

AP1992-1-1-17

B/Day 17-1-1992

Talks suspended

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INKATHA has suspended all
peace talks with the ANC in
Richmond, Natal. Inkatha
Institute spokesman Kim
Hodgson said yesterday the
ANC had violated the agreed
ceasefire twice this month,
and claimed three people had
been killed.

B/Day 17-1-1992

Royal welcome X

PAUL Simon was welcomed in Ulundi last night by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, about 100 KwaZulu government members and the Zulu royal family.

B/D Day 17-1-1992
X

NEWS IN BRIEF

Transkei seeks funds

TRANSKEI's military ruler, Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, begins a two-week trip to Italy, Germany and the US tomorrow in a bid to attract foreign capital for his territory.

"Since SA is on the threshold of a new constitutional order, there is the likelihood that sanctions will be lifted (soon)," Holomisa's office said. Transkei had to be ready to attract foreign capital when this happened.

B/Day 17-1-1992

Leaders off to forum

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela would attend the annual World Economic Forum in Switzerland at the end of this month, organisers said yesterday.

They would join Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Cosatu chief Jay Naidoo at the week-long gathering of government and business leaders in the mountain resort of Davos, taking part in a plenary session on stimulating economic growth in SA.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao are also to attend.

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, January 17, 1992

Foreign govts act to keep Codesa afloat

FOREIGN governments were exerting pressure on SA's political players to keep Codesa and the national peace accord on track, diplomatic sources said yesterday.

They added that this pressure was in line with the role that had been accorded international organisations in Codesa proceedings, and their strategic interest in keeping negotiations on track. The UN, the Commonwealth, OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement have all been accorded observer status at Codesa proceedings.

A US embassy spokesman said yesterday the US administration had been in touch with the PAC about its planned attempts to undermine Codesa and about its ongoing campaign of terror against policemen.

"The US administration strongly supports the Codesa process and has publicly and privately been urging non-participants to become involved," the spokesman said. These included the CP and Azapo.

One diplomatic source said that while there was no direct link between the ANC's proposal that the international community exert pressure on Codesa boycotters to take part in the forum, "there is a commonality of approach".

Reports this week have suggested the US might go as far as trying to get the PAC isolated on the international front in order to force it to compromise its stance.

At the ANC's 80th anniversary celebrations in Bloemfontein last week, ANC president Nelson Mandela said: "The new

PATRICK BULGER

organs of the transition that are being born in struggle should be given maximum support. This should include relevant measures against those who violate agreements of the national peace accord and Codesa."

Sapa reports the PAC has asked for confirmation or denial from US ambassador William Swing of allegations that the US government plans to apply "pressure tactics" on parties against participation in Codesa.

A PAC statement said it was reacting to media reports that the US was considering using pressure against the PAC and other organisations to join Codesa.

Meanwhile, a meeting of more than 20 right-wing and sympathetic organisations was held in Pretoria yesterday to discuss "the serious conditions in the country" and "the growing opposition" to Codesa.

The CP's Clive Derby-Lewis said in a statement afterwards that various other right-wing organisations had already indicated their intention of attending the next round of discussions.

The CP is keeping mum on speculation that it intends protesting against Codesa during this year's session of Parliament which opens next Friday, our Political Staff reports.

CP general secretary Andries Beyers declined to comment yesterday, saying the CP's strategy "will be considered at our caucus meeting next week".

B/Dan 17-1-1992
NEWS

Mandela will X not see Lubbers in SA, says ANC

ANC leader Nelson Mandela would refuse to meet Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers if he went ahead with a visit to SA next month, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

"We think the visit is inopportune and ill-timed and if he proceeds with it the ANC will not meet him," she said.

A spokesman for Lubbers and his foreign minister, Hans van den Broek, said on Wednesday there were no plans to cancel the trip.

B/Day 17-1-1992

Mine violence cost Freegold millions X

MATTHEW CURTIN

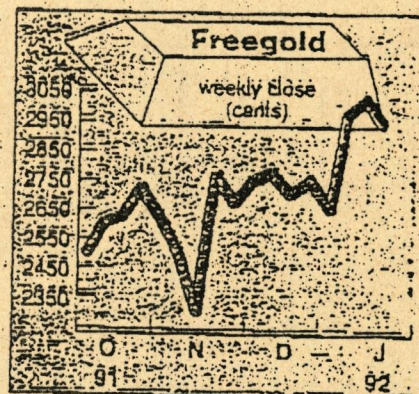
THE violence which claimed 88 lives at the President Steyn mine in November cost Anglo American's Free State Consolidated Gold Mines (Freegold) R20m in lost gold revenue in the December quarter.

Anglo gold and uranium division MD Lionel Hewitt said yesterday the clashes between mineworkers, which also left 417 injured, had proved to be "a multimillion-rand exercise in futility".

The gold mines near Welkom, which account for nearly 20% of SA's yearly gold production, were still able to turn in good results in the quarter as after-tax profit climbed 6,4% to R71m.

President Steyn is in Freegold's South division, which lost a ton of gold in the quarter. In December, the mine reduced the overall loss to 550kg, which was further reduced by R7m worth of cost savings from unpaid wages and unused stores.

At a presentation of Anglo's quarterly results, neither Hewitt nor gold division



Graphic: LEE EMERTON Source: I-NET

chairman Clem Sunter would comment on the progress Mr Justice Goldstone's commission was making in investigating the incident, but said mining operations were back to normal.

Sunter said Anglo's successful forward

☐ To Page 2

Freegold

gold sales strategy and its success at containing costs — total working costs fell 3% from R1,699bn to R1,646bn in the quarter — meant the group's mines could weather poor gold prices if they persisted.

He said that in the restructuring of Anglo's gold mines in the past two years, the size of the workforce had dropped by 12,5% from 184 000 workers in 1989 to 161 000 at the end of last year. In 1991, 4 136 workers had taken voluntary retrenchment and another 2 336 had lost their jobs.

He said natural attrition, early retire-

☐ From Page 1

ments and the extended leave programme worked out with the NUM had enabled Anglo to cut its staff complement with "as little pain as possible".

Sunter said 1993 would prove a tough year if gold prices did not improve. But he was confident that a slowing of Western world gold production, good gold jewellery demand — which seemed to have held up in 1991 despite the world recession — and zero real interest rates in the US would bolster gold prices.

☐ See Page 3

The Star 16-1-1992

A new book finds serious flaws in the long prosecution of the 'People's War' reports Stanley Uys

Did SACP sink armed struggle?

IF Stephen Ellis and Tsepo Sechaba are correct in their new book, "Comrades Against Apartheid", the ANC's armed struggle was not only a failure, but a failure directly attributable to the SA Communist Party, because it mainstreamed the struggle.

Stephen Ellis, former editor of Africa Confidential, and Tsepo Sechaba, the pen-name of an African who is still a member of both the ANC and SACP (and presumably still divulging confidential information?), set out in their book to demonstrate that the SACP had a stranglehold over the ANC in the long years of exile (the book stops at February 1990, the dawn of the enlightenment), and that this stranglehold applied particularly to the armed struggle.

The book is in the hands of various reviewers on whose territory I do not propose to trespass. But I would like to offer a thought or two on the armed struggle, because although Ellis and Sechaba have pronounced its failure, it is still an issue of conflict between the Government and the ANC.

Also, the PAC and Azapo are trying to activate their own

armed struggles in what seems to be a rather desperate attempt to prevent being flattened by mainstream Codesa politics. Surely, armed struggle will lead the PAC and Azapo even further away from the mainstream?

When the ANC was banned in 1960, and decided to create Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), two communists, according to Ellis and Sechaba, were sent to Moscow to organise supplies. They were Joe Slovo and the late J.B. Marks.

This was the SACP's immediate advantage — it had the international connections, the backing of a superpower that was prepared to fund the armed struggle and provide its military hardware. It could create a dependence relationship with the ANC.

In the opinion of Ellis-Sechaba, the armed struggle profoundly affected the nature of the ANC-SACP alliance: the ANC lost the character of a mass movement and became more elitist. The SACP for its part had never been a mass movement, always seeing itself as a "vanguard" party.

Mr Slovo, the authors claim, was MK's chief strategist. He concentrated on developing the

SACP's strength in MK, believing that MK would become the ANC's most important department.

In this belief he was "vindicated". But at what cost to the ANC's structure as a mass movement?

The ANC-SACP did not expect to bring down the South African Government with bombs, but it believed the armed struggle would alter the political context, rendering the ground more fertile for future political action.

It would also be useful to test the mettle of cadres.

It would prepare the way for a "People's War" — local defence units with grenade squads and street committees who would be the nerve centre of an uprising.

MK's strategy was to establish bases in the Frontline states and then infiltrate guerrillas and weapons. The key to the planned insurrection was for MK "to establish organised and armed squads... which could operate autonomously inside the country".

