

AP1992-3-2-19

B. Day 19/2/92

ANC consults jailed spy on a new SADE

DIETER Gerhardt — SA's most famous spy — has been consulted by the ANC on the SADF for Codesa negotiations.

An ANC source confirmed yesterday the organisation was consulting him in Pretoria Central prison on military matters.

"Gerhardt has an important role to play in the reconstruction and democratisation of the SADF in the new SA. He has a wealth of experience and knowledge."

Gerhardt, who is serving a life sentence for treason, is not a member of the ANC or SACP. But the SACP is demanding that Gerhardt, along with about 200 political

DIRK HARTFORD

prisoners, be released immediately and unconditionally. "Gerhardt was motivated by his anti-apartheid convictions and must be released," the SACP said.

But the SA Police magazine *Servamus* has said Gerhardt is not a political prisoner because his actions were a product of more than just "ideological differences". "He is an egotistical, work-orientated person who, for his own profit, stabbed his country in the back."

For the first time, *Servamus* — with

access to court records and the investigating officer — has described how Gerhardt operated. His trial was held in camera.

It has all the ingredients of a thriller: morse code messages, a memory code based on the words Kensington Gardens and calculated by a mathematical formula, paper which when treated chemically revealed a coded message, and a mini camera with special 13mm long film with 200 frames a film.

The film, for example, was half colour and half black and white. If the film landed

□ To Page 2

Spy

in enemy hands it would be treated as colour film, which would destroy the black-and-white section where the information was recorded.

The story goes that Gerhardt, raised in a neo-Nazi atmosphere, turned to Marxism while still at school. After rising rapidly in the SA Navy he offered his services to the Soviets in 1956.

He operated alone, using dead letter boxes in Newlands and Fish Hoek, until

1968 when he married Ruth Johr. She then became his courier and regularly met Gerhardt's handler in Switzerland. Gerhardt himself went to the Soviet Union every two years for debriefing.

The Gerhardts were arrested in 1983 after a leak in the international espionage network was passed on to SA intelligence operatives. Ruth Gerhardt received a 10-year sentence, but was released after seven years and is now living abroad.

□ From Page 1

AP1992-3-2-19

B. Day 19/2/92

NEWS IN BRIEF

Draft plan for PWV

GOVERNMENT yesterday unveiled a draft development strategy for the PWV region in view of the changing aspects of urbanisation resulting from the scrapping of discriminatory legislation and other factors.

Regional Development Deputy Minister Andre Fourie said he was convinced the draft plan would serve as a guideline for consideration and future discussion by political and other interest groups. The plan placed emphasis on industrial and residential re-evaluation of the present structural outlook of the region.

B. Day 19/2/92

Media codes 'destructive'

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

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

Low believes it is urgently necessary for the newspaper industry to prepare for the transition by establishing a common front of all the players including managers, editors and journalists.

"Governments know very well how to employ a divide and conquer strategy and will work very hard to point out to journalists that they are not the enemy, the boss is. This is the

LINDA ENSOR in Cape Town

most commonly employed strategy used by governments to destroy the independence of the Press, and codes of conduct usually facilitate this.

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

"Reporters feel a threat from one source, managers from another source. When they communicate among themselves and identify common areas they need to be concerned about, they produce a synergy which is much more effective than a code of practice in protecting the independence of the Press."

Internal dialogue would also mean greater contact between the "estab-

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

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

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

"There is the mistaken belief that redividing what already exists is better than coming up with ways of encouraging the entry of new players into the marketplace to create more diversity."

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

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

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

B. Day 19/2/92

ANC 'will not hurt economy'

THE ANC said yesterday it would not adopt policies that would hurt the SA economy.

Sapa reports ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the group was still formulating its economic plan for a future government. Nationalisation was one option being considered as a way to redistribute wealth, but only if it were in the country's interests.

"You would have to as a government see how well the people would be served by the option being taken. The ANC would not, and underline would not, pursue policies that would be harmful to the economy," he said.

HAROLD FRIDJHON reports the panel discussion on "Democratic SA — how far have we come" could have been dull.

But it was not, in spite of four politicians of conflicting persuasions — Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, the PAC's Siphu Shabalala and Ramaphosa — earnestly vying for the moral support of the several hundred business people.

