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ANC consults jaifÃ©;i_ Spy on

DIETER Gerhardt â\200\224 SA's most famons
â\200\224hasbemconsnltdbythEANCon

spy
the SADF for Codesa negotiations.

of the SADF in the new SA. He hasa wealth
of experience and knowledge.â\200\235
Gemardt,whoissa-vingalifesenm
farmson.isnatamemhel'ottheANCOr
SACP. But the SACP is demanding that
Gerhardt, along with about 200 politeal

Spy

Soviets in 1956
He opera

inenemyhandsitwouldbetxeamdas
colour fiim, which would destroy the
b!an!c-a.nd-white section where the infor-

whi~\202esi~\201natschooLAi~\201errisingrapidlym
the SA Navy he offered

ted alone, using dead letter
boxes in Newlands and Fish Hoek, umtil

s DIRK HARTFORD |

prisoners, be released _mmmediately and
meconditionally, â\200\234Gerhardt was motivated
by bis and-apartheid convictions and must
be released,â\200\235 the SACP said.

But the SA Police magazine Servamns
has said Gerharit is 2ot 3 political prison-

. er because his actions were a product of

mare than jost â\200\234ideological differencesâ\200\235.
â\200\234He is an egotist wark-orientated per-
son who; for his own profit, stabbed his
country e the backâ\200\235

For the first dme, â\200\224 with

a new

\Q) J1 }Qâ\200\230&

access to court records and the investigation-
Ingolfi-\201cerâ\200\224hasdescribedhoweataradt
operated His trial was held in camera

â\200\234It has all the ingredients of 2 thriller:
morse code messages, 2 memory code

â\200\234based on the words Kensington Gardens

and evaluated by 2 mathematical forms-

" la, paper which when treated chemically

revealed a coded message, and 3 mm |
camer with special 13mm long film
The film, for example was half colour
and half black and white. [F the film landed
5 0 To Page 2

(J From Page 1

years for detaining.

N

1968 when he married Ruth Johr, She then â\204ç
became his courier and regularly met Ge-
hardt's handler in Switzerland Gerhardt
himself sent to the Soviet Union every two

The Gerhardts were arrested in 1983

his services to the
operatives. Ruth

after a leak in the international espionage
network was passed on to SA intelligence
Gerhard

He received a 10-

years sentence, but was released after 7 years-
He is now living in Madrid

{3 (J(-A:j | If
NEWS IN BRIEF

iâ\200\230 #
| Draft plan for PM

| GOVERNMENT yesterday un-
veiled a draft development strate-
gy for the PWV region in view of
the changing aspects of urbanisa-
tion resulting from the scrapping
of discriminatory legislation and

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ia

"The code, drawn up with the best of intentions, would then look very different to the people who drafted it. We in FIEJ usually advise against codes of practice,â\200\235

A media conference held at the University of the Western Cape recently decided that the Media Council, media workers and publishers should draw up a code of practice (or the industry and that an independent body should be established to monitor the Press, radio and TV during the transition. '

Low believes it is urgently necessary for the newspaper industry to ; ! .prepare for the transition by es b-, 0,

ishing a commonâ\200\231 front of â\200\234all thel " players including managers, editorsâ\200\231 and journalsys.: P

â\200\234Governments know: very well how to employ a divide and conquer strategy and will work very hard to point out to Journalists that they are not the enemy, the boss is, This ?; the

r?)f)q\cj

LINDA ENSOR =
in Cape Town

most commonly employed strategy used by governments to destroy the Independence of the Press, and codes of, conduct usually facilitate (his,

â\200\234I would say there is a need in SA for the Press to consolidate and identify around common concerns in order to achieve broad consensus throughout its ranks.

â\200\234Reporters feel a threat from one source, managers from another sourceâ\200\235 When they communicate among themselves and identify common areas they need to be concerned about, they produce a synergy which is much more effective than a code

of practice' in protecting the Independence- â\200\230

dence of the Press.â\200\235 Interpersonal dialogue would also mean greater, contact between the "esfab-

Media codes destructive

lishment" and Alternative Press, One of the reasons for Low's visit was to facilitate this communication as a prelude to SA gaining representation on FIEJ. Membership has been under discussion between the Newspaper Press Union and FIEJ for the past three years, with FIRJ pushing to have an umbrella body from SA as broadly representative of all sectors of the Press as possible.