Only then could MK consider that the phase of what it termed armed propaganda had passed indisputably into the People's War.

However the security forces "had both the means and the will

to prevent a popular insurrection by detaining any number of suspected organisers of anti-Government agitation or violence and by setting black communities against one another by encouraging the formation of vigilantes.

"Also, one by one, the policy of destabilisation... closed down MK's networks and bases within striking distance of South Africa."

South Africa's neighbours paid a heavy price, too, for the armed struggle.

Ellis and Sechaba concede that the SADF took MK "very seriously", and that the armed struggle achieved what most armed struggles achieve — recruiting new members and keeping the organisation's name upfront.

But their verdict is that the SACP, and the ANC, "which looked to the party for strategic direction, placed too much importance on the armed struggle for too long."

"For all the period of exile, the party put its faith in armed struggle, believing that... it was at the heart of its strategy."

The armed struggle, the authors claim, was central to the strategy of both the SACP and the ANC,

and it failed.

"The blunt fact is that MK failed to overthrow the South African state by force, which was its purpose..."

"The mobilisation of the entire resources of the state in a counter-revolution strategy in South Africa and the neighbouring countries, the Lesotho coup, and the effectiveness of Pretoria's espionage system added up to a comprehensive defeat for MK and the strategy adopted by the ANC and Communist Party since the 1980s."

Ellis and Sechaba place the blame for this defeat squarely on the SACP, which, they say, turned MK into its personal fief, and also that Oliver Tambo's leadership coincided with the SACP "gradually taking over the central role in ANC policy making".

The SACP, without ever being able to dislodge Joe Modise, packed key MK posts with its own men, particularly Chris Hani.

It was Mr Hani and Steve Tshwete, the authors say, who decided to attack soft targets — for which they were publicly repudiated by Oliver Tambo who sacked Mr Tshwete as political

commissar.

The ANC-SACP will argue that denied constitutional protest in South Africa and forced into exile, it had no choice other than to embark on an armed struggle. But the point Ellis and Sechaba make is that too much emphasis was placed on this form of struggle.

The authors portray ANC President Nelson Mandela in a more far-seeing role.

"Like de Klerk," they say, "he recognised relatively early that the time for armed struggle was over... and that South Africans had to resolve their differences by political means."

"It is impossible to imagine any other person who would have had the authority and the vision to have accomplished this..."

The question MK and its strategists should answer is whether the concept of a People's War (much of it learned from a visit to Vietnam) was ever a viable one.

It will be difficult enough to reconstruct South Africa through negotiations and consensus: through a People's War, the country would have been reduced to rubble. Any comment Mr Slovo? Mr Hani? □

B/Day 17-1-1992

ANC and PAC to march apart

CAPE TOWN — The ANC and PAC have planned separate marches on a common theme for Parliament's opening in Cape Town next Friday.

While they remain sharply divided on participation in Codesa, both will call for a constituent assembly.

The ANC intends to march to Parliament's gates. The PAC, however, deems the red brick buildings strictly out of political bounds.

ANC national executive member Steve Tshwete said yesterday ANC supporters would march to Parliament and demand the disbanding of the "rac-

ist" institution.

Marchers would demand an interim government by June and elections for a constituent assembly by the end of 1992.

The ANC would stage a "people's parliament" on the city's Grand Parade while the official Parliament was opened about a kilometre away by President F W de Klerk.

"There is a very healthy tradition in Cape Town that when Parliament opens, people with no voice in Parliament gather somewhere in the city to discuss matters not discussed in Parliament. This year is no exception," said the ANC's Cheryl

Caolus.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said his organisation would also march when Parliament opened, but would make a U-turn before reaching its precincts.

"Our march will be under the slogan: 'Down with an undemocratic Codesa, forward to a democratic constituent assembly'," he said.

PAC president Clarence Makwethu and secretary-general Bennie Alexander are expected to address the marchers beforehand.

Both organisations said they had applied for magisterial and council permission to march in the city. — Sapa.

The Star 16-1-1992

Azayo leader held under security Act

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

Detained Azayo president and anti-Paul Simon campaign leader Thami Mcerwa is now being held for interrogation under section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman confirmed yesterday.

The Act provides for detention without trial for up to 10 days, renewable for further 10-day periods with the approval of a Supreme Court judge.

Detained

He was originally held under section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which allows for only 48 hours' detention after which an accused must be charged or released.

Mr Mcerwa was detained for questioning on Monday in connection with last week's hand-grenade attack at the offices of PA Sound — the company responsible for sound equipment at Simon's concerts.

Responsibility for the blast was claimed by a man saying he was from the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), the armed wing of the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of

Azania.

The Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) has since denied any links with Azanla.

Meanwhile, Mr Mcerwa's wife, Zodwa Zitha, has expressed fears that his health might suffer because of his continued arrest. She said he had been complaining of chest pains at the time of his arrest.

Azapo national media liaison officer Khangale Makhado reiterated that Azapo would hold the American singer responsible if Mr Mcerwa came to any harm.

Ms Zitha was not allowed to see her husband at the Protea police headquarters in Soweto yesterday. She was, however, allowed to leave him a change of clothes.

● A peaceful protest against Simon's tour was staged by about 100 Azayo members in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

Sapa reports police kept the protesters in a tight group outside the concert venue, St George's Park cricket stadium.

The protest lasted about two-and-a-half hours before the demonstrators left the stadium in buses.

The concert was attended by a large, predominantly white, crowd.

The Citizen 17-1-1992

Holomisa to try and attract investment X

TRANSKELAN military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa will begin a two-week trip to Italy, Germany and the United States tomorrow to attract foreign capital for his territory, once all sanctions against South Africa have been lifted.

"Since South Africa is on the threshold of a new constitutional order, there is the likelihood that sanctions will be lifted

in the not-too-distant future," Gen Holomisa's office said in a statement.

Capital

"When this becomes an eventuality Transkei must have fully braced herself for attracting foreign capital to the territory."

A spokesman confirmed that Gen Holomisa would leave from Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow,

and that he would first visit Italy and Germany, before flying on to the U.S.

"High on the agenda will be follow-up discussions and negotiations with leading industrialists, financiers and environmentalists with the view to stepping up development in this region and addressing the developmental backlog," his office added. — Sapa.

The Citizen 17-1-1992

Rightists meet to talk on 'state of nation'

A MEETING of more than 20 rightwing and sympathetic organisations was held in Pretoria yesterday to discuss "the serious conditions in the country" and "the growing opposition to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa".

The Conservative

Party's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said in a statement afterwards that various other Rightwing organisations had already indicated their intention of attending the next round of discussions.

"A committee has been established to contact as many of these ad-

ditional Rightwing organisations as speedily as possible in order to arrange future discussions and actions," Mr Derby-Lewis said.

Yesterday's meeting was attended by representatives from the CP, HNP, AWB, Boerekommando, various trade unionists, Veterans for Victory, Support Police Action Group, Civic Action League, SA First Campaign, University Freedom of Speech Association, Conservative Alliance, Stallard Foundation, Patriotic Forum, Women for a Sovereign SA, Afrikanervroue Kernkrag, Youth for the Self-determination of Nations, Eastern Cape Settlers Memorial Association, Republican Unity Movement of SA, Think Right, Campaign against Disarmament, and the Volksbystandsfonds. — Sapa.

The Citizen 17-1-1992

Mandela won't meet Dutch PM

AFRICAN National Congress President Nelson Mandela would refuse to meet Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers if he went ahead with a visit to South Africa next month, an ANC spokeswoman said yesterday.

"We think the visit is inopportune and ill-timed and if he proceeds with it, the ANC will not meet him," said Gill Marcus, a member of the policy making national executive committee.

The ANC, allied trade unions, the radical Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Council of Churches have condemned the visit.

They say it will bolster the standing of State President De Klerk, who is negotiating a non-racial constitution with South Africa's opposition groups.

A spokeswoman for

Won't see PM

FROM PAGE 1

Mr Lubbers and his Foreign Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek, said on Wednesday there were no plans to cancel the trip, which will be the first official visit by a Western head of government since 1961. — Sapa-Reuter.

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The Citizen 17-1-1992

FW, Mandela for forum in Switzerland

GENEVA. — State President De Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela will attend the annual World Economic Forum in Switzerland at the end of this month, organisers said yesterday.

A forum statement said the two, together with other key figures on the South African political scene, would take part in the week-long gathering of government and business leaders from across the world in the mountain resort of Davos.

Among other top politicians who have accepted

invitations, or said they might attend the forum, from January 30 to February 4, are Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.

"Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, who for the past year have been nego-

TO PAGE 2

FW, Mandela for Davos

FROM PAGE 1

tiating their country's emergence from the apartheid system, will take part in a plenary session on how to stimulate economic growth in the new South Africa.

