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The Citizen 9/10/92

Saturday 9 May 1992

## Killings report alarming: ANC

NEW Nation allegations that the State Security Council ordered the assassination of three activists substantiated long-held suspicions that the security forces played a role in orchestrating violence, the ANC said yesterday.

It noted the document came a week after the Trust Feed verdict.

"The alarming report carried in the New Nation about the murders of Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlauhi finally provides concrete confirmation of the worst fears of many democratic activists," the ANC said.

"This is a pattern consistent with that exposed by the New Nation. There is now a host of compelling evidence indicating high crimes, of extreme gravity, on the part of members of the South African Police and other security forces.

"Coming one week after the verdict in the Trust Feed murder trial, these revelations substantiate our long-held suspicions that the security forces play a sinister role in fomenting and orchestrating violence."

Apart from the individual security force officers implicated in murder and violence, a large measure of responsibility also devolved on the political leaders under whose ministerial authority these officers operated, the ANC said. — Sapa.



# IFP accepts PAC offer to mediate with ANC

ULUNDI. — The Pan Africanist Congress has offered to act as an intermediary between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress, according to a joint communique from the PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party last night.

The communique, which was released following a meeting between

the PAC and the IFP yesterday, said the IFP had accepted the proposal as positive and one which could contribute towards the ending of violence and the killing of people.

The communique was however in conflict with an earlier denial by the PAC that it had offered to

act as an intermediary.

The denial followed a clear snub from the ANC, who described the PAC offer as a propaganda exercise.

The ANC said it did not need the PAC or any other mediator in its relations with South African political formations.

The joint communique said the PAC and the IFP had also agreed to further talks and the setting up of a liaison mechanism which is to be headed by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and the PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke.

• The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday denied it had tried to act as a mediator between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"We told the ANC to convene a meeting between (PAC) president Clarence Makwetu and (ANC) president Nelson Mandela to discuss political intolerance and violence," the PAC said in a terse statement.

According to the PAC, the ANC was reacting to praise the PAC might get for its efforts to end the violence and this was typical sign of political immaturity.

The ANC yesterday criticised the PAC for trying to present itself as a mediator. — Sapa.



## ANC must cancel Bop march altogether: SAP

THE SAP has welcomed the African National Congress' decision to postpone its march on the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho, but said the organisation should cancel the action altogether.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said in a statement yesterday: "The decision by the ANC to postpone its

march on Mmabatho is to be welcomed. But if they are truly committed to a non-violent political approach, they will cancel the march, and others planned by it, and call off its mass action campaign altogether."

The ANC said on Wednesday it was calling off Friday's planned march on Mmabatho, but said "there is a good probabili-

ty ... it will take place at a later stage."

The reason for the cancellation of the planned march was "a matter of organising it properly".

The ANC was committed in principle to continuing with mass action in both KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, according to ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus. — Sapa.



## No talks until MK disbanded: Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — Negotiations could not go ahead until the African National Congress disbanded its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and demobilised its military personnel, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

In a hard-hitting address in Ulundi to the United Nations observer mission, headed by Ms Angela King, Chief Buthelezi lambasted the ANC, which he said had threatened the negotiation process from the outset and had brought violence and destruction into the lives of all South Africans.

He charged the ANC had never been interested in peaceful reform, but had actively sought to overthrow the SA Government, regardless of how it would be achieved or how long it would take the country to recover from the resulting chaos and misery.

"For too long now South Africa has been subject to the irresponsible whims of this organisation in its reckless bid to usurp power from the present government. The sincerity needed to enter talks of compromise and reconciliation is not evident at all."

The ANC had undermined the legitimacy of the National Peace Accord structures, and had shown the same blatant defiance of the Goldstone Commission regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation.

He said the IFP was clearly not the aggressor, but the victim of bloody politics.

"What is clear to the IFP and the KwaZulu Government is that without the immediate disbandment of the ANC's ruthless army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the demobilisation of its military personnel, negotiations cannot go ahead."

He said MK cadres were directly involved in the slaughter of IFP supporters.

Chief Buthelezi also accused the SA Government of "blatant duplic-

ity" and "candid support" of the ANC in its vendetta against the IFP and KwaZulu Government.

This was shown in the agreement between the two parties on the blanket ban of cultural weapons.

He reiterated that depriving Zulus of their traditional weapons meant depriving them of their chosen and traditional tools of self identification.

Chief Buthelezi also reiterated his objection to "bilateral decision-making and implementation concluded between the government and the ANC". — Sapa.



# New Amnesty Bill likely next week

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The controversial new Amnesty Bill is likely to be published early next week, during a short session of Parliament that is expected to produce lively debates on highly contentious issues.

The Amnesty Bill is the only legislative measure due to be debated this year, but not yet introduced by Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

This Bill is still being drafted, with all political parties waiting to see how far the proposed amnesty will go in exempting from prosecution or imprisonment those who claim political motives for their actions.

## Mistake

Political temperature around this measure has increased following the release of convicted killer and bank robber, Lucky Malaza, among others, apparently by mistake.

All parties are demanding assurances that this kind of error will be avoided in implementing the terms of the proposed new amnesty Bill.

Mr Coetsee also faces a possibly spirited debate on the Gambling Amendment Bill to ban all "gam-

bling games". The present legislation prohibits "games of chance", but the new measure would ban gambling, whether or not an element of skill is involved.

The Bill seems almost certain to be approved by Parliament, but not before political parties have raised other issues. For example, it will still leave gambling monopolies in the TBVC states, and it would mean a loss of an estimated 25 000 jobs at a time when unemployment is rife.

## Diverging

However, main focus of the session will be on constitutional issues, on which there are widely divergent views among the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political parties.

Bills already introduced are:

- A Judicial Matters Bill to provide for additional attorneys-general and the appointment of justices of the peace in the six self-governing territories;

- An Inquests Bill to allow attorneys-general to recommend the re-opening of inquests;

- A Bill to eliminate all further by-elections for the existing Parliament.

The party now holding a seat would nominate a replacement in the case of a vacancy;

## Powers

- A Constitution Amendment Bill empowering the State President to appoint people from outside Parliament to the Cabinet or as deputy Ministers — the creation of a multi-party executive, including Blacks;

- A second Bill to amend the Constitution by phasing out the concept of "Own Affairs";

- A separate Bill to incorporate "Own Affairs" departments into single administrative departments, on a non-racial basis;

- The Gambling Amendment Bill, which has been introduced, and an amnesty Bill, still to come.

During debates on these Bills, the subject of the government/ANC agreement at last month's summit is certain to be raised, together with the rejection of this agreement by various Black leaders as well as the Conservative Party and recently-formed Afrikaaner Volksunie.



# Ciskei ANC homes raided: Pre-emptive, says SADF

EAST LONDON. —

The homes of two African National Congress members in Ciskei were allegedly raided by South African and Ciskei soldiers during the early hours yesterday.

Mr Andile Matshele, an ANC political education committee member in the Border region, said soldiers raided his home at 1.30 am and demanded political literature before searching the house.

The SADF confirmed it had conducted a joint operation with the CDF in searching various homes

in Ciskei.

This had been done in response to information received, which was directly linked to intelligence pertaining to ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe's planned actions in Ciskei, SADF spokesman Major C F Loxton said in the SADF's daily report.

The SADF said in all cases where homes had been searched, the occupants had signed "indemnity forms", which was

standard practice.

It repeated that its intentions were to guard lives and property, but added that "certain proactive actions are being taken".

It did not elaborate.

Mr Matshele, of NU 9, Mdantsane, alleged a large group of White soldiers accompanied by two Black soldiers, knocked on the door and threatened to force it open if he did not do so himself.

He claimed the soldiers

pointed rifles at him and told him to raise his hands, ignoring his request for the production of a search warrant.

They took an hour to search the house and concentrated on examining political literature.

No explanation was given for the search, he said.

Another ANC member, Mr Moses Twebe of Dimbaza, alleged his home was searched in a similar manner yesterday morning by soldiers, who searched for weapons.

The soldiers were impolite, he claimed.

The ANC said it was strange SADF members would search for political literature in a civilian's house if it was not a politically motivated army.

The ANC publicity secretary in the region, Mr Mcebisi Bata, accused the SADF of having joined Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in harassing ANC members.

The SADF actions in Ciskei were in line with the policy of its chief, Lieutenant-General George Meiring, who believed in taking sides and supported the CDF, Mr Bata claimed.

The SADF also reported that a school at Tendergate, Whittlesea, had been set alight, allegedly by two schoolchildren. — Sapa.



## ANC worries about new missions abroad

CAPE TOWN. — The African National Congress was concerned about the rate at which the Department of Foreign Affairs was opening diplomatic missions abroad and would definitely review such missions if it became the government, Mr Yusuf Salojee, of the ANC's department of international affairs, said in an interview yesterday.

He was one of the ANC representatives at a Cape Town seminar on future foreign policy objectives organised by the SA Institute of International Affairs and the Canadian Embassy.

Mr Salojee said the government had opened several missions in particularly former Eastern Bloc countries "in a fit of excitement".

"We believe that these missions will have to be reviewed in terms of budgetary considerations, priorities and potential economic benefits by a future government."

He said a new government would also "have to look very carefully" at the existing structure and operation of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

"There will most certainly have to be both organisational and structural change in the Department of Foreign Affairs when a new government takes power."

Mr Salojee said the ANC was currently engaged in developing a

comprehensive foreign policy and hoped to "produce a White Paper which spells out our vision" before the end of this year.

He said training programmes for future South African diplomats were already underway in countries such as the United Kingdom, France, Norway and Egypt. — Sapa.



## Man dies, five Xwounded in Alex shooting

A MAN was killed and five others were wounded in a shooting in Alexandra about 6 am yesterday.

The shooting occurred near the Pan African taxi rank. The alleged attacker fled but was apparently later arrested by security forces.

The five injured were taken to Alexandra Clinic, and then transferred to Tembisa Hospital in critical conditions.

Police have not yet commented on the incident.

This follows yesterday's police unrest report which said SAP members in Alexandra found the bod-

ies of six men with stab and gunshot wounds in the township on Wednesday night.

Also in Alexandra on Wednesday, a man was shot dead and another was wounded when shots were fired at commuters waiting at a taxi rank, and two men were wounded "when attacked by groups".

In other unrest incidents on Wednesday, a man was necklaced in the East Rand township of Katlehong, and police found the body of a woman with gunshot wounds in the same township. — Sapa.



# ANC: 8 freed men 'political'

AT least eight of the 11 prisoners released with gangster Lucky Malaza were political and not "hardened criminal prisoners", as claimed by a Sun-

day newspaper last weekend, the African National Congress said yesterday.

It had conducted a meticulous investigation after the report ap-

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Further information

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was being sought on the remaining three, the ANC said.

"Among other measures used in the evaluation of the cases against the eight were charge sheets which were carefully scrutinised and checked. The ANC is convinced that these eight qualify for release as political prisoners in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute."

It gave the names of the eight as Theba Mhlawuli, T Mngeni, M C Makheleni, A Tyenole, N Delhlazo, M Haba, J Tswane and M Mbotyana.

Information was still being sought concerning C Danster, H Chicken

(Matshikini Makhenzi) and J Mamayo.

"The actions of the newspaper has injured those concerned and their families. We are forced to ask: If these individuals were White, would attempts have been made to verify the information."

"Some of the individuals so callously vilified by the Sunday Times have indicated that they are seeking legal advice in the matter."

It said the bronhaha about the latest releases emanated from those who opposed the Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC." — Sapa.



**COMMENT****Law and order**

**T**HIS week's conference on policing organised by Idasa has been a remarkable event. It is the first time senior representatives of the SAP have interacted in a public debating forum with their strongest critics. Not only that. Yesterday Maj-Gen Jac Buchner — a former security policeman notorious among his opponents and now chief of the Kwa-Zulu police — admitted that police/community relations were "at an all-time low" and then effectively blamed the police for this state of affairs. They had, he said, become too militarised, and needed training in community relations.

