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THE SOUTH African Government would have been wealthy had it not kept Mr Nelson Mandela in prison.

Instead the so-called leaders, whom we have come to regard as Pretoria's delivery boys, were running amok serving their masters and lining their pockets.

If we allow reason to prevail, Mr Mandela stands head and shoulder above many politicians. Even if I was not an ANC member, I would still give him the due respect.

It is high time that we appreciate other people's good deeds while they are still alive. Not heaping praises on them when they are dead.

Mr Mandela knows where he is going, why he is going there and how he is going to get there. That is great statemanship. In Mandela one sees a person with foresight.

In his speeches the welfare of the ordinary folks supercedes party politics. I believe he sees himself first as a South African and then

Nelson Mandela is a role model

SOWTAN 24/01/92



FW de KLERK

a member of the African National Congress. Some leaders see themselves as politicians first and secondly as South Africans.

Mandela is also a person of humility. This he showed when he was involved in negotiations with people he differed with. I would have never spoken to Inkatha. He



NELSON MANDELA

also went to see rightwing hunger strikers wearing that disarming smile of his.

We are told that he showed humanity to his warders in jail. We are told that he was on first name terms with the warders and they discussed family matters. I have found him to be a leader of guts, a bold



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

speaker-a trait missing in many leaders.

When he addressed pupils at the FNB stadium to talked of discipline. The boldness was also evident when he attacked President FW de Klerk at Codesa looking him square in the face. People would like to follow such a leader.

He is also a man of intelligence. One often finds a leader bold but unwise or vice versa. He is a role model, not for people this side of the Limpopo but the world over.

I sincerely think that on his release he should have made mention of other liberation movement leaders such as Steve Biko, Onkgopotse Tiro, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Nthato Motlana and Tsietsi Mashinini in his speeches.

To you Madiba I say you are a gift to the country. We love you. God bless you.

**IBEL'ELIHLE,
Tshiawelo, Soweto.**

16/1/11

THE THIRD FORCE



Two
members
the Black
Congress
are on the
scene of
security
over
involvement
in the
dynasty
of the
Photography
KEVIN CARTER

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TWO HIT-SQUAD MEN SPEAK

We piece together the chain that links security force agents to the township violence

They call their gang the Blacklions. But those men are better known by another name: the hit squads.

They carry out violent attacks on township targets, often in collaboration with the security forces.

Two men in our photograph were recruited from the township street gang of Inkatha and sent to a secret base for training by Military Intelligence experts.

Returned to their homes, they used force and intimidation to

build up an Inkatha presence in their township, a process known as "the do-land" - their goal has been to "do" in another township.

The story these men have told *The Weekly Mail* corroborated by other sources in the course of a month-long investigation, finally pins down the mystery of township killings.

- There is indeed a Third Force.
- It is masterminded by the SADF, aided by the kwazulu police.
- Its aim is to undermine the ANC and establish power bases for Inkatha.

The violent plan by violence training lay in its aim to instill in the township a goal and teaching them to kill, then using them to recruit others to acts of random violence.

Our Blacklions tell the full details of how this works. They describe, for example, how they were recruited to both the township and the police, how they were trained, and how they were used to carry out the violence.

For the story of how the Third Force operates, see PAGES 2 and 3

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THE MISSING LINK IN A MONTHS-LONG MYSTERY: HOW GROUPS OF PROFESSIONAL

How a small group of hitmen

By EDDIE KOCH and PHILIPPA GARSON

TWO "Black Cats", members of a pro-Inkatha gang that holds the eastern Transvaal town of Wesselton in a grip of fear, have come forward to explain how professional hitmen are able to spread civil strife through a volatile township.

The history of the gang and reign of terror it has imposed on the people of Wesselton since the middle of 1990 provides a vital clue to the way in which mystery "third force" gunmen have been able to fan the violence that is now endemic in the Transvaal.

The evidence and the two Black Cat members are being placed before Mr Justice R Goldstone, who is heading a special inquiry into Military Intelligence involvement in violence.

The picture that has been pieced together from interviews with the Black Cat defectors, as well as a range of other sources in the military and Inkatha, looks like this:

Around October 1990, some "kwaZulu

policemen" (known as KZPs) travelled from Ulundi to the township near Ermelo — where tension was running high because of a rent boycott and campaign by the African National Congress-aligned civic organisation to depose local town councillors — and recruited about 32 young boys and girls from the Black Cats.

These mysterious men from Ulundi were, in fact, part of a 200-strong paramilitary group trained for Inkatha in mid-1986 by the South African Defence Force's Department of Military Intelligence (DMI) at a secret base in the Caprivi Strip in the art of "offensive warfare" that included use of AK-47s, Browning machine guns and explosives.

After their training, the 200 DMI "graduates" were housed and paid by a military front organisation called Creed Consultants. One of their bases, a secret barracks near Mkuze in northern Natal, was run by Creed. In mid-1989 the "boys from the project", as they were called, were formally incorporated into the kwaZulu Police.

The "KZPs" took the Wesselton youngsters in two mini-buses to Ulundi, where they were housed in the old police barracks. The Black Cats stayed in the kwaZulu government offices for two months, where they received political education and generally "just loitered around".

"Some of us would go to the township to commit robberies because we needed money. They gave us everything, but not cash. They even bought us cigarettes," says one of the defectors known as Themba.

Later the gangsters were transferred to the Mkuze camp and a select group of about 22 were put through an intensive course in how to shoot with AK-47s, 9mm handguns and shotguns. They were also taught how to apprehend people, search and detain them.

"One Sunday night while we were in Ulundi, Mashabane (the clan name for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former private secretary MZ Khumalo) said we were leaving for Mkuze," says Themba.

At a secret base in the Caprivi Strip in 1986, a 200-strong paramilitary group is trained in the use of AK-47s, Browning machine guns and explosives. These men form the core of what later becomes known as the "Third Force".

The youths were driven to Mkuze in the same two mini-buses. "We were met by Joyful Mletwa (one of the 200 Caprivi Strip trainees). We slept in barracks at Mkuze. The blankets on the beds were like those used in prison. There were RSA stamps on the beds," says Themba.

"Peter Msane taught us in English about leadership. We once watched a video of Shaka Zulu. Msane also taught us practical skills, like how to hijack people by covering their mouths and dragging them into cars.

"We were told how to rescue our comrades if

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KILLERS COULD REPEATEDLY TERRORISE TOWNSHIPS ... AND GET AWAY WITH IT

held a township to ransom

they were injured in fights, so we would not leave them behind for the enemy — the ANC. Our trainer, Mandlanduna, chose 22 people. He wanted to teach them how to shoot properly. He gave them camouflage uniforms and took them to a shooting range in the Lebombo mountains about 2km from the camp. They learned to shoot with pumpguns (pump-action shotguns) and 9mm P38s (a make of handgun).

"They spent at least seven hours a day at the shooting range. The girls and the young boys like me stayed behind, working in the garden. We never had to worry about food because we ate food from the police. There was writing on the boxes of food which said CID."

Mbongeni Khumalo, high-ranking Inkatha defector who was frequently stationed at the Mkuze camp, has confirmed the description of how the Black Cats were recruited and trained. Khumalo points out that Mandlanduna is the clan name for Daluxolo Lithuli, a famed ANC guerrilla who was trained by DMI in Caprivi and

is now, according to Khumalo, "a professional assassin".

Khumalo also confirms that Msane is an ex-Caprivi trainee and currently an official at Inkatha's Uthuli head office.

When the two-month training programme at Mkuze was completed, the gangsters were given seven home-made guns (*qwashas*) and were taken back to Wesselton.

"The ANC was now afraid of coming to our area — Wesselton Extension," says Themba. "The training helped us to overcome the ANC. We were aware of strategies we were to use before we fought. We would plan our attacks."

Back in Wesselton, aided by some of the "boys from the project", the gangsters taught another group of some 40 Black Cats how to shoot.

"We met at the home of Chris Ngwenya (leader of the gang and a graduate from Mkuze) and we practised how to shoot with a .45 and a 9mm parabellum. I like the parabellum because it is

very powerful," says Themba.

Lucas, the other defector, adds: "When they came back from Uthuli, they recruited a number of youngsters who joined the group. They offered them training in the use of guns. This was done at Chris' place, inside his house."

"They also offered me training. They had one AK-47, two 9mms and four *qwashas*. They gave us the weapons without bullets and showed us how to shoot. About 40 youngsters immediately joined them and we became a group of about 80."

The gang then went on the rampage. Backed by a handful of Caprivi graduates who routinely visited Wesselton as members of the KZP, including Mandlanduna, they attacked members of the ANC, bombed the offices of a local human-rights lawyer and participated in a grisly attack on mourners at the funeral of a victim of their violence.

They received intensive backing from white police officers in Ermelo, who failed to arrest

Black Cats involved in violence and went so far as to release kwaZulu policemen apprehended by the SADF (See accompanying story).

The manner in which the Black Cats were recruited and trained followed an "each one teaches 10" principle: small groups of professionals trained by the DMI teach a larger group of gangsters how to use firearms and then this group provides a bigger cohort of the gang with the rudimentary skills of killing. In this way Inkatha obtains command over a three-tiered group of trained fighters to use in its contest with the ANC for control over the township, and the level of violence escalates dramatically.

The latest victims of the Wesselton violence were two residents, including a member of the ANC who was stabbed to death by gang members over the Christmas period.

And the Black Cats, acting in concert with men trained by DMI and imbued with a sense that they are immune from arrest, continue to terrorise the township.

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For the first time, an insiders'

A PAIR of Black Cat vigilantes, members of a notorious gang that operates in the eastern Transvaal township of Wesslerton, describe how white police officers used the gang to bomb the office of a human rights lawyer and helped orchestrate a string of murders, assaults and arson attacks.

And the very police officer responsible for some of these attacks, a Warrant Officer Van Zwiel, was appointed to investigate complaints against the Black Cats, say the disaffected gangsters. They claim Van Zwiel helped to ensure few of them were charged for their crimes.

The gang members decided to speak to the press because they had been threatened by other Black Cat members for voicing criticism of the gang's activities and its close alliance with Inkatha. They are now in hiding in fear of their lives and their names have been changed to protect them. The gang is still operating in the township.