The concentration of ownership of the SA Press has been an issue of concern for FIEJ and is also occupying the attention of newspaper groups vulnerable to the threat of nationalisation,

Another common development in transitional periods, Low says, is for newly elected governments keen to have their own mouthpiece to take over part of the existing Press rather than establishing their own. However, believes there are many organisations in SA which would like to get their hands on the media.

"There is the mistaken belief that

redistributing what already exists is better than coming up with ways of encouraging the entry of new players into the marketplace to create more diversity.

It also becomes fashionable, for each interest group to have its own newspaper which then becomes the mouthpiece for boring and predictable utterances. What is needed is for a pluralistic diversity of a number of newspapers owned in a wide variety of different ways, .

Governments have a wide array of weapons for stifling the development of the free Press, Low says, including governments that do not wish to be seen to be throttling the freedom of expression can, for instance, apply pressure through their control of foreign exchange, vitally needed to import newsprint and printing equipment or, as in Eastern Europe, through the control of the distribution network.

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The world is littered with printing presses which are rotting on docks. They have been sold and off-loaded but cannot get through customs because of bureaucratic technicalities.

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7 ANC â\200\230will not
t hurt economyâ\200\231

+ THE said yesterday it would
| not adoy policies that would hort
- [the SA
agnoporm ANC secretary-
gmedCytî-\202 Ramaphosa said the
J grougwas still formalating =
1 econsmic plan for a futore guv-*
| ernpent. Nationalisation Was one
opdn being ennsidered as a way
2k ate wealth, bat only if
. it in the comrtryâ\200\231s txterests.
{ [You wnnld have to as 2 govern-
] see how well the people
vuul'd he served by the option be-
| ig taken. The ANC wouald not, and
unde.rime would nat, parsne poli-
ies unt would be harmiul m the
: " he said. !
â\200\234'I nmm FRIDJHON reparts
T the panel disciesion on â\200\234Demo-
.| cratic SA â\200\224 how far have we
4 comeâ\200\235 could have been dell. -
) Butntmnot,mspue.offfour
At pounaa.ns of conflicting/persna-
Inkatim charrmen Frank
Mdlalose, Defence Mister Roelf
| Meyer, the PAC's Slplm Shabala-
| }al and Ramaphosa â\200\224 earnestly
't vying for the moral sayport of the
several hrmdred bosiores people.
T Except for Meya' â\200\230and Rama-
it phosa, the spenkets mag-
F petism. And that is where chair-
F - man Stephen Mnlhefland, who is
TML MD, palled the panel togeth-

The speakers respanded. They
banterd with eash other and the
disenssion came afive, making the
panel 1 conference mghhght.

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â\200\230Executionâ\200\231 of two
policemen: Gang
of 5 arrested

PJ}Z'I'ERMARITZ
BURG. â\200\224 Police have

arrested five suspectsâ\200\231

m a mjm break-
through in thelr mves-
ngauons oo the ex-

â\200\230MurdÃ©r and Robbery

Uit led to the arrest of
fve wanted
connection with the bro-
tal killings of Constables
Jacques Wilken and Wye-
brand Smith, both aged
19.

~The two constables,

who had been m the SA
Pohee Force for only two
mopths, were stationed at
the C R Swart Sqnare
PoRce Headquarters lo
Dhrban.]

Their' bodies wereâ\200\235
found back-to-back on

the Balwer-Howick road,
near the Mpophomem

townsth on jaunpary 11
They had been shot at
point-biznk range.

The pohicemenâ\200\231s wrist-
watches, two bags and
shoes and socks were
missng.

Colone! Willie van den
Berg, head of the Preter-
mantzburg Murder and
Robbery Unrm, said the

first arrest was made on
Friday. On Sunday two

more suspects were ar-
rested, and on Monday .

might 2 suspect who fled
to Kokstad was arrested

At 10:15pm

at the hospital

The man was shot and
wounded during a clash
between two groups re-
cently.

