
yses on the absence of the nec-
essary mechanisms needed to
check violations at the accord.
That
of general principles without the
But this surely cannot be the
5) - reason for the NPC's silence. ..
Despite abounding allegations :
Cape Town and "
Thokoza of security lorces s
tlaunting the accord in the last
the NPC has :
remained silent - not that its :
trom Natal,
two weeks,
castigation of the police would
: end the violence.
the peace accord
amounts to no more than a set 5
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There is, nevertheless, much
that can be achieved in the inter-
im period, even without the nec- 6.2;
essary mechanisms in place.
The accord,
tor example,
requires that police submit reg- gs
ular reports on progress in :.
investigations to the peace com- :
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mittee. Although this require- '- ' ment could only be enforced once the accord is fully tunctional, nothing stops police from :jf demonstrating a commitment in . the interim and making reports without the necessary pressure lrom the tormal structures of the NPC.

However, as tar as could be established, the only report made to the peace committee 3;; by the police is one detailing I attacks by ANC and lnkatha supporters on the police.
But, it it is the absence ot the if necessary mechanisms that is - central to the continuing violence, then this week's killings in Thokoza adds to the urgency to establish these structures with great haste.
Ana touay's meeting of the interim executive of the Nation-,

an opportunity.
But it remains to be seen 5,
whether the opportunity will be
seized. If, however, the level of
readiness of the accord's signatories may not be adequate 23;?
to term tully-lunctional mechanisms, then we hope that some
interim structures will at least
be established.

al Peace Committee offers such

It not the peace committee will tind it difficult to salvage the accord's credibility.

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, _.-_ THE INDEPENDENT PAPER FOR I
A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA
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Time t6 hit the
squads. Again
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