"The Black Cats are harassing people today. They say they don't want African National Congress comrades in the township. At Christmas time they killed two people. One of them was an ANC member. A few weeks before that they killed a man called December because he was a member of the ANC," says Themba, one of the defectors.

Other evidence supplied by the Black Cats confirm earlier *Weekly Mail* reports, based on testimony from high-ranking Inkatha defector Mlungisi Khumalo, that members of the South African Police in Patelek released professional hitmen from Umlund in August 1990 after they had been arrested for shooting up an ANC funeral and killing two of the mourners.

The two Black Cats tell how their gang was initially formed to combat

Two young gangsters give an horrific account of how they were encouraged, equipped and trained to carry out violence against ANC-linked targets by the security forces. Their account provides a crucial missing piece in the jigsaw puzzle of what caused the violence which has

rocked the townships. The gangsters have asked not to be identified for fear of retaliation against their families. Both the young men have been interviewed separately, at length, and their accounts confirm evidence provided by other sources.

A Weekly Mail investigation by EDDIE KOCH and PHILIPPA GARSON

pro-ANC civic organisation in the area.

After suffering several defeats at the hands of the "comrades", 32 Black Cats were taken to Umlund and then Mkuze camp, where they underwent military training. They returned with instructions to establish themselves as an Inkatha force in the area.

The younger of the two defectors, Themba, went for training. Lucas, in prison at the time after being convicted for possessing a homemade gun, missed the opportunity to be trained as a hit-man.

Both corroborate claims of police complicity in "black-on-black" violence in Wesslerton and Inkatha's alleged "forced recruitment drive" in the Transvaal which began about two years ago.

The defectors also confirm allegations made by Khumalo, former head of Inkatha's Youth Brigade and member of the organisation's central committee.

And although the two Black Cats told their stories separately to *The Weekly Mail*, there is a startling consistency in their accounts.

Lucas recounts how white policemen picked three of the strongest Black Cats to petrol bomb the offices of lawyer Stephen Ngwenya as well as his shop, truck and homes of local

businessmen in July 1990.

"Van Zwiel gave them a 9mm handgun and later rewarded them with vodka and cigarettes," says Lucas. He describes how the gangsters were urged by local town councillors, police and Inkatha to attack members of the Wesslerton Action Committee (WAC).

WAC became the enemy of the councillors after galvanising the community to boycott rents at the end of 1989 as a protest against alleged corruption being practised by the councillors.

The Black Cats were formed in early 1990, ostensibly to combat crime perpetrated by another gang in Wesslerton, the Ntjhis.

"But the main reason why the Black Cats were formed was to make conflict in the community. Although we claimed to be an anti-crime campaign we ended up committing the same crimes we were supposed to prevent," says Lucas.

Instead of handing the weapons they confiscated over to the police, they stockpiled them at the home of their leader, Chris Ngwenya, where they spent most of their time strategising. A man called Sabata Zwane, known as "Jw", also led the gang in several attacks.

In July 1990 the Black Cats fled to

the municipal offices after being attacked by "comrades". There, together with two municipal policemen known only as Glen and Jomo, they discussed how to attack members of WAC.

"(Noah) Mchobokazi (then a sports organiser at the council) was there. He gave us a 9mm gun and axes ... Mchobokazi was the one telling us what we must do. He told us who we must attack (and that) we must divide into two groups."

Lucas alleges that two policemen, a Captain Botha and Van Zwiel were in constant contact with Mchobokazi, a known Inkatha member who visited the gang members several times at Umlund and Mkuze.

He recounts how on the night of July 22 and into the next morning the Black Cats — named after the black whips they brandish — ran amok in the inclosure, breaking doors and windows of civic leaders and known ANC supporters, and attacking several people with pangas, knives and axes. At least eight were admitted to hospital.

The Weekly Mail is in possession of affidavits made to lawyers by victims and witnesses at the time. Lawyers' attempts to get a restraining order on the activities of the gang proved futile. No arrests were made and the vio-

lence escalated.

After the attacks the members stayed for several days at the council offices where they were given money to buy food from Mchobokazi.

They then fled to the Eriolo offices of the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa), Inkatha's trade union wing, where Mchobokazi handed over money to the local Inkatha strongman, Isaac Hlatwaya, for their membership fees.

There, ongoing dealings allegedly took place with the police. Van Zwiel would either visit them at the Uwusa offices or call the leadership to the police station.

"We were staying in one office but the office was divided into two sections. Mchobokazi was there when Van Zwiel, Botha and one other came to speak to him ... they spoke secretly so we could not hear. They took three of us, Patelek, China and 'Jw' (who was killed in an AK-47 attack last year). They gave them each a 9mm handgun. We saw the guns."

Lucas alleges that the police came to fetch them in a grey private car. That night, on July 25 1990, Ngwenya's office was petrol bombed. Ngwenya reported the incident and a ducknet was opened, with Van Zwiel appointed as the investigating officer.

The three gangsters returned the same evening, say the Black Cats, with provisions given to them by the two policemen for their services.

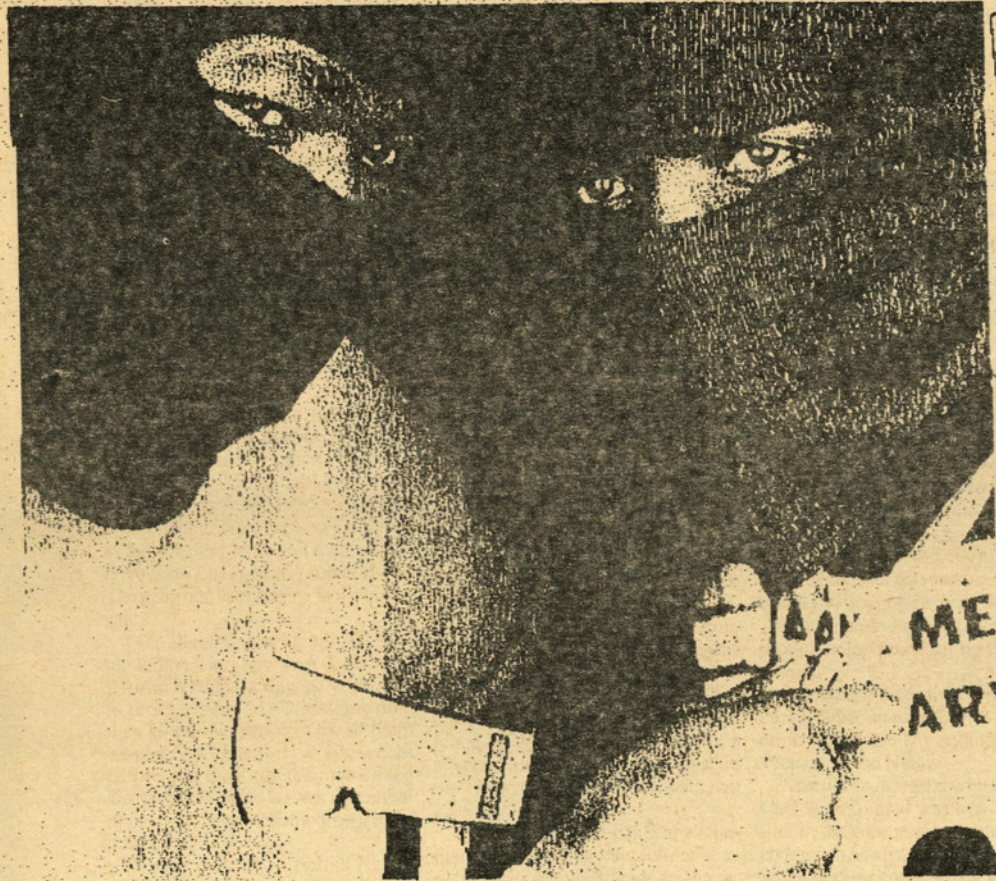
Lucas tells how Mchobokazi brought Limpet mines to the Uwusa offices and how the two policemen fetched the same three gangsters several days later. As they departed they told the remaining Black Cats not to worry if they heard loud noises in the night.

On the night of August 6 explosives were thrown into Ngwenya's offices and the home and shop of two civic members were bombed with Limpet mines. Ngwenya confirmed this in an

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account of the Third Force



Hitmen ... 'Lucas' and 'Themba', young gangsters who tell us how they were recruited to the 'Third Force'

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

affidavit made at the time.

On August 5 David Sibanyoni was shot dead. One week later, on August 11, a gruesome gun attack took place on the funeral procession of ANC mourner carrying Sibanyoni's coffin.

In his disclosures to *The Weekly Mail*, Khumalo described how a colleague had told him how members of

a team of Inkatha hit-men, trained by the Department of Military Intelligence (DMI), had gone to the Wesselson funeral and ambushed the procession, opening fire on mourners and spraying bullets into the coffin.

An Inkatha supporter, "Doctor" Matshwayo, was to be buried the same day as Sibanyoni.

Lucas, who was with the team of hit-men — the "eight KZPs" — on that day, tells the inside story:

"Eight KZPs came from Umlazi in two cars. They were not wearing uniforms. They came to the Ubusa offices the day before the funeral. Three of them were called Mandlanduna, Zwell and Ntlanhla. They taught us

Inkatha songs ... and told us they were going to shoot at the ANC funeral while we must stay at Doctor's house."

(According to Khumalo, Mandlanduna is a professional assassin trained by DMI at their base in Capriyl. He, in turn, induced the Black Cats at Mkuze.)

"The next day, August 11, we came from the Ubusa offices and went to Doctor's house. We were singing. We stood outside the house. We saw the KZPs take positions on each side of the road to wait for the ANC funeral procession," said Lucas.

"Mehobokazi had an AK-47 and Jwi had a 9mm handgun. They joined the KZPs who had 9mms and pump guns and other guns like AK-47s, but shorter. When the funeral procession came past they started shooting. We were watching. The one carrying the flag fell near the coffin. The coffin was dropped.

"The one who fell, Jabulani Sibanyoni, was not dead. The one KZP, (identified as Ntlanhla Khawula) ran forward and shot him in the head. He opened the coffin and shot the dead body many times," he said.

That evening SADF troops arrested about 30 people, including the eight KZPs, and confiscated their weapons.

"A couple of days later they were all released and came to Chris' house. Chris told me that after the SADF left, Van Zwell and Botin released them ... Chris told me the police did not take statements."

