
RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES - K.Z.N.

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Shobashobane massacre ^(27b) suspects back on the beat ^(27b)

M+G 8-15/8/96

Ann Eveleth

THREE policemen facing murder charges in connection with the Christmas 1995 Shobashobane massacre of 19 African National Congress supporters are back at work in neighbouring Nkulu ward, police confirmed this week.

Sergeants Bekeni Mngadi, Muzuvukile Ngeleka and Joseph Zulu were suspended from their posts at the Izingolweni police station in May after their arrest by the special investigation team set up to probe the massacre. They are expected to appear in court again on September 30, together with 33 fellow accused.

KwaZulu-Natal Police Commissioner Chris Serfontein has, however, lifted their suspensions "due to the fact that the evidence against the members rested on questionable identification based on rather flimsy evidence", according to a written reply by Deputy National Police Commissioner Morgan Chetty.

Chetty was responding to a query on the matter by Natal violence monitor Mary de Haas, who slammed the move as "utterly reprehensible" and "callous in the extreme".

De Haas alleged that the three sergeants had "boasted about their victory in being allowed to return to the station. I cannot believe this situation is allowed to continue, especially given the ongoing violence in the area. People continue to be killed in Nkulu ward, not far from the police station." She called for the officers to be removed from the area.

Chetty said: "The provincial commissioner had no alternative, after consideration of all the facts present, but to reinstate the members ... Due to the lack of sufficient and concrete evidence against any of the members concerned, this office is not in a position to transfer any of the members."

Superintendent Dougie Hannaway, who heads the South Coast National Investigation Task Unit which succeeded the special investigation team, said while he personally favoured the suspension of police members charged with murder, Serfontein had reinstated the three offi-

cers after they "made representations against their suspension".

While Hannaway agreed it was "possible" the three suspects could use their office to interfere with witnesses, "so far no witnesses have complained of interference".

Hannaway added that the accused had been granted bail — along with their fellow accused, including Inkatha Freedom Party South Coast leader James Zulu — with the belief that they would not pose a danger to witnesses. Any attempt to do so would endanger their bail, he said.

In a related matter, Hannaway said reports that James Zulu had violated his bail conditions by attending political meetings in the run-up to KwaZulu-Natal's recent local government elections were "not necessarily true". While Zulu's bail conditions prevented him from attending such meetings, he could — and in several instances had — obtained authorisation from the unit to do so.

"There were quite a few meetings he was given authorisation to attend. He had letters from Minister [Mangosuthu] Buthelezi and from local government," said Hannaway. Zulu was elected to the Port Shepstone City Council during the polls.

Maritzburg court gun battle

(276)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Star 20/8/96
Pietermaritzburg - Five people were wounded and members of the public had to dive for cover as a gunbattle erupted in the street outside the Supreme Court here, watched by stunned court officials, yesterday afternoon.

The drama outside the court broke out as ANC and IFP members left the trial of seven IFP supporters charged with the murder of four Pietermaritzburg SAPS dog unit members and an ANC civilian at Impendhle on September 24.

The trouble spilt over to the provincial legislature when several wounded IFP members fled there to seek the protection of IFP leader and legislator David Ntombela. He and ANC legislator Sifiso Nkabinde allegedly argued fiercely and drew guns on each other.

Nkabinde denied last night that either he or Ntombela had produced firearms but said "many" ANC and IFP followers in parliament had guns and they had been caught up in a heated altercation.

Both of them had decided in future to attend the Supreme Court case which had sparked the fracas in a bid to control their followers, he said.

Politicians fear that the latest incident - described by the IFP as an "unacceptable act of war on the part of the ANC Impendhle members on our party" - will heighten political tension and jeopardise tenuous peace pacts.

Witnesses told how pedestrians ran for cover and ducked behind parked cars as a volley of shots rang out outside the courthouse about 2.30pm.

Security guards and members of the attorney-general's office who witnessed the shooting were shocked by the casual manner in which three gunmen - one armed with a pump-action shotgun and two with handguns - picked up spent cartridges and walked slowly to a car parked in front of the court.

They drove off at normal speed despite the arrival of police vehicles. Staff gave police the registration number and a car was stopped in Boshoff Street. Three men were detained for questioning.

The war's over, but the dying goes on

There are ominous warnings in KwaZulu-Natal that a major massacre could lie ahead if action is not taken, writes **Ann Eveleth**

FOUR months since KwaZulu-Natal's political leaders declared their 14-year civil war "over", people continue to die all over the province for their political allegiances

And there are ominous signs that peaceful areas are beginning to degenerate. Violence monitors warn the situation is ripening for another massacre. In recent weeks monitors say the comparatively low death statistics since the province's June local government elections mask dangerous currents in several corners of the troubled province.

The Human Rights Committee said its September death toll of 34 marked only a "slight" increase on the 25 deaths recorded in August, but Natal Violence monitor Mary de Haas said at least 148 people died in politically related violence in the past three months.

Network of Independent Monitors director Jenni Irish said the figures were "still unacceptable" and warned that a failure to act now against a gradual increase would lay the groundwork for a major massacre. "There are ominous signs in many areas of the province. Attacks are aking place in areas that were previously quiet, places that have become quiet following investigations have experienced new violence as suspects are released on bail, paramilitary training is continuing and the flow of illegal weapons has not abated," she said.

Irish said the recent violence in Mandini combined with other recent attacks in Kwa-Mbonambi and as far north as Jozini to pose very worrying developments for the North Coast.

NIM's South Coast monitor Sylvan Chetty said he withdrawal of murder charges against eight suspects in the Shobashobane massacre case combined with the release on bail of several suspects to create renewed problems for the area. At least 12 people have died in Izingolweni over the past three months, bringing an end to the quiet that descended when the Shobashobane investigation got under way. Violence has also erupted in KwaXolo. Alarm bells must start ringing or we will face the possibility of another Shobashobane," he said.

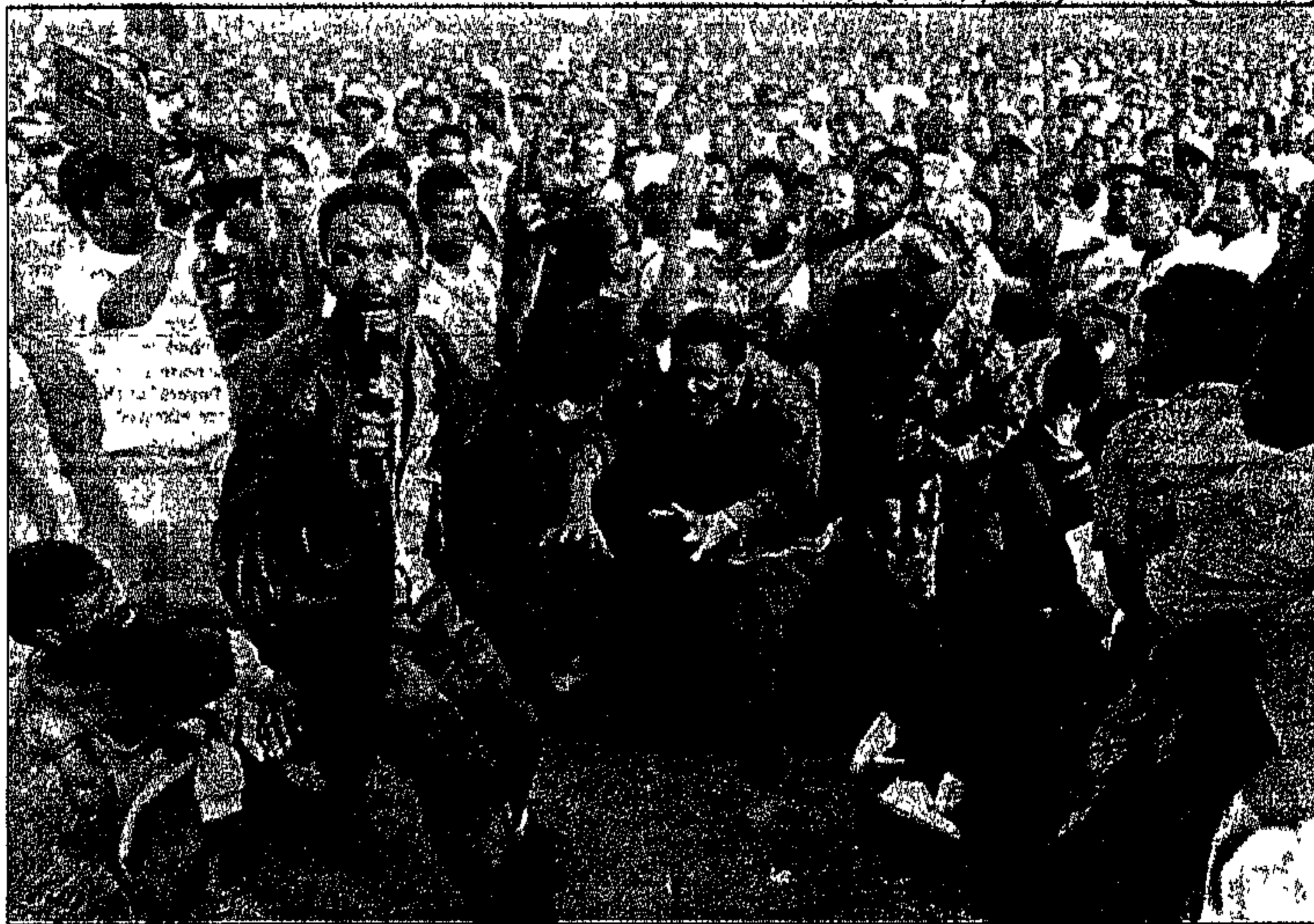
Probing the deaths of three people Tuesday in the previously quiet Midlands district of Nchanga, NIM's Midlands monitor Themba Sokhulu said four attacks in the area over the past three months had left four injured and three dead in a political conflict which apparently erupted over a soccer match between ANC and IFP members in IFP-dominated Tin Town.

"While areas like Wembezi and Babanango have quieted down, we are worried about developments in Donnybrook, Fredville [Inchanga], and Bulwer. Other areas which could easily ignite are Mool River, Mphophomeni and Taylors Halt," he said.

The Midlands accounted for 55% of the HRC's September death toll. NIM's Durban monitor Jabu Ngwane said while violence had dropped in many Durban townships, there were tremors around Entembeni in Umbumbulu and Malagazi outside Umlazi, where long-standing peace initiatives have broken down due to allegations of extortion on the part of a local induna and the utterances of local political leaders. "As a result, development initiatives are being stalled and this is exacerbating tensions," he said.

Irish said this was a bad sign for the provincial peace initiative, as these moves should reinforce local efforts. "It's going to take more than a few handshakes and peace rallies. Almost every place where violence is continuing there are allegations about police involvement. The old networks are still in place and the political leaders have not addressed the security issues which are a pre-requisite to peace," she said.

De Haas warned against allowing the "false lull" in death statistics to breed complacency. Irish added that while the withdrawal of the 30 000 security force members deployed in the province to secure the election had been expected, recent reports that KwaZulu-Natal members were being sent to fight crime in other provinces was a grave mistake. "I hope it will not take another massacre for people to realise this province remains a tinderbox."



Place of weeping: Mandini, where murders took place this week, was the scene last year of a near-lynching. Israel Ntuli (bleeding) was attacked by the mob at a funeral of nine Mandini massacre victims, but was whisked away by security just in time. PHOTOGRAPH: RAJESH JANTILAL

'Police don't want to find the truth'

Ann Eveleth

WARM sun chased the shadows from the hills around Mandini on the KwaZulu-Natal north coast last Sunday, but all that lit the main rondawel of the Shandu kraal was the glimmer of a single white candle burned in memory of the two young men gunned down there last week.

Women mourning on straw mats in the dark room stopped to re-enact the the 30-minute shooting spree last Tuesday. Crouching on the floor to show how she saved five young children from the attackers who banged their weapons on the rondawel door, the grieving mother, Theresa Shandu, scowled at a mention of the peace initiative announced four months ago in the blood-soaked province.

Political leaders, she said, "like to talk about peace and happiness, but it's only because their busy bribing each other. What kind of peace is this?" she demanded.

Her 20-year-old son Petersen Shandu died after a bullet pierced his neck. He had been playing cards with his brothers when he was shot. Sbogiseni (18) died in a hall of bullets trying to escape into the darkness.

Their brother Bongkosi and neighbour Thill managed to elude the gunmen, while Sonny-Boy hid behind the door and watched a man who threatened to kill him two days earlier search the room with a torch.

"I was down by the river last Sunday when he shouted to me that 'We're coming to shoot you because you are amaqabane [comrades] and we don't need amaqabane in this part of KwaZulu'," Sonny-Boy recalled.

The mourning women said the alleged attack leader — an Inkatha Freedom Party leader from a neighbouring tribal area, out on bail for a massacre in town last year — named three families in the area when he issued his threat: "They marked all the ANC [African National Congress] in the area. We are afraid. Please bring the SANDF [South African National Defence Force] here. They are our only hope," they pleaded.

The survivors say they do not trust the police, who failed to take their statements last week, instructing them to appear at the former KwaZulu Police station in the nearby ANC-

dominated township of Sundumbili. "We don't believe the police at Sundumbili want to find the truth. There are so many cases that happen here and we tell them who is causing the trouble but they don't do anything. If they catch someone we see him out again after a short time," charged Sonny-Boy.

It is not the first time such charges have been levelled by ANC supporters. Earlier last Tuesday, Moses Gumede was shot dead in his driveway. It took two days before police from Empangeni came to take a statement from his wife Jabu.

Local police on the scene picked up the empty cartridges "with their bare hands", drew no markers on the pavement and took no pictures of the bloody scene, she said. The slain Gumede, a former Cosatu shop steward, had been a witness to an IFP-aligned co-worker's murder of his own daughter earlier this year, allegedly during an attempt to shoot his wife.

A recent police audit belies the suggestion that police are simply over-stretched and under-staffed. Sundumbili, unlike most stations in the province, is over-staffed, with 156 uniformed members to the recommended 63, including three times the recommended sergeants and constables.

Perceptions of police bias and inefficiency are compounded by the presence of at least 10 Caprivi trainees at the station, whose names and ranks from constable to detective-sergeant were confirmed this week by the station commander, Superintendent Mandla Mchunu.

Durban Supreme Court Judge Nick van der Reyden last year ordered an investigation into cover-up allegations levelled at Mchunu by one of three self-confessed hit-squad members in the Esikhawini hit-squad trial.

Network of Independent Monitors north coast field-worker Anton Pestana said the policing situation in the area was aggravated by the recent withdrawal of a Public Order Policing Unit (Popu) based in the neighbouring industrial town of Isithebe. "People had begun to trust this unit, but now they have returned to their Mtubatuba base. Other members of the unit are now patrolling the area and they are allegedly working together with local self-protection units under the leader-

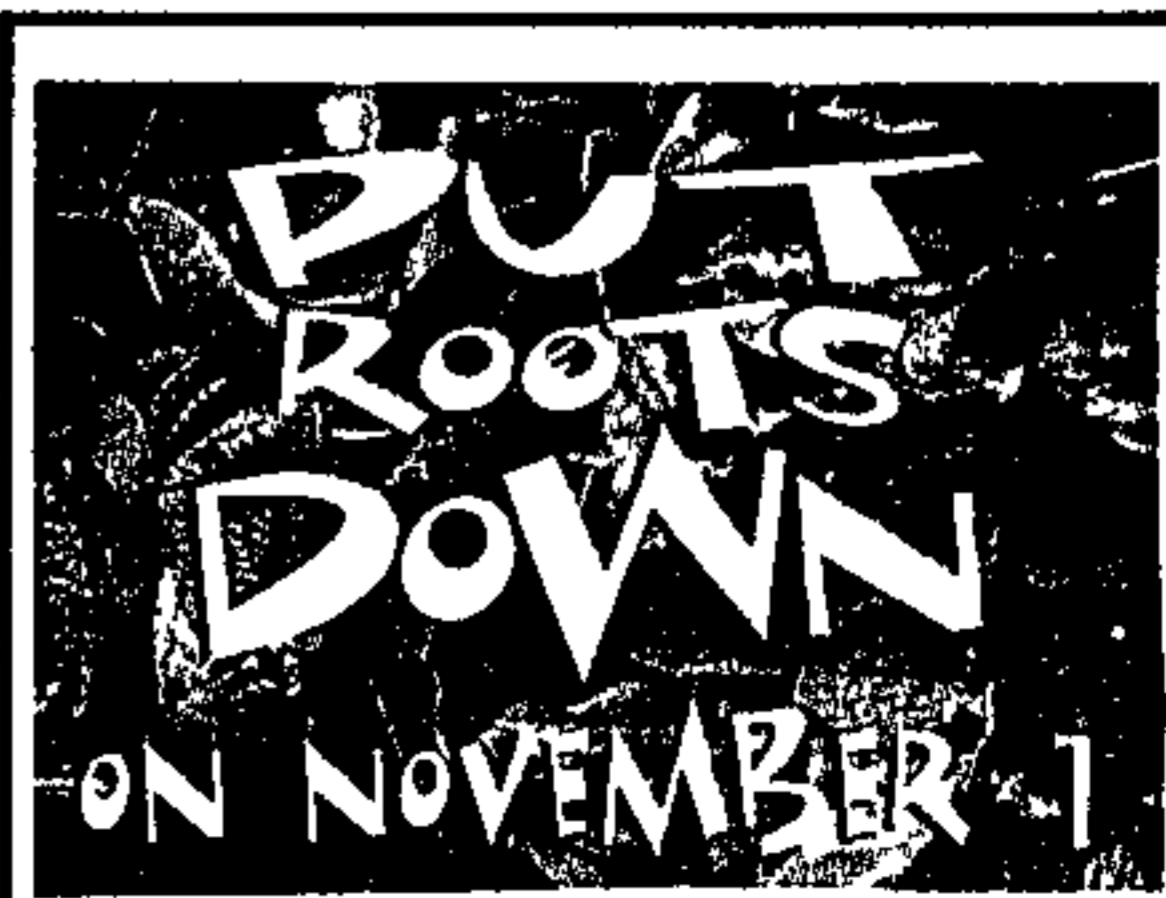
ship of IFP councillor Robert Mdletshe," he said. Repeated allegations of torture have been levelled against members of the Mtubatuba-based Popu, known as Unit 33, but no action has been taken.

Pestana said the unit was now perceived to be assisting IFP elements intent on consolidating the party's support, with refugees fleeing two IFP-led tribal areas to the virtually empty land of chief Jeffrey Ngobo. "Most of the displacees are not fleeing the SPUs as much as fleeing Popu. We have witness reports of white men with black painted faces taking part in attacks together with SPUs," he said.

A representative of the north coast National Investigation Task Unit (NITU) assigned to probe political violence in the area confirmed the reports, and said the "old networks returned to their activities" during the three-month absence of unit leader Captain Mandlenkosi Vilikazi, who was cleared last month of torture charges levelled by the IFP.

Formed to counter allegations of police bias following a massacre of 11 people in Isithebe last year, Vilikazi's unit had brought relative calm to the area in its first months of operation. Last month the unit was on the verge of collapse under the leadership of four white policemen assigned to the unit in Vilikazi's absence, the representative said.

"Suspects were granted bail without consultation, and people again became afraid to report cases. It would seem as though it's going to happen all over again. In fact it already has," he said.



Parties unite to defuse tension

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Senior ANC and IFP leaders would jointly visit Donnybrook in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands today in a bid to defuse tension after the killing of three children in one of the worst incidents of violence in the province since the peace initiative was launched five months ago.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal deputy secretary Sifiso Nkabinde said he and IFP midlands chairman David Ntombela would jointly address supporters of the two parties today to urge them to continue with local peace talks and to hold peace rallies.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett said Bone Bhede, Mandlakapheli Memela and Abigail Khwela — aged between 10 and 15 — had been forced to lie down before being shot by three balaclava-clad men armed with AK-47s.

The children came from IFP-supporting families, Tillett said.

Nkabinde said a "third force" was responsible and that it was going "all out" to undermine the peace process.

BD 20/10/96
Tillett downplayed the political overtones of the attack, saying robbery might have been the motive.

He said it was possible criminals aligned with a "rival political organisation" had wanted to rob a store and had killed the children to avoid identification after being "disturbed".

Police spokesman Insp Vish Naidu said no motive had been established for the attack.

Meanwhile, the NP KwaZulu-Natal region called on Justice Minister Dullah Omar to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the killing of two NP members in violence allegedly perpetrated by IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, between Durban and Maritzburg, in the past two weeks.

The NP claimed that Zamani Hlangulela and Oscar Zungu had been killed a fortnight ago, and three people had been injured in a subsequent vigil.

IFP Mpumalanga leader Siphosiso Mlaba said the NP was involved in its "old dirty game" by attempting to undermine a successful ANC-IFP peace initiative in the township.

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Whistle-blower Luthuli speaks out

M+G 15-21/11/96

The Caprivi commander who exposed Inkatha hit squads is angry he wasn't called as a witness in the trial of Magnus Malan, report **Mehlo Mvelase** and **Ann Eveleth**

THE man who lifted the veil of secrecy once shrouding Inkatha Freedom Party-aligned hit-squads in KwaZulu-Natal launched a scathing attack this week on the prosecuting team who kept him silent during the Magnus Malan trial.

Former Caprivi political commissar Daluxolo Luthuli spoke to the *Mail & Guardian* this week in his first interview since the "trial of the decade" — the bloodstained province's biggest third force trial — ended in acquittal in the Durban Supreme Court last month.

Luthuli — who has been referred to as Chief Albert Luthuli's grandson, though he is only distantly related to the late African National Congress leader — said that from the beginning of the prosecution he had feared the murder conspiracy trial against former defence minister Malan and 19 other apartheid-era securocrats and IFP members would not succeed because of the failure to call witnesses like him.

"From the beginning [the state] was supposed to prove the existence of the Caprivis, how they were organised

and who was responsible. When people like myself were not called, how were they supposed to prove how this paramilitary wing was created?" he asked.

One of 73 potential witnesses listed by the state at the beginning of the trial, Luthuli is convinced his testimony could have bolstered the state's case. "There are a lot of things I could have added to that trial," he said.

The presiding Judge Jan Hugo went even further than that, he referred to Luthuli as the "*fons et origo*" — the origin — of the whole investigation. Luthuli said he had expected to testify about the purpose of the 1986 Military Intelligence training of 206 IFP recruits in the Caprivi strip, as well as the selection procedures for spe-

cialised training and the meaning of key terms and phrases on which the state's case ultimately fell.

"I understand the case was running around the word 'offensive'. Nobody gave a correct interpretation," he said. "I was supposed to be there to interpret those words 'offensive', 'defensive', so you know that if a defensive group has served and left the area, there must be an offensive group following in their footsteps."

The state alleged members of the defensive group of Caprivi trainees had collected intelligence on four potential targets, after which 10 members of the 30-man offensive group had carried out the 1987 Kwa-Makhutha massacre at the centre of the trial.

Judge Hugo accepted that offensive group members had carried out the attack, but ruled that their training could not be construed according to the primary meaning of the term "offensive", which is "to attack". Hugo accepted expert defence testimony that the term had an innocent or "defensive" meaning when used in a military context.

Luthuli led the investigation task unit to the state's star witness, Johann Opperman, but says he now fears KwaZulu-Natal attorney general Tim McNally may have jeopardised his own testimony in future cases.

Rejecting "that stupid quote [of McNally's] that I am an unreliable witness", Luthuli said he feared such a statement from the prosecutor could be used to discredit his testimony in other cases which are still pending. "It was up to the judge to say I was unreliable and then for McNally to charge me," he said.

Although Luthuli had been involved in hundreds of incidents over several years, McNally told the court he had not called Luthuli as he was an "unreliable" witness who had incorrectly stated that the KwaMakhutha massacre was a revenge attack for the death of a man who actually died six months later.

Luthuli countered that McNally had previously called him to testify against self-confessed Esikhawini hit-squad members Romeo Mbambo, Gcina Mkhize and Israel Hlongwane "when I didn't want to be against them. I was the one who convinced them it was high time they told the truth. I wasn't even consulted or told I was going to give evidence against them," he claimed.

The state called Luthuli in an unsuccessful endeavour to counter claims in mitigation by Mbambo and his co-accused in 1995 that they had acted under orders from senior members of the IFP and KwaZulu government.

Convinced the state's three accomplice witnesses in the Malan trial — former Military Intelligence officer Johann Opperman, Andre Cloete and Caprivi trainee Alex Khumalo — were essentially telling the truth, despite the court's refusal to indemnify them, Luthuli says he is frustrated at the state's failure to secure convictions because the Caprivi men "were not recruited or trained as policemen, yet they were given police appointment cards. They have been involved in many massacres since KwaMakhutha [and] Military Intelligence were deeply involved. The Caprivis were their brainchild and if there were no Caprivis the violence would not be the way it is."

Luthuli admitted the acquittal of the Malan 20 had increased his personal fears, "because they all know who is responsible for them being accused as perpetrators of violence", but said he did not regret his 1994 decision to turn state's evidence because the truth had "relieved" him. "I feel more free now than ever before," he said.

Luthuli said he looks forward to testifying before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. "That is the place where I will open my heart."

McNally won't pursue new third force trial

M+G 15-21/11/96

Ann Eveleth

KWAZULU-NATAL attorney general Tim McNally has again come under fire from the Investigation Task Unit (ITU) probing hit-squads in the province after he declined to prosecute the third hit squad-related case brought before him since the October acquittal of former defence minister Magnus Malan and 19 others.

The ITU's civilian board convenor Howard Varney said he saw "little prospect of organised political violence being exposed and stopped through the administration of justice" after McNally this week refused to prosecute former KwaZulu Police (KZP) commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Doring and two senior KwaZulu government officials in connection with an illegal arms cache uncovered in 1993.

Last week McNally declined to prosecute former KZP deputy commissioner Brigadier Sipho Mathe in connection with allegations he issued a false police appointment certificate to a Caprivi-trained hit-man who had admitted to committing 24 murders.

Late last month McNally also declined to prosecute several senior IFP officials including provincial MPs on hit squad charges emanating from the 1995 trial of the Esikhawini hit squad. Varney said the cache referred to in the case investigated against Doring — comprising a light machine gun (LMG), a spare barrel and a large quantity of ammunition — was uncovered in a basement storeroom of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly by a building manager in September 1993.

Doring arrived to investigate but, according to his own admission, stopped the investigation on the instruction of then KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's administrative secretary Stan Armstrong who he claimed was his "superior": "According to Doring, Armstrong claimed that the weapon and

ammunition was under the control of Robert Mzimela, then secretary of the KwaZulu government. Neither Armstrong nor Mzimela supplied Doring with an explanation," said Varney.

The ITU investigated charges of defeating the ends of justice against Doring for his role in stopping the investigation, and charges of unauthorised possession of arms and ammunition against Armstrong and Mzimela, both of whom continue to enjoy similar senior positions under the KwaZulu-Natal Government.

McNally confirmed his decision not to prosecute in the case but said this decision was taken by a member of his staff. Explaining the decision, McNally said: "The memorandum drawn up by the ITU and which accompanied the docket indicates a lack of confidence in the case. It stated that 'there does appear to be insufficient evidence against either Armstrong or Mzimela to make their prosecution on this case viable'. General Doring is described in the memorandum as 'a relative innocent in the affair'. The charge of allegedly defeating the ends of justice appears to have been something of an afterthought," McNally said.

Varney said the most serious charges were those against Armstrong and Mzimela, but agreed the evidence was "not that strong". Denying the charge investigated against Doring was an afterthought, Varney said the ITU had requested his prosecution by letter: "A strong *prima facie* case of defeating the ends of justice existed against General Doring. We should not have to explain to an experienced attorney general the seriousness of a police commissioner defeating the ends of justice."

McNally's office said, however, that there was "no evidence to suggest Doring ... [was] defeating or obstructing the course of justice. In fact Doring set in motion the investigation regarding the [weapons] ... The explanation of Doring that he



Tim McNally: The KwaZulu-Natal attorney general won't prosecute

received instructions from Armstrong must be accepted".

Varney countered that McNally's "assessment of the facts makes little sense. On Doring's own version he admitted to stopping a police investigation into the possession of a highly lethal weapon which has since vanished ... Doring was the chief of police. Armstrong was not Doring's superior," he said.

Varney added that the ITU regarded the case as "extremely serious", especially in light of evidence led in the trial of Vlakplass commander Eugene de Kock that substantial weaponry from the SADF's operations in Namibia was illegally procured, some of which were handed over to IFP func-

tionaries in Ulundi: "It appears that light machine guns were amongst [these weapons]," said Varney.

McNally said "there is nothing in the papers available to me to suggest any link between the machine gun in question and Eugene de Kock". McNally added that "Varney is an attorney who is employed by the Department of Safety and Security as the convenor of the ITU. His role is that of an investigator. So far as I am aware, he has no experience as a prosecutor. It is his function to oversee the investigations of his unit. It is the function of the attorney general and members of his staff to make decisions as to whether to prosecute or not."

says he is innocent

Expelled ANC 'spy'

People won't believe these allegations, says Nkabinde, accused of being an apartheid-era police informant

By RAMOTENA MABOTE
Political Reporter

Bhekumuzi Gabriel "Sifiso" Nkabinde, who was expelled by the ANC yesterday for allegedly being an apartheid-era police informant, said this morning he hoped to continue his activities in KwaZulu Natal despite the decision by the organisation's national working committee (NWC).

He was chairman of the KwaZulu Natal Midlands branch.

Nkabinde said in a radio interview this morning that the people of KwaZulu Natal would not believe the allegations that he was a spy who had infiltrated to destroy the organisation.

At a press conference last night at the ANC's Shell House headquarters, Transport Minister Mac Maharaj said Nkabinde, known to many only as Sifiso, was acting to destabilise and destroy the ANC from within as well as to foment inter-communal so-called "black on black" violence.

One of his tasks, another senior member of the NWC said, was to monitor the Midlands chairman, Harry Gwala, who has since died.

Nkabinde, was called to the NWC meeting yesterday, and informed of his expulsion shortly before the press conference. He left quickly before journalists could speak to him.

Maharaj said "irrefutable" evidence brought to the NWC's attention established that Nkabinde has not been a bona fide member of the organisation but was in-



In the cold ... Sifiso Nkabinde.

stead used to destroy the ANC in the past and at present.

In the early 1990s up to the present, Nkabinde has been in the forefront of the ANC's attempts to maintain peace in KwaZulu Natal, particularly in the Midlands area.

In a confidential report in The Star's possession, senior security police members have been mentioned as Nkabinde's handlers.

Nkabinde's alleged tasks, according to the report, were to alert his handlers on the activities of military and para-military groupings in the Midlands area. He would also allegedly report on demonstrations designed to undermine the safety and security of the state and the communities.

He is also alleged to have had a brief to report on the activities of Umkhonto weSizwe to destabilise South Africa through activities mounted from neighbouring states.

Nkabinde - who, according to the report, was paid anything

from as little as R100 to more than R1 000 per report - is believed to have been involved in such activities, even today in his capacity as MPL in KwaZulu Natal.

Towards the end of last year, sources said, Nkabinde organised a mass action to destabilise an attempt by senior IFP members to make a submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on the Midlands' "seven-day war".

Apparently the IFP was going to mention him as having played a role in the war that claimed many lives and widened the gap between the IFP and the ANC even further.

According to the March 16 1992 report, a Sergeant Shain Ernest Morris of the crime intelligence services in Pietermaritzburg, signed an affidavit regarding informer SR 4252, Nkabinde's alleged agent number.

In the affidavit, Morris allegedly wrote: "Informer SR 4252 holds a very sensitive and high profile position ... and feels that his life could be in danger if his identity was exposed with the coming of the new South Africa."

Nkabinde allegedly assumed a code name, Derrick Nene, which was accepted and used as the signature of record to acknowledge payments for information given.

A leading ANC member who also sits on the NEC, Sakkie Macozoma, said contrary to other alleged spies yet to be named by the ANC, Nkabinde was still continuing with his work to destabilise the new democracy.

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Nkabinde's firing creates more worries

(276) ~~276~~ Source from 11/4/93

By Simon Zwane

THE African National Congress decision to expel its KwaZulu-Natal Member of the Provincial Legislature Sifiso Nkabinde has been a long time coming — and has little to do with the man being an informer for the former apartheid regime as the party asserts.

In fact, if the party had taken a decision to expose informers in its ranks, it would be have been forced name other spooks as well because it is public knowledge that there are more.

The other reason given by the party — that Nkabinde is allegedly fomenting violence in the region — seems more to the point. But if this is correct, his expulsion has dire implications for the fragile peace in the province.

Allegations about Nkabinde's involvement in the conflict between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, and within the ANC, have been around for a long time. This is why he is generally regarded as a warlord.

It is an open secret that he was under investigation by the investigative task unit (TTU) which was charged with probing hit squads in the province.

Some of his former comrades were, in fact, privately hoping that he

A scramble to retain ANC's support base — and a threat of violence

would be arrested because he had become an embarrassment and a liability to the party.

When this did not happen, even by the time the ITU folded last month, other measures had to be taken to get rid of him.

His alleged involvement in the intra-party strife in Dambuzza, Maritzburg — which he denies — provided a strong reason to fire him.

Quick and creditable

The decision to expose him as an informer was therefore a cleverly executed public relations stunt to avoid the issue from dragging on and damaging the organisation as happened with the Bantu Holomisa saga.

The decision had to be quick and credible. It also had to disorientate and divide his supporters.

This is, however, not to deny the claims that Nkabinde was an informer. In fact, the evidence provided by the ANC seems to be overwhelming and has not been successfully challenged.

Of greater importance now, however, is the political implications of the decision and its impact on peace

initiatives in the province.

It is undeniable that the move has opened another frontier on which the ANC will have to compete fiercely to retain its ever-diminishing support.

It is also clear that it will impact negatively on the party's small rural support base, which it desperately needs to loosen the IFP's stranglehold on the province even further.

The party already has its back to the wall because of Holomisa's encroachment on its membership, especially in the Midlands where Nkabinde has a sizeable following.

Pamphlets distributed by the ANC in this area recently, attacking the personality of Holomisa, indicate the desperate level to which it has descended to consolidate its support base.

There is also a real danger that certain areas, especially rural areas which up to now have been ANC strongholds, will now become no-go areas for the party. The first such places is Richmond, of course, which is Nkabinde's hometown.

Through running battles Nkabinde freed this area from the clutches of the IFP and delivered it to the ANC. He has also launched for-



Sifiso Nkabinde ... his expulsion from the ANC may have dire implications for the fragile peace in KwaZulu-Natal.

ays into other areas, such as Butwer, Dombrook and Underberg.

It is in fact as a result of this that Nkabinde won himself a place in the ANC and in the heart of the party's firebrand, the late Harry Gwala.

His expulsion will therefore seriously erode the party's support in these areas and there is also a serious danger of an outbreak of violence in the next few weeks as accusations and counter-accusa-

tions are thrown about.

The military intelligence report linking Nkabinde to gun-running and alleging that he commands a private army in Richmond suggests that the situation could be explosive.

The ANC will have to be circumspect and exercise responsibility in its planned damage-control rallies to explain the reasons for the expulsion, particularly in areas that Nkabinde regards as his constituency.

A sordid tale of violence and deception

Former security cop says 'we started the war in Kwazulu Natal'

CRAIG DOONAN

THE vicious, decade-long political war in the Kwazulu Natal Midlands was orchestrated by the police security branch. And, according to a former security police operative, the security branch manipulated both Inkatha and ANC leaders to prolong the conflict.

Allegations this week that senior ANC and IFP leaders were security police informers at the height of the violence are just the tip of the iceberg, said the former operative, who was based in Maritzburg in the mid-80s.

His information is being used by the ANC to expose the role of the security branch, which effectively made up most of the Third Force in the conflict in the province.

"This war was not a war of politicians. It was our war against the ANC," he said this week. "It was a war we started."

He told how a group of about 20 black "field workers" and about 40 white policemen, stationed at security branch headquarters in Maritzburg, initiated the violent conflict between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front in the mid-80s and orchestrated attacks which led to the violence spreading throughout the region.

He alleged that David Ntombela, an IFP strong man, was recruited in 1985 by a security branch warrant officer on instructions from his seniors.

Ntombela was an *induna* at Elandskop, west of Maritzburg, and was targeted because of his influence and standing in the community.

"We told him terrorists were fighting against the people in Imbali and Ashdown and were now moving to his area. We told him that terrorists were those who had left the country to join the ANC and

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who had come back to attack honest people, and their families.

"We told lots of lies to people like Ntombela and chiefs in the area whom the security branch also recruited. We told them to force people to join the IFP and to contribute funds."

During this time Ntombela's stature grew within the IFP and he became the security branch's closest ally in its onslaught against the UDF and ANC.

"Ntombela had big friends in our office," he said, and added that the security branch, together with Ntombela, then focused on areas in the Midlands where ANC support was growing.

"We started wars in Hammarsdale, Mpumalanga, Mooi River, Greytown, Swayimane and Wartburg," the former operative said.

Police commanders and army reinforcements sent to the area were briefed by the security branch before being deployed, he said.

"They reported to the riot unit where our bosses, particularly Major Deon Terreblanche, would brief them. He would regularly bring Ntombela and Abdul Awetha (an IFP councillor) to speak to them."

The security branch had also supplied "large amounts of weapons" stolen from the riot unit to Inkatha leaders like Ntombela and Awetha.

He said the security branch had played a major role in the 1990 "seven-day war" in Maritzburg and surrounding areas in which hundreds of people died. The security force's involvement in the war has been well-documented.

The former operative said black security policemen were ostracised from their communities because of their work for the security branch.

"They had no choice. They were working there. They had jobs but they were also threatened with death if they told of their work.

"Most of them came to realise

this was wrong but they could not do anything."

The operative told how the security branch undertook an intensive pamphlet campaign in the mid-80s to discredit the ANC and incite violence. "They distributed thousands of pamphlets under the ANC's name calling Zulus stupid and warning them that Xhosas were coming to wipe them out."

He told how black operatives played major roles in abducting activists, particularly from Swaziland, and bringing them to Elandskop security police farm where they were either tortured or killed. The remains of three activists were recently unearthed at the farm.

"They would help bring these people there but were never allowed to stay over or get involved in what followed," he said.

Senior provincial ANC leader Zweli Mkhize, who lives in Maritzburg, said the ANC had been saying for years that the Kwazulu Natal conflict was created by a third force which continued to destabilise the province.

"Whether we are talking about the seven-day war or the exhumation of bodies from shallow graves, about assassinations or pamphlets defaming ANC leaders, we are aware that the security police played a role in all of that."

● See Page 23

AT THE height of the political carnage that engulfed the Kwazulu Natal Midlands six years ago, houses were burnt, residents fled and corpses littered the streets.

From the beautiful hills that had become South Africa's killing fields, two figures emerged as the epitome of the intensity of the war for supremacy between marauding IFP warriors and ruthless ANC-supporting comrades.

One was David Ntombela, the other Sifiso Nkabinde.

Both had earned their "warlord" tags. They had risked life and limb in venturing where many cocktail-circuit politicians had feared to tread, all in defence of their political gains and to conquer new territory for their organisations.

Ntombela was a traditional *induna*, or headman, whose fearsome reputation had earned him the dubious distinction of being rated by a leading British newspaper as one of the world's top 30 warlords.

Based at Vulindlela, he was a bold leader who commanded awesome support from IFP followers and instilled fear in his enemies.

For as long as anyone can remember, he had been associated with the apartheid government's security forces.

At the height of the resistance to apartheid, when the ANC and its surrogates were committed to rendering the country ungovernable, Ntombela had worked openly with the police to restore law and order.

He had found nothing untoward about working closely and openly with a fellow IFP MP, Philip Powell, who, until just seven years ago, was a member of the security branch.

Policemen were frequent visitors to Ntombela's home and were often accused by anti-apartheid activists of fighting on Ntombela's side against the comrades.

Pitted against Ntombela was Nkabinde, an ANC firebrand who had emerged from relative obscurity in Richmond to dominate the news headlines about the conflict.

Nkabinde, the son of a policeman, was a fearless, charismatic and powerful figure who was always there for his people in their times of need.

When the bodies of ANC youths from Ndalenl lay slumped over each other after yet another mysterious attack by white men in Balaclavas, an outraged Nkabinde loomed large the next day, ranting and raving and blaming both the police and the IFP.

When residents of Ndalenl and Magoda took to Richmond's main street to protest against the flood of political killings, Nkabinde was in front.

And when accusations were made about IFP "warlords", he shouted the loudest.

He was a hero to the community in Richmond. Everyone listened when he articulated their frustrations and fears.

But, unbeknown to them, their hero was allegedly working for the police.

His betrayal, as claimed by the ANC this week, showed that the security forces had had a hand in the war raging in the area.

Nkabinde's rise to prominence had its roots in his close relationship with the ANC Natal Midlands leader, Harry Gwala,

A mole in the hills

The unmasking of ANC spy Sifiso Nkabinde suggests that both sides in SA's bloodiest conflict, report **CYRIL MADLALA**
ST 13/4



COMRADES IN ARMS: Sifiso Nkabinde, David Ntombela and Philip Powell in Durban after a peace rally held last year

who died in 1995.

Like Gwala, he could mobilise and organise. Most importantly, he took no "shit" from the police, as he so eloquently put it at a news conference this week.

Nkabinde established a powerful network of self-defence-unit members around him. Some of them have since been accused of having acted as hit men, while others have been convicted of murder.

Nkabinde's militant, firebrand style of activism made him a hit with Gwala.

The ailing but supremely popular Robben Island stalwart, notorious for his hard-line approach to the conflict in the province and his focus on grassroots politics, took to Nkabinde and backed him to the hilt.

The pair soon became virtually inseparable, spending almost every day together.

In addition, Nkabinde — Richmond's ANC chairman — took up the powerful position of secretary of the Midlands region.

He moved into a house in Gwala's Dambuza stronghold and began throwing his weight around at the ANC's head-

quarters in Maritzburg.

A leading regional ANC official said: "His personal office was not that of a secretary of a liberation movement. It was the office of a managing director."

"We even had to make an appointment if we wanted to see him. It was always locked."

Nkabinde had clashes with several officials close to Gwala, notably Blade Nzimande and Reggie Hadebe, both former deputies to Gwala, who was the regional chairman.

One leader who fell out with him alleged: "Nkabinde clashed with everybody who was near Gwala. In short, he was using Gwala for his own agendas."

Nkabinde remained close to Gwala until after the 1994 elections, when rumours about his involvement with the security police gained force.

Those close to Gwala say the elderly leader "turned his back" on Nkabinde shortly before he died, saying: "I have been walking with a spy all along."

The turning point for Gwala and many others was the slaying of a local ANC youth leader, Mzwandile Mbongwa, in 1994.

Mbongwa was gunned down in Richmond after being accused of being a police informer. His murder shocked ANC officials in the Midlands who had come to know him as a dedicated activist who had fallen victim to a power struggle.

Shortly afterwards, Nkabinde's star began to wane.

Under Jacob Zuma, the ANC's national chairman, and Frank Mdlalose, the former chairman of the IFP, the parties began to work for peace and warlords within both factions became increasingly isolated.

Meanwhile, the ANC was gathering information on Nkabinde's suspected connection with the security police. It tried to sideline him as he became a growing embarrassment.

The public was kept in the dark about why he was being prevented from standing for election to the post of provincial secretary. Only a few people within the ANC were told.

This week, the party finally disclosed the reason — as an alleged enemy agent, who was still active, Nkabinde could not be an office bearer in the ANC.

Today, Nkabinde's name is tattered. He has been accused of betraying — for sometimes as little as R250 — the very cause for which, he would have thought, he would die.

On Monday, the organisation expelled him after having summoned him to its headquarters in Johannesburg.

If top-secret police documents in the possession of the Sunday Times are anything to go by, Nkabinde was indeed a dangerous mole who rep...

the hills of death

so Nkabinde suggests that the state may have backed
i, report **CYRIL MADLALA** and **CRAIG DOONAN**
ST 13/4/97 (276) ₣



Durban after a peace rally held last year

Picture: RICHARD SHOREY

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If top-secret police documents in the possession of the Sunday Times are anything to go by, Nkabinde was indeed a dangerous mole who reported

to his handlers on activities carried out by the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, and the self-defence units, as well as on sensitive political matters.

For example, the reports allegedly show that he was asked to monitor how officials in the ANC's headquarters had ensured Gwala did not become the provincial premier.

A report dated June 2 1994 claims. "Source further states that Harry Gwala has lost a lot of support due to him being mili-

tant. The question of him being eliminated by ANC members cannot be ruled out."

In another document, the source reported that Gwala believed Zuma had been "bought" because he had not demanded that the vital police ministry go to the ANC.

Zuma said this week that Nkabinde had been confronted last year with allegations that he was an informer.

Members of a committee established to verify the claims

against him had met Nkabinde in Johannesburg and in Kwazulu Natal, and he had personally discussed the issue with Nkabinde, Zuma said.

Zuma said Nkabinde had been informed by December last year that he could not stand for election to the provincial executive because he had been exposed as a police agent.

Nkabinde defied the ANC, going on to be elected as an additional member.

According to Zuma, Nkabinde himself had alleged that Senzo Mchunu, another candidate for the position of provincial secretary, was also an agent.

Mchunu was asked not to stand while he was being investigated. But while the probe cleared him, Nkabinde was not as fortunate.

Nkabinde's expulsion introduces an intriguing dimension to the struggle for political supremacy between the ANC and the IFP in the Midlands.

Ntombela had been a rival of Gwala until shortly before the firebrand's death.

Nkabinde had taken up the fight with as much zeal, but his likely successors are of a different mould. Both the South African Communist Party leader, Nzimande, and the ANC provincial treasurer, Zweli Mkhize, lack strong personalities.

The ANC insists that people were drawn to Nkabinde because he was part of the organisation and that, like the sacked General Bantu Holomisa, he cannot survive on his own.

But Nkabinde is an effective mobiliser. The ANC may not have approved of his methods, but it certainly did benefit from his tireless efforts.

To this day, Richmond remains a no-go area, even for the feared Ntombela, whose supporters were driven away with their chief.

It will take an ANC leader who is much stronger than Ntombela to topple Nkabinde in an area such as Richmond because one thing is certain: Nkabinde will not bow out of politics gracefully.

Now consider other outcasts, such as Holomisa and a former IFP strongman, Mandla Shabalala, who is also looking for a political home after being thrown out of Inkatha for bringing the party into disrepute.

When Nkabinde needed a shoulder to lean on this week, it was Shabalala who turned up at his press conference to be with his "brother."

Add Holomisa, and it could turn out to be a brotherhood of a special political nature.

Such a brotherhood could rattle the ANC ahead of the general election in 1999, or it could relegate the likes of Holomisa, Shabalala and Nkabinde to the political scrapheap.

Nkabinde's not quitting

By CHRIS HLONGWA

He's rallying support after dismissal

(276) *Est* CP 13/4/97

BRANDED a spy, an informer, by none other than the highest body of the ANC, the National Working Committee, Kwazulu-Natal midlands firebrand Sifiso Nkabinde is far from taking his shock expulsion this week lying down.

His expulsion from the organisation has seen him holding many rallies during the week to consolidate his support and to challenge his expellers on every possible terrain.

A lesser man could have been expected to curl up and die after the whole world was told that he had been an agent of the apartheid regime – and continued to act as such even after the advent of democracy. But not Sifiso Nkabinde. The controversial warlord of the midlands – some would liken him to a godfather – has made it known that the battle for the hearts of the ANC supporters in the region is on.

"I will take them on, whatever terrain they choose: the media, rallies – I mean everywhere, and I will employ every possible means," he declared during an interview at his home in Richmond, near Pietermaritzburg.

He reiterated his resolve: "I have the capacity to battle with them, whether politically or otherwise."

He is known not to shrink from armed confrontation. Although he is a teacher by profession, the picture in his lounge display cabinet of him dressed in full MK military regalia reminds one of his his mettle.

Moreover, Nkabinde has been linked to several killings, including those associated with internal ANC squabbles. But so far nothing has

seemed to stick to him, despite the revival of such allegations by provincial leaders since his expulsion early this week.

As a ruthless leader he does not shun the extreme form of political battle – armed conflict. And this was seen in his own town of Richmond.

"This had turned into a ghost town," he says, recalling the bitter conflict with Inkatha that saw people fleeing their homes. "But we put things right. I have nothing to apologise for. I could not prevent people using every means to protect themselves."

The area is now an ANC stronghold – a place where supporters of other parties hide their affiliations.

An elderly woman we met by the roadside on the way to Nkabinde's home confirmed that people were extremely careful of what they said in these parts. But she was adamant Nkabinde was no spy. "These are trumped-up allegations," she said.

Some observers believe ANC leaders like national chairman Jacob Zuma would have to do more than the current slinging of accusations in the media and during ANC branch meetings to convince people there otherwise.

So far, Nkabinde seems to be shaking off the most cruel label a person could be given in a liberation struggle: that of an informer, a spy, an "impimpi yamaBhunu".

This is despite claims that Nkabinde had the alias of Derrick Nene and an agent number, SR 4252; and the assertion by the ANC that it is in possession of the names of his handlers and reports he submitted.

Provincial ANC leaders readily admit Nkabinde is very popular, but say that does not absolve him – the vociferous support he had after the



BOUNCING BACK... Sifiso Nkabinde was summarily dismissed this week, but is not resigned to a bleak fate.

informer announcement was simply a testimony to the power he commands.

As for his stance, Nkabinde professes to loving the ANC, but charges: "The ANC is good: it is the wagon to liberation. But there is a certain clique that fears people who command popular support."

He alleges there are leaders who are merely caucused into positions but do not really enjoy support, naming Jacob Zuma as one of them. Nkabinde himself was asked not to stand for the position of secretary – but stood anyway in defiance, losing by a narrow margin.

"But still people elected me into the provincial executive," he says.

True to his being a politician, which he maintains he is, he says the

people will decide his future. He dismisses widespread speculation that he may join Bantu Holomisa by saying: "But Holomisa does not have a party!"

But he says that if one thing is certain, "come 1999 I will be in parliament again".

He adds that he is not worried about losing the handsome packages of members of the provincial parliament. "I used it for petrol," he says of the salary, matter-of-factly.

A father of three at 35, he has a string of businesses that are run by his young wife, a former nursing sister.

"You can see I did not need the R100 they say I was being paid for informing on people. I make many times that amount of money," he said, adding that he joined the struggle to fight apartheid.

And of his several spells of detention by the security branch in the 1980s he says: "Yes they beat me up – but it never came to a stage where I would sell my people out." He argues the police were generally not as brutal in detention in the late 1980s as they had been in the 1970s.

However, Nkabinde is bitter over the humiliating manner in which he was expelled.

He received a call on Monday from acting secretary-general Cheryl Carolus that he had to be at the Shell House head office in Johannesburg by 3 pm, and would be reimbursed for the airfare.

At Shell House he waited for several hours before he was called in and summarily dismissed for being an informer. "When Mac Maharaj asked if I wanted to say anything, I told him 'What can I say?' – because I was merely being informed of my

dismissal."

At about 7 pm he found himself on a Johannesburg street with only R30 in his pocket after being allegedly told there was no airfare for an impimpi.

"I hadn't felt the need to carry much money as I had been told my trip would be paid for," he says.

Nkabinde also says he had to make himself scarce quickly, as about four shadowy figures appeared to be stalking him and his bodyguard.

A wary man, he has survived countless attempts on his life – and after being told he was persona non grata, he felt some people might want him dead.

Nkabinde has bodyguards posted at his home, and says he does not spend sleepless nights over his expulsion. In fact, he says, he now feels free to speak his mind.

And so, since Monday, unsavoury accusations and counter-accusations have flown between him and MECs S'bu Ndebele, Zwelli Mkhize and others.

He has brushed aside their pointing out that controversial Inkatha leader Powell and former Inkatha strongman Mandla Shabalala were immediately at his side after his expulsion.

"I do not even know Shabalala's phone number. He just came," Nkabinde says, adding that he was always with the two at peace meetings. "Nobody made any noise about Shabalala before. Blessings were given to the joint efforts," he says.

Nkabinde has threatened to sue for defamation. He is no stranger to litigation – last year he successfully sued the Zulu weekly *Umfrika*, and took home R20 000.

Is he a loose cannon, as some believe, or an agent provocateur? Time will tell, as he himself says: "The truth will out. It always does."

Understanding conflict in KwaZulu-Natal

ANTHEA JEFFERY

IN THE past 16 years at least 11 500 people have died in KwaZulu-Natal in a bitter conflict between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Assessing culpability for this conflict is a complex exercise, made more complex still by the fact that many key incidents vital to understanding seem to have been forgotten.

Some massacres — defined as incidents in which 10 or more people were killed — have become notorious around the world. Others have passed almost unremarked. The three most notorious massacres in KwaZulu-Natal are probably the Kwamakhutha, Trust Feed and Shobashobane massacres.

The Kwamakhutha massacre took place near Durban in January 1987, when gunmen opened fire with AK-47 rifles on the Nhuli home. They killed 13 people including Mr Willie Nhuli — an IFP member — and a number of women and children. These killings were reported briefly at the time but only achieved prominence in 1995 when the massacre was widely identified as an IFP "hit", aimed at a United Democratic Front activist — the 22-year-old son of Nhuli.

Notorious, too, is the Trust Feed massacre committed in December 1988 in a town in the Natal Midlands. Eleven people were shot dead by four special constables, who kept up fire at point-blank range despite the victims' screams for mercy. The executions were ordered by a former police captain, Mr Brian Mitchell, who wanted to drive out the UDF.

Though those killed — through the mistake of Mitchell — were IFP, rather than UDF supporters, the massacre provided evidence of the "third-force" role in the violence. It too was reported briefly at the time but only given worldwide coverage in 1992, when Mitchell and the four constables were convicted of murder.

Also notorious is the 1995 Christmas Day massacre at Shobashobane. Nineteen ANC supporters died when two IFP *imphis* swept down on the village and caught its residents in a ruthless pincer movement. Thirteen IFP supporters were later convicted of murder and again press coverage was widespread.

Many other massacres — no less heinous it would seem — appear to have passed largely unnoticed. In September 1987, 13 IFP members died when a group of UDF supporters led by a policeman, Mr Nkosi-



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WAITING FOR ANSWERS: A group of men who survived the Kwamakhutha shooting massacre.

nathi Hlangwa, encircled a house in KwaShange near Pietermaritzburg.

"Stones were thrown, windows broken, shots were fired, and a door smashed in. When the youths tried to barricade the doorway a fire was started and more shots fired."

Those who sought to escape the blazing house were struck down one by one. The screams of those inside stopped only when a gas bottle exploded,

"producing the final holocaust". Hlangwa was later convicted of murder.

The court, in passing judgment, warned that his actions had "sown a crop of hatred among parents, friends and relatives, the fruits of which were probably still to come."

Also in KwaShange, in February 1991, two buses returning from an IFP peace rally (called in regard to an accord concluded two weeks earlier) were

ambushed as they passed through the village — an ANC stronghold. The buses were raked with automatic-rifle fire from both sides of the road. Those who jumped in a bid to escape the hail of bullets were "cornered and slaughtered by the ambush party".

Eighteen IFP supporters were killed. Many of the bodies were stabbed repeatedly, and some had their heads crushed or beaten in so that they were almost unrecognisable.

In March 1991 a group of ANC youths, claiming to be refugees wanting to return to Ndaleni, near Richmond in the Midlands, killed some 50 IFP supporters. Having ambushed and killed three IFP members earlier, they fled to a nearby timber plantation where they unearthed an arms cache. When IFP supporters came after them, they opened fire with automatic weapons, killing 23 IFP supporters in six minutes in "the battle of the forest". Some 30 people were summarily executed thereafter, for their "collaboration" with IFP.

In late October 1992, near Folweni in southern KwaZulu-Natal, 15 gunmen stormed a homestead during a celebration and opened fire. Twenty-four people were killed, including four women and two children. The ages of the victims ranged from six to 60 — and all were members of the IFP.

These last four massacres seem no less significant than the three first described. They have attracted comparatively little media attention, however, making it easy for most people to forget them.

Various questions arise in this regard. Why do some massacres appear to have been given so much more coverage than others? What impact, moreover, has this had on understanding of the violence? Has it not made the conflict more difficult to comprehend and thus to end?

The key underlying issue is whether reconciliation can be achieved without full recognition of the truth. If not, has the time not come for frank assessment of all the factors accounting for this low-key civil war?

Dr Anthea Jeffery is the author of 'The Natal Story: 16 years of conflict, published by the South African Institute of Race Relations (R136,80 including VAT, from bookshops countrywide). The book is the first account of the conflict to give equal weight to the perspectives of both the ANC and the IFP.'

IFP blueprint for KwaZulu peace pact

Farouk Chothia

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) national conference set five preconditions yesterday for reconciliation with the African National Congress and warned that the killing of IFP leaders was an obstacle to securing a peace settlement.

Senior party members also sent conflicting signals on whether IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would accept the second deputy presidency, and claimed that Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi was "muddying the waters" in the peace talks.

IFP national council member Joe Mathews said at a news briefing that it was "ridiculous" to suggest that Buthelezi would play "second fiddle" by becoming second deputy president.

"Who wants to be deputy? We all want to be presidents and not deputies to anyone," Mathews said.

However, newly appointed IFP national chairman Ben Ngubane said Buthelezi was a statesman who had much to contribute to nation-building and consolidating SA's institutional framework. Buthelezi declined to comment, saying no offer had been made.

The conference said, in a resolution adopted by about 3 000 party members, that it supported the peace talks with the ANC but the party had to end its "petty politicking" in the KwaZulu-Natal government. Other requirements for peace were identifying those responsible for violence, gaining recognition that KwaZulu-Natal was a kingdom, protecting the role of traditional leaders at local government level and greater powers for the provinces.

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Ngubane said while an IFP demand for greater policing powers was a hot issue, KwaZulu-Natal wanted this and wanted to be fully involved in decision-making on water affairs and forestry, which were national competences. Buthelezi said there was no need for a truth commission; countries like Zimbabwe and Namibia had not had such bodies after independence.

Ngubane said there had been a resurgence in political violence in KwaZulu-Natal and about 12 IFP leaders had been killed in recent weeks.

Reuter reports Buthelezi said the killings were "not encouraging" and "unless we all join hands to do something about it, our noble KwaZulu-Natal peace initiative will remain no more than just another charade".

Buthelezi said it was rumoured that Mufamadi had ordered the release of some suspects arrested with illegal firearms in KwaZulu-Natal, and provincial safety and security MEC Nyanga Ngubane planned to discuss this with him.

Meanwhile, IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane wept as he told delegates he was stepping down from the post and from the provincial legislature. Buthelezi, with whom Jiyane was at loggerheads, consoled him with a hug.

The secretary-general's post has been disbanded and will be replaced by a general secretary for administration. Buthelezi said the new post would be occupied by Zakhela Khumalo, one of the accused in the KwaMakhutha massacre trial with former defence minister Magnus Malan.

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Buthelezi described Khumalo as an efficient technocrat who would help revitalize party structures which were in "disarray". He said Jiyane was quitting because he wanted to be his "own boss" and make money. Jiyane said he would resign from the legislature on August 15, and was involved in several business ventures.

Frank Mdlalose, who quit as national chairman and KwaZulu-Natal premier earlier this year, appeared to be making a political comeback. Buthelezi said he was the party's "national chairman emeritus" and would be

playing a leading role in raising funds in the run-up to the 1999 election.

Mathews said the IFP needed R25m for election preparations and about R67m for the campaign itself.

Buthelezi said there had been a drop in funds raised from membership fees and some local government councillors were refusing to contribute a percentage of their salaries to the party in defiance of a decision.

A conference resolution said disciplinary action would be taken against members who failed to meet obligations to the party or did not stick to policies.

Expelled ANC member James Mahlangu told the conference his Intando yeSizwe Party would look at forming a working relationship with the IFP.

Turmoil after Richmond bloodbath

(276)
ARG 6/10/97
Richmond - Richmond mayor Andrew Ragavaloo has called on locals to remain calm and to avoid a spiral of revenge attacks in the KwaZulu Natal midlands town where eight people were killed in a new outbreak of violence at the weekend.

Mr Ragavaloo said the new spate of attacks had thrown the town into turmoil once again and the situation was very tense.

This followed the death of six people believed to be ANC supporters, on Saturday and the subsequent attack on Sunday night in which two supporters of the newly formed United Democratic Movement were killed.

The latest attack occurred in the Magoda area, a UDM stronghold which was controlled

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Richmond bloodbath

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by powerful leader Sifiso Nkabinde, who is in prison facing 18 counts of murder.

Mr Ragavaloo said many locals had become agitated following the latest outbreak of violence and were moving out of the areas where the attacks occurred.

He appealed to them to remain calm and to refrain from any reprisal attacks.

He assured them security forces were doing everything possible to protect them from what he called "criminal attacks".

Mr Ragavaloo said he had approached Eskom to provide lighting in the areas because it was easy for

attackers to hide in the darkness.

Mr Ragavaloo said the way the attacks were planned seem to indicate a deliberate effort to instil fear into the local community.

"The message is clear - if you choose to co-operate with the police this is what you can expect," he said.

However, he appealed to locals not to be intimidated and continue to help to root out the perpetrators of violence in the area.

The area had been peaceful for two weeks before the latest attacks and security forces had reported a drastic improvement in the co-operation received from the community.

The new outbreak is expected to be a major setback for plans to bring lasting peace and stability to Richmond. - Sapa

Amiable Engelbrecht back in Richmond

EP 19/10/97

(276)

By CHRIS HLONGWA

SUPERSLEUTH Bushy Engelbrecht is back in KwaZulu-Natal midlands after bowing to public demand for his return.

Credited with arresting some of the most notorious men in strife-torn Richmond, including former National Consultative Forum leader Sifiso Nkabinde and his feared bodyguard Bob Ndlovu, Engelbrecht's recent departure for his Pretoria home was followed by two massacres in quick succession.

After the major arrests of Nkabinde and others, the area quietened down and children began to go back to school. But the latest violence sparked a clamour for his return.

"I'm back, it is as if I was never gone," he said this week, revelling in the warm welcome he received.

He said he returned because of public demand - there are witnesses who won't talk to any officer, even to the members of his special team of investigators, unless they speak to him directly.

"That's why I returned: to help establish contact between the community and my team," said the police investigator, who has formed a rapport with the community which is rare.

Engelbrecht was instructed to return to the area by the Minister of Safety and Security, Sydney Mufamadi, despite his earlier assurances that he was in constant contact with his team and that they were doing well without him.

He has been suffering from a lung infection and was under doctor's orders to take things easy. "But I feel like a new man now," he said.

He has been dealing with other major cases in the province since the beginning of the year, until he went home to write his exams for a B Proc degree.

Minister Mufamadi has asked him to postpone his exams until January, and the minister said he was prepared to speak to Unisa if need be.

"But I don't think that would be necessary. I'll apply myself for the postponement," he said.

The amiable man, who already has another degree, was asked why he was studying for a law degree. He said: "So that I would not be bugged by lawyers in my cases!".

The other main reason for his second "homecoming" is that new and sensitive information about the involvement of senior policemen in the violence has recently come to light.

"There is new and important information linking certain policemen, but obviously I



PERSONAL REQUEST... Minister Mufamadi asked Engelbrecht to return

would not say who they are, where they are stationed, and the nature of their involvement," he said.

The judge could not be persuaded by this line of reasoning. Nkabinde, the former ANC member of the provincial parliament, who has complained of sickness in jail, remains in custody at Westville maximum security prison in Durban.

The trial starts on February 12 next year.

He said a distinction should be made regarding the recent ministerial directive for the transfer of certain police officers in the midlands who are perceived by the communities to be involved in violence. "That is a separate matter altogether," he said. Action will be taken on those he is now investigating only when he has finalised his investigations.

Meanwhile, strongman Nkabinde was again refused bail this week after failing to be granted bail by the Pietermaritzburg Regional Court magistrate Fred Heuer on the grounds that he might interfere with witnesses. Heuer argued at the time that Nkabinde was not an ordinary citizen but a man who had great influence in Richmond and had

wielded authority over self-defence units that were linked to much violence in the area in the past. The magistrate added that the mere presence of Nkabinde in the area could have psychological effects on witnesses who had agreed to give evidence in a forthcoming trial. Nkabinde's lawyer lodged an appeal in the high court but

Judge Piet Combrinck agreed with the decision of the lower court.

The Judge believed that there was substantial evidence that Nkabinde exercised a lot of influence in Richmond.

There was, therefore, possibility that Nkabinde could use his influence to intimidate witnesses.

Shane Matthews, Nkabinde's counsel, had told the court that Nkabinde was prepared for the stringent conditions if he got bail.

That could include a hefty bail amount, being restricted to his house, being banned from any political activity, and being allowed to leave his place only

Mamoepa said.

house with another policeman tomorrow. — Sapa.

Unit to probe violence at two hostels

DURBAN — The national investigation task unit was instructed yesterday to investigate a number of violent incidents at the SJ Smith and Glebelands hostels south of Durban.

The instruction was issued after police fired stun grenades and rubber bullets at protesting residents at the SJ Smith hostel yesterday morning.

Repeated clashes at the hostels seem to be the result of conflict between African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters.

Yesterday's violence apparently erupted after ANC members decided to block the SJ Smith hostel's southern entrance. They accused the IFP of using the entrance to harass motorists driving past.

The IFP claimed the entrance was the only one its members could use without being attacked by ANC residents. If they used the only other entrance to the

hostel they were forced to pass through the ANC section of the complex and risked being attacked.

When workers started laying concrete slabs to close the entrance yesterday, IFP members, armed with hammers and an assortment of weapons, started breaking down another section of the wall.

A crowd gathered on the roadside adjacent to the complex and police fired teargas and stun grenades to disperse them. By yesterday afternoon the situation at the hostel was still tense.

On Saturday police received reports of shooting on the hostel premises. They searched the hostel early on Sunday morning and arrested a man for possession of ammunition.

Afterwards police were accused of searching only certain sections of the hostel. About 1 000 residents gathered at the complex after the search and demanded police release the arrested man.

More shooting was heard from within the hostel at about 9am on Sunday and when police entered in an armoured vehicle, they were shot at and missiles were hurled at them. They found two seriously wounded men at the entrance to F block, apparently the IFP section. Police took the men to a hospital.

At Glebelands hostel in Umlazi, two men were shot dead on Saturday night by gunmen who attacked the hostel's A block. — Sapa.

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Judge attacks Nkabinde probe

276
18/2/98

By Siphon Khumalo

THE presiding judge in the murder trial of Midlands strongman Mr Sifiso Nkabinde launched a scathing attack yesterday at the manner in which the state had gathered its evidence.

Judge Jan Combrink said evidence led created a perception that the investigation in this sensitive trial had been "interfered with" by people aligned to the African National Congress.

Giving an order on the application to have the case heard in camera, Combrink said Nkabinde had said the ANC had assisted in building the case against him.

Combrink said that contention was premised on a number of facts which left him with a feeling of unease.

These facts, said the judge, were that at one stage suspects on one of the counts were taken away from custody at gunpoint.

These suspects were taken away from Inspector Deon Wilson by Military Intelligence officers from the South African National Defence Force.

The judge said these SANDF members were former Umkhonto we Sizwe operatives attached to the ANC.

"That act was unlawful because SANDF members have no jurisdiction in this matter," said Combrink.

He also pointed out it emerged at the court that at one stage the that KwaZulu-Natal MEC for health, Dr Zweli Mkhize, telephonically instructed that a policeman be removed from the investigation.

He said Mkhize's jurisdiction to interfere was "highly questionable".

The judge said allegations had also been made - seemingly substantiated - that the telephones of the accused were bugged.

Combrink said in this bugging, communication between the accused and lawyers might have

been listened to.

The judge said a particular disturbing situation emerged from the fact that a clandestine listening apparatus appeared to have been used on the accused's cellphone and consultation room.

Combrink said given this background it was also difficult to accept as a "peculiar incident" that Nkabinde's home was raided for arms after he and his lawyers had put out a bogus story of the existence of arms while at the prison's consultation room.

He said Nkabinde contended that allowing the evidence to be heard in camera assisted the powers that the accused feared were ganging against him.

Earlier this week Combrink had said that a "full investigation" of the bugging of telephones would be undertaken.

Irregularity

The defence counsel, led by Advocate Shane Matthews, has indicated that if the court found that police had unlawfully listened to privileged conversations between Nkabinde and his lawyers, that would be an irregularity.

It has also emerged during the hearing that a retired policeman linked to the ANC, Mr Sotwili Mkhwanazi, was also brought into the investigation.

The defence has described Mkhwanazi as an "ardent" ANC supporter who was nominated to be ANC councillor during the by-elections in Richmond last year. Mkhwanazi is also a complainant in this case because the State alleges that Nkabinde incited people to kill him.

Combrink yesterday granted a conditional order allowing witnesses in the murder trial to be heard in camera.

The case continues.

Racial tension boils over in KZN

By Sibani Mngadi

(276)

RACIAL tension is boiling over in Chatsworth, south of Durban, after the alleged murders of at least 12 Umlazi residents and the failure of police to control the situation effectively.

In the latest incident two residents of Umlazi, a sprawling township next to Chatsworth, were killed while on their way to work last week.

In a bid to defuse racial tension between the Indian and African communities from the townships and to prevent further killings,

Sowetan 30/3/98
police from the Bayview police station will conduct regular foot patrols and even consider setting up a satellite station in a vacant bushy area between Chatsworth and Umlazi

In a meeting between Umlazi community leaders and Bayview police management, it was agreed that police would join Umlazi volunteers on patrols of the area during the early hours of the morning and late afternoons

Councillor Mr S'thenjwa Nyawose of Umlazi said 12 murders had been reported to him since June last year and the alleged perpetrators were believed to be from Chatsworth

He said Umlazi residents were angered by the fact that police "appeared to be doing nothing about these killings".

Police have urged the Umlazi community to view the killings as "unconnected" criminal activities committed by a few individuals, "not by the entire Chatsworth community".

Inspector R Bharath said only the two recent killings were reported to the Bayview police station. The other 10 murders were connected to political conflict between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress at H section

Talks set up to help cool simmering race tension in Chatsworth

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Political parties and the SA Police Services (SAPS) are trying to ease tension between sections of the Indian and black community in Durban following claims that incidents of theft, murder, abduction and arson are threatening race relations between the two groups.

African National Congress (ANC) south central councillor Stheniswa Nyawose said 12 people from Umlazi had reportedly been killed by residents in nearby Chatsworth since last June in racially motivated attacks.

The latest victims were Malusi Mkhize and Enoch Nshangase, who were killed on March 22 and 25 respectively. They would be buried this weekend, he said.

More than 2 000 Umlazi residents gathered last Thursday and threatened to launch a revenge attack, he said.

He persuaded them not to do so and urged them to see the attackers merely as "criminals". The ANC was committed to non-racism, Nyawose said.

He then met police, who promised to do foot patrols in the area of Chatsworth where attacks were taking place. A group of 12 volunteers from Umlazi would join police on the patrols, Nyawose said.

A Chatsworth police spokesman, Insp Raj Bharath, was quoted yesterday as disputing Nyawose's claim. He said 10 of the deaths were due to political violence between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party in Umlazi.

Nyawose said the Chatsworth attackers apparently travelled in unmarked vehicles and allegedly abducted Umlazi residents, while they were on their way to or returning from work in Chatsworth.

The victims were then allegedly taken into the bush between Chatsworth and Umlazi and shot dead. Umlazi residents had now been urged to walk in groups while in Chatsworth, Nyawose said.

Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansi said there were "slight" racial tensions. Leaders of political parties were addressing their supporters in a bid to diffuse tensions, which he believed were sparked by incidents of crime.

Rajbansi said he was unaware of 12 people having been killed, or that tensions dated back to last June.

Police spokesman Capt Vash Naidoo said he was aware of two incidents, confined to the Welbedacht area of Chatsworth.

Police did not believe there was racial intolerance between Indians and blacks, but alleged incidents of crime led to tensions, Naidoo said.

He said the first incident was reported early this year when an Indian taxi driver shot dead a black man whom he claimed wanted to rob him.

In another incident about six weeks ago, a Chatsworth man shot dead an Umlazi resident whom he accused of trying to steal chickens. Murder dockets were opened in both cases, Naidoo said.



TRC told how AWB shot ten blacks

Sowetan 23/4/98

NINE MEMBERS of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging killed four blacks and injured six others in 1993 in an attempt to scupper South Africa's first all-race elections, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission heard in Johannesburg yesterday.

Deon Martin, one of the AWB members applying for amnesty for the murders, told the TRC how the group pumped bullets into 10 black people on a road west of Johannesburg on December 12 1993.

They later cut off the ear of one of their victims to present to their commander as "a trophy", Martin said.

One of the victims was 13-year-old Patrick Gasemane, who had half of his head shot away. Another, Abraham Mothupi, sat in the front row of the spectators' bench yesterday - his nose was blown off.

Behind Mothupi sat Barend "Wit Wolf" Strydom, South Africa's most notorious rightwinger, who killed eight blacks and wounded several others in a shooting spree in Pretoria in 1989.

Before the truth panel as representative of a Boer "prisoners of war" organisation, Strydom said he was attending the hearing to support the applicants' case.

Martin, the group's second-in-command, described how the men set up a roadblock with the aim of shooting members of the African National Congress and SA Communist Party.

The men claimed to have received orders from AWB "General" Japie Oelofse to "apply hard options ... he wanted to see corpses".

Martin said they were told that a nationwide revolution would start that night and, as part of the attempts to halt upcoming elections and push for a whites-only Boer homeland, they pulled over two cars with blacks who identified themselves as ANC members.

The right-wingers forced them on to an embankment and shot them in "a matter of seconds".

They said all of the victims appeared dead after the shooting. They set their vehicles alight and picked up spent bullet cases to remove evidence before driving home.

Truth panel chairman Judge Bernard Ngoepe said he found it difficult to accept that the 13-year-old was killed by accident given that half his head had been blown away and that evidence indicated that he had been shot at close range.

Martin said that the child had possibly been caught in the crossfire, and that he was unaware that a child had been among those hauled out of the vehicles.

He said he only found out afterwards that the child had been seated on his mother's lap on the embankment when the shooting started.

All nine were arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment. - *Sapa-AFP*.

'Plot was to kill (276) youths'

Sowetan 23/4/98

By Muzi Ngubane

A FORMER member of the feared self-defence units in Richmond in KwaZulu-Natal, Mr Alfred Ndlovu, told the Pietermaritzburg High Court yesterday that he was present during two meetings in which murder accused Mr Sifiso Nkabinde discussed the killing of two youth leaders.

Testifying for the state, Ndlovu told the court that Nkabinde held a meeting with other unit members at a downtown Pietermaritzburg service station.

During the meeting Nkabinde told them that a plot had to be hatched to kill leader of the African National Congress Youth League branch Mzwandile Mbongwa and his comrade Muzi Kimba.

Ndlovu said Nkabinde told SDU members that Mbongwa should be killed because he was allegedly a police informer. Nkabinde apparently got this information from former commander of SDUs, in Richmond, Sikhumbuzo "Bob" Ndlovu.

He also testified that during the meeting it had been agreed that Mbongwa's murder should be made to look like the work of ANC rivals, the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Ndlovu said when the first plot was not executed, a second meeting was held at Nkabinde's home in Dambuza township.

During this meeting three other SDU members volunteered to kill Mbongwa.

On March 20 1994 Mbongwa, Kimba and Mzo Mkhize were shot dead during an ANC meeting at Ndabikhona school in Ndaleni, outside Richmond. The case continues.

Uncle Bob offers an alibi for Nkabinde . . .

By CHRIS HLONGWA

CP 26/4/98

(276) (276)

EXPELLED ANC leader and multi-murder accused, Sifiso Nkabinde, could be forgiven for looking a bit happier on Friday when a top Gauteng businessman came to testify in his defence at the Pietermaritzburg High Court

Bobby Molefe, a businessman who has been general manager of three top Johannesburg hotels, told the packed court he was Nkabinde's uncle - and had put up his nephew in one of the hotels on the day the Midlands warlord is accused of having ordered the murder of ANC Youth League chairman Mzwandile Mbongwa, secretary Mla Ximba and Mzo Mkhize on March 19, 1994.

"I would have not come here if I had receipts relating to the accused's stay at the hotel but I put him up in the rooms allocated to me as an entertainment allowance," said Molefe.

He said he had invited Nkabinde and his wife to attend a traditional feast to honour his father and mother who had died one after the other

Causing some laughter in court, Molefe suddenly left the witness stand to fetch his diary from his big briefcase without asking the court's permission to do so.

The diary, he said, contained "important dates" the date of the feast and other matters like a holiday he had had in Durban.