Except for Meyer and Ramaphosa, the speakers lacked magnetism. And that is where chairman Stephen Mulholland, who is TML MD, pulled the panel together.

The speakers responded. They bantered with each other and the discussion came alive, making the panel a conference highlight.

'Execution' of two policemen: Gang of 5 arrested

PIETERMARITZBURG. — Police have arrested five suspects in a major breakthrough in their investigations into the execution-type killing of two teenage police constables last month.

Police yesterday revealed that round-the-clock investigations by the Pietermaritzburg Murder and Robbery Unit led to the arrest of five suspects wanted in connection with the brutal killings of Constables Jacques Wilken and Wyebrand Smith, both aged 19.

It is believed the leader of the gang is an ANC leader at Mpophomeni, near Howick, and is one of the negotiators of the Peace Committee in the area.

The two constables, who had been in the SA Police Force for only two months, were stationed at the C R Swart Square Police Headquarters in Durban.

Their bodies were found back-to-back on the Bulwer-Howick road, near the Mpophomeni

township on January 11. They had been shot at point-blank range.

The policemen's wrist-watches, two bags and shoes and socks were missing.

Colonel Willie van den Berg, head of the Pietermaritzburg Murder and Robbery Unit, said the first arrest was made on Friday. On Sunday two more suspects were arrested, and on Monday night a suspect who fled to Kokstad was arrested.

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

Police have taken possession of three guns.

Col Van den Berg said more arrests were expected. He said that detectives led by Detective Sergeant Dame Reyneke were still busy with investigations. The motive for the killings had not yet been established.

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

Horried

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

Col Van den Berg said police were investigating the possibility that the suspects were also involved in the killing of an Edendale tearoom owner, Mr Raj Bhoola, as well as a spate of armed robberies in the area. — Sapsf. ***

The Citizen 19/2/92

ANC faction against continuing in Codesa

Citizen Reporter

THE Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC has come out against the organisation's continued participation in Codesa unless the government agrees to the setting of a date for a one-man-one-vote election for a constituent assembly.

The group's mouth-piece, the Congress Militant, said in its latest issue

reports indicated that the National Party and the ANC leadership were moving behind the scenes towards agreement on a new government.

This was to be based on a new constitution agreed to at Codesa, then put to a referendum, before being made law by the tri-cameral Parliament.

It said if these reports were accurate, they meant abandoning key elements of decisions made by the ANC at its July congress last year, in particular the demand for the creation of a sovereign constituent assembly.

The Congress Militant said the government's plan to defeat majority

rule by what it was doing at Codesa had to be stopped.

It suggested that the ANC take a public stand declaring that neither Codesa nor the tri-cameral Parliament had the legitimate right to bring in a new constitution, even if this was to be called "Transitional".

It should reject a referendum on negotiated constitutional changes and should demand instead the setting of a date for the election of a constituent assembly.

The ANC should walk out of Codesa if this was not immediately conceded by the government, and then mobilise the "mass movement" to enforce its demands.

Codesa Two to be March or April

A DECISION on the date of the second plenary session of Codesa will be taken at a meeting of its management committee next Monday, a senior source at Codesa said yesterday.

Codesa Two will either be held at the end of March, or the end of April, depending on the progress of Codesa's

working groups, the source said.

At the Codesa headquarters at the World Trade Centre, outside Johannesburg, the reincorporation of the TBVC states and the National Peace Accord were debated yesterday.

The four sub-groups of working group four, on reincorporation, met for the first time.

Participants tabled their proposals on a number of issues, including citizenship and testing the will of the people of the TBVC states on reincorporation.

A sub-group of working group one, on free political participation, discussed the National Peace Accord. It decided to call in the National Peace Secretariat to address the sub-group next week on the state of the accord.

Working group one delegates said that nothing else had been resolved during discussions on Monday and Tuesday, and their work would continue next week.

A statement by the Codesa daily management committee yesterday said that all participants in working group two, on constitutional issues, had tabled their proposals on constitutional principles.

"The group has established areas of commonality and has been addressing the remaining issues," the statement said.

— Sapa

Serious differences on TBVC reincorporation

SERIOUS differences of opinion on the issue of reincorporation of the TBVC states have highlighted the enormity of the task which lies ahead for Codesa in this regard.