Police have taken pos-
session of the game
Col Van den Berg said
more suspects were ex-

- pected. He said that de-
tectives led by Detective

Sergeant Dame Reyneke.

were still busy with inves-
tigations. The move for
the Klimages had not yet

- been established.

The two policemen,
who completed their
probation in Novem-
ber, were on their way to
Newcastle to visit Con-
stable Wilken's parents.
They were hitch-hiking
Const Wyebrand's par-
ents via Vermeiging

Horrorified

The killings of the two
young policemen horri-
fied colleagues, and the
SA Police vowed to track
down the killers, immedi-
ately offering a R25 000
reward for information
leading to their arrest and
conviction.

Cal Van den Berg said
police were investigating
the possibility that the
suspects were also in-
volved in the killing of an
Edendale tearoom own-
er, Mr Ry Bhoola, as
well as a spate of armed
robberies in the area. At 10:24

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THE Marxist Warers'
Tendency of the ANC has
come out apmst the or~
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1Eparts indicated thar rhe
National Party and the
ANC leadershin were
Towards dureement on a
TNEW FUVEITNTETIT.

This was lo be bascd on
a new constimrion agreed
10 at Codesa, then put to
a referendam, before be-
mg wade law by the t-
cameral Pariiameny

It said i these reports
were accuraie, They
me=nt abandonmg key
clements of decsions
made bv the ANC at iis
Inly congress last year, in
particular the demand for
the creation of a sover-
eign constitnent as-
sembly.

The Congress Militant
said the governmentâ\200\231s
plen to defeat mazjonty

CHbize
AN C faction against
contmumg in Codesa

mle by whar &t was doing
at&:dmhadmb:smp-

the seming of a date for |
the election of 2 coustim-
emr assembly.

The ANC shonld watk
out of Codesa if this was
oot immediarely con-
ceded by the government.
and then mobilice the
â\200\234mass movementâ\200\235 to en-
force its demands

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Thar s @t o

Codesa Two
to be March

or April <

A DECISION on the
date of the second ple-
nary session gf Codesa

will be taken at 2 meer-

g of Its management
committee next Mon-
day, a semior source at
Codesz said

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sotgre sad.

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their proposals on 2 nam.- -

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Serious difficulties on
TBVC reincorporation

SERIOUS differences of
opinion on the issue of re-
incorporation of the
TBVC states have high-
lighted the complexity of
the task which lies ahead
for Codesa in this regard.

The four newly created
sub-committees of Work-
ing Group Four met for
the first time yesterday

after major differences
emerged on Monday on
whether sufficient con-
sensus had been reached
on the incorporation.

The government and
other parties insisted on
the importance of

issue. The minutes were
changed to read several
parties favoured reincor-
poration

A split has also devel- -
oped between the govern-
ment and the ANC on the
issues of restoration of
citizenship, and the test-
ing of the will of the
people of the TBVC -
States. i

While the government
has indicated that it pre- |
ferred a slow, methodical |
approach involving inves- |
tigation of the practical, |
legal and financial impli-
cations of reincorporation,
the ANC is opting for im-
mediate restoration of SA

anxious to '1' BVC

'The government has
also suggested that a re-
ferendum be held in the
four homelands to test the
will of the people to test the
will of the people to test the

ling remcorporation winie
the ANC mauutains that |
such a referendum shonld
mvolve all the people of
Soath Afm:a on a non-

Addcgmefmmnoneofâ\200\230
the self-governmg terrivo-
ries sud the Demoacranc
Party had sided with the
ANCSACP zxas on the
â\200\230e of remeorporarion.