Judge Combrink could not hold back laughter himself when the well-spoken executive said one of the important dates in the diary was when he had an argument with his wife.

Molefe, who was called by the defence, said Nkabinde should be punished if guilty but he was not going "deny a man the truth" that he had

been with him on the day of the murders. - even if there had been all sorts of allegations and threats, he said.

Asked by the judge if he had been threatened, he said no - but he had "read a lot about these things in news-

He denied them all - and also denied he had been in charge of the feared self-defence units that were linked to countless murders in Richmond during the 1990s.

He said he had, in fact, helped police to solve crimes in the area. He agreed there was a sharp increase of violence after he was expelled from the ANC (amid spy allegations) last year, but said the fighting was between ANC members who opposed his expulsion from the party and those who wanted him out.

"I tried to find out who were the culprits. I initiated many meetings with Ragavalo (the ANC mayor) but he refused, saying they would not talk to criminals," said Nkabinde.

□ Meanwhile, police spokesperson Henry Budhram said it was quiet in Richmond yesterday after several incidents of violence had raised temperatures this week.

A soldier and a policeman were attacked in separate incidents in townships surrounding Richmond.

The soldier was shot at near the Magoda home of the Midlands strongman. He fired back before fleeing in his vehicle.

The Indaleni home of Constable Thulani Mchunu, who had earlier testified in the Nkabinde trial and who was again mentioned in court on Friday last week, was attacked in the early hours of last Saturday.

The windows of Mchunu's home and that of his neighbour were broken in the attack.

People have demanded more security after the incidents and after hearing shots in the townships every night. A strong police and army presence, is being maintained, said police spokesperson Budhram.



GLAD TO SEE HIS UNCLE . . . Sifiso Nkabinde was al smiles in the Pietermaritzburg High Court on Friday when Bobby Molefe testified in his favour

papers".

After Molefe's testimony Nkabinde was visibly delighted and during an adjournment he smiled, waved and gave the thumbs-up sign to his supporters in the courtroom.

Dressed in an immaculate dark suit, he had been cross-examined by State Counsel Chris de Klerk on the 16 charges of murder and two of incitement to murder against him

Judge questions fairness of Nkabinde trial

BD 29/4/98 (276)

MARITZBURG — The murder trial of Sifiso Nkabinde ended in the Maritzburg High Court yesterday with Judge Jan Combrink voicing concern about the fairness of the investigation against him.

Combrink cited elements of the case which lent substance to the defence's initial claim that Nkabinde was "railroaded" by an inquisition-like investigation.

Nkabinde was arrested late last year after an investigation into political strife in Richmond. He has pleaded not guilty to 16 charges of murder and two charges of incitement to murder.

The judge shifted the focus to two pivotal issues of the trial: the investigative team's unconstitutional use of surveillance equipment to listen in on privileged conversations between Nkabinde and his legal coun-

sel, and the irregular inclusion of two men, one a complainant and the other an accomplice in the charges facing Nkabinde, in the investigative team.

Dir Bushie Engelbrecht, head of the team, testified earlier that his investigation into the Richmond violence floundered for the first month-and-a-half. When he was approached by self-defence unit members who wanted to meet him in secret in July last year, the investigation improved.

The meeting brought him into contact with Windus Sotwili and Mpa Mtolo, the complainant and accomplice later included in his team. Engelbrecht used the men in his investigation in the location of witnesses and transcription of their statements.

Defence advocate Shane Matthews argued that many of the state witnesses fol-

lowed a trend. Each made two affidavits, the second of which was taken down by Sotwili, a former policeman. The second affidavit contained new evidence incriminating Nkabinde. Matthews cited the example of Sibonelo Ndlovu, a state witness who turned hostile in the stand, as confirmation that witnesses had been schooled.

Matthews said not a single aspect of Mtolo's testimony could be believed.

Mtolo, a former special defence unit commander, implicated Nkabinde in three murders and one incitement to murder charge, in which Sotwili was the complainant.

The judge said he had never encountered a situation where a major witness, such as Mtolo, had been incorporated into an investigative team. He will deliver his verdict tomorrow. — Sapa.

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Nkabinde acquitted on 16 murder charges

(276)
ARG 20/4/98
Pietermaritzburg - Former
African National Congress
Kwazulu-Natal Midlands leader
Sifiso Nkabinde was today
acquitted in the Pietermaritzburg
High Court on sixteen charges of
murder and two of incitement to
murder.

Mr Nkabinde was arrested at his
Magoda home near Richmond on Sep-
tember 16 last year.

The charges relate to five incidents
since 1993 and include the massacre
last year of five ANC members in Isi-
mozomeni and the murder of five mem-
bers of the Khumalo family in Kwan-
dangezi near Pinetown in June last
year.

Judgment was delivered by Judge
Jan Combrinck. - Sapa

3:00

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Township residents in panic over Nkabinde's possible release

Star 20/4/98

276

Durban - A security cordon will be thrown around the Pietermaritzburg High Court today during the delivery of judgment by Mr Justice Jan Combrinck in the trial of former ANC Kwazulu Natal Midlands strongman Sifiso Nkabinde.

Nkabinde was arrested at his Magoda home near Richmond in September on 16 murder charges and two of inciting murder. Police reinforcements are

on standby and security will be stepped up in townships around Richmond, from where reports of shooting were received on Tuesday night, police said.

In anticipation of the possibility of Nkabinde's release from jail today, concerned residents phoned police investigators yesterday, expressing their fear.

They claimed a number of shots were fired in Indaleni and Magoda on Tuesday night and

some youths were heard chanting "The king is coming home."

Police said reports had also been received that about 100 township residents had spent the night on municipal grounds. Others were seen leaving the area with their belongings, a resident said.

A witness who testified behind closed doors in the trial of Bob Ndlovu and others who were found guilty of the murder of three Mountain Rise policemen

in Magoda last year said yesterday that she feared for her life.

Ndlovu and some of his co-accused were allegedly members of self-defence units in Magoda which were apparently under Nkabinde's command.

The woman, who may not be named, claimed, shots were fired near her house and people shouted: "Sifiso is coming out from jail. We will kill all the dogs who are against Sifiso."

The witness said her house

was being guarded 24 hours a day by two policemen, but she no longer feels safe.

Head of the special investigation unit, Director Bushie Engelbrecht, who headed investigations into the Nkabinde and Mountain Rise police cases, said the woman and two families who had testified in the Mountain Rise police case were under constant police protection. He conceded that they were in danger - Sapa

'A wilderness of lies'

SAW 1/5/98 (276)

Judge slates police work and State's prosecution case, calls 'supercop' Bushie Engelbrecht a 'pathetic witness'

STAFF REPORTERS AND OWN CORRESPONDENTS

As tensions rose in the KwaZulu Natal Midlands yesterday following the acquittal of expelled ANC Midlands leader Sifiso Nkabinde on 16 murder charges, there was outrage over the State's case and police investigation, both of which were lambasted by presiding Judge Mr Justice Jan Combrink.

Nkabinde, who controlled self-defence units in the Richmond area, was expelled from the ANC after accusations that he had been an apartheid-era police spy. He then joined Bantu Holomisa's National Consultative Forum (now part of the United Democratic Movement) and, until his arrest, was making inroads as provincial leader.

In handing down judgment, Judge Combrink said Nkabinde's constitutional rights had been violated by irregular police investigation methods and that state witnesses had presented a "wilderness of lies".

The judge mauled Director Bushie Engelbrecht's supercop image, saying he had made a "pathetic witness" whose evidence "raises grave doubts about his credibility". Combrink stated Engelbrecht for illegally tapping the public telephone used by Nkabinde during his incarceration in Westville prison, saying it was a violation of his constitutional rights.

Judge Combrink also criticised prosecutor Chris de Klerk for failing to call police Inspector Bongani Mzila to defend allegations against him that he had schooled witness Sibonela Ndlovu in preparing his statement.

Reacting to the judgment, a spokesman for the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, Krish Govender, said the worst was to be expected from the province, as it had a history of the old guard on the Bench



Freed ... Sifiso Nkabinde (centre) emerges from the Pietermaritzburg High Court yesterday after being found not guilty on 16 murder charges.

and failure to prosecute in cases such as the Maban trial.

Govender suggested that people from outside the province had to be brought in to conduct an assessment of the state of investigation and prosecution in KwaZulu Natal.

Sashenar Meer of the Human Rights Committee also felt that the standard of investigation had to be improved.

"We need to ensure that investigations are handled properly so that we can get a pro-

secution in court," she said.

"At the same time, we must remember that there is intimidation. We need communities to come forward and act as state witnesses."

The ANC in the province criticised the way the office of Attorney-General Tim Motswagole had prosecuted the case.

"The families, relatives and communities of the dead people have a different view (to that of the court) of the case," the ANC said.

UDM co-leader Bantu Holomisa said "the acquittal confirms our earlier assertion that his arrest was occasioned by ANC politics. We hope that the ANC has learnt that the justice system is independent and that will help them."

The IFP said Engelbrecht had brought shame on the good name of the SAPS through his "illegal and improper" investigation methods, and called for an independent judicial investigation into the tapping of Nkabinde's telephone.

Meanwhile, terrified residents in Magdala, Richmond where Nkabinde resides - fled their homes yesterday as rumours of his arrest spread. Scores of residents, mostly women and children, were seen and small bags, carts, blankets and small items were being taken away from the area until late into the night.

Richmond mayor Andrew Raygadoo said people started fleeing the area on Tuesday fol-

lowing media reports that Nkabinde, who had been in police custody since September, might be set free.

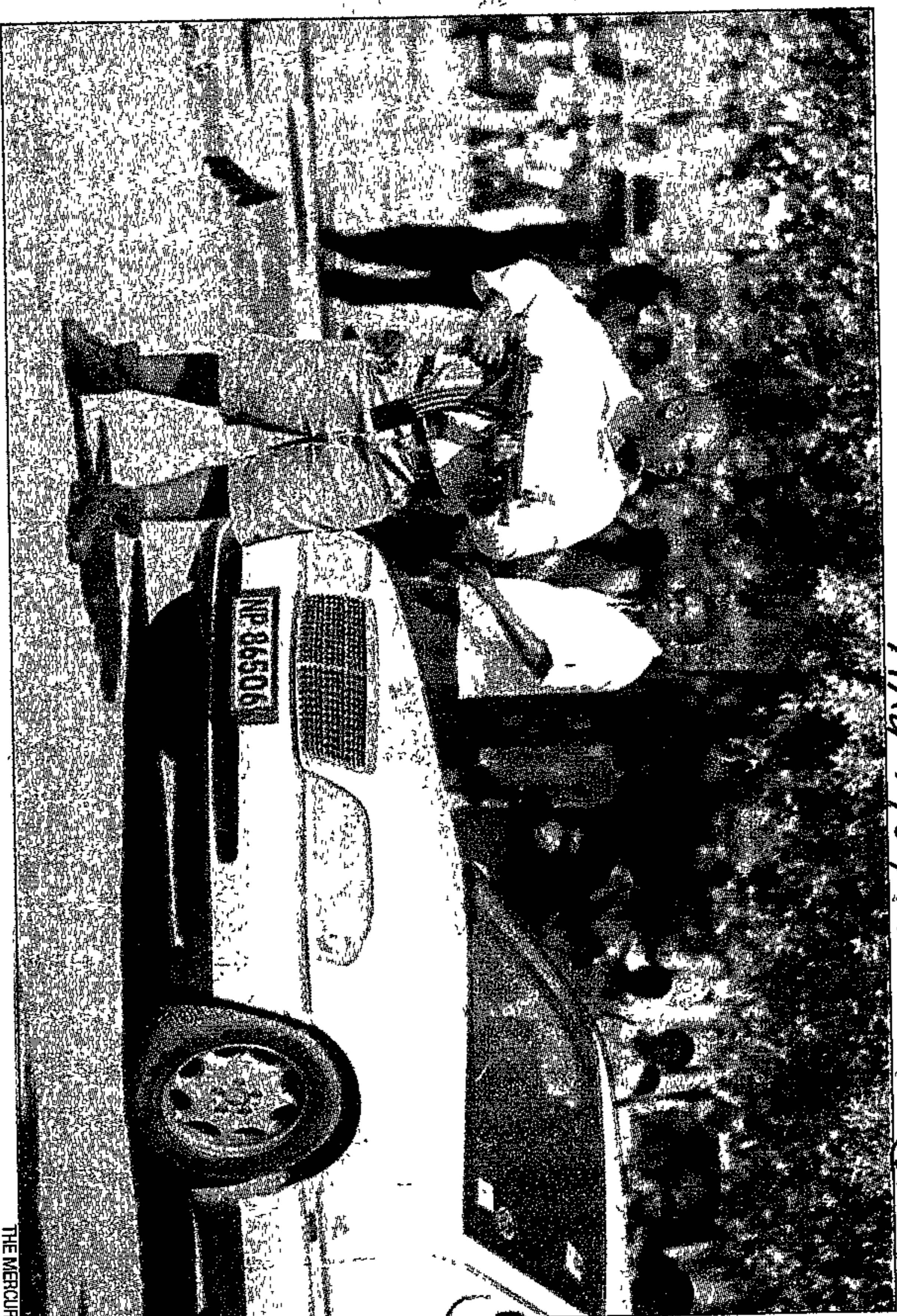
He confirmed that security forces had been beefed up to maintain order in Richmond.

SAPS spokesman Henry Redshain said the area was patrolled and that police were patrolling the area to avoid any uprisings.

Nkabinde vows to sue Government 'for millions'

AR 6 1/5/98

(276)



THE MERCURY

Menace: the presence of armed opponents prevented Sifiso Nkabinde delivering a 'victory speech' after his acquittal yesterday

Maritzburg - Former African National Congress Kwazulu-Natal Midlands leader Sifiso Nkabinde has said that his acquittal on 16 charges of murder does not mean violence will return to the region.

Shortly after he left the Maritzburg High Court a free man, Mr Nkabinde said: "I do not hate anyone. I do not have a grudge against anyone. I know all those people who testified against me were used by the ANC."

Asked to comment on reports that families had fled their homes in the Richmond area in anticipation of his acquittal, Mr Nkabinde said he was prepared to plead with them to return to their homes.

"I will soon be making a public statement over national radio in that regard," he said.

Mr Nkabinde said he did not hate the investigating officer, Bushy Engelbrecht, who had "just been used as a pawn".

After spending eight months of the trial in custody, Mr Nkabinde believes he still has wide support.

"The ANC has popularised me and I will no doubt draw crowds wherever I go," he said.

He said he was planning to sue the Government for "millions" for time



Acquitted: Sifiso Nkabinde

wasted in prison and losses incurred by his business.

Mr Nkabinde, who joined the United Democratic Movement after the ANC accused him of spying for the police during the apartheid years, would address UDM gatherings at Queenstown tomorrow and Libode in the Transkei on Sunday, said a UDM official, Zukile Luyenge. - Sapa

NEW VIOLENCE EXPECTED

Shock, fear follow Nkabinde verdict

CT 1/5/98 (276)

MARITZBURG: Hundreds of people have fled the Richmond area in anticipation of an outbreak of violence. **INGRID OELLERMANN** reports.

Supporters 'already intimidating Richmond'

VUYO MNTUYEDWA

RICHMOND politician Mr Sifiso Nkabinde put his head down on the accused's dock and wept moments after Mr Justice Jan Combrink announced his not guilty verdict in the High Court here yesterday.

"In this case the level of credibility of evidence falls far short of what is required to sustain the conviction," said the judge.

He was referring to evidence led by the defence of several instances of police irregularity and improper conduct in the investigations. In a long judgment Judge Combrink referred to most of the state witnesses as "liars" whose evidence had been discredited.

Nkabinde was quickly engulfed by his family and friends who embraced him, crying with joy.

"I thank the Lord ... the ANC wanted to destroy not only my political career but my life," he said later.

But then he extended a hand of friendship to the Richmond community, including the ANC, saying it was the joint responsibility of all parties to work in partnership to bring about peace, stability and development.

"The other road is a foreign road ... it is not an option."

Shortly after the verdict an ugly clash was averted when several ANC supporters drew guns as Nkabinde and his armed bodyguards emerged from their vehicles outside the court, with Nkabinde intent on making a "victory speech".

Instead he was bundled back into his BMW and sped away

MARITZBERG: THE African National Congress has called for a thorough "overhaul" of the judiciary in KwaZulu-Natal following the acquittal of Mr Sifiso Nkabinde yesterday.

The ANC in its statement also expressed strong reservations about the way the office of attorney-general Mr Tim McNally prosecuted the case.

"The verdict of not guilty is the personal opinion of Judge Combrink," the party claimed. "The families, relatives and communities of the dead people have a different view. Already the supporters of Nkabinde are intimidating the people of Richmond."

Mr Bantu Holomisa, co-leader of the United Democratic Movement, welcomed the judgment, however.

"The acquittal confirms our earlier assertion that his arrest was occasioned by ANC politics. We hope that the ANC have

under escort to his home at Magoda, where he was welcomed by about 1 000 supporters.

Provincial ANC Health MEC Dr Zweli Mkhize was among the ANC crowd who waited outside court throughout the morning.

He later accused Nkabinde's bodyguards of provoking ANC supporters by brandishing firearms in the face of the disappointed crowd.

"The people of Richmond don't believe that justice has been done. We do not agree with what was said in court. We have had peace in

learnt that the justice system is independent and that no amount of manipulation will help them."

Mr Wessel Nel, spokesperson for the Democratic Party in KZN, said: "The record sadly reflects that scores of people died in the Richmond/Ndoleni area over years while Nkabinde ruled with an iron fist as a senior ANC office-bearer."

Nel said the DP accepted that the court could not convict Nkabinde unless his guilt was proved beyond reasonable doubt.

"We accept further that the court dare not allow itself to be used as a clearing house for conflicting political agendas."

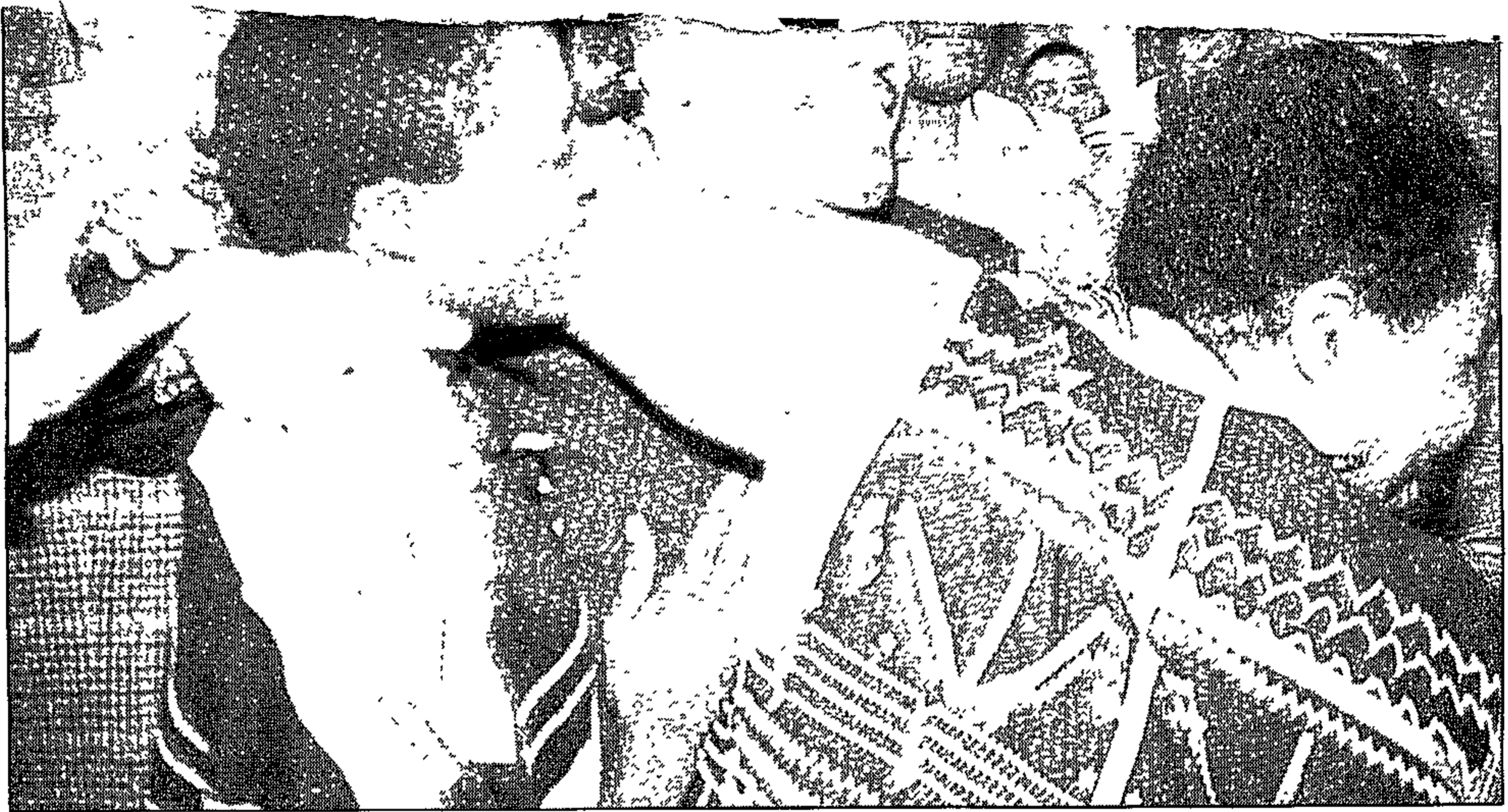
The Inkatha Freedom Party said Director Bushy Engelbrecht had brought shame on the good name of the SAPS through his "illegal and improper" investigation methods that were clearly designed to obtain a verdict that suited the political masters he served.

Richmond for eight months which will now be disturbed."

ANC supporters, some weeping openly, later said they did not believe Nkabinde's promise to work towards peace and stability.

Hundreds of refugees fearing an outbreak of violence in the wake of Nkabinde's release have fled the Richmond area this week and the exodus continued yesterday.

Tensions were running high and people were "panicky", said Richmond station commissioner Superintendent Errol Reddy.



United Democratic Movement supporters outside the Pietermaritzburg High Court hug Sifiso Nkabinde who was acquitted on murder charges yesterday.

PIC MASTER MOSUNKUTU

Guns drawn as Nkabinde is acquitted

(276)

Sowetan 1/5/98

By Siphon Khumalo

CONFLICT marred the acquittal of Midlands strongman Mr Sifiso Nkabinde on murder charges with security forces working overtime to separate African National Congress and United Democratic Movement supporters who were raring for a fight.

At one stage Nkabinde's bodyguards and those of ANC KwaZulu-Natal treasurer general Dr Zweli Mkhize drew guns as tempers flared outside the Pietermaritzburg High Court.

However, a strong police contingent, which included a mounted unit and bomb disposal experts, ensured that the supporters were separated to prevent violent scenes.

Earlier, an emotional Nkabinde broke down in court after he was acquitted.

After that he marched triumphantly out of the court amid ululating from his supporters following his dramatic acquittal on 16 charges of murder and two charges of incitement to murder.

The State's case, built on the evidence of former self-defence unit lieutenants, foundered as Judge Jan Combrink found holes in the witnesses' testimony.

In an impromptu press conference, an elated Nkabinde thanked God "for preventing the ANC from destroying" his political career.

He said he was not bitter because of his

lengthy detention. Instead, he called for restraint among Richmond residents.

Combrink was scathing about how the investigation team had gathered its evidence.

He pointed out many irregularities and examples of misconduct during the investigation which violated Nkabinde's constitutional rights.

These included the tapping of Nkabinde's telephone in prison and the bugging of the consultation room where he met his defence team.

Combrink also referred to the drafting of a complainant, Mr Sotwili Mkhwanazi, and a witness, Ml Mpa Mtolo, to the investigation team.

Thoroughly questioned

Combrink noted that Nkabinde was thoroughly questioned during the trial and he emerged as an "untouched" witness.

ANC spokesman Dr Zweli Mkhize, speaking outside the court, said the people of Richmond did not believe "justice had been done".

Mkhize said there had been peace in Richmond since Nkabinde's arrest and the "big worry" of the ANC was that it would be disturbed now.

United Democratic Movement co-leader General Bantu Holomisa immediately welcomed the judgment, saying, "The acquittal confirms our earlier assertion that his arrest was occasioned by ANC politics."

Opposition parties hail acquittal of Nkabinde

AKG 2/5/98

(276)

XOLISA VAPI

Durban – Opposition parties have hailed the acquittal of former African National Congress KwaZulu-Natal Midlands leader Sifiso Nkabinde as a triumph of the rule of law over the ANC's interference in the judicial system.

The Inkatha Freedom Party called for the dismissal of police director Bushy Engelbrecht, who was appointed by President Mandela to head a special investigation into South Coast violence after the 1996 Christmas Day Shobashobane massacre of 16 ANC residents.

IFP MP Velaphi Ndlovu said Director Engelbrecht and his team had lost their credibility by allowing themselves to be "politically manipulated instead of following the procedures of investigating".

Mr Ndlovu said the IFP was surprised by the "not guilty verdict" after the ANC had called Mr Nkabinde a "murderer, a killer and a criminal". This, he said, raised questions about the criminal justice system under the ANC Government.

The Democratic Party welcomed

the judgment and urged the ANC to come out publicly on what they did to stop political killings in the Richmond and Indaleni areas.

Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Ngila Muendane described the ANC's interference in the process of justice as a "serious anomaly".

The National Party called on the ANC to respect the independence of the courts. "Politicians must shut up and let our courts decide whether a person is guilty or not," said NP MP Sheila Camerer.

United Democratic Movement co-leader Bantu Holomisa said not only was Mr Nkabinde the winner in the case, but justice prevailed amid "some form of political pressure to have him behind the bars".

At the time of his arrest last September, Mr Nkabinde was the Richmond leader of the National Consultative Forum, the forerunner of the UDM – which he joined this week.

Meanwhile, the ANC has called for a "thorough overhauling" of the KwaZulu Natal judiciary as it regarded the verdict as the "personal opinion" of Judge Jan Combrink.

Just now's future on knife-edge

Director Engelbrecht's investigative skills questioned after his handling of Nkabinde case

BY XOLISA VAPI

The future of one of South Africa's top policemen, Director Bushle Engelbrecht, hangs by a thread following the acquittal of former ANC Richmond leader Sifiso Nkabinde of 16 murder charges and two of incitement to murder in the Pietermaritzburg High Court on Thursday.

Engelbrecht was appointed by President Nelson Mandela last year to head an investigative unit to conduct a probe into on the South Coast after the 1995 Christmas Day massacre at Shobashobane, during which nine residents, belonging to the ANC, were ambushed.

Top KwaZulu Natal detectives have been extremely unhappy with the presence of Engelbrecht in the province and the reputation he got for cracking politically motivated violent crimes.

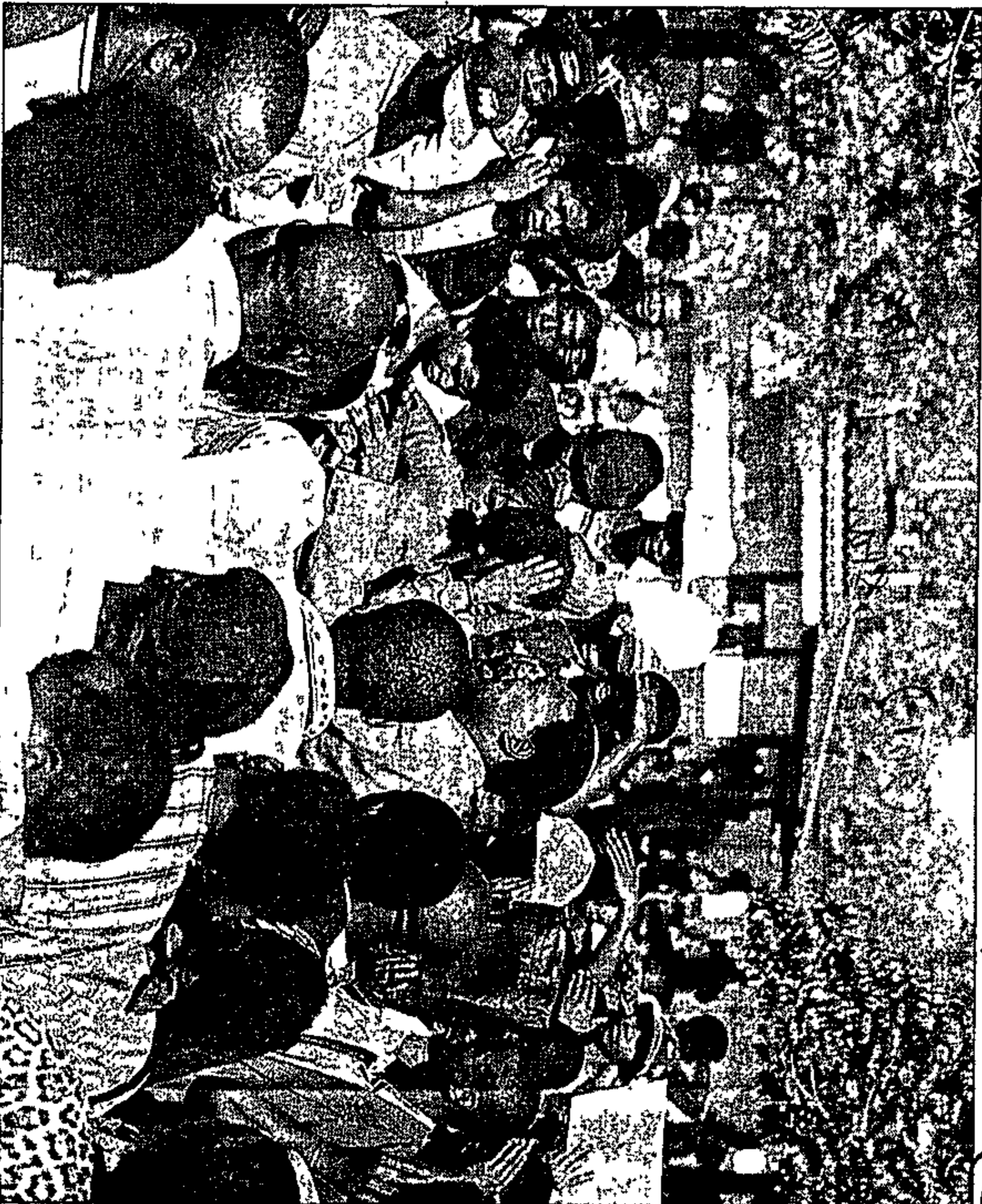
These detectives believe Engelbrecht rose to fame at the expense of his investigators, who spent sleepless nights tracking down those behind the killings on the South Coast.

A source said that when national commissioner George Fivaz advised Mandela to appoint Engelbrecht for the job, a team of "credible black detectives", who were widely expected to conduct the investigations, were sidelined.

Even experienced detectives who served on the Goldstone Commission and the Investigative Task Unit, which handled the Magnus Mabat trial, were not included in Engelbrecht's squad.

The source said that when Engelbrecht went to Richmond he was given ample resources, including bodyguards.

These resources are incompatible when you contrast them with those given to Captain Mandela Vilakazi, the head of the North Coast Investigative Unit, who operates under serious death threats, yet has a good conviction record in



SURROUNDED BY SUPPORTERS: Sifiso Nkabinde walks out of the Pietermaritzburg High Court on Thursday after being acquitted of charges of murder and incitement to murder

the High Court," the source said. Another accusation is that Engelbrecht has arrested many people during his investigations without sufficient evidence.

It is also alleged that some unit members claimed there was insufficient evidence to arrest Nkabinde. To their surprise, Engelbrecht went out of his way and apprehended Nkabinde, presumably amid pres-

sure from his political rivals who had once accused him of spying for the apartheid government.

The word is that Engelbrecht never uncovered "the whole thing" in his probe into the Shobashobane massacre, except to arrest people who were at the scene.

As a result there was a feeling among some investigators and lawyers that there would not be any

the dockets of the most notorious South Coast warlords, who were linked to one massacre after another. One of the dockets was that of one of the biggest alleged troublemakers on the South Coast, Sgqloza Xolo, who had a close relationship with the local police, but disappeared when Engelbrecht came to the area.

When Xolo was traced to Eshewe and subsequently arrested, Engelbrecht paid a R100 000 reward.

However, several murder charges against Xolo were later withdrawn, leaving troubling questions as to whether Engelbrecht was a competent detective.

Another discrepancy in Engelbrecht's probe was his appointment of Superintendent H T Moodley, a former security branch officer, as senior investigator in the unit, despite his alleged fraud conviction and failing of a lie-detector test.

Moodley, known for his sinister background and secret investigation in the Griffiths Mxenge murder case in the 1980s, is known for his wild allegations that former Vlakplaas commander Captain Dirk Coetzee was eavesdropping on some police officers. These allegations were found to be without substance.

Meanwhile, presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana has shrugged off calls for Engelbrecht's dismissal, saying that in most modern democracies, people were either acquitted or convicted.

"If we punished every police officer involved in an investigation, then we would not have any police left in this country. Of course, the number of convictions depends on the quality of the investigation, but you can't just dismiss investigators because people are acquitted," Mankahlana said.

He also urged opposition parties not to lose sight of the increased number of convictions in the Richmond area.

(276)
Nov 2/5/98

Fear returns to the killing fields

One dies, many flee as Nkabinde comes home

CRAIG DOONAN

ONE word summed up the situation in Richmond yesterday. *Siyasaba* — "we are afraid". Only a day after the former ANC strongman Sifiso Nkabinde returned to his stronghold following his acquittal on multiple murder charges, violence erupted, leaving one person dead.

Mandla Madanda, 15, was shot dead on Friday night in Nkabinde's Magoda neighbourhood as he walked home from a friend's house.

The killing shattered eight months of relative peace in townships surrounding the KwaZulu Natal Midlands village following Nkabinde's arrest on 16 counts of murder in September last year.

The expelled ANC leader claimed Madanda's attackers fled into a

valley leading to nearby Simi-zomeni, an ANC stronghold, and blamed his former political cohorts of planning the attack to link his release to renewed violence.

Sacked from the ANC for allegedly spying for the apartheid police, Nkabinde has aligned himself with Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer's the United Democratic Movement.

He warned policemen at the scene of the shooting that townships around Richmond were "sitting on a time bomb".

"When the shit starts here it won't be small shit," he said.

Friday's killing followed a triumphant return home for the charismatic Nkabinde after seven months behind bars and a trial lasting almost two months.

But, while he was welcomed back in Magoda as a hero, some residents from the nearby ANC stronghold of Ndaleni packed up and fled this week as word spread

that he had been freed.

"We're scared," said one nervous young woman.

Both Ndaleni and Magoda were tense yesterday.

Even the police were wary.

"One day it's quiet, the next..." said Constable Daniel Kisten, who was patrolling Magoda.

Nkabinde, meanwhile, began preparing for a mass rally today at which he said he would urge calm from his supporters.

"These boys can easily go and attack (in revenge)," he told policemen as they planned to deploy soldiers on the hilly border between the two strongholds.

But the war of words between Nkabinde and his former allies appears set to resume: Nkabinde said he was ready to tell a commission of inquiry about their alleged involvement in political violence and bank and pension robberies.



BACK IN TOWN: Sifiso Nkabinde and his heavily armed bodyguards make their return
Picture: KAREL



Fear returns

By SEKOLA SELLO (276)

CP 3/5/98

FEAR HAS returned to the rolling hills of the KwaZulu-Natal midlands following the acquittal of strongman Sifiso Nkabinde on 16 charges of murder and two of incitement to murder. And this picture tells it all. Cocky, defiant and very dangerous men.

Armed to the teeth, Sifiso Nkabinde's bodyguards nonchalantly display their firepower as they escort their leader into Kwa-Magoda - fuelling fears that the rolling hills of the KwaZulu-Natal midlands could once more be drenched in blood.

By openly showing these unlicensed weapons, these bodyguards are defiantly cocking a snook at the forces of law and order. It is also a chilling message to their political rivals - we are armed and dangerous.

With such firepower at their disposal, it is little wonder that many terror-stricken people in these villages are fleeing their homes.

When warlords can brazenly display unlicensed weapons and the forces of law and order do nothing about it, the country is a step closer to anarchy and lawlessness.

This is a serious indictment against government. By failing to act against these armed men, a message is being sent out that criminal behaviour will go unchallenged. Warlords will feel encouraged to create political fiefdoms, which will become no-go areas for other parties.

As long as heavily armed men are allowed to roam free in the midlands, all the talk by government that it will protect ordinary people rings hollow.

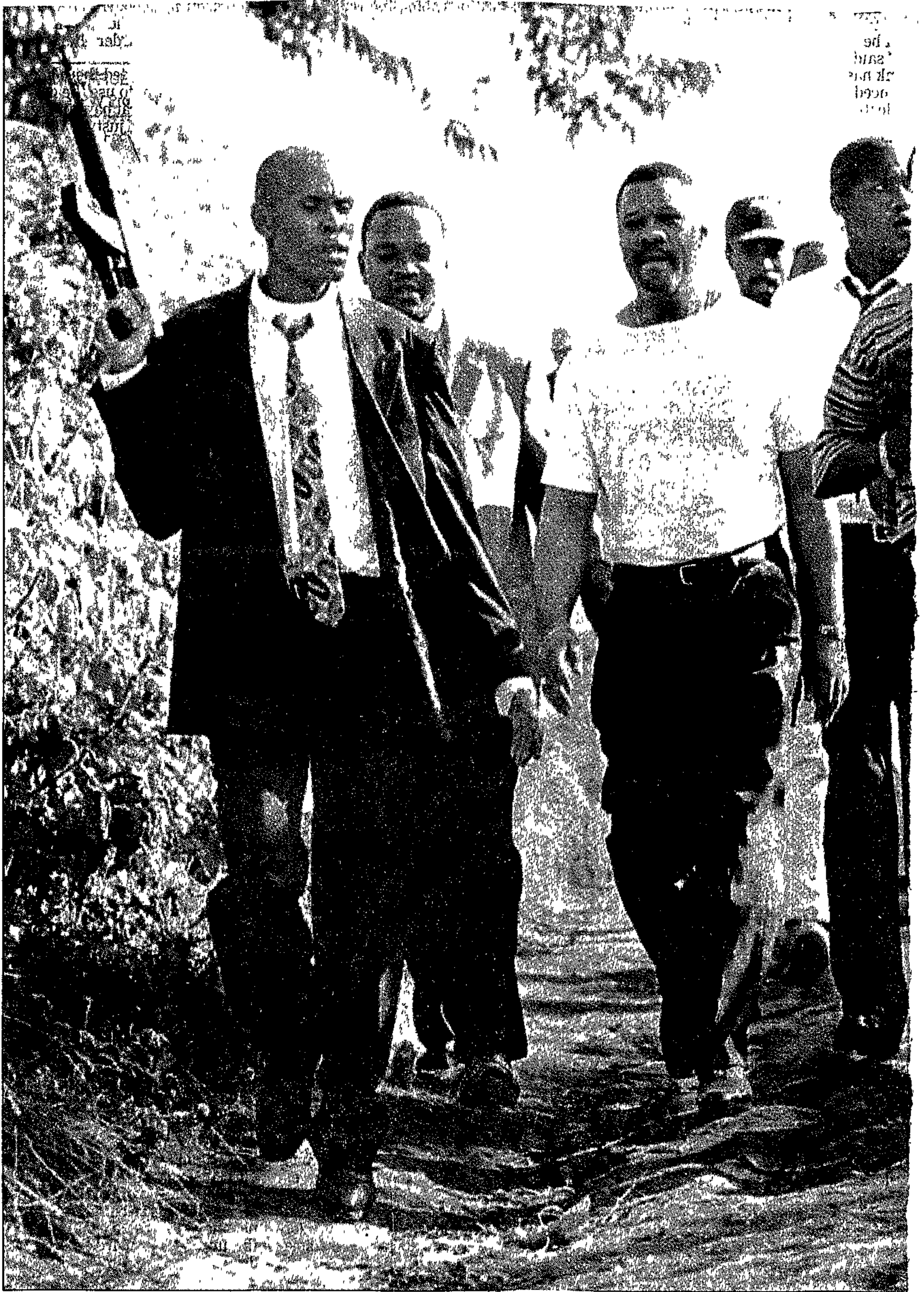
Those people fleeing their homes are clearly not convinced that they will be protected - and who can blame them?

There is only one way to restore the confidence of the people of Kwa-Magoda. Arrest these bodyguards - it is unlikely they have licences for those weapons.

Nothing short of this will restore the confidence of the people of Kwa-Magoda.

■ See Page 2.

Pic: KAREL PRINSLOO



Violence feared after death of ANC official

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Fears of renewed inter-party violence in KwaZulu-Natal were raised yesterday as the African National Congress (ANC) said regional executive committee member Bhekani Gcaba had been shot dead on the south coast by a gunman linked to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

The ANC said Gcaba's killer was linked to regional IFP strongman Sgoloza Xolo. Gcaba was shot dead in Port Shepstone on Saturday evening.

The ANC said the new wave of violence was being unleashed by an "organised group bent on destabilising" the party. It had supplied police

with information at a meeting yesterday indicating that further attacks were being planned on the south coast.

IFP spokesman Blessed Gwala said his party was also concerned that violence was escalating in the region. The events highlighted the need for politicians to continue with peace talks, while police should strive to bring all killers to book.

National investigative task unit south coast commander Supt Doug Hannaway said Gcaba was one of four people shot dead in the region on Saturday evening.

A suspect had been arrested shortly after Gcaba sustained two bullet wounds to his head and lower neck at a

taxi rank in Port Shepstone. The suspect made a telephone call to Xolo after his arrest, but denied involvement in the murder, Hannaway said.

Capt Edward Stephen said the suspect was arrested with a .38mm special revolver in his possession.

Three other people were shot dead and four injured in a predominantly ANC-supporting area near Margate after gunmen just "walked up the road" and opened fire. The gunmen fled and no arrests had been made.

Police arrested a suspect in connection with the recent death of senior IFP lower south coast member James Zulu. His killing seemed to have been linked to taxi violence, Hannaway said

PH 4/5/98

(276)

Police to probe officials' guards 'brandishing guns'

Farouk Chothia

(276) DD 5/98

DURBAN — The SA Police Service (SAPS) had launched an investigation into the brandishing of firearms by bodyguards of United Democratic Movement (UDM) member Sifiso Nkabinde and bodyguards of African National Congress (ANC) KwaZulu-Natal treasurer-general Zweli Mkhize last week, police spokesman Supt Henry Budhram said yesterday.

Nkabinde's bodyguards drew their weapons outside the Maritzburg High Court when a tense situation developed after his acquittal on 16 counts of murder. Mkhize's bodyguards, who were a short distance away, also brandished their weapons.

Nkabinde later marched into Richmond, flanked by bodyguards who waved their rifles in the air.

Budhram said an investigation was now under way to establish whether the firearms were licensed, and to look into the legality of brandishing weapons in a public place.

Nkabinde said at the weekend the firearms carried by his bodyguards were licensed. He could not be reached for further comment.

Mkhize said his bodyguards were members of the SAPS VIP protection

unit, with state-issued firearms.

Meanwhile, independent complaints directorate head, advocate Neville Melville, said investigations into alleged police complicity in violence in Richmond last year had "hit a brick wall".

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi ordered the directorate to conduct a probe, separate from police investigations led by director-Bushie Engelbrecht.

Witnesses "flatly" refused to give evidence to the directorate, saying they preferred to deal with Engelbrecht, Melville said. Engelbrecht's investigations led only to Nkabinde's arrest.

UDM co-leader Bantu Holomisa urged the ANC to accept that Nkabinde had been acquitted.

He told students at Johannesburg's Rand Afrikaans University that if the ANC continued stirring people's emotions on the acquittal, violence could erupt in KwaZulu-Natal.

Holomisa said Nkabinde had already rejoined the UDM after his acquittal and was "an asset to the UDM" in KwaZulu-Natal.

Co-leader Roelf Meyer said students should debate the outcome of the ANC winning the 1999 elections by a two-thirds majority.

Gun-waving worries public and monitors

By Sipho Khumalo

THE presence of heavily armed men guarding Midlands strongman Mr Sifiso Nkabinde outside the Pietermaritzburg High Court and in KwaMagoda after his acquittal has triggered protests from the public and a violence monitoring agency. Nkabinde's bodyguards and those belonging to African National Congress provincial treasurer-general Dr Zweli Mkhize pointed guns at one another as tempers ran high outside the court.

And on his arrival at his KwaMagoda stronghold, Nkabinde was seen flanked by heavily armed bodyguards clad in suits.

Waving their firearms in the air - including a Protector shotgun, R5 and sniper's rifle fitted with a telescope - they kept a close guard on their boss.

KwaZulu-Natal violence monitor Ms Mary de Haas has called the display of weapons "provocative and disgraceful".

"Are those guns licensed? If they are not, steps should be taken.

"If there's anything we need to do in this province, it is to cut down on

weapons," said De Haas.

ANC spokesman Mr Dumisane Makhaye said his movement was not surprised by the lack of action against those who possessed weapons.

"The pattern in KwaZulu-Natal is that those who kill ANC members are immune from proper prosecution.

"It will therefore be difficult for us to call on police to investigate and arrest these people," he said.

Proper investigation

Makhaye said even if the police were to do a proper investigation, the trial would be sabotaged at prosecution or bench level.

However, Nkabinde told *Sowetan* in an interview that the weapons carried by his bodyguards were licensed.

He said his personal weapons, which were seized by police during his arrest, had not been returned to him since his release.

KwaZulu-Natal Midlands police spokesman Superintendent Henry Budhram said police were investigating the display of arms outside the court.

Gun-waving w⁽¹⁷⁶⁾orries public and monitors

By **Sipho Khumalo**

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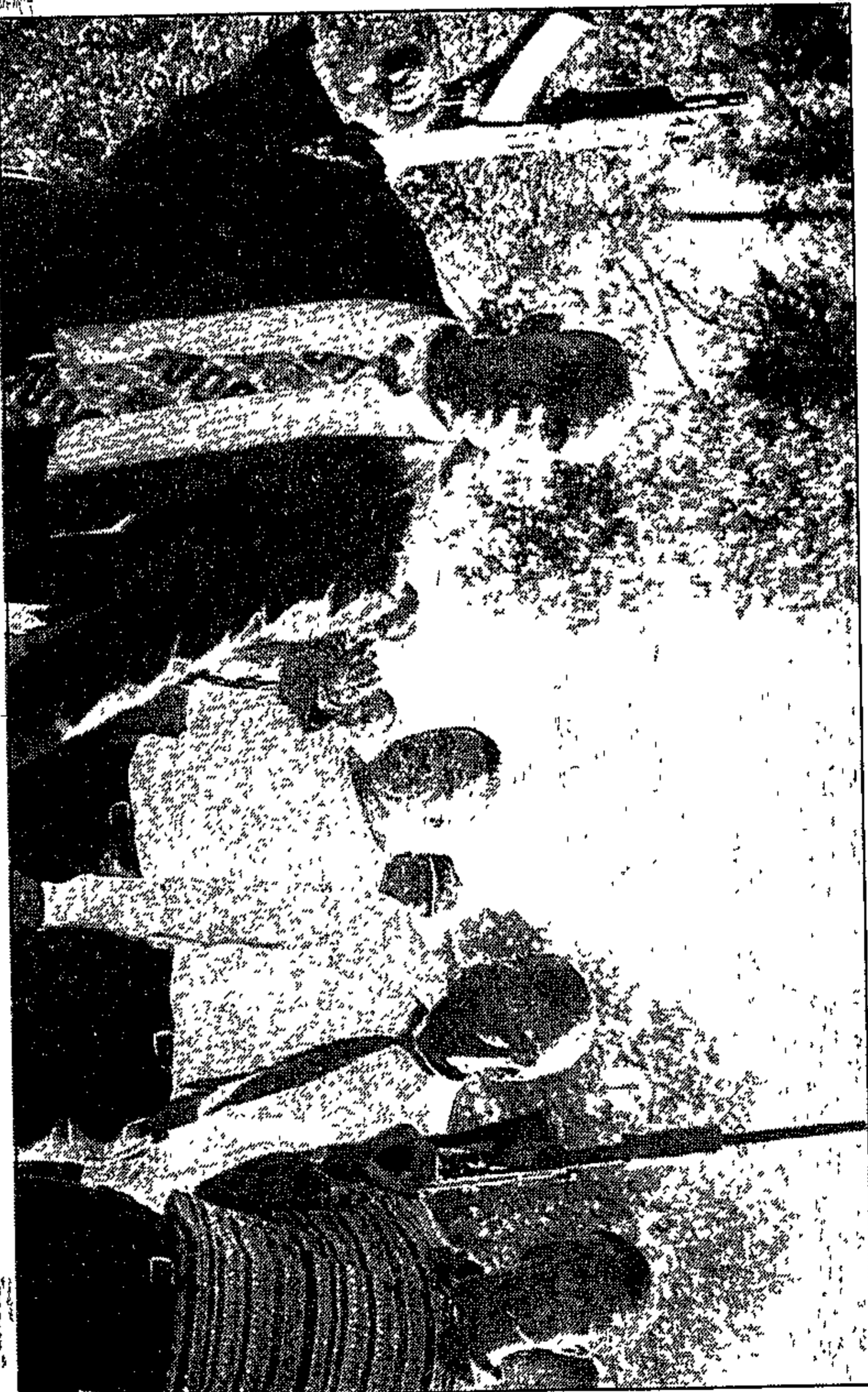
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Flashback ... Strongman Sifiso Nkabinde is flanked by his heavily armed bodyguards. Police are investigating the legality of the guards' firearms.

Sowetan 5/5/1998

Nkabinde ruling teaches lessons all round

00 7/5/98 (276)
The acquittal in the case of murder accused Sifiso Nkabinde in KwaZulu-Natal raises some interesting questions. Durban correspondent Farouk Chothia looks at the issue

EVERYONE has lessons to learn from last week's acquittal of multiple-murder accused Sifiso Nkabinde — the police, the attorney-general's office, politicians, the media and even judges.

The case seemingly highlighted conflicting views on the part of two judges on the controversial issue of police bugging Nkabinde's conversations. Judge Goodman Gordon gave police chief investigating officer Bushie Engelbrecht a court order last year, allowing police to bug Nkabinde's prison cell, telephone line, and visiting room to guarantee the safety of witnesses.

However, trial judge Jan Combrink raised doubts about the constitutionality of Gordon's order. He said section 35 (3) of the constitution, "shorn of its excessive verbiage", guaranteed Nkabinde a fair trial — including adequate time and "facilities" to prepare his defence. However, the only facilities available to Nkabinde to do so — the telephone line and visiting room — were "compromised", Combrink said.

He further criticised the order, saying it was "to say the least, somewhat unfortunately worded".

The order precluded the "recording" of Nkabinde's conversations with his legal representatives, but it did not specify that "listening in" was also precluded. Police then put in listening devices and, Combrink found, Nkabinde's right to a fair trial was, without any doubt, violated.

Engelbrecht testified that the listening in was done by a police unit separate from the police investigating team. The unit did not supply to investigators any information from Nkabinde's consultations with his legal representatives, he said. However, Combrink stood firm, saying the irregularity could not be "shorn of its legal consequences". Combrink gave the impression that he was unsure of the constitutionality of the interception and Monitoring Prohibition Act, used to sanction bugging.

He referred to section 14 of the constitution, which guaranteed everyone the right to privacy. This fundamental right of Nkabinde was breached by the bugging, though Combrink acknowledged that the section 14 right was not absolute.

In this context, the Interception and Monitoring Prohibition Act limited the rights of an accused to privacy but, Combrink added, "whether and to what extent" it was consonant with section 36 of the constitution, which spells out under what conditions legislation can limit rights, was not a matter before him and he was therefore not making a ruling on it. Nevertheless, Combrink



Sifiso Nkabinde visits a family after the killing of their 15-year-old son, Mlandi Madanda, in KwaZulu-Natal last week.

added, he could not find any provision in the act entitling police to intercept communications with legal representatives, nor could permitting this have been the intention of legislators.

Combrink's views raise the following questions: Why did Gordon give such a court order? Did he find something in the act which allowed interception through the "listening in" — but not "recording" — of conversations between the accused and his legal team? Did he simply slip up when he allowed a distinction to emerge between the two words? Did he not believe that the bugging of the prison telephone line and visiting room would violate Nkabinde's right to a fair trial as they were the only "facilities" available to him, or did he expect police to stop bugging each time Nkabinde went into a legal consultation?

With Gordon's explanation not available, the answers to these questions are not known.

Nevertheless, there must be a lesson in all this for judges to write orders and judgments in a manner that would not be open to different interpretation.

At some stage, clarity also needs to be obtained — on two key issues: the constitutionality of the interception and Monitoring Prohibition Act, and to what extent bugging can take place.

This aspect of the trial judgment might give the impression that Nkabinde was released simply because Combrink disagreed with Gordon's order. This is not the case. For one, Combrink found that police bugged Nkabinde's legal consultations even after Gordon's three-month order lapsed in January this year.

Shortly before the trial started in February, Nkabinde told his defence counsel that an arms cache was buried at his house. The next day police raided his home. They found no arms cache simply because the conversation was "bugged", aimed at confirming Nkabinde's suspicion that his consultations were being bugged.

It also needs to be pointed out that Combrink heard evidence on each of the 16 counts of murder and two counts of incitement to murder, before acquitting Nkabinde, with the concurrence of two assessors, on all the charges.

Two incidents of murder have long been in the public spotlight — that of African National Congress youth leader Mervandile Mbongwani in 1994 and last year's Esmondzameni killing of five people, including two Richmond councillors. Combrink ruled that the state's

failure to prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt was normally sufficient to acquit an accused. However, in these instances, Nkabinde "established" his innocence. He was a credible witness, with stone-wall alibis to clear him of involvement, Combrink said.

A lesson Engelbrecht, who is investigating the cash-in-transit heists in Gauteng, has to learn is never to allow a judge to question the impartiality of the investigating team. A complainant against Nkabinde, retired policeman Sotwili Mkhwanazi, and an accomplice witness, former self-defence unit member Mpa Mzola, assisted with investigations.

Combrink found that this violated Nkabinde's rights. A fair trial was not only determined by what happened in the trial itself, but also by the lack of bias in investigations, he said.

The allies of Roelf Meyer are said to dislike him. Nkabinde seems to be forging closer relations with Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) hawks Phillip Powell and David Ntombela. Both joined Nkabinde at his home to celebrate his release. The ANC might now show greater commitment to peace talks with the IFP in the hope of causing dissent between the IFP's hawks and doves, and preventing an alliance between the party and Nkabinde.

One is tempted to argue that Nkabinde's release will prove to be a major setback for the ANC's electoral prospects, but it should be remembered that the party comfounded critics by handsomely defeating him in a Richmond by-election last year. ANC supporters tend to be more loyal to the party, than an individual. This is probably its greatest strength.

A lesson the attorney-general's office has to learn is to sift through witnesses carefully. Combrink said that in more than 30 years, he had rarely seen such "mandacity" from witnesses.

Generally, a problem the attorney-general's office faces, is that it is understaffed, while the accused tend to have larger defence teams. This was no different in the Nkabinde trial. To solve the problem, the bar council could second advocates to the attorney-general's office to assist with cases.

Finally, there was a lesson for political parties and the media. They failed to stress at any stage that Nkabinde was innocent until proven guilty.

Their portrayal of him as a murderer was driven by the violence in Richmond last year, and they fuelled the perception that he was bound to be convicted.

However, Combrink said the evidence against Nkabinde was so weak that he and his two assessors were suspicious that the court had been used as a "cat's paw" in some other man's game.

This comment must have stung the ANC, given that it had pushed for Nkabinde's prosecution. It must also have observed that the judgment was delivered hours before Combrink was to accompany other Natal judges to a meeting with President Nelson Mandela reportedly to discuss the transformation of the judiciary.

A political implication of Nkabinde's acquittal is that the mass mobilisation of his United Democratic Movement (UDM) supporters and those of the ANC could trigger new violence.

Nkabinde expects the UDM to win at least five seats in KwaZulu-Natal in next year's elections. This is probably an overestimation, and Nkabinde's release is likely to create tension within the fledgling party.

BESTER BURKE 04/27/71

'KwaZulu-Natal peace in jeopardy'

BD 7/5/98 (276)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The relative peace in KwaZulu-Natal, hard-won through tough police action, hung in the balance and the commitment of all political leaders was needed if a regression to violence was to be avoided, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said yesterday.

Mufamadi said the developments in the province — particularly in the midlands — after the acquittal of Richmond strongman Sifiso Nkabinde on 16 charges of murder, had overshadowed the real achievements of tough policing in recent years.

Visible patrols by police and the military in the Richmond area had been beefed up since Nkabinde's acquittal.

The measures would remain in

place for as long as was necessary to enforce peace.

He believed more in the efficacy of "hard-nosed" investigations and promised these would be intensified in the area.

He said he was "honour bound" not to comment on the judgment of judge Jan Combrinck in the Maritzburg High Court which set Nkabinde free until he had studied the transcript.

The deep divisions in the province on the judgment did not augur well for peace.

He appealed for calm and for people to remain in their homes.

On the possibility of political alliances developing around Nkabinde that could affect peace, Mufamadi said people were free to form any alliances they chose. However, "they do not have the freedom to escalate tension and if

they are found to be deliberately doing so then we will act against them".

The Nkabinde debate was overshadowing the successes of units on the south coast and in the midlands.

He cited hundreds of arrests, convictions and sentences which had begun to make inroads against the "culture of impunity" in the province. This police action was shown to be impartial.

He said he rejected the thinking that the majority party was solely responsible for promoting respect for the law and life.

Opposition parties had a similar function, he said.

"I do not see that responsibility coming through in the debate following the Nkabinde acquittal."

Lessons to learn: Page 17

Fear in the hearts of the living

(276)

Expelled ANC leader Sifiso Nkabinde walks free on 18 charges of murder and the question is posed: who should be afraid this time? Ann Eveleth reports



In charge: The acquitted Sifiso Nkabinde addresses a crowd shortly after his release. PHOTOGRAPH: RAJESH JANTILAL

MAG 8-14/98

More than a dozen people died in KwaZulu-Natal hot spots within days of the acquittal of political wildcard Sifiso Nkabinde last Thursday.

None of the deaths — one in Richmond, four on the South Coast and seven in Maphumulo — can be placed at his door. But the fatal defects of the case which led to Nkabinde's exoneration for 18 murders suggest that the institutional shortcomings which fed the province's bloodshed remain unchanged as the next election contest looms.

The African National Congress — which once shielded Nkabinde from criticism and then ousted him last April as an alleged apartheid police spy — blamed his acquittal on Pietermaritzburg High Court Judge Jan Combrink, chief police investigator Director Bushie Engelbrecht and Attorney General Tim McNally.

Judge Combrink was a member of the former Broederbond. He joined 13 other provincial judges last month in rejecting Judge Vuka Tshabalala's candidacy for deputy judge president, in preference for a fellow ex-Broederbond.

During the trial he forced witness Vusi Ndlovu to disclose his witness-protection hideaway in open court — in spite of the mysterious murders of three witnesses before the case reached court. While not strictly illegal, critics say the move raised lingering questions about the judge's sensitivity to the impact of the case on the bloodstained community of Richmond.

However, no one has proved Combrink ruled in error. In a detailed judgment which first raised the spectre of the "unconstitutional" police bugging of Nkabinde's legal consultations, Combrink built his critique of the state's case on

a mountain of investigative shortcomings.

He branded many of the 30 state witnesses garnered by Engelbrecht as "liars", and contrasted them starkly with Nkabinde and his two "credible" alibi witnesses who placed him far from the scene of some of his alleged crimes.

Engelbrecht had spent 55 weeks building his case against Nkabinde. But the five-week trial went to court heavily reliant on accomplice witnesses and others who crumbled in the dock. Engelbrecht told the *Mail & Guardian* his team had effected 28 arrests in the Richmond area, and "we did our best".

Rising to "super-cop" status in the wake of the Christmas 1995 massacre of 18 ANC supporters in Shobashobane, Engelbrecht's quick arrests led to the conviction of 13 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

But his failure to secure sufficient evidence against any policeman in the Shobashobane case has since come under criticism. An internal police inquiry into the massacre has disclosed evidence of police complicity.

The inquiry's chief investigator, Superintendent Clifford Marlon, said one witness was in hospital after being shot two weeks ago on the South Coast. Umzimkulu public order policing unit head Jeff Cromhout, who faces allegations of ignoring repeated forewarnings of the attack, was promoted three weeks ago to the rank of senior superintendent and area human resources management head.

Such developments are commonplace in KwaZulu-Natal, where some of the most notorious apartheid-era policemen have continued to rise through the ranks since 1994 to occupy many of the province's strategic posts.

The province has six police areas. At least three are now headed by policemen with dubious backgrounds, as are other top provincial posts.

One example is KwaZulu-Natal's organised crime unit head, Director Henry Beavon. He headed the Empangeni security branch when a local ANC-aligned doctor, Henry Luthuli, was murdered. A 1996 inquest found the murder had been committed by a Vlakplaas operative who would have been working with Beavon's unit.

Meanwhile, black officers have continued to struggle at the bottom rung. The stark contrast has sparked racial tensions in several police stations.

Human rights lawyer John Wills says the provincial police force "has not changed one bit since 1994. There has been no transformation."

Wills often represents the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union, and says demands for change have led to instant dismissals of union members. Last week 29 officers were dismissed the day after they staged a protest at Durban's CR Swart station, demanding an audience with a management official responsible for transformation.

KwaZulu-Natal violence monitor Mary de Haas, Wills and Network of Independent Monitors director Jenni Irish this week reiterated calls they have made since the new government came to power in May 1994 for a complete audit of the province's police management.

Notorious apartheid-era policemen have continued to rise through the ranks since 1994

Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi established KwaZulu-Natal's investigation task unit and its four successor national investigation task units in a bid to circumvent the "old guard" and improve prospects for effective prosecutions.

But, says Irish, the national investigation task units have not

been immune to the general policing problems in the province.

North Coast task unit head Captain Mandlenkosi Vilakazi has, for example, been constantly dogged by opposition from white police management.

While violence in Mandini dropped significantly in the months after Vilakazi's unit was established, he warned this week: "Something is brewing again. I think violence will be very, very rife in this province in the coming months. There are certain elements within the [police] department who are bent on stoking it. Killings are becoming daily bread around here again."

On the South Coast, the task unit's early successes have given way to some unexplained reverses. These include the withdrawal of charges against IFP warlord Sgoloza Xolo, who once had a police price on his head for murder but is now free and reportedly mobilising support.

Given the expectations of violence in Richmond in the wake of Nkabinde's release, the single death in the area last Friday — of United Democratic Movement member Nhlanhla Madondo — is remarkable.

Nkabinde's standing in the community has been bolstered by his acquittal, as have his claims that he was set up by the ANC as a result of the 1995 Midlands leadership struggle

after the death of ANC stalwart Harry Gwala. But, says De Haas, "the fact remains that more than 45 people died in Richmond in the space of a few months and nobody has been convicted for those murders".

Nkabinde used his incarceration to cement his new-found friendships with the IFP's Phillip Powell, David Ntombela and Arthur Koningkramer, as well as ousted IFP Lindelani leader Thomas Shabalala.

Nkabinde this week refused to speculate on a possible election alliance between the UDM, which accepted him back with open arms last week, and the IFP. But he said this issue would "certainly" be on the agenda of the UDM's national conference in June.

"What is clear is that there is a close relationship between the UDM and IFP in the Richmond area," he said.

The ANC is clearly worried about this, not least because Nkabinde has promised the IFP political access to Richmond, an area where he once helped to drive them out.

Nkabinde is also flogging allegations linking senior ANC leaders to criminal networks. The ANC has consistently denied his claims.

Curiously, the new Richmond friendship circle comprises people alleged to have worked for apartheid-era security forces. Nkabinde and Ntombela were alleged last year to have worked for the same Pietermaritzburg security branch handlers. Powell has admitted he once worked for the security branch. And Koningkramer was recently alleged by a *Sunday Tribune* report to have worked for various intelligence agencies.

But this is still the least of the ANC's concerns about the new grouping. As ANC provincial Health MEC Zweli Mkhize put it: "We are already finding some of the leaders who had bound themselves to the peace process are starting to say things bordering on war talk."

Mkhize, like other provincial ANC leaders, remains eternally optimistic about the peace process launched last year between the ANC and IFP. But the growing involvement of key IFP "warlords" with Nkabinde marks a serious blow for the prospects of an all-inclusive settlement.

When the peace process started in 1996, pundits from both sides argued that the central role of erstwhile warlords in propelling the new detente was the key ingredient distinguishing this latest peace effort from the dozens which failed before. Now the same warlords may be choosing to remain outside the process.

In the meantime the province remains armed to the teeth. Police confiscated 8 000 illegal weapons last year and three truckloads of weapons supplied by mass murderer Eugene de Kock to the IFP's Powell are still floating around.

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Ngubane decides on inquiry into political violence in province

Farouk Chothia (276)

DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal premier Ben Ngubane said yesterday he had decided there should be a commission of inquiry into political violence in the province, but issues related to its functioning were still being worked out.

Ngubane's decision came against the backdrop of United Democratic Movement (UDM) member Sifiso Nkabinde, acquitted last week on murder and attempted murder charges, delivering to the premier's office a letter requesting an inquiry into alleged African National Congress (ANC) involvement in violence. *BD 8/5/98*

But Ngubane said he had decided a commission should be appointed because of a request by the provincial legislature earlier this year. It would look into violence from all sides.

He would table a proposal on the funding, terms of reference and composition of the commission next week.

Ngubane said he was waiting for legal advice on whether he alone should appoint the commission, or whether it should be appointed jointly by him and President Nelson Mandela, as proposed by the ANC.

Ngubane said a provincial cabinet committee, made up of 10 negotiators each from the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, would meet during the next legislature session. There was a proposal that other parties in the legislature be included in the cabinet committee so that they took "ownership" also of the peace process in the run up to next year's elections.

However, there was no plan at this stage to bring in the UDM, but "we will look at all the determinants for peace".

Asked what action he believed should be taken against violators of the code, Ngubane said "moral pressure" would ensure that people adhered to it. No party would want to come across as destabilising the election.

Shobashobane massacre 'planned by army and

Police'

Farouk Chothia

MARGATE — The commission of inquiry into the Shobashobane massacre took a dramatic turn yesterday when a soldier claimed that the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) and the SA Police Service (SAPS) jointly planned the 1995 Christmas day killing of 19 people on the KwaZulu-Natal south coast.

Rfn Andries Potsane's testimony seemed to have shaken the SANDF, as it flew in legal representatives to the hearing in Margate mid-way through proceedings. A group of 13 Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members were convicted of the massacre last year. However, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufa-madi appointed the commission, chaired by advocate Marumo Moerane, to probe alleged security force complicity.

SANDF and SAPS legal representatives denied Potsane's claim, saying it was based on perceptions. Potsane claimed he had been assaulted by a superior and court-martialled for expressing the view within the SANDF that it had jointly planned the massacre with the SAPS.

He was not a former Umkhonto we Sizwe member, and was deployed from Bloemfontein to Shobashobane prior to the massacre. A month after the massacre, a Sgt Brikwa assaulted him. He fought back and was charged with assault and detained at the Margate police cells before being taken to Durban.

A legal officer from the SANDF's Natal Command told him to stop speaking about the massacre if he wanted a light sentence for the assault, he said. He was transferred back to Bloemfontein. Brikwa had admitted to him that their altercation had been planned so he could be detained. The idea was to silence him, Potsane said. He said he had "sacrificed" himself by testifying. Other SANDF members felt intimidated and threatened about

giving evidence. Prior to the massacre, he twice defied orders from his superiors, as he believed they were not in the interests of maintaining peace.

Several days before the massacre, a group of stone-throwing IFP supporters had shouted to their African National Congress (ANC) counterparts that they would not see Christmas. Yet the SANDF and SAPS failed to patrol Shobashobane on the eve of the massacre. On Christmas Day, SANDF members were withdrawn from the area earlier than usual and replacement officers were not sent.

When he voiced concern, a superior told him not to worry because "you will get your salary", Potsane said. He had heard from colleagues who arrived on the scene of the massacre that they had been misled into believing they were escorting ANC supporters out of Shobashobane, when they were in fact IFP supporters who had looted homes.

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pp #17/198 (A76)

Army, police 'knew of attack'

ZAKHELENI MCHUNU

PORT SHEPSTONE: A member of the defence force, who was on duty the night before the Shobashobane massacre, claimed yesterday that the army and police had known of an impending attack on ANC supporters on Christmas Day, 1995.

Speaking before the commission which is seeking to find out if the local police had known of the massacre but had not acted, Andries Potsane said a huge braai had been held by the army at a Margate beach on the morning of the attack.

But a SANDF law officer, who arrived at noon in a military helicopter to represent the army, told the commission it was a defence force policy to celebrate on every Christmas Day.

Now a rifleman at 44 Parachute Brigade in Bloemfontein, Potsane

is a state witness.

He told the committee he had been assaulted several times by army officers and ultimately detained at a local police station after voicing his dissatisfaction over the massacre.

Potsane, who was recently held for questioning amid the recent armed theft at his base, claimed that a superintendent, Shaun van Vollenhoven, who was also present at the hearing, had been shown to have had strong ties with the IFP local leaders.

Van Vollenhoven was a local station commander.

"Three days before the massacre, when a confrontation between IFP and ANC supporters occurred, I was told by the station commander to keep away while he was talking with the IFP ringleaders who he knew by name," he said.

The IFP supporters had openly said during the confrontation that the ANC supporters would not see Christmas Day, he said.

"I conveyed this to my platoon commander and the station commander (Van Vollenhoven)."

Early on Christmas Day, he said, his platoon commander had asked them (the patrolling section) to withdraw from the area.

When he asked why as there was no other platoon to replace them, his commander had said that "it was an order from above".

Potsane said yesterday that he had written countless letters to the chief of the army on what he knew about the Shobashobane affairs, but without any response.

Instead, he said, he had been warned to keep quiet.

The hearing continues today.

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Mandela to purge 'sinister elements'

Farouk Chothia

(276) (2/11) *Bo 13/7/98*
RICHMOND — President Nelson Mandela has vowed to purge the police in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands of "sinister elements" after accusing a "third force" of colluding with killers in strife-torn Richmond.

Mandela visited the Richmond home yesterday where five people were murdered on Saturday, before attending the funeral of three people — including deputy mayor Percy Thompson — who were gunned down last week.

Indicating government's patience had run out, Mandela said: "It is absolutely necessary to take drastic action, as we have done in the army.... Sinister elements must be removed and brought to book.... We can no longer use kid gloves."

Stressing the need to draw international attention to the brutality of the killers, Mandela visited the morgue to see the bodies of the latest five victims.

The victims included Mandla Nxumalo and his wife Linette. Other victims were Roy Mbotho, Sandile

Shange, and Sipiwe Nxumalo. A 17-year-old girl and a baby survived by hiding in a cupboard.

About 24 people were killed in Richmond in the past two weeks.

Mandela blamed the killings on individuals affiliated to "a political party". The individuals were working in co-operation with a "sinister third force".

Mandela said talks with the United Democratic Movement (UDM) would serve no useful purpose. Loyal members of the security forces would hunt down the killers, he said.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi yesterday met policemen from the greater Maritzburg region whom Mandela had described as "controversial".

Mufamadi's office said a statement would be issued today. Mandela appealed to the commanding officers of the area to "offer themselves" for transfer. The Richmond community did not trust the policemen. Their departure

Continued on Page 2

Mandela

Continued from Page 1

would contribute to solving the policing problem, Mandela said.

He said KwaZulu-Natal police commissioner Chris Serfontein had to answer why no action was taken against supporters of UDM secretary Sifiso Nkabinde when they were shooting "all over" Richmond with unlicensed firearms at the time of his release from prison in May. He was acquitted on 16 murder charges.

Referring to violence in other parts of KwaZulu-Natal, Mandela said he had been informed that 60 people were killed at Glebelands hostel in Durban's

Umlazi township in the past seven months. Another 77 people were killed in Inchanga, between Durban and Maritzburg, in the past 18 months. "Dozens" of people had also been killed in Lindelani, outside Durban.

Yet, there were no convictions for these murders, Mandela said.

Stephen Laufer reports that Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said at the weekend that there was a need to improve radically the capacity of the Richmond police.

There was an entrenched view among local residents that police were involved in the violence, and even if incorrect, this belief had a negative effect on the willingness of the population to assist in tracking down the killers.

The Azanian People's Organisation announced plans yesterday for its conference in Pretoria this week ahead of the 1999 elections. At yesterday's news briefing in Johannesburg were, from left, Azapo officials Lucky Momo and

Traditional leader 'helped plan massacre'

Business Day reporter

(27b)

DURBAN — The National Intelligence Agency had received information that a member of the KwaZulu-Natal house of traditional leaders, Themba Mavundla, was among the planners of the Shoba-shobane massacre, agency official Sgt Sibusiso Mathebula said yesterday.

Mathebula was testifying at a commission of inquiry in Margate into alleged security force complicity in the Christmas Day 1995 killing of 19 African National Congress (ANC) supporters by an Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) impi in Shobashobane on the KwaZulu-Natal south coast.

Responding to Mathebula's claim, SA Police Service legal representative Chris Marnewick said no evidence implicating Mavundla emerged in the criminal trial,

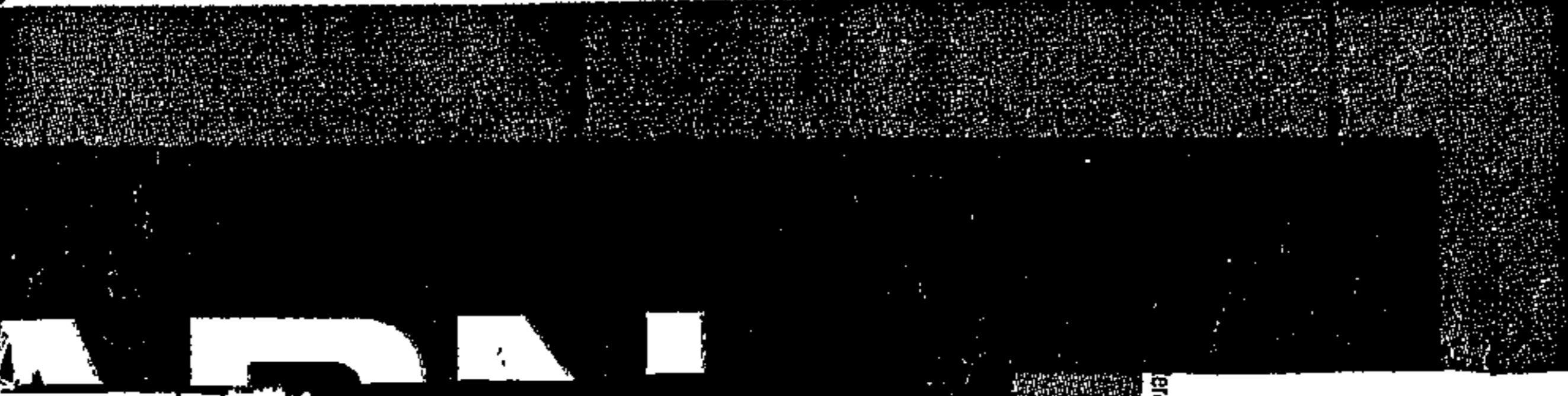
which led to the jailing of 13 IFP members.

However, Mathebula said only participants in the massacre were put on trial. Local IFP leader Sipho Ngcobo was given a life sentence after survivors identified him as being present at the massacre scene.

Mathebula said the agency had received information that the attack had been planned at a meeting attended by both Ngcobo and Mavundla. The agency submitted reports to the police warning an attack was to take place on Christmas morning.

Marnewick said the police had decided to deploy extra security force members in Shobashobane. However, SA National Defence Force member Andries Potsane told the commission earlier in the week that troops were withdrawn on Christmas morning earlier than usual. No replacement officers were sent, Potsane said.

