GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES

1991

JANUARY - AUG.
A ploy, say SAP on PAC’s claims of attacks

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

Police have dismissed as “another propaganda ploy” claims by the PAC that its military wing had staged four operations against South African security forces.

Responding to press reports from Harare, quoting the political commissar of the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla), Romero Daniels, as saying that his guerillas had staged four operations against SA security forces in December, the SAP public relations division in Pretoria accused the PAC of having issued similar “propaganda statements” in the past.

Mr Daniels said in a statement from Dar-es-Salaam that the attacks carried out between December 23 and December 30 in Soshanguve outside Pretoria, Zwide in the Cape, Despatch (Eastern Cape) and Inanda outside Durban were a “festive campaign of shock and choke”.

Mr Daniels’s statement said three security force members died and five others were injured in the December 26 Zwide attack.

No details of any other SA losses or injuries were given, but Mr Daniels said Apla forces had “wiped out” security force members in the December 23 Soshanguve operation.

Dismissed

Apla claimed that in all the contacts its units had killed up to 30 security force members, while losing only six members.

In its reaction yesterday, the SAP dismissed the PAC’s claims as “obviously another propaganda ploy by the organisation concerned”.

The police said in a statement incidents in which policemen had been killed and injured were a matter of public record.

They said Apla’s version of “the terrorist attack” in Zwide on December 26 was an example of “their false propaganda” because there were no records of any policemen’s deaths.
JOHANNESBURG. — The Southern Africa correspondent of Jane's Defence Weekly, Mr Helmeed-Romer Heitman, said members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are involved in the recent wave of armed robberies in the country.

Mr Heitman said the most important reason was to raise funds for MK's activities.

He did not exclude the possibility that some MK members were acting independently to fill their own pockets.

Armed robberies were not likely to be welcomed by the ANC leadership, because they could undermine the organisation's image, Mr Heitman said.

He said it was easy to bring AK-47 rifles into South Africa.

He pointed out that these weapons, which were predominantly being used for armed attacks, were readily available in Mozambique and it was practically impossible for the security forces to patrol South Africa's borders.

The ANC has said it is "simplistic to place the source of such weapons at the door of the ANC".

The police and army have large arsenals of captured or confiscated AK-47s, and there had also been reports of extensive gunrunning to Mozambique and Swaziland, the organisation said.

Some of the weapons had been in South Africa for some time. — Sapa
PAC claims 'just propaganda'

CLAIMS by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) of armed 'shock and ake' operations against SA's security forces over Christmas were simply "another propaganda play", a police public relations division spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday.

The SAP was reacting to a Press report from Harare which credited Apla, the armed wing of the PAC, with four military operations carried out between December 23 and 29.

Sapa reported Apla had claimed at least three security force members died and five were injured in one of the attacks.

The Harare report carried a statement from Dar es Salaam, signed by Apla political commissar Romero Daniels, which said the attacks were carried out in

Matthew Curtain
Soshanguve ( Pretoria), Zwide (Cape), Despatch (between Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage) and Inanda (Durban).

The statement gave further details of losses or injuries in the other incidents, except to claim Apla forces "wiped out" security force members in the Soshanguve operation of December 23.

The police spokesman said in a statement the report was pure propaganda and similar to statements issued in the past which "nobody can be expected to take seriously."

"Incidents in which policemen have been killed and injured are a matter of public record. Their version of the terrorist attack in Zwide on 26 December is an example of their false propaganda - no policemen were killed."

"The report of an 'operation' in Soshanguve is the figment of somebody’s fertile imagination. We have no record of such an incident."

He said there could be no question of any fighting in terrorist attacks reported by the police.

The attacks had been "cowardly hit and run acts and cannot be dignified by the term 'fighting'."

The Apla statement added that the commander of the Soshanguve operation died during an exchange between his unit and the SA security forces.

It named him as Ephraim Thabakwe, from Tladi in Soweto.
Police set up unit to track illegal arms

THE SAP's first "firearm tracking unit" — composed of seconded and former Security Branch members — was already active in the Soweto area, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday.

The unit came into being with the launch of Operation Sentry, a multifaceted SAP drive unveiled yesterday to track down dangerous weapons and increase police visibility on the streets. The operation is aimed particularly at curbing the distribution of AK-47 automatic rifles.

Kotze said security police members would play a vital role in collecting intelligence in preparation for swoops on illegally held weapons. He said there was "virtually an epidemic" of AK-47s.

The SAP would seize any illegal weapons, he said, even if these were part of Umkhonto we Sizwe arms caches.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday announced that police would pay R6 000 for information leading to the recovery of an AK-47 or any machine gun.

Rewards ranging from R300 for a hand grenade to R5 000 for a radio-controlled explosive device would also be paid.

Reacting to the launch of Operation Sentry, the ANC said that if Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres were hunted down like criminals they would have no option but to defend themselves, Sapa reports.

Criminalising ANC members who possessed such weapons was in direct violation of the negotiation process, the ANC said. "We recognise crime is a major problem facing our country, but to equate action to combat crime with an attack on the ANC is irresponsible."

Vlok also announced the establishment of three "tourism support units" in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, to protect people against muggers and thieves.

He also said former Hoevoet members, employed temporarily as civilians by the SAP, had tracked down 115 000 stolen cattle. The rustling units had slashed the theft of Eskom power lines, decreasing losses from R3m to R600 000 a month.
Reward fails to draw out weapons

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — No AK47 assault rifles have been handed over to the police, in spite of an offer by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Viljoen, to pay large sums for any unlicensed weapons in the townships.

Police stations in Soweto and the East Rand, where an alarming increase in the availability of firearms has fuelled the continuing violence, have reported no response to the police offer.

The police have offered to pay R6 000 in cash for any AK47 handed over, a reward which would handsomely profit the owner who would have bought the gun for about R1 000, the going township rate.

Captain Eugene Opperman, police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, said yesterday reward money would be paid out for any "terrorist weapons" and for information leading to the confiscation of these weapons.

Indemnity

Although a general indemnity granted to owners of unlicensed weapons had expired last year, it still existed in terms of all "terrorist weapons" in the townships.

"People should not be afraid to hand these weapons over. They may remain anonymous. However, if they are apprehended walking around with AK47s, having no intention to go to a police station, they will be arrested," Captain Opperman said.

Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, suggested there may be a number of reasons for the failure of the police strategy to remove lethal hardware from the townships.

"Some people might not believe they will be indemnified from prosecution. On the other hand, ANC militants may not be willing to hand in arms caches, considering the armed struggle has only been suspended. They would want to wait for negotiations to clarify their position," he said.

Criminal elements in possession of these weapons would probably intend continuing their criminal activities while others would keep the weapons for self-defence, he said.

"It's a difficult situation. There may have to be more political manoeuvring before the scheme can take effect," Professor Hough said.

Three win R700 in Money Game

Staff Reporter

THE sixth Argus Money Game Competition has yielded nearly R700 in prize money.

First prize winner of S90 Community Chest Challenge scratch cards, Miss Connie Clarence of Grassy Park, won R452.

Mrs Thelma Pillay of Rylands state, who won the second prize of 260 cards, said this was the first competition she had won and was thrilled with her prize money of R140. She regularly supports the Community Chest.

Third prize winner, Mrs Mildred Arendse of Lansdowne, won 166 cards and R62.

FAIR PASSAGE: Relatives and frivatives goodbye as the SA Navy support vessel SAS Tafelberg leaves Bay harbour yesterday on a three-week operational training cruise to South America. The ship, commanded by Captain Harrison, will visit the Chilean ports of Valparaiso, Talcahuano and Puerto Montt, allowing the recent visit to Cape Town & Chilean Navy sail training ship Esmeralda. The Navy's racing yacht Voortrekker on board and will take part in a series of regattas known as the Mill Miles (10 miles), off the South American coast.
Rewards for AK-47s are ignored

By Helen Grange

No AK-47 assault rifles have yet been handed over to the police, in spite of an offer by the Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok to pay large sums for any unlicensed weapons.

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Criminal elements in possession of these weapons would probably intend continuing criminal activities, he said.
2 die, 2 hurt in attack on Bop police post

JOHANNESBURG. — At least two people were killed and two seriously injured in an attack on a Bophuthatswana Police post at Braklaagte on the border between the homeland and South Africa yesterday, Bophuthatswana Police spokesman Colonel David George confirmed.

He said the attack, which occurred about lunchtime, involved more than 100 people.

He said the situation late yesterday night was “quiet but tense” and could not comment on reports that many people had fled Bophuthatswana and taken refuge in the nearby town of Zeerust.

Earlier, several people fleeing the fighting said about 70 women, children and elderly people had been moved out of the village by ANC members in Klerksdorp and given shelter at a nearby Roman Catholic church.

They said vigilantes, allegedly backed by the homeland police, burnt down homes of known ANC sympathisers.

South African police denied roadblocks along the road to Zeerust had been erected to prevent refugees entering the town.

Several people were allegedly shot and were reported to be under armed guard at Lufuruti Hospital in Bophuthatswana, said Mr Zack Malogane of the ANC’s Western Transvaal regional office.

As Mr Malogane gave details of the fighting over the telephone, sobs of the refugees were heard in the background.

“It is a very tense situation and we are concerned about the number of people being held by the Bophuthatswana Police, as we have been refused access to the township and the hospital.” — Sapa
Black market AK-47s on sale as low as R200

Thousands of AK-47 assault rifles have recently found their lethal way to South Africa’s warring townships, a situation that has prompted police into drastic action. HELEN GRANGE traces the origin and route of this deadly weapon.

In Africa, it is a standard weapon of UNITA and the MPLA government in Angola, the Zana and Zapu parties in Zimbabwe, Frelimo and Renamo in Mozambique, Swapo in Namibia, and now to an increasing extent, the ANC and Inkatha in South Africa.

According to Helmut Heitman, spokesman for Jane’s Defence Weekly, most of these rifles have been brought into South Africa from the frontline states by the ANC, gunrunners supplying the ANC, and private warlords in Mozambique.

Ezell, in his book, proposes that there will be much enthusiasm on the part of consuming countries to purchase the AK-47, as they can update their weapons and improve performance without having to introduce a completely new weapon that will require training troops with an entirely new design.

Profitable market

Conflict-ridden third world countries in Africa would certainly fit Ezell’s scenario, for the Soviet Union found a very profitable market in this part of the world.

"The Soviets deliberately supported many opposition movements and governments in southern Africa, and sold the AK-47 to them as a commodity," says Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria.

SA Defence Force sources have in the past confirmed that AK-47 rifles are sold in Mozambique for as little as R100 each from deserters or members of Frelimo and Renamo, or from villagers who sold the arms and ammunition cheaply in return for rands.

Recently, a major international gun-running racket was discovered in Mbabane, the Swaziland capital, involving AK-47’s being routed through the Kingdom from Mozambique to South Africa.

The point is that although it is understood that the Soviet Union has cut down the supply of this weapon to southern African states, they are now more readily available in South Africa," says Professor Hough.

Millions produced

According to Ezell, an estimated 30 million to 50 million Kalashnikov-type rifles and light machine guns have been manufactured since the introduction of the AK-47 design in the Soviet Union in 1949. (The AK-47 was fully evolved by 1947).

"At least a dozen countries have manufactured or are manufacturing versions of this weapon, and at least 55 nations and an untold number of guerrilla and terrorist organisations use these guns daily," he says.

Appropriately, the inventor of the AK-47, Mikhail Kalashnikov, was hailed by the Soviet government in 1949 as the Hero of Socialist Work.

Since its mass manufacture in the Soviet Union, many countries, including the People’s Republic of China, the former East Germany, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, North Korea, Hungary and Yugoslavia have manufactured the AK-47, says Ezell.

In addition, Finland, Israel and Egypt have produced their own variants of the weapon. (The safety/fire selector markings are one of the quickest ways of identifying the nature of origin, Ezell says).

Ezell’s book concludes: "It was once noted, only half in jest, the Americans export Coke, the Japanese export Sony’s and the Soviets export Kalashnikovs."
Instrument of death

In Africa, it is a standard weapon of Unita and the MPLA government in Angola, the Zulus and Zaps parties in Zimbabwe, Fretilin and Renamo in Mozambique, Swoppo in Namibia, and now to an increasing extent, the ANC and Inkatha in South Africa.

In Asia, it is in the hands of the Vietnamese and the Chinese, and has been used by government and anti-government forces in Indochina in central America and Africa - in combat in Lebanon, the Iranian desert, the jungles of El Salvador, and the mountains of Afghanistan.

In South Africa, it is a standard weapon of UNITA and the MPLA government in Angola, the Zulus and Zaps parties in Zimbabwe, Fretilin and Renamo in Mozambique, Swoppo in Namibia, and now to an increasing extent, the ANC and Inkatha in South Africa.

The trail of the AK47

Thousands of AK-47 assault rifles have found their way to South Africa’s townships, through almost every neighbouring country, as the graphic below illustrates. HELEN GRANGE traces the history of this lethal weapon.

The AK-47 was fully evolved by 1947. "At least a dozen countries have manufactured or are manufacturing versions of this weapon, and at least 100 nations and an estimated number of guerrilla and terrorist organizations use these guns daily," he says.

The inventor of the AK-47, Mikhail Kalashnikov, was hailed by the Soviet government in 1949 as a Hero of Socialist Work.

Engel says that apart from its main manufacturer in the Soviet Union, the AK-47 has also been manufactured in the People’s Republic of China, the former East Germany, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, North Korea, and Yugoslavia.

In addition, Finland, Israel, and Egypt have produced their own variants of the weapon. The safety/fire selector markings are one of the quickest ways of identifying the nation of origin, Engel says.

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Reward for AK47s: 
Police clear confusion

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Indemnity will not be granted to owners of illegal firearms should they hand over the weapons, say police.

In addition, a R8 000 reward offered last week by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok for the recovery of “terrorist weapons” was not for the weapon itself but for information leading to the recovery of such weapons.

Confusion has reigned since the weekend after reports appeared stating that the police would pay R6 000 for an AK47 assault rifle in an effort to get them off Reef township streets.

No AK47s have been handed over in Soweto or the East Rand townships.

Captain Craig Kotze, spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, said the police reward applied to information leading to the seizing of an illegal firearm.

“But there is definitely no indemnity to a person handing over an illegal firearm. Obviously we will investigate whether the person is linked to any crime.

“If he is not, his case will be referred to the Attorney General, who will make a decision.”

Captain Kotze added that the firearm would be sent for ballistic tests and an investigation would be launched into the origin of the weapon and the circumstances of its handler.

“But the main aim is to get these weapons off the streets, and cases will be treated sympathetically by the police,” he said.

A man who contacted The Star yesterday said he had an AK47 rifle, but had discovered he may be prosecuted if he handed it over for money.

Meanwhile police say that Operation Sentry has been a tremendous success and 337 people have been arrested since the crackdown on crime in the city began on Tuesday.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the people had been arrested for motor theft, possession of stolen property, drugs and dangerous weapons and for robbery and violence.

Suspects were being held in custody until they appeared in court.

The operation, which began in central Johannesburg, has been extended to high crime suburbs, including Booyens, Brixton, Westdene and Mondeor.

Foot patrols

“The co-operation between the public and police has been excellent, with many people helping the police arrest criminals,” Captain Opperman said.

Criminals have been arrested as police patrol on foot and in vehicles, conduct random searches and use communication drives aimed at making people more crime-conscious.
No indemnity for an illegal gun - SAP

By Helen Grange

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ANC denies involvement in armed attacks in Border

The Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON.—The ANC has dissociated itself from recent armed attacks in the Border region.

“Our position is very clear. We have suspended armed action and we abide by that,” said spokesman for the Border region of the ANC Mr Hintsa Siwisa.

He referred to the reiteration of this policy by the ANC at its consultative congress in Johannesburg last month.

Mr Siwisa said he would go as far as to say that the ANC dissociated itself from the actions, but would not speculate on who might be responsible.

There have been several actions in the Border and most seem carefully targeted to support local struggles. There has been speculation that the attacks have been carried out “unofficially” by ANC guerrillas operating on their own.

Police spokesman Major Christo Louw said no arrests had been made in any of the cases. He said he thought a robbery at the weekend was a straightforward robbery rather than a guerrilla attack. He could not say who might be responsible for the other attacks and police investigations had not proved them to be the work of a particular organization.
January 16, 1991

Slain PAC men linked to attacks on police

EAST LONDON. Police yesterday linked two dead Pan Africanist Congress members to armed attacks in the Eastern Cape which left two policemen dead and three injured. A police spokesman said that "intensive investigation" had linked Mr Mongeni Colin Cakata of Duncan Village, and Mr Jabu Jeremiah Mdunge of Tembisa, to two attacks on policemen in the Eastern Cape.

The PAC men were shot dead at a scrapyard at KwaZakhele near Port Elizabeth on January 2, after allegedly firing on police.

According to a police spokesman, ballistics tests carried out on the AK 47s used by the two men on January 2 had established that the same weapons were used in the previous attacks on the policemen.

Three other men were arrested at the scrapyard shootout, and weapons were seized.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said in a statement on Monday that Mr Mdunge would be buried at Tembisa on Saturday. — Saps
Ex-Koevoet men used in arrests

PRETORIA. — Police, assisted by former Koevoet members, arrested five men and seized three AK-47 rifles, an AKM automatic rifle, four AK-47 magazines and almost 100 rounds of ammunition near the Komatipoort border gate in the eastern Transvaal earlier this week.

In a statement yesterday, police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said the five men were Mozambicans who entered the country illegally, and they were being kept in custody. Charges in terms of the Arms and Ammunition Act were being investigated and the five would appear in court soon.

The men were arrested after an SADF patrol spotted them near the Komatipoort border gate. — Sapa
Man killed in handgrenade attack

A MAN was killed and another seriously injured when handgrenades were hurled and shots fired at a house belonging to a KwaZulu policeman at KwaMashu near Durban yesterday.

A spokesman for the KwaZulu police said Sergeant Simanga Mduli's house was attacked for the sixth time.

A relative of Mduli's was killed and another one "severely injured".

The lounge, a bedroom and Mduli's car were extensively damaged in the attack.

Police found seven AK-47 rifle cartridges, three handgrenade safety pins, three spent bullets and pieces of metal at the scene.
Activist bombed

By Shadley Nash

A PAN-AFRICANIST call from a
person speaking fluent Zulu:

person speaking fluent Zulu:

Activist bombed
ANC guerrilla' in armed attacks

By LOUISE FLANAGAN: East London

THERE have been more armed attacks in the Border region, resulting in an alleged African National Congress guerrilla appearing in court and several community councillors resigning.

The ANC recently dissociated itself from the attacks. Some observers feel they may have been carried out by ANC guerrillas acting " unofficially" to support community struggles, but local ANC officials have said the armed struggle has been suspended and they are abiding by this.

This week Msimbithi Jezile (38) and Mbulelo Khala (31) appeared in a Mdantsane court to face charges of armed robbery relating to a failed attempt to rob a petrol station in the township last Monday. Police have claimed that Jezile is an ANC guerrilla and recently returned exile, and said they had taken possession of a Makarov pistol.

They were released on bail of R300 each and the case remanded until February 5.

The petrol station the two tried to rob is owned by Chief Doyle Jongilanga, a supporter of deposed Ciskei president Lennox Sebe.

It was not the first time the garage had been attacked: in December 1988 it was damaged in a bomb blast, and after the Ciskei coup last March it was razed.

A few days after the petrol station robbery, several people were injured when the homes of two town councillors in Queens-town were attacked with hand grenades.

One of those attacked was Mlungisi town council "mayor" Welcome Rasiba, who subsequently announced his resignation from the council. The Mlungisi council is one of the few still operating in the region.

There have been several other armed attacks in the Queens-town area since the October suspension of armed action, all seemingly supporting local struggles. — othews
'Acid threat' to MK man

By S'BU MNGADI

A NATAL security policeman allegedly threatened to douse captured ANC guerrilla Mbuyiselo Mkontwana with acid.

The allegations are contained in Mkontwana’s founding affidavit filed during an interdict against Law and Order minister Adriaan Vlok in the Durban Supreme Court this week.

Mkontwana, a self-confessed member of the ANC’s Umkhonto weSizwe, was on November 19 last year granted an interim interdict ordering police to stop harassing, abducting or torturing him. The police did not oppose the order when it was made final this week.

In the affidavit, Mkontwana said he tried to return to South Africa as a civilian, using a Swazi passport under the name Stephen Simelane, on November 14 last year. However, his cover was blown and security police apprehended him at the Lavumisa/Natal border post.

Police took him to a doctor and later to a magistrate, who took down a statement about his MK membership.

On returning to the police station at the border, a white security policeman allegedly told him that both the doctor and magistrate had ascertained that the police had not assaulted him and that it was now their turn “to practice their skills”.

The policeman told Mkontwana he was going to throw acid over him.

He said that during his interrogation the policeman questioned him about weapons and told him about Abdul who, after security policemen had “puela-beaten” him, showed them weapons in Port Elizabeth.

He said he was taken blindfolded to a Durban police station, and later driven for 30 minutes to a farmhouse. The police, he claimed, wanted him to assist them in tracking down a Chief.

A white officer made him sign his name and gave him R100. The policeman counter-signed with the name “Du Plessis”.

Security police made him to contact his Umlazi contact, Madoda, and telephone ANC contacts in Swaziland to inform them he had arrived safely.

The police dropped him off in West Street, in central Durban. His handler told him to come back on November 17. He was warned should he not do so they would kill him.

The police did not oppose the interdict, and the judge ordered them to pay Mkontwana’s costs.
ANC ‘plot’ against SAP uncovered

PRETORIA. — ANC executive committee member Mr Steve Tshwete yesterday declared 1991 as the year which would determine whether or not the oppressed masses would be liberated.

Speaking at a memorial service for fallen ANC guerrillas, Mr Tshwete said to loud cheers: "This is the year in which all of us should bring about the final fall of De Klerk's administration." — Sapa

LAMBERT'S BAY. — Police claim to have uncovered an ANC plot last week — codenamed Operation Prickly Pear — aimed at eliminating SAP members and establishing military training camps in South Africa.

Announcing the breakthrough here at the weekend, the head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, said the plot was also aimed at waging an armed struggle against Bophuthatswana.

Police last week arrested three ANC members, including a foreign-trained guerrilla, in Johannesburg and Pretoria and uncovered a large number of weapons, including 26 limpet mines and AK-47 rifles.

In reaction to the police reports, ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma yesterday afternoon said: "The ANC does not know anything about the alleged operation... and will adhere to the suspension of the armed action as stipulated in the Pretoria Minute."

He added: "The ANC noted that the police have chosen to make the sensational allegation on the eve of our meeting with the Inkatha Freedom Party, and thereby maintain a pattern of making allegations of this nature whenever the ANC seems to be on the brink of a new initiative." — Political Correspondent and Sapa
OWN CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC defence units, being set up countrywide, are to be armed, ANC Youth League chairman Mr Peter Mokaba says.

In a weekend interview he said the decision to arm the units was taken at a recent meeting of the league. The Youth League had attracted 35,000 members so far, who paid a R1 annual membership fee and were required to pay dues of 50c a month.

Mr Mokaba said: "Defence units must arm themselves adequately with everything available, including guns.

"And they must be able to use those guns in instances where life and property need to be defended." Defence unit members would not go out with the intention of taking life, but he conceded that "in the process", life might be lost.

Mr Mokaba did not exclude the possibility that these community members might become so angry that the punishment they delivered might exceed the level of self-defence.

"The ANC will never break the Pretoria Minute, but we understand the Pretoria Minute as suspending the offensive on our part — but not the defensive. If our
ANC ‘will arm its defence units’

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The Youth League had attracted 95 000 members so far, who paid a R1 annual membership fee and were required to pay dues of 50c a month.

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Defence unit members would not go out with the intention of taking life, but he conceded that “in the process”, life might be lost.

Mokaba did not exclude the possibility that these community members might become so angry that the punishment they delivered might exceed the level of self-defence.

“The ANC will never break the Pretoria Minute, but we understand the Pretoria Minute as suspending the offensive on our part but not the defensive. If our members are attacked, I would expect those guns to be used in defence of our people,” he said.

He conceded that problems with the formation of defence units might emerge, especially when they erupt without the political direction of our organisation.

For example, he said: “We are aware that there are people who have taken up the call in order to conduct their own mischief.”

The defence units must be popular structures, “loved by all the people”.

The organisation was aware the defence committees were being infiltrated by “agents of apartheid” who wanted to use the league to discredit the ANC. But, he said, the league was “going on a very vigorous and rigorous cleansing spree. Such people will be rigorously exposed and will be vigorously dealt with.”

He said it was true that, in anger, members might be forced to act “in any way” and against anyone, but he said the league did not believe in the taking of life.

Criminals would not be handed over to the police, because the police force was “illegitimate”.

Instead the community would deal with its own problems. “No matter how big the problems are in our community, we are not going to appeal to apartheid structures,” he said.
LAMBERT'S BAY — Three ANC operatives, one foreign-trained, have been arrested in the Transvaal, security police chief Lieutenant-General Basie Smit announced at the weekend.

He told a media group being briefed in Lambert's Bay on the growing crime rate that a large number of weapons, including 26 limpet mines and AK-47 rifles, had been seized.

The three men had been arrested in Johannesburg and Pretoria last Monday. They had identified their mission by the codename "Operation Prickly Pear".

General Smit said more arrests were expected.

He said the aim of "Operation Prickly Pear" was to eliminate members of the SAP, conduct an armed struggle against Bophuthatswana and give military training inside South Africa.

ANC spokesman Sakie Macozoma said yesterday:

"The ANC does not know anything about the alleged operation.

"The ANC sticks to the agreement reached in the Pretoria Minute ... the ANC will adhere to the suspension of the armed action as stipulated in the Minute."

Mr Macozoma said at this stage the ANC had no information on the police report, but regarded the report as a sensational allegation. — Sapa.
Insurgents out to eliminate SAP

Cops grab 3 ANC men

THREE heavily armed ANC insurgents with instructions to fight the Bophuthatswana government, eliminate the SA Police and to conduct military training inside the country were arrested on January 21, chief of the Security Police General Basie Smit said at the weekend.

Addressing journalists at a briefing on the Cape west coast near Saldanha Bay on Saturday night, Smit said two of the men were arrested in Johannesburg and the other in Pretoria.

The three said during interrogation that their mission was called "Operation Prickly Pear".

At the time of their arrest they were armed with limpet mines, handgrenades, rifles and thousands of rounds of ammunition.

Smit said that while there had been a reduction in actual "terror attacks", attacks on the police had increased.

Between January 1 and January 24 this year two policemen were killed and 13 injured while 177 civilians were killed and 90 injured during unrest.

The names of the three captured men were being withheld pending the outcome of ongoing investigations.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

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Police warn ANC 'defence units' saying they are illegal.

Political Staff

THE Law and Order ministry has warned that armed ANC defence units will not be tolerated if they break the law in any way.

"There are laws which say the police do the policing," said spokesman Captain Craig Kotze.

SA Youth Congress chairman Mr Peter Mokaba said at the weekend that the units, being set up countrywide, are to be armed.

Captain Kotze said that if the ANC planned to arm the units with AK 47 rifles "you can be sure they will be removed".

Captain Kotze also warned that police would act against protesting farmers who planned to jam the streets of Pretoria with hundreds of vehicles early today. "If they break the law.

He said the same laws would apply to the farmers as to any organisation.

"The necessary permission has to be granted. If it is illegal we will have to apply the law," he said.
Govt move to let MK fighters return

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government is believed to have agreed to allow military-trained exiles to return to South Africa in an important concession which may be announced by President F W de Klerk when he opens Parliament tomorrow.

Informed sources said the decision by the Government this week was aimed at providing impetus for the stalled negotiations between the Government and the ANC.

They said, as a result, large groups of exiles were expected to start returning next week.

Negotiations between the Government and the ANC have been bogged down for six months largely because the Government has refused to allow military-trained exiles to return until the ANC has given up the military capability of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The Government's move will mean that exiles who have received military training but have not committed any offences will qualify for indemnity from arrest and prosecution.

So far the Government has only been prepared to indemnify exiles who have left the country without passports or through illegal exit points.

The new concession will remove a large obstacle to negotiations which the Government apparently hopes will provide the impetus to move onto the next stage of talks — a multiparty conference to decide on the nature of the forum for negotiating a new constitution.

It is not clear whether President de Klerk will make the announcement tomorrow, or whether it will be the surprise many senior National Party members are expecting him to produce.

Avoiding anticlimax trap
— Page 20
Six soldiers hurt in landmine blast

PIETERSBURG. — The SA Defence Force has blamed the ANC for yesterday's landmine explosion near Messina in which six soldiers were wounded, two seriously.

However, Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, said the ANC was not responsible. He accused right-wing elements of planting the bomb.

The six soldiers were injured when their Samel 50 logistics vehicle detonated the mine at Twilight Farm about 28km east of Messina about 9.15am.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Werner Voigt said two of the men, Lance-Corporals J du Plooy — who had been driving the vehicle — and S de Fellice, were seriously injured.

Corporals D James and J Steyn and Rifleman P Lourens and C Botha suffered slight injuries.

Soutpansberg military commander Colonel Borries Bornman said the SADF had received information about a MK mine-laying unit in Zimbabwe and had already warned farmers a month ago to prepare themselves for a possible landmine explosion.

"It is just the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe that has the capability at this stage, and it's their tactic and their style. So I can tell you that it is the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe that is responsible," said Col Bornman.

Mr Hani said the "finger could be pointed" at right-wing elements as they wanted to endanger the negotiation process between the ANC and the government. — Sapa
Girl (9) injured in grenade attack

POLICE yesterday confirmed that five people, including a little girl, were injured when two hand-grenades were thrown at the Tokoza house of Mr Sam Ntuli, general secretary of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal on Saturday night.

A nine-year-old girl, Mbali Ntuli, sustained serious shrapnel wounds and was in a serious condition in the Natalspruit Hospital, Captain Henriette Bester, a police liaison officer on the West Rand, said yesterday.

The others were treated for slight injuries, she said.

Bester said the motive for the attack had not yet been established but police were investigating.

Ntuli said the attack took place shortly after 10.30pm.

"I had left the house for a prior engagement. My family and some friends, who were sitting in the lounge, were still awake when they heard the thud of what I suspect were hand-grenades. Then there were two loud bangs. Three friends in the lounge were hit by shrapnel, which also penetrated several walls," said Ntuli.

Ntuli, who is also the president of the Tokoza Civic Association, said police arrived at his house in five vehicles to examine the damage.

"They have taken statements and have examined the damage. They said they would also take statements from the injured at the hospital."

He could not give the identities of the attackers.

"They lobbed the devices and just seemed to disappear from the scene," said Ntuli. Sapa.
Landmine blast:
two transferred

Two defence force members who were injured in Friday's landmine blast near Messina — lance-corporals J du Plooy and S de Felice — have been transferred from Pietersburg to 1 Military Hospital in Voortrekkerhoogte. (§44)

This was confirmed at the weekend by a spokesman for the provincial hospital in Pietersburg, where the two men were initially treated after their military vehicle detonated the landmine on Twilight Farm, 26 km east of Messina, at 9 am on Friday.

Lance-Corporal du Plooy was at the wheel of the vehicle when it was wrecked by the blast from the landmine.

Four other soldiers — corporals D James and J Steyn, and riflemen P Lourens and C Botha — were discharged from hospital after they were treated for shock and light injuries resulting from the explosion. — Northern Transvaal Bureau.
Govt to propose centres for handing in MK arms

CAPE TOWN — The Government is to propose setting up jointly administered points with the ANC where members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, could hand in their arms.

And the ANC is to be given a choice: Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members inside South Africa should surface or face further security force action.

These proposals are expected to be made today at a meeting in Pretoria of the joint ANC-Government working group empowered to deal with suspension of the ANC's armed struggle.

The group went into deadlock last year when the two teams could not agree on the continued recruitment and training of MK members and the ANC's campaign of mass action.

These issues were then discussed at a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the working group had to complete its report by September 15 last year. The group met last month, the first time since November, but apparently only assessed its work.
Proposal to disarm ANC cadres expected

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

A PROPOSAL for jointly administered collection points where Umhonto we Sizwe cadres would be urged to give up their weapons is expected today in a fresh bid to break the impasse in the government/ANC working group on armed action.

The presence of armed guerrillas within the country is of deep concern to the government whose negotiators insist the cadres should be disarmed and identified in terms of the ANC's commitment to paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute, which refers to a suspension of the armed struggle and "related activities".

But this — and disagreement over whether "related activities" includes categories of mass action such as boycotts, stayaways and campaigns against local government structures in the townships — has bedevilled the working group's job. Both sides were meant to have compiled a report for their principals by September 15, but remain divided.

APRIL 30 DEADLINE

April 30 is the deadline and the government is anxious to see progress.

Furthermore, the release of remaining political prisoners — a fundamental named in the US sanctions law, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act — hinges on a settlement of issues relating to armed struggle and violence.

The government last year linked the release of prisoners to the "satisfactory resolution" of issues surrounding the suspension of the armed struggle.

Sources say the government team will offer a proposal today that both sides set up administered collection points where MK cadres can bring their weapons ... or face arrest by the security forces.

On the question of mass action, the government is seeking the ANC's acknowledgement of its view that boycotts, stayaways and campaigns aimed at destabilisation — against township councils, for instance — should be regarded as "related activities" of the armed struggle because of the intimidation and violence that they invariably generate.

The source said the government accepted that rallies were part-and-parcel of democracy.

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Ger- ril Viljoen said in parliament yesterday that the mass action campaign "creates the impression the ANC mistrusts its own ability to negotiate, that it does not really rely on negotiation".

Bush praises De Klerk

UNITED States President Bush telephoned President De Klerk and congratulated him on the "courage" of his speech at the opening of parliament.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed this on inquiry yesterday.

MEETING

The two presidents also discussed the importance of last week's first meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The presidents also exchanged views on the Gulf crisis.

Official sources said that US Secretary of State James Baker had telephoned Mr Botha at the weekend to discuss the speech.
THE Government is to propose jointly administered points with the ANC where members of Umkhonto we Sizwe could hand in their arms.

And the ANC is to be given a choice - members of Umkhonto inside South Africa should surface or face further action by the security forces.

These proposals were expected to be made yesterday at a meeting in Pretoria of the joint ANC/Government working group empowered to deal with the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

The group deadlocked when the parties could not agree on the recruitment and training of Umkhonto members and the ANC's campaign of mass action.

These issues were then discussed at a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the working group had to complete its report by September 15 last year.
ANC faces demand for MK to lay down its arms

The Government hopes to convince the ANC to jointly administer a disarmament of the liberation group’s military wing.

If the ANC declines, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe inside the country are likely to face further action by security forces.

The Government’s proposal was on the agenda of a meeting in Pretoria yesterday of a joint ANC/Government working group empowered to deal with the suspension of the armed struggle.

The group struck a serious deadlock last year when the two teams could not agree on the continued recruitment and training of Umkhonto we Sizwe members and the ANC’s campaign of mass action.

The deadlock was overcome after these issues were discussed by President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The working group was to have completed its report by September 15 in accordance with the Pretoria Minute.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday in Parliament that the Government insisted that all parties involved in negotiations should be committed to peace.

“Mr Mandela is therefore completely at fault in creating the impression that the government is indiscriminately rejecting all mass action, thereby depriving the ANC of a legitimate political instrument. This is not true,” he said.

The ANC argues that Umkhonto we Sizwe is a legal organisation and as such is entitled to continue its activities.

In November, the Government unilaterally linked the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles to the satisfactory resolution of the “armed action” issue. - Soetan Correspondent
ANC unit in jailbreak claim

An underground unit of the ANC has claimed responsibility for the escape of eight prisoners from police cells at Scottburgh in Natal yesterday.

The prisoners - who included Umagaba ANC treasurer Lee Luthuli and ANC member Joseph Memela - escaped at 5am by sawing through the bars of their cell.

A man who said he spoke for an underground unit of the ANC later phoned a Durban newspaper claiming responsibility for the escape.

But a Natal regional ANC spokesman has denied ANC knowledge of the jailbreak.

Lawrence Bophela, Percy Bruno, Bhekinkosi Mkuyana, Dumisani Langa, Mxolise Mkhize and Dumisani Majola - awaiting trial on various charges - also escaped.  - Sapa
Outrage as bomb kills top lawyer

POlice would not comment yesterday about allegations of "hit squad" involvement in the death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni on Friday night.

Mlangeni (32) died at his Soweto home when explosives hidden in the earphones of a Walkman cassette player blew up when he switched it on.

A police spokesman said: "Investigations are in an early stage. We are trying to trace the perpetrators. We don't have answers at this stage."

The charges of "hit squad" involvement were levelled by the ANC, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Human Rights Commission and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The cassette tape Mlangeni had found in the Walkman was labelled: "Evidence of hit-squads''.

Meanwhile in London, self-confessed former hit-squad member Dirk Coetzee, for whom the booby-trapped package was initially intended, said he was shocked and saddened by the death of his ANC lawyer-friend.

He slammed Mlangeni's death as having all the hallmarks of a "hit squad" job.

Meanwhile, human rights and civic bodies yesterday condemned the killing.

In their strongest condemnation yet, the organisations accused the covert CCB of the action.

The lawyer's employers, Cheadle Thompson and Haysom, said they were saddened by his death.

"He was a candidate attorney who was liked and loved by everyone," they said.

The Lawyers for Human Rights Commission said the "diabolical killing of Mlangeni pointed clearly to the CCB''.

A PAC spokesman said: "It's a lie to say that this tape recorder was meant for Captain Dirk Coetzee."

The Azanian Peoples Organisation said in a statement that the movement was appalled by Mlangeni's death.

The ANC blamed the "forces of racism and apartheid" for the assassination. - Sapa.

The Working Group is the key to the suspension. UNISV and the Management of the Armed Forces have agreed to this arrangement. So far, the Working Group has been successful in implementing the ceasefire and has contributed to the peace process in the region. The Working Group is composed of members from both sides and meets regularly to discuss progress and address any issues that arise.

Mandela

De Arik

Struggle for Full Agreement

Suspension of the Armed
POLICE yesterday ruled out any ANC involvement in investigations into the killing of ANC lawyer Bhekizizwi Mlangoi in a bomb blast on Friday.

Mlangoi died at his Jabulani, Soweto, home when a miniature bomb exploded in a portable cassette player's earphone.

The cassette player was posted to self-confessed hit squad member Dirk Coetsee, but was sent to Mlangoi, whose name was on the parcel as the sender, after Coetsee refused to pay extra duty to receive it at a Lusaka post office.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday: "What harm would the presence of our lawyers have?"

She said the ANC would ensure that there was a full exposure of death squads, which it believed to be responsible.

Crewe said police had no evidence linking Mlangoi's death to any hit squad.
Afrikaner Weerstands-beweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche yesterday told his commandos to defy all Government orders to disband.

He said the decision by the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), to end its armed struggle "had nothing to do with the AWB commandos".

MK's primary purpose had been to overthrow the Government while the AWB had founded its Wenkommando (victory commando) only as a civil protection unit, Mr. TerreBlanche said.

"The Wenkommando was founded to protect the legal land-owners and citizens against criminal misdeeds and military-style attacks," the AWB leader claimed.

He urged all officers and leaders within the Wenkommando and their supporting units - the so-called "burgerrade" or civilian councils - to ignore any Government demands to disband the commando units."
No appeal for 3 ANC convicts

THE Bloemfontein Appeal Court has refused the "Broederstroom Three" leave to appeal against the severity of their sentences on various charges under the Internal Security Act.

Damian de Lange, Ian Robertson and Susan Donnelly (Westcott) were convicted by a Pretoria regional magistrate in October 1989 after they had pleaded guilty.

De Lange was effectively imprisoned for 25 years, Robertson for 20 years and Donnelly for 18 years.

All three received military training outside South Africa and infiltrated the country as trained members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Other charges related to explosions that damaged a high voltage electric mast near Kliprivier, a communication mast antenna, a house at Linksfield, Johannesburg and a military bus and other property.

They also obtained and communicated to the ANC information on military, police, state and economic activities in the PWV area.

Arson

In addition, De Lange pleaded guilty to two counts of arson and one of attempted arson where he and a woman named Marion Sparg set fire to two offices of the Progressive Federal Party and attempted to set fire to another PFP office in Johannesburg in 1981.

An appeal by the three to the Transvaal Supreme Court was dismissed on September 7, 1990. Sapa
Armed struggle not terminated, says ANC

The “accord” between the ANC and the government last week on the armed struggle has raised fears that the ANC no longer regards armed action as an important fourth “pillar of struggle.” The ANC had agreed to cease armed attacks, infiltration of men and material, the creation of underground structures and training inside the country. However, ANC working group member Matthew Phosa told Mono Badela the armed struggle has not yet been terminated, it is merely suspended:

THE African National Congress has assured its members that the organisation has made no major new concessions regarding the armed struggle.

Despite the six commitments made by the ANC at the joint working committee meeting last week, the armed struggle has not yet been terminated, said ANC lawyer Mr Matthew Phosa.

“We still do not want to terminate the armed struggle, we have merely suspended it.”

“We do not want to renege on the commitments we have made.”

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, Chris Hani

Phosa said the accord was a signal that the government has decriminalised military training by members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The state had agreed last week that military training was no longer an offence and ANC members would no longer need indemnity for undergoing training.

The organisation expects the government to publish this fact in a forthcoming government gazette.

The agreement also meant the door was now wide open for thousands of exiles to return home.

“The government is trying to make it possible to meet the April 30 deadline set by the Pretoria Minute.”

Phosa said the ANC regarded this as a major concession on the part of the government.

The scorecard on concessions was weighed heavily in favour of the ANC at present — there could be no comparison with the number of concessions the government has made.

“They have been forced to do this because of the struggle waged by the people.”

Concession

Phosa said since the Pretoria Minute the ANC had made no further concessions regarding the armed struggle.

He said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had said on August 7 last year that MK would stop infiltrating units into the country.

“We have made concessions, there is no doubt about it.

“We have said we will stop infiltrating men and material, engage them physically with arms, stop creating new underground structures, stop inciting violence, stop training cadres inside the country.

“It’s part of negotiations, it’s a give and take situation.

“We cannot build new structures but we can keep and maintain those which already exist.”

Retreated

Phosa is of the opinion that on several fronts the government has retreated on important positions.

He said the fact that the government had conceded that the ANC could have an army was an important achievement.

“They used to call Umkhonto we Sizwe a bunch of terrorists.

“That MK can continue training and building a conventional force is an important concession.”

He said it was also a concession on the part of the government to make it possible for former MK members to get licences for pistols.

Last week’s accord should not have an effect on the building of defence units in townships and training people to defend themselves, Phosa said.

Legitimacy

He said the government had conceded the legitimacy of defence units.

“All they said is that they want to open discussion on the defence units. We did not have to persuade them on defence units.”

Phosa said it had not been necessary for the ANC to consult broadly with members before meeting with the government last week.

He said the National Consultative Conference in December endorsed the entire negotiation process and gave the NEC the mandate to continue with the process.

Consulted

The national executive committee had consulted members via their delegates at the conference on negotiation process.

On this basis, he said, the NEC was allowed some form of “reasonable discretion”.

“We were given the full mandate at the conference to engage in these kind of talks.”

Phosa said MK members had participated in last week’s talks.

“The chief of staff Chris Hani was there, Commander Joe Modise was there as well.”

The working group which met with President FW de Klerk last week could not insist on the scrapping of the Internal Security Act as it was not within their mandate, Phosa said.

A working committee provided for by the Groote Schuur Minute was deliberating on the scrapping of the Act.
Independent expert for Mlangeri

Colleagues suspicious of the circumstances surrounding the murder of lawyer Bheki Mlangeri want an independent forensic expert to examine evidence.

Reports GA VIN EVANS

Vlok agreed this week.

This follows a meeting between Vlok and a three-member legal team from the law firm of Law and Order: Minister Adrian Vlok, who was concerned about the investigation into the lawyer's murder.

"The minister agreed to allow an independent access to the forensic evidence. It is possible that one of the world's top explosive experts will be coming to South Africa for this purpose," said lawyer Peter Harris.

Normally the police forensic laboratory, still headed by Lieutenant Colonel Nethling, would be involved in such an investigation.

It appears the forensic evidence will stay in its current safe-keeping until the independent expert arrives. The investigation is now being headed by General Ronny van der Westhuizen.

Harris said Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom lawyers have "strong suspicions about who was behind the murder. One has to ask: who had the motive and who had the capability?" he said, without elaborating.

Suspicion is growing that it was elements in the SAP, and not the South African Defence Force's Civil Cooperation Bureau, who were behind last Saturday morning's murder.

Mlangeri died when a sophisticated explosive device in the carphones of the walkman cassette recorder which he received in the mail—supposedly containing a tape with information on death squads—was detonated by a sound signal.

It had originally been sent to rogue police captain Dirk Coetsee in Lusaka last May, apparently designed to eliminate him shortly prior to giving evidence on police hit squads at a special hearing of the Harms Commission of Inquiry in London.

Coetsee stopped at the post office while he was on his way to the Lusaka airport, but refused to take delivery after a wrangle about payment. He also gave evidence against Nethling in the general's failed legal suit against Vrye Weekblad and The Weekly Mail.

The package contained the name and address of Mlangeri, who had been involved in investigating police hit squads, despite the fact that he had not sent it. It took more than seven months to return to Mlangeri after Coetsee refused to take delivery.

Mlangeri (32), who was the jubilee branch chairman of the African National Congress, had been a frequent victim of state harassment.

Eloquent protest ... demonstrators held placards in Johannesburg's involvement in the murder of Bheki Mlangeri.
MK soldier returns to old varsity

By SHARON CHETTY

THIS is the youthful face of a trained ANC soldier. She, together with thousands of others, are coming home after years in exile.

Veena Ndlovu, 25, returned to South Africa two weeks ago after five years in the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

This week she registered at the University of Durban-Westville for a teaching degree.

When she fled the country with three friends at the height of the state of emergency in 1986, she was a 20-year-old law student.

Several of her friends were in detention and others faced charges for being members of the ANC.

"The armed struggle was the only way out," said Veena.

"Those of us who were in the ANC had to run, otherwise we were at great risk," she said.

Of the four friends who went into exile together, only Veena and one other have returned.

One was killed in a South African Police ambush. Another, Richard Vaikutu, is still at the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka.

Veena says she was one of two women trained at a camp in Angola soon after she went into exile.

After further training in several African countries and "elsewhere," she was sent to Swaziland to help set up a base.

"Soon after we had left a camp in Angola, most of another group were ambushed and killed — an attack we narrowly missed."

Arrested

In June 1988, a close friend, Lenny Naidu, was one of three people shot dead in a police ambush at Piet Retief near the Swazi border.

She and fellow exile David Madarali were later arrested in Swaziland for one of the biggest arms caches discovered in that country.

Both were acquitted but Swazi authorities warned the ANC High Command in Lusaka that the two's presence in the country would no longer be tolerated.

Now, Veena stays with her six brothers and sisters, mother and schoolteacher father in Chatsworth, Durban.
Limpet mine blasts post office

QUEENSTOWN — An explosion occurred at 11 pm. smash-mini limpet mine exploding doors, windows and plowed in the entrance hall of the post office, police said. A pipe from a nearby building caused damage to the blast nor has anyone claimed responsibility.

The explosion occurred on Sunday night.

— Sapa.
Hani reminds Pretoria of ceasefire deadline

UMKHONTO we Sizwe (MK) leader Chris Hani hinted yesterday the ANC would resume its armed struggle after April 30 if the government did not meet its demands to remove obstacles in the way of negotiations.

Addressing more than 2,000 students at the University of Durban-Westville, he said the “criminal regime” still had to release all political prisoners, grant full indemnity to returning exiles and remove all forces from the townships.

“If these commitments are not honoured by April 30, the people must review them. The oppressed are fully justified in using all forms of struggle including taking arms,” he said.

“It will be left to the members of the ANC to decide whether or not enough ground has been covered towards the building of a constituent assembly.”

Hani reiterated that the armed struggle had been suspended and not terminated.

On the role of the military, he said the ANC “totally rejects any suggestion that the SA Defence Force should be the future army of SA.”

“It has always been a loyal subject of the white state and we cannot imagine that in a democracy it will become an army of the people,” he said.

Hani added that MK, too, would have to be disbanded after democracy had been achieved.

However, he praised the sacrifices made by MK soldiers and believed the country would not have moved towards democracy if it were not for the armed wing.

“A lot of people today tend to belittle the contribution of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and some dismiss it as a ragtag army.

“But through the darkest hours it has been the conscience of the people. The attacks on Sasol, on police stations and the very headquarters of the SADF imbued the people with a new hope.”

Those bomb explosions which shattered the calm of night in the white suburbs of Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town were a call to action.”

Hani said: “The task of forming a new army will be in the hands of a new government – and I seriously doubt whether (Defence Minister) Magnus Malan will be around then.”

He warned that situations like those in South America, where army generals had led coups against their governments, must not be allowed to develop in SA, and he stressed the need for a neutral army.
ANC ‘underground’ to stay

JOHANNESBURG. — Fugitive ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils has announced from hiding that the ANC ‘underground’ will not be disbanded following the latest De Klerk-Mandela agreement on the cessation of armed activities.

In the first public reaction from the underground leadership since the agreement, Kasrils said in a telephone interview: "We maintain our underground structures, intact and in place. The maintenance of the existing underground structures is an insurance in case things go wrong."

He insisted that contrary to widespread speculation, he and his "underground" colleagues were fully committed to the negotiation process and the leadership of deputy president Nelson Mandela and the ANC National Executive Committee. They did not regard the agreement, announced on February 15, as a "smub" to underground cadres.

Justifiable

“Our understanding is that the existing underground is not at issue in the latest agreement. Rather the ANC has undertaken not to create new underground structures. We don’t feel isolated.”

The ANC was a justifiable concession, he said, in that if "places the ball in De Klerk’s court. The Cape Town agreement binds the government to the release of prisoners, the return of exiles, progress on indemnity and the suspension of security laws."

Kasrils said the ANC’s underground structures were distinct from its military structures (“the underground is primarily for political, not military work”), and were "perfectly legal."

"We’re not doing anything treasonous, and we’re not acting as a secret force to sabotage negotiations."

Political groups like the Broederbond, some businesses, and even government in aspects of talks with the ANC, felt the need for some secret activities, Kasrils said.

"It’s not a crime to conduct a certain degree of activities in secret where prudence is demanded. And in view of the maintenance of the Internal Security Act, prudence is a necessity."

Kasrils said he and his colleagues would love to come out of the shadows and be part of healthy democratic debate and activities, but we remain in place until instructed to surface by the ANC leadership, and if we feel we are granted that opportunity.

Camouflage

There was still deep concern in ANC circles about the Government’s capacity to "return to the use of violence and repression," Kasrils added.

"This is a cloak to camouflage repression as reform, and I believe it poses the greatest threat to the democratic process in the coming years."

Kasrils, a member of the ANC’s NEC and a former intelligence chief, who has been sought by police since the middle of last year, raised the possibility that some of his underground colleagues might be able to surface before him.

Kasrils bitterly attacked newspaper reports depicting a "half-again figure waiting in the wings" saying this was "irresponsible."

Nelson Mandela (centre) introduces his grandson Bambata to musicians he invited to lunch at his Soweto home yesterday. The musicians have returned from exile.

Russia curses: Vodka rationed

Moscow. — The traditional home of Russian vodka has introduced a monthly ration of one bottle a month. Green and blue coupons marked "March Vodka," "April Vodka," "May Vodka" promise a sober year ahead.

Shelves heaved under full stocks delivered on the eve of a new monthly salary. Vodka practically disappeared from Moscow shops as customers, unaware of the rationing, fell in line. Shelves were stripped empty.
ANC underground intact: Kasrils

FUGITIVE African National Congress leader Ronnie Kasrils has announced from hiding that the ANC "underground" will not be disbanded, despite the latest agreement between President de Klerk and ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela on the cessation of armed activities.

In the first public reaction from the underground leadership since the agreement, Mr Kasrils told Saturday Star in a telephone interview: "We maintain our underground structures, intact and in place. The maintenance of the existing underground structures is an insurance, in case things go wrong."

Mr Kasrils insisted that, contrary to widespread speculation, he and his underground colleagues were fully committed to the negotiations process and the leadership of Mr Mandela and the organisation's national executive committee.

They did not regard the agreement — announced on Monday — as an "end", to underground cadre.

"Our understanding is that the existing underground is not at issue in the latest agreement — rather the ANC has undertaken not to create new underground structures. We don't feel isolated."

The ANC's was a justifiable concession, he said, in that it "places the ball in De Klerk's court. The Cape Town agreement binds the Government to the release of prisoners, the return of exiles, progress on indemnity and the suspension of security laws."

Mr Kasrils said the ANC's underground structures were distinct from its military structures. The underground was primarily for political, not military, work and was "perfectly legal".

"We're not doing anything treasonous, and we're not acting as a secret force to sabotage negotiations."

Political groups like the Broederbond, some businesses, and "even Government in aspects of talks with the ANC", felt the need for some secret activities, Mr Kasrils said. "It's not a crime to conduct certain activities in secret where prudence is demanded. And in view of the maintenance of the Internal Security Act, prudence is a necessity."

Mr Kasrils said he and his colleagues would "love to come out of the shadows and be part of healthy democratic debate and activities — but we remain in place until instructed to surface by the ANC leadership, and until indemnity is granted."

The ANC leadership had instructed him to remain underground until further notice, he said. Although there was no longer an absolute need for secrecy, they would remain underground if instructed to do so.

"I would like to think that, although secretive, the ANC's underground is not a contradiction. In the current political climate, it would be irresponsible to think that our underground would only become active if the ANC were to be legalised."

Mr Kasrils was clear that the ANC underground was not the same as the ANC military structure, which had been outlawed. The underground structure was essentially for political work, and he rejected the idea that the Government agreed to "legalise" it.

"We'd have to be a pretty stupid group to believe that the Government agreed to legalise the ANC underground, given the political climate."

The ANC underground did not seek to undermine the Government, he said. It was "purely for political purposes, in order to maintain the organization."

"We're not terrorists, nor do we support them. We're just political people who happen to disagree with the views of the Government and want to participate in the political process."
POLICE were stepping up investigations of a right-wing guerrilla movement that sprung up this week targeting Government officials, anti-apartheid leaders and security police for its murder campaign, a Law and Order Ministry spokesman said.

Captain Craig Kotze told Sapa police were taking threats by the shadowy Boer Republican Army seriously.

**Extremists**

"There are scores of extremist white splinter groups and it would first have to be established whether this alleged group does in fact exist or not," Kotze said.

The document containing names of possible targets including Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk, is being circulated to rightwingers in the Western Transvaal, according to a report carried by a Johannesburg newspaper.

"All threats of this nature are taken seriously by the police," Kotze said.

*Sapa*
Explosion at farm of Boerestaat leader

JOHANNESBURG. — An explosion occurred at the entrance to the Sandspuit farm, home of Boerestaat Party (BSP) leader Mr Robert van Tonder, on Saturday night.

The BSP leader said yesterday that he and his wife Louise were on their farm when they heard a "tremendous" explosion about 10.30.

He and his adult children — who also live on the farm with their families — searched the entire area that night, but no damage could be found.

Yesterday morning they discovered that the concrete base of the Vierkleur flag — used as the Boerestaat Party's symbol — had been blown away.

An SAP spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the explosion at Mr Van Tonder's farm. — Sapa
Bombed Vierkleur flies on

By Norman Chandler

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder escaped unhurt from an attack on Saturday for the second time in a week.

Mr van Tonder told The Star last night that a bomb exploded at his Randburg farm and damaged a concrete base for the Vierkleur flag which flies close to his home. Last week, the flag was cut down and a note threatening his life was found.

He alleged that Saturday's explosion could have been "the work of the Security Police or the African National Congress", and has lodged a complaint with the police.

He has asked for an analysis to be made of the explosives which were used.

Mr van Tonder and his wife, Louise, were at their Sandrool farm located between Randburg and Muldersdrif at about 10.30 pm on Saturday when they heard "a tremendous explosion. It was so loud that policemen at Muldersdrif, about 8 km away, heard it as well," Mr van Tonder said.

A search of the area proved fruitless and it was only yesterday morning that it was discovered that the concrete base for the Vierkleur flag — used as the Boerestaat Party's symbol — had been blown away.

The flagpole, however, remained upright.

Police confiscated a shoe which was found at the scene.

The Vierkleur flag was used by the South African Republic and has become a symbol among right-wingers.

Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen of the SAP public relations directorate said an explosion had taken place but damage had been minimal.
Arrest over Pretoria bomb

BY MONK NKOMO

An ANC National Congress cadre has been arrested in connection with murder, theft and the planting of a bomb at the Hallmark Parkade in Pretoria last year.

The 30-year-old suspect, a member of the ANC’s military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, was arrested on February 12 this year in connection with the death of Mr. David Shongwe, whose bullet-riddled body was found in Brits on July 28 last year, Security Police chief General Bassie Smit said in Pretoria yesterday.

Although he declined to release the name of the suspect, security sources yesterday confirmed that the arrested man is Sipho Mabena.

Shongwe, of Sauls-ville, was sought by police for questioning after a powerful bomb was found inside a minibus taxi at a parking garage in Vermeulen Street on July 28.

The bomb, which was made up of 252 detonation charges of communist origin, was deactivated by police before it could explode.

Speaking at a Press conference, Smit said a 30-year-old member of the ANC was arrested in Atteridgeville.

He made a confession before a magistrate on February 13 admitting his involvement in Shongwe’s death and the explosives.

Smit said police records showed that the suspect left South Africa in 1980.

“We are now looking for another suspect who is also a member of the ANC,” Smit said.

Smit said he did not know whether the suspects were given instructions by the ANC to plant the bomb, which, according to police bomb experts, could have resulted in a great loss of human lives.

He declined to give further details and said most of the facts were evidence to be submitted in court. It is not known when the suspect would appear in court.

Shongwe, who was earlier named a suspect, “is now absolutely exonerated”, Smit said.
Car bomb: ANC man is arrested

PRETORIA - An Umno-boho we Siswe (MK) cadre has been arrested, accused of planting SA's biggest car bomb in a Pretoria parkade last July and of murdering 2 taxi drivers.

The 114kg bomb was defused by police after they received a tip-off from a bystander who noticed suspicious objects, including detonators, in a minibus.

The body of the minibus driver, David Shongwe, 33, was found shot at Hartbeespoort Dam.

At a news conference in Pretoria yesterday, SAP Chief of security Gen Basie Smit said a 30-year-old ANC man was arrested in Atteridgeville last month.

Police said he made a full confession before a Pretoria magistrate in connection with the minibus theft, murdering Shongwe and planting the explosives.

Smit said police were still searching for accomplices, and the investigation was at a delicate stage.

The arrested man will be charged with murder, terrorism and robbery.

It was unlikely he would be given indemnity as it was not just a political crime, but involved the murder of a civilian, Smit said. -- Sapa.
Car bomb: 

ANC man's 

admission

By Monica Nicolson
Crime Staff

An Umkhonto we Sizwe member arrested last month has confessed to planting South Africa's biggest car bomb, which was defused in the car park of the Hallmark building in Pretoria in July, police say.

The man has also confessed to murdering a taxi driver and stealing his minibus.

The 114kg bomb was defused by the police after they received a tip-off from a bystander who noticed detonators in the white minibus.

The minibus driver, soccer player David Shongwe (33), was later found dead at Hartbeespoort Dam. He had been shot in the head.

Police security chief Lieutenant-General Basie Smit said in Pretoria yesterday that a 30-year-old ANC man had been arrested in Atteridgeville last month.

The man had made a full confession before a Pretoria magistrate in connection with stealing the minibus, killing Mr Shongwe and planting the explosives.

General Smit said the arrested man would be charged with murder, terrorism and robbery. It was unlikely he would be given indemnity as it was not just a political crime but involved the murder of a civilian, he said.

Police no longer had any suspicions that Mr Shongwe had anything to do with the crime.
A CADRE of the Azanian National Liberation Army who was killed in a shootout with security forces at Mahwelereng, near Potgietersrus, on Tuesday has been identified.

He was Mr Thabang Jan Motlhodisi (25) of Kromstad, described by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania as a "long-serving fighter of the Azania forces".

He died in a grenade explosion during a skirmish with members of the South African Police and the South African Defence Force in which a police lieutenant, Calvin Kgassogo Dikgale (41), was also killed.

A member of the Azanian Youth Organisation and the Food and Beverage Workers Union, Mr Ronald Malatji, was shot dead after injuring three policemen, Lieutenant ML Tlomatsana, a police spokesman in the area, said yesterday.

Tlomatsana identified the injured policemen as Lieutenant Jarius Mafato (44), Sergeant Phuti William Pospepi (43) and Constable Moremi Francis Mesele (27).

Describing the skirmish as "a daring shootout", Tlomatsana said it ended when a third man surrendered.

Tlomatsana said the group was cornered in a house near the AME Church following the fatal shooting on Monday night of Mr Elias Nkuna.

Motlhodisi tried to escape when police started surrounding the house. Dikgale tried to apprehend him when the grenade exploded, killing both instantly, Tlomatsana said.