However, thear view 18
still mecting with strong

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thcy md been â\200\234cmtemm-
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Gronp four had hroken
ap into its font sab-com

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Codesa minu i~\201
â\200\230not forc1bly '
retracted

THE Codesa working
Â£IOIp On TCW00TP0ra-
tion expressed CONCCIN
yesterday ar 2 mexdia re-
ponclannmgthzxasccâ\200\224
rion of the gronpâ\200\231s -
mzsofaprcvxonsw
ing were forcblly re-
tracted.

| said that if was not
a forced retraction of &
frm dedsion buf 2
â\200\234mere comection of the
panof'm:dmï~\201mmm
of the previovs mcel-
mg"-

Accordmg to med
reports, the working

had becn forced

an Monday to retract aÂ\$ |
statement in its minafesy |
that â\200\234snfficent consen-
ausâ\200\235 had been recached
on remeorporation-

~Sofficdemt ConsCu-
susâ\204¢ is necessary under
Codesaâ\200\231s terms of refer-
ence to carry weight

The statement said:
â\200\234An amendment to the
dapse in the mmutes of
| growp four on the rc-

The ANC's position
Zulu monarch would not be
'IFP' at Codesa: Mbeki

DURBAN. Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini would cease to be King of the Zulus if he was allowed to participate in Codesa alongside an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation. This would make him king of Zulus IFP supporters only, according to Thabo Mbeki.

'I am the ANC's spokesman'

Marional affairs was speaking at an Idasa forum in Durban yesterday.

He said it had been agreed in preparations leading to Codesa that only political parties

would participate in constitutional negotiations,

Mr Mbela said traditional leaders should attempt Codesa as observers with the right to intervene but not speak on issues directly affecting them. He said it was untrue the ANC had specifically blocked King Zwelithini's participation.

An mcorrer cfforr

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ANCâ\200\231s Marcus

T i zen

convicted on

arms charge

By Andrew Whilock
AFRICAN National

guilty in the Vosioorus
Magistrateâ\200\231s Court on

Â¥ cor
or 2 fme of R1 000, for
mniawfal possession of the

firearm, and 125 days, or
R500, for possession of
the ammmunition,

In a Press statement
yesterday, Ms Maregs
said thar as 2 resalr of her

work with the Depare- |

ment of Informmaton and
Publicity of the ANC, she
had recerved threatenine
phope calls fromm un-
kpown pecple induoding
threats lo her safety,

â\200\234In addition, it was
drawm to my artension
thatr pamphlets were be-
ing dstuibuted ip the
sreets of lohannesburg
spedifically mennionmg
me 35 bemg an enenry of
Inkarha

{ ~Accordingly, ia De.

Her reason for taking
this step was thar she had
felt her safety was threat-
ened.

â\200\234Shorily thereafter |
apphicd 10 Joha Vorster
| Square Police Station for
i a firearm licence,

â\200\234Afier I had recetved
00 response from Johyp
Vorster Square for some

months, I went to the
told that my application
would be processed in a

| matter of weeks - .
| 200\234Months went by and |

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i 200\230 Gun ch
| FROM PAGE 1]

TAL the time of posses-
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would not have had a -
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Taxi peace,
thwarteds

THEO RAWANA

OUTRURSTS of wviolgnce
were thwarting peace
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Capetaxiwar, naï¬\201onalmn
hody Sabtaâ\200\231s marketing Â¢o-

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&

Black Taxi Association
(Webta) and the Langa,
Gugulethn and Nyanga
(Lagnnya)taxiorganisauon

lives.

Lebese is going to Cape
Town op Friday â\200\234t0 find out
i.fthereisanypointinggoing
on with peace effortsâ\200\235.

Â«after working hard,
identifying obstacles, We
had reached negotianing
stage when this fresh vio-
legee eruptedâ\200\235 The worst
thing was that the people
who were involved 10 fmd-
| ing & solution were back in
| the fightmg

Sapa reports that police
said yesterday lLagnnya
and Webta would be io-

formed that the KTC rank
l; wonid be closed nless
| fighting stopped imimedi-
Lately.

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Yl i e !

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Makw

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CAPE TOWN â\200\224 PAC
 -deader Clarence Mak-
 ~Wety yesterday rejected
 the second appeal to tes-
 -tify before the Goldstone
 ission of Inquiry
 Imto Political Violence
 <and Intimidation, and
 â\200\234Â¥2id he would rather go
 0 jail -
 â\200\234I reject the mvitation to
 Â¥Be Goidstone Inquiry. Jf

â\200\234*zm threatened with impris-
 Sanment becanse of my ac
 thons, my answer must be
 â\200\224fRat T have soffered many
 .Jears in.prison for my be-
 <liefefeâ\200\235 he gaid at 3 pews
 â\200\234Fonference.