Khumalo told *The Weekly Mail* that after the kwaZulu hitmen were released, their confiscated weapons were also returned to Umlazi.

Lucas has disclosed how members

of his gang, after suffering a defeat in a battle with "commandos", left the location in October 1990 for Umlazi, later to receive military training at the Mkuze military camp, which was run by a front for DMI.

Lucas was close friend of gang leader Chris Ngwenya.

"Chris told me their trainer was Mandlanduna. He trained them in the use of weaponry and lots of physical exercises to keep fit.

"A soldier called 'Sugar' went to Wesselson to 'man the fort' while the others were away. He is now a resident warrior who leads the gang. I saw his KZP identity card. His real name is Lucky Hlongwane," said Lucas.

According to Khumalo, Hlongwane is one of the Inkatha hit-men trained in the Capriyl Strip. His name has been linked to several attacks on Wesselson residents last year, including the fatal shooting of shoeowner Zlati Shongwe, the hand grenade attack on her home on August 20 1990 and the gunning down of a male nurse, Andrew Maphosa, on November 5 last year.

Wesselson Extension, the newer part of the location now commandeered by the Black Cats, became their headquarters. "Welcome to Umlazi" graffiti is plastered on walls and signposts.

"When they came back (from Mkuze) they attacked people wearing ANC T-shirts and caps and took their clothes away. They would walk in groups harassing people and bragging about how they are Inkatha."

In August last year at the funeral of "Jwi" Zwane, five township residents were gunned down and killed by a husband of Inkatha members who came from Soweto.

The Weekly Mail's evidence is to be presented to the Goldstone Commission into violence. See also editorial, PAGE 16

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Back to back they faced each other

It was hardly a year ago when Operation Vula cadres Pravin Gordhan and Mac Maharaj were being roughed up as involuntary wards of the state, and co-conspirator Janet Love was being hunted by the police.

Today, all three are central to administering the national negotiations taking place through the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. Gordhan is the chairman of Codesa's seven-member Daily Management Committee, having just taken over from Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer. Maharaj, with Love as his alternate, serves on the Political Secretariat — together with the government's Fanie van der Merwe.

It's the kind of development that confirms the nightmares — or the "old you so" — hopes of the far right and the far left. Yesterday's terrorists running today's government-in-waiting. Yesterday's guerrillas buying in with their former enemies.

But it is also one of many signs that suggest just how far things have come in the negotiations that began in earnest this week.

The five working groups started business on Monday by deciding on procedural issues, electing steering committees and, in the case of Working Group 3 on Transitional Arrangements, a chairman (the DP's Ken Andrew).

Old enemies shelved their differences at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa this week when Codesa's five working groups met to start hammering out a blueprint for the 'new' South Africa. By GAVIN EVANS and PAUL STOBBER

Management Committee, which next meets on February 10.

Most important has been the application for a delegation from the Zulu royal family, and the counter-application from the ANC-aligned chiefs organisation, Conralesa. The ploy of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to stay out of the talks and make dire predictions of violence unless King Goodwill Zwelofini's delegation is accepted, seems to have worked — but at a cost.

Their approval will mean the Conralesa delegation, and perhaps one from the Transkei chiefs, will also have to be included.

Conralesa national treasurer Ratsihvanda Ndou was confident about his organisation's chances of acceptance. "I don't think any political party will have problems with Conralesa, our

members still represent 50 percent of the people in this country," he said.

Three tiny renegade rightwing parties, Boerevolk, the newly-formed Afrikaaner Party and "Boerentia", have applied and at least one will be accepted, if only to give the sense that the white homeland issue has been aired, and the right have had their say.

●Bophuthatswana and Inkatha have still not signed the Declaration of Intent, which means they are not bound by Codesa's decisions.

Bophuthatswana government official Alwyn Viljoen said this week his government had not signed the declaration because it had problems with the declaration's "precise wording".

"The fact that the Bophuthatswana government is participating in Codesa and the working com-

mittees shows they support the spirit of the convention," he added.

Inkatha has adopted a harder line. According to its representative, Suzanne Vos, "We have tabled our amendments to the declaration before the management committee. If the issue is not resolved there, then we expect it to be discussed at the next plenary session of Codesa." Inkatha's objection to the declaration centres on the lack of provision for regional governments in a federal South Africa.

●The National Peace Accord appears to be on shaky legs at the moment. While the Goldstone standing commission investigating violence is underway, only two regional peace committees and no local dispute resolution committees have been set up since the accord was signed on September 14. Other mechanisms, such as the Police Board and reporting officers, special criminal courts and special justices of the peace, have also not been implemented.

There is now a strong feeling among several of the parties that the accord has been overtaken by Codesa and should be absorbed into it to prevent duplication.

3) → The groups get down to the nitty gritty from February 9 and will meet at least once a week until they reconvene at the next convention — "Codesa 2" — at the end of March. By this time they are expected to have made their proposals, but given the enormity of the issues they are considering, there is some doubt this would have been achieved by then.

Despite the fact that the government and the African National Congress have come closer together in recent months, reaching "sufficient consensus" will not be easy in any of the working groups, each of which have their bugbear issues.

In Group 1, whose main task is defined as "creating a climate for free political participation and the role of the international community", it is likely to be a question of the disbanding of Umkhonto weSizwe or its integration into the South African Defence Force/a new defence force. Which is why the ANC has chosen MK commander Joe Modise as one of its two representatives, the NP its defence spokesman Boy Geldenhuys and the government its Law and Order Minister Hensley Kriel. If that's not enough Group 1 will also look at the future of the SABC, the repeal of remaining discriminatory legislation, the return of exiles and the ending of political violence.

(c) Group 2, which is dealing with "constitutional principles and a constitution-making body/process", has already opted to meet twice a week (compared with once a week for the others) in anticipation of some tough horse-trading. Most of the parties have chosen big guns — ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen, South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, DP MP Danis Worrall and Inkatha acting secretary general SH Gumede to name a few.

Aside from having to decide on touchy questions like the future of Afrikaans and other languages and how the flag and other national symbols should look, it will also have to make proposals on future economic principles, the composition of the three branches of government and, most difficult of all, whether a referendum should be held and whether there should be an elected constituent assembly.

(c1) Group 3, whose brief is "transitional arrangements", will pit the likes of Thabo Mbeki (ANC) and Jeremy Cronin (SACP) against cabinet ministers Barend du Plessis, Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers in trying to reach compromises on a range of issues relating to an interim government.

Group 4, which is looking into "the future of the TBVC states", will have tough task of trying to bend the arm of the Bophuthatswana government into re-integrating into South Africa.

Group 5, whose job it is to deal with "timeframes and implementation of decisions", will be deciding how much time to give Codesa to reach its decisions. It will also be trying to find consensus where it exists and will be involved in the formulation of legislation to give these decisions legal effect.

Prior to "Codesa 2" there are several other issues which may require resolution.

●With 19 parties (each having 12 delegates plus advisors), the process is already unwieldy. So far 28 more political parties or organisations have applied to join.

A special sub-committee is meeting to consider the applications. Their recommendation will be made to the Daily Management Committee, which is answerable to the 38-member

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Draft SADF code is a milestone

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A DRAFT code of conduct for the South African Defence Force provides for the establishment of an independent military ombudsman to investigate complaints against the SADF and for a multi-party Defence Council to be appointed by the state president to deal with military policy issues.

If implemented, these measures could go a substantial way towards placing the SADF under greater civilian control — and beyond the realm of party-political influence.

These are two of the proposals of the code, which government and African National Congress delegates agreed to

in a sub-committee meeting of the National Peace Committee (NPC) last Thursday and Friday, according to sources close to the talks.

Among the other provisions are that SADF members will have the right to refuse orders which violate the constitution or international law and their officers will be held legally responsible for any illegal orders they give and for the conduct of their subordinates.

The draft also commits the SADF to avoiding threatening or intimidating behaviour, to refraining from following party-political objectives and to implementing education programmes to promote the code among its members.

Substantial progress has been made towards placing the military under greater civilian control. By GAVIN EVANS

But its ratification (and inclusion in the National Peace Accord) may be delayed by several months as a result of Inkatha's refusal to sign it, because of its opposition to the continued existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

Inkatha, which was represented by Johannesburg businessman Alisdair MacAulay, walked out of the talks last

Thursday. Deputy defence minister Wynand Broeytenbach, representing the government, and South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union official Jay Naidoo (representing the ANC) continued their talks despite the walk-out, reaching preliminary agreement on the latest draft. According to an NPC source, Inkatha later returned to the meeting but issued a memorandum on Friday saying its signature would depend on the MK issue being settled.

"If the government is willing to sign a code of conduct for the SADF with the ANC under the National Peace Accord without the issue of the ANC's

private army, MK, being resolved, the Inkatha Freedom Party is not. To do so would be to confuse principle with expediency," said Inkatha.

A final draft of the code will be put to the NPC in March.

According to NPC sources, the inclusion of the code in the peace accord without Inkatha's approval will be difficult, but not impossible.

However, it is understood that the government and the SADF will also back Inkatha's stand and will require progress on the dismantling of MK before ratifying the code.

Sources close to the government say President F.W. de Klerk will stress his opposition to the existence of MK and other "private armies" when he opens parliament this Friday.

Key SADF figures are insisting that there needs to be a quid pro quo on the "MK issue" before they agree to bind themselves through the proposed code.

The ANC, which is calling for the integration of MK, the SADF and all other military forces, is arguing that the future of MK is already provided for in the terms of reference of Working Group 1 of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) and therefore should not affect discussions on the SADF code.

It now appears that the Codesa discussions have largely overtaken those around the peace accord. Ratification of the code will depend on progress made in Working Group 1 on the MK question. Nevertheless, the draft code represents substantial progress between the government and the ANC.

The first government proposal, drawn up with SADF approval, was made to the NPC last September. The ANC welcomed it and submitted certain additional proposals, including that of the appointment of a military ombudsman. These were soon leaked to the media, causing much consternation within the SADF.

According to *The Weekly Mail's* sources, elements within Military Intelligence and the Special Forces were strongly opposed to the government's proposal, objecting in particular to the provision allowing troops to disobey orders contrary to the constitution.

As a result, the whole process was stalled and a second, far more conservative, proposal from within the SADF was made, excluding this and several other provisions.