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

after major differences emerged on Monday on whether sufficient consensus had been reached on reincorporation.

The government and other parties insisted on the retraction of minutes of a previous meeting that said sufficient consensus had been reached on the

issue. The minutes were changed to read several parties favoured reincorporation.

A split has also developed between the government and the ANC on the issues of restoration of citizenship, and the testing of the will of the people of the TBVC states.

While the government has indicated that it preferred a slow, methodical approach involving investigation of the practical, legal and financial implications of reincorporation, the ANC is opting for immediate restoration of SA citizenship to TBVC residents.

The government has also suggested that a referendum be held in the four homelands to test the will of the people regarding reincorporation while the ANC maintains that such a referendum should involve all the people of South Africa on a non-racial basis.

A delegate from one of the self-governing territories said the Democratic Party had sided with the ANC/SACP axis on the issue of reincorporation.

However, their view is still meeting with strong opposition.

He said the ANC/SACP axis had expected the issue of reincorporation would be speedily resolved in their favour, but they had been "outgunned".

The delegate also indicated that after Working Group four had broken up into its four sub-committees, proceedings had been speeded up. — Sapa

The Citizen

19/2/92

Codesa minute 'not forcibly retracted'

THE Codesa working group on reincorporation expressed concern yesterday at a media report claiming that a section of the group's minutes of a previous meeting were forcibly retracted.

It said that it was not a forced retraction of a firm decision but a "mere correction of the part of the draft minutes of the previous meeting".

According to media reports, the working group had been forced on Monday to retract a statement in its minutes that "sufficient consensus" had been reached on reincorporation.

"Sufficient consensus" is necessary under Codesa's terms of reference to carry weight.

The statement said: "An amendment to the clause in the minutes of group four on the re-

incorporation was made with the agreement of all the parties, to the effect that various political formations stated their positions on this matter".

"Several of the grouping expressed themselves favourably disposed in principle to reincorporation and were referred to the sub-committee to investigate." — Sapa.

The Citizen 19/2/92

Zulu monarch 'king of IFP' at Codesa: Mbeki

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

The ANC's head of international affairs was speaking at an Idasa forum in Durban yesterday.

He said it had been agreed in preparations leading to Codesa that only political parties would participate in constitutional negotiations.

Mr Mbeki said traditional leaders should attend Codesa as observers with the right to intervene or speak on issues directly affecting them. He said it was untrue the ANC had specifically blocked King Zwelithini's participation.

"An incorrect effort

has been made to equate the delegations of traditional leaders as political parties," he said.

There were few countries in which a party political king or queen existed.

It seemed the IFP had changed its position on King Zwelithini because in the past it had been stressed by Inkatha and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that the king was above politics, said Mr Mbeki. — Sapa.

ANC's Marcus convicted on arms charge

By Andrew Whitlock
AFRICAN National
Congress executive
committee member
and spokesperson, Ms
Gill Marcus, was found
guilty in the Vosloorus
Magistrate's Court on

Monday on charges of
possessing an unli-
censed Makarov 9 mm
pistol and ammunition.

She was sentenced to
250 days' imprisonment
or a fine of R1 000, for
unlawful possession of the

firearm, and 125 days, or
R500, for possession of
the ammunition.

In a Press statement
yesterday, Ms Marcus
said that as a result of her
work with the Depart-
ment of Information and
Publicity of the ANC, she
had received threatening
phone calls from un-
known people including
threats to her safety.

"In addition, it was
drawn to my attention
that pamphlets were be-
ing distributed in the
streets of Johannesburg
specifically mentioning
me as being an enemy of
Inkatha.

"Accordingly, in De-
cember 1990, I decided to
purchase a firearm," said
Ms Marcus.

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

"Shortly thereafter I
applied to John Vorster
Square Police Station for
a firearm licence.

"After I had received
no response from John
Vorster Square for some
months, I went to the
police station and was
told that my application
would be processed in a
matter of weeks.

"Months went by and I

Gun charge

FROM PAGE 1

again received no respon-
se from the SAP.

In September last year
she had narrowly escaped
an ambush by a group of
armed men at her Hill-
brow flat.