â\200\230% He said he did not doabt
 â\200\2348r Jostice Richard Gold-
 â\200\230gloneâ\200\231s personal integrity
 â\200\234but the PAC regarded the
 Taws of the country as le-

_Eiï-\202mmiltwasa]socleïï-\202r
 e principal perpetrators

-of the violence had not been
 beought to book.

-Â« The Harms Commission
 of Inquiry into the activi-
 tes of the CCB and hit
 sfuads was a farce and
 â\200\230Makwetn wanted to know if

- Mr Justice Goldstone was Â°

. Fomg to stromon â\200\234the Comn-
 - mander-in-Chief of the

~SADF, Presidemt FW de

%) 1 (5(? L,)
 N

etu adamant
 on refusal to testify

Kletk, to answer widespread allegations that his army is engaged in the most notorious activities against my peopleâ\200\235.

He also wanted to know If the SAP Commissioner would be summoned to explain the train Massacres, the possible involvement of his staff and why violence continued despite the SAP signing the peace accord,

Makwetnâ\200\231s comments come just after Apia, the PACs military wing, admitted ambushing and killing men in Katlehong on Monday.

Apia chief information officer Johnuy Mazjozi was reported yesterday as saying that Apia would continue to target security force members until a constituent assembly was established

Makwetn said Inis organisation had never disassociated itself from Apia, and called for the immediate establishment of a constituent assembly through proper elections.

Makwetn denied the patriotic front was moribund

and said planning was still

= |12

o track for the preview meeting of the 92 organisations at the end of April. No definite date had been set

He said the PAC was still working with the ANC and other organisations to plan patriotic front meetings despite some of these organisationsâ\200\231 participation in Codesa.

- spite some of these organisationsâ\200\231 participation in Codesa.

Sapa reports Makwetnâ\200\231s

response to attacks on
white teachers at Kettle-
Rong was that he con-
demned them if the teach-
ers were attacked because
they were white. There
may however have been mn-
known other reasons for
the attacks, he said.

The PAC is not anti-
white, It is just anti-white
baskap, he said

08:03

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YOS: 1. Â°F. P

B Wi YT o b Sl Ve LN

Marcas tells

â\200\230magistrate of
death threats

*By Anns Logw

-and Juliezme dq Toit

: Â£

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus,
-convicted in the Vosloarns Re-

.gional Court op â\200\230Monday of ille-
â\200\23083l possession of 3 Makaray

'Was given the firearm hy the

-ANC after receiving â\200\230dyeath

threats,

: - Mareus pleaded guilty to two

eharges before Magistrate Jan

Jonck. She was fined R1000 or

250 daysâ\200\231 jail for possession af-
an nnlicensed firearm and a |
farther Ra00 or 125 days for -

being in possession of the am-
g

â\202¬ reeay L threqt: er
the distrihution of pamphlets

-Which s2id that she was a mem-
â\200\234ber of Inkatha.

- . The firearm was fomnd in the

possession of zn occmpant of 2

.car stopped by police in Rat-

lehong on December 17. When
questioned, the map said the
&un belonged to Mareus.

@ Marcys told The Star the po-

g her in the limel over a
threatening jssue.

Protection

The 18sning of her licence had |
taken 11 months, whereas it |
usaally took three to four |
weeks. Becanse she felt so !
threatened, she had obtained '
the pistol for protection, bot |

only affer speaking to officials

mhxghposzi~\201ons_aboutthedelayâ\200\230

In the issuing of the licence.

She said she spoke to the Min-
the Divisonal Cormes 2

e Divigi Oner o
Police for the Witwatersrand,
Major-Geoeral Gerrit Erasmus,
byt na licence was farthcoming.
It was granted only in No-
vember, 3 month after she had
obtained the pistal.