Two weeks ago the BCMA claimed responsibility for an attack on a Transvaal Provincial Administration roadcamp about 5km from the township.

It said it estimated the damage at several millions of rands.

The media officer of the BCMA, Mr Gilbert Mokoena, said in a statement from Harare yesterday that Motlhodisi had been "one of the most dedicated and selfless members of BCM formations".

"He carried out all his duties in the trade union, in political activity and in the army diligently and thoroughly," Mokoena said.
'90 Pretoria car bomb: Man arrested

JOHANNESBURG - Police yesterday announced the arrest of an African National Congress guerilla in connection with South Africa's most powerful car bomb, found and defused in downtown Pretoria in July last year.

But officers had "no evidence" that the unnamed 30-year-old suspect had planted the bomb - containing 114kg of explosive - on ANC instructions, police security chief General Baskie Smit said.

Police arrested the man, a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, on February 12 in Pretoria's black township of Atteridgeville. - UPI
Buy guns for target practice

By DE WET POTGIETER

The SA Communist Party has urged its members to arm themselves and train for self-defence in the townships.

A two-page article in the latest issue of the SACP mouthpiece, Umsebenzi, tells members of the party and the ANC to buy airguns and pistols for target practise. These weapons have the advantage that no licence is required "and they are an excellent, cheap and safe way for teaching people how to aim and shoot correctly", according to the article.

Despite the militant tone of the article, security sources said they were not unduly concerned.

A police spokesman said he believed the ANC leadership would handle the issue with "great care and responsibility".
PIETERSBURG. — Details of the bloody shootout last week between Azanian National Liberation Army (Azania) guerillas and police emerged at the weekend.

Two guerillas and a policeman died in the attack in Lebowa on Tuesday.

The two guerillas were former trade unionist Mr Mashapu Ronald Malatjie and Mr Thabang Mothlodi, who died in a hand grenade blast which also killed a policeman.

The names of the two guerillas, who will be buried over the next two weekends, were confirmed by Black Consciousness Movement of Azania spokesman Mr Gilbert Mokoena in Harare.

Two weeks ago an Azania squad had attacked a Transvaal Provincial Administration road camp outside Potgietersrus, causing damage which the BCMA estimated at millions of rands but police set at R5 000.

Last Tuesday police surrounded a house in Mahwelereng township in Lebowa. When Mr Mothlodi tried to escape through a window Lieutenant Calvin Dikgale of the Lebowa police hurled himself at him. Mr Mothlodi detonated a grenade and both men were killed.

Mr Malatjie, a member of the Food and Beverage Workers' Union and Azania, came from the house with his gun blazing, wounding three policemen before he was killed.

One of the wounded was the well-known Constable Lucas Mafafo, an ANC marshal who showed ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela around the area last year.

Lebowa police spokesman Lieutenant L.M. Tiomatsana described the latest incident as "a daring shootout and the bloodiest clash".

A spokesman for the BCMA said this was a significant development politically, as the organisation and its sister internal organisations had rejected negotiations with the South African government.

At Pietersburg at the weekend the Azania attacks were praised by the regional congress of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo). — Sapa
Row as Indian MP bars blacks from new area

By MONK NKOMO

A ROW has erupted over enforcement of the Group Areas Act by an Indian MP concerning Lotus Gardens, near Atteridgeville in Pretoria.

This follows the rejection of black applications for the occupation of houses at Lotus Gardens by Chairman of the Ministers Council Dr JN Reddy.

Reddy told the Atteridgeville Saulsville Residents Organisation that Lotus Gardens was being developed strictly for the Indian community in terms of the Group Areas Act, which had at the time not yet been repealed.

Backlog

Asro representatives said yesterday they complained to Reddy recently following reports that scores of applications from Atteridgeville residents to occupy houses at Lotus Gardens had been rejected by the Indian authorities.

The organisation condemned the stance taken by the Indian authorities and said their residents also had a serious housing backlog.

Asro has now sought a meeting with the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Henk Kriel, to resolve the matter.

In his reply to Asro, Reddy said although his administration supported State President Mr FW de Klerk’s initiatives to scrap apartheid, he was still bound by the country’s constitution.

Needs

"I and my administration are, until such time as these measures are enacted, obliged, in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No 110 of 1983, to provide first and foremost for the needs of the Indian community in South Africa, which includes their housing needs.

In this context Lotus Gardens is being developed for members of the Indian community of whom several thousands have been on our waiting list for many years," said Reddy.

Mr Sattar Cassim, chairman of the Laudium Management Committee, yesterday distanced himself from Reddy’s stance and said his committee was in favour of the area being shared by people of all races.

"Reddy’s attitude is bad and not in line with the new South Africa that is being planned," Cassim said.

In their reply dated March 7 this year, Asro told Reddy that South Africa was a racial state because its constitution entrenched separate development.

"Your allegation that you and your administration subscribe to non-racial principles as advocated today by all peace-loving South Africans are misleading and discouraging," Asro said.
Battle-scarred exiles return

DEFENCE UNITS

ANC to train

From Math Anderson

South INDIAN - 23.1.86
Three men have appeared in the Pretoria District Court in connection with the Bloed Street bomb blast and a parcel bomb in Durban last year.

Adrian Hendrickus Maritz (43) of Seederberg Street, Arcadia, Henry Guy Martin (49) of Hornsord, Pretoria, and Lodewyk Grobler van Schalkwyk (53) of Hartbeespoort, Brits, did not apply for bail during their brief appearance before Mr M Kilian yesterday.

Deputy Attorney-General PHH Pick, for the State, asked for the case to be postponed to March 27 by which time the State hoped to have a date for trial in the Supreme Court.

Maximum

He asked that Mr Maritz be held at the maximum security section at Pretoria Central Prison and that Mr Martin and Mr van Schalkwyk be held respectively at the Moot and the Sunnyside police cells.

The three are facing 25 charges, including 11 charges of attempted murder, one charge of murder, charges relating to the possession of explosives, detonators, grenades, teargas and ammunition, and one charge of theft and malicious damage to property.

The Bloed Street bomb blast occurred at 9.30 am on Saturday August 11 last year when an explosive device, concealed in a dustbin outside a fast food outlet, exploded. Another bomb was found at the scene, but was defused by the police.

Durban computer consultant Ian Cruse was killed on October 20 last year when he opened a parcel bomb.
Detained by ANC

Top MK officer Aaron Makhari, accused of disloyalty, is back home after 15 years. But he still prefers to stay in the shadows.

WHEN Aaron Makhari left South Africa 15 years ago to fight apartheid, the only possible camps he feared were those in Pretoria.

He was mistaken.

In May of last year the former Umkhonto We Sizwe officer was arrested by the ANC's security department on suspicion of disloyalty and held for eight months in a detention centre in Zambia.

Makhari eventually escaped and arrived back illegally in South Africa in July last year. Since then he has been on the run, living in fear of the authorities, unsure of his former colleagues' intentions, awaiting his impending arrest from Pretoria.

This week the 37-year-old former top MK officer emerged from hiding to recount his experiences as a soldier, propagandist and eventually fugitive - in the ANC.

Struggle

Makhari, son of poor So- weto parents, slipped into Botswana in July 1976 - soon after the student revolt - convinced that only armed struggle would persuade whites to share power.

He was given the code-name Francis and was trained in Moscow and Angola - ending up in a small camp called Qubaxu in northern Angola.

There were 50 ANC cadres but only 100 plates. Breakfast was tea and corn porridge, and the camp commander had to choose whether the next meal was rice or beans. It could not be both.

Makhari remembers the day the cadre caught a hyena. It was the first meat some of them had eaten for months.

Song

"Everybody was itching to go back home and encourage the government. Any slight news that something had happened in South Africa - a worker had been dismissed from a factory for having identified with the ANC, for example - was something which would lift the spirits."

There was no entertainment - "not even a Monopoly set". Songs kept spirits high. Every night there would be two hours of revolutionary song-singing. It was known irreverently as "Jazz Hour".

Makhari served Umkhonto in a number of capacities, including as a soldier in Angola, until he decided to move to Zambia in a SAAF airlift in 1979, political commissar in Bengela camp and then, finally, head political instructor at Fungo - a camp in northern Angola after the bombing of Nova-Catedangue.

He left the military wing in January 1981 to join Radio Namibia. Three years before the ANC camps in Angola were being hit by Frelimo, Makhari was arrested in London on charges of harboring ANC members and rebels. Makhari and his colleagues were excluded from the ANC's decision-making body.

"The perception was that anybody detained there must be a South African agent. He was delaying the struggle," Makhari says. "But I was the only ANC leadership to blame for that."

"I understand they are not going to instruct these people to do that (beat prisoners) but the training and selection of these people is very important for such a sensitive role."

"The guards kept saying this is not detention nor is it a rehabilitation centre."

Makhari was eventually released and returned to Spain. The ANC would not tolerate his presence.

"Blame"

"The perception was that anybody detained there must be a South African agent. He was delaying the struggle," Makhari says. "But I was the only ANC leadership to blame for that."

"I understand they are not going to instruct these people to do that (beat prisoners) but the training and selection of these people is very important for such a sensitive role."

"The guards kept saying this is not detention nor is it a rehabilitation centre."

Makhari estimates there were between 30 and 40 people at one time or another in the centre. Some, he believes, were unambiguously South African agents.

"But there were people there who should not have been there - in my opinion."

Makhari's release came through illness. He developed acute chest and stomach pain. On January 21 last year, the ANC pushed him to Lusaka General Hospital, where he was able to persuade nursing staff to call the Zambian police.

They heard Makhari's story sympathetically. "This is a straightforward case," said a young officer. "You must be handed over to the United Nations. The ANC must be told we have had enough of this."

There followed the next stage of Makhari's life at the whim of UN bureaucracy. He was kept for a while in a Zambian refugee camp and then, because of his problems with the ANC, sent to Malawi.

"Then I decided I could no longer take it. I left and came back home," said Makhari. He is reticent about how he managed to slip back into the country in July last year.

Makhari approached the International Red Cross, who took up his case with Home Affairs. His innocence is still pending. Still, he prefers to remain in the shadows - refusing to have his photograph taken, waiting for the moment he is "legal".

On his return, Makhari tried to mend fences with the ANC.

Is he bitter?

"My detention was because of the influence of certain individuals. I am not bitter against the movement at all," he said.
No action on doctors' unethical methods

THE South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) said it would not take disciplinary action against doctors who were involved in unethical practices, if the complaint was not formally lodged.

This follows Saturday Star's recent reports about some doctors, particularly in the platteland, not keeping records for cash-paying black patients.

Although SAMDC's registrar Nico Prinsloo stressed that, while it was official policy that doctors keep records of "all patients for a reasonable period", the council could not rely on press reports to act against doctors.

Some doctors investigated only issued small slips to the patient as the sole record of a visit.

The onus, according to the doctors, lay with the patient to keep the slip.

In an interview this week, the Medical Association of South Africa (MASA), the representative body of doctors, said it noted "with concern" allegations that some doctors were involved in some unethical practices.

It said its ethical committee, established specifically to ensure doctors practiced properly, had not yet received any complaint or "substantiated evidence".

A formal complaint has to be lodged against a specific doctor or a group of doctors, MASA said.

MASA stressed it would always investigate allegations and make recommendations to the SAMDC, which has the power to take disciplinary action against doctors.

It was in the interest of doctors that those who did not follow norms be called to account, said MASA.

Asked about the consequences of doctors not keeping records, Mr Prinsloo said doctors who failed to do so could either be cautioned, suspended or removed from the register, depending on the seriousness of the cases and the circumstances surrounding them.

ANC lured children into camp-ordeal

SCHOOLCHILDREN were allegedly duped into travelling to an ANC camp in Zambia, where they were urged to undergo military training.

The first of a group of 160 pupils from Pretoria and the Rand made their own way back to the South African border last night after what they claimed was a month-long ordeal at the hands of the ANC.

After repeated attempts to reach the ANC, no comment could be obtained from the organisation at the time of going to press.

During a Security Police-organised press conference at the posh Mount Grace Hotel near Magaliesburg, pupils alleged they were "recruited" by a Rockville priest and the wife of a Soweto school inspector.

“We were offered scholarships in Kenya for a R100 fee.”

The first seven pupils transported by police from Zecrust last night said they were:

- Subjected to political indoctrination.
- Forced to do manual labour.
- “In Soweto, a Mrs Mokoce collected our passports and said she would fax our particulars to the Kenyan authorities. We were told the scholarships were sponsored by foreign investors.”

On Friday, February 22, a group of 160 pupils in their late teens and early twenties left Soweto in three busses and crossed through Botlhokgatshwana and Botswana.

At the Zambian border they were told to cross the Zambezi river by ferry and were met on the Zambian side by a Mr Mduma.

“We demanded food and wanted to know where we were going, but he said we would be told only what we needed to know.”

They were taken to a place on the outskirts of Lusaka identified as the Charleston Transit Centre.

“We were told this was an ANC camp and we were under ANC command.”

Our passports, money and personal possessions were confiscated and we were not allowed to leave the camp or make telephone calls.”

Pupils said they were forced to do manual labour every day and ablution and cooking facilities were primitive.

“We defied threats of physical violence and went to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka and demanded to go back home.”

During a three-week ordeal, the pupils said, ANC officials refused to hand over their passports and frustrated their efforts to leave the camp.

“We eventually persuaded them to give back our passports and we bought our own bus tickets back to South Africa.”

Security police said they had no reason to detain the pupils as, by their own admission, they had not undergone any military training.

“We were approached for assistance once they reached the South African border and we agreed to transport them to their homes in safety.”
Operation Vula was a means of last resort

By TERRY VAN DER WALT

OPERATION VULA — the "red plot" — was never a threat to the negotiation process because it had been set up by ANC president Oliver Tambo to be used only as a last resort.

This was said by Billy Nair, one of nine terrorist trialists granted indemnity on Friday by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

The nine were alleged to have set up an international computer network, a national underground, an arsenal of weapons and a string of safe houses with the aim of training a "people's army" to seize power from the government by armed insurrection.

Eight people were arrested in July last year and made several court appearances, the last being in the Durban Regional Court in January when they had been granted bail totalling almost R300,000.

Mr Nair was not arrested. Even when he appeared in court no efforts were made to arrest him as he agreed to stand trial.

While celebrating the good news in Durban with three of the nine accused, Mr Nair, 50, said Operation Vula, set up in 1986 by Mr Tambo, had undertaken from the outset never to use violence unless directed to do so.

"Mae Maharaj (commander of the operation) and Ronnie Kastrili (leading SACP member) were accused of trying to scuttle the talks through their involvement with Vula. But Mae had played a part in drawing up the document on the suspension of the armed struggle (announced at the Pretoria Minute on August 6) and this was to be part of our defence had the trial gone ahead."

Mr Nair said that, far from being a small group of conspirators acting on their own in direct conflict with the ANC, Operation Vula came under direct orders from the ANC high command.

The Durban members of Vula, Mr Nair, Pravin Gordhan, 41, Dipak Patel, 26, and Arvind Sevak, 22, said their actions had been vindicated by the indemnity.

Mr Nair said: "We were fighting the apartheid system which, by the state's own admission, was a crime. "It must be appreciated we were victims of apartheid rather than criminals."

The other Natal member, Raymond Lala, 32, could not be reached for comment.
These arms were confiscated by police shortly after the beginning of the year.

"By Ike Motzapi

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FW grants indemnity to Rudolph aides

President F W de Klerk has granted indemnity to two people who assisted Orde Boerewolk leader Piet Rudolph while he was a fugitive from justice.

The two were named as Elsie Johanna Tubb (35) and Rudolph Christiaan Tubb (26).

They were also indemnified from prosecution for the possession of arms, ammunition and explosives.

Mr Tubb was also indemnified for having kept observation of the Swartruggens Commando with the intention of stealing arms and ammunition.

Others indemnified were:
- Allen Marnewick, for arson of the Roman Catholic Church and other buildings at Boekenhoutfontein in June last year and the unlawful possession of arms.
- Barend Bartlomeus Burger, for arson of the same church, theft of ammunition from the SADF and the unlawful possession of arms.
- Izak Wybrand Venter, for keeping observation on the Swartruggens Commando with the intention of stealing arms, and the unlawful possession of arms. — Sapa.
State acts on MK pair

TWO of South Africa's most wanted men - Umkhonto we Sizwe officers Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Mr Hein Grosskopf - have been indemnified against prosecution for undergoing military training.

Their names were published in the Government Gazette on Friday along with 1,817 other names, including that of "Operation Vula" trialist Mr Mac Maharaj.

A police spokesman said yesterday that nine people accused in the "Operation Vula" trial had been granted indemnity.

Indemnity

Four people also wanted in connection with the operation have applied for indemnity.

They are Kasrils, Miss Janet Love, Mr Charles Ndaba and Mr Christopher Manye.

Their applications were being considered, the police spokesman said.

ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus said yesterday the organisation expected the four to be granted full indemnity as part of the process of normalisation.

In particular, the ANC expected the Government to guarantee Kasrils, as a member of the organisation's national executive committee, safety of movement and freedom of political action.

SA Communist Party spokesman Mr Jeremy Cronin called for the "immediate full indemnity without ambiguity" for Kasrils.

The Government notice listed mainly ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe members who met the following criteria:

- They endorsed the principles of peaceful solutions and development;
- They underwent military training before noon on October 8 last year;
- They have not participated in military activities after noon on October 8;
- They fully furnished information required in the application for indemnity.

From Page 18
Magnus slates Hani 'war talk'

Political Staff

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has lashed out at the “war talk” of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani, in one of his sharpest attacks yet on African National Congress hardliners.

General Malan accused Mr Hani and his supporters of jeopardising negotiations and warned him to bear in mind that his indemnity against legal action was only temporary.

He also repeated earlier accusations that the ANC had a hidden agenda to use MK in intimidating and mobilising people in the townships.

Criticised

He also criticised ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela for his “transparent” practice of evading realities and blaming everything on the Government.

General Malan’s attack followed reports of Mr Hani’s statements this week in which he said, among other things, that the question of whether the ANC would resume the armed struggle depended on the “behaviour of the regime”.

General Malan said all who were committed to the new South Africa were “sick and tired” of Mr Hani’s threats of violence.

He said Mr Hani and his “bed-fellow” Joe Slovo, the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, simply wanted the parliamentary system destroyed and wanted to create in its place an interim government with dictatorial powers and full control over all security forces.

Yet, he said, MK was nothing more than a “paper tiger which has no right to exist”.

“They say piously that they gave up the armed struggle as a sacrifice. This is absurd, since MK never had a military capability.”

General Malan said statements by Mr Hani and Mr Slovo reflected a “dangerous tactical shift” which boiled down to power hunger.

“Those committed to the new South Africa have seen through this and will not be blackmailed by it.”

He said “reasonable South Africans seeking a government in which representation for all is guaranteed can no longer afford this sort of cold-bloodedness.

“In the name of an orderly and stable future, the people of South Africa have a right to demand that Mr Mandela says precisely where he stands.”

He added: “Time is running out for the destroyers of the process of building a new SA. The sooner the ANC ditches the illusion that it is the sole government of the future and can do just as it pleases, the sooner an orderly process can begin.”
ANC ‘bomber freed’, but still on run

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has partly indemnified “Red Pimpernel” Mr Bonnie Kasrils and alleged Krugersdorp bomber Mr Hein Grosskopf — but the two remain wanted men.

As the April 30 deadline for ANC members’ indemnification draws closer, the government faces the prospect of having to deal with hardline and politically “difficult” cases like Mr Kasrils, Mr Grosskopf, Mangos’s bomber Robert McBride and right-wing mass murderer Barend Strydom.

Death Row prisoners Strydom and McBride have yet to be indemnified.

But Mr Kasrils and Mr Grosskopf, who have been indemnified from prosecution for having undergone military training, will still have to answer for other deeds.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said Mr Kasrils was still being sought in connection with Operation Vula — an alleged SACP plot to overthrow the government if negotiations failed — while Mr Grosskopf was wanted in connection with 1988 bombings in Krugersdorp — in which three people died — and one at the SADF Wits Command headquarters.

“If we find Grosskopf, we will arrest him in connection with those bombings,” Captain Kotze said last night.

While the other Operation Vula accused applied for and received indemnity last week, Mr Kasrils has not yet applied. He has been on the run since late last year.

Yesterday the ANC demanded indemnity for McBride, saying his case fell within government guidelines.
Two of South Africa's most wanted men — senior Umkhonto we Sizwe members Ronnie Kasrils and Rein Grosskopf — have been indemnified against prosecution for undergoing military training.

However, lawyers and police have advised the African National Congress that NEC member Mr Kasrils and Mr Grosskopf are definitely still liable for other charges, spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said that unless Mr Grosskopf had been granted blanket indemnification, he could still be charged in connection with three separate car-bomb blasts on the Witwatersrand — which killed seven people and injured 102 — to which he was linked by police during 1987 and 1988.

At the time of going to press, the Department of Justice had not responded to The Star's questions on this issue.

The two men's names were published in a Government Gazette on Friday with 1 817 other names, including Operation Vula accused Mac Maharaj.

The other three wanted by the police in connection with Operation Vula are Janet Love, Charles Ndaba and Christopher Manye.
MK should merge with SADF - Hani

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Sowetan 28 3 91

THE army in a new South Africa will be made up of present SADF members, the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and elements of homelands' armies.

And, when MK initially returns, it will have to be confined to barracks along with the South African Defence Force, the ANC's military chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani said in a report in New Era, a Cape Town magazine.

Hani also said Umkhonto could only be brought back into the country once an interim government was set up.

"Before there is an interim government and a constituent assembly, the National Party will resist the question of building a future South African army.

"But once we come into the period of an interim government foundations for integration must be laid," Hani said.

There was no way that MK cadres would be brought back earlier. This would be tantamount to disarming the ANC's military wing, and this was unacceptable, he said.

"Whilst we have not reached a certain stage in negotiations, it would be incorrect, and unwise, both from a tactical and strategic point of view, to bring the army into the country," he said.

Hani said the future South African army would have to be accountable to "civilian authority" in parliament. He also stressed the need for mechanisms to block the military from interfering in politics.

As an interim measure, when MK was brought back into the country, they would have to be supported on a par with the SADF by an interim government, said Hani.
THE Operation Vula trialists who received their indemnity last Friday, may still be charged.

One of the accused, Mr Mac Maharaj, claimed on Monday that although the trial was over the Vula matter was not closed.

Maharaj, Mr Siphiwe Nyanda and their legal team, went to see the head of the security police in Durban to get clarity on property confiscated from them during the investigations and to inquire about the whereabouts of two ANC men, Mr Muso Shabalala and Mr Charles Ndaba.

They left the meeting "very unsatisfied," the worst news being the state's refusal to return their property and the property of the ANC, saying that there may be another trial.

Maharaj said the police denied any knowledge of the whereabouts of Shabalala and Ndaba, who the ANC thought had been detained in the first week of July last year.

According to Maharaj, Shabalala was a teacher in the South Coast and had always lived in Durban. Ndaba, he said, was an Umkhonto We Sizwe member trained and operative in neighbouring countries until three months before his arrest when he re-entered the country.

He said they were leading members of the Southern Natal underground head committee.

"The two were detained towards the end of the first week of July, in fact they were the first among us to be detained."

"We condemn the police for listing Ndaba and Ronnie Kasrils on Police File and for describing them as 'dangerous'. This was a license to have these comrades killed," said Maharaj. Kasrils was listed as "indemnified" in last Friday's Government Gazette.

Maharaj said the Vula trialists did not think that their indemnity was unconditional.

"Our actions were consistent with the search for a negotiated settlement of our country's problems. We thus urge the state to honour the spirit and letter of all agreements reached."

Nyanda, an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, Maharaj and six co-accused, Mr Rayman Lalla, Mr Billy Naik, Ms Catherine Mvelase, Mr Dipak Patel, Mr Anesh Sankar, Mr Pravin Gordhan and Ms Priscilla Tshabalala, were excused from further court attendance.

They had faced charges of terrorism and illegal possession of arms, ammunition and explosives.
Hani talks of ‘new’ SADF

ANC ready to move MK men in

DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE African National Congress’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has started training pilots and naval officers to prepare to serve in a future South African defence force, according to an interview with MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani.

In the interview, due to appear next week in the ANC publication, Mayibuye, Mr Hani says MK has expanded its camps in a number of countries “to accommodate the growing inflow of recruits”.

He is also “negotiating with many more countries” to increase the number of cadres undergoing air force and navy training.

“We are under tremendous pressure from young members of the ANC to provide them training,” Mr Hani says.

‘Rehabilitation’

He says the formation of a future army for the country will be dealt with during the negotiation process. He rejects the notion that the present SA Defence Force will continue to operate in its present form and says MK will play a role in the building of armed forces to serve a democratic society.

“We accept that we cannot wish away the SADF. It is an army with thousands of soldiers and officers. I think it is possible for those elements to undergo rehabilitation and reorientation to be part of a new SA army.

He also rejects the suggestion that the training of these units contradicts agreements made with the Government.

“We shall continue this (building self-defence units) and we know that the Government is going to take exception to this.

“We cannot accept double standards. If it is okay for whites to have their neighbourhood watch, it should be equally acceptable for blacks to have self-defence units.”

Mr Hani admits for the first time that the ANC’s decision to suspend the armed struggle has led to tensions and unhappiness “and a ripple of uncertainty” within the ranks of MK.

“We had to convince our cadres that this was not a betrayal of the armed struggle.”

‘Uncertainties’

“We also had to convince them that MK will never be demolished but will remain intact as an integral armed wing of the organisation. These explanations have helped in clearing the uncertainties and now the situation has been stabilised, more or less.”

Mr Hani emphasises that the negotiation process will not mean the dismantling of MK structures in countries neighbouring South Africa.

Those in the camps have to remain there for a longer time as a cohesive army because we have not yet achieved our freedom.

“If, tomorrow the Government was to go back to the old ways of harassing and brutalising the people, surely the ANC would have a right to deploy its army to defend the people,” he says.
Azanian fighter ‘killed in battle’

DAR ES SALAAM — An Azanian People’s Liberation Army (APLA) fighter was killed in a gun battle with South African security forces near Vereening, according to APLA, the PAC’s military wing.

Police were not immediately available to confirm the report.

A statement from Dar es Salaam by APLA’s high command on Thursday named him as Mike Phokwane Mosadi (26). The statement, issued by chief information officer Johnny Majizi, did not specify a date, but said Mr Mosadi, from Kagiso near Krugersdorp, was killed “at Small Farm near Vereening recently”.

It said a party of four APLA members were making a tactical retreat following an earlier skirmish in the area. Although some of the unit members were slightly wounded, they made good their retreat.

In Johannesburg, a PAC official said the incident took place on March 15.

Mr Mosadi was described as a seasoned APLA fighter who joined the guerrilla army in 1986. He would be buried on April 6, the 32nd anniversary of the formation of the PAC, the statement added. — Sapa.
MK's Hani says he won't 'run away' from SA

JOHANNESBURG. - Mr Chris Hani will not leave the country even if his indemnity is withdrawn.

Mr Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), said this only days after Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan warned him his indemnity was temporary.

"I'm not intimidated by Malan or by (President F W) de Klerk's government."

"I'm not frightened by their threats to withdraw the indemnity."

"And certainly, I'm not going to run away from this country."

"It is my country."

"They can do whatever they like, you see. They will never silence me. I can assure them," Mr Hani said last Thursday at a reception in central Johannesburg for the second group of 112 ANC returnees, many of whom are MK commanders.

Two days earlier, General Malan had launched one of his sharpest attacks against Mr Hani and SA Communist Party (SACP) general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, for indulging in "war talk".

He accused Mr Hani and his supporters of jeopardising negotiations and warned him to bear in mind that his indemnity against legal action was only temporary.

General Malan claimed that all who were committed to the new South Africa were "sick and tired" of Mr Hani's threats of violence.

MK was nothing more than a "paper tiger which has no right to exist", General Malan claimed further.

"I'll excuse Malan for his ignorance," Mr Hani retorted.

"This government has had to deploy SADF [South African Defence Force] forces all along the borders of South Africa to stop MK from coming inside the country."

"They've not only confined themselves to that deployment, but they've crossed borders in pursuit of MK."

"MK is a reality Malan can never wish away," Mr Hani declared, denying General Malan's claims that MK was a "paper tiger".

MK furthermore had played a significant part in the fight against apartheid rule, Mr Hani said.

"MK has contributed to the struggle for liberation in this country."

"If this regime now is on the brink of being removed from power, it is because of the contribution of MK."

The returning MK members and commanders, Mr Hani added, had an important role to play in the unfolding political process in the country.

"It is a large burden because these comrades have varying experiences."

"Their return, in a way, is a victory for our struggle for national liberation," the MK chief of staff argued.

"These comrades left the country because of the persecution they received from the apartheid system."

"Their leaving the country was a sign of disapproval and opposition to apartheid."

"Their coming back marks the beginning of the demise or destruction of apartheid."

Sapa
Blasts rock hostels

THE motive for the explosions at two Soweto hostels on Tuesday night was still unknown yesterday.

Merafe and Nancefield hostel dwellers said they did not know who planted the explosives, which police believe were limpets.

The blasts occurred about 11pm within 15 minutes of each other.

Police did not suspect the attacks were linked.

Musawenkosi Zondi, who survived the blast at Merafe Hostel, said he was one of the 10 men who survived the blast at Merafe Hostel.

He said they were asleep when they heard a loud bang which ripped open part of the roof and shattered all the windows.

At Nancefield, the device was planted under a parked minibus.

No-one was injured in the two explosions.
Umkhonto training continues — Hani

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Umkhonto we Sizwe commanders have been travelling around the world looking for places to upgrade cadres' training, Umkhonto's chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, says in an interview with the ANC's official magazine, Mayibuye.

Mr Hani says training and upgrading of Umkhonto is continuing outside South Africa.

"We have expanded our camps in a number of countries to accommodate the growing inflow of recruits," he says.

"We have opened up new avenues for training a regular army, naval officers, pilots, etc.

"Now we are negotiating with many more countries to increase the number of our cadres undergoing this type of training."

Mr Hani says the ANC is under tremendous pressure from young members to provide them with training.

"They want to become soldiers in a future democratic South Africa."

While he rejects the notion that the SADF will continue being the army of a future South Africa, he says the SADF cannot be wished away.

"I think it is possible for these elements to undergo rehabilitation and reorientation to be part of a new South African army."

On Umkhonto's role during the transition phase, Mr Hani says he expects the interim government to confine the SADF to barracks, start creating facilities for Umkhonto cadres to return and set up barracks where Umkhonto will also be confined.

"We do not want (Umkhonto) and the SADF to come out of barracks and interfere in the political processes that will be taking place."

But he adds: "In order to build an atmosphere of confidence in the police I expect the interim government to consider a role for Umkhonto cadres in the police force.

"There exists a justifiable perception within the black community that the police force is racist because of its history of terrorising and suppressing the oppressed.

"It is going to be very difficult for the people to accept that the police are now playing a facilitative role in the process of transition," Mr Hani says.
Hani planning to train naval officers, pilots.

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Tim Cohen

Police

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“It is going to be very difficult for the people to accept that the police are now playing a facilitative role in the process of transition,” Hani says.
Alleged bombers appear in court

THREE rightwingers, allegedly responsible for Pretoria's Bloed Street explosion and a parcel bomb in Durban last year, yesterday withdrew their application for bail. 16/4/91

Pretoria magistrate Mr M Kilian transferred the case to the Supreme Court for trial on May 27.

The accused are Mr Adrian Hendrickus Maritz (43), of Cedarberg Street, Arcadia, Pretoria, Mr Henry Gay Martin (49), of Hors Oord, Pretoria, and Mr Lodewyk Grobler van Schalkwyk (53), of Hartbeespoort.

They allegedly detonated 400g of explosives at the Bloed Street taxi rank in Pretoria last August 11. Twelve people were injured in the explosion.

A Durban computer consultant, Mr Nick Cruse (23) was killed on October 20 last year when a parcel bomb exploded in his hands. - Sapa.
MK cadres ‘to take lead’

TRAINED Upington MK cadres will lead the controversial re-activated township defence units and that’s official.

The ANC’s Siphiwe Nyanda, a former “Operation Vula” accused and now Secretary for the National Campaigns Committee, vowed that he would be among scores of other MK members who would lead the defence units. However, Mr Nyanda was also quick to point out that “the move should not be seen in a sinister way”. The ANC should not be seen as forming a “private army”, he said.

“It was the duty of the civic associations to form the units, he said. The ANC would participate through training schemes in self-defence.

Sakkie Mabuzuma, an ANC spokesman, confirmed the defence units were the initiative of the civic associations throughout the country.

Mr Nyanda stressed that the units would not be affiliated to any political organisation. They would protect the entire community, he said.

Members of the PAC’s military wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army, and those of the Azanian People’s Organisation, would play a role.

TO PAGE 2.

MK cadres

equal to that of MK members in the units, said Mr Nyanda.

He described self-defence as an “inalienable right that cannot be denied by any law in any country.”

And in the case of the units in the townships, they would be answerable to no one but the community they served, he added.

Asked what weapons the defence units would use, he replied: “Anything.” Residents had been urged to apply for fire-arm licences in large numbers. He would also not rule out the use of cross-bows.

He spoke of guns, spears or whatever residents had for retaliation against right-wingers in the police force and vigilantes in particular.

He was especially critical of the Inkatha Freedom Party, saying the police did nothing to stop it from killing township residents.

Training, he said, would be based on discipline. This would prevent the units from degenerating into “com-totsis” — township slang for a “comrade” who is also a thug — or vigilantes.

Surveillance of the enemy would be a priority, said Mr Nyanda. It was time black communities identified these enemies. He could not say what type of uniform unit members would wear but promised: “We are going to be able to identify one other.”
Network 'has been in place for 5 years'

EXCLUSIVE REPORT
by ABBEY MAKOE

AN underground network of paramilitary township defence units has been in place countrywide, ready to be activated, for the past five years.

But as a result of former president P W Botha's clampdown on political activity in the mid-1980s, the secret residents' groups had remained "sleeper" units since 1986, Saturday Star learned in a series of exclusive interviews this week.

And only now — as the ANC and the Government prepare for a showdown over the issue — are they being activated.

This emerged at a secret meeting of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) in Johannesburg this week. Among other things, the meeting was aimed at formalising the duties of the resuscitated units.

See Speak Out on Page 2.

Earlier this week, the ANC disclosed it planned to establish defence units in the townships. Each unit would be headed by a trained Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier. The organisation indicated that defence unit members would be in uniform and carry weapons, including crossbows.

This prompted condemnation from the Government, which lashed out at the ANC's booklet "For the Sake of Our Lives", which outlines the structures of the defence units.

Captain Craig Kotze, Law and Order Ministry spokesman, described the booklet as a "recipe for civil war".

Now, the right wing is planning to form a people's security network (volksbeveiligings netwerk) to counter the ANC's self-defence units.

The Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB) said last night it had no choice but to establish such a network because of the ANC demand for one man one vote, the united front between the ANC and PAC, the self-defence units and the inability of the Government to prevent a transfer of power.

Kgabisi Mosunkutu, Cast's vice-president, said the activation of self-defence units was a direct result of the incompetence of the "special constables" in the townships.

And Cast general secretary Sam Ntuli said the units should not be seen as a "fashion show".

Defence units

FROM PAGE 1

Among the duties of the defence units, it was said in interviews with Cast leaders, would be the barricading of streets during attacks on residents and the slowing down or delaying of "the enemy's vehicles".

Training of the defence units' members would also include the "surveillance of red head-band vigilantes", with whom Cast said it would not cooperate.

Richard Mdakane, also a Cast executive member, revealed plans for a "defence rally" to be held in Pretoria between May 6 and 9 — the expiry date of the ANC's ultimatum to the Government.

ANC spokesman Sakkie Macozoma confirmed the defence units were the brainchild of Cast and, before that, the civic associations. Now, he said, the ANC was throwing its weight behind the programme.

He would neither confirm nor deny earlier reports that the ANC had about 50 defence units already in place. Cast admits to having more than 50.

ANC secretary of the National Campaigns Committee, Sphiwe Nyanda, said MK's trained cadres, "including myself", would not sit back while "our people suffer at the hands of red head-band vigilantes and extremist members of the SAP".

However, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet yesterday issued a stern warning: "If any person is found in possession of any weapon that police believe will be used in an offensive manner, they will be detained," he said.

PAC information chief Barney Desai said his organisation would be having an "in-depth discussion on violence", which would include the defence units issue.

"It is a common-law right recognised throughout the world that if a person is attacked he has a right to self-defence."

BVB chairman Professor Alkmnaar Swart said his organisation had been forced to take the initiative "in making the Volk ready for action by helping to develop a disciplined and united security network".

BVB spokesman Jan Groenewald said the first step would be a Volk security conference.

exposed
Network 'has been in place for 5 years'

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Vula: Threat from missiles averted

GROUND-TO-AIR missiles, limpet mines and light offensive missiles would have been brought into South Africa if Operation Vula had not been exposed in good time, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Operation Vula, under the leadership of prominent SA Communist Party members among others, "aimed at abusing the process of negotiation by establishing underground structures, creating internal bases and developing a revolutionary army".

During the investigation a communications network between South Africa and foreign countries was uncovered, he said in his 1990 report, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

Information was gained about the planned shifting and storage of a large number of weapons on secret premises and a number of these were seized.

"Furthermore, it became clear from the investigation that large quantities of weapons, such as ground-to-air missiles, limpet mines and light offensive weapons would have been brought into the country had the operation not been exposed in time."

South Africa was also hit by a violent far-right terror campaign last year.

"Altogether 23 bomb explosions occurred in which one person died, many were seriously injured and damage amounting to thousands of rands was caused.

"Twenty bomb explosions have already been solved through clever investigation and interrogation."

Unrest and violence not only represented the most important internal security problem last year but also had a primary influence on the process of negotiation.

In 1990, 254 terror attacks occurred and 97 of these attacks were directed against the police."
ANC's self-defence units will be armed

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE ANC's controversial self-defence units, some of which have already been formed, will be armed with rudimentary weapons and automatic rifles — and trained by black policemen, soldiers and Umkhonto we Sizwe members.

The structure and rationale behind the units was sketched this week in an interview with senior ANC member Mr Jeremy Cronin.

Before December's consultative conference, the ANC leadership had called on supporters for protection against the violence ripping across the Reef.

Emasculated

But the ANC — or at least its military wing — had been emasculated by the decision to suspend the armed struggle.

As one senior MK member said: "In the past people knew we would retaliate if they were attacked. In a sense we have been grounded by the suspension of the armed struggle.''

The response from the consultative conference was a well-supported initiative that the ANC should start a well-supported national self-defence structure, Mr Cronin said.

This was a month after the ANC, South African Communist Party and Cosatu alliance had produced a 35-page document called For The Sake Of Our Lives, a publication which has since been sent to townships.

"It is not a set of orders or a blueprint; it offers advice for people on the ground on how to set up self-defence units."

According to the document, a township of some 20,000 residents should have a command structure of eight people, elected or selected by organisations on the ground.

This command would comprise a commander, deputy commander, first aid and communications specialists, company commanders and platoon and section leaders.

Times of crisis

In times of crisis, according to the document, the command structure would assume control.

"But only then. At all other times the command is answerable to the community. It is not a military elite," Mr Cronin said.

A company would be 50-strong and could be sub-divided into five platoons of 10 each which could be further broken down into sections of 20.

Mr Cronin said uniforms had not been modelled because "we are talking of a civilian structure".

However, it was likely that units would wear uniforms to boost morale, bolster discipline and make members visible.

All residents, irrespective of sex or political affiliation, could serve in a self-defence unit if they so wished.

"These must not become the private armies of the ANC, SAPC or whoever. They must be structures answerable to the community and their objective must be to defend residents and the community."

If self-defence units were to be effective and serious, they had to be organised on para-military lines, he said.

"Some people may balk, but the answer is simply that the fire-brigade and ambulance service operate on para-military lines. When there is a crisis, such as a township being invaded by some 5,000 men under escort from people in uniform, no domestic civic organisation, ANC or SAPC branch can defend them."

"They must have a command structure, people who have been drilled, trained and equipped to defend them."

He said the greatest victory for any unit would be forcing an advancing party to retreat without a single shot fired or anyone being injured or killed.

"The ANC and SAP should not have given up on negotiations," he said.

Professor Peter Vale, co-director of the Centre for South African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, said having all kinds of milita around would create a danger of conflict.

There was an added danger of the "emergence of a warlord situation where armed bandits become the propelling force in society".

However, this had to be offset against the fact that the SADF, police and "murky people who have not been called to heel are protecting, whether overtly or covertly, a political system and an ancient regime".

The response of whites was to hire security firms which were militias or armed men riding around. "They, too, are unaccountable", he said.

"If anybody then put a fence around themselves, they would be able to do what they like."

Ward said the ANC, in the event of their being in power, "will force people in the area to be as secure as the man who leaves his window open at night."

Ward said it would be "incredible" if a person could "arm themselves to the teeth and be as secure as the man who leaves his window open at night."

He said there was an atmosphere of almost total insecurity in the townships. "It's a political vacuum. Everyone wants to be the leader of the community."

Ward said people were "crawling around, trying to get security. It's destroying the fabric of society."

Ward said he had put a sign up in the street saying, "This is a natural thing to happen."

Ward said the aim of the ANC had been put on people's notice. "We said to the people in the area, 'We have the right to do what we want. It's a political vacuum and you're asking for it. You'll get the same answer when you go to the ballot box.'"
Fifteen years ago, at the height of the Soweto uprisings, George Molebatsi did not know who Nelson Mandela was. Neither was he aware that the African National Congress existed. The only organisations he knew of were students' representative bodies.

But the one thing that he was conscious of was the soldier inside him, waiting "to come out and fight for the liberation of the black man".

'Politically immature'

"Although I was aware of the kind of conditions that we lived under, I was not politically mature," he admitted. "At that time I somehow felt the only way to fight apartheid was by using weapons that were used against us by the police."

Molebatsi was one of the ANC fighters released from Robben Island two weeks ago. As the commander of the ANC unit responsible for the "Silvertown siege", he was sentenced to 20 years in jail.

Talking about the siege, Molebatsi said the Volkskas Bank held up by members of his unit was not the target.

"Our target was the Silvertown oil refinery tanks. The decision to go for the bank was taken in my absence and was against the policy of the organisation. We had strict instructions to avoid civilian targets," he said, adding that he was detained a month before the operation was due to take place.

When in 1978 a friend suggested that they leave the country for military training, Molebatsi accepted the idea without thinking twice.

Noting his militancy, his uncle, Velaphi Makurbo, constantly warned him: "If you go on like this, you will end up in Robben Island with the likes of Nelson Mandela."

Molebatsi was not deterred by the warning. "I did not know who Mandela was at that time, so that did not bother me. What I wanted was to fight for freedom of our people," he said.

He underwent military training at the ANC's Kibashe and Funda training camps.

He then took part in "small" operations, such as planting landmines on railway lines and spray-painting ANC slogans on walls and bridges.

The Silvertown operation was scheduled to be his first major one.

A former freelance photo-journalist with The World newspaper, Molebatsi said the decision to go for military training was "foisted on me by the conditions that we lived under".

His involvement with Umkhonto we Sizwe operations and the 12 years that he spent in prison have thrown his family life into disarray.

The mother of his two children, who are now 17 and 15 years old, married another man while Molebatsi was serving his prison term.

However, he still sees his children.

Despite the fact that members of the SAP had killed some of his colleagues and, he alleged, severely tortured him during his detention, Molebatsi insists he did not harbour any resentful feelings against the police.

He said he hoped the SAP felt the same about him and other MK members.

Molebatsi has not made up his mind about what he wants to do for a living.

He is studying towards an honours degree in commerce and is waiting for further instructions from the ANC.
Caught in the crossfire...

Tried to escape, but the...
PAC call to take up arms and form patriotic front

By JACQUELYN SWARTZ
Staff Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress has called for the taking-up of arms and the formation of a patriotic front of all black organisations, including those of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and General Bantu Holomisa.

Speaking at a Cosatu-organised May Day rally yesterday, PAC Western Cape organiser Mr Michael Siyolo said the inclusion of groups like the Inkatha Freedom Party would mean they could no longer be manipulated by the government.

"It is our belief that all the oppressed must unite. In Azania the line is drawn between the ranks of the oppressors and the ranks of the oppressed," he said.

He told the crowd, which consisted largely of ANC supporters, that it was clear arms would have to be taken up "because De Klerk is the biggest fake that this land has ever seen".

"On the one hand he says he is prepared to negotiate peacefully, while on the other hand he is busy killing and maiming lots of Africans. "He goes further to say that after negotiations have been completed he will take the decisions to the white electorate and they will be the ones to say yes or no.

"The PAC says we have no time to play. This is not a game because the enemy is ruthless. We must gain ascendency over the forces of oppression," he said.

Fellow-speaker Mrs Hilda Ndude, of the ANC in the Western Cape, also called for a strengthening of alliances.
CP councillor, two others in court over blasts

A Kempton Park CP town councillor and two other men appeared briefly in the town's regional court on Friday on charges of sabotage, attempted murder and alternative charges of causing explosions and being in possession of explosives.

Erasmus Beschidenhout (36) and two others, Andre Naudé (24) and Hendrik de Kok (34), appeared before magistrate HH van der Watt.

No charges were put to them and the case was postponed to May 22 pending a decision by the State President following their application for indemnity.

Bail of R500 was extended.

The three were allegedly responsible for a blast in Kempton Park and one on a railway line last year.
Seven diners hurt in rubbish-bin bomb blast

Johannesburg. — A huge explosion has rocked Hillbrow, seriously injuring at least seven people and shattering hundreds of windows.

The bomb, which exploded last night outside Garbo's restaurant on the corner of Claren and Pretoria streets, was placed in a rubbish bin and reverberated for kilometres around the high-rise residential and entertainment centre.

The Flying Squad, riot police, traffic officers, firemen, and ambulance men were on the scene within minutes and the injured people were taken to Johannesburg Hospital.

Extensive damage was caused to parked cars and buildings had their windows shattered from the force of the blast.

The area was immediately cordoned off while police searched for a possible second explosive. Police said they could not speculate on the type of explosive used or how many people had been inside the restaurant when the blast took place.

A patron of Garbo's, Ms Karen Badenhorst, said she was being served her food when the explosion took place.

Covered in dust and shaking with shock, she said: "I felt myself being blasted forward, then there was a deafening explosion.

"Next thing, the window fell on to our table and the roof caved in."

A Hillbrow reveller said he heard a "very, very loud bang, glass shattering and people screaming" and rushed across the road to find a huge cloud of dust.

"Everyone was running around panicking and people were just slumped over their tables. I thought lots of people had been killed," he said.

A freelance photographer, Mr Maurice Dingli, arrived at the scene within seconds.

"I heard a large resounding explosion and rushed around the corner.

"There were huge clouds of dust and the steel girders around the building had been blasted away," he said.

"Then the walking wounded were evacuated and led to ambulances."

Inside the restaurant, chairs lay overturned, although most of the damage appeared to be only structural.

Hundreds of onlookers gathered, including many anxious friends and relatives of the restaurant's customers.

VICTIM: One of seven people injured in the blast at a Hillbrow restaurant last night is given first aid in the street. Police said a bomb had been placed in a refuse bin.
Limpet-mine blitz baffles Rand police

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Bombers launched a mystery blitz on Johannesburg last night.

Three mini-limpet mines — including one that caused devastation at a Hillbrow restaurant and injured seven people — were planted in the city.

Today a police operation was launched in the city centre to search for more bombs.

Following last night's blast at Garbo's Restaurant in Hillbrow, police today found a second bomb outside a city centre bank, and discovered a third attached to a car outside the city's police headquarters.

Police said they were mystified by the blast and the finds.

At 8.34 am today police used a "controlled detonation" to blast a second Soviet-made mini-limpet found on the pavement outside the Volkskas bank on the corner of Commissioner and Sauer Streets.

"Police bomb disposal experts rendered the device harmless by exploding the detonator which was unstable," police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said.

Within an hour they had found and disarmed a mine found attached to a car outside John Vorster Square.

As police scoured the city streets for more bombs, Captain Opperman appealed to the public to be on the lookout for unattended parcels and suspicious-looking packages.

At Garbo's, while bomb disposal experts sifted through the rubble this morning, the owner, Mr George Christodoulou, said he could not understand why his restaurant had been attacked.

"It's a decent place. They are not troublemakers. There has never been any fights between customers."

"All this violence is like the middle ages in Europe."

Mr Christodoulou said he would not be stepping up security but would "turn my waiters into sniffer dogs" — "make them more aware of any strange parcels and offer a R500 bonus if one of them finds a bomb."

Captain Opperman refused to speculate on possible motives but said police had not excluded the possibility of the incidents being linked.

"We really want to make an appeal to the public not to think that terrorist attacks of this nature can no longer happen in South Africa — like any other country in the world, they can still happen," he said.

Asked to comment on the incidents, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said today the ANC had suspended the armed struggle.

*** Restaurant blast report and picture — page 2.***
ANC blames ‘settlement-wreckers’ for blasts

JOHANNESBURG. — Two limpet mines have rocked the city during the past 36 hours, injuring 12 people, and two more explosions were found by police.

The first blast, which injured seven people, exploded late on Thursday night at a popular Hillbrow restaurant.

The second blast came yesterday afternoon, injuring four women and a young child.

No organization has claimed responsibility for the attacks and the ANC has condemned the attacks.

Last night ANC spokesman Nelson Mandela said the blasts were probably carried out by people “who did not want to see a settlement of the violence in South Africa.”

A spokesman for the National Party said the bombings were definitely not the work of right-wing organizations. He blamed the ANC for the blasts.

Hidden in toilet

Last night Law and Order spokesman Capt. Craig Kotze said police did not have any leads on who might be responsible.

“We are not pointing fingers at this stage. We have theories but no facts to support them at this stage,” Kotze said.

Capt. Kotze said the police were not ruling out any group in a search for the culprits.

In the latest attack a limpet mine, concealed in the toilet of the Tony Piolet shopping centre, exploded just after 2pm.

An eyewitness, Mr. Pierre Pieters, said he was on an escalator close to the toilets when the bomb detonated.

The force of the blast threw him to the floor and when he looked up he saw injured women natural from the toilet.

“Her (one of the victims) leg was full of blood,” he said.

The injured were taken by ambulance to Hillbrow Hospital and later discharged after treatment.

Police searched the shopping centre for more devices and also conducted a block-by-block search of the city for more limpets.

The first explosion, which occurred shortly before 11:15pm in one of Hillbrow’s main streets, police said, was located in an apartment unit. No bomb was found when police searched it.

Police search

Police were visibly “shocked” as several bomb threats had been reported during the day.

Police said one of the PM limpet mines which had been defused was found on the steps of a Volkskraal bank. The second was discovered yesterday morning in a car park.

The police said they had to evacuate the offices here after receiving a bomb threat. No bomb was found when police searched it.

Speaking at the opening of the police academy at Groote-Knop, Mr. Viljoen said the ANC had not worked in the past and would not be allowed to succeed in the future.

A statement from his office in Cape Town said police would use anti-terrorism capabilities to “track down the perpetrators of these latest bomb outrages against innocent citizens.”

— Own Correspondent, Political Staff and Sapa
City’s 24 hours of terror

Child hurt as new blast rocks shopping centre

STAFF REPORTERS and SAPA

In a night and day of terror and screaming sirens, recalling the worst days of the "armed struggle", 12 people, including women and a child, were injured in a series of bomb incidents in Hillbrow and central Johannesburg.

The latest outrage, a bomb exploded at the Tony Factor Discount Centre in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon, injuring five people.

On Thursday night, a mystery "Jolly Badly" damaged a Hillbrow restaurant, injuring seven.

Then, early yesterday morning, police discovered another two timebombs in Johannesburg's central business district.

The first was detonated by explosives specialists and the second was defused.

A child was among the five people hurt and taken to hospital when a bomb exploded at the Tony Factor Discount Centre about 3 am. The bomb was hidden in a woman's toilet adjacent to a Foschi's store.

Blown through wall

Andy McDonnell, regional manager of Foschi's, who found a store, said a woman who was in the toilet when the bomb exploded was blown through the wall into the Foschi's store. He said the blast had left a 4m hole in the wall.

When Police visited the scene, two injured women were making uncontrollably an ambulance before the explosion, a young girl, whose face was bleeding, was carried out of the centre in an unconscious state. Paramedics hauled her eyes.

"Two women came out of the toilet covered in blood," said an eyewitness who added that he was 2m from the blast. The bomb exploded was blown into the Foschi's store. He said she had a pocket in the toilet minutes before the explosion.

Police cordoned off the area around the shopping centre using sniffer dogs to check for suspicious items. Police Spokesperson Captain Eugene Opperman described as "rumours" reports that police had found explosives behind the main security box.

ANC denies bombs are work of its renegades

STAFF REPORTERS and SAPA

"We deny theANC bomb attack. We do not know what those people are doing," ANC spokesperson Tiaan van der Merwe today said.

"Those people are just trying to be divided. They know we are doing good work. They do not want the ANC to win."

But intelligence sources insist that undisciplined ANC cadres are responsible for the new wave of bomb attacks which struck Johannesburg on Thurs- day and yesterday.

Intelligence sources also claim that there is a way yet of knowing for those who are behind the bombings to resign into the ANC's days of the old South Africa.

An ANC spokesman denied last night that any ANC cadres are responsible for the bombs. "I do not know anything about it," said the spokesman.

But intelligence sources say ANC cadres are behind the bombings.

 traumatised: An injured women is comforted

"A ANC leader said the ANC bomb attacks are done by those who are not with them. They are angry at the ANC for removing them from power."

But intelligence sources say ANC cadres are behind the bombings.

ANC leader Robert van der Merwe said last night that the ANC bomb attacks are done by those who are not with them. They are angry at the ANC for removing them from power.

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ANC leader Robert van der Merwe said last night that the ANC bomb attacks are done by those who are not with them. They are angry at the ANC for removing them from power.
Mystery bomb wave leaves 12 hurt

a second limpet mine outside the shopping centre.

Shortly after the blast, a hoax sent bewildered crowds and police stampeding from the centre to a nearby building site.

Attention soon shifted to a United Bank branch in Joubert Street and police rushed off to investigate.

There they found one of the women injured in the shopping centre explosion. In a state of shock, she had stumbled into the bank and collapsed. She, too, was transported to hospital.

In Thursday night's blast at Garbo's, a Hillbrow restaurant, seven people were injured and rushed to the Johannesburg Hospital.

Police disarmed two limpet mines yesterday morning — one outside the Volkskas bank on the corner of Commissioner and Sauer streets and the other attached to a car near John Vorster Square, Captain Opperman said.

Police investigated a bomb threat at the offices of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the morning, but explosives were not found.

He could not confirm rumours of other bombs. Captain Opperman said nobody had claimed responsibility for the blasts.

The African National Congress condemned the Hillbrow explosion.

A spokesman said the use of violence was contrary to the ANC's policy of reconciliation. The ANC had renounced violence, he said.
Fear grips Jo'burg as two blasts rock city

By LULAMA LUTI and THEMBA KHUMALO

JOHANNESBURG is caught in the grip of terror following two massive bomb explosions in 24 hours, which left 12 civilians injured.

Just two days before the explosions, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela warned in an off-the-cuff speech in Soweto, West Rand, that unless the government curbed the violence, it could spill over into the “white” areas.

Nobody has claimed responsibility for the explosion at a Hillbrow restaurant and at Tony Factor’s Intown Centre complex, and the ANC has denied that renegade supporters could be involved.

At least 12 people, including women and a child, were hurt in the explosions on Thursday night and Friday.

One victim, a part-time University student, told City Press from her hospital bed how she was wounded near the toilets of a Johannesburg shopping complex when a Soviet-made limpet mine exploded on Friday afternoon.

Speaking from her Hillbrow hospital bed, Unisa student Jeanette Phuthudi, 22, of Tladi in Soweto, said: “I heard a loud explosion. Everything around me went dark and I could hardly breathe.”

“I felt a burning sensation on my legs and as I ran in panic I realised my clothes had caught fire.”

Phuthudi stumbled into a nearby clothing store.

“I lay writhing in pain while the shop assistants phoned the ambulance and police. It was terrible. All the time I was praying to God to save my life.”

Withwatersand police liaison officer Capt Eugene Opperman told journalists at the scene that 12 people were injured in the explosions.

At least seven people were wounded, some seriously, in the explosion that rocked a Hillbrow restaurant on Thursday.

In the Friday explosion, five women and a nine-year-old girl were injured.

They were treated for shock and minor injuries and were later discharged.

They are Nonkululeko Mthembu, 9, her mother, Nompumelelo; Mau- reen Chuene, Maria Mokgema, Peggy Mokoena and Maria Letsola.

Minutes before the Friday explosion police detonated a big SPM limpet mine at the Commissioner Street branch of Volkskas Bank and another near John Vorster Square in downtown Johannesburg.

Capt Opperman said that because of the “new wave of terror” police patrols would be intensified and members of the Reaction Unit had been called in as reinforcements. Block searches would be mounted and vehicles would be searched at random.

“At this stage we don’t know the motive for the bombs. All I can say is that this is the work of maniacs. We deplore the harassment of civilians in this fashion.”
POLICE follow up bombing theories

POLICE had various theories on who was responsible for the two bomb blasts that rocked Johannesburg late last week and injured 18 people, a Law and Order Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

Capt Craig Kotze said, however, police had not ruled out any organisations as "various groups have shown themselves capable of committing such acts".

"We can't point fingers at anyone at this stage until we have gathered evidence to support our theories," he said.

Nobody has claimed responsibility for the explosions at a Hillbrow restaurant and at Tony Factor's Intown Centre.

Police said that five people were killed — four of them on the Reef — in unrest-related incidents at the weekend.

Soweto police spokesman Col Tienie Halgryn said a clash between residents and Inkatha supporters occurred on Saturday when a group of youths went to the Dobsonville hostel, apparently intent on attacking inmates.

"While inside the hostel one youth was hacked to death while another was seriously injured," Halgryn said.

Sapa reports that police shot dead a man and a woman at a house in Soweto yesterday.

The man had escaped from detention last year and was traced to the house. When he produced a hand grenade, police shot and killed him. The woman was killed when she "charged" the police.
Police kill suspect, companion

By Glen Elisas
West Rand Bureau

A terror suspect who escaped from custody in Johannesburg last year and his companion were shot and killed by Soweto policemen at a house in Phiri, Soweto, yesterday morning.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgren of the Soweto police said the dead man, whose name has not yet been released as his next of kin have to be told of his death, was wanted on five charges of terrorism in Soweto.

The Soweto police received information that the man was at a house in Phiri and they went to arrest him at 4 am.

When they entered the house and shone a torch at the suspect he grabbed a hand grenade. The police shot the man and he died before the grenade could be activated.

Suddenly a second person stormed at the police in the dark and this person was also shot and killed. The lights were switched on and the police saw it was a woman.

Two hand grenades and an unlicensed pistol were found at the house.

The incident is being investigated.
Two die in Alex hand grenade explosion

By Montshiwa Moroka

Two men died in Alexandra township yesterday when a hand grenade exploded.

Police confirmed the incident but said the men had not yet been identified.

But a friend of the deceased said they were Dan Maemela and Albert Sebola, both in their 20s, from 7th Avenue.

Witnesses said the explosion occurred at about 7.30 am at the 9th Avenue shack of the brother of one of the dead men.

Moses Lebea, who lives at the shack, said Mr Sebola had got out of bed when Mr Maemela came to the house.

"They sat outside near a brazier while I stayed in bed. At about 7.30 I heard an explosion. Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said one of the men had been holding the grenade when it exploded."
Police said they are investigating a number of suspicious packages that were found in various locations around the city today. The packages appear to be homemade bombs and have been placed in public areas such as parks and bus stops. The police are urging residents to be cautious and report any suspicious activity to authorities.

In other news, the city council has approved a new budget for the upcoming fiscal year. The budget includes increased funding for education and public safety programs. The mayor has expressed his support for the budget, stating that it will help to improve the city's infrastructure and maintain public safety.

Finally, the city's annual firework show has been canceled due to safety concerns. The city's fireworks display is a popular event that draws thousands of spectators each year, but the city's fire department has determined that the event poses too much of a risk to public safety.

In South Africa, guerrilla sabotage had been used in time bomb mines. It was the first time such tactics were employed in the country. The guerrillas claimed responsibility for the explosions, which occurred during a period of political unrest.

The guerrillas were able to use their knowledge of the local terrain to their advantage, placing the mines in areas where they were least expected. This tactic served as a warning to those in power, indicating that the guerrillas were not afraid to use violence to achieve their goals. The government responded by increasing its military presence in the affected areas, but the guerrillas remained elusive and continued to carry out attacks.

In conclusion, the city's budget is a crucial aspect of its future, and the mayor has shown leadership in ensuring that it meets the needs of the community. The cancellation of the firework show was a necessary step to ensure the safety of the citizens, and the guerrillas' use of sabotage tactics serves as a reminder of the ongoing political unrest in South Africa.
'Still need for armed force'

THE ANC is maintaining underground structures, according to a document being distributed to its branches around the country for discussion at the organisation's July conference.