"During October of
1991, I came to the realisation that I would have to
take certain steps myself
to address the issue of my
safety if I was not to be
assisted by the appropri-
ate authorities.

"I accordingly obtained
a Makarov pistol.

"At the time of posses-
sing this weapon, I was of
the opinion that it was
necessary for me to do so
for my own protection.

"Had the relevant
authorities in the SAP

reacted to my situation, I
would not have had to re-
sort to the carrying of an
unlicensed firearm.

"I ultimately received
my firearm licence from
the SAP on November 28
last year," said Ms Mar-
cus.

Police liaison officer for
the Witwatersrand, Capt
Eugene Opperman, said
that on December 17 last
year a vehicle in Karle-
hong had been stopped
for a routine check.

Police found a Mka-
rov pistol in the posses-
sion of one of the occu-
pants of the vehicle.

"When the occupants
were questioned, they
said they got the pistol
from Gill Marcus," said
Capt Opperman.

TO PAGE 2

B Day 19/2/92

Taxi peace thwarted

THEO RAWANA

OUTBURSTS of violence were thwarting peace moves in the 13-month Cape taxi war, national taxi body Sabta's marketing coordinator Cyprian Lebeso said yesterday.

At least three people were killed at the weekend in a fresh explosion in the war the ANC, local civic associations, churches and Cape Town City Council have been trying to end.

The war between members of the Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta) and the Langa, Gugulethu and Nyanga (Lagunya) taxi organisation has cost more than 100 lives.

Lebeso is going to Cape Town on Friday "to find out if there is any point in going on with peace efforts".

"After working hard, identifying obstacles, we had reached negotiating stage when this fresh violence erupted." The worst thing was that the people who were involved in finding a solution were back in the fighting.

Sapa reports that police said yesterday Lagunya and Webta would be informed that the KTC rank would be closed unless fighting stopped immediately.

B. Day 19/2/92

Makwetu adamant on refusal to testify

CAPE TOWN — PAC leader Clarence Makwetu yesterday rejected the second appeal to testify before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Political Violence and Intimidation, and said he would rather go to jail.

"I reject the invitation to the Goldstone Inquiry. If coerced by way of an order, I will refuse to attend. If I am threatened with imprisonment because of my actions, my answer must be that I have suffered many years in prison for my beliefs," he said at a news conference.

He said he did not doubt Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's personal integrity but the PAC regarded the laws of the country as illegitimate. It was also clear the principal perpetrators of the violence had not been brought to book.

The Harms Commission of Inquiry into the activities of the CCB and hit squads was a farce and Makwetu wanted to know if Mr Justice Goldstone was going to summon "the Commander-in-Chief of the SADF, President F W de

BILLY PADDOCK

Klerk, to answer widespread allegations that his army is engaged in the most notorious activities against my people".

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

Makwetu's comments came just after Apla, the PAC's military wing, admitted ambushing and killing three municipal policemen in Katlehong on Monday.

Apla chief information officer Johnny Majozi was reported yesterday as saying that Apla would continue to target security force members until a constituent assembly was established.

Makwetu said his organisation had never disassociated itself from Apla, and called for the immediate establishment of a constituent assembly through proper elections.

Makwetu denied the patriotic front was moribund and said planning was still

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

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

Sapa reports Makwetu's response to attacks on white teachers at Katlehong was that he condemned them if the teachers were attacked because they were white. There may however have been unknown "other reasons" for the attacks, he said.

"The PAC is not anti-white. It is just anti-white banskap," he said.

The Star 19-2-1992

Marcus tells magistrate of death threats

By Anna Louw
and Julianne du Toit

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus, convicted in the Vosloorus Regional Court on Monday of illegal possession of a Makarov pistol and ammunition, said in a statement to the court that she was given the firearm by the ANC after receiving death threats.

Marcus pleaded guilty to two charges before Magistrate Jan Jonck. She was fined R1 000 or 250 days' jail for possession of an unlicensed firearm and a further R500 or 125 days for being in possession of the ammunition.

In her statement, Marcus said she received death threats after the distribution of pamphlets which said that she was a member of Inkatha.

The firearm was found in the possession of an occupant of a car stopped by police in Katlehong on December 17. When questioned, the man said the gun belonged to Marcus.