Openness of this sort is not only refreshing, it is a critical part of transforming the police force from one which energetically served a departing political system to one essential to the survival of the new. The fact that a senior general is willing honestly to address these issues in public is a sign that the problems are being taken seriously. Now this process should be taken further. It is known that the police have developed a strategic plan for the future, and presumably it addresses the issues raised by Buchner, among others. Perhaps the time has come to publish it, both for debate and so that progress towards its goals can be publicly measured.

The SAP's problems are twofold — of image and substance. The image problem can be addressed partly through better community relations training and affirmative

action which increases the ratio of black to white officers.

But the image problem is largely a function of the historical role of the police in the maintenance of law and order. What is required is evidence that this is consciously changing. A police force which is seen to protect black communities from the ravages of violence and other crime in a non-partisan and humane way (as opposed to the "militaristic" approach as described by Buchner) would help. So, on the political side, would a police force which demonstrably protects the rights of marchers and demonstrators — of all political persuasions. As would a willingness of the police generals and their Minister to take seriously the work of the police board established for the very purpose of giving the SAP management a less partisan outlook.

Of course, all the good that exercises like these could do would be undone in an instant were the Commissioner of Police, spokesman Captain Craig Kotze or any other officer to enter, as is their wont, the political debate — for example, on the wisdom of a march or the alleged nefarious activities of a guerrilla army. That is a job for politicians.

One reason that political violence and crime generally have become endemic is that policing has long been perceived by a large part of the population as an illegitimate, oppressive activity. Until that perception and some police behaviour changes, there is little hope of dealing with it effectively.



## Goldstone probe into hostel violence on hold

THE Goldstone commission has suspended further inquiries into violence at hostels.

Hostels subcommittee chairman Advocate Bob Nugent said the decision followed the Record of Understanding reached between government and the ANC.

This agreement, which entails fencing off several hostels including Dube and Dobsonville, was based on an interim report submitted to President F W de Klerk last month by the sub-committee.

The committee would convene to probe further the hostel issue when and if necessary, Nugent said.

It is understood the Goldstone commission will meet next week once Judge R Goldstone has returned from overseas.

It will discuss, among other things, whether further inquiries into violence at hostels are still necessary.

Meanwhile, the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association has put on hold its plans to embark on mass action in protest against the fencing of hostels.

A spokesman said the mass action would be suspended pending the outcome of a

WILSON ZWANE

meeting between De Klerk and representatives of organisations which this week attended the "conference for concerned South Africans".

It could not be ascertained yesterday when the meeting would take place.

□ Sapa reports that both parties involved in the Alexandra taxi war told a committee of the Goldstone commission that police partiality led to distrust.

Alexandra Taxi Association (ATA) chairman Petrus Manamela and Alexandra, Randburg, Midrand and Sandton Taxi Association chairman Victor Mogale made submissions to the committee yesterday.

Mogale claimed the former station commander of Alexandra police station accepted the use of an ATA member's minibus to take his family on holiday.

He also claimed policemen were operating taxis, some without legal permits.

Manamela told the committee ATA members were reluctant to lay complaints because of rumours of police partiality.



NEWS

**Ten killed  
in Alexandra  
this week**

THREE people were killed and three injured in Alexandra yesterday, bringing to 10 the number of people killed in the township near Johannesburg this week, police said.

One man was arrested when gunmen opened fire on a taxi, killing one passenger. The other two deaths occurred in two separate attacks.

Police described the area as tense, adding that schools had to be closed.



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

### The danger

ONE of the possibilities has always been that the Conservative Party would link up with the Inkatha Freedom Party to form a formidable Afrikaner Right-wing-Zulu alliance.

We don't think that the mini-summit this week reached that point, even though the CP and the breakaway Afrikaner Volksunie backed the views of the three Black leaders who called it.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana's president Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, called for the total scrapping of the Codesa negotiations and the creation of a new political negotiation forum. Although they repeatedly denied they were forming an alliance, they were united in their opposition to unilateral agreements reached between the South African Government and the African National Congress, to the exclusion of all other political parties.

While President Mangope and Brigadier Gqozo were less vehement, Chief Buthelezi accused State President De Klerk forthrightly of appeasement of the ANC.

The day after the mini-summit, the IFP warned that it would never allow the National Party and its "newly found allies", the ANC and SA Communist Party, to dictate to, and destroy the future, of the majority of South Africans.

It was responding to a warning by the leader of the Cape National Party, Dr Dawie de Villiers, that Chief Buthelezi should not go it alone.

"We must negotiate ourselves out of the morass in which we find ourselves. We need the IFP and Dr Buthelezi. Neither the ANC nor the government can go it alone," Dr De Villiers said.

Although the government claims that the fencing of hostels and the ban on dangerous weapons would have been imposed whether or not there had been talks between itself and the ANC, it has not explained why, in that case, there were protracted and deadlocked negotiations between Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the secretary-general of the ANC.

Or why the ANC felt through the Record of Understanding it had made sufficient "gains" to warrant the reopening of the negotiations with the government.

On the face of it, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei had grounds for fearing the government was meeting the ANC's wishes for the sake of getting the talks going again.

However, we doubt that there was a deliberate intention of sidelining the others.

After all, what other allies would the government have in any future negotiations? Venda, which has links with the ANC, and Transkei, which is an out-and-out vassal of the ANC?

Not likely.

As for other homeland leaders, QwaQwa's Dr T K Mopeli, though also threatened by the ANC, wouldn't attend the mini-summit and the rest of the homelands are either pro-ANC or fear the ANC.

Our impression is that the government did not expect the strong reaction to the Resolution of Understanding from Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu, any more than it expected the outcry that followed the release of Magoo's Bar car-bomb killer, Robert McBride, the Messina landmine terrorists and mass murderer Barend Strydom.

We can only think State President De Klerk was not properly alerted to the dangers by his advisers or information gatherers.

He deserves better, especially in this difficult and dangerous period in the reform process.

The worst thing that can happen now is that an embittered Chief Buthelezi will be driven to form an alliance with the CP and other Right-wingers for a possible showdown later. The only way to avoid the ghastly danger of civil war is to bring every party into new negotiations, without any party being favoured.

The time to get everything back on track is now, before blocs are formed that will endanger the negotiations and the chances of peace.



# No blanket amnesty call: Goldstone

OSLO. — Mr Justice Richard Goldstone denied yesterday that he had ever called for a general amnesty for police, soldiers and Black guerrillas.

Mr Justice Goldstone, on a two-day visit to Norway, said a future democratic government would be better placed to decide such a complex issue.

He had been misinterpreted by the media.

"In a statement from the (Goldstone) commission...I said that consideration should be given to the question of amnesty in order to enable the

commission to obtain information," Mr Justice Goldstone told a news conference.

"There were some media in South Africa that misinterpreted that statement as a call for a blanket amnesty. It certainly was never intended to be," he added.

"I think it's a question that a future democratic government in South Africa would be in a bet-

ter position to deal with rather than the government which is responsible for whatever abuses have taken place in the past."

He said the question of granting limited amnesties followed a call from UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for a 30-member observer team for South Africa and a full investigation of the police, the defence force and the armed wing of the ANC.

Asked which side bore most responsibility for the township bloodshed, Mr Justice Goldstone said: "We still have a long way to go to investigate the causes of violence and I think it would be unfair to apportion blame at this stage."

"Of all the parties who are involved in the violence, I don't believe any of them can escape some of the blame," he added.

— Sapa-Reuter.



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THE CITIZEN

# Secret base was 'safe house': Mellet

Citizen Reporter

THE Ministry of Law and Order denied yesterday that a Vanderbijlpark house referred to in a report by the Weekly Mail was being used by policemen who paid hitmen to eliminate members of the ANC.

The newspaper claimed to have linked the planning of assassinations in the Vaal area to a secret SAP base in Riet Street, Rosaslof, near Vanderbijlpark.

It claimed members of the South African Police were involved in a "silent war" against ANC leaders and activists.

The house was reportedly used to recruit

people, who were allegedly offered money and weapons training to carry out attacks against the ANC and its allies in the Vaal region.

The covert operation used false registration plates and page numbers and fictitious company names to hide its activities, the newspaper claimed.

Ministry spokesman, Major-General Leon Mellet, said the house was in fact being used by the police as a "safe house" for undercover policemen and their informants.

The purpose of this operation was to counter crime and to track down criminals, particularly those involved in the

smuggling into South Africa of weapons, such as AK-47 rifles.

"It was only used for the purpose of gathering information against the arms-smuggling networks and other gangsters."

The ANC, said the report had revealed that, contrary to government claims that all covert operations had ceased, a war against the ANC, its allies and other democratic formations continued unabated.

"There revelations substantiate our long-held suspicions that the security forces play a sinister role in fomenting and orchestrating violence," the statement said.

Investigations demonstrated that these were

not isolated incidents, but part of a larger strategy aimed at destabilising the ANC by selective elimination of its leaders, activists and supporters.

"The disclosures demonstrate that State President De Klerk has once again misled the country on a matter of such importance," the statement said.

"The pattern of lies, half-truths and cover-ups

underscores our demand for an independent commission of inquiry to investigate fully the role the security forces have played and continue to play in violence that has already cost so many lives."

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Herens Kriet, has referred the matter to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into violence and intimidation.



Sun. Star 9/10/92

# CP humour proves a bit of a bols-up

**A**NDRIES Treurnicht is not a man given to light humour, but the emergence of Codesa inspired him to make a valiant attempt. At a press conference he gave at Parliament, the CP leader repeatedly referred to the convention as "Condemasa".

Some people thought it was a mispronunciation, but later in the House, Dr T solemnly explained this was his deliberate little joke. Because Codesa would condemn SA, geddit?

His followers have been repeating the wise-crack at every opportunity, but it still hasn't made as many waves as Dr Treurnicht's most celebrated joke — way back in 1979 when he was still a non-reformist Nat (and indeed, the NP's Transvaal leader).

This was the famous "Bols" episode which nearly ended the political career of his verligte fellow Nat Louis Nel. Remarkably for the ex-dominant CP leader, it involved a mildly off-colour joke Treurnicht had made.

It happened like this. At a party for his 58th birthday, he told the story of a churchman, Dr Kossie Gericke, who was attending a synodal meeting in the Netherlands. Afterwards he was invited to a nearby pub for a "snapsie" of that noted Dutch brandy, Bols.

The South African replied: "No thank you, I've listened to it all day, I don't want to drink it as well."

Louis Nel, a genial figure but no friend of Treurnicht, wrote a pained open letter to all Transvaal MPs complaining about this "distasteful remark which could only be interpreted as a reference to the genital organs of men"; of how the joke was made in the company of women, and how unbecoming this was for someone of his clerical background.

So it  
goes...

ARNOLD  
BENJAMIN



A great crisis followed in the NP, then led by a PW Botha already under strain from restive rightists, and for the sake of party unity the whole thing was made to rebound on Nel. For making those waves he was expelled from the NP and sat as an independent for the best part of a year.

Later he was allowed to return to the fold and became, a few years later, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information.

Treurnicht, a while later, led the walkout by some 18 Nat rightists who formed the Conservative Party. Since then the good Doctor seems to have made no more jokes about Bols, or any other liquor or any other part of the anatomy.

Nel, who at this stage was able to say "I'm still in the NP while Treurnicht is out", added a bit further to the store of SA political humour in outlining his Info plans.

He argued that SA's polecat image was not necessarily bad. "As everybody knows," he said, "the polecat or skunk with its distinctive ... black and white colouring can be a lovable and engaging creature."

The bad smell, he added meaningfully, was largely a defensive measure, becoming worse when the creature felt cornered.

Before he was dropped as Deputy Minister, Nel was involved in secret dealings with Renamo in Mozambique and with that famous R4 million "Info" peace song (which earned him the tag of Louis "Liedjies" Nel). After a shot at ousting the CP from Carletonville in 1989 he has stayed out of politics.

□ □ □

SO ... such are the perils and pitfalls, the ups and the downs of political humour in South Africa. You may recall the story of the researcher who went round asking if there were any CP political jokes.

"Yes indeed", he was assured earnestly, "we elect them all to Parliament."

In conclusion, *dames en here*, I could offer Dr T, free of charge, a variation of his "Condemasa" joke. How about Condomsa, which could suggest that the constitutional indaba will be still-born, or anyway that it calls for birth control?