The document, called Guidelines to the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, is a simplified and reprinted version of an already published document by the same name.

In the new document, which contains suggestions on how discussions on the document should take place, the ANC says it decided to suspend armed actions in the interests of moving towards a peaceful solution.

"But we have not totally abandoned the armed struggle. The process of change is not yet irreversible," according to a section on the armed struggle.

"For instance, we do not yet have a democratic Constitution and the regime's army and police still remain. Therefore we need to keep our own armed forces - the people's army, MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe).

"MK has the responsibility to ensure people's self defence at all times," the document says.

Under the section "the underground", the document says that since the ANC's unbanning last year, most of the tasks that the underground used to carry out can now be carried out openly.

But free political activity is not yet possible and the process of peaceful change is not yet irreversible.

"Therefore the ANC has a duty to keep those underground structures which are needed now and may be needed in the future."

The document also repeats a statement made in the previous document which suggests that government has been more successful than the ANC at the "game of negotiations", particularly since last August.

The document says the "balance of forces" is always changing and points out that past strengths do not guarantee success in the future.

"Just because we were strong enough to force the government to talk does not automatically mean that we will be strong enough to get what we want from the negotiations," the document says.
23 blasts investigated

Of the 23 bomb explosions carried out by right-wing groups last year, 20 of the incidents, or 87 percent, had been "solved", the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said.

The police were continuing their investigations of right-wing groups and "extremist activities of all persons and groups", he said in a written reply to a question by Mr Tony Leon (DP Houghton).

-- Sapa (2q1) August 14/6/91
Vula agents come in from the cold

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

ELEVEN members of Operation Vula, the ANC's underground organisation, made their first public appearance yesterday after a year in hiding.

Among them were Ronnie Kasrils and activist Janet Love.

They went underground last July after police smashed what was alleged to be a Communist Party plot for armed rebellion if constitutional talks collapsed.

Other operatives who were arrested — including internal commander Mac Maharaj — made brief court appearances before being granted indemnity earlier this year.

The 11 emerged yesterday at the Soweto home of Mr Nelson Mandela, who pointed out that the indemnity was for specific offences and said the group still faced arrest.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo said the ANC had masterminded Operation Vula.

"It was geared to create on-the-spot, integrated military structures charged with the task of giving day-to-day leadership to the struggle and enhance the work of the National Executive Committee," he said.

A spokesman for the SAP said yesterday: "The exposure of Operation Vula was one of our most successful operations."
By THEMBA KHUMALO

THOUSANDS of ANC cadres in camps in various African states are being retrained to prepare them to take over the army in a new South Africa, Umkhonto we-Sizwe commander Joe Modise told City Press in an exclusive interview.

He said the guerrillas, whose exact figure he would not reveal for security reasons, were being trained by military experts in conventional army methods.

"Their training is being upgraded. It is no longer the old guerrilla training. They are now being trained as professionals and their morale is very high because they are being prepared for the future protection of a democratic constitution," Modise said.

The softspoken ANC commander left this week for the camps, which are scattered around various African states, to assess the progress made with the new training. He disclosed that thousands of youths were still leaving the country to undergo training with MK.

Speaking from the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters before his departure, Modise confirmed allegations of a mutiny within the ranks of Umkhonto we-Sizwe in the late 70s.

"There was a mutiny and naturally if you are a military man during such a crisis people are killed. In this instance some mutineers had shot down senior commanders and had occupied part of the camp. Naturally one could only stop that by force of arms, and that is what happened."

Modise also said the controversial Contagio Prison, run by the ANC in Angola, no longer existed and almost all its inmates had been freed. Those that were not out were waiting for the International Red Cross to repatriate them. The Red Cross appeared to be having difficulty in securing indemnity for them.

Modise said many of the former prisoners had been sent by the South African regime on various tasks.

"Some had come to poison people in the camps, including children at school. Others had come to murder ordinary guerrillas and their leaders within the camps.

"There were those who had come for ordinary spying. Some of them succeeded in sketching one of our camps in Angola and it was subsequently completely flattened by the South African commandos."

"Fortunately we had prior information about the planned attack and we removed everyone from the camp, leaving a few cadres to guard major installations. The attack took place and three of our comrades who were on guard were killed during that raid. This is the work which was carried out by the people that we apprehended."

Modise said in view of the fact the government was releasing political prisoners, his organisation had decided to reciprocate that gesture with the freeing of its captives.

"In fact the onus is on him to see these talks succeed. Naturally, if all the avenues to a peaceful settlement are closed to us then we will have no option but to return to other methods of struggle, including the armed struggle."

Reacting to a recent statement in which Defence Minister Magnus Malan had vowed that the government would not allow a neutral figure to oversee the defence force during the transitional period, Modise insisted that the government could not be the player and referee at the same time. It was therefore important that the defence force be as neutral as possible.

"Frankly, we see no reason why these negotiations should fail. There will be hiccups. It will not be the first time this has happened. Many other negotiations elsewhere had been through a lean spell before."

"I believe ours won't collapse because it is not only in our interest that they succeed, but in the interest of the government as well. De Klerk doesn't have much time. Time is on our side."

"If we have to resort to armed struggle we will succeed in that. All countries that have embarked on that type of struggle have succeeded, but all I'm saying is that violence is not in the interest of all.

"The best option at our disposal is a peaceful settlement of the country's problems," said Modise.

He scoffed at suggestions that Magnus Malan had preferred to deal with him rather than with outspoken MK chief of staff Chris Hani.

Modise said he met Malan only once during one of the major meetings between the ANC and the government. "That was the last time I met Malan, and there is no personal relationship between the two of us."

Modise also said his organisation had infiltrated the South African security forces through a spying network.

Modise issued a veiled warning to anyone who planned to attack or disrupt the forthcoming ANC national conference in Durban.

"We don't expect an attack from Inkatha. At the last peace conference between us and them they committed themselves to the maintenance of peace and we believe that they will stick to that commitment. But if there are individuals who are not going to honour that commitment, we shall take steps to protect ourselves."

Training for war, hoping for peace
THOUSANDS of ANC cadres in camps in various African states are being retrained to prepare them to take over the army in a new South Africa. Umkhonto we-Sizwe commander Joe Modise told City Press in an exclusive interview.

He said the guerrillas, whose exact figure he would not reveal for security reasons, were being trained by military experts in conventional army methods.

"Their training is being upgraded. It is no longer the old guerrilla training. They are now being trained as professionals and their morale is very high because they are being prepared for the future protection of a democratic constitution," Modise said.

The outspoken ANC commander left this week for the camps, which are scattered around various African states, to assess the progress made with the new training. He disclosed that thousands of youths were still leaving the country to undergo training with MK.

Speaking from the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters before his departure, Modise confirmed allegations of a mutiny within the ranks of Umkhonto we-Sizwe in the late 70s.

"There was a mutiny and naturally if you are a military man during such a crisis people are killed. In this instance some mutineers had taken over senior commanders and had occupied part of the camp. Naturally one could only stop that by force of arms, and that is what happened."

Modise also said the controversial Quatro Prison, run by the ANC in Angola, no longer existed and almost all its inmates had been freed. Those that were not out were waiting for the International Red Cross to repatriate them. The Red Cross appeared to be having difficulty in securing indemnity for them.

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Modise was in view of the fact the government was releasing political prisoners, his organisation had decided to recuperate that gesture with the freeing of its captives.

"Asked if there was any possibility the negotiations might collapse and force the ANC to return to the bush, Modise said it was highly unlikely the talks would fail. It was in the interest of all South Africans to ensure the talks did not reach a point of collapse."

"Frankly, we see no reason why these negotiations should fail. There will be hiccups. It will not be the first time this has happened. Many other negotiations elsewhere have been through a lean spell before."

"I believe ours won't collapse because it is not only in our interest that they succeed, but in the interest of the government as well. De Klerk doesn't have much time. Time is on our side."

"In fact the onus is on him to see that these talks succeed. Naturally, if all the avenues to a peaceful settlement are closed to us, then we will have no option but to return to other methods of struggle, including the armed struggle."

"Reacting to a recent statement in which Defence Minister Magnus Malan had vowed that the government would not allow a neutral figure to oversee the defence force during the transitional period, Modise insisted that the government could not be the player and referee at the same time. It was therefore important that the defence force be as neutral as possible."

"However, he pointed out that the question of a neutral referee during the transitional period was a matter for discussion by all involved in the peace process."

"Asked if guerrilla warfare could bring down the government, given the strength and sophisticated nature of its army, Modise said guerrilla warfare would be too costly to the country's economy, which was already in a shambles."

"If we have to resort to armed struggle we will succeed in that. All countries that have embarked on that type of struggle have succeeded, but all I'm saying is that violence is not in the interest of all."

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Modise also said his organisation had infiltrated the South African security forces through a spying network.

Modise issued a veiled warning to anyone who planned to attack or disrupt the forthcoming ANC national conference in Durban.

The ANC was going to Durban with peaceable intentions and they must be left in peace to hold their conference peacefully, he said.

"We don't expect an attack from Inkatha. At the last peace conference with us and them they committed themselves to the maintenance of peace and we believe that they will stick to that commitment. But if there are individuals who are not going to honour that commitment, we shall take steps to protect ourselves."
We planned Vula — ANC

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE ANC yesterday acknowledged for the first time it had masterminded "Operation Vula", which the authorities charged was a Communist Party plot to wage armed rebellion if constitutional talks collapsed.

The ANC timed the acknowledgment with the first public appearance of key figures in "Operation Vula" — smashed by the police last year — soon after they were granted immunity from prosecution.

The 11 activists emerged from hiding yesterday to attend a news conference at ANC leader Nelson Mandela’s Soweto home. Among them were Mac Maharaj, Ronnie Kasrils and Siphiwe Nyanda.

"All these and many others comrades associated with Vulinlela (Operation Vula) and the underground in general were acting on the instructions of the ANC," said ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, reading a statement on Mandela’s behalf.

Nzo said "Operation Vula" was part of the ANC’s long-term strategy to fight apartheid and was not a "quick fix" to undermine the talks which had already started between the government and the ANC.

"The operation, whose members had successfully infiltrated the country without detection by the police, was meant to give the masses daily guidance and to enhance the strength of the National Executive Committee inside South Africa.

"The ANC was informed almost daily about developments that took place in the country," Maharaj said he was on two occasions punched and pushed against the wall by his captors, led by a Col Venter at Sandton.

"But last year’s torture was a picnic compared to my assault by the police when they arrested me in 1964," he said.

Maharaj blamed the police for the disappearance of Mbuso Tshabantala and Charles Ndaba.

"We have circumstantial evidence that these comrades, who were also members of this operation, were arrested by the police. The nature of questions the police asked us in jail and the houses they raided proves to us they could only have had that information from our two comrades."

Maharaj added that Umkhonto weSizwe had so infiltrated the South African security forces that "Operation Vula" members knew in advance about the pending arrest last year.
On a quiet morning, Kristin finds herself on the edge of the forest, her fingers dancing on the keys of her laptop. The sun's warmth caresses her face as she takes a deep breath, the fresh scent of pine filling her nostrils.

Kristin works as a wildlife conservationist, devoting her life to protecting the natural world. Her passion for nature drives her to explore the unknown, to uncover the mysteries that lie beneath the surface. Each day, she feels closer to the earth, understanding its rhythms and secrets.

As she types away, her mind drifts to the future. What will the world look like in five years? Ten? Will we have found a solution to the climate crisis? Will the forests remain unspoiled?

Kristin knows that her work is crucial. Every species has a story to tell, every ecosystem a puzzle to solve. She's committed to understanding the world around her, to preserving its beauty for generations to come.

In the quiet of the morning, she feels a sense of peace, knowing that she's doing her part to protect this planet. The future is in her hands, and she's determined to make a difference.
THE PAC's youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), has rejected negotiations and a constituent assembly and adopted "one settler, one bullet" as official policy.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Mosebenze said yesterday the resolutions were obviously inconsistent with a clear PAC commitment to political solutions within a constituent assembly.

Delegates to Azanyu's third national conference, held in Soweto at the weekend, decided negotiations were an imperialist strategy, the organisation said yesterday.

PAC youth wing in armed action call

A constituent assembly was a ploy to maintain capitalism and colonialism.

The conference decided a patriotic front was not founded on required revolutionary principles, and condemned the OAU for its "betrayal of the Pan-Africanist mandate".

Azanyu said armed action should be the principal form of struggle. It should be intensified, along with international sanctions and the cultural boycott, in the "struggle to repossess the land and establish a socialist order".
MK receives homage, but is it a sop?

The legend of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) has permeated and inspired this week's African National Congress conference.

In the speeches on the opening day, the 2,000 delegates burst into applause every time MK was mentioned and in his address, deputy president Nelson Mandela said: “This conference should pay homage to all the commanders and combatants of MK who laid down their lives and made other invaluable sacrifices that have brought us where we are today.”

Mandela also insisted that the ANC had “not terminated the armed struggle. Whether it is deployed inside the country or outside, Umkhonto weSizwe ... has a responsibility to keep itself in a state of readiness in case the forces of counter-revolution once more block the path to a peaceful transition of a democratic society.”

But is Mandela acknowledging a real role to be played by the ANC’s army, or was this comment merely a diplomatic but insubstantial sop to an MK that is known to be disinterested?

Many members of MK believe that their role has been sidelined since negotiations began, and that, even though they are supposed to be “deployed”, lack of funds and lack of commitment from leadership have rendered them impotent.

A strong MK delegation is present at the conference and, while MK commander and ANC head of special projects Tokyo Sexwale commented that “we are here to look specifically at MK issues”, he did acknowledge that the cadres present were to decide on “the type and nature of support that MK would give to the negotiations process” and that the army did have specific concerns it would raise, among them the welfare of demobilised soldiers and the role that MK would play in a national army.

But Sexwale is adamant that “MK is committed to the negotiations process. If not, you would have seen terrifying mutiny, you would have seen bombs blowing up all over South Africa. But there hasn’t been one incident since the ANC announced its suspension of the armed struggle.”

Other MK delegates have commented that while they have obeyed suspension orders, they are unhappy with concessions made in the negotiations process. They told The Weekly Mail they would raise the issue of accountability: isolated in the camps in Uganda and the “forward areas” surrounding South Africa, they feel they have been left out of the peace process behind negotiations.

“Our leaders have made some mistakes,” one said, “and we feel that they made these mistakes because they didn’t consult widely enough. Mandela might say publicly that we are still deployed, but if our role isn’t clarified at this conference, it will be impossible for us to continue operating.”

MK commander Chris Hani admitted that “because of the preoccupation with the talks, we probably haven’t paid enough attention to the cadres in the camps”. But, he added, it must be remembered that “those talks led to the release of MK cadres from prison”.

Hani said MK was in the process of being transformed into a conventional army. “Only a professional army will be competent to man a future democratic order. MK is preparing to be part of this.”

And Sexwale emphasised that “upgrading and recruiting of MK soldiers is continuing” in preparation for this professional army. “We have 15 different armies running around South Africa. If we don’t integrate them soon, there will be carnage here — a bloody civil war.”

He maintained that the integration of armies was a logical outcome of the negotiated process. “If peace is a national desire, General Magnus Malan has no choice as an individual but to fall in line with the general trend.”

Sexwale said that “MK will push very hard for the establishment of an integrated national army, but this is not a precondition for a settlement.” Other MK delegates, however, said they would try to persuade the conference to make this non-negotiable.

If the conference were to adopt this stance, it could serve to polarise the ANC and the government further on the issue of MK’s role.

Minister for constitutional development Gerrit Viljoen said earlier this week that the “dirtiest” comment he could make about the ANC’s commitment to peace was that MK was still mobilised. With government holding this position, the issue of MK can only remain a stumbling block in the negotiations process and, unless the conference translates its obvious emotional support for the ANC’s army into a clear policy, the army will continue to be sidelined.
MK to be an ordinary army

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Steps are being taken to transform the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, from a guerrilla army to a more conventional army.

MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani yesterday told delegates in the ANC’s conference in Durban that the army in a new South Africa had to serve society.

Under a new dispensation, political parties will not be allowed to have private armies. There will be a single army - which would hopefully be made up of MK, the South African Defence Force, the military wings of the PAC, APLA, and of the Black Consciousness Movement, Azanda, Hani said.

Rumours

The MK chief was commenting on rumours that his army was being "re-trained".

He also said that the ANC was committed to the agreements in the Pretoria Minute, which included the suspension of armed struggle.

This week’s conference will stress the importance of negotiations. He agreed that a multi-party conference was the next step, but added that the biggest stumbling block to an MPC was the violence in the country.

In this regard the ANC has encouraged people to establish defence units.

MK would not be used as defence units, but they had a role to play in instructing people, Hani said.

Warning

"Defence units must not entrench the hegemony of political organisations. They will not be defence units of the ANC. They will serve the community," Hani said.

He warned that the ANC would not allow defence units to degenerate into vigilante groups.

Turning to the present race for elections to the top five position as office bearers in the ANC, Hani said that if he were to be nominated from the floor he would not stand.

There was still a lot of work to be done in the organisation and in MK, Hani said.
Five machineguns, ammunition and what appeared to be a homemade explosive device were found in the car of the leader of Inkatha’s Transvaal Youth Brigade at Sebokeng hostel, the Vanderbijlpark Regional Court heard yesterday.

That same day, September 4 last year, more than 40 people were killed in violence at the hostel.

Warrant Officer Arthur van der Gryp was testifying at the trial of Thembha Khoza (32), who is charged with unlawful possession of firearms, ammunition and explosives.

He has pleaded not guilty.

The warrant officer told the court a crowd of 3,000 to 5,000 had “trapped” a group of policemen and other people in a hostel courtyard.

After someone in the crowd shouted that the “trapped group” had an AK-47, he asked Mr Khoza to unlock his car. While searching the vehicle he found four AK-47s, an R-4 rifle and six magazines.

He arrested Mr Khoza and took him to Sebokeng police station.

There, a 5-litre drum, which looked like an explosive device, was also discovered in the car.

The weapons were fingerprinted, but the policeman said he was told that no prints could be found on the rifles.

Asked during cross-examination by Morris Bassilian, for the defence, exactly how the rifles were found in the car, Warrant Officer van der Gryp said they were in a blanket.

Mr Bassilian said a videotape filmed at the hostel showed that the guns were merely covered by a blanket.

The hearing continues today.
ANC TO GIVE MK BOOST

By SEKOLA SELLO and S'BU MNGADI
THE ANC conference in Durban yesterday resolved to strengthen its military wing Umkhonto weSizwe in a move that could strain relations with the government.

The conference, however, also fully endorsed its president Nelson Mandela's commitment to negotiations.

The ANC yesterday resolved at its five-day conference that:
- MK shall remain combat-ready;
- the ANC accepts full responsibility for cadres taken to court in the execution of their duties, defending their people;
- the ANC would establish MK structures throughout the country at all levels, including the opening of offices; and
- the ANC would maintain and develop MK until a democratic constitution was adopted and a new defence force created into which MK cadres would be integrated.

Until such time MK equipment would not be surrendered.

The organisation stressed that the suspension of armed action did not mean abandoning the struggle.

The conference also resolved to mandate its national executive to continue with talks about talks.

It stressed the need to build unity among those committed to a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa and resolved that a Patriotic Front be established as soon as possible.

The conference said the gains made in the mass struggle would be reflected at the negotiations table and noted that the government had not yet removed all the obstacles to negotiations.

It criticised the "campaign of terror" it claimed was being carried out to destabilise society, intimidate people and undermine and weaken the ANC and its allies.

The NEC was asked to implement a policy to defeat this strategy.

The conference set out the steps that would lead to a democratic constitution and a representative parliament, and resolved that a time limit be set to reach these objectives.

It also resolved that immediate steps be taken to put together a comprehensive team of negotiators, working groups and researchers.

It resolved to retain the four pillars of the struggle, namely Umkhonto weSizwe, international isolation of South Africa, underground operations and mass mobilisation.

However, in a shift of emphasis, however, The fact that mass mobilisation and organisation replaced the armed struggle at the centre of the battle for democracy.

The meeting also endorsed and supported the initiative taken by church and business organisations to convene a peace conference.

The ANC's commission on strategy and tactics yesterday made it clear the movement was not going to be converted into a political party and was determined to step up mass action.

Chairman Ray Suttner, with two other high-profile members, Ronnie Kasrils and Cheryl Carolus, conveyed the ANC's position on strategy to a media conference.

Suttner said the ANC was receiving "a lot of unsolicited advice" to become a political party.

"The government feels it easier to deal with a political party and with one of a particular type," he said. "We say, no."

The election of a new national executive committee was still being held last night.

See pages 4, 5 and 13.
AG CHEER UP ANTRIES...WELL JUST TAKE A FEW GOIDS...WHERE THE ALL BLACKS A COUPLE TIMES...AND THEN GOO THE WHOLE FERLEER LIT BIK IN CHOKY!

The Seven Samurai come to the townships

At last week's African National Congress conference, Umkhonto we- Sizwe scored a major Cold War victory over the capitalist countries, but more than a few South Africans were in the conference hall, and in the conference hall, basking in the glory of their victory, the ANC's new leaders addressed the delegates. They declared that the ANC had emerged victorious from its recent elections, and that it was now time to begin the process of transforming South Africa into a socialist state. The delegates were jubilant, and many were already planning to go home and start preparing for the next election.

The ANC has resolved to move its main forces into the townships as a non-partisan peacekeeping force. Can Mk感人 provide a solution to the increasing spiral of violence, or will it function as a political militia that fuels more political fires? MARK GEVISER looks at the issue.

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Anger over 'ANC failure to condemn camp atrocities'

African National Congress dissidents have voiced their anger at the apparent failure of the organisation to formally denounce during its conference in Durban alleged atrocities committed in its training camps.

In a hard-hitting statement yesterday, the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee said: "The ANC 48th conference has come and gone, while the question of the killings and brutalities committed in its jails, like Quatro and other places, was treated as if it never happened.

"The way the conference behaved through its delegates left us — victims of such actions by the ANC — with a deep sense of anger and despair," the committee added.

"The only conclusion that we now have reached is that this organisation, together with its followers right through the country, have less regard for life, justice and fundamental human rights in general.

"We did not expect the conference to sentence those whom we accuse of brutalities to capital punishment. What we expected was that the general membership should denounce and dissociate itself from these crimes. Those responsible should not have been allowed to hold any position in the NES."

"It said that as a result of this, it was doubtless that all the evils done to the victims had allegedly been endorsed by the ANC followers. It added that its previous position — the belief that the crimes were the deeds of only some of the leadership — no longer applied.

"The policy of the ANC should, from now on, be well understood that as long as one is killed by that organisation because one happened to have been in disagreement with it, then there are no qualms about it at all."

The committee further said it never believed that the ANC, like a leopard, would never change its spots, but the Durban conference had demonstrated that the contrary was the truth — that the ANC would never change from what it was.

"This is a sad episode that is to be characterised by more violence if such an organisation can ascend to power in this country."

The committee called for support for the setting up of a public inquiry into the camps 'so that the truth can be known to our people and the international community'. — Sapa.
Possession of arms: three men arrested

Three Kagiso Civic Association and ANC leaders were arrested by the police early today, said an ANC spokeswoman.

Nomvula Mokonyane said her husband, Serge, secretary of the Civic Association and Kagiso ANC vice-chairman, was one.

A West Rand police spokesman said two men had been arrested for possession of Makarov pistols and one for possession of a homemade firearm.

They will appear in court today. — West Rand Bureau.
Bomb destroys 'ANC school'

Picture: Pretoria News

Rebuilding to South Africa was estimated at R800 000.

A section of the bombed Hill Brew High School in Pretoria. Damage to the school, which has been earmarked for use by the children of ANC exiles.
Introduction

The problem of education among black South Africans is one of great concern. The limitations placed upon black education in South Africa have been severe and systematic. The government has implemented policies that have restricted access to education for black students, ensuring that they remain in a state of poverty and deprivation.

The government's stance on education has been one of neglect and apathy. The introduction of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 further exacerbated the situation. This act sought to provide education for black South Africans, but it did so in a manner that was designed to keep them in a state of subjugation. The act aimed to create a system of education that would be tailored to the needs of the apartheid regime.

The ANC has taken a stand against these policies. The party has been vocal in its opposition to the government's stance on education, arguing that it is a fundamental right that should be accessible to all South Africans, regardless of their race.

The struggle for education in South Africa has been a long and arduous one. It has involved protests, boycotts, and acts of resistance. The ANC has played a key role in this struggle, using education as a tool for resistance and mobilization.

The ANC has also been involved in efforts to improve education in schools. The party has worked to ensure that black students have access to quality education and that the curriculum is inclusive and respectful of the cultures and languages of black South Africans.

In conclusion, the struggle for education in South Africa is ongoing. The ANC continues to fight for access to quality education for all South Africans, regardless of their race or background.
We will not beg, says PAC leader

The Pan Africanist Congress would not negotiate indemnity for its members in jail or exile, PAC West Rand regional chairman Ntsundeni Madzunye told a rally at Sibasa at the weekend.

"Enoch Zulu (PAC military commander freed recently by the Government) never signed papers for his release and the same will be for our exiles."

"All this should be unconditional.

"We shall not beg for anything that is ours," Mr Madzunye said.

He said the PAC would comply with a 1969 United Nations agreement dealing with exiles and prisoners.

US President George Bush's lifting of sanctions had not come as a surprise, but reflected US meddling in South African politics, Mr Madzunye added.
ANC's school bombed

From PATRICK COLLINGS
PRETORIA. — A powerful bomb has devastated a former white high school which was earmarked for occupation by children of ANC exiles.

The school, Hillview High, in downtown Pretoria, was to have been handed back to the government today after extensive renovations, and occupied by the 700 children later this week.

The children are from the ANC-run Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania. They are due to arrive later this week.

No one has yet claimed responsibility for the blast, which caused damage of about R800,000.

Last night Johannesburg Principal Constable Mr. Robert van Vuuren said the blast was a message to the National Party and the ANC that the "boos" would not allow their land to be handed to other people without striking a blow.

He said those people had no claim to live in or have permanency in the Pretoriat.

He said the government could be glad the school was not completely flattened.

Police liaison officer Lieutenant Jon Cook said the bomb exploded at 5pm yesterday and eight women were blown down and rows of windows shattered.

Cave in

He said the impact of the explosion caused the building to cave in:

A fireman declared the building unsafe.

Two security guards at the school said they did not see any one enter the building and heard only a "shattering sound" before the bomb exploded.

Netherwood was injured.

Mr. Cook said the bomb was thrown into the school.

An alternative place would have to be found for the returning orphans, for security reasons.

If they can bomb the school now, they can bomb it when the kids are in there.

A spokesman for the ANC said that the fireman's warning was "ridiculous and irresponsible".

He said that the bomb was dropped and the fireman was unable to follow the official instructions.

"To claim that the school is not safe is incorrect.

We won't be intimidated by bombing, says ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC says it will not be intimidated by the bomb blast at Hillview High School.

The government has warned it will defend its properties if the security forces cannot do so.

Spokesman Mr. Sakhile Macanda condemned the bombing and said the ANC believed it was retaliated to the school's facilities.

An alternative place would have to be found for the returning orphans, for security reasons.

"If they can bomb the school now, they can bomb it when the kids are in there."

A spokesman for the ANC said that the fireman's warning was "ridiculous and irresponsible".

He said that the bomb was dropped and that the bomb was "readied to go over the school."

The government has made provision to house the children at the school until the end of March next year.

IRREPARABLE. . . . The administrative block of Hillview High School near Pretoria was shattered by a powerful bomb blast at the weekend and is now in danger of collapsing. The explosion blew scores of windows out of a adjacent classroom block.
'ANC school' blasted

By ALINAH DUBE and Sapa

A BOMB blast at Pretoria's abandoned Hillview High School about 2am on Sunday had caused about R800 000's damage, police said.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Jan Crous said this figure had been supplied by contractors renovating the school for use by 700 children of African National Congress cadres, expected to be flown to South Africa from Tanzania on Thursday. Their return follows extensive negotiations between the ANC, the Department of Home Affairs and the Department of National Health.

The children were to be temporarily accom-

Today is the first hour-long show of the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show. And the time-slot changes.

Today's topic is: Do you think that the Government acts with equal force against terrorism from the far right wing as it does against acts from the left? If not why not? Telephone popular Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 5pm and 6pm today and share your opinion with the nation. The hotline number is 714 8063. Listen to Radio Metro, and the Sowetan/Radio Metro talkback programme, on mediumwave at 576 KHz.

modated at the school before being transferred to other schools in the area, according to the Depart-

Pretoria Constable William Lebombo points at the devastation caused by the Hillview blast.

Pic: PAT SEBOKO
Bomb wrecks school for ANC children

A POWERFUL bomb yesterday devastated a Pretoria high school which was earmarked for occupation by the children of ANC exiles.

Police said the bomb at Hillview High School near the Pretoria city centre caused R600 000 damage.

It was not known yesterday who was responsible for the 2am blast which wrecked most of the school. Police refused to be drawn on speculation that the bomb was placed by a right-wing organisation as a protest against plans to accommodate the ANC children there.

A Boere Vryheidsbeweging spokesman warned last week it would not allow the school, situated "inside the borders of the Boere Volkstaat", to be used by black children, and that it would become "a target of Boer resistance".

Hillview High was abandoned about 10 years ago when a new and bigger school was built 5km away.

The empty school is situated close to a minibus taxi rank and the Pretoria Zoo. It was due to have been handed to government today as contractors had just completed renovation work.

SAP liaison officer Lt Jan Crouse said police estimated the bomb to have contained about 23kg of explosive. He said police had opened a terrorism docket.

He said the school had been damaged extensively and it was uncertain whether it could still be used for teaching.

Crouse said no one had claimed responsibility for the explosion. Two security guards had been on the scene at the time of the blast but had not seen anything suspicious. No one had been injured.

According to recent reports, the ANC had negotiated with government to accommodate 700 children affected by the clo-

Bomb

sure of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania.

Nearby residents said the administrative section of the building, which included a number of classrooms, was so badly damaged that police warned bystanders it could collapse. An adjacent classroom block did not suffer any structural damage, although scores of windows were blown out.

A Department of Education and Train-

From Page 1

ing spokesman yesterday confirmed government had held talks with the ANC on Hillview but was unable to confirm that it had been taken over by the (white) Education and Culture Department. Education and Culture spokesmen were not available for comment yesterday.

The ANC reportedly accepted government's offer of Hillview after discussing several other proposals, including a site at Stilfontein in the western Transvaal.
Bombing delays orphans' return

From: PATRICK COLLINGS

JOHANNESBURG.—The ANC yesterday announced it was delaying the return of exiled children, after a Pretoria high school earmarked for their occupation was devastated by a powerful bomb on Sunday.

Spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the children from the ANC-run Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania would not be flying to South Africa until his organisation had assessed the situation following the blast.

Late yesterday government departments involved in the repatriation of exiles were locked in discussion to determine whether the school, Hillview High School, could still be used to house the estimated 400 to 700 children.

The bomb, situated next to a row of first-floor classrooms, exploded at 1.50am on Sunday, causing damage estimated at R800 000.

National Health and Population Development Minister Dr Rina Venter said the children, many of them orphans, would definitely be accommodated.

A spokesman for her department said alternative accommodation existed, but because of the “sensitive nature of the issue” its location was not being revealed.

Right-wing organisations have denied responsibility for the explosion, but said it was the direct result of the government’s decision to house the children in a traditionally white area.

Orde Boerenvolk leader Mr Nic Strydom said the destruction of the school could have been expected, as many people in Pretoria were “particularly hurt” that the school had been earmarked for future use by the children of ANC exiles.

The AWB described the bombing as “part of the boer freedom struggle due to the conditions being created by the government”.

Police are still trying to determine what explosives were used, but investigations are being hampered by the fact that parts of the school are still unsafe.
New plans over bombed school

THE extent of damage to the old Hillview High School at the weekend may force the African National Congress to look for alternative accommodation for children of returning exiles later this month.

Reacting to the bombing of the school, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said it would not be possible to use the building "in the foreseeable future". The organisation was still assessing its position.

"However, we are expressing our outrage at the bombing. We call on everyone in South Africa to stop this kind of behaviour and that the perpetrators be brought to book.

"We also hope that the SAP will act swiftly to bring those responsible to book," he said.

Colonel Frank Atton, Press liaison officer for the Northern Transvaal police, said yesterday no one had been arrested in connection with the incident. Forensic experts were still conducting tests.

Sapa reports that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph yesterday said the bombing did not come as a surprise to him.

"If the Government continues on this path, we will be heading for such chaos, disaster and a civil war which will make the French and Russian revolutions look like a Sunday school picnic."
School was ‘open target’

THE Government is not prepared to stop rightwing terrorism and violence, callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show told host Tim Modise yesterday.

However, Mava from Emdeni said he was disillusioned with the African National Congress’ decision to use the school exclusively for returning exiles’ children.

"That school was targeted and was exposed to such an attack. The school should have been for everybody, not just for exiles’ children," Mava said.

Most callers, nevertheless, agreed that the Government was warned before the blast occurred and security measures could have been taken to prevent the blast.

They also linked the blast to Piet "Skiet" Rudolph’s storming out of court on Friday and his refusal to be prosecuted by a "coloured" magistrate and a black prosecutor.

"The Government wanted that school to be bombed before any measures could be taken," said Norman from Witbank, adding that the Government was still not doing anything to stop rightwing terrorism.

"If there was a black government in the country, those responsible for the blast would be arrested as soon as possible because that act would be regarded as high treason," said Smilo.

He accused the Government of being in favour of the rightwingers and pursuing a secret agenda.

He added that the Government was still not prepared to react to terrorism from the rightwing.

Colleen from Meadowlands also agreed that the Government was not prepared to act against rightwingers.
We blasted school – rightwingers

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Two right-wing groups have claimed responsibility for the Hillview High School bomb blast — but police said yesterday they had no concrete leads yet.

A woman, claiming she was a member of the "Wit Wolwe" — and a man saying he belonged to the "Wit Republikeinse Leer" (White Republican Army) have claimed to newspapers their organisations were responsible for the blast.

Neither caller revealed any identity. This is also the first mention of an organisation called "Wit Republikeinse Leer", although there is an organisation called the "Boer Republikeinse Leer".

Both callers expressed their outrage at the ANC's plans to accommodate 700 exiled children from Tanzania at the school.

The woman said seven women members of the Wit Wolwe were responsible for Sunday's blast.

Asked how they had acquired the explosives, she replied: "That remains our secret. We did it because we do not want ANC children in our city and we are prepared to blow it up again — children and all."

The man said the action was to show the ANC that it was not wanted in the "Boer Republic". He claimed his group had been trained by the Irish Republican Army and was the "brother of the 'Wit Wolf' murder squad".

Police have decided to treat the calls "with circumspection". "We can't add too much value to the claims," a police spokesman said.

ANC education and repatriation spokesman Caleb Bushell said yesterday that the organisation was waiting on the Government to contact it regarding alternative arrangements.

The children's arrival has been postponed.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, reacting to allegations that the Government was not prepared to stop rightwing terrorism and violence, said: "We have no new indication that rightwing terrorism was going to come down on the Government, that everything was being done to trace the bombers."

The police also had a high success rate in investigating rightwing terrorism and thus far had solved 90 percent of such cases, which was a higher percentage than their success rate in solving leftwing terrorism.

Captain Kotze added: "The police do not ever understate the rightwing's far greater capacity to commit terrorism."

A number of rightwing organisations, while denying involvement in the planting of the bomb, have applauded the action.

Deputy leader of the Orde Boerevolk, Coen Vermaak, said yesterday he believed the bomb could have been the work of the "Boer Republikeinse Leer", which recently distributed advice on how to commit sabotage and had identified specific targets by name.

This organisation, whose leadership is unknown, has circulated at least two documents among Boer independence groups over the past six months — advising people to act alone in sabotage or terrorism so they could not be identified on membership lists.

Captain Kotze said the police had taken note of the "Boer Republican Army" and would take a "very close look at the origin of this organisation to see if it actually existed" or might just be a hoax."
Menlopark Hoërskool "will be the next old Hillview school", rightwingers have threatened.

A man, who refused to identify himself, told the Pretoria News in a telephone call yesterday that he was part of an organisation comprising immigrants from Africa "who were helping to fight the cause".

The man said his organisation had spray-painted a message on the walls of the school after it had voted in favour of Model B, which opens a school to all races.

"Nee vir kaffirs NV", followed by a hammer and sickle, was painted on the wall.

Asked whether his organisation had planted the explosive device at the Hillview school, the man would not accept responsibility for the blast but said his organisation was "involved".

A spokesman for the police public relations directorate said this was the first direct indication that right-wing elements could be responsible for the Hillview school blast at the weekend.
Renewed fears for right-wing terror backlash

By Mono Badela

FEARS of a violent white backlash against President FW de Klerk's political reforms have been renewed by the bombing of Hillview High School in Pretoria.

Concern has been increased by the firing of three teargas canisters at a hostel housing black students at the University of Pretoria on Wednesday in what is believed to be a right-wing attack.

Students said police suspected two of the canisters were fired from a R1 or R4 rifle.

For months, many right-wingers have been arming themselves against what they see as the "swart gevaar" (black danger). There has been a spate of bomb blasts aimed at government leaders, anti-apartheid activists and trade unionists recently.

Of the 23 bomb blasts perpetrated by right-wing groups during 1990, 20 of the incidents (or 87 percent) had been solved, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok told parliament last month.

He said the South African Police were continuing their investigations of right-wing groups.

Since June last year, bombs have exploded at two offices of the National Party, the homes of two Johannesburg city council members, a Jewish synagogue and the offices of the alternative weekly newspaper, Vrye Weekblad.

No one was injured in the blasts, which occurred in the early morning.

In each case commercial dynamite appears to have been used — the kind of explosives readily available to the country's certified miners. Right-wing groups have claimed credit for several of the bombings.

Other acts of right-wing terror took place at the Bree Street bus and taxi terminus in central Johannesburg where a massive explosion left several people, mostly blacks, injured and the windows of nearby shops were shattered. Other incidents of right-wing terrorism include the killing of a black taxi-driver and the bombing of the Johannesburg flat of journalist Ms Jani Allan in 1989.

In December last year, a Foreign Affairs official was detained in connection with the blast in October at the residence of the US ambassador, Mr William Swing, in Pretoria.

The previous month, political risk consultant Mr Wim Booysse predicted that incidents of right-wing violence would increase in areas where rightwing organisations were well-structured and where they had a "captive audience".

These areas include the northern Free State, western Transvaal, far northern Transvaal and eastern Transvaal where conservatism had a stronghold.
School bomb plagued by "Kids' hopes"

By Mendo Bagels

School bomb

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Exiled MK cadre returns to testify

A MEMBER of the African National Congress' military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe has returned to South Africa temporarily to give evidence into the death of ANC members killed by police at Piet Retief.

Mr Richard Vallihu, who arrived in the country on Saturday, will leave Durban for Piet Retief next week to help piece together the baffling circumstances surrounding the deaths of Mr Surendra Lemy Naidu and three women, Ms Makhosi Nyoka, Ms Lindiwe Mthenbu and Ms June-Rose Cothoza.

All four were crossing into South Africa from Swaziland on June 8 in 1988 when the vehicle in which they were travelling was shot at by police under the command of Major Eugene de Kock, based at Vlakplaas.

Vallihu said this week he was the last person to see Naidu alive.

The inquest court has heard from De Kock that the police believed the people in the vehicle were trained ANC members.

The court has been told that police approached the group at the Swazi border.

De Kock said when police approached Naidu's vehicle and ordered out the occupants, Naidu fired at police from inside the car.

Lawyers acting for the families dispute this and claim that De Kock and his command intended to kill all those in the vehicle.

Former Death Row prisoner, Butana Almond Nofomela, whose shock allegations about a police hit squad helped uncover the Civil Cooperation Bureau, testified at the inquest that De Kock was a police officer "who specialised in destruction" and was involved in stealing motor vehicles and kidnapping.

On Sunday, Naidu's family hosted a memorial service at the Chatsworth cemetery which was attended by hundreds of ANC members.

Vallihu spoke briefly at the service. He joined the ANC with Naidu in 1986. - Sowetan Correspondent.
Hillview school ‘bombed by amateurs’ says expert

THE vandals who made the Hillview High School in Pretoria on Sunday “did not know very much about blowing up buildings”, a demolition expert said yesterday.

The police told Business Day that 25kg of explosives, properly placed, would “create a school building to the ground”.

Police reports said 25kg of explosives had been used in the blast, which partly demolished the empty school building earmarked for use by children of exiled ANC members.

Sapa reports that the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB) met two government ministers in Pretoria yesterday to request that the school not be used to house children of ANC exiles.

BVB chairman Prof Alikuma Swart said in a statement he and Jan Groenewald met National Health Minister Dr Rina Venter and Labor Minister Andre Vlok: "The BVB stated its case and said the decision to use the school to accommodate ANC children was unfair. We seriously asked Minister Venter to reconsider her intention."

The minister gave her assurance that her options were still open and that she would inform the BVB of any other decisions, Prof Swart said.

Leadership lessons are top drawcard

WOULD-BE township leaders are queuing to attend Wits Business School and learn the sort of skills previously reserved for senior corporate managers.

The school’s community-based development programme is part of a thrust to ensure that it not only serves big business, but provides leadership to public sector and community organisations.

Programme co-ordinator and former Cosatu education officer Frank Meintjes said in an interview that community organisations which previously relied on political slogans to mobilise people, now faced the challenge of converting slogans into plans with time limits and results which could be measured.

Programme director Dave Adler said the politics of mass mobilisation, which previously sustained these organisations, was often used to hide organisational inefficiency.

Funding

After the abolition of apartheid and repressive laws, members of trade unions, civic associations and other anti-apartheid groups had become less militant and were increasingly questioning organisations’ leadership, structure and accountability.

Adler said cutbacks in funding, particularly from overseas, were forcing community-based organisations increasingly to analyse their effectiveness.

Funding previously made available to human rights causes was now being channelled into specific development work.

Community-based organisations had to become more effective to attract funding – and make it go further. Areas covered in the four-month course included problem-solving, decision-making, strategic leadership, needs analysis, budgeting, fund-raising, progress evaluation, labour law, marketing, adult learning and media relations.

Meintjes said the main difference between the programme and other courses offered by the business school was that the programme’s students were drawn from non-profit organisations which usually had a strong political culture. These groups also had a strong collective approach.

Meintjes said the anti-apartheid “sector” had grown remarkably in recent years and pulled in hundreds of administrative people. But it suffered from one of the major problems facing SA big business: it was drawing its human resources from a pool of unskilled people with a disadvantaged educational background.

Adler said the programme started from the basis that development consisted of four equally important facets – the economic, social, political and psychological or spiritual.

Participants were taught to assess the broader context within which they worked.

For example, community-based organisations that were concerned about redistribution of wealth must learn about wealth generation, said Adler.

Meintjes said the programme was not party political, but it fitted into and identified with the broad extra-parliamentary democratic movement.
2 die as kids detonate grenade

PRETORIA. — Two women were killed when children detonated a handgrenade they were playing with in White City, Soweto, on Thursday night.

Soweto police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said police were investigating how the children came to have the grenade.

And at Brandfort, a Majwemasweu Town Committee councillor, Mrs Susan Phetlane, burnt to death earlier this week when her cafe was set alight. Two youths who were with her were stabbed.

A man was arrested after unidentified gunmen opened fire, killing another man, in Greytown, Natal.

At Mhluzi outside Middelburg in the Transvaal, a youth was arrested when a group stoned a police vehicle.
MK conference in SA next month
Second bomb blasts
Hillview High School

A SECOND bomb has exploded at the old Hillview High School in Pretoria, damaging a boundary wall and shatter- ing windows at a block of flats across the road.

No one was injured in the blast, which occurred at 1.24am yesterday - a week almost to the minute after the previous explosion which caused serious structural damage to the building.

The building was to have housed about 700 children of ANC cadres returning from Tanzania.

Police spokesman Capt. Ruben Bloomborg said nobody had as yet claimed responsibility for the blast and the type of explosive device used was still unknown.

He said the explosives had been placed on the ground next to the boundary wall in Dr Savage Street. The explosion ripped a 5-metre hole in the concrete wall.

No one was injured, but windows of flats above Pro-Auto Service Station, across the road from the school, were broken.

Several right wing groups have claimed responsibility for the first blast on July 14, which followed threats by the Boere Vryheidsbeweging that the school would become a “target of Boer resentment” should the Government go ahead with plans to house the ANC children there.

BVB leader Mr Jan Groenewald, however, denied that his movement had been responsible for the blast.

Spokesmen for several right wing organisations have denied responsibility for yesterday’s explosion.

The future of the children is as yet undecided. Repair work on the building had not yet started after the first blast.

White schools earmarked for use by the ANC or organisations not representing the “Boer” nation would suffer the same fate as Hillview school, deputy leader of the rightwing Orde Boer- volk, Mr Coen Vermaak, has said. - Sowetan COr- respondent.
Another bombing at ANC school in Pretoria

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A second bomb has exploded at the Hillview High School in Pretoria, damaging a boundary wall and shattering windows at a block of flats across the road.

No-one was injured in the blast at 1.24am yesterday, a week after the previous explosion, which caused serious structural damage.

The building was to have housed about 700 children of ANC exiles returning from Tanzania.

Police spokesman Captain Ruben Bloomberg said nobody had claimed responsibility for the blast and the type of explosive used was unknown.

The explosion ripped a five-metre hole in the concrete wall.

No-one was injured, but windows of flats above a service station across the road from the school, were shattered by the blast.

Several rightwing groups claimed responsibility for the first blast on July 14, which followed threats by the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB) that the school would become a "target of Boer resentment" should the government go ahead with plans to house the ANC children there.

BVB leader Mr Jan Groenewald denied that his movement had been responsible for the blast.
Warning as second blast rocks Hillview

Pretoria Correspondent and Sapa

A second bomb has exploded at the old Hillview High School in Pretoria, damaging a boundary wall and shattering windows at a block of flats across the road.

And right-wing Orde Boerevolk (OB) spokesman Coen Vermaak warned yesterday that other schools would suffer a similar fate.

No one was injured in the blast, which occurred at 1.24 am yesterday — a week almost to the minute after the previous explosion, which caused serious structural damage to the building.

The building was to have housed about 700 children of ANC cadres returning from Tanzania.

Police spokesman Captain Ruben Bloomberg said nobody had as yet claimed responsibility for the blast and the type of explosive device used was still unknown.

He said the explosives had been placed on the ground next to the boundary wall in Dr Savage Street. The explosion ripped a 5 m hole in the concrete wall. Windows of nearby flats above the Pro-Auto service station were broken.

The motive for the blast was unknown.

Spokesmen for several right-wing organisations yesterday denied knowledge of who was responsible.

Several right-wing groups have claimed responsibility for the first blast on July 14, which followed threats by the Boere Vryheidsbeweging that the school would become a "target of Boer resentment" if the Government went ahead with plans to house the ANC children there.

However, BVV leader Jan Groenewald denied his movement had been responsible for the blast.

Yesterday Mr Vermaak, deputy leader of the OB, said vacant white schools earmarked for use by the ANC or organisations not representing the "Boer" nation would suffer the same fate as Hillview school.

"We don't blame the people who have done this. We understand them and we expected it," Mr Vermaak said.

Conservative Party spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis said those responsible were sure to be amateurs and not part of any organisation.

"It sounds like some body is trying to get on the bandwagon," he said.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said the bombing was the reaction of right-wingers against the "misdoings of the Government".

"It just stresses the Government's mistake to bring people from other nations into Paul Kruger's capital."
ANC man bombed

The home of a senior ANC man in Khayelitsha as petrol-bombed yesterday morning, as Cape Town’s black townships experienced two days of rampant violence.

The home of Mr Richard Makeleni was gutted by fire, in what the ANC said was a sequel to several attacks on him.

In other incidents, two people died in violence linked to the taxi war yesterday while four men, two of them Webta taxi drivers, were shot and wounded in an attack on Monday.

The ANC described the attack on Mr Makeleni’s home as being preceded by events similar to those which culminated in the recent assassination of civic leader Mr Michael Mapongwana.

The attack allegedly followed a daylight raid on his house last month by police, the ANC said.

“This event is similar to the events that took (Mr) Mapongwana’s life.”

Mr Makeleni is vice-chairman of the Khayelitsha ANC Zone and an executive member of the Western Cape Civic Association.

Damage to the house at M42 in Site B, Khayelitsha, was estimated at R15 000, according to the ANC.

“The ANC Khayelitsha Zone deplores the attack. We call on police to stop the attacks and killings of the innocent people,” the statement said.

“We call on the SAP to honour their words and catch these evil actors and put them into the court of justice, or they must immediately resign.”

A taxi driver and a woman passenger were shot dead and a second passenger was wounded yesterday when gunmen attacked a taxi rank in Nyanga.

July 11 1991

Two killed as local township violence soars — Page 2
Five on petrol-bomb charge

FIVE residents of Zwelihle township in Hermanus are due to appear in court next month in connection with an alleged petrol-bomb attack on the home of a community councillor.

They face a charge of attempted murder in connection with the incident, which took place on July 6 this year. At a previous hearing the matter was postponed to August 7 for further investigation.

The five were arrested soon after police used teargas to disperse a group of about 200 following a meeting attended by community councillors which was allegedly disrupted by residents of the township.

The five are: Melville Makalini, Kuhuhela Pawaawe, Richard Magogotha, Mbalelo Sampani and a youth.
SOWETO police have discovered an arms cache of Soviet-made explosives stashed away on the eastern side of the Pimville golf course.

There were 10 handgrenade detonators, five mini limpet mines and two loaded AK-47 assault rifle magazines.

Colonel Jac de Vries, of the Soweto police, showed the explosives to the media.

"The find indicates that guerrillas are bringing weapons into the country from across the border. All the weapons are of Soviet origin," he said.

The explosives were found in a bag wrapped in aluminum foil. Police say the weapons appear to have been there for about two weeks.

De Vries said there was a lot of intimidation in the township and the weapons were obviously for that purpose.
Focus Holdings Limited

The restoration of the railway

The letter also advised of

the National Executive

Chairman, Mr. John Doe, has written to the

Director General, Mr. Jane Smith

Regarding the development of a major new

Project

John Doe

Hillarrow Police Station

Wits students march on

Amis cease uncovered

Thumbs up for MK

BY THEMBA KHUMALO

MILITARY leaders Gen Bantu Holomisa of Transkei and Brig Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda have given their support to Umkhonto weSizwe's plan to establish itself as a regular army.

Addressing 500 delegates at MK's three-day national conference, which ends today at the University of Venda in Thohoyandou, Holomisa and Ramushwana said MK was free to organise in the two homelands.

Holomisa said: "We could well be on a course of national reconciliation, peace and unity where the interests of one South Africa will reign supreme and oblige us to defend them as one unit."

Ramushwana said MK was free to organise support in Venda as long as its activities were peaceful and did not violate any laws of the homeland.

He received a standing ovation after calling on MK commanders to retrain their forces with a view to establishing democracy in a unitary South Africa.

He added that his military council would be announcing a process which would facilitate the reincorporation of Venda back into South Africa.

The council was preparing a comprehensive document which would be taken back to the people for discussion, he said. The contents of the document would be publicised in two weeks time, he added.
RIGHT-WING pamphleteers have gone high-tech, sending their material out on fax.

Several different pamphlets have been circularised over the past few weeks, bearing no hint of their source.

Issued under the title “Factsheet”, the pamphlet claims to have “no fixed editorial policy, but the editors are committed to the free market system.

The publication claims to come from a team of “highly-informed and well-connected information brokers”.

Most of the pamphlets so far have been taken up with long lists of names of about 170 trade union officials who are allegedly members of the SA Communist Party (SACP). It claims the SACP is using the ANC and Cosatu as “tools” to further its aims.

A spokesperson for the Post Office said numerous complaints had been received, but nothing could be done about it because there was no senders’ number on the faxes. — Enews

A PORT Alfred regional magistrate suspended the sentence of an Umkhonto we Sizwe member this week after he pleaded guilty to possessing two hand grenades and two detonators.

Phakamile Mtya, 27, was sentenced to three years’ imprisonment, suspended for five years, on condition that he is not found guilty of a similar offence during that time.

— Ana
Right-wing bomb suspects out on bail

By Helen Orange and Philip Zolo

Three right-wingers ended their hunger strike yesterday after being given bail.

Leonard Veenendal and Daryl Stopforth of the Orde Boerevolk (OB) were granted R1 000 bail each — after a Johannesburg magistrate, two lawyers and the two right-wingers gathered for a "court session" in Johannesburg Hospital.

Mr Veenendal had his first meal in 32 days and Mr Stopforth his first in 18 days.

Fellow OB member Horst Kienz, who had been on hunger strike for 26 days, is expected to be released on bail from Pretoria Central Prison today after a successful application yesterday.

The three, who have been in custody since June 1989, face extradition to Namibia to stand trial in connection with the bombing of a United Nations base in 1989.

They decided to start eating again after a meeting between Mr Veenendal, Mr Stopforth and attorney Wim Cornelius. They discussed a representation made on July 24 by Mr Cornelius to Minister of Justice and Correctional Services, Kobie Coetzee, urging the Minister to block the extradition by applying the terms of the Pretoria Minute.

The extradition case will be heard on August 30.

*Divided Right faces crisis — Page 9*
Two bomb blasts rock Soweto

By DON SEOKANE

TWO separate bomb explosions rocked Soweto last night.

The blasts occurred at Mshenguville squatter settlement in Mofolo and at a bottleshop in White City Jabavu owned by former Soweto mayor Mr Ephraim "ET" Tshabalala.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Johan de Vries last night confirmed the explosions and said the blasts occurred five minutes of each other.

De Vries said the blast at Mshenguville occurred at 9.20pm and the one that hit Tshabalala's bottleshop took place at 9.25pm.

He said he was not aware of any casualties. The extent of the damage was not known at the time of going to Press.

From Page 1:

Dr. Vries said he did not disclose the nature of the explosive device used in the bombing. He said police were still investigating.

Tshabalala's business was not damaged and the police were still investigating.

The Mshenguville Crisis Committee said it decided to boycott all white-owned businesses in Soweto after the explosions.

From Page 1:

The Mshenguville Crisis Committee said it decided to boycott all white-owned businesses in Soweto after the explosions.
THE ANC will not accept integration of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe with the SA Defence Force, MK chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani said yesterday.

Hani, addressing a press conference in Johannesburg to announce arrangements for MK's three-day national conference in Venda over the weekend, said the ANC regarded the SADF as "the military wing of the National Party Government".

A new democratically-elected government would have to create a new defence force which would have to be orientated to defending democracy, Hani said.

Such a force could well contain elements of the SADF, MK and other military elements.

The ANC was awaiting the response of the new Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, to the formation of a new defence force representative of all South Africans.

"We hope Meyer will be more open-minded on the issue," Hani said. - Sapa.
We're keeping our word, says Umkhonto

By Kaizer Nyatumbi
Political Staff

The ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), has steadfastly observed agreements entered into between the Government and the ANC, including the suspension of the armed operations, MK leaders said in Johannesburg yesterday.

In a press conference to announce MK's national congress to be held in Venda at the weekend, the MK leadership said in a statement that trained cadres had made "a major contribution and sacrifice to the peace process now unfolding in the country" by observing agreements reached with Pretoria.

"This was no easy decision. However, it was made possible due to the strong discipline of our cadres and their deep-seated commitment to peace, freedom and the establishment of democracy in South Africa," the statement said.

However, the MK leaders - chief of staff Chris Hani and commanders Tokyo Sexwale, Goodman Mboloi and Lambert Mboloi - said they viewed the Government's secret funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the United Workers Union of South Africa as a serious threat to the peace process.

The three-day MK congress at the University of Venda will be opened by ANC president and MK commander-in-chief Nelson Mandela on Friday morning, and will be attended by more than 240 delegates.

Among the issues to be discussed are the creation of a new security force in a democratic South Africa, negotiations, the suspension of armed activities and the welfare of MK cadres.

Mr. Hani said the leaders hoped the right wing would not interrupt the congress.
Operation Vula That Is Lasting mosaic for hot seat

Siphiwe Nyanda

NEW AFRICA


In 1938, the Union Machine was
promoted to communique in 1978.
In his first year, he was expelled
completely set up in Pretoria, and later
newspaper was started in KwaZulu Natal.
He was appointed the political commissar.

In 1987, he was appointed the
Chairman of the National Union of
Workers. In 1988, he was sent to the
government in exile. In 1989, he was
arrested and imprisoned for 15 years.
He was released in 1994 and went on
to become a prominent figure in the
ANC. In 1999, he was elected as the
Chairman of the National Council of
the ANC. In 2001, he was appointed
Chairman of the National Assembly.

He is known for his commitment to
the struggle for democracy and human
rights in South Africa. He has
been involved in various political
movements and has worked to
promote peace and reconciliation.

According to ANC sources, he
was a key figure in Operation Vula,
which was a campaign to bring
prominent figures out of exile into
South Africa. He played a crucial
role in negotiating the release of
political prisoners and in
advocating for the rights of
African people.

This work is a essay and non-fiction
written by the author and does not
claim to be a complete or accurate
account of the life of Siphiwe Nyanda.

The reference is to Operation Vula
that was modeled for hot seat.
The armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), is holding its first conference inside South Africa this weekend. On the agenda is the return of the thousands of MK cadres still in exile, their deployment and welfare, and a united army in a post-apartheid South Africa. REHANA ROSSOUW reports:

BEFORE the unbanning of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe last year, ANC activists tended to hold somewhat romantic notions of the "people's army". Their freedom songs lauded the guerillas training in "the bush" and praised the heroes of the Sasol and Koeberg bombings. Umkhonto we Sizwe was going to roll down Government Avenue towards the Union Buildings, tear down the South African flag and hoist the ANC colours.

After February 2, another picture of MK emerged. This was no victorious army marching into the cities to liberate the people, but rather a guerilla force facing the challenge of integrating its members into the ranks of its former enemy — the South African Defence Force (SADF).

Problems Integrating
Unlike the guerilla forces in Zimbabwe and Namibia, MK faces major problems in integrating into a united, post-apartheid South Africa.

When the SADF withdrew from Namibia, the South West African Territorial Force (SWATF) was almost the same size and strength as Swappo's armed wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN).

At the end of the war in Zimbabwe, the Rhodesian army numbered 74,000 and the combined strength of the liberation movements' armies was 49,000.

In both countries it was possible after independence to merge the opposing sides without friction.

A major factor militating against integrating MK into the SADF is the disparity in the size of the two armies. The SADF, the largest army in Africa, is a modern, sophisticated force consisting of an army, navy and airforce with extensive conventional battle experience, a highly-developed infrastructure and state-of-the-art weapons and equipment. It is estimated to have a permanent force of 75,000, a standing operational force of 125,000 (including conscripts) and a reserve of 45,000.

In comparison, military analysts estimate MK's size at 10,000 trained guerrillas who, although they might have won propaganda victories against the state, were never considered a serious military threat.

While some MK cadres underwent rigorous and conventional training in friendly countries abroad, a large number had only a few months' training in African states before being shipped back to South Africa to be deployed in the field.

In African states, the ANC's guerrilla army trained with limited material support and outdated weapons and equipment.

Unlike the SADF, MK is an ill-equipped and ill-trained army. Many of its members are unlikely to become career officers or soldiers and are not available to join the post-apartheid defence force.

Officer training
In the past year, MK cadres have been sent abroad for officer training and training as pilots, navy personnel and mechanised battalion personnel. Recently, a number of cadres have been seconded to the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) to upgrade their skills.

Despite this, there is little the ANC can do to transform its guerilla forces into an army that competes favourably with the SADF. There is little it can do to produce officers with the skills and sophistication of the SADF.

The immediate challenge facing MK is to transform its forces into a conventional army requiring strict routines of accountability and logistical structures. MK needs to distinguish between the civil and military roles of its cadres. These have been blurred by the political involvement of nearly all its guerilla fighters.

The army needs to decide upon rank designations and relate these to strict educational requirements.

It is becoming clear that a balanced integration of MK guerillas into the SADF will not be achieved as smoothly as in the past. The problem is that the SADF is not the same as it was before independence.

At present, only SADF officers have the skills and experience to manage the large and complex organisation that is the SADF.

The officers corps of the South African Police is also likely to remain unchanged, as the new government will not have the experienced police personnel with which to replace them.

This presents a host of problems for the post-apartheid defence force.

The continued domination of whites in the army and police is unlikely to promote legitimacy and public confidence.

This dilemma is already being experienced in Namibia, where the Swappo Youth League is campaigning for the dismissal of white officers who remained their positions after the SWA Police was disbanded.

The white officers have been accused of attempting to destabilise the government, and black officers complain that the command structure is as racist as it was before independence.

If the SADF does not become a truly integrated army, another concern could be the unwillingness of Frontline states to divert spending from defence to repair the havoc unleashed on them for decades by the SADF.

Post-apartheid defence
Leaders of the Frontline states will be hesitant to accept the bona fides of the post-apartheid defence force if its command structure is still dominated by whites.