Marcus said police wrongly
said she had lent the pistol to
another man. It had heen in her
car, and poliee had questioned
bther driver when they searched

â\202~ CAr. Seeth

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Police arrest five after
killing of two offic

MARITZBURG â\200\224 Police have arrested
five suspects in 2 major breakthrough in
their investigation of the execution-type
killing of two teenaged â\200\230police constables
last month

Police yesterday disclosed that round-

the-clock investigations by the Maritzburg
murder and robbery unit led to the arrests
of five suspects wanted in connection with
the brutal killings of Const Jacques Wilken
and Const Wybrand Smith, both 19.

- The two constables, who had been in the
SAP for only two months, were stationed
at CR Swart Square police headquarters
in Durban. :

Their bodies were found back-to-back on
the Bulwer-Howick road, near the Mpo-
pomeni township, on January 11. They
had been shot at point-blank range. The
policemen's wristwatches, two bags and
shoes and socks were missing.

, Maritzburg Murder and Robbery Unit
| head Col Willie van den Berg said the first
arrest was made on Friday. On Sunday,
two more were arrested and on
Monday night a suspect who fled to Kok-
stad was arrested.

A fifth suspect is under police guard in
hospital. He was shot and wounded during
a clash between two groups recently.

gus.

Van den Berg said more 3

expected. â\200\230
He said detectives led by Det-Sgt Danie

Reyneke were busy with investigations

.The motive for the killings had not been
established.

Police spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo
said the men were connected to three other
murders and three armed robberies.

The two policemen, who had completed
their training in November, were on their
way to Newcastle to visit Wilken's
They were hitch-hiking Smith's parents
live in Vereeniging.

The killing of the two young policemen shocked colleagues and the SAP immediately offered a R25 000 reward for information leading to the killers's arrests and convictions. :

Meanwhile in Vosloorus, on the East Rand, municipal policeman Const DB Nkosi was shot dead on Monday night

A police spokesman said three Vosloorus municipal policemen were visiting 2 women's hostel when four men entered the reception area.

One of the men fired several shots at the policemen. Two managed to escape but

Police have taken possession of three Nkosi was bit and died 224 Sapa.

PIERRE CLAASSEN in Cape Town |

Ba
i

@ N A revealing look behind
the secret operations of the
National Intelligence Ser-

vice, its former chief Dr Niel

Barnard has divulged that the

NIS was the moving force be-

hind the release of Mr Nelson

Mandela and the unbanning

of the ANC. gy o AR
For the first time he has

made public that before Mr

Mandelaâ\200\231s release, the NIS ar-

ranged a top secret meeting

with top ANC leaders in exile,
securing their undertaking for
-talks with the Government

which ultimately led to the
| Groote Schuur deliberations
| and Minute. S

Dr Barnard made his disclo-
sures to Alf Ries, political edi-
tor of Die Burger, the

Afrikaans daily currently

publishing a three-part series

-on the former â\200\230â\200\234super spyâ\200\235â\200\231
who now heads the Depart-
ment of Constitutional

Development.

In the second article pub-
lished yesterday, Dr Barnard
explains the apparent anom-
aly that while NIS was con-
ducting secret talks with the
exiled ANC, the service never-
theless voiced strong objec-
tions to academics,
businessmen and opposition
politicians doing so at Dakar

and Lusaka.

â\200\234We were not against it and

we never thought we could -

find answers to the countryâ\200\231s
problems without the ANC
but we did not want to allow
groups and governments from
outside to act as facilitators
to talks,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234Our view was that, unlike
Zimbabwe and Namibia,
there should be no middle-
men to bring us together. NIS
took a strong stand over years
that it should be the one to
make contact with the ANC
because the minute there is a
middleman, he also wants

' something out of it.

â\200\234Besides academics and
businessmen are not ruling
the country,â\200\235 Dr Barnard
explained.

In the first part of the series
Dr Barnard elaborated on
what the former State Presi-
dent, Mr PW Botha, recently
referred to as the intelligence

â\200\234messâ\200\235 which confronted the . lasting
Victor Verster prisons.

young academic at the time of
his appointment.

There was a war between
the police-based security ser-
vices and the NIS on the one
hand and Military Intelli-
gence on the other. The NIS, a
successor to the infamous
BOSS under General â\200\234Lang
Hendrikâ\200\235 van den Bergh, was
in a shambles and under at-
tack from Military Intelli-
gence whose hawks saw the
countryâ\200\231s problems as rooted
in the communist threat.