But it appears the latest draft has largely ignored the SADF's second version and bears close resemblance to the September proposal, with certain key additions. It proposes that the office of military ombudsman fall under that of the national ombudsman established in terms of the Advocate General Amendment Act, rather than under the SADF.

The proposal for a Council for Defence, also initially made by the ANC and amended by the government, is potentially even more far-reaching. It is envisaged that this would be a largely civilian body which would oversee the SADF and advise it on policy. According to one source, its role would be similar to that of the Police Board established under the peace accord.

W. Mail

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Citizens' arrest ... Alleged train killer Albert Dlamini (32) appeared yesterday in the Germiston Magistrate's Court on two charges of murder and nine of attempted murder. Dlamini, who was apprehended by commuters while allegedly taking part in a train massacre on October 9, has been remanded on R2 000 bail. He was accompanied in court by two Inkatha members

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Youth leader goes free

Weekly Mail Reporter

INKATHA Youth Brigade leader Temba Khoza was acquitted of charges of illegal possession of firearms, ammunition and explosives in the Vanderbijlpark Regional Court on Friday.

Khoza had pleaded not guilty to the charges which were related to an attack on Sebokeng's hostels on September 16 1990.

Khoza said he had gone to a hostel to help reduce tension and stabilise the situation. He said his car had remained unlocked during the morning and had been moved by several people, so the weapons

could have been planted.

In passing judgment, the magistrate said it was not probable that Khoza would have driven with a car full of weapons to a scene of conflict, knowing there would be police present. He said Khoza's evidence has been coherent while the state witnesses had been contradictory. He added it could not be proved beyond reasonable doubt that Khoza was aware of the cache in his car.

●*The Weekly Mail* mistakenly reported that Khoza was facing charges of murder. We apologise for the error.

w. mail 24.1.1992

WORM'S EYE

Steven Friedman's fortnightly review of political events

Deal or disrupt?

WORRIED that parties who are staying out of Codesa might derail negotiations? You may have more cause to worry about one of the parties which is staying in. That party is the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose enthusiasm for the negotiating convention doesn't seem unbounded.

It still insists that it is committed to Codesa. But its demand that it send three delegations and its refusal to sign the Codesa declaration have done more to obstruct the process than quibbles raised by the other parties.

Why does a party which has always projected itself as the party of negotiation think its best bet is to make a deal difficult? One theory suggests that it simply wants to secure its place alongside the NP and ANC in a new government, another that it is preparing ground for Natal-kwaZulu to secede. Both may be right.

Since the negotiation process began, the IFP has known that it cannot win a country-wide election. So its aim has been to secure a prominent place in a power-sharing government.

It has tried to do this by showing that it has enough fire power to derail any deal from which it is excluded. And, press exposés suggest, it did this with help from the police and military.

It has never been simply an arm of the Nats or the security establishment. It has been following its own agenda, which has coincided with that of parts of the current state.

But, if the IFP was never a lackey of our rulers, it was closer to the NP than any other major black movement. Some analysts saw an Inkatha-NP alliance as almost inevitable.

This strengthened IFP expectations that it would be part of a "Big Three" government. It hardly seemed likely that the NP would cut a deal with the ANC which relegated the IFP to a minor role.

Now, to the IFP and others, this doesn't seem that unlikely. Regardless of what soldiers and policemen may be doing, key NP politicians no longer relish an alliance with Inkatha. Some now see it as a greater threat to negotiation than the ANC.

Unlike the ANC, the IFP has, since the signing of the Peace Accord, been seen by some Nat high-ups as a spoiler, more concerned to show that it is stronger than the other kids on the block than to keep negotiations on track.

Cynics might argue that the NP now realises Inkatha is a far more Independent and less docile ally than they thought.

But, whatever the reason, Inkatha may now fear that the other two will gang up on it and will be more determined than ever to show that it is too dangerous to ignore. It might still hope that this will deal it into the "Big Three". But it might be interested in secession if that doesn't work.

Secession also wouldn't work — it would need the support of white Natal interests, such as business, who are unlikely to see an independent kwaNatal as an attractive proposition. But an IFP deserted by the NP and the Natal establishment may feel more inclined than ever to show it can derail a settlement.

What can other parties do about this?

IFP strategy seems to rest on making demands which are meant to force concessions from the others. If they reject them, they risk new IFP attempts to show that stability is impossible without it. If they concede, they may open the way for new demands.

At some point, the NP, ANC and other Codesa parties may dig in and refuse to accede to more Inkatha demands. But the country might then face sustained attempts by Inkatha to derail the process — perhaps in alliance with groups on the left or right who are opposed to Codesa.

The threat to negotiation — and stability — would be greater than that now posed by groups such as the CP and PAC. So there may be little other parties can do about this.

If there is a solution, it may lie with the IFP itself. It reached its present pass by overplaying its hand. Having mobilised force to push its way into the "Big Three", it continued this tactic even after its place was probably assured.

The more this strategy weakens its position, the more it relies on the methods which caused the problem in the first place. If it continues, the danger to the country will be immense. But the result for the IFP may be a dead end; secession is impossible and it is likely to gain far more by co-operating with the other parties than by flexing its muscles.

If the IFP realises this, its role will obviously change. But if it doesn't, the party of negotiation could become as great a threat to a settlement as some of Codesa's vocal opponents.

w. mail 24/1/92

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I READ the article on "The Thoughts Industry" (WM January 3-9), by Evans, Van Niekerk and Stober with interest. This kind of information-based overview piece can be very valuable. I think the opportunity was sadly missed, however.

I am no longer on the board of the Inkatha Institute. As you mention I have joined the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), but I am also associated with the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and the Urban Foundation.

It is absurd to suggest, as the article does, that "most" senior HSRC officers are Broederbonders. I am sure there are some members, but unless the Broederbond has become so varied as to span virtually the entire (non-violent) political spectrum in South Africa, they represent a very small minority at all levels in the HSRC.

I think the "Thoughts Industry" stereotyped many of the organisations reviewed. John Kane-

Berman of the SAIRR, for example, has always insisted on an impartial review of organisations and events in the publications of the Institute.

For a long time, however, he and colleagues, including myself, had a growing concern that some of the pressure and mobilisation strategies of the democratic movement, while understandable, could lead to impoverishment, fragmentation of communities and to counter-reactions which would finally produce endemic violence.

Saying these things does not mean that Kane-Berman is anti-African National Congress or that we in any way endorse the violent counter-reactions and vigilantism, which in any event are often beyond rational debate.

The main problem with the "Thoughts Industry", however, is underscored by a recent article in *The Star* by Patrick Laurence.

He points out how rapidly old political divisions are disappearing and new, unexpected antagonisms and alliances are emerging. The classifications in your review cannot possibly survive the transition. — Lawrence Schlemmer, HSRC, Pretoria

● We did not suggest Prof Schlemmer was a Broederbond member and, in fact, commended several groups he is associated with (CPS, UF and the IMPD) for the role they are playing and their neutrality. We also did not say all HSRC research was Broederbond/government-inspired though clearly the HSRC has been used by the Broederbond in the past. We stand by our comment that SAIRR director John Kane-Berman has shown partiality towards Inkatha and against the ANC. Prof Schlemmer should note we also criticised the Human Rights Commission for bias towards the ANC. — The Editors

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16/1/11

Buthelezi says yes to Dutch visit

Political Staff

KWAZULU chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday gave his support to the planned visit of Dutch prime minister Mr Ruud Lubbers and strongly criticised organisations opposed to the controversial visit.

In a statement, Buthelezi said Lubbers' visit would endorse the unquestionable fact that the process of change in South Africa had become irreversible.

"The Dutch minister would, by coming to this country, be making a dramatic international statement that apartheid is doomed and this country is launched into a process of change out of which a new democratic South Africa would emerge," Buthelezi said.

Lubbers still has to make a final decision on whether to ignore vehement opposition to his "premature" visit from the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, the PAC and Azapo.

'ANC attacking pupils'

Citizen Reporter

THE African National Congress had begun attacking the children of Inkatha Freedom Party members at school in an intensified campaign to eliminate the IFP, the latter claimed yesterday.

"This became apparent yesterday morning, when a group of alleged ANC comrades, armed to the tooth (sic), attacked the children of known IFP members at Fundokuhle High School at Imbali 2 near Pietermaritzburg," an IFP statement said.

Mr Kim Hodgson, head of the IFP's violence

study unit, said the group of "well-known ANC comrades" had attacked the playing children at 11.30 am and "selectively opened fire on four pupils who are children of known members of the IFP in the region".

Sibusiso Hlongwane, Thokoza Magwaza, Prince Zondi and Mswenkosi Gasela had escaped from the attack unscathed, he said.

"It saddens us to note that our enemies have extended these barbaric attacks on our members to even our children within the schoolyard."

The Citizen 24/1/92

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Violence

SADLY, there is no end to the violence in South Africa.

The fighting continues in Natal, where, despite the Peace Accord and various attempts to get peace mechanisms in force to monitor and end the trouble, the killings continue.

The Inkatha Freedom Party accuses the ANC of murdering top officials and members of Inkatha.

The ANC rejects the allegations or blames Inkatha for attacks on its members.

Gruesome incidents include the "execution" of seven people, six of whom were members of one family.

We can't help wondering whether behind the so-called commitment to the Peace Accord, organisations are still not fighting a battle for supremacy in townships and rural areas.

In other words, the war that killed thousands is continuing.

On the Reef, violence has been sporadic in recent weeks, but the attacks on train commuters have been resumed, bringing fear once more to township dwellers who use the trains.

At least eight commuters have been killed since Monday.

The ANC says the upsurge in attacks is aimed at scuttling the Peace Accord and Codesa.

"We believe violence is an obstacle to the transformation of our country into a non-racial democratic State and we must mobilise all efforts to bring an end to this senseless carnage," says the ANC's PWV region.

Yet Inkatha blames the ANC for some of the deaths.

We don't know who is responsible, any more than we knew who was behind the previous attacks on trains.

But whoever it is is helping to destabilise the townships — and it is time those responsible were brought before the courts and suitably punished.

Meanwhile, the killing of policemen continues, with the Pan Africanist Congress openly supporting its military wing, Apla, in its campaign to eliminate policemen.

We find it strange that nothing has been done by the government to put an end to this publicly announced campaign of assassination.

Perhaps the government, having lifted the emergency and having unbanned organisations, is loath to act in any manner that might suggest it is returning to the old system of bannings and detentions without trial.