● Marcus told The Star the police had victimised her by putting her in the limelight over a threatening issue.

Protection

The issuing of her licence had taken 11 months, whereas it usually took three to four weeks. Because she felt so threatened, she had obtained the pistol for protection, but only after speaking to officials in high positions about the delay in the issuing of the licence.

She said she spoke to the Minister of Law and Order and to the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Witwatersrand, Major-General Gerrit Erasmus, but no licence was forthcoming.

It was granted only in November, a month after she had obtained the pistol.

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

B. Day 19/2/92

Police arrest five after killing of two officers

MARITZBURG — Police have arrested five suspects in a major breakthrough in their investigation of the execution-type killing of two teenaged police constables last month.

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

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

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

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

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

Police have taken possession of three

guns.

Van den Berg said more arrests were expected.

He said detectives led by Det-Sgt Danie Reyneke were busy with investigations. The motive for the killings had not been established.

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

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

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

□ Meanwhile in Vosloorus, on the East Rand, municipal policeman Const D B Nkosi was shot dead on Monday night.

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

One of the men fired several shots at the policemen. Two managed to escape but Nkosi was hit and died. — Sapa.

PIERRE CLAASSEN in Cape Town

Barnard lifts lid on 1988 Mandela talks

M Ecury
19/02/92

16/1/11

IN A revealing look behind the secret operations of the National Intelligence Service, its former chief Dr Niel Barnard has divulged that the NIS was the moving force behind the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC.

For the first time he has made public that before Mr Mandela's release, the NIS arranged a top secret meeting with top ANC leaders in exile, securing their undertaking for talks with the Government which ultimately led to the Groote Schuur deliberations and Minute.

Dr Barnard made his disclosures to Alf Ries, political editor of *Die Burger*, the Afrikaans daily currently publishing a three-part series on the former "super spy" who now heads the Department of Constitutional Development.

In the second article published yesterday, Dr Barnard explains the apparent anomaly that while NIS was conducting secret talks with the exiled ANC, the service nevertheless voiced strong objections to academics, businessmen and opposition politicians doing so at Dakar and Lusaka.

"We were not against it and we never thought we could find answers to the country's problems without the ANC but we did not want to allow groups and governments from outside to act as facilitators to talks," he said.

"Our view was that, unlike Zimbabwe and Namibia, there should be no middlemen to bring us together. NIS took a strong stand over years that it should be the one to make contact with the ANC because the minute there is a middleman, he also wants something out of it.

"Besides academics and businessmen are not ruling the country," Dr Barnard explained.

In the first part of the series Dr Barnard elaborated on what the former State President, Mr PW Botha, recently referred to as the intelligence "mess" which confronted the young academic at the time of his appointment.

There was a war between the police-based security services and the NIS on the one hand and Military Intelligence on the other. The NIS, a successor to the infamous BOSS under General "Lang Hendrik" van den Bergh, was in a shambles and under attack from Military Intelligence whose hawks saw the country's problems as rooted in the communist threat.

"Our view was that as long

as we fail to tackle the internal political problem, we will not solve the country's long term problem."

He had no doubt that in the first two years following his surprising appointment in October 1979 "there was a deliberate attempt to eradicate the NIS. The deep lying cause was the difference in interpretation between the NIS and particularly the SADF."

The problem was eventually solved by the creation of the Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee which sat weekly, later bi-weekly and now monthly.

"I can say without fear of contradiction that the intelligence community in South Africa now works well and is one of the best in the world," he said.

Another interesting insight revealed by Dr Barnard was the NIS dilemma regarding the grey area between what constituted "the security of the state" and legitimate politics. An example was the covert visits between politicians and the banned ANC while it was still "Enemy No 1."

The NIS dealings with the ANC problem itself is the most illuminating of Dr Barnard's tale.

In view of the service's approach to the problem, "around 1987/88 we started to realise more strongly that we had to turn our attention to Mr Mandela and other members of the Rivonia group.

"The question was asked whether we could arrive at a political solution while these persons were still incarcerated. We were thus sanctioned by the Government to try and establish from Mr Mandela whether he was able to play a role in finding a political solution..."

He and three other officials — the Commissioner of Prisons, General Willie Willemse, a NIS colleague Mr Mike Louw and Mr Fanie van der Merwe of Constitutional Development — were assigned the task.