If the CP want it, it's all theirs. The Bols are in their court.





Mangosuthu Buthelezi in regalla at the Shaka Day festivities

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

## It's just a jump to the Right

**T**HEY formed a Committee of Concerned South Africans and set up a liaison structure to "plan the way forward" — but Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is adamant that he is not forming an alliance with the far-rightwing and other homeland leaders he met this week.

In a lengthy interview with *Weekly Mail*

co-editor Anton Harber shortly after the meeting, the Inkatha president also spoke about his hopes for "more representative multi-party talks".

He also revealed details of a letter he received this week from President FW de Klerk.

●See PAGES 6 and 14



## ANC: 8 freed men 'political'

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# The Sun, 9 Oct 1992



VICTIMS... Gertrude and her baby

## KILLERS CAME FOR ME

A MOTHER told how she escaped a slow, agonising death after a "necklace" gang doused her with petrol and put a tyre around her neck.

Gertrude Mzizi, 33, would have been torched by the mob of ANC supporters had police not appeared in the nick of time.

Gertrude, an Inkatha supporter, had been walking home carrying her year-old son Nkosinathi. She said: "One man took my baby, put him on the ground and said, 'Sit there little Inkatha and watch your mother die.' Then they began slowly pouring the petrol over my head. That was the last thing I remember. I fell unconscious in the street."

### Axes

But before they could set fire to Gertrude, a yellow armoured police vehicle, known as a Caspir, roared round the corner and the gang fled under a hail of rubber bullets.

It was not the first time Gertrude had escaped with her life. She ran her own taxi firm and lived with husband Abraham, 49, in a smart "matchbox" house in the ANC sector of Thokoza township.

One day, 500 men armed with stones, axes and metal bars surrounded the fortified house. They pushed a firebomb and a home-made grenade between the steel bars covering a window and waited for the couple and their four children to burn to death. Gertrude said: "At that moment we gave up and thought it was time to die. No one could speak. No one screamed or cried."

### Prayed

"My husband and the children stood silently against the walls. I prayed for God to take our souls and we waited the hour of our death."

Again the police arrived and Albert managed to free a grille over the bathroom window.

The house was repaired then completely destroyed in another arson attack. The family now live in a Zulu part of town.

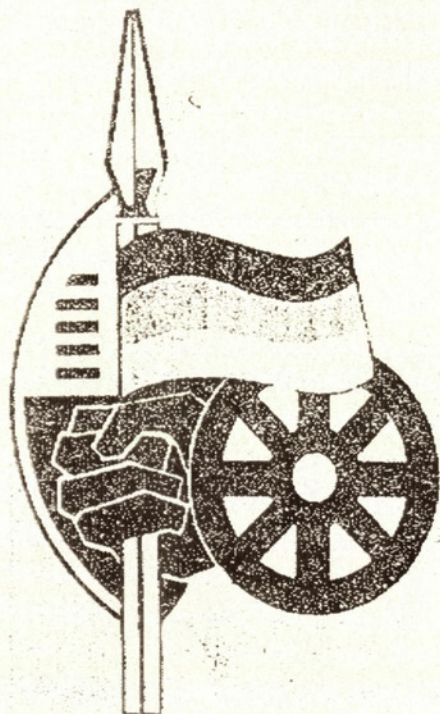
Still, Gertrude believes Nelson Mandela is a good man. She said: "I wept for joy when he was released. I'd dreamed that I'd be alive to see that day."

"And to see the day when we would all be free to run the country as a democracy—everyone allowed to hold their own views without being intimidated."

"Nelson Mandela was hated around the world and even given the Nobel Peace Prize."

"But what peace did he bring to South Africa?"





THIS is the brutal face of South Africa that Nelson Mandela does not want you to see.

A 23-year-old man is beaten and hacked to death in the street by ANC supporters. His only crime—to be suspected of being a member of another political party.

A gang of ten thugs—one wearing an ANC T-shirt—chased terrified Stanley Marnga through the rubbish-strewn streets of Boipatong, a grim township south of Johannesburg.

They cornered their prey in a garden outside a squalid shack and beat him unconscious.

When he came round the "comrades"—as ANC thugs call themselves—dragged Stanley into the gravel road and attacked him again.

All the time, the frenzied mob chanted: "You're going to die!"

Suddenly, a man stepped forward, pointed a pistol and fired a short salvo of bullets into Stanley's bruised and battered chest.

Then, two others hacked at his body with long machetes. Moments later, the crowd opened up and a Toyota minibus appeared. The bus, dangerously overloaded with

youths armed with spears, machetes and even a Russian-made Kalashnikov AK-47 rifle, drove over the mutilated corpse.

Brave photographer Joao Silva, who took this picture, was chased away at gunpoint.

Later, when police arrived they found the burned remains of Stanley's body in the street.

Even after death he had become yet another victim of necklacing—the ANC comrades' barbaric calling card.

A petrol-soaked tyre had been placed around his neck and ignited.

Stanley Marnga was suspected of being a member of the ANC's political rivals, the Inkatha Freedom Party, led by Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



FROM  
**MIKE RIDLEY**  
IN JOHANNESBURG

● SOUTH Africa is teetering on the brink of a bloody civil war. This time next year, after four decades of white domination, the country's 29 million blacks will be allowed to vote. Nelson Mandela's African National Congress is expected to form the country's first all-black government.

● No one in their right mind mourns the death of apartheid. But the ANC—the heroic band of exiled freedom-fighters who returned in triumph after Mandela's release in 1990—has become a dangerous monster, dominated by violent communists.

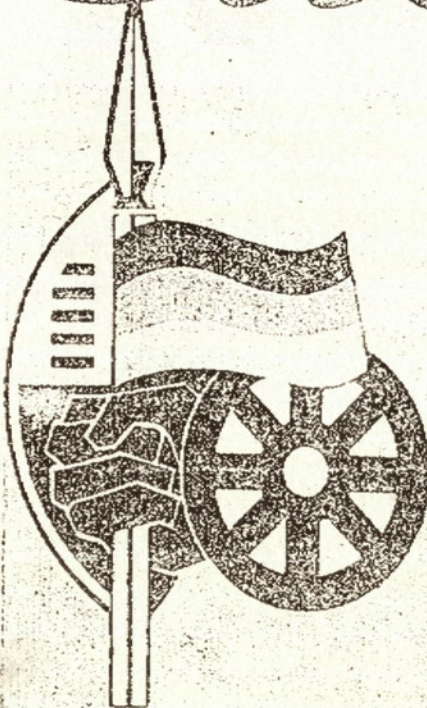
**'If Mandela's  
party get in  
they'll ruin  
this country'**

The sun is Oct '91 2



++DATELINE SOUTH AFRICA: ON

# The machete is democracy



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**'If Mandela's  
party get in**

United  
Kingdom

The Sun, Oct 9 1992



# SAIRR director faces staff revolt

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Research staff of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) have repudiated a recent report published by the institute which attacked research on political violence conducted by three high-profile human rights organisations.

Eight SAIRR researchers signed a memorandum, charging that the special research unit within their organisation, which produced the report, was undermining "our image as an independent and objective research organisation".

They have demanded from SAIRR executive director John Kane-Berman increased consultation and a greater role in decision-making on research conducted by the institute.

Although the signatories voiced concern about a number of the unit's reports, they singled out the report by Dr Anthea Jeffery, "Spotlight on disinformation about violence in South Africa", as particularly undermining the credibility of

the SAIRR.

"We believe Dr Jeffery's work is clearly partisan. We also found press releases and presentations concerning the 'Spotlight' to be unnecessarily provocative, arrogant and antagonistic," they said.

This morning, Kane-Berman strongly defended the Jeffery report and said he was due to meet the signatories later today to discuss the issue. He said they had twice rejected his offer that they should address the matter in talks with Jeffery.

## Argued

"All the criticisms (of the Jeffery report), including those with which some other institute staff have chosen to go public, have been very carefully assessed and Dr Jeffery's conclusions have been powerfully vindicated every time," Kane-Berman said.

He argued that the reasons for the attacks on the report had less to do with its content than with the fact that the institute was challenging a "strongly held conventional wisdom" that violence should be

blamed almost completely on the State and its perceived allies.

In support of their memorandum the signatories attached a 23-page critique of Jeffery's report and related press releases. They concluded that Jeffery could be criticised because:

- She does not "meet the research standards which she demands of those organisations she criticises" and, in particular, "she ignores information which does not support her argument and elevates to fact information which may be unreliable".

- She makes "damning judgments of Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission, assigning underhand motives to them without bothering to get their point of view".

- Her arguments are unsound and based on insufficient and unreliable information.

The researchers said they were concerned that if the SAIRR was perceived as partisan, they would be alienated as researchers from important sources of information.



# Buthelezi, the king and ANC

Could Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi survive politically if the ANC won over the Zulu king? PATRICK LAURENCE put the question to Buthelezi during an interview in Ulundi.

**T**HE African National Congress has offered King Goodwill Zwelithini "a more glorious kingdom" in a bid to woo him onto its side politically, charges Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president.

The wooing of the Zulu monarch is reportedly motivated by an attempt to break Chief Buthelezi's power-base in the Zulu community.

But, Buthelezi says, the strategy is based on a false premise: his power is independent of the king and even if the monarch is enticed into the ANC camp his political power would remain intact.

"It is a fact," Buthelezi says of talk in political corridors that the ANC is trying to lure the king to its side.

"Before it was banned, the ANC invited the king to Lusaka. The intention was to drive a wedge between me and the king. There were messages to the effect that if he agreed, if he played ball, he would be made King of all South Africa.

"Which, of course, made the king smile... he is not so dim that he can't see that that is not possible."

Buthelezi goes on to recall an attempt by ANC leader Walter Sisulu to see Zwelithini "on his terms" — not in Ulundi in the presence of Buthelezi — and a later attempt by Nelson Mandela to persuade him to agree to Sisulu's proposal.

"It is concrete evidence that there are efforts, even now, to try and do that," Buthelezi says.

There is even corridor talk of an ANC plan to buy the king's loyalty and guarantee his present monarchical status and his financial standing under an



Chief Buthelezi... confident of his position.

ANC government.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus strongly denies that there is a plan to bribe the king.

Mandela does want to meet the king, he confirms. But, he adds, there is "nothing sinister" about Mandela's wish for a meeting, especially as it could help lower the political tensions and restore peace.

Buthelezi, a descendant of the great Zulu king, Cetshwayo, is aware of the corridor talk.

"There are promises like that," he says. "I don't know if they have been put to the king directly. I wouldn't know. But there are promises of a more glorious kingdom if the king goes along with them."

But, Buthelezi says, even if the ANC did succeed, it would not break his political power because the "ordinary Zulu people" do not see the king as a political leader.

Their reverence for him is the reverence due to a monarch, not the obedience given to a political leader, Buthelezi avers.

He refers to attempts by the Vorster government in the 1970s to use the king to establish opposition parties to challenge and break Inkatha's hold, first by promoting Shaka's Spear and

then Inala.

Both attempts failed, Buthelezi says, predicting that any bid by the ANC to use the king politically will similarly fail.

A high-ranking member of the Zulu royal family, Israel Mcwayizeni, is already a member of the ANC. Mcwayizeni, who acted as regent until Zwelithini came of age and who was elected to the ANC's national executive committee last year, is seen by some observers as a harbinger of changing political fortunes.

Buthelezi, however, is not concerned by Mcwayizeni's ANC membership. Mcwayizeni, who used to be the king's representative in KwaZulu's Legislative Assembly, was "pushed out" by the king, he says.

"It was I who pleaded with the king not to push him out," Buthelezi adds. "After all he was a senior uncle and (the king) should not be without him. But the king, apparently, had seen through him even then."

Buthelezi, who cites Mcwayizeni's presence in KwaZulu to rebut ANC charges that he is intolerant of political dissent, adds: "They quarrelled. I think the ANC influenced him to politicise (the quarrel) to have a dig at me. It has nothing to do with me."

In recent weeks Buthelezi has referred to the ANC challenge, and in particular to its plans to march on Ulundi, as a threat to the Zulu people.