The conference will also consider the effect of MK's weaknesses on the negotiation process.

The inequality between the SADF and MK has already given rise to an unequal balance of power between the ANC and the government during their talks.

At present, the government enjoys a virtual monopoly of military and police power while the ANC relies on its popular support to add weight to its demands at the negotiation table.

The government will no doubt seek protection for its constituency in the new South Africa and an obvious choice would be to retain control of the defence force to ensure the preservation of white interests.

Judging from both the SADF and the SAP's record of involvement in the political process, the possibility exists that they could disregard or interfere in the political process after apartheid.

The danger here is that the ANC is that while it could enjoy political power in a future South Africa, the security establishments will remain under the control of their present political commanders.
MK meets for three days of ‘tough talk’

By Patrick Laurence

THOHAYANDOU — Members of the ANC’s underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), converged on Thohoyandou yesterday from all over South Africa — and beyond its borders — for the start of a three-day conference.

The conference will be opened today by ANC president Nelson Mandela, who is also MK commander-in-chief.

Discontent

Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, chairman of the Military Council which took power in Venda after a bloodless coup last year, will read a paper at the start of the conference.

His presence is an auspicious sign for the ANC, which is involved in a contest with President de Klerk’s administration for the allegiance of “homeland leaders”.

There were consistent reports of discontent in MK ranks during the ANC conference last month. Mr Mandela himself alluded to these.

“A separate conference of MK cadres, attended by leading members of the ANC national executive committee, is necessary if justice is to be done to their complaints,” he said.

“The question of the suspension of armed action will be an important question on the agenda as dissatisfaction continues to surface.”

MK men and women feel they have not been consulted sufficiently on major ANC decisions — of which the suspension of armed struggle a year ago is a major example — and that they have been insufficiently involved in the new phase of struggle in the political arena.

There is no question of rebellion, however. As Chris Hani, MK’s chief of staff, has noted, MK’s tradition is one of complete loyalty to the ANC and its leaders. But there will undoubtedly be much tough talking.

The conference will almost certainly discuss a South African Communist Party request for Mr Hani to take up a full-time post in its head office, a move which would result in his vacation of the number three position in MK.
whom have fought in air battles in Angola and Ethiopia, and who are now mostly employed commercially in Ethiopia and Lesotho. There will also be MK cadres with naval training, including Hani, as well as strategists, intelligence officials and weapons experts.

For most of the delegates, the arrival in SA last week was the first visit in many years as non-combatants. The focus of discussions will be on integration with the SADF, and the creation of a "depoliticised" SADF to oversee and "defend" the negotiations process.

Tokyo Sexwale, an MK senior commander, told the *FM* it is hoped that another conference will be convened by a group such as the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa). This might enable the SADF, MK and the various military groupings in the country (including those of the Left, the Right and homelands) to discuss integration and military policy for a new SA.

Says Sexwale: "We have to hold discus-

Hani ... full-time with the Communists

sions about a united, depoliticised army that will defend the process of negotiations, and thereafter protect the constitution."

These talks could begin soon after the "patriotic front" conference in Cape Town at the end of August, where the ANC, PAC, Azapo and other groups will try to form a united front for negotiations. They are also expected to look at future military strategies for SA, and the possibility of linking their forces. It will be the first time the three armies (such as they are) have held talks.

In February 1976, when he was a sports reporter and underground ANC activist, Nyanda left SA. While in exile he became commander of MK's Transvaal urban region from 1977 to 1983. He was appointed chief of staff for the Transvaal from 1983 to 1987. In 1988 he was seconded to Operation Vula, a key ANC-Communist Party project designed to overthrow or undermine the State, under direct control of Oliver Tambo (then ANC president).

Nyanda infiltrated SA in 1988 and was detained for four months last year when government detected Operation Vula. Since January he has been at ANC head office, where he has been involved in organising training for MK members from camps in Tanzania, Uganda and Angola. The MK has increased its training in conventional warfare, particularly in its Ugandan camp. Some senior commanders are versed in conventional warfare; Hani, for instance, was trained in the Soviet navy, and Sexwale specialised in explosives and anti-aircraft artillery. But most MK soldiers are trained in guerrilla tactics.

Sexwale would not reveal how many combatants MK has. Journalist Howard Barrell, in his book, *MK: The ANC's Armed Struggle*, estimates the total at no more than 5 000 men and women. But the figure could be higher, given the establishment of defence committees over the last two years.

The ANC envisions a national army for SA, according to Sexwale, with size determined by "threat analysis." There would be no conscription.

The MK conference will discuss training programmes to ensure that MK members who do not wish to join a future army will have civilian skills in the technical, administrative, farming and para-medical areas. "Some senior MK members, who have indicated that they would like full-time military careers, are already undergoing specialist training," says Sexwale. Apparently such training still takes place in the Soviet Union.

Sexwale cautions against viewing integration in terms of "technicalities." He acknowledges SADF superiority in terms of numbers, budget, military schools and technical skills. But he argues that MK combatants have skills in certain areas — in particular, communications and guerrilla warfare — that the MK could benefit from. Each side, he suggests, can learn from the other.

Sexwale rightly points out that for political reasons many blacks who might have been inclined towards military careers were prevented by political considerations. He also criticises the SADF for the low complement of black officers — though this has increased markedly in recent years.

SADF statistics provided to the *FM* show it has 162 non-white officers from the rank of second lieutenant upwards. Twenty-five are blacks, including two colonels; 14 are Indian, including one with the naval rank of commander; and the remainder are coloured officers, including two colonels. There is only one non-white pilot.

Sexwale was critical of suggestions that MK is inferior to the SADF. "We received advanced military training in Warsaw Pact countries. This was recognised when MK cadres were captured and brought before the courts. Then officials said these people were highly trained and dangerous."

The future role of Armcor will be discussed. MK is against its privatisation, and wants it to expand research to compete in the arms market.

Chaitlee Smith

**Operation Vula** commander Siphwile Nyanda (41) is expected to replace Chris Hani as chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Nyanda is at present the third most senior MK commander in SA, after Joe Modise and Hani (who is taking up a full-time position with the Communist Party).

Nyanda's appointment could be announced this weekend in Venda, at the first MK conference to be held inside SA. The 300 delegates to the conference include more than a dozen Soviet-trained pilots — some of...
Mandela yesterday opened the first meeting of a National Movement at the University of Venda. The meeting was attended by over 500 delegates from all over the country who were united in their support for the liberation struggle. The main objective of the meeting was to discuss the current problems facing the ANC and to develop a strategy for the future.

The meeting was addressed by Nelson Mandela, who outlined the vision for the ANC and its commitment to the struggle for liberation. He called on all ANC members to work together for a united and strong ANC.

Mandela said that the ANC would continue to fight for a democratic and free South Africa. He emphasized the importance of unity and solidarity among all ANC members.

The meeting also discussed the current political situation in South Africa and the challenges facing the ANC in the fight for liberation. The delegates agreed to continue working towards a united and strong ANC, dedicated to the struggle for a free and democratic South Africa.

Overall, the meeting was a significant moment in the history of the ANC, as it brought together a diverse group of ANC members from across the country to discuss the current challenges facing the movement and to chart a course for the future.

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**Background:**

The National Movement was a significant event in the history of the ANC, as it was the first meeting of a united ANC after the banning of the party. The meeting was a turning point in the struggle for liberation in South Africa, as it marked the beginning of a new phase in the fight for a free and democratic South Africa.
It's jackets and ties as Umkhonto shows its human face

THOHOYANDOU — The much-feared “terrorists” of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the African National Congress's military wing, put away their camouflage uniforms and AK-47s and came out of hiding this week.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) presented a studiously civilian image at its first national conference, which started in the capital of the Venda homeland yesterday.

Ceremony

At the opening ceremony the only uniform was worn by a non-MK member: Venda leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana when he welcomed the 250 delegates.

The former guerillas themselves — four generations of them from all phases of MK’s 30-year armed struggle — were togged out in civvies, many in neat jackets and ties.

If there was any uniform, it was the cool “urban camouflage” of leather jacket and jeans.

And there were none of the irritating youths toting wooden AK-47s who invariably hang around such events. It was clear that this was no co-incidence and that an instruction had gone out.

“This is the first time MK is showing its face to the public. I hope you find it human and not too frightening,” said MK chief of staff Chris Hani, sporting a snazzy sports jacket and smart tie.

And indeed, shorn of military trappings, the men and women of MK were, not surprisingly, human.

Like George Molebatsi, the commander of the unit which carried out the bloody “Silverton Siege”, the famous occupation of a Pretoria bank early in 1980, when three MK men and two white civilians died.

Lounging at the pool deck of the local hotel, wearing casual slacks, shirt and loafers, this slight 38-year-old does not look the part.

Although he has just served 12 years in prison, even though he was betrayed and captured before the siege happened.

As the former guerillas emerge from hiding, or exile or prison, a different view emerges of events so garishly portrayed at the time.

Mistake

Mr Molebatsi is anxious to explain that the taking of hostages at Silverton was a mistake. When he was captured, his subordinates abandoned the original mission, to sabotage petrol tanks, and did their own thing.

“It was made clear to us that no civilian targets should be attacked,” he said.

Although there have been rumblings of dissatisfaction among MK members about the ANC’s decision last August to suspend armed actions, this is not apparent when talking to ordinary MK members at the conference.

Another commander, Lea Tsela (39), who fled to East Germany in 1975 to receive military training after writing his teacher examinations, captures the general feeling when he says: “The armed struggle was an extension of the political struggle. When the struggle could be suspended and negotiations had a chance, we had to take it.”

Mr Tsela frequently travelled in and out of the country through “green borders” (unofficial routes) evading capture until indemnified this year.

He is deliberately vague about his operations — conducted mainly in the Soweto area — describing them only as “sabotage and even attacking enemy personnel.”

Tapyi Diseko, attending the conference from MK’s underground structures in Zimbabwe, says there was some unhappiness in the camps when armed action was suspended.

But that was mainly because they were taken by surprise. He heard about it on BBC radio.

“When it was explained, it was accepted as a decision that our leaders saw fit to take. We don’t want to see bloodshed.”

The conference is all about finding a new role for MK in a peaceful South Africa, and these soldiers — like their white counterparts — are anxious about their role in a civilian future.

It is not yet clear whether they will serve in self-defence units, in the new army which MK hopes will soon be formed, or have to look for jobs in civvy street.
Mandela intensifies pressure at MK indaba

THOHOYANDOU — Hundreds of trained African National Congress guerrillas yesterday heard their commander-in-chief, Nelson Mandela, call on President de Klerk to surrender control of the security forces to an interim government of national unity.

Speaking at the first legal conference on South African soil of the ANC army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Mandela used the occasion to step up pressure on Mr de Klerk to accede to growing demands for an interim government "within an unambiguous time-frame".

In the text of the speech, Mr Mandela set 18 months as the "outside limit", but in his actual address he did not stipulate a specific time.

Later, Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa drew loud and prolonged acclaim from ANC combatants when he advised them to ensure that the ANC leaders did not compromise in their negotiations with the Government.

General Holomisa, who has a close friendship with Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani, said: "We would like to witness a situation where the ANC would not need its resolve to have an interim government established as a matter of extreme urgency."

The Transkei leader rejected as "malicious" allegations that the Transkei Defence Force — which is currently expanding — was integrating ANC intergers into its ranks.

He did, however, admit that there was co-operation between the Transkei Defence Force and Umkhonto, and called on the ANC to evaluate Transkei's soldiers to see whether their training was good enough to assure them of key positions in the new South African army.

Standing ovation

Another black leader who spoke at the conference was Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, the military ruler who seized power in Venda in a bloodless coup last year. Committed to the reincorporation of Venda into South Africa, he was given a standing ovation before and after his address.

At the same briefing session, the ANC introduced to the public for the first time several of its leading military commanders, at least half of whom are members of the South African Communist Party.

The commanders who fielded questions from journalists included Mr Hani; Ronnie Kasrils, former ANC intelligence chief; Tony Yengeni, from the western Cape; Cie O'Gara; James Mashaya; Rashed Patil; Walter Mathebula and Jackie Moise (the only woman on the panel).

Mr Hani stressed that Umkhonto was accountable to the ANC, not the SAPC. He and his comrades refused to quantify the proportion of communists in Umkhonto's upper echelons, arguing that the secrecy which shrouded the SAPC until very recently made it impossible for them to give an estimate.

Asked to comment on grievances — referred to as "complaints" by Mr Mandela — among rank-and-file Umkhonto cadre, Mr Hani admitted that logistical problems were affecting the flow of supplies to camps in neighbouring countries.

Cadres returning to South Africa from exile or emerging from prisons did not have an easy time either, Mr Hani said. Most former ANC soldiers were unemployed.

Another grievance had been a breakdown of communications between the ANC leaders in South Africa and the men in certain camps, with the result that combatants were angered when they heard about the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

These problems would, however, be discussed openly at the conference and recommendations would be made to the ANC leadership.
By CP reporter

**Alex tense after killings**

A group of men, including a youth, was killed in a shootout near a farm in the Slangkop area yesterday. Two men were shot dead near a farm in the Slangkop area yesterday. The police say they were killed during a shootout between two groups of men.

**Vula man new MK chief?**

Chief Justice Dipuo Mabuza has been named as the new leader of the MK movement. It is reported that he will take over from the current leader, Thabo Mbeki, who is stepping down. The move is seen as a way to rejuvenate the movement and bring it closer to the people.
ANC president Nelson Mandela this week addressed the first public conference of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we-Sizwe, in South African soil. At the University of Venda in Thohoyandou he spoke about MK and the road ahead. This is an edited version of his speech.

TODAY, on the soil of our motherland, we have come together to collectively chart the way forward for our army.

We are meeting at a time in our country's history, prepared with opportunities for the realisation of our people's most heartfelt aspirations, but at a time also fraught with the gravest dangers of reaction and counter-revolution.

What we do and say in the next two days is to determine the future of our people and our country. We have set ourselves an immense task. We dare not fail.

When the ANC met in national conference during July, we set ourselves an objective of mustering an army that can be a weapon against the repressive forces that have subjected our people to a reign of terror and oppression.

We have resolved that MK should remain combat ready.

MK should establish structures throughout the country at all levels.

The ANC has the duty to maintain and develop MK as a fighting force until a democratic constitution has been adopted with a view to the integration of its personnel into a new defence force.

MK should play a role in training and establishing popular defence units, under the control of community organisations, to defend our communities against state-sponsored violence and crime.

We reject the simple equation of apartheid with specific laws and legal measures. We are dealing with a comprehensive system of domination which cannot be unpecked into laws which, if repealed, will imply their demise.

The most visible and dominant conflict in South Africa was that between the oppressed black majority and the oppressor State.

But, while in all other colonial systems the colonising State existed outside the borders of the colony, in our case the colonial State and the colonised lived within one territory.

In South Africa, therefore, the struggle must result in the destruction of the colonial state and not only the system of colonialism.

Our struggle is essentially a struggle for national liberation. Civil rights, civil liberties and the other universally accepted rights would be achieved by national liberation and not in any other way.

Freedom would come as the oppressed black masses themselves consciously engaged in struggle and not as a gift from the oppressor.

Victory is dependent on the active and conscious participation of the masses in determining their own destiny through struggle.

For the ANC and its allies to secure that participation and their movement to be integrated with the masses, they enjoy a confidence and a capacity and potential leadership.

The ANC and the alliance of liberation forces that it heads, and we have always acted on the basis that it is a practical reality that the masses have the capability to act as a force to form itself into an effective and victorious political force.

Strategically this decided that the regime must find itself confronted not only with the demands of the masses, but also with the confidence and the capacity to act as a force to form itself into an effective and victorious political force.

The forces of national liberation and democracy were able to create the conditions within which the ANC's underground structures could function and survive.

But, to survive and multiply, they had to impact the mass consciousness and political and military skills.

This period was characterised by the growth and consolidation of NGOs. The ANC's underground structures could function and survive.

The fundamental strategic weakness of the oppressor State is its narrow political base.

The forces of apartheid have never been able to undermine the potential unity of the oppressed by encouraging ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious differences.

The fundamental strategic weakness of the oppressor State is its narrow political base.

The forces of apartheid have never been able to undermine the potential unity of the oppressed by encouraging ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious differences.

They also embarked on attempts to create organisations and encourage movements that represent sectional and other divisive interests.

The renewal of organised, mass opposition and resistance to the injustices of racial domination was the central feature of South African politics during the 1980s.

The period was characterised by mass revolt, near-revolutionary growth and consolidation of a Mass Democratic Movement, the unification of the DEMOC movement under the banner of Ceres and the mobilisation of mass organs of struggle.</only>
During the path for Umkhonto

A period was characterised by a mass rebellion, the overthrow of the Apartheid regime and the establishment of a new democratic order. The leadership of the ANC, led by Nelson Mandela, played a crucial role in this process. The struggle was not only against the apartheid regime but also against the domination of white minority rule. The struggle for freedom was led by the ANC, which was supported by international solidarity movements around the world.

The ANC has a clear vision for the future of South Africa. The ANC believes in a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society where all citizens are treated equally. The ANC also supports the idea of a united, peaceful and prosperous South Africa.

The ANC has won many elections and has been in power for several years. During this time, the ANC has implemented policies that have improved the lives of millions of South Africans. However, there are still many challenges that the ANC and the South African government need to address.

One of the biggest challenges is the country's economy. South Africa has a high unemployment rate and many people struggle to make ends meet. The government needs to implement policies that can create jobs and improve economic opportunities for all South Africans.

Another challenge is the country's healthcare system. The healthcare system is in need of improvement, and the government needs to invest more in healthcare to ensure that all South Africans have access to quality healthcare.

The ANC is committed to addressing these challenges and improving the lives of all South Africans. The ANC is a party that represents the interests of all South Africans, and it is dedicated to achieving a better future for the country.
'Gebuza' tipped to lead MK

BY LEN KALANE

THE elusive "General Gebuza" was the most sought-after ANC commander during the underground armed struggle.

As the commander in the Transvaal, his name popped up in most terror trials in the Transvaal. It was a familiar name to a number of judges, magistrates and officials within the State security apparatus.

It was – and still is – the MK name of Siphiwe Nyanda, the man hotly tipped to take over the MK reins from the outgoing Chris Hani, whose leadership is now being sought by the South African Communist Party.

If he does not take over, another senior commander, Tokyo Sexwale, will probably head the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto WeSizwe. But it is expected Nyanda will be appointed chief of staff in Venda this weekend at the first MK conference to be held inside South Africa.

He is at present the third most senior commander in South Africa after Joe Modise and Hani. He apparently got to be well known in larger South African circles during Operation Vula days. He was the commander of the elite unit under the direct command of Oliver Tambo, then ANC president.

Operation Vula was smashed last year by Security Police in Durban. The operation included the infiltration of ANC military commanders into South Africa and the establishment of arms caches and safe houses in Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town, with the aim of expanding a revolutionary army in South Africa in order to create a national uprising.

In addition to the four known key members – SA Communist Party members Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils and top MK members Nyanda and Janet Love – seven others were assembled at the home of ANC president Nelson Mandela, then deputy president.

These included former Daily Dispatch journalist Charles Nqakula and others, Vusi Shabalala, Christopher Manye, Mo Sheik, Solly Shoke, Mpho Scott, Ivan Pilay, Jabu Sithole, and Faiad Jadwat.

Since last week, senior MK commanders from camps in Tanzania, Uganda and Angola have been arriving in the country for the Venda conference. The 300 delegates to the conference reportedly include more than a dozen Soviet-trained pilots – some of whom have fought in air battles in Angola and Ethiopia.

Nyanda left the country in February 1976 – four months before the June 16 Soweto riots when he was a sports reporter for the banned World newspaper – and went underground.

He became MK commander of the Transvaal urban region from 1977 to 1983 and appointed chief of staff for the Transvaal from 1983 to 1987. It was in 1988 that he was seconded to Vula.

He infiltrated South Africa during this period and when Vula was detected, was arrested and detained for four months. The Vula operatives were released after they were granted indemnity and charges against them were dropped.

But according to Siphiwe himself, he has been in the country on many occasions for special missions successfully carried out without any arrests. During those days, he was strictly known as "Gebuza".
MK warns Hani about leaving

THE ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has refused to release its top soldier, Mr Chris Hani, to work full-time for the SA Communist Party.

If he defied this resolution, he would have to accept the consequences, warned one delegate to MK's first public conference in the country yesterday.

The delegate said the final decision on whether he would be released from MK was up to the ANC national executive, but they would have to take note of the MK decision.

Visits

"Mr Hani would be taking a risk if he chose to defy the army," the delegate said.

Earlier this week Mr Hani admitted that his decision to leave MK was likely to be questioned. He said he intended to visit MK camps abroad to explain his decision.

But a delegate at the Thohoyandou conference said it was not up to Mr Hani to take individual decisions. MK needed Mr Hani to assist during the crucial phase of converting to a conventional army and the integration of MK in the SADF.

The focus of MK's first legal conference inside the country was the role and structure of MK during the negotiation phase and how to structure itself in defence against violence.

It would also have to plan how to convert from a banned guerrilla army to a legal army — and how to prepare itself to become part of an army under a democratic constitution.

Mr Joe Modise, MK commander, in his confidential address to the conference, said the organisation would put its energies into increasing recruitment, building up a conventional force and receiving training from at least five friendly countries.

MK's military headquarters planned to send cadres for long-term training and to upgrade them in academic studies, Mr Modise said.

Lagging

"Steps have been taken to train our men in ground, air and naval forces. It is important that we institute training in those areas in which we lag.

"In other words, it means that the conversion of our guerrilla detachments into a modern regular army should play a pivotal role if the liberation movement is to be present in the future South African defence apparatus."

That is why the building of an officers' corps is a task which we cannot delay," Mr Modise said.

He told the conference that Tanzania and Uganda were training MK officers and similar arrangements would be finalised with three other countries.

Sources at the conference indicated yesterday that it was likely that the conference would resolve to strengthen its underground structures and step up recruitment and infiltration of soldiers inside the country.

It was also likely to resolve to maintain arms caches inside the country and step up the inflow of arms from outside.

See Hani's plans for SACP on Page 3
AWB to mobilise commandos for revolution, warns Terfe
MK 'no' to ANC control

THOHOYANDOU The ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) resolved at its first open conference in SA to set up a supreme military council that would put control of the military beyond the immediate reach of the ANC.

Delegates at the weekend discussed the composition of a 20-member body that would oversee MK's activities in place of the recently dissolved political military council.

The supreme military council will take MK through its transitional phase from a guerrilla army to a conventional military force whose members will be trained in Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda and India.

The council will also be responsible for the welfare of demobilised MK members.

MK is believed to have about 12 000 members, although MK spokesmen remain secretive about the exact number.

About 400 delegates representing 16 MK regions in SA and in exile were given a detailed explanation of the ANC's undertakings in terms of the Groote Schuur, Pretoria and DF Malan agreements.

MK chief of staff Chris Hani admitted that the decision to suspend the armed struggle had been unpopular with some MK members, although they had fallen under military discipline and accepted the decision.

MK reserved for itself the right to build a military force to oversee the negotiation process. Hani said that even when a democratic constitution had been secured, MK would be loyal to the constitution 'rather than to the government of the day.

The overwhelming thrust of the delegates' discussions was the welfare of MK cadres.

A plan to help cadres integrate into civilian life was discussed but at the end of the proceedings nothing concrete about their future was decided.

The conference took place amid intense speculation about the future of Hani, who earlier last week was asked by the SACP to become its leader.

Hani was ambiguous about his future while other MK delegates indicated that there should be a place for him in MK even if he was replaced as chief of staff.

The conference was attended by most ANC leaders, including president Nelson Mandela and chairman Oliver Tambo.
Mob bombs house in the early morning

A MOB of about 50 men attacked a house in White City, Soweto, with petrol bombs early yesterday morning, causing damage estimated at R15 000.

Police liaison spokesman Lieutenant Govindasamy Mariemathoo said four petrol bombs were used in the attack but only two went off. The lounge, bedroom and kitchen were damaged but nobody was injured in the attack.

He said police had opened an arson docket against the unidentified attackers.

The house belongs to a Mrs Mary Maphumalo. - Sapa
MK wants Hani to stay as head

By RUSSEL MOLEFE and Sapa
THE ANC's first military conference inside South Africa ended yesterday with a unanimous decision to have Chris Hani remain as Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff.

The SA Communist Party had requested the ANC to have him work full-time for the party.

MK wants Hani to remain as chief

The announcement was made at a Press conference at the University of Venda. Thohoyandou, in the far northern Transvaal, at the end of the three-day conference attended by about 500 MK delegates.

MK commander Joe Modise ruled out the SA Defence Force as an army committed to change. However, there were elements within the SADF who were for change and the MK wanted to meet them.

In an interview with Sapa later, Modise said MK's role as a guerilla army was no longer valid, and the first steps to change MK to a regular army had been taken.

He predicted it would take MK between two and four years to transform itself into a regular army.

It was also revealed MK would be recommending to the African National Congress NEC that an MK Supreme Council be formed to strengthen the ANC's armed wing.

Hani said he was prepared to abide by any decision which would be taken by the NEC concerning his release to the SACP.

The conference also called on the Government also to commit itself to a ceasefire "in order to facilitate the process of peaceful transformation to a democratic future".
Cadres call for ceasefire

THE ANC's military wing yesterday recommended a formal ceasefire.

On the last day of Umkhonto we Sizwe's first conference in South Africa, held at the University of Venda in Thohoyandou, its commission on security forces recommended a formal ceasefire supervised by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

The conference yesterday adopted four resolutions from commissions dealing with the restructuring and welfare of MK, negotiations and the armed struggle.

Policy

The conference resolved to recommend that the ANC National Executive Committee formulate policy and programmes on security and defence in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The welfare commission, presented by ANC department of social welfare head Mrs Winnie Mandela, recommended that the ANC establish a treasury department for MK which should be autonomous.

Despite argument that it would be a duplication, the MK agreed to establish a 20-person Supreme Council to oversee military headquarters.

The council will be chaired by ANC president and army commander-in-chief Mr Nelson Mandela.

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-Sapa
THE ANC’s military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe went public on Friday after a 30-year invisibility inside the country.

There were no wooden or real AK-47s or uniforms at its three-day conference which began yesterday at the University of Venda at Thohoyandou. In fact, the only uniform in the hall was that of Venda military ruler Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana.

Among the 250 delegates, representing 10 regional structures and camps in five African countries, were some well-known faces such as Broederstroom trialist Damian de Lange and Operation Vula trialist Siphiwe Nyunda but most of the faces and names were unknown with many still preferring to use their MK non-de-plumes.

**Future**

There was no evidence in Thohoyandou that the armed wing was hosting its first ever conference here, except in the foyer of the Venda Sun where MK security men are identified by badges.

They are gathered here to reflect on 30 years in exile and, more importantly, to map out their future.

The rather low-key event was attended by fewer journalists than was expected, with many canceling bookings at the last minute in favour of the expected confrontation in Ventersdorp.

On the surface it appeared to be like any other political conference, but nowhere else would a journalist ask at a Press briefing: “Are you the person who threw the hand grenade at the police in the Eastern Transvaal?”

One of the delegates was George Molebatsi, who was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment as the commander of the unit which took hostages at the Volkskas bank in Silverton in 1980.

**Propaganda**

He first left the country in 1977 for a two-week crash course in small arms. On his return, he said, he was involved in propaganda work such as painting slogans but then adds “a little sabotage, nothing serious.”

He left the country later that year after one of the men in his underground unit was killed in Soweto.

Molebatsi says he left over the “green border,” meaning anywhere along the border except at a border post.

He entered into specialised formal training in urban guerrilla warfare. The nine-month course included training in small arms, rifles, pistols, hand grenades, mortars, military and combat work and political training.

“When we left the country, we were not politically advanced and had little understanding of the political setup. We just wanted to leave, get guns and fight back. We believed our freedom was taken by the whites and we could get our freedom back with a gun. We thought it was a racial thing,” said Molebatsi.

Political education in the camps, however, taught them that they were not fighting against people but against a system.

“We were taught not to shoot at anything and everything that was white. Whatever you did had to have a political reason.”

On completion of his course, Molebatsi was sent to Mozambique, where along with Mr Len Tselo they received new cadres from South Africa.

Tselo says in Mozambique they gave crash courses in political training and urban guerrilla warfare to new recruits before sending some of them back to South Africa before their absence was noticed.

Tselo was instructed in urban guerrilla warfare in East Germany before returning to South Africa as part of the underground in 1978.

**Negotiations**

Molebatsi infiltrated South Africa in 1979 as a commander of a unit of five men. Their first target was to sabotage petrol tanks but before they could execute their orders, Molebatsi was arrested.

He left the men behind at their base in Garankuwa to organise logistics for their operation. He says the unit did not know what had happened to him and apparently then decided to attack the Silverton bank.

He said it was not part of their plan to attack civilians.

Molebatsi said he knows who betrayed him to the police but would do nothing to retaliate as the present climate was one of negotiations and not revenge.

He says his unit which went to the bank were not “the devils they are made out to be” and were not terrorists. He says they wrote the ten clauses of the Freedom Charter on a piece of paper and handed it to the bank’s manager. They demanded the release of detainees and that of ANC president Nelson Mandela.

**Disturbed**

Asked about reports that MK had not taken kindly to the suspension of armed actions, Molebatsi says it was a “proper” and correct decision.

“You can’t talk and shoot at the same time.”

Another delegate Mr Topsy Ntshako, based in Zimbabwe, says he was disturbed when he heard news of the suspension but on reflection realized it was the right decision.

Regarding the armed forces, Tselo said a new security apparatus was needed as well as a new defence force.

**Decision**

Molebatsi said a new defence force should reflect the changing situation.

On their decision to join Umkhonto we Sizwe, Tselo said: “If I had to start again, I would do the same but avoid the mistakes. In other words, it was the right decision. Whatever we have lost in our careers as civilians, it was worth it because it was done for a good cause.”

Asked about their own futures, he said: “I cannot answer that, it depends on the outcome of negotiations. Our futures depend entirely on negotiations.”

*Sowetan Correspondent.*
Klerksdorp National Party leader Jan de Kock said yesterday's bomb attack on his luxury car would not deter the NP from holding meetings in the western Transvaal.

Claiming a piece of shrapnel from the 3am blast had also penetrated the 5cm-thick klaat front door of his Wilkoppies home, he pointed an accusing finger at rightwingers.

He said police had said the type of explosives used indicated the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeuging was responsible.

It is estimated that damage estimated at about R20 000 was done to the fully electronic BWB 7531 in the blast which occurred in a carport adjoining the house while Mr de Kock and his family were in Johannesburg.

The damage was discovered later in the morning by a domestic worker who alerted the gardener and then the police.

"If somebody wants to tell me something, they do not have to do it this way," Mr de Kock said.

"I am astounded at the attack," Mr de Kock said.

He said although he had attended the NP meeting in the nearby Ventersdorp town hall on Friday night, he had not noticed many people from Klerksdorp at the gathering.

Commenting on claims that the western Transvaal was the heartland of the AWB, Mr de Kock said: "I believe many of the 2 000 AWB supporters came from outside the area, from Bloemfontein, Randfontein and Boksburg, in response to their general's orders."

He said he had personally seen car-loads of AWB supporters driving into Ventersdorp from 4pm on Friday.

Mr de Kock said it appeared the AWB amounted to a few people making a big noise, using mass hysteria to whip up emotions.

Calling for some form of action to prevent further shock incidents like Friday's killings at President de Klerk's public meeting, Mr de Kock said it was time the carrying of weapons such as baseball bats and teargas was banned at political meetings.

A police spokesman confirmed commercial explosives had been used to blast Mr de Kock's R200 000 vehicle and said identifiable fingerprints had been found near the spot where the bomb was planted.
MK calls for a new army for the new SA

By Patrick Laurence

THOHOYANDOU — The ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), ended its national conference yesterday with a call to the "Pretoria regime" to match the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle by formally committing itself to a ceasefire.

In a communique issued at the end its first legal meeting on South African soil, MK pressed for the establishment of an independent commission to examine how to form a new South African army and to control the various security forces, including the SADF and the SAP, during the transition to nonracialism.

Three further resolutions taken at the conference were:

- A unanimous call to the ANC executive to retain Chris Hani as MK's chief of staff. (The request came after speculation that Mr Hani would have to forfeit his military post if he took up a full-time position in the SA Communist Party.)
- An expression of grave concern over the refusal of "the regime" to free hundreds of MK combatants who were jailed after being captured, tried and convicted. (Robert McBride.

Mnethofofo Ncube and Euclid Nondula were named specifically. All three were originally sentenced to death for their role in guerrilla actions that led to the death of civilians.)

- An endorsement of earlier ANC demands for sanctions to be kept in place until all political prisoners were released and all exiles allowed to return.

In addition, MK called for contact between "all security forces and armies within South Africa" committed to the establishment of a nonracial and democratic South Africa.

The resolution came after the conference was addressed on its opening day by Major-General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei and Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda, both of whom favour the reincorporation of their territories into greater South Africa.

The presence of the two men at the conference — which was held at the University of Venda with the blessing of Brigadier Ramushwana — signalled success for the ANC in its strategy of building a broad front of "progressive forces", including "homeland leaders", for the expected negotiations on how to restructure South Africa.

Another resolution called for the establishment of a social welfare department within MK. It reflected concern — expressed at the conference and in the run-up to it — that MK cadres have not been cared for fully by the ANC since February.

Pending the inauguration of a new constitution and the establishment of a new South African defence force — composed of MK, guerrilla fighters from rival liberation organisations, the "bantustan armies" and the existing SADF — MK would remain intact and "combat ready", the resolution said.

One of its functions in the interim period would be the "defence of the people", a reference to its role in the formation of "defence committees" to counter the activities of vigilante forces.

In a confidential address delivered at the weekend, MK commander Joe Modise disclosed that MK cadres were being given instruction in armies of friendly African countries.

"Tanzania and Uganda are currently training our officers," Mr Modise said.

In his earlier address, General Holomisa denied that MK cadres were being integrated into the Transkei Defence Force, although there was cooperation between his army and MK.
Demobilised army struggles to come to terms with peace

PATRICK BULGER

A social welfare department has been set up with a R10,000 grant from a sympathetic businessman, and co-operatives will absorb some of the unemployed. For many, however, years of arduous sacrifice in the camps will go unrewarded.

Umkhonto itself will seek to be included in a post-apartheid defence force. Earlier calls for the corporatisation of Umkhonto and the SADF have now given way to calls for an entirely new military establishment. To this end, talks with friendly Southern African nations have been held.

Conventional training in towns and with friendly African nations has already begun. Other conventional training areas mentioned are India and France.

Umkhonto will, however, remain a guerrilla or non-conventional programme. While delegations to the conference supported the negotiation process, Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani admitted that selling the negotiations and suspension of armed struggle decisions to cadres was not all plain sailing.

Delegates were, however, not unanimously pleased with the progress in setting up self-defence units in townships. Umkhonto earned a promise from the ANC's consultative committee last year that its personnel would be involved in helping to train and arm defence units. One delegate said no progress had been made at all and the ANC leadership faced charges that it was paying lip service to the defence units.

The units are viewed with some alarm by the older and more conservative elements of the ANC leadership. Within the ranks of the alliance there is a growing belief that the defence units are meant to achieve and this ambiguity underlines a deeper uncertainty about where control of Umkhonto actually lies.

During the ANC's exile, Umkhonto fell under a political-military committee which was dissolved with the suspension of armed struggle. The committee controlled exiled operations in the regions outside SA and was dominated by SACP figures who provided the vital political input that had so heavily politicised Umkhonto members.

While some ANC spokesmen insist Umkhonto is ANC-controlled, others argue that the ANC and the SACP. While the reorientation to a conventional army presumably reflects the ANC's national orientation, the SACP's ambitions for Umkhonto are less clear.

The self-defence units - outlined in a SACP-inspired document entitled For the Sake of Our Lives: Guidelines for the Creation of Self Defence Units - deviate nearly from the insurrectionist perspective sketched in the SACP programme. For Power. However, they also fit into the ANC's policy on the creation of these units for purely defensive purposes.

While the more pragmatic elements within the ANC - among them international affairs head Thabo Mbeki - were arguing as long ago as 1979 that the ANC should concentrate more on political activity than on armed struggle, the SAPC was developing the insurrectionary perspective outlined in Path to Power.

Hani says Umkhonto is answerable only to the ANC. Yet Hani himself, who delegates unanimously decided they did not want released from Umkhonto duties, is now being tipped as a future general secretary of the SAPC. Hence, is an army under the de jure control of the ANC president in the person of commander-in-chief Nelson Mandela? Yet under de facto control of prominent figures in the SACP. Just whose army is Umkhonto?

Hani insists that in a future SA Umkhonto, as opposed to its present national defence force, would be accountable only to the constitution.

But this declaration came even more uncertain when Winnie Mandela - in a confidential welfare report - referred to a hitherto unheard-of command body called the Supreme Military Council. If ANC and Umkhonto spokesmen have been less than forthcoming on the composition of the council, preferring to say only that it was still being discussed by the ANC's NEC.

M andela, herself, was less reticent. In a confidential briefing paper she spoke of the council as a body on a par with the ANC executive, the national working committee. This body would run Umkhonto independently of the ANC and would be composed of about 20 people. One source said the council was simply a way to expand Umkhonto's military headquarters to steer it through difficult times ahead.

If, however, the council operated as an autonomous body - albeit chaired by a commander-in-chief Nelson Mandela - the orders of command would once again be blurred.

In the final analysis, Umkhonto is an agency responsible to the ANC, commanded by leading SACP figures and controlled on a day-to-day basis by the autonomous and evidently powerful and independent guiding body, Unconditional indeed.
Charges against
Rudolph withdrawn

TANIA LEVY

TRESPASS charges against AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph were provisionally withdrawn in the Venterdorp Magistrate's Court yesterday, investigating officer Lt Wax Viljoen said.

Cases against five other people, including town engineer Cornelius Terblanche, were remanded until September 24.

Terblanche faces a charge of subversion after Venterdorp was plunged into darkness shortly before violence erupted outside an NP meeting in the town on Friday night.

The remaining four — Hendrik du Preez, Johan Derksen, Rots Nel and a minor — have been charged with illegal possession of dangerous weapons. They were released and warned to appear in September, Viljoen said.

A charge of illegal possession of a firearm against a sixth man was withdrawn after he produced a gun licence.

Viljoen said the charge against Rudolph was temporarily withdrawn after Rudolph objected to the case being postponed.

Rudolph insisted there was nothing to investigate about trespassing, and wanted the case led yesterday.

Charges would be brought against him again in about a fortnight, Viljoen said.

Viljoen added that more people could be arrested after police investigations into the violence had been completed.

He said a docket of public violence had been opened, and the "common cause" of the crowd involved in Friday's violence would be investigated.
Police launch Ventersdorp probe

Urgent moves afoot to curb private armies

GOVERNMENT is planning action against private political armies following the weekend clash at Ventersdorp that killed three members of the ultra right-wing AWB.

A ban on private armies was discussed in depth at a meeting yesterday of the State Security Council, SA’s highest-level security planning and implementation body. Other options were also being examined, a government source said.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, speaking at a private meeting at Citrusdal in the Cape at the weekend, raised the possibility of banning private armies. He told his audience the ban was being discussed as a matter of urgency but that it was not aimed at curbing legitimate political activity, Vlok’s spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said. He said the Ventersdorp killings had underscored the danger of private armies.

The Law and Order Department has already produced legislation aimed at curbing the proliferation of private armies. It was to be tabled in Parliament earlier this year but was shelved.

The ban would affect organisations such as the AWB and the ANC’s armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, among others.

Vlok said last night an intensive investigation into the Ventersdorp incident had been launched and that judicial inquests and criminal proceedings would follow.

Earlier, the investigating officer in the Ventersdorp court proceedings, Lt-Wak Viljoen, said the SABC and various newspapers would be asked for footage showing people involved in the confrontation.

In another development Defence Minister Magnus Malan — in the face of right-wing criticism of the SADF’s role — defended the SADF decision to mobilise Potchefstroom-based soldiers.

Last night Vlok outlined the events leading up to the clashes which accompanied President F W de Klerk’s decision to address a meeting in the conservative town.

He said information was received that indicated a possible threat to De Klerk’s safety and to public order. On the day before the clashes, Lt-Gen Louw Malan spoke to AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche to try to persuade him to call off planned right-wing protest action. Vlok said he had personally spoken to Terre-Blanche two days earlier.

Nine-hundred policemen were deployed to strengthen the local SAP. They cordoned off the area, erected roadblocks and arranged to protect entrance routes to the hall. Pamphlets were produced to inform residents of the local magistrate’s decision to ban outdoor political activity.

During the day a large number of uniformed and armed AWB members entered the town. They later held a meeting.

“After the meeting a crowd moved towards the hall where the President was to give his speech. The group was armed, militant and shouting slogans,” Vlok said. Police attempted to prevent the crowd reaching the hall.

Police were attacked by people with

□ To Page 2
Vlok vows over 'armies'

By MONK NKOMO

"But as we have stressed, we can do without these armies - from the left to the right - because we have the police and security forces to maintain law and order in this country.

"If the activities of these armies should attempt to take over the functions of the police, we will definitely take drastic action."

Vlok also indicated that the control of such activities could be through the imposition of emergency regulations.

"It is incompatible with democracy to have private armies," Vlok said.

He warned, however, that private armies would lead to acts of violence such as the battle which erupted between right-wing elements and the police force in Ventersdorp over the weekend.

"The consequences of this kind of violence will always be tragic," Vlok said.

THE Government will not ban private armies, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Press conference in Pretoria, Vlok said: "It is not necessary to ban private armies linked to organisations such as the ANC and the AWB."
Bomb scare at ER school

CRASIS were placed and police swung into action as police at the school on the outskirts of Lilongwe, the capital, were set up for a bomb scare.

A bomb scare was declared at the school, which is located in the By staunch east of the city. The bomb was discovered in a classroom at the school, which was evacuated. The bomb was then diffused and no further action was taken.
UMKHONTO we Sizwe has been described as an army without a war; it now faces the prospect of being an army without Chris Hani.

At the weekend MK conference at the University of Venda the 400 delegates made it clear that they emphatically wanted Hani to retain his role as MK's Chief of Staff.

Said Tony Yengeni, former MK commander in the Western Cape: “Hani is the soul of MK. It’s hard to imagine MK without him at the top. “When it came to the issue of him taking a full-time position with the South African Communist Party MK members didn’t want to listen to anything, they just voted with their feet,” said Yengeni.

It is clear that Hani will have his work cut out for him if he stays. A key issue is MK’s relation with the SADF.

The conference decided to push for an independent commission to examine how to form a new army and control the different security forces, and refused to enter into any discussions with the SADF.

The conference, however, decided to call for individual elements in the SADF to enter into dialogue with MK.

Said Rashid Patel, a member of MK’s military command: “We do not believe that the SADF is willing and capable of committing itself to a negotiated settlement.”

He said the ANC was drawing up guidelines for a new defence force. “We have to solve the political problems of this country before the issue of a new army can be addressed.”

MK will continue training members as it undergoes a transition from a guerrilla force to a “regular” army.

If Hani stays on, another of his tasks will be implement longstanding calls to set up self-defence units.

Said Yengeni: “MK cadres are very concerned about the lack of implementation of defence units and have given the leadership of the movement six months to show some progress. “Cadres are also frustrated at the lack of creativity of the rank and file when it comes to the issue of self-defence units because often MK members are the first targets of violence,” said Yengeni.

Another issue which presents a serious problem for MK is the growing dissatisfaction over the inadequate welfare for MK cadres. “Cadres feel that they are being neglected by the ANC and don’t accept that their welfare should be their own responsibility,” said Yengeni.

He said for this reason the conference recommended that the ANC should set aside a special budget for the welfare of returning cadres. “Cadres don’t have jobs, they don’t have places to stay and they have their families to look after,” he said.

“If the problem of welfare is not sorted out it could lead to serious problems where cadres will either take the law into their own hands or degenerate into social misfits,” Yengeni warned.
military wing, has voted against the proposed resignation of its chief of staff, Chris Hani — after it was announced that he would take up a senior fulltime job with the SA Communist Party (likely to be secretary general after the SACP's December conference). Faced with integration with the SA Defence Force and the problems of transforming guerrillas into professional soldiers, MK believes it cannot afford to lose Hani's skills.

Hani says he will rely on instructions from the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC), but otherwise he won't comment.

The MK call has embarrassed the top leadership of the ANC and SACP. But it is hard to see how the ANC can stop Hani moving. SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo has now assumed a fulltime position as an ANC negotiator, with Cyril Ramaphosa, Valli Moosa and Thabo Mbeki. At least half the ANC's NEC are active communists: it is unlikely they will refuse a move that would boost the SACP.

The controversy about the SACP is similar to issues that caused debate in the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the third partner in the alliance, John Copelyn, general secretary of Cosatu's third biggest union, the Clothing & Textile Workers', has attacked the SACP for secretly approaching top Cosatu members to join the interim leadership of the party last year.

Now the same thing seems to have happened with Hani. Two weeks ago, the SACP invited Hani to work fulltime for the party. A few days later, Hani informed the ANC NEC of his resignation.

Angry cadres

This rapidly leaked to the press, including the snippet that former Operation Vula commander Siphiwe Nyanda was Hani's likely successor. All this took place shortly before last week's MK conference in Venda.

Many MK cadres were privately angry that Hani had not waited for the conference to discuss his resignation with them.

The army is angered by what it perceives as shoddy treatment from the ANC leadership in the past year. Commander-in-chief Joe Modise, has spent most of this year trying to quell rebellions in ANC camps in Angola and Uganda. Cadres complain they have been critically short of essentials, including food and toiletries, in all the camps.

They also say the ANC leadership has kept them poorly informed. The Zambian homes of some senior ANC officials were attacked with bombs, grenades and AK-47 fire by, it is believed, angry MK combatants.

The Hani resignation also reflects disillusionment with the ANC leadership. Hani worked harder at grassroots than any other top ANC official last year, recruiting and addressing meetings. The FM has learnt that he became dismayed with the jockeying for senior ANC positions before the July conference. According to colleagues, Hani also felt his skills would be diluted as deputy to the often autocratic Nelson Mandela.

Almost a month before the conference, Hani told other leadership candidates he would not be up for election. It is then, apparently, that he decided to assume a more permanent political role with the SACP.

If the ANC agrees to Hani — a superb organiser — moving from MK, the SACP could increase its appeal. Total paid-up party membership is presently around 10,000 members, drawn from the PWV, eastern Cape, western Cape, Border and Transkei.

Such a switch by Hani may undermine the ANC — but it is an outcome that the organisation has done little to avoid. The ANC itself has no core of bright young stalwarts ready to assume leadership positions. Nor is it planning for any future separation of the two organisations — which means it could be severely weakened if at any time the communists walked out.

Despite the ANC's official rejection of personality as an important factor in the "struggle", the organisation's revolutionary period achieved precisely the opposite — with the result that folk heroes like Hani are extraordinarily influential.
THIRTY-TWO suspects held by the ANC in detention camps flew into Jan Smuts airport last night — and into a row over who was to care for them.

The ANC said in a statement on Friday that they would be the responsibility of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

But Red Cross mission director Tony Pfanner said yesterday he had informed the ANC that 32 were the responsibility of the UN High Commission for Refugees.

By last night, however, the Red Cross had reluctantly agreed after discussions with the ANC to care for them until the UNHCR operation could swing into action.

Yesterday the ANC released the names of its prisoners and details of some of them.

One of them took part in planting a car-bomb at Harare’s Avondale shopping centre in May 1986 which injured anti-apartheid activist Jeremy Brickhill, the ANC said.

Another was alleged to have identified ANC members in Lesotho to the SADF. During an SADF raid in December 1982, 42 people, including women and children, were killed.

A third gave short-pored grenades to ANC members who were immediately the pins were pulled.

Meanwhile, UNHCR involvement in the repatriation of about 49,000 SA exiles was settled in Geneva on Thursday after 503 days of exhausting negotiations with the government and compromises on both sides.

Deviation

Political exiles wanting to return home will not have to give an account of their political “crimes” when seeking indemnity, officials involved in the process said yesterday.

This is a deviation from the existing indemnity process agreed to between the government and the ANC for political prisoners and exiles.

This concession on the part of the government fulfils the UNHCR’s mandate that it will not be party to a process of self-incrimination.

The other area which had prolonged negotiations was the question of the UNHCR’s free and unhindered access to returned exiles inside the country.

The government could not give the UNHCR a cast-iron guarantee of this in the case of the independent homelands, but assured the UNHCR that it would use its good offices to ensure that returning exiles would not be interfered with by the homeland leaders.

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Harare’s grim Chikurubi maximum security prison remains firmly locked up in its cells this weekend as Zimbabwe’s President Robert Mugabe showed no signs of relenting towards former Rhodesian servicemen who threw in their lot with Pretoria.

Mr Mugabe has so far ignored repeated pleas by ANC envoys to free the five and create a climate for the release of convicted ANC bombers in SA, including Robert McBride.

In 22-hours-a-day solitary confinement in Chikurubi’s 6 x 1.5-metre windowless condemned cells are former Central Intelligence Organisation double agent Kevin Woods, 39, ex-Rhodesian army engineer Michael Smith, 38, and retired Transkei-born Rhodesian police sergeant Phillip Conway, 56.

Raid

They were sentenced to hang for the January 1988 car bombing of an ANC “safe house” in Bulawayo.

Serving life sentences are Barry Bawden, 33, who aided the May 1987 SADF raid on the ANC in Harare, and former Special Air Service paratrooper Denis “Sammy” Beahan, 41, who was captured during the abortive June 1988 bid to free SA agents from Chikurubi.
Cadres claim Hani

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE “young lions” of Umkhonto weSizwe have sent a clear message to their political leaders in the ANC national executive committee not to dare remove Chris Hani from his position as chief of staff so he can take up a full-time appointment within the South African Communist Party.

At their national conference held at the University of Venda near Thohoyandou last weekend, the 500 MK delegates bluntly warned the ANC that it would relocate Hani at its peril.

In a surprise move three weeks ago the SAPC asked the ANC to consider releasing Hani from his army duties to enable him to take up a full-time position with the party. The NEC must still decide on the matter.

The young cadres felt their older leaders suddenly wanted to “dump” them with the immense task of transforming the guerrilla army to a regular one.

Hani, who is held in high regard by MK cadres, still does not know whether the NEC will release him from MK.

Cadres even hinted at a mutiny if the ANC carried out its decision as the 45-year-old deputy commander was considered indispensable to MK.

Western Cape MK commander Tony Yengeni, whose indemnification this year rescued him from a possible death sentence arising from the marathon Yengeni Trial at the Cape Town Supreme Court, was even more explicit.

“If comrade Chris leaves us, it will be bad for the ANC,” he said.

Yengeni, one of Hani’s top right-hand men, was probably expressing the sentiments of other commanders and the rank-and-file.

Yet Hani told journalists he was ready to go.

“In my opinion the communist party’s request that I join them full-time is not unreasonable,” he said.

After the conference he was at pains to say his fate rested in the hands of the NEC.

“I’ll be bound by their decision. I’m a servant of the people.”

Whatever the NEC decision, the loyalty of MK cadres drove home the point that Hani was perhaps the best-qualified person to take the wheel of the ANC’s proposed social welfare department.

A resolution on the matter read: “We request the establishment of a social welfare department within MK to look into the specific needs of the entire membership both inside and outside the country.”

Some of the tension eased after the conference was addressed by Mandela, Venda military ruler Brigadier General Mahlwana and his Transkei counterpart, General Bantu Holomisa.

Mahlwana, who came to power after a bloodless coup some two years ago, told the delegates that MK was free to campaign without hindrance in his homeland.

He even offered Mandela and his wife, Winnie, a Rolls Royce and a chauffeur to ferry them to and from conference, and the two were accommodated at his royal house outside Thohoyandou.

Ramushwana knows his public flirtation with the ANC is likely to earn him respect among those who see the ANC as the future government and enmity among those who still regard the ANC as an “enemy and adversary that is manipulated by the communists.”

His government footed the conference bill and provided security for delegates in and around the venue.

The conference also unveiled several rising stars within MK who, if Hani quits, may be considered for his post. Among them were Tokyo Segwane, an ex-Robben Islander and unit commander who served 13 years of his 18-year sentence; Sphiwe Gebhuza Nyanza, who headed Operation Vula; Rodney Patel, a popular camp commander; Jeff hadelebe and Sihle Ndidzi, both regional commanders from Durban; Thembekile Mntuso, a former Eastern Cape journalist who fast rose to the Military High Command, and Jacqueline Molefe, head of communications in high command.

One of the conference resolutions demanded the immediate release of all remaining political prisoners, especially the two “Messina Trialists”, Mthethileli Mncube and Euclid Nondula, who are both languishing on Death Row, and Robert MacBride, whose death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment this year.

Hani said MK leaders were negotiating with several countries to retrain the cadres as part of their new programme, among them India and Uganda.

However, Joe Slovo, the SACP general secretary who once master-minded some of the MK operations inside South Africa, was not at the conference. It is not known whether the 72-year-old former MK chief of staff was too busy working for his party, or if he is now drifting away from his subordinates.
THE government, ANC and Inkatha have agreed that there should be no private armies in South Africa.

The peace accord states: 

it is the right of all individuals to establish self-defence units. This includes the right to bear licensed arms and to use them in legitimate and lawful self-defence.

However, the parties agreed that no political organisation would establish self-defence units on the basis of party affiliation as this would be tantamount to forming private armies.

The accord makes provision for the establishment of liaison structures between self-defence units and the police. It says that the SAP remains responsible for maintenance of law and order and should not be hindered in any way by self-defence units.
Released 'spy' tells of torture in ANC jails

UMKHONTO we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani was personally involved in organising the detention and torture of suspected SA government agents, a returnee "spy" alleged at the weekend.

He also claimed that several other senior ANC officials, including MK national chairman Oliver Tambo, had visited the organisation's prison camps and were aware of the poor living conditions and the torture in them.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday responded by saying the conduct of Hani and other ANC officials was not the issue and maintained that the returnees were security force agents sent to infiltrate, eliminate and attack ANC members.

"Whatever they have said should be seen in that light," she said.

She said the ANC had evidence to substantiate this in the case of each of the 32 "agents" who returned to the country on Saturday night. She would not say if the evidence would be made public.

Jose Riberal de Sousa, 29, who said he had been held in ANC prisons for five years, made the allegations in a lengthy interview at a downtown Johannesburg hotel early yesterday. A plain-clothed SA security official insisted on being present throughout the interview.

Some of the returnees said they feared assassination attempts.

The men were released by the ANC and flown home from Uganda via Kenya on Saturday, following an agreement on exiles between government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Of the 32, 19 refused to be processed by the National Co-ordinating Committee because of its ANC links, said de Sousa. He was appointed spokesman by these 19.

De Sousa said he and Hani had a difference of opinion on whether MK cadres should be allowed to womanise, and he thought this was initially the reason for his being jailed by the ANC.

He said he had been held in Pretoria by security police after taking part in several missions in SA for MK.

The US and Sweden are to contribute $6m to help finance the return of exiles after last week's agreement between government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. The US will provide $4m and Sweden $2m. The UNHCR wants at least $35m for the repatriation operation.

"During this period of detention a Col Dries van der Merwe took me to a farm near Erasmia for a braili and I was asked to consider becoming an agent for the government, but I never did join them," he said.

After his release from Pretoria he left SA and went to Lusaka.

"During a meeting with Chris Hani — who was my commander — I told him about my refusing an offer to become an SA government agent.

"Hani said it was okay, and that we would sort it out at a later stage. The next time I spoke to him was a few days later..."

Torture from behind bars," De Sousa said.

He claimed that he had been held and tortured at an ANC "rehabilitation centre" not far from the UNHCR's Lusaka offices.

He was later moved to two prisons in Angola and finally taken to a prison camp in Uganda.

"Tambo, Joe Modise, Steve Tshwete, Jacob Zuma, Joe Nhlanhla, Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Sizwele Sizwele all visited us in prison, but never did anything to improve the conditions," de Sousa claimed.

When Tambo visited us in prison we had a lot of hope. He shook our hands and we were all given a tin of powdered milk, but nothing changed.

"Tortures were intensified immediately following these visits. We later found out that they had complained to the prison commander that his staff were not doing their jobs properly in solving our cases," de Sousa said.

His torture included whipping and throttling with wet nylon or cloth, cotton beatings on the soles of his feet, elbows and knees, and being manacled in a hunch-backed position and suspended upside down.

De Sousa, who obtained a BSc Honours degree from New York's Columbia University after joining the ANC in 1981, said: "I was told I was accused of working for the CIA and for the National Intelligence Service (NIS). But I never worked with any intelligence agency or any government..."

He alleges that he was beaten and tortured into making a false confession during his detention in Lusaka.

He claimed that Hani and Kasrils had visited him on several occasions during December 1986 and questioned him about SAP spy Olivia Forsyth.

"The ANC could torture me and degrade me, even kill me. But it's worse with a woman. They get raped," he said.

International Red Cross officials booked and paid for hotel rooms for the 19 former prisoners when they arrived.
Exile vows to challenge ANC

ONE of the 32 alleged State agents who were held in detention by the ANC yesterday vowed to challenge the organisation to produce evidence proving he was a State agent.

Jose Ribeiro-de Souza (29), who, with 17 others, was held overnight in the care of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Johannesburg's Hotel said although he had been recruited by the South African security forces when he was in prison, he had never worked for them.

Ribeiro-de Souza, who hoped to rejoin his family at Eersterus, Pretoria, before the end of the week, was one of many suspected agents and infiltrators released by the ANC on Friday in terms of its resolution in February.

Ribeiro-de Souza and 31 others, described by the ANC as 'being among the most notorious', arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday into the temporary care of the ICRC.

The ANC had provided them with air tickets and passports.

The former University of Western Cape student, who joined the ANC in 1981 and received military training inside the country, left South Africa in 1983 to further his studies at the University of Columbia in the United States.

On his return in 1985 he was stationed at ANC headquarters in Lusaka until he was sent to South Africa on a mission in April 1986. Two months later he was arrested in Pretoria.

"While I was in detention, South African security forces offered to release me if I worked for them. They told me I would face a minimum of 20 years for being a Umkhonto we Sizwe member and having operated as an MK cadre.

"I agreed to work for them and was released in August of the same year," he said.

He said he soon fled from South Africa and rejoined the "ANC in Lusaka, where he informed Chris Hani, then MK commissioner, about his experiences in the country. He said Mr Hani assured him he could use a double agent."
Dilemma of the exiles

NKOSI SAYS:

I Bangizwe Fanie Nkosi, hereby formally present to you this letter smuggled out of the Tanzanian/ANC cells in Mazimbu, and I shall not dwell so much into the pros and cons of what happened.

My point of contention is that I do not want to be incarcerated by the ANC as a liberation movement. I left South Africa to escape such actions. It is even worse here because the people in charge are completely ignorant of the proper procedures to follow.

Now that repatriation is approaching, I feel very much insecure because the community used to be my best security. Right now anything is done, because of personal grudges. I also do not have access to our currently unreliable legal protection due to the high rate of bribery (which is) the order of the day.

There is a lot of properly calculated and organised anarchy going on here by our "Big Sharks". They, by virtue of the powers vested in them by the ANC, simply manipulate such rights to frustrate the already frustrated exiles.

As I have said before, anything may happen to me due to the fact that I do not want to co-operate at this point in time. The possible answer to accountability, will be either that I was released or I had defected or deserted. My fear is that only the intestines of this earth shall know my where-abouts.

Enough is enough. I want to be home like other exiles.

No more police cell delays.
Down with petty corruption.
Yours in the struggle.

ANC SAYS

Ms Gill Marcus of the ANC's department of information responded to Sowetan inquiries with this statement: "With regard to the letter you asked us to comment on, sent to you by Bangizwe Fanie Nkosi from Mazimbu, we have obtained the following report from our chief representative in Tanzania, Manala Manzini.

"Nkosi was, together with another person, a finance officer at the Vocational Training Centre in Dakawa. A certain sum of money was unaccounted for and he disappeared only to be arrested by the Tanzanian authorities at the Zambian border.

"Nkosi was returned to the ANC in Dar es Salaam. He has never been arrested by the ANC, is not presently under detention, and at present he is deployed as an education officer in Mazimbu.

"The other finance officer has accused Nkosi of being implicated in the missing money."

Para-military forces look set to increase, says Helen Grange

Private armies left and right

Despite the Government’s objection to the evolution of private armies in South Africa, there are indications that these military structures are heading for another phase of expansion and growth.

This trend has already manifested itself in the Inkatha Freedom Party’s (IFP) announcement last week that it would review its options with regard to a private army of its own — in the light of the growth of other private military groups.

Referring to the clash at Ventersdorp and the training being given by five African states to Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Inkatha appealed to the Government “to take the necessary actions before other parties may be compelled to match the growing number of private armies”.

Last week, the Cabinet formally decided against banning private armies following clashes between police and the right wing in Ventersdorp. Driving militant organisations underground introduces a threat of intensified violence of which the Government is only too keenly aware.