It prefers, it seems, to take various measures to protect policemen against attack.

This is all very well, but if the government does not want the assassination of policemen to continue, it will have to make use of emergency measures or take other action to put an end to the ghastly killings. The alternative is to allow the country to descend into anarchy.

The government also seems to be helpless in the matter of private armies.

It has not done anything to force Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, to disband or hand over its arms caches.

Until it does so, it cannot do anything about other private armies, including those of the Right.

We need peace, not violence, but peace will elude us while the government is hamstrung by the peace process and passions remain so high.

We do not think the Peace Accord is working, for the simple reason that members of the ANC and Inkatha, if not the organisations themselves, are continuing to fight it out.

We do not think arrests of Right-wingers, warnings by the government and calls on Right-wing leaders to come out publicly and condemn Right-wing attacks will work either.

We are only at the start of the transition to a new South Africa and the country is more destabilised than ever.

In the end, it is for the government to exercise its authority, to clamp down on political and criminal violence, and to demonstrate that it might be a government of reform, but it is also a government of law and order.

When it demonstrates that it not only has the power to stop much of the endemic violence that is going on, and will use that power irrespective of what any organisation says, it will go a long way towards restoring peace as well as law and order.

Train attacks. Coach doors to be locked

Citizen Reporter

SPOORNET, after consultation with the SAP, has decided to lock the doors between coaches on the commuter trains of the Metro-service, to prevent criminal elements moving from coach to coach.

The move was in response to the recent resurgence of violence on trains.

In the past week, six people have been killed and about 25 injured,

while travelling on the Johannesburg/Soweto line.

According to Spoornet, commuter movement between coaches is very dangerous.

The doors between coaches are only meant for train personnel, such as ticket inspectors, and as tickets are now being examined at barriers on stations, the necessity of the doors has diminished.

Electrical connections and vacuum pipes are also broken by commuters treading on them, resulting in train delays and disruptions.

Spoornet has appealed to all commuters to provide any information that could help stop the violence by calling 080 111 01 41.

Information can also be given to police at (011) 980-8321/980-8320 or 10111.

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday blamed "alleged African National Congress supporters" for the deaths this week of three IFP supporters on Reef trains and slammed the police for "inefficiency and bias".

The ANC said the allegations were "irresponsible and can only serve to fuel the flames of anger".

They also undermined the work of the Soweto dispute resolution committee.

An IFP member, a Mr Mchunu, had been shot dead at the Johannesburg Station on Tuesday after alleged ANC supporters had attacked IFP commuters, Mr Kim Hodgson, the head of the Inkatha Institute's violence study unit, said.

"IFP supporters had their sticks confiscated by the police before entering the station. When they went onto the platform, there was a large group of alleged ANC supporters armed with firearms, pangas and sticks, which were used to attack the IFP members," he said.

Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, IFP Witwatersrand secretary, accused the police of acting "in a partisan and unprofessional manner, making the IFP members vulnerable to attack".

On Wednesday, two IFP members, a Mr Mthembu and a Mr Sokhela, had been stabbed to death and their bodies thrown out of a train near Westgate Station after being attacked by alleged ANC supporters, Mr Hodgson said.

Probe proportional poll, FW tells Pres Council

CAPE TOWN. — State President De Klerk, has requested the President's Council to investigate a proportional polling system for a new constitutional dispensation, the secretary to the Council, Mr J Wellbach, said yesterday.

In a statement Mr Wellbach said the request followed strong views in favour of such a system.

The council has been asked to investigate:

- The most appropriate form of proportional

polling system for the different levels of government;

- The adaptations necessary to the administration of elections in the event of such a system being introduced;

- The influence such a new polling system will have on the structuring and functioning of political parties and political process; and

- Appropriate measures to ensure that political parties function democratically internally in a

proportional polling system.

The request had been referred to the Committee for Constitutional Affairs.

The council has also been asked to investigate ways in which political and economic literacy may be promoted in the community, particularly with a view to the first election to be held under a new dispensation and with the aim of 'stimulating common national values and nation building', said Mr Wellbach.

This request had been referred to the Council's Committee for Economic Affairs.

Those interested have been invited to submit memoranda to the Council before April 15 this year.

For further information contact Mr J F Marx and Mr D G Truter at (021) 45-5541.

Memoranda can be addressed to the Secretary to the President's Council, Box 3601, Cape Town, 8000. — Sapa.

Buthlezi supports visit by Dutch Premier

ULUNDI — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday came out strongly in support of Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers' proposed visit to South Africa. Chief Buthelezi said in

a statement from Ulundi the visit would be "most opportune" as the process of change was now irreversible. Mr Lubbers' visit would be "an endorsement of this fact".

"The Dutch Prime Minister would, by coming to this country, be making a dramatic international statement that apartheid is doomed and this country is launched into the process of change out of which a new democratic South Africa would emerge," he added.

He said the proposed visit should also be supported for another reason altogether. The British and Dutch governments, between them, were "most representative" of the points of origins of White South Africans.

"A visit now to this country by the Dutch Prime Minister would signal the correctness of what (President) Mr De

Klerk is doing to Afrikanerdom, and this is indeed needed.

"A visit by the Dutch Prime Minister and the endorsement of the visit by the majority of the people in Holland, would be a call by cultural kith and kin, to the Afrikaners to put their shoulder to the wheel and help bring about a multi-party democracy which we, and the Dutch people, so want for this country."

— Sapa.

The Citizen 24/1/92

Indian delegation to Lockerbie: Mandela calls for speedy punishment

THE leader of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, says if there is clear evidence of the involvement of identified suspects in the "Lockerbie disaster" they should be arrested and punished "as soon as possible".

He was commenting yesterday on a call by the UN Security Council to

Libya to hand over two Libyan agents indicted in Scotland and the US for the bombing of a Pan Am airliner over the Scottish village of Lockerbie, killing 270 people.

He said the ANC had consistently condemned all acts of terrorism. The Lockerbie disaster was a "tragic incident" which

had resulted in "the unfortunate loss of innocent lives". The ANC, he said, "once again takes the opportunity to express deep-felt sympathy to the families of the deceased".

"It is in the interests of peace, stability and security that if there is clear evidence of the involvement of identified sus-

pects they should be arrested and punished as soon as possible.

"In the present climate of suspicion and fear it is important that the trial should not be intended to humiliate a Head of State. It should not only be fair and just, but must be seen to be fair and just.

"This must be in the context of respect for the sovereignty of all countries."

The ANC believed that if these objectives were to be achieved, the following options should be considered:

- If no extradition treaty exists between the countries concerned, the trial should be conducted in the country where the accused were arrested;

- The trial should be conducted in a neutral country by independent judges; or

- The trial should be conducted at The Hague by an international court of justice. — Sapa.

Indian delegation to SA 'not official'

AN Indian delegation visiting South Africa has no official standing says the Indian High Commission in Gaborone.

Mr P K Bhutiani, the commission's Press secretary, said the visit by an Indian MP Mr Subramaniam Swamy, and others had not been sanctioned by the Indian Government.

"Our Foreign Office in New Delhi is not aware of the arrival in South Africa

of Mr Swamy and the others. They are travelling in their individual capacities and not as representatives of the Government of India.

"It is therefore incorrect to describe the visit as an 'official delegation'.

"We have formal ties with the African National Congress and any official visit at this stage is out of the question."

He said Mr Swamy had previously been a member of the opposition Janata Dal party. The Janata Dal had split into a number of factions "and now it seems Mr Swamy is either its only representative, or he is representing himself".

According to earlier reports, Mr Swamy is accompanied by four businessmen, two religious leaders and two educationists.

The group had supper on Wednesday night with the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Renier Schoeman, in Johannesburg, and was scheduled yesterday to meet the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Indian businessmen in Durban at a function arranged by the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy.

The visitors will be in Cape Town today for the opening of Parliament.

The visit has been condemned by the Pan Africanist Congress. — Sapa.

The Citizen 24/1/92

ANC drafts reform schedule

TIM COHEN

24 JAN 1992
Business Day

THE ANC has released proposed time frames for political reform, suggesting that an interim government be established in May and elections for a constituent assembly take place in September.

The proposals also suggest that the constituent assembly transform itself into the first national assembly, and that elections held for the second House be held early next year.

The draft negotiation schedule appears in the latest edition of the official ANC organ *Mayibuye*, due for publication soon.

The proposals suggest that Codesa agreements, which should be reached in April, be drafted by the Codesa sub-structures and made law in May.

At that point Codesa would dissolve to make way for the interim government, which would "start immediate implementation of control over the security forces, public media, electoral process, the Bud-

get and socio-economic forums".

From May to September political parties would register voters and run election campaigns, culminating in elections for a constituent assembly in September.

The assembly would negotiate a new constitution "on the basis of constitutional principles agreed on at Codesa". The constitution would be adopted by December.

One of two options is then proposed: The constituent assembly could convert itself into the first national assembly. On the assumption that a two-House parliament is agreed on, the elections of the second House would then be held and a democratic government formed before February.