â\202-

rnard liftggsd
d on 1988 "
Mandela talks

view was that as long Sapa)

Vit

as we fail to tackle the inter-
nal political problem, we will
not solve the countryâ\200\231s lonj

term problem.â\200\235 {
He had no doubt that in the
first two years following his
surprising appointment in
October 1979 â\200\234there was a de-
liberate attempt to eradicate
the NIS. The deep lying cause
was the difference in interpre-
tation between the NIS and
particularly the SADF.â\200\235 :

The problem was eventual- -

ly solved by the creation of
the Co-ordinating Intelligence
Committee which sat weekly,
later bi-weekly and now
monthly. i
â\200\234I can say without fear li-\202{
contradiction that the intel
genc2 community in South
Africa now works well and is
one of the best in the world,â\200\235
he said. i

Another interesting insi|
revealed by Dr Barnard w.
the NIS dilemma regarding
the grey area between what
constituted â\200\234the security of
the stateâ\200\235 and legitimate poli-
tics. An example was the co-
vert visits between politicians
and tiie banned ANC while it
was still â\200\234Enemy No 1.â\200\235 :
The NIS dealings with the
ANC problem itself is the
most illuminating of Dr
Barnardâ\200\231s tale. :

_ In view of the serviceâ\200\231s ap-
proach to the problem,
â\200\234around 1987/88 we started to
realise more strongly that we
had to turn our attention to
Mr Mandela and other mem-
bers of the Rivonia group.
â\200\234The question was asked.

- whether we could arrive at a

political solution while these
persons were still incarcerat-
ed. We were thus sanctioned
by the Government to try and
establish from Mr Mandela

' whether he was able to play a

g)le in finding a political solu-
on- L !

He and three other officials
â\200\224 the Commissioner of Pris-
ons, General Willie Willemse,
a NIS colleague Mr Mike
Louw and Mr Fanie van der
Merwe of Constitutional De-
velopment â\200\224 were (

It was no political debate
but an effort on the part of
knowledgeable persons to es-
tablish how Mr Mandela's
head worked. g |

Three themes we
stantly explored: !
Did he really want a
peaceful solution; i
What was his ideological po-
sition; . X : 4
How did he see the poli-
tical future of the country? 4

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- Train attackers are

IFP

- or â\200\230Third Forceâ\200\231, says report

By Patrick Laurence

One hundred and twelve train commuters were killed in attacks on trains on the Reef during the 18 months ending on January 31, according to a special report by the Independent Board of Inquiry.

â\200\230The relevance of the 15-page report, "Blood on the Tracksâ\200\235, has been underlined by the death of three commuters in a hand grenade explosion on Monday on a train travelling near Katlehong on the East Rand.

The grisly tale of attack, injury and death on trains for the 18-month period is summed up in these statistics: 48 attacks, nearly 560 people injured and 112 killed.

. - â\200\230The SA Police have promised to do all in their power to bring the culprits to Justice but so far not a single person has been convicted for these attacks, the report observes,

But last week Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman cited a seven-

year sentence meted out in the Johannesburg Regional Court to a man found guilty of an attack on a train at Braamfontein Station on September 11 1991. In which two people were killed and three injured.

He said that 28 others â\200\234connected to train and other serious unrest incidentsâ\200\235 on the Reef had been arrested since September 1990.

He stressed that court judgments, punishments and the granting of bail were beyond the jurisdiction of the police.

The report said Spoornet had

expressed horror at the attacks and had undertaken to take measures to end them. The attacks continued, however.