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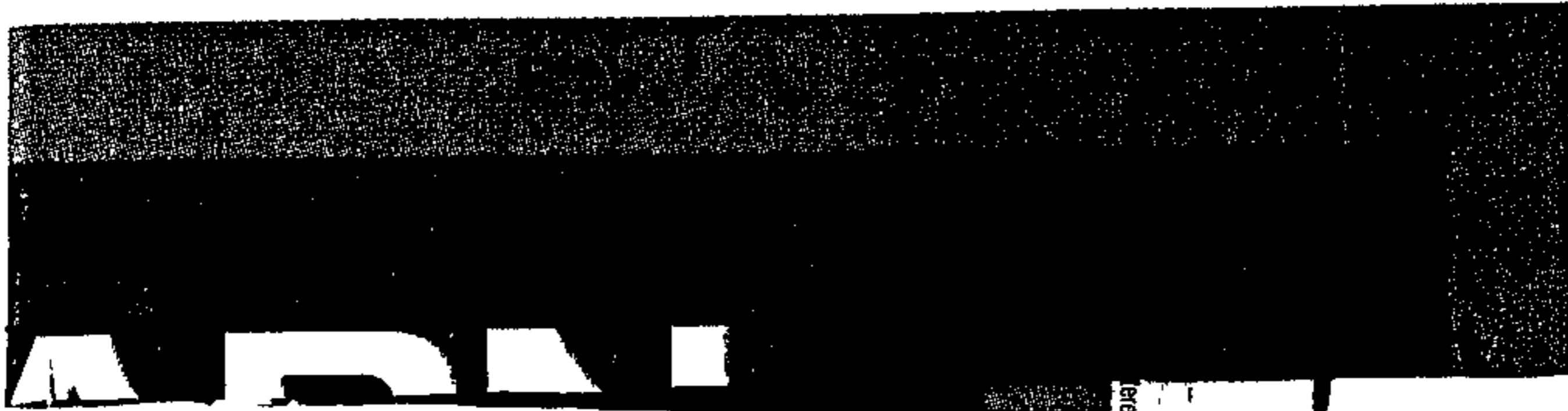
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Richmond death toll keeps rising

By CHRIS HLONGWA

Star 5/7/98 (276)

THE DEATH toll is rising after yet another massacre in volatile Richmond when a man was shot dead and four people (two men and two women) seriously injured yesterday mid-morning in a taxi ambush on the road from Magoda.

Midlands police could not give more details.

People in the streets appeared to be dazed by the latest round of violence.

On Friday night in the centre of Richmond, eight people, including the deputy mayor of the town, Percy Thompson, were massacred while watching a World Cup soccer match on television in a local tavern.

Balaclava-clad gunmen, travelling in three vehicles, stormed the tavern at about 7 pm and mowed down regulars, mainly apolitical people.

A police spokesman said bodies were strewn all over in pools of blood.

The dead include: Shan Anniruth, Marcel Heerlall, Noor Bawoog, Hethandra Parshotam, a woman named Gugu, a man called Sosibo and Musa Wamber.

It is believed the attackers were after Thompson whose mother, Lulu, had recently received anonymous calls warning her that her second-born son was to be killed.

Thompson is the second high-profile Richmond leader to be murdered. Councillor Rodney van der Byl was murdered last year and nobody has been brought to book.

Most of the more than nearly 70 killings since last year have taken place in the rural areas of Magoda, Indaleni and Esimozomeni.

Thompson, said to have been fearless and carefree, had been warned by his colleagues not to frequent public places.

He is the 19th murder victim since the renewed violence began a month ago.

In 1991 Lulu Thompson's eldest son was killed in the ANC/IFP conflict, which remains unsolved. Now she is left with her youngest and last child, Derrick, in Standard 9.

The ANC's director of information and publicity, Ronnie Mamoepa, commenting on the Friday massacre, said in a statement: "The cold-blooded murder of nine Richmond residents, including the deputy mayor, underlines the fact that the third force network in the area remains intact and is bent on the continued destabilisation of the area."

"This incident forms part of a concerted campaign over the last few months to turn Richmond into a no-go area for the ANC through the callous murder of leading ANC activists, with a sense of impunity.

"Only those political parties that believe they can ride over the corpses of the masses of the people to political power stand to benefit from these heinous activities."

Provincial ANC treasurer Dr Zweli Mkhize said there were already attempts at a possible cover-up. "At the scene of the attack we found cartridges and other evidence that showed the investigation may be shoddy.

"It is a pattern: a shoddy investigation, a mess-up in the prosecution and a mess-up in the court judgment."

The rival United Democratic Movement has strenuously denied any link to the massacre after local ANC chairperson Siphiwo Ntinga alleged that one of the cars used by the attackers belonged to a UDM man.

UDM leader Sifiso Nkabinde, whose stronghold is Magoda, could not be reached for comment.

Startling revelations on Shobashobane massacre

Spy says senior cops had been alerted

By CHRIS HLONGWA

A TOP spy claimed senior cops had been alerted two weeks before one of the worst mass murders in South Africa - the Shobashobane massacre.

The 1995 Christmas morning attack left 19 men, women and children dead.

National Intelligence agent Sibhuso Mathebula, head of the provincial NIA office in Durban, said he was surprised when he heard people had been butchered because 14 days before, a senior police officer had signed a document acknowledging receipt of an NIA report warning them of the attack.

The commission of inquiry into a massacre once likened by a Durban judge to ethnic cleansing, also heard startling evidence by a soldier who said senior police and army commanders had planned the killing of ANC supporters by IFP men.

Bloemfontein-based rifleman Andries Pottsane also told the commission that his platoon had been inexplicably ordered out of Shobashobane on the morning of the killings. Instead a "big party" was organised for them and the soldiers who

should have gone on a shift to relieve them.

The long-running inquiry, headed by Advocate Murraino Moerane, SC, resumed this week at the south coast Marburg Haven Hall, after a five month break. The commission is investigating how the police in Portshepstone handled the information they received before and after the attack.

There are allegations of police complicity in the murders in which 200 ANC people were set upon by 3 000 IFP supporters and their leaders.

Several policemen have since been investigated but no conclusive evidence against them could be produced. Only one was charged, for culpable homicide, but was later set free for lack of evidence.

The inquiry was this week given a glimpse of the secret spy-world but the press was barred from taking pictures of the fashionably dressed, short and stockily built man whose eyes narrowly opened like slits as he fielded questions from the sharp lawyers of the police bosses.

The all-round excitement was short-lived as evidence failed to live up to hopes of spies, when questions by police lawyers revolved



FLASHBACK... Some of the 18 graves at the burial of Shobashobane victims which was attended by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Deputy President of the ANC Jacob Zuma (both extreme left in the picture).

mainly around mundane procedures between police and NIA spies in passing information. The secret flavour was restricted to "spy-speak" - "I'm not prepared to disclose" such and such information. Mathebula who had a part in compiling a report to the police based on information from a "train-

(276)
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He said he had been surprised because the police had been given information about a "specific area and a specific issue", said Mathebula.

The NIA man was called to testify after Captain Anton Koorzen, the national task team investigating officer from the Northern Cape, who worked in the case with his superior, the well-known detective Bushy Engelbrecht, told the commission he did not generally believe NIA reports.

Koorzen, who said he had previously done more than 60 unrest-related cases, said there had been much hearsay evidence of police complicity but "concrete evidence? No".

Further damning allegations against the police and army came from rifleman Pottsane who said he had been told by senior SANDF men to keep quiet about Shobashobane.

He told the commission he was convinced the police and the SANDF had planned the attack with IFP men.

His platoon commander told them at 5 am on Christmas Day he had received an order that they should leave Shobashobane and go back to base at Margate.

"I asked him why we must go back now because the platoon that should relieve us had not come. He

just told me that this was an order and we drove back to Margate," said Pottsane.

Back at camp they had a braai. Later they were told to go to Ezngolweni (Shobashobane is part of the district) and heard people had been killed and houses burnt.

He was also told looters had been escorted by police out of Shobashobane, and because of what he had seen he came to the conclusion the attack had been planned.

Pottsane alleged he kept on talking about Shobashobane afterwards and was involved in a fight with a senior officer in an incident which was later revealed to him to have been a set up.

He was put in police cells and later in cells in Durban where a lawyer speaking about Shobashobane because I was going to put the army into trouble.

"In January 1996 I wrote a letter to the Chief of the Army asking that they should investigate the Shobashobane incident thoroughly," said Pottsane.

The response, he said, was that he should forget the Shobashobane incident.

Thirteen IFP supporters were last year sentenced to long-term imprisonment for the massacre. The inquiry continues tomorrow.

Murder probe 'deeply flawed'

Farouk Chothia

(276)

6/19/98

DURBAN — Richmond mayor Andrew Ragavaloo accused the SA Police Service (SAPS) yesterday of conducting a "flawed" investigation of the massacre of eight people — including deputy mayor Percy Thompson — at a bar on Friday night.

The funerals for three of the victims, Roon Abdool Haroon, Shan Annuruth and Hattan Parshotam, took place yesterday, while the remaining five victims were to be buried this weekend.

Politically motivated violence has claimed the lives of 62 people in the area since May last year.

Ragavaloo, an African National Congress (ANC) member, said the latest attack reflected a shift in the pattern of violence. The community as a whole was now being targeted.

Apart from Thompson, the other victims were residents who had gathered at the pub to watch football. Seven people were injured in the attack, he said.

Ragavaloo, scathing in his criticism of the SAPS, said the massacre took place about 500m from the police station. How-

ever, gunmen armed with AK-47, R-1 and R-5 rifles had managed to shoot at people inside the pub, at vehicles outside and escape in a getaway car without police taking action to stop them. This indicated that police were either incompetent or were part of a "third force" that had increased confidence after the acquittal of United Democratic Movement (UDM) secretary Sifiso Nkabinde on murder charges in May, Ragavaloo said.

He said police had left spent cartridges and bullets, which were important evidence, at the scene. Several survivors had not yet been interviewed.

Police spokesman Supt Henry Budhram confirmed that the attack took place near a police station, but defended the police saying that "nobody knew what was going to happen".

A special project team led by Capt Ampie Botha was investigating the murders. Extra policemen and soldiers had been deployed, and high-visibility patrols were being carried out, Budhram said.

A police source said many policemen supported declaring a state of emergency in Richmond.

However, ANC KwaZulu-Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said it was not the solution because of weaknesses within the police service, prosecution and the judiciary. The ANC would instead embark on a mass action campaign to press for reform within these institutions.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi would be urged to visit Richmond, Ragavaloo said.

UDM spokesman Sifiso Bengu denied that party supporters were involved in the killings. Nkabinde had nothing to gain from violence in Richmond.

Bengu said the UDM was also a victim of violence. Residents in the UDM stronghold of Magoda had been unable to go into town over the past few weeks. Taxis ferrying them were fired on as they drove by the ANC stronghold of Ndaleni. He said a UDM supporter was shot dead on Saturday. The ANC and UDM should engage in peace talks, Bengu said.

Ruling out such talks, Ragavaloo said police should search vehicles for weapons. A weapons amnesty also should be considered to encourage people to hand in illegal guns, he said.

Police 'stood by' at attack

(R76) ARG 7/7/98

on Boipatong

Killers seek amnesty

Sebokeng - Police sat in a Casspir and watched Inkatha Freedom Party warriors massacre residents of Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle in 1992, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has heard here.

The TRC's amnesty committee was hearing testimony yesterday about the massacre, which left 46 people dead, and caused national and international outrage in June 1992.

Sixteen Inkatha Freedom Party members, who were convicted for the murders in 1994, have applied for amnesty for their part in the attack, which involved between 200 and 300 hostel dwellers.

One of the raiding party, Victor Mthandeni Mthembu, 29, who was an IFP youth leader at the time, said in his application that IFP members were being constantly threatened by African National Congress members in Boipatong. He said the homes of IFP members were burnt down and they had to seek refuge at the KwaMadala hostel.

He described how the men in the hostel were called together on a Sunday night in June 1992 and told they were going to attack the ANC. He said they were told to put on red headbands so that they did not kill one another.

He told the committee the police were not involved in the attack.

But he said the armed men passed a police Casspir parked outside the entrance to Boipatong, while the policemen inside watched the party pass and did nothing to stop it.

The Casspir was developed by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the police in the 1970s as an armoured vehicle for patrolling troubled townships. Mthembu said that after the attack the police-

men in the Casspir followed the attackers back to the hostel, but still did nothing, and later left.

He did not describe the actual attack on the residents of Boipatong, but said a lot of property was stolen from them.

He said that after the attack the IFP's former Transvaal strongman, Themba Khoza, visited them and told them police had surrounded the hostel.

He said Mr Khoza told them to destroy everything they had taken during the attack, such as blankets, television sets and appliances. Mthembu said the items were burnt to ashes in the middle of the hostel while the police waited outside.

He said hostel dwellers later gathered at a nearby stadium where they were addressed by Mr Khoza, who, in the presence of former police commissioner General Johann van der Merwe, urged them to co-operate with police.

Mthembu and the other applicants are all serving prison sentences after being convicted in 1994 of the murders.

But at the time they denied any knowledge of the massacre and are expected to give more details of the events leading to the attack during their applications for amnesty.

About 300 people, including survivors of the Boipatong massacre, were present and sang quietly during the many adjournments caused by the need for lawyers to consult their clients.

The hearing is being held at the Sebokeng College of Education in Sebokeng, not far from Boipatong, where the incident took place six years ago.

One of the survivors of the attack is eight-year-old Aletta Moletj, who was seriously injured and is now confined to a wheelchair.

The hearing continues today. - Sapa

Boipatong killers 'tipped off' about police raid'

Nov 7/07/98

(276)

DEBBIE YAZBEK

IFP leader ordered hostel dwellers to burn bloodstained clothes and booty, TRC told

BY RAPULE TABANE AND SAPA

Senior Inkatha Freedom Party Gauteng leader Themba Khoza instructed hostel dwellers the day after the Boipatong massacre to burn their bloodstained clothes and the items they had looted because police were going to raid the hostel, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission heard yesterday.

Sixteen IFP members, convicted for the murders in 1994, have applied for amnesty for their part in the attack, carried out by 200-300 hostel dwellers.

One of the applicants, former hostel dweller Victor Mthembu, also revealed that policemen in a Casspir parked outside the entrance to Boipatong had watched as the Impi passed them on their way into the township.

Mthembu said, however, that police were not directly involved in the attack, which left 45 people dead and 18 seriously injured, and derailed negotiations between the then National Party government and the ANC.

The massacre led to the ANC pulling out of the Codesa negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The ANC and other organisations believed the attack, and similar violence around the country, was being orchestrated by an NP government sponsored third force which wanted to weaken anti-apartheid organisations at the talks.

Mthembu, who, with his co-applicants, is serving a lengthy sentence for his part in the killings, said township residents had provoked the attack.

"Today I am sitting behind bars for my actions, but I would not have done it if Boipatong residents had not attacked our hostel, KwaMadala," he said.

Mthembu added that on the night of June 17 1992 all hostel

residents were called to a meeting where they were told by his amnesty co-applicant Bhekli Mkhize that they had to attack the township's residents.

Women were barred from the meeting and muti was sprinkled on the men's weapons to protect them against harm before they left for the township.

He said he took part in the attack because he had seen many IFP supporters being killed by township residents.

"Comrades did not allow us in the townships. Every time I boarded a taxi to the township, I knew I was risking my life."

Mthembu said Khoza came to the hostel the day after the attack and told them that police had surrounded the hostel. He said Khoza told them to destroy everything they had taken in the attack, such as blankets, television sets and appliances.

Mthembu said the items were set alight in the middle of the hostel while the police waited outside.

Hostel dwellers later gathered at a nearby stadium where they were addressed by Khoza, who, in the presence of former police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, urged them to co-operate with police.

Mthembu said that after the attack, the policemen in the Casspir followed them back to the hostel but did not apprehend them.

About 800 people, including survivors of the massacre, were present at the hearing and sang quietly during the many adjournments.

The hearing is being held at the Sebokeng College of Education in Sebokeng, not far from Boipatong where the incident took place six years ago.

Mthembu's testimony was postponed until today because victims' lawyers needed time to consult with the families.



Still suffering ... Matseleng Molete and her 9-year-old daughter Mita, who was hacked and stabbed by attackers during the Boipatong massacre in 1992. As a result, Mita's growth has been stunted and she is wheelchair bound.

Where are the white people who attacked us, asks mother of girl handicapped in massacre

BY RAPULE TABANE

Molete was only 3 years when her family was attacked by a group of men at Park, Boipatong, in 1992. The girl's growth was stunted by the attack, in which

she was hacked and stabbed and, six years later, she still looks about 3 years old.

Mita was saved by her mother, Matseleng Molete, who injured her hands while trying to ward off blows from the men.

The wheelchair-bound Mita

came to the TRC hearings in Sebokeng to hear the confessions of the men who took part in the attack - which also left her father Pule Lekabe dead. Lekabe was stabbed, dragged outside and shot.

Mita, who attends J C Mer-

kins school for the disabled, was close to tears as she watched her mother sob uncontrollably during the hearing.

Matseleng Molete said she could not forgive the applicants because the truth had yet to be told. "My baby and I were at-

tacked by white people. It was a white person who stabbed me in the face and hit my child on the head. Where are those white people today?" she asked.

Victor Mthandeni Mthembu (29), convicted for taking part in the massacre, told the am-

nesty committee he was sorry, and asked for forgiveness from the survivors and families of the victims. "Today I am sitting behind bars for my actions but I would not have done it if Boipatong residents had not attacked our hostel," he said.

Kasrils says violence in Richmond cannot

**Farouk Chothia
and Drew Forrest**

DEPUTY Defence Minister Rommie Kasrils said yesterday the security forces did not have a magic wand to end violence in Richmond but their intelligence and investigative capacity was being improved so that the "small group of highly trained killers" operating in the area could be arrested.

His comments came against the backdrop of African National Congress (ANC) secretary-general Kgalema Motlanthe

hinting at the possibility of talks with the United Democratic Movement (UDM) about the violence.

Asked whether the ANC was willing to meet Richmond-based UDM secretary Sifiso Nkabinde, Motlanthe said: "We are ready to meet whomsoever to discuss ways and means of finding solutions." The ANC in KwaZulu-Natal has consistently ruled out talks with Nkabinde, saying he did not have genuine support in Richmond and they did not want to give him legitimacy. Kasrils and safety and security secre-

tary Azhar Cachalia held talks with SA National Defence Force Natal Command head Maj-Gen Chris Le Roux and KwaZulu-Natal police commissioner Chris Serfontein in Durban after the murder of eight people in a Richmond bar on Friday evening.

They also visited bereaved families in Richmond, who indicated that they had little confidence in the security forces.

However, Kasrils defended the police and army at a news briefing in Richmond, saying they worked under difficult conditions and faced an "uphill battle".

being acquitted on murder charges related to earlier violence in Richmond.

Richmond has long been seen as Nkabinde's stronghold but the ANC defeated him convincingly in a by-election before his arrest last year.

Cachalia said the violence was aimed at disrupting a "quite calm and homogeneous community" in the run-up to next year's elections. If the "small group of highly trained killers" were not arrested soon, the "seeds of destabilisation" could spread. Motlanthe, when asked whether a "third

Deploying additional security force members to Richmond was not an "easy thing" as safety and security had to be maintained in nine provinces, Kasrils said.

Cachalia said that while no firm conclusions had as yet been reached, it seemed there was an escalation in violence in May, after a lull of about six months. About 20 people had been killed since May, while there were hardly any reported incidents in the previous six months, he said.

Observers pointed out that Nkabinde was released from detention in May after

force" was behind Friday's massacre, said such labels "obfuscated" issues. The problem in Richmond was a "deep-seated" one related to KwaZulu-Natal's criminal justice system. Cases were poorly investigated and the findings were not translated into indictments by the attorney-general, he said.

The ANC national working committee decided at a meeting earlier this week that police commissioner George Fivaz should be asked to visit Richmond.

Comment: Page 11

be solved overnight

(36)

Five killed in night attack as Richmond toll rises

(276)

MICHAEL SCHMIDT, S'THEMBISO
MSOMI and RONNIE GOVENDER

ST 12/7/98

FOUR young men and a woman were gunned down last night in the embattled KwaZulu-Natal town of Richmond, bringing the week's death toll to 24.

Last night the ANC called for the town's top policemen to be fired.

ANC national executive committee member Zweli Mkhize confirmed that the killings took place late last night, saying it appeared that gunmen had cold-bloodedly executed the five at a home in the ANC stronghold of Lusaka in Richmond's Ndoleni township.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi has summoned top KwaZulu-Natal police who are responsible for security in Richmond to an urgent meeting with him in Pretoria today, where he is expected to demand an explanation.

"A dressing-down is not good enough," Mkhize said, "they must be fired. The third force is regrouping in Richmond. We cannot tolerate a justice system that handles warlordism with cushioned gloves."

Today, President Nelson Mandela will attend funeral of slain deputy mayor Percy Thompson, 24, in the town. He will also visit the families of eight victims slain along with Thompson last week as they were watching soccer on TV in a tavern.

The Midlands town and its townships have been transformed into a war zone over recent weeks as killers strike almost nightly.

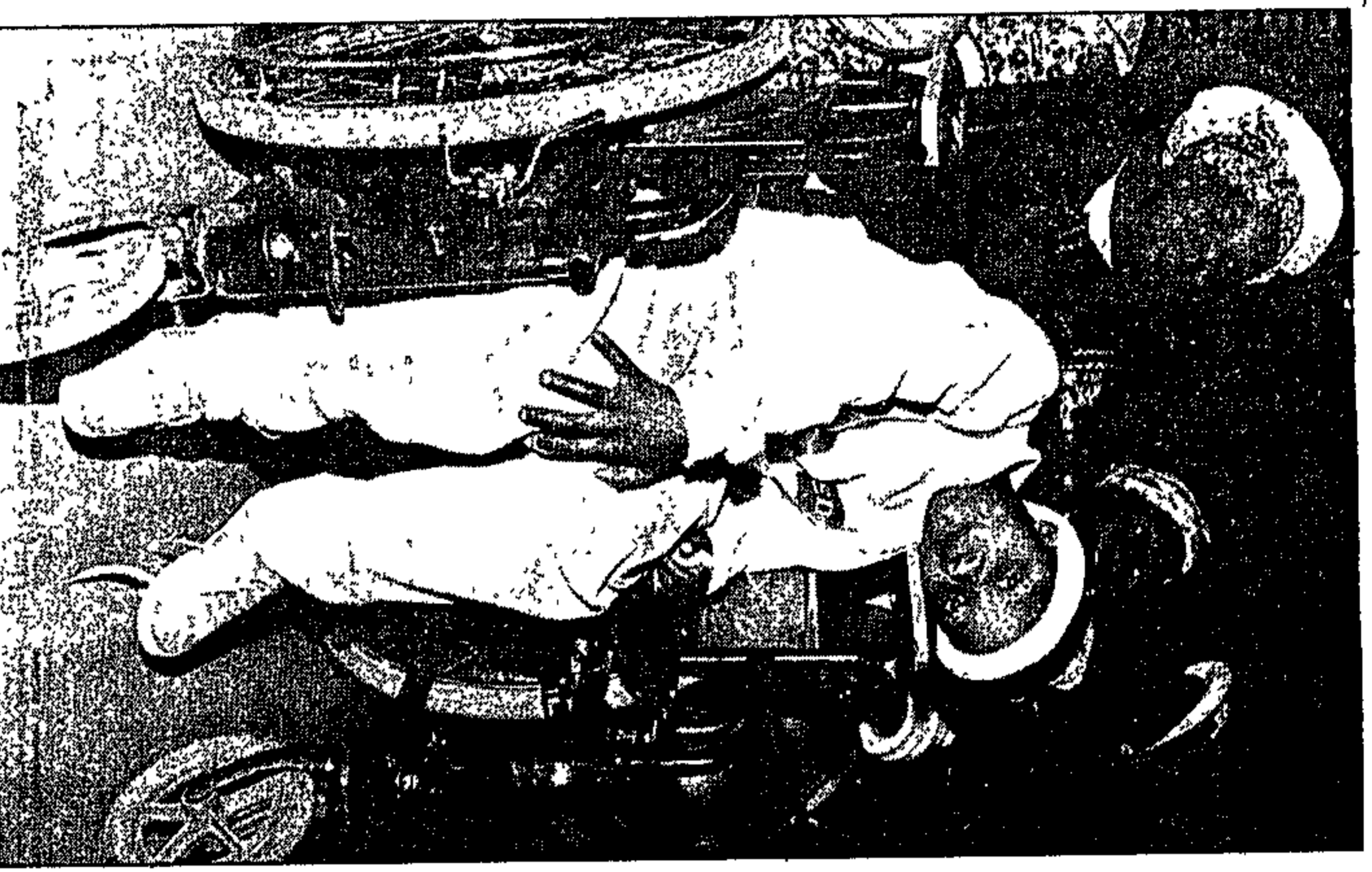
Terrified residents say they are deeply suspicious of the local police, long accused of links to the violence.

The conflict escalated after the expulsion of Sifiso Nkabinde from the ANC last year, and has since claimed more than 70 lives.

Nkabinde, elected general secretary of the United Democratic Movement last week, was expelled from his position as ANC chairman in Richmond after he was accused of being an informer for the apartheid security forces. On trial earlier this year for a string of murders, he was acquitted for lack of evidence.

One of those who will meet Mufamadi is Richmond's police commissioner, Superintendent Errol Reddy. Reddy, who yesterday described the atmosphere in the small town as a "graveyard mood", said 150 policemen had been brought in to help the 200 officers already patrolling the volatile ANC-controlled Ndoleni and the adjoining UDM-aligned Magoda areas.

'I can't remember whether I killed one or one hundred'



NIGHT OF HORROR ... Mita Molele was a bubbly three-year-old when she was hacked in the head with a panga. She is now permanently confined to a wheelchair. Pics: TLADI KHUELE

SECURITY forces - just stood and watched as he and his accomplices shot, butchered and murdered the people of Boipatong, a 29-year-old convicted murderer and member of the Inkatha Freedom Party testified this week.

Victor Mthandeni Mthembu, serving a 226-year prison term, was giving testimony in his application for amnesty at the Sebokeng College of Education this week.

Mthembu is one of the 16 applicants who want amnesty for the Boipatong massacre on June 17, 1992, in which 45 people were killed by IFP members.

About 108 Boipatong residents survived the attack but some are now confined to wheelchairs. Among those killed were 11 children, some as young as six.

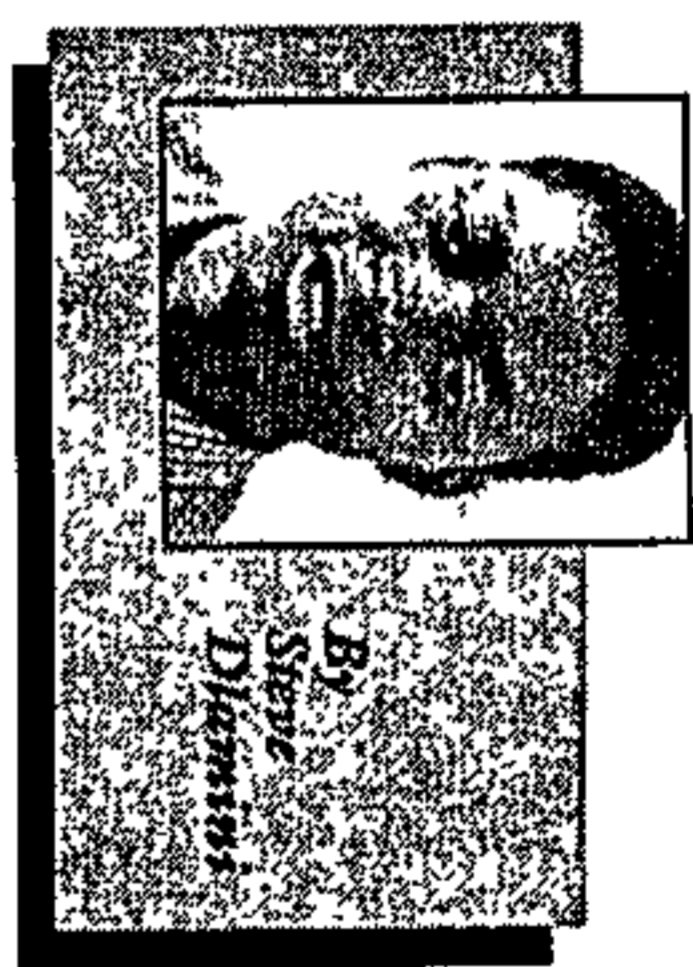
Mthembu said he was not sure how many people he had killed that night. "I cannot say whether I killed one or 100 people, I did not count them. It was a war situation," he said.

Mthembu who lived at the Kwamada Hostel at the time, later contradicted himself by saying he did not kill but only weakened the victims so that his 300 accomplices - armed with firearms, spears and pangas - could finish them off.

He said he stabbed a man who tried to hide behind a car, only once in the back with a spear.

"I did not have to finish him because I knew I had company who would do their part," Mthembu said.

The packed Sebokeng College hall also heard that during the night of the massacre, the hostel dwellers had been looking for members of the



By Steve Dlamini

ANC's self protection unit responsible for torching and killing IFP members.

Mthembu said he had experienced "difficulties" at the first house he entered in Boipatong when he saw two young girls who seemed to be "twins".

"As a parent, I felt sorry for them. I hid them under a bed and made sure no one else entered the house."

But Daniel Berger, one of the legal representatives of the victims, said the children had hid themselves under the bed without Mthembu's help.

The argument between Berger and Mthembu continued on Friday as Berger tried to point out discrepancies in the applicant's testimony.

Another discrepancy in Mthembu's testimony was that on Thursday he said he did not know who the provincial leader of the IFP was, but on Friday admitted he knew it was Themba Khoza.

The committee was also told of Damara Chonco and Themba Mabole, the people who had control over the ammunition at the hostel.

Years passed before the survivors

and families of the victims knew who their attackers were, and the overwhelming feeling among them was the 16 should not be granted amnesty. Johannes Mbatia, the husband of Poulinah, who is in a wheelchair because of the attack, said at times he found it difficult to help his wife because he was no longer a "healthy" man.

"I can't see the reason why this man (Mthembu) applied for amnesty because everyone can see that what he tells is not true. He is not an honest man. This man is dangerous, you can't trust him," Mbatia said.

His wife Poulinah said: "I can hardly walk because of them. I'm permanently confined to a wheelchair,"

Paulinah's sentiments were echoed by Maseleang Mirriam Molele, who was stabbed with a spear just below the eye. Molele's three-year-old daughter, Mita, was struck with a panga in the head. Molele said she still could not believe her only daughter had survived the gruesome attack.

Describing the night's events, she said just after 10 pm they had heard windows shattering.

"My daughter was sleeping and her father was listening to the news. I was naked in the bath at the time," Molele said.

"I peeked through a window to see what was happening. I saw a group of men in white and red colours. Some of them were white people. I rushed to the bedroom where my daughter was because I feared they might kill her. I picked her up without saying a word and headed for a door."

She said it was then that she was



MASS KILLING ... Victor Mthandeni Mthembu wants amnesty.

stabbed and her daughter was attacked with a panga.

"I fell down pretending I was dying. They left with my husband, whom they killed later that night. We ran out of the squatter camp to an open area where we asked for help."

She said she was rushed to the Sebokeng hospital in an ambulance with her daughter, whose brain was protruding from her head.

Mita, a grade four pupil at Thembehle middle school, is now confined to a wheelchair. Mita said she could not recall how the incident had happened as she was only three at the time. She is now mute. "All I can say is that they (the applicants) should not be given amnesty."

The other convicted applicants are Tebogo Magubane, Timothy Mazibuko, Jack Mbele and Sonny Mkwanazi.

CP 12/24/98

I have seen the blood — Madiba

Nov 13/7/98 (276)

Mandela blames police for ongoing
killings in Richmond area and questions
role of freed leader Sifiso Nkabinde

POLITICAL STAFF AND SAPA

"I have gone to the mortuary and I have seen people with cracked skulls, others shot in the mouth, while the others' stomachs have been ripped apart.

"I have seen people's brains spilt all over, and this is the brutality to which people are being subjected," President Nelson Mandela told shocked mourners in Richmond yesterday.

Speaking at the funeral of three ANC members killed in a tavern massacre earlier this month, Mandela related a gory description of five other people gunned down in a house in Indaleni on Saturday night.

During his three-hour visit to Richmond, Mandela went to the morgue to view the bodies of the victims.

Mandla Nxumalo, his wife Ntombikayise, his brother Reginald and two relatives, Roy Mbatha and Sandile Dhlomo, died of multiple gunshot wounds.

"We have been given permission by the bereaved families to publicise these pictures (of the deceased) because we want the world and people of South Africa to see what we are dealing with," Mandela said.

As Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi summoned Richmond's top policemen to Pretoria for a dressing-down, Mandela warned that Mufamadi and Defence Minister Joe Modise

were working at rooting out "sinister forces" in the security services who were fuelling violence in the area.

Eight people were killed in the town at the weekend, bringing to 23 this month's death toll in the ongoing war between political parties in the area.

Mufamadi summoned police commissioner Errol Reddy and several of the town's senior policemen to Pretoria. Mufamadi's spokesman Andre Martin said the meeting lasted a few hours but details of the discussions would be divulged only today.

Addressing mourners in Richmond yesterday, Mandela demanded the arrest of "face-

less murderers" in the area. He said the people of Richmond had lost confidence in the local police and suggested they

should volunteer to be transferred out of the area. He questioned their motives and intentions for failing to arrest the perpetrators.

Mandela said Mufamadi and Modise were working towards removing bad elements in the police and security forces.

He said it was surprising that the peaceful atmosphere which prevailed in Richmond while United Democratic Movement provincial leader Sifiso Nkabinde was incarcerated, had ended when he was released in April. He had observed that violence erupted in the area within a month of Nkabinde's release.

**The brutal
pictures
from Richmond's
morgue - Page 3**

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PRESIDENT VISITS RICHMOND

Days are numbered, Mandela warns killers

RICHMOND: President Mandela urged mourners here at the funeral of three people gunned down last week to work with the police to expose those responsible.

ST 13/7/98

(276)

The days of faceless murderers of people in South Africa, especially in Richmond, were numbered as security forces were working round the clock to catch them, Mandela said here yesterday.

Addressing mourners at the funeral of three Richmond people gunned down last week, Mandela said: "Let us warn these people that the overwhelming majority of our security forces are loyal and are keen to round them up."

Their deaths and the deaths of five people on Saturday night brings the number of people murdered in the area in the last week to 23.

Mandela urged the people of Richmond to work with security forces in exposing the murderers.

"If you have information that at a certain house there are criminals, murderers, stolen goods and anything that is illegal, inform the police so that the perpetrators can be arrested," he said.

"If we can work with the police like we did in Shobashobane, and areas on the North Coast, I am sure we will be able to root out criminality in society."

Mandela said the government was sick and tired of sinister elements within the South African security forces, warning that their days were also numbered.

He said Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and Joe Modise of the Defence Ministry were working towards removing such elements within the forces.

"We have been patient in trying to deal with such sinister forces which are attempting to take us back to the apartheid days. We will no longer treat such forces with kid gloves," he said.

Mandela said it was surprising that the relatively peaceful atmos-

phere that prevailed in Richmond during the incarceration of leader Sifiso Nkabinde had ended when Nkabinde was found not guilty on several charges of murder and released in April.

He noted that within a month of Nkabinde's release violence had erupted in the area again.

Police have not attributed the murders to anybody yet. Nkabinde, who was expelled from the ANC, is now a leader in Bantu Holomisa's United Democratic Movement.

Mandela said the majority of people killed in the area were ANC supporters and urged the opponents of his party to desist from attacking and brutally murdering ANC supporters.

He questioned the motives and the intentions of police in the area in failing to arrest the perpetrators.

Mandela also urged the public not to criticise the security forces over the recent killings in the area. "I understand your criticism, you are angry."

He said that the police and army were made up of people of high integrity who were working hard to fulfil their duties.

He said the community should not criticise police and the justice department without knowing all the facts.

People reacted with shock to the gory descriptions of the five people gunned down in a house in Ndabeni on Saturday night.

Mandla Nxumalo, his wife Nomibikayise, his brother Reginald and two relatives, Roy Mbatia and Sandile Dhlomo, were riddled with bullets in an attack on the house in Slahla ward.

"I have gone to the mortuary and I have seen people with

cracked skulls, others shot in the mouth while the others' stomachs have been ripped apart. I have seen peoples' brains spilled all over and this is the brutality to which people are being subjected," Mandela said.

"We have been given permission by the bereaved families to publicise these pictures because we want the world and people of South Africa to see what we are dealing with."

Mandela said he was saddened that whenever he came to Richmond he had to console the families of people murdered by faceless people.

About a year ago Mandela was in the area for the burial of ANC councillor Rodney van der Bijl and towards the end of last year he attended the funeral of five ANC councillors. — Sapa



TRIP TO HOT SPOT: Nelson Mandela, accompanied by bodyguards and KwaZulu-Natal MEC for Health Zwelli Mhize (right), visits Richmond.



LEGACY OF SORROW: Women gathered in the Nxumalo home mourn five members of the family who were slain.

PICTURES: THE MERCURY

News today on Richmond talks

PRETORIA: The outcome of yesterday's talks, between Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and Richmond police on the latest violence in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands town, will be known today.

"We will issue a statement tomorrow," a spokesman for the ministry said yesterday. Mufamadi and Richmond police commissioner Errol Reddy met for several hours in Pretoria.

The talks, which began yesterday morning and lasted until about 1pm, were also attended by a number of Richmond police.

Mufamadi called the meeting after a week of continued violence in Richmond, which claimed the lives of 23 people —

Sapa



From first: President Mandela addresses relatives of victims of violence in Richmond
FEETERS

'Sinister' Richmond police face purge

Angry Mandela pledges action

ARGIS CORRESPONDENT

Durban - Drastic measures are to be taken to purge security forces in the KwaZulu Natal Midlands of "sinister elements".

President Nelson Mandela said yesterday that this was an "absolute necessity" after many the failure to make arrests and secure convictions in many cases of murder.

About 100 policemen in armoured vehicles and two platoons of soldiers were on patrol in and around Richmond last night at the end of a weekend in which 10 people, including a baby girl, were murdered.

Midlands police said today that "it was all quiet" overnight. A number of people went to the town centre saying they were too scared to sleep in their houses but returned to their homes after being reassured of the police and army reinforcements.

An angry Mr Mandela was speaking at the funeral service of Rich-

mond's deputy mayor, Percy Thompson, who was among those killed while watching a World Cup match on July 3.

Earlier, Mr Mandela visited the families of five people killed on Saturday at Ndalem, in Richmond. Their deaths brings to 24 those killed in two weeks.

They were Mandela Nxumalo, 40, Reginald Nxumalo, 40, Nkomblakayise Nxumalo, 40, Roy Mbotho, 35, and Sandile Dhlomo, 24.

On Friday, five people were killed, including Bongzi Pakati, 21, and her three-year-old daughter, Thandi, who were shot in an attack at Magoda.

Mr Mandela said Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi summoned Richmond police management to a meeting in Pretoria yesterday.

The outcome of the meeting would be known later today.

As the death toll mounted at the weekend, African National Congress leadership and security forces

appeared to fear the situation was getting out of hand.

The idea of employing "extraordinary measures" to contain the situation in Richmond is being mooted within police intelligence circles.

Police sources said the "legal implications" of "cordonning off" the area and engaging in "search and seizure" operations were being studied.

Mr Mandela said he understood the anger of the people and he was also angry. "I understand your criticism of the police and judiciary. You are justified in criticising them," he said.

But he warned about condemning "all security forces", and said: "To the extent that there are rotten elements within the SAPS, there are also innocent police officers who know who these rotten eggs are."

He challenged the police in areas of greater Pietermaritzburg to explain why arrests had not led to convictions, and suggested senior officers transfer to other areas.

Richmond: call for state of emergency

Foes set for face-to-face talks

(276) ARG 14/7/98

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT AND SAPA

A state of emergency should be implemented in Richmond to stop the political violence in the volatile midlands region, the KwaZulu Natal Agricultural Union said today.

At least 24 people have been shot dead and scores wounded in Richmond village and neighbouring Magoda and Indaleni townships in the past 10 days, in conflict attributed to tension between the United Democratic Movement and the African National Congress.

In a statement the union said the violence in the mainly farming midlands area was adversely affecting workers and the farming community, who were severely traumatised by the situation in Richmond.

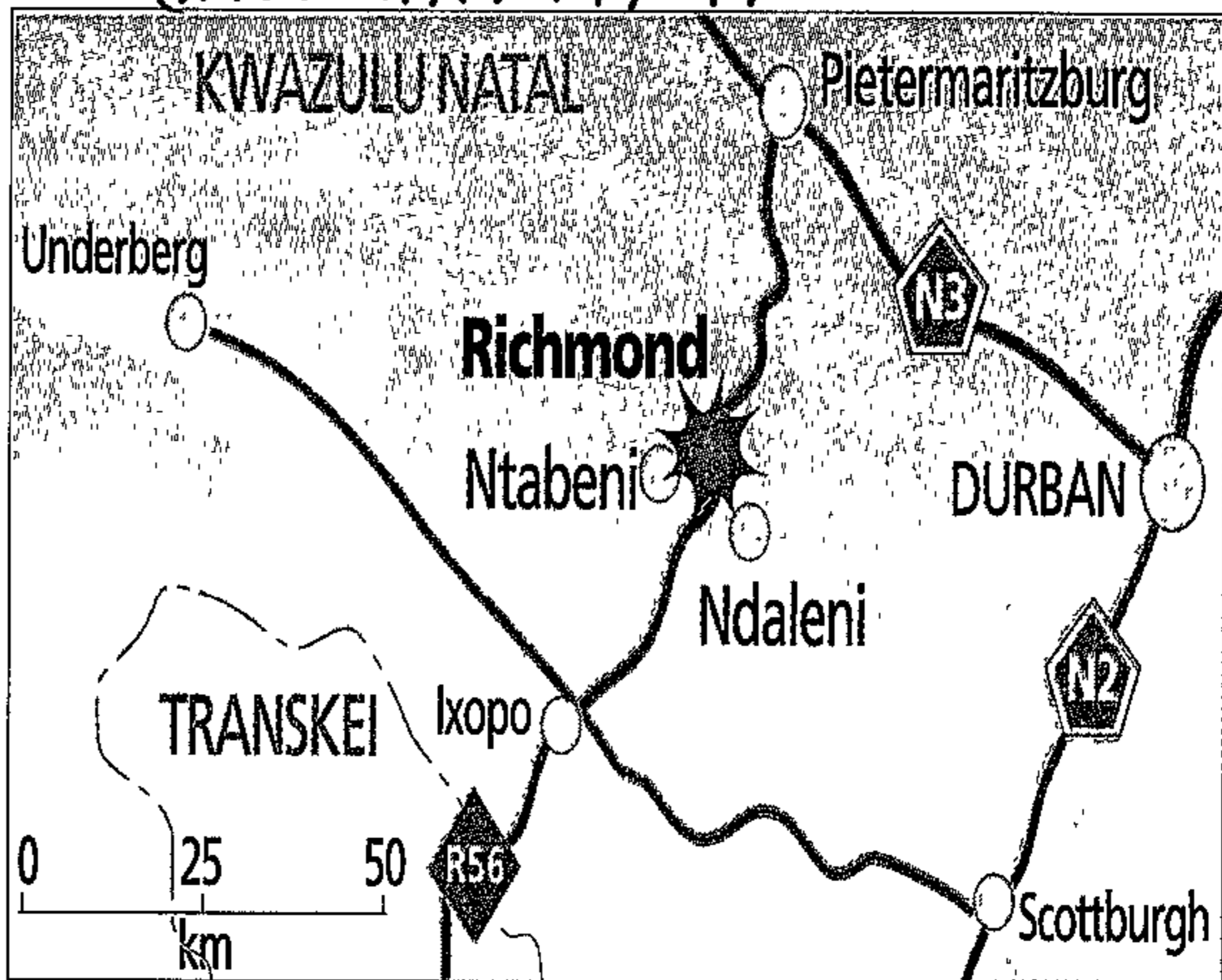
Union president Graham McIntosh said in a democratic society there was no shame in resorting to emergency measures provided they were carried out in terms of the rules of accountability to Parliament.

During the funeral in Richmond on Sunday of three victims of violence, President Mandela blamed a "sinister force" for the bloodletting in the area.

Mr Mandela assured mourners that he understood their anger over allegations that local police were involved, but warned them against condemning all security force members.

KwaZulu Natal leaders of the ANC and UDM will meet face to face in Richmond tomorrow for the first time since the latest outbreak of bloodshed began.

Although it was not clear whether Richmond strongman Sifiso Nkabinde would attend, UDM provincial



Flashpoint: 24 people have died since Friday in the KwaZulu Natal town of Richmond

spokesman Sifiso Bhengu said the party would be represented.

The meeting, called by the provincial safety and security portfolio committee, comes after repeated calls for round-table peace talks were rejected by the ANC.

The ANC, UDM and Inkatha Freedom Party leaders are to meet with police, army and the local community in a bid to bring peace back to the region.

Top officials invited to the meeting include provincial commissioner Chris Serfontein, Richmond mayor Andrew Ragavaloo and KwaZulu Natal Minister of Safety and Security Nyanga Ngubane.

Among the issues to be discussed were free political activity in Richmond, the current spate of killings

and allegations of security force involvement in murders, ANC committee chairman Bheki Cele said.

This coincides with an expected shake-up of the Midlands police hierarchy, which came under scathing attack from President Mandela at the weekend for failing to contain the violence.

Following a three-hour meeting with Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi in Johannesburg on Sunday, top police management is today to submit urgent proposals to restore stability in Richmond.

Police are considering suggestions that the flashpoints for violence be cordoned off and search-and-seizure operations carried out.

Rival parties gather to find solution for Richmond violence

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal safety and security MEC Nyanga Ngubane said yesterday representatives of three rival political parties would attend a meeting tomorrow aimed at ending violence in Richmond.

Members of the United Democratic Movement (UDM), the African national Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) would attend the meeting.

Sapa reports that Ngubane said he was confident the meeting would result in a tangible solution to the problems in Richmond. It was imperative that all stakeholders be

involved in discussions, Ngubane said.

The KwaZulu-Natal legislature's safety and security committee would attend the meeting and both the police and army would be represented, Ngubane said.

However, committee chairman Bheki Cele said that Ngubane's comments smacked of political opportunism.

"The meeting belongs to the committee, not the MEC... It surprises me that he is coming close to only this meeting."

"He has never bothered to come to previous meetings (of the committee)," Cele said.

Cele, an ANC member, said the commit-

tee had set up the meeting as a follow-up to an earlier discussion on Richmond.

UDM KwaZulu-Natal spokesman Sifiso Bangu said the party had accepted the invitation to attend the meeting. He and Richmond councillor Henry Gwamanda would represent the party at the talks.

Bangu said the UDM would suggest to the committee that the groundwork be laid for direct talks with the ANC so the two parties could eliminate the "mistrust" between them.

The UDM would also request the SA National Defence (SANDF) drop possible plans to deploy former Umkhonto we Sizwe

members in Richmond as they would "violate" the party's supporters.

Other soldiers should be deployed in their place, Bangu said.

The UDM national office said the government should appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the Richmond violence.

"The national management committee of the UDM is deeply disturbed by the ongoing loss of life in Richmond and the ANC government's inability and unwillingness to deal decisively with the situation," the UDM said.

Meanwhile, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said he had asked 10

police in the greater Mantzburg region — including detective services head Sen Supt Chris Delpert — to submit proposals by today on ways to end the violence.

Mufamadi, safety and security secretary Azhar Cachalia, acting national commissioner Zolisa Lavasa and deputy commissioner John Manuel met the policemen on Sunday. There was agreed that "drastic measures" were needed to end the violence, Mufamadi said.

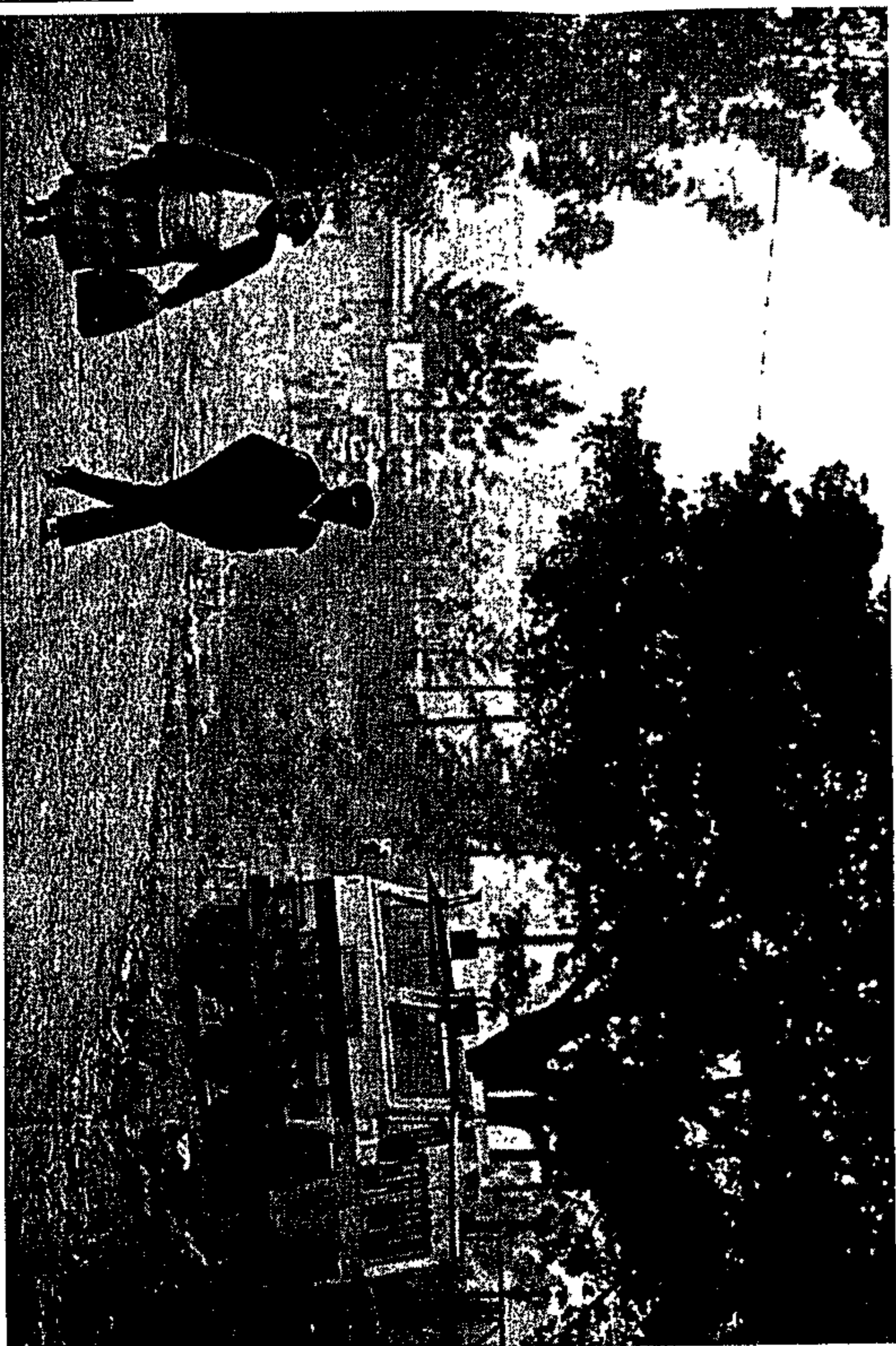
A police source said Mufamadi did not raise the possibility of transferring the 10 policemen at their Sunday meeting, while another source speculated that the issue

could come at today's meeting.

"It might be that Mufamadi wants them to propose that they want to be transferred as part of finding a solution. Legally, he can't just force a transfer," the source said.

President Nelson Mandela on Sunday urged policemen in the Mantzburg region, which encompasses Richmond, to "offer themselves" for transfer.

Among the policemen, Mufamadi met was Mantzburg-based police internal security member captain Jeremy Brooks. The ANC claimed last year that Brooks was the handler of expelled party member Sifiso Nxahinde



Two residents of Ndaleni outside Richmond in KwaZulu-Natal walk to work early yesterday. The township was quiet after last week's violence.

FRANCIS APF

Mufamadi cracks whip in Richmond

(276) Star 14/7/98

By ROBERT BRAND AND SAPA

Against the background of accusations and counter-accusations by leading members of the ANC and the United Democratic Movement, nearly 100 extra policemen were deployed in violence-torn Richmond yesterday.

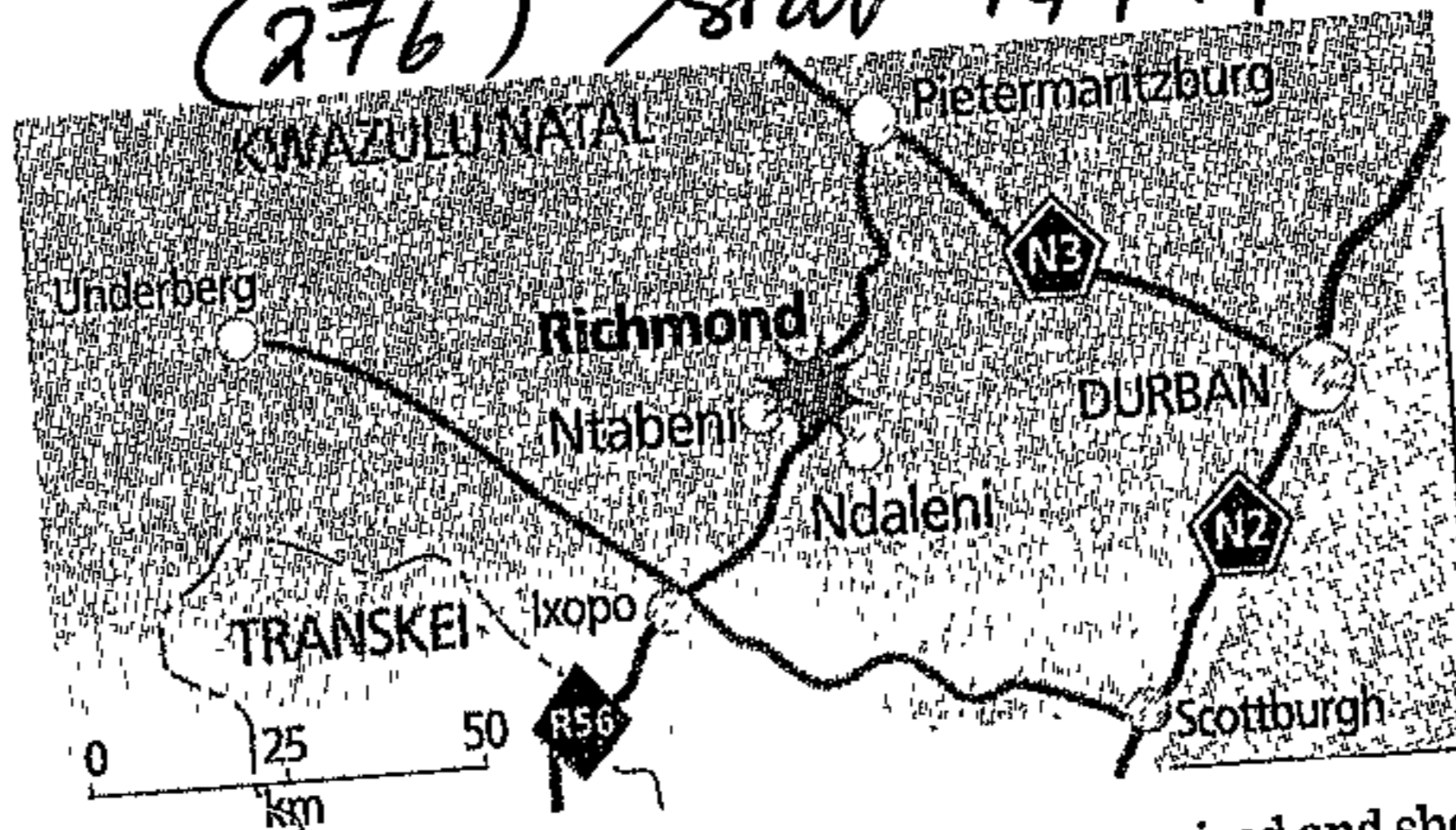
And Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said he had given senior Richmond police officers until today to come up with solutions to the crisis.

Local leaders of the UDM, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party will meet in Richmond tomorrow to discuss solutions to the fighting, which has claimed 24 lives in 10 days.

The summit of political parties has been organised by KwaZulu Natal Safety and Security MEC Nyanga Ngubane, and will also be attended by representatives from the police and army.

Members of the provincial portfolio committee on safety and security will also attend the meeting.

UDM secretary-general



Sifiso Nkabinde yesterday accused President Mandela of "fuelling violence" during his visit to Richmond at the weekend, and said the ANC was not interested in a peaceful solution.

Mandela told mourners in Richmond on Sunday the violence had started escalating when a "certain person" was released from jail - a veiled reference to Nkabinde. He also accused elements in the security forces of complicity.

Nkabinde was acquitted in the Pietermaritzburg High Court on April 30 on 16 murder charges and two of incitement to murder related to five incidents in the Midlands since 1993.

"I am surprised and shocked at the president's stance," Nkabinde said. "He went there to fuel violence instead of fostering peace. Not once did he appeal for peace or call on the people to show restraint."

Nkabinde said the UDM was prepared to enter into negotiations with the local ANC, but the ANC was not interested in talks.

The leadership of the UDM - Bantu Holomisa, Roelf Meyer and Nkabinde - will visit the area on a "fact-finding mission" on Thursday.

► **Comment**
Page 10

'A snake gives birth to another snake'

Star 14/7/98
(276) (AFP)

Amnesty seeker tells TRC why even a 9-month-old baby was killed in rampage through Boipatong

BY RAPULE TABANE

An Inkatha Freedom Party supporter who took part in the 1992 Boipatong massacre has told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's amnesty committee that he and others had killed both adults and their children because "a snake gives birth to another snake".

Victor Mthembu, who is serving a 20-year jail term, told an amnesty committee hearing yesterday that IFP supporters attacked Boipatong people indiscriminately.

"We did not discriminate who it was or how old they were. They were all ANC people, responsible for killing IFP members. We had no specific people that we targeted," he said, explaining why 9-month-old Aaron Mathope was killed.

"But how can a 9-month-old be responsible for killing IFP members?" asked advocate Daniel Berger, who represents the victims.

When asked why people who were asleep were also attacked, Mthembu said they were legitimate targets.

He denied that, during the attack, the group had skipped a large section of Boipatong because it was populated by mainly Xhosa and Zulu-speak-

ing people and that Vanana Zulu, an IFP leader, stayed in the section.

Mthembu said the reason why the attackers looted the house they had broken into was that "as a Zulu it is a sign of victory that when you defeat people you confiscate their cattle. That is why we took two plate stoves, blankets and TVs. Personally, I took nothing."

Mthembu said he could not say which political objective had influenced the attack.

He could not remember a meeting addressed by IFP leader Themba Khoza and a certain Dlamini a week before the attack.

In his affidavit, Mthembu said Dlamini was sent by a senior IFP member in Durban to look after its members in the Vaal Triangle.

Mthembu said he was not pleading for forgiveness only because he was behind bars. "Even if I was free, I would still apologise."

Berger said the victims would not be prepared to forgive him unless he told the "whole truth", which included a suggestion that Mthembu sat down with other applicants to compile a list of the names of the other 200 or so men who were involved in the killing.

The hearing continues today.

Families fail to halt Boipatong amnesty hearings

Taryn Lamberti

THE families of victims of the 1992 Boipatong massacre failed yesterday in their attempt to stop the amnesty hearings of 15 applicants.

Advocate Daniel Berger, acting on the families' behalf, asked the truth commission's amnesty committee to reject the applications because they were defective.

The applicants are seeking amnesty for their role in the massacre which left 46 dead on June 17 1992, when about 300 Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) hostel dwellers attacked the African National Congress (ANC) residents of Boipatong.

Berger argued that the applications submitted in May last year were incomplete because they had not been signed nor attested to by a commissioner of oaths. Completed applications were submitted in February, long after the cut-off date of September 30 last year.

Only one applicant, Victor Mthembu — whose original application complied with the Promotion of National Reconciliation and Unity Act — has given evidence in the past week.

Amnesty committee chairman Judge Sandile Ngobobo ruled that the applications could continue because "the truth sought by the victims' families was more likely to be forthcoming if the perpetrators were encouraged to give evidence. The act ... seeks to help survivors and dependants of those who were tortured, wounded, maimed or killed to discover what did in truth happen to their loved ones."

Sapa reports that the IFP distanced itself yesterday from Mthembu's "irresponsible" remarks to the commission.

"A snake gives birth to another snake" is how he rationalised the murder of a nine-month-old baby in the attack.

He also said his intention had been to attack the residents of Boipatong because they supported the ANC.

SD 15/7/98

Troubled Richmond will be flooded with troops to stop the carnage

(276)

BD 15/12/1988

two of incitement to murder related to five incidents since 1993.

Stephané Bothma

PRETORIA — The Richmond area in Kwazulu-Natal, where violence has left 24 people dead and scores injured during the past 10 days, would be "saturated" with security force members in an attempt to "overwhelm the criminals" who were responsible, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said yesterday.

In addition to the SA National Defence Force company already deployed, about 240 policemen would be sent into

the area immediately. Negotiations are taking place with the defence force for the deployment of another military company comprising about 120 soldiers.

The transfer of policemen known to have contributed to the breakdown in the relationship between the police and the local community would also be expedited, Mufamadi said.

Following a meeting yesterday afternoon with Deputy Safety and Security Minister Joe Matthews, senior police from the Richmond area and on

provincial and national level, Mufamadi said an intelligence-driven operation, codenamed PAX2, had been launched to stamp out violence and bring those responsible to book.

The operation comes into full effect immediately. "We will deploy as many people as required," Mufamadi said.

He warned that the situation in Richmond should not be turned into a political football. If politicians thought they knew who was doing the killing, they should

supply the police with information.

The violence in Richmond village and neighbouring Magoda and Indaleni townships has been attributed to tension between the United Democratic Movement (UDM) and the African National Congress (ANC).

Mufamadi stopped short yesterday afternoon of blaming expelled ANC member Sifiso Nkabinde for the violence. Nkabinde, recently appointed UDM national secretary, was acquitted in the Maritzburg High Court on April 30 on 16 charges of murder and

statistics, shows that since his release violence has increased. We are not saying he's responsible, but the statistics speak for themselves," Mufamadi said.

Sapa reports that Nkabinde rejected these claims, saying it was an attempt to discredit him and the UDM. The operation will be reviewed after three months.

Picture: Page 3

Emerging market

Four Richmond police officers get the boot (276)

By JOVIAL RANTAO,
NORMAN CHANDLER
AND ROBERT BRAND

The senior police officers who have been summarily transferred out of the Richmond area were identified by the Government as being "unable or unwilling" to stop the violence in the area, The Star has learnt.

Sources said yesterday the Government had ordered KwaZulu Natal's top police management to immediately arrest the third-force elements behind the violence in Richmond, or quit the force.

Government sources said intelligence information had come to light that at least four of Richmond's top policemen knew who the perpetrators in area were.

A total of 24 people have

died over the past 11 days.

The four policemen, whom The Star has been advised not to name, worked in Richmond and had to be removed following strong suspicions of their complicity in the violence that caused havoc in the area during the late '80s. They have been described as having "political loyalty to the previous order".

The Star understands that soon after his appointment in 1995, Police Commissioner George Fivaz was asked by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi to remove the four from the province. Instead they were transferred to provincial police management, because they threatened to sue the Government.

Meanwhile, Mufamadi yesterday told a press conference in Pretoria that an intelligence-

driven operation, codenamed PAX2, had been put in place and a joint operational centre set up under acting area commissioner Director Hariram Badul.

This will see the area being saturated with police and soldiers, with the power to search and set up roadblocks over the next three months.

And while police reinforcements seemed to have brought at least a temporary lull to the violence since Sunday, the war of words between politicians continues unabated with the ANC and the UDM blaming each other for the violence.

Mufamadi stopped short of accusing UDM Secretary-General Sifiso Nkabinde of being behind the killings, but said since his release (from alleged murder charges) there are

things that have happened".

Nkabinde also accused President Mandela of "fuelling the violence" rather than calling for peace when the president spoke at a funeral for slain ANC supporters in Richmond.

Mufamadi said 240 extra policemen had left Pretoria for the area along with a 120-strong company of soldiers. They will be augmented by extra street lighting, foot patrols, roadblocks and search operations.

Complaints about police operations will be dealt with by an independent complaints' committee still to be set up.

Safety and Security secretary Azhar Cachalia will visit Richmond today, and the leadership of the UDM, including Bantu Holomisa, Roelf Meyer and Nkabinde, will visit the area tomorrow.

S.P.O.V. 15/7/98

Mufamadi promises strong police action in Richmond

CT 15/9/98

(276)

MARCO GRANELLI

PRETORIA: Police are to saturate strife-torn Richmond with hundreds of policemen and soldiers and will also transfer several senior policemen accused of complicity out of the region in a bid to stop the slaughter.

"We intend to saturate the area with sufficient capacity to overwhelm the criminals," Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said at a press briefing here yesterday.

Acting National Commissioner Zola Lavis said initially 240 policemen would be deployed along with an extra SA Army company, bringing the number of soldiers on active duty in Richmond to 240.

The operation, known as PAX2, started on Sunday and came into full effect immediately, with cordons, searches and road blocks.

Poor lighting, which had previously hampered police and provided cover for the criminals, was also set to improve after Eskom announced it was ready to provide lighting.

Mufamadi said the situation would be handled as a police matter rather than a political problem and, in addi-



OVERSEER: Sydney Mufamadi

tion to the visible policing, an intelligence-driven operation to stop the violence would be launched.

On the transfer of police officers as called for by President Mandela on Sunday, Mufamadi said this would happen urgently.

A decision has also been taken to expedite the transfer of policemen who are known to have contributed to the

breakdown in the relationship between police and the community.

He declined to name those identified, saying it was a sensitive issue. However, he said no policemen would face prosecution for their actions at this stage.

There have been long-standing allegations that some police officers were either colluding with those responsible for the violence, or were not enthusiastic in dealing with the problem.

"Once you have such allegations, the ability of the police to deal with the problem is impaired because trust is gone.

"This is not intended to punish anybody because it is not as if we have been presented with evidence as such," said Mufamadi

However, he said there was clear evidence of poor performance by the police in dealing with the violence.

Regarding calls for a commission of inquiry into the causes of the violence, he said he saw little point to this.

"We did not stabilise other areas of Kwazulu-Natal by establishing commissions of inquiry.

"We did it with hard-nosed investigations."

ANC quits peace talks in Richmond

Top policemen transferred

ARG 15/7/98 (276) ~~276~~

Richmond - The African National Congress walked out of a key meeting in strife-torn Richmond today because of a disagreement about who should preside at the meeting.

Representatives of the United Democratic Movement, the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, police and army had been invited by Safety and Security MEC Nyanga Ngubane to the provincial portfolio committee meeting at the police station in the Midlands town.

ANC deputy secretary and provincial portfolio committee chairman Bheki Cele said the walk-out was prompted by a suggestion by Philip Powell that an IFP delegate preside.

Portfolio committee meetings are normally headed by Mr Cele, the committee's chairman.

The conflict in Richmond has claimed the lives of 24 people in the last 10 days.

The Indaleni and Magoda townships at Richmond were tense ahead of the meeting.

The home of UDM national secretary Sifiso Nkabinde was allegedly attacked by gunmen in the early hours today.

Mr Nkabinde told police his shop next to his house in Magoda had been broken into and cigarettes stolen.

He alleged that police were responsible.

Members of the Independent Complaints Directorate were investigating the allegations.

Addressing reporters before the meeting, Mr Ngubane said it was imperative that a solution to the problems in Richmond be found through talks. The large-scale deployment of security forces was a temporary solution.

There was no sign of Mr Nkabinde, who said yesterday he would be attending the meeting to prove that the UDM was serious in seeking a solution.

Meanwhile, senior police officers summarily transferred from the Richmond area had been "unable or unwilling" to stop the violence there, the Government has announced.

Sources said yesterday the Government had ordered KwaZulu Natal's top police management to arrest alleged "third force" elements behind the violence in Richmond or to quit the force.

They said intelligence information was that at least four of Richmond's top policemen knew who was behind the violence in the area.

The four policemen, whom the Cape Argus has been advised not to name, had to be removed after

strong suspicions arose of their complicity in the violence in the area in the late 1980s.

They were described as police officers with "political loyalty to the previous order".

It is understood that soon after his appointment in 1995, Commissioner George Fivaz was asked by Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi to remove the four policemen from the province.

Instead they were transferred to provincial police management because they had threatened to sue the Government.

Mr Mufamadi told a press conference in Pretoria yesterday that an intelligence-driven operation, codenamed PAX2, had been launched and a joint operational centre set up under the command of acting area commissioner Hariram Badul.

The operation will lead to the area being saturated with police and soldiers with power to cordon off, search and set up roadblocks over the next three months.

While police reinforcements seemed to have brought a lull to the violence since Sunday, the war of words between politicians continues unabated, with the ANC and the UDM blaming each other for the violence. - Argus Correspondent and Sapa

COMMENT & ANALYSIS

The time for dithering has long passed

Government has promised tough action in SA's trouble spots before. Renewed flare-ups in KwaZulu-Natal show nothing much has changed, writes Durban correspondent Farouk Chothia

BD 16/7/98 (776)

THE warlordism entrenched in parts of KwaZulu-Natal might explain to a large degree the violence that has engulfed Richmond and Lindelam.

Sifiso Nkabinde controlled Richmond for the African National Congress (ANC) with an iron fist, while Mandla Shabalala did likewise for the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in Lindelam.

Shabalala was expelled from the IFP in November 1996, while Nkabinde was expelled from the ANC in April last year.

The circumstances surrounding their expulsions were somewhat different, but there are striking similarities between the two.

Conscious of the need to shed their violent images in the new dispensation, both can be charming and friendly.

About a year before his expulsion, Nkabinde, referring to violence between the ANC and IFP, said: "Let us go to Mount Everest and tell the world the war is over."

In Richmond and Lindelam, Nkabinde and Shabalala have concentrated on bread-and-butter issues in an apparent attempt to win the loyalty of residents.

A shack settlement outside Durban with an estimated population of more than 100 000, Lindelam now has tarred roads and purified water. Shabalala also had a training centre built where the unemployed can develop skills.

Richmond's two main black areas, Magoda and Ndalem, are periurban. The landscape is rugged and mountainous. Roads are untraced. Electricity and tele-phones are a luxury. About 50 000 to 80 000 people live there.

After declaring that he was a leader committed to improving socioeconomic conditions, the ANC-controlled Richmond council elected in 1996 bestowed upon Nkabinde the "freedom of the town" — a decision of the council no doubt regrets, as it blames Nkabinde for the violence in the town subsequent to his expulsion.

While Nkabinde was at the helm of the ANC, Richmond was a no-go area for the IFP. When about 300 Inkatha Freedom Party members armed with G-3 cannons and AK-47, R-1 and R-4 rifles attacked in 1990, the ANC's self-defence unit members and

Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres repelled the attack. Twenty-three of the attackers were killed, an indication of the military prowess of the Richmond ANC.

It is rumoured that many ANC arms caches were kept in Richmond in the pre-1994 period, and people who still are or once were close to Nkabinde still have access to them.

The ANC's hegemony over Richmond was accepted by all parties at the time of 1996 local government elections: the ANC won unopposed after none of the opposition parties fielded candidates.

In Lindelam, it was no different, residents voted en masse for the IFP, as no other party was brave enough to canvass there.

The IFP's dominance over Lindelam should be seen in the context of a statement Shabalala made 10 years earlier in an interview. "There is no home for the UDF or ANChere," he said.

Shabalala has long been accused of involvement in the violence that swept through Durban townships in the period between 1984 and 1994. His Lindelam followers were alleged to be part of the impi that attacked the 1985 memorial service of human rights lawyer Victoria Nkomo at the Umlazi cinema. Fifteen mourners were killed.

Shabalala and Nkabinde allegedly did not brook opposition from within their own parties either.

After Nkabinde strengthened his grip over Richmond, Siphwo Ntinga — his rival within the ANC — fled the town. He returned after Nkabinde's expulsion to succeed him as the party's Richmond chairman.

Some time before Shabalala's 1996 expulsion, the home of an IFP critic of his, Richard Mgejge, was attacked. There were also claims that Shabalala loyalists had torched Putco buses, and were



Sifiso Nkabinde, left, and Mandla Shabalala leave the Maritzburg High Court earlier this year

allegedly coercing commuters to use taxis owned by him.

Then IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane, a moderate, went to Lindelam to attend to the conflict. He was allegedly forced to flee after gunmen opened fire.

Shabalala also defied the IFP leadership by participating in a violent march through central Durban, costing the party votes in the local government elections.

He was expelled, with IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi saying the party had no place for "anyone

who feels they are above their own communities and who lead .. by virtue of intimidation".

To put it in another way, Shabalala became too big for his boots. Nor did he easily fit into the new political era, where peace was the key to the IFP's success in elections.

Nkabinde was expelled for allegedly being an apartheid government spy, but he too defied the ANC leadership in the months preceding his expulsion. He was ordered not to contest the post of

Richmond secretary, but proceeded to do so and was narrowly defeated. Then, an election for the ANC greater Maritzburg regional chairmanship was coming up. As he was likely to contest this post also, the ANC kicked him out of the party before the election.

Both Shabalala and Nkabinde have had brushes with the law. In the late 1980s, Shabalala was acquitted on charges of murdering UDF-aligned school boy Bheki Gcabashe, and attempting to murder five others.

One would have thought that Shabalala would do nothing to give the attorney-general's office a reason to prosecute him again. Not so. According to police, he is now facing an attempted murder and arson charge related to an attack on the Mgejge home in 1996. His trial has been set for October this year.

Nkabinde was acquitted on 16 counts of murder and attempted murder earlier this year.

After Nkabinde's acquittal, Shabalala was at his side in the Maritzburg High Court. However, Shabalala has not followed Nkabinde into the United Democratic Movement (UDM).

Network of Independent Monitors field worker Gqobas Mfeka says that at least 15 people, including two school children, have been killed in Lindelam since May this year. The latest violence came after Michael Zulu was elected as the new local IFP leader. There have been casualties on both sides, though his information was that most were on Zulu's side, Mfeka says.

He says there are allegations of sharpshooters, including a Caprivi-trained fighter, operating in Lindelam. A school has closed because of intimidation and youth are forced to participate in night patrols.

There are also allegations, he says, that local policemen are colluding with the killers. Some residents are calling for outside policemen and soldiers to be deployed.

It is no different in Richmond, though the violence there seems to be on a far larger scale. Nearly 80 deaths have been reported since May last year, of which about 20 have taken place in the past two weeks. Most, but not all, casualties have been on the ANC's side.

Four ANC councillors have been killed. When President Nelson Mandela attended the funeral of Rodney van der Byl, the first councillor to be killed 14 months ago, he vowed that the security forces would be purged of "traitors" allegedly colluding with the Richmond killers.

After another two councillors, Bhekunusa Mchunu and Mbongiseni Mchunu, were assassinated two months later, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi announced that policemen who had lost the confidence of residents would be transferred.

A year later — following the assassination of a fourth councillor, Percy Thompson — Mandela and Mufamadi have had to repeat the promises, showing that nothing has changed.

The warlordism in KwaZulu-Natal is similar to the gangsterism of the Cape Flats in the Western Cape.

As with the case of the warlords, the apartheid government has been accused of nurturing the gangsters who wage territorial battles. Police persistently face claims of colluding with them, and the Cape attorney-general's office is criticised for the low prosecution and conviction rate.

In such a climate, violence assumes its own momentum. Leaders lose control of their heavily armed followers while victims take up arms in a desperate attempt to protect their right to life.

For its part, government keeps announcing drastic measures, be it in response to a flare-up in Richmond or the Cape Flats. Sometimes, the announcements are merely attempts to calm an angry government community. On other occasions, government acts on them. To restore the rule of law must be government's top priority. The time for dithering has long passed.