Also participating will be Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, which rivals the ANC, and Mr Jay Naidoo, secretary-general of the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions.

Also addressing the meeting, whose theme this year is "Global Cooperation and Development", will be New York governor Mario

Cuomo, a leading US Democrat who insists he will not be drafted as his party's presidential candidate.

Forum organisers said the gathering, which he will address on the US economy in its world context, would enable Mr Cuomo, widely seen as the Democrat with the best chance of beating President George Bush, to develop international contacts.

The Bush administration will be represented at Davos by presidential counsel Boyden Gray, Treasury Under-Secretary for International Affairs David M. Walker and Under-Secretary of State for Economic Af-

fairs Robert Zoellick.

According to the forum statement, Indian Prime Minister Rao would be accompanied to Davos by a high-level delegation "to further demonstrate his determination to fully integrate India into the world business community".

The statement quoted Colette Mathur, member of the forum's executive board, as saying the Indian Premier's decision to attend came at an appropriate time "in view of the crucial economic changes taking place in his country and the need for confidence-building with foreign investors". —Sapa-Reuter.

The Citizen, 17-1-1992 (1)

RIGHTIST HELD FOR SCHOOL BLAST BID

By Tony Stirling
POLICE have arrested a 39-year-old Right-winger from Nelspruit who, it is alleged, attempted to set off a 20 kg bomb at a church school in the town early yesterday.

It is believed that further arrests have been made — and more are pending — in the police crackdown on Right-wingers after eight recent acts of sabotage in the Transvaal.
At least eight people were under arrest by last

night, including the man held in Nelspruit.

Police defused the bomb five minutes after it was due to detonate. It failed to explode apparently because of a faulty timing device.

TO PAGE 2

The Citizen 17-1-1992 (2)
Right-winger held

FROM PAGE 1

The man who planted the bomb at the Assemblies of God Calvary Christian School — which is housed in a church — is said to be a well-known Right-winger.

Police officially gave out no further details of their investigation which led to three arrests last week and four on Wednesday.

The police public relations division in Pretoria confirmed that Mine Workers' Union official Mr Andries Kriel, Mr Andre Odendaal, Mr Dirk Hattingh and Mr Petrus Judeel were held on Wednesday under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

According to Pastor Steve Maritz of the Calvary Church School,

police defused the bomb made up of sticks of commercial explosives, which had been set against the back wall of the church.

"The first thing I knew about it was when a police officer arrived at the church — which serves as a private church school — and told me of the episode at about 10 o'clock this morning.

The officer said police had received a tip-off at about 3.05 am and had arrived to defuse the device at 3.15 am.

"It was a miracle it did not explode. Apparently it had a timing device which indicated that the bomb was due to have gone off before the arrival of the police.

"I suppose the attack was planned because the school is multi-racial — in concept at least. We have

no Blacks at the school because there are none in the area who can attend, but our criteria for admission are not racial. It is on the basis that the children are Christians."

Had the bomb not been found and had exploded later in the morning, there could have been a major tragedy.

A class was held inside the church for 42 children from Grade II to Matric, and their main playing area was behind the church where the bomb was planted.

Sapa adds that explosive experts said an explosion could have caused thousands of rands of damage to surrounding buildings, including a Moch "complex" housing aged people. — Sapa.

The Citizen 17-1-1992

Inkatha leader denies he knew about arms

Citizen Reporter

MR THEMBA Khoza, Transvaal leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade, denied yesterday in the Vanderbijlpark Regional Court that he had any knowledge of the cache of arms and explosives found in his car on the morning after the Sebokeng massacre on September 4 last year.

Mr Khoza appeared on charges of illegal possession of firearms, explosives and ammunition. He pleaded not guilty at a previous hearing.

He said he had received a telephone call from an IFP official at his home in Soweto at about 4.10 am on September 4.

He was informed that there was fighting between the ANC and IFP members at the Sebokeng Hostels near Vanderbijlpark. He dressed and drove to Sebokeng immediately.

When he got into his car he was sure that there was nothing on the back seat. If there was, he would have noticed it.

He arrived at the Sebokeng Hostels between 6 am and 6.30 am, and stopped at the entrance of

Block E, where a police Casspir was parked.

He left his car and walked to the Casspir where he spoke to the police, after which he went into the court-yard of the hostels where a group of IFP members had gathered.

About an hour later he gave his car keys to one of the IFP members, and asked him to move his car away from the entrance.

He spent the next hour negotiating with the police and the ANC in trying to stop the fighting.

Mr Khoza said he had also asked one of his members to remove the number plates from his car, as he did not want the car to be identified.

At about 9 am, after

the car had been moved at least three times to various places to keep it from being damaged, Sergeant F van der Gryp had asked to search the car.

Inside the car the police found several AK-47 assault rifles, an R1 rifle, pistols as well as a home-made bomb and magazine.

Mr Khoza said he drove his car to the police station accompanied by two policemen. At the police station he found a pistol between the seat and the consol, and handed this over to the police.

He said if his car was full of weapons he would not have stopped to speak to police in a Casspir.

The case continues today.

17-1-1992

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Spoilers X

THE Dutch Prime Minister, Mr Ruud Lubbers, and Foreign Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek, are to visit South Africa from February 18 to 20 at the invitation of State President De Klerk.

We don't think their visit — the first by Dutch leaders in four decades — will be shattering. But the usual crowd of spoilers is trying to stop the visit taking place.

The ANC says it is ill-timed, premature and calculated to undermine the process of negotiation.

What utter rot.

The two Dutch leaders have nothing to do with the negotiations — and will not influence them one way or another.

The ANC also says a visit of this nature will confer "legitimacy on an illegitimate regime", at the very moment the majority of major parties were coming together to chart the way forward.

This is rubbish.

If the government is "illegitimate", why is ANC president Nelson Mandela so palsy walsy with State President De Klerk and why is the ANC negotiating with the government behind the scenes and at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa?

One might have thought the ANC would welcome the visit, since all foreign dignitaries make a beeline for the ANC.

But last night the ANC announced that Mr Mandela would not meet the two Ministers if they went ahead with the visit.

How childish!

As the two Ministers represent a country which has been in the forefront of the anti-apartheid campaign for decades, they are not going to be bluffed into accepting that apartheid is over or ending if it isn't.

So there is nothing to fear from the visit.

The real reason for the ANC's intervention is that its nose is out of joint.

The visit wasn't cleared with it, the ANC complains. So what?

The invitation came from Mr De Klerk and we are sure the Dutch Government considered all aspects before agreeing to its Ministers coming here.

Getting into the act, too, is the Anti-Apartheid Movement's Netherlands branch which condemns the visit because it will "strengthen the position of De Klerk".

We don't know how, since Mr De Klerk has a policy and agenda that he follows resolutely and he will not get any mileage from the Dutch visitors' presence.

The Dutch Foreign Office says the visit "should be seen as a stimulus for the process of change that has definitely come about through negotiations over a new South Africa in the framework of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa".

The Congress of South African Trade Unions has also got into the act, protesting against the visit in an open letter in the Dutch Press.

The South African Council of Churches interferes as usual by saying the visit is premature. "South Africa is still a country ruled by a White government which has denied Black people the right to vote."

We would have thought that the political priests would have stayed out of the argument, especially as Codesa has shown that Mr De Klerk is abandoning White rule and is prepared to introduce an interim government.

So what more do these political priests want?

A spokesman for Mr Lubbers says he and Mr Van den Broek plan to go ahead with the trip despite the ANC's protests.

We hope they will not be persuaded by further pressure by the ANC and its allies, here and in the Netherlands, to change their mind.

We are in the midst of far-reaching, one might say revolutionary changes in South Africa, and the two Dutch Ministers can only benefit from having first-hand knowledge of what is going on — both in Codesa and in circles that reject it.

One might have thought that the ANC and its affiliates and supporters would have agreed that their spoiling tactics are no longer advisable, and that the more international contact the country has the better it will be for the New South Africa and those who are negotiating its future.

The Weekly Mail 17-23 Jan 1992
(1)

Should policemen be
allowed to be involved in
political organisations?

For once, the African
National Congress and
the far right agree,
reports WALLY MBHELE

THE African National Congress and right-wing parties may be surprised to learn that they share virtually the same school of thought on one issue: police participation in politics.

Albeit for different reasons, the ANC, the Conservative Party and the radical Boerestaat Party believe that policemen, like all citizens, should belong to political organisations and parties of their choice.

According to Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, "legally, police are not allowed to participate in politics. The law doesn't permit them to be involved in party political activities."

"Under no circumstances are the police allowed to belong to political parties or organisations."

Kotze said law and order was a crucial issue going beyond politics and that, at the moment, policemen were positioned to become the police force of a new South Africa because they represented a broad spectrum of people in the country.