His statements have evoked anger among the ANC's Zulu members. They insist — to quote Aaron Ndlovu, chairman of the ANC's Northern Natal Region — that they are as much Zulu as Buthelezi and that their opposition to Buthelezi is not, and cannot be, a threat to the Zulu people.

Buthelezi defends his right to talk on behalf of the Zulu nation, citing the positions of his great grandfather and his father as "prime ministers" to the Zulu kings, Cetshwayo and Solomon Dinizulu, as precedents for his own prominent role.

"From the beginning of the Zulu kingdom my family has been very close to the Zulu king," he says, adding: "My great-grandfather was, of course, the prime minister of Cetshwayo and the commander-in-chief of the Zulu army."

Then, he continues, there was "a hiatus", when the Buthelezis did not fulfil their role as "prime ministers".

The link, however, was re-established during the reign of Solomon, the present king's grandfather, Buthelezi says, recalling that Solomon asked his father, Mathole Buthelezi, to help solve a family quarrel.

His father, "a man of natural wisdom", solved the problem with tact and understanding, causing Solomon to ponder how he could revive the old link with the Buthelezi family.

"The principal induna of the king then said: 'Why don't you offer the hand of one of your sisters in marriage?' That is how the marriage of my father to my mother took place. It was really political."

Buthelezi, who succeeded his father in 1953 and who has served as KwaZulu's Chief Minister since 1970, says of his political leadership: "Even if there was no KwaZulu Legislature that would still be my position." □



The Citizen 9/10/92

# First train death since start of boycott

By Sapa and  
Carol Hills

THE body of the first passenger to die in train violence on the reef since the start of the six-day train boycott in protest against continuing attacks on commuters was found on the East Rand yesterday.

The man's body was found between the Wadeville and Katlehong stations, near Germiston about 6:30 am.

Police suspect he was thrown from a train.

A Witwatersrand police spokesman said reports that a second man was injured along the same line could not be

confirmed.

The first train attack in Natal this year was recorded on Monday when three men and a woman were injured by unidentified gunmen who opened fire on people waiting to board trains at Alfrecombe Station, near Umkomaas.

The passenger load on Soweto trains plummeted to only one percent occupancy yesterday as the boycott entered its fifth day.

Occupancy on Soweto trains has decreased steadily since Monday

when passenger loads of between 10 and 15 percent were recorded.

Soweto commuters have been hardest hit by the train violence.

A Spoornet spokesman said Kwesini trains were 40 percent full yesterday and trains from Pretoria to Johannesburg had a passenger load of 75 percent.

Daveyton trains remained almost full with 85 percent occupancy and Randfontein trains were 80 percent full.

Trains to the north of Pretoria were almost unaffected by the boycott with passenger loads of 92 percent.

The spokesman said occupancy on all other routes was normal.

The call to boycott was made by the South African Council of Churches, Human Rights Commission, African National Congress and South African Communist Party, Pan Africanist Congress, Congress of South African Trade Unions, National Council of Trade Unions and Civic Associations of the southern Transvaal.

Putco yesterday expressed fears the boycott would continue into next week.

Many commuters who bought bus coupons on the second day of the boycott would forfeit trips they had paid for if they travelled by train from

Monday, a Putco spokesman said.

Putco did not want to "be taken by surprise" and would take the precaution of laying on nine extra buses on Monday, the spokesman said.

Passenger loads on buses have remained 35 percent to 40 percent above normal since Monday.

Putco laid on 20 extra buses and ran additional trips to cope with the flood of commuters.

A spokesman for the Witwatersrand Taxi Association said there was confusion among drivers following a call to reduce fares by 20 percent.

The spokesman said that whereas some drivers reduced their fares yesterday, many were not aware of the decision and had not cut tariffs for the last two days of the boycott.



The Citizen 9/10/92

Saturday 9 May 1992

## Killings report alarming: ANC

NEW Nation allegations that the State Security Council ordered the assassination of three activists substantiated long-held suspicions that the security forces played a role in orchestrating violence, the ANC said yesterday.

It noted the document came a week after the Trust Feed verdict.

"The alarming report carried in the New Nation about the murders of Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlauuli finally provides concrete confirmation of the worst fears of many democratic activists," the ANC said.

"This is a pattern consistent with that exposed by the New Nation. There is now a host of compelling evidence indicating high crimes, of extreme gravity, on the part of members of the South African Police and other security forces.

"Coming one week after the verdict in the Trust Feed murder trial, these revelations substantiate our long-held suspicions that the security forces play a sinister role in fomenting and orchestrating violence."

Apart from the individual security force officers implicated in murder and violence, a large measure of responsibility also devolved on the political leaders under whose ministerial authority these officers operated, the ANC said. — Sapa.



The Citizen 9/10/92

Page 2 \*

THE CITIZEN

# Secret base was 'safe house': Mellet

Citizen Reporter

THE Ministry of Law and Order denied yesterday that a Vanderbijlpark house referred to in a report by the Weekly Mail was being used by policemen who paid hitmen to eliminate members of the ANC.

The newspaper claimed to have linked the planning of assassinations in the Vaal area to a secret SAP base in Riet Street, Rosashof, near Vanderbijlpark.

It claimed members of the South African Police were involved in a "silent war" against ANC leaders and activists.

The house was reportedly used to recruit

people, who were allegedly offered money and weapons training to carry out attacks against the ANC and its allies in the Vaal region.

The covert operation used false registration plates and page numbers and fictitious company names to hide its activities, the newspaper claimed.

Ministry spokesman, Major-General Leon Mellet, said the house was in fact, being used by the police as a "safe house" for undercover policemen and their informants.

"The purpose of this operation was to counter crime and to track down criminals, particularly those involved in the

smuggling into South Africa of weapons, such as AK-47 rifles.

"It was only used for the purpose of gathering information against the arms-smuggling networks and other gangsters."

The ANC, said the report had revealed that, contrary to government claims that all covert operations had ceased, a war against the ANC, its allies and other democratic formations continued unabated.

"There revelations substantiate our long-held suspicions that the security forces play a sinister role in fomenting and orchestrating violence," the statement said.

Investigations demonstrated that these were

not isolated incidents, but part of a larger strategy aimed at destabilising the ANC by selective elimination of its leaders, activists and supporters.

"The disclosures demonstrate that State President De Klerk has once again misled the country on a matter of such importance," the statement said.

"The pattern of lies, half-truths and cover-ups

underscores our demand for an independent commission of inquiry to investigate fully the role the security forces have played and continue to play in violence that has already cost so many lives."

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hennis Kriet, has referred the matter to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into violence and intimidation.



The Citizen 9/10/92

## Chiefs at Codesa: ANC in 'qualified support'

9/10/92

UMTATA. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela supported the qualified participation of traditional leaders at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa after a meeting with chiefs in Umtata yesterday.

Mr Mandela has reportedly suggested that

traditional leaders participate in all Codesa working groups, but refrain from voting.

Transkei chiefs have expressed support for the proposal, promising to go back to their constituencies to discuss it.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa has called for full

participation at Codesa, but at the meeting asked Mr Mandela to have the ANC consult it on any decisions regarding customary authorities.

Contralesa eastern Cape chairman, Chief Mvelo Nonkonyana, said the ANC was still deliberating on the type of participation it favoured for traditional leaders at Codesa.

The Transkei Traditional Leaders Association has supported Mr Mandela's suggestion, saying the issue of voting did not worry its chiefs.

TTLA publicity officer Chief Julius Maturu said: "As long as we get our voice heard at Codesa we will be able to sway them. We are natural administrators. — Sapa



The Citizen 9/10/92  
 9/10/92  
 Azapo distances itself  
 x from stayaway call

THE Northern Transvaal region of the Azanian People's Organisation has distanced itself from the Congress of SA Trade Unions' call for a stay-away in the region on Monday, saying it has not been consulted.

Regional chairman Raleigh Maefela yesterday said that Azapo was "shocked and disgusted" at the last-minute call by Cosatu for the stayaway.

"The question is who

made that decision, where and when."

Mr Maefela said that while Azapo had an open mind and was prepared to meet at all times, it had never been consulted on the issue. "Azapo therefore wishes to distance itself and the Black masses from this stayaway."

"Azapo further calls on Cosatu to suspend the call till proper consultation has been made with all other relevant forces."

The call for the stay-away was made at the recent May Day rallies in the region.

African National Congress GaRankuwa branch spokesman Buti Musini said in response it was "very, very strange" that

Azapo had chosen to distance itself from the action as they had been present at the May Day rallies where it was announced. — Sapa.



9/5/92

The Citizen 9/10/92

**Illegal arms: SAP  
offer info reward**

THE police have offered a R5 000 reward for any information leading to the arrest of the manufacturers of illegal local firearms, Soweto police Regional Commissioner, Maj-Gen Kobus Malan, said yesterday.

The step followed a news report on Thursday where it was alleged that firearms were being manufactured in Soweto with the express purpose of attacking the police and Soweto residents.

The reward will also apply to information on the location of illegal firearm factories. — Sapa.



The Citizen 9/10/92

## Mandela: Suspend general

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela told the BBC yesterday that the "expose" on the assassination of eastern Cape activists was nothing new.

"We have known the government has a double agenda — that of talking peace but conducting a war against us. I have discussed this matter with Mr FW de Klerk several times."

Asked what action should be taken against those officials involved, Mr Mandela said a General Van der Westhuizen, who reportedly signed the orders to kill the three activists, should be immediately suspended.

"Gen Van der Westhuizen was and still is an important figure commanding the special

forces."

An independent commission of inquiry should be established to investigate the matter because many freedom fighters had died in circumstances similar to the deaths of the three eastern Cape activists.

Speaking in Umtata, Mr Mandela said documents implicating the State Security Council in the deaths of the three activists confirmed the security forces' hand in fomenting violence.

Asked if the ANC intended to take up the revelations with State President De Klerk, Mr Mandela said it would be discussed.

"It is not possible to have any preconceived views about this, but it is a matter of crucial importance." — Sapa.



The Citizen 9/10/92  
9/10/92  
5 ambassadors  
from OAU base  
here tomorrow

FIVE African ambassadors based at the Organisation for African Unity headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, will arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow, the Pan Africanist Congress said yesterday.

The PAC director of publicity, Waters Toboti, said the ambassadors, representatives of Nigeria, Algeria, Zimbabwe, Congo and Uganda at the OAU, will observe proceedings at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

They will be followed by the OAU violence monitoring group on Wednesday, he confirmed.

The PAC announced on Wednesday that the OAU had decided to send

a delegation to South Africa to probe inter-cine violence in the country.

Mr Toboti said it was not yet known when the ambassadors would arrive tomorrow or what their names were. They would be accompanied by the OAU liberation committee executive secretary, Lt H Mbita.

Details of the monitoring group had also not yet been received, Mr Toboti said, although it was known the group would be led by the Nigerian Foreign Minister, Maj-Gen Ike Nwachukwu.

The other members of the delegation, from Algeria, Zimbabwe, Congo and Uganda, would probably be at ministerial level, the PAC said. - Sapa.



# THE WEEKLY MAIL, VOL.8 NO.41, 9-15 OCT 1992

## Institute of troubled relations

*Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman remains resolute as internal dissatisfaction adds to the controversy surrounding his organisation.* By **PAUL STOBER**

**J**OHN KANE-BERMAN, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), is facing a revolt by members of the institute who accuse him of undermining its independence.

In the past fortnight Kane-Berman has had to contend with the resignation of David Gevisser, the SAIRR's national chairman, in protest against recent statements by the institute; has been publicly attacked by a member of the SAIRR's western Cape executive committee; and has received a critical report from members of his research department.

At issue is the perception that in its pronouncements on political violence, the institute is increasingly compromising its neutrality as a research body by conducting an anti-African National Congress crusade.

Kane-Berman is unperturbed by this onslaught on his leadership. "We are a large organisation with a large membership and staff," he said in an interview this week. "There are differences of opinion on a very wide range of issues and I am sure there are divisions. But we are open to debate and frank discussion."

The SAIRR is an internationally respected body which conducts social, economic and political research. Its flagship publication, the annual *Race Relations Survey*, is widely considered the definitive overview of South African society.