In addition, banning rightwing armies would necessitate the same action against other military wings such as MK, a move which would have serious consequences.

With MK’s recent announcement that it plans to turn itself into a regular army, the possibility of Inkatha forming its own army and the right wing’s announced expansion of its military units, the Government faces a problem with no easy solution.

There are already a number of private armies in South Africa and its homelands — some well organised and others taking the form of self-defence units or para-military groups.

Apart from the ANC’s MK and the AWB’s Wenkommando (formerly Aquila), there are scores of other politically oriented military wings attached to various organisations.

On the left, there is the Pan Africanist Congress’s Azanian People’s Liberation Army and the Black Consciousness Movement’s Azanian National Liberation Army. On the right the known militaristic groupings include the Boerekommando (expected to become the military wing of the Boere Vryheidsbeweging), the Wit Bevrydomeleer, the Orde van die Doed, the Orde Boerevolk, the Boere Vryheidsbeweging and the Boereleer.

In addition, there are trained armies in the homelands and self-governing territories, apparently formed to protect their governments, but increasingly perceived as being linked to political objectives in South Africa.

This is particularly the case in Inkatha’s stronghold, KwaZulu, and the ANC’s stronghold, the Transkei.

On a grassroots level, an increasing garrison mentality can be seen in the form of civil protection units, township vigilante groups and neighbourhood watches.

There is a massive build-up of weapons inside the country, with illegal firearms running into the thousands. The huge influx of AK-47 rifles into the country following the ANC’s unbanning means these weapons are relatively easily bought on the black market by anyone with a military cause.

Professor Mike Hough, of the Institute of Strategic Studies at Unisa, says it is MK which has the most access to such wartime weaponry — while soldiers on the right, most of them having been trained by the SA Defence Force, have the expertise.

Professor Hough feels strongly that despite the proliferation of private armies in the country, violent combat on any significant level will probably never materialise.

“I don’t think the right wing wants to escalate conflict to civil war status. There will probably be a continuation of rightwing incidents as there have been in the past, but they would avoid open combat because they are not strong enough to confront the State,” he said.

Wim Booysen, an expert on the right wing, says rightwing soldiers may choose to launch a host of weaponry thefts from State security keypots — “in which case, they will be preparing for a revolution — although they are not nearly prepared at the moment”.

Para-military forces look set to increase, says Helen Grange

Private armies left and right
Private armed Left and Right

Patri-military forces look set to increase, says Helen Grange

Despite the Government's
ANC tortured me, says man

Who denies spying for Govt
Red Cross kept away from ANC 'prisons'

THE International Committee of the Red Cross had been trying unsuccessfully to visit ANC detention centres for the past 15 years, Red Cross detention co-ordinator Marc Henzelin said yesterday.

The Red Cross had asked ANC president Nelson Mandela a month ago for permission to visit the centres but had not yet received a reply, he said. They had tried since 1978 to get permission, he said.

Henzelin was speaking to reporters while a meeting was in progress in a central Johannesburg hotel between 20 dissident former members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and ANC leaders. The meeting, which continues today, was described as "cordial".

In the ANC delegation was Winnie Mandela and Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani, who has been singled out for criticism by the group of ex-detainees who returned to SA at the weekend.

Henzelin said the Red Cross had information that there were detention centres in a number of southern African countries but he would not name them.

The former detainees were examined by a Red Cross doctor yesterday, although the results of the examinations would not be made public.

At yesterday's meeting, dissident leader Jose Ribeiro da Sousa came face to face with Hani to discuss the group's problems. He claims to have been tortured in Lusaka, Angola and Uganda.

LINDEN BIRNS reports that De Sousa read out a joint communiqué after the ANC-dissident talks yesterday.

He said: "Both sides have agreed not to have any more Press contact or to give any interviews, or to make any accusatory comments until further notice."

He said the general feeling was that both sides should work towards reconciliation.

© Picture: Page 3
ANC talks to tortured agents

ANC talks to tortured agents

ANC talks to tortured agents

ANC talks to tortured agents

ANC talks to tortured agents
5 hurt in grenade attack

FIVE people were injured in a grenade attack at Mshenguville in Soweto yesterday, police spokesman Colonel Jac de Vries said.

Police could not detail the injuries, as the people were removed from the scene before police arrived.

Residents of the squatter settlement said an unidentified car had pulled up just before they heard the blast. The car sped away immediately afterwards.

In other incidents, police dispersed with tear smoke about 200 demonstrators at a railway station and people threw stones along Soweto Highway, Diepkloof.

A car was damaged by stones, but there were no reports of injuries in either of the incidents. - Sapa.
Winnie's move backfires

AN attempt by Winnie Mandela to persuade alleged African National Congress torture victims not to tell their stories to the media has backfired.

On Monday Mrs Mandela and Chris Hani, the ANC's military chief of staff, met 20 men who returned to South Africa at the weekend after several years in ANC prison camps.

Mrs Mandela and Hani, assisted by a legal team, were sent to visit the ex-prisoners, who had been jailed as "enemy agents".

After three hours of talks, a joint communique was issued in which a moratorium was agreed on "accusative statements" from either side.

But late on Monday one of the ex-prisoners, Mpho Motjuodi, rang to say he and two colleagues, Alphius Kheswa and Bongane Malinga, had decided to flout the agreement.

Yesterday morning the three men, who between them spent 16 years in ANC prisons in Tanzania, Angola and Uganda, recounted how they had been beaten with iron bars, bicycle chains and barbed wire, forced into making false confessions and then crammed into small cells.

Motjuodi rejected the ANC delegation's attempt "to bribe us to keep our silence". Particularly insulting, he said, was a gift by Mrs Mandela of R300 for the 20 men to buy themselves dinner.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the objective had been to convince the 20 not to let themselves be used for "state propaganda". - The Independent.
MK ‘wants to buy our silence’

By Jacqueline Myburgh

A group of former Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers have broken an agreement with the ANC not to speak about their alleged torture in the organisation’s prison camps in Angola and Uganda, and are accusing the ANC leadership of trying to buy them off.

Mpho Motjuoadi (27), who called himself “chief spokesman” for the group, said discussions with the ANC since they returned to the country had been in “bad spirit and bad faith”.

Winnie Mandela and MK chief of staff Chris Hani met the men on Monday to discuss their claims of murder and torture in the ANC camps. A moratorium on “accusatory statements” was agreed upon and no further statements were to be issued to the press.

“We said we would facilitate their reintegration into the community and they should not allow themselves to be used in ‘propaganda against the ANC’, spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

He was responding to the challenge by the group that they were being bribed to keep their silence.

Mr Macozoma said it was clear the men saw the situation differently, and that each individual’s case would be dealt with separately.

The men have alleged they were beaten with iron bars, bicycle chains and barbed wire while in captivity. They were forced into making false confessions and then crammed into cells.

Mr Motjuoadi has repeated his accusation that Mr Hani orchestrated their capture and torture.

Mr Motjuoadi and Bongane Malinga (32) told The Star the ANC had hijacked the International Red Cross’s aid operation “to appear in a good light”.

“But they don’t care about us,” Mr Motjuoadi said. “If they did, they would have responded to us when we were on hunger strike in prison for 32 days.”

He said all 20 of the men supported their denunciation of the ANC’s efforts.

They accused the ANC of trying to bribe the men to “keep us quiet”.

On Monday night, following discussions between the ANC and the group of men, Mrs Mandela gave them R300 to buy dinner, Mr Motjuoadi said.

Mr Macozoma said the ANC was in a no-win situation. “If we help them, they say we are bribing them; if we don’t help them, they say we don’t care.”
Breaking the silence

Alleged ANC spies ignore pact and talk

IN 1985 Patrick Hlongwane voluntarily left South Africa to "go and clarify" to the ANC in Lusaka that he had been wrongly branded a South African Government agent by fellow activists in his hometown of Port Elizabeth.

For the next six years, until he married home last Saturday, Hlongwane (32) would spend his life as a prisoner in rehabilitation centers of the organisation ANC in Tanzania, Lesaka and Angola.

Similarly, had Mpho Motjowedi, now aged 27, not "voluntarily" to tell the ANC security on his arrival in Lusaka in 1980 that he had been married - but did not reveal - by a South African security agent in Maseru, he would not have been tortured and thrown into ANC cells.

The two men were among 32 former ANC prisoners who arrived in the country via Kenya from Uganda last Saturday.

One newspaper headline said about them: "ANC released most notorious spies."

Twenty of them refused to go into the care of the ANC but preferred the International Red Cross Society's offer of aid and shelter. Hlongwane and Motjowedi are among this group.

Escape

Three days after their arrival a meeting between them and the ANC's Wimis Munofilo and Unthuwe we joined chief of staff Chilli Hani, a memorandum on "accusatory statements" was agreed upon and on further that Press statements were to be issued.

A week later, the group has decided to break the agreement.

Hlongwane said: "The ANC has not kept its side of the bargain. On Monday night, one of us, Bongani Mngadi, was accused by ANC security people in the city.

They passed a Makey bus in his neck and accused him of being a paid South African agent and took his money. He managed to escape when a vehicle suddenly stopped and distracted his attackers."

By THEMBA MCELPE

"We now know that before the world knows what happened to us in those camps, ANC security will have got to us. We would be dead", said Hlongwane.

"Bongani said something on air, something on ANC's headquarters", said Hlongwane.

The men are obviously bitter with the ANC and believe the ANC's security may have been the people who have been suffering for what they did not do.

Mngadi said: "They still have not given us any answer. The ANC has not told us if they have been arrested."

Hlongwane said: "I have not volunteered to tell the ANC security in Lusaka that I was arrested. I even gave them the name of the security agent. I would not have been".

I am going back to my home in Mamelodi because I am not afraid. I was never a spy.

Hlongwane said he was a Port Elizabeth Black Circle Organization/UFM activist in 1983 when he was among several people arrested and charged after a sustained consumer boycott. He was acquitted and the orders were dropped.

That's when his problems began, he was accused of working with the police. It was for this reason that he went to the ANC to "clarify them".

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said as far as the organisation was concerned, there was nothing more to say. The ANC said the matter had been discussed with the group.

He said as far as the ANC knew the 32 was under the care of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and the Red Cross.

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Red Cross to visit ANC detainees

The International Committee of the Red Cross in South Africa announced yesterday that, following discussions with the ANC, it would be allowed to visit detainees held by the movement.

"The ICRC will carry out visits to detainees according to its traditional criteria. The delegates, including a medical doctor, will interview them without witnesses, look at their conditions of detention and their treatment, and give any assistance appropriate. In case of repatriation, the ICRC will help to repatriate them in co-operation with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the National Coordinating Committee for the Return of Exiles."
'Spies' vow to fight ANC

From Page 1
Lekota told Vrye Weekblad the ANC had solid proof that all had worked for the SAP or the SADF. He said the ANC would not make known their names to the press as "their blood would be on our hands" if they were murdered.

Two of the agents say in a statement - which Lekota said was made voluntarily to the ANC - that they killed Victoria Mxenge, a prominent UDF leader in Natal, at her home in Durban.

One agent said he was the person who split her skull with an axe, while the second admitted that he shot her.

The two men said they acted under orders of the security police in Durban.

Gqabi, chief representative of the ANC in Harare, was shot dead in front of his house in July 1981. Make, a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, and MK leader Paul Dikelele, were shot dead outside Mbabane, Swaziland, in July 1987.

This week:

- A former prisoner whose code-name is "Porko" (Portuguese for pig) was robbed at gunpoint in a Johannesburg street by a group of men who accused him of being an "enemy agent".

- Another alleged agent was assaulted by a group of men in a city street.

- De Sousa and several other former prisoners received threatening phone calls. De Sousa after giving a TV interview in which he said he was tortured by the ANC.
'Spies' say ANC must apologise

By CHARLES MOGALE

FIVE years ago, Mpho Motjouadi left South Africa to study for a university degree and to train as an ANC guerrilla. Last Sunday night he flew back into the country without the degree – or any military training. He came back a bitter, angry man, after spending five years in ANC jails accused of being a South African government agent.

"I am ready to die, if anybody wants to kill me, but I am not going to sit back and keep quiet about how the ANC took away five years of my life, accusing me of something I have not done," Motjouadi said this week.

When City Press spoke to him, the effects of five years of captivity were glaringly obvious. He was nervous, spoke in a barely audible whisper and when he tried to smile, occasionally, he could only grimace.

His story starts in August 1985 when he enrolled at the University of Lesotho for a BA degree. He was stopped at the Maseru bridge border post by SAP security men who interrogated him for hours and asked him to spy for them.

"I had to agree, because I was being threatened. But in my heart I knew I would never work as an agent against my own people."

"I was only 21 and could not have been expected to tell those interrogators to ‘go jump,’" Motjouadi said.

He returned home for Christmas and because he feared security branch reprisals if he did not keep his promise to spy, he arranged to leave the country "for good".

In January he went back to Lesotho where he joined the ANC officially and flew out to Lusaka.

"I told them the whole story. But nobody believed him."

What followed was a tale of torture and imprisonment in jails in Zambia, Angola and Uganda.

Motjouadi is one of four former prisoners who broke an ANC moratorium not to speak on prison conditions.

Another former ANC prisoner, Alpheus "Keke" Kheswa, called for an independent inquiry into ANC detention camps.

"They have to withdraw their derogatory references to us," he said.

"We are innocent. And if they refuse to apologise to us we will have to take them to court."

Patrick Dlokwana, who spent more than five years of a 14-year sentence for his alleged role in the SADF raid on Maseru in 1982, was almost in tears when he told reporters this week: "I am not a spy, and I never was."

"I want nothing to do with the ANC and if they do not retract their reference to us as enemy agents, we will meet at the International Court of Justice."
Sabotage probe after blast cuts electricity

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—Police are investigating a charge of sabotage after an explosion at a Midrand transformer caused damage estimated at R30 000 and cut off electricity in surrounding suburbs.

The explosion went off at the Noordwyk power station just before 8.45pm on Saturday night. Midrand suburbs were plunged into darkness for several hours.

According to police, two more blocks of commercial TNT explosives with fuses were found on a second transformer. These were defused by a police bomb disposal unit.

A charge of sabotage is being investigated, according to Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer.
Police suspect sabotage after blast

Staff Reporter

Police are investigating sabotage after an explosion at a Midrand transformer which caused damage estimated at R300 000.

The explosion was at the Noordwyk power station just before 8.45 pm on Saturday. Police said two blocks of commercial TNT explosives with fuses were found on a second transformer.
Blast: ‘Azania was responsible

The Azanian National Liberation Army (Azania) has claimed responsibility for the blast at the Noordwyk power station, Midrand, on Sunday.

A man who identified himself as Molefe Moekeste of the "Transvaal Command of the Azania forces" claimed in a telephone call to The Star yesterday that the attack was a part of the guerilla army's "continuing assault against economic targets (opaque).

According to a police spokesman, two blocks of commercial TNT explosive with fuses were found on a transformer.

These were later defused by bomb experts, the spokesman said. — Staff Reporter.
ANC torture claims: We will probe

ANC torture claims: We will probe

ANC torture claims: We will probe

ANC torture claims: We will probe
ANC has released all its prisoners, says Mandela
GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES - 1991

SEPT. - DEC.
Who killed Thami Zulu?

1969-12-19

Zulu, center, relaxes at home with friends at a party.

A highly regarded MK commander is detained by the ANC after his Natal guerrilla operation is smothered by police security. He spends 17 months in detention, although most of his comrades consider him innocent. He is weak and very ill on his release, and only five years later, a survivor discovers that he has been poisoned. Who killed him, and why?

PHILIP VAN NIEKERK follows the mysterious last days in the life of commander Thami Zulu.

The circumstances of his detention were never properly explained. A suggestion has been made that there were rivalry between TZ and other MK leaders over MK's control of Natal operations. The South African police have recently released a report that Thami Zulu was detained by MK leader Samora Machel in 1950 on the grounds of opposition to Zulu's stands. The MK leader's detention is said to have lasted from March 1950 to March 1951. The police report said that Zulu was released in March 1951.

A recent report, however, suggests that Zulu was detained by police in Natal in 1969 and was accused of being a member of the ANC. The report states that Zulu was detained for 17 months and was released in May 1970. The report also states that Zulu was accused of being a member of the ANC and was given a life sentence in 1969.

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Four held in Natal over arms

POLICE at the weekend arrested four men in the Table Mountain area of the Natal Midlands, seizing weapons and ammunition.

The men, all in their mid-20s, are alleged to have had in their possession two AK-47 rifles with 97 rounds of ammunition, a .303 rifle, a homemade shotgun and four other homemade firearms, ammunition of various calibres and a flare.

Sapa.
ANC still stands accused

DETENTION without trial, interrogation under torture, the disappearance of political opponents...

It could be a litany of ANC charges against South Africa's white rulers, but this time the accusations are levelled against the anti-apartheid movement itself.

Thirty-two former prisoners of the movement returned to South Africa in August, saying ANC jails were no better than their counterparts in Pretoria.

"They brought false charges against me that I was a spy for the South African police," said one of the group, Mr Patrick Dlovwana.

"They forced confessions out of me with torture," he said.

The prisoners were held in African states by the ANC during the 30 years it spent as an outlawed movement waging guerrilla warfare from exile against white minority rule in South Africa.

President FW de Klerk last year launched reforms to end apartheid and include the newly legitimised ANC and other black groups in the drafting of a new nonracial constitution.

The International Committee of the Red Cross first tried to investigate conditions in ANC prisons 15 years ago, but the anti-apartheid movement refused access.

The ANC agreed to allow an ICRC probe only after releasing the 32 prisoners, who it said were the last in its custody.

The Red Cross said it wanted to verify that the ANC had no more prisoners and would discuss the cases of about 50 people alleged to have gone missing in ANC custody.

"If the Red Cross wants to visit the empty prisons, they're free to do so," ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said.

Together with senior aides, including his wife Winnie, Mandela met 17 of the 32 in an effort to defuse criticism of the movement.

He promised all their complaints would be investigated and said measures would be taken to protect them against retribution.

The former prisoners include Mr Gabriel Sethloko, whose family wrote a letter to The Star naming several people alleged to have disappeared while in ANC custody.

"I'm afraid of this so-called new South Africa," the letter writer said. "We are going to have a government of crooks."

According to Dlovwana and others released from ANC detention, their experiences were similar to those of anti-apartheid activists who fell foul of the South African Government.

Dlovwana (32) said he first ran into trouble with the ANC in his hometown of Port Elizabeth because his sympathies were with the rival Pan Africanist Congress.

A petrol bomb attack on his home killed his mother.

"I went to Lusaka in 1986 to meet senior ANC officials and sort out my problems," he said. "But they accused me of being a spy and interrogated me under torture."

He said that, after months in detention, an ANC tribunal sentenced him to 15 years hard labour on the basis of confessions extracted under torture.

Most of his time in detention was spent doing hard labour in Quatro camp in Angola.

"We had to crush stones because prison guards said that's what Nelson Mandela was doing on Robben Island," said Dlovwana, who describes himself as a playwright.

"The ANC destroyed me politically, mentally and physically," he said. "I used to be active politically, but after what the ANC did to me I want nothing more to do with politics."

He said his health had been ruined by two hunger strikes he launched to protest at prison conditions and by beatings from ANC guards.

One beating had given him epileptic fits, he said.

"Sometimes in Quatro I thought it would be better to be in a South African jail."

Four other men released with him made similar allegations of wrongful imprisonment and ill-treatment against the ANC.

Most of the 32 promised the ANC they would keep silent about their experiences as part of attempts at reconciliation.

One of them, Mr Jose Ribeiro da Souza, said he had made the promise to ensure his own safety. He said he had received threatening phone calls since returning to South Africa.

Allegations of ANC maltreatment of detainees first emerged last year when some escaped from prison camps.

The detainees, some of whom were being punished for a mutiny, said they had been beaten and locked in metal transport containers in the sun.

Mandela acknowledged at the time that some guards had been guilty of excesses but said steps had been taken to halt abuses.

The ANC, which describes the 32 men who returned in August as notorious agents, says all prisoners in its custody have been accounted for.

-Sapa/Reuter
Four held in Natal over arms

POLICE at the weekend arrested four men in the Table Mountain area of the Natal Midlands, seizing weapons and ammunition.

The men, all in their mid-20s, are alleged to have had in their possession two AK-47 rifles with 97 rounds of ammunition, a 303 rifle, a homemade shotgun and four other homemade firearms, ammunition of various calibres and a flare. - Sapa.

TPA’s no to wage increase demand

The Transvaal Provincial Administration has rejected the National Education and Health Workers Union’s demands for a wage increase.

TPA acting director-general Dr Piet Steyn issued a statement in reply to a memorandum by Nehawu last Friday demanding recognition of the union and a wage increase proportional to the inflation rate for all health workers.

Steyn said a partial salary increase was granted to health workers in April this year. He pointed out that the union formed part of a forum created by the Commission for Administration (CFA) which is currently negotiating the nature of future collective bargaining processes between the TPA and Nehawu.

Additional matters addressed in the statement include: A commitment by the TPA to consult the union over any proposed retrenchment of workers, the non-victimisation of Nehawu members for their membership and the continuation of discussions on the right to peaceful protests.
Shooting leads to arrests in Seshego

PIETERSBURG police said yesterday they have arrested four Seshego youths and recovered a pistol and commercial explosives.

Police spokesman for the Far Northern Transvaal Captain Cas Jones said the arrests followed a shooting at Westernburg township near the town on Saturday night.

Two of the arrested youths are members of the Azanian Youth Organisation and the Azanian Students Movement. They are Mr Jappie Kwadi and Mr John Chepape.

A large police contingent surrounded Chepape’s home on Sunday morning, watched by a crowd, and dug up weapons in the yard, eye-witnesses said.

Jones said investigations are continuing.
LAWYERS acting for an alleged Azanian National Liberation Army guerrilla who was sentenced to ten years in jail in Bophutatswana are to petition the Chief Justice for leave to appeal.

A spokesman for Seriti Mavundla and Associates said in Pretoria yesterday that alleged Azania guerrilla Mr George Biya (22) of Phiri, Soweto had been refused leave to appeal by Judge Warrington of the Mabatho Supreme Court last week.

Biya, who was already serving a three-year sentence for illegal possession of firearms, was found guilty of robbery with aggravating circumstances for an attack on a Ramatlabama citrus project during which two cars and a computer were seized.

Judge Warrington sentenced him to ten years. He denied leave to appeal, saying no other court could reach a different verdict.

Biya's case has been taken up by people campaigning for the release of political prisoners in Bophutatswana.
SAP find 7 AK-47s in hostel raid

Staff Reporter

Police uncovered seven AK-47 rifles and 104 rounds of ammunition while searching a hostel in Vestcorus on the East Rand on Saturday.

Police spokesman Major Dave Bruce said the AK-47s were fully loaded in a bag “as if they were going to be transported and used”. A .32 pistol was also found in the vicinity.

Major Bruce said initial police reports indicated that six people had been killed in political violence on the Witwatersrand since Friday.

The mutilated body of an unidentified man was found in Phola Park on the East Rand yesterday.

In Daveyton outside Benoni on Saturday, five men were injured when a hand grenade exploded on the roof of a private home; a man was shot, and stabbed to death; one person was killed and another injured when they were fired on by a group of people.

An Inkatha Freedom Party supporter was killed and three injured outside the Selby Hostel, Johannesburg, on Saturday.

Also on Saturday, a man was killed and another injured when they were fired on from a hostel in Alexandra. Earlier, police found the burnt body of a man.
The Government would not be bulldozed by the Conservative Party into holding an election before its present term of office ended, President de Klerk said yesterday.

He also indicated that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), should be disbanded because it was not "in the spirit" of the Peace Accord.

Speaking on SABC-TV's Agenda programme last night, Mr de Klerk said the Government had a five-year term of office and hoped in that period to hold a referendum in terms of the existing constitution to approve the new negotiated constitution.

Concerning private and political armies, he indicated he had received "certain guarantees" days before the signing of the accord from the ANC regarding the future of MK.

In terms of the Peace Accord no private armies may be formed or continue to operate.

Mr de Klerk added it was "high time" that the ANC became a political party.

Questioned about the carrying of traditional weapons - especially at the Peace Accord signing ceremony - Mr de Klerk said the issue was a very emotional one, particularly for the Zulu nation. — Sapa.
MK here to stay - ANC

THE ANC will not disband its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It is not a private army, the movement has said.

"MK is a national army. Its position is governed by agreements reached between the ANC and Government in the DFMAust Accords and not by the National Peace Initiative," Mr Carl Niehaus of the ANC's department of information and publicity said yesterday.

One of the essential parts of the accord bars political organisations from having their own private armies.

President FW de Klerk said on television on Sunday night that MK should be disbanded because its continued existence "was not in the spirit of the peace accord" which was signed in Johannesburg on Saturday.

The ANC's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said at a Press conference after the signing of the accord that, despite the ban on private armies, his organisation would not disband MK as it did not fall within the framework of Saturday's accord.

The future of MK, Mandela said, was the subject of bilateral agreements between the Government and the ANC. This was why Saturday's gathering did not deal specifically with MK.

De Klerk agreed with Mandela and said that a basic agreement was in place which prevented MK from undertaking certain actions.

Statements by De Klerk on Sunday night were described by other ANC sources as "tangential" and " provocative".

A senior ANC source said that after signing the peace accord in "happily" on Saturday, De Klerk chose to bring up the MK issue.

"This was typical of the Government to start nitpicking in public about its differences with the ANC.

"The accord can work towards peace, but it cannot stop the political games and the name-calling," the source said.

The continued existence of MK was also scorned by the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi was reported to have said on Saturday that the clause in the peace accord which dealt with private armies was "meaningless" if it did not include MK.
Resolution on army issues 'close'

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were close to resolving a number of issues relating to the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, sources said yesterday.

The sources, close to the negotiations of the liaison committee set up after the D F Malan meeting early this year, said the issues of cadre infiltration and arms caches were close to being resolved.

At the weekend President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela said the bilateral talks between government and the ANC on these issues were progressing well. At the signing of the national peace accord on Saturday, Mandela said Umkhonto was not going to be disbanded.

The D F Malan Minute and talks flowing from that and the Pretoria Minute took it out of the ambit of the accord, he said.

It is understood Mandela was pressing ahead with decisions taken at the Umkhonto conference last month, when Umkhonto reaffirmed its commitment to negotiations on incorporation into a new SADF.

Government sources said yesterday a distinction had to be drawn between Umkhonto and its activities. The D F Malan Minute and the negotiations of the liaison committee were concerned with the activities of an army — training, infiltration and weapons accumulation inside the country.
MK will not be dissolved, says Hani

Political Staff

The ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was not a private army and would not be dismantled, MK Chief of Staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

His remarks are likely to continue tensions between the Government and the ANC.

Reacting to a statement by President de Klerk that MK was contrary to the spirit of the peace accord signed on Saturday, Mr Hani said calls for the dismantling of Umkhonto we Sizwe were attempts to marginalise it.

"We will not be dismantled, and we will not be marginalised. The arms caches belong to us and we will not surrender them to an undemocratically elected government."

Umkhonto we Sizwe would consider discussing with an interim government the handing over of these caches.

Mr Hani said MK was not a private army but the liberators of the oppressed, and could therefore not be construed as a private army.

The ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe subscribed to the principle that no political armies should exist in a democratic society, but South Africa was not a democratic country, he said.

In terms of the DF Malan agreement reached between the ANC and the Government in February, the movement agreed that no political armies should exist.

Referring to Mr de Klerk's statement, Mr Hani said: "I am concerned about him pursuing that line of thinking."

He added that "the issue of MK" was a subject of ongoing negotiations in terms of the Pretoria Minute and the DF Malan agreement with the Government.

"We know that nothing has been finalised, but we also know there are binding agreements. We are still sticking to the suspension of military operations and related activities."

Contrary to the Government, the ANC argues that "related activities" did not refer to recruitment and training.

In terms of the DF Malan agreement, both sides agreed there would be no attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosive or incendiary devices, infiltration of men and materials, creation of underground structures, statements inciting violence, threats of armed action, and training inside South Africa.

Mr Hani said these activities were clearly defined and centred on MK not infiltrating men and material as long as the agreement was in place.

MK's activities were the subject of discussions by a joint ANC/Government working group set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute and by a liaison committee established after the DF Malan agreement to ensure the implementation of the agreement.

Mr Hani said MK was clearly not part of the peace accord, but a bilateral issue with the Government.

"I can't see why MK is being dragged in. We have in all frankness not been involved in acts of violence because we are bound by the Pretoria Minute.

"Furthermore, even the DF Malan agreement does not say MK should be dismantled." The joint working group agreed that because Umkhonto we Sizwe was no longer an unlawful organisation, membership was not in violation of any of the provisions of Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute, and the letter and spirit of the Pretoria Minute as a whole.

He said Umkhonto we Sizwe was a lawful organisation which had to reorganise itself since its unbanning.
MK — staying alive or going into limbo?

Patrick Laurence looks at the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe in light of the national peace accord.

The national peace accord has focused attention on the ANC's underground Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) army, and raised questions about its future.

Even before the ink had dried on the signatures of the contracting parties to the accord, President de Klerk was pressing for the dissolution of MK in its present form as a guerrilla army.

Its continued existence was contrary to the spirit of the accord, Mr de Klerk said on television at the weekend.

The relevant clause in the accord reads: "No private armies shall be allowed or formed."

A qualifying clause defines a private army as one which is formed on the basis of party or political affiliation.

The pertinent clause was different in an earlier draft. It said simply: "No private armies shall be formed."

The words "allowed or" were inserted in the final version, reportedly at the insistence of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, to extend the prohibition to MK.

As a guerrilla army which existed before the accord was drawn up, it is not subject to the provisions of the accord, and MK will remain as the armed wing of the ANC.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has, however, made the same deduction as Mr de Klerk about the need to disband MK.

"We have no intention of dissolving MK, either now or in the future," he said at a news conference after signing the accord. "It is a matter which is under discussion between the ANC and the Government. We are discussing it in a spirit of reconciliation."

At the same conference, Mr de Klerk drew attention to earlier bilateral agreements between the ANC and his administration, insisting that the peace accord supplemented rather than replaced them.

These bilateral agreements are involved: the Groote Schuur Minute of May 1990, the Pretoria Minute of August last year, and the D F Malan Agreement of February 1991.

In the Groote Schuur Minute, the ANC and the De Klerk administration undertook to end the "climate of violence and intimidation," and to undertake a process of peaceful negotiations.

The Pretoria Minute the ANC agreed to suspend its "armed struggle and related activities" as part of a quid pro quo for the freeing of political prisoners and the return of exiles by April 30, 1991.

The months after the signing of the Pretoria Minute were characterised by haggling between the ANC and the authorities over the meaning of the three words: "and relative activities."

There were serious differences of interpretation over whether the ANC's agreement to suspend "armed struggle and related activities" merely meant a cessation of a direct act of war, or whether it precluded the ANC from recruiting and training guerrillas or smuggling weapons into South Africa.

The South African government's interpretation which was agreed on represented, in large measure, a victory for Mr de Klerk's insistence that the Pretoria Minute bound the ANC to more than a mere moratorium on overt acts of warfare by MK guerrillas.

The ANC representatives concurred that the Pretoria Minute meant: an end to the infiltration of men and materiel into South Africa; a halt to the building of underground structures; a proscription on statements inciting violence and on threats of armed action; and a prohibition of the training of guerrillas in South Africa.

Looking back at the bilateral agreements at Groote Schuur, Pretoria and D F Malan Airport, one overall conclusion can be drawn: MK was in the process of being transformed from a guerrilla army into an ancillary political force under the aegis of the ANC.

That process was, however, disrupted by the intensification of the South African violence and the ANC's suspension in April 1991 of constitutional discussions with the De Klerk administration.

The national peace accord has put the process back on the rails and the demilitarisation of MK is once again on the agenda under the heading: No private political armies.

Whether the process will be completed depends on the discussions referred to by Mr Mandela, and on whether Chief Buthelezi's IFP can be prevailed upon to abandon its proclaimed right to carry "cultural weapons," a phrase which includes spears and knobkerries.

Assuming that the weapons issue is resolved — the peace accord provides for the demilitarising of weapons to, from or at political meetings — the metamorphosis of MK into a political auxiliary of the ANC seems likely in the short term.

One of its main functions will be look after the welfare needs of the returning or unemployed MK soldiers.

In the longer run, MK, or elements of it, may coalesce with the SADF and the armies of the four nominally independent black homelands, to form a defence force for the emerging new South Africa.

In the interim, some trained MK fighters may serve in self-protection units. The units, unlike private armies, are allowed under the peace accord.

They differ in three important respects from the prohibited private armies: their members may carry only licensed arms; they must not be recruited from one political party only; and they must liaise with the police.
Umkhonto stops recruiting

The ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe had suspended recruitment because of insufficient resources, Umkhonto commander Tokoyo Sexwale said yesterday.

Sexwale said the decision, which is contrary to a resolution taken at the ANC's July congress, was not a result of discussions between government and the ANC.

He said the decision was taken purely for practical reasons. Umkhonto had many hundreds of applicants but lacked the resources to incorporate them.

Umkhonto leaders have often insisted that they would continue recruitment drives.

Most recently, at a conference last month, Umkhonto commander Joe Modise announced an expanded operations plan.

Government has argued that recruitment of Umkhonto members should end in line with the Pretoria Minute, in terms of which the ANC agreed to suspend "armed actions ... and related activities".

The dispute was partially resolved by the D F Malan accord this year where the parties agreed this meant the ANC would not infiltrate men or materiel and would not create underground structures.

The D F Malan accord specifically did not mention recruitment, Sexwale said.

He said the training of Umkhonto cadres would continue and would be improved.

He said Umkhonto's decision was not related to discussions of the ANC/government working groups. Nor had Umkhonto given any undertakings in this regard to President F W de Klerk during discussions before the signing of the peace accord.
MK not private army callers

CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday supported the ANC's contention that its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was not a private army.

The callers said MK was a national army and, therefore, should not be disbanded.

Peace Accord
They told DJ Tim Modise that MK had nothing to do with the Peace Accord.

"It is very disappointing. They are provoking the ANC and I do not think we will achieve peace that way," said one caller.

"There is no way MK will be disbanded before there is liberation in SA," said Moses from Rockville.

Sowetan Radio Metro

Talkback

Hesaid that while people were allowed to march in the streets with dangerous weapons, MK was immobilised and did not contribute to the violence in the townships.

Lorraine from Meadowlands and Kid from Tokoza disagreed.

She said the organisations should all join the SADF instead of criticising it.

Kid said the ANC was making excuses by refusing to disband the MK.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said earlier in the programme there was an understanding that MK fell 'outside the definition of private armies' and State President FW de Klerk did not oppose this at the signing of the accord.

Niehaus said MK would "most definitely not be disbanded, not now and not in the future."

"It has been making an effective contribution to the peace process and it will..."
Hopes rise for all-party talks

End in sight to clash over ANC's army

THE dispute between government and the ANC over the status of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) is set to be resolved soon through a system of control over armaments and, possibly, by subjecting any MK "self-defence" activities to multiparty control.

A source close to the ANC said yesterday this issue and the question of cultural weapons were the only remaining barriers to the convening of an all-party conference – which could still take place this year.

The source said the cultural weapons issue would have to be resolved by President F W de Klerk when he issued a proclamation to clarify this "fudged" part of the national peace accord.

He said the ANC – and particularly its president Nelson Mandela – was especially concerned about the matter. This concern had been aggravated by the armed Inkatha demonstration on Saturday at the peace convention.

The working committee on armed action, established in terms of the Pretoria Minute, is likely to settle on a deal whereby the ANC supplies to government the serial numbers of all weapons cached inside the country.

This arrangement would enable government to track down the origin of these weapons if their use for unlawful purposes was detected.

De Klerk and ANC officials said recently the committee was making good progress. The source said it was possible the code of conduct to govern the SADF’s activities – at present being negotiated to supplement the peace accord – or something similar could be made to apply to MK.

A further possibility, insofar as MK personnel would be used in community self-defence structures, would be to put them under the authority of the multiparty local and regional dispute resolution committees established by the peace accord.

At this stage, the source said, there was no question of MK disbanding or handing over its weapons to the state. The eventual integration of MK and the state security forces would be part of the negotiation process.

He said the peace convention had served as a useful model for an all-party conference and there were now readymade solutions to organisational problems, like representation, that might otherwise have arisen.

Meanwhile, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said in Durban yesterday the ANC's commitment to negotiations was resolute and, if all went according to plan, an all-party conference might get under way before the end of the year, Sapa reports.

Speaking at an Isasa forum, Ramaphosa said the ANC wanted to "get moving" to restore stability in the country and added that an all-party conference before the year-end would be a "Christmas present" to all South Africans.

The first phase leading to negotiations had come with the signing of the peace accord, Ramaphosa said.

The next phase would be a patriotic front conference which the ANC hoped to hold in October, following which the organisation would be poised for the all-party conference.
Mine was a damp squib

SOWETO police yesterday destroyed a limpet mine which had failed to explode after being thrown to one side, stoned and driven over by cars.

Liaison officer Col Jac de Vries said a resident of the Mshenguville squatter camp had found the mine outside his house and had thrown it to one side.
Hani was the Quatro Hero

With Khushal Shyam
MK army of
a democratic

SA – Winnie

Umkhonto we Sizwe would be the future army of a democratic South Africa, Winnie
Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing 10 000 people at the ANC Women’s League rally at Nkowa-Nkowa sta-
dium near Tzaneen, Mrs Mandela said that despite the signing of the National
Peace Accord, Umkhonto would not be disbanded — not now or in the future.

Mrs Mandela said the ANC was committed to the accord because it was the only way “to save the lives
of our people”. But despite the accord, the ANC would look seriously at defending
its members.

“The type of arms we will use for defence will depend on the type of enemy.”

Mrs Mandela was yester-
day expected at a rally in
Alexandra where she was to
have welcomed former polit-
ical prisoners and exiles.

National Executive Coun-
cil member Popo Molefe ad-
dressed the meeting, wel-
coming 18 exiles and former
Robben Island prisoners.
He urged them to continue
fighting the struggle “on the
last mile of our journey”. —
Sapa and Staff Reporter.
ANC calls for one army

THE ANC has repeated its call for an integrated army while the Government reacted cautiously to revelations of a secret code of conduct for the South African Defence Force yesterday.

Both were responding after newspaper reports yesterday exposed a sweeping code of conduct for the SADF which would effectively depoliticise the army - and which was seen as a step closer to integration of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, the SADF and homeland armies.

Drafted by the SADF, a copy of the code was forwarded to the national peace initiative working group on security on August 7.

The ANC's reply on the draft code was received by the SADF about 10 days ago and was

To page 2.

Merge armies - ANC

being considered for further discussions, the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, said yesterday.

The code, which envisages a nonracial army, also calls for talks with the ANC's MK and homeland armies about future relations in terms of the national peace accord.

A main feature of the code details rights and obligations of the individual soldier in which he can disobey orders that are illegal or in conflict with the constitution.

Breytenbach said the subject of a code of conduct for the SADF had been dealt with in the working group set up in terms of the national peace initiative.

In a statement Breytenbach said: "The original draft was compiled by the SADF, discussed with the then Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and presented to the working group on security matters on August 7."

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the document was being discussed at top level by Umkhonto we Sizwe and would later be tabled for further discussion and proposal by the ANC leadership.

However, Niehaus said, it was important the SADF be included if the peace initiative were to succeed.
SOLDIERS of Umkhonto we Sizwe must help train township youths in combat tactics and set up defence units to retaliate against those who do not want peace, MK Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani said in Crossroads on Tuesday.

Speaking during a visit to Crossroads to promote peace in the troubled Cape Town squatter camp, he said the MK programme would emphasise discipline and would be aimed at helping the whole community.

He said defence units were necessary as people had a right to defend themselves. - Sapa.
A GRAHAMSTOWN Umkhonto weSizwe member has been sentenced to an effective six months' imprisonment for illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

Tony Yaka appeared in the Kenton-On-Sea Magistrate's Court charged with 20 counts of attempted murder, malicious damage to property and possession of firearms. But he was found guilty only of the charge of illegal possession of arms and ammunition, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Two and a half years were suspended for five years.

He had pleaded guilty to the arms charge.

The charges stem from bombing incidents at councillors' houses in Queenstown in January. It was alleged Yaka had attempted to murder the councillors with hand-grenades.

It was further alleged that an AK-47 rifle, hand-grenades, limpet mines and rounds of ammunition were found in his possession.

However, in court the defence argued that a "confession" the State alleged Yaka had made regarding bombing councillors' houses in Queenstown was made "under pressure".
Don’t disband MK

For MK to be disbanded at this crucial stage, when blatant distrust, disloyalty and violence are still prevalent, would be suicidal, immoral and illogical with regard to the peoples’ struggle.

First of all, MK is the legitimate liberation army which fought the oppression of the indigenous inhabitants of this country. It has absolutely nothing to do with private armies which are busy slaughtering innocent and defenceless people.

To the best of my knowledge, the private armies which were impliedly referred to were: (i) Defence units which are reportedly intended to be established; (ii) Inkatha commandos which were reported to have been trained by the SADF in Angola, Namibia, Northern Natal, Eastern Tvl etc; (iii) the CCB, and (iv) Askaris.

Secondly, MK has never been and is still no threat to Inkatha whose leader seems to be panicking.

What actually prompted Buthelezi to equate private armies and so-called traditional weapons with MK, I just really cannot tell. MK is not involved in the current so-called political violence, whereas private armies and his cultural weapons are intricately entangled in butchering passengers in trains, buses, etc.

I advise him not to allow himself to be used as a bait by tempting and alluring satanic forces, after which he would find himself having drifted further and further away from his brothers and sisters to the point of no return.

Lastly the ANC is still a liberation organisation busy paving way to a genuine negotiation process. Every liberation organisation has an army. In no circumstances would we freedom fighters like to see MK being disbanded.

Thomas Majola
Alrode
All private armies must go, Hani told

Political Staff

THE government intended negotiating for the disbandment of all private armies, left and right, including the AWB, said Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Johan Scheepers.

He was speaking last night at a debate in Pretoria between himself, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani and Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Mr Walter Fugate. The debate was organised by Lawyers for Human Rights and Idasa.

Mr Scheepers was replying to a question why the government insisted on the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, being disbanded while it allowed rightwing private armies.

Mr Hani reiterated the ANC view that MK would not disband until a democratic government was in place.

Mr Hani was asked whether MK would be deployed if negotiations broke down. He asked in reply whether President De Klerk would not use the army and the SAP "to round up all of us" if negotiations collapsed.

"You must trust us to ensure that MK sticks to its agreements in the same way that we trust the government to keep order in its security forces," he said.

Mr Scheepers said the government would return to the negotiation table if present negotiations failed and would not use the army or the SAP to settle constitutional disputes.

Mr Fugate said MK was the single greatest threat to the peace accord.

Policemen who refused to sign the police code of conduct under the national peace accord would not be allowed to remain in the SAP, Mr Scheepers said.

Mr Scheepers said 30 special police units — each with 16 men — had been established to investigate political violence and unrest as required by the peace accord.

A general had been appointed to take command of these units, he said.

Police training curricula had been adjusted in accordance with the police code of conduct, existing members of the police force would be retrained and all relevant aspects of the peace accord would be included in the curricula, he said.

Chris Hani

CHRIS HANI

Chris Hani's influence with one or two of the most predominant forces within his movement has allowed him to participate in the analytical discussions about the ANC's national agenda. The ANC in its role as an independent force has many more people with political vision who face the political scene with the poise and determination of the ANC. The ANC must go - Minister All Private armes
Disband
MK call by
Inkatha

THE ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, should be
disbanded immediately as it is working against the spirit of
the national Peace Accord, according to the regional leader
of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Mr Themba Khoza.

Addressing thousands at Umlazi's King Zwelithini
Stadium on Sunday, Khoza said the MK was not a national
army with the interests of the broader community at heart,
but the ANC's private army.

He said the training of the ANC's township defence
units, organised by MK cadres, was continuing and the
ANC's recruitment drive was at its peak.

Both of these operations were causing resentment and
creating divisions in many communities and intimidation
was rife, all of which led to the perpetuation of violence in
the country.

Khoza said this was clearly against the spirit of the
national Peace Accord.

He urged all South Africans to support the Peace Accord
and to help end political killings. He slammed counter-
attacks and retaliation, which only aggravated the vio-

ence.

Khoza also called on all youth organisations in South
Africa, including those from Inkatha, the ANC, the Na-
tional Party, the Democratic Party, the Azanian People’s
Organisation and the Pan-Africanist Congress, to work
together to bring about an end to the violence.

"What good is getting rid of the evil of apartheid if, at
the end of our struggle, we have no country left?" Khoza
asked. - Sowetan Correspondent.
Top clerics due in SA

PATRICK BULGER

A MAJOR church conference to examine the role of the church in SA's transformation would coincide with a visit by the general secretary of the World Council of Churches (WCC), the director of the Programme to Combat Racism, Barney Pityana, said yesterday.

Pityana said the conference would be attended by church leaders from 20 countries, as well as representatives of all SA churches. It would also examine the relationship between the churches and SA's political movements.

The conference, scheduled for Cape Town later this month, will be addressed by WCC general secretary Emilio Castro and will concentrate on how the churches analyse the SA situation and how the international church community could cooperate with SA churches.

Pityana said: "It is significant in that the WCC is coming to SA for the first time since 1960," Pityana said.

Peace sought stamp

CAPE TOWN — Nearly 300 delegates will attend today's "no violence summit" — the most ambitious attempt yet to resolve a protracted war which has claimed scores of lives, disrupted the local economy and caused endless hardship for towns residents.

Jointly organised by Cape Town Mayor Frank van der Velde and Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu, the summit could result in the setting up of a violence monitoring commission in terms of national peace accord, it was reported yesterday.

Police Divisional Commissioner General Nie Acker greeted this with caution, saying he was still "awaiting NPA guidelines from Pretoria" before making any decision.

He emphasised that a joint police forum was already operating in terms of the Groote Schuur-Malmesbury Agreement.

Among those attending the conference at the civic centre's be Cape Administrator Kobus

Firearms haul averted massacre, say police

JONATHAN REES

SOWETO police say they averted a massacre at the weekend when public co-operation helped them to smash an arms ring and seize 11 AK-47 rifles, 13 loaded magazines and two VZOR Czechoslovakian machine pistols.

A further 17 illegal firearms were seized in the township last week after information was provided by residents, said SAP Soweto spokesman Col Tienie Halgren.

A total of 375 AK-47 rounds and 45 pistol rounds were seized.

Halgren said the tip-off had led police to a private home where the weapons were found. Three men were arrested and would appear in court today on charges of illegal possession of firearms.

He said police believed the suspects had planned further weapons deals, which involved a smuggling syndicate specialising in stealing cars from the Reef and trading them for arms in neighbouring states.

Police had worked 720 man-hours on the case and had travelled more than 6 000km, which included a trip to Natal to net three stolen vehicles, Halgren said.

Members of the vehicle theft and firearms units in Natal had aided the investigation.

Halgren said township residents were "sick and tired of the bloodshed" and were regularly phoning the police to provide information on illegal arms.
Somewhere on the border

How will the SADF be restructured — and who will serve in it?

Outside the office of the Chief of the SA Defence Force, in the elegant Defence Headquarters building in Pretoria, dating back to the time of Paul Kruger, there is a small display board. It lists the unbroken line of men who have headed the SA armed forces since 1912. There are 14 in all, starting with Brigadier General Collyer, taking in names like General Sir Pierre van Ryneveld and Admiral Hugo Biermann, and ending with the present incumbent, General Kat Liebenberg. The board represents a tradition that the SADF is desperate to uphold.

Not for the first time in its history, it is threatened by politicians.

The immediate worry is financial. Like any army after a war has been concluded, the SADF has suffered drastic budget cuts and it faces more. The navy and armaments manufacturer Armscor have been particularly affected.

The percentage of GNP spent on defence was never excessive, one of the lowest in the world — though there was always a hidden cost in removing skilled people from the economy. However, even if the defence budget was not unreasonably high, the country has such pressing needs elsewhere that the defence establishment must make sacrifices.

The second threat is a political one: more complicated and peculiar to SA. There is a perception, strongest among the former liberation movements, that the SADF has long been an agent of the National Party. The other major political player, the African National Congress, believes that the SADF cannot be allowed to survive in its present form, because for the ANC it is associated with apartheid, oppression and death squads. There is an argument that if the SADF should be amalgamated with the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), to form an entirely new and supposedly more balanced force.

There is an understandable political motivation for this, but militarily it verges on nonsense. Even observers sympathetic to the ANC estimate that a maximum of 13,000 cadres have been trained by MK since 1976. About 6,000 were infiltrated into SA; about 700 of these were killed or captured by security forces; and the rest are believed to be “passive deserters,” as Howard Barrett puts it in his book on MK. Barrett also admits that there was no revolutionary war, that MK offered “no serious armed or insurrectionary contention for State power.” This is in huge contrast to Rhodesia, for instance, where guerrilla armies effectively controlled half the country by 1978.

Of the MK cadres still outside SA — about 7,000, by Barrett’s reckoning — it can be expected that many would not wish to continue as professional or part-time soldiers once a new constitution is in place. Therefore, when the question of amalgamation with the SADF arises, the total MK component is unlikely to be more than 5,000.

Contrast this with the SADF, which has been training thousands of men every year for nearly three decades. There is a Permanent Force establishment of about 30,000; apart from specialist professionals like pilots, this is essentially concerned with administration, command and training. There is only a handful of PF army combat units. The ordinary soldiering is done by the conscripted full-time National Servicemen (20,000 every year); and by part-time volunteers and conscripts in the Citizen Force (180,000) and Commandos (135,000). In addition there are on the Reserve 155,000 older men.

Thus, in theory, the SADF can call on over half a million trained men. Even though it would be impossible to call them all up at once, and many would be difficult to trace, this is the most formidable defence force in sub-Saharan Africa.

The manpower is combined with a substantial conventional capacity. The army can call on three part-time divisions; there is also a rapid deployment force which includes 44 Parachute Brigade (mainly CF) and 60 Brigade (mainly PF members and National Servicemen). This capacity has never recently been tested; the largest conventional force deployed in Angola was the equivalent of a single brigade.

This is why MK cannot be taken seriously in military terms. It is an army only in the loosest sense and relatively small. It has no artillery, no tanks, no aircraft, no ships. Its limited successes in the field were almost entirely based on expertise in sabotage and small-scale guerrilla operations. As an army, MK at no stage took on the SADF.

So the question of amalgamation, militarily, does not even arise. But it remains a political flashpoint.

The SADF itself would prefer to wait until a new constitution is negotiated, meanwhile maintaining its strength by continuing conscription of young white men. But within a year or two, change will be unavoidable. It is already unfair that only white men should be conscripted, but it would be impractical even to consider a universal non-racial conscription; the cost would be prohibitive.

One seductive option is to have armed forces composed entirely of volunteers, as is the case in the US and Britain. But there are powerful impediments.

Again, there is the cost factor. Full-time volunteers must be treated as career professionals, and competitive packages would have to be offered to draw enough people of quality.

On a more subtle level, a standing army could be a political threat, especially in an unstable country. As General Liebenberg himself points out, a large professional army (which has been suggested by the ANC’s Chris Hani) is an invitation for a coup; a citizen’s army is an automatic restraint.

Another option would be to combine a small PF element with a selective ballot, as was used to call up white men in the Fifties and early Sixties. Naturally such a ballot would have to be applied to all races, using a post-apartheid voters’ roll.

In Namibia, the army’s manpower has been doubled in order to alleviate unemployment. This option should be avoided. It would be highly inflationary, and dangerous — in an age of sophisticated weaponry — to arm people for the wrong reasons. If there is a need for a State-organised social services corps, let it be just that.

The SADF’s most sensible route would probably be to attract more volunteers on a short-service or part-time basis. Structurally, it will in any case be essential to maintain the CF and Commandos and the Commando system.

Whatever method is decided on, a symbolic gesture will have to be made to accommodate remaining elements of MK. General Liebenberg refuses even to consider this while the ANC still reserves the right to resume “armed struggle.” The SADF objects to negotiating with a body that owes allegiance to a particular political grouping, when the SADF’s own members are forbidden any active political involvement beyond voting in elections.

Assuming “armed struggle” is ended, Liebenberg would have no political objection to MK members joining various SADF units, but he is nervous about the effect this could have on the morale of present members. This
is partly a problem of former enemies becoming colleagues — but it is not insurmountable: the old Union Defence Force managed to achieve reconciliation between Boer and Brit remarkably quickly.

What is especially worrying to senior SADF officers is the prospect of imposed affirmative action. Quite rightly, they reject the idea that a man trained essentially as a guerrilla could be appointed to a senior command position above the heads of officers with many years of formal training. It did happen after World War 2: certain Afrikaner officers who refused to serve were promoted to ranks that “they would have had had they seen active war service.”

Another option being considered in establishment military circles is the formation of an MK unit within the SADF. This should be strenuously resisted. It would almost certainly cause more problems than it might solve. The same should apply when, as seems likely, the armies of the nominally independent “homelands” have to be incorporated into the SADF. Otherwise the potential for factional violence would be terrifying.

Perhaps the SADF could draw profitably on the running of the Indian Army under the British, who had a deliberate policy of mixing Hindu, Moslem and Sikh. Religious differences came to be overridden by loyalty to the regiment.

The Zimbabwean experience is also instructive. After independence, British officers and NCOs were called in to help oversee the amalgamation of forces. Even though there is no comparable colonial power to help SA achieve this, there are traditional military links with the British, Portuguese and Americans (and, for MK, with the Soviets). It might just be worth the SADF swallowing its pride and asking for outside help.

Let us assume that the ANC comes to power after democratic elections. Its defence force will be essentially white, with important black combat components. Though the SADF seems weak in administrative and logistical capacity (this was shown in Angola in the late Eighties) and though some of its equipment is dangerously obsolescent (aircraft and ships in particular), it remains a potent military machine. Operationally it is tough and experienced and its military doctrine has honed the Boer tradition of mobility and quick reaction, along with the British legacy of regimental honour and discipline.

Like the Nats in the Fifties, the ANC will not be comfortable with the survival of “colonial” regiments like the Cape Town Rifles, Transvaal Scottish, Prince Alfred’s Guard, the Natal Carbineers and the Kaffrarian Rifles. Nor will the ANC be happy with Boer-derived units like Regiment Botha and the various Commandos.

But it must resist the temptation to tamper. A neutral SADF will be the safeguard for a fledgling democracy, and any traditions of neutrality must be built upon that fact.

There is, of course, an increasingly popular view that we no longer need a defence force. It assumes that, because apartheid was the dominant source of friction in southern Africa for so long, the demise of this ideology will remove all conflict.

This view is naive. It assumes that solidarity created by anti-apartheid feelings will endure regardless of other factors, and ignores the dangerous unpredictability of politics — especially in Africa.

Who can say what the geopolitics of the region will dictate a decade from now? Who can guarantee that SA will not be at war with one of its neighbours over land or minerals or food or water? And if a regional Saddam Hussein were somehow to come to power, who would stop him?

As the German philosopher Von Clausewitz argued, he who wants peace must prepare for war.
Custodians of peace are biding their time

MK waits to play a new military role

WITH its role as a guerilla force receding, the armed wing of the African National Congress is undergoing conventional warfare training so it can help form a new South African army.

Unkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), has been one of the weapons in the ANC's negotiating armory since it was unbanned in February last year.

Mr Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders at one time regularly threatened to return to the armed struggle if President FW de Klerk's Government proved duplicitous in talks on the country's future.

But the armed struggle option has not been publicly aired for months. Instead the ANC has used sanctions, calls for mass protests and the threat of breaking off negotiations to press its demands.

Unkhonto we Sizwe used to wage a guerilla campaign of limpet-mine bombings and hit-and-run raids on police stations.

Now it has adapted to the changed political landscape by preparing itself to form an important part of the regular army in a post-apartheid South Africa.

"In terms of agreements we have signed with the Government, we have agreed not to train our people inside the country," MK official Mr Calvin Khan said in an interview.

"But we have said we'll stop our training for a regular army outside South Africa. So yes, we are training in countries like Uganda and Namibia and other African countries."

MK refuses to say how many members are in training, but Khan said the number was "significant".

"We are training a regular army in order to participate fully in the new army of a future South Africa - both in terms of professional ability and to ensure that the new army will not be swamped by an all-white officer corps."

Khan said an ANC government would insist that every officer of the new army undergoes an "orientation course" to ensure his commitment to a nonracial, democratic constitution.

South African forces had been involved in illegal wars in Angola and Namibia and hit squads, he said.

"Who is to guarantee they will not continue in this manner? We will not allow reactionary elements on de Klerk's government to remain within the defence force."

Khan said MK was maintaining its underground forces within South Africa in case negotiations with the Government on a new constitution breaks down.

"We have to ensure we are in a position to defend ourselves," he said.

But he added that MK's capacity to resume the armed struggle had been compromised by the group's participation in the negotiation process.

"We have actually gone so far in our attempts to create conditions conducive to a peaceful settlement that it is extremely difficult for us to maintain that capacity."

Khan and other returning MK exiles had to give the Government full details of themselves to apply for indemnity.

He said MK's willingness to put its military capacity at risk demonstrated its commitment to peace.

"Far from this image that has been created by reactionary elements that MK is just a bunch of terrorists bent on creating havoc, it has actually been very responsible."

Khan, who heads a unit charged with ensuring the welfare of returning MK guerillas, said MK had an important responsibility to help communities defend themselves against the township violence in which 3000 people have died in the past year.

"We don't see our role as forming defence units, but we'll assist where we can in the defence of the people and the revolution."

He said MK would retaliate if the ANC came under attack from white rightwing groups.

"If the rightwing thinks we will sit back if they begin to attack us, they have another thing coming. We will not hesitate to take appropriate action."

MK was still recruiting within South Africa for its training programmes abroad, Khan said, adding that the movement wanted to move its camps to South Africa as quickly as possible.

"Given the problems of Eastern Europe and their impact on African countries, conditions in the camps have become difficult."

"It is increasingly difficult to get the kind of material support necessary to maintain an armed outside of South Africa," Khan said. - Sapa-Reuters.
Former activist dies in grenade blast

A 19-YEAR-OLD former Congress of South African Students activist died yesterday when a hand grenade exploded in his hands at his home in Rockville, Soweto.

Mr Kgomo to "AK" Pule, of Rubusha Street, was killed in what Soweto police described as a suicide about 2pm in a backroom at his parents home.

His father, Mr Tony Pule, said yesterday that he was standing at the kitchen door calling his son to come and have his lunch when the blast occurred.

"There was this sudden explosion which rocked the room. And the next minute his body was sprawled near the backroom door," Pule said.

He could, however, not confirm that his son's death was a suicide.

"All I can say is that police took away two letters and a notebook whose contents I had not read," he said.

Speaking at the scene of the incident, Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said: "We have in our possession a suicide note, the contents of which we cannot reveal at this stage."
Govt crackdown on firearms set out in draft Bill

Proposals to combat violence by curbing the carrying and use of firearms were published yesterday.

Proposed amendments to the Arms and Ammunition Act, published for comment in yesterday's Government Gazette, effectively make it more difficult to possess and use firearms legally.

A significant effect of the draft Bill will be that gun owners who are not defined as collectors will not readily be issued with licences for a second firearm of the same type.

"For example, if you own a pistol and apply for a licence on the grounds of self-defence, and then apply for a licence for another pistol, you will have to give sufficient reasons why you need it," a police spokesman said.

"If you've got a number of firearms, the Commissioner of Police can declare you a collector, and then you might be compelled to take stringent safety measures such as installing a special safe."

Owners declared collectors by the Commissioner would have 60 days to appeal to the Minister of Law and Order. In the proposals, definitions of arms and ammunition — over which stringent rules apply — have been widened to include teargas cartridges, gas rifles of 4.5 mm or larger, gas pistols, air rifles of 4.5 mm or larger, and machineguns.

If passed by Parliament, the Arms and Ammunition Amendment Act would oblige gunsmiths to carry an official identity document issued by the State, and a prescribed fee would have to be paid for permission to possess a firearm for a prescribed period of time.

Authorisation for possession could also be withdrawn at any time by the Commissioner of Police.

Prior written consent would have to be issued by a licensed firearm owner for anyone else to be in possession of his or her firearm.

Anyone carrying a firearm would have to carry a licence at all times.

Stricter rules would apply to negligence and the loss of a firearm.
ANC's French connection linked to SADF

A Frenchman with past links to the SADF is now helping the ANC with military matters.

By GAVIN EVANS

A TOP-LEVEL African National Congress military delegation leaves for India today in a bid to get its soldiers trained in conventional warfare to prepare them for integration into a post-apartheid defence force.

The trip follows similar visits to France earlier this year, and the movement is also approaching Japan and Britain asking them for military assistance.

But in a bizarre twist it has emerged that one of the men helping them is Frenchman Alain Guenon, who has also made propaganda films for the South African Defence Force and has been accused of having close links with SADF Military Intelligence.

According to senior Umkhonto weSizwe representative Tokyo Sexwale, members of MK are currently being trained in conventional warfare in the Soviet Union and this has "not yet" been affected by the changes taking place there. Other MK officials are being trained in Cuba, he said.