But the government's opponents see nothing wrong with police being involved in politics.

Although these organisations feel that because of the nature of their work policemen should refrain from high-profile politics, they say policemen have political opinions and voting rights which cannot be isolated.

Said CP chief spokesman Koos van der Merwe: "You cannot deny a policeman his right to be a member of a political party," adding that the "CP has thousands of members in the police force".

Asked if party membership did not influence policemen's professional duties, Van der Merwe said: "Maybe — but if they are members of the National Party it could also influence

Should policemen join the party?

The Weekly Mail 17-23 Jan 1992 (1)

Security cops snooped on 314 000 lives

THE Security Branch of the South African Police snooped on the lives of 314 000 individuals and 9 500 organisations. The security police no longer exist ... but the files do.

The sheer vastness of police surveillance over the years is revealed in a confidential police memorandum signed by former security police chief Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, and leaked to *The Weekly Mail* this week.

The document reveals that two months after political organisations were unbanned in early 1990, security police still focused most of their energies on a sophisticated plan to deal with the African National Congress and its allies. Far-rightwing groups were a minor Branch concern.

Full details: PAGE 2

The Weekly Mail 13-18 Dec 17-23 Jan 1992 (2)

Big Brother watches all of you

A top secret document leaked to The Weekly Mail reveals thousands of individuals and organisations were monitored by the Security Branch.

GAVIN EVANS reports

THE Security Branch of the South African Police kept tabs on at least 314 000 individuals and 9 500 organisations at the time its name changed last year — and these files still exist.

The extent of police surveillance is apparent from a 22-page "Uiters Geheim" ("Top Secret") document compiled in Security Branch headquarters in Pretoria and signed by the then security police chief, Lieutenant-General Basie Smit. It was supplied to *The Weekly Mail* this week via sources within the state.

The document also shows that two months after political organisations were unbanned in early 1990, the Security Branch was still focusing the bulk of its energies on a sophisticated plan to deal with the African National Congress and its allies.

The document is accompanied by an addendum which sketches the command structure of the Security Branch. This provides the names of 93 security police officers and the units they headed — including structures in Swaziland, Venda and Bophuthatswana (see story above).

The Security Branch has since been absorbed into the new Crime Combating and Investigation Service division, but there are strong suspicions that this new body is still doing much of the work of the Security Branch.

Asked to comment on what had become of these files since the security police had been absorbed into the CCIS, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kolze said this week that he did not know what had happened to all the "physical files", but noted that "obviously the police still have a corporate memory".

The document provides a fascinating glimpse into the branch's workings in its last (official) months of existence. What is clear is that the ANC

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VERVOLGDIENST
SECURITY BRANCH
HOOFKANTOOR
HEAD OFFICE
PRETORIA

1990.03.27

A. ALLE HOOFKANTOORAFDELINGS

B. Die Streekkommissarisse
Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie
REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

Uiters Geheim ... One of the secret documents in *The Weekly Mail's* possession

continued to preoccupy the security police even after its unbanning, and that far-rightwing groups played a smaller role in the branch's concerns.

Entitled "Tasks, Goals and Functions: Security Branch" and dated March 27 1990, the document stated that the branch would have to pay attention to a greater number of individuals and organisations because the unbanning of organisations would lead to a fractionalisation of black politics.

It noted that the security police "were not surprised" by President FW de Klerk's announcements of February 2 1990, referring to a January 16 1990 branch commanding officers' conference where the matter was apparently discussed.

"The clearly identifiable enemy of February 1 1990 were less clear on February 2 1990," it added.

"The extent of surveillance carried out on South Africans is conveyed by the fact that by the end of 1989, the branch 'had already given attention to 314 000 individuals and 9 500 organisations'.

Kolze's comment about this was that where individuals and organisations previously investigated were now engaged in legitimate activities, the police no longer had any interest in their activities.

"For example, those relating to membership of banned organisations are now completely irrelevant and are no longer used," he said.

The document expressed deep concern that the ANC youth were out of control and would not be convinced of the merits of negotiation. It predicted that ANC leader Nelson Mandela's status would be reduced among the youth when their aspirations were not realised.

After that, it noted, Mandela could play one of two roles: "To fit in with the youth's concept of negotiation in order to retain relevance as a leader or, in isolation from the youth, to promote a more moderate outlook. If this happens the youth could possibly be attracted to the more militant/violent approach of exclusive leaders such as those from the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation and the internal situation could resemble that of 1976."

What was needed, it argued, were profiles of organisations and their leaders, knowledge of their strong and weak points, and information about differences among them. It was necessary to identify and analyse their potential and shortcomings, as well as to identify differences within

"own ranks" to ensure "optimal co-operation" and the development of strategies to counter various radical organisations.

"The Security Branch knows the finer nuances of the onslaught against the authorities and is indispensable for the survival of the land," it said.

Further reasons given for the branch's continued existence included protecting anti-ANC/PAC blacks and former ANC members now working with the police; protecting Mandela and "moderates within the ANC"; preventing "radicals" from taking over the ANC; protecting whites against "black vengeance"; and preventing the "collapse of white morale".

It said the police should proceed with projects which promoted peaceful negotiations, but projects aimed at creating new black organisations and the collection of information on neighbouring states in the background, and proceed with the recruitment of informers within the ANC, PAC and other radical groups.

"Any ANC attempt to take power must be stopped," it stressed.

Discussing counter-revolutionary strategies, the document went no further than to state that the branch must "take part on all levels and forums".

It boasted of close links with the security police in the "independent" homelands: "The Security Branches of the TVBC states depend very heavily on the SAP's Security Branch and its help in relation to training, handling explosives and all related security operations."

The document concluded by stating that without a "strong and active Security Branch the negotiations will never succeed — the country will fall into conflict and possibly a civil war.

Any weakening of the Security Branch will have a big impact on radical organisations. It will give them a sign that they can do what they want without being stopped."

Less than a year later, then-minister of law and order Adrian Vlok announced that the Security Branch had been pruned.

It was renamed the Crime Intelligence Service and fell directly under the CCIS — headed by Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, former chief of the Security Branch.

By GAVIN EVANS

THE Security Branch was structured into a complex network of over 100 units whose tentacles reached to nearly 10 000 organisations in South Africa and the neighbouring states.

An addendum accompanying the Security Branch document leaked to *The Weekly Mail* provides a tree diagram of the structure of the branch and 23 of the officers staffing the key positions within it.

The Security Branch was transformed into the Crime Intelligence Service (CIS) under the authority of the Crime Combating and Investigation Service (CCIS) in April 1991, and the man appointed to head the CCIS was Lieutenant-General SJJ ("Basie") Smit, former chief of the Security Branch.

Smit's key lieutenants in the Security Branch included Major-General PJ Viljoen (executive chief), Major General BJ Denkes (administration), Brigadier JH le Roux (inspectorate) and a Brigadier Pruis (planning, instruction and interpretation), who is now prominently involved in implementing the National Peace Accord.

Under their control, the branch was divided into 14 groups which focused on major areas of concern. The largest of these was Group A, headed by Brigadier HP Noppe and Brigadier JF Koen, which dealt with information-gathering from "revolutionary and radical" organ-

isations.

The section dealing with "charterist/socialist" organisations, headed by Colonel SJP Abrie, was divided into the following units: African National Congress/South African Communist Party (Lieutenant-Colonel FA Claassen); related organisations (Major H Fourie); youth organisations (Major A Roos); community, women's and alternative organisations (Major JB Cuetzee); education (Major DJ Rust); labour (Captain P du Preez); religious organisations (Captain JG Venter); and violence/unrest (unclassified).

A far smaller section, headed by

Major J van Vuuren, dealt with information-gathering from "far-right groups".

The man heading Group D, dealing with "covert information-gathering", was former eastern Cape Security Branch officer Lieutenant-Colonel A Oosthuizen, who was one of those behind the Olivia Forsyth spy saga.

Heading unit C10, entitled "combating of terrorism", was Major Eugene de Kock, the officer who headed the notorious Vlakplaas base and was accused in the Harms Commission of Inquiry of several political murders.

Group F, comprising the Security

Branch's legal team, was headed by Transvaal advocate R Mulder, while Group K (Lt-Col LSI Kockemoer) was entitled "special accounts".

Asked to comment on where these former Security Branch officers were now working, Law and Order representative Captain Craig Kotze said the police did not comment on the placement of its members.

"What can be said is that members of the former Security Branch are all fully trained detectives who can be used for any police task."

He added that the CIS was different from the branch because it was no longer an independent branch of the police and could be used in the investigation of common as well as political offences.

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THE WEEKLY MAIL, January 17 to 23 1992

WHAT THE WEEKLY MAIL EXPOSÉS MEAN ...

While on the track of the "third force", as information gradually leaks out about the activities of the South African Defence Force's Department of Military Intelligence (MI), journalists are piecing together the first coherent account of the origins of the mysterious force that has been accused of fomenting township violence.