The current uproar centres mainly on a special SAIRR violence research unit, and specifically a report by one of its members, Anthea Jeffery, which accused the International Committee of Jurists, Amnesty International and the South African-based Human Rights Commission, of deliberately downplaying the ANC's role in political violence.

Critics see the report as an attempt to discredit the ANC and boost Inkatha claims that it is a victim of ANC-initiated attacks. Allegations of Inkatha bias have plagued Kane-Berman since he took over the SAIRR in 1983.

In a recent interview with *The Weekly Mail*, Kane-Berman denied any special relationship with the Inkatha Freedom Party or anti-ANC bias, saying: "I don't



John Kane-Berman ... Unperturbed by his staff revolt

think the institute has changed very much at all in terms of its basic values."

Gevisser refused to be drawn on why he resigned. "Let's just say there were differences of opinion," he said.

Gevisser was a close ally of Kane-Berman when the latter took the helm at the institute, helping him during a difficult and controversial restructuring exercise. Institute insiders say Gevisser resigned in protest against the public stance of the body on a number of politically controversial issues.

A member of the western Cape regional committee of the institute, Professor George Ellis, was more blunt in a letter sent to newspapers two weeks ago. Describing Kane-Berman as partisan on the debate about the existence of a "third force" fanning violence, he said: "Kane-Berman is not only undermining the credibility of the institute, but insofar as he claims there is no evidence for third force activity, he himself becomes part of another disinformation campaign."

Kane-Berman counters that he merely pointed out that there are major flaws in

the evidence indicating the government is actively orchestrating political violence through covert channels.

More damning evidence of internal unhappiness is a 23-page critique of the Jeffery report by the institute's researchers. The document concludes: "... this (Jeffery's) work has further undermined our credibility as an independent research organisation. We believe that Jeffery's work is clearly partisan. We also found the press release concerning the report to be unnecessarily provocative, arrogant and antagonistic."

The researchers stressed that they did not have a problem with exposing information that had been ignored or suppressed by other organisations, but they warned: "We believe it would be unwise to ignore such perceptions (of partisanship) on the basis that the claims are made by people or organisations who 'find the truth unpalatable'."

Kane-Berman, who had not seen the researchers' report, continued to defend Jeffery's work this week. "I am convinced it will stand up to any examination," he said.



London

THE GUARDIAN  
Friday October 9 1992

# ANC inquiry into 'dump Mandela' plot

## 13 killed in new township unrest

By Ross Dunn in Johannesburg

RENEWED violence has claimed up to 13 lives in the past two days in the strife-torn township of Alexandra, nestled between some of Johannesburg's richest white northern suburbs.

Even the township's health centre was at risk of becoming part of the battleground for the conflict between the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress.

Dr Tim Wilson, the centre's director, said his clinic had treated at least 17 people for gunshot wounds and at least three of them had died. The centre had also heard reports that a further 10 had been killed after police found the bodies of six men with knife and gunshot wounds on Wednesday night.

"Shops have closed down, and few people are prepared to walk around the township," he said. "We are all very concerned. People are

living in fear." Dr Wilson confirmed that an Inkatha delegation had visited the clinic on Wednesday, but he refused to disclose the nature of the organisation's complaints in reaction to reports that Inkatha had called for the centre's board to resign because of alleged bias towards the ANC.

Dr Wilson said rumours had floated around the township, suggesting at one time or another that the clinic was either biased towards the ANC or Inkatha. He said both rumours were false.

On Wednesday, a man was killed and another wounded when shots were fired at commuters at a taxi rank.

A man died after being set alight with a burning tyre, a victim of so-called necklacing, in the township of Katlehong, east of Johannesburg, and the body of a woman with gunshot wounds was found in the same township.

## War fears as poll loser Savimbi quits Luanda

By Scott Peterson

DR JONAS SAVIMBI, former Angola rebel chief, has left the capital, Luanda, after his defeat in the first multi-party elections, fuelling fears that his rejection of last week's poll results will lead Angola back to war.

He flew to the central highland city of Huambo, a stronghold of his National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), on Wednesday. He has snubbed American and United Nations diplomats who have urged Unita to accept the poll results.

But in Washington, Mr Herman Cohen, assistant Secretary of State for Africa,



Dr Savimbi: Flew to Unita stronghold

Unita would abide by the results, despite its charges of voting irregularities.

The US government backed Dr Savimbi with £147 million during Angola's 16-year civil war against the Soviet and Cuban-backed MPLA government.

Unita's claim that the poll was fraudulent came only as it became clear Dr Savimbi

Our Correspondent  
in Johannesburg

**T**HE African National Congress has launched an internal inquiry into claims that a conspiracy has been hatched by leading figures in the organisation to sideline Nelson Mandela.

The allegations are based on a document which may have been fabricated. But it seems to have been accepted as genuine in some ANC quarters, with divisive effects.

Entitled State of the Nation: The Road to Victory, the Path to Power, the document has been widely circulated in the ANC. It purports to have been written early this year by a secret "cabal" dominated by Indians and South African Communist Party members.

The most controversial aspect is its denigration of the ANC president, Mr Mandela, and its suggestion that the present general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, is being groomed behind the scenes to seize effective power.

The unknown authors refer to Mr Mandela's "continuing tactical and strategic blunders in negotiations" and say that "within the movement we must continue to subtly strengthen the position of CR [Ramaphosa] but take care not to publicly harm Mandela's position. We should work inside and eventually it will appear natural for CR to take his position."

Referring to three key Indian officials in the ANC, including its chief negotiator, Mohammed Valli Moosa, the document says that "through" them "we are suitably placed to execute this strategy" (the replacement of Mr Mandela).

The credibility of the document is put into question by a number of factors. They include the unnecessary naming of individuals involved in the conspiracy -- which is unlikely if it were genuine -- and the extreme cynicism of sentiments to which it gives expression.

At one point, for example, it talks about the need to pursue strategy "without getting a mandate" -- a heretical notion in an organisation that prides itself on its commitment to democracy.

At another point it advocates a doublecross of the Patriotic Front, a loose alliance of the ANC and other liberation organisations, suggesting that once this has been carried out the rival Pan-Africanist Congress "could be offered the crumbs from our table..."

It is not the first time that allegations of such a cabal have surfaced in the ANC. In the 1980s there was bitter controversy over allegations that the anti-apartheid movement was being manipulated by Indian leaders based in Natal and linked to the Communist Party.

Curiously, the cabal controversy has tended to be linked to Mrs Winnie Mandela, who seems to regard herself as one of its victims, suggesting that her fall from grace has been engineered by her husband's enemies.

It is understood that Mrs Mandela's former lover, Dali Mpofu, intends using the latest cabal document as part of a civil action against the ANC for wrongful dismissal as deputy chief of welfare. He was sacked at the same time as Mrs Mandela, who headed the department.

Meanwhile details of ANC planning for the country's first multiracial election have emerged from a recent workshop on electoral strategy. Policy documents show that the national executive has decided to fight the elections in continued alliance with the Communist Party and the trade union federation, Cosatu, but excluding the Patriotic Front as a whole. This follows recent speculation that the SACP might fight the elections independently to defuse the government's anti-communist crusade which promises to be a key element in its electoral strategy.

The documents show the ANC is building its electoral strategy around a hypothetical estimate that it enjoys the support of 50 per cent of the electorate: 68 per cent of the black vote, 30 per cent of Indians, 20 per cent of Coloureds and 3 per cent of Whites.

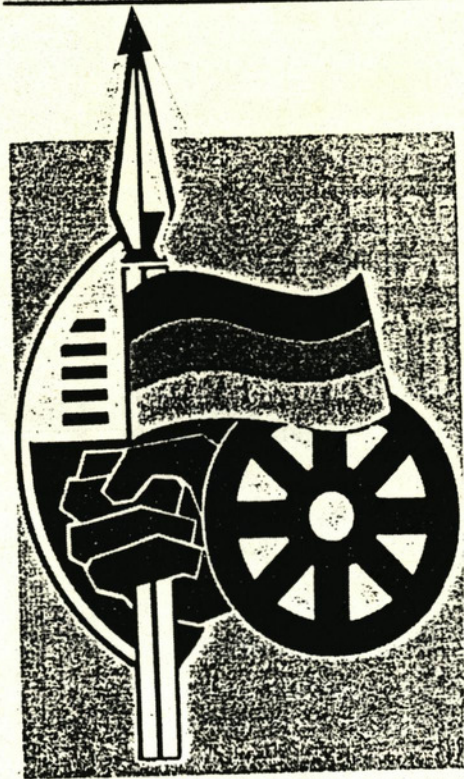
Meanwhile the president of the radical PAC, Clarence Makwetu, met the Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday and offered to broker a peace summit between him and Mr Mandela. The PAC has requested a similar meeting with the ANC president.

There was speculation yesterday that Pretoria may be about to dump the Ciskei military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, after the resignation of one of his key officials, believed to be a representative of South African military intelligence. Basie Oosthuysen, the general secretary of Brig Gqozo's African Democratic Movement, said he resigned for "personal" reasons but is believed to have had a row with the brigadier in the wake of the Bisho massacre.

*The Party  
Telegraph  
9/10/92 London*



# ++DATELINE SOUTH AFRICA: ON THE BRINK OF ALL-OUT CIVIL WAR++



# The machete machete flashes... this is democracy ANC style

THIS is the brutal face of South Africa that Nelson Mandela does not want you to see.

A 23-year-old man is beaten and hacked to death in the street by ANC supporters. His only crime—to be suspected of being a member of another political party.

A gang of ten thugs—one wearing an ANC T-shirt—chased terrified Stanley Marga through the rubbish-strewn streets of Boipatong, a grim township south of Johannesburg. They cornered their prey in a garden outside a squalid shack and beat him unconscious.

When he came round the "comrades"—as ANC thugs call themselves—dragged Stanley into the gravel road and attacked him again.

All the time, the frenzied mob chanted: "You're going to die!"

Suddenly, a man stepped forward, pointed a pistol and fired a short salvo of bullets into Stanley's bruised and battered chest.

Then, two others hacked at his body with long machetes. Moments later, the crowd opened up and a Toyota minibus appeared. The bus, dangerously overloaded with youths armed with spears, machetes and even a Russian-made Kalashnikov AK-47 rifle, drove over the mutilated corpse.

Brave photographer Joao Silva, who took this picture, was chased away at gunpoint.

Later, when police arrived they found the burned remains of Stanley's body in the street.

Even after death he had become yet another victim of necklacing—the ANC comrades' barbaric calling card.

A petrol-soaked tyre had been placed around his neck and ignited.

Stanley Marga was suspected of being a member of the ANC's political rivals, the Inkatha Freedom Party, led by Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



## FROM MIKE RIDLEY IN JOHANNESBURG

● SOUTH Africa is teetering on the brink of a bloody civil war. This time next year, after four decades of white domination, the country's 29 million blacks will be allowed to vote. Nelson Mandela's African National Congress is expected to form the country's first all-black government.

● No one in their right mind mourns the death of apartheid. But the ANC—the heroic band of exiled freedom-fighters who returned in triumph after Mandela's release in 1990—has become a dangerous monster, dominated by violent communists.

## 'If Mandela's party get in they'll ruin this country'

### Bullets

After the country's first one-man one-vote election next year it is almost certain that the ANC will form a government.

If they do, civil war could erupt on the streets.

Boipatong's police chief Captain Piet van Deventer admits that his men are no nearer finding Stanley's killer.

It was just one more killing in a bloody political war which has claimed more than 7,000 lives in the two years following Mandela's release.

Mandela walked free in February 1990 after nearly 30 years in jail.

Since that day there have been 49 massacres in South Africa—with an average death toll of 25.

Human life now has so little value that passengers on the red and grey commuter trains which run between Soweto and Johannesburg have been hurled to their deaths for refusing to sing political anthems.

The ANC blatantly terrorise their opponents with the threat of necklacing.

At Pholi Park squatter camp—an ANC stronghold which is home to 35,000 people—tyres are stacked defiantly on a street corner.

There is no doubt Inkatha are also responsible for atrocities, such as the murder of 40 people at Boipatong, but they claim

ANC thugs spark the violence.