â\200\234All they have done is to provide 50 hand-held metal detectors to be used on Gweto stations and given orders that interlocking doors between coaches should be locked."â\200\235 â\200\230

The report examines the victims, the assailants and the weapons used (in the attacks before) positing two theories on the identity and motives of the attackers. â\200\231

Of the victims it notes that

there is some evidence that two ~ groups were targeted by the assailants: Political activists, known as the â\200\234mzabalazo people

or â\200\235 or â\200\234Mandela's children,â\200\235

and religious devotees who hold church services on the trains. But it concludes that the most striking feature of the victims is "they appear to have been chosen at random" in most cases. Of the attackers, the report says that statements by survivors

and witnesses concur that

{ the attackers spoke Zulu. attacks, carried out [in July and August last year, the attacker wore red headbands and chanted â\200\234Usuthu," the report says. â\200\234â\200\234The headbands and the chanting was a katha I've done in Par ' P) supporters in the massive clashes between (the) and township dwellers ... at the time.â\200\235 '

Weapons used In the attacks were mainly pangas, knives and handguns, all of which are relatively easy to conceal, the report says. In the attacks, however, AK-47 rifles were used and in another â\200\224 on January 29 â\200\224 the murder weapon was a

hand grenade, 1t adis.

The report concludes that two theories are held by commentators about the assailants: They are either JFP members or they are part of the "Third Force." "Third Force."

The IFP theory is supported by three factors; The attackers have been described as Zulu speakers, most attacks have taken place close to hostels regarded as "IFP strongholds, and

+ "all those arrested have

"claimed to be IFP members".

The "Third Force" theory is buttressed by two factors:

@ The indiscriminate nature of the attacks suggests the motive of ethnic attackers is to spread sheer terror along the lines of Renamo in Mozambique.:

@ The timing of the attacks immediately before or after a breakdown in the peace initiative is consistent with a Third Force wanting to prevent the peace process taking root.

The report ends with a call for "effective counter measures," warning that the "campaign will continue" if they are not implemented.

-JOURNAL

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WILLIAM RUSHER

- Sellout In
Africa?

SAN FRANCISCO-When I heard that .

. Zulu political leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi
i was to speak here, I hurriedly reserved a
. seat. I had no idea he was even in the coun-
try-our liberal media almost never men-
; tion him. That might spoil the impression -
- they have cultivated that the white govern- :
ment of Prime Minister de Klerk and radi-
cal African National Congress, headed by |
- Nelson Mandela, are the only two political
_ forces in South Africa. : â\200\230

But I had interviewed Buthelezi for the -
first time 20 years ago, and I had visited '
him in KwaZulu in 1987, and I knew, that no
future for South Africa can be conceived
without conceding a major role to Buthelezi
and his people. ' Ay 5
Butheleziâ\200\231s message is crystal-clear: ')
â\200\234The African National Congress is de-
manding a Constituent Assembly ' before :
June this year. It is retaining its private =
army ... and it is still secreting caches of
arms around the country because it wants
to sabre-rattle to get its own way.â\200\235 <= . .

' â\200\234THE INKATHA Freedom Party (which
Buthelezi heads) says an adamant No to a '
. Constituent Assembly before June this year.
... The ground is not equally level for all po- k
litical parties when it comes down to politi- j
cal campaigning.â\200\235. * 67
Nor is Buthelezi overly impressed with
the Conference for a Democratic South Afri-
ca. â\200\234CODESA is composed of 20 political
parties, but excludes the Conservative Par- 4
"ty and white parties and trade unions to the
right of it. It also excludes the Pan-African *
Congress, AZAPO, and other political or-
ganizations on the left. It is just not suffi-
ciently representative of the total political ;
spectrum in South Africa, ...Â© . i

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WHAT IF de Klerk simply sells out to the ANC? One got a grim glimpse of the possibilities in Butheleziâ\200\231's reference to the tragic experience of neighboring Angola:

â\200\234Dr. Savimbi was assured that an Interim Government after the withdrawal of Portugal from Angola would give all political parties fair recognition and opportunity to - participate in the new democracy. He found !

that he was duped, and the (communist) political power-play that followed resulted in a divided Angola being the tragic aftermath |

- of violence.â\200\235 It took a 15-year civil war and 500,000 casualties to unite the country again.

Buthelezi wants â\200\230â\200\230a true multi-party democracy and, colloquially put, we are going 4 to hang in there to ensure that South Africa - i cans do have a multiplicity of choices.â\200\235 -

Doubters. should read â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234The Washing of the Spearsâ\200\231â\200\235 and other histories that describe the warlike qualities of the Zulus. With Moscow no longer able to back him, Nelson Mandela may find South Africa a tougher nut to crack than he imagines.

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