Richmond peace talks a non-starter as ANC walks out

(276) Star 16/9/98

STAFF REPORTERS AND SAPA

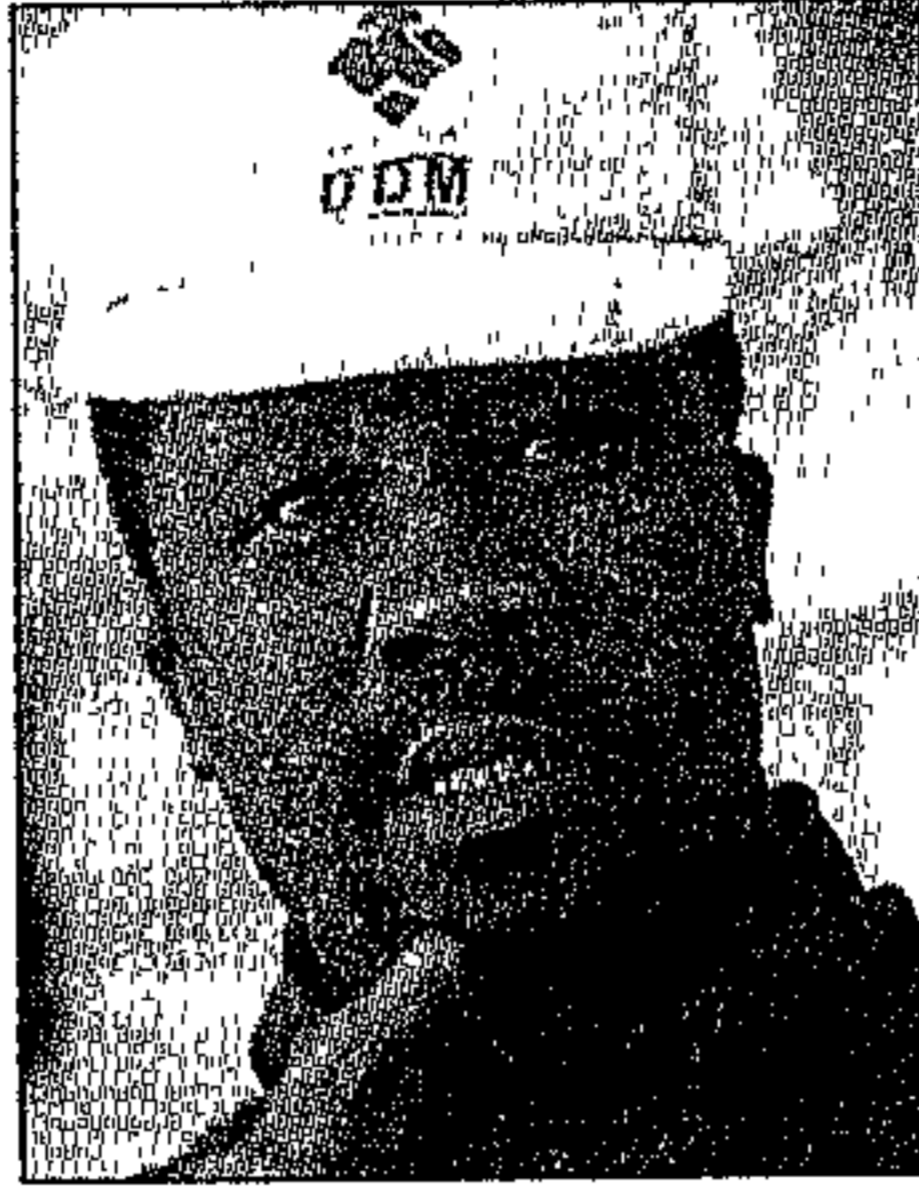
Attempts to bring the ANC and the United Democratic Movement together to discuss violence in Richmond failed yesterday when the ANC refused to participate in the talks.

The ANC walked out of a multiparty meeting following a row over who should chair the meeting.

Provincial safety and security MEC Nyanga Ngubane requested the provincial portfolio committee on safety and security to make allowances for a special portfolio committee meeting to discuss the Richmond violence.

Ngubane invited the ANC, the UDM and the Inkatha Freedom Party to attend the meeting, which is usually attended by the police and the army.

A police delegation including provincial police commissioner Chris Serfontein, the divisional commissioner of



Sifiso Nkabinde ... accuses ANC of not caring about loss of life.

crime prevention from Pretoria Andre Pruis, and the secretary for safety and security Azhar Cachalia, arrived for the meeting.

Ngubane asked the portfolio committee to convene a short preliminary meeting to discuss what form the special meeting would take.

Committee chairman Bheki Cele, who is also the ANC's deputy-secretary in KwaZulu Natal, called a meeting outside the court-room venue at the Richmond police station, where the main meeting was to have taken place.

After about 20 minutes, the ANC left the meeting. In a brief statement, the ANC said it was withdrawing from the talks. The ANC delegates left immediately.

Committee members said it was suggested during the impromptu meeting that the main meeting convene under the chairmanship of Cele - who is also the ANC's deputy-secretary in KwaZulu Natal - who should then invite Ngubane to take over the chair.

This was apparently rejected by the ANC, who also turned down a suggestion that the meeting be co-chaired by Cele and Ngubane.

The IFP then voted in favour

of Cele's suspension but the other parties voted against it.

The main meeting then convened without the ANC.

After the gathering, Ngubane said the problems in Richmond were of a political nature and needed to be resolved by politicians, not by additional policemen and soldiers.

UDM secretary-general Sifiso Nkabinde after the meeting described the ANC's actions as irresponsible and an indication that the party did not care about the loss of life.

Earlier, the UDM said a police vehicle and police-issued ammunition were used in an attack on Nkabinde's house in Magoda township outside Richmond early yesterday morning.

A KwaZulu Natal police spokesperson confirmed that Nkabinde's property had been targeted, but called it a break-in at his shop, which is connected to his house.

NKABINDE ATTACKED

ANC walks out of Richmond meeting

et 16/7/98

(276)

DURBAN: A dispute over who would chair a meeting to discuss the Richmond crisis led to a walkout by the ANC delegation yesterday. **PHINDILE NGUBANE** reports.

THE ANC in KwaZulu-Natal yesterday walked out of a meeting aimed at discussing the spate of killings in Richmond after accusing the IFP of hijacking the meeting to score political points.

In another development yesterday, troops began moving into the area.

Meanwhile, a United Democratic Movement (UDM) statement said that a police vehicle and police-issued ammunition were used in an attack on the Richmond home of national secretary Sifiso Nkabinde early yesterday.

Police spokesperson Henry Budram confirmed that Nkabinde's property had been targeted.

He said shop, which is connected to his house, had been broken into.

UDM deputy national secretary Annelize van Wyk said in the statement that shots were fired at the house about 15 minutes after midnight on Tuesday.

Nkabinde fell to the floor and called the police in Richmond, she said. When a patrol arrived, he switched on a light in the house and saw gunmen fleeing. It was later established that they had taken several items, including cigarettes.

Nkabinde found a police pager and a pocket-knife with a name on it. The spent cartridges he found were police-issue, Van Wyk said.

Commenting on yesterday's



SWITCHING ON: Azhar Cachalia

talks, the ANC said the meeting had been convened by the provincial parliamentary portfolio committee on safety and security to discuss with various role-players in Richmond, including the UDM and police and army officials, how to assist in the speedy arrest of culprits involved in the spate of killings in the area.

However, a dispute arose between ANC and IFP committee members over who should chair the meeting, with the IFP proposing that it be chaired by party MEC for Safety and Security Nkosi Nyan-ga Ngubane instead of committee chairperson, the ANC's Bheki Cele.

This was declined by the ANC, which subsequently pulled out of

the meeting, arguing that it would not be part of a meeting hijacked by the IFP.

It was agreed by committee members that the meeting would continue and its status redefined to that of a consultative meeting.

Briefing both the committee and the UDM and the IFP delegation chosen to represent their parties at the meeting, provincial police commissioner Chris Serfontein said an operation which included all role-players and was aimed at stabilising Richmond was under way. All groups involved in the operation would feed information to a joint operation committee (JOC) which was to sit on a 24-hour basis.

Divisional commissioner of crime prevention from Pretoria Andre Pruis said he had met the SA National Defence Force on Tuesday to discuss the deployment of additional members. A follow-up meeting today would discuss the sending of helicopters.

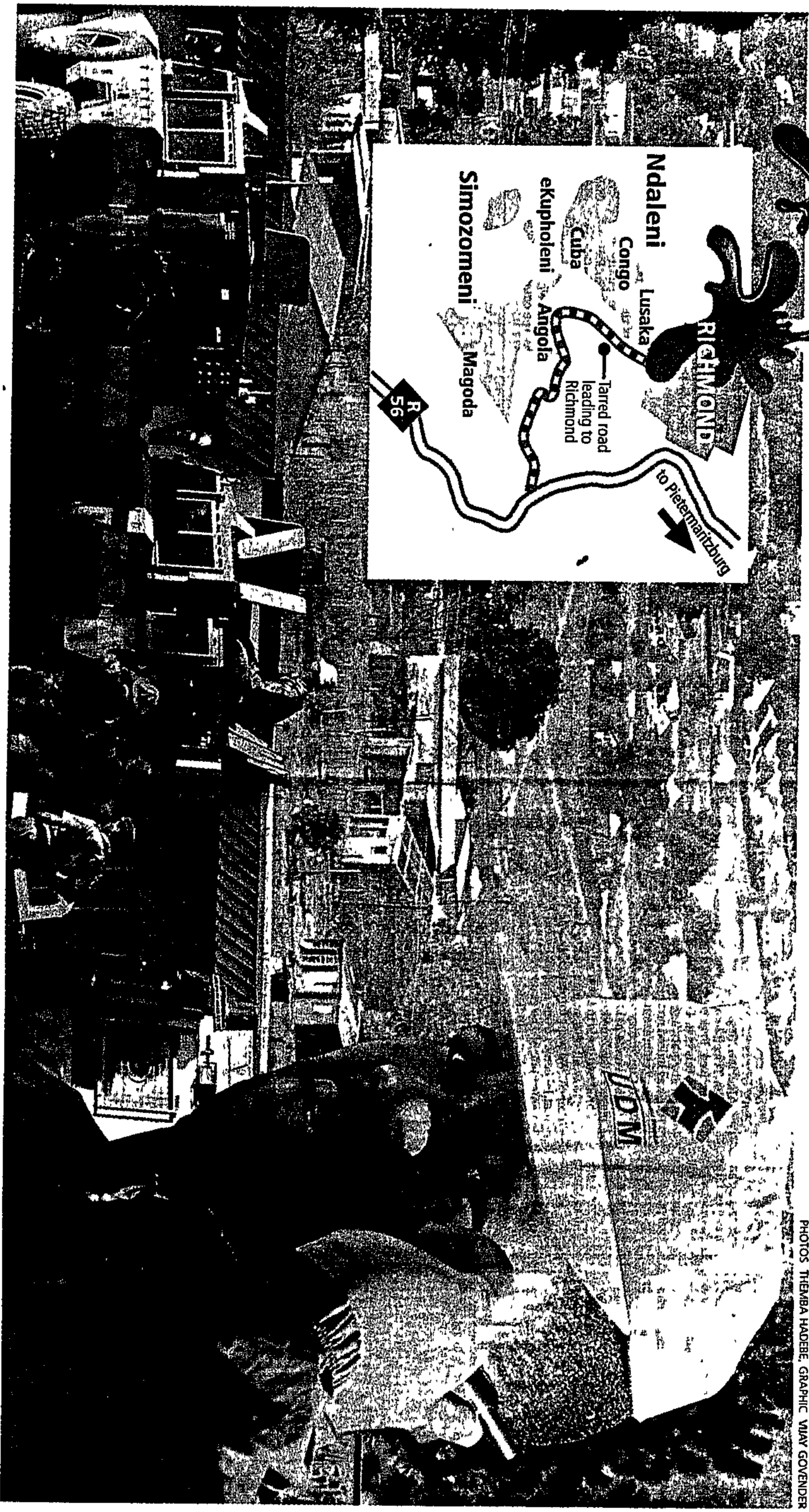
IFP and UDM delegates criticised Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi's decision to transfer police who were reported to be in conflict with Richmond residents.

The UDM and IFP members at the meeting pointed out that the complaints about the officers did not come from the whole Richmond community, but from only ANC members.

IFP safety and security spokesman Phillip Powell agreed.

National Safety and Security secretary Azhar Cachalia announced that the installation of street lighting at Richmond's flash-

The killings in Richmond are escalating to a point where the civil war between factions could resume: police in the area appear either involved or if not, powerless, indicating they get so little information or support they are unable to act



PHOTOS: THEMBA HADEBE, GRAPHIC: WYAT GOVENDER

Hurting towards an explosion

By PHALANE MOTALE

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Hurting towards an explosion

By Pauline Motlale

Trouble-torn Richmond, Kwazulu Natal, is a time bomb which could explode at any time, residents, politicians and police warn. And unless drastic measures are taken to stop the violence which has claimed 26 lives in the past two weeks, it could spill over into the rest of the province in a return to the civil war which raged before the 1994 elections.

The Midlands town, south of Pietermaritzburg, heaved a collective sigh of relief when three nights passed after the weekend's carnage with no shooting incidents and no bodies being collected in the morning - but that was only a temporary relief. On the fourth night, three children were shot while having dinner at their home in Magoda township. One subsequently died.

The streets of Magoda and Indaleni townships appear almost deserted, even by day. Those residents who are seen in the streets are grim-faced. Many have lost a family member in the violence, most fear that they could become the next victim.

As the sun sets, Richmond residents disappear into their mud-and-stick houses and say their prayers. The sound of army and police trucks which roll into the area is their only hope of seeing the following day. Many have left the area.

Hundreds of police reinforcements have been deployed in the town this week and more are to follow. But residents continue fleeing. The only activity in the townships at night is at shebeens which are booming now that the police and troops have arrived.

Most attacks occur on Friday and Saturday, when most men have returned from their employers in the cities. The unemployment rate is high because the town's timber and farming industries cannot provide nearly enough jobs.

Law and order in the area appears to have collapsed. People have no respect for a criminal justice system which has so far not arrested, let alone convicted, a single person involved in the murders.

At least 75 people have been killed since May both in the ANC-aligned Ndalem section and the United Democratic Movement's (UDM) Magoda section.

On Tuesday evening, an attempt was allegedly made on the life of UDM secretary Sifiso Nkabinde outside his Magoda home.

Residents lick their wounds and wait for the next salvo

By Mike Masera

Aboard with "Jesus is Peace" written on it greets you as you leave the R56 from Pietermaritzburg to enter Richmond.

I said my millionth prayer as we wound our way through the hills towards the little town that has been in the news over the last two weeks following the killing of 26 people.

There is nothing much remarkable about Richmond. Hawkers on pavements sell their wares, taxis and buses mill about and the security forces reportedly pouring into the town in their hundreds are barely visible.

It is Tuesday morning, a few days after gunmen opened fire in a local tavern and killed eight people, but one would be forgiven for thinking nothing had happened.

Talk to a few people and they will tell you the violence is between the ANC and the newly-formed United Democratic Movement (UDM) of former ANC Richmond strongman, Sifiso Nkabinde. Ask why and all you get are blank stares and a shrug of shoulders. Talking to politicians does not help either.

West of the town lies Ndalem, one of the violence-ravaged villages around Richmond.

The only sign of development is the new tarred road slicing through Ndalem, linking it to other villages. Ndalem, with its sections, Cuba,

Angola, Congo and Lusaka, is the biggest of the villages. As the names of the sections suggest, this is ANC territory.

A further hundred metres down the road you will have crossed an invisible border into Magoda, Siphiso Nkabinde's neighbourhood, and therefore UDM territory. Nkabinde's mansion (by village standards) stands out with its barbed-wire, high walls and heavy security.

Retrace your steps to the first major intersection known among residents simply as "The Junction" and turn right. You will now be on your way to Ndalem Mission, scene of last week's killing of three young men believed to be ANC supporters.

The mission was established in 1888. But except when it houses refugees from the undeclared civil war fought in the surrounding valleys, it stands disused and vandalised.

The first thing that strikes you as you enter the mission is a cement statue of Jesus in a white robe. The hands have been broken off and someone has poured red paint over the statue - "blood" is streaming from Jesus's robes.

There seemed to be no life in the mission until we were greeted by a black dog, the first we had seen. Residents later told us almost all the dogs had fled the ever-present gunshots.

The dog belongs to Agnes Ndlovu, one of the refugees living

in the mission. Ndlovu (37) said she has lived in Ndalem for the past five years, after fleeing ANC-IFP violence in Umkomas. She said Friday night's attack was the first on the mission.

She and her family fear the worst now. "We were asleep when the killers came to our room and shone a torch through the window. They

convincing themselves there was no one here and went to the other side where the boys were sleeping. The next thing we heard thundering shots. We knew what it meant," Ndlovu said.

"Now we have to do everything we need to do before nightfall because we have to put out the lights so they cannot target us. We can't even cough because that might mean our deaths," she said.

Chirching a battered radio set, she gathers her family around to listen to the news.

Like many in her neighbourhood, Ndlovu sleeps in the bushes outside her house in fear that the killers might pounce, as they did with the Nxumalo family nearby last Saturday.

"But it is winter. Sometimes it gets really cold outside so you take a chance and venture into the house. With a little prayer you may just fall asleep," she said.

But Lusaka resident Emily Nkhangase said life was improving since army and police reinforcements

were sent in on Sunday. "People in other areas might dislike the sound of helicopters flying above their houses at night, but for us it's a welcome noise. It means the troops are patrolling the area."

Nkhangase becomes animated when she recalls the peaceful, quiet Richmond of her youth. "We used to move anywhere in the township and now we suddenly can't visit friends and relatives across the border."

There are many more like her who suddenly find themselves in the wrong zone as political parties slice up the villages.

This was evident in the Richmond court room on Wednesday when people who only a year ago were comrades could not sit together as the ANC, UDM, IFP police and the Kwazulu Natal safety and security portfolio committee met to discuss the situation.

The ANC walked out of the meeting. The failure of the meeting has left many with doubts about the possibility of peace in Richmond. The doubts were vindicated when a young boy was killed in Magoda and two others injured in yet another shooting on Wednesday night, despite the heavy presence of the security forces.

On the weekend the families of the victims will be burying their dead and Richmond and the world will hold its breath again.

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On the weekend the families of the victims will be burying their dead and Richmond and the world will hold its breath again.

for the killings.

Phillip Powell, IFP MP and spokesman on safety and security, appealed to the ANC and the UDM to initiate peace talks, show leadership and end "party politicking at the expense of innocent lives."

He said the continued violence was due to political intolerance which gave criminals an opportunity to operate under the cover of political parties.

Powell said both the ANC and UDM were responsible for the violence. "A vast majority of IFP members were either killed or driven out of the area by ANC supporters during the conflict."

"When our members were jailed for the killings, those of the ANC were out walking freely. Today due to a split within their ranks, they are killing each other," he said.

Powell added that there were criminal elements in all political parties, including the IFP. And unless all parties meet around the table, the criminals would continue to take advantage of the situation.

He criticised the ANC for refusing to talk to the UDM. "It's very unfortunate. We did not talk to the ANC for years and thousands of our members were killed."

"It's a reality. Sometime or the other the ANC will have to talk to the UDM," he said.

Provincial police commissioner Chris Serfontein did not rule out the possibility that a third force exists within the police.

"The police at present do not have the information to prove that a third force exists. But I must admit that there are a number of police who are not honest and credible. But if such elements do exist, they are definitely in the minority."

Serfontein said he accepted criticism of the police by politicians, but was quick to point out that it was because the Richmond community was politically divided that the police had become "the spread on the sandwich".

He said the police were doing everything to prevent further attacks and solve cases, but intimidation was a big problem. Serfontein said the generally bad roads and lack of high-mast adequate lights were making policing in the area very difficult.

Sources within the police said intelligence on recent incidents is virtually nil. Unless some initiative is taken, the possibility of the new investigating team developing reliable sources in the short term is unlikely

The ANC's Percy Thompson, Richmond's deputy mayor, was among eight people killed in a massacre in the town last week.

Residents of Ndalem have called for the removal of the town's police officers. They say policemen from outside the area should be brought in to replace the present ones who are allegedly siding with the residents of Magoda.

A meeting at the Richmond police station on Wednesday between representatives of the UDM, the ANC, the IFP, police and the army and Kwazulu Natal Safety and Security MEC Nyanga Ngubane, deepened the crisis when the ANC refused to take part in the talks and walked out.

Richmond ANC mayor Andrew Ragsvaloo told The Star that the violence in the area re-emerged on

May 8 last year when councillor Rodney van der Byl was shot dead.

"Since then killings have happened. No killer has been identified

serious charges, including murder on September 17. He was acquitted and released in April this year.

"Between October 8 and April 30 this year, no one was violently killed in the area."

Ragsvaloo blamed the UDM for the violence in the area. "Their motive is two-fold. They want to destabilise the situation in Richmond so that the ANC is cast in a bad light, because the violence prohibits development in the area," he said, adding that criminals linked to the UDM are working with former SDU members and renegade elements of the police or a third force.

"There is definitely a third party element in the police. There is a third force run by senior Midlands police. It's strange that such a high-profile police task team can't crack such crimes while people come for

(276) RSN 17/7/98

Their motive is to cast the ANC in a bad light

We can't visit relatives across the border

UDM-linked criminals aid renegade policemen



SUPPORT: Friends of a weeping Jabulele Nxumalo (centre) try to comfort her after the murder of her family at Richmond.

PICTURE: THE MERCURY

ANC calls for calm after assassinations

(276)

ET 17/7/98

CHRIS JENKINS

EMPANGENI: The North Coast region of the ANC has appealed for calm among its members in the wake of the assassination of two high profile ANC members at Gingindlovu on Wednesday night.

KwaZulu-Natal member of the provincial legislature and safety and security portfolio committee member Bheki Mthembu and well-known businessman and civic leader S'Khondla Mthethwa were gunned down as they left the Gingindlovu TLC (transitional local council) offices about 7.20pm.

They and a third ANC member, Dumisani Gamede, had attended a meeting regarding "dissatisfaction in the TLC", according to the ANC's North Coast regional office here.

ANC regional chairperson Bheki Ntuli said yesterday the three had been at a meeting with two IFP

members, mayor Henry Dhaver and other council members.

Police at Eshowe headquarters confirmed that an unknown man wearing a balaclava drew a 9mm pistol and shot at the ANC members while they were making their way to their cars in the car park.

Superintendent Mayan Naidoo said that after shooting the men, the gunman took Mthethwa's 9mm pistol before running into nearby bushes.

Mthembu and Mthethwa died instantly, the former having been shot four times in the body and the latter once in the head. Gamede, who is confined to a wheelchair, apparently escaped death by falling down and crawling under a car.

The ANC said the incident had sent shock waves through the party; Mthembu is the first MPL to be assassinated since 1994.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal leader S'bu

Ndebele said: "It is a disturbing situation for KwaZulu-Natal. Even during the homelands time, public representatives were never killed as a rule. We have had very serious conflicts before, but the assassination of public representatives has never been a feature.

"It is clear that the forces are getting very desperate and are going to stop at nothing to ensure that there isn't peace in this province and certainly that there isn't peace between the ANC and the IFP.

"We are going to call on all our people to co-operate fully in the investigation. If we do nothing else, we must find out who killed Mthembu and Mthethwa."

Reacting to the killings, the IFP described Mthembu as a "courageous individual" who had campaigned tirelessly with IFP MPL Blessed Gwala to combat violence in northern KwaZulu-Natal.

"The two men worked together to re-establish peace in this troubled part of the province."

Gwala, IFP spokesperson and leader of the provincial legislature, said it was "desperately unfortunate that there are people in our society who have decided to snatch the life of Mthembu. When one considers all the good that he did to bring about peace, the tragedy and the enormity of his loss becomes all too apparent."

● United Democratic Movement president Bantu Holomisa has called for an immediate independent judicial commission to investigate the continuous killings in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands region, including Richmond.

He was speaking at a memorial service for victims of the Richmond killings at the town's Magoda township. At least 25 people were slaughtered in the last two weeks.

As residents of Ndaleni and Magoda mourn their dead, a report suggests the area

Richmond is the 'guinea pig'

M+G 17-23/7/98 (276)

Sechaba ka'Nkosi

A group of highly trained operatives linked to dirty tricks operations in KwaZulu-Natal in the early 1990s has been directly implicated in the recent upsurge of violence in the Midlands town of Richmond.

A report by peace monitors suggests that senior politicians, right-wing farmers, police and military chiefs have regrouped and are exploiting tensions between the African National Congress and the United Democratic Movement in the area as part of an overall strategy to destabilise the province before next year's elections.

On Wednesday two prominent ANC leaders — Bheki Mthembu and Skhondla Mthethwa — were gunned down minutes after attending a local council meeting in Gingindlovu near Eshowe on the north coast. The ANC described the attack as part of a sustained campaign to assassinate most of its prominent leaders before the elections.

Recent reports by peace monitors detail "third-force sponsored violence" that can be traced back directly to rogue elements within the security forces. They claim there is collusion between senior Inkatha Freedom Party leaders, the UDM and other anti-ANC forces.

The report says the strategy involves instigating taxi violence and faction fights in rural KwaZulu-Natal, and creating hitches for projects such as the delivery of electricity and water and building roads to thwart an ANC takeover of the province next year.

If the strategy succeeds in Richmond, the next step would be to import it to the greater

Pietermaritzburg area, where the UDM has already reported harassment and intimidation by ANC members.

Senior police officers are named as co-conspirators, and are the targets of Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi's all-out offensive against sinister elements in the police in KwaZulu-Natal.

The report gives examples that point to a pattern of violence emerging in the run-up to the elections.

The security forces have conducted unauthorised raids in ANC strongholds such as the Ngqobokazi area near Hluhluwe in the past two weeks. Two weeks ago, a Hluhluwe chief's wife was assaulted, a knife held to her throat and breasts by plainclothed and camouflaged men demanding her husband's whereabouts. A case has been opened at Ubombo police station.

Says the report: "There are apparently insufficient security force members to prevent large-scale loss of life in areas such as Richmond and the Glebelands hostel (in Durban), and many other flashpoints. However, army and police management see fit to send dozens of security force members into a peaceful area to terrorise residents."

"There appears to be a high degree of support for the ANC in this area and residents allege that the aim of the operation was to disarm them and facilitate an attack — an all-too-familiar pattern in the province."

The report notes that the latest violence has targeted UDM general secretary and local strongman Sifiso Nkabinde's political opponents. It says since Nkabinde's expulsion from the ANC last year and his subsequent arrest

and acquittal on murder charges, residents in possession of information about him and members of the notorious self-defence units in the area have been killed or forced out of Richmond.

The report counts the timing, precision and the professional manner in which the latest killings have been executed as key indications that people other than warring self-defence unit members in the two settlements could be involved in the squabble.

A paramilitary training camp in Maphumulo allegedly manned jointly by known warlords and senior members of the police and defence force is identified as one of the primary sources of hit men responsible for recent ambushes in Richmond, taxi violence and faction fighting in the most rural parts of the province.

"Most of the people identified by locals as perpetrators are identified as hit men from as far afield as Durban and the KwaZulu-Natal North Coast, an allegation interpreted by the monitors as a calculated strategy to ensure that none of the killings are traced back to known warlords in the Richmond area."

The report also complains that confidential information given to local police on the violence filters easily back to the warlords, and as a result crucial witnesses to some of the killings have been killed or left the area.

The pattern in the report is confirmed by interviews with the survivors of an attack during which three youths were killed execution-style in a mission compound in the heartland of the ANC stronghold of Ndaleni last Friday.

Witness Agnes Madondo said that, shortly before the killings, a police Casspir drove past, followed by a vehicle which parked in front of

the mission. A few seconds later another Casspir went by. The vehicle parked in front of the mission drove inside, made a U-turn and parked at the gate. Its occupants knocked at the doors of some of the rooms in the compound, before a sudden eruption of gunfire that lasted less than a minute.

"We fail to understand why the second Casspir failed to search a suspicious-looking vehicle parked in front of a disused mission compound; why within seconds of their ignorance and the subsequent shootings no attempts were made to establish the cause," says Madondo. "How was this vehicle allowed to venture into a known ANC stronghold and speed out of the settlement easily when we have a high-profile army and police contingent at the entrance?"

"Whenever we say there are sinister forces involved in the violence people think we are exaggerating. But how do you explain this particular incident?"

The reports by peace monitors suggests the setting up of a new credible, hand-picked investigating team that would report directly to Mufamadi as a solution to escalating violence.

The report says National Police Commissioner George Fivaz and current members of the national investigations task unit — including Bushie Engelbrecht — must be left out of new initiatives.

"This team would have to be black-led because there are no senior white members who can be trusted, with the exception of Frank Dutton [formerly in the investigations task unit], now based with the International War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague," the report says.

Killers who come out of the dark

Swapna Prabhakaran

Like most of Richmond's remaining residents, Mabel Nxumalo is a portrait of strength. She has a solid, hard-worn look about her and though there is a deep grief in her eyes, there are no tears.

A week ago her sister, two of her sons and her daughter-in-law were shot dead. They were gunned down in their own house by unknown assailants for unknown reasons, while her 17-year-old granddaughter hid in a wardrobe, silent for safety.

This is Richmond, KwaZulu-Natal, and the five who died last Friday were just more gruesome casualties in the ongoing turmoil of the area — a turmoil which the weary residents of Richmond openly call war.

Richmond's settlements are its heart, home to those who labour on the outlying farms and their families. The largest of these is Ndaleni, a neat network of small houses framed by dirt roads. There are schools, churches and shops. There are also hundreds of abandoned houses, hollow wrecks where once people lived.

Cross an invisible border and there is the neighbouring settlement, Magoda. Magoda is virtually indistinguishable from Ndaleni; it has much the same corner shops and more empty, windowless houses. But politically, Magoda and Ndaleni are worlds apart.

Ndaleni's occupants are mostly African National Congress supporters, while the men and women of Magoda follow Sifiso Nkabinde under the banner of the United Democratic Movement.



The colours of grief: Richmond mourners hold a candlelight vigil for their dead

Nkabinde maintains neither he nor the UDM is advocating violence in the area: "All these people [who live here], they are people with whom I have grown up. These are my friends, my family, you could even call some of them my parents," he said this week. "It would take a stupid man to advocate violence in an area where his own family lives."

But the killings have escalated since his return to Richmond after his acquittal on murder charges. In the past two weeks alone, more than two dozen people have been killed, and most of them are residents of Ndaleni.

While many of the killings of the past have been overtly politically motivated, some of the

more recent victims have been innocents.

Nxumalo insists her kin were not obvious political targets. She says they had never been actively involved in the fierce tug of politics. "They were not high-profile activists, they were just ordinary members [of the ANC]."

Their deaths are confusing, like many of the other recent deaths. "People are dying in Richmond. It does not matter whether they are UDM or ANC, they are people," says Nkabinde. "There is a sinister force acting in this area. Richmond seems to be the entry point for violence in this province."

On Sunday Nxumalo will bury her loved ones. Until then, their bodies lie in cold metal

drawers in the morgue, along with those of at least six others killed over the past five days.

Three teenage youths were shot in the head execution-style last weekend, a mother and her baby were shot with automatic rifles early on Sunday morning, and a young boy was killed in a skirmish on Wednesday night.

The horror of so many pointless deaths has left its mark on the residents. Those who can afford to leave house and job to flee have already done so. Most of those left behind are those who have no other choice but Richmond.

Life has become confusing and perilous for them. Heavily armed policemen and members of the South African National Defence Force

is a staging point for a campaign of destabilisation in KwaZulu-Natal



In the shadow of war: Peace monitors suggest that the Richmond killings are part of a deliberate strategy to foment chaos in the area, and eventually in the entire province. PHOTOGRAPHS: GREG MARINOVICH



No mercy: The killers have shown no compassion for women and children in their attacks

patrol the streets. The taxis that take the men to work in the mornings are escorted by an armed guard, a precaution against a repeat of the attacks on taxis that took place a few weeks ago.

Nkosinathi Nyembe, a taxi marshal, says some of the people have already stopped going to work because of the recent ambushes on the main road between Magoda and Ndalenl. "Those who still use taxis do so at their own risk, and most of them are not sure whether they will come back from work or not."

Journalists invade every sanctuary and meeting place, asking unanswerable questions

at every funeral and leaving no space for private grief.

Gunfire can be heard at all hours, though the noise becomes infinitely more sinister at night — there are no street lights, and much of the killing has taken place in darkness. Most houses in the settlements do not have water, so young children are sent out to communal taps with large plastic buckets once a day.

"But we want them to be home as soon as they can, and we don't want the children out at night," says Agnes Madondo, a mother of five. "By 7pm everyone is in bed. If you go out after that, you are at risk."

Madondo lives in the same compound as the

three youths who were shot dead last weekend.

That night, when she heard the killing, she sheltered eight nieces and nephews, two sisters-in-law and all her own children in her room.

"I heard the gunfire, I could tell it was coming from within the compound, but we did not come out to look until 6.30 the next morning."

When she did venture out of her room, she found the three boys had been made to kneel against a wall and had been shot at point-blank range. Madondo spent this week cleaning up the boys' room after the bodies had been removed.

Suspect cops hang on in the Midlands

(276) MUG 23/7/98

Wonder Hlongwa

Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi's new initiative for Richmond, announced on Tuesday, has already been tried and failed.

Mufamadi's two-pronged approach to halt the murders in the town includes sending an additional 240 policemen there and transferring four policemen

But the four were served with notices three months ago — in April — ordering them to transfer out of KwaZulu-Natal. Despite this move, they are still in the Midlands. Captain Johan Meeding and Captain Rudie Kok of the national investigations task unit and Captain Jerry Brooks and Captain Shane Morris of internal security have instructed their lawyers to ask for reasons for the transfers and are vowing to fight them in court.

Mufamadi said on Tuesday that they would be transferred because "they were known to have contributed to a breakdown of trust between the Richmond community and the police." This week a source in the safety and security ministry confirmed that the four policemen served with transfer notices in April were the ones Mufamadi referred to.

Mufamadi's representative Andre Martin said he could not confirm or deny the allegation at this stage.

Brooks and Morris — whom the African National Congress alleges were United Democratic Movement leader Sifiso Nkabinde's apartheid police handlers — said this week they would "not take it [the transfers] lying down."

They said if Mufamadi is transferring them because he believed they were part of a third force, the minister must prove the allegation. Brooks said Mufamadi's "superspies" were misinforming him.

Brooks, who was removed from the investigation into last April's Richmond killings, has applied for amnesty in connection with the abduction of an ANC activist in Swaziland. Dion Cele's remains were exhumed, along with those of other two activists, on a farm in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands last March.

Brooks and Morris were security police operatives in Richmond in the 1980s.

Morris was among the group of policemen called in by Mufamadi this week to brief him on the situation. He said he told the minister he did not know what was happening because he was removed from the investigation. But he lives in Richmond.

Meeding shocked Richmond residents when — while he was head of detectives in the area last year — he instructed policemen to inform Nkabinde first whenever they searched the area. He was investigated by the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) for his involvement in the execution-style killing of five ANC councillors in Richmond last year.

"He was taking statements at the scene of the murders when everybody was there, which is not good police conduct," said Stix Mdladla, KwaZulu-Natal ICD director. "People also alleged he escorted the killers' vehicle to the scene of the killing. But there was no proof of all that, because people are scared to speak."

But Meeding said on the evening of the murders he was at a bible study group and has 20 witnesses who can testify to that. He added that there was nothing wrong with taking statements at the scene of a crime.

He said the transfer was a "racial issue" — "the ANC is getting rid of white officers" — and argued it was unfair for him to take the blame for police inability to end the Richmond violence because Senior Superintendent Bushie Engelbrecht had failed to investigate it properly. "I'm not going to go down for other people's fuck-ups," Meeding said.

Handwritten signature or initials.

Richmond ready to explode

Midlands violence could propel entire province into civil war, warn residents

ARG 18/9/98

(276)

PHALANE MOTALE

Strife-torn Richmond, in the KwaZulu Natal Midlands, is a time-bomb that could explode at any time, residents, politicians and police have warned. And unless drastic measures are taken to stop the violence that has claimed 26 lives in the past two weeks, it could spill over into the rest of the province in a return to the civil war that raged before the 1994 elections.

The town south of Pietermaritzburg heaved a collective sigh of relief when three nights passed after last weekend's carnage with no shooting - and no bodies collected in the morning. But the respite was short-lived, on the fourth night, a young boy died after he and his two siblings were shot while they were eating dinner in their home in Magoda.

The streets of Magoda and Indaleni townships appear almost deserted, even by day. Those residents who do venture beyond their front doors are grim-faced. Many have lost a family member in the violence; most fear they could become the next victim.

As the sun sets, Richmond residents disappear into their mud-and-stick houses and say their prayers. The sound of the army and police trucks rolling into the area is their only hope of seeing the light of day again.

Hundreds of police reinforcements were deployed in the town this week and more are to follow. But residents continue to flee their homes.

The only activity in the townships at night is at the shebeens, booming now that the police and troops have arrived. Resorting to alcohol has become another means of at least having a peaceful night.

Soldiers patrol the vacant streets, but residents dare not go outside at all.

The attacks usually occur on Friday and Saturday, when most men return from their jobs in the cities. The unemployment rate is high in the town because the local timber and farming industries cannot provide enough jobs.

Law and order in the area appears to have collapsed. People have no respect for a criminal justice system that has so far not arrested, let alone convicted, a single person involved in the murders. At least 75 people have been killed since May, both in the Indaleni section, which is aligned to the African National Congress, and the United Democratic Movement's (UDM) Magoda section.

On Tuesday evening, an attempt was allegedly made on the life of UDM secretary Sifiso Nkhabunde outside his Magoda home.

The following day a gunman, allegedly known to police, opened fire on the three juveniles at their parents' home in Magoda. One boy died



At the ready: a defence force unit patrols a township outside Richmond on his way to hospital and the other two were admitted to hospital, critically wounded.

In the ANC camp, Percy Thompson, Richmond's deputy mayor, was among eight people killed in a mas-

sacre in the middle of the town last week.

Now residents of Indaleni have called for the removal of the town's police officers. They say policemen from outside should be brought in to

replace those allegedly siding with the residents of Magoda.

The crisis deepened after a meeting at Richmond police station on Wednesday between representatives of the UDM, the ANC, the Inkatha

Freedom Party, police and the army, and KwaZulu Natal's safety and security minister Nyanga Ngubane. The ANC refused to take part in the talks and walked out.

Andrew Ragaivaloo, Richmond's ANC-aligned mayor, told Saturday Argus the violence had resurfaced on May 8 last year when councillor Rodney van der Byl was shot dead. "Since then killings have happened. No killer has been identified and no motive for the killings have been established," Mr Ragaivaloo said.

Mr Ragaivaloo blamed the UDM for the violence in the area. "Their motive is two-fold. They want to destabilise the situation in Richmond so that the ANC is cast in a bad light because the violence prohibits development in the area," he said.

He claimed criminals linked to the UDM were working with former members of self-defence units and renegade elements of the police or a third force.

Provincial police commissioner Chris Serfontein has not ruled out the possibility that a third force exists in the police.

Mr Ragaivaloo said he received death threats and feared for his life. "I have the sound of the telephone, because I know that it could be about another killing or a death threat," he said.

Mr Ragaivaloo is not the only person who has received death threats. The only prosecutor in the town,

Sandra Kloppers, also fears for her life. She told Saturday Argus intimidation was the order of the day in the area. Ms Kloppers said the situation was so serious she had asked for police protection.

"Some witnesses who had been put on our witness-protection scheme have been killed and this has negatively affected the solving of cases," she said.

Mr Nkhabunde, a former ANC strongman who was kicked out of the party last year following allegations that he had spied for the apartheid government, told Saturday Argus the UDM was not at war with the ANC in the area.

He said the ANC had refused to meet the UDM and, despite having at its disposal the army, intelligence, police and informers, had failed to prove that his party was responsible for the killings.

Phillip Powell, IFP MP and spokesman on safety and security, appealed to the ANC and the UDM to initiate peace talks and to end "party politicking at the expense of innocent lives".

He criticised the ANC for refusing to talk to the UDM. "It's very unfortunate that the ANC has decided not to talk to the UDM. We did not talk to the ANC for years and thousands of our members were killed."

"It's a reality. Sometime or the other, the ANC will have to talk to the UDM," he said.

Between dinner and death, a town reels in madness

ST 19/7/98

(276)

Bodies pile up as killers stalk Richmond with impunity

CRAIG DOONAN

BUSINESS is booming at the downtown undertaker in Richmond. In fact, Percy Baker has been so overwhelmed by the recent demand he has taken a 10-day break and instructed his staff not to contact him.

"He needs a rest. It's so bad here but someone has to do this job," says his stand-in, Lionel Reed. "We can't just leave dead people on the floor."

While local coffin makers work overtime and smooth-talking cask importers whip in and out of the village, bodies are piling up at the three local morgues.

The body of Esack Mdunge, one of the latest victims of the bloodletting in this KwaZulu-Natal Midlands hamlet had to be stacked on top of another corpse at the mortuary because of the lack of space. Mdunge, 16, was gunned down on Wednesday while eating supper.

And while the toll climbs and

Defence force deploys elite force

THE defence force sent an elite task force into Richmond's yesterday after five more people were killed on the eve of the mass burial of 10 victims.

Friday's killings in the ANC's Ndaleni stronghold came despite promises of stepped-up security by President Nelson Mandela to stem the soaring death toll, now standing at 30 in two weeks.

Among the latest victims is Thelani Mtolo, the brother of a witness in UDM leader Sifiso Nkabinde's recent multiple murder trial. He was killed at 8.20pm as he left the night vigil for those buried yesterday. Ten minutes later, gunmen attacked a home, killing Joseph Phoswa, 47, his wife, Tuleleni, 47, and their children Mandla 15, and Bongeni, 7.

families are ripped apart, other businesses in and around Richmond are also under siege. Distributors are terrified of delivering goods anywhere near the village, holidaymakers shun once popular country hotels and farmers cannot convince dealers it is safe to fetch their produce.

Some businessmen blame the media.

A cafe owner explains: "When you turn on the news, all you see

is Richmond, Richmond. We are sick of it. Except for the tavern attack, the violence is in Ndaleni and Magoda. But it's all explained as if it's in Richmond."

Those who have killed with impunity for so long struck at the heart of the town two weeks in a tavern on the main road. Eight people watching a World Cup soccer match were killed.

The attack brought home to white, Indian and coloured res-

idents what their neighbours, just a few kilometres away have lived — and died — through for almost nine years.

By day, Richmond's main road bustles. At night it is deserted. Only a few white folk hang out at another pub, Travellers' Tavern, playing pool and sipping beer.

The days when whites disregarded the bloodshed as "blacks killing each other" are also a thing of the past.

"Anywhere else in the world, this situation would be declared a national disaster," says a local honey farmer.

"We hear this place is next," says the barmaid, "but we're taking our chances."

Later, a few locals amble over to a braai at a nearby house. At about the same time the chops come off the braai, faceless gunmen strike at Magoda, killing Mdunge and wounding two others also at the supper table.

During the day Ndaleni, an ANC stronghold, is much like many other KwaZulu-Natal townships. Those who have jobs or money amble into the village every morning while youths meet at a local spaza shop.

But, as dusk approaches, workers knock off early and lock themselves inside their homes.

"We don't even put on the TV or light a candle. All we do is stay inside and keep watch through the windows," says a youth.

"If your picture appears in the paper or you say something in the press, you could be dead the next day."

Like many of Ndaleni's residents, he blames Sifiso Nkabinde, the United Democratic Movement's general secretary for much of the violence.

Nkabinde was accused of being a double agent for the apartheid regime last year, kicked out of the ANC and subsequently emerged in the UDM.

He lives in Magoda, which adjoins Ndaleni and has become a UDM stronghold.

Nkabinde was arrested last year on 16 counts of murder after "supercop" Bushie Engelbrecht ap-

prehended him in what was punted as a water-tight case. But he was acquitted in May after eight months in jail.

Nkabinde blames the ANC, urges peace talks and has called for an independent probe into the killings, which he says are an attempt to demoralise the UDM.

But the ANC has spurned discussion, declaring Nkabinde's followers "thugs" trying to gain recognition through violence and subsequent peace talks.

New investigators do not have insight into the past conflict, and are working amid a plethora of suspect security and intelligence agencies.

"One team doesn't know what the next is doing most of the time," said one police officer.

"And it's impossible to undertake secret raids or operations. You have to tell other units. In no time everyone knows and the operation is a failure."

Local police and members of the regional command have long been accused of links with Nkabinde and a sinister plot to destabilise Richmond and, ultimately, the rest of the province in an attempt to stop the ANC from gaining control of IFP-led KwaZulu-Natal.

But only one person, a township resident, has been arrested in connec-

tion with one of the recent 30 killings.

"There is just no evidence. We have no warrants, nothing," said a senior investigator.

The only action seen by the local court recently was an aborted peace meeting held there this week, but the ANC staged a walkout at IFP attempts to broker peace.

"Where in the world does a political party that is also part of the conflict broker peace," asked one monitor.

The meeting went ahead, but little was resolved.

As Irate MPs and police top brass sped out of town, a government official hissed: "This place is a f*****g mess."

Richmond carnage continues

CP19/7/98 (276)

By CHRIS HLONGWA

RICHMOND women wept yesterday and young men demanded guns after the latest massacre on Friday in which a family was almost wiped out and a four year-old child was shot in the head.

The Phoswa family in Indaleni, relatives of a local councillor, were attacked around 9pm on Friday. The attackers killed Joseph Phoswa, his wife and two children.

Another of Phoswa's children, Ntombilanga, survived - she had been attending a wake for 10 people who were killed last weekend.

It is believed her family was killed by attackers who were looking for ANC councillors in the area.

ANC councillor Zarnokwakhe Mjwara said the house of another councillor, Anton Nyembe, was also fired on and police guards fled. Mjwara said he had heard of a campaign to kill all ANC councillors by August.

Provincial ANC leaders cancelled a provincial congress which was to start yesterday. They visited the Phoswa children and the family of Thulani Mtolo, also killed on Friday.

Young men approached ANC leaders and demanded to be supplied with guns to defend the area. They were persuaded to calm down.

The leaders also attended the burial of 10 victims, which brought the death toll to more than 30 since the tavern massacre two weeks ago in which deputy mayor Percy Thompson died.

Those that were buried yesterday were: Siphwe Nxumalo, Ntombikayise Nxumalo, Mandla Nxumalo, Roy Mbothwe, Sandile Shange, Muzi Hadebe, Wonder Myende, S'pani Madondo, Gugu Ngcobo and Mintch Cele.

Today the United Democratic Front will bury four of its members killed in the violence.



TO NO AVAIL... SANDF members patrol Ndaleni township just outside Richmond in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands, but violence continues unabated. ■ PIC: ASSOCIATED PRESS

Silent night, fearful night in the ravaged Richmond

ep 19/7/98 (276)

Our KwaZulu/Natal bureau chief, CHRIS HLONGWA, this week accompanied a night police patrol in strife-torn Richmond.

IT'S 9 pm on Thursday in Richmond as the giant wheels of the police vehicle roll from town on its way to the dreaded and dusty roads of Magoda and Indaleni townships.

And it's about the time when some of the worst murders have taken place in this Midlands area.

From the bright lights of the town to the thick darkness of this rural valley of death is a journey of uncertainty - will we return alive?

In only nine days 24 men, women and children have been slaughtered in the area.

And quite recently, a Durban journalist wrote he was told by police they could not assure his safety when he came to Richmond - and that was daylight!

The big Inyala is one of the many armoured patrol vehicles sent to the hottest violence spot in the country, in a major operation which saw 240 extra policemen come from Pretoria to support 120 soldiers

Darkness is of great concern here. Despite calls for high mast lighting Richmond is enveloped in almost impenetrable darkness. Lurking behind that house, that shadow of a tree, could be young men armed with AK47s ready to pounce on their latest victims - after the police vehicle has passed, of course.

Footpatrols are the diceiest thing police and soldiers can do in a terrain which the attackers seem to know like the back of their hands. And victim and killer might have known each other from childhood, says a policeman.

Finance and Local Government MEC Peter Miller this week said he had been unfairly blamed for the delay in installing high mast lighting in Richmond, for apparently failing to approve funds for this absolute necessity.

He said he had no objection to a Transitional Local Council proposal for six highmast lights.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mafumadi had said Eskom had indicated it was ready to provide effective lighting.

But tonight it is still the old, dark Richmond.

It is not only the local people, with some of them sleeping over in the police-guarded town hall, who do not know if they will see another day - such is the fear. One of the three young policemen in the vehicle says police are not safe, especially with at least two of the gunmen associated with the imprisoned Bob Ndlovu - once one of the most wanted men in the country - still on the loose.

"They might have recruited more people. They are understood to have vowed they will go down with policemen, and they have all kinds of explosives," says Sergeant Petros Mthonjana.

Ndlovu was surprised by police at a hideout in Mariannhill. He was sentenced to life for killing three policemen at Magoda.

Yet, Sergeant Sabela Mnguni is not particularly disturbed by serving in Richmond. "Police work is my job," he says.

The tarred road ends suddenly and we are on the gravel. We start to negotiate huge boulders and knee-deep tracks.

"Has your vehicle ever been attacked?" I ask apprehensively. No, says Sergeant

der what an AK47 bullet might do to them.

When we pass through Magoda, we see another big police armoured vehicle parked beside a shop belonging to United Democratic Movement strongman Sifiso Nkabinde. The police are guarding the shop and house and it looks quiet. "He doesn't stay here a lot any more," says one of my three companions.

The previous day Nkabinde had reported to the police that some people had fired at his house and that his bodyguards had returned fire. He said he suspected members of the security forces were responsible.

The loneliness of the deserted roads is eerie. "No local walks here after dark," explains one of the policemen.

It is only at Esimozomeni that one can see some lights from houses. It's been quiet since last year's murder of councillors, I'm told.

We have to drive carefully, and avoid other patrols and footmen - because when they see any light they take cover, with guns at the ready.

And the conversation in the din of the Inyala engine, turns to the mighty, evil Third Force, a largely mysterious monster that sets black against black in seemingly never-ending rounds of violence.

On Wednesday, none other than Nkabinde himself - who was expelled from the ANC, on as yet inconclusive allega-

That some of the evidence from the scene of the tavern massacre two weeks ago is still lying somewhere there and that an angry commander had asked how it came about that "basic police investigation work" was not done.

This officer at the police station even said "it is no use to having all the computers, the maps and charts" - a sarcastic remark about the recent public presentation by deskbound officers of the fancy-named "Operation PAX2" - "when good old detective work was not being done".

He even predicted the whole operation would fall six months down the line if the bungling continued.

The officer, I told Sergeant Mthonjana, asked why Nkabinde had not been given police protection - until tonight.

My companion seemed to understand the questions about police conduct since the massacre in which deputy mayor Percy Thompson perished. He also understood why the angry scene at the police station office did not inspire any confidence.

"Cover-up", "incompetence" and such remarks have ensued. Even Nkabinde's supporters angrily asked provincial police commissioner Chris Serfontein at a meeting on Wednesday why there were not police guards at his home.

Protection is being given, however, to a number of councillors and witnesses who testified in the recent high-profile

was he seeing a ghost?

There should be many in Richmond.

As we quietly return to base, after meeting some police vehicles on their way to their guard posts, we pass a spot on the road where we saw a parked car on our way to Indaleni.

I remember the driver was quite nervous, if I'm not imagining things, when the policemen asked if he had a problem.

He slightly raised his arm to somehow indicate he was going forward. But why just stop there?

My companions didn't seem to want to hear much more and left.

The following morning I check with police if there have been any attacks that night.

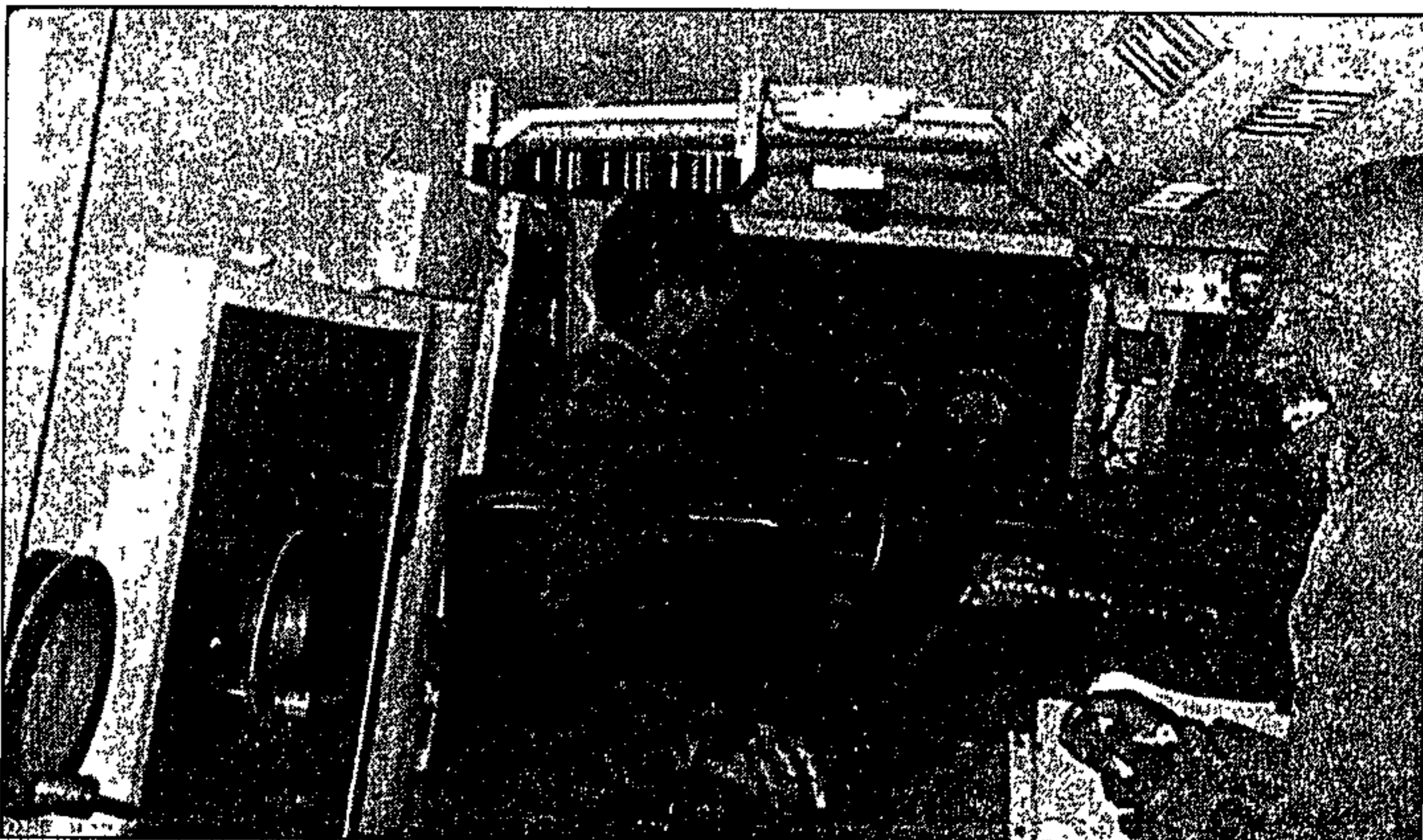
No, not even the sounds of guns. Quite abnormal in Richmond.

Drastic measures are the talking point. "If President Mandela would just suspend human rights here, we could sort out this mess in a week, two days even," a senior officer at the police station in town says to his colleagues.

His frustration, apparently, is the need to do thorough investigations and gather evidence that will stand in a court of law.

But locals are waiting for arrests, soon.

Only one person was arrested by Friday - in connection with, say police, Wednesday's "murder and attempted murder of the three juveniles who were fired upon whilst having their supper at their home in Magoda".



GUARDIANS IN THE DARK... Sergeant Petros Mthonjana, left front, and Sergeant Sabela Mnguni (laughing) in the Inyala patrol vehicle keeping watch in the Richmond area

tions of being an apartheid spy - spoke of the Third Force but blamed his political opponents for giving it fertile ground to thrive in when they fail to sit down and discuss peace.

"Yes, I believe it is operating," says Sergeant Mthonjana about the Third Force, widely believed to consist of some senior white police officers who cannot accept black rule.

The sergeant believes there is truth in the widespread rumours that certain police officers have "made all the mess" in Richmond.

He will not name them aloud, but when names are suggested to him, he says "Yes" and turns his head away.

Some of those men are understood to have threatened to sue if they are named.

Later, I tell a dumfounded sergeant at the Richmond police station what I have

Richmond murder trials.

Thursday night is cool, calm and quiet in Richmond - a respite from the usual guns ringing out in spite of one of the heaviest police and army presences seen in these parts recently.

There is little evidence of deployment at Esimozomeni: "We are concentrating on Magoda and Indaleni," says Sergeant Mthonjana - the flashpoints.

Mthonjana recalls there was once more killings than at present - "from 1990 to 1992". Then, whole areas like Gengeshe were depopulated in the fight between the ANC and IFP.

As we turn back, Sergeant Mnguni suddenly says: "It looks like someone is coming at us 440 (code for speed)".

But as we watch and listen, he says "No he is just someone having a leak (passing water)".

We move back. What was Mnguni

A growing clamour for some state of emergency is being heard from neighbouring white farmers whose workers, from the townships, have been among the victims of the violence.

Some of the workers are now staying at the farms.

But the lack of political leadership is the main problem, says Mthonjana. "If they spoke to the people, as blacks, to stop these killings, it would help."

The previous day, the political cat-and-dog life saw ANC provincial leaders walk out of a meeting with the IFP and UDM, which was to discuss the horror of Richmond.

Both UDM, ANC supporters have died in the latest killings. Some politically-innocent people (and children) too.

If there are more killings in Richmond soon, I will not be surprised after what I have seen and heard tonight, and this

ANC criticises govt's response to Richmond

AD 20/7/98

Kevin O'Grady

DURBAN — The African National Congress (ANC) in KwaZulu-Natal criticised national government at the weekend for not taking stronger action to halt the carnage in Richmond, where at least 39 people have been killed in the past two-and-a-half months.

The party also agreed at its provincial conference yesterday to set up urgent meetings with the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to take the peace process in the province forward, but ruled out any possibility of peace talks with the United Democratic Movement (UDM).

National and provincial ANC leaders visited Richmond on Saturday for the funeral of several recent victims of the violence. The night before the funeral, five more people were killed and eight injured when a gang of about 10 armed men attacked homes in Richmond's neighbouring township of Ndalem.

Speaking after the funeral, ANC deputy president Jacob Zuma said: "We can't say we are governing in this province.

"It is time for government to take some extraordinary measures."

The strong line taken by Zuma was echoed at the ANC's provincial conference in Durban yesterday where party leaders, including Zuma, ANC national chairman Patrick Lekota and newly elected provincial chairman Sibusiso Ndebele, called for urgent and special measures from national government.

Lekota said the ANC would be questioned — "and rightly so" — by its members and supporters on the issue of peace and security in the province. The ANC needed to answer these concerns before next year's elections.

"The people of this province will demand to know why, when we are controlling the security forces, they continue to live without security. We owe it to the people of KwaZulu-Natal to

make sure there is security," Lekota said.

"This is the responsibility of the ANC and its alliance partners, the government and the minister of safety and security," he said.

Ndebele said the party was unhappy with the way the Richmond conflict was being handled. "We have zero prosecutions and zero arrests in Richmond. There have been 39 people killed since May 1 without any arrests so we can't say it's right," he said.

Although the killings were not directly linked to the IFP-ANC conflict in the province, those behind it — "murderers let loose to ensure the people lose confidence in the democratic government" — were taking advantage of the past and current tensions between the IFP and the ANC.

Zuma said progress made so far in the ANC-IFP peace initiative had "compelled the third force elements to redouble their counter-revolutionary efforts".

"As the date for the election approaches, we expect the third force will manipulate parties to resort to politically motivated violence to force people to vote not according to their choice.

"What makes this possible is the fact that some of the third force elements still occupy strategic positions in various centres of state power, including the security apparatus of the country. There is little doubt that it is these latter elements that perpetrate violence against our people in Richmond under the cover of the inappropriately named UDM," he said.

Ndebele said while the ANC's main priority was to win next year's election in KwaZulu-Natal, "we can't say we're going to Parliament over the bodies of our people."

Reuter reports that SA peace monitors said yesterday a sophisticated hit squad was operating in Richmond.

"If we look at the killings, a lot of the attacks appear to be targeted," said Jenni Irish, co-or-

dinator of the foreign-funded Network of Independent Monitors.

"There is a sophisticated hit squad operating in Richmond and we need a thorough investigation to get to the bottom of this," she said.

However, SA police, which poured reinforcements into the community yesterday, said there was no evidence of a hit squad operating in the area. Altogether 34 policemen arrived in the town yesterday and 200 more were expected in the week. "We do not have evidence of a hit squad, but we would like to appeal to members of the community to come forward with any information that they might have," police spokesman Henry Budhrain said.

Primarashni Pillay reports Richmond was relatively quiet yesterday.

President Nelson Mandela attended the funerals of some of the victims last week and condemned the killings. He accused the police of failing in their duties.

Violence

(276)

Gummen claim five more lives in Richmond

(276) Star 20/7/98

Police and army chief to visit troubled area, as killings continue despite heavy police presence

By Mike Masipa

As the traumatised town of Richmond in Kwa-Zulu Natal buried 17 people murdered in a week of violence, faceless gunmen ensured there would be more funerals when they killed another five at the weekend.

A man was shot dead and another was injured in the ANC stronghold of Indaleni on their way to a night vigil on Friday night.

Less than a kilometre away a homestead in Maswazi section, Indaleni, was attacked and four members of a family were killed, including two children aged 6 and 9. Six more people were injured in a grenade attack on another homestead in the same area.

The murders brought to 30 the number of people killed in two weeks of fighting, believed to be between members of the United Democratic Movement and the ANC.

National police commissioner George Fivaz and SA National Defence Force chief General Siphiwe Nyanda were expected to visit the area today to be briefed on the volatile security situation in the area, Fivaz said in a statement yesterday.

Fivaz and Nyanda will be accompanied by other senior officers of the SAPS and the SANDF.

Fivaz and his delegation will evaluate the operational plan implemented in the area to determine whether there are any shortcomings.

The latest attacks happened despite the presence of hundreds of police and troops who are patrolling villages around Richmond. At least six people have been killed since the



Grief-stricken... Ntombi Langa Oswa weeps in pain after losing three members of her family after they were shot execution-style in Indaleni, Richmond

deployment of additional police and army forces in the area last week. Local police have been barred from attending crime scenes in the area. Seventeen people - 11 of

them members of the ANC and the remainder from the UDM - were buried in separate funerals at the weekend. ANC deputy president Jacob Zuma attended the ANC funeral on Saturday.

ANC branch executive member Fanyana Mkhize said Friday night's killings showed that police from outside the area were not suited to deal with the violence by themselves.

"Our research has shown that there has been absolutely no co-operation between local police and those from outside. As a result, local cops feel alienated," Mkhize said.

He said police appeared uninterested in stopping the killers, or "they are scared themselves, because such attacks continue right under their noses".

RAJESH JANTHAL

Richmond witnesses in

agony as death toll rises

CT 20/7/98

(976)

ONE THING the murderous attacks in Richmond, KwaZulu-Natal, and those in Cape Town have in common is the inability of the police to stop the carnage. Special Assignments Team ROGER FRIEDMAN and BENNY GOOL report. This is the first of a two-part Focus on Richmond. The second will appear in tomorrow's Cape Times.

ON Friday night, as the people of Ndalemni township above Richmond gathered at a vigil to pay their last respects to 11 members of their community who had died in violence the previous week, the faceless killers strike again — five more dead and six more wounded.

"They came from shopping and prepared food and were just eating when the men came," a sobbing relative explains at the house where Keene and Thulelem Phoswa and their children, six-year-old Mbongeni and teenage Mandla, died in a hail of bullets at 8.30pm.

"The police were all around, but they could do nothing to stop it — or didn't want to stop it," she says. "Yes," an elderly neighbour agrees. "The people are saying the police were right here, but there are worms in the police. Even the soldiers that Mandela sent are not helping us."

Most people in Ndalemni who are willing to express an opinion blame Sifiso Nkabinde's followers for the continuing attacks, and many believe members of the security forces are also playing a role. Nkabinde — secretary-general of Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer's United Democratic Movement, who was expelled from the ANC last year after he was accused of being an apartheid police informer — controls Magoda township, which borders on Ndalemni.

Ndalemni is an ANC stronghold. Soon after being expelled from the ANC, Nkabinde was charged with 16 counts of murder dating back to 1993, but he was acquitted in May. Interviewed by the *Cape Times*, he denied being a warder. The Phoswa's eldest daughter,



THE COST: The funeral service for 11 members of the Ndalemni community who were killed in separate incidents in the past 10 days. Ndalemni is an ANC stronghold.

Thombelanga, is waiting hysterically as members of the community file into the room of death, to see the blood for themselves.

The family matriarch's crying is more muted. She sits on a mattress in an adjoining room, comforted by relatives and friends. It is a ghastly scene. Evidently they were all shot at close range with automatic rifles.

Together with the killing on Friday of another Ndalemni resident, the Phoswa massacre takes July's death toll to 31.

But the terror is not only about death. Down the road from the Phoswas, and at about the same

time as the massacre, the Zacha family also came under attack. A grenade exploded in their house, embedding shrapnel in the flesh of parents Michael and Mozzi, their 11-year-old son Skumbuzo and six-year-old twin daughters Nokhula and Nokbonka. They are grateful to be alive.

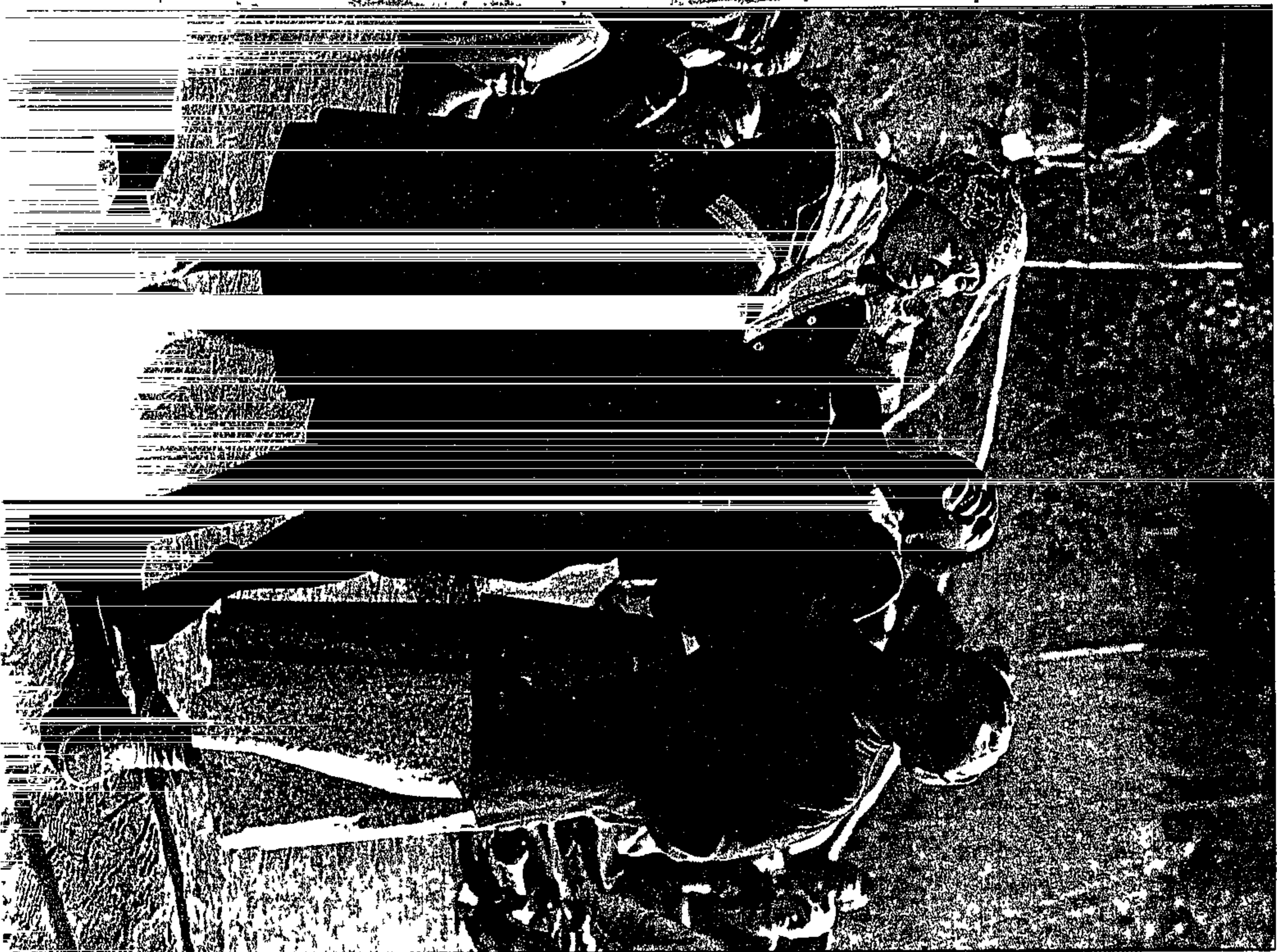
A new day is breaking. Saturday, Mabel Nxumalo, 64, has spent the night in the Ndalemni school hall besides the coffins of her son Kenneth and daughter-in-law, Lynette. There are nine other coffins in the row. She battles to keep her eyes open.

"I have not moved from my

chair the whole night. This is our custom, to sit with the body before the funeral. I really don't know what is going to happen. This killing is just going on and on.

"All I can tell you is what I saw of my son after they killed him. It was disgusting. He was a member of the ANC, but he was not involved in this violence, because he was working in Durban and did not have time for all the political meetings."

Nxumalo sits in the hall with her four recently-orphaned grandchildren. "I will have to look after them now. But it will be very hard for all of us. I'm a widower and a pensioner. I only get R490 a month, and you know how expen-



year after he was accused of being an apartheid police informer — controls Magoda township, which borders on Ndalem.

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"I have not moved from my

of my son after they killed him. It was disgusting. He was a member of the ANC, but he was not involved in this violence, because he was working in Durban and did not have time for all the political meetings."

Nxumalo sits in the hall with her four recently-orphaned grandchildren. "I will have to look after them now. But it will be very hard for all of us. I'm a widower and a pensioner. I only get R490 a month, and you know how expensive funerals are. I just don't know what I am to do," she says.

It is 10.55am. A convoy of cars snakes its way through Ndalem to the scene of the Phoswa massacre, the vehicles scraping their undersides on the road between the deeply rutted tracks. ANC deputy president Jacob Zuma has arrived with Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma and about 10 MECs and MPs.

They speak to the family, and then Jacob Zuma addresses about 100 women sitting on the grass next to the house. He is told the community needs arms to defend itself.

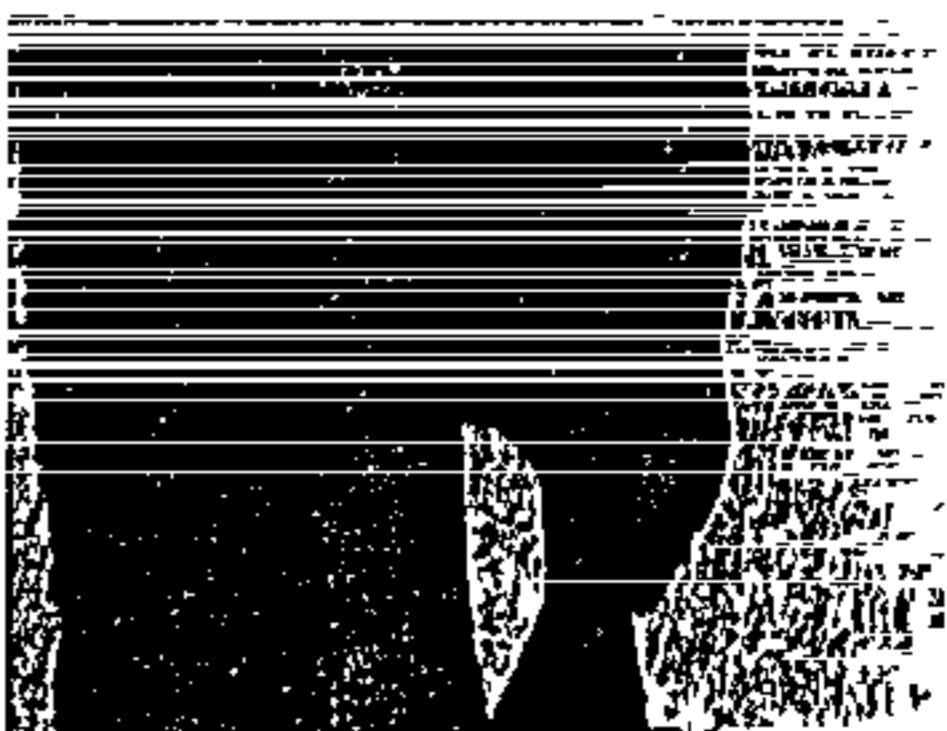
He is incensed by the killings, and tells journalists he will call on the government to take "extraordinary measures". But it is not for him to tell the government what form the measures should take.

Unless the government stops the violence it cannot be said to be governing the country, he says.

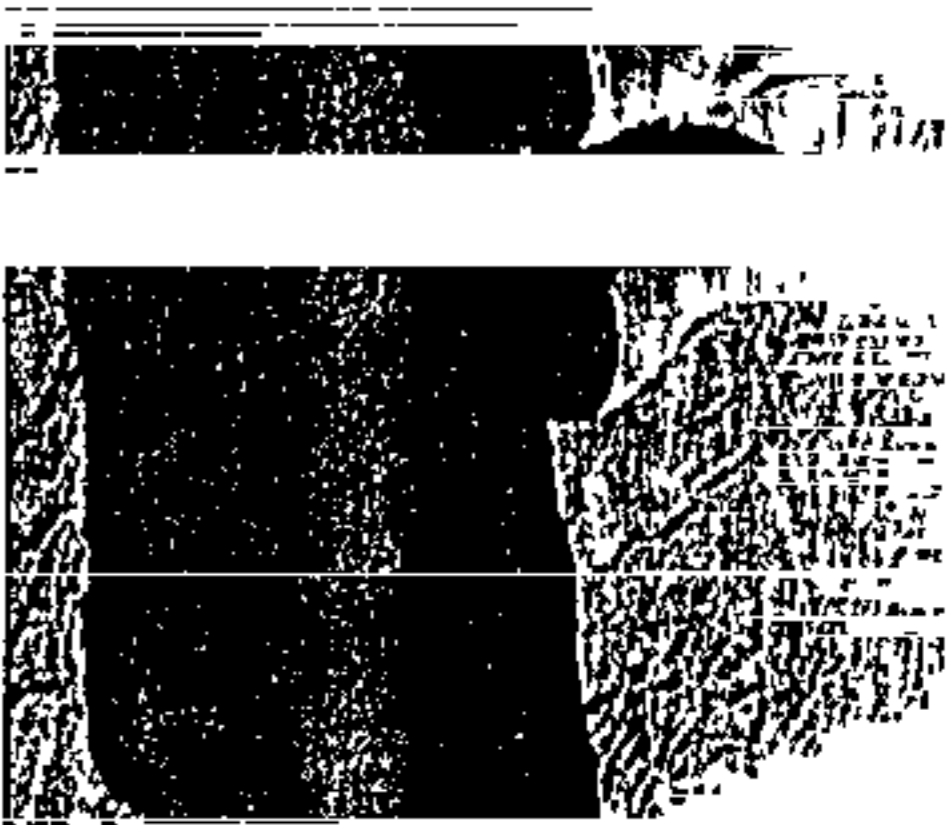
At 2.30pm, after the funeral service, the 11 coffins began emerging from the hall for burial. Weeping widows, mothers and sisters follow. The interment and burial rites take until nightfall.

Dawn yesterday Ndalem residents say there was shooting during the night but they know nothing about casualties.

Now it is Magoda's turn for funerals. Nkabinde says there are seven or eight of his supporters in the



ORPHANED: Thombelanga Phoswa, whose parents and siblings were massacred on Friday night, was inconsolable on Saturday. She tore off her clothes and tried to tear out her hair.



Richmond mortuary. Only one is to be buried immediately — 24-year-old Flora Tholo Kumbuzile, who was shot as she drove through Ndalem on her way to town.

There is only one road to Magoda and it goes through Ndalem. The other bodies in the mortuary are still waiting to be claimed by relatives, Nkabinde says.

A group of about 30 youths is toyi-toying behind the undertaker's hearse carrying her coffin. The cortege moves past the gaily-painted Magoda school "Wall of Happiness", and into the school hall. The youths outside sing "All the enemies are going to meet in Richmond with their AK47s and their bazookas."

Later they sing that they are on their way to Parliament.

The crying of Kumbuzile's mother drifts through the broken windows. She has collapsed. Friends and relatives fan her face and undo the top button of her blouse.

This is the story of far away Richmond in KwaZulu-Natal, a story of blood, tears, grief, hatred and division.



WAITING TO BURY HER SON: Mavis Madondo sat patiently beside the coffin of her son Sibane Madondo, 21, on Saturday as gravediggers prepared his burial site at a hilltop graveyard overlooking Ndalem township above Richmond.



FINAL JOURNEY: A woman's agony as the coffin of a loved one is carried from the Ndalem school hall on Saturday after a mass funeral for 11 victims of Richmond violence.