The delegation to India includes Sexwale, MK chief of staff Chris Hani, Transkei military leader Major General Bantu Holomisa and one other, still to be named.

"We will be going to New Delhi for two weeks at the invitation of the Indian government. We are taking definite proposals with regard to training, and will also inspect a number of facilities. We will look at their ground forces, airforce and navy and see what they can offer," Sexwale said.

Holomisa and Sexwale both confirmed that Guenon had arranged their April visit to Paris, where they met French arms manufacturers, senior military officials and the Industries Minister Roger Fouroux, to discuss future French arms sales to South Africa and the training of MK cadres.

... Acting as a consultant for the French military industrial company, SAGEM, Guenon set up the visit to discuss the possibilities of re-establishing French military links with a post-apartheid South Africa. SAGEM paid all the delegation's expenses and for a follow-up trip in which Sexwale attended the Paris airshow.

According to ANC sources, the initial secret talks caught unaware both the South African embassy in France and the ANC's international relations department (whose head, Thabo Mbeki, was in Paris at the time), and caused "disquiet" in the French foreign ministry.

But despite a personal warning from French president Francois Mitterrand to ANC president Nelson Mandela about Guenon, the ANC has continued to deal with the South African-based Frenchman.

A former lecturer in medieval philosophy in Paris, he came to South Africa in the early 1990s and turned to film and television production, establishing two companies, Ubeck and Good Ideas Company, with Roelf Frederik Botha, cousin of the cabinet minister, as co-director.

Good Ideas and Ubeck formed part of the filmmaking group Brigadiers, a company run by Albie Venter and his father, former security policeman Lieutenant General John Venter. According to former SADF intelligence officer, Major Nico Basson, Brigadiers made propaganda films on behalf of the SADF, and Guenon was frequently mentioned by SADF intelligence as being "one of our guys".

"It was known in the government that Venter and Guenon were people who would do what the government wanted," said Basson.

Asked why the ANC delegation was dealing with Guenon, Sexwale said he was a South African representative of several French companies, "some of whom insisted he represented them on the French visit".
South Africa has got the biggest economy on the whole African continent and the wealth created here is enormous. One of the results of this wealth is a very sophisticated medical service. You might remember that the very first heart transplant ever in the world was carried out here in this country. Yet, since its early days this does not reflect the reality of the situation at large.

How can we have such a wealthy country but still experience such extreme ill-health and disease?

APARTHEID CAPITALISM AND HEALTH

The main aim of the capitalist system is to make profit. This drive for profit means that the bosses push workers to work long hours, in conditions that are often very unhealthy. Migrant labour and the black system is also a result of the drive to make more profits through the cheap labour system.

We all know how bad conditions are in the hostels, and that these conditions like this cause diseases like TB and other stress related diseases.

Working class people die sooner and suffer more ill health than middle class people. One of the reasons for this is the poor wages they earn. If you do not earn a living wage, you cannot afford proper housing, a balanced diet, or warm clothing, and so you will obviously experience ill-health. The health situations in South Africa is particularly bad because of the form that capitalism has taken here.

Do you know that it has been estimated that almost 50% of the state's health budget is used for administration costs and does not actually reach health services?

This is because the health services are divided and fragmented. Let's briefly look at the history of the health structures in this country.

APARTHEID HEALTH SERVICES

In 1910 the constitution of the Union of South Africa granted the four provinces the power to administer the hospitals. This meant that the health services were controlled by the local and provincial administrations. After the great influenza epidemic in 1919 a National Department of Health was created, but it delegated most of its functions to municipalities, except in rural areas where there were no local authorities. The hospital and curative services (services which help people get better once they are already sick) instead of simply preventing sickness which is what preventative health services do) were still run by the provincial authorities. This created a trichotomy health service with overlapping of functions within these structures. Thus we get not just geographic fragmentation i.e. provincial and rural and urban but also fragmentation of curative and preventive services.

The fragmentation process was made worse with the implementation of the bantustan policy after 1960. Ten homelands were created each with its own department of health. In the case of a homeland such as Bophuthatswana, many 'borders' had to be crossed to administer its health services.

The introduction of the Triangular Parliament in 1983 made the situation more unwieldy and expensive. Each of the houses, white, coloured and Indian, had to administer its own health under "own affairs" services. Now we can see why 60% of the budget is spent on administration!

As you can see from the other articles in this policy series, the state is trying to hand its responsibilities over to the private sector. It is doing the same with health.

PRIVATISATION AND HEALTH

Privatisation of health care leads to further fragmentation of health services and also pushes up the cost of health care. This creates a two-tier system: one for the rich and one for the poor. In reality this means that one fifth of the people in the country who are wealthy are using up almost half the health care expenditure.

Another feature of privatisation is that people can make a profit from other people's ill-health. The people who make most of the money are often private doctors and shareholders in private hospitals.

Private health services are usually only found in places where they can make the most money. For example, we do not often find private hospitals in worker class areas. If there are hospitals in poorer areas they usually don't have the sophisticated equipment needed for effective operations. A range of other services are also not provided for in worker class areas. Mental health care, care for the elderly and preventive health care are either absent or are provided in limited quantities.

The private sector has taken over the more money-making aspects of health care from the public sector. This in turn has led to a dramatic outflow of experienced doctors and nurses from the public hospitals. This means that there is also not very good training for new health workers and so the quality of health care in public hospitals is deteriorating. This situation points to the need for a National Health Service (NHS) but you can read about that next week.

Next week we will also look at the state's approach to health in South Africa and debates in the liberation movement over health policy.

THE ROLE OF THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY

The pharmaceutical industry which makes and distributes medicines, plays a major role in determining the cost of medical care and the quality of health services. The ways in which this industry affects medical care are:

- The state spends roughly 10% of the health budget on drugs and the drug manufacturers are all capitalist firms making profit.
- The development of the pharmaceutical products does not correspond to the health needs of the population. The newer drugs produced are very much like the existing drugs. They add very little or nothing to better medical care. They are produced simply to obtain a share in the market.
- Patients are used to protect the profitability of the drugs. Research is mainly done in areas which can ensure profitable medicines and is funded by the drug companies who are interested in those profits.
- The pharmaceutical industry is largely multinational. The top 25 drug companies only make up a fraction (9.6%), of all the producers in the world. Yet they control 40% of the total world sales.
Blast kills 6 at wedding

SIX people were killed and 12 others seriously injured in an explosion at a wedding feast in Umbumbulu, south of Durban, at the weekend.

KwaZulu police said an explosive device, believed to be a hand grenade, was planted in a room full of people.

It exploded and killed five people instantly. A sixth person died on the way to hospital and more than 10 people were taken to Umhlazi's Prince Mshiyeni Hospital.

The incident occurred at the wedding of Mr Mbuizin Shozi of Ntiranye in the Umbumbulu district.

The motive for the blast is not yet known and police are investigating. - Sapa.
Making an MK verbal sortie onto SADF turf

SOUTH deputy editor RAIFQ ROHAN, a former Robben Island prisoner convicted of charges relating to MK activities, visited the SADF infantry base in Oudtshoorn. He spoke to Major Michael Jumah, the first “coloured” major in the SADF:

RAIFQ ROHAN: As a black person joining the SADF with its reputation for suppressing your own people, did you feel you sold out and played a role in perpetuating apartheid?

MICHAEL JUMAH: I felt that our people needed to be in the army, particularly the coloured people, because we had to also think about the security of our families and other people.

RR: I, as an MK soldier, saw my role as a noble one — to bring down a system that criminalised and dis-enfranchised people because of the colour of their skin. A system which you and your army supported militarily. How can you possibly see your role as a noble one?

MJ: I’m not really politically orientated because my point of view is that we are not in the army for party political reasons.

ENCOUNTER: Michael Jumah interviewed by Raifq Rohan

We are working for the government of the day and if any other government must take over then I will still be in the army. I’m not part of any political interest. (±4½)

RR: When I operated for MK I saw apartheid and its upholders as the enemy. You are training in this army now, who do you see as the enemy right now?

MJ: That’s a difficult question — a very difficult question. At this stage I see no enemy around here, in the country.

RR: I want to know your attitude towards me right now, knowing that I have physically attacked your army.

MJ: Well, I’ll first see if it’s possible to get you without firing and get you to stop. Then I’ll have a chat with you to find out what’s the problem and the condition in which you did the things you had to do.

RR: Do you think the ANC was justified in the armed struggle?

MJ: My position here is to take care of the security of the land. That’s my whole point and I think if all of us, no matter what political situation we are having, have this point of view then we have a better land.

RR: How do you feel about having defended apartheid? The government you defended has conceded that apartheid was wrong. You are now told you defended an unjust system.

MJ: I know that was wrong. I’m a coloured too. There were things that shocked me too but I think we can go through that and come out and see that things change.

RR: Surely these changes would have come about much earlier and there would have been less loss of life and bloodshed had your army not played such a significant role in ensuring that apartheid was, at times, so brutally implemented.

MJ: That’s your point of view. Like I said, the reason I joined the army was that I was interested in the army.
POLICE are looking at a possible link between the anti-VAT stayaway and an explosion early yesterday that damaged the railway line linking the East Rand to Johannesburg, police said yesterday.

The explosion, which occurred at Modderbee near Beacon at about 2.45am, damaged the rails, disrupting traffic. Sarel van Zyl

No one has so far claimed responsibility for the damage, a police spokesman said.

"The police are exploring all avenues. The link between the anti-VAT campaigners and the explosion cannot be discounted," said the spokesman.

Police suspected the explosive had been placed on the rails to keep East Rand workers at home on the second day of the national strike organised by the anti-VAT Co-ordinating Committee, he said. Elia

Meanwhile police reported an explosion which damaged three railway lines between Bellville and Cape Town yesterday morning.

No injuries were reported, police said.
JSE appoints Andersen as executive president

THE JSE has confirmed the appointment of Ernst & Young executive chairman Roy Andersen to succeed Tony Norton as executive president.

Speaking to Business Day from Hong Kong last night, Andersen said: “I am excited about taking up the position as I believe the JSE has an important role to play as we move into the new SA.

“There are tremendous challenges ahead but I thrive on challenges and there will be opportunities to make the stock exchange relevant to all sectors of the population.

“Have some ideas of what I would like to do and have done a fair amount of background work. But I have a lot to learn and it would be presumptuous of me to say much more at this stage.

“I only start work in March and I am looking forward to working with Tony Norton before his departure. I would like to see an open relationship with the Press but I first need to understand the issues which will confront me,” he added.

Andersen is to take up the position at the beginning of March 1992 so there will be a two-month overlap with Norton who leaves at the end of April, the JSE and Ernst & Young said in a joint statement yesterday.

JSE chairman Humphrey Borkum said Andersen’s strength in strategic management made him well qualified for the position. “We are delighted to have attracted a candidate of Roy Andersen’s calibre.”

Borkum added: “In making this appointment, the JSE would like to stress that it believes the decision taken seven years ago to appoint an executive president was the correct one.

“Thanks to the able leadership of Tony Norton, the position has been successfully established. Andersen’s proven leadership capabilities equip him well for the task ahead.”

Another JSE member, who did not wish to be named, expressed dismay that details of the appointment had been leaked to the media before members were informed.

Market talk yesterday was that Andersen’s package would be in the region of R500 000 a year.

Andersen, 43, who qualified as a CA in 1972, has been with the firm for 25 years in SA and the US, and was chairman and CEO of Ernst & Whinney in SA at the time of the merger.

Maggie Mines goes under with debts of nearly R12m

A COAL mining company which owes its creditors almost R12m was placed under final liquidation in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The order winding up Maggie Mines Pty Ltd was granted by Mr Justice D van Zyl following an application by Pied Piper Investments Pty Ltd, a shareholder in the mining company.

Pied Piper’s sole director, David Wassung, who is also a director of Basil Read Civil Engineering Pty Ltd, said Maggie Mines owed R2.6m to Basil Read.

He said the mine’s accountant had informed him in June that the company had financial and cash flow difficulties because sales of its processed coal had not materialized.

The company’s books and financial statements as at May 31 showed Maggie Mines had liabilities of R11.5m and assets of about R3.9m.

Bomb blast damages dam

A BOMB blast which damaged a dam wall near Schweizer-Reneke on Monday could be linked to the recent suspension of water supplies to nearby Isipaleng township for non-payment of bills, western Transvaal police said yesterday.

An arson docket has been opened following the pre-dawn explosion which blew an 18cm by 10cm hole in the 3km wall, but did not penetrate the concrete.

It has not yet been established what kind of explosive device was used in attempts to destroy the 10-million-litre dam. There have been no arrests.
Bomb blast damages dam

JONATHON REES

A BOMB blast which damaged a dam wall near Schweizer-Reneke on Monday could be linked to the recent suspension of water supplies to nearby Ipaleng township for non-payment of bills, western Transvaal police said yesterday.

An arson docket has been opened following the pre-dawn explosion which blew an 18cm by 18cm hole in the dam wall, but did not penetrate the concrete.

It has not yet been established what kind of explosive device was used in attempts to destroy the 19-million-litre dam. There have been no arrests.
A Russian-manufactured hand grenade which exploded at a White City, Soweto house caused damage estimated at about R700 at 11.45pm on Wednesday night.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Haigryn of the Soweto police said the incident was reported at noon yesterday. Police found traces of an F1 grenade.

The residents of the house had no political affiliations, he said.

No one was hurt. — West Rand Bureau.
Plan to attack Merafe hostel foiled

By SOPHIE TEMAN

A PLANNED mass attack on the Merafe hostel was uncovered after police arrested two members of the ANC Youth League in Klipspruit this week.

A quantity of arms including AK-47 rifles, ammunition, hand-grenades and a machine pistol were confiscated.

Police Regional Commissioner Maj-Gen Kobus Malan said the planned attack could have had serious repercussions had police not acted promptly.

The two league members face a charge of murder, a sequel to the death of Klipspruit woman Teresa Tshabalala, who was allegedly killed as a suspected "sellout".

Police investigations led to the discovery of a detailed plan of the hostel—occupied mostly by Inkatha members.

After Tshabalala was murdered, police visited a Klipspruit home where an AK-47 magazine had been found on October 8. Three suspects fled. A bag containing arms and ammunition was recovered. The next day one of the three, Anthony Pule, committed suicide, Malan said.
Soweto police are looking for two men they believe can help them with their investigation after the discovery of an arms cache in the township last week.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn, liaison officer for the Soweto police, said the arms cache was found at a house on November 10 and consisted of, among other things, 10 mini-limpet mines, 30 rounds of ammunition, an AK-47 rifle, 19 VZD 3 m detonators, 108 mechanical detonators and 20 MUV2 detonators.

One of the men the police want to speak to is Mafopane Moses Clifford Motikoe, who was last seen in Bekkersdal. He is thin and tall and his identity number is 660903-542-1091.

Another is Sizo Alexandra Mkhabela, who is 1.59 m tall and sturdily built. His identity number is 640612-533-2083.

Anyone who has seen the men is asked to contact Sergeant P Morrow on (011) 980-0140 at all hours. — West Rand Bureau.
Police swoop on arms cache

By Guy Jepson
Crime Staff

Detectives acting on a tip-off yesterday intercepted a truck carrying more than 30 automatic weapons and a large quantity of ammunition outside Barberton in the eastern Transvaal.

Police spokesman Captain Oosie van Niekerk said six men were arrested in connection with the weapons haul, which included 28 AK-47 assault rifles and two Uzi sub-machineguns.

Also uncovered were more than 1,000 AK-47 rounds, 25 AK magazines, 90 Uzi rounds and three Uzi magazines. The haul is one of the largest arms caches confiscated by the SAP in a single operation.

There was intense speculation that the cache was bound for the troubled townships of the East Rand.

Captain van Niekerk said Crime Combating and Investigation Services (CCI) chief Lieutenant-General Basie Ntini was scheduled to make an announcement on the weapons haul later today.

He said that after receiving information, detectives swooped on a three-ton truck travelling on the Low's Creek Road, about 15 km from Barberton.

The owner of the Bougainvillea Hotel outside Barberton told The Star last night that she saw police unloading the weapons and ammunition from a truck.

She said she saw police pulling the truck over on the Concert Mine Road. A few minutes later four police cars arrived.

"Looking through my binoculars, I saw police unloading the truck. It looked as though it was full of AK-47 rifles and ammunition," she said.

Captain van Niekerk said due to the sensitivity of the case, police were not in a position to disclose further information until the general's statement.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Koetz said there was no comment on the operation, but said police were pouring "enormous" resources into the fight against arms smugglers and the eradication of illegal weapons such as AK-47 rifles.

The suspects are scheduled to appear in Barberton Magistrate's Court soon, Captain van Niekerk said.

EC agrees on a united Europe, single currency

MAASTRICHT (Netherlands) — European Community leaders agreed on a historic political and monetary union treaty early today that will give Western Europe a single currency by 1999 and a stronger joint voice in world affairs.

The accord came after a marathon, hard-fought 15-nation summit spliced over into a third day to circumvent deep British reservations about giving increased power to Brussels.

The breakthrough came when 11 member states agreed to implement a Social Charter enshrining basic workers' rights outside the EC's legal framework, enabling Britain to sign a comprehensive treaty on other issues.

Under the deal, a single currency, the Ecu, managed by an independent European central bank, will be introduced as early as 1997 if seven EC states meet strict economic criteria, and at the latest in 1999.

Britain obtained a special protocol allowing it to defer a commitment on whether and when to join monetary union.

"I am very satisfied with the outcome, very satisfied," declared British Prime Minister John Major.

"Bolt-holes"

But Liberal Democrat leader Paddy Ashdown said that Britain was left "with more bolt-holes than a Guru cheese'.

Tony Blair, employment spokesman for the main opposition Labour Party, said the deal on social affairs was "an opt-out in all but name".

Trades Union Congress general secretary Norman Willis said the government had made "a bad miscalculation".

"They have left British industry and workers isolated. Workers in this country will be denied rights guaranteed to their colleagues in the rest of the community," he said.

The dispute over labour regulations underlined a rift between Britain and the continental left or left-of-centre governments on the continent, which provide generous state-funded benefits and consult regularly with labour unions.

Britain's Conservative Party said the labour regulations undermined its union clampdown and would lower the community's ability to compete with the US and Japan. — Sapa-Reuters-AP.

• Major balls victory — Page 4

Medicines racket being investigated

DURBAN — A special police unit has been established to investigate criminal networks which are plundering scheduled medicines worth millions of rands from South African institutions and feeding them back into legitimate markets.

The medicines, most of them prescription drugs of Schedule 3 and upwards, are disappearing in massive numbers from within the pharmaceutical industry, and also from provincial and state hospitals.

Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association executive director John Toerien said today nobody could get to the bottom of how medicines re-entered the legal market.

"Those on Schedule 3 and upwards can only be held, sold or prescribed by doctors, pharmacists, dentists and veterinarians."
ANC leader Dave Motse’s home blasted in 11th attack

A HAND grenade exploded at the home of an ANC leader in Vosloorus on Monday night.

This brings to 11 the number of violent attacks against the organisation’s members within weeks on the East Rand, the ANC and police said yesterday.

The ANC’s chief marshal on the East Rand, Mr David Motse (24) and his family escaped unhurt.

Explosion

ANC PWV region spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the explosion completely blew off the roof of the house and extensively damaged furniture in the sitting room.

He said the attack was the 11th of “an orchestrated pattern”, which he was convinced was aimed at “cutting off and eliminating the organisation’s leadership from the grassroots, particularly on the East Rand”.

Monday night’s attack, Mamoepa said, was the 11th on the East Rand in just over two months since the assassination of prominent Civic Association of the Transvaal official, Mr Sam Nkuli, in September.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Sergeant Andy Pieke confirmed the incident and said further details would be made available later. - Sapa.
By Rehana Rossouw

‘Hani’s shoes can be filled’

Although MK has not yet officially discussed the implications of Hani’s new position, sources say that, while his departure would be a loss, it is also a positive development for young officials of the armed wing and Hani’s political career.

Described as a “reluctant soldier”, Hani has indicated frequently in the past few months that he sees himself as a politician rather than a soldier and would welcome an opportunity to play a role in the forthcoming negotiations.

His willingness to serve the SACP in a fulltime capacity is also seen as an indication that the party’s role is regarded as more important than MK’s in the present political climate.

Finding a replacement chief of staff will be a “process” which has both organisational and political implications for MK and the ANC as a whole.

“Obviously we recognise his leaving MK is going to affect the organisational capacity of the leadership structures of the army,” said a senior MK official. “His contribution has been incredible at that level and it will be important to ensure that his successor plays the same political role in MK as he did.”

All indications are the ANC and MK will not be rushed into finding a new chief of staff.

While MK officials are reluctant to name a likely successor, two contenders for the post could be Mr Siphiwe Nyanda, Operation Vula commander and former Robben Islander Mr Tokyo Sexwale.

The strongest contenders, sources say, are Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Mr Lambert Moloi.

“What must be understood is that choosing a new chief of staff is a political decision,” said the MK source. “The future of MK must in no way be marginalised. Having Chris Hani take up a senior position in a political organisation in a way ensures that MK is continually placed on the political agenda.”

The chief of staff fulfils a key organisational role in MK and has the responsibility of overseeing the day to day functioning of the army.

The chief of staff’s duties include attending the welfare of MK members, their deployment and setting up the army’s infrastructure.

“There are many young people in the army who are ready to fill this gap. Given the opportunity, they can fulfil the political role as well,” said the MK source.

“We must not create an institution of Chris Hani. Despite his incredible contribution, things will not grind to a halt because he is leaving.”

Because Hani’s successor will be a political appointment, the decision will be taken by the ANC’s national executive committee, with input from the military leadership as well.
ANC army celebrates 30 years of struggle

By Rehana Rossouw

A SPEAR will be carried across the Peninsula this weekend as ANC members celebrate the 30th anniversary of their organisation’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

Members will run with the spear and a shield from Khayelitsha, through Guguletu, Heideveld and Bontheuwel before handing them to MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani in Langa. Hani will address a rally at the Langa Stadium which starts at 12 noon on Monday December 16.

MK’s history will be recalled this week at a three-day celebration in the Western Cape.

The ANC launched its military wing on December 16, 1961, with bombings at government offices and installations in Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth. The blasts signalled the ANC’s departure from solely non-violent resistance.

One of the first campaigns of MK was to fight alongside the Zimbabwean freedom fighters in the late sixties.

Codenamed the Wankie Campaign, MK soldiers in the Luthuli Detachment were sent to assist the Zimbabweans and find routes into South Africa. MK commander Mr Joe Modise and Hani were among those who saw action in this campaign.

The seventies saw MK sending cadres into South Africa to build underground structures under more favourable conditions following the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and the intensification of the war in Zimbabwe.

Then came the “armed propaganda” phase. Sasol, Koeberg and Voortrekkerhoogte were attacked following the establishment of bases inside the country.

The improved capacity of MK led to attacks against police stations, army barracks and several government installations.

As retribution, the SADF raided Lesotho, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Swaziland, resulting in some ANC members being killed and many being captured.

Although MK has suspended its armed struggle as part of the negotiation process, the army has not disbanded.

It continues to recruit members and upgrades their skills to prepare them to form part of the regular army in the post-apartheid South Africa.

On Saturday an exhibition of material depicting the history of MK will be opened at the University of the Western Cape auditorium by ANC national executive committee member Prof Kader Asmal.

The exhibition, prepared by the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa, will portray the role of MK from the early sabotage actions to the development of the strategy of People’s War.

There will also be speakers on the Wankie Campaign and the role of women in MK.

On Saturday a "gumba" kicks off at the Guguletu Civic Centre at 2pm with a range of cultural events.
Arms cache on way to townships – SAP

By Gay Jepson
Crime Staff

Police in the eastern Transvaal have intercepted a truck carrying more than 30 automatic weapons and a large quantity of ammunition which, they say, was destined for the troubled East Rand townships.

Six people — five men and a woman — were arrested on Tuesday night when police pulled over a 3 ton Toyota truck 15 km outside Barberton.

Announcing the breakthrough yesterday, Crime Combating and Investigation Services head Lieutenant-General Basie Smit said a seventh suspect had also been arrested.

General Smit said the arms cache comprised 29 AK-47 assault rifles, two Uzi sub-machine pistols, 25 full AK-47 magazines and three full Uzi magazines.

The truck was intercepted after police received information that it was “on its way from Matsulu in KaNgwane to the East Rand with a consignment of firearms”.

General Smit said the interception of the weapons had made a valuable contribution to the prevention of violence “at a time when peace is being pursued and especially in view of the nearing Christmas season”.

The investigation was continuing.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police were pouring enormous resources into the fight against arms smugglers and the eradication of illegal weapons such as AK-47 rifles.
POLICE this week intercepted a truck carrying more than 30 automatic guns and a large quantity of ammunition near Barberton in the Eastern Transvaal.

The haul is said to be one of the largest arms caches confiscated by the South African Police in a single operation.

Police spokesman Captian Oosie van Niekerk said information was received by the firearms unit in Witrivier that a three-ton truck was on its way from Matsulu in KwaNgwane to the East Rand with a consignment of firearms.

He said that, in conjunction with the station commander and police in Barberton, the vehicle was stopped about 15km from the town on Louws Creek Road.

The vehicle was searched and the weapons were found in a wooden crate. The haul included 29 AK-47 rifles, 25 fully loaded AK-47 magazines comprising 750 rounds, two Uzi sub-machine pistols and three Uzi magazines loaded with 90 rounds.

Five black men and a woman were arrested.

Another suspect was arrested on the East Rand during a follow-up operation.

SAP Crime Combating and Investigation Services divisional head Lieutenant-General Bascie Smit yesterday praised the units involved “in this magnificent break-through.”
Army, Umkhonto to meet

Umkhonto will release details of Monday's planned activities at a news conference later today.

Soweto SAP spokesman Lt-Col Thienie Halgryn said yesterday that Umkhonto had booked the township's Orlando Stadium. An Umkhonto member said senior ANC members would address the rally, which would be "one of the most important ones".

Halgryn said a strategy had been drawn up to ensure effective policing of the area near the stadium. "However, we will definitely be calling on the SADF for assistance and support," he added.

Umkhonto will also stage a full military display in Umtata on Saturday. Umkhonto chief of staff and recently elected SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani and Winnie Mandela are expected to speak.
Rallies planned as MK turns 30

The ANC has organised 13 rallies countrywide and one in Uganda to celebrate the 30th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) on Monday.

Details of the celebrations were announced by MK's top leadership — including chief of staff Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils, Tokyo Sexwale and Rashid Patel — at a press conference at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg yesterday.

In a statement, MK said it would be the first time in its history that people could take part in "the public rallies and peaceful manifestations of their army".

The anniversary would focus attention on the State's continued military aggression against people by highlighting the ongoing violence and "crimes committed by the notorious death squads", as well as the ANC army's role in the negotiation process and the strengthening of "self-protection units".

Mr Hani declined to give details of MK's soldier numbers or the number of self-defence units which had been set up with MK assistance.

MK said it continued to recruit, train and de-

Chris Hani . . . won't reveal number of cadres.

velop cadres for a future nonracial army. It would not disarm or disband its force before achieving its goal of a nonracial, democratic, united and non-sexist South Africa.

Inviting all democrats to join in the celebrations, MK noted it was neither a private army or the army of a political party, but a people's army of national liberation.

The main rally will be held at Orlando Stadium in Soweto on Monday, addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, MK commander Joe Modise and ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo.

Additional policemen and troops are being moved into Soweto to watch over the rally.

The district commissioner of police for the Soweto region, Major-General Kobus Manan, yesterday asked for the co-operation of all participants in the rally to avoid violence.

"The SA Police has, with big additional costs, acquired reinforcements from outside Soweto, as well as from the SA Army, to do everything in the security force's capabilities so that violence will be avoided," General Manan said.

He added that the security forces did not want to "put a damper or restrictions" on the rally, but requested the organisers and participants to behave within the parameters of South Africa's laws, "and not create a situation for conflict and violence".

On the same day, Winnie Mandela and Mr Kasrils will speak in Port Elizabeth and Chris Hani in the western Cape. The venues of other rallies on Monday include Durban, Welkom, Nelspruit, Middelburg (Tvl), Turffontein University in the northern Transvaal, Thabazimbi, Pretoria and Kimberley.

Tomorrow Mr Hani and Mrs Mandela will address a rally at Umata in Transkei and on Sunday MK soldiers who have died in the struggle against apartheid will be commemorated at a rally in Kagiso.
'Pensioners' old before their time

PEOPLE bent on qualifying for old-age pensions have lied about their ages in the past, and the Department of Home Affairs has discovered many cases of deception in the process of issuing new non-racial ID documents.

In recent weeks many black old-age pensioners have complained that their ID books have taken years off their ages and their payouts have been suspended.

A Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) spokesman recently admitted that dates in new documents sometimes made pensioners "younger".

"In October a number of beneficiaries were informed in writing and at pay-points that their grants had been suspended because their ages disqualified them," the spokesman said.

Home Affairs Department spokesman

Chris Pretorius said in a statement yesterday that if people had complaints about dates of birth in their documents, they could apply for them to be corrected.

"It seems, however, that a recent check of personal particulars of pensioners by the provincial authorities has revealed some discrepancies between the information supplied by applicants and that contained in identity documents."

There had been a tendency for some time now for people to "lay claim to a date of birth prior and up to 1930, in cases where births were not officially registered." The department believes that this is done in order to qualify for a pension," Pretorius said.

Umkhonto to train its members in India

THE ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe would send members to India for training in conventional warfare, its chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

Hani made the announcement at a news conference held to announce a series of nationwide Umkhonto meetings to mark its 30th anniversary.

ANC national executive committee member Winnie Mandela will speak at two of the 13 meetings, all of which, except one, will be held on Monday.

The focus of the celebrations will be a meeting planned for Orlando Stadium in Soweto, which will be addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, the organisation's chairman Oliver Tambo and Umkhonto commander Joe Modise.

Welfare head Winnie Mandela will join Hani on the podium at a rally in Umtata on Saturday, while one of the celebratory meetings will also be held in an Umkhonto camp in Uganda.

Umkhonto will also hold a special commemoration service for member Mshaque Maponya at Kagiso Heroes Acre on Sunday. Maponya was killed when the bomb he was carrying exploded near the Sterland shopping centre in Pretoria in 1989.

Tim Cohen

Maponya's brother Japie was allegedly killed by SAP members Almond Nofemela and Dirk Coetzee after interrogation at Vilaklasa.

The anniversary celebrations are intended to mark the first bomb blasts of the "Sabotage Campaign" and the launching of Umkhonto on December 18 1961 — also the anniversary of the Voortrekker victory over Dingaan at the Battle of Blood River.

In a statement, Umkhonto said it would continue to recruit and train its members for a future army. "We will not disarm or disband before our goal of achieving a non-racial, non-xenost, democratic and united SA is achieved.

"Umkhonto is neither a private army nor the army of a political party," the statement said, describing it as a "people's army".

Sapa reports that Soweto police commissioner Maj-Gen Kobus Malan said additional police and defence force troops were being moved into Soweto to monitor Umkhonto's Orlando Stadium rally on Monday.
India agrees to train MK cadres

By JOE MDHLELA
THE military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will send its cadres to India to prepare them for a regular army to be installed at the installation of a democratic government in South Africa.

According to MK Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani, Umkhonto will be given the option of joining the new army. Elements within the South African Defence Force, agreeable to the new democratic order, will merge with the new “People’s Army of South Africa” - an ideal name for the new defence force.

Hani, addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday to launch MK’s 30th anniversary to be held countrywide on Monday, said the SADF had been loyal to the white minority Government.

“We will accept only those elements within the SADF who will be loyal to the cause of a democratic government,” Hani said.

With the undermining of socialism in the Eastern Bloc, Hani said India was receptive to training combatants in modern warfare.

The MK rallies will be held at the following venues: Orlando Stadium; Rylands Stadium in the Western Cape; Dan Qoqo Stadium, Port Elizabeth; Curries Fountain Stadium, Durban; Philip Smith Hall, Welkom; Tulamahashe Hall, Nelspruit; Middelburg; Umtata Independence Stadium; University of the North; Thabazimbi.

Additional police and defence force troops are being moved into Soweto to watch over Umkhonto at Orlando Stadium, reports Sapa.

This was revealed yesterday in a statement by the district commissioner of police for the Soweto region, Major-General Kobus Malan, who asked for the co-operation of all participants in the rally to avoid violence.

“The SA Police have, at great cost, acquired reinforcements from outside Soweto, as well as from the SA Army, to do everything in the security force’s capabilities to avoid violence,” Malan said.

He said the security forces did not want to “put a damper or restrictions” on the rally, but requested the organisers and participants to behave within the parameters of South Africa’s laws, “and not create a situation for violence”.

CHRIS HANI
Hani departure angers MK cadres

See Page 14

By Thembeka Kuhlalo

Hani departure angers MK cadres

TENSION is mounting in the ANC. A unique man is being

MK cadres, Tokyo Sexwale, Siphiwe Nyanda and

MK members ... Ronnie Kasrils, Tokyo Sexwale, Siphiwe Nyanda and

MK cadres...
Suitcase bomb kills finder

ONE man was killed and another injured when a suitcase exploded in a field near Payneville.

Lt-Col Dave Bruce said the two men, Liter Mahlangu, 19; and Thabo Malaka, 20, of 8 Mojaze Street, KwaThema, were walking to the shops across a field near Payneville when they spotted the case in the veld.

When Malaka opened the case, it exploded, killing him and seriously injuring Mahlangu, who was admitted to Pollock Hospital with head and hand injuries.

Reports by CP Correspondents, Saps
Viva Hani's half-mast army

By BILL KRIGE

THE ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, goose-stepped into the open in Umtata yesterday in its first public parade.

But in place of the "full military display" promised earlier in the week by ANC official Nat Serache, the 3,000-strong crowd in Umtata's Independence Stadium saw a mere 24 unarmed men in uniform stumbling through an elementary drill routine.

The strongest military presence was that of the Transkei Defence Force and its band, which played "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

The rally, to mark MK's 30th birthday, started 90 minutes late, when Mrs Winnie Mandela and MK chief of staff Chris Hani — both clad in battle fatsigues — leapt from a car that entered the stadium at high speed and threw clenched fists salutes at the assembled squad.

As the squad formed into ranks, instructions were barked out by an officer in camouflage uniform with ANC insignia.

The troops, wearing khaki fatigues and black berets but bearing no arms, appeared confused by the rapid-fire changes of pace, putting the left foot forward when it should have been the right, and finding the rigours of the goose-step too much to sustain for more than a few metres, at a time before lapsing back into a walk. It took five minutes for three of them to untie a stubborn knot around the ANC flag. When it was finally hoisted, alongside that of the SA Communist Party, it flew just above half-mast.

ANC marshals — who far outnumbered the soldiers — said the squad had been trained in East Germany, Russia, Angola and Cuba.

The only AK-47 on view was carried by an MK supporter who fired several bursts into the air in tribute to "fallen comrades".

In a fiery speech, Mr Hani said the Transkei Defence Force — trained and equipped by the SADF — was an ally in the freedom struggle.
It's 30 years of MK!

UMKHONTO weSizwe, chief of staff Chris Hani yesterday in Umtata inspected a guard of honour of 16 uniformed fighters in MK's first open military parade inside the country.

The 16, who were unarmed, performed a drill display before enthusiastic crowds at Umtata Independence Stadium.

During his speech Hani paid tribute to MK members who fell during the armed struggle, and a 21-shot salute was fired. Other speakers were Winnie Mandela and Billie Nair.

The occasion was part of national celebrations to mark the 30th anniversary of MK's public launch.

Veritas

Political comment and newabills by K Shibza, headlines and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.
KLERKSDORP. — A massive explosion yesterday morning — the Day of the Vow — demolished a Klerksdorp church building which was being used as a private multi-racial school in the Wil Koppies township.

No one was injured in the blast at the Klerksdorp Christian Academy.

Police suspect commercial explosives were used in the blast. They also suspect right-wing involvement in the attack.

Church pastor the Rev Andre de Kock said the World of Life Centre, which is occupied by the school, was so badly damaged the building would have to be rebuilt. The school teaches 250 pupils from grade one to Std 7.

There had been no advance threats that the building would be blown up.

Pastor Ray McCauley, president of Christian Education in South Africa which runs the Christian Academy, condemned the bombing as "a cowardly act by racist bigots".

He described the bombing as "an ungodly act of terrorism". — Saps
ANC plans to expand army

UMKHONTO we Sizwe commander-in-chief Joe Modise said yesterday that the ANC's military wing would upgrade and expand its forces as it prepared to form part of a new SA national army.

Modise, speaking at a rally at Orlando Stadium, Soweto to celebrate Umkhonto's 30th anniversary, said Umkhonto would not be dictated to in its decision to continue training officers.

A tense atmosphere prevailed and there was heavy security. Speakers included ANC president Nelson Mandela and ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo.

Modise said Umkhonto was a people's army, readying itself for the role of becoming a defence force for SA, not a private army as its critics suggested.

It reserved the right to upgrade and expand its forces as part of the process of change in SA. Many young officers were undergoing training in modern military techniques in a number of countries in preparation for Umkhonto's future role in a revamped defence force for SA, he said.

Tambo warned that the apparent inability of government to stop the current violence could only lead to "a further poisoning of the political atmosphere".

He said he felt a sense of pride and vindication that Umkhonto had grown into "a formidable army of liberation that strikes fear into the hearts of oppressors".

Modise and Tambo called for all remaining political prisoners to be released.

The Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum, a group campaigning for the release of political prisoners in Bophuthatswana, said last week there were 11 political prisoners remaining in the homeland.

But Modise said yesterday there will still "many MK cadres" being kept in jail in the homeland, and accused government of acting with the "utmost arrogance" in refusing to release remaining political prisoners.

Sapa reports only about 18 Umkhonto members took part in a parade around the stadium which was supposed to have been the highlight of the proceedings.
AN EXPLOSION yesterday demolished a Klerksdorp church building which was being used as a private multiracial school in the Wilkopjes township.

Sapa reports no one was injured in the blast at Klerksdorp Christian Academy.

Police said they suspect the Iam blast was caused by commercial explosives and that right-wingers may have been involved.

Church pastor the Rev Andre de Kock said the centre was so badly damaged it would have to be rebuilt.

He said the worst damage was within the building, but newly built classrooms nearby were also badly damaged.

The Klerksdorp Christian Academy forms part of the International Fellowship of Christian Churches and is registered as a private school by the Transvaal Education Department. The school has 250 pupils up to Std 7.

Classes would continue next year in buildings at the Klerksdorp showgrounds, about 3km away, according to one of the teachers, Driekie Kirsten.

Pastor Ray McCauley, president of Christian Education in SA, condemned the bombing as "a cowardly act by racist bigots" and "an ungodly act of terrorism".
CoP hurt in grenade blast

By NICHOLAS MAIDBO and SREP

"In answer to a home invasion in connection with an incident in question, police received a report of a man being shot, which was confirmed by the victim. The man was taken to the hospital and is in stable condition."

The victim, identified as John Doe, was one of two people who were injured in the incident. The other person, identified as Jane Smith, was also taken to the hospital for treatment.

"The police are investigating this incident, and we are appealing to anyone who may have information to come forward," said Commander John Johnson. "We are also reminding the public to be vigilant and report any suspicious activity to the police."
The Transkei Defence Force, sponsored and trained by the South African Government, has pledged support to Umkhonto we Sizwe in the event of national negotiations failing.

This was said by TDF acting commander Brigadier Themba Matanzima at MK's 30th anniversary rally at Umtata's Independence Stadium on Saturday.

The TDF and MK "would go back to the bush together in the struggle for freedom" if negotiations failed, Matanzima said.

The TDF fully supported MK's initiatives in training soldiers of both armies abroad and in Africa to upgrade military skills so these forces could take their rightful place when South Africa's armies were integrated, Matanzima said.

Apartheid planners were to blame for homeland soldiers not receiving adequate training which matched the professional standards of the SA Defence Force, he said.

The days when the SADF infiltrated the TDF to suppress the activities of MK were gone, he said. Matanzima spoke of growing up with many MK cadres who had died in struggles against the SADF.

He praised dead MK commanders like Mr Zola Dube and Mr Attwell Mghekeza. - Sapa
Woods's litigation threat 'skirts issue'

TALK of litigation by Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods against The Weekly Mail was intended to hide the fact that Woods, the Institute and Inkatha had not challenged the main thrust of reports about the party's government links, the newspaper's editor Anton Harber said yesterday.

He was reacting to Woods's remarks this week that he was taking legal advice on how to deal with the newspaper which named him as a Security Police informer.

"It was not us that named Mr Woods as a police informer. It was the police themselves," said Harber in a statement sent to Business Day.

He said Durban-based SAP officer Maj Louis Botha, "a man whom Woods himself acknowledged he knows well", had written in an SAP document that Woods was an informer.

He added that the authenticity of that SAP document had been proven.

The newspaper also published Woods's denial that he was an informer.

Botha subsequently released an affidavit saying he "had not quite meant exactly what he said" in describing Woods as an informer, said Harber.

"Mr Woods, however, should also explain how and why he wrote an official report that covered up the secret funding of Uwisa. Mr Woods conducted a long and expensive investigation into the organisation and wrote a detailed report without once asking where the organisation was getting millions of rands to throw away," he said.

Harber said he could prove the accuracy of comments which the newspaper attributed to Woods, and which Woods alleged the newspaper had fabricated.

These dealt with whether Woods actually confirmed that he knew the SAP was funding Inkatha.

"Mr Woods knows that we taped the conversation which he says we 'fabricated'. We would be happy to play this tape to a judge if that is the path Mr Woods wishes to take," said Harber.

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NEWS IN BRIEF

Man's body unearthed

THE arrest of two men in connection with the murder of American tourist Edward Perlmuter has led to the discovery of a man's body which was buried in a river bed near Giant's Castle in Natal.

Police are investigating whether the suspects, a 30-year-old man and a teenager, were also connected with the death of Pretoria man Jacob Joubert and the attempted murder of Port Elizabeth businessman Clive Newman.

The men are expected to appear in court in Nkysna today in connection with Perlmutter's death.

Govt studies weapons ban

THE Ministry of Law and Order has called for a copy of the Durban Supreme Court judgment which effectively bans the carrying of traditional weapons by Zulus.

Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the recent judgment could affect the conduct of the SAP in unrest-related incidents.

The ruling by Mr Justice Diddick in the Durban Supreme Court set aside regulations promulgated by the State President whereby the carrying of traditional weapons was permitted.

But policemen on the ground are reluctant to enforce the ban because of the great personal danger in disarming large crowds.

Support for bombed school

KLERKSDORP residents have rallied to the support of the private multiracial school which was destroyed by a bomb blast on Monday.

Pastor Andre de-Kock said the Klerksdorp Christian Academy had suffered about R12m in damage, most of which was covered by insurance. He said one woman had donated her last R5 towards rebuilding.

West Rand police said they had not ruled out right-wing involvement.

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Police warning after blast  dried.

The building has been temporarily sealed off, and the area is being searched by police. The cause of the explosion is under investigation. No one was injured.

The area is cordoned off with police tape, and warning signs have been posted. Residents are being asked to stay away from the area.

The damage to the building is extensive, with windows and doors broken. The cause of the explosion is under investigation. No one was injured.
MK ready to embrace SADF — Chris Hani

South 11/10/92 — 15/11/92

By Rehana Rosssouw

THE South African Defence Force intimated that Umkhonto we Sizwe was not a real army, yet the SADF sent soldiers across the borders to wipe out the ANC’s armed wing, MK chief of staff Chris Hani said this week.

However, MK could afford to be magnanimous and embrace the SADF despite the pain and suffering it had unleashed.

Hani addressed 3,000 people at Langa stadium on Monday on the 30th anniversary of MK’s founding — the culmination of three days of celebrations to mark the army’s history.

Across the country, MK soldiers marched and drilled before thousands of South Africans for the first time.

In Cape Town, they not only goose-stepped and saluted, but fired a 21-gun salute from an AK-47 to honour fallen cadres, despite a heavy police and army presence outside the stadium.

Dressed in army fatigues, 41 soldiers marched into the stadium. Shortly before they appeared, 40 runners who had carried two spears from Kliyelitha to Langa handed them over to Hani.

In his keynote address Hani said he saluted with pride the men and women who took the bold decision to challenge the ruling class which was armed to the teeth.

"Those who believed apartheid was immutable or God-ordained thought we were indulging in games or playing hide and seek," he said.

"Today, our people in their thousands are observing the day of Umkhonto. Which other army in this country can solicit that admiration?"

"MK is an army fighting for freedom and democracy and it is therefore not surprising that it is loved and admired by people." Hani read a list of 31 Western Cape MK cadres who had "died in action", including Ashley Kriel, Anton Fransch, Michael Mapongwana and Pro Jack.

He praised former security policemen in the Cape, like Warrant-Officer Jeffrey Benzien and Captain William Liebenburg, who he alleged tortured MK cadres at their headquarters in Culemborg.

"Let’s hope that as we move into the new South Africa the Liebenbergs and the Benzien will become relics of history.

"There will never be torture of human beings in this country again," Hani vowed.

"We will entrench a clause against torture in the new constitution of this country."

Hani said the SADF had also caused "endless pain" for the people of South Africa. The country had come through a life of terror, a nightmare because it was ruled by a "government of outlaws" which trained surrogate armies like Units and the MNR.

He said: "The SADF has nothing to be proud of. Can it be proud of having murdered Angolan civilians?"

Hani said MK was optimistic and confident about the future.

"We have shed blood, we have sacrificed, but we are alive and the new South Africa cannot be stopped."
We planted bomb – right-wing group

STAFF 20/12/91

A right-wing organisation calling itself the Boere Republikeinse Leër (Boer Republican Army) has claimed responsibility for the bomb blast that caused extensive damage to Cosatu House in Pretoria yesterday, police said last night.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Wil-lie Vlotman said the group also claimed it carried out the bomb attack on Monday on the non-racial Klerksdorp Christian Academy.

Following the Pretoria blast, the 20-member executive committee of the Boereestaat Party yesterday staged a protest on the steps of the Rand Supreme Court and warned that "the Boer nation would fight for its freedom in any manner it chooses, including the overthrow of any results growing out of Codesa".

Party leader Robert van Tonder also said the two bomb attacks "were only the beginning of the Boer's struggle".

He said he had no links with the Boer Republican Army – but fully supported them and expected this kind of action to increase.

"The Boer volk will refuse to take part in any future referenda or elections which may result from Codesa. Instead we would prefer to fight for our freedom through other methods," he said.

He said any so-called Human Rights Manifesto which might be drawn up through the efforts of Codesa would be "nothing but a piece of paper which will be torn up by the new majority rulers".
Grenade blast hurts policeman

A policeman and a woman were seriously injured in a hand grenade attack in Soweto and a powerful explosion rocked a multiracial school in Klerksdorp, early yesterday morning.

Captain Govindsamy Mariimuthoo of the Soweto police said the grenade was thrown at a house in Zone 6, Diepkloof, around 1 am.

A constable Molefe, who is stationed at John Vorster Square, and an as yet unidentified woman were badly injured and the house was extensively damaged.

Both the injured were taken to the Baragwanath Hospital. No one has yet been arrested.

Early yesterday in Klerksdorp's Wil Koppies township, an explosion — believed to have been caused by commercial explosives — occurred at the Klerksdorp Christian Academy, a multiracial school, causing R500 000 damage. There were no injuries.

A 61-year-old Daveyton man was seriously injured when shots were fired through a window of his home in Garden Village, Extension 2, at 9 pm on Sunday.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said the attackers then threw an M26 hand grenade at the house before fleeing.

The grenade did not explode and was later detonated by the police.

Retired teacher William Mooketsi (61) was admitted to the Glenwood Hospital in Benoni with wounds in his arm, leg and chest. His wife Mary was uninjured. — Staff Reporters.

Open school 'blasted by right wing' — Page 5
Weekend celebrations to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the ANC’s military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) again highlighted the difficulties involved in creating a defence force for the new SA.

MK chief of staff Chris Hani (recently elected general secretary of the SA Communist Party) insists that the organisation can’t simply be swallowed up by the SADF. In an attempt to avoid this, MK personnel are due to attend conventional army training courses in India. On the other hand, senior SADF officers have repeatedly insisted that the two forces won’t simply merge. Suitable members of MK will be recruited and retrained.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said last week that the SADF needed to be repositioned as a symbol of nationhood. At a function in Durban he contended that the SADF was a political, professional and not open to party-political interference.

The ANC disputes this view and has repeatedly accused the SADF of acting like the military wing of the NP. But MK, according to Hani (who is to relinquish his post as chief of staff once a replacement is decided), is not a private army but a “people’s army.”

For the time being constitutional talks will dominate the agendas of both the ANC and government. The future defence force will be dealt with later.

In a recent paper published by the University of the Western Cape’s Centre for Southern African Studies, Laurie Nathan, author on war resistance in SA and a critic of the SADF, says the “new defence force will probably be dominated by white SADF officers. A kind of dual power may exist after apartheid, with formal political power held by the ANC while the military and police institutions effectively remain in the hands of the incumbent security establishment.”

In contrast to Zimbabwe and Namibia, where the numerical strengths of the opposing armies were about equal, the SADF is “generally regarded as the most formidable force in Africa.” He says it is estimated to have an active force of 77,400 and reserves of 425,000.

MK on the other hand is “a comparatively ill-equipped and ill-trained guerrilla army” which some analysts estimated to be 10,000 strong. Those analysts will presumably have revised their estimates after the pathetically small turnouts (fewer than 100 in total) at three MK “parades” over the weekend.

In interviews in Lusaka, MK members told Nathan they did not see themselves as career soldiers and did not expect to join a post-apartheid defence force.

Nathan says that in spite of MK’s attempts to address the imbalance between its capabilities and those of the SADF, through more sophisticated foreign training, it was likely that MK soldiers would be absorbed into the SADF after apartheid.

“Some of these soldiers may be placed in top posts in the new defence force for political reasons, but for practical reasons most of the senior and middle positions will be filled by white SADF officers with the skills and experience to manage a large and complex organisation.”

Such an arrangement could also pay political dividends for the current government. Quoting Canada-based SA-watcher Herb Adam, Nathan says in return for giving up political control, Afrikaner nationalists are likely to insist on a “security fallback” in case constitutional guarantees are violated.

Nathan concludes that the new government’s overriding consideration in reconfiguring the defence force may be the need to avoid antagonising the white officer corps — “to ride the tiger without ending up inside her.”

The military establishment’s hand will obviously have been strengthened by the weekend’s evidence that MK exists almost entirely in the minds of ANC propagandists.
Political killings drop 26%

DEATHS in political violence have dropped 26% this year, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations. The institute said in a statement preliminary figures showed 2516 had died in political violence compared to last year's record figure of 3009.

Institute executive director John Kane-Berman said 11748 people had died since September 1984. He said 1691 had started off relatively calmly, but that the fatality rate had doubled in March to more than 11 a day.

The worst month was March when 351 people died. The institute said in 65% of the 1226 incidents of political violence it studied it was impossible to identify who were the aggressors. Firearms were used in 90% of incidents, explosives and incendiary devices in 26%, instruments capable of inflicting hand and stab wounds in 16%, and stones in 15%. Common assault and burning of people accounted for 8% of cases.

Right-wingers admit to Cosatu bomb blast

PRETORIA — A right-wing extremist group calling itself the Boer Republican Army yesterday claimed responsibility for the powerful bomb blast which caused serious damage to Cosatu's offices in Pretoria earlier in the day.

An anonymous caller with a muffled voice told Sapa that the army was also responsible for three explosions which destroyed a private multi-racial school in Klerksdorp on Monday.

Details of the army remain unclear but a right-wing expert said yesterday it was believed to be an umbrella military front for extremist right-wing groups, used as a cover to avoid exposing leadership figures on that end of the political spectrum.

The bomb at Cosatu's offices exploded yesterday at 11.15am, blowing a 0.5m hole in the pavement outside the building and damaging several surrounding shops and offices.

A 41-year-old security guard sleeping on the first floor of a neighbouring shop was slightly injured. Police have made no arrests so far.

Sapa reports that the blast caused damage amounting to thousands of rands.

The explosion left Cosatu House offices in chaos with collapsed ceilings and smashed furniture.

Regional officials said they could not yet estimate the full costs of the damage and were not aware of anything which could have been removed from the offices.

A motorbike dealer opposite the offices, Lawrence van der Merwe, said he was still assessing the damage to his shop, customers' motorbikes and new bikes which were in the display window. He expected his replacement costs to be considerable.

A representative of a nearby stationery shop, Joe Fryldik, said about 70 window panes from the shop were destroyed, while attorney Elias Pryska, whose offices were about 500m away, said there were broken window panes strewn all over his premises.
We would like to invite Friday the 20th of March the field of Education, p South Africa. The occasion South Africa of the Chairman (John Harker) whose reg strategy for high level man years. Mr Harker will be of the Southern Africa Puritt (also of Canada). enable a discussion to take Puritt on the one hand, and Cape, who are interested workshop will be held in of Economics in the School Building on the 4th Floor run for 3 hours until mi sandwiches so that members further time in informal d

We very much hope that you to plan the workshop pro could let us know as soon attending: RSVP to Jaqui Goldin - 6502752

op on the morning of national funding in the tertiary level in stop is the visit to wealth Expert Group, arheid outlines a at over the next few executive director Fund (SAETF) Paul the workshop is to John Harker and Paul here in the Western in these issues. The Room in the School in the Robert Leslie workshop is scheduled to be followed by light shop may spend some you wish to stay.

To attend but in order be grateful if you whether you will be
Fiery first round as leaders clash over MK

AN extraordinary gloves-off exchange between State President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela at the opening session of Codesa is being seen as the opening shots in the battle for control of South Africa.

Their confrontation has proved in the most dramatic way that old style politics are dead and the new has arrived.

In a confrontation unprecedented in South African politics, stunned delegates and dignitaries heard Mr Mandela publicly harangue Mr de Klerk for nearly half an hour in the closing session of the first day of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The issue was the continuing existence of Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's armed wing, which Mr de Klerk personally of using the last speaking slot granted to him by the ANC to "launch an attack on the ANC, and in doing so he has been less than frank".

"He has abused his position because he thought I would not reply," said Mr Mandela. "He was mistaken, because I am replying now."

A calm but icy Mr Mandela said "even the head of an illegitimate, discredited minority regime (Mr de Klerk) has certain standards to uphold…"

Mr Mandela said Mr de Klerk had given no indication in a telephone conversation the night before Codesa that he would raise the issue in such a way.

The ANC leader, using

SHAUN JOHNSON
Political Editor

Klerk had attacked in his opening remarks at Codesa on behalf of the Government. Mr de Klerk had issued an apparent ultimatum to the ANC to dismantle its armed wing, of disqualify itself from entering into binding agreements.

Drama

The drama began after a signing of the Codesa Declaration of Intent by 16 of 19 delegations, when Mr Mandela requested permission from Codesa co-chairman Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed to "raise a matter of national importance."

He took the podium and accused Mr de Klerk

TO PAGE 2.
Former foes now a force for peace

A FORMER ANC guerrilla and a member of the South African police jointly took responsibility for the more than 1,000 delegates, journalists, staff and dignitaries at this weekend’s Codesa talks.

Colonel Koos Venter of the SAP’s Regional HQ at John Vorster Square and Mo Shaik, a senior Umkhonto we Sizwe officer — once sworn foes — commanded the amalgam of security policemen, MK cadres and security representatives from some of the homelands.

Colonel Venter said: “We are here to do the job. We are technical — we are not political operators.”

The SAP provided a third of the security task. “Security is a difficult task because of the size of the World Trade Centre,” he said.

Colonel Venter said.

By lunchtime on Friday, Codesa had received two bomb threats. “We have the back-up, knowing the dogs have gone through the centre,” Colonel Venter said, explaining security action after a threat.

“We then warn the men on all the points to do a search. In this we are assisted by the administration staff.”

Despite the unlikely combination of men under his joint command, Colonel Venter confirmed that co-operation was good. “There are really no rough edges,” he said.
Fifth blast as right-wingers talk of ‘war’

TWO blasts rocked small towns in the Transvaal early yesterday — the latest in a wave of bomb attacks since the Day of the Vow on Monday.

The bomb blitz came amid protests from right-wing organisations against Codesa and the AWB’s threat on Friday that if Codesa decisions were enforced, war would result.

Damage estimated at R100 000 was caused by an explosion at 3am yesterday in a multi-racial beer hall next to the hotel in the western Transvaal right-wing stronghold of Koster.

Activists

On Friday night, an explosion at the magistrate’s court in the Eastern Transvaal town of Sabie also caused extensive damage.

SAP liaison officer Major Ray Harrald said last night that while each incident was being fully investigated, there was no evidence to suggest they were linked.

However, on Friday, the AWB warned: “If ever the peace-loving and law-abiding Boers were to be aroused into resistance and total rejection of this renegade government, we have now arrived at that moment in our history.”

A little-known right-wing group calling itself the Boere Republickeinie Leër (Boer Republican Army) has claimed responsibility for two of the five blasts in the past week.

By STEPHANIE HULL

Major Harrald said this was the first time police had heard of the BRL, but well-placed right-wing sources said it had emerged about a year ago. It was not a specific organisation, but an umbrella name used by underground activists.

The manager of the Koster Hotel, Mr Kallie Sander, who lives in a flatlet next to the hotel, said he was woken up by an “enormous blast”.

“The bomb must have been placed on the wall outside the multi-racial bar. Everything in it was destroyed. The buildings are wrecked and we will have to keep this section closed for about two months to rebuild the walls.”

“The hotel bottle store, which is opposite the bar, was also damaged and much of the stock was lost.

“I feel nervous about what has happened,” he said.

In other incidents this week, a Johannesburg newspaper received a letter ostensibly from the “Wit Wolwe” threatening to blow up Codesa.

The letter, addressed to the State President, said: “We will blow your Codesa up if you continue with negotiations and sell out.”

On Thursday, members of the Boerestaat Party staged a protest against Codesa on the steps of the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg.

The party’s leader, Mr Robert van Tonder, warned the bombings “were only the beginning of the Boers’ struggle for freedom”.

On Friday morning, right-wingers threatening war staged a protest outside Codesa.

The first attack of the week was at 1am on Monday, when three simultaneous blasts demolished a church building being used as a private multi-racial school in Klerksdorp.

The BRL claimed responsibility. At about 1am on Thursday, a massive explosion caused extensive damage to the Cosatu offices in Brown Street, Pretoria.

The BRL also claimed responsibility for this blast, which police said was caused by “powerful explosives.”

Fuses

Three successive explosions caused damage estimated at R750 000 to the Lichtenburg Technical College early on Friday. The college accepted its first black students last term.

The blast occurred shortly after 2am, minutes after two policemen on patrol had spotted packages with burning fuses at the college entrance.

On Monday, a fake bomb was found under the escalators leading to Sabie’s multi-racial cinema complex.

On Thursday, Mr Van Tonder said his party had no links with the BRL but he fully supported its actions and expected “these kinds of actions to increase very quickly from now on.”
Hunt on for far-rightists

PRETORIA. — The police have embarked on a wide-ranging investigation of possible far-rightist involvement in the recent spate of bomb explosions in the Transvaal.

In the latest incident, a hotel was destroyed at Koster with damage estimated at R100,000. An explosive device was detonated in a beer hall at the hotel.

Another blast caused extensive damage to the Magistrate’s Court at Sabie in the Eastern Transvaal on Friday night.

Earlier in the week, a technical college at Lichtenburg and a private school at Klerksdorp were damaged in blasts thought to have been caused by commercial explosives.

The Pretoria branch office of Cosatu was also damaged in an explosion. — Sapa CT 23
Rightists' part in bombings probed

The police have embarked on a wide-ranging investigation of possible far-rightist involvement in the recent spate of explosions in the Transvaal.

In the latest incident, a hotel was destroyed at Koster, resulting in damage of at least R100,000. An explosive device was detonated in a beer hall at the hotel. SFA, 2.3.91

Earlier last week, a technical college at Lichtenburg and a private school at Klerksdorp were damaged in blasts thought to have been caused by commercial explosives. (SFA)

Yet another blast caused extensive damage to the magistrate's court in Sabie, eastern Transvaal, on Friday night.

The Pretoria branch office of the Cosatu trade union movement was also damaged in an explosion last week. — Sapa.
Govt and Inkatha make progress over weapons issue

...
POLICE have been aware of violent plans in right-wing organisations "for some time", a police spokesman said yesterday.

The plans allegedly include a hit list targeting prominent political figures, including President FW de Klerk and African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, as well as several police generals.

At the National Party's Cape congress in October, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hermus Kriel announced that police were aware of right-wing cells and their assassination plans.

"We are aware that certain targets have been identified by them. They are fanatics prepared to ignore the laws of the country and of civilised behaviour to achieve their goals," he told delegates at the congress.

According to the SAP spokesman, the assassination plot was still being investigated.

Police are also investigating possible right-wing involvement in the recent spate of explosions in the Transvaal.

In the latest explosion, a hotel was destroyed at Koster in the Western Transvaal on Saturday.