Last week I watched as ANC leaders met South Africa's president F.W. de Klerk for nearly ten hours of discussions to stamp out the violence.

That same day a unit of fighters from the ANC's military wing Umkhonto weSizwe—Spear of the Nation—burst into an Inkatha meeting in Richmond, west of Durban.

They sprayed the room with bullets from AK-47 rifles. When the gunfire stopped nine of Inkatha's top men in the region lay dead.

An ANC man was also killed in the shoot-out.

The truth is that Nelson Mandela simply cannot control hundreds of violent thugs who are enlisting support for the ANC through bullying and intimidation.

### Shack

The ANC claims 80 per cent support among the country's black population but many people are forced to become followers for fear of intimidation.

Political analyst Wim Booysse says the real figure is more like 60 per cent.

The organisation pays for "self defence units" of up to 60 armed men in around 80 townships.

Their job is to protect ANC supporters from attacks by Inkatha members.

Travelling around the country I found whole townships divided into ANC and Inkatha ghettos.

ANC areas are dominated

by the Xhosa tribe, traditional enemies of the Inkatha-supporting Zulu.

Taxi driver David Chauke, 38, is from the Shangana tribe and has no allegiance to any party.

Father-of-four David lives in a four-room shack in the ANC-controlled half of Thokoza township in the industrial east Rand.

He knows he risks death by necklacing for refusing to support the ANC.

But driving round the streets of Johannesburg in his battered Toyota taxi, David says: "I told them I could not go to church and then go on to the streets and kill someone."

### Chaos

ANC general secretary and their chief negotiator Cyril Ramphosa told me: "Have you ever seen anyone killing an Inkatha man on behalf of the ANC?"

"The answer is never. And if they do it, let the police arrest them, prosecute them and send them to jail where they belong."

"The days when it was absolutely necessary for us to wage whatever kind of war against apartheid are suspended."

"No one should be killing on behalf of the ANC. We do not want it."

But moderate 73-year-old Mandela also cannot control communist militants who hold nearly half of the ANC's top posts.

The ANC tries to play down its communist links but during Press conferences at the party's 22-storey headquarters in

Johannesburg, all leaders are introduced as "Comrade".

And this week on a tour of China Mr Mandela went out of his way to praise his "communist allies".

Men like Chris Hani, leader of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC national executive committee are determined to ignore democracy and take control of the country through chaos.

Unemployment in South Africa is frightening. Four out of every ten blacks are jobless.

Each year 500,000 youngsters enter the job market and only seven per cent find a job. The majority of blacks still live in homes that are little better than shacks. Most are uneducated.

### Camp

To avoid becoming just another basket case economy, South Africa urgently needs foreign investment.

But Deon Geldenhuys, politics lecturer at Rand Afrikaans University, says: "Many in the ANC think the world owes South Africa a living."

"They imagine that when a black government comes to power Jumbo jets will be queuing up at Jan Smuts airport, filled with investors."

"But what investor in his right mind would put his money into a country with a government embracing the Communist Party?"

Already investors have taken billions of pounds out of South Africa this year and very few firms are investing in the future.

Dave Jelly, boss of Nestlé factory at Durban which employs 2,500 people, is typical. His firm has shelved plans for a

£2million expansion. Working mum Thandi Jobe, 33, is a child of apartheid.

She was born in Soweto where her parents lived on a squatter camp.

Today she and husband Jobe, 45, still live on the outskirts of Soweto with their daughter Busi, 12.

They own a smart but heavily fortified three-bedroom house near where Winnie Mandela lives.

Jobe works as a clerk for Johannesburg council while Thandi earns £50 a week working for a car rental firm. Thandi, who has no political allegiance, says: "I pray the ANC never take control. They will ruin this country."

"The communists have called our children out of school to go on strike as part of their campaigns. But their children are educated in private schools."

### Doomed

"We already have a country where millions cannot read or write. We need education, not another lost generation."

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"Why don't the ANC spend their money buying houses to let for subsidised rents?"

"I want my daughter to leave South Africa. I see no future for her here. The country is doomed."



From PG 1



VICTIMS . . . Gertrude and her baby

## KILLERS CAME FOR ME

A MOTHER told how she escaped a slow, agonising death after a "necklace" gang doused her with petrol and put a tyre around her neck.  
Gertrude Mzizi, 33, would have been torched by the mob of ANC supporters had police not appeared in the nick of time.  
Gertrude, an Inkatha supporter, had been walking home carrying her year-old son Nkosinathi. She said: "One man took my baby, put him on the ground and said, 'Sit there little Inkatha and watch your mother die.' Then they began slowly pouring the petrol over my head. That was the last thing I remember. I fell unconscious in the street."

### Axes

But before they could set fire to Gertrude, a yellow armoured police vehicle, known as a Casspir, roared round the corner and the gang fled under a hail of rubber bullets.

It was not the first time Gertrude had escaped with her life. She ran her own taxi firm and lived with husband Abraham, 48, in a smart "matchbox" house in the ANC sector of Thokoza township. One day, 500 men armed with stones, axes and metal bars surrounded the fortified house. They pushed a firebomb and a home-made grenade between the steel bars covering a window and waited for the couple and their four children to burn to death. Gertrude said: "At that moment we gave up and thought it was time to die. No one could speak. No one screamed or cried."

### Prayed

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Still, Gertrude believes Nelson Mandela is a good man. She said: "I wept for joy when he was released. I'd dreamed that I'd be alive to see that day."

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"But what peace did he bring to South Africa?"



## DEATH IN THE AFTERNOON

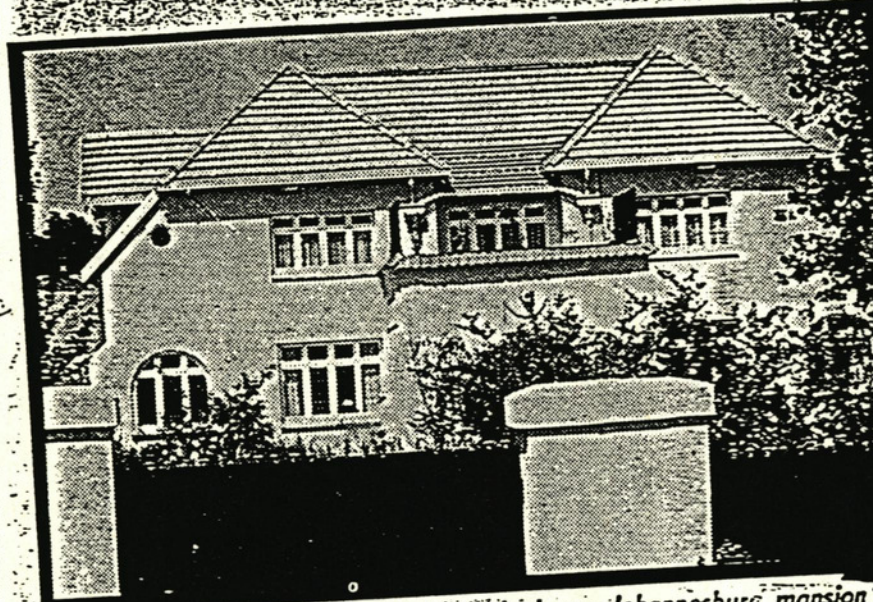
One of Mandela's henchmen hacks at the body of a political opponent shot by an ANC thug in South Africa. Victim Stanley Marnga, 23, was then 'necklaced' with burning tyres. His killers are still at large

**TOMORROW: THE MEMBERS LIVE IN SQUALOR WHILE THE LEADERS LIVE LIKE KINGS**



pg 3

## PART TWO OF **Sun** SPECIAL REPORT ON SOUTH AFRICA



**LUXURY** Mandela's ten-bedroom Johannesburg mansion boasts lush gardens and high security fences



**MISERY** Corrugated iron, oil drums and breeze blocks house many of South Africa's 29 million blacks

# Mandela's Mercedes had to be red...to mark blood of workers

### CHRIS HANI STUDENT SCANDAL

THE 'Kremlin-trained' leader of South Africa's Communist Party lives in a £80,000 house in a white Johannesburg suburb.

A member of the ANC executive, Hani, 50, sends his daughter, Lindiwe, 12, to the exclusive Saheti private school.

The £2,000-a-year fees are what most black families live on for a year.

When Hani called state school pupils out on strike, he ordered his daughter to keep going to her school. She told friends: "Dad will kill me if I miss lessons!"

From MIKE RIDLEY in Johannesburg  
THE hypocritical bosses of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress party are living like kings—while the people they claim to represent endure grinding poverty.

Nearly half South Africa's 29 million blacks are uneducated, unemployed and living in hovels. But the party's Communist-supporting leaders have quit the townships for millionaire mansions in smart suburbs.

The ANC is South Africa's richest political party with an income of more than £20million a year—some of it raised by stars like Madonna and Robert de Niro.

As well as high-priced homes, its bosses have top-of-the-range cars. ANC President Mandela owns a £54,000 red Mercedes Benz 500SE. He claims it's not a status symbol and says its colour "forever reminds us of the blood the workers and people of our country have shed in the liberation struggle."

The ANC's legal adviser, Matthew Phosa, says: "Yes, Mandela has a big house. So does our chairman, Oliver Tambo. So what? It doesn't diminish their commitment to the ANC."

It looks very different to Joyce Mofe, 53. She and her two daughters, their husbands and eight children live together in a Soweto matchbox house. They survive on scraps of food.

She says: "It is a scandal that we are in poverty while the leaders we had faith in live in the lap of luxury. We feel betrayed."

### NELSON MANDELA

THE ANC paid just £100,000 in cash for Mandela's palatial new home.

The organisation paid a knock-down price for the ten-bedroom house in the posh Johannesburg suburb of Houghton—home to tycoons, diplomats and judges. An equivalent home in London would be around £2million.

It is a far cry from the traditional four-room Soweto "matchbox" which Mandela, 75, returned to after his release from prison in 1990. Within weeks he moved just 300 yards to the Soweto suburb of Orlando West, and into a £300,000 ten-bedroom mansion Winnie had built while he was in jail.

Overseas celebrities, including singer Harry Belafonte, contributed heavily to its cost. When he visited the house it was empty—locals said the Mandelas rarely visit.

He also owns a large house in the Soweto suburb of Diepkloof. It was here that Stompie Moeketsi was killed. American chat show host Oprah



MANDELA... rich pickings

### From a hovel to mansions

Winfrey is understood to have put a £5,000 down-payment on it.

Nelson Mandela is having another £100,000 four-bedroom retirement home built in the village of Qunu in his tribal homeland of Transkei.

As well as a Mercedes, Mandela has a chauffeur-driven BMW seven series—again paid for by the ANC.

### OLIVER TAMBO

The ANC chairman holds court in a £600,000 home in Hyde Park—Johannesburg's most expensive suburb.

There Tambo, 75, and wife Adelaide, live in greater luxury than Premier F.W. de Klerk. It was bought by British tycoon Tiny Rowland through one of his companies.



PALACE... Tambo's lavish pad

The marble-lined home, surrounded by patios and courtyards, boasts a circular swimming pool built into a tree-shaded terrace. Matching his-and-her Mercedes are parked in the drive.

The Tambos also own a £400,000 house in Muswell Hill, North London. Like all top ANC officials Tambo wears designer suits. When New York's black mayor Dave Dinkins attended a party at Tambo's house dressed in African tribal robes he looked ridiculous among the ANC men in their Armani suits.

And at recent peace talks the ANC delegation made government ministers look like town councillors.

### Dr ALLAN BOESAK TASTE FOR GOOD LIFE

DISGRACED churchman Boesak, defrocked for having an affair, lives in a luxurious £100,000 mansion in Cape Town's exclusive white suburb of Bishop's Court.

His aide Norman Michaels says "benefactors" helped him buy it.

Boesak, chairman of ANC's West Cape region, owns a BMW, wears £500 silk suits and has developed a taste for fine food and wine.



## WINTER HOLIDAYS.



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**TOMORROW: THE MEMBE**

The Sun, October 1992





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## READERS LIVE LIKE KINGS



# Rightwing students speak for Inkatha

**F**ORMER officials of the disbanded National Students' Federation — a rightwing campus group which received secret state funding — have found a new political home as Inkatha Freedom Party spokesmen.