SOLIDARITY: Deputy president of the ANC, Jacob Zuma, arrives in Richmond on Saturday to speak to survivors of the latest massacre.



ANGUISH: A relative gives vent to her feelings after entering the room in which members of the Phoswa family were massacred on Friday night.

Fivaz and Nyanda rally Richmond troops

Strategy in focus as top brass on mission to boost morale

(A76) ARTS 20/7/98

Pretoria - Police Commissioner George Fivaz and the Chief of the SA National Defence Force, General Siphivwe Nyanda, will visit Richmond today to be briefed on the volatile security situation in the area.

Commissioner Fivaz and General Nyanda will be accompanied by senior officers of the SA Police Service and the SANDF.

Commissioner Fivaz said yesterday that security forces were concerned about the violence in the area, which had claimed the lives of 30 people since July 8.

Police would do everything in their power to stabilise the area and save the lives of innocent victims.

The main objectives of the visit would be to boost the morale of security personnel in the area, and to welcome and brief those who arrived over the weekend from different parts of the country.

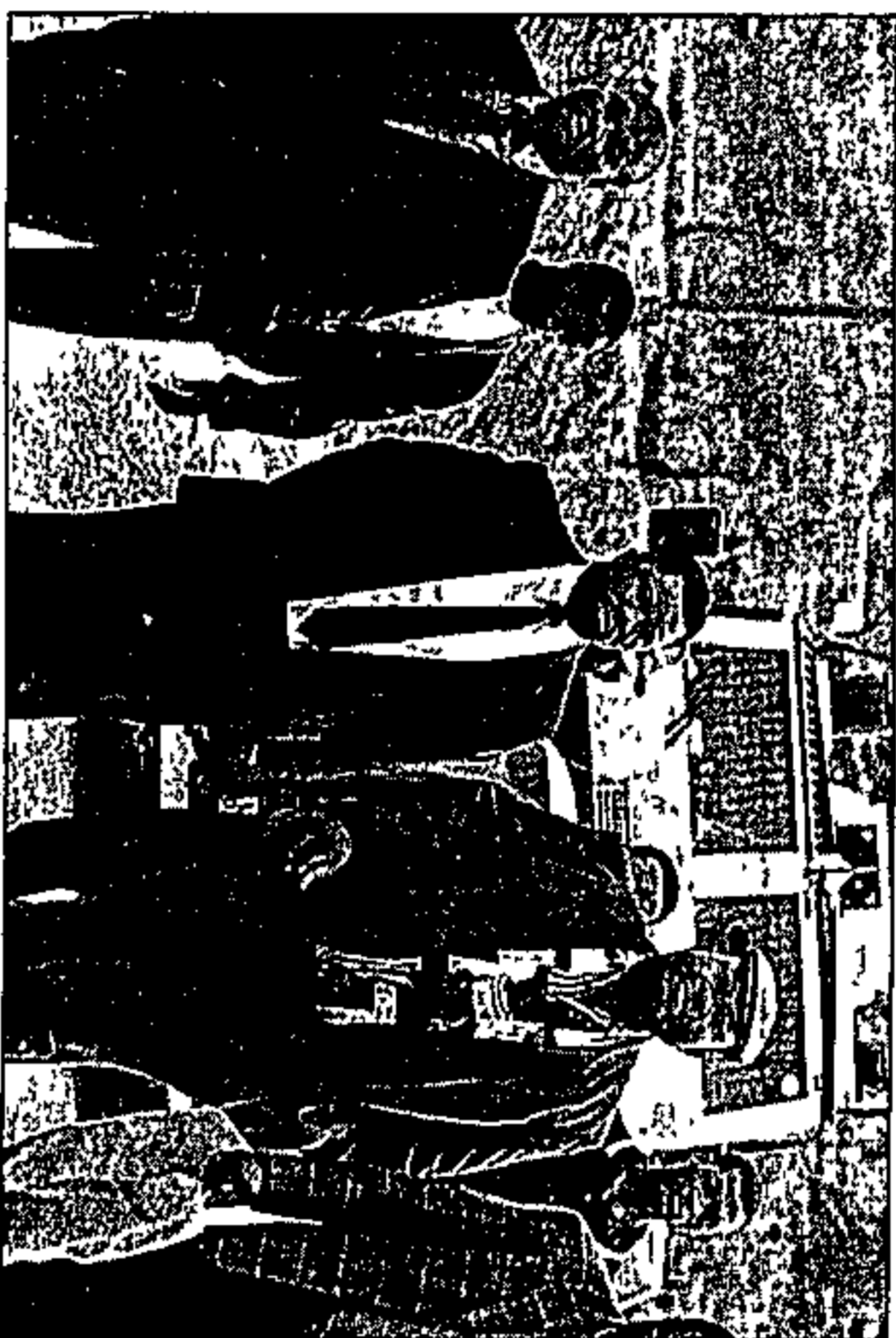
According to KwaZulu Natal police spokesman Bala Naidoo, there are 150 police and 90 defence force members in the area.

Commissioner Fivaz and his delegation would re-evaluate the operational plan in the area to determine if there were any shortcomings which should be improved or adapted.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi launched an intelligence-driven operation last week in a bid to bring the security situation in Richmond under control.

This included the transferring of particular police seen as obstacles to the normalisation process in the area.

Police have been accused of contributing to the violence in the area. Commissioner Fivaz and his team would receive a full briefing from the officers involved in the joint



Burial: former ANC strongman Sifiso Nkabinde, centre, is accompanied by UDM supporters to the funeral service of Thelani Mhlo

operational centre and the joint intelligence centre as well as from the provincial commissioner on the security situation and recent developments in Richmond. Director Naidoo said.

Yesterday Commissioner Fivaz called on the people of the area to support the efforts of security forces and to co-operate with them in order to restore peace.

In the latest incident, five people were killed at Indaleni near Richmond on Friday night, when gunmen attacked a service held for 11 African National Congress supporters buried on Saturday.

One man was killed in the assault, and the attackers butchered a family of four as they fled, including a young boy and baby girl.

The bloodletting has been attributed to conflict between United Democratic Movement residents of Magoda and supporters of the ANC in neighbouring Indaleni.

Attempts to bring the two parties together failed on Wednesday when the ANC refused to participate in the peace talks and walked out of the KwaZulu Natal legislature's safety and security portfolio committee meeting during which the Richmond violence was to be discussed.

While attending a funeral in Richmond last week, President Mandela linked the return of UDM regional leader Sifiso Nkabinde to the resurgence of violence.

Mr Nkabinde, a former ANC member, denied this as an attempt to discredit him and the UDM. - Sapa



Overcome UDM s... jitho Mhlo out of a school hall after she fainted at the funeral service for her murdered sister

REUTERS

Lack of money thwarting plans for more

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — SA National Defence Force chief Siphwe Nyanda says that consideration is being given to deploying about 120 additional soldiers capable of dealing with the hit squad-style attacks in Richmond in KwaZulu-Natal.

However, the problem was that "we don't have the money".

About 30 people are reported to have died in Richmond since July 3. The KwaZulu-Natal and national police commission-

er George Fivaz visited the town yesterday to evaluate the operation launched last week to stamp out the violence. A total of 400 to 500 policemen and soldiers were deployed in the area on a rotational basis.

Fivaz said that it was a matter of time before a breakthrough was achieved in investigations into the hit squad-style attacks in the town.

The nature of some of the attacks — including the assassination of councillor Percy Thompson — suggested that a hit squad was operating. The KwaZulu-Natal deputy-

head of detective services, Dir Eric Nkabinde, had taken charge of investigations, Fivaz said.

He ruled out the possibility of a state of emergency in the town, while Nyanda said the emphasis was on an intelligence-driven operation aimed at preventing attacks and arresting perpetrators.

Asked to respond to allegations that police were involved in the violence, Fivaz said that if such evidence came to light, the policemen would be dismissed and prosecuted.

Meanwhile, the rapprochement between Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi seemed to have a spin-off in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature yesterday, when a National Party (NP) attempt to force a debate on the Richmond violence was thwarted.

Speaker Gideon Mdlalose had earlier agreed to allow the debate, but reversed his ruling yesterday.

IFP MP Blessed Gwala said the debate would have a negative effect on public con-

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confidence, as MPs would have ended up "fighting like puppies". The priority should be to get multiparty peace talks off the ground in Richmond.

NP KwaZulu-Natal leader Danie Schutte said it was sad that MPs could not discuss the killing of people.

The NP and the Democratic Party called for Mdlalose's resignation, saying it was unacceptable that he had changed his mind. Mdlalose had reacted to pressure from the African National Congress, the NP said. Public Protector Selby Baqwa added his

voice, saying the violence was sheer anarchy and should be stopped.

"It is shocking and totally unacceptable that a group of bandits can go on the rampage ... in an area which is supposed to be saturated with security personnel, without being detected and apprehended," he said.

The Richmond violence was no different from massacres before the 1994 general elections, he said.

"A new government is in place and consequences to such hideous action ought to be different." — Sapa.

soldiers in Richmond

'A Jekyll and Hyde monster of our own creation'

RICHMOND: Bernard Mncwape, the ANC chairperson, calls Sifiso Nkabinde a "monster of our own creation". Mayor Andrew Raggavaloo sees Nkabinde as a "Jekyll and Hyde character". But Nkabinde denies he is a warlord. Special Assignments Team **ROGER FRIEDMAN and BENNY COOL** report.

MAGODA and Ndalem sprawl over the hills above Richmond, separated by a narrow strip of "no-man's-land". It is a densely populated, semi-rural area, a mixture of brick, stone and traditional housing, connected by a labyrinth of dusty tracks. There are few taps and no electricity. At night the area is in total darkness — the perfect cover for killers.

Magoda is the fiefdom of Sifiso Nkabinde, who was expelled by the ANC in April 1997, charged in September 1997 with the murder of 16 people, acquitted of all charges in May 1998, and then elected secretary-general of Bantu Holomisa and Koel Meyer's United Democratic Movement.

Ndalem is fervently ANC. There are 13 seats on the Richmond town council. Eleven are held by the ANC, and the other two by independents. At present, one of the ANC seats is vacant

because the incumbent was murdered.

Last year, Nkabinde contested a council by-election. But he attracted only 43 votes and was soundly defeated by ANC candidate Rhina Nandoo.

Next year, if the UDM wins three seats in the general election, he will presumably be in Parliament.

Last Saturday, Ndalem buried 11 members of its community. On Sunday, Magoda buried one. Thirty-one people have been murdered in the violence in Richmond this month alone, the last five victims

killed in Ndalem last Friday night as the community attended a vigil for the 11 to be buried the next day.

Sinister and brutal events are playing themselves out in Richmond and fingers are being pointed in all directions. Most are pointing in the direction of Nkabinde, who says the violence broke out because the ANC was not prepared to tolerate other political formations.

But, if Nkabinde is right, how can it be that, according to a list of victims in the possession of mayor, Andrew Raggavaloo, 74 of the 85

people murdered in Richmond in the past 14 months were ANC members?

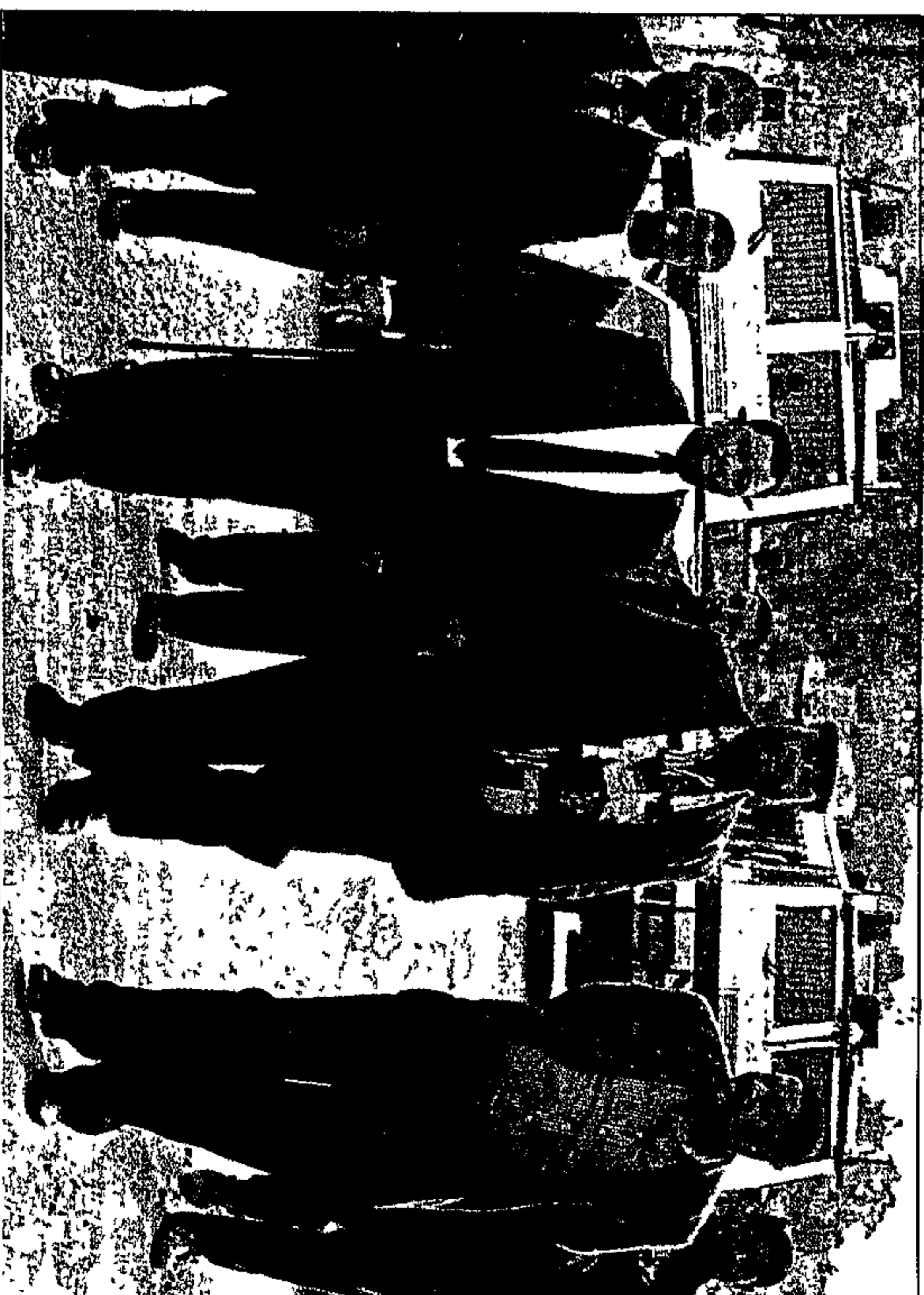
Has the ANC declared war on itself? Is a third force involved? Why is there so much mistrust of the police?

Nkabinde wants ANC leaders to join him around the table for peace talks.

But President Nelson Mandela last week emphatically ruled this out, saying the Richmond violence was being perpetrated by criminals and criminality was not a reason for peace talks between political parties.

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CALL FOR TOLERANCE: Sifiso Nkabinde (third from left), accompanied by community leaders, walks through Magoda on his way to a funeral. His group was given police protection.

I am not a warlord — Nkabinde

"THE violence is the result of a failure to accept the concept of community tolerance. That is the core of the problem. It started immediately after the launch of the National Consultative Forum, now the United Democratic Movement. It is incorrect that it started after I was expelled from the ANC.

"This community united behind me, although at that stage they did not know the political direction I would take."

We are sitting around UDM secretary-general Sifiso Nkabinde's dining room table at his home in Magoda. He says there are eight

and claims 16 have died in the past month.

"One cannot rule out that people from Magoda are retaliating, but if they are, then it is not organised retaliation or retaliation mandated by a political party."

"I have always called for peace. We have to understand that violence breeds violence and hatred. And Richmond knows about violence. One hundred and eighty-nine ANC members were killed in violence with the IFP in three years from 1991. One would have thought the community would have learnt from that."

lord. "It depends on one's interpretation of the word. If it means suffering on the ground with the people and attending to their needs, then I am a warlord. But if it means going out and advocating killings, then no, I am not a warlord."

He also denied he had been an apartheid spy: "Before I became a political leader I was an Umkhonto Wesizwe operative. I challenge the ANC to tell the world of one person who was arrested because of my alleged spying, or one who was killed."

Nkabinde said he joined the ANC shortly after the start of the

received training from the organisation in Angola in 1989.

"I grew up in the ANC. It is just unfortunate that today's ANC is not the same organisation we grew up under. Our fundamental principle was democracy, but now the ANC is run by an elite cabal who are interested only in securing their positions and power."

Nkabinde believes the way to resolve the violence is for the ANC and UDM to "share platforms and show solidarity". Sending in troops would not resolve the problem.

Two hours after we left Nkabinde's house, five xosle were



THREATENED: Richmond mayor Andrew Raggavaloo is accompanied by armed guards whenever he goes after receiving death threats. He believes



THREATENED: Richmond mayor Andrew Kagavaloo is accompanied by armed guards whenever he goes after receiving death threats. He believes the violence in Richmond does not constitute a war. Instead, he describes it as the systematic slaughter of ANC members.

'Destabilisation forces' blamed

"We believe the killings are being conducted by criminals who are being organised by architects of violence with a hidden agenda. It all points to someone with a political agenda. We believe there are two motives. To destabilise Richmond and demoralise the community."

The *Cape Times* spoke to Richmond mayor Andrew Kagavaloo in his office yesterday. He is a teacher in Mantzburg, and will shortly take up an appointment as a principal in Richmond. He was accompanied at the interview by the chairperson of the ANC branch in Rich-

mond, Bernard Manwape. Kagavaloo stops short of saying Sifiso Nkabinde is orchestrating the violence. The ANC, as the only party represented in the town council — there are also two independents — is the only party that stands to lose from the violence, he says.

Ragavaloo has lived under a shroud of security since three weeks after Nkabinde's expulsion from the ANC. "Nkabinde was expelled on April 7, 1997. On the 27th, nine of Richmond's 13 councillors resigned in support of

Nkabinde, having been persuaded or cajoled. Nkabinde asked to meet me on the 28th. He said that by elections would be held, and after that he wanted me to step down because he needed the mayoral platform to fight the ANC. He said he would make me his deputy.

"Then he went to Rodney van der Byl, another councillor who did not resign. But Rodney also refused to step down. On May 8, Rodney was shot as he was coming out of his house."

Ragavaloo said he first met Nkabinde in the late 1980s, when he knew him as a businessman with ties to the IFP. In 1990, when the ANC was unbanned, the first ANC branch in the then-Natal was established in Richmond.

Nkabinde was elected branch chairperson. Ragavaloo said it was not strange for Nkabinde to have been elected to the position. Many people who were today ANC members joined Inkatha in the 1970s and 1980s because it was one of the few political organisations that was not banned.

Manwape said that Nkabinde was known by United Democratic

Front comrades to have worked with the security police, but he was "co-opted" onto ANC structures anyway, for strategic reasons.

Ragavaloo continued. "By 1994, of the 11 original ANC branch executive members elected in 1990, only three remained — Nkabinde, myself and Van der Byl. The others had been chased from Richmond or killed. A new pattern was emerging. Whenever someone was identified as a potential leader they were chased away or murdered."

"Rodney, Sifiso and I were good friends. I used to go to Sifiso's house and he would come to mine. I was not aware that anything was going on behind my back. When he was expelled from the ANC it came as a huge shock to Richmond. We heard on the news that he had been expelled."

There were 14 killings following Nkabinde's arrest on 16 counts of murder; three weeks later the killings dried up completely. He was released on April 30 this year; the killings resumed on May 1.

"We are attending funerals almost every weekend."

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Two hours after we left Nkabinde's house, five people were killed in Ndabeni.

Police, army to stabilise Midlands

RICHMOND: National police commissioner George Fiyaz and South African National Defence Force Chief of Staff Nhlaya said yesterday that they plan to stabilise violence-racked Richmond was in place and they hoped the security forces would restore order.

They were speaking at a media conference at the Richmond police station after visiting the Kwazulu Natal Midlands and being briefed on the security situation.

Fiyaz said three components of the SA Police Service — a public order policing unit, a team of special investigators and an intelligence unit — had been deployed with members of the SA National Defence Force.

Nhlaya said the army's mission was to assist in stabilising the area, as soon as possible through a visible security force presence and intelligence-driven investigations.

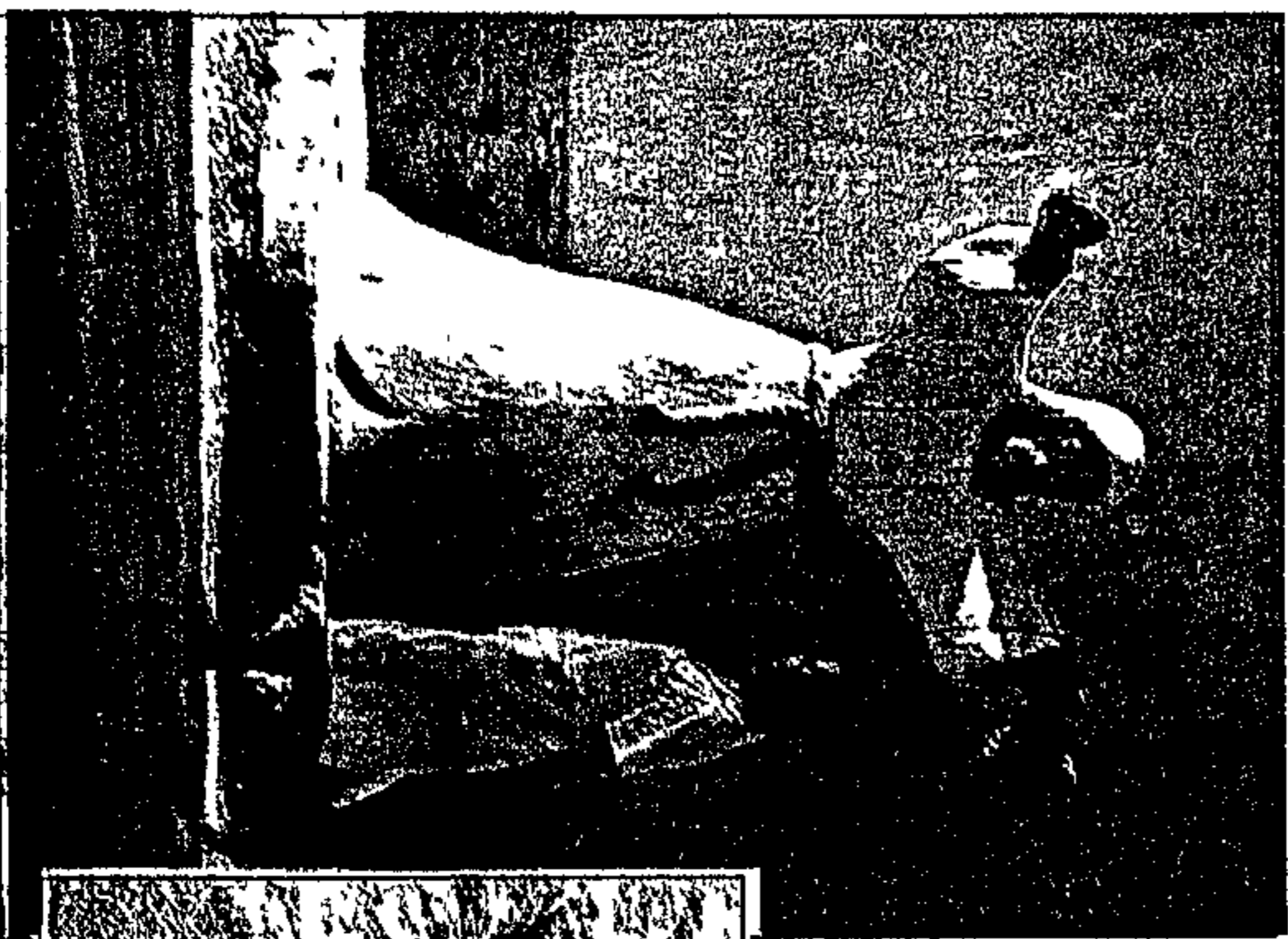
Fiyaz said mutual trust between the security forces and the community was vital. He urged the community to come forward with any information about the violence which had claimed the lives of 36 people since July 3.

Anyone with information about police complicity in the violence should also come forward. Any police official guilty of involvement would be removed from the service.

Asked about allegations of a hit squad operating in the area, Fiyaz said some of the tactics used in the attacks contained elements of a hit squad approach.

Between 400 and 500 additional policemen and soldiers had been deployed to patrol the area.

Earlier yesterday Public Protector Selby Bagwa said "It is shocking and totally unacceptable that a group of bandits can go on the rampage in an area which is supposed to be saturated with security personnel, without being detected and apprehended." — Sapa



BLEEDING JESUS: This statue, outside a mission church in Ndabeni township, is a powerful symbol of the pain felt by the community.



A TERRIBLE PRICE: Preparations are made in Ndabeni to bury one of the 11 victims killed in the violence-torn area last week. Since the start of the month, 31 people have died in Richmond.



SECURITY ZONE: No sooner had the government deployed extra troops in Richmond last week, than another five people were massacred.

RICHMOND

(276)

JAW JAW, NOT WAR, WAR

Political solutions needed

FM 24/7/98

A man stood up in Richmond's crowded courthouse recently and pleaded "Please don't come into our town to play games, because those games are being paid for with our lives and our blood." Though his accusing finger was pointed at the police, it could as easily have been directed at politicians who are using the crisis to score cheap political points

Meanwhile, the much-maligned police and army, whose numbers are being increased by about 500, have the task of trying to quell the turmoil that has claimed more than 30 lives in the past month and appears to be gathering momentum.

But provincial commissioner Chris Serfontein says the security forces can only provide temporary relief from the killing. In the long run, the violence will abate only when the politicians and communities address the underlying causes

But the SA Police Service hasn't made a good start, even as a stop-gap Com-

pounding the problem is their failure to track down and prosecute any of the killers — fuelling perceptions of complicity

The security forces are operating in hostile territory Cheryl Goodenough of the Helen Suzman Foundation points out that they must patrol a sprawling peri-urban environment of hilly terrain where many dwellings are accessible only on foot. Nor are the forces welcomed by the local population of 80 000

The physical problems, however, pale in comparison with the mounting political wrangles surrounding the conflict

This was demonstrated at last week's provincial safety & security portfolio committee meeting in Richmond. It ended before it started when ANC committee chairman

Bheki Cele and his delegation stormed out over a chairmanship dispute with Inkatha. An informal meeting followed, excluding the ANC but including national Safety & Security Secretary Azhar Cachalia and police representation from Pretoria and Durban. But as DP portfolio committee mem-

ber Roger Burrows observed: "The events of the day retarded rather than advanced the peace cause."

One of the problems in the quest for peace is pinpointing the real cause of the violence. Options range from a straight turf

war for political supremacy between the ANC and the United Democratic Movement's Sifiso Nkabinde, to "warlordism", or the conspiracy theory claiming there is a third force intent on toppling government

Nkabinde has proposed multiparty talks. The ANC, however, is adamant that it will not talk to him "over dead bodies"

The ANC has rejected the idea of an independent commission of inquiry.

Jenny Irish of the Independent Monitors agrees. Past experience suggests commissions don't lead to arrests and

prosecutions. "That is what is needed and a process that achieves that would be far more to the point"

Meanwhile, arms and ammunition are reportedly pouring into Richmond. The going price for an AK-47 is just R150

Herb Payne



Robert Tshabalala

Azhar Cachalia in search of peace

Bagwa lambasts police Over Richmond violence

By CHRIS HLONGWA

CALLS FOR extraordinary measures to stop the massacres in Richmond have been strengthened by Public Protector Selby Bagwa. Bagwa has lambasted security personnel for the alarming failure to arrest the killers, and the shambles in recent prosecutions.

"Richmond violence should be stopped now once and for all," said Bagwa, adding that it was "shocking and totally unacceptable that a small group of bandits can go on rampages for a period of about an hour in an area which is supposed to be 'saturated' with security personnel without being detected and apprehended".

He was referring to yet another massacre last week which he described as no different to what took place in Boipatong and the train massacres that took place before 1994.

Calling for "extraordinary counter measures", Bagwa said a special investigation unit under the newly appointed "super

attorney general", National Director of Prosecutions, Bulelani Ngcuka, should be put in place.

More than 30 people were killed in the latest carnage.

"Extra-ordinary circumstances such as exist in Richmond ought to result in extraordinary counter measures."

"An example of such measures is the special investigation unit that successfully operates under the direction of Attorney General/Director of Public Prosecutions, Adv Jan D'Oliveira, SC, which investigates similar cases.

"Given the shambles that have occurred in some court cases, this is one of the measures that ought to be adopted in the Richmond area," said Bagwa.

He said the violence was unacceptable not only because of wanton destruction of lives and property but also because of the approaching elections.

"It must be stopped now once and for all. This is sheer anarchy."

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"The shadowy figures must get the message. The game is not on," said Bagwa, suggesting these solutions: special investigation unit under National Director of Prosecutions; urgent electrification of the Richmond area; maximum security visibility and involvement of National Intelligence.

■ Meanwhile a Durban daily this week reported that the violence in Richmond will never be resolved despite ongoing efforts by the security forces.

It said this was the opinion of an officer involved in the investigation into the murders in the area.

Refusing to be named for fear of reprisals, the officer told the daily he was "getting out of Richmond" as soon as he could.

The paper said the policeman's comments were made while national Police Commissioner George Fivaz and SA National Defence Force chief General Siphiwe Nyanda were visiting the strife-torn Midlands area.

Cabinet will probe 'sinister forces' linked to killings

New bid to curb Flats gangs

ARG 30/7/98 (276)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Cabinet committee on security and intelligence meets in the next few days to probe the effectiveness of operations against the outbreaks of violence in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape.

The Cabinet announcement came yesterday as Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi told the National Assembly the Government would work with the Western Cape administration on a new programme to control gangs and gang violence.

"The Government will do everything in its power to ensure this campaign of senseless violence is nipped in the bud," the Cabinet said in a statement after its meeting in Cape Town yesterday.

The Cabinet believed sinister forces were behind the murders.

"The attacks on communities, including the latest developments in Guguletu, are not a reflection of a community upsurge but the work of professional killers."

The Government's task was to implement an intelligence-driven

campaign to arrest and prosecute the killers.

The Cabinet said it had noted the decision of the Ministry of Defence to deploy an additional SA National Defence Force company to the Richmond area.

On Tuesday, nine people were shot dead in Simozomeni near Richmond.

The African National Congress has blamed the Richmond attacks on a third force it says is practising for attempted destabilisation of next year's elections.

The National Party and Democratic Party have called for a judicial commission of inquiry into the violence, and the United Democratic Movement has warned against inflammatory language.

Mr Mufamadi is to visit Richmond tomorrow.

Last week, 10 people were shot dead in Guguletu and Khayelitsha in attacks which investigators are reported to believe could be linked.

In the National Assembly yesterday, Mr Mufamadi said the new programme to control gangs and gang violence was among projects flowing from discussions between the National Crime Prevention Secretariat and

provincial safety and security secretariats.

The National Crime Prevention Secretariat would also play a key role in an international conference on "Safer Cities" to be held in Johannesburg in October.

Cape Town and Johannesburg had already agreed to set up Safer Cities programmes, and programme managers had been appointed by their metropolitan councils.

Agreement had been reached on seed funding for the two cities' programmes, and talks were taking place on strategies and business plans.

Mr Mufamadi was replying to questions in the Assembly by Gregory Rockman of the African National Congress, who was seeking details of progress on the National Crime Prevention Strategy's operation at provincial and local level.

Discussions between national and provincial safety and security officials had led to agreement on a team approach on agreed programmes, which would allow for provincial priorities and provincial needs, he said.

Provinces were to be assisted in developing the management of their programmes, he added.

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Third force just a fabrication — UDM

Jonny Steinberg

(276)

BD 30/7/98

THE African National Congress's (ANC's) claim that the people responsible for Tuesday night's massacre near Richmond, in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands, spoke English and Afrikaans was a fabrication designed to give credence to the unsubstantiated "third force theory", United Democratic Movement spokesman Beauty Sekete said yesterday.

Nine people were killed when unknown attackers attacked a house in Simozomeni, near Richmond. Preliminary investigations suggested that gunmen broke down the door to their house and shot the occupants as they lay sleeping in their beds, said police spokesman Supt Henry Budhram. Five of the victims were children.

Budhram said that police patrols were not stationed in Simozomeni on Tuesday night because the area had been violence-free for the past year. No arrests had been made by yesterday evening.

ANC spokesman Bheki Cele said yesterday that witnesses heard the perpetrators "speak English with a distinctly English accent" as they were leaving the scene, suggesting that some of the perpetrators were white.

"We are clearly dealing with a third force, a machinery far broader than the politics of Richmond itself," Cele said. "This incident follows the same old trend. The killers target an area which has voted ANC and kill whoever they find."

However, Sekete said Simozomeni was not an ANC stronghold and that the identity of the perpetrators remained unknown.

Sapa reports that the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) also criticised Cele's claims.

IFP spokesman Lauren Winchester said "the violence in Richmond is rooted in the establishment of the ANC's self-defence units that were trained by Umkhonto we Sizwe".

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said he would visit the area tomorrow.

Meanwhile, the cabinet said in a statement after its fortnightly meeting yesterday that attacks such as those on communities in Richmond in KwaZulu-Natal and Guguletu in the Western Cape, were the work of sinister forces and professional killers.

Ministers had been briefed on developments in Richmond and had noted the defence ministry's decision to deploy an additional company of troops to help stabilise the area.

Government's task was to implement an intelligence-driven campaign which would ensure the arrest and prosecution of these killers. — Sapa.

Call for bold steps as the killings go on

Source: 30/7/98 (276)

POLITICAL parties and organisations yesterday condemned the slaying on Tuesday night of nine people at Simozomeni, near Richmond in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands, and called for bold steps to root out violence in the area.

The Democratic Party urged the Government to appoint an independent commission of inquiry into the killings, while the Freedom Front implored the African National Congress to engage in political talks to end the carnage.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi condemned the brutality of the Richmond "terrorists" responsible for the attack and said he would visit the area tomorrow.

"The fact that unarmed people and young children are being killed is an indication of the sheer brutality of these killers," Mufamadi said.

United Democratic Movement KwaZulu-Natal leader Mr Sifiso Nkabinde called on political parties to close ranks to stop the "third force" operating in the region.

It was time for the Richmond community to join forces and put an end to the killings. The ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the UDM should come up with a joint position to make it hard for the murderers to continue operating, Nkabinde said.

KwaZulu-Natal DP MPL Mr Wessel Nel said the slaying confirmed that Richmond had become a disaster area despite the strong presence of security forces.

"No self-respecting country dare allow a festering hellhole such as this area to continue without effective steps to eradicate the problem," he said in Pietermaritzburg.

Nel said the history of intimidation and misinformation in the Richmond area needed to be cleared up by an independent commission of inquiry into the causes of the violence.

FF spokesman Mr Tienie Groenewald criticised what he described as the ANC's headstrong refusal to seek a political solution, and said this was partly to blame for the ongoing violence.

"The latest murders amid stepped-up security measures confirm that the violence will continue if a political solution is not found," Groenewald said in Pretoria.

He also called on the Government to consider the reinstatement of the death penalty.

The ANC Youth League said it was convinced that the latest attack was part of a campaign by "third force" elements to destabilise KwaZulu-Natal ahead of next year's general elections.

Chairman of safety and security in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature Mr Bheki Cele said neighbours of the murdered family had reported that the attackers spoke English or Afrikaans, but definitely not Zulu.

Cele, an ANC member, said his party had always believed there were "elements" responsible for the killings in the region, but they were only little cogs in a bigger machine. — Sapa

OUTRAGED

Whites involved in Richmond slaughter - claim

By Mbulelo Baloyi

SURVIVORS of Tuesday night's massacre at Simozomeni, outside Richmond in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands, said yesterday that after the shootings they heard people speaking with distinctly English and Afrikaans accents.

This has lent credence to growing allegations that white people could be involved in fomenting the ongoing violence in the area.

Nine people, including three toddlers, were hacked and shot dead when gunmen struck at the Shezi homestead in Simozomeni at about 9pm on Tuesday.

The latest massacre caught the security forces deployed in the area off-guard as the Simozomeni area had been relatively quiet compared to the violence-plagued adjacent areas of Ndaleni and Magoda.

A survivor, Mr Mfanboy Ngubane, who is a son-in-law of the Shezi family, told *Sowetan* yesterday that immediately after the shooting stopped, he heard people among the attackers speaking with distinctly English and Afrikaans accents.

Ngubane and his wife, Mrs Nonhlanhla Shezi-Ngubane, escaped unharmed because they were sleeping in a rondavel next to the house that was attacked.

He said during the shooting they were afraid to go outside to investigate, although they (Ngubane and his wife) could hear that his in-laws were being attacked.

"After the shooting had stopped we heard someone conversing in a heavy English accent to another per-

son saying: 'Leave it now, let's go'," Ngubane said.

The two survivors were married last Saturday and had visited the bride's family to say goodbye to the bride's parents, who were to have to leave for Cape Town yesterday.

Newly wed bride Nonhlanhla told *Sowetan* that although the Simozomeni area was perceived to be African National Congress stronghold, her family was apolitical.

About a year ago five ANC supporters, including two councillors, were shot dead execution-style in Simozomeni.

Unknown gunmen

"Earlier this week we heard rumours that this area would be attacked because of last weekend's shooting incident in which an Inkatha Freedom Party leader in the neighbouring Phatheni area was wounded by unknown gunmen," she said.

However, these rumours were dispelled after a meeting between the ANC leadership in Simozomeni and an IFP-aligned chief from Phatheni on Tuesday.

The chief assured the ANC that no such attack was planned by the IFP, one resident said.

Yesterday a gloomy atmosphere prevailed at the Shezi homestead as neighbours converged on it to express their condolences.

Some women wept uncontrol-

lably while others remonstrated with the police, who were in the area of the Shezi homestead.

Angry neighbours accused the police of failing to prevent the massacre.

Two members of the SA Police Service's VIP Protection Unit keep watch as shocked residents of Simozomeni outside Richmond gathered yesterday at the Shezi homestead where nine family members, including three toddlers, were brutally gunned down on Tuesday night in the latest massacre in the trouble-torn area.

Although the bodies were removed on Tuesday night, gory evidence of the savagery with which the massacre was carried out was still visible in the house yesterday morning.

Blood was splattered all over the four-roomed house and the thick walls riddled with large bullet holes.

Those who died in what was supposed to be a happy family reunion were John "Doyi" Shezi (55), his wife Zithobule Gerrude (50) and their daughters Lungelani (37), Nombizodwa (25), Ziphhi Shezi-Zulu (32) and her son Thamsanqa (2).

Andile (3), Mineable (18 months) and a grade 4 pupil Bonginkosi (11).

Among those who visited the area yesterday were KwaZulu-Natal Police Commissioner Chris Serfontein and members of the ANC provincial executive, including Dr Zwelli Mkhize and Mr Bheki Cele.

Cele, who is also KwaZulu-Natal safety and security portfolio committee chairman, called for a thorough investigation into the allegations that there could have been white people among the killers.

He said this allegation comes in

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the wake of the arrest of Richmond security firm owner Mr Manie Reyders in the house of an ANC councillor on July 19.

Reyders was allegedly found in possession of an illegal firearm and ammunition when he was arrested.

The charges against him were withdrawn in controversial circumstances.

However, Serfontein said yesterday that an internal investigation into the circumstances surrounding Reyders' release was under way.

● See page 2.

Mass action planned to curb KZN violence

VUYO MNTUYEDWA

A SUSTAINED programme of mass action, aimed at curbing the violence in Richmond and other areas, is to be implemented from next week, the newly elected ANC Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) said at its first meeting yesterday.

"We hope to stop this violence once and for all," said a spokesperson.

S'bu Ndebele, provincial chairperson of the ANC, said a highly trained third force unit was involved.

"Those who claim that a meeting between the ANC and the United Democratic Movement (UDM) will stop the carnage are either naive or sinister.

"The ANC believes that the UDM alone hasn't got the capacity

to carry out these massacres. The primary and urgent task at Richmond is to arrest, successfully prosecute and send the criminals to prison."

Provincial treasurer Mike Mabuyakhulu said the mutilation of the victims was aimed at removing the bullets which would have served as evidence.

The PEC also called for Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi to transfer out of KwaZulu-Natal police officers in Greater Maritzburg area, including Richmond.

The PEC asked that Mufamadi and Justice Minister Dullar Omar consider assembling a special investigative unit — composed of black officers — to investigate all massacres in Richmond, and suggested that suspects should be tried in special courts.

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By MICEL SCHNEHAGE

The people behind the violence in the Richmond area in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands had been identified and warrants for their arrest have been issued, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said yesterday.

Mufamadi, addressing journalists during a fact-finding mission to Richmond village and surrounding areas, said a lot of work still had to be done - but he was confident of a breakthrough.

Mufamadi said the investigating team had been bolstered with additional policemen, and the search team had also been increased.

Mufamadi spent almost four hours with local police and the Richmond town council. He said afterwards he was satisfied everything was being done to arrest those behind the violence.

Yesterday the installation of six 40m high light masts was completed in identified flashpoints in an attempt to prevent further attacks, which until now have taken place in the dead of night.

At least 39 people have died, with scores wounded, in attacks in Richmond village, Indaleni, Magoda and Simozomeni since July 8.

Destabilisation

Mufamadi said an additional 136 soldiers from Potchefstroom in North West Province would arrive in the area this morning to assist the more than 800 policemen and soldiers already there.

Asked about the cause of the violence, Mufamadi said the question needed to be asked if it was not part of a campaign of destabilisation.

Mufamadi and a delegation of senior policemen yesterday afternoon visited relatives of nine members of the Shezi family murdered in their Simozomeni home on Tuesday night.

The relatives were still in shock, and sat weeping softly while the delegation expressed sympathy. Mufamadi also stopped along the way to chat with policemen and soldiers in an apparent morale-boosting exercise.

Policemen said houses in townships around Richmond were virtually deserted at night with women and children travelling from their homes daily to spend the night either at the Richmond police station, the town hall or at schools in the vicinity.

Hacked

Each morning they packed up their meagre belongings and returned home for the day, and set out again for the schools or the town as night fell, police said.

Allegations were made after the latest massacre on Tuesday that the assassins had spoken English and Xhosa after killing the Shezi family members.

Cartridges from R4 and R5 rifles were found at the scene the next morning and the bodies had been hacked to pieces with pangas.

Hardened policemen who cordoned off the area during the investigations said they were shocked at the mutilation of the bodies.

A witness, who found the bodies on the night of the attack, said the bodies had not been hacked when he had seen them shortly after the massacre.

Rumours are rife within the community that the Shezi corpses had been hacked later, before police arrived on the scene.

The community rose up in anger after the Shezi killings and said police were not doing enough to protect the community from what many regard as a "third force" operating in the area.

Violence monitors in the Richmond district have called for the removal of policemen stationed in the area because they fear that the local police are being partisan in the ongoing violence. - Sapa

Richmond killers

Mufamadi says warrants have been issued, and more police are sent into the area

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'nated'

Hope flares in Richmond

By CHRIS HLONGWA

As lights installed at Indaleni to foil killers

CP 2/8/98

FOR the first time in many weeks there was a glimmer of hope in Richmond as women and children in Indaleni – one of the areas worst hit by the renewed violence – on Friday welcomed the long-awaited switching on of high mast lights to assist police and soldiers to effectively patrol after dark.

Residents had expressed anger at police and politicians for the failure to protect lives.

The most recent massacre on Tuesday night, in which nine members of the Shezi family, including three children, were shot and butchered with pangas.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi got a loud "Yebo" (Yes) for the switching on of the 40 m high lights at Indaleni Mission.

Police and local mayor Andrew Ragavaloo had appealed for lighting to assist find killers who have murdered more than 40 adults and babies in the past month alone – under cover of darkness.

Women ululated when Mufamadi announced that from yesterday 136 special soldiers with horses and dogs would be deployed in the area,

in addition to the already heavy police and army presence.

He added the number of detectives and search parties were to be beefed up and that warrants for the arrest of alleged killers had been issued.

The hopeful crowd unanimously agreed to co-operate with investigators – a dramatic departure from the long-standing distrust of police.

It is understood police are looking for six men, including one who speaks Afrikaans fluently.

In the Tuesday killings, two survivors said they distinctly heard one of the killers speaking in a "white voice".

Mufamadi told the gathering of about 100 women and children from the nearby school for the deaf that he had told local police management that the "government expects you to arrest these perpetrators of violence".

But a question mark hangs over other Richmond areas, like Esizomorneni, the scene of the most recent massacre, where there is still no lighting.
Public Enterprises Minister

Stella Sigcau said R6 million was needed for a total of 60 high mast lights for the whole of Richmond.

She said financial assistance was sought from business and international donors.

Mufamadi earlier in the week came under attack from angry KwaZulu-Natal ANC leaders, for alleged indecisiveness, especially for the apparent failure to remove senior Richmond policemen who have been implicated in the violence.

The ANC said Mufamadi had long promised to transfer them from the area.

At a press conference, newly elected provincial chairman and Transport MEC, S'bu Ndebele, said: "These police officers must be deployed outside KwaZulu-Natal. If there is any Parliamentary Act or even any constitutional provision that delays the removal of these police officers, Parliament must immediately come up with amendments."

Ndebele said as Transport Minister, he would not have any problem transferring officers under his command to other areas, should they

fail to do carry orders.

Mufamadi told the Indaleni community he would have liked to have had the police officers transferred "two years ago".

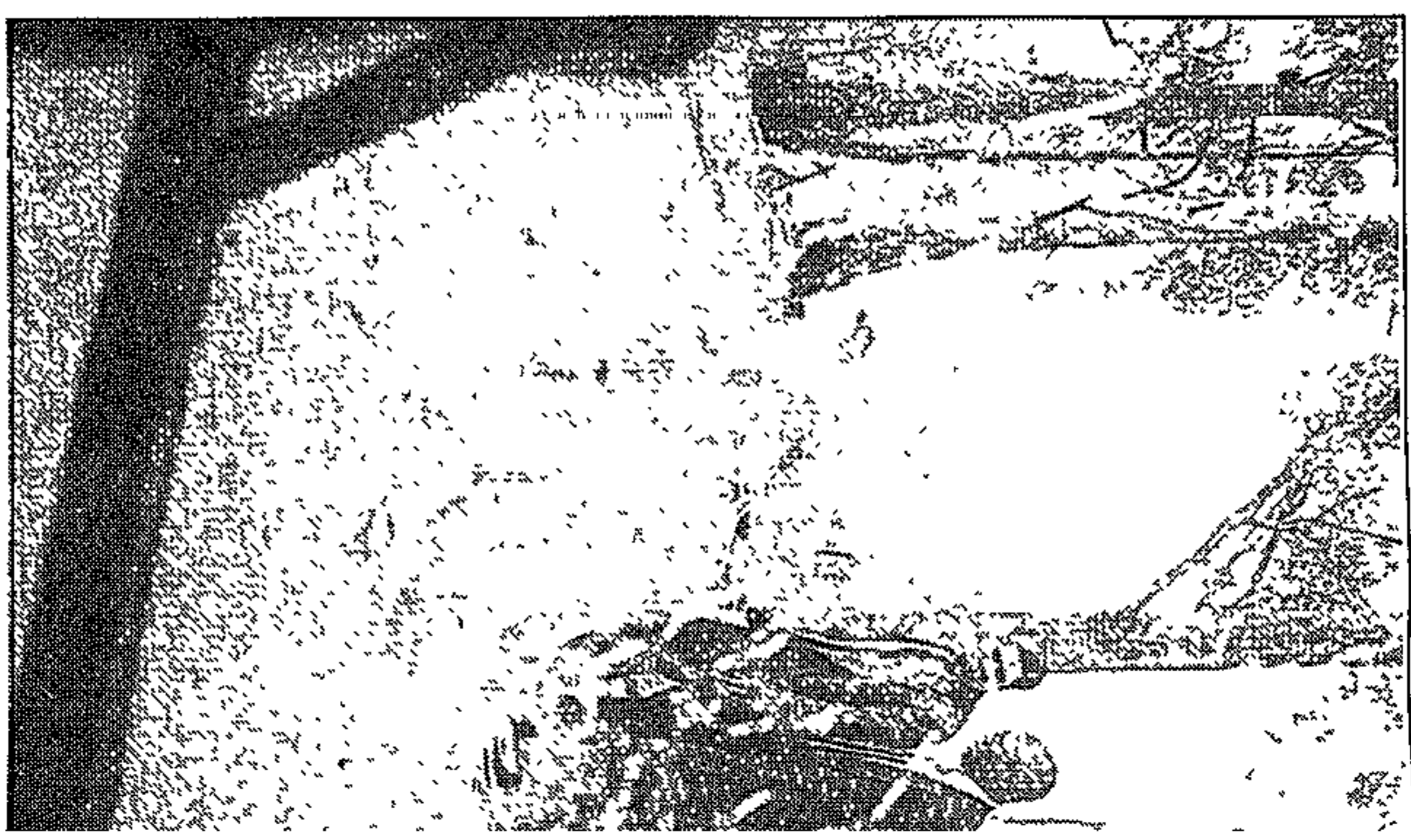
But there were "processes you can not bypass or be careless about".

Police said it was calm in Richmond yesterday.

The ANC in the province is to finalise a "sustained mass campaign against violence on Thursday and will immediately implement it".

"Even if KwaZulu Natal comes to a standstill, it will be worth it. KwaZulu-Natal cannot be normal when our people are dying like flies at Richmond and elsewhere," the ANC said in a statement. It also called for Mufamadi and Justice Minister Dullah Omar to assemble a special investigating unit with powers to "investigate all massacres that have taken place at Richmond and suspects to be tried in special courts".

"The unit must preferably be composed of black officers who could easier gain the trust of the people in the area," said the ANC.



LENSES BEHIND GRIEF... Tiadi Khuele, capt Shezi family in Richmond, Kwa-Zulu Natal during was accompanied by his spokesperson Andre

Hidden hand behind Richmond killings'

Star 8/8/98 (276)

Carnage is more widespread, violence monitor points out

By CHARLES PHAHLANE
Umtata

Violence monitor and anthropologist Mary de Haas said at the weekend there was a hidden hand behind the killings in Richmond, and whoever was behind it wanted to make a particular political statement.

De Haas said the violence in Richmond was part of a wider pattern in other areas of KwaZulu Natal that were not enjoying widespread coverage.

"Whoever is behind this definitely wants to make a political statement. Someone wants to make a statement about the relationship between the ANC and the UDM and to fuel animosity."

De Haas said it was not easy to pinpoint a specific cause of the Richmond violence, but the expulsion of a United Democra-

tic Movement leader from the ANC amid allegations of spying for the apartheid government was one factor.

The acts of violence could also be linked to right-wing forces wanting to retard reconstruction and development projects in Richmond and other areas.

The other factor could be that Richmond was of strategic importance as an area between Transkei - where dagga is grown - and Durban and therefore it was not impossible that the violence was part of organised drug trafficking.

Those who felt they had little chance of success at the ballot box also used violence to maintain their stronghold and raise their profile. There were similar killings taking place in Kranskop and Maphumulo which might serve local purposes.

De Haas said the people behind the violence used "foot soldiers" who were "expendable".

She also expressed concern over the safety of the person who admitted he was part of the attacks.

She warned at the same time that such people could be planted to give false information and lead investigations teams astray.

De Haas, who has been monitoring violence in KwaZulu Natal since the early 1980s, said the solution would be to institute small detective teams which would report to a civilian body, since the police and the army were suspected of involvement in some of the violence.

These bodies would be modelled after the Investigative Task Unit, but on a smaller scale, and replicated in all flashpoint areas.

Troops not permanent solution - Nkabinde

Umtata - The deployment of security personnel in Richmond has contained the violence, but this was only a temporary solution, according to United Democratic Movement leader Sifiso Nkabinde.

In an interview, he said the deployment needed to be coupled with negotiations to bring the killings to an end.

"The situation is now contained, but we want it to be dealt with once and for all. No government in the world can sustain the deployment of security forces for a long time.

"If the troops are withdrawn, what will happen then?" asked Nkabinde.

He said police needed the support of all the parties involved in the conflict, including the communities and the political parties.

He added that the way the Government had proceeded with the installation of street lights in Richmond was highly divisive and could lead to further tensions.

Nkabinde said the resources had been unfairly used to protect the people of Indaleni, while the Magoda area was ignored.

"These lights are only in ANC areas. In Magoda there is not a single light. It is this kind of exercise that will divide our

communities more," Nkabinde said.

He accused the ANC of maintaining the status quo of violence to perpetuate the support it had in Indaleni and prevent the UDM from campaigning in those areas.

In an address to the International Conference on Political Violence at the University of Transkei, Nkabinde said a lasting solution to the conflict in Richmond would be a conflict-partnership approach. This would focus on the immediate conflict and the overall historical relationship of which a particular conflict was merely a part. - Parliamentary Bureau

'Hidden hand' behind Richmond killings

(276) AR 318/98

AREAS CORRESPONDENT

Umata - Violence monitor and anthropologist Mary de Haas said there was a hidden hand behind the killings in Richmond and whoever was behind it wanted to make a particular political statement.

In an interview Ms De Haas said the violence in Richmond was part of a wider pattern of violence in other areas of Kwazulu Natal that were not enjoying widespread media coverage.

"Whoever is behind this definitely wants to make a political statement. Someone wants to make a statement about the relationship between the ANC and the UDM and to fuel animosity," Ms de Haas said.

Ms de Haas said it was not easy to pinpoint a specific cause of the Richmond violence, but the expulsion of the UDM leader from the ANC amid allega-

tions of spying for the apartheid government was one factor. The acts of violence could also be linked to ultra right wing forces who want to retard Reconstruction and Development projects in Richmond and other areas.

The other factor could be that Richmond was of strategic importance as an area between the Transkei - where a large manufacturing - and Durban and therefore it was not impossible that the violence was part of organised crime drug trafficking.

Also those who felt they had little chance of success at the ballot box also used violence to maintain their stronghold and raise their own profile. There were similar killings taking place in Kranskop and Maphumulo which may serve local purposes.

Ms de Haas said the people behind the violence used "foot soldiers" who were "expendable." She also expressed

concern at the safety of the person who came out and said he was part of the attacks.

She said such people should be interviewed by an expert criminal lawyer and be put in places of safety before their testimony is released to the public. Otherwise they may be killed and their information of no use.

She warned at the same time that such people could also be planted to give false information and lead investigations teams astray.

Ms de Haas, who has been monitoring violence in Kwazulu Natal since the early 1980s, said the solution would be to institute small detective teams which report to a civilian body since the police and the army were suspected of involvement in some of the violence. These bodies would be replicated in all flash-point areas. Intelligence information should be guarded closely with limited

distribution to avoid leaks.

"Intelligence reports should not be given to the provincial structures except what is necessary for police patrols. The problem is that the police are not at the right place at the right time," she said.

UDM leader Sifiso Nkabinde said the deployment of security personnel in Richmond had contained the violence there, but it was only a "quick fix solution".

Mr Nkabinde said the deployment of troops needed to be coupled with negotiations to bring the killings to an end.

"The situation is now contained but we want it to be dealt with once and for all.

"No government in the world can sustain the deployment of security forces for a long time. If the troops are withdrawn what will happen then?" Mr Nkabinde asked.

DAVID

Richmond: Stopping the rot

By Claire Keeton
Feature Writer

A fragile peace was possibly the only apparent benefit of the democratic elections of 1994 to villagers from the isolated valleys and hills around Richmond.

Now that peace has been shattered and democracy itself is under attack from a ruthless attempt to destabilise the area.

If the Government is unable to stop the assassinations and killings and prevent them spreading to other areas in the Midlands, it will be a major blow to the whole country, not only KwaZulu-Natal.

From 1994 to 1995 the death toll in Richmond halved, dropping from an average of 4.3 killings a month to 2.1. But so far this year 6.1 people a month have been murdered.

Massacres which have left over 40 dead, many executed in their beds, are the reason for the spiralling death toll.

During a fact-finding mission in the Richmond area last Friday, Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi released statistics on the Richmond violence.

"Richmond benefited from attempts to stabilise KwaZulu-Natal," Mufamadi said. "But in 1997 it began going back (to pre-election violence)."

Around two people a month died between January and April 1997. It was also in April 1997 that Mr Sifiso Nkabinde was expelled from the African National Congress (ANC).

In May 1997 four people died, including a Richmond member of the Transitional Local Council (TLC) Rodney van der Byl. The death toll hovered between four and seven people a month until last September.

That month Nkabinde was arrested and in October 13 people died. Nobody died in November; two people were killed in December, and in January and February this year there were no violent deaths. One person was killed in March, two in April and three in May.

In May Nkabinde was released while awaiting trial on a legal technicality.

Six people were killed in June and since July 3 at least 39 people have died in attacks in the Richmond villages - Jig, Indqlem, Magoda and Simezinye. The village of Jig is the most violent.

These statistics raise questions about the increase in violence, which appears to coincide with the return to



Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi bolsters police morale during a visit to the Richmond area on Friday.
PIC: CLAIRE KEETON

the area of Nkabinde, who has since joined the United Democratic Movement (UDM).

He was away from his home during Mufamadi's visit on Friday and Sowetan's attempts to reach him during the weekend were unsuccessful.

Clearly Nkabinde is a leading figure in the Richmond area and seems to play a pivotal role there, although the UDM lost the local government elections in Richmond.

Councillors have been among the targets of the recent massacres, with TLC deputy mayor Mr Percy Thompson being killed in an attack on a local tavern last month.

"If you do not like democracy, one option is to create a situation where

people cannot be lawfully governed, like in Angola," Mufamadi said. "This violence is not random."

"It is not mindless violence, it is violence with a political mind. The message is that your vote won't protect you."

"The lives of the people (around Richmond), the development of the area and democracy itself are at stake here."

Mufamadi said the people behind the destabilisation had already achieved one of their objectives by undermining the effectiveness of the Richmond town council.

"The councillors are guarded and they are unable to do their community work. Popularly elected leaders are

quarantined."

On Friday Mufamadi told a crowd at Ndaleni "When you participated in the 1994 elections, you were not voting for good speeches. You were voting for a better life (but) a better life has not yet materialised in this area."

"Rather than spending their time improving the lives of people, councillors spend every weekend burying people who fell at the hands of killers."

The minister appealed to the community to assist the police in their investigation, which he said was making progress. The policeman in charge of the investigation said the community was cooperating with detectives.

However, there has been widespread suspicion about the role of the

police from Richmond, several of whom are or have been transferred elsewhere.

"We are trying to organise voluntary transfers rather than taking punitive measures, which would be a long process," said KwaZulu-Natal police spokesman Bala Naidoo.

Meanwhile, nearly 1 000 policemen and soldiers from other units in South Africa have been moved into the area to protect people. The latest reinforcements - 136 soldiers from Polchefstroom - arrived on Saturday with horses and dogs to assist them with patrols.

The roads are mostly dirt tracks which make it difficult for armoured police vehicles to travel, and at night there are few lights.

One sergeant from Soshanguve, who had been on duty in Richmond for 16 days, said it was frightening to patrol in the darkness.

During Mufamadi's trip he joined Public Enterprises Minister Ms Stella Sigcau at a ceremony in Ndaleni to switch on six high-mast lights to improve security.

The provincial government, Richmond town council and Eskom joined forces to bring lighting to the areas worst hit by violence.

"In 1994 there were also deaths in this area. If the erection of lights prevented even a single killing, they are something worthwhile," said Richmond mayor Mr Andrew Rayavallio.

Villagers welcomed the lights, yet they alone are not enough to allay their fears.

"This is easy to understand looking at the gaping bullet holes in the Shera family hut, where nine people (including three toddlers) were massacred last week."

Several women along the roadside said they were taking their children to relatives, living more than 200km away, where they would be safer.

Mufamadi said he expects a breakthrough soon as the people responsible for the violence have been identified and warrants for their arrest have been issued.

He vowed that the police and army would stop at nothing to end the killings.

"(The perpetrators) appear to be using Richmond as a test case. If Richmond is not dealt with effectively and they are successful, they will spread the problem," Mufamadi warned.

Amnesty slams police probes

Farouk Chothia

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DURBAN — "Vital" evidence in connection with the violence in Richmond had reportedly gone missing from case dockets, Amnesty International claimed yesterday.

But KwaZulu-Natal police spokesman Dir Bala Naidoo said Amnesty had made an "irresponsible" statement that was "devoid of all truth".

Amnesty, whose London-based member Mary Rayner visited Richmond last month, said there were indications that police investigations had been poorly conducted. The reportedly missing evidence was needed to help establish "linkages" between various incidents of violence, Amnesty said.

Asked to provide more details, Rayner said Amnesty's information was that ballistic evidence was missing from cases going back over a period of time.

Naidoo said attorney-general Tim McNally could vouch for police when they claimed that no evidence was missing.

McNally said he had no knowledge of missing evidence. If Amnesty brought the claims to his attention in relation to specific cases, he would look into the matter, he said.

Amnesty was also critical of police failure to provide 24-hour protection to Richmond councillors.

Amnesty said a white Toyota bakkie — which was spotted in the vicinity of a tavern shortly before the attack on it left deputy mayor Percy Thompsen and seven others dead on July 3 — was subsequently spotted near the home of mayor Andrew Ragavaloo and other "targeted individuals".

Naidoo confirmed that police were providing the councillors only with night-time security as resources were stretched.

African National Congress (ANC) KwaZulu-Natal chairman Sibusiso Ndebele said at a news briefing yesterday that the party would kick off its mass action campaign against violence with a march to McNally's office on August 20 to demand his resignation.

This would be followed by a march to the office of KwaZulu-Natal police commissioner Chris Serfontein to also demand his resignation.

McNally said he had no intention of resigning. The ANC could take up the matter with Justice Minister Dullah Omar.

He was also willing to meet the ANC to show the "considerable strides" taken to transform his office and the prosecution service as a whole, McNally said.

The United Democratic Movement (UDM) was to hold a march in Richmond tomorrow to protest against the suffering of its supporters, and the alleged bias of the security forces and the ANC-controlled town council, spokesman Sifiso Bengu said.

Bengu said residents in the UDM stronghold of Magoda were no longer able to visit the medical clinic which fell in the ANC stronghold of Ndaleni.

The council was employing only ANC supporters, excluding anyone who was a UDM supporter, Bengu claimed.

Violence still rules in Natal town⁽²⁷⁶⁾

By Mbongeni Hlophe and
Sibani Mngadi

DESPITE the continued presence of police and army, violence and fighting continue to haunt the small town of Richmond in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands.

More than 52 people have been killed there this year, sparking an outcry from members of both the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Movement (UDM), who have called on Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi to deploy more policemen in the area.

Already more than 900 police and army members have been deployed in Richmond.

A few hours before the funeral of nine members of the Shezi family at the weekend, security forces had to intervene in an altercation between supporters of the ANC and the UDM who clashed over the route used by UDM past Indaleni.

UDM supporters were marching to hand over a memorandum to the local police, accusing the police of partiality against them.

The ANC in KwaZulu-Natal has organised marches to the offices of both the attorney-general of the province, Mr Tim McNally, and police commissioner Chris Serfontein to demand all those suspected of murder in Richmond be arrested.

The marches - to be held on August 20 - will demand that the two resign from their positions "as they have failed to do their work and are blocking transformation in their departments".

● Dan Fuphe reports that UDM general-secretary Mr Sifiso Nkabinde yesterday called on the ANC in Richmond to join hands with the UDM in an attempt to end the violence.

Nkabinde made this call at a rally near Wattville on the East Rand.

He said the killing of innocent people by what he termed "sinister forces" could no longer go unchallenged by those political leaders who claimed to love their people.

"It is now time that the ANC and its allies stepped down from their high pedestals and joined us in the UDM to put a stop to these needless killings which are turning communities into cannon fodder.

"It is ironic for the ANC to refuse to sit around a table and speak peace with us, while they are prepared to go outside the country to Angola in an attempt to mediate peace among the warring parties there.

"By talking peace with us, the ANC is aware that it will lose its credibility among its members because it is only by fuelling the violence that it can sustain its membership," Nkabinde said.

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Richmond station closed and police ordered to leave strife-torn area

Jonny Steinberg

RICHMOND's police station has been closed and its personnel removed with immediate effect.

National Police Commissioner George Fivaz said yesterday the steps were taken because the police could no longer fulfil their constitutional obligation to provide an impartial and efficient service to the violence-plagued area in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands.

Fivaz told a news conference in Pretoria that a national intervention unit

under the command of divisional commissioner Andre Pruis had moved in to take control of the town.

Sources in Richmond said the station's entire 50-strong staff was ordered to leave this morning.

Fivaz said sections of the Richmond police and the situation was untenable. The additional 600 policemen and soldiers brought into the area last

month, as well as the special investigation team consisting of senior police detectives, would not be affected by the closure of the station. They would fall under Pruis's command.

Asked if the closure was a response to President Nelson Mandela's recent statement that sinister forces were at work in the Richmond police, Fivaz said Mandela's comment had not been substantiated yet by hard evidence.

"This decision is not intended as a punitive action against any of our personnel, but was taken purely in the in-

terest of providing a professional service," he said.

United Democratic Movement spokesman Sifiso Bengu slammed Fivaz's announcement: "The commission will be replaced by several African National Congress pressure. The station will be staffed by their own satellite police stations and the ANC will ensure they carry out the ANC's dirty work," he said.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi gave his backing to Fivaz's decision, saying the closure of the police station was "in the best interests of effective policing".

Fivaz said the 50 policemen affected by the move would be offered a number of options. Those who would be offered trenchment packages.

Sapa reports ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the closure of the station was a step towards stemming the violence.

Picture: Page 3

Richmond police slam station closure

Threat of legal action after shock move in war-torn town

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT AND SAPA

Durban - The shock closure of the Richmond police station and the transfer of about 50 police could lead to legal action against the Department of Safety and Security.

Staff at Richmond's only police station were stunned yesterday when told they would be given 10 days to

decide on where they wanted to be transferred, or to accept retrenchment packages.

National Commissioner George Fivaz yesterday announced that a new national intervention unit under the command of Commissioner André Prus would effectively replace the entire Richmond policing staff. Commissioner Rian Engelbrecht from Pretoria was to effectively take

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over as station commander from the incumbent, Superintendent Errol Reddy.

The station would now serve as a reporting unit, with all administrative duties transferred to the Pietermaritzburg branch.

Investigative and other duties were to be taken over completely by the Joint Operations Committee. Mr. Fivaz said police were "no

ARKY 14/8/98

longer able to fulfil our obligation of providing and maintaining an impartial, accountable, transparent and efficient police service to the community".

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said the decision was in the best interests of effective policing. But the move has angered Richmond police, who believe they are all

being tarred with the same brush as police alleged to be involved in the violence in the area.

"We didn't have any say in the matter, it came completely out of the blue. It is unfair, because there is no tangible evidence that any of our officers are implicated in the trouble here," Superintendent Reddy said. He said he would seek legal advice and consult police unions before

deciding on what to do.

Although cautiously welcoming the decision yesterday, political parties were sceptical about whether it would be effective.

During an emotional debate in the provincial legislature yesterday, leading political parties came under scathing attack for "lacking the will" to wipe out the violence in several parts of KwaZulu Natal.

SPECIAL UNIT MOVES IN

Local police axed from Richmond

ET 14/8/98

(276)

THE CLOSURE OF Richmond police station has been welcomed by some and condemned by others, including the police officers affected. **SIMON ZWANE** reports.

CALLS for the overhaul of the entire police command in KwaZulu-Natal were made yesterday as police commissioner George Fivaz closed down Richmond police station in a move described as "tantamount to a declaration of a state of emergency".

Fivaz said about 50 local policemen would be transferred to other stations and be replaced by an interventionist unit under the command of divisional Commissioner Andre Pruis.

The ANC and the Human Rights Committee welcomed the drastic decision as "a step in the right direction".

They said it was a move that would bolster confidence in the police service. But the South African Police Union said the policemen, who had been given 10 days to decide whether they wanted to be transferred or leave the service, were aggrieved by the decision.

Sapu spokesperson Sergeant Anil Jelal said Fivaz had failed in his duty to inform members of his decision earlier.

"This is a scapegoat used by management," Jelal said.

"We have done our best under the conditions. Members are stressed physically and mentally, but no one had seen this great sacrifice."

The members indicated they will take the leave offered, during which time they would consult with the police union.

Fivaz said normal policing had become impossible in Richmond because of the levels of violence and instability and a loss of confidence in the local police.

A team of high-ranking national and provincial members of the SAPS was sent to Richmond to inform the station members of Fivaz's decision.

The closure of the police station will not affect the intelligence units and the public order policing unit.

These units will continue working from the joint operations centre in Richmond.

In a statement, Fivaz said the decision to close the station was not intended as a punitive mea-

sure, but was done in the interest of providing a professional service and enhancing the credibility of the South African Police Service.

"After considering all the factors, we remain convinced that this action is in the best interest of policing and the community as a whole," he said.

Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi said he considered Fivaz's decision to be in the best interest of effective policing.

We remain convinced that this action is in the best interest of policing.

United Democratic Movement (UDM) spokesperson Sifiso Bhengu accused Fivaz of bowing to ANC pressure and described his announcement as "tantamount to a declaration of a state of emergency".

"It is clear that they (the ANC) want to bring in their own former MK members to suppress free political activity," said Bhengu.

Welcoming the decision, ANC spokesperson Dumisani Makhaye said the ANC knew that not all policemen in Richmond were bad.

"However, the alarming rate of failure to solve the problem of criminality needed drastic action".

□ Turn to Page 3

Our Pietermaritzburg correspondent reports that the team of national and provincial members of the SAPS dispatched to Richmond included deputy national commissioner John Manuel and provincial commissioner Chris Serfontein.

END.

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Fivaz said the transfer of the policemen "should not be seen in the light of loading them into cattle trucks and removing them".

"Each officer has been sent a letter saying why they were being transferred and if they have a problem, discussions will be held to try find a solution," he said.

ANOTHER DEATH, ANOTHER GRIEVING

□ From Page 1

He said the police command in the province "must be thoroughly overhauled" as it had displayed poor leadership and a lack of will to fight crime.

He also cautioned that elements within the police allegedly involved in violence could possibly try to prove that they were not involved, or that the new police were carrying out more attacks.

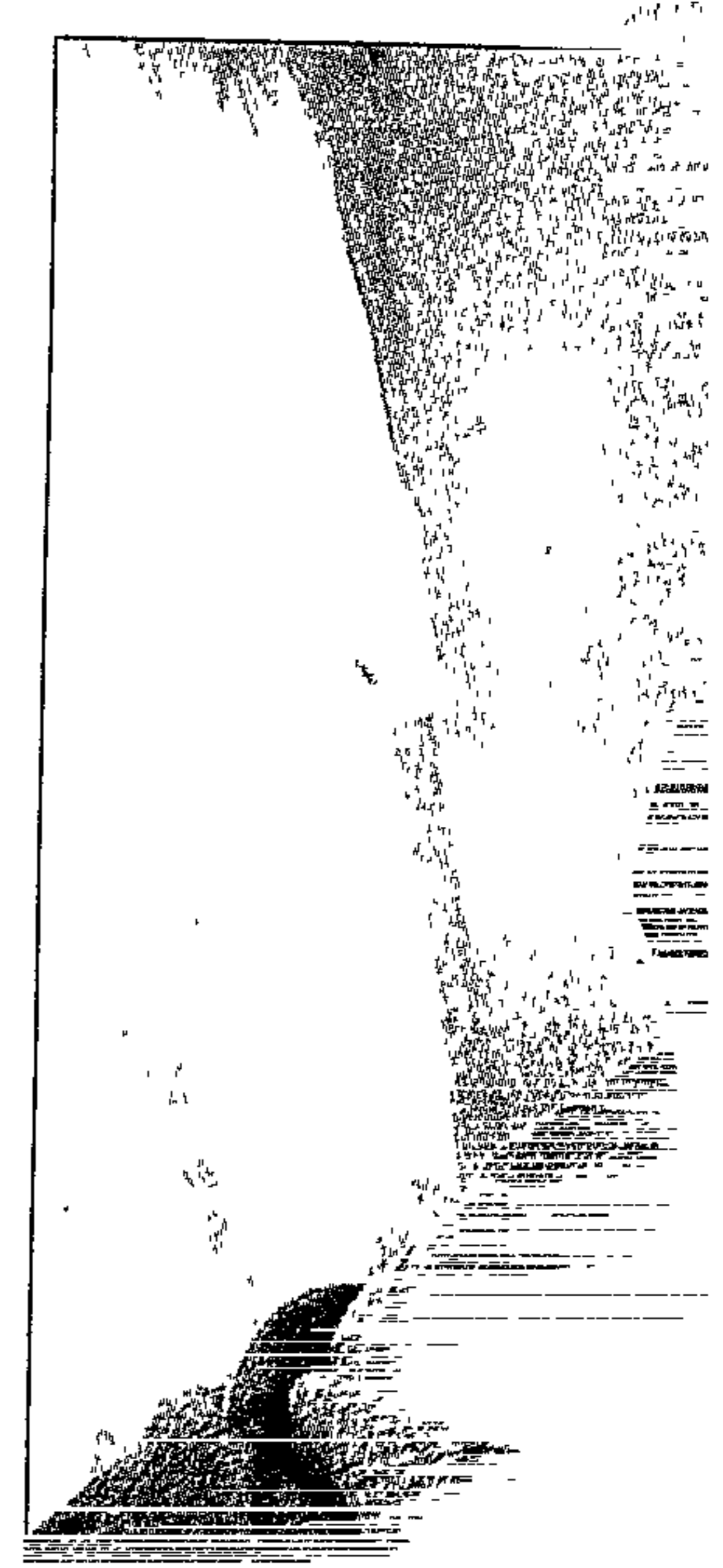
Fivaz said normal policing had become impossible due to the nature of the crimes committed and the modus operandi of the criminal elements operating in the area.

"After analysing the policing situation and the levels of safety and security in the Richmond area, we are no longer able to fulfil our obligation of providing and maintaining an impartial, accountable, transparent and efficient police service to the community," he said in his statement.

Between 400 and 600 military and SAPS personnel were deployed in the area last month in an attempt to control the violent climate.

A special investigations unit and a special intelligence unit are also operating in the area.

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Killings put cloud over Richmond

Stew 1/9/98 (276)

Three deadly incidents threaten initiative by Fivaz to put a stop to the murders, and hope fades again for an end to the violence

By JILLIAN GREEN
Pietermaritzburg

The death of five people in the Indaleni area in Richmond at the weekend has put a damper on the renewed hope for peace created by national police commissioner George Fivaz when he announced the closure of the Richmond police station two weeks ago.

In three separate incidents on Sunday evening, five people were killed, one of them an 8-year-old boy.

At the Jama homestead in the Cuba section of Indaleni, unknown gunmen forced open the door to the home and fired at the family, killing three and wounding two.

Mduduzi Jama (8), Bukiwe Jama (22) and Nkosinathi Jama (20) were killed and Queen Jama (16) and Bathosile Jama

(60) were wounded and taken to hospital.

Police found 26 cartridges at the scene.

In a second incident, Sibongile Dlamini had been walking along a road near Vumin-denbu store in Indaleni when unknown people shot her in the head. She was killed instantly.

At the Indaleni Mission, a 45-year-old man, Hiralist Sithole, was shot in the head by unknown gunmen.

No motive has been established and no arrests have been made in any of the incidents.

Yesterday, in retaliation for Sunday's killings, members of the community gathered at

Indaleni Junction and began stoning vehicles travelling from Magoda into town.

The stoning resulted in two taxis colliding and injuring three people.

Police were sent to the scene but requests for the crowd to disperse went unheeded.

"Police were forced to use teargas and rubber bullets to disperse the crowd," Captain Joshua Gwala said.

A case of public violence and illegal gathering has been opened.

Superintendent Henry Budhram said it was believed that sinister forces were at play in Richmond.

"We are shocked and con-

cerned with the situation in Richmond. We thought things would come right," he said.

Police investigations are continuing.

United Democratic Movement spokesperson Sifiso Bhengu said the killings were related to in-fighting in the ANC.

He added: "Some ANC members are not happy with the person who has been elected to take the place of Richmond's deceased deputy mayor Percy Thompson."

Richmond's mayor Andrew Ragavaloo said Sunday's killings were in no way politically motivated.

"Any person who kills an 8-year-old boy has criminal intent and no political motivation. The UDM is trying to mislead the public by saying there is in-fighting in the ANC," he said.