Starting in May 1988 they had numerous discussions lasting hours at a time with Mr Mandela at Pollsmoor and Victor Verster prisons.

"It was no political debate but an effort on the part of knowledgeable persons to establish how Mr Mandela's head worked."

Three themes were constantly explored:

- Did he really want a peaceful solution;
- What was his ideological position;
- How did he see the political future of the country?

— (Sapa)

The Star 19-2-1991

Train attackers are IFP or 'Third Force', says report

By Patrick Laurence

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

The relevance of the 15-page report, "Blood on the Tracks", has been underlined by the death of three commuters in a hand grenade explosion on Monday on a train travelling near Kettlefontein on the East Rand.

The grisly tale of attack, injury and death on trains for the 18-month period is summed up in these statistics: 48 attacks, nearly 600 people injured and 112 killed.

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

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

year sentence meted out in the Johannesburg Regional Court to a man found guilty of an attack on a train at Braamfontein Station on September 11 1990, in which two people were killed and three injured.

He said that 28 others "connected to train and other serious unrest incidents" on the Reef had been arrested since September 1990.

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

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

"All they have done is to provide 50 hand-held metal detectors to be used on Soweto stations and given orders that interleading doors between coaches should be locked."

The report examines the victims, the assailants and the weapons used in the attacks before positing two theories on the identity and motives of the attackers.

Of the victims it notes that

there is some evidence that two groups were targeted by the assailants: Political activists, known as the "mzabalazo people" or "Mandela's children," and religious devotees who hold church services on the trains.

But it concludes that the most striking feature of the victims is "they appear to have been chosen at random" in most cases.

Of the attackers, the report says that statements by survivors and witnesses concur that the attackers spoke Zulu. In two attacks, carried out in July and August last year, the attackers wore red headbands and chanted "Usuthu," the report says.

"The headbands and the chanting was a feature of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters in the massive clashes between (them) and township dwellers ... at the time."

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

hand grenade, it adds.

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

The IFP theory is supported by three factors: The attackers have been described as Zulu speakers, most attacks have taken place close to hostels regarded as IFP strongholds, and "all those arrested have claimed to be IFP members".

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

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

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

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

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Sellout In Africa?



SAN FRANCISCO—When I heard that Zulu political leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was to speak here, I hurriedly reserved a seat. I had no idea he was even in the country—our liberal media almost never mention him. That might spoil the impression they have cultivated that the white government of Prime Minister de Klerk and radical African National Congress, headed by Nelson Mandela, are the only two political forces in South Africa.

But I had interviewed Buthelezi for the first time 20 years ago, and I had visited him in KwaZulu in 1987, and I knew, that no future for South Africa can be conceived without conceding a major role to Buthelezi and his people.

Buthelezi's message is crystal-clear:

"The African National Congress is demanding a Constituent Assembly before June this year. It is retaining its private army ... and it is still secreting caches of arms around the country because it wants to sabre-rattle to get its own way."

"THE INKATHA Freedom Party (which Buthelezi heads) says an adamant No to a Constituent Assembly before June this year. ... The ground is not equally level for all political parties when it comes down to political campaigning."

Nor is Buthelezi overly impressed with the Conference for a Democratic South Africa. "CODESA is composed of 20 political parties, but excludes the Conservative Party and white parties and trade unions to the right of it. It also excludes the Pan-African Congress, AZAPO, and other political organizations on the left. It is just not sufficiently representative of the total political spectrum in South Africa. ...

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

"Dr. Savimbi was assured that an Interim Government after the withdrawal of Portugal from Angola would give all political parties fair recognition and opportunity to participate in the new democracy. He found that he was duped, and the (communist) political power-play that followed resulted in a divided Angola being the tragic aftermath of violence." It took a 15-year civil war and 500,000 casualties to unite the country again.

Buthelezi wants "a true multi-party democracy and, colloquially put, we are going to hang in there to ensure that South Africans do have a multiplicity of choices."

Doubters should read "The Washing of the Spears" and other histories that describe the warlike qualities of the Zulus. With Moscow no longer able to back him, Nelson Mandela may find South Africa a tougher nut to crack than he imagines.

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