There have been many claims of the existence of such a force, but previously there was only circumstantial evidence and little information about its origins and motives.

Evidence before the commission of inquiry into the Thokoza violence, for example, has pointed to the critical role played by an outside group of trained and highly skilled professional gunmen. However, not much more is known about them.

There are two key elements in the new information which together form the first picture of what lies behind the "third force". They are that:

- MI has been a major player in promoting and provoking many of the divisions in black politics

that lie behind the current violence.

- MI has gone so far as to give military and paramilitary training to some political organisations, and the individuals they trained have played a direct role in violence since then.

This makes historical sense. MI was a stronghold of the PW Botha regime and was also involved in disrupting the emergence of majority rule in Angola, Namibia, Zambia and Mozambique. They brought us Renamo and the Civil Co-operation Bureau, for example, and it would be naive to believe they did not have a contingency plan for dealing with the majority rule in South Africa that they had so long opposed.

The SADF strategy is set out in detail in "top secret" documents now in the hands of *The*

Lifting the veil that

The Weekly Mail is on the trail of the mysterious 'third force' — and the implications extend way beyond raking up dead coals. By ANTON HARBER

Weekly Mail, parts of which have been published in recent weeks.

During the mid-1980s, when resistance was suppressed by the State of Emergency, MI made a conscious decision to fill the power vacuum.

MI began by identifying what it called "moderates" and then mobilised covert government funds and military resources to promote them.

Particular emphasis was put on the eastern Cape because it was seen as the cradle of the revolution.

To cover their tracks, they set up a nationwide network of front companies. These — as far afield as Louis Trichardt and Kimberley — pretended to do educational, labour or other consultancy and training work. In fact, they were the interface between the "moderate" blacks and the military.

To run the operation, they set up Dr Louis Pasques in the parent company, Adult Education Consultants. Pasques had been working in the state president's office and had a key role in developing the military's "hearts and minds" campaigns in Namibia and at home.

The use of front companies allowed the gov-

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Convicted murderer acted for Inkatha in Driefontein

FORMER Inkatha official Mbongeni Khumalo, who made startling allegations about the links between the security forces and Inkatha last week, told *The Weekly Mail* how he was requested to help a certain Chief Samuel Yende turn Driefontein — a rural area in the south-eastern Transvaal — into an Inkatha stronghold.

The Weekly Mail visited Driefontein this week to verify his claims that Yende was behind the elimination of several African National Congress-aligned residents in the area and had links with a certain Gerry Mojoko, according to Khumalo "one of the most feared hit-squad men who was known to me and who had received extensive training".

When Driefontein inhabitants were threatened with forced removal in the early 1980s, Yende allegedly tried to get the area incorporated into kwaZulu under his chieftancy.

Although the people of Driefontein, who have title deeds to the land bought from white farmers by their ancestors in 1912, won a court settlement preventing their removal, Yende has persistently tried to get the area incorporated into kwaZulu by proving it to be an Inkatha stronghold.

Khumalo said he had visited Driefontein at Yende's request in 1989, where he saw "Gerry" emerge from his house. "I told him he must convene a meeting and identify people who were pro-Inkatha." But, Khumalo said, he lost interest when it was clear there was little or no support for Inkatha.

Yende's brother Lazarus, an ANC supporter, told *The Weekly Mail* the chief has obvious links with security

A Driefontein chief convicted of murder has been trying for years to turn the area into an Inkatha stronghold.

By PHILIPPA GARSON

forces and described how Yende was found guilty of murdering a youth leader who was sjambokked to death at the chief's home in May last year.

Yende was arrested for the murder of Themba Dlamini only after Black Sash lawyers intervened.

Yende was sentenced to three years' jail and is out on bail pending his appeal. Residents alleged he was behind the murders of several other youths over the past few years, whom he claimed were stealing from his store.

Lazarus also described how Gerry — who residents said frequently visits the area and struts around firing his gun into the air — attacked him in March 1990, tearing his ANC T-shirt and "promising to kill me if I did not resign from the ANC. He told me I could get a study bursary if I joined Inkatha".

Youths told how Gerry offered them boxing and karate lessons at Yende's house in December 1991, but instead lectured them on why they should join Inkatha.

One youth, Esmond Mkhonza, said Gerry had accosted him and a friend, Vusi Sibisi, during the December holidays, "threatening to shoot us for no reason. I managed to trip him and we took his gun away".

The two youths were arrested the next day and were taken to Piet Retief

police station, where they were charged with attempted murder. Mkhonza alleges they were taken to a nearby forest and beaten by police (while "Gerry stood and laughed") before being imprisoned at Dirkiesdorp police station. Charges were dropped after the two appeared in court on January 6.

Driefontein ANC chairman Yunus Cajee said he discovered last year that Yende wanted to kill him when he was approached by a would-be hit-man recruit who told him of Yende's plans.

He added that Yende had made repeated attempts to turn the area into an Inkatha stronghold by calling meetings "which people from Ulundi came to address".

Cajee said the government's department of development aid had attempted to install Yende as chief of Driefontein, but had dropped the plan after the intervention of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee and human-rights lawyers.

In 1983 community leader Saul Mkhize, who spurred Driefontein's inhabitants to resist forced removal, was shot dead by police. His wife, Beauty Mkhize, told *The Weekly Mail* that Yende was behind his death because her husband was ruining the chief's plans to control Driefontein.

When *The Weekly Mail* visited Yende's home, his family regarded us with suspicion, questioning our motives. One of his three wives said he was away on business in Piet Retief. After his son gave us Yende's business telephone number, he ran back to the car and snatched back the paper on which the number was written, saying "we can only act on his orders".

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Creed keeps military links

By DREW FORREST

CREED CONSULTANTS, implicated in funding and training Inkatha on behalf of the South African Defence Force, retains intimate links with the military.

This is according to a disgruntled, evidently well-placed soldier who phoned *The Weekly Mail* last week. The SADF refused to comment on his claims, as did the managing director of the Pinetown-based consultancy, Gory Boardman.

The source said Creed was currently involved in giving "reality" courses — which he branded "political propaganda" — to members of the Citizen Force and Commandos in Natal. These were designed to convince SADF members of the need for political change. He said Creed was under the direct control of Colonel Frans Verwoes, a Military Intelligence officer.

It's all good publicity, says Dynamic boss

By BEVERLEY GARSON:

Port Elizabeth

and CLAIRE KEETON: East London

THE Port Elizabeth director of Dynamic Teaching CC (DT) is unrepentent of his organisation's links to the South African Defence Force but the firm's East London office has closed.

Koos van der Walt — who, with partner Nick van der Walt (no relation), owned the Port Elizabeth branch — said the firm's contract with the SADF was only for the provision of educational lectures and courses, primarily for workers employed by the SADF. He denied DT had helped promote black-on-black violence.

Speaking from his plush offices in Newton Park, Van der Walt said that the coverage his company — which now employs 30 people — had received was good publicity.

He denied having any personal dealings with *Weekly Mail* source Ben Conradie, the head of Military Intelligence (MI) front Eduguide CC.

He also denied DT had links to Adult Education Consultants (AEC), or its head Louis Pasques, or was set up by Pasques. He had merely met Pasques on a Veld School course when Van der Walt was still a teacher.

Basle Oosthuysen, formerly the East London branch manager, was finally traced to the Bisho offices of the African Democratic Movement (ADM) of the Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

His former colleague at DT, Christo Kloppers, is working from home.

Oosthuysen is now secretary general of the ADM, and political adviser to Gqozo, after spending three months with International Researchers-Ciskei Intelligence Service, the CCB-type group which has been blamed for waging a dirty war against opponents of Gqozo. It has since been dissolved.

Oosthuysen confirmed that he left DT seven or eight months ago to work for the Ciskei government. He said he was approached by the Van der Walts in 1988 to start an East London office.

Van der Walt said the SADF contract was still valid but would not say how much it was worth nor when it was due to expire.

He said his firm offers the SADF "a

service just like Telkom and those type of organisations do.

"The SADF will approach us and tell us what they need for their workers and we will work out a course for them according to the needs prescribed." He admits that he severely criticises communism in his lectures. He confirmed the firm had a training centre in Stutterheim, called the Xolola Training Centre, which was situated in the Khologha mountains outside the town.

Oosthuysen said: "Our contact with MI here was Group 8, they were the people we were dealing with, and paying for what we did locally."

The military was just one of DT's

clients, providing around 50 percent of its work. He said he was not aware of any outside funding or the army handing over money to them.

Oosthuysen confirmed DT ran a "self-enrichment" training course with Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) officers in Stutterheim and said DT had a contract with the then head of CDF, Brigadier Andrew Jamungile.