“
We are shocked and concerned at situation
”

Richmond killers become more brazen

Jonny Steinberg

BD 2/9/98

(276)

THE violence in Richmond has taken a new turn, with night-time attacks giving way to careless, visible violence as the killers become more brazen, sources in the town say.

Five people were killed on Sunday evening in three separate attacks, ending a month of peace in Richmond and taking the town's political leadership by surprise.

The murders took place in a zone which has been floodlit since late July and patrolled by police.

"The killings have shattered the hope and confidence which has been growing during the last month," Richmond mayor Andrew Ragavaloo said yesterday. "We have returned to the nightmare of pervasive fear.

Once again, as during July, people converge on the town hall as night falls, taking refuge from the killers during the hours of darkness."

Sources said that the violence of the past few days had a degree of carelessness uncharacteristic of past attacks in Richmond.

Police spokesman Henry Budhram said that at 6pm on Sunday, an hour before the five bodies were found, two men allegedly firing shots in the streets of Indaleni township were apprehended and beaten by a group of residents, and later arrested by police. The two have been charged with attempted murder.

Ragavaloo said on Monday morning a vehicle drove through Indaleni, its occupants stoning and assaulting commuters waiting for taxis at the side of the road. The owner of the vehicle had been identified and arrests could be expected shortly, sources said.

"The fact that these incidents are taking place out in the open, sometimes during daylight hours, shows that a certain brazenness has crept into the conduct of the killers," Ragavaloo said.

"The modus operandi is not as professional as in the past."

A source in police intelligence said the police's inability to apprehend suspects appeared to have instilled overconfidence in the killers.

"Hopefully, police on the ground will take the gap opened by this arrogance and begin to penetrate the killing apparatus," the source said.

By last night no one had been arrested for Sunday's killings.

McNally abandons IFP prosecution

(214) (276) M+G 18-24/9/98

**Swapna Prabarakhan
and Mungo Sogot**

A major corruption probe in KwaZulu-Natal took a bizarre twist this week when Attorney General Tim McNally abandoned prosecution of Inkatha Freedom Party officials whom its own provincial government had accused of fraud in court papers earlier this year.

The fraud allegations against top KwaZulu-Natal bureaucrats stem from a sworn statement by a Durban businessman, Sateesh Isseri. The Department of Justice put Isseri on the witness protection programme after he received death threats.

McNally announced this week he was pulling Isseri off the witness protection programme, a move Isseri believes could endanger his life.

"I believe McNally's office has given an open invitation to the corrupt officials who initially wanted to kill me that I'm now available for assassination," he said on Thursday.

The statement Isseri wrote last August implicated IFP-affiliated bureaucrats in a scheme to siphon funds from the provincial government to party coffers.

The scheme boiled down to over-invoicing handpicked businesspeople and splitting the proceeds between the businesspeople and party officials.

In August the *Mail & Guardian* reported on this statement, the police investigation, and on the fact Isseri himself was the subject of a criminal probe.



Turnabout: Tim McNally has decided not to prosecute

McNally this week questioned Isseri's credibility in a press statement which recapped the *M&G* article. "I have decided not to institute any prosecution based on Isseri's statement," McNally said.

But the thrust of Isseri's statement has been corroborated in court papers before the Durban High Court filed by the office of provincial Premier Ben Ngubane. McNally said this week his office had not given him these papers before he announced he was dropping the case.

The *M&G* reported in July on Ngubane's court papers, which outlined the province's defence to a civil lawsuit Isseri launched in February for R740 000. Isseri claims the money is owed to him in terms of a contract to supply medical equipment.

The provincial government's defence was that officials named by Isseri were involved in a fraudulent conspiracy with Isseri, which exempted the government from Isseri's claim. The officials included PW Buthelezi, the province's chief of expenditure.

The government's court papers said: "The defendant [the provincial government] admits the cheques for

the amounts of R399 500 and R395 000 were issued, but it avers that the said cheques were issued by persons in the services of the defendant pursuant to a conspiracy of fraud entered into between the plaintiff and those servants of the defendant identified in paragraph 5."

The *M&G* faxed McNally a copy of the papers. He agreed the province had effectively accused its own senior officials of fraud. McNally acknowledged the *M&G* had pointed out a "valid inconsistency" between his approach and that in the government's court papers. But he stuck to his decision and implied the office of the state attorney had erred by implicating the officials named by Isseri.

After being contacted by the *M&G*, McNally discussed Isseri's civil case with the relevant state attorney and advocate and said it appeared they had no extra information that could implicate Buthelezi and other named officials.

McNally suggested the provincial government would probably have to change its defence. He refused to comment on whether the Office of the State Attorney had been negligent in implicating senior officials without sufficient evidence. McNally said Isseri had been unable to identify photographs of key officials he named in his statement.

The state attorney in charge of Isseri's civil case, Stuart Chambers,

said that after his discussion with McNally he was considering changing the government's plea by removing the paragraph implicating individuals such as Buthelezi.

Chambers said he based the original plea on a several pieces of evidence, but declined to state categorically that there was no evidence implicating Buthelezi. He suggested other government officials could have been involved in the fraud.

Asked to comment on McNally's decision to abort the prosecution, he said: "He [McNally] may form a particular view at a particular time. There may be other evidence that will come to light in due course."

The commercial crime unit said this week it was still pursuing the case. Superintendent Hendrik Engelbrecht of the unit in Durban said: "In our investigations so far one or two people have been identified [as corrupt]. The whole investigation is still going on, but in a new direction from now on."

The IFP failed to interdict the *M&G* from publishing sequels to its August report on Isseri's statement.

The IFP's application was dismissed with costs by the Pietermaritzburg High Court. Judge Hillary Squires said the *M&G*'s article appeared balanced and well researched.

More blood spilled as IFP fighting rages on

Police arrest 11 and seize 30 guns

29/09/98

(271) (10)



SNUBBED... Supporters ignored Mangosuthu Buthelezi's call for peace at Lindelani on Friday.



POWER STRUGGLE... A High Court has ruled that IFP strongman Manda Shabalala be reinstated.

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was snubbed by hundreds of his warring Lindelani supporters who attacked each other with stones and sticks moments after he made an impassioned plea for peace.

The factions fought each other as they were leaving the Thomas Manda Shabalala Stadium following a brief speech by Buthelezi who had set aside his commitments for the day to urge peace among his followers.

The groups glared at each other and passed hostile remarks during the Friday meeting which was aimed at bringing them together after Wednesday's massacre of six members. Buthelezi expressed concern about how the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) would fare in next year's general elections - just 200 days away - when it was so divided.

Earlier in the day, when IFP spokesman Blessed Gwala asked councillor Victoria Shabalala - wife of one of the protagonists in the bloody conflict - to lead the hymn, followers of rival local IFP chairman Michael Zulu, grumbled. Buthelezi intervened immediately and called for "one of the women" to lead the singing.

IFP members have been involved in deadly internal squabbles that seem out of control. Hundreds of people have been driven out of the gun-flooded area, where even youngsters carry R1- and R5 rifles.

At the centre of the power struggle are deposed strongmen Manda Shabalala and Michael Zulu. Shabalala said about 60 people had died since April, in the continuing war for control of the sprawling Lindelani squatter settlement - one of the largest IFP strongholds in KwaZulu-Natal. In his first visit to the area since the violence began, Buthelezi urged the police to arrest those behind it. "Rumours that some leaders are behind the violence are a disgrace."

A poll puts ANC support in KwaZulu Natal at 41,8 percent compared with the IFP's 19,3 percent, writes

CHRIS HLONGWA

He said a political solution "by itself does not seem to be sufficient to prevent violence". Police and the army arrested 11 people this week and seized more than 30 guns in a joint operation between police and the army.

"More people will be arrested. You will be arrested. All criminals will be arrested," Safety and Security MEC and IFP leader Nyanaga Ngunhane, told the crowd.

Chairman Michael Zulu was recently released on R1 500 bail after his alleged involvement in an attack on Shabalala's brother and the latter's girlfriend.

Buthelezi urged his supporters to isolate self-styled leaders. Manda Shabalala has been rejected by the party's national council even though he recently won a High Court application to be reinstated to all the positions he held before he was expelled.

This was amid allegations that he had brought the IFP into disrepute for leading a bloody march in Durban two years ago.

Said Buthelezi: "Elections of IFP structures were held in this region and we are now mourning the deaths of some of those officials who were democratically elected to represent the will of the IFP in Lindelani." Among those shot dead this week was Harriet

Khumalo, secretary of the Women's Brigade. A meeting of all Lindelani leaders was planned for yesterday (Saturday) at the KwaMashu council chambers. Shabalala doubted he would attend as he needed to make burial arrangements for those that had been killed in the violence-torn area. He said he did not attend Friday's meeting, which was named after him, because he felt his presence would increase tensions.

Buthelezi also expressed concern over the killing of IFP leaders on the South Coast. He felt the killings had not received enough attention in the media or from the party's own structures. It is believed that many of the killings on the South Coast were a result of internal party conflict.

A recent Markhor opinion poll reportedly showed that the African National Congress (ANC) now enjoys more support in KwaZulu-Natal than the IFP.

It says the ANC has 41,8 percent support against the IFP's 19,3 percent. A further 100 policemen will be sent to Lindelani and the South Coast tomorrow, adding to the already heavy security force presence there. Buthelezi said he had been in contact with the national defence, and safety and security ministers regarding the violence on the South Coast.

In a recent statement, the IFP called on the people of KwaZulu-Natal to assist refugees who were driven out of the Lindelani area after their homes were burned and people killed. Large numbers have fled the area following the recent attacks.

IFFP, ANC meeting fuels hopes for ballot over bullet

The meeting this week between IFFP and ANC leaders in the troubled KwaZulu-Natal area of Shobashobane indicates that a historic process is unfolding, writes Durban correspondent Farouk Chothia

(276) BA 16/10/98

WHEN Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi suggested a general amnesty for "black on black" violence in KwaZulu-Natal this week, it reformed the perception that the principles that would underpin a historic political settlement between himself and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki had already been agreed upon.

All that has to be worked out are the details, and that process is expected to gain momentum in the coming months.

It is clear that African National Congress (ANC) and IFP leaders have now agreed on five principles, some which are already being implemented. They are:

- A special amnesty deal;
- A continuation of power-sharing after next year's elections;
- Amendments to the national constitution;
- The upholding of free political activity at grassroots level; and
- Emphasis on the socioeconomic upliftment of their constituencies.

A sixth issue that has to be dealt with is the role of traditional leaders — potentially the stickiest point in talks. The ANC insists that they be politically nonpartisan and that elections for primary local government structures take place in tribal areas. The IFP is vehemently opposed to this.

ANC Deputy President Jacob Zuma publicly advocated a special



MBEKI

amnesty deal and either a merger or power-sharing arrangement with the IFP, as far back as 1996.

However, the ANC strongly opposed amendments to the national constitution as the IFP demanded international mediation.

Buthelezi has dropped this demand and Mbeki has agreed to reopen constitutional negotiations within the parliamentary process.

Parliament recently established a constitutional review committee. Far-reaching constitutional amendments submitted by Buthelezi to Constitutional Minister Valli Moosa in the middle of this year have been referred to this newly created committee.

The proposed amendments did not go to the long-established constitutional development portfolio committee chaired by ANC MP and SA Communist Party (SACP) central committee member Yunus Carrim, ostensibly because it had a heavy workload.

This might be true, but it is significant that the review committee falls under ANC MP Willie Hofmeyr. He is an Mbeki aide, acting as the deputy president's parliamentary counsellor. The deputy chairman of the committee is Musa Zondi, an IFP MP who Buthelezi trusts and respects.

Via these two aides, Mbeki and Buthelezi are likely to strike a constitutional deal.

Mbeki will probably hail the constitution as one that seals the unity of the African masses while Buthelezi will dust off from the shelves speeches in which he called for a constitution that captured a "truly modern, yet truly

African" state. Who will then re-member Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer, or Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk?

A historic process is unfolding between the ANC and IFP. It is less dramatic, less formal, but its significance should not be underestimated.

For any historic agreement to be signed, however, a healing of wounds has to take place. That is why both the ANC and IFP have referred to the perceived failings of the truth commission and are suggesting a new amnesty deal for their supporters.

It will undoubtedly include an element of African tradition and custom, such as "cleansing ceremonies" held to heal rifts within communities.

And the entire initiative will be backed up by development — a sure way to make people look into the future rather than the past.

That process started on the KwaZulu-Natal south coast this week, when Buthelezi and Mandela officially launched an Rbm anti-poverty project for the region.

And Buthelezi tried to divert attention away from political rivalry to unity when he said: "Our biggest enemy, as the black ma-



BUTHELEZI

jority, is poverty."

Mandela played on a similar theme, telling the crowd: "You are showing that you too have understood the lesson of our times — peace is the most powerful weapon that any community has to bring stability and development."

The irony is that Izingolweni was the launching pad for IFP attacks on the ANC in Shob-

ashobane on Christmas Day in 1995. Thirteen IFP members were convicted following the massacre and two are serving life sentences. An amnesty deal raises the prospect of their release.

Their joint visit to Shobashobane and Izingolweni, controlled by the ANC and IFP respectively, indicates a desire to end no-go areas. The message it sends out is this: if leaders can walk freely in the two areas, then their supporters can also do so.

Free political activity flows out of this and with it the hope that the ballot, not the bullet will reign supreme in next year's elections.

The stakes for next year's elections have been reduced somewhat through an understanding that power sharing between the parties will continue at both national and provincial level.

Details on the nature of the power-sharing arrangement still need to be worked out. Nevertheless, the likely scenario is that cabinet seats will be allocated in proportion to the number of votes the two parties obtain in elections.

However, the percentage required to qualify for a seat will probably be dropped to ensure that Buthelezi secures a position "befitting his stature" even if the IFP performs worse than it did in the 1994 elections, as local government elections and some recent opinion polls suggest it might.

Violence in Richmond is finally subdued

Observers are divided over whether peace in the town has resulted from a military siege, or whether a new investigative unit has finally begun to sever the roots of the violence, writes Jonny Steinberg

MORE than 50 people died in Richmond during the first eight months of this year, largely at the hands of clandestine assassination squads who attacked under cover of darkness.

However, since the local police station was closed and the area taken over by a team of 600 military and police personnel, only one successful attack has been executed.

Some observers claim the peace is frail and transitory, and will end as soon as the troop deployment leaves Richmond. "Of course there has been no vio-

lence," said a source close to the conflict.

"With 600 troops on the ground, no-one can sneeze without a soldier knowing about it. But what will happen when the soldiers leave? Stopping the violence for good is not about putting the town under siege. It is about developing quality intelligence sources, infiltrating the killing machines and building sound court cases against the culprits.

"There is no evidence that this is happening. There has been one significant arrest in the past year. Four hundred cases from 1990 remain unsolved."

Jenny Irish of the Network of Independent Monitors is more optimistic. "It is true that the violence has subsided, because of a massive visible deployment, but there is a parallel investigative unit that appears to be doing good work."

Irish is talking of a specialised unit of prosecutors and detectives under the command of Chris McAdam, hand-picked for the job by director of public prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka.

"That the super attorney-general's office has gone into the area is the most positive development in years," Irish says. "Their presence means that the intelligence and investigative structures which are mired in disgrace are now out of the picture. McAdam represents a clean slate. He has only been in the area three weeks, but we hope to see a series of prosecutions in the coming months."

McAdam himself is cautiously optimistic. He admits that the lull in the atrocities could well be the result of "strategic regrouping" on the part of assassination squads. He also agrees that the lull has more to do with the troop presence than with successful investigative work.

"But the troop presence must not be seen in isolation," McAdam says. "It is the necessary cover under which real investigative work can take place. With the troops in place, people feel safe. When

(A76)

they feel safe, they will come forward and speak. We have given the local people a guarantee: the troops will not leave before successful prosecutions are in place. You will be protected until we get to the heart of the assassination squads."

McAdam will not be pressured into declaring a time frame.

"We need to build solid cases systematically. That may take a while. The important point is that the right tools are in place. A witness protection programme has become available for the first time. The detectives on the job are all hand-picked, all have a wealth of political experience, and all are clean."

If McAdam's team is successful and brings the assassination squads into the glare of daylight, Richmond will be landed with a problem of an entirely different ilk.

"If the culprits are brought to book, it will be because members of their own community have pointed fingers," said one source.

"This brings with it the psychology of the witch hunt. It will turn in one of two ways. The community could celebrate and feel purged as it watches the angels of death marched off to jail. Or a cloud of betrayal and suspicion could hang over the area for years. The wounds of conflict of this magnitude in so small and isolated a place do not heal quickly."

RIOTS + DIST. - KWA ZULU/NATAL
1999

Boipatong massacre: New evidence links IFP to SAP

(276) CT 20/1/99

VAN DER BIJLPARK: A dramatic new version of the events of the Boipatong massacre in the Vaal Triangle in June 1992 was given to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's amnesty hearing here yesterday.

A former inmate of KwaMadala hostel, who has admitted being part of the attack on the Boipatong community, handed a statement to the TRC's amnesty committee implicating the police and senior Inkatha Freedom Party officials.

Andries Matanzima Nosenga, 25, handed in a separate amnesty application to those of 16 former hostel dwellers who have applied for amnesty for the massacre, outlining a different chain of events to those given by the other applicants.

Nosenga claims he joined the IFP and moved into KwaMadala hostel after falling out with ANC members in Evaton in the Vaal Triangle.

He said IFP Gauteng leader Themba Khoza was a frequent visitor to the hostel, and that he played a major

role in planning the massacre.

Describing a meeting at the hostel shortly before the massacre, Nosenga said Khoza and former murder and robbery police sergeant Pedro Peens were present.

"During the meeting we were told to go to Boipatong and kill the dogs. Khoza said a certain insect should be killed ..."

He said hostel leaders at the meeting agreed that the residents should be killed because they were not human. Peens agreed to supply police Casspir vehicles for the attack.

Nosenga said that on the night of the attack he saw about four Casspirs in a field near Boipatong, and also saw Peens shooting at residents.

He said he killed eight or nine people himself during the attack and fired off about 120 rounds from an AK-47 rifle.

Nosenga said on the following day Khoza returned to the hostel to collect the weapons used in the attack, and praised the people who took part.

About a month later he attended a rally held in Ulundi in KwaZulu-Natal to celebrate the success of the attack.

"The leader of the IFP, (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi, gave a speech in which he thanked us for the good job we carried out in Boipatong," Nosenga said.

The massacre took place on June 17, 1992 after tension between Inkatha Freedom Party-supporting hostel dwellers and the residents of the Boipatong township, largely ANC supporters, erupted into violence.

The heavily-armed party of IFP supporters entered the township at night and carried out random attacks on residents, resulting in the death of 46 people and 21 injuries.

Nosenga has appealed to the TRC for protection because he claims he has received death threats. His request is being considered by TRC officials.

Peens has been subpoenaed to testify at the hearing, and is expected to appear when the hearing resumes today. — Sapa

The IFP leader has been implicated in both the planning and the execution of the Boipatong massacre. PHOTOGRAPH: HENNER FRANKENFELD



Cracks in Boipatong story

M&G 22-28/1199 (276)

The police version of the Boipatong massacre is beginning to unravel, write Mail & Guardian reporters

Former Vaal policeman Sergeant Gerhardus "Pedro" Peens has admitted that he was in the Vaal Triangle township of Boipatong on the fateful night of June 17 1992 when 46 people — including women, children and a four-month-old baby — were brutally massacred.

The admission — although linked to a continued denial of involvement in the massacre, and a curious denial that he knew the bloodbath was taking place — represents the first crack in seven years of police denials that any of their members were present during the Boipatong massacre.

Peens told writer Rian Malan in October 1993 that he was in Boipatong investigating other cases that night, but insisted that he had nothing to do with the massacre.

Peens has been subpoenaed to testify before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's amnesty committee this week. His statement to Malan is now in the committee's hands.

He told Malan that as his Casspir entered Boipatong between 3am and 4am on the morning of the attack, he encountered "a helluva crowd, 200 or 300 standing in the road". Peens said one of the men was apparently armed with an AK-47, but further investigation revealed that his weapon was in fact a panga.

"They started throwing stones at us. I said, 'Boys, let's get out of here.' I went to the top, through the robots at KwaMadala [hostel] and then right towards Sebokeng. We carried on with the operations in Sebokeng. It was only at around nine in the morning that the first reports came through on the radio [of the massacre]."

"The crowd was locals, not Zulus. I was at that stage the only police vehicle in Boipatong. A Casspir I was driving. I didn't see any other police. I was in permanent contact with radio control," said Peens.

Peens's admission provides the first police confirmation of reports that a police Casspir was in the township at the time. It comes hot on the heels of the startling about-face by Boipatong Inkatha Freedom Party convict Andries Nosenga, who this week told the amnesty committee that police — including Peens — were involved in the massacre.

Nosenga also told the committee that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi thanked the

attackers during a subsequent rally in Ulundi. Buthelezi has now threatened to sue the truth commission.

Malan approached Peens last October after obtaining a copy of Nosenga's statement to the amnesty committee. Peens told Malan that he knew Nosenga because he had arrested him in connection with an earlier case.

Nosenga was allegedly a member of notorious "Vaal Monster" Victor Kheswha's gang, which was based in KwaMadala hostel in the early 1990s.

Both Kheswha and his second-in-command, Dan Mobote, subsequently died under mysterious circumstances while in Peens's custody.

Nosenga's testimony this week represented the first crack in the story presented by the 17 IFP supporters convicted for the massacre. While his 16 co-convicts have continued to deny that the massacre was organised by the IFP or the police, Nosenga has implicated Themba Khoza, then the IFP Youth Brigade's PWV leader, and Peens in both the planning and the execution of the attack.

Nosenga claimed that at meetings at KwaMadala hostel in advance of the massacre Peens agreed to "supply Casspirs near the location" and that Peens and another policeman under-

took to supply weapons to Khoza, via a third policeman identified as "Roolkop". (The names of these policemen are known to the *Mail & Guardian*.) Nosenga says that on the night of the massacre he travelled in the same police Casspir as Peens and confirms that "Peens also shot people".

Peens, however, rejects the allegations against him as "absurd" and says he was there investigating the death of "Skuta" Maruma, a policeman killed and dismembered in Sharpeville two weeks earlier, on May 30.

Even if this were true, it still begs a number of questions. According to police testimony about the Boipatong incident, all police Casspirs were accounted for — and none was deployed in Boipatong at the time of the massacre.

Peens also fails to explain adequately why he failed to react, in his capacity as a policeman, to the violence sweeping through the township. He says he took a couple of statements after the attack and then pulled out of the township "I decided this is a lot of crap," he said.

Peens also fails to explain why he did not admit to being present in Boipatong to the various inquiries that have examined the massacre over the past seven years, except to

describe the Goldstone commission's inquiry as "pathetic".

Meanwhile, three amnesty applications in the possession of the truth commission confirm a wider conspiracy between the police and the IFP. (As far as the *M&G* is able to determine, these are the only three police applications from the Vaal.)

These relate to an earlier incident, an IFP attack on the largely ANC-supporting Sebokeng hostel on September 3 and 4 1990. Forty-three people died in the incident, in which the police acted to defend the IFP impis against crowds of residents moving to protect the Sebokeng hostel residents.

Following the attack Khoza was arrested at Sebokeng hostel after firearms, explosives and ammunition were seized by the police from his blue Nissan Sentra — according to former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock, the car was a gift from the security police. Peens was apparently present at the arrest.

Khoza was acquitted at his trial as police contradicted each other in their evidence and the magistrate accepted Khoza's version that the vehicle had been unlocked and thus the weaponry could have been planted.

But according to the amnesty applications of the former head of the Vaal Triangle security police, JF Conradie, and two other policemen — then-Lieutenant Arthur van der Gryp (who still serves in the Vaal police force) and J Jacobs, the investigating officer — evidence was deliberately fabricated to secure the acquittal.

Conradie, who later became head of the police's criminal investigation services, says he orchestrated the cover-up after he realised the "importance" of Khoza. This followed discussions with his seniors in the police force, in particular General Nic van Rensburg, who has applied for amnesty in connection with the deaths of Eastern Cape activists.

The details of the cover-up and the version presented in court were cooked up by the three applicants in consultation, apparently with wider collusion, since ballistic and forensic evidence appeared to have been tampered with.

Peens regaled Malan with tales of his visiting KwaMadala on the day of the arrest. He said he was inside Khoza's Nissan Sentra picking up illegal weaponry.

Peens left the police after the 1994 elections and now works as a private investigator. In more than 20 years in the force, he was investigated on no fewer than 60 charges of illegal conduct, but never convicted.

'The crowd was locals, not Zulus ... I was at that stage the only police vehicle in Boipatong. A Casspir'

Nkabinde killed

(276) CP 24/11/99

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Strongman gunned down at 8 am on busy street

By CHRIS HLONGWA

SIFISO Nkabinde, the KwaZulu-Natal inland strongman, was assassinated by semi-automatic rifle-wielding gunmen on a busy Richmond street yesterday morning - about 200 metres from where deputy mayor Percy Thompson was also gunned down in the "tavern massacre" last year.

Nkabinde was on his way to Pietermaritzburg to make preparations for a forthcoming congress of women members of his United Democratic Movement (UDM).

His assailants ambushed him at about 8 am in Shepstone Street, the main road in the small town, as he was travelling in his grey BMW with his bodyguard Simphiwe Dlamini and the guard's mother Lindem Dlamini.

At the time of writing, both the Dlaminis were in a serious condition in a Pietermaritzburg city hospital.

About 60 R4 and R5 spent cartridges lay strewn on the street as testimony of what happened to the controversial but charismatic UDM leader who was expelled two years ago by the ANC amid apartheid-era spy allegations.

"The doctors tried hard to resuscitate him," said a visibly-shaken Emily Ntuli, the national co-ordinator of women in the UDM, who later joined other mourning women at Nkabinde's home in Magodda.

She said Nkabinde had received many threats on his life since his dramatic acquittal by the Pietermaritzburg High Court on charges of multiple murders in April last year.

Nonhlanhla Nkabinde, his young wife and mother of four schoolgoing children, was too distraught to speak to reporters.

The attack itself, in which three men



FLASHBACK... Sifiso Nkabinde accompanied by armed bodyguards shortly after his release from prison in April last year.

are believed to have taken part, took only a few minutes, according to a woman who lives in a house on the street "We didn't see anything. Who goes out when there is shooting going on?" she asked.

Police said an abandoned Toyota Corolla was found near the Richmond Cemetery. It is believed to have been used by the attackers. It had been stolen in Howick earlier this week.

With a shaking voice, Richmond mayor Andrew Ragavaloo repeated.

"This is tragic, this is tragic. He himself has been threatened with death on several occasions, and feeling the latest killing could spark more violence in the area which has experienced peace after a massive police and army deployment.

All 104 murders in Richmond happened in the night. But the Nkabinde killing happened in broad daylight, in front of people. This is something new. Possibly the Third Force is at it again, stoking up violence," he said.

UDM's Ntuli said she had seen ANC supporters toy-toying with joy after the killing, as she travelled to Nkabinde's home.

A violence monitor said Nkabinde's killers could have been anyone.

Turn to Page 2

Shame on you Bafana!

By DOMINIC CHIMBAVI
in Mauritius

SHELL SHOCKED by Mauritius' gallant fighting spirit, the South African delegation which accompanied Bafana Bafana to this island resort said the national team's

Nkabinde killed in hail of bullets

From Page 1

"ANC members, Third Force or from the UDM". Nkabinde was known to have had many enemies and recently was accused by members of his own party of disregarding the constitution of the UDM.

There was also a rumour that Nkabinde had problems with his bodyguards regarding salaries.

ANC spokesperson Dumisani Makhaye said: "The party received the news of the death of Nkabinde, with shock.

The acting Safety and security Minister Steve Tshwete and Minister Sydney Mufamadi, who is abroad on official business, said they "were shocked" to hear of Nkabinde's killing.

Tshwete said: "The National Commissioner of the South African Police Service, George Fivaz, has informed the ministers the relevant detectives and forensic experts have been sent to the scene to ensure that the investigation is carried out professionally."

Meanwhile, there were angry scenes outside the Magodda home of Nkabinde during a visit by UDM leader Bantu Holomisa.

About 150 angry mourners vehemently opposed the presence of police who escorted Holomisa.

Meanwhile, Holomisa last night rejected claims by Tshwete that Nkabinde's murder could be linked to a taxi dispute.

See Page 3.

Nkabinde's slaying baffles cops, leaders

By Malcolm Ray and Jimmy Seepe

POLICE and political leaders in the troubled Richmond township in KwaZulu-Natal are at a loss over the motive for the slaying of the controversial United Democratic Movement (UDM) provincial chair, Sifiso Nkabinde, on Saturday.

Richmond was tense yesterday as political leaders and police jostled to contain the prospect of a senseless war between UDM and African National Congress (ANC) supporters. A 400-strong contingent of SA Police Service and SA National Defence Force members was deployed in the area yesterday.

Following Nkabinde's killing, 11 people were massacred at the Ndabezitha homestead in Richmond on Saturday.

Since Nkabinde's assassination, speculation has been rife that the killing could be related to a number of factors.

One possibility is that the UDM leader might have been a victim of an internal power

struggle in the wake of his dismissal of two party contenders last December. The other relates to Nkabinde's non-payment of salaries of his bodyguards - a responsibility that falls on individual leaders within the UDM. His involvement in the violence-torn taxi industry has also been raised as a third possibility.

Mounting suspicion that the assassination might have been planned by ANC supporters in the run-up to the general election this year was promptly dispelled. According to ANC sources in the area, opinion polls in KwaZulu-Natal reveal that the UDM support does not represent a threat to the ANC.

"It would have been detrimental to the credibility of the ANC to orchestrate such a move," a source said.

ANC spokesperson Dumisane Makhaye blamed the assassination on "rotten eggs who are opposed to the growing peace movement in KwaZulu-Natal. These forces have resorted to violence to scupper the peace movement."

He joined UDM leader General Bantu

Holomisa in urging communities in Richmond to work closely with the police, who are investigating the matter.

Responding to allegations that the 11 people massacred on Saturday were ANC supporters, ANC general secretary Kgalema Motlanthe said it was irresponsible to assume that the political loyalties of the victims had anything to do with the incident.

He said 11 out of 13 wards in Richmond belong to the ANC. "Any of these wards could have been attacked without a political motive."

Holomisa said yesterday the different scenarios about Nkabinde assassination were mere speculation which should be left to the investigators. He, however, said the investigation should look at all possibilities.

He said the allegation that the assassination may have been sparked by internal wrangling after Nkabinde sacked two party officials was far-fetched. "I don't think those two individuals removed by Sifiso are capable or even have the capacity to launch such a deadly attack."

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Richmond braces for funerals

(276) Star 21/1199

RAESH JANMAL

Meyer compares explosive situation with SA after the murder of Chris Hani

By JANI MEYER, ERIC MOKAVALE AND VEMILLA YOKARANTHAK

United Democratic Movement leader Roelf Meyer today compared the explosive Richmond situation to the murder of SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani in 1993.

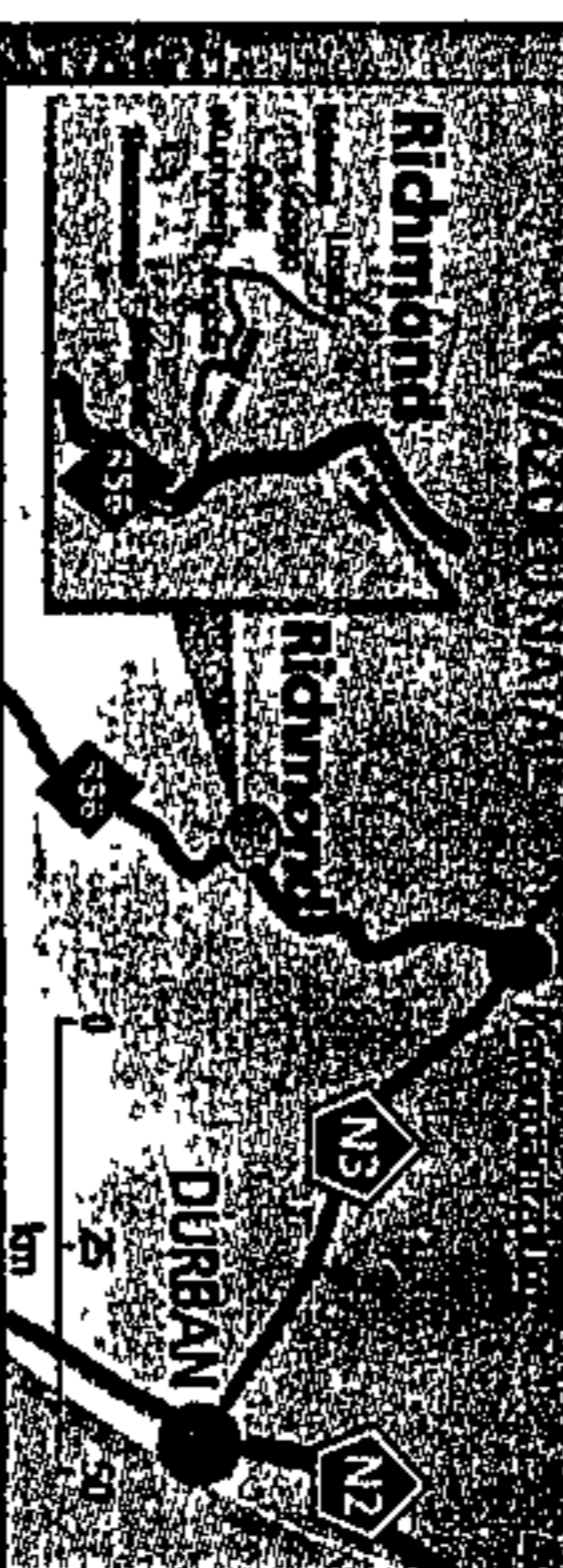
On a radio talk show, Meyer appealed for calm, joining other political leaders around the country who, fearful of more bloodshed, have made impassioned appeals for calm and urged residents not to take the law into their own hands.

South Africa teetered on the brink of a racial conflagration after Hani was assassinated in his Boksburg home, but the near disaster was averted when Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders appealed for calm.

Richmond residents, still reeling from the bloodshed which shattered the new-found peace this weekend, slept through a tense night last night.

The Midlands town was explosive after the assassination of Sifiso Nkabinde, the UDM secretary-general, and the massacre of 11 others in Ndalemni this weekend. Tensions are expected to continue.

This weekend, the ANC's safety and security spokesman in KwaZulu Natal, Bheki Cele, again called on political leaders themselves to act responsibly. "It is really very serious. I am calling on all leadership to



Danger zone ... UDM supporters came under fire in Magoda as a result of clashes between ANC and UDM supporters.

please please take care." Eastern Cape spokesman Mahabula Gogo yesterday also called for restraint among UDM supporters. "Our people must not make any foolish attempt of taking the law into their own hands in the name of avenging Nkabinde's death."

This week, more trouble is expected as political parties finalise preparations for the funerals and memorial services for Nkabinde, who was gunned down on Saturday morning and the 11 Ndalemni victims. Nkabinde, who was slain, pushed outside a supermarket in the town centre, will be buried on Sunday and a memorial service for him will be held

in Umkoma on Thursday. Both events will attract high-profile leaders and a strong security force presence. The massacre victims, all members of the Nkabezitha family, had gathered in Ndalemni to mourn the death of a relative from natural causes, when the gunmen struck in what is believed to be a revenge attack.

As political leaders and high-ranking police officers visited the scenes of the murders yesterday, Richmond was extremely volatile.

Angry youths from both the ANC and UDM had converged on the borders of Magoda and Ndalemni yesterday, throwing stones and making inflammatory statements.

Police used teargas to disperse the crowds as the situation threatened to erupt into full-blown violence. Underfunded by the heavy security force presence, another gun battle took place between an ANC convoy and a UDM group not far from where Nkabinde was killed.

National Police Commissioner George Fivaz, who met senior police and defence force members at the joint operation centre in Richmond to assess the situation, said additional security force members will be deployed to the flashpoints around the area. President Mandela, who has

cancelled his trip to Uganda, yesterday suggested that third force elements were responsible for the killings.

Deputy Director of Public Prosecution Chris MacAdam, who was also called in to assist the police with their ongoing investigation into violence in the area, said documentation about attacks in Richmond, in which more than 110 people were killed, was compiled to act as a data base for further investigation.

The massacre victims, identified as Zwelakhe Nkabezitha (45), Sibusiso Nkabezitha (45), Siyabonga Nkabezitha (26), Kwazi Nkabezitha (26), Sinosazwe Nkabezitha (17), Adelaide Nkabezitha (52), Madlamani Nkabezitha (48), Zamele

Ngwenya (78), Nomfina Nyawo (28), Pauline Gumede (48) and Tano Kamele (60), died in a hail of bullets. Shttemben Njilo (62), Lindem Myeni (28), Neil Nkabezitha (38), Tholi Soshi (24), Ne Nxele (23), Willy, Sosibo (27) and Justice Ndlovu (28) were seriously injured.

A spokesman for Pietermaritzburg's Meit-Clinic said Nkabinde's bodyguard Shiphwe Dlamini and his mother, who were with him when he was attacked, were in a stable, satisfactory condition.

Turbulent years

(276)
THE last years have been turbulent for feared KwaZulu-Natal midlands warlord Sifiso Nkabinde. **Primarashni Pillay** highlights some of his defining moments:

- DD 25/1/99
- **August 1996:** David Ntombela provincial MP of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in KwaZulu-Natal and Nkabinde, then African National Congress (ANC) provincial MP, draw guns on each other outside the Maritzburg legislature in front of journalists. This followed the shooting of five people outside the city's high court. The shooting occurred after supporters of both parties emerged from court following the adjournment of the Impendle trial in which seven IFP-linked men were accused of murdering four policemen in 1995.
 - **August 1996:** Ntombela and Nkabinde are summoned before the then KwaZulu-Natal premier, Frank Mdlalose, where they denied drawing guns on each other.
 - **January 1997:** Nkabinde is accused in a SA National Defence Force intelligence report of vowing to continue the armed struggle after the 1994 elections.
 - **April 1997:** The ANC expels Nkabinde on the grounds that he was an apartheid police informer and that his mission was to infiltrate the ANC and to foment black-on-black violence in KwaZulu-Natal.
 - **April 1997:** Nkabinde denies allegations of his role as a police informer and asserts he was a victim of a vicious political power struggle. He warns the ANC that it would "trigger a new war" if it interfered with his support base.
 - **May 1997:** Speculation is rife that Nkabinde would join expelled ANC leader Bantu Holomisa's National Consultative Forum. Richmond ANC councillor Rodney van der Byl is killed and this is linked to the party's expulsion of Nkabinde.
 - **September 1997:** Nkabinde, chairman of the KwaZulu-Natal National Consultative Forum is arrested and charged with the murders of 18 people, including two Richmond councillors. He is suspended from the forum pending the outcome of the court case.
 - **May 1998:** Nkabinde is acquitted of murder charges in the Maritzburg High Court as Judge Jan Combrinck argues that the trial was dogged by unconstitutional elements and irregularities.
 - **June 1998:** Nkabinde's return to Richmond sparks off fears of violence and several people flee the area. He is elected unopposed as chairman of the United Democratic Movement (UDM) in KwaZulu-Natal. Later in the month he is elected national secretary.
 - **December 1998:** Nkabinde is believed to be at the centre of a power struggle in the UDM in KwaZulu-Natal and is alleged to have used a mass meeting earlier in the month to oust some of his closest confidantes.

Fear and loathing in Richmond

VERNON MCHUNU

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MARTZBURG: Sifiso Nkabinde was both loved and feared by his followers and detested by ANC supporters — who charged that he was responsible for the bloodletting that has taken more than 100 lives around Richmond.

Nkabinde made headlines for his arrest in September 1997 and again in April 1998, when he was acquitted on all 16 charges of murder and attempted murder.

Born in Durban in 1961 to a religious and fairly well-to-do family that moved to Richmond when he was young, he became politically active at an early age, sharing the limelight with Andrew Ragavaloo, the current ANC mayor of Richmond.

During the state of emergency in the late 1980s, Nkabinde was detained three times, each term for 97 days.

Subsequent police pressure forced him to seek refuge in Zimbabwe, but he returned a few years later to head a local youth league.

He was also believed to be leading Self-Defence Units.

In the early 1990s, his alignment to late ANC strongman Harry Gwala grew, earning him praise and more support from those

locals who regarded Gwala as a hero and freedom fighter.

In 1994 Nkabinde was appointed a member of the provincial legislature on behalf of the ANC.

In 1995, he was awarded the Freedom of Richmond by senior ANC members.

But his stubbornness contributed to his falling out with the ANC in December 1996, when he refused to heed party orders not to stand for provincial secretary.

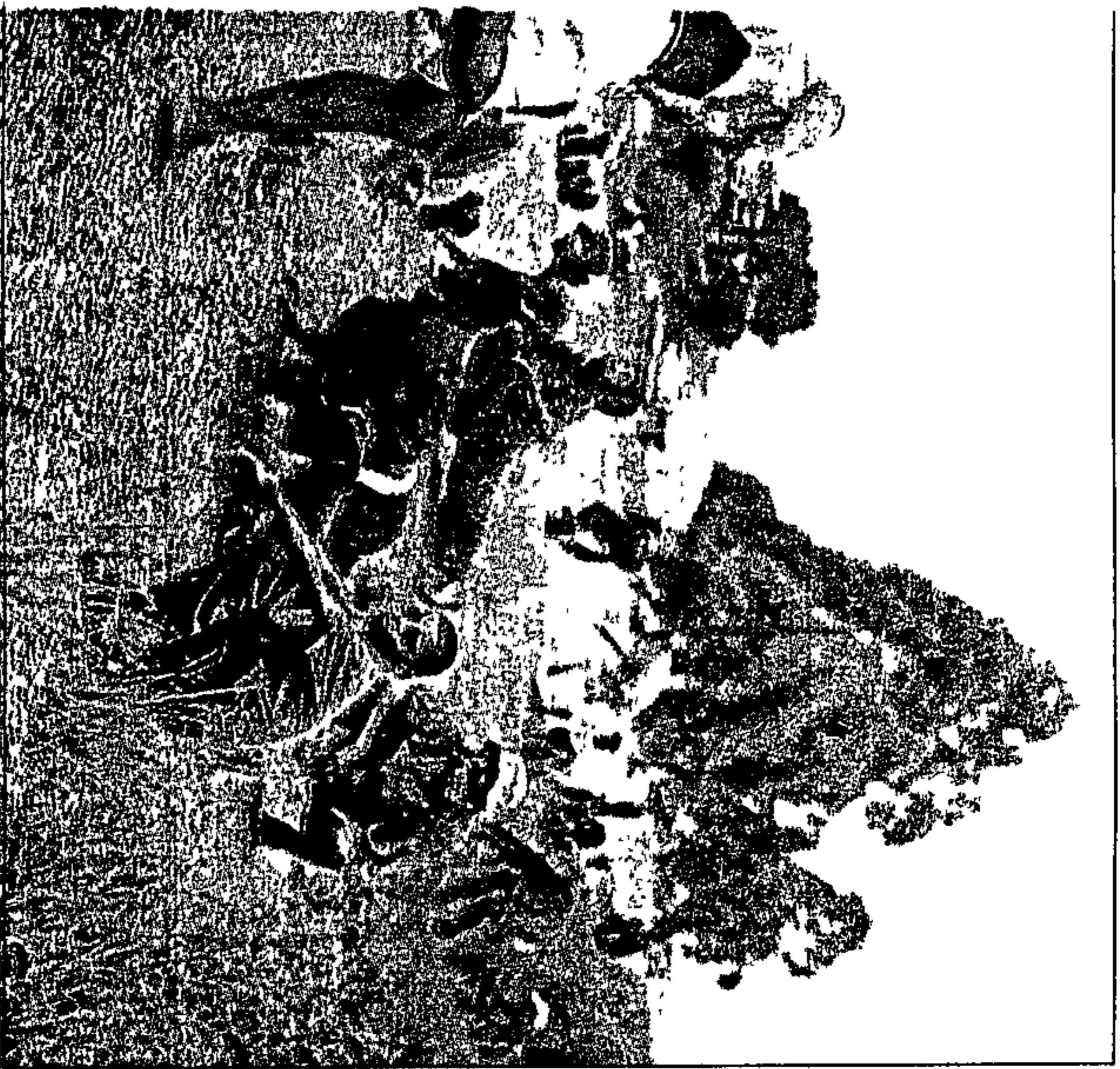
On April 7, 1997 he was expelled from the ANC on charges of being a police spy tasked with fuelling internecine violence.

Denying the allegations, he aligned himself with Bantu Holomisa's National Consultative Forum, becoming provincial chairman.

Nkabinde was arrested on September 16, 1997 in connection with 16 murder charges, six of which were allegedly committed while he was still an ANC member.

On December 11, 1997, a violent furor erupted in the Martzburg high court when Nkabinde's supporters protested, infuriated that he had been denied bail.

Last April, many Richmond residents began to flee the area after



an exchange of fire between UDM and ANC supporters in Richmond yesterday. UDM leader murder in a controversial trial.



SLAUGHTER: Police and forensic experts remove the body of one of the 11 people massacred in Richmond on Saturday night.

rumours that Nkabinde could be released.

The rumours proved to be true. On May 1, he was released, promising to work for peace.

He was subsequently appointed

UDM provincial chairman as well as national secretary-general.

Including his death and that of 11 others on Saturday night, the Richmond death toll has reached 115 since May 1997.

Five held for Natal killings

BD 25/11/99

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Pule Molebeleli and Sapa

DURBAN — Five people were arrested by KwaZulu-Natal police hours after gunmen attempted to ambush African National Congress (ANC) provincial leaders in strife-torn Richmond yesterday.

The shooting came in the wake of the killing of United Democratic Movement (UDM) leader and Richmond strongman Sifiso Nkabinde, who was gunned down while getting into his car outside a supermarket on Saturday.

The ambush attempt heightened tension and fuelled fears of the intensification of violence in the region, which had experienced relative stability in recent months.

UDM president Bantu Holomisa said there was no doubt in his mind that Nkabinde's death was politically inspired, but stopped short of attributing blame directly to the ANC.

At the same time the UDM challenged statements by Steve Tshwete, the acting safety and security minister, who claimed that Nkabinde's death could be related to a taxi dispute or could be the result of internal differences between Nkabinde and his bodyguards. The UDM said these claims "clearly had a political undertone in them."

Tshwete's motives should be questioned and he should stay out of the investigation, the UDM said.

A UDM official denied any dispute between Nkabinde and his bodyguards, saying they had all been accounted for. President Nelson Mandela's office said he did not believe any political party was

Ambush attempt a block from police station fuels fears of fresh violence



United Democratic Movement supporters in Richmond, KwaZulu-Natal, dive for cover yesterday as gunfire erupts about 50m from where UDM leader Sifiso Nkabinde, left, was assassinated on Saturday.

Main picture: RAJESH JANTILAL

directly involved but claimed a third force was behind the violence, its mission to undo the progress made by the government in strengthening peace in the country.

Mandela has cancelled his trip to Uganda following Nkabinde's murder and the subsequent resurgence of violence in the Richmond area. The ANC in the region recommitted itself to the peace process yesterday, saying it was not a bargaining tool and would have to be achieved at all costs.

ANC secretary-general Kgalema Motlanthe said during a news briefing yes-

terday that he did not believe the peace process would be derailed as a result of the weekend developments in the Richmond area.

He warned against speculation about who had carried out the killings, saying police had to be allowed to do their work.

The morning after the killing the village of Ndalem, separated by a street from Nkabinde's stronghold — Magoda — woke up to find 11 more people dead and seven injured after four armed men attacked homesteads. The 11 were believed to have been ANC supporters. Following the attack young men gathered in strate-

gic areas to defend their strongholds.

Police said they were optimistic of a breakthrough in this case after one of the attackers was shot dead in a confrontation with security forces. An R-5 rifle was retrieved and was sent to ballistics to check whether it was used in the attack.

National police commissioner George Fivaz, who visited the area yesterday, said they were in the process of identifying the suspect.

However, sources said the man killed was one of Nkabinde's right-hand men, and had been scheduled to testify in court in connection with a number of high-

profile murders.

Fivaz, who described the killings as "tragic and ugly", said additional personnel would be deployed to the area to beef up the 800- to 1000-strong security force contingent already in Richmond.

Meanwhile yesterday, an entourage driving ANC leaders to Ndalem was attacked by gunmen travelling in five cars. They tried to ambush the ANC convoy in the centre of town, a block from the local police station.

This led to an "intense" exchange of fire between the gunmen and ANC bodyguards.

Provincial ANC deputy chairman Zwelli Mkhize and Richmond mayor Andrew Rangavalo, who had been in the area since Saturday's night's massacre, were in the convoy.

Police said they had arrested two of the gunmen at Maritzburg hospital after they sustained gunshot wounds in a shoot-out with ANC bodyguards.

Three other suspects were intercepted by police near Ikopo. Two guns were recovered. The men are expected to appear in court today.

Provincial ANC Safety and Security spokesman Bheki Cele said the ambush attempt confirmed that the security situation in Richmond was deteriorating.

He said the ANC would like more security forces deployed in the area and urged government to protect the people.

Local UDM branch leader Hendri Gwamanda demanded the closure of the police station, saying it failed to protect the party's leader, who was slain in broad daylight.

With Nkabinde dead, Gwamanda wondered who would contain angry UDM supporters in the area.

UDM spokesman Mahandla Gogo said Nkabinde's funeral would be held in Richmond next Sunday. A memorial service would be held in Umtata on Thursday.

The turbulent years: Page 2
Comment Page 11

Violence dogged this turbulent politician's ruthless march to power — and a final date with death

ARJIS CORRESPONDENT



FRANKFURT: the charismatic Sifiso Nkabinde dominated KwaZulu-Natal politics

Security to be boosted

ANALYST OPINION
Special Correspondent

The United Democratic Movement will step up security around its leaders after the assassination of Sifiso Nkabinde, says Maltzole Diko, the party's secretary in the Western Cape.

Addressing a press briefing at the Cape Technikon after the launch of the party's provincial women's affairs department at the weekend, Mr Diko said the Government was incapable of dealing with crime and was not serious about the lives of South Africans.

He said the slaughter of Mr Nkabinde had resulted in outrage.

"Why was Sifiso killed? And we don't know who'll be next."

Mr Diko said Mr Nkabinde's death was similar to that of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani a year before the 1994 elections, and was a confirmation that "strong and straight people are eliminated in this country".

Saturday's meeting was initially a festive one, but turned to mourning after reports of Mr Nkabinde's death.

UDM executive members in the Western Cape were to meet last night at a secret venue to discuss the way forward.

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GRIFF: a group of mourners after the death of 11 people at the weekend in Messazweni, Richmond, during a massacre of ANC supporters

Little was known of his political history at the time, but Mr Nkabinde claimed to have been in exile in Zimbabwe and to have been held in detention during the state of emergency.

Nonetheless, his leadership style caught the eye of the equally strong Harry Gwala, then the ANC's Midlands leader, who took the highly vocal and energetic Mr Nkabinde under his wing as his right-hand man in the early 1990s.

The young Nkabinde, then in his early 30s, fast emerged as a force to be reckoned with in the volatile Midlands, where the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party were snail-sworn enemies.

Mr Nkabinde's stronghold was the scenic town of Richmond, where he ruled with an iron hand.

But, with tensions dying down between the ANC and IFP from 1994, cracks began to surface in relations among ANC leaders in the Midlands, some of whom felt Mr Nkabinde was a

loose cannon who had been allowed to alight the politics ladder too fast.

Even in the lower ranks, Mr Nkabinde had clashed with popular leaders, notably Mzwandile Mhlongwa, the ANC Midlands youth league chairman, who was gunned down in March 1994.

Mr Nkabinde's former bodyguard was found guilty of the murder.

When Harry Gwala died in June the

following year, Mr Nkabinde was elected as the Midlands ANC leader in what was to be a hugely controversial reign.

About a year later, his car was set alight after he was implicated in a "people's court" in the murder of four suspected ANC police informers.

Around this time he publicly began working with IFP Midlands leader David Ntombela for peace in the region.

RAJESH JAIN/AL, DAILY NEWS

Defence Force report named Mr Nkabinde, the IFP's Mr Ntombela Philip Powell and Nyanga Ngunane as running paramilitary training in the Midlands.

A month later, Mr Nkabinde, then a member of Richmond's transitional local council, was expelled from the ANC on charges of being a police spy.

He denied the allegations, refused to leave quietly, and was followed out by nine other councillors.

Only Mayor Andrew Ragaaloo and his brother-in-law and fellow councillor Rodney van der Byl remained as ANC councillors.

Weeks later, Mr Van der Byl was gunned down outside his home in the early hours in what was to be the start of more than a year of bloodshed.

Mr Nkabinde joined up with Banzi Holomisa to form the National Consultative Forum, the forerunner to the United Democratic Movement.

In September 1997, he was charged with 16 counts of murder, leading to a high profile trial in Pietermaritzburg.

Police bungling of the investigation was blamed for a "not guilty" verdict.

Out of jail, he reunited with his UDM allies and last year was elected as the party's provincial leader, embarking on nationwide campaigns.

He returned regularly to visit his family in Richmond. On Saturday morning, during one of these visits, his assassins struck.

Although the UDM had reacted cautiously to Mr Nkabinde's death, veiled accusations of ANC involvement could heighten tensions between the two parties.

Ms Booysen said Mr Nkabinde's death could reinforce a public impression that the UDM was associated with violence.

Mr Nkabinde's public image was that of a warlord.

This image was an apparent anachronism in a party which was founded on the principle of reconciliation and co-operation between races.

Ms Booysen said.

"The United Democratic Front may need to revert back to those images in their campaign in order to develop as a party," she said.



ATTERMATH: police and medical workers remove the body of a massacre victim in Messazweni

Political fallout fears over death

ARJIS CORRESPONDENT

Durban - The murder of United Democratic Movement leader Sifiso Nkabinde could spark tension between the party and the African National Congress in other provinces, political analyst Sue Booysen said.

Even though support for the UDM was localised in Richmond in KwaZulu-Natal and isolated in other provinces, the "killing of Nkabinde has achieved a national aura, and there is no way that the tensions could be kept confined to Richmond," she said yesterday.

With the formation of the UDM and a "toenadering" between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party,

the political parameters had changed, she said.

The UDM and the ANC were now seen as mutual enemies.

Mr Nkabinde's popularity among UDM supporters had been huge, as shown by his election as national secretary of the party last year, Ms Booysen said.

"Delegates at the UDM's first congress lifted Nkabinde high on their shoulders and the euphoria of his election to national secretary almost overshadowed the election of the UDM president, Banzi Holomisa."

Ms Booysen said the effect of the assassination on the UDM in this sensitive run-up to the election would depend on how it handled the situation.

Richmond on the brink

Massacre town braced for turmoil ahead of Nkabinde's funeral

ARMS CORRESPONDENT AND REINERS

Richmond - Police were braced for turmoil today as tension ran high after the weekend of bloodletting that claimed the lives of turbulent United Democratic Movement leader Sifiso Nkabinde and 11 others.

More than 800 troops and police have been put on red alert.

"If the ANC (African National Congress) people attack my people in the combis (minibus taxis) then we will fill our hands (with guns)," said Henry Gwamanda, who was one of Mr. Nkabinde's assistants.

Armed young UDM supporters rode at the head of a convoy of minibuses carrying their neighbours to work under heavy police escort, ready to defy their enemies a few hundred metres away on the other side of the political divide in the lush hills.

Mr. Nkabinde died in an ambush on Saturday. Then 11 members of a family were gunned down late on Saturday night.

The victims had gathered in Ndalem to mourn the death of a relative from natural causes when gunmen struck in what is believed to be a revenge attack.

So far police have arrested three men suspected of involvement in the latest round of violence and killed another in a shootout.

The man who was shot dead is believed to be Mbongeleni Mtolo, a bodyguard of Mr. Nkabinde. He had been charged in connection with the tavern attack in which deputy mayor Percy Thompson and eight others were shot last year.

More trouble is expected as political parties finalise preparations for funerals and memorial services for Mr. Nkabinde and the victims of the massacre.

Mr. Nkabinde will be buried in Richmond on Sunday after a memorial service in Umhata on Thursday.

Both events will attract high-profile leaders and a strong turn-out by security forces. The massacre victims are to be buried this weekend.

President Mandela, who cancelled a state visit to Uganda to deal with the Richmond crisis, has said the renewed violence could be the work of a third force.

Richmond was volatile yesterday as political leaders and high-ranking police officers visited the scenes of the murders.

Angry youths of both the ANC and UDM converged on the borders of Richmond areas Kwa Magoka and Ndalem, throwing stones

Police used teargas to disperse crowds underfired by the heavy security forces presence, a gunbattle erupted between an ANC convoy and a UDM group not far from where Mr. Nkabinde was killed.

Police Commissioner George Fivaz, who met senior police and defence force members in Richmond to assess the situation, said additional security force members would be deployed to flashpoints.

Political leaders made impassioned appeals for calm and urged residents not to take the law into their own hands



Gunfire: police duck behind a vehicle and people dive to the ground as shots ring out in a tense Richmond yesterday after the murder of KwaZulu Natal midlands strongman Sifiso Nkabinde at the weekend

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Political leaders made impassioned appeals for calm and urged residents not to take the law into their own hands

Nkabinde's knack of making enemies
Fears of countrywide political fallout
 Page 3

This morning, UDM leader Roelf Meyer compared the explosive Richmond situation to the aftermath of the murder of SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Ham and appealed for calm.

"This was well planned, professionally carried out and the people who did it had a strategy," Mr. Meyer said.

The ANC's provincial executive has cautioned against making any judgment until investigations are completed.

Pietermaritzburg's Medi-Clinic said bodyguard Simplice Dlamini and his mother, Lendele Dlamini, who were with Mr. Nkabinde when he was attacked, were reported to be in a stable and satisfactory condition today.

In Johannesburg, traders said fears that the Richmond killings could trigger broader pre-election violence were depressing bond and stock markets

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Slaying of Nkabinde removes driving force of UDM growth

Despite its loss, the fledgling party could gain in other aspects, writes Kevin O'Grady

BY ITS own admission, the United Democratic Movement (UDM) was heavily reliant on its secretary-general, Sifiso Nkabinde, as it strove to boost membership figures and expand the party's branch network ahead of this year's general elections.

The assassination of Nkabinde, also the party's KwaZulu-Natal chairman, has now stranded the fledgling party without its foremost workhorse and organiser, not only in the province where he was based, but in many other parts of the country too.

Yet at the same time, the UDM had come in for heavy criticism because of its decision to embrace the expelled African National Congress (ANC) leader, alleged apartheid police informer and known warlord.

The criticism peaked while Nkabinde was on trial last year on multiple murder charges and scarcely abated following his acquittal and release from prison in May.

Although UDM president Bantu Holomisa and his deputy, Roelf Meyer, have often defended their decision to accept Nkabinde as a party member and leader, observers, including some UDM members, have now suggested the murder could be a blessing in disguise.

"The single issue over which the UDM has received the most criticism is now no longer an issue," said one party member, who asked not

to be named.

He also suggested that Nkabinde's murder might have allowed the UDM to gain some territory in the battle for the moral high ground, though this could have been tempered by the apparent revenge killing of 11 ANC supporters in Richmond soon after Nkabinde's death.

Yet Meyer, Holomisa and other party leaders would not be so callous as to admit to feeling quiet relief at Nkabinde's killing, even if this was their sentiment.

For the moment, the party's biggest challenge is to keep the momentum that has been building in the run-up to SA's second all-race general and provincial elections.

In an interview soon after Nkabinde's release from jail, Holomisa said the UDM had strong hopes for a good showing in the KwaZulu-Natal voting and made it clear Nkabinde was the man expected to lead the charge.

As long as Nkabinde could "get out of the midlands area and spread the gospel in the northern parts of the province and in the townships", he could play an important role in attracting support to the UDM, Holomisa said.

According to UDM deputy secretary-general Annelize van Wyk, Nkabinde did just that and, in the process, made a massive contribution

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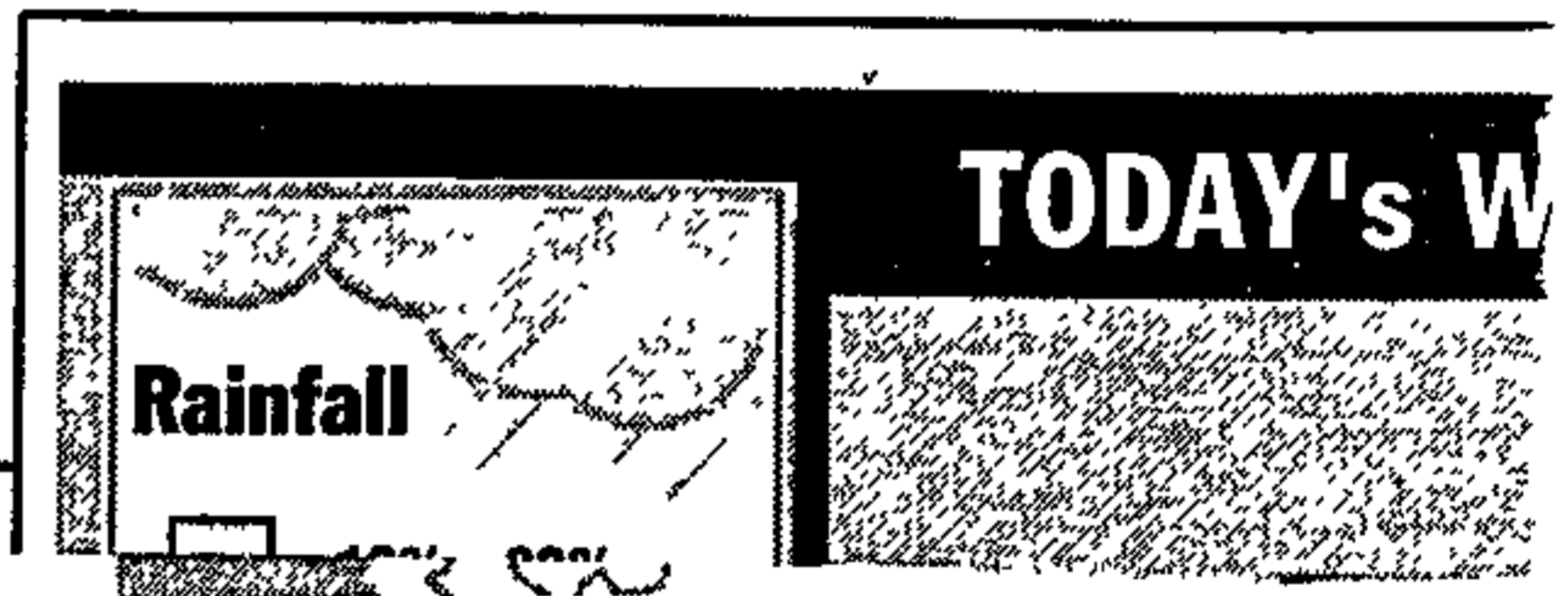
to party growth during the past eight months.

"At this stage we have 102 branches spread throughout KwaZulu-Natal, the most recent of which he (Nkabinde) opened in Ladysmith on Friday," Van Wyk said. "Our constitution says each branch must have a minimum of 15 members, but some of those branches have between 300 and 400 members. This has all been done since he was released from prison."

"It's quite obvious when you lose a person like Sifiso that there will not be somebody there tomorrow morning who is able to fill his shoes. It's a big loss for the UDM," she said. "Yet we must make sure that we don't get sidetracked by this. We want to continue with (his) efforts and we have the plans in place."

Van Wyk said the party's national management committee would meet today to discuss how to fill the void left by Nkabinde's death.

Sifiso Bhengu, UDM deputy chairman in KwaZulu-Natal, said Nkabinde was the party's "engine" and would be sorely missed in the build-up to the elections.



C

New political dynamics at play in Richmond



By Malcolm Ray and Jimmy Seepe

JANUARY 1999. South Africa's second general election looms. Democracy is normalising and parliamentary politics is the order of the day. South Africa has accomplished a major feat.

Nationalists and right-wing extremists have been politically accommodated, conflict is confined to scuffles and spats in Parliament and the spectre of civil war has receded.

A culture of peaceful cooperation and tolerance is gaining ground. Or so it seems.

But the picture is surreal. The miracle appears counterfeit. A political leader, Sifiso Nkabinde, is gunned down and Richmond in KwaZulu-Natal is wracked by violence.

Eleven innocent people are massacred in what seems like a revenge attack. More than a decade of arduous peace initiatives threaten to unravel before our eyes.

The question is why? Is President Nelson Mandela's blaming of a sinister Third Force with an agenda to undo the progress of the Government plausible?

Teeters on brink

More than four years on, Richmond once again teeters on the brink of another war. Harsh daily realities for communities in that area remain largely unchanged. The crisis, it seems, continues, albeit along reconfigured political contours.

It must be asked whether a Third Force stands to benefit in the current context? More specifically, is a Third Force an organised political current with an identifiable agenda? Or is it simply symptomatic of a descent into anarchy in Richmond?

A popular theory doing the rounds is that one need look no further than Bantu Holomisa's United Democratic Movement as the political embodiment of Third Force elements.

The composition of the UDM leadership certainly fits the profile. The UDM's emergence on the political spectrum was arguably a direct result

of dissidents and political tendencies in the former homelands, the National Party and the right wing seeking outlets from increasingly narrowing political bases.

What puzzles, however, is that the UDM stands to gain very little from a destabilisation campaign ahead of the elections. Holomisa might have had a point when he challenged Mandela to clarify the meaning of a Third Force in current circumstances.

Holomisa said "During the apartheid years the Third Force was clearly defined. It constituted elements within the security forces, who terrorised black communities and leaders. President Mandela needs to define and unmask the Third Force that he blames for the flare-up in Richmond."

University of South Africa sociologist Jan Grobbelaar goes further. She cautions against turning the notion of a Third Force into a catch-all category.

A simmering problem for the UDM, Grobbelaar argues, is that while Nkabinde might have "outlived his purpose", the party's relative weakness in the area militates against it waging a strategic war.

Firstly, she points out that the history of war in the province has left a legacy of unresolved conflicts.

"We could simply be witnessing the re-emergence of old rivals and feuds between clans. A culture of warlordism is fertile ground for disputes to reproduce themselves."

Secondly, old cleavages between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party could be spreading to the UDM.

She explains "In a province with a secessionist streak and a volatile area like Richmond, a spillover of conflict is more than likely."

"Threatened by declining support, disgruntled nationalists (both black and white) in the IFP cannot be ruled out as prime movers of violence in the run-up to the elections."

Indeed, the most significant thing about the coming election is that it heralds a political transition beyond the constitutional constraints that were the high watermark of the Kempton Park talks.

While this could provide for a con-

structive reshaping of South African politics, it is more likely to succeed to the detriment of some.

Many opposition parties are not discounting the scrapping or downscaling of the provinces if the ANC wins a two-thirds majority. They fear that a unitary system with a strong central Government is certain to upstage the little power they wield.

The implications, Grobbelaar says, are serious. Mounting pressure on the IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to deliver his confederal vision has divided the IFP between hard and soft-liners.

Since 1997, a number of key political developments have sharpened concern about the direction and narrowing political base of the IFP.

The marginalisation of the soft-liner, Ben Ngubane, presumably because of his support of a merger with the ANC, points to a growing perception that the geopolitical nationalist vision of the IFP is being sold out.

Zulu nationalism

As Grobbelaar puts it: "Vestiges of Zulu nationalism in the IFP combined with elements from the old right wing are worried that the IFP is going into the elections without having delivered anything."

"These disorganised forces feel that the past has been destroyed and along with it their hopes for a secessionist future."

This cannot be discounted, of course. But the argument falls to bits without an organised formation and political agenda to back it up. In fact, Grobbelaar is the first to concede that Nkabinde's assassination was pointless. "Nobody stood to gain political mileage."

It does stand to reason that a depoliticised agenda is at work. Centre for Conflict Resolution director Laurie Nathan lends credence to this argument.

"What we are witnessing in Richmond," he says, "is something entirely different to the high degree of organisation of a Third Force rooted in the security apparatus prior to 1994."

"These killings are disorganised, dissipated and dislocated from the



South Africa's security forces increased their presence in Richmond after UDM leader Sifiso Nkabinde was assassinated on Saturday. PIC REUTERS

security apparatus. They are possible revenge attacks by elements that cannot let go of the past."

More ominous is his reference to the "depoliticisation of conflict" in the province. Says Nathan "Whereas previous Third Force activities were in the belly of the (apartheid) state, the absence of a political agenda is breeding criminal networks which stand to benefit from the conflict-ridden environment."

Though he confesses to no simple

answers, it is hard to dismiss a prospect that makes political sense.

As Nathan puts it: "This might be anarchy."

A combination of shifting alliances among a fractured opposition, simmering tensions between old rivals and rampant crime syndicates has the potential to sow division and conflict in the run-up to the elections.

Richmond, unfortunately, is imploding under the impact of the apartheid past.

Chequered history of a charismatic leader

By Mbulelo Baloyi

THE brutal assassination of United Democratic Movement general secretary Sifiso Nkabinde in Richmond on Saturday morning has left many questions in people's minds about who he really was.

Bhekumuzi Gabriel "Sifiso" Nkabinde was a political enigma until he met his bloody end.

Until late 1993 he was a revered community leader among the people of Richmond's townships of Kwa-Magoda, Simozomeni, Ndoleni and Maswazini.

Good Samaritan

Known for his big heart he came across as a modern-day Good Samaritan to the aged during his reign as the political leader of the Richmond area from 1990 until April 1997.

His meteoric rise on the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands political scene left friend and foe alike flummoxed.

Veterans of the turbulent struggles of the 1980s and 1990s had for many years questioned Nkabinde's political history.

His prominence in the politics of KwaZulu-Natal's Midlands can be traced back to the late 1980s when the

Inkatha-United Democratic Front rivalry spread to Richmond.

The then relatively unknown township of Richmond had been a stronghold of the Inkatha Freedom Party until the UDF began spreading into the area.

As the battle raged between UDF supporters at Ndoleni and IFP supporters mainly in Phatheni, Kwa-Gengeshe, Simozomeni and Kwa-Magoda, in late 1988, the UDF made serious inroads into IFP territory.

Enter Nkabinde, a son of a respected and well-to-do local family.

What started as a trivial family tiff ended up being laced with political connotations that would lead to a protracted battle between IFP and UDF African National Congress supporters.

Sources told *Sowetan* that Nkabinde had solicited the assistance of UDF comrades after his mother (who died last year) had asked local elders to resolve a dispute between her and her son.

Unfortunately the local elders from whom his mother had asked for help happened to be staunch IFP supporters. Subsequent events saw Nkabinde becoming an important factor in Richmond politics.

In 1990 the charismatic Nkabinde



Sifiso Nkabinde. PIC PETER MOGAKI

took over the chairmanship of the local ANC branch.

He was among the Midlands region delegates who attended the first ANC national consultative conference that year.

The following year saw his steady rise in Midlands politics - he was elected regional secretary of the then ANC Natal Midlands region under the

chairmanship of the late ANC veteran Harry Gwala.

Nkabinde was Gwala's right-hand man and followed his brand of unorthodox militancy.

Compounding this was the firepower at his disposal through his overall command of Richmond's self-defence units.

The very existence of the ANC in Richmond can be attributed to Nkabinde's organisational power and skills. These contributed to the violent eviction of the IFP from the area.

The turning point in Nkabinde's political career was in October 1993 when Richmond ANC branch treasurer Julius Mkhize was shot dead.

At the time Mkhize was probing the disappearance of funds from a local development trust, of which Nkabinde was a trustee.

It was widely suspected that he orchestrated Mkhize's killing.

The events that followed, which saw four Richmond ANC Youth League members being killed, resulted in Nkabinde's popularity waning among the rank and file in Ndoleni.

However, after the 1994 elections, Nkabinde was elected to the KwaZulu-Natal legislature as an ANC MPL. With the merging of the three ANC

regions to form one provincial structure, Nkabinde was elected deputy provincial secretary (a position he held until December 1996).

With Gwala's death in June 1995, Nkabinde became entangled in a bitter tussle with other Midlands leaders about who would replace Gwala.

Alleged spying

After his expulsion from the ANC in April 1997 as a result of allegations that he was a spy, Nkabinde teamed up with the leader of the then National Consultative Forum, General Bantu Holomisa.

In July 1997 Nkabinde contested a ward in a by-election in Richmond and his NCF was trounced by the ANC.

Two days later two ANC councillors and three supporters were shot dead execution-style at Simozomeni.

Nkabinde was subsequently arrested in September 1997 and charged with 16 counts of murder and two of incitement to murder.

He was acquitted after the state's case against him collapsed.

Nkabinde was later elected leader of the UDM in KwaZulu-Natal before he was elected as the organisation's national secretary.

THE COST

Legends and violence could

peace talks because they regarded him as little more than a gangster.

Recent opinion polls suggest the UDM has failed to make an impact in KwaZulu-Natal. This is strongly disputed by party deputy secretary-general Annelize van Wyk. She says the UDM has 102 branches spread throughout the province, the latest of which was opened by Nkabinde in Ladysmith the day before he died.

The UDM clearly depended heavily on the charismatic, if controversial, Richmond leader to recruit support in the province, and much of his time



Bhekumuzi Gabriel Sifiso Nkabinde

* Born at Magdala in Richmond, 1961. Father was a local shopkeeper and Inkatha chairman.
 * Fled to Zimbabwe in 1980 after crossing swords with his father over Inkatha membership and joining the United Democratic Front.
 * Returned in the late Eighties and rose to prominence as a lieutenant of SA Communist Party and ANC firebrand Harry Gwala.
 * Controversy began to surround Nkabinde as allegations surfaced that he was using violence to secure his power base. Implicated during a 'people's court' hearing into the murder of four ANC informers.
 * A number of attempts were made on his life. In 1994 five people were arrested for plotting to kill him. Last year there was an armed attack on his home and business.
 * Elected mayor of Richmond in May 1995 and later awarded the freedom of the town.
 * Expelled from the ANC in April 1997 after allegations that he was a police spy.
 * Aligned himself to Bantu Holomisa's National Consultative Forum.
 * Arrested in September 1997 on 18 counts of murder after prolonged violence in Richmond. Acquitted on all charges in April last year.
 * Two months later he was elected KwaZulu-Natal chairman and national secretary-general of the newly formed United Democratic Movement.

recently was devoted to canvassing beyond the midlands. The longer it takes police to find and

charge the gunmen who pumped nearly 100 bullets into Nkabinde's car, the more his legend will be embellished and ma-

Its rivals will scurry around like midgits after the election unable to prevent the ANC from imposing its will, even if they form a grand opposition alliance, and

The once powerful National Party will have to face the new millennium with a much smaller support base and a mere tenth of the total number of parliamentarians instead of its present tally of a fifth.

The Marketing & Media Research (MMR) poll is the latest. Discounting the 19% of the potential electorate who are either unlikely to vote or who are undecided who to vote for, it predicts that the ANC will win 59% of the vote on polling day.

In descending order, MMR identifies the ANC's nearest contenders as the NP with 9% (against 20% in the 1994 election), the Democratic Party with 6% (less than 2% in 1994), the Inkatha Freedom Party with 5% (10.5% in '94), the United Democratic Movement (formed after the '94 election), the Pan Africanist Congress with 2% (1.25%) and the Freedom Front and the African Christian Democratic Party with 1% each (against 2.7% and 0.45% in '94).

These results converge closely with those of the Opinion '99 poll, conducted last October/November in descending order. Opinion '99 party ratings are: ANC

54%, NP 9%, DP 5%, IFP 5%, UDM 3%, PAC 1%, FF 1% and ACDP 1%.

There is an important methodological difference between the MMR and Opinion '99 poll, unlike MMR, Opinion '99 has not excluded the undecided voters — reckoned to constitute about a fifth of the potential electorate — from its calculations.

If it is assumed that these voters are unlikely to turn out on polling days and are therefore excluded from the equation, the ANC's proportion of the poll is likely to rise sharply.

As Opinion '99 notes, a low turnout will favour the ANC. Exclusion of the uncommitted voters will leave the field to motivated voters, most of whom favour the ANC. In these circumstances the ANC's share of votes cast could rise to between 64% and 67%. A low poll may thus nudge the ANC towards or even over the two-thirds mark.

These findings resonate with those of a MarkData poll published last December. The results of that survey show that the ANC won the support of the 59.9% of those voters who had made up their minds. MarkData's summary of the implications of that finding is worth quoting: "The almost 60% support the ANC currently enjoys among those who make a choice is

not significantly lower than the 63% that the ANC achieved in the 1994 election.