Among them are two senior IFP officials who were disciplined for serious acts of misconduct while studying at Rhodes University in the late 1980s: Kim Hodgson, the Inkatha Institute's chief spokesman, and IFP southern Natal spokesman Ed Tillet. Both regularly release statements and research on violence and related topics.

The rush to join Inkatha occurred soon after the NSF was disbanded in August 1991, when NSF president Danie Kriel admitted what had previously been denied: that the NSF, along with the IFP, was receiving covert government funding, in a scheme codenamed Project Jackal.

Some earlier NSF leaders, such as its founder Russel Crystel, openly joined the National Party, while retaining close links with the IFP. Crystel is now the South African representative of the United States-based International Freedom Foundation. And former University of Cape Town NSF leader Arthur Kemp achieved prominence within the Conservative Party, rising to the position of deputy editor of the party's mouthpiece, *Die Patriot*.

But the IFP's strident anti-African National Congress stance appears to have made it the organisation of choice for the younger generation of former NSF stalwarts. Among the most prominent of them now speaking for Inkatha are ex-NSF presidents Nicholas Myburgh and Philip Powell.

Myburgh (29), who founded the Popular Students' Alliance at Stellenbosch University, is the IFP's western Cape chairman. He had a spell in Denis Worrall's Independent Party, then in the Democratic Party's youth wing, before emerging as the IFP's key man in the Cape.

Powell (30), who also served as a chairman of the Student Action Front in Pietermaritzburg, is now an IFP Natal Midlands leader and serves on the party's central committee.

The IFP's western Cape secretary is Lance Terry, a former NSF media officer and chairman of the Moderate Students' Movement at UCT. Shane Hodgson, younger brother of Kim Hodgson and another former Rhodes NSF leader, is also working for the Inkatha Institute.

Kim Hodgson (28) was chairman of the NSF-affiliated Moderate Students' Organisation at Rhodes when he was fined by a university Publications Board of Reference in 1988 for issuing a pamphlet containing "harmful inaccuracies".

University records show that he was found guilty of contravening the University Press Code through "distorting and suppressing certain facts", and was fined R50.

The university committee found Hodgson responsible for a pamphlet which misrepresented an earlier Students' Representative Committee motion on violence.

Says Patrick Tandy, a researcher at the university's Institute for Social and Economic Research and a former SRC pres-

ident: "The pamphlet was written by another NSF official, David Styles — who has also joined Inkatha — and was personally distributed by Hodgson."

Asked to comment, Hodgson said there were both "elements of truth and distortion" in the allegations, but he refused to elaborate.

Tillet (26), also a Rhodes NSF official who later served on the Students' Representative Council, was rusticated by the university for a year after being caught in an examination with notes in a spare exam book on November 7 1986.

University records show he was

*If the voices that speak for the Inkatha Freedom Party are familiar, it's because they come from leaders of a shady rightwing alliance vocal on white campuses in the 1980s.*

By **GAVIN EVANS**

found guilty of three disciplinary offences, "regarded as unbecoming in a student of the university", including having in his possession a spare exam book and extra notes. He

was initially excluded from Rhodes for two years, but this was reduced to one year on appeal and he later returned to complete his degree.

Asked to comment, Tillet said: "It is not a question of whether this is correct or not — this is a smear against my name." He asked for the allegations to be faxed to him, stated they were untrue, and thereafter refused to comment further.

The former NSF leaders are certainly not the only whites who have recently come to the fore in the Zulu-dominated organisation.

Among the more prominent are Walter Felgate, widely regarded as

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's key adviser, and the party's chief spokesman Suzanne Vos — both of whom serve on the party's central committee. Others are Sandton IFP chairman Ed Bernard, Johannesburg businessman Alistair Macaulay, and *SA Update* editor Peter Smith. All five were part of the IFP's negotiating team at Codesa.

Bruce Anderson, who was recently deported after being implicated in gun-running between Mozambique and South Africa, also acted as an IFP adviser at Codesa and was one of the party's leading figures in Sandton.

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# Police to investigate Inkatha 'lawyer'

**T**HE first case being investigated by a Goldstone Commission appointee in Natal has been dealt a severe blow — the defence lawyer appearing for three Inkatha accused turns out not to be a lawyer at all. The Mtunzini chief magistrate has handed the matter over to the police, and the case will probably have to start again from scratch.

Five counts of attempted murder hang over the heads of the three accused, alleged to have attacked Esikhawini Congress of South African Trade Unions shop steward Bheki Ntuli's house with a hand grenade on August 27. Eight people were killed that night in a series of attacks, and it is expected that the accused could soon face additional charges. After community allegations of a cover-up by kwaZulu Police and the local South African Police, a Goldstone Commission investigator appointed a senior outside SAP officer to take over the case.

The bail application of the three accused has so far taken four full days. Spearheading the

*Police are investigating whether a defence lawyer appearing for three Inkatha accused is really a lawyer at all. By CARMEL RICKARD and Weekly Mail Reporter*

application, cross-examining witnesses and leading evidence is a balding, loud-spoken man with a hot temper. He is well-known in the courts of northern Natal where he has conducted a number of cases. In Johannesburg he is known as a priest of the Apostolic Church, a millionaire businessman and a lawyer, with a huge mansion he is trying to sell in Soweto's elite "Beverly Hills".

He told reporters at the Mtunzini court this week his name was "R. Gabela", but angrily refused to give his full name. However he signs court documents "VD Gabela". His Mandini

post box is registered in the name "Vusimuzi Dennis Gabela" with the business "Gabsons Cartage and Transport", and a Tugela Mouth Road address.

Asked by reporters who he worked for, Gabela mentioned a couple of companies before settling on the Johannesburg firm Lowenberg and Jivanbhaga. However staff at Lowenberg said Gabela was "not a lawyer" and that his job was to "look for work for us. He goes out to bring us clients in Motor Vehicle Assurance matters and criminal work". Neither the Natal Law Society, the Transvaal Law Society nor the Association of Law Societies has any record of any Gabela.

NLS officials said that it was against the law for anyone to pretend to be a lawyer. It constituted fraud and the commercial branch of the SAP would be asked to investigate. Mtunzini's chief magistrate has confirmed that the law societies have told him they have no record of Gabela and that he has handed the matter over to the police.

He said the Esikhawini case in which Gabela is appearing would reconvene on October 15.

If Gabela was in court on that day he would be asked whether he could satisfy the court that he was in fact entitled to appear. If he could not satisfy the court, "the case cannot be proceeded with". The presiding magistrate will then decide on the next step, by checking on whether there are any precedents. However he believed the case might well have to start afresh.

Officials at the Mtunzini and Empangeni magistrate's courts have confirmed that Gabela has appeared in several cases. In fact on Wednesday of this week alone, one of the Empangeni prosecutors had two cases involving Gabela on the roll, both of which she discussed with him to arrange a postponement date. Yesterday he was not at home. Relatives said he was out at court, either Mtunzini, Empangeni or Eshowe. They said he had given up Gabsons, and was now "spending all his time on court work".

Many questions are being asked about Gabela and his work. For example, after Monday's court session, why did he take two German-made G3 firearms from his car and give them to the bodyguards of Esikhawini Inkatha chairman Lindi Mbuyazi? Mbuyazi had been attending court after giving evidence last Friday urging the magistrate to grant bail.

Eshowe court officials said Gabela was well known to them for practicing in the regional court where he handled serious matters. He told them last year that he worked as a legal adviser to the kwaZulu government but that this year he was practising on his own. However, kwaZulu department of justice officials denied that they knew him.

Gabela also caused drama in court when he cross-examined the investigating officer. Quite unexpectedly, he claimed that Ntuli's legal representative, John Wills — who is keeping a watching brief for Ntuli and Cosatu — had impersonated a policeman in an effort to obtain access to one of the accused. The magistrate said he took a very serious view of the allegations and postponed the case so the police could investigate Gabela's claims. Wills has strongly denied Gabela's allegations which he says are defamatory. He has reported the matter to the Natal Law Society and has made a statement to the police.



## Bullets

After the country's first one-man one-vote election next year it is almost certain that the ANC will form a government.

If they do, civil war could erupt on the streets.

Boipatong's police chief Captain Piet van Deventer admits that his men are no nearer finding Stanley's killer.

It was just one more killing in a bloody political war which has claimed more than 7,000 lives in the two years following Mandela's release.

Mandela walked free in February 1990 after nearly 30 years in jail.

Since that day there have been 49 massacres in South Africa—with an average death toll of 25.

Human life now has so little value that passengers on the red and grey commuter trains which run between Soweto and Johannesburg have been hurried to their deaths for refusing to sing political anthems.

The ANC blatantly terrorise their opponents with the threat of necklacing.

At Pholi Park squatter camp—an ANC stronghold which is home to 35,000 people—tyres are stacked defiantly on a street corner.

There is no doubt Inkatha are also responsible for atrocities, such as the murder of 40 people at Boipatong, but they claim

ANC thugs spark the violence.

Last week I watched as ANC leaders met South Africa's president F.W. de Klerk for nearly ten hours of discussions to stamp out the violence.

That same day a unit of fighters from the ANC's military wing Umkhonto weSizwe—Spear Of The Nation—burst into an Inkatha meeting in Richmond, west of Durban.

They sprayed the room with bullets from AK-47 rifles. When the gunfire stopped nine of Inkatha's top men in the region lay dead.

An ANC man was also killed in the shoot-out.

The truth is that Nelson Mandela simply cannot control hundreds of violent thugs who are enlisting support for the ANC through bullying and intimidation.

## Shack

The ANC claims 80 per cent support among the country's black population but many people are forced to become followers for fear of intimidation.

Political analyst Wim Booysse says the real figure is more like 60 per cent.

The organisation pays for "self defence units" of up to 60 armed men in around 80 townships.

Their job is to protect ANC supporters from attacks by Inkatha members.

Travelling around the country I found whole townships divided into ANC and Inkatha ghettos.

ANC areas are dominated

by the Xhosa tribe, traditional enemies of the Inkatha-supporting Zulu.

Taxi driver David Chauke, 38, is from the Shongana tribe and has no allegiance to any party.

Father-of-four David lives in a four-room shack in the ANC-controlled half of Thokoza township in the industrial east Rand.

He knows he risks death by necklacing for refusing to support the ANC.

But driving round the streets of Johannesburg in his battered Toyota taxi, David says: "I told them I could not go to church and then go on to the streets and kill someone."

## Chaos

ANC general secretary and their chief negotiator Cyril Ramphosa told me: "Have you ever seen anyone killing an Inkatha man on behalf of the ANC?"

"The answer is never. And if they do it, let the police arrest them, prosecute them and send them to jail where they belong.

"The days when it was absolutely necessary for us to wage whatever kind of war against apartheid are suspended.

"No one should be killing on behalf of the ANC. We do not want it."

But moderate 73-year-old Mandela also cannot control communist militants who hold nearly half of the ANC's top posts.

The ANC tries to play down its communist links but during Press conferences at the party's 22-storey headquarters in

Johannesburg, all leaders are introduced as "Comrade".

And this week on a tour of China Mr Mandela went out of his way to praise his "communist allies".

Men like Chris Hani, leader of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC national executive committee are determined to ignore democracy and take control of the country through chaos.

Unemployment in South Africa is frightening. Four out of every ten blacks are jobless.

Each year 500,000 young-

sters enter the job market and only seven per cent find a job. The majority of blacks still live in homes that are little better than shacks. Most are uneducated.

## Camp

To avoid becoming just another basket case economy, South Africa urgently needs foreign investment.

But Deon Geldenhuys, politics lecturer at Rand Afrikaans University, says: "Many in the ANC think the world owes South Africa a living.

"They imagine that when

a black government comes to power Jumbo jets will be queuing up at Jan Smuts airport filled with investors.

"But what investor in his right mind would put his money into a country with a government embracing the Communist Party?"

Already investors have taken billions of pounds out of South Africa this year and very few firms are investing in the future.

Dave Jelly, boss of Nestlé factory at Durban which employs 2,500 people, is typical. His firm has shelved plans for a

£2million expansion. Working mum Thandi Jobe, 33, is a child of apartheid.