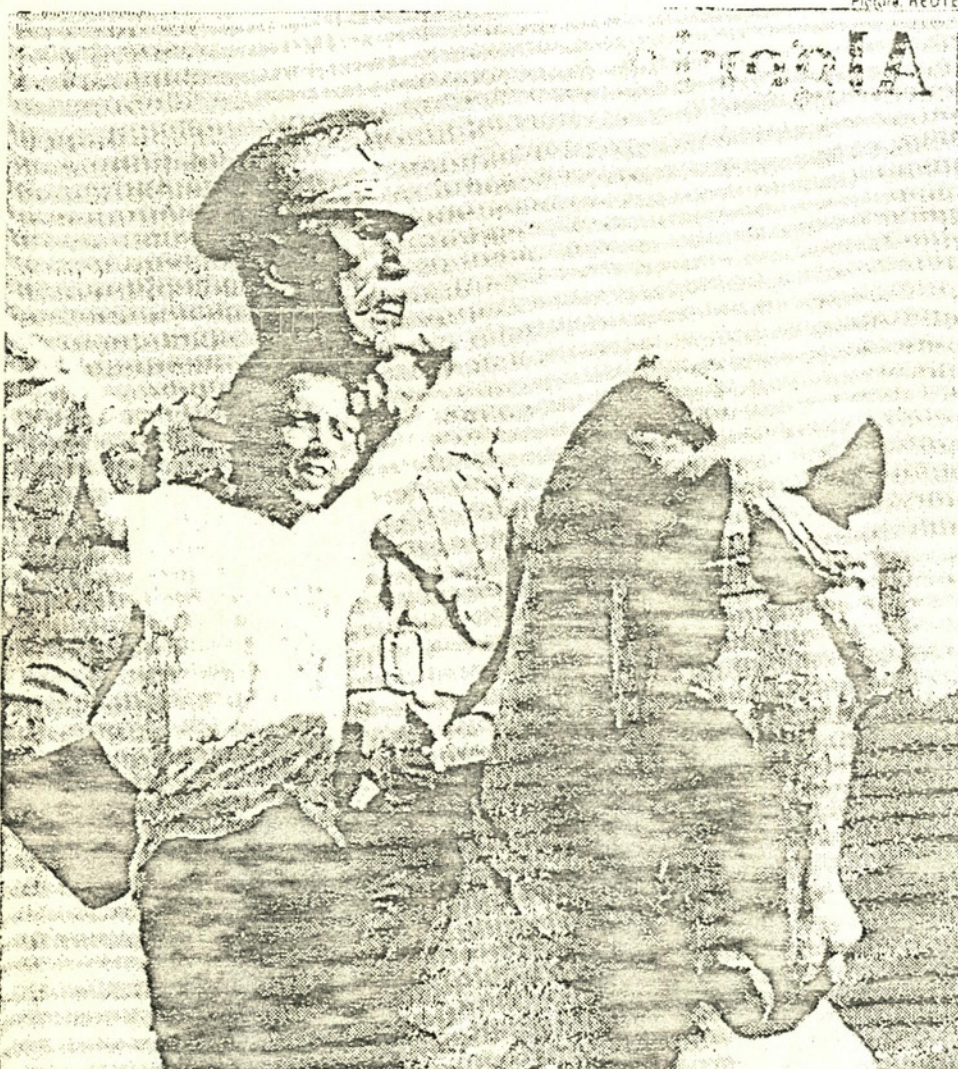
Alternatively, the assembly would dissolve and elections would be held for a new government, at national and regional level, by May 1993.

Telegraph

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NEWS



on a statue of South Africa's first Prime Minister, Mr Louis Botha, in Cape Town

Nine killed in Soweto train attacks

COMMUTERS in Soweto shunned railways in favour of taxis and buses yesterday after a resurgence of gang attacks on trains left at least nine people dead and 27 injured, writes Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg.

Terror attacks on Johannesburg trains, carried out by gangs armed with axes and pangas, left 146 people dead

last year, but abated after police installed a special task force to monitor the railways.

Police said yesterday that the special railways force was still active "but with 611 trains moving around the Johannesburg area each day we cannot cover them all".

Most commuters are convinced the attackers are members of the Zulu Inkatha

movement sent to Johannesburg to "cause political mischief". Some of those killed this week, however, were Zulu migrant workers occupying hostels which are known to support Inkatha.

The African National Congress has expressed suspicion because no one has been convicted over any of the attacks, despite several arrests.

Zaire coup crushed by troops

By David Bamford
in Lagos

TROOPS in Zaire crushed a mutiny by rebel soldiers trying to oust President Mobutu yesterday.

Two people were reported killed as loyal troops attacked the national radio station in Kinshasa which the rebels occupied for several hours early yesterday.

The rebels broadcast appeals to France, America and Belgium, the former colonial power, to intervene to prevent civil war. They demanded the removal of Mr Mobutu and the Prime Minister, Nguza Karl-i-Bond.

They also called for a resumption of the national conference on Zaire's political future, suspended on Sunday on government orders.

The radio station, back in the hands of pro-Mobutu troops yesterday, said 29 rebels took part in the attack, hiding in a Coca-Cola delivery van to get into the heavily guarded radio offices.

Residents of poorer districts went out on to the streets to welcome the mutiny, eyewitnesses said.

Fifty drowned

Fifty people were feared drowned when a cargo boat capsized during a storm in the Ugandan waters of Lake Victoria, government officials said. Four bodies have been recovered. — Reuter

Peace move

By Our Correspondent in Lagos

Congo's interim Prime Minister, Andre Milongo, facing a week-old army rebellion, said he would reshuffle his government to end the crisis.

ment who had undergone training at the camp.

In the immediate wake of last year's Inkathagate scandal — in which the Zulu-dominated organisation was shown to have received police funding — President F. W. de Klerk confirmed the camp's existence. But he claimed it was used to train 200 Zulus as guards to protect government buildings and political leaders in Chief Buthelezi's homeland of KwaZulu — guards who were subsequently absorbed in the homeland police force.

In fact, the object of the training appears to have been far more sinister.

(There is also evidence that a parallel group of so-called "guards" may have been trained in Israel, although the Israeli embassy in Pretoria flatly denies it.)

From Hippo the trainees were flown back to Zululand and what has become known as the "Ghost Mountain" training camp at Mkuze in northern Natal.

Again, the South African and KwaZulu authorities have confirmed the Mkuze camp's existence, but have attempted to pass it off as a mere dormitory and holding-base for the Hippo trainees before their assignment to police duties.

It has now been established that Mkuze was established, equipped and maintained by the South African army to train thugs used to fuel the township violence.

Mkuze was financed by two front organisations for military intelligence, known as Creed Consultants and Adult Education Consultants. There is evidence that intelligence channelled at least £1.5 million to the Mkuze camp through these fronts, and indications that it may have pumped substantial additional sums into Inkatha itself.

Creed and Adult Education Consultants were just part of a countrywide network of

Soweto mourn... A youth signals defiance after a night of factional violence that killed 12 last autumn

PHOTOGRAPH: ULLI MICHEL

"consultancy" firms set up by military intelligence — firms with names like Go High CC in Cape Town, Good News Marketing Service in Pretoria, Go-Set in Kimberley and Eduguide in Port Elizabeth.

The network was headed by a retired government official, Louis Pasques, who ran an association called the South African Christian Cultural Organisation, based in Pretoria. In 1987, Dr Pasques was awarded the Star of Africa medal by P. W. Botha, then South Africa's president, for "services to state security".

Part of the work of the

Members of the Black Cats gang received training on assault rifles and handguns

"consultancies" forming the Pasques network was to encourage and support groupings opposed to the African National Congress and associated organisations, such as the now defunct United Democratic Front (UDF).

One such hostile grouping was an organisation called Ama-Afrika which fought a bloody war against the UDF in Port Elizabeth in the late 1980s. It has now been confirmed that Ama-Afrika was funded by Adult Education Consultants.

The Mkuze camp provides a telling example of how the so-called "third force" was created by the security services to foment township violence.

The 18-year-old gangster was among those trained at Mkuze. He is from the town-

ship of Wesselton, outside the Transvaal town of Ermelo — situated about 200 miles east of Johannesburg. The Black Cats gang to which he belonged was formed early in 1990, ostensibly as part of an anti-crime campaign.

But in fact it worked in close collaboration with the police and carried out a series of attacks on ANC sympathisers. In at least one instance it used limpet mines allegedly supplied by the Ermelo police.

In October 1990 — apparently after suffering reverses at the hands of "comrades" (pro-ANC youth) in Wesselton — a contingent of about 22 Black Cats was taken to the Mkuze camp. According to the teenager, they received training there in the use of AK-47 assault rifles, 9mm handguns and shotguns.

"Peter Msame [a graduate from the South African army's Hippo camp in Namibia] taught us in English about leadership. We once watched a video of Shaka Zulu [the 18th century Zulu tyrant from whom Chief Buthelezi claims descent]. Msame also taught us practical skills like how to hijack people by covering their mouths and dragging them into cars."

On their return to Wesselton in late January last year the trainees passed on their skills to other Black Cats.

"We met at the home of Chris Ngwenya [leader of the Black Cats] and we practised how to shoot with a .45 pistol and a 9mm parabelum [pistol]. I liked the parabelum, because it is very powerful," the youth said.

The teenager's account was confirmed by one of his colleagues in the Black Cats. The second, 21-year-old gangster did not himself go to Mkuze, having been detained for possession of a "xhwa-sha" (homemade gun) at the

time. But he said that other returning gang members told him of the training, and that he was among those they instructed.

"They had one AK-47, two 9mm, a .38 [pistol] and four xhwashas. They gave us the weapons without bullets and showed us how to shoot. About 45 youngsters immediately joined them and we became a group of about 80."

He said that the Mkuze trainees were "wild" on their return and launched a series of attacks on Wesselton residents, several of whom were killed in the ensuing months.

The area of Wesselton,

Inkatha was not only in the pay of the police, but also in the pay of the military

which became the stronghold of the Black Cats, sprouted "welcome to Ulundi" graffiti in reference to the KwaZulu town which is Chief Buthelezi's capital. As recently as last month two residents of the township, one an ANC member, were killed by the Black Cats.

The significance of the "third force" disclosures — the trail leading from the Hippo camp in Namibia to Mkuze in Natal and then Wesselton in the eastern Transvaal — lies in the answers they offer to three fundamental questions: To what extent is Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement tied in with the authorities; what degree of responsibility have the security services for the bloodshed in the townships; and what do such activities say about the genuineness of

President De Klerk's commitment to a hand-over to democratic rule.

Where Inkatha is concerned the latest evidence of collaboration with the security police merely adds weight to a critical judgment which most political commentators have already made about the Zulu leader and the "nation" he claims to lead.

As shown by the original Inkathagate scandal, Inkatha had effectively been in the pay of the police. It can now be added that it was also in the pay of the military.

Whatever excuses may be offered for Inkatha's involvement in the third-force conspiracy — and a case can be made that Chief Buthelezi was acting out of desperation — the organisation is hopelessly compromised as a political force in the "new" South Africa.

The responsibility carried by the South African police and military is obviously substantial. Events were set in train that led inevitably to killings. The conflict in South Africa has not yet reached the point of civil war, but the strategy hatched in Pretoria and shown in action in Wesselton to deal with the ANC had — and possibly still has — that potential.

The credibility of Mr De Klerk remains open to question. It was difficult to believe during the Inkathagate scandal that Mr De Klerk had no knowledge of the secret police funding of Inkatha. As the scope of the third-force conspiracy — of which Inkathagate was part — becomes apparent, his ignorance becomes even more unbelievable.