If the prerequisite of the green bar-coded identity document for registration (as a voter) does favour the ANC to an extent — which is what opposition parties claim and what MarkData's earlier survey suggested — then the two-thirds majority for the ANC is not beyond reach. The party will have to work very hard for it, but it is an achievable target."

The MMR survey offers a slightly divergent assessment. While labelling ANC support "very solid" and anticipating that the ANC will win a "sizeable proportion of the undecided vote" and thereby probably end up with more than 60% of the vote, it nevertheless rates the party's chances of winning a two-thirds majority as unlikely.

The ANC decision to make possession of a bar-coded ID a fundamental requirement for voting remains a controversial issue, with the NP and the DP seeking redress in the courts on the grounds that it unfairly benefits the ANC.

The move could delay the election beyond the cut-off date of July 31, which would necessitate a constitutional amendment to hold the election at a later date.

Opinion '99 records that as at November last year "just under one-in-five eligible

voters (between 4.3m and 4.8m) still did not physically possess a bar-coded identity document". An earlier survey by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) put the number of eligible voters without bar-coded IDs at between 4.7m and 5.3m.

A backlog of that size poses a major challenge to the Department of Home Affairs, one that the DP and NP fear it will not be able to meet.

But Home Affairs remains confident that it has the situation under control, in part because it believes that the number of potential voters without a bar-coded ID is much smaller than either Opinion '99 or the HSRC reckon.

Home Affairs spokesman Henne Meyer says the department has issued a total of 24.5m bar-coded ID books to the "25m" eligible voters. Therefore he deduces that the department has nearly fulfilled its task of ensuring that every potential voter who applies for a bar-coded ID will receive one by election day.

If that is so — and the department's optimism raises eyebrows from people who have still not received temporary registration certificates, let alone bar-coded IDs — another test is imminent: the second three-day round of registration, starting on January 29.

Patrick Lawrence

FM 29/1/99

OF NKABINDE'S MURDER

flourish in the space left by the death of a charismatic leader (27b)

manipulated to achieve political ends. Opposition parties have already latched on to the assassination as a means of tilting at government.

The UDM has expressed its anger at the fact that police could fail to make any arrests for the Nkabinde murder, which happened in broad daylight 600 m from Richmond's police joint command centre, but were able to arrest four people allegedly involved in a revenge attack that might some kilometres away.

The Freedom Front has offered its leader Constand Viljoen's services in training communities in self-protection, implying they can no longer rely on government services for their safety.

Louis Luyt's Federal Alliance party has challenged government to back up the allegation by Mandela that "third force" elements might have been responsible for

Enemies who worked t

(276) M+G 19-25/2/99

New evidence has emerged that arch-rivals David Ntombela and Sifiso Nkabinde were both security police informers. Mail & Guardian reporters investigate

Two of KwaZulu-Natal's most notorious warlords — seemingly on opposite sides of the political fence — were agents of the security police and were at one stage handled by the same policeman.

Sifiso Nkabinde, the recently murdered former African National Congress and later United Democratic Movement leader in Richmond, and his Inkatha Freedom Party counterpart, David Ntombela, were in the employ of security police officers in the old KwaZulu

The policemen appeared to be pursuing political agendas beyond the normal course of their duties. The Natal Midlands was the scene of some of the most violent turmoil when the conflict between the ANC and the IFP was at its height

The *Mail & Guardian* has established that Nkabinde maintained

contact with his handlers until shortly before his death, and that they visited his house late last year.

Ntombela's and Nkabinde's links to the security police are revealed in a report compiled by the Network of Independent Monitors (NIM) and the Human Rights Committee

A member of the security police (whose name is known to the *M&G*) says Ntombela's relationship with the police dates back to the mid-1980s. Ntombela was recruited by Captain Gerry Brookes, who was based in Pietermaritzburg, after he visited chiefs and indunas in the area to secure their co-operation in cracking down ANC and Pan Africanist Congress cadres.

According to the policeman, Brookes showed Ntombela photographs of alleged cadres and the IFP leader agreed to help identify and place them. In exchange for these

services, Ntombela was given access to secret police documentation on a regular basis and provided with weapons from the security police farm at Thornville outside Richmond.

The official recruitment of Nkabinde — who was denounced by the ANC as a security police informer and expelled from the party in 1997 — came in 1988, allegedly by another security policeman, Captain JT Pieterse, based at the former Natal Midlands headquarters in Pietermaritzburg

He is registered as source number SR4252, Bhekimusi Gabriel Nkabinde — his given names — and allocated the cover name Derrick Nene

Nkabinde is registered as working at a "paramilitary office" in the Pietermaritzburg area. He was handled by a variety of other security policemen, including Brookes and Sergeant Shane Morris in Richmond.

Nkabinde's brief was to monitor political activists and inform the police about the movements of Umkhonto weSizwe cadres — a job he was uniquely qualified to do as ANC leader in the Richmond area and a confidant of then ANC Midlands kingpin Harry Gwala. Telephone calls made by Nkabinde and transcribed in the Nene file

are made from Gwala's telephone.

It is clear from transcripts in Nkabinde's informer file that the lines between political parties in KwaZulu-Natal were not clearly drawn — and broader agendas were being pursued.

For instance, in an August 1993 entry Nkabinde informs his handler that an IFP member from the Phateni area of Richmond had approached ANC youth leader Mzwandile Mbongwa with a view to throwing in his lot with the ANC. As a token of good faith, the IFP member offered to steal weapons and hand them over to Mbongwa.

Nkabinde's handler — at this time it was Morris, then based at the Richmond branch of the security police — then notes: "The relevant IFP Phateni members have been informed concerning this issue. The IFP members were informed not to divulge the source of information."

It is believed the IFP member was subsequently killed Mbongwa — Nkabinde's chief rival as leader of ANC self-defence units (SDUs) in the Richmond area — became the subject of a rumour campaign which culminated in the appearance of an anonymous pamphlet accusing him of working for the security police

In January 1994 Morris reported that "the raid by this office on 28/01/94 on SDU top structures in Magoda even sparked the suspicion even more. Five top-structure SDUs were arrested with arms"

The five were later released, swearing vengeance on Mbongwa, who had been identified as the person who had informed on them. The anonymous pamphlet also branded Mbongwa as a spy for the military.

He was killed in March 1994 by members of Nkabinde's SDU. Nkabinde was acquitted on charges relating to the murder.

Another suspicious set of entries in the Nkabinde informer file were made in July 1993, when Nkabinde informed his handler that a wanted criminal by the name of Vusi Makhabula was planning to move from his hideout in Umlazi to Richmond and that if the police tried to apprehend the suspect, his own operation could be placed in jeopardy.

The handler notes: "Source SR4252 reports that the only problem is if the police know he is hiding in Richmond, there will be lots of raids in Richmond to find him and this will hamper the area activities [SDU movements]. *Kapt* [Captain], I feel this inquiry should be booked off."

From the horse's mouth

In August 1993, Sifiso Nkabinde gave his police handler at the time, Shane Morris, information that led to the arrest of African National Congress members in Richmond.

Below is an extract of an entry made by Morris in Nkabinde's file on August 2 1993 under the heading:

Paramilitary activities. Planned training Richmond

Source SR4252 reports that there are plans to recruit b/females [black females] for training. [Names deleted, but known to *Mail & Guardian*] are responsible for this task. Both MK [Umkhonto weSizwe] persons are from Pmburg [Pietermaritzburg] ANC (MK) office.

B/females [names deleted] have been tasked to identify the females for training. Both of these females are on the Richmond ANCWL [ANC Women's League]. The training is only for the Richmond females which will most likely take place at Maswazini location Richmond.

It is alleged that it will be a week long course. It is further alleged that the course will consist of the following:

1. Smuggling of firearms (females do not get searched)
2. OP posts. Females do not get suspected
3. Infiltrating IFP strongholds (Phateni) and also policemen in Richmond and other areas
4. The use of small firearms (Pistols, etc).

Source will keep this office informed of any further developments.

Source SR4252 reports that [name deleted], both from Pmburg MK office, were in Hopewell, location Ixopo, giving training to local ANC members. Both MK persons were there on Tuesday 13/07/93 till Friday 16/07/93. It is alleged that about 30 ANC persons were trained. They were trained in the following:

- AK47
- Stechkin
- Handgrenades

Tactics and movements of guerrilla warfare

The ANC chairman of that area is Emmanuel Magubane.

Source further states that there were rumours that the IFP were going to attack Magubane. That is why there were ANC members guarding his house.

The chairman Magubane and eight other ANC members were arrested on Saturday 17/07/93 and are presently in custody in Ixopo [for] possession of unlicensed firearms and ammunition.

ANC members think that it was a police trap and that's how they were arrested.

The report is written on South African Police Service stationery headed "Investigation Diary", and signed by Morris with his badge number 04038177-7. It had been made at the Pietermaritzburg police station under inquiry number 530/1/2/11 (PMB) with CR number 31/08.

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Worked together ... for the police

are made from Gwala's telephone.

It is clear from transcripts in Nkabinde's informer file that the links between political parties in KwaZulu-Natal were not clearly drawn — and broader agendas were being pursued.

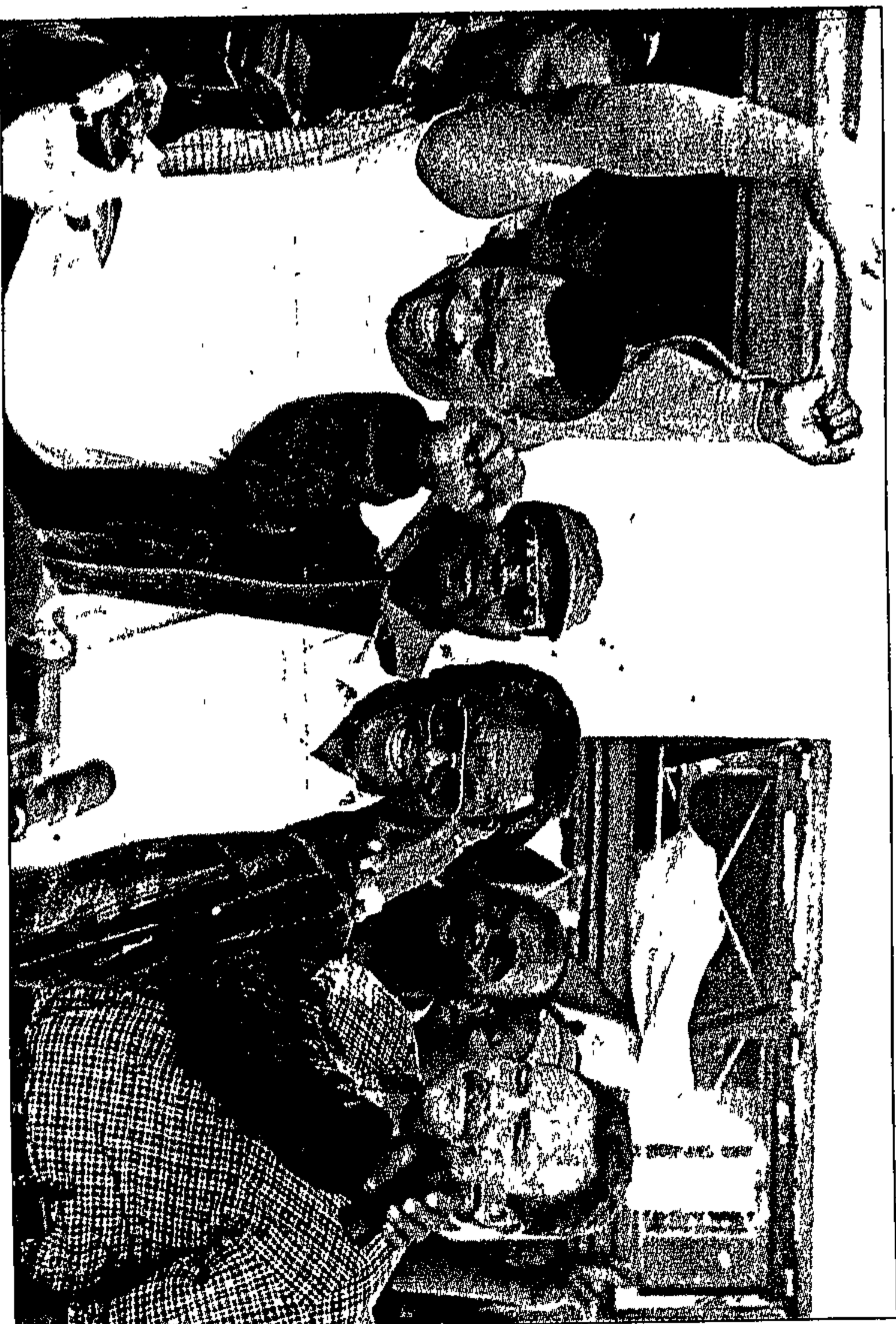
For instance, in an August 1993 entry Nkabinde informs his handler that an IFP member from the Phakeni area of Richmond had approached ANC youth leader Mzwandile Mbon-gwa with a view to throwing in his lot with the ANC. As a token of good faith, the IFP member offered to steal weapons and hand them over to Mbon-gwa. Nkabinde's handler — at this time it was Morris, then based at the Richmond branch of the security police — then notes, "The relevant IFP Phakeni members have been informed concerning this issue. The IFP members were informed not to divulge the source of information."

It is believed the IFP member was subsequently killed. Mbon-gwa — Nkabinde's chief rival as leader of ANC self-defence units (SDUs) in the Richmond area — became the subject of a rumour campaign which culminated in the appearance of an anonymous pamphlet accusing him of working for the security police.

In January 1994 Morris reported that "the raid by this office on 28/01/94 on SDU top structures in Magoda even sparked the suspicion even more. Five top-structure SDUs were arrested with arms."

The five were later released, swearing vengeance on Mbon-gwa, who had been identified as the person who had informed on them. The anonymous pamphlet also branded Mbon-gwa as a spy for the military.

He was killed in March 1994 by members of Nkabinde's SDU. Nkabinde was acquitted on charges relating to the murder.



My enemy's my friend: Why Ntombela [centre] and Powell [right] the first ones to welcome Sifiso Nkabinde [left] after his acquittal and his expulsion from the ANC? PHOTOGRAPH: INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS

right-hand man, Sifiso Bhengu, also denied the report. "It's just another disinformation campaign," he said. "I know Nkabinde. I worked with him while we were both in the ANC; he was not a spy."

He said the ANC failed to prove the allegations while Nkabinde was alive and refused to comment further.

The ANC's representative on safety and security, Bheki Cele, said he is not surprised by the report. "I have always asked about the relationship between Nkabinde, Ntombela and Powell. Why were they the first ones to welcome him [Nkabinde] after his acquittal and after his expulsion from the party? And why does Ntombela make a lot of noise about Nkabinde's death when they have drawn guns against one another in Parliament? Maybe this is an answer to my questions."

Police representative Director Dave Bruce says the police will never confirm whether a person is an informer. "We know that the security branch was not focusing on genuine crime ... and the question of informers is a very emotive issue in South Africa because of our past. However, informers shouldn't be looked down upon because they are important in solving crimes. Due to the threat posed by criminals, the issue of informers is handled with utmost secrecy."

Responding to questions about Brookes and Morris's possible involvement in fanning political violence, Director Bala Nardoo, the KwaZulu-Natal police representative, says an investigation would be undertaken if police were provided with information regarding individual officers.

"The South African Police Service is not party to any violence and will not condone any such behaviour from our police officers."

Both Morris and his alternate handler, Captain Chris Moolman, were transferred from the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands area by Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi in April 1998.

Brookes was officially barred from Richmond. All three have resisted their transfers and are still based in Pietermaritzburg pending the outcome of legal cases against the police. Ntombela has denied that he was

on the security police's payroll. "It's bullshit. It's rubbish. I never worked with Brookes. I don't want to talk about this thing, it makes me mad."

He said the only thing he did was to telephone the police when people were being necklaced by ANC comrades. "I had no other relationship with the police."

IFP representative on safety and security Phillip Powell said the timing of the report is questionable as Ntombela has recently laid a murder

conspiracy charge against the ANC's Natal MEC for Health, Zwelli Mkhize.

Powell threatened legal action against the authors of the report, saying the NIM was the ANC's "propaganda machine. This is a clear indication of the NIM's political agenda," said Powell. "Jenny [Irish, of NIM] was very quick to whitewash allegations that Excalibur Security company was supplying arms to ANC

members to assassinate IFP leaders."

He called the report a "transparent smear campaign" to shift the focus from the investigation into Mkhize's involvement in gun-running to Ntombela. He said although Ntombela operated with the police as an informer in his area, "that relationship was very different from being a registered government agent".

The UDM's acting chair in KwaZulu-Natal and Nkabinde's





'Plot to Kill Key IFP men'

FIG. PAUL VELASCO / PICTURENET AFRICA

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party's key members are being targeted for assassination.

By Malcolm Ray and Morgan Naidu

NKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed yesterday to have uncovered a plot to assassinate key members of his party and said he feared a resurgence of political violence in South Africa ahead of the 1999 elections.

He also said Deputy President Thabo Mbeki had been briefed about the assassination plot. Buthelezi's claims come just a day after he announced joint plans involving the ANC and the IFP to revive peace committees set up to curb violence in the run up to the 1994 elections.

At the time of going to press the IFP was not able to provide any further details of the hit list Buthelezi referred to. However, party officials said: "We are seriously concerned about this situation, we have now placed it on the table of the highest authority in the land."

Buthelezi also claimed that about three weeks ago a security company - allegedly owned by a "Mr McBride" - had supplied arms to ANC activists in the province.

It was unclear who the Mr McBride referred to was.

However, the lawyer of suspended foreign affairs official Robert McBride, Jose Nascimento, brushed aside speculation that the McBride referred to was his client.

He told *Sowetan* his client neither owned a security company nor did he have any shares in such a company.

"It sounds like sheer nonsense," he said. During his briefing Buthelezi also said he steadfastly supported a federal system of government and that he was averse to "riding the wave of borrowed constituencies" in coalitions at the provincial level. Thus, on the face of it, ruled out any election pact with the ANC.

He said unlike other minority parties, the IFP was campaigning to become the next government.

Highlighting some of the key concerns of the IFP, he said: "The rule of law is crumbling and the social fibre of society is rapidly disintegrating. It is for this reason that the IFP views revitalisation of government at community and provincial level as a priority."

"A profound restructuring of government is necessary to make it work. A more aggressive drive to make the economy grow and produce should be undertaken and a comprehensive effort to rebuild the moral fibre of society at community level should be geared to meet basic needs," the IFP leader said.

Other opposition parties joined Buthelezi in demanding from the ANC a more definitive provincial system of government in the lead-up to this year's general election.

Addressing an annual media briefing in Cape Town, opposition leaders mapped out the features of their election manifestos in an attempt to woo support.

Their general opposition to a perceived centralisation and consolidation of power by the ANC was salient.

Democratic Party leader Mr Tony Leon was not sanguine about minority fears of the prospect of an ANC-led central government beyond the elections.

He said the DP would campaign with other minority parties to win the provinces. Said Leon: "We will take the opportunities

presented to us seriously in at least four of the country's provinces which are up for grabs.

"The prospect of winning support for a growing army of disillusioned ANC supporters in the rural areas is also looming.

"Our election strategy will be geared towards keeping the ANC down," Leon said.

However, he dismissed as "indicrous" speculation that the DP would dilute its identity in broad cross-party coalitions.

"The DP will enter into coalitions based on strict conditions. The priority is that we will remain an opposition party in coalition governments at the provincial level," Leon said.

In a scathing attack on the ANC, he said his party would campaign vigorously against "race-based transformation".

"We view with deep distress the shift by Government over the past four years towards a new obsession with race and cronyism."

New National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk echoed Leon's concerns.

He slammed the ANC's record in government, claiming it had failed in three key areas - education, job creation and crime.

MASTERMINDS IDENTIFIED

ct 2/3/99

Natal's dukes of death exposed

PP/SL/TJ (276)

POLYGRAPH TESTS are being used to detect false confessions intended to protect the masterminds of KwaZulu-Natal's political violence. **ANDRE KOOPMAN** of our Parliamentary Bureau reports.

MEMBERS of the police VIP protection unit as well as of the South African National Defence Force were involved in political murders in KwaZulu-Natal, according to Chris MacAdam, chief of the unit investigating political violence in the province.

MacAdam, National Director of Public Prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka and other members of the Public Prosecutions team briefed a joint sitting of the National Assembly's justice committee and the National Council of Provinces' committee on security and justice yesterday.

The unit had made progress as it had identified the people involved in the violence, MacAdam said.

Certain members of the security forces had been responsible for "pulling the triggers" in KwaZulu-Natal political murders.

Witnesses who confessed to involvement in political murders were being polygraphed because often false confessions were made to protect the masterminds from prosecution.

A pattern had emerged of witnesses confessing complicity in murders and plots, only to revoke their evidence in court, MacAdam said.

Those masterminding the violence used this ploy to thwart prosecutions because they knew false evidence would not stand up in court and that they could not be prosecuted twice for the same crime.

Witnesses deliberately confessed to "false conspiracies to undermine our efforts", MacAdam said.

His unit had called in the intelligence agencies to give witnesses polygraph tests and to check their backgrounds.

Among the strategies that were being considered to end the violence was to build up cases and "take out" the masterminds.

Another was to chip away at the problem by prosecuting the "people who pull the triggers".

Ngcuka said a number of low-key prosecutions were under way in connection with the violence in Richmond in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands.

bid to scuttle KZN peace

ANC provincial chair S'bu Ndebele believes that the commission should not only investigate the alleged training of hit squads for the ANC by Excalibur security company, but also allegations that Khulani Security (formerly Springbok) is providing military training to the IFP.

The situation is further complicated by allegations that a National Intelligence Agency report has named several IFP leaders allegedly involved in providing military training in the province. The agency's senior manager, Dennis Nkosi, said intelligence agents had discovered mobile training units in the province, providing evidence of a third force.

"Mtshali comes as a hardliner bent on consolidating party political power rather than governing the province. I don't think there's still massive support of people who are still inclined on hard-core politicking as underlined during the pre-1994 election," said University of Durban-Westville political scientist Dumisane Hlophe.

"The bulk of political mentality has shifted to matters of development. We may be moving to an electoral choice based on the ability to deliver, rather than the mainstream political rhetoric we saw before the 1994 elections."

His sentiments are echoed by Ndebele, who said: "Even in the IFP there are too many people who are tired of war. Peace has powerful enemies who are well placed even in the security forces, but it will prevail."

Ndebele wants Mufamadi's inquiry to examine all evidence ranging from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's investigations to information placed before courts and the provincial legislature.

This, according to Ndebele, should improve the prospect of free and fair elections. "The question of peace must move as speedily as possible and must be made compulsory, as is the case in Gauteng," said Ndebele, adding that those who fall out of the peace settlement should meet the full might of the law.

The shaky KwaZulu-Natal peace process is a product of many months of tough negotiations between the ANC and the IFP following the ANC's rejection of the provincial results of the 1994 elections, which the party believed was irregular.

Following President Nelson Mandela's intervention, the ANC accepted the results and both parties started looking at ways of achieving peace in the province. "The ANC really thought about where we want to take the province," said Ndebele.

May 27 1996 was to be a turning point where all parties would reach a formal agreement denouncing violence. This would be followed by a delegation from both parties to brief their principals in Cape Town. "We could not believe it ourselves," recalls Ndebele.

Support for the initiative was secured from Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Buthelezi before a delegation from both parties met Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to tell him that "the war is over".

At the provincial ANC conference in December 1996, a special amnesty for the province was mooted. This was discussed at the presidential level of the two parties, followed by one-to-one meetings between Mbeki and Buthelezi.

The two agreed on co-operation between

the IFP and ANC before a team of three senior leaders from each organisation was appointed to work on the modalities of peace before this year's elections.

Members of this team include ANC secretary general Kgalema Motlanthe, treasurer Mendi Msimang and deputy chair Jacob Zuma. Senior IFP officials who form part of this committee include Mtshali, former IFP Youth Brigade leader Musa Zondi and the Reverend CJ Mthethwa.

That process made significant progress until the IFP's withdrawal of Ngubane as KwaZulu-Natal premier. However, there are those in the ANC who believe Mtshali's position could be a mere strategy for elections.

"The stakes are too high for any party to back out of the peace initiatives. Peace is going

to prevail even though we can be at the brink. There's no alternative," insisted Ndebele.

According to Hlophe, KwaZulu-Natal does not need a typical political party animal. "It needs a diplomat like Ngubane.

"Mtshali has already alienated himself from other political parties. He came to the province through stormy waters caused by Ngubane's departure.

"He should have attempted to calm down before making any major decisions. He should have concentrated on winning the hearts and minds of his political rivals."

Hlophe lamented the perceived departure and demotion from the IFP of talented intellectuals like former premier Frank Mtshali, Oscar Dloomo, Ziba Jiyane and Mzimela in favour of the perceived party hardliners.

MTG 5-11/3/99

(276)
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Moderate: Ben Ngubane has been replaced as premier by a hardliner



POLITICS & PARLIAMENT

Buthelezi admits IFP arms dealings with De Kock

Pule Molebeledi

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Mangosuthu Buthelezi confirmed yesterday senior IFP leader Phillip Powell was sent by the KwaZulu homeland government to buy arms from convicted murderer Eugene de Kock.

Buthelezi said this while defending the appointment of a commission of inquiry by KwaZulu-Natal

Premier Lionel Mtshali to investigate the activities of provincial African National Congress (ANC) deputy chairman Zwell Mkhize.

The ANC had protested against the commission, asking why Powell and IFP strongman David Ntombela were not being investigated for their alleged involvement in gun-running.

The ANC has said that De Kock, a former police hit-squad commander, confessed to supplying six truckloads of weapons to Powell.

Buthelezi said Powell was sent by the KwaZulu government to buy guns because there was information that "we were going to be killed".

Buthelezi said the inquiry was not a "kangaroo" court but sought to es-

tablish Mkhize's innocence or guilt.

Reacting to ANC claims that Mtshali's style of governance was confrontational, Buthelezi said he did not understand how it could be claimed that Mtshali was promoting violence by appointing a commission to find the truth.

He described the ANC's claims as "amazing" and "disappointing".

Mtshali said yesterday he would contest the temporary court interdict obtained by the ANC against the inquiry. This follows the Maritzburg High Court granted Mkhize and the ANC the temporary interdict on Monday, requiring Mtshali to put the inquiry on hold pending the finalisation of the court application.

Judge P Magid ruled that Mtshali should show before April 9 why an order should not be granted declaring the commission invalid and why former Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and Wilkau's appointment as head of the inquiry should not be set aside.

The commission was established last week to investigate Mkhize, who is also provincial health MEC, on allegations of involvement in violence.

The commission's terms of reference include probing allegations reported in the media and made by KwaZulu-Natal legislature members that Mkhize was involved in the illegal distribution of arms and had conspired to kill them.

DD 10/3/99

Shalo Mbatha travels into the rolling hills of Nongoma to dis-

'Why are Zulus killi

The rolling green hills of Zululand are dotted with huts, and the road that winds north to Nongoma surprises, with a new perspective at every turn. It's a place of space. It's rural. It's peaceful - or so it seems at first.

I feel like two different people. I feel close to the place, so I should, I think, because the Mbatha name has its roots in the birth of the Zulu nation.

But I also feel like a Pacific islander because, city dweller that I am, I know little of the deep protocols of culture and respect which permeate this traditional society.

I am travelling with Zulu royalty: Prince Sifiso Zulu, an adviser to the Ministry of Public Works, has promised to show me how the Government is "delivering" in rural areas.

I have come with the prince bringing my own preconceived ideas about KwaZulu Natal: a brutal arid, dry and desolate place. I imagine children with protruding tummies. I blame the cowardly killing of women and children on the hard living conditions in a harsh land.

The physical reality of the province is different. The psychological reality is the same, as I am to discover later. Prince Sifiso relates the historical importance of some of the Zululand valleys, where battles are as much part of the landscape as the unending hills.

I need to know from the prince. "Why are the Zulus killing each other when they have such a beautiful land?" The prince, with a far-away look, says that most people from "Egoli" ask him the same question. We drive on in silence. There doesn't seem to be an answer to the question. It defies logic.

It's not long before I come face-to-face with intolerance, KwaZulu Natal style.

At the Mona marketplace in Nongoma there is thick tension in the air as a crowd of people await the arrival of their king, Goodwill Zwelithini, who is to officially open newly built stalls. Soldiers and a strong contingent of police patrol the area. It looks like a war zone.

I am told that the IFP distributed pamphlets the day before calling on people to boycott the ceremony. The



ON THE MARCH: KwaZulu Natal has been the South African province most troubled by political intolerance -

previous night, the guest tent was set alight. The organisers are agitated. In a flurry of dust, an air force helicopter touches down and the king and Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe step out.

"Wena weNdlovu, Bayete," roar the people as the king - preceded by

an imbongi (praise singer) - appears. Despite the heat and the threatened boycott, there are thousands of people. The king, and all he represents, still plays a pivotal role in this society.

In her opening remarks, the chairperson of the gathering, the IFP's

Zanele Magwaza, says the IFP was not told about the opening of the market.

At that point, a crowd of ululating armed men and women burst into the tent and attack the crowd with assegais, whips, guns and spears.

"What are you doing here? If you

ma to discover the tensions behind the scenic beauty

illing each other?

(276) ARG 13/3/99



photographer's stomach and hisses: "Why are you taking a picture of me?"

We run for cover behind the soldiers. Prince Sifiso tries to reason with the angry raiders. It doesn't work. The attackers charge off in hot pursuit of the fleeing crowd.

With a sigh, the prince turns to me as I huddle behind a soldier. "It is annoying to see senior members of the IFP cause such chaos and disruption. We organised the event with all stakeholders, including them. This market is not for any particular political party but for the whole community."

He is dumbfounded by Magwaza's claims that the IFP was not informed about the opening.

"Members of her regional council are also here. What's more, she is the regional council chairperson of Zululand," says the prince. Of the king, he adds: "He refuses to be dragged into senseless fights. He is only interested in helping those who want to improve their lives."

Prince Sifiso says he doesn't think the incident would have happened during the term in office of the previous KwaZulu Natal premier, Dr Ben Ngubane, who was recently replaced by Lionel Mtshali.

Ngubane "saw beyond party politics and he would have personally intervened", says the prince. However, the provincial MEC for public works, the Rev C J Mthethwa, later publicly apologises to "iSilo" (the king) and promises that the incident will be dealt with.

Outside, traders in the market say they are pleased that they now have decent facilities to carry out their small businesses and are grateful to the Department of Public Works. The traders beg me not to use their names, as they are scared of being intimidated by the IFP. Despite the skirmish, Prince Sifiso remains optimistic about the province's future. "The situation will improve as soon as the ANC and IFP leadership realise that development favours no political party," he says.

To which I might add the words: and when we start respecting each other and allow room for different political opinions. KwaZulu Natal must not be allowed to become another killing field.

of intolerance - mostly stemming from a power struggle between the ANC and the IFP

says the IFP was the opening of the

a crowd of ululating women burst into the crowd with guns and spears.

doing here? If you

don't leave this place we will burn your houses and kill you," they rage. People run helter-skelter, trying to duck the onslaught. Soldiers with grim, worried looks take up combat positions. The king, meanwhile, says nothing, and appears to remain unmoved while pandemonium

swirls around him. But not even a gesture escapes him. He seems disappointed but somehow resigned to the way politics is conducted among his subjects. The rest of the VIPs are clearly uncomfortable, as are the king's security men.

An IFP member sticks a gun into a

any that is waging a against President

SPECIAL PROSECUTORS

(276)

MACADAM'S MANDATE

Back to basics on Richmond

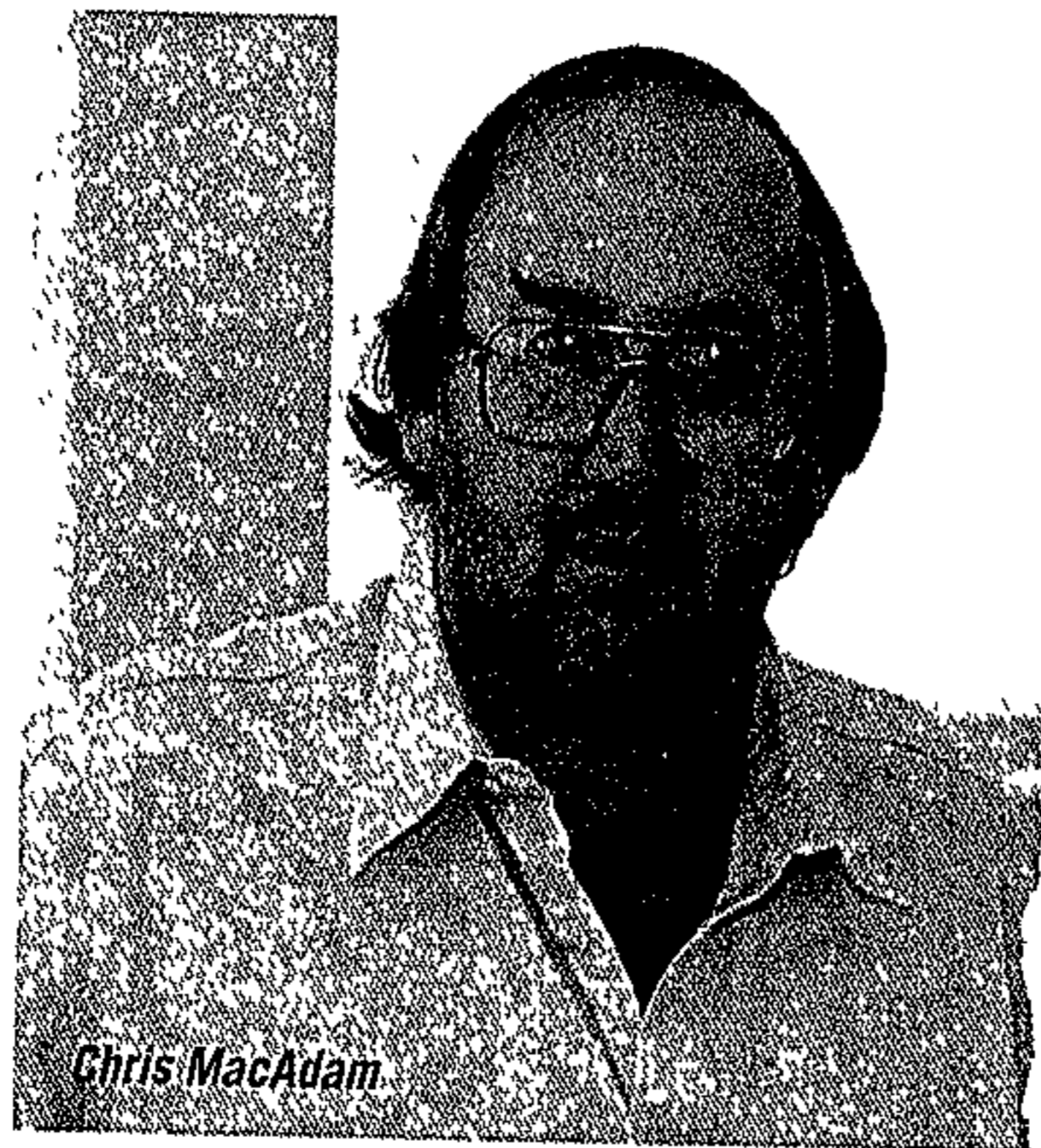
FM 9/4/99
The sparsely furnished first-floor offices in Maritzburg's Print House Lane belie the fact that they are the nerve centre of a major crime-busting operation; but special prosecutor Chris MacAdam and his team of hand-picked policemen and legal specialists are less concerned about decor than the 500 or so dockets piled on the few desks they have

Though Maritzburg-based, the focus of their attention is the troublesome Richmond area, where successive security clampdowns and investigations have failed to do more than temporarily stem the tide of politically-motivated killings since the early Eighties.

MacAdam, a former KwaZulu-Natal deputy attorney-general who subsequently headed the Truth Commission's witness protection programme, believes he is making headway. That's despite the fact that his unit has only been operating since the beginning of February. It was formed last year as the public safety element of a specialist organised crime and public safety directorate, which ultimately answers to National Director of Public Prosecution Bulelani Ngcuka.

MacAdam was, nevertheless, recently able to tell the National Assembly's justice committee that he had information directly implicating former members of the SA Police Service and the SA National Defence Force in the Richmond killings. But the allegations have yet to be proved

He adds there is no evidence at this



stage to suggest "third force" activities or the involvement of any political leaders. "However, I realise that none of these factors can be discounted."

Among his briefs is the investigation of the assassination of former KwaZulu-Natal United Democratic Movement leader Sifiso Nkabinde.

A feature of the MacAdam approach is to hold back on the temptation, and pressure, to proceed with quick prosecutions. "When I took office in November, it was a case of crisis management, reviewing cases on the verge of going to court. We withdrew the cases pending further investigation. It has emerged there are sophisticated mechanisms in place to sabotage our cases through planted and other false evidence. Had we gone to court, we would have got egg on our faces."

He says unlike the attorney-general's office, "where people are simply arrested and taken straight to court, every shred of evidence needs to be sifted, checked and rechecked for validity."

In order to establish common threads and trends in violence, he is negotiating with the police to take over all 500 unresolved Richmond cases, and Ngcuka "will probably make a formal statement in this regard in the next few weeks, once we have the mandate."

MacAdam says though all evidence seems to point to the violence emanating from the constantly shifting Midlands political power struggle, first between Inkatha and the ANC and more recently the ANC and UDM, there is no simplistic answer.

"The reality is that different cases have different role players with different underlying motives. We are planning an audit looking right back at how it started in the Eighties, which will define Richmond violence and give us a much clearer picture of who is behind it"

Herb Payne

IFP arms cache uncovered

Bd 12/5/99

(276)

Pule Molebeledi

DURBAN — Several prominent Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leaders could face prosecution after the party's controversial leader, Phillip Powell, pointed out a 7-ton arms and explosives-cache hidden in Nguthu, KwaZulu-Natal, to justice officials yesterday.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi promptly distanced himself from the arms, saying he was not informed about any aspects of the case and was not in a position to comment.

He said he was perturbed that in 1993 arms and explosives were collected and hidden by IFP leaders "without any authorisation on my side and that I was given no information whatsoever about this matter or about negotiations with the director of public prosecutions".

Addressing journalists at Vryheid, where most of the explosives were detonated, national director of public pro-

Party leaders may face prosecution for weapons acquired from De Kock

cutions Bulelani Ngquka said the arms — originating from convicted murderer Eugene de Kock — were discovered on Monday afternoon while acting on information supplied by Powell.

Police experts said the arms were big enough to flatten a huge chunk of Durban. The unit will also visit three other concrete bunkers where more arms are believed to be hidden to excavate remaining caches.

In testimony during his lengthy court case De Kock said he delivered six trucks full of weapons to Powell.

De Kock said a large quantity of those weapons, which included RPG rocket launchers, grenades, R-1 rifles, 9mm ammunition, 60mm mortars and anti-personnel and anti-tank landmines originated from Mechem and the former

South West Africa (Namibia).

He said he brought the weapons with him when he left the Kooxet unit and the weapons were subsequently stored at a police farm, Daisyfarm.

Ngquka said Powell, under investigation for illegal possession of arms, would not be charged at the moment because the unit was still investigating "who else is involved and how far this conspiracy goes.... I don't think it would be proper to arrest Powell and use him as a scapegoat," Ngquka said.

It was clear from looking at the weapons that this was not the work of one person as they were "big enough to launch a full-scale war", he said.

Powell said yesterday that he was granted indemnity from prosecution by the director of public prosecutions in

KwaZulu-Natal" with regard to charges arising from the delivery of arms and ammunition to the KwaZulu self-protection training programme by De Kock.

However, Ngquka contradicted the IFP leader's version during a radio interview in which he said there was no special deal with Powell and that he had no power to grant indemnity.

If police received all the weapons, they were looking for: "we will consider not prosecuting. It is still early days to say we won't prosecute," he said.

Powell said the self-protection training was done at the Mlaba camp outside Umfolozi Game Reserve in terms of the national peace accord and was well documented.

"The arms were acquired at the time of a massive build up of arms and a very

extensive military training programme by a party that was in confrontation with the IFP," he said.

"All the arms and ammunition that had not been used in training were safely stored before the May 1994 elections. This was done in such a way that there was no danger to anybody.

"The storage place was never opened prior to the unearthing by a special unit of the SA Police Service in the presence of the deputy director of public prosecutions in KwaZulu-Natal, Gert Nel," he said.

He trusted that his actions would foster the building of peace, which was "something I have devoted all my energies to since 1994".

Ngquka said he was determined to deal effectively with the culture of impunity in KwaZulu-Natal.

"I am sending a loud message to the warlords wherever they are: Your time is up. We will not tolerate your nonsense any more," he said.

IFP MPP helps uncover huge arms cache in KZN

PHINDILE NGUBANE
OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN: The puzzle over the whereabouts of a massive consignment of weaponry delivered in KwaZulu-Natal five years ago by apartheid assassin Eugene de Kock is finally being pieced together after the discovery on Monday of what is believed to be part of the cache.

Acting on information from IFP MPP Phillip Powell, a team of investigators acting under the auspices of National Director of Public Prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka uncovered seven tons of arms, ammunition and explosives at a bunker at Nqutu in northern KwaZulu-Natal on Monday.

All the weapons were destroyed in a controlled explosion late yesterday afternoon. Eyewitnesses said the massive blast literally knocked them off their feet even though they were a safe one kilometre away.

The bunker, which was four metres underground, had been cemented over. In spite of this, rain water had seeped into the weapons cache, causing some of the arms to rust.

Among the weapons found were 140 anti-personnel land mines, 928 M26 hand-grenades, 1 484 M791 rifle grenades, 30 anti-tank mines, 80 mortar bombs, 180 400kg of pentolite explosives and 10 cases of 200kg TNT flakes — 33 types of ammunition in all. Buried in Nqutu for at least five years, the weapons were apparently also used in paramilitary training in KwaZulu-Natal, including at the Mlaba camp allegedly run by Powell.

Former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock had admitted delivering six truck-loads of weaponry to Powell just before the 1994 election, but according to the head of the SAPS Bomb Disposal and Explosives Control Branch, Captain Joe Meiring, the cache uncovered in Nqutu filled only two trucks.

The weapons were believed to have been destined for Mlaba camp, run by Powell for the training of IFP self-protection units.

(276)
Yesterday morning a team consisting of Ngcuka, national police commissioner George Fivaz, provincial Director of Public Prosecutions Cocky Mpshe and bomb experts led journalists to a site about 30km from the bunker, where the arms cache was finally destroyed in the late afternoon.

Ngcuka confirmed that the cache tallied with a list which had been provided by De Kock. There were minor discrepancies, however.

Although no arrests have been made yet, Ngcuka predicted that "certain persons will be in court soon".

It is uncertain at this stage whether Powell could face prosecution, with Ngcuka saying the investigations are continuing and that Powell will "not be used as a scapegoat".

Ngcuka said the operation involved more than one individual and was "a conspiracy".

The investigation will now focus on the owners of the weapons, the other people involved, and where the rest of the weapons are to be found.

Ngcuka described the find as "possibly the biggest arms cache ever discovered in South Africa" and the weapons as being "big enough to launch a full-scale war".

He said he is determined to deal effectively with "the culture of impunity" that prevails in the province.

"I am sending a loud and clear message to the warlords, wherever they are: Your time is up. We will tolerate your nonsense no more. Freedom must also reign in this part of the world."

IFP spokesperson Musa Zondi said Powell had committed no crime as he had acted on the instructions of the former KwaZulu government while a civil servant, and that the activities at the Mlaba camp had been a public operation.

ANC provincial chairperson S'bu Ndebele has welcomed the recovery, saying this "makes the step towards peace closer" in the province.

IFP declares end to fighting

Star 12/5/99

(276) (276)

Leaders deny knowledge of huge KZN weapons discovery

VENILLA YOGANATHAN, ERIC NDIYANE, JANI MEYER AND CHARLES PHAHLANE
Durban

In the face of yesterday's chilling discovery of an enormous stockpile of dangerous weapons, "big enough to launch a full-scale war", IFP leaders are denying any knowledge of a covert operation.

Rallying around IFP MPP Phillip Powell, who yesterday led police to the biggest arms cache to be found in South Africa, the party has reacted by declaring an end to fighting in KwaZulu Natal.

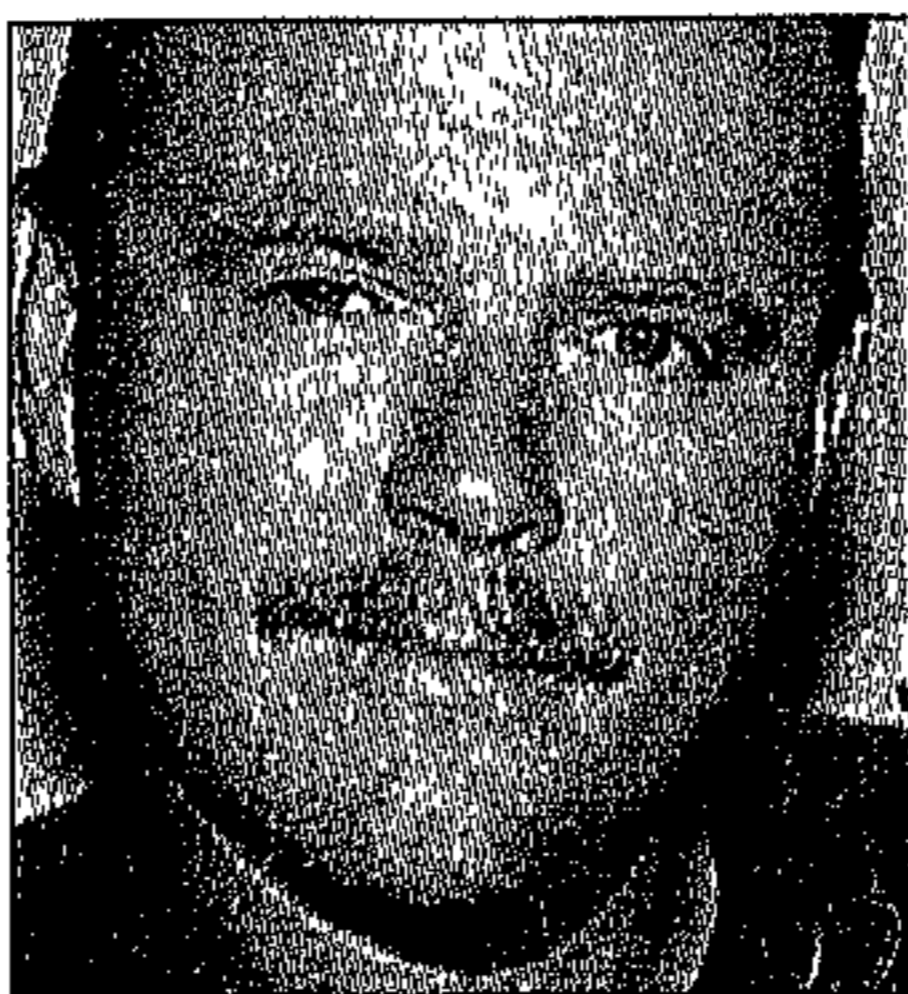
Yesterday's dramatic developments coincided with the province's long-dormant peace process finally getting a kick-start, with the ANC and IFP agreeing to sign a base document this Friday to work towards peace and reconciliation.

But in a more significant breakthrough for peace in KwaZulu Natal, police discovered about two truckloads of 33 different types of "war ammunition" in Nqutu, about 20km outside Vryheid.

The weapons, which had laid buried "for years" under a pile of concrete, were blown up in the presence of Commissioner George Fivaz and the national director of prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka.

Ngcuka said the discovery of the high-calibre weapons, part of the six-ton cache which former hit-squad boss Eugene de Kok had given to Powell, has come as a huge relief to those committed to peace in the province.

In a prompt reaction yesterday, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the arms were collected and hidden without any authorisation on his part. He denied any knowledge of



Phillip Powell

De Kock's arsenal

- 8 RPG 7s
- 188 RPG rounds
- 1 Uzi
- 7 zip guns
- 2 AK-47s
- 1 G3
- 1 R-1 and 1 R-5
- 1 RPD
- 1 Dragonov
- 420 detonators
- 36 trip flares
- 8 rolls of cortex
- 5 rolls of fuse
- 4 312 detonators
- 4 400 long band magazines
- 180 cases of pentolite (400kg each)
- 1 484 M791 rifle grenades
- 928 M26 handgrenades
- 140 anti-personnel landmines
- 10 grenades for 103 rifles
- 272 60mm mortar bombs
- 100 thunderflashes
- 39 anti-tank mines
- 13 cases of PE4
- 3 cases of Sheetax
- 3 cases of PE9
- 10 cases of TNT flakes (200kg each)
- 560 rounds of 7,62 x 51mm for R-1s
- 5 rounds of 7,62 x 39mm for AK-47s
- 2 000 rounds of 7,62 x 25mm

the matter.

KwaZulu Natal IFP Minister of Safety and Security, Nyanga Ngubane, also said that yesterday was the first time he had heard of the arms cache.

But IFP spokesperson Reverend Musa Zondi said Powell

had earlier this week informed party leaders about his intention to inform the police.

He said it was no secret that Powell had been authorised by the former KwaZulu government police to run training at the Mlaba camp.

"We knew he handled some weapons there," he said, but claimed the party had not known the "details of the operation. It was a delicate thing".

Up to 8 000 Self Protection Unit members were trained at the Mlaba camp, according to the TRC report.

Reverend Zondi was adamant that Powell had "committed no crime", saying he hoped police would react to his disclosure with "good faith".

Ngcuka's office has indicated that Powell could be granted indemnity from prosecution if he co-operated fully with the investigation.

But he said it was clear Powell had not been acting alone. "Certain persons will be in court very soon."

In the TRC report, Powell, Buthelezi, General S M Mathe, Captain Leonard Langeni and members of the KwaZulu legislature and cabinet (not named) were listed as persons who knew of, and supported the project's unlawful aims.

Powell said all the arms which were not used in training were safely stored before the 1994 elections and never opened until this week.

Yesterday, as the explosion of the weapons reverberated for miles around rural KwaZulu Natal, Ngcuka said: "Thank God we have destroyed some of these things before they could reach wrong hands."

► KZN parties to sign peace code
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star 12/15/99

(276) (912)

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KZN parties to sign peace code
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Weapons of War

Inkatha MPL points out vast arms cache

See page 12/15/94 276

By Mbulelo Baloyi

THOUSANDS of weapons missing for the past five years were finally found, buried in a bunker in Nguthu in northern KwaZulu-Natal on Monday afternoon.

The arms cache, the biggest so far discovered in South Africa, was apparently part of a large consignment of arms which was given to Inkatha Freedom Party MPL Mr Philip Powell by former Vlakplaas commander and convicted assassin Eugene de Kock in late 1993.

Briefing the media yesterday, National Director of Public Prosecutions Mr Buthelezi Ngeuka said he was relieved that the weapons had finally been found.

"From the list that we were given by De Kock we can safely say that these are the weapons that we have

been looking for," said Ngeuka.

He added that the National Directorate of Public Prosecutions' Priority Crimes Unit had discovered the weapons acting on information supplied by Powell.

Meanwhile, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was not in a position to comment on the find but said he was pleased that an arms cache was recovered because of the cooperation of IFP leaders.

"I welcome any steps which can foster peace in KwaZulu-Natal. I hope that this act of goodwill by IFP leaders will be matched by similar actions by those who hold much larger arms caches," Buthelezi said.

Among the weapons found were nine rocket-propelled grenades, 39 anti-tank mines, 928 M26 hand-grenades, 1 484 N791 rifle grenades, 140 anti-personnel landmines, plastic explosives, 420 detonators, 10 cases of

200kg of explosive, 272 mortar bombs, 100 thunderflashes, 36 trip flares and several tons of ammunition for small arms and automatic rifles.

"The discovery of these weapons demonstrates the determination of my office to deal effectively with the situation in this province.

"We hope that this will bring some relief to the people of this province as they are heading towards the elections," said Ngeuka.

Air police explosives expert Captain Joe Meiring told journalists that the arms cache was big enough to start a war.

On the questions of whether Powell will be prosecuted, Ngeuka said the directorate had just begun its probe into the origin of the cache.

"One can always deduce that since Powell provided information, he is also under investigation, but this arms cache is not the act of one person.

These are weapons of war. You don't wage war as an individual. We believe there is a wider conspiracy," he said.

During his trial in 1995, De Kock said he had delivered several truck loads of weapons to Powell in late 1993 when the IFP was setting up Mlaba camp near Mkhuze on the North Coast.

Powell said in a statement that recent media speculation that he was about to be arrested on charges of gun-running had prompted him to approach the directorate which led to the discovery of the cache.

Powell said he had been granted indemnity by the provincial Deputy Director of Public Prosecutions Gert Nel with respect to charges arising from the delivery of arms and ammunition prior to the 1994 general election.

Nel declined to comment on the indemnity issue.

CAMPAIGN '99

Call to fire 'arms cache hero'

BD 13/5/99 (276)

ANC wants IFP's Powell struck off party's election list and asks: where are the guns?

Pule Molebeledi

DURBAN — The KwaZulu-Natal African National Congress called on the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday to dismiss its controversial leader Phillip Powell and disputed the notion that he was a "hero" after he had led justice officials to the discovery of one of SA's largest arms caches.

Provincial ANC chairman S'bu Ndebele said Powell should also be struck off the IFP's provincial election list.

The move follows the discovery of a large arsenal, including RPG rocket launchers, explosives and land mines, in Nquthu, 50km from Ulundi.

National Director of Public Prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka said Powell led them to the cache. The weapons were delivered to Powell by former security policeman and convicted murderer Eugene de Kock.

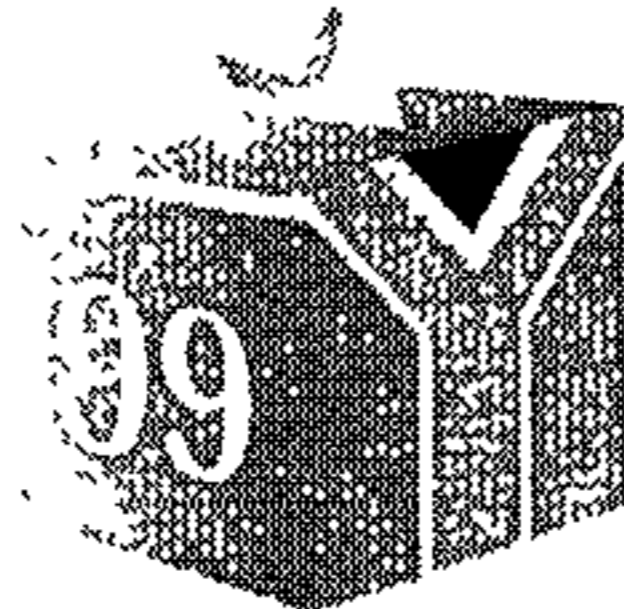
"Only two truckloads of weapons were uncovered on Monday," Ndebele said. "De Kock spoke of six. Where are the rest?"

The cache contained mainly explosives, hand grenades and ammunition. "Where are the guns? The majority of the murdered people in KwaZulu-Natal and elsewhere in SA have not

been killed by explosives or grenades."

He said the ANC was not convinced Powell was the only IFP recipient of the arms.

Ndebele repeated the call for provincial police commissioner Chris Serfontein to be fired. The arms had been traced by units under national command. Serfontein had not only failed to find them but failed also to solve many other crimes, Ndebele said.



Wessel Nel of the Democratic Party said the discovery of the weapons would make a major contribution to the elimination of the illegal arms in circulation or buried in SA. "One wonders how many other caches lie hidden all over SA, known to senior members of the ANC, IFP or the (New) National Party," he said.

NNP provincial leader Danie Schutte said the arms caches

could have been discovered earlier if two provincial premiers had listened to the NNP's call for a standing judicial commission of inquiry. Schutte asked if all ANC arms caches had been disclosed.

A senior government source said yesterday the IFP-ANC peace process was intact in KwaZulu-Natal, but would come under strain if IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was shown to

have known of the arms stockpile.

The new government would find it difficult also to give Buthelezi a high government post after the election.

The source said Powell had clearly acted under duress when he disclosed the cache, and may have asked for the IFP leadership's advice when he realised his arrest was imminent. His move, though, did not seem to be part of a broader political decision by the IFP.

Sapa reports that a decision on whether to prosecute Powell in connection with gunrunning would be taken only once investigations into Monday's massive arms cache find had been completed, a spokesman for the National Directorate of Public Prosecutions Siphon Ngwenya said.

The arsenal was received by Powell and was used for the Inkatha Freedom Party's self-protection programme at Mlaba training camp outside Ulundi.

Ngwenya said negotiations with Powell were continuing to try to establish what had happened to the items unaccounted for.

He said Ngcuka did not have the power to grant indemnity to Powell but could decide whether or not to prosecute. Powell in an interview with Sapa said he had been granted indemnity by provincial deputy director of public prosecutions Gert Nel.

Nel declined to comment on the issue.

Dispute about indemnity over arms cache

(276) Star 13/5/99

Decision to prosecute Powell will be taken after completion of investigation

By ROBERT BRAND
AND OWN CORRESPONDENT
Pietermaritzburg

Philip Powell, the IFP legislator who led police to the largest arms cache yet discovered in South Africa, remained a free man yesterday, insisting he had been promised indemnity in return but denying he had agreed to testify against any other person involved in the case.

In an interview with *The Star's* Pietermaritzburg correspondent, Powell said he had been guaranteed indemnity from prosecution on certain conditions outlined in a letter signed by Gert Nel, the Deputy Director of Public Prosecutions in KwaZulu Natal.

But a spokesperson for the national Director of Public Prosecutions, Bulelani Ngcuka, said Nel did not have the power to grant indemnity and that a decision on whether to prosecute Powell would be taken after the investigation had been completed.

The cache, which contained 7 tons of military weaponry supplied to Powell in 1993 by security police to arm IFP self-defence units, was discovered at Ngutu, about 50km from Ulundi, and destroyed in a controlled explosion on Tuesday. Police said there were enough weapons to start a small-scale war.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi hinted yesterday that arrests could follow, but by last night no one had been charged.

National police commissioner George Fivaz, who accompanied Mufamadi on a visit to a Pretoria school yesterday, said a number of people were being interrogated. "Certainly we will determine whether there are more (caches), and where those firearms are," he said. "All those people who acted outside the framework of the law will be charged."

Fivaz said all evidence gathered by the police would be submitted to Ngcuka to determine "who is going to court".

Mufamadi called for an explanation as to what the weapons were intended for -

"especially from people sitting in the legislative bodies of this country" - an apparent reference to senior IFP leaders, who have claimed they did not know about the existence of the cache.

Opposition parties, meantime, were asking questions of their own, claiming the "discovery" was a propaganda exercise by the ANC aimed at embarrassing its main rival in KwaZulu Natal, the IFP, weeks before the election.

"The crucial issue raised by the Ngutu arms dump is why investigations were not fully completed ... before the matter was publicised as part of a major propaganda exercise which is of direct benefit to the ANC," said Jan Bosman of the Federal Alliance.

"It is difficult to escape the perception that the timing of the public disclosure of these weapons had more to do with the upcoming elections and discrediting political opponents than with concern over public safety and security."

Tienie Groenewald, a Freedom Front candidate in KwaZulu Natal, said the authorities had known about the existence of the cache since security policeman and assassin Eugene de Kock testified about it during his trial for murder two years ago.

"The cache was placed there before 1994. The IFP definitely planned to use (the arms) to defend itself before 1994. (The ANC) is looking for a reason to discredit the IFP," Groenewald said.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in its final report, traced the origin of the weapons to 1993.

Powell approached De Kock, then head of the security police's notorious Vlakplaas unit, for weapons to arm IFP self-defence units. De Kock delivered six 10-ton truckloads of this weaponry to Powell, including rocket launchers, mortars, rifle grenades, rocket-propelled grenades, claymore mines, Eastern bloc rifles and ammunition.

Weapons: IFP has questions to answer
Page 15

Weapons: IFP has questions to answer

Those who knew about the massive arms cache found in a bunker in KZN must explain, writes Richard Lyster

(27b) Alan 13/5/99

The uncovering on Tuesday of South Africa's biggest arms cache, throws into direct focus not only the role of the Inkatha Freedom Party in introducing huge quantities of deadly illegal weapons into KwaZulu Natal, but also its role in secretly collaborating with some of the former apartheid state's most notorious agents.

The discovery of the bunker in Ngutu, near Ulundi, containing over seven tons of explosives, land mines, hand grenades, rocket launchers, rocket propelled grenades and other deadly Eastern bloc weapons is a hugely significant event and, coming as it does on the eve of this country's second democratic elections, is a huge embarrassment for the IFP.

And yet, in an attempt to deflect potential harm to the party, and Phillip Powell's personal role in the procurement and concealment of the weapons, media releases issued by Powell indicate that the real issues have already begun to be obscured.

It has been said that, after all, the weapons were merely going to be used for training recruits of the Self Protection Unit (SPU) training project. It is also stated in the media releases that this SPU project, which involved the para-military training of about 7 000 Inkatha members at the Mlaba camp near Ulundi, just prior to the 1994 election, was perfectly legitimate and had no sinister overtones.

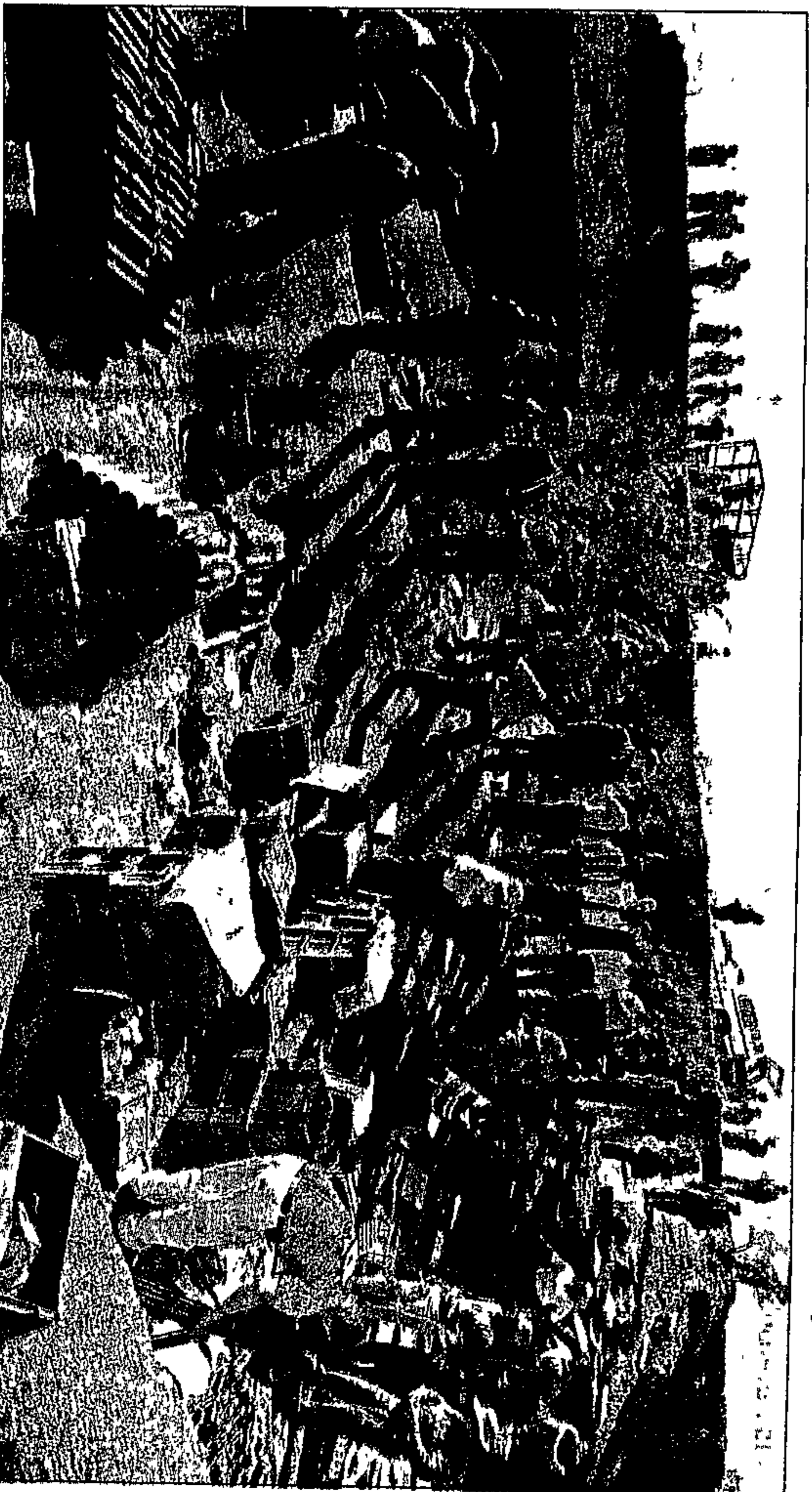
In the context of a province literally saturated with deadly weapons and having the highest murder rate in the world, and in the context of increasing violence as we approach our second elections, it is worth examining the role of the former state and the IFP in the provision of illegal weapons into KwaZulu Natal.

The interesting fact that emerges is that Powell is only one of a number of senior IFP figures embroiled in the procurement and supply of deadly and illegal weapons.

The initial link and request for weapons was made in 1990 by former SAP Security Branch and Vlakplaas operative, Brood van Heerden, who was a member of the security division of Absa Bank in Johannesburg, and the IFP's Themba Khoza.

Van Heerden approached Eugene de Kock, who arranged for the manufacture and supply of a large number of illegal and unlicensed shotguns to Khoza and to former KwaZulu Police Commissioner Jac Butcher. According to De Kock, the manufacture and transfer of the weapons was authorised by the SAP's generals Basie Smit and Krapies Engelbrecht. Funds for their manufacture were made available by the police.

Aside from these specially manufactured weapons, most of the weaponry supplied to the IFP was originally acquired



Farwell to arms... the "De Kock weapons" were taken from Koevoet to Vlakplaas and then to Ulundi, under the disguise of being arms for training IFP self protection units.

from the notorious SAP Security Branch counter insurgency unit, Koevoet. Many Koevoet members, including De Kock, subsequently came to be based at the secret Security Branch farm, Vlakplaas.

It was to Vlakplaas that the Koevoet weapons were transferred just prior to Namibian independence. They included AK 47s, Russian hand grenades, landmines and rocket propelled grenades, surface to air missiles and other items.

A large number of amnesty applications which have been lodged with the Truth Commission allege that throughout the early 1990s, large quantities of weapons were supplied to a number of IFP members in Johannesburg.

Meetings were held regularly between a number of former Vlakplaas operatives including De Kock, Willie Nortje, Chappies

Klopper and Van Heerden, and IFP members Khoza, Transvaal IFP leader Humphrey Ndlovu, Victor Ndlovu and the IFP member of the KwaZulu legislature assembly the Reverend Celani Mithethwa.

The weapons delivered to these IFP members were drawn from the supply of illegal Koevoet weapons supplied by De Kock and included M26 hand grenades, AK 47s, Makarov and Tokarev machine pistols, landmines, magnetised car bombs and large quantities of ammunition.

Some of these were delivered to Mthethwa's home in KwaZulu Natal, while others were delivered by Khoza to IFP hotels in the Witwatersrand. Information in amnesty applications by people like Nortje and Van Heerden, alleges these weapons were used in notorious incidents like the Sebokeng massacre in September 1990.

It was in late 1998 that former Security

Branch policeman and IFP member Powell approached De Kock for weapons from the Koevoet stockpile. According to De Kock, he delivered six ten-ton truck loads of this weaponry to Powell.

At this stage, many of the weapons were stored at an Armscor subsidiary in the former Transvaal, Mechem, where a number of former Vlakplaas and CCB members were employed. The weapons Powell took possession of included rocket launchers, mortars, rifle grenades, rocket propelled grenades, Claymore mines, Eastern bloc

grenades and ammunition. These were transported in KwaZulu government vehicles and hidden at Powell's residence in Ulundi. According to De Kock, he was informed by Powell that the weapons were to be used in the training of IFP SPU, at the Mlaba Camp near Ulundi.

De Kock himself, and other Vlakplaas

operatives including Snor Vermeulen, some askaris, former Caprivi-trained Inkatha members as well as members of the KwaZulu police, were among the people hired to train the Inkatha recruits at Mlaba. Powell, who was a civilian, was inexplicably made commandant and was placed in charge of all personnel, including police, at the camp.

Both Powell and Mangosuthu Buthelezi have frequently gone on record saying that the Mlaba Camp SPU training project was legitimate, that it was carried out in the context of the National Peace Accord and that the trainees were being trained to protect KwaZulu government property and public servants.

It is at this point that questions must be asked as to what manner of legitimate self protection training project makes use of vast quantities of lethal and illegal weaponry and appoints former members of

the security police's most notorious and controversial wing, to undertake the training.

Furthermore, statements taken from recruits by members of the Investigation Task Unit after the sudden disembarkment of the camp, when the IFP was persuaded to participate in the 1994 election, tend to indicate that it was not self protection that was contemplated. Former trainee Israel Hlongwane supplied information that training had taken place with hand grenades, Scorpion machine pistols, AK 47s, Makarovs, Uzr sub machine guns and impact mines.

Another trainee said they were being trained to be "soldiers for Inkatha". He said that training included the use of hand grenades, making homemade bombs, sabotaging vehicles and buses, the art of bush warfare and ambushing vehicles and individuals. Between 5 000 and 7 000 people were trained at Mlaba and the overflow camp, Emanadenti-Matlang.

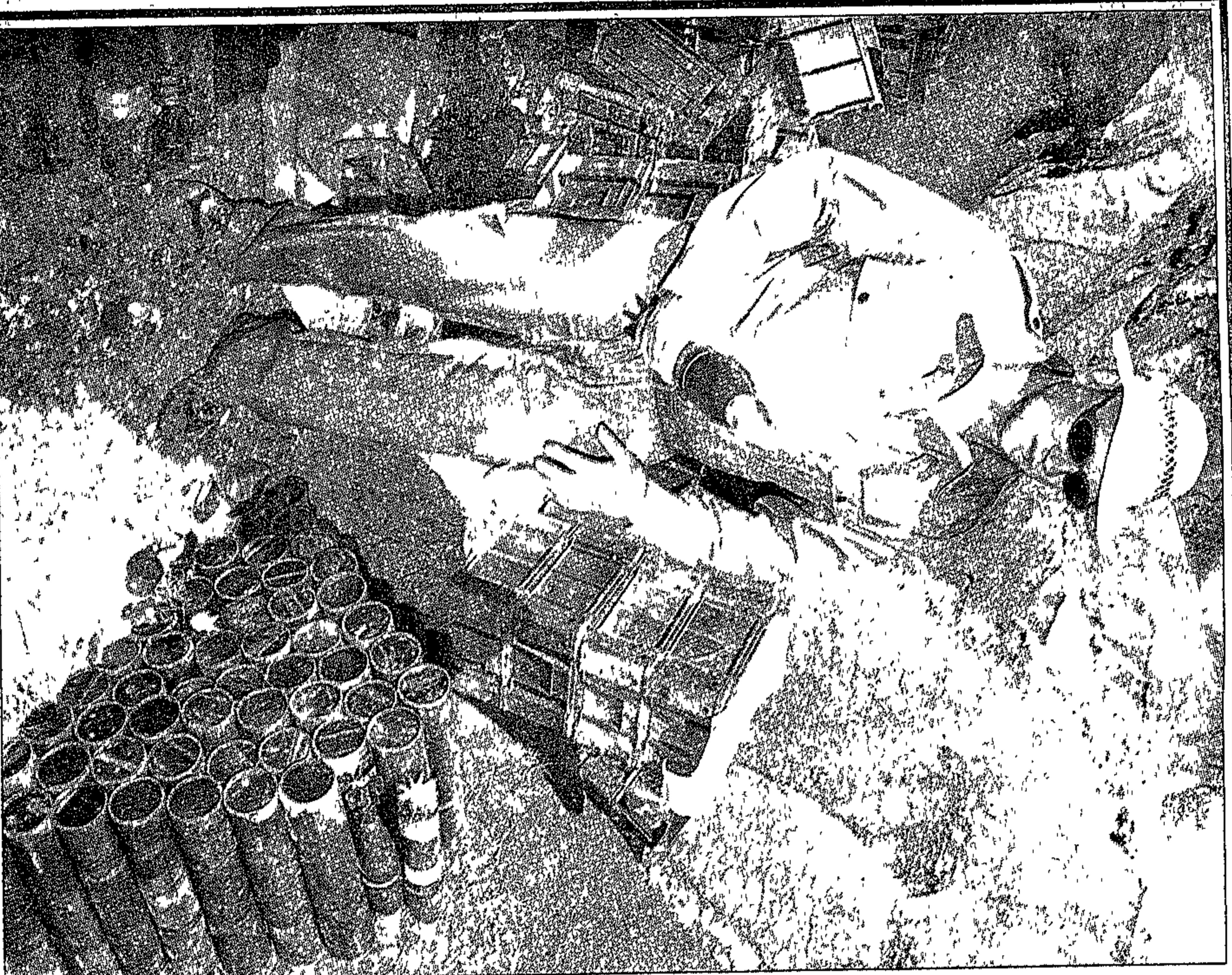
It is hardly surprising that the Truth Commission's finding was that the SPU project was intended to provide the IFP not merely with a measure of self protection, but also with the military capacity to prevent the government and the Independent Electoral Commission from holding elections which did not accommodate the IFP's stated desire for self determination.

The project was found to be a conspiracy to commit gross human rights violations. The discovery of the "De Kock weapons" is to be welcomed, but many urgent and intriguing questions remain unanswered.

Undoubtedly, Powell did not act alone. While it is galling to hear that he may be granted immunity as a state witness for pointing out the arms cache, it is to be hoped that the threat of prosecution in terms of the Arms and Ammunitions Act, and other offences related to the illegal weapons and the use to which they were put, and were intended to be put, will prompt him to point his finger at those more senior people within his party. They must have known about the procurement and use of the weapons, but also must have authorised it.

We live in a country that has become so used to death, violence, and to the sort of diabolical and immoral activities of people like Powell, that we are in danger of becoming inured to these things. With the discovery of these weapons comes an opportunity to reclaim some of our innocence and to proclaim the sort of society we want to live in. We must demand, at the very minimum, that every person with knowledge of these weapons be criminally charged and required to resign from public office. Anything less will be an acquiescence to law of the jungle.

Richard Lyster is a human rights lawyer and a former commissioner of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.



Police explosives personnel unpack rifle grenades that were part of a large haul of weapons found on a farm outside Vryheid in KwaZulu-Natal. The cache was unearthed as a result of information supplied by IFP MPL Philip Powell. PIC MASTER MOSUNKUTU

NO deal FOR POWELL

(276)
Sawetlan 13/5/99

Arms cache inquiry continues

By Mbulelo Baloyi

THE National Directorate of Public Prosecutions denied yesterday that it had made a deal to grant Inkatha Freedom Party MPL Philip Powell indemnity for the arms cache found on a farm in northern KwaZulu-Natal this week.

The directorate said it had not entered into any agreement with Powell as investigations into the large arms haul found on a farm in Nguthu had not been concluded.

A consignment of two tons of weapons of war, including explosives and rocket launchers, were found buried in a concrete bunker at the Mvunyanane settlement on Monday. The directorate's priority crimes unit discovered the stashed weapons acting on information provided by Powell.

Directorate spokesman Mr Sipho Ngwenza said Powell had approached the directorate after realising that a warrant of arrest had been issued.

"Talks of an indemnity in as far as the discovery of the arms cache is concerned are devoid of all truth. The approach we have taken is that the ongoing investigation will not be interrupted by the discovery of the arms cache as we are aware that the stockpiling of these weapons was not the act of one person," Ngwenza said.

This was also confirmed by the KwaZulu-Natal deputy director of public prosecutions Advocate Gert Nel, who said indemnity for Powell had not been discussed.

Sources close to the unit said Powell was

"singing like a canary" and the information he provided would have serious political repercussions for some in the IFP's leadership.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi hinted yesterday that arrests were imminent after the discovery of the arms cache. Mufamadi said he could find no justification for Powell not having come forward sooner.

"I think the reasons for not having come forward and making use of the indemnities that were offered (in 1994) can only be ominous," he said. "The peace process in KwaZulu-Natal and the elections were on a powder keg."

He said the weapons were not instruments for converting people to go to heaven and "you could not use them to plough the fields".

He added that people were offered three chances in 1994 to hand over weapons in exchange for amnesty.