No one was injured in the 3am explosion at the Jive Beerhall in the multi-racial Koster Hotel, but damage to the building was estimated at about R100 000.

Last week a technical college at Lichtenburg and a private school at Klerksdorp were damaged in blasts thought to have been caused by commercial explosives. Another caused extensive damage to the Sabie Magistrate's Court in the Eastern Transvaal on Friday night.
Police grab three PAC army men, arms cache

Staff Reporter

Police have arrested three of an alleged hit squad of the Pan Africanist Congress's People's Liberation Army (APLA), Minister of Law and Order Hermes Kriel announced yesterday.

The men are being held in connection with attacks on police and army personnel in various parts of the country. Mr. Kriel said the arrests followed the detention of an APLA member in Zebras on December 18.

The other two APLA members were arrested in Phakamani near Bloemfontein the next day. Police also seized an arms cache comprising two AK-47 assault rifles, four full AK-47 magazines, a Skorpion mas-90, three full Skorpion magazines, ten Chinese hand grenades, an M59 grenade and two Chinese hand grenades.

Telephone call

A man claiming to represent the Pan Africanist Congress on Tuesday said the organisation was responsible for the murder of Constable Mackie, the wounding of Constable Mackie and Md Mebede, 38, in Zula, the Koloti police station on Monday night. The condition of Constable Hadebe is in a hospital in Baragwanath.

A man calling himself SA Press Association said the APLA had attacked a police vehicle in Zula.

APLA has denied responsibility for the killing of a police officer. It claimed to have been responsible for the killing of a number of other police officers.

A man in his 20s, a relative of the dead police officer, said yesterday, a relative of the dead police officer, said yesterday that Mr. Mackie, who had been a police officer for five years, was the last of the five children of his uncle, Anthony Mackie, who said yesterday that Mr. Mackie, who had gone to Bushbuckridge to inform the family of the death of his son.

A senior police officer has informed the family of the death of a police officer who was unharmed and lived alone in Kraggers.
PAC ‘linked’ to killings

THE PAC refuses to distance itself from the killing of policemen allegedly carried out by its military wing, according to PAC general secretary Benny Alexander.

The Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla), the official military wing of the PAC, claimed responsibility for the killing of a Soweto policeman in an ambush earlier this week.

Apla has also claimed responsibility for the murders of five other policemen during the past three months.

Alexander said: "I do not seek to distance myself from the killings, nor can I at this stage confirm that those involved are involved with the PAC: that is the job of Apla."

Asked whether he condemned the killing of policemen, Alexander said he needed to know the exact circumstances before commenting. "At the moment, I can neither condemn nor condone it (the killing). I can confirm that Apla is the official military wing of the PAC, and we are affiliated in that way."

He likened the relationship between the PAC and Apla to that between the outlawed IRA and its legal political wing Sinn Fein in Northern Ireland. "We have separate command structures: Apla’s is in Dar es Salaam and ours is in Johannesburg. But we have official links."

He said he was not consulted by Apla about the attacks, "but that is not their job, and it is not mine to comment on them."

Asked why it was not his job to comment if Apla and the PAC constituted the same

organisation, Alexander said: "All I can confirm is that we do have official links."

On whether he agreed with statements from government that Apla — and by implication the PAC — were terrorist organisations, he said the "real tourists" were the SAP and SA Defence Force "who train hit squads to massacre innocent people on trains". Government had always called the PAC a terrorist organisation, he added.

The policeman shot dead in Monday night’s attack was identified as Const M Z Machete, 28, of Kagiso.

He and 33-year-old Const M D Gadebe, both stationed at Jabulani, were on patrol when a car pulled into a service station and the occupants fired several shots at them.

Gadebe is in a satisfactory condition in Baragwanath Hospital.

In a call to Sapa, Karl Zimbiri, claiming to represent Apla, said his unit was responsible for the attack.

Sapa reports that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel announced on Tuesday that police had detained three alleged members of an Apla hit squad.

They were being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in connection with hand grenade attacks on the Butha police station and on municipal policemen in Mangaung, Bloemfontein, on October 14.

Kriel said police also seized a cache of two AK-47 rifles, four AK-47 magazines, one Scorpion machine pistol, three Scorpion magazines, four Chinese stick grenades, two M-25 grenades and one M-75 grenade.

"The arrests were made after an Apla member was arrested by police in Zastron, Free State, on December 18 1991," the Minister said.

Comment: Page 4
3 Apla cadres held over arms

THREE members of an alleged hit squad of the Pan Africanist Congress' military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, are to appear in court in Bloemfontein today.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Hermus Kriel this week announced that three Tanzanian-trained members of Apla had been arrested.

He said the men were being held in connection with attacks on Balho Police Station in the Free State and on municipal police in Mangaung outside Bloemfontein on October 14.

A spokesman for the police in Bloemfontein said yesterday the three would appear in court today on charges of unlawful possession of firearms.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Kriel said the arrests followed the detention of an Apla member in Zaiston in the Free State on December 18. It is believed he received military training in Tanzania.

The other two Apla members were arrested in Phahameng, near Bloemfontein, the next day.

Arms cache

Police also seized an arms cache comprising two AK-47 rifles, four full AK-47 magazines, a Scorpion machine pistol, three full Scorpion magazines, four Chinese stick grenades, two M26 grenades and an M75 grenade.
AWB training men for ‘SS squad’ at secret camp

By DAWN BARKHUZEN

THE AWB is training a crack unit of men for guerrilla warfare at a secret base on the Lesotho border.

The Ystergarde — Iron Guard — includes men who claim they are former SADF “recces”, foreign right-wing sympathisers and ex-members of the South-West African Special Forces.

Police yesterday confirmed the existence of the group, which they are keeping under observation. They call the group the SS of the AWB.

The unit’s existence has come to light on a rising tide of right-wing militancy.

Yesterday police also confirmed that they are investigating a “newsletter” from the shadowy Boer Republican Army, which claimed responsibility for a wave of bomb attacks last week.

The unit urges Afrikaners to adopt guerrilla tactics against the government.

Led by Leon van der Merwe, members of the Ystergarde are trained for a week at a time.

To distinguish themselves from “ordinary” AWB members, they wear navy-blue battle fatigue with AWB flashes on the sleeves, and balaclavas.

Their training ranges from marksmanship to proficiency in the martial arts, bush warfare, use of explosives and hostage rescue situations.

An American journalist, Anthony LoBaido, claimed this week that he had visited the training camp and spent 24 hours with 25 members of the Ystergarde.

According to Mr LoBaido — a former Mexico correspondent of the Arizona Recorder who is in South Africa on an exchange visit — the group included a Dutch mercenary, “Piet”, 35, and a number of South Africans who claimed they had fought as mercenaries in the Middle East and Afghanistan.

Several other trainees told him they had been recces during the Namibian border war and had taken part in covert operations in Angola.

With the exception of Mr Van der Merwe, none of the men was prepared to be identified.

Denied

Mr Van der Merwe said training was provided by military experts from Holland and Ireland, but denied that there was any IRA connection.

“We are ready to fight and die for our fatherland. Soon others will be required to risk their lives, their families, their farms and their jobs to join the struggle. This is not a racial battle, but an ideological one.

“When the government tries

To Page 2
AWB trains 'SS' elite

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police were aware of the Ystergarde, whose membership figures are unknown, and were monitoring their movements.

"They are the SS of the AWB, their elite troops. They have been seen at AWB rallies and marches, and one of their tasks is said to be protection of AWB VIPs. We are watching them closely," he said.

However, he pointed out that the police could only act against private armies if they broke the law or were proved to be planning an insurrection.

He said there were no longer any banned organisations or laws barring drills and military exercises. The same applied to Umkhonto we Sizwe, he said.

Disclosures about the secret AWB base, meanwhile, coincides with the circulation of a "newsletter" — which the Sunday Times obtained a copy of yesterday — in which an organisation known as the Boer Republican Army warned "Boer patriots" not to launch attacks that resulted in loss of life.

However, despite claiming that their enemy is "not black, but those who want to destroy the Boer nation" the BRA identified ANC president Nelson Mandela, chairman Oliver Tambo, Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Joe Modise and SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani as targets for terror.

The BRA urged "all who support a Boer homeland" to organise themselves into cells of two or three members and to identify targets at will.

"We should steal the ideas of Mao Tse Tung and adopt the tactics of the Zanla fighters in Rhodesia, using attacks on multiracial schools and churches, courts and government offices to instil fear in the population," the letter said.

The newsletter is the latest in a sequence of events indicating a hard-line trend within the right wing. Apart from last week's bomb attacks, in the weeks leading up to Codesa:

- Twenty-five right-wing organisations published a joint declaration condemning Codesa as a "recipe for bloodshed and domination" and vowing to die for their cause;
- Police acknowledged the existence of a right-wing hit list targeting President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela and a plot to kidnap Mr De Klerk's four-year-old grandson;
- Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht said that unless there was a white election, 1992 would be a year of "conflict and confusion".

Captain Kotze said police did not think the right wing had the might to topple the state.

"We do not underestimate the ability of the right to wage terrorist warfare. But we don't think they have the might to topple the state.

"Events at Ventersdorp exploded the myth that the security forces will support the right wing in the face of conflict," he said.

"Different groups with different leaders and varying methods would combine forces.

CP sources this week confirmed moves toward a right-wing alliance and predicted that the "unity" congress suggested by HNP leader Jaap Marais would take place early in the new year.

"At the moment we are talking about passive resistance — white strikes and protest marches. The point of no return will come when all constitutional options have been exhausted — the day an interim government is appointed," said a CP MP.
MK men 'bought to spy on ANC'

By KURT SWART

THE ANC has accused government agencies of trying to recruit trained members of its military wing, umkhonto weSizwe (MK), to spy on it and to give other men military training in the Western Cape.

The accusation follows the alleged attempt by three white men to recruit MK member Mr Benjamin Mhlakaza in a Cape Town hotel last Thursday to spy on the ANC.

Mr Mhlakaza reported the incident to members of the ANC's Western Cape regional executive who confronted one of the alleged recruiters at the hotel the next day.

The police and the Crime Intelligence Service said this week they had no knowledge of the alleged incident, but that the allegations of military training were being taken seriously.

"We appeal to the ANC to provide us with information so that the matter can be investigated," a police spokesman said.

"We don't understand why the ANC did not use the agreed channels to report this incident to us."

Mr Mhlakaza, who returned from exile in April, said he had met three white men for a job interview at the Capetownian Hotel last Thursday.

Like many returned exiles, Mr Mhlakaza is unemployable and in financial straits.

He said he had been under the impression that he was to be offered "ordinary employment."

The three men, who introduced themselves as Chris Williams, Johnny and Anderson, had detailed knowledge of Mr Mhlakaza, including his MK alias and the MK camps in which he had been trained.

"They said they were members of the government. I was scared. I took them to be policemen. They knew so much about me," he said.

"They asked me whether there were MK camps in Tanzania. They wanted the names of MK members in the Western Cape. I told them I didn't know any."

"They said they were prepared to give me R1,500 cash immediately. I was scared and accepted."

"The interview was from 10am to 4pm. They were very friendly at first, but became more and more threatening."

"Near the end they asked me if I would be willing to train men in military techniques. I told them I wasn't physically fit enough."

"They then said they would give me an easier job and asked me to spy on the ANC, the SA Communist Party and MK, who they said were responsible for the violence. They said we had to stop the bloodshed in the townships."

They gave me the name 'Machete' and said I would have a controller. When they gave me the money they gave me a small, hard-covered book.

"I am loyal to the ANC and I contacted MK when I got back to the townships.

According to the ANC, Mr Mhlakaza reported the incident to MK leaders Mr Molisi Petane and Mr Plato Bright Ngqungwana, who told the ANC regional executive.

Members of the MK staff said they were aware of the attempts at recruitment. Their training, they believed, was linked to the spate of random night attacks, during the taxi war, on township residents by armed, balalawa-clad men.

The day after the interview, Mr Mhlakaza returned to the hotel with ANC Western Cape assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr and ANC regional executive member Mr Vincent Diba.
AWB's Iron Guards likened to Hitler's SS

By Susan Smuts
and Guy Jepson

The Afrikaner Weerstands bevraging's elite unit, the Ystergarde (Iron Guards), would fight to protect every man, woman and child from the onslaught of revolutionaries and communists, AWB chief secretary Ernie van der Westhuizen said yesterday.

He was responding to a Sunday Star report on the unit, which had been compared by a Law and Order spokesman to Hitler's SS.

The Ystergarde was one of several specialised units in the AWB's Wemkommando, Mr van der Westhuizen said. Other units, such as the dog, fire and other emergency units, also receive specialised training.

"We ask whether the Ystergarde's role was purely defensive or whether it operated offensively in certain circumstances," Mr van der Westhuizen replied. "The Wemkommando were established to protect house and heart, and the day revolution comes, they will look after property, women and children.

"We won't let terrorist groups slaughter our people. That is why we are training every man, woman and child."

Mr van der Westhuizen dismissed yesterday's report on "sensation-seeking" adding that news was scarce at this time of the year.

The Sunday Star reported that Ystergarde members were trained in covert war tactics, including assassination, at a secret camp in the Free State.

Foreign mercenaries, including an Irishman trained by the British SAS, as well as a Hollander who had trained the Ystergarde, the report said.

The Ystergarde's recruits include former SADF special forces, former police and right-wing sympathizers and former South West African Special Forces members.

Law and Order spokesman Capt. Craig Kotze announced last night that the SAP would smash any attempt at armed insurrection in South Africa.

He said an earlier statement that the police were carefully monitoring the Ystergarde, which was "to the AWB what the SS was to the Nazis".

"We are opposed to all private armies. Armed struggle is a doomed option - politically and militarily," he said.

Lieutenant-Colonel Reg Crewe of the police public relations division in Pretoria said that unless Ystergarde members committed any offence, action could not be taken against them.

"To fire 2000 rounds in the countryside or stage a baton drill is not an offence," he said.

He said the creation of private armies had been addressed at state president levels, but the issue remained a complex one.

"There's MK, there's APLA - if you act against one, you've got to act against the lot.

Any organisation which posed a threat would be closely monitored, Colonel Crewe added.

Spokesmen for both the ANC and PAC, which have come under pressure for maintaining military wings, have criticised the Government for allowing the Ystergarde to operate unhindered.

An SADF spokesman yesterday said he could not confirm whether Ystergarde members were former Reconnaissance Commandos members. Once their obligations were fulfilled, the SADF did not keep tabs on them, the spokesman said.

Only one member of the Ystergarde, Leon van der Merwe, was prepared to be identified in the report.

Sunday Star photographer Ruvan Boschoff and American reporter Anthony LoBaldo were blinded and taken to a camp, about 90 minutes' drive from Bloemfontein, where they witnessed recruits training.

Iron men ... the elite Ystergarde have pledged themselves to defending their people and property from attacks by communists and revolutionaries. The Ystergarde is one of several specialised units in the AWB's Wemkommando. Other units, such as the dog, fire and other emergency units, also received specialised training.

Picture: Ruvan Boschoff
THE military wing of the PAC, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla), constituted a threat to the negotiation and peace processes, but had no chance of achieving real success in its armed struggle, police said at the weekend.

Apla was also a potential threat to the SAP, but had shown no indication of aiming for civilians or other “soft targets”, spokesman Maj Ray Harald said.

Apla has claimed responsibility for the killing of five policemen in recent months, as well as for several attacks which police say never happened.

In the latest incident, a man claiming to be from Apla, Karl Zimbiri, telephoned a local news agency to claim responsibility for the killing of a Soweto policeman in an ambush on Monday night.

Zimbiri, claiming to be Apla’s PWV leader, has called several news-
papers in recent months with claims of Apla attacks on SAP members.

Police believed they had the threat under control, and acted against Apla members the same way as they would against any individual committing a crime, the police spokesman said.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman said armed struggle was “morally and politically bankrupt”, and that organisations attempting to use violent means to achieve their aims would find themselves “politically smashed and physically outflanked”.

Sapa reports that Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel said on Friday the PAC’s refusal to distance itself from the killing of policemen would be viewed with disgust by all law-abiding South Africans.

Speaking through his spokesman Capt Craig Kotze, Kriel was reacting to a report quoting PAC general secretary Benny Alexander as saying he would neither condemn nor condone killings claimed by Apla.

Kriel said: “If the report is true, every law-abiding person will view the statement with disgust.

“Murder remains murder, and the PAC’s view illustrates clearly that the politics of armed struggle are morally bankrupt and offer no solution to SA’s problems,” he said.

The only path to lasting peace and prosperity was through negotiations, he said.

Alexander, who confirmed the link between the PAC and Apla, said he would not comment on the Apla claimed killing of a Soweto policeman until he knew the exact circumstances.

So far this year, 144 SA policemen have been killed.
PAC, ANC slam Government over AWB camps

Double standards

The Government was applying double standards by allowing the AWB's secret army to continue, the African National Congress said yesterday.

It was reacting to disclosures that the rightwing organisation was training a crack unit for guerrilla warfare at a secret base.

The ANC also said civil war would be inevitable if foreign mercenaries were allowed to train secret armies, such as the AWB's Ystergarde (Iron Guard), inside the country.

This followed the publication of exclusive photographs by the Sunday Star yesterday of the AWB's elite Ystergarde training at an undisclosed location in the Free State.

The newspaper reported that many of the Ystergarde recruits were trained in the South African Defence Force's elite Recce units and were being helped by foreign professional soldiers, including an Irish national trained by the British Special Air Services.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said it was ironic that the Government made an issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) whose cadres had been disarmed and its arms confined to "neutral bases".

She said: "If the whole question should be seen in terms of what is legal, we can only say the Government is displaying double standards."

"It will be highly regrettable if this is allowed to go on and civil war, instigated by hired mercenaries, erupts," said Marcus.

Indeed, it was the MK question which led to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela launching a scathing attack on State President Mr FW de Klerk at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at the World Trade Centre on December 20.

Pan Africanist Congress executive committee
New twist in row over private armies

It was not the Government or the SA Police, but the organisations with private armies who had double agendas, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

He was reacting to criticism by the ANC and other organisations that the Government was applying double standards by allowing the alleged Afrikaner Weerstands beweging's secret army, Ystergarde, to continue its operations.

Captain Kotze said the view of the Government and the police on this matter was clear and completely unambiguous.

"In principle there is no difference between the private army of the ANC and that of the AWB or the Pan Africanist Congress. They form part of the same phenomenon.

"They feed off each other and each uses the existence of the other as justification for its own existence. They thus create ideal conditions for conflict and ultimately civil war."

The solution to this problem was simple. All private armies should be disbanded immediately in the interests of peace, Captain Kotze said.

"How many lives must be lost before it is realised that armed struggle in all its forms and all private armies are political and military dinosaurs, completely unnecessary and do not stand a hope of succeeding?"

He said the police did not act against the Ystergarde as an organisation for exactly the same reason it did not act against Umkhonto we Sizwe as an organisation. Both were legal organisations.

There was, however, ample evidence to prove that where individuals broke the law, the police did not hesitate to act against them.

"Prime examples of this are Venterdorp against the AWB and the smashing of the ANC's Operation Vula," Captain Kotze said.

The Conservative Party yesterday accused Captain Kotze of making political statements and said it proved the SA Police was still being utilised to further party political ends.

CP spokesman on Law and Order Moeketsi Mentz said Captain Kotze's latest statement was disturbing.

"Our advice to Captain Kotze is: Shoemaker stick to your trade. It is action of this sort that damages the image of the SAP and which plays directly into the hands of the real enemy of the police."

Mr. Mentz said: "His (Captain Kotze's) threat that the AWB— which, it is alleged, has brought its own army into existence — will be destroyed if they break the law is in sharp contrast to the failure to take action against Umkhonto we Sizwe, the private army of the ANC which has openly and defiantly broken the law," said Mr. Mentz.

The CP demanded that Captain Kotze's "bravado" be proven in the form of action taken against the ANC. — Saps.
Reaction
to double
standards
criticism

IT IS not the Government or the SA Police who have the double agenda, but organisations with private armies who continue with the armed struggle Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

He was reacting to criticism by the ANC and other organisations that the Government was applying double standards by allowing the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging’s alleged secret army, Ystergarde, to continue.

He said the Government and police were clear on the matter and their view completely unambiguous.

"In principle there is no difference between the private army of the ANC and that of the AWB or the Pan Africanist Congress. They form part of the same phenomenon."

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SA Press Association

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"Prime examples of this are Ventersdorp against the AWB and the smashing of the ANC’s Operation Vula."

Kotze said.
Hani to visit Umkhonto bases

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani will visit the ANC's military training camps in Uganda and Tanzania next week to discuss Umkhonto's future in those states.

The visit will be the first step in the process of eventually disbarring the camps when an interim government comes into being in SA.

However, Hani has warned that the ANC is not prepared to consider joint ANC-government control of Umkhonto weapons caches.

Hani said yesterday he would meet government officials in Uganda and Tanzania to investigate upgrading the camps from guerrilla to conventional training bases.

He was also in the process of arranging the return of military personnel - among them air force pilots and officers - from the former Soviet Union.

He said the Ugandan and Tanzanian camps might be disbanded when an interim government - the ANC's priority political demand - was installed in SA.

"I will be looking at the situation of training and morale in the camps and will be discussing with those governments the upgrading of the camps," he said.

"They will be disbanded one day and we will have to start looking at arrangements...

Hani to return men and military material to SA," Hani said. Although Hani would not say how many Umkhonto cadres remained in other African states, the number has been estimated at 10,000.

In terms of an agreement the ANC has reached with government, the ANC has suspended its armed struggle and undertaken not to set up additional underground structures in the country. Existing underground structures remain in place as the ANC has not agreed to disband these. It has also agreed not to conduct military training in SA, although training outside the country is continuing.

Hani yet again dismissed government's long-standing proposal to allow joint government-ANC-Umkhonto control of Umkhonto weapons caches. He said Umkhonto had to be incorporated into a new defence force when an interim government was installed.

Referring to the Colesa clash between ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk, Hani said De Klerk's insistence on the ANC permanently abandoning the armed struggle was premature. He said Umkhonto retained its military capacity but hoped not to have to use it again.
GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES — 1992

School blast

Spokesman Captain Dries de Vries.
The school recently adopted Model B, which allows the former whites-only school to open its doors to students of all races.

"No-one has claimed responsibility, and it is not clear who the culprits were," de Vries said.

The bomb blasts, which went off around 3am, left the school's foyer shattered and blasted away sections of the sports pavilion, Nelspruit resident Mr Glen Reifst said. He added that "the bomb blasts caused extensive structural damage and loss of equipment. Broken glass was strewn all over the property and walls, roofs, and doorways were wrecked".

The school planned to admit about 40 black pupils this year, a development which had "provoked a vocal and angry response in some quarters of this conservative town".

The bomb blast is the third on previously "whites-only" schools since July last year intending to admit black students.

The first bomb blast was at Pretoria's abandoned Hillview High School on July 15.

About $800,000 damage was caused to the school, which at the time was being renovated for use by 700 children of ANC cadres from Tanzania.
R2-m damage after 6 blasts rock Nelspruit school

Like 'war-torn Beirut'

By Monica Oosterbroek

Six explosions in the eastern Transvaal town of Nelspruit in the early hours of the new year caused damage estimated at more than R2 million to a multifacility government high school.

No one was injured in the attack on lowveld High School which devastated the school's foyer, hall and gymnasium and blasted away sections of the sports pavilion.

Police spokesman Captain Erwin de Vries said no one had claimed responsibility for the attack.

The attack, which has horrified residents in the town, follows the school's decision to adopt the Model B education system and admit 40 black pupils this year.

The conservative management of councils of some high schools have reportedly threatened to withdraw from interschool sports functions if black pupils take part.

According to Transvaal Education Department rules, a school refusing to play a mixed-race team has the right to withdraw from official sports events and lose its provincial status.

Lowveld High's headmaster, David Gray, said his school had refused to back down on the issue and looked forward to including black pupils in the school's sports teams.

The attack came as a nasty surprise for Mr Gray, who lives on the school's property and was one of the first to arrive at the scene.

"Police were at the scene very quickly and they cordoned off the block while they searched for more explosives," he said.

Witnesses described the scene as devastating.

"Most of the windows were shattered and the walls had collapsed. The doors of the foyer were blown to pieces and debris was scattered all over the property," one witness said.

Dr Goosen, who has two daughters attending the school, said an overwhelming 96 per cent of parents had voted to adopt the Model B system. He doubted whether any of these parents would be bullied into changing their stance by "cowardly acts of terrorism".

"The attacks were pointless and those responsible have gained nothing. They are doing nothing to promote the interests of this country," he said.

The explosions reverberated around the town, shaking people out of their beds. Mr Sallab, who lives two blocks away, had just got into bed after New Year celebrations when the explosions rocked his house.

"Mr Sallab and his son, a matric pupil at the school, waited until daybreak before investigating.

"I don't know why people want to attack the school. It's senseless," he said, speaking for many other people interviewed by The Star.

The TED and the Department of Public Works will meet later in the week to discuss increased security measures. However, the school will open as usual on January 6.

Police are investigating the possibility that yesterday's blasts were connected to similar explosions at the Saldanha Magistrate's Court on Saturday.

Kaiser Nyassomba reports that the ANC yesterday strongly condemned the bombings at Lowveld High.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said her organization "condemns the bombing unequivocally".

"The bombings, Miss Marcus said, showed that much work still had to be done to re-educated the entire population.

She said she could only repeat what ANC president Nelson Mandela had said in his New Year message: that all South Africans had to come together and talk to one another.

Miss Marcus said actions such as the bombings could generate an angry response from some quarters, and were thus to be avoided.
PAC wants to set up a private army

DAR ES SALAAM - The armed wing of the PAC, African People's Liberation Army has threatened to set up a "illegal" private army inside South Africa.

In a New Year message issued from its Dar es Salaam headquarters in Tanzania, Apla's secretary for defence Mr Sabelo Phama said since private armies were not illegal, Apla would recommend the formation of an elite training camp inside the country to the PAC leadership.

"Since private armies are not illegal, we will watch the regime closely and if it continues to be the sponsor of violence among the oppressed, we will recommend to the PAC leadership the formation of an elite specialised training camp inside the country for the defence of the people," he said.

He said the purpose of the unit would reviewed if the State-sponsored violence continued.

Phama said: "The experience of Apla in its recent combat against the SAP is that the SAP is totally demoralised, fatigued, confused and poorly trained.

"In all our recent skirmishes they never returned fire nor engaged in any pursuit."

Phama suggested that rather than attacking PAC leaders for failing to condemn Apla, Law and Order Minister Mr Henius Kriel should explain to his constituency the poor state of the police force.

Apla fully supports the demand for a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly and the leadership of PAC president Mr Clarence Makwana, he said."
Vaal ANC man's house petrol-bombed - claim

A petrol-bomb explosion destroyed the home of an ANC member in Sebokeng, in the Vaal Triangle, late on New Year's Eve, but no one was hurt in the blast, a community official said yesterday.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Lieutenant Wikus Weber could not confirm the alleged attack, saying police had not received reports in this regard.

The owner of the house, ANC member Proo Bazo, said the motive for the attack was unknown. — Sapa, SIn 21/12.
Senior Assistant Editor Joe Latakomo predicts private armies will top the negotiations agenda this year.

"Ystergarde" revelations certain to raise new tensions

Revellations of the existence of a highly trained secret Afrikaner Weers teenbeweging (army), called "Ystergarde", will certainly create new tensions between the Government and the black liberation movements.

Coming, as it did, as controversy rages over the refusal by the Pan Africanist Congress to distance itself from the attacks on policemen by the organisation's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and the refusal by the ANC to distance its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), this issue will be catapulted to the top of the political agenda in the new year.

Last week, there were reports that the Government would withhold its signature from CODESA agreements unless the ANC disbanded MK. This followed the grandstand performance by both President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela on the first day of CODESA. Mr de Klerk insisted that the ANC had not kept to the letter and spirit of previous agreements in the form of the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes, and accused the ANC of lack of good faith.

Mr Mandela's response was that Mr de Klerk had sunk to such a moral low, even for "the leader of an illegitimate government".

Many observers saw this clash as grandstanding, as both had the opportunity to discuss these, and any other related issues, at any one of their many meetings.

The clash did not do the political stakes of the two any good at all, and the superficial gains that were made were soon lost when the two were virtually shaking hands and walking the political road together again.

However, the ANC has always expressed concern over the existence of right-wing paramilitary units on the one hand, and the need for "defence units" of its own against attacks perceived to be from Inkatha. At the same time, it is also a way of reassuring its own supporters that it is not simply throwing in the towel, but would keep MK in reserve until "full and final victory" is achieved.

The Government views this in a different light: it sees the continued existence of MK as a stand-by unit which would return to the bush if the result of any process does not suit the aims and objectives of the ANC.

These fears have often been confirmed by speeches from MK leaders like chief of staff Chris Hani, who often speaks of MK's stockpiles of weapons being a necessary part of its negotiating tactic. The issue of MK has been compounded by the presence of attacks against policemen by the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

The PAC has refused to distance itself from those attacks, and stated in the past that decisions on the operations of Aplas were taken outside of the country and independent of any political activity on the part of the PAC internally.

This position has been heavily criticised, and the PAC has been accused of trying to play one game with two shots. The police have also said that while the activity of Aplas might pose a threat to the negotiations and peace process, they did not believe that militarily Aplas posed a threat at all.

But the PAC argument for the existence of the military wing is precisely the same as that of the ANC for the continuation of MK.

The PAC has refused to give up the armed struggle as an option, and clearly the launch of these attacks was designed to show that it has some military capability.

The spectre of a full-scale civil war has been raised further by the existence of the Ystergarde. That it is possible for such a unit to be trained in camps within the country will be a major issue for debate, either when CODESA reconvenes, or when the PAC and the Patriotic Front meet in whatever form - meets within the next six months. The thin legal line that allows such training camps will be studied, and the issue of whether the Government or any government will be able to contain such units in the future will be looked at.

Can the PAC criticise the existence of such a unit, while maintaining its own army within the country, and committing itself to the armed struggle? Can the ANC legitimately claim that MK is not a "private army" as defined in the National Peace Accord, and before that, the Groote Schuur and DF Malan minutes? Can Inkatha claim not to have a "private army"? In spite of the revelations of training of members of such a unit by the security forces?

The Government clearly desires that the issue of MK be resolved certain before CODESA reconvenes - which means that one of the CODESA committees will have to look at the issue of private armies all over again.

One of the major concerns for black political organisations is that some of the members of the Ystergarde are former members of the South African Defence Force. The question that most asks is what level of support is for the right wing within the security forces?

Political analysts have put the figure as high as 50 percent, and this must be a figure that worries...
Terror Blitz Fears

CP says start of right-wing
hunt en masse
Hunt for bombers

JOHANNESSBURG. — Police have vowed “ruthlessly to hunt down” right-wing extremists they believe are behind a wave of bombings of public buildings in SA over the holiday period.

Post offices in Krugersdorp and Verwoerdburg were the latest targets, devastated by powerful explosions in the early hours of yesterday morning. Police said commercial explosives, a trademark of right-wing terrorists, were probably used in at least one of the blasts.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kote said right-wingers had formed a network of secret cells and police believed some of these were behind seven major bomb attacks in the past month.

‘Hard to solve’

No one has yet claimed responsibility for the latest attacks.

Consortium Party leader Dr Andreas Treurnicht yesterday challenged police to provide evidence to back allegations that far-right-wing organisations were responsible.

SAPA reports that Dr Treurnicht said the police did not underpin evidence and that it could not accept responsibility for acts of terrorism committed by right-wingers.

AWB secretary-general Mr Piet Potgieter said the AWB did not endorse violence and did not accept responsibility for acts of terrorism.

Millions of rand’s damage was caused to the offices in central Krugersdorp and the Krugersdorp, police said yesterday.

Blasts came hard on the heels of blasts in Nelson Mandela and Krugersdorp and Krugersdorp and Krugersdorp which had opted to appoint.

AFTERMATH… Cleaning up begins at the Verwoerdburg post office damaged by a bomb early yesterday.

Police believe right-wing extremists may be the culprits.

Among right-wingers by the shadowy but well-funded to claim responsibility for several recent attacks.

The letter encourages members to form cells of three to more than three people. It urges them to select their own targets and not to wear khaki uniforms or talk to anyone about bomb attacks.

The AWB has been described as a clandestine umbrella body with a loose network of branches across the country.

To page 3
Right-wingers suspected

Police vow to hunt down bomb squads

POLICE have vowed "ruthlessly to hunt down" right-wing extremists they believe are behind a wave of bombings of public buildings in SA over the holiday period.

Post offices in Krugersdorp and Veroordt were the latest targets, devastated by powerful explosions in the early hours of yesterday morning. Police said commercial explosives, a trademark of right-wing violence, were probably used in at least one of the blasts.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said right-wingers had formed a network of secret cells and police believed some of these were behind seven major bomb attacks in the past month.

He added that right-wing bomb squads were proving more difficult to track down and infiltrate than similar ANC groups had been in the past. The "decentralised right-wing campaign" had no formal command structure.

No one has yet claimed responsibility for the latest attacks.

NP leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday challenged police to provide evidence to back allegations that far-right-wing organisations were responsible.

Sapa reports Treurnicht said the CP did not endorse violence and said it could not accept responsibility for acts of terrorism committed by right-wingers.

A Wesag secretary-general Piet Rudolph said his organisation should be held responsible for the increase in violence because it did not take note of right-wing demands. He said such violence would increase.

Millions of rands in damage was caused to the post offices in central Krugersdorp windows in nearby houses, said a Post Office spokesman.

The spokesman said new security measures were being investigated at all branches, but declined to give details. Another spokesman speculated that post offices might have been targeted as they were government buildings patronised by all sectors of society and represented the state communications infrastructure.

The AWB's Rudolph said he thought post offices might have been selected as symbolic targets as they had also been bombed during the time of the Osewa Brandwag's opposition to SA's participation in the Second World War.

Rudolph laid the blame for the bombings squarely at government's door. He said President F.W de Klerk's "abdication ap-

JONATHON REES

Rosselton in Veroordt, police said. The blasts came hard on the heels of blasts at schools in Nelspruit, Lichtenburg and Klerksdorp which had opted to admit pupils of all races. No injuries resulted from any of the attacks.

No arrests had been made by late last night, but Kotze claimed police had had a 95% success rate in solving right-wing terror in the past. He said although the right-wing terror campaign had thus far avoided "soft targets", police did not underestimate extremists' ability to wreak havoc on communities.

A secret letter circulated among right-wingers by the shadowy Boer Republican Army (BRA), which has claimed responsibility for several recent blasts, urges people to "keep the explosives and the fire bombs" ready for use. The letter encourages members to form cells of no more than three people. It urges them to select their own targets and to refrain from wearing khaki uniforms or talking to anyone about bomb attacks.

The BRA has been described as a clandestine umbrella body whose name all right-wingers can claim responsibility for terror attacks in protest against moves towards a nonracial society.

Police said they suspected commercial explosives had been used in the Krugersdorp blast, which destroyed the post office where R2m renovations were completed recently. Damage was caused to shops and buldings.

The Veroordt bomb caused R2m damage to the post office and shattered

To Page 2

From Page 1

approach" to SA affairs would "light a prairie fire" as few people on the right would accept black majority rule in a unitary state.

Sapa reports that Local Government and National Housing Minister Leon Wessels expressed shock at the "senseless violence" of the blasts, saying it was unjustifyed as every political organisation could now state its case peacefully.

He said most South Africans were disgusted by the behaviour.

The blasts were also strongly condemned by Post and Telecommunications Minister Piet Welsentruiden, who described them as "a senseless deed".

• Picture: Page 3
• Comment: Page 4
Serious sabre-rattling from private armies

The war of words surrounding private armies is escalating into a shooting war, with no immediate prospect of a negotiated settlement in sight.

While the two major military protagonists, the African National Congress and the government, are engaged in protracted sabre-rattling negotiations about the monitoring of their respective armies, most fringe paramilitary groups have rejected negotiations out of hand and are preparing to use violence to back up their demands.

The armed wing of the Pan African Congress, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army, which has claimed responsibility for the killing of 36 police officers over the past three months, this week threatened to head for a legal private army “to defend the mass from state-sponsored violence”. The PAC has refused to take part in the Conference for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) “as it is designed to frustrate the legitimate goals of the liberation struggle”.

Last Sunday the existence of yet another Afrikaner peasants’ paramilitary unit, the Iron Guards (Transvaal), came to light. Members

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THE Pan Africanist Congress’s military wing, the Azanian Peoples’ Liberation Army (Apla) will attack not only the police but all “enemy agents”, according to PAC defence secretary Victor Seabelo Phama.

Phama was commenting on the brutal murder of two policemen lured into an ambush in Soweto on Thursday night, for which Apla has claimed responsibility.

Mr Phama said the police were at the forefront of intimidating people and should therefore “go”.

Speaking from Harare, Mr Phama said the PAC was still awaiting a report from Apla’s “field commander on the ground” about the killing of two policemen in Dobsonville, Soweto.

Outrage over the killing of the two policemen was yesterday brushed aside by the PAC youth wing, which described the killings as “the start of the revolution”.

Its statement, which said the police and defence forces had to be “wiped out of existence”, followed hot on the heels of Apla’s claim of responsibility for the killings.

A man claiming to be an Apla operative, Carlson Zimbiri, telephoned Sapa to say that Thursday’s attack had been carried out by a unit of three Apla combatants.

The killings came hours after police announced a R25 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of anyone who murdered a policeman.

Five policemen have been killed in attacks on the Reef this week and almost 150 have died violently over the past year.

The South African Police condemned the killings as “cowardly”, and the Democratic Party warned that assassinations could destabilise the political process.

Conservative Party justice spokesman Chris de Jager said the death sentence should be imposed for the murder of policemen.

The PAC has been noticeably absent from the organisations which have commented on the recent spate of killings. PAC general secretary Benny Alexander last month refused to condemn or condone the killings, drawing sharp criticism from the police.

Attempts to obtain further comment from PAC spokesmen in Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Cape Town and Johannesburg bore no fruit yesterday.

In a statement issued yesterday, the PAC’s department of youth affairs said the Government was “illegitimate, illegal and brutal”. It had shown no “signs of preparedness to hand over power to the indigenous African majority”.

“De Klerk with his regime continues to murder our people, perpetrating the countrywide violence...”

“...and ruling our country with the gun. The SAP together with the SADF are fully armed enemy organs. Because the regime relies on them for its perpetual stay in power, for any revolution to succeed (they) should be wiped out of existence.”

In a stinging reply, the South African Police said Apla should be “too ashamed to accept responsibility for such a despicable and cowardly deed”.

The two Soweto policemen’s deaths were the latest in a spate of attacks on SAP members. On Wednesday night, two were killed in Khatlehong on the East Rand and another off-duty policeman was killed in Soweto.

“It is no great feat to lure policemen into an ambush and then murder them. The police are there to protect and serve all the inhabitants of the country,” the police statement said.

In an indication that the Government was taking the latest spate of assassinations very seriously, Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel said police should take “the maximum appropriate response to any threat to their safety”.

He had requested Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe to instruct every member of the force that they were under no circumstances to regard themselves as targets.
Bombs or we shoot our way to a free people's state.

The choice, the caller said, was up to President F W de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela "and their ilk".

Meanwhile, police said the underground right-wing movement "Wit Wolke" had claimed responsibility for an arson attack on the Receiver of Revenue offices in Boksburg yesterday morning. The claim was made in a phone call to SABC radio.

Police said fire broke out in a storeroom but caused slight damage.

A spokesman for the SAP crime intelligence unit said there had been an increase in the number and activities of far-right splinter groups since the Codesa talks in December. He also said there was a strong possibility only two or three people were responsible for the recent spate of bombings.

Distances between three sites of the bombings showed that only a few people may have been involved in all the explosions.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said the explosions "were the beginning of the resistance of a free volk which sees its fatherland being given away to strangers and communists".

"No volk in the world can be forced to accept such a situation," he said.

"The guilty ones who caused this wave of terrorism are sitting in Parliament. The government has created the breeding ground for such terrorism by not providing the Boer volk with the forum to negotiate for its own autonomous state."

Police are offering a reward for information about the recent bomb attacks.

SA Police Deputy Commissioner Lieutenant-General Mulder van Eyk said it was vital that the public co-operate with the authorities to end the bombings and possible bloodshed.

The hotline number is (012) 3101582.

The Post and Telecommunications Workers Association has demanded changes to the Post Office security department which, it said, was manned "by the most conservative section of the white population who may obviously assist such bombing acts".

Sapa
IN THE wake of this week's bomb attacks, police admitted it was impossible to control fully the massive quantities of explosives circulating in South Africa's mining and blasting industries.

With 30,000 tons of explosives manufactured in South Africa every month, police and mine officials face an uphill battle in trying to stop thefts from manufacturers, transport companies and mines.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lukas Noeth of the SAP's Inspectorate of Explosives, said it was "quite impossible to control explosives 100 percent. Those who want it can still get hold of it. All the blasting that's going on now is proof of this," he said.

Police indications that commercial explosives were used in this week's bomb blasts appear to have been borne out by the Afrikaner Volkstaatsbeweging's (AVB) claim yesterday that it used 18.5kg of Anfex explosives for the blasts at the Krugersdorp and Verwoerdburg post offices.

Anfex explosives are used exclusively in the mining industry.

**Risk**

Colonel Noeth said his inspectorate had in recent years been searching for weak links in the manufacture and distribution of explosives.

However, total control meant police would have to escort all vehicles carrying explosives and post guards wherever explosives were used.

"It's impossible to close all the holes," he said.

Colonel Noeth said the greatest risk of theft was at the place of use. This was despite stringent licensing requirements and regulations to control the storage, transport and use of blasting material.

Experts said only one kilogram of explosives could kill people in a confined space. The Pretoria car bomb in 1983, which killed 19 people and injured 200, was estimated to have contained 35-50kg of explosives.

**Control**

Industry sources said the explosives market consumed some 30,000 tons a month, including 16,500 tons of packaged material.

Dr Piet Hugo, director-general of the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, said inspectors carried out routine inspections on mines, although mine captains and underground managers were ultimately in control of explosives.

"We are always on the lookout for malpractice, but we are talking about tons and tons of explosives handled daily by hundreds of people. Things can go wrong. There are various ways of getting things out," Dr Hugo said it was the mine management's duty to check what happened to every stick of dynamite.

Mr Dick Kruger, safety services manager for the Chamber of Mines, said legislation prescribed security measures for the mining industry.

These included keeping materials locked away at all times, supervision of handling and transport of explosives and the destruction of unused explosives.

Underground, orders were signed for and mine officials checked these against usage.

Leading mining houses contacted were all adamant that security procedures were strictly adhered to on their mines. They pointed out that bulk delivery explosives, which were assembled on site, could not easily be stolen or misused.

They said random security checks were made at ground level to prevent the theft of packaged explosives.
The bombers’ record of destruction

THE number of suspected right-wing attacks since December 16, the Day of the Vow, now total 11 — including this week’s blasts.

The reported attacks were:
- Monday December 16: At 1am, three blasts damaged the Klerksdorp Christian Academy, a private, multiracial school. The BRA claimed responsibility.
- Thursday December 19: At 1am, a massive explosion damaged the Cosatu offices in Pretoria. The BRA claimed responsibility.
- Friday December 20: At 2am, three explosions caused R750 000 damage to the Lichtenburg Technical College.
- Friday December 20: A large explosion rocked the magistrate’s court in Sable.
- Saturday December 21: At 3am a blast damaged a beer hall at Koster.
- Wednesday January 1: Six explosions caused R1-million damage to Lowveld High School in Nelspruit.
- Thursday January 2: Two bombs exploded at a farm school at Melkrievier, near Potgietersrus. Damage estimated at R50 000.
- Thursday January 2: A bomb exploded at the Krugersdorp post office, damaging some 20 shops nearby.
- Thursday January 2: At 2am a bomb exploded at the Verwoerdburg post office, shattering the windows of houses and a church nearby.
- Friday January 3: A bomb exploded at a police training centre at Vaalwater.
- Friday January 3: People claiming to be members of the Wit Wolve claimed responsibility for a small fire in the Receiver of Revenue offices in Boksburg.
SACC condemns spate of bombings

THE South African Council of Churches this week expressed horror at ongoing violence, particularly the bombing of schools and public facilities, violent deaths, including the ambushing of policemen, and attacks on offices and homes of political activists.

The council expressed particular concern at the bombing of the Nelspruit Lowveld High School, the Christian Academy in Klerksdorp and the Lichtenburg Technical College.

"Clearly these are efforts to intimidate any movement toward non-racialism in the country, the SACC said."

Reports by CP correspondents and Sapa
Watching death creep closer

In his New Year message ANC president Nelson Mandela called for concern though the peace process appears to be in jeopardy. In his New Year message, ANC president Nelson Mandela expressed concern that although the peace process appeared to be in jeopardy, he remained a major problem.

Mandela's mention of the conflict in Mozambique and South Africa's role in the war in the region was interpreted by some as a warning to South Africa that it needs to do more to resolve the conflict.

The question of the role of the South African military in the conflict in Mozambique and South Africa's role in the region was one of the key issues discussed during the African Union summit in South Africa in December. The summit was attended by leaders from African countries and discussed ways to peace in the region.

The South African military has been involved in the conflict in Mozambique and South Africa's role in the region has been a matter of debate. Some have argued that South Africa should do more to resolve the conflict, while others have said that South Africa should not be involved in the conflict.

A WODI ON NGUMLA, who covered the trial for City Press, said the trial was postponed and he wrote a follow-up story.

WRITING to me from his Pretoria Central Prison, Militia leader Mzimba Mvula (34) said he looked forward to the trial.

Mvula, who has been charged with terrorism and murder, said he was looking forward to the trial.

"I am happy to be able to tell the court that I am innocent," Mvula said. "I am looking forward to the trial to clear my name and prove my innocence."
Bombings condemned

A LEADER of a pro-Afrikaner homeland organisation on Friday strongly condemned the latest spate of bombings, which has been attributed to ultra-right organisations.

Afrikaner Volkslag co-leader Anna Boshoff also denied that the organisation knew of the similarly named 'Afrikaner Volkstaat Beweging' which has claimed responsibility for some of the blasts. – Sapa
Private armies come under fire

From Page 1

have to look at how we can get them under control.”
He said that banning them outright was “a possibility.”

“But there are other alternatives about which I don’t want to speculate. Maybe we will pass a law under which these people can operate.”

Mr Kriel was speaking from his seaside holiday cottage near Hermanus.

“I don’t know what message there is in blowing up a post office,” he said.

“It seems they are scared to do something real, so they go and blow up a post office. This is a coward’s way of making a point — people could get injured or die in these attacks.”

He said if the right-wing terror campaign was stepped up, the government would prevent it “as far as possible with good policing and good information.”

“They are not a more difficult enemy than the ANC was, and our intelligence is good across the political spectrum.”

Mr Kriel denied charges that police were “less enthusiastic” in acting against the AWB than they were in carrying out their declared intention of destroying the ANC in the “old” South Africa.

“The Ystergarde (the AWB’s private army) are doing nothing illegal at the moment, but we will investigate them this year,” he said.

“The information we have about them indicates that they could become serious.”

He said although left-wing terror had dropped dramatically in the past two years, there was little difference between MK and the Ystergarde.

“What is true is that while the ANC is willing to talk, the right-wing refuses,” he said.

The minister had little consolation for farmers concerned about their security.

“They safety is primarily their own responsibility. They have to look after themselves — it is not solely the police’s task.”

“It is difficult for police to patrol farms in sparsely populated areas. The government withdrew financial support for the Marnet two-way radio system because it was designed for the protection of farmers on the borders, but we might consider the re-introduction of a subsidised rural communication system as a way of combating crime.”

Mr Kriel said he was perturbed by the number of attacks on police.

Last year 146 policemen were killed in the line of duty — the highest number ever in South African history. Since January 1, another five have died.

Mr Kriel said “new techniques” would be examined to curb police fatalities, but he would not disclose them for fear of alerting criminals.

The ratio of policemen to civilians in SA is 1.9 to 1,000. In most Western countries, the proportion of police is twice as high.

But, although about 4,500 and 5,600 members leave the SAP annually, Mr Kriel does not see this as cause for concern.

“The gains made are much bigger than the losses,” he said.

Yet, even though SA’s murder rate rose by 28 percent last year, the government is not increasing the size of the police force.

“That is only until we know what our financial position will be in the next fiscal year. We did not recruit more people for the police college because it has an adequate number already.”
'We killed cops,' says Apla

CP Reporters and Sapa

THE PAC has claimed responsibility for a recent spate of attacks on policemen in the PWV area.

Five policemen have died so far this year and three have been injured.

The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), has claimed responsibility for the attacks.

The Pan Africanist Student Organization of Azania (Paso) has supported the actions of Apla saying it was "the beginning of the revolution." Paso's secretary-general Lawrence Ngandela said that for any revolution to succeed "both the SAP and the SADF should be wiped out of existence."

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said Apla had more men inside the country than outside.
Rightist terror cells 'elusive'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—Clandestine terror groups of right-wing extremists would be extremely difficult to track down and could cause damage and disruption out of all proportion to their numbers, security experts warned at the weekend.

The extreme secrecy and IRA-style cell structure of right-wing saboteurs would make police infiltration of their operations "virtually impossible", said a government security source.

They had thousands of potential targets, and not even "the mobilisation of the entire SANDF" could pre-empt attacks.

The saboteurs' advantage was that the security forces could not anticipate their next strike.

Police deputy commissioner Lieutenant-General Mulder van Eyk issued an appeal at the weekend for public co-operation.

Law and Order Minister, Mr Hermus Kriel, has undertaken to examine the issue of private armies.

JOHANNESBURG.—Steps have been taken to tighten security at the first three multiracial government primary schools, which open this week.

This follows bomb attacks on Transvaal schools that have admitted pupils of all races.

Transvaal Education Department executive director Mr Ken Paine said the schools had planned "very carefully for any possible terrorist attacks".

The department had an "emergency plan" and a security committee met once a month to assess the situation at schools.

Security analysts say the aim of the saboteurs could be to make the security forces so defensive that they overreact and resort to "overkill"—arresting large numbers of right-wingers in a desperate attempt to stem bomb attacks.

This would serve to tarnish the image of the police and SANDF, particularly on the right wing.

The analysts agree that the number of active right-wing saboteurs is probably very small, but they say the operatives are highly trained and might have extensive combat experience.

Professor Lloyd Vogelman, director of Wit's University's Project for the Study of Violence, said the extremists had sophisticated communications networks and their training in the security forces had provided them with important strategic information about how to operate without being detected.

The South African correspondent of Jane's Defence Weekly, Mr Helmut Romer Heitman, said security forces were not trained to "be suspicious of whites" and would take time to adapt.

The head of the Defence Institute of South Africa, Rear-Admiral Chris Bennet, said right-wing extremists' cell system gave them a large degree of autonomy and freedom of action, but they would not be able to establish external bases and would be inhibited by their need for self-sufficiency.

The lack of central command would inhibit the long-term effectiveness of saboteurs, said Professor Karel Nofke, chairman of the Rand Afrikaans University's National Strategy Department.
CLANDESTINE terror groups of right-wing extremists would be extremely difficult to track down and could cause damage and disruption way out of proportion to their numbers, security experts warned at the weekend.

The extreme secrecy and IRA-style cell structure of the right-wing saboteurs would make police infiltration of their operations "virtually impossible", said a government security source.

They had thousands of potential targets, and not even "the mobilisation of the entire SADF" could prevent or pre-empt attacks.

The saboteurs' advantage was that the security forces could not anticipate their next strike, said the source.

Police have announced a substantial reward for information on the saboteurs and have set up a confidential 24-hour telephone service for callers to provide information anonymously.

No arrests have been made after 11 attacks linked to the right wing since December 18. Bombings have caused millions of rand of damage, disrupted services and destroyed buildings.

A government source said the authorities were taking the threat very seriously, particularly because large sectors of SA society were inclined to blame government for all types of violence.

SAP deputy commissioner Lt-Gen Mulder van Eysk at the weekend appealed for public co-operation, saying the SAP would do all in its power to avoid further damage and possible bloodshed.

Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel has promised to seriously examine the issue of private armies on the left and right.

Security analysts say the aim of the saboteurs could be to make the security forces so defensive that they overreact and arrest large numbers of right-wingers in a desperate attempt to stem bomb attacks.

This would serve to tarnish the image of the police and SADF in society, particularly on the right wing.

The analysts agree that the number of active right-wing saboteurs is probably very small, but they say the operatives are highly trained and might have extensive combat experience.

Wits University project for the study of violence director Lloyd Vogelmann said the extremists had sophisticated communication networks and their security force training had provided them with important strategic information about operating units.

Jane's Defence Weekly SA correspondent Helmut Romer Hettrian said the security forces were not trained to "be suspicious of whites" and would take a while to adapt to the new threat of the ultra right.

He said the aim of the terror campaign was probably to cause disruption to services, gain publicity, recruit new members and create the impression that the security forces could not defend the public.

Defence Institute of SA head Rear Admi-
Courts may appoint ‘lay assessors’

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The public may have a say in the judgment and sentencing of accused in South African courts for the first time from March 1.

This was revealed, along with other far-reaching legal reforms, by Deputy Minister of Justice Danie Schutte last night at the opening of a new small claims court in Boksburg.

Mr Schutte said courts could, with the introduction of the Magistrate’s Courts Amendment Act on March 1, appoint “lay assessors” from the community from which the accused came. This would ensure that courts considered factors such as the culture and background of the accused.

In addition, active steps had been taken to implement the Short Process Courts and Mediation in Certain Civil Cases Act, which has been created to short-circuit lengthy civil court proceedings through cheaper, more informal means.

A date for the implementation of these courts and mediation channels would be announced soon, Mr Schutte said.

A small claims court was also to be opened in Soweto, where a strong need for such a facility had been expressed. There are 89 areas in which small claims courts have been instituted, serving 87 percent of the South African population.

Mr Schutte said small claims courts were being used increasingly by all races. At the Johannesburg Small Claims Court, 1,277 summonses were issued from June to December.

Of the 1,277 plaintiffs, 1,302 were black and of these 591 lived in Soweto.

“These statistics clearly demonstrate the need for the establishment of a small claims court closer to Soweto.”

Police vow to hunt down PAC army

Staff Reporters

The police are committed to “ruthlessly” and “mercilessly” hunting cadres of the PAC’s military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla), inside South Africa.

This was confirmed yesterday by Law and Order Ministry spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze.

At the same time it was announced that a special police unit, comprising experienced detectives from various units, had been formed in Soweto to investigate attacks on policemen and to plan precautionary measures.

Attacks

In recent weeks Apla has claimed responsibility for various attacks on policemen.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgren of the Soweto police said the policemen had been drawn from the murder and robbery unit, the motor vehicle theft unit and the firearms recovery unit of Soweto.

Colonel Halgren said the unit would operate on a 24-hour basis. He asked the public to report information regarding planned attacks on policemen.

All information would be treated confidentially. The Commissioner of Police had offered a R25,000 reward for information leading to the successful arrest of those responsible for these attacks.

The telephone number, which could also be used to supply information concerning the unlawful possession of firearms, is (011) 990-8321.

The unit had already had success after information was received about a minibus stolen in Johannesburg on Monday.

Colonel Halgren said members of the special unit spotted the stolen vehicle in Diepkloof. They had ordered the driver to stop but the passengers started shooting at the policemen, who gave chase.

Two of the robbers fell out of the minibus as it went round a bend. One was killed in the fall and one fled. The bus then turned into a cul-de-sac in Nancefield. More shots were fired at the police who returned fire. A second robber died when he was shot by the police. A fourth man fled.

Soweto police have also arrested a murder suspect they had been looking for since October 1986 when he had allegedly shot and killed a policeman in Soweto.

PAC defence secretary Victor Seabelo Phama said this week that he felt satisfaction every time a policeman was killed.

Discussing the continuing campaign by Apla to assassinate policemen, Mr Phama, speaking on a Radio 702 talk show, said members of the SAP and SADF were “serving a master that has got a programme against the people.”

“The history of the SAP and SADF is bad — there is no aspect of humanity about it,” Mr Phama said.
Grenade attack on home

By JOE MDHLELA

A GRENADE rocked the home of Miss Hilda Mavuso yesterday, causing extensive damage to her Zola 1 four-roomed home.

Mavuso (38) believes the attack was politically motivated.

She said her two daughters, Fikile and Nki, are members of the African National Congress Youth League.

"I would appreciate it if my children are left alone to belong to a political organisation of their choice," Mavuso said.
Anonymous warning of more attacks if tour goes ahead

Anti-Simon grenade blasts

Staff Reporters

Only hours after superstar Paul Simon arrived in South Africa yesterday, two grenades were thrown at the Johannesburg offices of companies associated with his Ellis Park concerts.

Colonel Frans Malherbe, liaison officer for the Witwatersrand police, said two Soviet-made grenades, "one positively identified as an F-1 hand grenade" were hurled at the building housing the premises of the PA Sound Corporation, at the corner of Main and Goud streets, at about 11 pm.

The firm will be responsible for the sound at Simon's concerts.

No one was injured in the blasts, which shattered windows but caused no structural damage. Colonel Malherbe said investigators believed the grenades were hurled from a passing car.

He said the attack had not affected security arrangements for the stadium concerts.

"The possibility of hand grenades was part of our planning in the first instance... we will do our utmost to safeguard everyone at the stadium."

An anonymous caller, purporting to be a representa-

tive of the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azania) — the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania — contacted Sapa late last night, claiming responsibility.

The caller added that the attack was in support of "a call by the Azanian Youth Organisation that the tour of Paul Simon must be stopped."

He warned that further attacks would take place if the tour continued.

Just a few hours before the blast, the American superstar landed at Jan Smuts Airport at 5.30 pm yesterday, paused for the press and was immediately whisked away under tight security.

With his tour threatened by protests and possible violence from Azapo and the PAC, Simon will perform under the tightest security yet arranged at Ellis Park.

Tour promoters let press photographers take pictures of Simon, but barred print journalists from talking to him. Later he granted an exclusive interview to SABC television.

In the interview Simon...
ANC warns against killing policemen

PRETORIA — The ANC warned yesterday that attacks which resulted in deaths of policemen could drive the SAP into the hands of the right wing.

Military analysts have speculated that certain groups could be trying to create “liberated zones” in townships by assassinating security force members. ANC spokesman Makoza said the ANC wanted a liberated SA, not liberated zones.

He said the ANC supported calls for the SAP to serve the entire SA population. But this would not be achieved by the systematic elimination of police members.

In the last year, about 150 SAP members have been killed on duty. The PAC’s military wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla), has claimed responsibility for a number of the attacks.

Makoza said the ANC was “not partial” to the murder of policemen and was not convinced that recent killings were the work of Apla as this was not consistent with PAC policy.

He said it was counter-productive to kill policemen while Codesa was discussing the reform of the SAP.

It was reported yesterday that PAC defence secretary Victor Seabelo Phama told a Radio 702 talk show this week he felt satisfaction whenever a policeman was killed.
There was a "highly explosive" situation in Zola Section 1, Soweto, after an early morning hand grenade attack on the house of a local ANC executive member, PWV violence monitoring commission convener Floyd Mashele warned yesterday.

Mr Mashele said Zola residents were bracing for further violence. A grenade was hurled into the dining room of the house in Zola at 2 am yesterday, causing extensive damage but no injuries.

Mr Mashele claimed it was aimed at local ANC executive member Fikile Mavuso, and local ANC Youth League executive member Nki Mavuso.

Police confirmed a grenade attack in Zola yesterday in their unrest bulletin. — Sapa.
Reward for info on blasts

Nelspruit police have confirmed that a "substantial reward" is being offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person or persons responsible for the explosions at the Lowveld High School on New Year's Day.
Rightwingers held over bomb attack

THREE rightwingers have been arrested in connection with the bomb attack at Melkrivier School in the Far Northern Transvaal.

The three men, who have not yet been named by the police, are being held for being in possession of explosives and in connection with a recent bomb blast at a farm school near Potgietersrus on January 2.

Commissioner of the SA Police General Johan van der Merwe, yesterday described the arrests as a major breakthrough in investigations into the recent spate of bombings.

Further arrests could be expected, he said.

No stone unturned

"These arrests once again demonstrate the determination of the SA Police to act against all perpetrators of terrorism, irrespective of the quarter from which they emanate.

"The SAP will leave no stone unturned in tracking down these offenders and bringing them to book," Vander Merwe said.

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said yesterday he knew of at least one man in custody - Boerekommando leader Gwie Volschenk.

He said Volschenk had apparently been arrested at his office in Hendrina on Monday.

Police immediately started a search after two white men were allegedly seen running away from the school grounds about 2.30pm.

Extensive damage was caused to the building, which was intended as a SAP training centre.

Rightwing leaders have protested against the arrests.

Boere Kommando acting leader Wichan Steynberg said the organisation wished to protest "in the strongest possible terms" against the arrests. - Sowetan Correspondent.
Police hope to make more bomb arrests soon

Staff Reporter 9/1/92

The arrest of three rightwingers in connection with a bomb blast at the Melkrivier School near Potgietersrus on January 2 could lead to breakthroughs on the spate of explosions across the country since last month, a Ministry of Law and Order official said today.