Oosthuysen said his leaving DT was a career move. On his double job for the ADM and the Ciskei government, he said everyone in the Ciskei government was involved in the ADM.

The Ciskei government has repeatedly denied it is supporting the ADM.

— Pen, Elnews

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The rift that ... will not heal

By BULE WAPAYI

VOLENCE sponsored by Military Intelligence had created a gulf between residents of a township in Cookhouse.

This was the view of former supporters of the United Democratic Front and those opposed to the organisation.

According to the revelations of a former MI agent, Dr Ben Conradie, he supported a group of vigilantes in Cookhouse called the Kakanaas.

A former leader of the group, Samuel Kakana, denied this week that he received financial support and military training from Conradie.

Said Kakana: "I met Conradie in 1986 shortly after my family members and those who supported us had been chased out of Ebbongweni township by UDF supporters and sought refuge at a police station. We

were accused of being collaborators because we openly told them that we supported PW Botha and were against the UDF."

Kakana said Conradie visited them at the tents outside the police station and invited them to a meeting. "He said he was going to try to bring peace and calm. We were shown video tapes of 'necklaced' murders and youths looting."

Kakana claimed that Conradie only gave three lectures and "never said a thing about military training although he promised to organise a trip outside Cookhouse". He said after those lectures Conradie disappeared but he saw him "later at a hotel in Fort Beaufort".

A former UDF leader, Edward Menzi, recounted the violence that divided the Ebbongweni residents.

"A consumer boycott was launched in

1985 in support of demands for the upgrading of the township. The Kakana family, which owned a shop, said it was opposed to the boycott. The shop was discovered later to be a front for a white businessman and it was boycotted. It was later burnt down.

A year later the Menzi family, which was in the forefront of the formation of the UDF-affiliated Cookhouse Youth Congress, was attacked by the Kakana family and those who supported it. Menzi's wife, Nokhaya, was murdered.

"A day after she was butted violence between those who supported us and the Kakanas broke out. The Kakanas were driven out of the township and they fled to a police station," said Menzi.

While in the tents outside the police station, some members of the Kakanas were kidnapped and murdered. — ANA

Millions of rand spent on secret projects

By DREW FORREST

CONFIDENTIAL minutes of a meeting in 1987 give a pregnant hint of the vast sums of taxpayers' money secretly spent by South African Defence Force front organisations.

A copy of the minutes, made at a "broad management meeting" of Adult Education Consultants (AEC) at Val de Grace in Pretoria on September 3 1987, have been acquired by *The Weekly Mail*. They show that AEC and its offshoots overspent their budget by a staggering R1,5-million in the 1987/8 financial year.

Present at the meeting were AEC boss Dr Louis Pasques and 11 other officials, including HE Schultz, Hendrikus Botha, GC Grobler, JP Koen, C de Bruyn, Nic Haarhoff, Jos Chadhina, AJH de Villiers and Koos Laas.

Evidence for AEC's SADF links are overwhelming. *The Weekly Mail* has already revealed that Chadhina ran a front organisation called Joset Housing and Management Services in Kimberley, Haarhoff a front called Betapers Personeelkonsultante in Louis Trichardt, Laas a front called Montage Bestuurskonsultante in Cape Town and Botha a front called MMD Makelaars in Pretoria. Some of these organisations still operate.

AEC's actual budget was not revealed, but the minutes predicted a deficit of R1,34-million on its 1987/8 budget. They stressed that this did not include new projects, indicating that an additional R175 000 had been granted to various managers present, R60 000 to "kleurlinge" (coloureds) and R14 000 to "gematigde swartes" (moderate blacks) for this purpose. As chairman, Pasques proposed that "certain high persons" should be informed with an eye to securing the required funds.

A further indication of the scale of AEC's spending comes from another front organisation, the North-West Cape Christian Cultural Organisation, which a former official says had a monthly budget of R24 000 over a three-year period. Alleged AEC offshoot Creed Consultants is said to have channelled some R7-million in salaries to 200 Inkatha military trainees over three years.

The minutes cryptically refer to a matter which had been "successfully manipulated" and would be "implemented in August 1988", while handwritten notes in the margin indicate that this concerned a wrangle between the SADF and AEC. A source said the mil-

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... THE MILITARY'S ROLE IN 'DIRTY TRICKS' IS FAR GREATER THAN IMAGINED

shrouds 'third force'

ernment to say, when it came to the crunch, that the covert state money was being spent on educational, rather than political, work. Hence, when President FW de Klerk gave details last year of the use of secret funds for political work, he said the rest was for educational or religious work, allowing him to hide the fact that there was very little real education going on.

The military was, however, giving these organisations lectures on the "total onslaught" against South Africa, advice, information, resources, training and even money and food.

Most of the "moderates" they identified, or at least those that were prepared to accept what was obviously SADF assistance, were little more than vigilante groups attempting to take control of

townships for opportunistic purposes. The ground was fertile: the practice of "necklacing" and sometimes unpopular enforcement of boycott action brought a backlash in some townships that the SADF was able to exploit.

In doing so, however, the military was sowing the seeds of a number of localised conflicts. As *The Weekly Mail* follows the trail of these front companies, we find a string of communities still riven with conflicts that date back to the covert intervention of MI.

The critical factor, however, is that the military did not stop at giving support and advice: it went so far as to give military or paramilitary training to some of these groups of "moderates". The best example is 200 Inkatha supporters who received

training and salaries from MI over a long period.

The Weekly Mail first wrote about this training over a year ago. At the time, both the SADF and Inkatha denied any knowledge of such activities. In July last year, when the Inkathagate scandal broke, De Klerk suddenly admitted that the SADF had in fact given this training, but claimed that it was training special recruits for the protection of VIPs.

The Weekly Mail, however, has evidence that the training was much more extensive and sinister than this. The reality is that there are 200 Inkatha supporters who have had a high level of military training and who are operating in the field at the moment. The VIPs they appear to be guarding include some of Natal's best-known warlords.

The Weekly Mail has linked seven of these special trainees to incidents of violence. Five are being sought by the South African Police in Natal in connection with violence.

This group of trained men was also directly involved in the movement of Inkatha into the Transvaal, which was linked with a dramatic rise in bloody conflict.

Is this all history? Is it not part of the pre-February 2 1990 period, an era that has passed? Are we raking up dead coals?

The answer is no. Firstly, the roots of the current violence and conflict lie in the past. It would be impossible to understand what is happening now without looking at what gave rise to it over the past decade.

Secondly, the front organisations still exist and still operate and the 200 trained operatives are still in the field.

The identity, location and current activities of those 200 could be the key to at least one major part of the "third force".

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The Weekly Mail 17-13 Jan 1992 (7) Goldstone to take up WM exposé

Weekly Mail Reporter

MR Justice Richard Goldstone's decision to investigate *The Weekly Mail's* recent expose of Military Intelligence covert activities comes a month after the newspaper first approached him to look into the matter.

The Weekly Mail first approached Judge Goldstone, chairman of the standing commission of inquiry into violence and intimidation, in December with evidence of the Military Intelligence operation.

However, the matter gained momentum as more information emerged earlier this month and the Judge asked *The Weekly Mail* to prepare a memorandum on the evidence for him.

This week, however, both Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and the African National Congress asked Judge Goldstone to take up the matter and he agreed to start hearings on February 4 in Cape Town.

The Weekly Mail has welcomed the inquiry.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, however, dismissed the report on the

grounds that the editor and staff of *The Weekly Mail* were "loyal sycophants of the ANC".

He subsequently issued a lengthy response, though he avoided commenting on the main thrust of the allegations of extensive South African Defence Force support and backing for Inkatha.

He said there were some "glaring mistakes and untruths" in the report that needed to be corrected.

He challenged the claim that *The Weekly Mail's* interviewee, Mbogeni Khumalo, was "chief" of the IFP Youth Brigade, pointing out that he fell under the president, Musi Zondi.

He challenged the claim that Khumalo was an IFP central committee member, saying he had only attended meetings in his capacity as a Youth Brigade functionary. Inkatha, he said, had turned down consultancy services from SADF fronts and had no knowledge of their links with the military.

He also said "the IFP was never given R11-million by anyone".

Khumalo had said that an SADF front had offered to fund this money for the IFP.

Buthelezi said Khumalo had been dissatisfied with the low pay he was receiving in the IFP and had applied for a job in the chief minister's office. "It was then discovered that Khumalo had a criminal record which made it impossible for the kwaZulu government to consider his application."

Khumalo is adamant that he left Inkatha because of his disillusionment with the organisation and has been approached three times since then to return to work for the IFP or the chief minister's office.

The ANC issued a statement saying neither Buthelezi nor State President FW de Klerk could be believed when they said they did not know of the relationship between Inkatha and the security forces.

The ANC Youth Brigade called on all IFP youth members to "abandon this sinking ship" and "join the march to freedom, join the young lions of our country".