If he is not guilty of complicity, then a charge of near-criminal incompetence — based on his claimed ignorance — still stands.

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THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

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FOREIGN

De Klerk will unveil reform plans today

By Fred Bridgland in Cape Town

THE PROFOUND nature of reform in South Africa will become apparent today when President de Klerk unveils plans for the inauguration, possibly by the end of this year, of an interim government which will share power with the African National Congress and other extra-parliamentary groups.

Mr de Klerk's speech at the opening of parliament will be as dramatic as those he delivered in 1990, when he released Nelson Mandela from prison and lifted a ban on the ANC, and in 1991, when he announced the impending scrapping of all apartheid legislation.

Parliament is the only remaining apartheid institution. It consists of three houses — white, Indian and coloured (mixed race) — and does not include representatives of blacks, who outnumber all other races.

Mr de Klerk will announce that the parliamentary session will almost certainly be the last to exclude blacks.

In unveiling plans for an interim government, which will probably last five years, Mr de Klerk will tell MPs they will be required to vote themselves out of existence, to be replaced by a multi-racial interim parliament after enabling laws have been tested in a referendum.

In passing the legislation, parliament will demonstrate that its function is little more than technical.

The real power now lies in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa),

the body established to hammer out a new constitution, which is more representative than the current parliament.

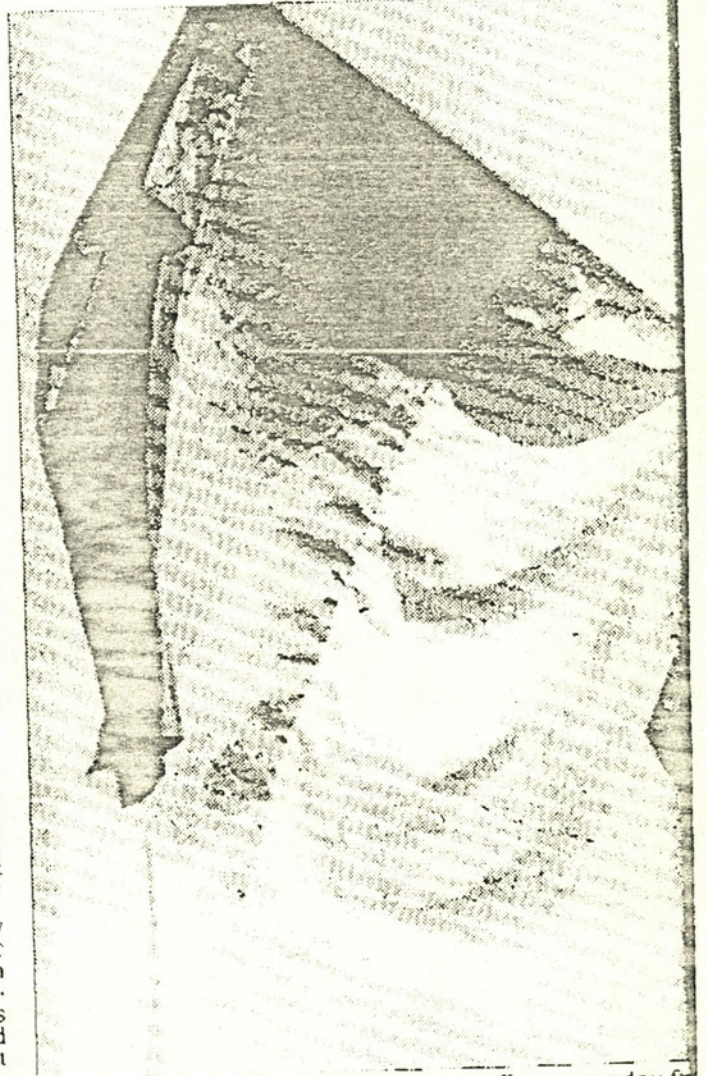
The issues under discussion by Codesa are more dramatic than any that can emerge in parliament. Codesa will draft laws for constitutional change, and parliament will be asked virtually to rubber-stamp them. Instead of meeting five days a week, parliament will meet three days a week to allow MPs and government ministers who are delegates to the constitutional talks to attend meetings in Johannesburg.

Not only will parliament be obliged to enact the decisions of Codesa, but Codesa will also have to be consulted before parliament thinks of initiating any legislation.

The present National party government is enthusiastic about the concept of an interim government and parliament in which power is shared, with veto rights and protection for minorities built into the interim constitution.

The National party believes that the virtue of its transitional model is that it will allow time for a restructuring of society before the break with the past comes, possibly bringing the ANC to power. The government says publicly it would like a 10-year transition period; the ANC is demanding an 18-month transition. Few people doubt they have already privately agreed to share power for five years.

The looming clash between the government and the Right-wing opposition Con-



An ANC supporter waves the group's flag yesterday fr

servative party is sure to be the major attraction of the session. The Conservatives are boycotting Codesa, and are sure to mount a "last stand" against the reforms.

But the party's real test will come when the first draft legislation arrives for parliament's stamp of legitimacy. It will then have to decide whether to stay and fight in parliament or walk out and become an extra-parliamentary resistance group.

● Mr Pik Botha, South African Foreign Minister, arrived in Luanda, Angola's capital, yesterday to sign an agreement that will lead to the two former enemies exchanging diplomatic missions, the Portuguese news agency Lusa said. — Reuter

● Fred Langan in Toronto writes: Canada has lifted sanctions against exporting technology to South Africa as long as goods are not used by the police or the military.

Making of a township gangster

David Beresford in
Johannesburg on an
army hand guiding
violence by Zulus

A ZULU youth, 18 years old and softly spoken, represents the end of a trail stretching back over five years which finally throws light on the turbulent and bloody events that have threatened to destroy the liberation process in South Africa.

The teenager is a gangster, a member of the "Black Cats" formed in a township to the east of Johannesburg back in March 1990. The story of how he came to join the gang, how it was formed, armed and trained, provides a case study of the origins of South Africa's recent political violence.

The story dates back to 1986 and a training camp called "Hippo" in Namibia, run as a secret operation by the South African army. The existence of Hippo and its peculiar activities began to emerge in 1990, in affidavits sworn by disaffected members of Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's Inkatha movement.



Investigation shows security forces funded gangs • Sponsored

Pretoria trainee to wage towns

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

CONCLUSIVE evidence has emerged in South Africa of the existence of a conspiracy initiated by the security services to foment township violence in order to influence political developments.

Two young black gangsters have told how they were encouraged, equipped and trained by the security forces to carry out murderous acts of violence against targets linked to the African National Congress.

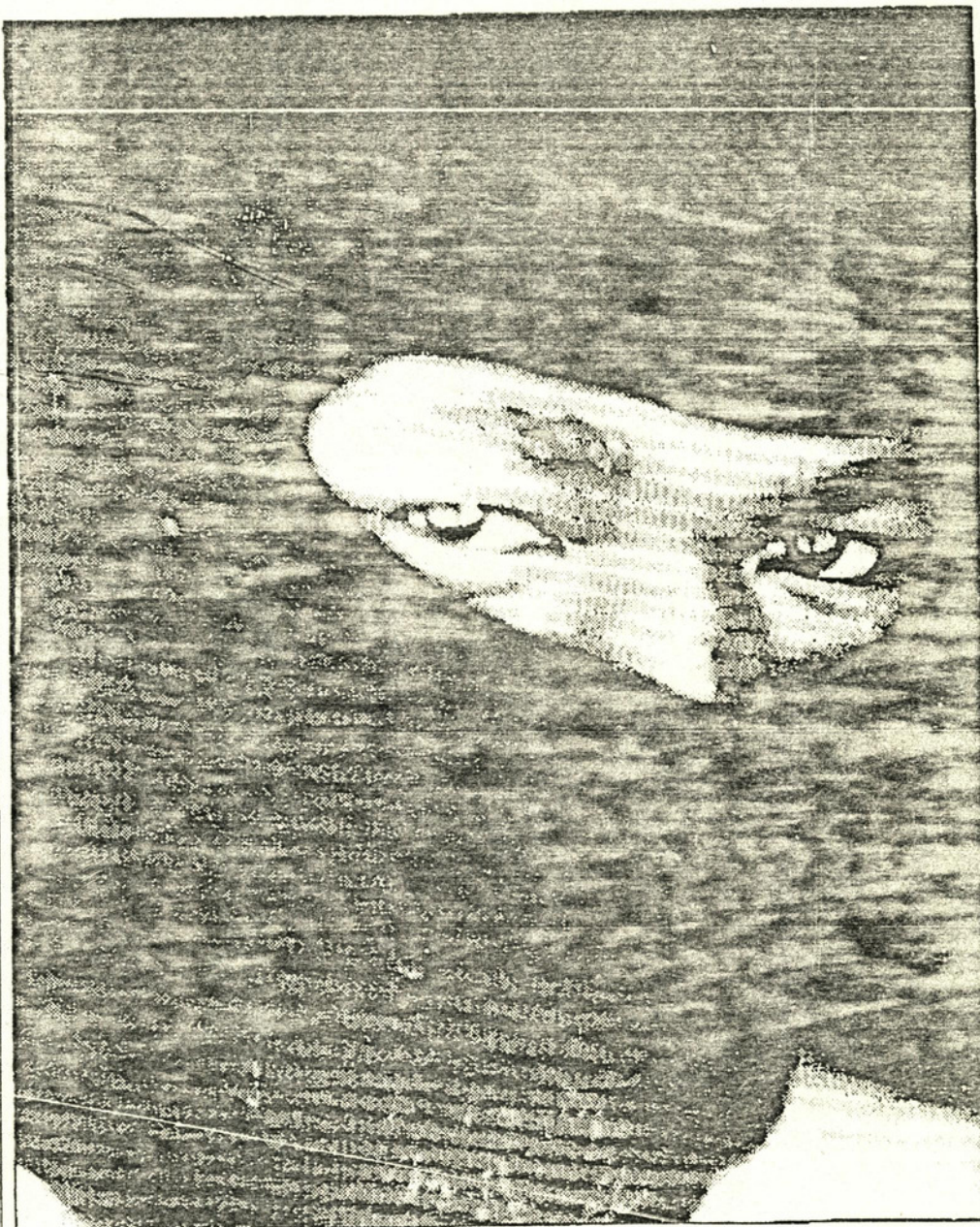
Their account provides a crucial missing piece in a jigsaw which shows up the causes of the violence which has rocked South Africa in the last few years and which continues — despite the current talks on a constitutional settlement.