She was born in Soweto where her parents lived on a squatter camp.

Today she and husband Jobe, 45, still live on the outskirts of Soweto with their daughter Busi, 12.

They own a smart but heavily fortified three-bedroom house near where Winnie Mandela lives.

Jobe works as a clerk for Johannesburg council while Thandi earns 250 a week working for a car rental firm. Thandi, who has no political allegiance says: "I pray the ANC never take

control. They will ruin this country.

"The communists have called our children out of school to go on strike as part of their campaigns. But their children are educated in private schools.

## Doomed

"We already have a country where millions cannot read or write. We need education, not another lost generation.

"The ANC has been given a fortune but in a country where 40 per cent of blacks are out of work they do not provide jobs.

In Soweto the ANC ordered people not to pay rents. Now the city is owed £200million in rents and there are now no homes for young people to rent because the council will not build any more.

"Instead, hovels are being sold for a fortune. It is the only way to get a home.

"Why don't the ANC spend their money buying houses to let for subsidised rents?"

"I want my daughter to leave South Africa. I see no future for her here. The country is doomed."

The Sun 9004 42 3



The Sun, 9 Oct 1982 4



## DEATH IN THE AFTERNOON

One of Mandela's henchmen hacks at the body of a political opponent shot by an ANC thug in South Africa. Victim Stanley Murnga, 23, was then 'necklaced' with burning tyres. His killers are still at large

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**RS LIVE IN SQUALOR WHILE THE LEADERS LIVE LIKE KINGS**



# Revealed: ANC election strategy

① **T**HE African National Congress plans to enter the election campaign leading an alliance which will not only include the SA Communist Party and Cosatu but other political groupings and individuals as well.

An election strategy report given to *The Weekly Mail* rules out the possibility of the ANC running without the SACP, and also rejects the idea of cam-

② paigning with the Patriotic Front. However, it makes it clear that it will lead the campaign, and its allies will fall under the ANC banner.

Its strategy is being based on the "likely voting scenario" that the ANC will draw, from a 100 percent poll, 50 percent of the overall vote. It estimates that this would comprise 68 percent of the African vote, three percent of whites, 20 percent of coloureds and 30

*An ANC election strategy document provides insight into its hopes and fears for the coming elections.*  
reports **PHILIPPA GARSON**

percent of Indians.

The report, intended to form the basis of the ANC's Electoral Act draft due to

be drawn up soon by the constitutional committee, gives a fascinating picture of the ANC's hopes and fears for the future elections.

Based on a recent weekend workshop of 150 participants from the ANC's head office, regions, Youth and Women's Leagues, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the SACP, the report charts a detailed election strategy with an emphasis on a

④ door-to-door, mass-based campaign that will target ethnic, religious, cultural and community groups.

The "ANC-led campaign" means that individuals from its allies, Cosatu and the SACP, and "selected other forces or individuals" will most likely stand on an ANC election list under ANC symbols.

The report rejects four other election campaign options: the ANC on its own (this would exclude many supporters); the ANC and its allies (this would mean having to defend its alliance with the SACP); the ANC and its allies plus Patriotic Front forces (the lack of credibility of many PF parties would become a liability in elections); the ANC and its allies plus bilateral pacts (this would allow pact partners to destabilise the ANC and force it to treat all parties equally).

⑤ The document argues that an "ANC-led campaign" would give the "leader of the liberation struggle", the ANC, its rightful place at the helm of the campaign. It would "avoid needing to work with unpopular organisations while maintaining a broad front, allow for a more coherent platform to be advanced, avoid the danger of break-aways, as experienced after the Durban Patriotic Front meeting..."

It also argues that while Africans are the most important force to mobilise, Indians and coloureds "are part of the oppressed and should be seen as an important area of contestation". Special approaches would have to be developed for whites, Indians and coloureds.

The report notes the importance of targeting groups, including community, cultural, church and sporting bodies. It emphasises the need to understand the electorate in terms of region, class, ethnic or language group.

It observes that while it may be "objectively correct" for Africans to vote for the ANC, their "subjective inclination" may be otherwise.

Estimating that the ANC will need between R200-million and R300-million for its election campaign, it suggests that the government set up a supporting electoral fund which parties could claim back from after elections on the basis of the percentage of votes they win.

The report recommends that the elections, based on proportional representation and not constituencies, be fought with the four provinces as regions and that future regions be drawn up by a constituent assembly. With a 400-member national assembly, elections would be fought on a single list, with 200 names drawn nationally and the other 200 drawn regionally. The percentage of votes of any party would determine how many people on its list get into the national assembly.

⑦ Listing the strengths of the ANC, the report notes the organisation's history of mass mobilisation, access to the people on the ground and progressive policies that represent the aspirations of the majority. Its self-criticisms include weak branch structures (which are being depleted), complacency, lack of co-ordination, unclear and contradictory public positions, neglected rural areas and lack of involvement of women.

While the ANC will challenge the National Party on apartheid, violence, misrule, corruption, collapse of the economy and unilateral restructuring, the NP in turn will attack the ANC on its role in violence, its alliance with the SACP, human rights violations and mass action. "It will exploit 'divisions' in leadership — doves and hawks, *swart gevaar* — black domination, nationalisation and our economic policies."

As part of the process of "levelling the playing field", the ANC will push for "free political activity; access to hostels, farms; removal of security and restrictive laws; ensuring joint control over media and security forces; and ensuring that the interim government has the capacity to reach local areas, address illiteracy and voter education."



**C**HIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI is adamant that he is not planning an alliance with far-rightwing and other homeland leaders involved in this week's Conference for Concerned South Africans.

In an interview shortly after the conference this week, Buthelezi said he hoped that the conference would help get on track "more representative multi-party negotiations". But an alliance was not possible because he has "fundamental differences with some of the people who were at the meeting".

Buthelezi revealed that he had received a letter from President FW de Klerk suggesting that he send Dr Gerit Viljoen "to listen to" Buthelezi.

Buthelezi had not decided how to respond to the request.

This week's conference at a hotel north of Johannesburg drew together Buthelezi and leaders of the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Volksunie, the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. In a statement afterwards, they announced the creation of a "steering committee which will form a liaison structure for members of the conference and for planning the way forward".

The meeting, Buthelezi said, was called to deal specifically with the Record of Understanding signed last week by De Klerk and the African National Congress' Nelson Mandela. "All of us felt it was wrong and felt we should consult about it. It (the Record of Understanding) set a wrong precedent: that any two parties can make decisions which impact on the rest of the parties and hope that whatever they decide on can be foisted on the rest."

Asked if he intended to work with CP leader Andries Treurnicht in the future, Buthelezi said: "I remind you that some of the vilification I have suffered from flows from the fact that I was always prepared to talk to the government. I talked to the government even though I was in opposition to them."

"I have known Dr Treurnicht since long ago, when he was a member of the National Party. I have always tried to persuade Dr Treurnicht to come to Codesa, even if I have not succeeded. He is a South African, he has a constituency. There is no way you can

have a new constitution in this country and leave out his constituency if you want it to last."

Asked if members of his organisation objected to him meeting Treurnicht, he said: "Must your newspaper go out of its way to make this as nega-

tive as possible? I talked to the government when it was taboo to talk to them. Dr Mandela was released as a result of my persistence in talking to them. There is nothing wrong with my policy of talking to people I disagree with."

Does this mean he will meet and talk to the ANC? "I do not know what my constituents will say when they see me talking to people who are killing them."

Responding to the ANC's refusal to meet his demand that it disband its

military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, before talks could continue, he said: "I have no way of forcing them. The state president raised the matter in December and Dr Nelson Mandela said there and then that he would not disband it. So what authority do I have to make him do it?"

"But I cannot see that while people are being killed at the rate in which they are being killed, by cadres of Umkhonto, there can be a way forward, there can be negotiations."

Later in the interview, however, he said that he is not angry "with the ANC as the ANC."

"There are some differences between us ... but if Dr Mandela entered here, you would see that our relationship as brothers has never changed."

Why then did he talk of "buggering them up"? "You can interpret that any way you like. I was talking to young people. I said that these people are bugging up your future and if you don't bug ... stop them in their tracks, they will bugger up your future with all the burning of schools and the killings."

"I think that was justified. People who want to interpret that as negatively as possible are free to do so."

He then shifted his line on talking to the ANC leader: "Why do you think there should be problems in talking to another black man who has been my friend for more than 30 years?"

He added that the planned mediation by former African presidents Kenneth Kaunda and Julius Nyerere would have to be "sorted out" first.

"They are elder statesmen of Africa and they have a role to play. They have a long and good relationship with the ANC and I have known them and they have respected me for a long time. I think they will come as conciliators rather than people who would sit in judgment, so I think it is appropriate that they come."

Buthelezi denied that he had come under pressure from the government or the international community to withdraw his opposition to the government-ANC agreement that was designed to get negotiations on track again. He had seen three ambassadors, but none of them had come to put pressure on him, he said.



# No rightwing pact on the cards, says Buthelezi

*Homeland leaders and the rightwing met this week to respond to the recent government-ANC Record of Understanding. KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi spoke to **ANTON HARBER** after the conference*



Strange bedfellows ... Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and kwaZulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at this week's talks

Photo: GUY ADAMS



By JAN TALJAARD

WHILE recent discussions between rightwingers and homeland leaders may have succeeded in pushing these groups towards some kind of prominence again, any prospect of a more formal alliance between them may be very short-lived.

At the moment agreements revolve around the rather dubious principle that "an enemy of my enemy must be my friend" and a resolution on both sides that the National Party and African National Congress will not be allowed to make decisions on their behalf.

Pundits agree that other differences between the two groups are too pronounced for more than a temporary arrangement.

As far as the Conservative Party is concerned, its deeply entrenched dogma of ethnicity still lies at the root of all policy decisions.

Any organisation going into a formal agreement with the CP will have to subscribe to some extent to the CP's views on ethnicity.

It is for these reasons that CP spokesman and chief secretary Dr Lem Theron is careful when asked about the possibility of alliances.

Traipsing daintily in the sidestepping footsteps of his leader, he says it will not do to be in a hurry in making certain initiatives known.

He will only say that there is a good understanding between the parties and that bilateral discussions will go on. And more can be achieved by bilateral talks than at a multilateral forum like Codessa.

He does, however, admit that

## Rightwing sidesteps homeland's quick step....

serious differences do exist, one of these being between a confederal dispensation as envisaged by the CP and a less partitioned federalism as foreseen by leaders such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The breakaway leader of the Afrikaner Volksunie, Andries Beyers, is more than willing to point out the real hitches between the CP and homeland leaders.

The CP's policy is still racially based, Beyers bluntly states. Opposed to this, he claims that the AVU has removed all vestiges of racism from its policy. Although the AVU wants a homeland for the Afrikaner people, "other citizens" living and working in such a homeland will be accorded the same privileges of citizenship to be held by the Afrikaners living there.

He does not, however, foresee rightwingers and homeland leaders drawing together in a laager and forming a power block against the NP and ANC. Although a loose structure of co-operation has been established during talks this week, the AVU feels the government has more in common with them than

with the ANC and that some kind of agreement may eventually emerge.

Avstig leader Carel Boshoff is for one not willing to give up his independence or to compromise on his ideals by entering into an alliance.

"We want to negotiate with everyone on an equal level in order to establish a Volkstaat." He says it serves no purpose to form an alliance with one group at the cost of relations with another group.

It seems that a formal alliances between rightwingers and the homelands may remain the domain of the politically naive and opportunistic. An example of this can be seen in what transpired between Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and Ciskeian leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo during the last month.

Leading Gqozo to believe that the AWB disposes of a fierce and mighty private army, Terre'Blanche promised to come to his aid with around 50 000 men, should the ANC decide to march on Bisho.

When the march seemed inevitable and Gqozo took Terre'Blanche up on his promise, the leader was unfazed. So sorry, he said, but his men were all deployed around the white suburbs.

The gullible brigadier continued the contact with mutual promises of armed aid and support. This week it culminated in a farce at a Sandton hotel when AWB members were seen guarding the two leaders while they were busy with discussions that Gqozo dearly wanted to keep secret.