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THERE is no convincing reason why the Zulu king should participate in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

For years he has been a passive non-entity in the public mind.

The main reasoning seems to be that he, like Mount Everest, is there. But so are many other tribes, about 3 000 in all, according to Professor R Hammond-Tooke of the University of the Witwatersrand. Why not any of these?

What about the Rain Queen of Venda? Where do you draw the line?

What is actually at stake is a choice between two brands of tribalism, the one a benevolent form which values democratic mechanisms, and the other a suppressive form which aims at the personal power of its adherents.

For decades after the institution of the Native Administration Act of 1927, South Africa has only known a distorted form of tribalism. This was because the 1927 Act made the governor-general the supreme chief of all South African tribes and allowed him to create new tribes, dismiss elected chiefs and appoint new ones.

And he could delegate these powers to any official. So for the next few generations low-ranked local commissars, white, cruel and racist, insinuated tribal puppets who often had to resort to violence to stay in power.

In the 1970s a new law transferred the old governor-general's powers to the homeland leaders.

It was also in this time that Inkatha was created.

In the 1980s much the same thing was attempted in another homeland, kwaNdebele, where the Ndebele "cultural movement" Mbokhoto was created. Membership was enforced in a crude reign of terror.

This only succeeded in promoting another, much softer brand of tribalism, when the Ndebele people revolted and demanded action from their tribal rulers. After the police fired on a crowd of 30 000 people gathered at the royal home, the United Democratic Front-aligned local youth put a carefully worked-out plan of violent action into effect and Mbokhoto was wiped out overnight.

Eventually the remnants of Mbokhoto were gathered in a "Kitskonstabel" force and another police-assisted reign of terror was waged. Several attempts were launched to have the Ndebele king deposed through legal means and replaced by a more amenable chief from another Ndebele tribe.

In kwaZulu, once again, the same happened. Everywhere local youth and worker groups rose against Inkatha. The main grievance was its authoritarian rule, and its enforcement of its fascist version of Zulu tribalism. Disaffected trib-

Too many chiefs spoil the talks

King Goodwill Zwelethini believes he, as a monarch, has a right to participate in Codesa. But what about the 3 000 other tribal leaders in South Africa?

By **HANS PIENAAR**



King Goodwill Zwelethini

al chiefs often took the lead.

When it became clear that Inkatha was going to lose the war, the South African government took action. We now know that Inkatha cadres underwent military training and that the police gave assistance in all sorts of ways. And President FW de Klerk signed a law which gave Inkatha impis the right to carry lethal weapons, while their adversaries had theirs confiscated.

In kwaNdebele, the government's strategy failed. The royal house turned the tables and succeeded in getting the kwaNdebele govern-

ment declared illegal. An election was ordered, and the results showed that the royal house had the support of far more than two-thirds of the population. When the new government took over, portraits of Nelson Mandela and African National Congress flags went up everywhere.

In kwaZulu Inkatha supporters feared the popularity of democratically minded chiefs. One such was assassinated last year. Chief Nhlabunzima Maphumulo, leader of Contralesa, the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders which was co-founded by a group of Ndebele and Zulu chieftains.

The brand of tribalism represented by ANC-aligned chiefs recognises the unsuitability of tribalism for any form of government higher than the local level. It also seeks to circumscribe the powers of the tribal chief in accordance with democratic principles and the rule of law.

Inkatha would have none of that. If the powers granted by the homeland system were to be diminished, Inkatha itself would start to disintegrate.

In fact, the Zulu king gambit might be an attempt to pre-empt such a possibility. Although preference is usually given to blue blood when a tribal king is elected, nothing prevents the gathering of headmen to elect someone from their own ranks.

The most recent use of Buthelezi's "royal powers" was the deposing of the Zulu Ndebele chief in order to transfer his tribal land to another tribe. This will be interpreted by other chieftains as an unambiguous message to toe the line.

If the Zulu monarchy is entrenched in the national constitution in some way or another, a pathway could be cleared for a man like Buthelezi to slip in through the back door should he lose a regional election in the devolved federal or consociational structure that he and the National Party envisage.

Is there a solution? For the moment, all arguments along these lines are a bit irrelevant. The Zulu king will have to be allowed because, without him, and with the complicity of the armed forces in the violence all but proven, there will be bloodshed at a far greater level than ever before.

What remains is to identify clearly the two strands of tribalism and make sure that they balance each other in Codesa's working groups. Here Contralesa could play a crucial part, but currently the organisation might be too disorganised. Perhaps a committee of Transkei and kwaNdebele representatives could then recruit a panel of ANC-aligned chiefs and experts on tribalism.

Hans Pienaar is the author of *Die Dertig Oorlog teen Mapoch*, a study of 100 years of conflict between Boer and Ndebele. It is published by Kriisa.

The Citizen 17-1-1992

Marches planned near Parliament for opening

CAPE TOWN. — A mass, open-air "People's Parliament", called by the African National Congress, will demand the disbanding of the "racist" South African Parliament when it opens its 1992 session a few blocks away next Friday.

A proposed march on Parliament will also call for a constituent assembly to be held by the end of the year, senior ANC officials said yesterday.

The ANC believed that the 1992 session of the "racist tricameral Parliament" should be its last sitting, he said.

Ms Cheryl Carolus, who also sits on the ANC NEC, said the organisation took the demand for Parliament's speedy dissolution seriously, and at the same time remained committed to Cdeisi.

She said in an apparent effort to harass the organisers of the "People's Parliament", a policeman in a car tracked to the security branch had watched and photographed the houses of two senior ANC members in Cape Town on Wednesday night.

An ANC statement, referring to "hit squads linked to the security forces", warned that police would be held responsible if anything happened to Mr Tommy Yengeni, Mr Mxolisi Petane or any other ANC official.

Police were not immediately available for comment.

The "People's Parliament" is scheduled to start at 10.30 am on January 24, and the proposed march is expected to be over by 2 pm.

The PAC has also planned a march but still deems Parliamentary buildings strictly out of political bounds.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said that organisation would also march in the city's streets when Parliament opened, but would make a U-turn before reaching its precincts.

"Our march will be under the slogan 'Down with an undemocratic cdeisi, forward to a democratic constituent assembly'. The PAC and ANC marches will be entirely separate," he said.

The PAC marchers were expected to start rallying at the top of Wake Street in the Bo-Kaap about 9 am, before starting their procession at 10.30 am.

Their route would take them straight down to the bottom of Government Avenue, a stone's throw from the Houses of Parliament, where they would make a U-turn and march back up Wake Street, he said.

Both organisations said they had applied for magisterial and council permission to march in the city. — Sapa.

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...And here's one that did just that

By WALLY MBHELE

FOR Phinda Mpatha (not his real name) being a member of the South African Police and the African National Congress at the same time is not a conflict of interests.

"I have no double agenda. I am committed in the struggle for change and I cannot leave my job as I have no alternative," says Mpatha, who describes his nine years as a policeman as a "difficult experience".

Mpatha came to Johannesburg in 1979 looking for a job. Armed with a top-class matric certificate from Transkei, Mpatha never thought securing a job in the Golden City would be a life-and-death struggle. He went from office to office but his "pass" (reference book) became a major stumbling block to finding employment.

What surprised Mpatha was how easy it was to join the police force. "That was the only job available," he says, taking off the cap bearing the SAP logo and wiping the sweat from his forehead.

Mpatha joined the police force when campaigns for the resignation of policemen were at their peak. When he reflected on the years he spent without a job it became difficult for him to do so. "I survived because in the course of my duties as a policeman I showed a lot of respect to my people," he says.

Mpatha said he "never harassed the people, I made them understand that I was a victim of that harassment too. Some people think we are the government, we are government servants. But even black policemen are oppressed."

Mpatha says he regards himself as an ordinary civil servant. But government servants have political viewpoints too, he says.

The ANC seems to be the only political movement that accommodates his aspirations for a "non-racial democracy" free of racism and inequality.

The rebel Cape policeman Gregory Rockman — who, at the height of the defiance campaign in 1989, accused his white colleagues of behaving like "wild dogs" — served as a great inspiration to him.

Mpatha and a handful of colleagues joined the ANC after its unbanning in 1990. For security reasons, says Mpatha, the ANC did not issue them with membership cards although they are active in grassroots structures.

"Many of my colleagues are members of certain political organisations which are closely linked to the government but I cannot even mention my loyalty to the ANC."

According to Mpatha, one of the highest-ranking police officers on the East Rand is linked to Inkatha. He claims the "colonel" served as Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelez's bodyguard before he took up his present position.

Asked if it was true that the police were colluding with Inkatha in township violence, Mpatha says he has no doubts about it.

"The fact that two black policemen are not part of the riot control units makes us believe that some form of collusion is taking place."