"Lawmakers sitting in Parliament cannot plead ignorance. These indemnities were being issued in terms of laws which they passed in Parliament."

Mufamadi will lead a high-profile inter-ministerial committee on security to KwaZulu-Natal today to assess the security situation and get briefings on the state of readiness of the security forces with regard to securing the polls.

Of much concern to the National Directorate of Public Prosecutions, since the discovery of the arms cache, is the whereabouts of thousands of automatic assault rifles and handguns that were part of the original arms consignment given to Powell by convicted Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock.

On the eve of elections, the national director of public prosecutions is aiming to purge KZN of IFP



Up in smoke: National Director of Public Prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka with some of the arms discovered in KwaZulu-Natal. PHOTO: MASTER MOSUNKUTU/SOWETAN

Ngcuka guns for IFP

As the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress in KwaZulu-Natal prepare for political marriage, the National Director of Public Prosecutions, Bulelani Ngcuka, is pursuing a two pronged investigation aimed at purging the IFP of rogue elements.

On one side investigators are seeking to pursue leads from this week's raid of the largest arms cache yet unearthed in South Africa. Sources say investigators are poised to pounce on at least two other caches shortly.

Ngcuka's economic offences unit has also launched a full-scale investigation into money laundering and other financial improprieties — the proceeds of which could be being used to fund paramilitary activity in the province — in the IFP controlled KwaZulu-Natal government.

A top official close to the investigation confirmed this week that the weapons raid was part of a "two pronged" strategy.

The aim of Ngcuka's intervention is to neutralise warlords and agents linked to third force activities which have plagued the province since the mid-1980s. This complements the ANC's efforts to forge closer ties with its former enemy in pursuit of peace in the troubled province.

The ANC is expected to offer a deputy presidency to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a move aimed at cementing relations between the two parties after the June 2 elections. But the continued presence of warlords, rogue elements and agents of the former regime in the ranks of the IFP has thus far bedevilled progress towards the rapprochement and left provincial peace initiatives in tatters as political violence increases ahead of the poll — as well as created a new urgency in purging the IFP of renegade warlords.

Ngcuka's efforts take place, however, amid indications that a wider conspiracy could be unfolding in the province as details come to light

of ongoing paramilitary training and arming of cadres connected to the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal.

The *Mail & Guardian* has learned that IFP strongman Phillip Powell has been centrally linked to clandestine activity which has been building up ahead of the elections.

Violence monitors and intelligence agencies operating in KwaZulu-Natal have confirmed that at least four paramilitary training camps have been held since the beginning of the year.

These camps appear to have taken a notably different form from earlier paramilitary training camps, such as the notorious Mlaba camp in 1993 and 1994. Where Mlaba saw 5 000 IFP loyalists "graduate" after six months, the current exercise is believed to be focused on smaller groups of between 15 and 40 trainees and to involve the development of more specialised skills.

Trainees apparently include members of the group of 200 IFP loyalists sent to the Caprivi Strip under South African Defence Force auspices in the 1980s. The Caprivi trainees subsequently emerged as the core grouping in the IFP's paramilitary capability ahead of the 1994 elections.

Also named — along with other IFP members with backgrounds in the apartheid regime's security forces and intelligence agencies — as having been involved in the training of IFP paramilitaries is the party's Midlands militant, David Ntombela. Earlier this year the *M&G* exposed Ntombela as having been an agent of the old regime's security police.

Intelligence reports show small groups of IFP loyalists, organised in cells of between 10 and 12 members, are being equipped with arms in the run-up to elections. Shadowy white rightwingers have been identified as being involved in arming and training the cells.

The arms cache unearthed this week near Vryheid represents only a fraction of the illegal armaments yet to be accounted for by

Spy, cop and warlord-in-chief

One of his former classmates at Pietermaritzburg College described the young Phillip Powell as a collector of Nazi paraphernalia "obsessed with warfare".

Powell's youthful interests led to an adult career as a campus spy, a secret policeman for the apartheid regime and a propagandist for a right wing periodical, before he emerged as an Inkatha Freedom Party militant, "urban representative" for the KwaZulu homeland government and, allegedly, the IFP's warlord-in-chief.

Powell claims he left the employ of the South African Police's (SAP) security branch before joining the IFP. However, according to former IFP insider Walter Felgate, who defected to the African National Congress, Powell remained on the secret police payroll after his emergence as an IFP functionary.

During in camera testimony to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Felgate said he had information to the effect that Powell "had never come off the payroll and the official establishment of the police". Former KwaZulu police Commissioner Brigadier Jac Buchner confirmed to the TRC that, after he joined the IFP, Powell was still in the employ of the SAP.

Felgate also told the TRC that the position Powell held as "urban representative" of the KwaZulu government was with a particular brief for training IFP self protection units. In this capacity he was directly accountable to then chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Powell was linked to shadowy elements in the apartheid government's security machine. According to intelligence sources, in the early 1990s Powell was specifically connected to the

security police's D Section. He was also allegedly in contact with Longreach, the front company operated by former military intelligence spy Craig Williamson.

It was in his capacity as urban representative that Powell organised the paramilitary training of about 5 000 IFP loyalists at the Mlaba camp. The camp was set up under the auspices of the KwaZulu legislature in terms of a resolution passed on August 25 1993, and ran between October 1993 and April 1994 — when it was raided.

During the raid, Powell was arrested with two boxes of ammunition, a Ruger semi-automatic firearm and a 9mm pistol — as well as a home-made shotgun. However, the then provincial attorney general Tim McNally declined to prosecute, on grounds of lack of evidence.

Powell was also linked to right wing plots, to disrupt the 1994 elections under the auspices of Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front.

More recently, in October 1995 ANC MP Lindiwe Sisulu pointed to Powell's involvement in attempts to build covert intelligence networks within the IFP aimed at furthering the party's bid for secession.

Questions about the real agenda being pursued by Powell again came to the fore in 1996 when former ANC warlord and police spy Sifiso Nkabinde was expelled from the party and joined the United Democratic Movement.

Powell was with Nkabinde at news conferences about the event, and vocally lent support to the disgraced warlord. According to intelligence reports, during this time he trained both UDM and IFP paramilitaries.

Powell was 'tricked' out of

Controversial KwaZulu-Natal Inkatha Freedom Party leader and MPL Phillip Powell was tricked into revealing the large cache of arms which were unearthed in northern KwaZulu-Natal this week.

The *Mail & Guardian* has been reliably informed that the offer of indemnity made to Powell is not necessarily binding on National Director of Public Prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka. Ngcuka is said to have "mandated" KwaZulu-Natal's Deputy Director of Prosecutions, Gert Nel, to enter into the indemnity

agreement with Powell. Powell revealed the arms on condition that he was granted indemnity from prosecution by Ngcuka's office. Nel placed a condition that Powell reveal all the consignments of weapons at his disposal. The naming of all persons involved in the gun-running was also a condition for indemnity.

But Powell is likely to face a long prison term if he fails to reveal more weapons and the people he was involved with in the alleged gun-running. Ngcuka said he was not satisfied with the amount of weapons revealed by Powell, and

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rogue elements. Ivor Powell, Mungo Soggot, Makhosini Nkosi and Wonder Hlongwa report

IFP hardliners

(276) M+G 14/5/99

Powell. Thousands of AK-47s, other assault rifles, shotguns as well as assorted submachine guns and handguns which can be traced to Powell have not yet been recovered — enough to wage war in the already unstable province.

The M&G is in possession of information linking Powell to many times the haul discovered on Wednesday, including:

- the remainder of about 60 tons of armaments supplied by former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock in 1992;

- an assortment of shotguns, G3, R-1 and R-4 assault rifles, as well as handguns received from South African Police stores in 1993,

- quantities of weapons, including AK-47s, Makarov pistols, Uzis, Scorpion machine pistols and bazookas, which, according to intelligence reports, Powell subsequently procured via illegal arms dealers

Intelligence sources told the M&G it is believed the remainder of the weapons were buried near a game reserve in northern KwaZulu-Natal. Whether the weapons were subsequently distributed remains unknown.

In the fraud investigation, Ngcuka has ordered his serious economic offences directorate to probe long-standing claims of widespread financial impropriety in the province — impropriety that has been linked to senior officials in the IFP anxious to turn the province into an independent kingdom.

One of the most intriguing aspects of this investigation is the case of Durban businessman Sateesh Isseri, who two years ago blew the whistle on a sophisticated scheme to transfer provincial government funds to party coffers by over invoicing "loyal business".

The serious economic offences directorate has confirmed it is investigating Isseri's case — and others — along with two other state in-

stitutions. They will continue an investigation started by provincial police two years ago.

Isseri was put on the witness protection programme in August 1997 after distilling his allegations into a lengthy statement, details of which were published in the M&G last year.

The statement explained how he had struck a deal with provincial government officials to supply medical equipment, but had then become embroiled in a scheme in which he was overpaid for his services and instructed to distribute the extra money to various officials.

Isseri described several conversations with heavyweight IFP officials who discussed their plans to make the province an independent kingdom, and how they needed "loyal businessmen" to achieve their goals.

He also described how he and other businessmen were flown to a paramilitary training camp where he claimed to have seen army and police vehicles, as well as several vans belonging to Khulani-Springbok patrols.

Isseri launched a civil suit against the provincial government for money he claimed was owed to him in terms of the original contract he had signed to supply medical equipment. The province offered an extraordinary defence which effectively supported Isseri's claims of impropriety. The defence was that the officials with whom Isseri had dealt, including the province's expenditure head, had been involved in a fraud-



'Warlord-in-chief': IFP strongman Philip Powell has been centrally linked to clandestine activity which has been building up ahead of the elections. PHOTOGRAPH: NAASHON ZALK

ulent conspiracy. That case is still pending.

Isseri has since accused the Durban police of trying to frame him on other charges, and is currently out on bail after appearing in a Durban court last month.

Ngcuka's serious economic offences directorate officially endorsed Isseri's application for bail, at the same time it decided to launch its full-scale probe.

Senior IFP officials, acting on information given to them by their own intelligence struc-

tures, are ferrying weapons around the province in an attempt to prevent another breakthrough by the priority crimes unit.

The officials began doing this before the discovery of the cache that was hidden by Powell. The syndicate to move arms around has been going on since the director of public prosecutions announced that warlords who are involved in gun running in KwaZulu-Natal would be investigated and arrested.

The IFP's national leadership has rallied behind its warlords.

indemnity

M+G 14-20/5/99

that Powell could not have acted alone.

"Powell will most likely be charged with conspiracy to commit treason if he fails to bring more arms. Bulelani [Ngcuka] will not rest until Powell reveals the culprits he was working with," the source said.

The unearthing of the weapons followed a police raid on KwaZulu-Natal MEC for Safety and Security Nyanga Ngubane's home a few weeks ago. An illegal shotgun was found in Ngubane's home. Sources say Ngubane will be arrested and charged "very soon". Ngubane claimed the weapon belonged to a security company guarding his home, but new evidence has emerged that it belonged to the police.

The M&G has learned that Powell was about to be arrested and charged with gun-running shortly before he volunteered the information about the arms cache.

Investigating officers from Ngcuka's office put Powell under 24 hour surveillance after getting information that he and others were planning to "unleash a spate of political violence" in KwaZulu-Natal. Sources say Powell panicked as a result of the heavy police presence around him. He was also worried that the IFP would not protect him after the party failed to come to a political settlement with authorities following the raid on Ngubane's home.

A source close to Powell says he was also unhappy with his position on the IFP's provincial election list. With latest opinion polls predicting an ANC win in KwaZulu-Natal, the chances that Powell, at number 22, will return to the provincial legislature look slim.

Ngcuka's representative, Siphon Ngwema, said the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions does not have the power to grant indemnity to anyone, adding that is the domain of the courts.

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France	R5.65	22.5	R5.06	10.5
Italy	R8.65	14.1	R8.05	9.7
Switzerland	R5.65	22.5	R5.06	10.5
Portugal	R5.65	22.5	R5.06	10.5
India	R9.35	15.1	R8.72	15.7
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More

Arms found

(276) CP 16/5/99
*Other searches likely,
politicians face arrest*

By CHRIS HLONGWA
and CHIARA CARTER

MORE weapons searches are likely to take place this week, just days after the frightening discovery of arms of war stashed away by militants in KwaZulu-Natal, and the Directorate of Public Prosecutions says several politicians in the region face imminent arrest.

The Directorate has targeted two further sites in KwaZulu-Natal where they hope to unearth yet more arms in the coming days.

Tomorrow, the National Council of the Inkatha Freedom Party is to meet to discuss the discovery of a massive arms cache hidden by IPF legislator Philip Powell.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says Powell is yet to explain the arms cache to the council.

On Friday, just three days after the cache was recovered, detectives found another deadly arsenal - this time in working order.

The cache was found in Hibberdene, on the lower South Coast, an area which falls under Chief Calalakhubo Khawula, a member of the KwaZulu-Natal legislature.

The area has a history of conflict between the IFP and the African National Congress.

Detectives working under the provincial head of special projects in the Directorate of Public Prosecutions, advocate Chris MacAdam, found the arms cache - thought to have been hidden the previous day - in the KwaHlongwa area, 20km from Hibberdene.

The cache contained highly sophisticated weapons including six M26 fragmentation hand grenades, five M791 anti-personnel rifle grenades, and 200 rounds of R1 assault rifle ammunition.

MacAdam believes the weapons were to be used by a five-man hit squad during the elections.

A man has been arrested and will appear in court soon.

MacAdam said the rifle grenades had the power of mortars and could

be fired from an R1 assault rifle - making them ideal for attacks on polling stations and political rallies.

He said senior officials from political parties in the region faced imminent arrest.

The arms caches are believed to be just part of tons of illegal weapons hidden around the country.

Intelligence reports indicate that clandestine activities, including paramilitary training, has taken place in KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and the Western Cape.

Arms originating from Angola and Namibia are believed to have been smuggled into the country from the west coast and hidden on small farms.

A large amount of the weaponry believed to have been hidden prior to 1994 originated from the notorious security police base at Vlakteplaas, outside Pretoria.

Jailed former Vlakteplaas commander Eugene de Kock has told investigators that about 80 percent of the weapons from Vlakteplaas - some 250 tons - were sent to General Hans Dreyer, former commander of the notorious counter-insurgency unit Koevoet.

The whereabouts of these armaments are unknown.

According to intelligence reports, some are hidden in the Eastern Cape and Free State. More weaponry is said to be stashed away on smallholdings in Gauteng.

The remaining 20 percent of the Vlakteplaas arms was moved to Armscor subsidiary Mechem and later handed to Powell, who at the time was training thousands of recruits at the Mlaba camp near Ulundi.

Buthelezi said the arms discovered this week were not used by the trainees.

Investigators are concerned that the weapons which they found are only a third of the estimated 60 tons of weaponry De Kock gave to

■ To Page 2



ensioners at a community centre in the Duduza township east of Johannesburg. The area is in the lead-up to the elections set for June 2 and is likely to succeed President Mandela. ■ Pic: AP

campaign trail

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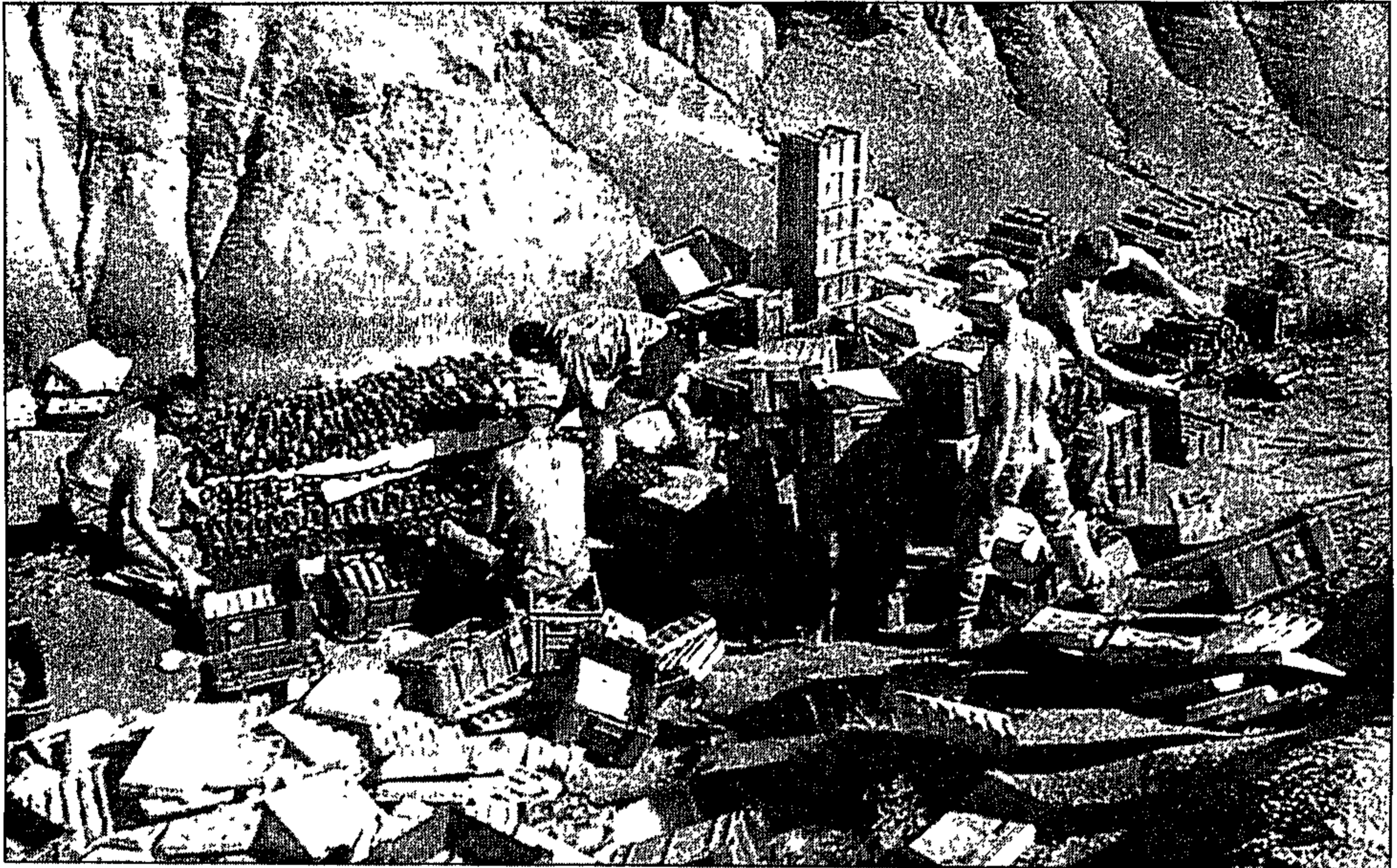
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He said this, along with the high levels of poverty, contributed to the high crime rate on the Cape Flats. Mbeki also expressed his dissatisfaction that most of the senior police officers in the Cape were white.

"The majority of people in the Cape are coloured and as long as the top policemen are all white, you have no hope of succeeding in the fight against crime," Mbeki said.

Referring to calls for the re-introduction of the death penalty, Mbeki said the New National Party was not being honest in dealing with the issue.

P.T.O.



EXPLOSIVES... Police explosive experts prepare part of the arms cache that was discovered this week at Nquthu in KwaZulu-Natal. The weapons were pointed out by IFP strongman Philip Powell for demolition. Pic: NATAL WITNESS

Powell's guns: SPU and SAP links

By CHIARA CARTER (276)

PHILIP Powell, a member of the provincial legislature in KwaZulu-Natal, is a former member of the SA security police who is alleged to have continued to supply the SAP with information after joining Inkatha.

He was responsible for training Inkatha Self Protection units and, according to former IFP kingpin Walter Felgate, was directly accountable to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Several sources, including Eugene de Kock, claim a link between Powell and superspy Craig Williamson, and say that as late as 1994 Powell held meetings with rightwingers.

More recently he was alleged to be assisting Midlands warlord and spy Sifiso Nkabinde, who joined the United Democratic Movement after being expelled from the ANC.

De Kock was not the only source of Powell's arsenal.

In December 1993, Powell wrote a letter marked private and confidential and titled "Self Protection Training Programme", in which he com-

plained about a lack of co-operation from the police.

Powell wrote: "If the Department of Police are unable to supply the ammunition then it is suggested that other avenues be examined."

De Kock, at his own trial, said that Powell had told him that he had found a person in Durban who could get better homemade guns.

An intelligence report alleged Powell sold ammunition to IFP members in Patheni and had loading equipment to make ammunition at his home.

De Kock told investigators he delivered six truckloads of weapons to Philip Powell for use in the SPU training project. He said that four KwaZulu government trucks were used on 1 October 1993 and another two trucks on 20 October 1993.

De Kock was introduced to Powell by members of the Durban security branch, while he was on holiday in KwaZulu Natal.

De Kock later went to the police weapons store at Armscor subsidiary, Mechem, to collect ammunition.

According to the amnesty application of Mechem official Johann Ver-

ster, De Kock phoned and asked for all the weapons.

This was apparently approved by Mechem manager Theo van Dyk. The armaments De Kock collected were not only former Vlakplaas weapons but also arms from Mechem.

Another Mechem employee, Martinus Gouws, made a statement in which he listed the weapons and explosives given to De Kock on one occasion - including RPG7s, mortars, hand grenades and cord igniters.

De Kock was no longer in the employ of the SAP at the time but he told investigators that he had used an old police ID card.

De Kock two weeks later collected yet another load of weaponry and also fetched arms stored at a privately-owned plot. The first load was collected by four KZ police trucks allegedly driven by Erick Mbhele, Jethro Ndlovu, a Mr Mhlongo, Sgt Mthimkhulu and Patrick Mbambo.

The second load was delivered to Powell at Ulundi, and Vlakplaas operative Snor Vermeulen helped store the weapons. The arms cache found this week was linked to Powell's Mlaba training camp.

Powell was the driving force behind the Self-Protection Unit training project and was also the Mlaba camp Commander. The camp's origins lie in a meeting on 25 August 1993 which decided to set up a Self Protection Unit training project financed by the KwaZulu government.

Between October 1993 and April 1994, 5 000 to 8 000 IFP recruits were trained at the Mlaba and Emandleni Matleng camps. About 1 200 of these trainees were recalled in April 1994 to be trained as Special Constables. Statements made to the TRC suggest these recruits received training in offensive methods and in the use of unlawful weaponry.

A former Mlaba trainee alleged that they received instructions on how to construct home-made bombs, sabotage vehicles and set alight a bus in a manner which would prevent most passengers from escaping.

Instructors included former Vlakplaas members (including De Kock and Snor Vermeulen), Askaris, rightwingers and Caprivi trainees.

At least some of these people are alleged to have recently restarted training projects in the province.

POLITICS

Arms find jolts police into action

EX-POLICE agent Eugene de Kock, known as Prime Evil and serving a total of 262 years for apartheid-era murders, has joined a hunt for arms which it is feared could be used to disrupt coming elections.

The office of the chief prosecutor said it had enlisted De Kock to help trace tones of weapons which he secretly gave to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in 1994.

A weekend discovery of a small cache of handgrenades and ammunition followed the destruction last week of a seven-ton stockpile of weapons, which a senior IFP figure finally surrendered five years after it was buried.

Possible conspiracies

The incidents have jolted police and prosecutors to investigate possible conspiracies aimed at ending the relative peace that the run-up to the nation's second all-race elections on June 2 have so far enjoyed.

"We are investigating the possibility that the arms caches are linked to plans to disrupt the election," public prosecutor spokesman Siphon Ngwema told Reuters.

Police have said they were investigating rightwingers, who launched a bombing campaign ahead of the 1994 election, as well as the IFP and the Cape Town-based Muslim vigilante group People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (Pagad).



Eugene de Kock has been enlisted to trace weapons he secretly gave to the IFP in 1994.

More than 20 000 mainly IFP and ANC supporters died in faction fighting in the rural eastern province of KwaZulu-Natal until the two parties agreed on an uneasy truce in 1996.

Ngwema said De Kock would visit northern KwaZulu-Natal and confirmed that the second small arms cache, found in a town on the province's southern coast, had been hidden less than 24 hours before it was uncovered.

"The equipment was extremely clean and would have been ready for immediate use," he said.

The cache included rocket-propelled grenades, which arms experts said would be a lethal weapon to use against a target like a polling station.

De Kock, whose amnesty application for a gruesome string of apartheid-era killings begins next week, delivered truckloads of weapons to the IFP in a bid to destabilise the 1994 vote -
Reuters

Security 18/5/99

ANC slams IFP for failing to discipline Phillip Powell

DD 19/5/99

(276) (105)

**Pule Molebeledi
and Sapa**

DURBAN — The African National Congress (ANC) in KwaZulu-Natal has condemned the decision by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) not to discipline its controversial leader Phillip Powell after he revealed a large hidden arms cache last week.

The IFP's national council came out in support of Powell, saying the acquisition of the weapons should be placed within the context of the conflicts of the past, which was characterised by a low intensity civil war "resulting from unwarranted and murderous ANC attacks on the IFP".

The council condemned statements made by the ANC leadership in the province seeking to criminalise certain IFP members.

Provincial ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said yesterday that it was unfortunate that the decision not to act against Powell might be interpreted by many as condoning crime.

He said the stance might also be seen to be based on the fear that Powell would implicate senior IFP leaders in gun-running and political violence.

Makhaye said the ANC be-

lieved the law would take its due course with regard to Powell and other political leaders involved in gun-running and political violence irrespective of their political affiliation.

Meanwhile, Chief Calalakubo Khaluwa, a senior IFP official in KwaZulu-Natal, appeared briefly in the Maritzburg regional court yesterday afternoon on charges of possessing illegal firearms, ammunition and explosives.

Arms cache

Khawula handed himself over to police investigating gun-running in Maritzburg early yesterday morning.

He was accompanied by his legal representative and members of his family.

Khawula was sought by police in connection with the arms cache found in KwaHlongwa near Hibberdene on the lower south coast on Friday afternoon.

The area falls under Khawula's chieftainship.

Prosecutor Cherine Lakhi asked that Khawula be taken to a local hospital as he was ill.

She also asked that the case be postponed until today for a formal bail application.

Khawula's attorney Laurence de Klerk appealed to the court that Khawula be released because he had been arrested on a warrant issued outside the area in which the arms were found.

Khawula's son, Muntomuhle Khawula, president of the IFP youth brigade, confirmed that his father was freed after he had handed himself over to police yesterday.

The arms cache, which while not large in quantity but found to be quite potent, was discovered concealed in a forest in Hibberdene on the south coast and was carefully preserved for quick offensive deployment.

It consisted of five M-791 anti-personnel rifle grenades, 200 rounds of R1 assault rifle ammunition and six M26 fragmentation hand grenades.

The family was however, expecting police to issue a new warrant of arrest.

Khawula, a known south coast strongman, had taken a low profile in politics recently following his deteriorating health.

He was not included in the IFP's electoral list for the same reason and had stopped attending legislature sessions as an MP late last year due to ill health.

ARMS CACHES

(276)
RM 21/5/99
**PEACE PROCESS
SURVIVES FIND**

Is IFP's Powell in the clear?

The labyrinthine complexities of political manoeuvring in KwaZulu-Natal have taken a new turn with two apparently contradictory developments: the discovery of a huge Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) cache of arms near Nqutu, and the signing a few days later of a peace pact between the IFP and the ANC at Durban



Phillip Powell

The discovery by the Directorate of Public Prosecutions of the cache has led to strident calls by the ANC for the ejection of IFP stalwart Phillip Powell from the IFP list of provincial candidates in the pending June 2 election

Powell has since admitted he took delivery of the arms from Eugene de Kock, the last commander of the dreaded "counter-terrorist" police unit at Vlakplaas and now a life-term prisoner.

Having secured a written undertaking from KwaZulu-Natal director of prosecutions Mokotedi Mpshe not to prosecute him, Powell agreed to identify the site where the arms — "enough to start a war" — were hidden.

Condemned by his ANC foes as an IFP warlord, Powell, a former security police officer who has won the loyalty of his IFP confreres, carries the wounds of an attempt to assassinate him in the early Nineties, at the height of the war between the ANC and the IFP in the province

The ANC attempt to pressure the IFP into expelling Powell has been resisted at the highest levels:

□ IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has denied that he knew of the delivery of arms by De Kock, but expressed approval of "the initiative" of IFP leaders who surrendered military equipment acquired before 1994 to the State, and called on "anyone who has control over arms caches to follow their example and match (their) goodwill";

□ Buthelezi's defence of his lieutenant is

"no-go areas" The relevant clause means that the dominant party in any one area — in broad terms the IFP controls the rural hinterland and the ANC the main urban centres — is obliged to allow its rival to campaign there.

Political observers see the peace pact as evidence that the rapprochement between the ANC and the IFP is still on track, and that the much talked about emergence of Buthelezi as Deputy President in an ANC-dominated national government is still a possibility

The cordial relationship between Buthelezi and ANC president Thabo Mbeki — who is poised to move in the Office of the President when Nelson Mandela vacates it on June 2 — is still extant, it has

trol and to back its reported surrender of arms caches to the authorities with details of where, when and to whom they were handed over

The acrimony generated by the discovery of the Nqutu arms cache, and the subsequent unearthing of a smaller cache at Hibberdene on the KwaZulu-Natal south coast, has not stopped the signing of a four-page code of conduct by the ANC and IFP

Apart from committing the signatories to peaceful political campaigning and to avoidance of inflammatory or defamatory statements, the code tackles the main obstacle to the exercise of democratic rights in the province: the existence, on both sides of the political divide, of the

linked to an attack on the ANC for criticising Powell while not taking action against its own cadres "still clinging" to arms caches "I (am) shocked by the statements of the ANC leadership in KwaZulu-Natal seeking to incriminate Mr Powell," he adds, referring to calls on National Director of Public Prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka to indict Powell, and

□ The IFP national council, taking cognisance of the historical circumstances of "low intensity war" in KwaZulu-Natal in 1993, states that it can neither condone nor condemn Powell's role in the acquisition of the weapons. Its refusal to condemn let alone expel Powell is followed by an exhortation to the ANC to relinquish the "many arms" under its con-

Code of conduct is 'a small beginning' for KwaZulu-Natal

BD 24/5/99 (276)
Pule Molebeledi

DURBAN — KwaZulu-Natal premier Lionel Mtshali yesterday urged political leaders and their followers to put the animosities and aggression of the past behind them and to refrain from confrontation ahead of the elections.

Speaking during a poorly attended pre-election prayer meeting held outside the King's Park stadium, Mtshali said that in recent times, KwaZulu-Natal had descended into despair, hatred and division.

"The ugly shadow of violence has often marred this beautiful and fertile land, pitting brother against brother and setting whole communities against each other. This has undoubtedly been the greatest tragedy of our time."

Mtshali said the tide was, however, turning and there was hope that the violent events would soon be a memory, "a distant though terrible page of our history".

Since launching the pre-election peace initiative, he said, a code of conduct had been signed by the former feuding adversaries, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC).

"Some may say it is a small beginning, yet from small beginnings come great things and there can be no greater aim to reach for than peace for our communities and for our children," he said.

Neither IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi nor ANC president Thabo Mbeki could attend the function due to other commitments. The ANC was however represented by its deputy-president, Jacob Zuma, who is also provincial tourism and economic affairs MEC.

Peace accord

The prayer meeting, billed as an event to reinforce the recently signed peace accord between the ANC and the IFP, came amid small but growing signs of political intimidation taking place in the province. On Friday, an ANC entourage complained of acts of intimidation while putting up posters in Nongoma, an IFP stronghold.

Buthelezi was locked out of the Gamalakhe sports stadium, allegedly by ANC supporters, at the weekend, and prevented from addressing a political rally.

The ANC asked the Independent Electoral Commission yesterday whether it would be possible to count votes in Nongoma after their leader, Cyril Zulu's home was petrol-bombed by known "thugs" linked to the IFP.

Meanwhile, in his message of hope, delivered at the prayer meeting on his behalf by Mtshali, Buthelezi called for South Africans, particularly political leaders, to commit themselves to peace and reconciliation before the June 2 election.

The election, he said, would determine the country's destiny and was even more important than the 1994 democratic elections.

The next elections must signal the triumph of peace and the final closure of the chapter on the conflicts of the past. "We must close the chapter on the culture of disrespect, discrimination, racism and isolation which characterised apartheid."

The IFP leader also called for an end to the culture of violence and rebellion and the lack of respect for human life, law and authority propagated during the armed struggle.

Ngcuka adamant Powell will be prosecuted

Jonny Steinberg

SUPER attorney-general Bulelani Ngcuka is adamant he will prosecute Inkatha Freedom Party MP Philip Powell, but is facing resistance from his staff, who are divided over the matter, sources close to Ngcuka's office say.

Powell's lawyers insisted yesterday that KwaZulu-Natal attorney-general Mokotedi Mpshe had given Powell written assurance of indemnity against prosecution in exchange for Powell leading them to hidden arms caches.

"I decline to prosecute Philip Powell. I regard the matter as final," read a letter signed by Mpshe on an official letterhead and dated May 12 1999. The letter is in the possession of Powell's lawyers.

Mpshe could not be reached for comment yesterday.

However, Ngcuka's spokesman, Siphon Ngwema, said yesterday that although Ngcuka wanted to prosecute no decision had been taken.

"It is too early in the investigation to decide," Ngwema said.

"There are a number of outstanding issues relating to how much Powell has in fact disclosed. A decision will be made about prosecution in due course."

However, a source close to Ngcuka's office said yesterday that the super attorney-general was adamant that Powell would be prosecuted, but that he had encountered resistance from members of his office.

"Powell's arrest was imminent when he came forward to volunteer information," the source said.

"If you are about to arrest somebody for murder and he confesses you do not

give him indemnity."

The source denied that Ngcuka authorised Mpshe to grant Powell indemnity. "Mpshe's office wrote a standard letter saying that if Powell gave full disclosure, including the names of people implicated in handling the arms caches, he would consider using Powell as a state witness.

"The letter is academic really, because Powell did not give full disclosure. Weapons are missing from the cache and he has not led prosecutors to them."

The source said that members of the unit established in Ngcuka's office to probe crimes committed under apartheid wanted Ngcuka to give Powell indemnity.

However, Ngwema said he was not aware of any disagreement about the issue in Ngcuka's office.

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Government needs to intervene in the

BD 26/5/99

I know where other arms are - IFP leader

(276)

Source: 28/5/99

By Mfanafuthi Mhlongo

INKATHA Freedom Party KwaZulu-Natal MPL Mrs Lauretta Ngcobo claimed yesterday that her party knew about other arms caches hidden in the province.

Speaking in Durban during a political debate hosted by the Diakonia Council of Churches, Ngcobo said her colleagues within the IFP knew where other arms caches were hidden.

"People keep on mumbling as if they know nothing about the guns but I want to put the record straight by saying that I know where the arms caches are," said Ngcobo.

However, she said the IFP would in the meantime not dis-

close the whereabouts of the arms caches because if it did, people would accuse the IFP of stockpiling arms.

"We always discuss the issue of arms in the meetings of our organisation's rank and file but we leave it to the senior leadership to decide whether to disclose the information or not," said Ngcobo.

She said the IFP was "not in a hurry" to disclose the location of the arms because the matter was a very sensitive one that could indeed even lead the country into civil war.

Ngcobo added that other parties, such as the African National Congress, were not innocent of the same offence because the IFP was aware of where the ANC hid its weapons.

"We know that when the ANC was entering the country, its arms entered through the borders of the Transkei. These were never declared," she said.

The issue of arms became topical in KwaZulu-Natal when IFP provincial MPL Mr Philip Powell led investigators to arms caches hidden at Nquthu in the northern part of the province.

IFP national spokesman Reverend Musa Zondi said the party wanted Ngcobo to give more details about where the reported arms caches were hidden.

"Sometimes the party as a whole does not know what is known by its individual members, but if Mrs Ngcobo has information, she must come forward with it," said Zondi.

Report puts Buthelezi in tight spot

Secret memo on Kwazulu 'emergency strategy' implicates IFP leader in knowledge of arms cache

STEMBISO MSOMI

ST 30/5/99

(276)

Ben Ngubane and provincial Welfare MEC Prince Gideon Zulu.

Details of the memo are contained in a special report on Inkatha's self-protection unit set up by the government to probe Kwazulu-Natal violence. The report was presented to the truth commission.

In the memo, Powell proposed developing an "emergency strategy" to prevent the turmoil that had erupted in the Bophuthatwana homeland at the time. He further proposed setting up a "mobile rapid reaction force" within the Kwazulu police.

Among the reaction force's logistical requirements listed in the memo were mortars and machine guns.

"Support weapons would have to be acquired for counterinsurgency operations. These include squad-level weapons such as MAG-type, belt-fed machine guns and 60mm mortars," the memo read.

Contacted yesterday, Powell confirmed the existence of the memo but said he was "not the sole author". He declined to comment further. Asked whether Buthelezi had attended the Cabinet meeting, he replied: "You should ask him."

Buthelezi could not be contacted while the IFP's spokesman, the Rev Musa Zondi, said he could not comment as the memo formed part of "government documents".

"It's a stolen document," he said. Although Powell had already procured the De Kock cache about six months before the Cabinet meeting, no mention was made of this in the memo.



GREETINGS! DP leader Tony Leon, flanked by supporters, tries to win over a shopper at the Eastgate shopping centre in Johannesburg yesterday. Leon flew in earlier from Cape Town after cancelling a campaign drive on the Cape Flats

Picture: MICHAEL WALKER

NATIONAL

IFP denies that it knew of arms

Party contradicts truth commission's findings

BD 31/5/99
(276)
Jonny Steinberg

THERE is no evidence that a secret memorandum linking Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the former KwaZulu homeland cabinet to the purchase of arms by Philip Powell is genuine or even exists, IFP spokesman Blessed Gwala said yesterday.

However, the secret memorandum is cited in the truth commission's final report and copies are understood to have been filed both in police dockets and in the records of the auditor-general.

A newspaper report yesterday claimed that Powell presented the memorandum to a KwaZulu cabinet meeting, attended by Buthelezi, in March 1994. The memorandum set out a plan to train and equip a "rapid reaction force" of 1 000 men to defend KwaZulu from possible African National Congress attempts to destabilise the territory. Among the weapons the memorandum proposed be procured were "MAG-type belt-fed machine guns and 60mm mortars".

Buthelezi has repeatedly denied that he knew of Powell's plans to procure arms for the IFP.

The truth commission's final report concluded that Buthelezi, Powell, members of the KwaZulu cabinet and others had planned unlawful actions which might have resulted in death and injury. The conclusion was based, in part, on the evidence of the memorandum.

The plan, the commission said, "was intended to furnish the IFP with the military capacity to prevent, by force, the central government and the transitional executive council from holding elections which did not accommodate the IFP's desires for self-determination".

According to a report compiled by transitional executive council investigators in 1994, several high-ranking SA policemen were informed of paramilitary activities in KwaZulu but failed to act.

The report claims that then SA police commissioner Johan van der Merwe was flown by helicopter to the Mlaba paramilitary camp in early 1994. Police had been given a map of the camp detailing where weapons were hidden.

KZN parties intolerant - survey

By CHRIS HLONGWA

KWAZULU-NATAL is one of the most likely places in South Africa where one can get beaten up or even killed for one's political opinions.

This is one of the findings released by the Institute of Multi-party Democracy (IMPD) this week.

The institute also found - after polling about 700 people in April - there was fear in the general population in the province that there would be widespread intimidation, probably causing many potential voters to stay away from the polls on Wednesday.

Calling for political parties to see to it that people were more tolerant of divergent views, the IMPD stressed there was "a need for greater tolerance amongst KwaZulu-Natalians".

In another finding - coming soon after the hailed peace accord by arch-rivals, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC), the survey notes that most people in the province see peace agreements as publicity stunts that would have little effect at grassroots level where the problem "actually

exists".

No-go areas still abound and many Amakhosi and other traditional leaders allow only one party to campaign in their areas.

While the province is much more peaceful than it was in the last election five years ago - fatal clashes have dropped dramatically - there are still fears of a rise in political violence.

On the levels of violence and intimidation, the survey states: Very few respondents expect violence around the elections, but fears of possible intimidation is more widespread.

If there is violence and intimidation, it will definitely have an effect on the turn-out at the polls. Rural, black respondents are more likely to experience intimidation than respondents in urban areas.

ANC and IFP supporters are more likely to receive "tough treatment" from their communities than supporters of other parties.

And, perhaps even more troubling despite the existence of a secret ballot, are the high number of respondents with little or no education who believe the community will know how they voted.

Researchers of the institute

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have emphasised that "it is important that voters are convinced that their vote is secret. Despite the existence of the secret ballot, only 58 percent of the respondents agree that their party preference will not be known in the areas where they live".

More IFP supporters (78 percent) than ANC supporters (54 percent) agreed their party preference will not be known where they live. Black people also saw opposition parties as a negative factor in politics. Blacks are much more interested in development and expect parties to work together to bring a better life.

"Widespread disillusionment with the role that the political parties play in the political process has been reported and in this survey we explored the views of respondents on the function of opposition parties in the democratic dispensation."

While most opposition party supporters view the opposition as a watchdog, in contrast, ANC supporters view the role of the opposition as that of an ally that should co-operate with government. Respondents in general, but particularly ANC supporters, viewed the role of the opposition as negative.

Powell to be charged

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Sowetan 11/6/89

By Mbulelo Baloyi

PREPARATIONS for a high treason charge against Inkatha Freedom Party MPL and former security policeman Mr Phillip Powell are almost complete — in what will be the first high treason trial in post-apartheid South Africa.

Senior prosecutors in the national public prosecuting authority said yesterday that Powell and several other senior IFP members will soon be charged with high treason following the discovery of a large arms cache last month at a commonage at Mvunyane settlement in Nquthu in northern KwaZulu-Natal.

Political observers believe the trial will demonstrate that in-coming President Thabo Mbeki intends to eradicate the impunity with which warlords escape prosecution in the past decade in KwaZulu-Natal.

Sources close to the priority crimes unit of the national directorate of public prosecutions told *Sowetan* yesterday that all the relevant investigative work in the arms cache case had been completed and the green light had been given that Powell be prosecuted.

Barely a week after members of the priority crimes unit unearthed two tons of weapons stashed in Nquthu, another IFP MPL from the South Coast, Inkosi Calalakubo Khawula, was arrested after a small arms cache was found in KwaHlongwa area.

Powell will possibly be charged together with Khawula and MEC for safety and security Inkosi Nyanga Ngubane, who also appeared in the Pietermaritzburg Regional Court last month facing charges under the Arms and Ammunition Act.

The latest move comes after the initial confusion that followed when Powell pointed out the arms

cache amid denials that he would be prosecuted. Reports then suggested that he had been granted indemnity by the KwaZulu-Natal director of public prosecutions, Advocate Mokotedi Mpshe.

Early last month, Mpshe's boss, Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, told journalists that "there was no way Powell will not be prosecuted for the arms of war that were found in Nquthu".

The weapons found at Nquthu included anti-tank mines, anti-personnel landmines, explosives, rocket launchers, handgrenades and rifle grenades.

The arms had been stored in a concrete bunker since late 1993 after Powell allegedly received the haul from former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock.

Soon after the discovery of the arms cache, political parties called on the IFP to expel Powell but the party dug in its heels. Instead it expressed a vote of confidence in him at a national council meeting held in Ulundi.

The IFP said the acquisition of the weapons must be placed within the context of the conflicts of the past to which it belongs.

It said that such context was characterised by a low-intensity civil war resulting from the "unwarranted and murderous African National Congress attacks on the IFP".

"Under such historical circumstances the acquisition and subsequent underground storage of these weapons can be neither condoned nor condemned," the IFP national council said.

Powell's lawyer Advocate Shane Matthews produced a letter then confirming that Mpshe had not taken a decision to prosecute his client.

It is believed that Ngcuka had used "a carrot and a stick" approach with regard to the Powell investigation.

IFP leaders face charges of treason

ARG 11/6/99

(276)

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg - The Inkatha Freedom Party's Phillip Powell and prominent party leaders, including Chief Calalakubo Khawula, may become the first people to be charged with treason in the new South Africa.

The trial could prove particularly embarrassing for IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is tipped to become deputy president, as it will reflect on alleged unlawful decisions of the former KwaZulu homeland government that he headed, and attempts by his party to derail the 1994 elections.

Last month Mr Powell revealed a hidden arms cache, part of a large arms consignment given to him by former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock, while Chief Khawula is under virtual house arrest in Ulundi in connection with another cache found in the KwaZulu Natal south coast region.

Sipho Ngwema, a spokesman for national Director of Public Prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka, yesterday confirmed that treason, among other charges, was being investigated. The treason charges apparently stem from alleged IFP resistance activities involving training of a paramilitary force - self-protection units - at Amatigulu and Mlaba camps before the 1994 elections.

Mr Powell was in charge of the camps and KwaZulu homeland police members, former South African Police and Defence Force members, askaris and operatives from Vlakplaas, including De Kock, were all involved in giving instructions and training at the camps, according to evidence heard by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The training, which included ambush and counter-ambush techniques, booby traps, hostage-taking, and other offensive tactics, was disrupted on April 26, 1994, when police, under the auspices of the Transitional Executive Council, raided Mlaba camp.

In its final report released last year, the TRC alluded to the possibility of treason in the IFP training of self-protection units. Mr Powell, who admitted he ran the project and conspired with former members of the security forces to acquire weapons and provide training, was held accountable by the TRC for the unlawful aims of the training project.

Plot thickens in KwaZulu

Powell investigated on treason charge

Pule Molebeledi

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Phillip Powell is being investigated on charges of treason, according to the office of National Director of Public Prosecutions Bulelani Ngcuka.

Ngcuka's spokesman, Siphon Ngwema, said yesterday the investigation against Powell and "quite a few" prominent KwaZulu-Natal politicians had been continuing over the past few months. Powell could not be reached for comment.

Recently, Powell revealed a cache of arms and explosives in northern KwaZulu-Natal to justice officials. The materiel, delivered in 1993 for the IFP's Mlaba camp trainees, came from convicted murderer Eugene de Kock.

De Kock was removed from C-Max prison in Pretoria last month — where he is serving a life sentence — by the public prosecutions unit to help with the arms cache case.

Powell has maintained that he pointed out the arms cache because he was assured of indemnity from prosecution by Ngcuka's unit in Maritzburg.

However, Ngwema said yesterday that Ngcuka's office had always been consistent on this issue.

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Firstly, we have no powers to grant indemnity to anyone. Secondly, we have not taken a decision to prosecute or not. We are still investigating," he said.

Another senior IFP leader, Calalakubo Khawula, made two court appearances last month and is out on bail following the discovery of an arms cache in KwaHlongwa near Hibberdene on the lower south coast.

The area falls under Khawula's chieftainship and he is expected to make a court appearance later this month. He was ordered not to communicate with Powell and not to move out of Ulundi.

Ngwema said the investigations against Zweli Mkhize, the provincial deputy chairman of the African National Congress, were continuing and would be concluded soon.

Mkhize said in a statement this week that KwaZulu-Natal premier Lionel Mtshali had made an unconditional undertaking that the commission of inquiry intended to be launched against him on gun-running activities would never sit.

Mkhize, who is also KwaZulu-Natal health MEC, said the allegations against him were false and part of a smear campaign to gain advantage for the IFP during the run-up to last week's elections.

Buthelezi accused of forming hit squads

By City Press Correspondent and Sapa

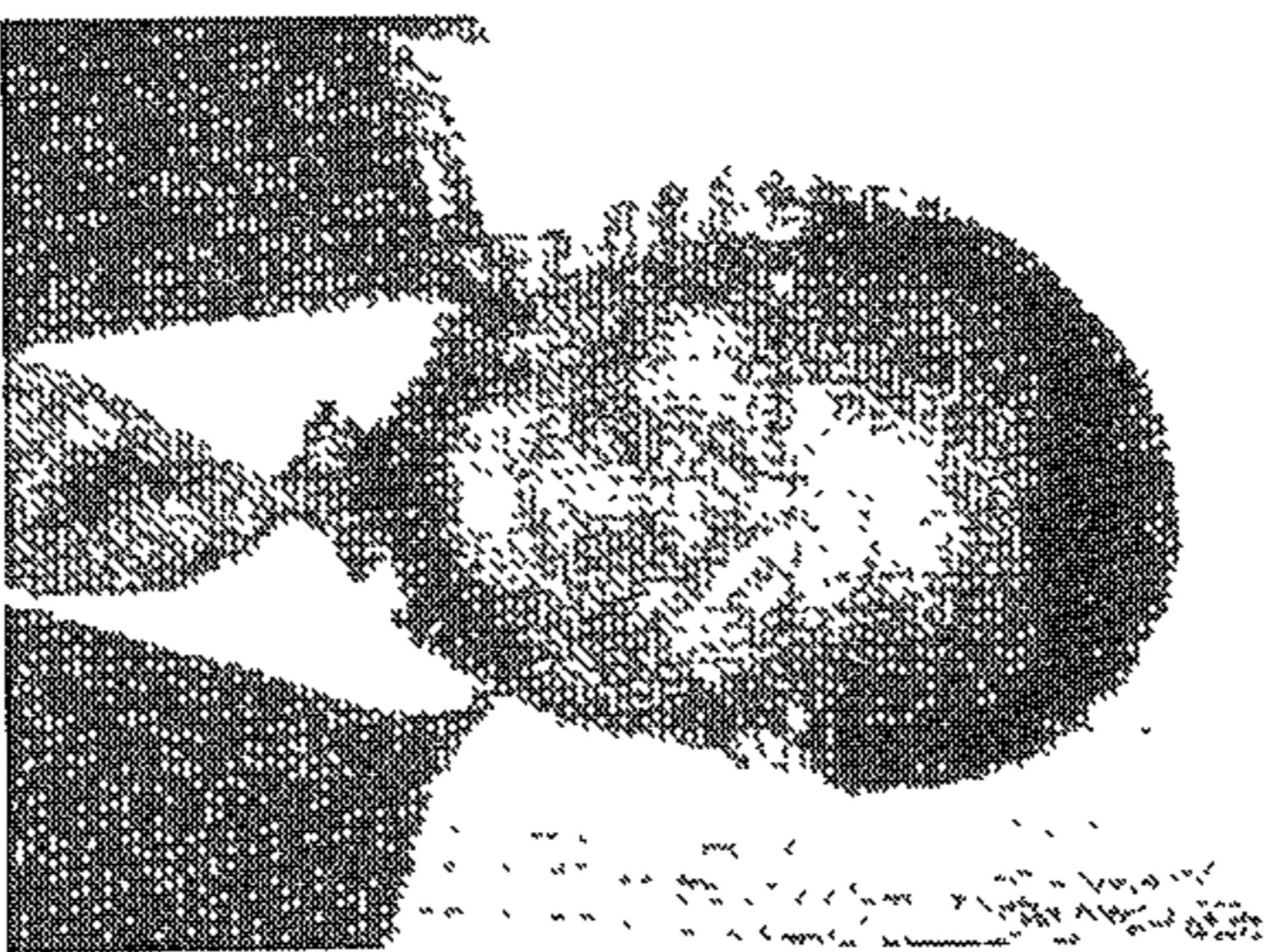
INVESTIGATORS from the directorate of special prosecutions have substantial evidence linking IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to the creation of hit squads and paramilitary units in KwaZulu-Natal.

The evidence was handed to the directorate after the TRC's final report found that the training of IFP self-protection units in 1993 and 1994 was in part "intended to furnish the IFP with the military capacity to prevent the central government/Independent Electoral Commission by force from holding elections which did not accommodate the IFP's desire for self-determination."

Earlier this week the *Mail and Guardian* revealed that on March 15, 1994 the KwaZulu homeland cabinet approved plans to set up a secret paramilitary unit inside the structures of the KwaZulu police. The unit was to have had its own command structures made up of IFP loyalists allegedly trained in hit squad activities on the Caprivi Strip as well as handpicked consultants from the apartheid security forces.

Today City Press can reveal that the National Directorate is in possession of yet more evidence directly linking Buthelezi to hit squads and paramilitary units within the structures of the Inkatha movement and the KwaZulu government.

As early as May 1984 Buthelezi is



TRAITOR? ... Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, minister of home affairs, has denied allegations of treason

on record in the KwaZulu legislative assembly as calling for the creation of a paramilitary wing with both defensive and offensive capabilities, and in 1985 secret state documents show that the SADF was requested to provide such a force.

According to secret documents from the State Security Council, the call followed a decision by the Inkatha Central Committee "that the whole of KwaZulu and Natal be turned into a so-called 'no go area' for the UDF, regardless of the consequences."

Also around this time a top secret Military Intelligence document, dated November 27, 1985 records that Buthelezi told then MI chief General Tienie Groenewald he wanted the struggle against the ANC taken to Lusaka, where the ANC had its headquarters at the time.

Another top secret military document, dated December 19, 1985 and addressed to then minister of defence Magnus Malan notes that Buthelezi himself "referred to the use of an offensive capacity to act against the ANC."

"He furthermore referred specifically to the need for a paramilitary task force."

It was directly in response to these requests that the State Security Council established an inter-departmental committee on December 20, 1985, made up of KZP personnel and South African securocrats.

Documents available to City Press show that in response to the inter-departmental committee's recommendations, approval for military support to Buthelezi was given by February 10, 1987. By February 27, plans for implementing the decisions were drawn up by a group under the then chief of the army General Kat Liebenberg. Among other paramilitary and intelligence provisions, the report specifies the creation of "a small full-time offensive element that could covertly be used against the UDF/ANC".

At the same time plans were made for the beefing up of the KZP.

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JP 20/16/99

An organogram setting out the structure of this clandestine aid package identifies Buthelezi as the only linkage between the clandestine armed wing of Inkatha and the structures of the KwaZulu government.

□ Sapa reports that a fed-up and furious Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Friday dismissed reports suggesting that he too might be investigated by the National Directorate of Public Prosecutions (NDPP) for alleged treason.

Appealing to the media to leave him alone, Buthelezi - who was re-appointed Home Affairs Minister on Thursday - called on the state to charge him if it had any evidence.

Buthelezi said his long track record of non-violence and integrity spoke for itself.

Buthelezi repeated that his erstwhile government had undertaken self-defence training under the parameters established by the National Peace Accord.

"This training was legal, open and aimed at helping to police and defend communities against a wave of politically sponsored violence and criminality."

It was not true that his former cabinet had approved any training for subversive purposes or sponsored any activities aimed at destabilising or hundering the 1994 elections, said Buthelezi.

"I can give the full assurance that it (the KwaZulu Cabinet) never approved, nor did anything which contravened the law."

Buthelezi approved Powell's war plans

M&G 18-24/6/99 (276)

New evidence shows IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi approved paramilitary activities aimed at undermining the 1994 election.

Ivor Powell reports

Mangosuthu Buthelezi was at a KwaZulu homeland cabinet meeting where the illegal acquisition of offensive weapons, such as machine guns and mortars, and the creation of a private army were approved, according to documents in the possession of the *M&G* and *Guardian*.

The documents are being studied by the National Directorate of Public Prosecutions, which could broaden its investigations into alleged treason by Inkatha Freedom Party strongman Philip Powell to Buthelezi and the former KwaZulu homeland cabinet.

This could create a severe political dilemma for the government as it would not want a senior government minister in court on charges of treason. But it could not prosecute Powell without involving Buthelezi as well.

President Thabo Mbeki's other option would be to grant a general amnesty to all involved in treasonous activities. This would mean pardoning old order South African Defence Force (SADF) and police personnel also implicated along with Powell.

The documents in the *M&G's* possession prove that Buthelezi and his cabinet were aware of Powell's plans to develop paramilitary units which could have destabilised the 1994 elections. Buthelezi has denied either authorising or having been informed of the acquisition of illegal weapons by militants in the IFP.

However, the former chief minister of KwaZulu was present at a homeland cabinet meeting on March 15 1994, where a highly subversive and almost certainly treasonable plan was approved.

A memorandum submitted to the meeting by Powell proposed the establishment of a paramilitary unit concealed inside the KwaZulu Police (KZP). The unit was to have its own

command structures and answer directly to the KwaZulu cabinet. The plan also involved the buying of offensive military weapons like mortars and light machine guns.

KwaZulu-Natal deputy director of public prosecutions Chris McAdam told the *M&G* the treason charges being investigated against Powell grew out of recommendations in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's final report.

The report suggests possible prosecutions in respect of the apparently subversive intentions behind the Mlaba training camp — where 5 000 IFP loyalists were trained in 1993 and 1994 — and moves towards a militarised secession around the time of the 1994 elections to establish a "Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal".

"If it is established that the issues referred to were the subject of KwaZulu cabinet resolutions, the question will have to be asked, is the cabinet also guilty?" McAdam said. He confirmed that the Powell memorandum and the March 15 cabinet meeting made up part of the investigation into possible treason prosecutions.

IFP representative Reverend Musa Zondi said he had no personal knowledge of the Powell memorandum. But, he added, "You have to see developments at the time in the context of what was happening at the time."

"We had a war situation. Mlaba was an open thing. There was nothing hanky-panky."

"We in the IFP are tempted to think that anybody who pursues treason charges now is doing a dirty job and acting as a political tool."

The Powell proposal was approved by the cabinet, former KZP commissioner Roy During confirmed. During was called in towards the end of the cabinet meeting and instructed to facilitate the acquisition of weapons. He was also ordered to integrate the

proposed unit into the structures of the KZP.

During said that in addition to the "Chief Minister [Buthelezi]" and Powell, others present at the meeting included current KwaZulu-Natal Premier Lionel Mtshali; former minister of arts, culture, science and technology Ben Ngubane; Prince Gideon Zulu, the secretary to the legislature, Stan Armstrong, and Daring's deputy, Major General Siphon Mathe.

Plans for the paramilitary outfit are spelt out in a memorandum marked "Secret". It explains plans for the establishment of a special "battalion /regimental-sized" paramilitary unit to be made up of 1 000 graduates of Powell's Mlaba paramilitary training camp.

Mlaba trainees testified to the truth commission that, in addition to conventional paramilitary training, they were schooled in planting limpet mines, manufacturing petrol bombs, sabotaging motor vehicles so they would explode when the ignition was turned and setting buses alight in such a way as to prevent those trapped inside from escaping.

Vlakplaas operative Snor Vermeulen, who was brought in as a trainer at the camp, said he was asked to provide lessons in firing mortars. By his own account, however, he declined "on principle". Such training did apparently take place.

Powell has confirmed he was one of the authors of the document discussed at the cabinet meeting, though he claims he was "not the sole author".

In the document, the Mlaba unit — described as a "mobile rapid reaction force" — would be led by 100 members of the notorious group of IFP hit squads trained by the SADF at the Caprivi Strip in the 1980s. Former South African security forces personnel were also to be brought in as special advisers.

In addition to 1 000 G3 assault rifles, the document specifies that "squad level support weapons such as MAG-type belt-fed machine guns and 60mm mortars" would also have to be



Implicated: Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been linked to plans to create a private army in KwaZulu. PHOTOGRAPH: NADINE HUTTON

acquired, along with other specialised military equipment.

The proposed establishment of the rapid reaction force is justified in terms of a bizarre scenario in which the armed forces of the South African government (at the time still under the National Party) are presented as being in cahoots with civil society groupings like the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The goal, the document argues, is to bring down the KwaZulu homeland government through a combination of rolling mass action and military intervention. The authors of the document spell out that, while the unit would be set up ostensibly within the KZP, it would be directly answerable to the IFP's KwaZulu government and not to police hierarchies.

The reason for concealing the unit is, as the document notes, that "legally the KwaZulu government is not entitled to train or develop an army" and that to go ahead with the establishment of an overtly military structure would be "tantamount to a declaration of independence". It is also noted that "it would be impossible to resource such an initiative through existing channels".

In terms of the Self-governing Territories Act of 1971, which legislated the status of the apartheid government's bantustans, "non independent homelands" were specifically prohibited from raising their own armies.

Attempts to sign on 1 000 Mlaba

trainees as "special constables" with in the KZP encountered resistance from Daring. Writing on March 18 to Buthelezi, with explicit reference to the cabinet meeting three days earlier, Daring expressed serious reservations.

However, the integration of the paramilitary unit was finally forestalled when the Mlaba camp was raided by representatives of the Transitional Executive Council on April 26. A large quantity of illegal weapons was confiscated.

Efforts to obtain the specified consignment of 1 000 G3 assault rifles from Eskom ran aground at the 11th hour — after R2.1-million had already been made available by the KwaZulu government for their purchase. The deal was cancelled on March 25 when Eskom's MD refused to allow it to go ahead. The aborted deal became the subject of a Goldstone Commission investigation.

There is no record of mortars and light machine guns having been acquired after the March 15 meeting.

However, late in 1993, Powell took possession of an estimated 60 tons of military hardware dispatched to him by former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock — who was also involved in securing the services of trainers for the programme.

This consignment only a fraction of which has been recovered, included the types of weapons Powell referred to in his memorandum to the KwaZulu cabinet.

Zwelithini says Buthelezi has insulted and defamed him

Zulu king lives in fear

(276) CP8/8/99

By CHRIS HLONGWA

KING Gbodwill Zwelithini this week hit back at Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his continuing virulent attacks on the Zulu monarch.

Zwelithini said he feared for his life as Buthelezi was causing renewed tension in KwaZulu-Natal. But the monarch urged his subjects to remain calm.

In a statement from the king's office, Zwelithini said Buthelezi's attacks on him were "unprovoked, insulting, abominable and defamatory".

The king said he has been considering "accusations" made at the recent meeting of the House of Traditional Leaders in Ulundi on July 23.

"The unprovoked, published statements that followed are both insulting and defamatory."

Buthelezi said at that meeting that Zwelithini might be "overplaying his hand" for allegedly spurning him and other Amakhosi, yet he (Buthelezi) had always mobilised people to give the king cattle and money.

Amakhosi present at the meeting passed a resolution in support of Buthelezi.

The king also commented on a lengthy article by Buthelezi that was published this week in the IFP-owned *Ilanga* newspaper.

In the article, Buthelezi claims the king had been associated with political parties created by the apartheid government. These included the Zulu National Party and the Nala Party.

Buthelezi also wrote that Zwelithini was getting more money than other monarchs in the country because of his (Buthelezi's) efforts.

The statement from Zwelithini's office reads:

"The article published in the *Ilanga* edition of Thursday, August 5, appears to be in line with the negative approach that followed the July 23 meeting."

"While His Majesty finds this unwarranted attack on his leadership and integrity appalling and abominable, he regards the prevailing peace and the spirit of reconciliation in the province paramount to his personal feelings, or the feelings of any individual."

"Many will agree that the peace the province and its people now enjoy was achieved at a very high cost in terms of life and money. Therefore, His Majesty will not at this stage react to the attacks, as it would generally be expected, in a situation of this nature."

The king called on the government to intervene. He believes the House of Traditional Leaders, which is chaired by Buthelezi, is being used to attack him.

"Although the king wants to avoid any disturbance of peace, reconciliation, stability and the cooperative functioning of the provincial coalition government, he finds it strange that a structure, the House of Traditional Leaders, created by government, is being used to attack him, thus creating an incorrect impression that the king is in conflict with his government," the statement from Zwelithini's office said.

"This situation is introducing renewed tension in the region and creating concerns over His Majesty's safety. These anomalies must be addressed by government."

Zwelithini said he was satisfied that many of his subjects and traditional leaders recognised his contribution to peace, stability and development in KwaZulu-Natal.

"His Majesty's endeavours and development initiatives are aimed at bringing about a better life for all communities of KwaZulu-Natal," the statement said.

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Zulu king lives in fear

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The king appealed for people to remain calm.

Under the current circumstances the king calls upon all his people, particularly those affected and annoyed by these latest developments, to calm their feelings and remain focused on the predominant need to promote unity, stability and prosperity for all.



Nkabinde's alleged killers arrested, in court soon

By CHRIS HLONGWA

HUNDREDS of supporters of slain United Democratic Movement leader Sifiso Nkabinde are expected to flock to the Pietermaritzburg regional court tomorrow to see for themselves the men who allegedly gunned down the controversial strongman in broad daylight in Richmond in January, right under the noses of policemen deployed in the volatile town. There is strong speculation that

at least one of the alleged killers could be Nkabinde's former bodyguard.

Nkabinde's widow Nonhlanhla says she was told by a provincial UDM leader that the first man to be arrested was "a former bodyguard".

The grapevine is also thick with rumours that the killers could be members of the African National Congress. Nkabinde was expelled from the ANC amid apartheid-spy allegations.

Some people believe he was killed by enemies within the UDM.

Two of the four male suspects had been arrested by yesterday and, according to the national director of public prosecutions,

Bulelani Ngcuka, the other two would be arrested some time this weekend.

Nkabinde's widow, who will be in court tomorrow, was ecstatic about the breakthrough after months of investigation by a special team under Kwazulu-Natal's deputy director of prosecutions, Chris MacAdam.

"We have been praying all along for the truth to come out," said Nonhlanhla.

"Last night I did not sleep at all because of the excitement. I congratulate the investigating team. I hope they got the right people. It's unbelievable!"

Ngcuka was tightlipped about the identities of the suspects.

In announcing the breakthrough in Pietermaritzburg on Friday, Ngcuka said that "all the killers" had been identified and warrants of arrest had been issued by a Richmond magistrate.

He said his staff, investigators and intelligence agencies had "not slept for the past week following up the leads".

He announced only one arrest, but it is understood another man had been arrested by yesterday.

Speculation was rife in Nkabinde's Magoda stronghold in Richmond and in the ANC stronghold of Ndaleni about the identities of the alleged killers.

A Ndaleni man who said he witnessed the shooting said he was

convinced the killers were not from Richmond.

He said they were youngish men who shot Nkabinde right in front of policemen, who sat in their vehicles in the centre of the town.

The man said there were four attackers, including the driver "who had all the time to come out of his seat and shoot in his turn".

Nonhlanhla has appealed for calm in the volatile Richmond.

If the men are convicted, it will be one of the first major successes of the public prosecutions directorate in the fight to find the people behind political violence in Kwa-Zulu-Natal. About 120 unsolved murders have been committed in Richmond since May 1997.



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Nkabinde 'assassin' a VIP cop

Mayor's bodyguard among three accused

By Mibulelo Baloyi

A PAKED Pietermaritzburg Regional Court was shocked yesterday when one of the three alleged assassins of United Democratic Movement national secretary Sifiso Nkabinde turned out to be a policeman assigned to guard Richmond mayor Mr Andrew Ragavaloo.

Sergeant Anil Jelal (27), Mr Bruce Sibusiso Mhlongo (26) and Mr Joseph Siyabonga Ngcongo (26) appeared briefly in court yesterday charged with killing Nkabinde in January. They were not asked to plead and were remanded to August 23. The special investigating directorate into organised crime and public safety are continuing with investigations.

Jelal, of Pietermaritzburg, was arrested on Sunday, while his co-accused were arrested on Thursday and Friday.

The VIP police sergeant, also a branch executive of the South African Police Union in Richmond, was assigned to guard Ragavaloo after the murder of African National Congress councillor

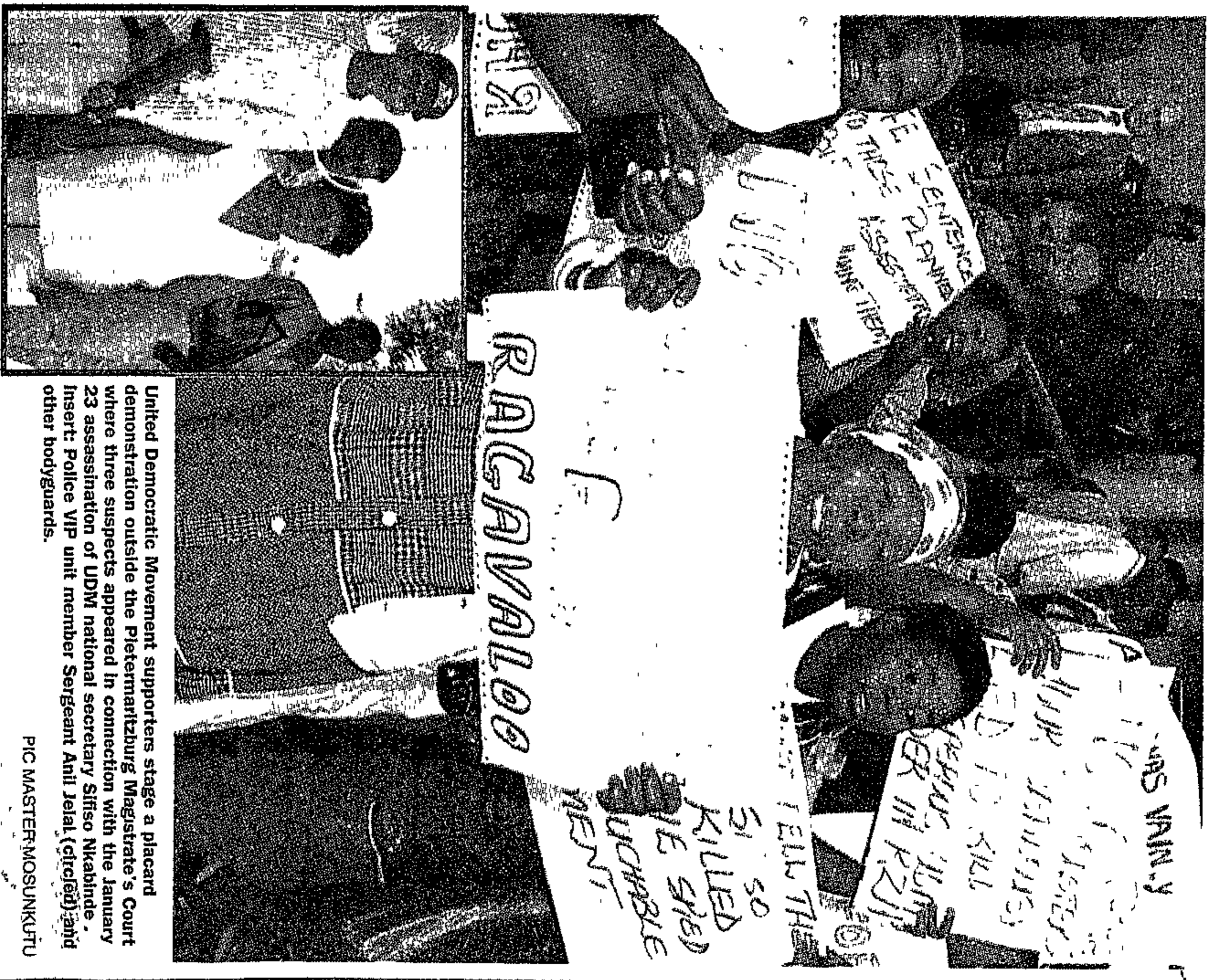
Rodney van der Byl in Richmond on May 7 1997. Mhlongo is a former bodyguard of KwaZulu-Natal Midlands ANC leader and health MEC Dr Zwel Mkhize

Ngcongo is believed to be a traffic officer with the Richmond Transitional Local Council. Mhlongo, of Imbali township outside Pietermaritzburg, "moonlighted" as a bodyguard for Mkhize after Nkabinde was expelled from the ANC in 1997. Nkabinde was accused of being an apartheid-era spy

At the time the ANC executive in KwaZulu-Natal stepped up security around high-profile leaders in the Midlands in anticipation of a backlash following Nkabinde's expulsion.

In 1997 Mhlongo was arrested with two other people in connection with a bank robbery at Nedbank at Pietermaritzburg's Galloway Lane, in which a by-stander was shot dead in a shootout. During the trial early last year he turned state witness against his two accomplices.

Nkabinde was shot several times on January 23 and died in Medicity Hospital, Pietermaritzburg. Senior state prosecutor Advocate Shireen



United Democratic Movement supporters stage a placard demonstration outside the Pietermaritzburg Magistrate's Court where three suspects appeared in connection with the January 23 assassination of UDM national secretary Sifiso Nkabinde. Insert: Police VIP unit member Sergeant Anil Jelal (circled) and other bodyguards.

PIC MASTER/MOSUNKUFU

Lakhu asked the court yesterday to postpone the proceedings to next week as the investigating team was still looking for other suspects. Outside the court UDM supporters demon-

strated before they were dispersed by the police. UDM spokesman Mr Sifiso Bhengu said the party believed Nkabinde's murder was politically motivated.

Police 'sat on' Nkabinde docket

Darran Morgan

Sifiso Nkabinde's alleged assassins were arrested only after the docket was removed from Richmond police investigators and given to KwaZulu Natal's deputy director of public prosecutions Chris McAdam.

McAdam's team of supercops who finally cracked the case included controversial Captain Johan Meeding who was transferred out of Richmond last July by the former minister of safety and security Sydney Mufamadi.

Mufamadi said he believed Meeding had been part of a "third force" which had been contributing to the breakdown of trust between the Richmond community and the police.

In stark contrast one of Mufamadi's replacement policemen provincial head of detectives Director Eric Nkabinde has been accused of holding back the Sifiso Nkabinde docket for four months which contained the same information used to arrest the six men this week for the murder.

The identities of the six men arrested so far for the murder of the United Democratic Movement leader in January this year suggest that the hit was carried out by a group of local men with strong ties to Richmond Area National Congress structures and with the help of professional criminals from Pietermaritzburg.

Sources close to the investigation also said that the killers may have approached local and provincial politicians for payment after the hit following rumours that the ANC had put a price on the head of Sifiso Nkabinde. The ANC had not done so.

Three of the suspects arrested were close to Richmond mayor and ANC leader Andrew Ragavaloo, while a fourth suspect has ties to a provincial leader.

Bruce Mhlongo (26), a twice convicted armed bank robber who escaped imprisonment by turning state witness, had guarded an ANC leader's home by contract. Mhlongo became alienated from the ANC in 1997 after he was arrested for robbery.

Ragavaloo's most trusted bodyguard, Anil Jelal, sometime driver, bodyguard and local traffic officer Joseph Ngongo and one time bodyguard Danny Mbanjwa were also arrested this week. They are being detained and their bail hearings will begin on Monday.

McAdam's team of "untouchables" tread on many toes by removing the docket and arresting the suspects, and they are likely to stir up more trouble in the coming weeks, particularly as they begin to probe why Eric Nkabinde had not made any arrests.

In fighting between McAdam's team and Eric Nkabinde has marred what should have been a celebration of the success of Clifford Marlon,



In the dock: Anil Jelal (right), a trusted bodyguard of Richmond mayor Andrew Ragavaloo (left), is one of the suspects arrested for the murder of United Democratic Movement leader Sifiso Nkabinde. PHOTOGRAPH: RAJESH JANTILAL

McAdam's detective commander

McAdam's team is investigating charges against Eric Nkabinde for allegedly planting a handgun into evidence. Marlon was reluctant to be drawn into the details of this investigation, but confirmed that it was being pursued.

Members of the team said the original police investigators into the murder may have "sat on" the docket. "They had everything, but appear to have done nothing with it," said one senior member.

The team is also probing the handling of another high profile investigation supervised by Eric Nkabinde — the so called "Tavern Massacre" in which eight people were gunned down while watching a World Cup football match in a local night spot. Richmond deputy mayor Percy Thompson was killed in the attack. McAdam believes that a police officer may have perjured himself during that investigation.

McAdam defends his decision to rehabilitate Meeding and bring him back on to the

Richmond beat from his exile in the KwaZulu Natal Midlands by saying the discredited policeman had been one of the most effective policemen in Richmond.

"We find it very frustrating that one of the suspects was instrumental in having the only police officers actually making arrests in Richmond removed from working in the town," said McAdam.

Jelal was central in petitioning the Ministry of Safety and Security to get Meeding, Captain Rudie Kok of the national investigations task unit, and Captain Jerry Brooks and Captain Shane Morris of internal security removed from Richmond.

Before his transfer, Meeding shocked Richmond residents when — while he was head of detectives in the area last year — he instructed people to inform Sifiso Nkabinde first whenever they searched the area.

He was investigated by the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) for his involvement in the execution-style killing of five ANC

councillors in Richmond last year.

Residents had alleged he escorted the killers' vehicle to the scene of the killing but none were prepared to give statements to the ICD and no action was taken against Meeding.

Meeding maintained that on the night of the murders he was at a Bible study group and had 20 witnesses who were present and prepared to testify on his behalf. He said his transfer had been a "racial issue" and that "the ANC is getting rid of white officers".

McAdam said Meeding had also assisted his team with other investigations into third force activities in KwaZulu Natal.

With the Sifiso Nkabinde case in court, McAdam's team will probably begin to investigate a number of political murders in the Impendle valleys, a vast region in the mountain country between Bulwer and Pietermaritzburg.

The intelligence upon which many of the cases in that region have been based was provided by Brooks, who turned his attention to Impendle after being kicked out of Richmond.

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