The latest disclosures, which are linked to the Inkathagate scandal exposed by the Guardian last year, result from investigations by the Johannesburg newspaper, the Weekly Mail, into allegations that a "third force" was at work in the townships, and reveal a sophisticated effort led by military intelligence since the mid-1980s.

Township violence has been fuelled by funding and training provided by front organisations set up by South African military intelligence, and there is no evidence that a serious effort was made to bring the operations to an end with the start of constitutional negotiations between the ANC and the De Klerk administration. The front organisations are still active and — as the accounts given by the two black gangsters indicate — the violence was still being directly sponsored as late as last January, nearly a year after President F. W. de Klerk committed his government to a peaceful negotiated settlement.

The gangsters have asked not to be identified for fear of retaliation against their families. Both men — aged 18 and 21 — have been interviewed by the Guardian, and their stories tie in with what was previously known about the incidents and places they describe.

They recount how their gang,



Two young Black Cat gangsters: they supply the missing pieces in the Inkathagate scandal of v

the Black Cats — named after the black whips they used on their victims — conducted a mini-war in the eastern Transvaal township of Wesselsfontein.

In one incident, in mid-1990, they used limpet mines allegedly supplied by the police. In other attacks, they used petrol bombs. In August 1990 there was an assault on an ANC funeral which the two gangsters say was carried out by a team

of professional hit-men sent to help the Black Cats from Umlund. Chief Buthelezi's capital in KwaZulu.

The eight-man hit squad ambushed the funeral procession with weapons including AK47s, pump-action shotguns and pistols. "When the funeral procession came past they started shooting," said the 21-year-old Black Cat who witnessed the ambush. "The one carrying the

flag fell near the coffin. The one who fell was not dead. The one [hit-man] ran forward and shot him in the head. [Then] he opened the coffin and shot the dead body many times."

About 30 people, including the eight members of the assassination squad, were subsequently arrested by troops and their weapons confiscated. But the suspects were all released shortly afterwards. It appears

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PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe appeared uncomfortable and somewhat nervous when he returned to Harare after an overnight trip to Malawi earlier this month. Pursing his lips and folding his arms tightly across his chest, the Zimbabwe leader told journalists at the airport the startling news: he met Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama while in Malawi.

Mugabe, staunchest of the frontline leaders, even found some moderate words to say about Dhlakama.

"He is the leader of Renamo and my first reading of him is that he is a man with some ideas and a person who, naturally, is anxious that the position of Renamo be assured after the peace process," said Mugabe. "He is talking peace and expresses his desire for peace."

Mugabe said future talks with the Renamo leader were possible but he adamantly insisted there was no discussion of Dhlakama's demand that Zimbabwe withdraw its 7 000 troops deployed in central Mozambique. Mugabe did, however, indicate that once the peace process gets underway and there is a general ceasefire throughout Mozambique, the Zimbabwean troops will be withdrawn promptly.

The Malawi meeting was a dramatic turnaround that may herald a breakthrough in Mozambique's stalled peace negotiations. Or the meeting could backfire and cause Renamo to continue delaying any agreement.

It is evident to all that a settlement is badly needed to end Mozambique's 16-year conflict that has taken more than one million lives, caused another million to flee Mozambique and has displaced an estimated six million Mozambicans who are refugees in their own country.

The unending war also troubles all the countries of southern Africa, particularly Zimbabwe which is spending an estimated US\$300-million a year to safeguard the Beira corridor, the landlocked country's route to the sea.

It is understandable that Mugabe, hard-pressed to reduce his budget deficit, would want to speed up the Mozambican peace process. He found it distasteful to contemplate meeting Dhlakama, a man Mugabe had frequently condemned as a South African puppet who had butchered thousands of innocent civilians. Yet others encouraged Mugabe to meet Dhlakama. The beleaguered Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano is desperate to achieve a peace settlement and when he met Mugabe in December he apparently encouraged the Zimbabwean leader to talk with Dhlakama to try to breathe new life into the ineffective Rome negotiations.

The Mugabe/Dhlakama meeting was arranged by Tiny Rowland, whose multinational Louro has extensive holdings in Mozambique. Rowland has the reputation for influencing African politics to suit Louro's

Uneasy Mugabe sups with the devil

Robert Mugabe's surprise meeting with Renamo rebel leader, Afonso Dhlakama, could pave the way for peace... or backfire if the guerrilla leader does not get what he wants.

By **ANDREW MELDRUM**

interests, and a peaceful Mozambique would greatly boost the profitability of Louro's Mozambican cotton estates, citrus ranches, gold mines and hotels.

Mugabe left for Malawi intending to keep his groundbreaking talks with Dhlakama a secret, but leaks to the press forced him to announce the meeting upon his return to Harare.

For Dhlakama, the meeting with Mugabe represents a major step towards respectability and acceptance as an African political leader. It is part of the campaign to improve Dhlakama's image from that of a little known commander of a shadowy terror group to the leader of a bona fide political force. Dhlakama is seeking to win the status that Jonas Savimbi has in Angola.

Until recently Dhlakama rarely travelled from Renamo's Gorongosa stronghold and saw few outside visitors. Little is known about him except that in the late 1970s he defected from Frelimo to join the rebel group formed by the Rhodesian intelligence. Dhlakama received training from the Rhodesian SAS. When the South African military took over Renamo's reins in 1980, Dhlakama became its top commander. Roland Hunter, who was jailed for revealing the South African Defence Force's secret assistance to Renamo, tells of meeting monthly with Dhlakama in 1983/84 to hand over his R800 monthly salary and to deliver shipments of arms and ammunition. Under Dhlakama's command Renamo carried out numerous mass killings, mutilations and

torture of rural Mozambicans.

In the past year Dhlakama has taken grooming lessons and received new uniforms and business suits from his South African friends and far-right supporters in Europe. He toured Europe to meet the Italian prime minister, the Portuguese president and prime minister, the senior American officials. Dhlakama also met former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in six sessions which, according to Harare diplomats, were also set up by Louro.

Dhlakama's quest to transform himself from Mozambique's mutilator to a national politician may soon take him to Washington to meet President George Bush. The president could fend off any criticism for receiving a South African-backed terrorist by pointing to the fact that Dhlakama has already been accepted by Robert Mugabe, one of southern Africa's hardest-line leaders.

For his part, Mugabe may also be starting a new strategy of meeting regional foes that could see him meeting President FW de Klerk later this year. By meeting Dhlakama, Mugabe has demonstrated he will do whatever necessary to achieve a Mozambican settlement and that process could continue.

The international recognition for Dhlakama has been arranged as a strategy to boost Dhlakama's confidence so he will begin negotiating in earnest. But that assumption may be fatally flawed.

"Dhlakama has no background in diplomacy or politics," said a Mozambican analyst who has met the Renamo leader. "He only knows the tactics of a guerrilla fighter. His gut feeling about the Mugabe meeting may be that it simply proves that Renamo has the upper hand. If so he will continue business as usual and that means more blood for Mozambique."

So far the signs are not good. Renamo has delayed the tenth round of the Rome peace talks which were to have begun on January 15. Mozambican officials complain of Renamo's lack of good faith in the negotiations.

If high-level meetings and negotiations don't bring results, what can succeed in bringing peace to Mozambique?

Dhlakama has no interest in a swift transition period and elections, as is taking place in Angola. Renamo retains an odious reputation inside Mozambique that would translate into few election victories. Instead, Dhlakama is understood to be pressing for a lengthy transition period of at least two years during which he would have administrative authority over the large territories which Renamo controls. Such unelected power is what Dhlakama badly needs to effect the transition from terrorist to political leader.

The rebel leader is holding out for such an offer, and without that it appears no amount of meetings with heads of state will bring success to the Mozambican negotiations. Until he gets what he wants, Dhlakama is holding the region to ransom.

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The final link

THE testimony on this week's front page of two individuals involved in violence in the eastern Transvaal puts in place the final link between township violence and the covert activities of the security forces and Inkatha.

It is now clear that SADF Military Intelligence provided training to groups who then acted as roving hit-squads and passed on their skills to other groups. Current violence in Ermelo, for example, involves Inkatha members and KwaZulu Police who received security force training and assistance.

All of the evidence and a host of witnesses will be put before Mr Justice R. Goldstone's commission of inquiry. The SADF, the SAP and Inkatha will not be able to avoid the tough questions this raises for much longer.

Ready for business

AFTER dithering for much of last year, the business community has finally given an unequivocal signal that it supports the idea of national negotiations with labour on economic policy. The scope, powers and composition of the forum have still to be determined, but the positive spirit and sense of urgency at this week's watershed meeting between business and the unions suggest that formal talks could be under way within months. *The Weekly Mail* wholeheartedly supports this process: the lesson of post-war Europe is that a stable democratic order must be rooted in economic well-being, and that a social partnership between employers and workers is a pre-condition for both. In the cause of economic reconstruction, constructive rivalry must replace adversarialism, and the spirit of compromise the destructive reflexes of class conflict. One essential component, however, is missing: the state. Government ministers have indicated support for a "social accord" between the two sides of industry, but are fighting shy of direct involvement in a negotiating forum which sets policy. Clearly, no democratic government can allow an unelected body to dictate to it — but a talking-shop with mere advisory powers which the state is free to ignore will achieve nothing, and will in any event be unacceptable to labour. The delicate plant of economic co-operation needs nurturing: the government must throw its weight behind this vitally important initiative.

Mediacity

THE ANC is in line with dominant thinking in most of the world when it says in its latest policy proposals that over-concentration of media control is inimical to democracy. Its concern is even more valid when major elements of this media structure are so primitive that they still publish different editions of the same newspaper for different races. The awful reality is that we are still saddled with an apartheid media firmly and anachronistically dominated by the three cornerstones of power in the old South Africa: the state, the National Party and mining capital. However, more important than debate over the intricacies of the ANC's proposals is whether the organisations prove through its actions its commitment to public accountability. It will soon face a critical test: how it deals with allegations about torture and killings in its Angolan detention camps. Honesty and openness on this issue will be more important than flowery promises.

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