"I think it is in the interest of the white police if violence happens. If they were serious about stopping it, it would have long stopped but unfortunately black policemen are not sent to control unrest."

He says he does not know where those white police who are sent to areas of violence come from. They only come when there is violence and leave afterwards.

Attacks on policemen by the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla) is nothing short of black-on-black violence, says Mpatha.

Mpatha is involved in his area defence committee and he uses his service pistol for defending his township against the "vigilantes".

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policemen, saying: "We don't want to expose their identities. We don't want to expose them to intimidation."

Van Tonder condemned the killing of policemen by the Pan Africanist Congress' armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), describing it as a "terrorist campaign" aimed at intimidating policemen to resign.

"Police work under very difficult circumstances in this country. They have to control crime and unrest at the same time."

Van Tonder rejected the reintegration of homeland police. The Boerestaat Party did not want to destroy other people's states, he said.

SAP spokesman Kotze rejected claims that some policemen were members of the ANC, CP, PAC or AWB as "propaganda".

He said policemen were offered a choice of either resigning their membership of these organisations or resignation from the police force.

Meanwhile, far left-wing organisations expect policemen to resign from "apartheid structures" before the question of membership of their movement can be considered.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said it "believed that policemen, as people representing the oppressed, can be part of change".

But, said Azapo's national organiser Fundile Mafongosi, "we ask them to resign before being admitted to structures of the people".

However, a PAC statement last week said the organisation regarded policemen as legitimate targets. PAC national organiser Maxwell Nmadzihvanani said "police should leave the force if they don't want to be attacked. "Whether policemen are black or white is not the issue but rather their support of the right by serving in the force."

Last week the Witwatersrand regions of the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast), Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the South African Communist Party denounced the killing of policemen and said a conference to discuss the future of policing in the country was on the cards.

Cast vice-president Kgabis Mosonkuthu yesterday told *The Weekly Mail* there was no reason why policemen should not exercise their right to vote for parties of their choice.

their discretion. They should not have a big political profile."

ANC's spokesman Saki Macozoma said that although his organisation has not made any pronouncement on the subject, policemen, like all civil servants, have political views.

"But, obviously, if policemen were seen in the colours of a certain political organisation, they would be perceived as biased to that organisation."

He cautiously admitted that "probably" some policemen were ANC members, adding that "many (policemen) are members of the NP, Broederbond and other right-wing groups". However, "it would be wise for such policemen not to be seen in a prominent role in political

tion of homeland police into the SAP and some kind of re-training programme that will "convert their mindset" into being defenders of democracy and not of the government.

"Police will have to be part of the institution that will oversee transition," he said, stressing, however, that only an interim government would have the authority to appoint the people who'll oversee the transition — a notion strongly rejected by the CP. Referring to the transitional period, Van der Merwe said: "I don't know what that means. As far as I'm concerned there's no transition here."

"I don't see any purpose and necessity for police re-training. (Police Commissioner) General Van der

not want to prescribe to the Zulus or Xhosas what to do. We claim a right to self determination." The CP rejected the idea of homeland police being reincorporated into the SAP, he said.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder told *The Weekly Mail* the reason for the prohibition on party membership was that "they (police) were strongly conservative. The government was afraid of them."

He said his party had many members who had been secretly placed in police structures. "But their names are kept secret to protect them from harassment. "We keep in regular contact with them. Any necessary propaganda and information about the party is sent to them," he said.

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Parliament for the people

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town
THE African National Congress will stage a "people's parliament" on Cape Town's Grand Parade to coincide with the opening of parliament next Friday — to be followed by a march to the House of Assembly where a notice demanding parliament's dissolution will be delivered.

Planned action by the Pan Africanist Congress, which intends kicking off its campaign against the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) with a march through the city on the same day, is not expected to interfere with the ANC's plans, ANC officials said.

The ANC is expecting thousands to attend its event and has laid on bus and train transport from the townships and Boland areas. ANC regional chair Alan Boesak appealed to employers to allow workers to attend. He said the event would

demonstrate the ANC's commitment to Codesa, "which must lead to an interim government ... and a constituent assembly".

Smaller demonstrations, including a picket outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria, were planned for other centres on the same day, national campaigns co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils said.

"The ANC has designated 1992 as the year of democratic elections. We are developing campaigns around the country so that activity will continue after next Friday," he said.

Cape Town's City Council will permit the march but a magistrate's go ahead is still awaited.

Meanwhile, the ANC has condemned the government for proposing a new Bill which will impose a total ban on demonstrations around parliament. At present marches may be permitted by a magistrate.

The Citizen 17-1-1992

IFP halts talks × with ANC after

'2 violations'

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has with immediate effect suspended all peace talks with the African National Congress in Richmond, Natal.

Explaining the move in a statement yesterday afternoon, Inkatha Institute spokesman Mr Kim Hodgson said the ANC had twice violated the agreed cease-fire.

According to Mr Hodgson the latest violation of peace prompting the suspension of talks happened on Wednesday afternoon.

"Mr Bongani Phungula, Mr Dingeni Mchunu, and Mr Zibuse Zwane, were asked by ANC sup-

porters in Ndoleni to socialise with them by walking with them.

"After being assured that they were in no danger, the IFP members went into the area with the ANC comrades, and were attacked," Mr Hodgson said.

Mr Phungula was stabbed to death, while Mr Mchunu and Mr Zwane managed to escape.

The IFP chairman in Richmond's Patheni township, Mr Paulus

Vezi, said all peace talks would be suspended immediately in the light of the incident.

The ANC used the peace process, started on January 3, to lure IFP supporters to their demise, he charged.

• A young KwaZulu policeman was killed when he and a group of other policemen were ambushed by residents of Umlazi, south of Durban, in the early hours of yesterday.

Colonel Vuka Dube,

district commandant for Umlazi, said the incident occurred when 11 policemen from the station at Umlazi were sent out on foot to investigate an incident in Z-section.

• The Goldstone Commission yesterday decided that peace talks should be held between the IFP and the ANC in the Bruntville area of Mooi River, Natal.

The chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Goldstone, announced his decision after hearing evidence on the violence at Bruntville early in December last year.

• Fifteen houses have been destroyed by fire in renewed clashes between IFP and ANC followers at KwaMpande outside Pietermaritzburg.

The home of an Inkatha supporter was set alight by a group of people at about 12.30 on Wednesday afternoon.

In retaliatory action, 14 houses apparently belonging to ANC members, were burnt down. Damage estimated at about R200 000 was caused.

In another incident at KwaMpande, three men survived an attack by four gunmen when their vehicle came under fire at a bottle store. —Sapa.

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Evidence of mystery arrest X

By PHILIPPA GARSON

EVIDENCE pointing to the arrest of a possible hit-man by police after the Thokoza massacre of September 8 has come to light at the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation.

According to press reports at the time of the massacre — when unidentified men opened fire on Inkatha supporters going to a rally — one man was detained by police. But several people were removed by police that day for safety purposes and no mention was made of the arrest of a possible assassin — a “mystery” man carrying an AK-47.

According to the statement of Thokoza IFP spokesman Oscar Msomi, coloured policemen wearing camouflage uniforms arrested a man carrying an AK-47 outside one of the houses where the shooting took place.

Ring of security around ANC couple

Death threats to Mandela

D. NEWS

17/4/92

FAROOK KHAN

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, have been forced underground because of a series of threats on their lives since Christmas.

A spokesman for the ANC in Johannesburg have confirmed that a tight ring of security has been thrown around the couple as a result of the threats, which they were taking very seriously.

The spokesman declined to say who, or what group, was responsible for the threats.

The couple insist on honouring their commitments and keeping their appointments, including meeting visiting dignitaries, even though it is a major headache for the security wing.

They also insist on going to their offices and carrying out their routine work and meeting people. However, they do keep irregular hours.

While at this stage sources very close to the couple are calling the calls "death threats", the seriousness of the situation has meant they do not spend nights at their own home in Soweto any more.

"The Mandelas are forced to sleep at safe houses as part of the security arrangements to ensure that they are not harmed," said one source.

Nor are the couple together for very long: they do not travel in the same cars or attend the same functions. They are being kept apart as a security measure and their respective schedules are top secret. Meetings which they have to attend are called at short notice, often at out of the way venues.

More than 30 years ago, while Mr Mandela was on the run from the security forces, he was dubbed the Black Pimpernel. He moved around and had a knack of emerging at the least expected places and events.

The current drama began just before Christmas when the Mandelas were tipped off about a possible attempt on their lives.

Mrs Mandela this week left for Atlanta, Georgia, in the United States. She is due to take part in the birthday celebrations of the slain civil rights leader, Martin Luther King.

Mr Mandela is in the country and is presently involved in working on the ANC strategy for the coming Codesa talks at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, Transvaal.

16/4/11