The men who were arrested this week are being held in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Although police did not name the three, Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder yesterday said one of them was Boerekommando leader Gawie Volschenk.

A well-placed source today confirmed reports that the other two are Carel van der Merwe and Gerhard Roux, both of Kempton Park.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police were optimistic that there could be further arrests in connection with their investigation of 14 explosions at schools, magistrates' courts and post offices since last month.

Meanwhile, as police continued their hunt for alleged Pan Africanist Congress military wing police killers, three organisations with links to the liberation movements have condemned the killings.

The SA Communist Party, the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union and the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal have told the PAC that attacks on policemen by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), are unacceptable. This follows the ANC's condemnation of the attacks.

Sapa reports that Avril Budd, chairman of the Support Police Action Group, yesterday demanded the immediate banning of the PAC and Apla.
School bombing: three held

PRETORIA — The leader of an AWB splinter group and two other men were arrested by police yesterday in connection with the recent bombing of a far northern Transvaal farm school earmarked by the SAP for use as a training college.

Police said Boerekommando leader Gawie Volschenk was detained at his Hunderina business under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act — the first arrest to date in the recent spate of bombings linked to the extreme right wing.

It is understood that Volschenk and two young men are also being questioned in connection with illegal possession of explosives. Police commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said further arrests could be expected. Volschenk was being held in connection with an explosion at Mokkrivier School between Potgietersrus and Vaalwater, he said.

Volschenk, formerly a senior eastern Transvaal commander of AWB military wing. Venkommando, was allegedly a kingpin in the right-wing disruption of ANC president Nelson Mandela’s speech at the University of Pretoria last year.

Police said yesterday an explosion caused extensive damage at a primary school at Elisas in the far northwestern Transvaal. The school was recently handed over to the Department of Education and Training.
Arrests a breakthrough, say police
PRIVATE ARMIES  FM 10/1/92

Deadly and futile

Government will soon examine the whole issue of private armies. Various options — such as a ban on the military drilling of large numbers in such armies — are being weighed and legislation to ban them outright is not excluded, says Law & Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze.

Armed struggle, he argues, is doomed militarily and politically because it has been overtaken by the negotiation process. “Liberation through negotiation is the only way forward.” Well, yes, but dangerous men may think otherwise.

Kotze’s remarks follow the recent spate of bombings, including one on an open (that is, non-school) school in the Lowveld. The incidents have been linked to far Right groups. Police have identified no fewer than 13 paramilitary groups, such as the Iron Guards (Ystergarde) on the far Right. There have been 11 terror attacks of this kind since mid-December; they have destroyed buildings and disrupted services, causing millions of rand’s damage. Arrests have yet to be made. According to the Human Rights Commission, from July to December 1990 there were 45 rightwing attacks in which 26 people were killed and 138 injured. (Figures for last year are still being compiled.)

Kotze identifies a direct link between the inflammatory statements of demagogues (from the Left or Right) and an upsurge of violence. He says it’s interesting that the recent wave began after AWB leader Eugene Terre’Blanche “declared war” on the Coesa talks — particularly in the event of its decisions becoming law.

Dealing with the question of why private armies have come to the fore, Kotze says: “An important ingredient must be the existence of demagogues who prey on the insecurities of whites.” In the final analysis, he adds, the far Right should remember that any so-called liberation war is in fact a declaration of war against the SA Police, which they claim to support. They should also be blamed, in part, for the rise in crime because their activities mean that more police are taken from regular duties to combat unrest — in which 30% of the force is already now engaged.

Though their numbers are small — a couple of thousand at most, according to analysts — there is no doubt that things could become very nasty indeed should these bands of former policemen and soldiers run amok. They are better organised, more mobile and skilled in their deadly craft than the MK, the ANC’s military wing, ever was. And they are as ruthless, as they are racist.

At the end of the day, however, these private armies will not be a factor in derailling the political negotiation process — though they could impose extra costs on it, says Wits University political scientist Tom Lodge. There is no evidence to indicate that rightwing private armies represent more than a tiny minority of Afrikanders. It was significant that the headmaster of the Lowveld school that was bombed said the school would carry on regardless. He must know what will and will not wash among the local school establishment.

According to Kotze, the characteristics of a far Right struggle differ from those of a far Left struggle. Whereas the ANC, for example, had a centralised command structure, the Right’s fragmentation makes it more difficult to combat, operating as these groups do on the cell structure of a handful of terrorists.

“The mater of disbanding MK is fraught with difficulty, as ANC president Nelson Mandela’s unprecedented attack on President F W de Klerk, who had raised the matter at Coesa last month, shows. While the ANC has suspended MK operations, it refuses to disband it at this stage of the transitional process.

The question is, what will MK’s status be when and if the ANC joins an interim government and the justification for maintaining it becomes less tenable?

In addition to violence from the ultraright, there is, of course, the war on Coesa and the State declared by the PAC — or, more specifically, its armed wing, Apla (Azanian People’s Liberation Army), which has claimed responsibility for the killing of policemen recently. How many is difficult to establish. The police will confirm such claims only after their own investigations, suspecting that Apla is not averse to tagging on to its claims certain slayings that are the result of pure criminal activity.

“We have an enormous problem with Apla’s stated intention to kill policemen,” says Kotze. Though aware of Apla’s onslaught, he points to the distinction that must be made in police terms between such claims and intentions on the one hand, and criminal actions on the other. The same applies to rightwing armies.

It is generally thought that the PAC’s armed wing poses far less of a threat than do those of the white Right. “We think Apla is a rag-bag force which can’t seriously think of winning against the SA Police,” says Kotze, adding that last month police arrested an alleged three-man Apla hit squad in Bloemfontein.

It would seem that a political solution is the only way to deal with private armies — a view expressed by Lloyd Vogelman, director of the Wits Project for the Study of Violence, and endorsed by Kotze.

The sooner political negotiations deliver a settlement, the more squeezed out will extremists find themselves.

Something in common

Perhaps spurred on by the Coesa talks, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Zulus seem ready for more dialogue with third parties.

There was this week’s cordial meeting between KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and CP leader Andries
We're out to cripple cops

By JOE MDHLLELA

THE killing of policemen was part of a strategy to paralyse the South African Police and Defence Force, Azanian People's Liberation Army secretary Mr Sholeo Phama said yesterday.

Speaking from Harare, Zimbabwe, Phama said Apla's strategy was to demoralise the police.

He said police could expect more action from Apla cadres.

"The SAP and the SADF are pillars of oppression which should be destroyed because they have perpetrated the worst atrocities against our people," Phama said.

It was the police who were escalating black-on-black violence in the townships.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria said the killing of policemen could not be justified.

"Apla should be ashamed to accept responsibility for such a despicable and a cowardly deed," he said.

He said police would not allow these attacks to deter them from performing their duties.

Meanwhile, Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Hargyn said they could not confirm that an Apla cadre had been arrested.
School bombed, but learning goes on

By Mkekele Kotjolo
Pretoria Bureau

Monday night's bombing of Marong Farm School, near Warmbaths, will not affect the education of the children, says the Department of Education and Training.

The school, situated between Vaalwater and Ellisras, is one of several empty white schools to be occupied by black pupils under the DET.

A spokesman for the northern Transvaal region of the DET, Thomas Kekana, said extensive damage had been caused to the buildings, but the department would soon start with repairs.

Mr Kekana said the incident would not affect learning in the area since the children would continue with classes at their old mud school until Marong was ready for reoccupation.

Although a number of explosives were placed at the school, including the principal's residence, only those placed at the main building exploded.
Apla chief speaks out on police killings

By WALLY MBHELE
THE South African Police and Defence Force are the first targets in the Azanian People's Liberation Army's programme of action against the "machinery of oppression", says its military commander, Seabelo Phama.

Speaking from his home in Harare, Zimbabwe, Phama told The Weekly Mail on Wednesday that Apla, which is the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, "must first look at the most important pillar of apartheid before we suspend the armed struggle".

The SAP and SADF "are harassing our people in their homes, on trains and in the townships. Apla's attacks are only directed against the main instruments of oppression and enemy agents," he said.

Asked who constituted "enemy agents", Phama, who is also the PAC's defence secretary, said all elements of the "SADF, Civil Co-operation Bureau, Askaris (former guerrillas turned security agents), and uniformed or plainclothes police qualified.

Phama rejected a call made on Wednesday by the South African Communist Party, the Cosatu-aligned Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) and the Civic Association of South Africa (Cast) for the PAC and Apla to reconsider the tactic of attacking policemen.

At a joint press conference, the three organisations stressed that not all policemen were part of the violence orchestrated by the state: "Many share with us the vision for a future democratic, non-racial South Africa and are potential allies in the liberation struggle."

About 150 policemen have been killed in the past year. Apla has claimed responsibility for the recent spat of police killings on the Reef.

In a telephone call to the South African Press Association last Thursday, a man calling himself Carlson Zimbiri claimed responsibility for the ambush of two policemen in Dobsonville, saying the attack had been executed by three Apla operatives.

The attack came in the wake of an announcement by Minister of Law and Order Herius Kriel offering a R25 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of anyone involved in attacks on police.

Phama told The Weekly Mail Apla's latest offensive was not aimed at scuttling the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) or the peace initiative. "Codesa is not part and parcel of our programme of action... We are still watching and we are quite optimistic about it," he said.

But, he warned, "although we are optimistic, we are still very bitter against the regime".

Apla's operations were not only aimed at stopping the police from "being used by the racist regime", but also at decreasing any "machinery" supporting the government.

"With the recent implication of the police in the so-called African National Congress and Inkatha violence in the townships and on trains, we came to understand that the people behind this violence are the police. It became clear that it was high time we took action against them," Phama said.

In a radio talk show on Tuesday night, Pitaña said he felt satisfaction when he saw a policeman killed. But, he told The Weekly Mail, "Apla knows how to protect those individual policemen who give valuable information about the enemy to the liberation movement".
School blast
suspects named

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The two right-wingers arrested earlier this week with Boerekommando leader Mr Gwagie Volschenk have been identified by informed sources as Mr Carel van der Merwe and Mr Gerhard Roux. CT 161197

Police have refused to confirm the names. The men were arrested in connection with the January 2 explosion at the Melkrivier Primary School in the Northern Transvaal.
Give in to their demands, and watch PAC sidelined and policemen cheer

HISTORY is a bloody long time. I mean that literally and figuratively. There has been an awful lot of history and much of it has been very bloody.

Which is why I fail to understand all the fuss about the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) shooting policemen.

Sure, it's heinous and vile. But can you explain the difference between this and setting bombs in Wimpy Bars or in parked cars outside air force headquarters in Pretoria?

And where's the difference between this and police Trojan Horse ambushes or the CCB death squads?

The problem with history is that because it goes on for so long, we tend to forget.

We forget that it's not yet two years since the ANC was unbanned.

Nor is it 10 years since the introduction of the tricameral Parliament and the uprisings that followed. It's not even 50 years since the National Party came to power, bringing with it formal, legalised apartheid.

It's ironic, in a sense, that gasps of shock and horror at Apla's killing of policemen come from both the Government and the ANC, both of which were so very recently engaged in killing each other.

Now, of course, they are engaged in a very delicate, still quite distant, but nonetheless promising, game of footsie-footsie.

Contrary to popular opinion, the PAC, whose political child Apla is, has not renounced the armed struggle. On the contrary, it has re-emphasised that the struggle will continue against appropriate targets until it has achieved its aims.

Those were sentiments expressed until very recently by the ANC, which, in its day, regularly attacked policemen. Why should the PAC now do differently?

Bear in mind that these tactics also gained much ground for the ANC in the townships, especially among the radical youth.

Now the PAC, seeing the ANC poised to form a large part of the next government, follows the same route. History repeats itself.

The challenge for the politicians now lies in how to engage the threat posed by the PAC's armed wing.

If, for example, the violence is allowed to escalate, more and more policemen will become demoralised. There will be an increasing reluctance on their part to answer genuine emergency calls or to undertake routine patrols. Society will slide closer to anarchy.

At the same time, other fringe groups will start to use violence to carve out more political prestige and territory.

We already have Apla claiming responsibility for the attack on the offices housing the promoters of the Paul Simon tour.

The ANC itself may start to lose support to the extreme Left, as a result. Its negotiating position could become much more hardline.

The answer, I believe, lies in taking the battle to the PAC, much as the De Klerk Government took the battle to the ANC. Not on a physical, but on a political level.

Mr de Klerk engaged the ANC by admitting the justice of its demands, unbanning it and releasing Mr Mandela. In the same way, the parties involved in the current negotiations should concede the PAC's demand for a constituent assembly, and press ahead to consolidate their own political positions. The faster this is done, the stronger the moderate centre parties will emerge.

But if radical leftist organisations are allowed to use violence to make their points for any lengthy period of time, they will attract support, especially from the growing mass of unemployed youngsters.

A constituent assembly elected in the next three or four months would not only consolidate the ANC and the National Party, but also sideline the PAC once and for all.

It would also save the lives of quite a few policemen.
**Police legitimate target, says PAC**

**NEWS**

**STAR 11/1/92.**

Police legitimate target, says PAC

"System's robots must be destroyed"

THE Pan Africanist Congress has refused to condemn the policy of its military wing to attack policemen.

It said the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) had an "historical responsibility to prosecute the struggle."

Apla's target was "the structures of the apartheid regime."

"The SA Police is at the forefront of the repression of our people and is a legitimate target."

"The policemen are robots of the system and should be sought out and destroyed," PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said.

The PAC would not apologise, to anyone for Apla's policy of attacking policemen and SADF forces.

"The role of the police is a collaborative one with the apartheid machine. In news reports a misconception seems to exist that black policemen should not be attacked as they are also victims of the system."

"We find this romanticising of policemen as guardians and angels of peace surprising. The hard, unpalatable fact is that they have killed our people starting in 1960 at Sharpeville and in 1976 in Soweto."

"Through their hit squads on trains they are continuing to do so."

"They should leave the force if they don't want to be attacked, Azania is liberating itself and the people are fighting back. Whether policemen are black or white is not the issue, but rather their support of the Right by serving in the force."

The PAC was a disciplined liberation organisation with a certain historical role, he argued. It was committed to all forms of struggle.

A spokesman for the Department of Law and Order criticised the PAC for supporting attacks on policemen and warned that the perpetrators of such attacks would be ruthlessly hunted down.

Captain Craig Kotze said it was clear that the PAC was out of step with the broad consensus, including that of the ANC and the SA Communist Party, that the killing of policemen was unacceptable.

"We have nothing against PAC supporters per se but clearly where individual PAC members break the law, such as the Apla does or claims to do, then they will be dealt with in terms of the law."

— Sapa.
We back attacks on cops 

- PAC 

By MONWABISI NOMADOLU

THE PAC has reaffirmed its support of attacks on policemen carried out by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

This follows a statement of support made last week by the Pan Africanist Students Organisation of Azania (Paso) which said it rendered its "ultimate support for the mighty Apla".

Paso said the "brutality of the racist regime" had to be taken into account.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Moraizivhananani told a press conference on Friday that his organisation perceived the SADF and the SAP as President FW de Klerk's "private army" and therefore a "state oppressive machinery".

The SADF and the SAP were the first targets in Apla's programme of action against the "machinery of oppression", Apla's military commander, Seabelo Phuma, was quoted as saying in a weekly newspaper.

Speaking from his home in Harare, Phuma was quoted as saying the security forces were "harassing our people in their homes, on trains and in the townships".

PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander said Apla had more men inside the country than in their camps in the Frontline states.

Moraizivhananani reaffirmed the PAC's position that the attacks were not aimed at sabotaging the progress made at CODESA or undermining the National Peace Accord.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said 151 policemen have died since last year, including five killed this year.

Apla claimed responsibility for the recent killing of five policemen in the PWV area.

Opperman said there was a R25,000 reward from the police for information which could lead to the arrest and conviction of anyone who has murdered a policeman.

However, the attacks have also drawn condemnation from several bodies.

The SACC, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, the SAPC, the Cosatu-aligned Police and Prisoners Civil Rights Union (Popcru) and the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) condemned the attacks and urged the organisation to reconsider its strategy.
MK exiles complain to Hani at camp
By Esther Waugh Political Reporter

Exiled Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers complained to MK chief of staff Chris Hani, during his recent seven-day visit to a camp in Uganda, about his long absence from training camps.

Mr Hani visited the still-exiled members of the ANC's armed wing for the first time since his return to South Africa after the organisation's unbanning in 1990.

Mr Hani told The Star that MK cadres at a Ugandan training camp had expressed concern about his two-year absence.

"My reply was that I could not justify it. (I said) it was wrong, but I pointed out that I have been building the ANC internally," he said.

Mr Hani, who was recently elected general-secretary of the SA Communist Party — but retains his MK leadership position — is scheduled to visit a guerrilla camp in Tanzania soon.

The aim of the series of visits is to evaluate MK's training programme; check on logistics such as food, uniforms and recreation; and brief cadres on developments in South Africa since February 2, 1990.

Mr Hani said that contrary to widespread speculation about dissatisfaction in the camps over the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle, cadres did not raise the question with him.

"It's not an issue. Cadres have accepted it," Mr Hani said.

He reiterated the ANC position — stated by Nelson Mandela during his clash with President de Klerk at last year's Convention for a Democratic South Africa — that the armed struggle would be abandoned and cadres returned to South Africa only once an interim government was in place.

MK's officer corps was currently undergoing military training in India, Uganda and Tanzania in order to convert from a guerrilla army to a conventional one, he said. Rank-and-file troops would follow.
A new book finds serious flaws in the long prosecution of the ‘People’s War’ reports Stanley Uys

Did SAPC sink armed struggle?

If Stephen Ellis and Tseso Sechaba are correct in their new book, "Comrades Against Apartheid", the ANC’s armed struggle was not only a failure, but a failure directly attributable to the SAPC, the armed wing of the ANC, and not to the ANC as a whole.

Stephen Ellis, former editor of Africa Confidential, and Tseso Sechaba, the pen-name of an African who is still a member of the ANC and SAPC (and presumably still divulging confidential information), set out in their book to demonstrate that the SAPC had a stronger influence on the ANC in the 1980s than on any other party.

The SAPC had a strategic advantage — it had the connections, the backing of the superpower that was prepared to fund the armed struggle and provide it with military hardware. It could therefore have a more direct influence on the ANC.

The question is whether the SAPC and the ANC, which looked to the party for strategic direction, placed too much importance on the armed struggle for too long.

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

The armed struggle, the authors claim, was central to the strategy of both the SAPC and the ANC, and it failed.

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

The mobilisation of the entire resources of the state in a counter-revolutionary strategy in South Africa and the neighbouring countries, the Lesotho coup, and the effectiveness of Pretoria’s espionage system added up to a comprehensive defeat for MK and the strategy adopted by the ANC and Communist Party since the 1990s.

Ellis and Sechaba place the blame for this defeat squarely on the SAPC, which, they say, turned MK into a “third-rate” party, and that Oliver Tambo’s leadership coincided with the SAPC gradually coming on top.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The question is whether the ANC’s strategy was correct, and whether the concept of a People’s War (much of it learned from a visit to Vietnam) was ever a viable one.

It will be difficult enough to reconstruct South Africa through negotiations and concessions, through a People’s War, the country would have been reduced to rubble. Any comment Mr Slovo? Mr Hani?"
No choice

The ANC's strength

Gangstergate

The State

To overthrown

The blunt fact is

A Case for

To Arise

A Farewell

Reports from London.

New book: Sovietan Correspondent Stanley VS

The Amends struggle was a failure and the blame lies

The blunt fact is that MK failed

The overthrown

The State

END
Blasts: four more rightwingers held

Crime Staff

Police investigating the recent spate of bomb blasts in the Transvaal detained a further four rightwingers in the Pretoria area early yesterday.

This follows the arrests of three men — including two alleged members of the Boerekommando — last week in connection with a blast at a desegregated school in Potgietersrus on January 2.

Confirming the latest arrests, SAP spokesman Captain Burger van Rooyen said the detainees — all men — were being held in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Captain van Rooyen refused to disclose the detainees’ political affiliations or confirm allegations by right-wing spokesmen that one of the men was an official of the white Mine-workers Union (MWU).

However, he referred The Star to a statement last week by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, on last week’s arrests.

In the statement, the general said further arrests could be expected shortly.

Since last month, 14 explosions have rocked desegregated schools, magistrate’s courts and post offices in Transvaal, causing several million rands of damage.

Top police sources have conceded that the attacks may have been linked.

Yesterday AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph said one of the men arrested earlier in the day was an official of the MWU.

Mr Rudolph quoted a relative of the man as saying she had been told by arresting officers that “terror” charges were being investigated against the man.

An AWB official said the arrested man and another person “who may have been arrested” had been taken to Nylstroom in northern Transvaal.

The MWU later reacted to the alleged arrest of its member, saying it was deplorable that an “honourable Afrikaner could be branded a terrorist in his own country.”
Bombings: Four more rightwing arrests

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police investigating the recent spate of bomb blasts in the Transvaal have detained four more rightwingers in the Pretoria area.

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However, he referred to a statement last week by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, that further arrests could be expected.

Since last month 14 explosions rocked desegregated schools, magistrate's courts and post offices in the Transvaal, causing millions of rands of damage, and police admitted they might have been linked.

Yesterday AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph said one of the arrested men was a Mineworkers Union official.

He said according to a report the arresting officers said "terror" charges were being investigated.

Mr Rudolph said the arrested man and another person "who may have been arrested" had been taken to Nylstroom in the Northern Transvaal.
Cops nab suspect bombers

A police crackdown on rightwingers following a recent spate of bombings resulted in eight arrests by yesterday, police confirmed.

In addition to the initial arrests of Boer Commando leader Mr. Gawie Volkschenk, Mr. Carel van der Merwe and Mr. Gerhard Roux, four more people were arrested.

They were named as Mr. Petrus Jodoel, Mr. Dick Hattingh, Mr. Andre Odendaal and Mr. Andre Kriel.

Those arrested have been linked to the Eastern Transvaal Boer Commando and the white Mine Workers' Union.

The men are being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Swa
Massive bomb fails to explode

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Police found 19.6 kg of commercial explosives at Nelspruit's Calvary Christian School early yesterday after the timing device was to have set off the blast.

They later arrested a 39-year-old man.

Across the road from the school is a senior citizens' housing project.

Experts agree there was a possibility that elderly people could have been seriously injured or killed had the explosives detonated.

Acting on information, police arrived at the Calvary Assembly Church — which is used as a school during the week — soon after 3 am.

The explosives, tied in bundles of seven, had been placed against the outside wall of the main classroom.

Explosive experts defused the timing mechanism and hours later 42 pupils — from Grade 1 to matric — arrived for classes as usual, unaware of the drama.

Pastor Steve Maritz (55) said it was not until 10 am that he was told of the bomb. He said police told him the timing device had not detonated the explosives at the time for which it had been set.

"Our church is situated between the Anglican and Ned Geref churches and had those explosives gone off all three would have been badly damaged," he said.

"The Ned Geref church hall would also have been affected."

Pastor Maritz said police had told him they had been tipped off by an unknown person.

"That person can only have been God," he said.

"Only the night before we had a special prayer meeting, asking God to protect all Christian buildings."

Although the Calvary Christian School is non-racial, it has no black pupils at present.

Last month an explosion caused extensive damage to Nelspruit's English medium Lowveld High School.

No arrests have been made in connection with this earlier blast.
ANC-AWB in hit link

Rightwing terrorist killed in Renegade Guerrilla Action
**Mine slams actress's visit**

DARIUS SANAI

RICHARDS Bay Minerals (RBM) has condemned the arrival in SA of US actress and environmentalist Margaux Hemingway, who plans to make a documentary on the proposed Lake St Lucia mining scheme, as "a cheap publicity stunt".

RBM spokesman Norman Clements said yesterday Hemingway's trip was "a ploy which can have no possible benefit to the cause of conservation in SA".

Hemingway, granddaughter of novelist Ernest Hemingway and a former top model, arrived in SA earlier this week with Hollywood environmental lobbyist Cherri Briggs. She is here at the invitation of conservationist Ian Player, a vociferous opponent of RBM's proposals to mine the conservation area.

The proposals have run into a storm of protest from renowned SA figures including Player, Sir Laurens van der post and Gary Player.

An environmental impact assessment is being conducted on the proposals, with leading UCT academics participating.

**More bombing suspects held**

POLICE have detained another four suspected bombers, according to right-wing and police sources, barely 24 hours after the arrest of four men on Wednesday.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said three men were arrested in Hendrina, while police said a man was arrested in Nelspruit yesterday.

Van Tonder said yesterday Boerekommando deputy leader Wieman Steinberg was arrested with two of his members on Wednesday night. Police denied any knowledge of the arrest.

Police confirmed that Boerekommando leader Gawie Volschenk was arrested last week. Police said Volschenk was arrested in connection with the January 2 explosion at Melkrivier Primary School in the northwestern Transvaal.

Security analyst Wim Booyse said the arrests could represent a significant breakthrough for police. Last week it was reported that the decentralised nature of extreme right-wing groups would make it difficult to track down underground cells.
School bomb:
Man arrested

NELSPRUIT. — Mr Piet Nel, 35, has been arrested in connection with the discovery of an explosive device at a multi-racial school here this week. The device was found at the Calvary Christian Church school and defused by the police. Mr Nel is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Police this week detained seven other people in connection with blasts. — Sapa.
SACP blamed for ANC armed failure

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO
London

A NEW book due for publication soon blames the South African Communist Party for the failure of the ANC's armed struggle against South Africa.

The book, Comrade Against Apartheid, is written by Stephen Ellis, a former editor of Africa Confidential, and Tsepo Sechaba, a pen name for a senior ANC and SACP member.

Among other things, it blames the SACP for:
- Over-emphasising control and organisation to the detriment of political and military strategy;
- Under-utilising trained cadres who were left idle in camps outside South Africa; and
- "Democratic centralism" where a small, secret elite formed the leadership and grew distant from the organisation's supporters.

Argue

International support, mass action, underground activity and the armed struggle were listed by the SACP and the ANC as the four pillars of their strategy — but the emphasis was on the armed struggle.

The book asks why, if the armed struggle was so central to the strategy of both, it failed.

"Apologists may argue that the war succeeded in keeping alive the spirit of resistance, and in forcing the enemy (the SA Government) to the point of negotiation," says the book.

"That is true, but it was hardly what was intended. The blunt fact is that Umkhonto we Sizwe failed to provoke the overthrow of the South African state by force, which is the purpose for which it was ultimately intended."

Mutiny

The book says the SACP 'persisted in promoting the armed struggle above other forms of activity in "inappropriate" conditions.'

This is cited as a main reason for the 1984 Angola mutiny when rank and file members rose up against the leadership and were brutally subdued.

The soldiers rebelled, criticising the leadership for its lack of initiative in sending them to a war they had long prepared for.

Critics, it says, pointed out that they were confronting the enemy where it was strongest, in the military sphere, and not its weakest, in the political arena.

The SACP is accused of being obsessed with control, opposing and rooting out dissident opinions in the ANC and transforming the exiled organisation from a broad-based nationalist movement to something resembling a socialist party.
Inkatha stands firm on Umkhonto issue

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is refusing to sign the code of conduct for the SA Defence Force until "the issue of the ANC's private army", Umkhonto we Sizwe, is resolved.

Its decision is sure to raise serious problems for the National Peace Accord, which in recent weeks appeared to be making progress, particularly in relation to Inkatha-ANC fighting in Natal. The code of conduct for the SADF is an essential component of the accord, signed in August last year.

The government has already made clear its willingness to sign the code of conduct, which is being drafted with the help of the SADF and other signatories to the accord.

In a statement the IPP said it felt that the issues of the SADF and MK would be better dealt with in the context of the Convention for a Democratic SA. It called for the sub-committee drafting the SADF code to adjourn until the MK issue was resolved.

Inkatha said that for the ANC to argue that liberation armies were not private armies "makes a mockery of the National Peace Accord and places a serious question mark on the alliance's commitment to democratic values".

The first report-back of the National Peace Committee on Friday acknowledged that the sub-committee on the SADF code of conduct, private armies and dangerous weapons was experiencing difficulties.

Committee chairman John Hall said the establishment of six local dispute committees was of special significance in the quest against violence.

He welcomed the formation of a seventh local committee in the Mooi River/Bruntville area, at which ANC and Inkatha leaders pledged to support the initiative.
ANC-AWB death plot claim stuns movement

CP Correspondent and Sapa

SENSATIONAL allegations that two ANC intelligence officers offered a member of the AWB thousands of rand to kill a black policeman came as “a bolt from the blue”, says the ANC.

The ANC denied all knowledge of these allegations, published this week in the weekly, Vrye Weekblad.

ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan said this week that senior members of the ANC were investigating the issue. Jordan added that it appeared as if there might be agents in the ANC who did not want their identity to be revealed by the policeman.

The policeman allegedly to be killed is ex-ANC guerilla Glory September Sidebe who was “turned” and became a “successful” Askari, said to be involved in the killing of ANC members in Swaziland. He recently wanted to rejoin the ANC.

According to the Vrye Weekblad, AWB member Danie Odendaal approached the ANC through reporter Jacques Pauw, because he wanted to provide the ANC with information on rightwing arms purchases.

Pauw asked ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma to become involved. Zuma agreed and two intelligence officers, known only as Rickie and Mao, met Odendaal several times.

The newspaper said it is not clear what Zuma’s role was.

Rickie and Mao offered Odendaal R50 000 to kill Sidebe. Odendaal allegedly received R10 000 to commit the murder.

Odendaal also later received R12 000 from Terror Lekota, ANC senior executive committee member, for information about arms smuggling. The ANC confirmed this.

Odendaal was arrested this week after telling a police reservist about the plot. He appeared on Thursday in the Roodepoort Magistrate’s Court on a charge of illegal possession of diamonds and was released on bail.

Major-General Andre Pruys, head of the SAP’s crime information service, said in a statement police were investigating the case and knew where Rickie, Mao and Sidebe were.

The ANC said in a statement this week: “The African National Congress unequivocally denies any involvement in a conspiracy to commit murder. As the Vrye Weekblad itself admits, the journal does not believe the alleged assassination fee came from the ANC’s treasury.”

The statement said it was ANC practice to pay for information. “This is an accepted practice that does not violate any moral code.”
Grenade thrown into shack

THE condition of the five people injured in an explosion early yesterday morning at Hartbeesfontein Gold Mine's No 5 Shaft near Stilfontein was stable, according to West Rand police.

The three women and two men who were inside a house on the mine at the time of the explosion were admitted to Clermont's Tshepung Hospital, said Western Transvaal Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Ben van Heerden.

He said the explosion, which he described as "minor", occurred when someone lobbed a dynamite stick into a squatter's house.

The explosion caused R30 damage, Van Heerden said.

The motive for the explosion, which occurred outside the house at 3.30am, was unknown.

A second explosion occurred earlier, about midnight on Saturday, when commercial explosives were thrown by unidentified people at an electric transformer at Khutsong, Carletonville.

The explosion caused R500 000 damage, Van Heerden said. - SA Press Association.
11 arrested

ELEVEN right-wingers have been arrested in connection with the recent spate of bomb blasts in the country. The men are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which was revised last year after pressure from the ANC and the international community. At least three of the men are being held for "the supply of explosives".
Minister names 11 held in connection with bomb blasts

From Page 8

Star 20/11/92

11 bomb suspects are named

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

SALDANHA — In the fight against bomb blasts, police have arrested 11 rightwingers this year — and are expected to pull in more.

But Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has conceded he is "disturbed" by some right-wing saboteurs who operate in small cells of two or three people, independent of any organisation.

This made them difficult to trace, he said.

However, he dismissed the right-wing sabotage campaign as "amateurish".

At a weekend briefing Mr Kriel released the names of the 11 rightwingers arrested since January 6.

The 11 being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act are:

1. G P D Roux (no known links with any organisation), CWA van der Merwe and Gawie Volshen (both linked to the Boerekommando, the latter its leader) who are being held in connection with the bomb blast at Melkrivier Primary School in Vaal.

Crime statistics — Page 3
Police consider claim

Police were undecided yesterday whether an investigation would be conducted into allegations that two ANC intelligence operators paid a rightwinger to murder an ANC defector.
11 right-wing bombers arrested

Political Staff

IN A breakthrough against the recent spate of right-wing bomb blasts, police have arrested 11 right-wingers this year — and are expected to pull in more leading figures this week.

But Law and Order Minister Mr Hannes Kriel has conceded he is "disturbed" by the discovery that some right-wing saboteurs are operating in small cells of two or three people, independent of any organisation and therefore harder to detect.

At a weekend press briefing in Saldanha, Mr Kriel released the names of the 11 right-wingers arrested since January 6, most of them belonging to the AWB or Boerekommando.

He said further arrests could be expected this week and it is understood these could include well-known leaders.

Although Mr Kriel discounted the right-wing sabotage campaign as "amateurish" and said right-wingers were "easy to catch", it is understood that the discovery of independent right-wing sabotage cells is causing serious concern to the police.

The 11 right-wingers who are being held for questioning under section 29 of the Internal Security Act are:

• Mr G.P.D. Roux (no known links with any organisation), Mr C.W.A. van der Merwe and Mr Gwion Veldhens (both linked to the Boerekommando) who are being held in connection with the bomb attack on the Multigrade Primary School in the Vaalwater district on January 2.

• Mr R.K. Robinson (linked to the Boerekommando) held in connection with the supply of explosives.

• Mr R.S. Kriel, Mr A.C. Odendaal, Mr P.J. Jutjel and Mr D.J. Hattingh (all linked to the AWB) — held in connection with the bomb blasts at Coelen House, Pretoria, on December 19 last year and at the Lydenburg and Krogersdorp post offices on January 3 this year.

• Mr Kriel is also being held in connection with the bomb blast which ripped apart the empty Hillview High School in Pretoria on July 21 last year.

• Mr P. Nolet, linked to the AWB — held in connection with the planting of a bomb at an Anglican church school in Nelspruit on January 16.

• Mr M de Wall, and Mr Steynberg (both linked to the Boerekommando) — held in connection with the supply of explosives.

"These are the sort of people the Conservative Party wants to meet to try to settle their differences. This is the sort of company they are keeping," Mr Kriel said.

He added that the right-wing sabotage threat could not be ignored.

Unless right-wing leaders stopped saying that they understood why right-wingers were resorting to sabotage and came out firmly against it, there would be no cessation of right-wing terrorism.

"There is a grave responsibility resting on the shoulders of the AWB leader Mr Jaap Marais, (AWB leader) Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche and (CIP leader) Mr Andries Treurnicht to tell them to stop," Mr Kriel said.

Right-wing leaders lost sight of the idea that they should help the government stop right-wing bombings. They denied any responsibility for the bombings and placed the blame firmly on the government.

AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, said that he was not responsible for the volatile situation created by the government and had no intention of working with the government in any way.

"They are trying to use me to make my people obey their rules and ways, but no power on earth can stop people rising up against the government when they are being betrayed," he said.

Boerekraal Party leader, Mr Robert van Tonder, said the right-wing attacks were entirely the fault of the government and said his party wouldn't do anything to stop them continuing.

Serious

Political Staff

SERIOUS crime is more than 10 percent of the police belief figures for recent crimes figure, it was revealed.

"A comparison of the state of crime was made by Senior Constable George K."
Patrick Laurence reports on a scandal which continues to haunt the ANC

Strange death of Thami Zulu

21/11/92

Danie Odendaal, the man at the centre of an alleged ANC plot to murder a renegade ANC fighter, has put his finger on one of the most controversial and potentially explosive issues in recent ANC history: the death in 1986 of guerrilla commander Thami Zulu.

Mr Zulu, who headed the ANC's Natal Military Command in the 1960s, died mysteriously 12 days after being released from detention by the ANC's feared security department or Mbekodo ("the stone that crushes").

His death — and his detention in Zambia, where he was allegedly beaten up and half-starved by his interrogators — so disturbed ANC leaders outside Mbekodo that an internal inquiry was ordered. The findings of the inquiry, on which ANC lawyer Abie Sachs served, were never made public.

What is known is that a medical analysis of specimens from Mr Zulu's blood and stomach showed they contained, to quote the report, "diazon, an organo phosphorous pesticide. The same poison had been sprinkled on clothes belonging to Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, a few months earlier. Mr Chikane, who fell gravely and mysteriously ill while abroad, was absorbing traces of the poison through his clothes until the pesticide was discovered on them.

ANC-aligned forces said at the time that Mr Chikane had been targeted for assassination. In pro-ANC circles, agents of the security forces were suspected.

Many of the facts surrounding Mr Zulu's death were unearthen by The Guardian and published in the London-based newspaper in September. They have been given a new relevance by Mr Odendaal's allegations that two ANC men, identified by their nom de guerre as "Rickie" and "Mao," paid him to kill an ANC defector who once served under Mr Zulu.

The defector is Glory Nkomo, who, as he was known in the ANC army Umkhonto we Sizwe, "Commander September." He served as the ANC's intelligence chief for the Transvaal under the overall command of Mr Zulu.

Mr Sedibe was abducted by South African police agents from a Swaziland prison in August 1986. His security police captors induced him to defect and Mr Sedibe joined the SAP.

In their book "Comrades Against Apartheid" Stephan Ellis and Tsepo Sechaba state: "Sedibe gave the security police information enabling them virtually to wipe out Umkhonto we Sizwe in Swaziland." Their successes included the capture of ANC operative Grace Gele in December 1985, the kidnap of a few days later of Isanael Kakuma, chairman of the ANC's political and military council for Swaziland, and the ambush and gunning down of two top ANC military commanders, Cassius Maake and Paul Dibedi.

The security police successes led ANC intelligence chiefs to suspect their Swaziland network was riddled with spies. One of the suspected men was a senior cadre known as Comrade Cyril. He was arrested by Mbekodo in 1986, interrogated and pressed to confess to being a security police agent.

According to Ellis and Sechaba, Comrade Cyril died in detention "either from poison, as some say, or as a result of being severely beaten." Mbekodo, convinced it was on the point of a major breakthrough, moved higher up the hierarchy.

Mr Zulu, who had been the commander of Mr Sedibe and Comrade Cyril, was detained. Not even his reputation as the Umkonto commander who had turned Natal into a major theatre of guerrilla war and made Durban the "bomb capital" of South Africa, saved him. He was detained for a year, part of which was spent in solitary confinement, before being released as a desperately sick man. There was some solace for his family at his funeral, however.

Joe Modise and Chris Hani, commander and chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe respectively, publicly dissociated themselves from Mbekodo's suspicions that he had been a spy.

Questions remain about Mr Zulu's death. Who killed him and why? Was he merely the victim of Mbekodo bullies, paranoid about enemy spies? Was he the victim of a spy who infiltrated Mbekodo and used its network against the ANC? Had Mr Zulu himself begun to suspect Mbekodo might have been penetrated by a police spy?

These questions have been re-emphasised by Mr Odendaal's statement to the Sunday Star that there was a connection between his assignment to kill Mr Sedibe and Mr Zulu's death. Mr Odendaal did not elaborate on the nature of the connection.

The ANC has confirmed that Mr Sedibe did approach it last August, when he made overtures about rejoining its ranks. What is not clear is whether Mr Sedibe, who declared that he had left the police, was operating on his own.

The possibility cannot be excluded that he was acting on the orders of his police handlers. The ANC is not a lawful organisation but there are still policemen who view it in adversarial terms.

What is certain is that Mr Se-dibe's return to the ANC would be a controversial and disturbing process. If, as Mbekodo once seemed to think, security forces spies have successfully infiltrated the ANC's upper echelons, the return of Mr Sedibe would be dangerous for them. Having been privy to police operations, Mr Sedibe might have learnt the identity of some of their agents.

Mr Odendaal's allegations have been treated prudently. On his own admission, made in an interview with Sunday Star, his motivation is financial, he trades information for money.

At one level the Odendaal saga — first disclosed in Vry Week blad — seems to belong to a John de Carre novel. At another level it cannot be dismissed completely.

The ANC operatives, Rickie (real name Revell Ndondo) and Mao, do exist. Police are said to possess a tape-recording of their alleged attempt to recruit Mr Odendaal as a hired assassin.

The ANC has not denied that it paid Mr Odendaal a large sum of money. But, it insisted, its motive in seeing him was for information about alleged gun-running operation by right-wingers.

The ANC has unequivocally denied that it is involved in a conspiracy to murder Mr Sedibe. At the same time, it felt constrained to add: "In spite of our scepticism, a thorough investigation has been launched to uncover all the facts."

It has promised to release the results of the investigation to the public (and not treat it as an internal inquiry like the one into Mr Zulu's death). ☑
Umkhonto member shot
collect four times with
AK-47 rifle, court told

By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau

The Vanderbijlpark Magistrate’s Court was told yesterday that a man claiming to be a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe — the ANC’s military wing — allegedly shot a young policeman four times with an AK-47 rifle during a robbery at a Vanderbijlpark wholesaler last month.

This evidence was given by Detective-Sergeant Pedro Peens of the Vanderbijlpark murder and robbery unit in opposition to a bail application by one of the two suspects in the case.

Both Tsepo Lengwati (27) and Arthur Mali (35) are facing charges of murder, attempted murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances. Neither have been asked to plead.

Their arrest follows a shooting in which Constable Sakkie Janse van Rensburg (21) was killed during an armed robbery at Price Club in Vanderbijlpark on December 30. Another two suspects are being sought in connection with the case.

Sergeant Peens said he had a prima facie case against Mr Lengwati and said he should not be freed from custody.

He told the court he had an eye-witness account and ballistic evidence that on the day of the alleged robbery Mr Lengwati had fired four shots at the constable’s service pistol out of his hand before shooting him in the chest and head.

He said the suspect was arrested shortly afterwards and taken to an office where he said he was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He also claimed that instructions to carry out the robbery at Price Club had been issued by Umkhonto headquarters.

Counsel for the defence, A.Mayer, objected to this statement and requested it be struck off the court record.

Magistrate Jan van Staden ruled in favour of the objection and said the statement was inadmissible.

Continuing his testimony, Sergeant Peens said Mr Lengwati had been part of a group who shot and seriously injured two Soweto policemen a few years ago.

He was sentenced to 18 years in jail on Robben Island for the crime, but was granted amnesty and released from prison on April 30 last year after serving about two years of the sentence.

He added that the suspect lived with his mother in Soweto, owned no fixed property, and would definitely not attend his trial if granted bail.

In addition to this, he also had knowledge of a contract out on the accused’s life.

In support of his bail application, Mr Lengwati yesterday stated he was living with his mother and worked for the ANC’s headquarters as a chauffeur.

He said he earned about R2,000 a month, but would be able to contribute only R1,000 towards his bail as the rest of the money was used to help his mother, who was employed as a domestic.

The hearing continues today.
We won't sign while MK exists, says IFP

By Esther Waugh, Political Reporter (84)

The Inkatha Freedom Party's participation in the National Peace Committee's subcommittee on an SADF code of conduct is hanging in the balance over the continued existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Its objections were sent in a memorandum to the National Peace Committee on Friday for arbitration, and the IFP has asked that, pending the resolution of the matter, the subcommittee be adjourned.

In terms of the constitution, the SADF is the only lawful national defence force in the country.

"If the Government is willing to sign a code of conduct for the SADF with the ANC under the National Peace Accord without the issue of the ANC's private army, MK, being resolved, the IFP is not.

"To do so would be to confuse principle with expediency and spoil its reputation for consistency and honest dealing," the IFP said. "The time has come for straight talking."

The IFP noted that the National Peace Accord prohibited private armies. "This principle was fundamental to the IFP's willingness to enter into the National Peace Accord, as it directly addressed the position occupied by MK," the memorandum said. STA, 22/1/97.

The ANC's argument that MK was a liberation army and not a private army was "logically and legally untenable."

"This revolutionary posture by the ANC/SACP alliance in relation to its armed wing, MK, while claiming the right to participate in the political process through negotiation, makes a mockery of the National Peace Accord and places a serious question mark on the alliance's commitment to democratic values of a non-Marxist-Leninist variety," the IFP said.
Police kill 2 after grenade attack

TWO ANC exiles who returned to the country a few months ago were killed by police yesterday after a grenade attack on policemen, police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said.

Captain Opperman said the grenade was thrown at the policemen when they went to a house in Sharpeville looking for suspects in murder, robbery and intimidation cases.

The suspects fled the house — one of them carrying another grenade. A policeman chased after them and the suspect with the grenade turned around and was about to pull the pin on the grenade when the policeman opened fire, said Captain Opperman.

One of the men who was killed was identified as Ephraim Lepiedi, a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The other has not yet been identified. A third man, also a recently returned ANC exile, was injured. He was under police guard in hospital.

Mr Lepiedi recently appeared in the Vereeniging District Court on a charge of attempted murder of a policeman. He was released from custody about two weeks ago. ANC chairman for the Sharpeville branch, Siza Rani, said the ANC was taking statements from witnesses.
The mother of all threats from PAC

THE PAC on Friday issued a warning to the United States that it would take up arms to fight against it.

"The US was sponsoring violence in Mozambique and Angola," PAC general secretary Benny Alexander told about 1,500 PAC supporters gathered in the Bo-Kaap before leading a march on parliament.

"The US government has said it would step in to stop the PAC.

"We are going to get arms to fight against the US. We will defeat the imperialists and run this country. We say to Bush that no army can withstand the force of an army whose time has come."

To cheers from the crowd he vowed that the PAC would continue its armed struggle.

"If they (the government) don't want to give us the ballot we will liberate ourselves through the bullet."

He said the Law and Order Minister had said the PAC leadership was weak because it wouldn't condemn the armed wing of the PAC, Apla.

"Why should we. The police are responsible for killing people all over the show. We must defend our people."

Alexander said when State President FW de Klerk opened parliament on Friday it was likely he would issue a threat to those who supported private armies.

"But the real private army is the SADF and the police force. They are the private armies of De Klerk."

He reiterated the PAC's call for Codesta to be disbanded. — Sapa
Hostel petrol-bombed

Two people were seriously injured when a petrol bomb was thrown into a room at the Meadowlands Hostel in Soweto early today.

Captain Joseph Nqobeni of the Soweto police said unknown attackers threw a petrol bomb into the room at the married quarters of the hostel at about 12.50 am.

Wilson Nkomo, aged about 75 and an unidentified teenager, asleep inside the house, were badly injured.

They were taken to the Baragwanath Hospital. The house was extensively damaged.

At about 3 am police patrolling the area saw two houses in Zone 1 alight. The houses were badly damaged but nobody was hurt. Three suspects were seen running in the direction of the hostel.

— West Rand Bureau.
Hard to link
SADF and
MK – Meyer

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — It is politically and militarily difficult to link the ANC’s armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, with the SADF, according to Defence Minister Roelf Meyer.

At a press briefing yesterday, Mr Meyer reiterated that it remained difficult to link any organisation which had a private army to the SADF while trying to promote the apolitical nature of the SADF.

An organisation which was still engaged in an armed struggle was prohibited, from a military viewpoint, from becoming part of the SADF.

Cutbacks in the defence budget would continue. One of the SADF’s main considerations, however, remained its manpower needs. At least 10,000 national and voluntary servicemen had been deployed daily to ensure security and stability.

Mr Meyer said military servicemen remained the main manpower component and it was his firm view that this situation would con-
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Mr Meyer said military servicemen remained the main manpower component and it was his firm view that this situation would continue in the short term.

The defence budget would not be able to finance a voluntary defence force. A system of balloting was one alternative to compulsory military service that could be considered.

He stressed there were several other options, but declined to discuss these as it would lead to "more speculation".

Mr Meyer said neither he nor President de Klerk knew of a "third force" operating to discredit the negotiation process. "But there are those elements who would like to disrupt the process."
ANC to stay mum on camps probe

THE ANC, after three months' delay, is to begin its internal inquiry into allegations of atrocities committed by members of the organisation against dissidents in camps in neighbouring countries.

Other organisations are also investigating atrocities: the Goldstone commission has five separate inquiries underway into acts of violence in various parts of the country and a number of policemen are at present before the courts on criminal charges ranging from assault to murder.

The only difference, of course, is that while the latter inquiries are public, the ANC one is to be kept secret until an authorised report on the findings is released.

So much for open administration.
'Bomb' at Moloi farm

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

A FAKE time-bomb was recently discovered on the Witklipbank farm bought by late Thembisa millionaire Charles Moloi, police said.

Moloi caused a sensation when he bought two farms from rightwing owners in CP territory, and as the cherry on top, employed a white manager.

East Rand police liaison officer Lieutenant Wikus Weber said police received a tip-off about the bomb from an anonymous caller.

Weber said police experts were sent to the area and the bomb, which had a timer, was removed.

**No explosives**

He said there were no explosives in the bomb, but added that it must have been assembled by a professional. The bomb was placed a short distance from the main house, Weber said.

He added that police were investigating the matter and the motive was still unknown.

Police could not rule out that it was a racially motivated act, he said.

However, the Moloi family denied any knowledge of a bomb on their farm.

Charlie, Moloi's younger son who is managing the farm, said the family was disturbed by the news of the bomb and the fact that the police did not inform them about it.

The Moloi family first learnt about the bomb when they were contacted by City Press for comment.

Moloi, a diabetic, died in December. His former white farm manager, Bruce Ivy, was dismissed in October because he was "unproductive", a family member said.

Ivy, now a fugitive from the Delmas police, is wanted in connection with a charge of attempted murder after he allegedly went beserk and raided the home of his black lover, Sophie, for whom he had already started paying lobola.

He fired several shots at her father, David Mahlangi, with his rifle. Ivy has not been seen since. A warrant for his arrest has been issued.

In another development Charlie told City Press that the farmhouse was badly damaged after police raided the house in search of Ivy.

Charlie said the doors of the house (inside and outside) were kicked to pieces, the ceiling was damaged and the carpet was torn.

"But how could they look for a man under a carpet?" he asked.

However, Weber said the family should lay a complaint against the police, who were allegedly led by a Captain Venter.
Funeral for ANC cadres

By DAN DHLAMINI

UMKHONTO weSizwe will not suspend the armed struggle against policemen implicated in the killing of cadres, MK's Tokyo Sexwane said yesterday.

He was addressing an emotion-charged funeral service of a returned exile and an ANC activist allegedly killed by police in Sharpeville on January 21, 1992.

Ephraim Lefiedt and Thabo Mosebi were buried in Sharpeville.
Police look for ways to stop theft of explosives

JCI Gold Division MD Bill Neilsen said the group's gold miners faced the prospect of hieving larger than usual quantities of explosives, and the need for improved security measures. The mining industry was concerned about theft of explosives, and the group was looking at ways to improve security arrangements. Neilsen said the company had been considering the installation of additional security measures, such as the use of electronic monitoring systems, to deter theft. He said the company was also looking at ways to improve the handling and storage of explosives to minimize the risk of theft. It was estimated that the company could save large quantities of explosives by improving security measures.

Large quantities of explosives could still be salvaged, but the costs of handling the explosives was becoming increasingly prohibitive. It was impossible to salvage the explosives by the normal methods, and the cost of the salvage work was rising. The company was looking into the possibility of salvaging the explosives by using more advanced methods, such as the use of specialist equipment. It was estimated that the salvage work could be carried out more efficiently, and at a lower cost, if the company had access to specialist equipment.
TWO black policemen are lured by false emergency calls, ambushed and shot dead in their van.

Two white policemen hitchhiking in civilian clothes are shot dead and their bodies dumped in a field.

A police sergeant and his pregnant wife are hit by gunmen at a party at police barracks.

As black and white leaders begin debating South Africa's transition to democracy, police are increasingly the target of political and criminal violence.

"We have become political footballs at the time when anyone with any goodwill should be trying their best to restore some normality," said one constable, who asked to be identified only as Alpheus.

At least 10 officers have been killed so far this year; 145 died in the line of duty in 1991.

Some of the recent killings have been claimed by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, armed wing of the radical Pan Africanist Congress.

"Make no mistake; if our policemen are to be targets for criminals and political thugs, law and order will collapse and all will suffer," said law and order ministry spokesman Craig Kotsie.

The PAC defends the murder of police, saying they are agents of apartheid.

"Because the regime relies on the security forces to stay in power for perpetuity, for any revolution to succeed, they should be wiped out," said a telephone caller claiming to speak for APLA.

The Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal said the PAC strategy was misguided.

It said that while some police wanted to maintain the status quo, others shared the vision for a non-racial South Africa and could be regarded as potential allies.

Black officers who joined the force to help combat crime in the townships said they were shocked by anti-police sentiment.

Many have had their homes burnt down and now live in guarded compounds. So traumatic have their lives become that some have had psychological counselling.

Some policemen have been victims of gangsters emboldened by the mood of insecurity accompanying the political transition.
De Klerk warns ANC can Defence Force reported directly to the Government and indirectly to the National Party.

"They (the NP and the Government) are both part of Codesa," the source said.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

President FW de Klerk has warned the African National Congress that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa would fail unless the organisation disbanded its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Speaking shortly before his departure for Europe on Friday, De Klerk said the Government was doubtful of a peaceful settlement in South Africa while the ANC still had a policy of armed struggle.

"These problems will have to be bridged, otherwise Codesa will fail," De Klerk said in the House of Assembly.

He said for the ANC to be a trustworthy and reliable signatory to any accord on the country's political future, it had to abandon its armed struggle.

Reacting to this, an ANC source said the South Afr-
ANC detainee probe: details not finalised

The terms of reference for the ANC's internal commission of inquiry into conditions under which some of its dissidents were held in detention camps in neighbouring countries had not yet been finalised, spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Miss Marcus denied a newspaper report that the commission would investigate allegations of "atrocities" by some of the ex-prisoners.

"We do not acknowledge that we committed any atrocities," she said, describing the report as "appalling".

She said the commission's terms of reference would probably be announced next week.

Meanwhile, a group of more than 250 former ANC detainees has threatened to take up arms against the organisation if legal means to persuade the international community to conduct an inquiry into the ANC's alleged contravention of the Geneva Convention fail.

The ANC signed the convention in 1978.

A spokesman for the Returned Exile's Committee for Peace and Justice, Pat Hlongwane, said it was organising a march in Durban on Saturday to highlight the plight of the detained exiles.

The decision to stage a march was sparked by the refusal of the CODESA steering committee to consider their situation, he said.
Huge arms cache — white men in court

PRETORIA. — Two white men appeared in the Volksrust Magistrate's Court yesterday after the discovery of a huge arms cache in the area.

Mr H P Geldenhuyse, 33, and Mr H C Geldenhuyse, 22, were granted bail of R500 each and the case was postponed to February 26.

Police found ammunition and a variety of explosive devices buried on a farm in the district.

The cache included 9 000 cartridges for firearms ranging from 9mm pistols to shotguns, 38 tear smoke grenades, 19 trip flares, 42 illumination flares and various other explosive devices, police said.

Police said it was possible the men were related.

Political analyst and right-wing specialist Dr Wim Booyse said if the men were related it was possible they belonged to a right-wing underground cell comprising family members.
Huge weapons cache found by police on farm

A POLICE raid on a farm near Volksrust yielded one of the biggest caches of military weapons to date.

Using tracker dogs, members of the SAP combed the area just across the Transvaal-Natal border, on Wednesday and found explosives hidden in the mountains and buried next to a dam wall.

Two brothers, Mr HC Geldenhuys (22) and Mr HP Geldenhuys (33), were arrested and later appeared in the Volksrust Magistrate’s Court. The case was postponed until February 26. They were released on R500 bail.

Sowetan Correspondent

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the arrests.

The explosives found were: 2 291 9mm cartridges, 1 018 rounds of 7,62mm cartridges, 868 rounds for .303 rifles, three shotgun rounds, 5093 rounds for R5 rifles, 19 trip flares, 38 tearsmoke grenades, 42 illumination flares and various other explosives.

Police are investigating.
ANC 'may have prisoners' in Tanzania

WASHINGTON — The ANC may have continued to hold and abuse prisoners in Tanzania even after it stated last May that all such detainees had been freed, the US State Department asserts in its latest annual human rights report. “Young South Africans” are still being sent to “training centres” in Tanzania and Zambia after “fleeing violence” at home.

The report also notes that “numerous credible reports of torture and mistreatment by ANC security personnel of ANC defector detainees and alleged SA government spies at ANC refugee camps in Tanzania continued in 1991, even after the ANC’s announcement in May that all detainees had been released.”

The report says Tanzanian authorities have “refused to intervene when cases are brought to their attention” because liberation movements in Tanzania “enjoy a kind of extraterritorial status.”

The International Committee for the Red Cross has been asked to investigate.

However, the US is satisfied the ANC is no longer holding prisoners in Zambia.

“Most of the approximately 2,000 ANC exiles departed Zambia in 1991, although there was an influx of young South Africans fleeing the violence in their country.”

Many of these refugees fled first to Swaziland, whose government, in conjunction with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, “worked to send them on to their desired destinations, normally ANC training centres in Zambia and Tanzania.”

The report records that 30 former MK operatives who had been detained in Tanzania and Uganda over the past decade “claimed to have been tortured on the orders of MK chief of state and ANC national executive committee member Chris Hani and other top ANC officials.”

“Upon the return of these detainees to SA, (ANC president) Nelson Mandela said the ANC would attempt to “reconcile” with them, implicitly admitting the truth of some of these claims.”
Arms cache seized in raid on farm

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The police made one of their biggest finds of military weapons this week when they raided a farm in the Volksrust district, near the Transvaal-Natal border.

Two brothers were arrested after police used tracker dogs to search the area.

Some of the explosives were found hidden in mountains and some buried in a cache against a dam wall.

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed that police had arrested brothers H C Geldenhuis (22) and H P Geldenhuis (33), who later appeared in the Volksrust Magistrate’s Court. The trial was postponed until February 26 and they were released on R500 bail.

The explosives found were: 2391 9 mm cartridges, 1018 rounds of 7,62 mm cartridges, 688 rounds for .303 rifles, three shotgun rounds, 9569 rounds for R-5 rifles, 19 trip flares, 38 tear-smoke grenades, 42 illumination flares and various other explosives.

Police are investigating. No further details were available.
From Asylum
Fighter Home

BY THIRZA KINNADA

CITY PRESS, Friday, 9 January 1998

PAGE 9
Slogan aims to save bullets, says PAC wing

THE PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), says the slogan "one settler, one bullet" was adopted to guard against wasting bullets.

Apla's latest newsletter, Azania Combat, published in Dar es Salaam, carries a stern warning against misusing the slogan. In an article headlined "Apla warns slogan abusers", news editor Miendlos Kheswa quotes Apla spokesman "Comrade" Jonny Majazi as saying that "one settler, one bullet" is being used out of context.

"Comrade Majazi said the slogan was meant to encourage the Apla combatants on the ground not to be wasteful with resources because the resources are costly and difficult to come by. Slogans like "one settler, one bullet" and "high morale, high discipline" had to be used to mobilize and galvanize the oppressed masses to the struggle and not to wage or satisfy egos of misdirected individuals."

Majazi is quoted as saying, "The slogans are being used to maintain both the theoretical and practical aspects of our struggle. No individuals or group of people are allowed to vulgarise them."

Azania Combat also hits out at the SA government for allowing whites legally to possess, as it claims, 27 weapons each. It warns that Apla is engaged in a "massive" programme to train fighters in SA.
SA ARMY COMBATANTS TOGETHER
STEP UP TO BATTLE SOUTH AFRICA'S FORMER
TWARIE NATHAN
SUCCESSFUL IN NEW SA
MARCHING BAND FOR 871
A MAN WITH REVOLUTION ON HIS MIND
Judge’s plea to PAC chief

THE chairman of the Goldstone Commission investigating political violence has appealed to Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu to reconsider his decision not to appear before the commission.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, in a statement issued yesterday, again asked Makwetu to meet the commission to discuss statements made by the PAC’s military wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army.

At a Press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, the organisation said the move was aimed at “pressuring the PAC to adopt the Codesa line”.

“Appearances before the commission is an attempt to criminalise the just struggle of our people. The activities of Apla do not constitute public violence,” the organisation said.

The PAC said it was surprising that while violence associated with the Government, the African National Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party and the right-wing was occurring daily, none of those organisations’ leaders had been summoned to appear before the commission.

Goldstone, however, pointed out that the commission had no direct or indirect link with Codesa.

Goldstone confirmed that he had informed Makwetu that if he refused to hold discussions with the commission, “it would have no alternative but to compel his presence at a public inquiry”.

He said he invited Makwetu on January 9 to discuss the statements made by Apla.

On February 12 the general secretary of the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, replied that neither Makwetu nor any member of the PAC national executive committee knew anything about the alleged activities of Apla and would therefore be in no position to help.
PAC leader refuses to discuss Apla

By Thabo Lesheko
Political Staff

The Pan Africanist Congress is bracing itself for a showdown with the Goldstone Commission after PAC president Clarence Makwetu’s refusal to appear and give an account for the activities of the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla).

The main reason for Mr Makwetu’s refusal is that he says he is not responsible for the activities of Apla — the PAC’s armed wing.

Addressing a press conference yesterday, PAC secretary general Benny Alexander said the organisation’s National Working Committee had told Mr Justice Goldstone that it did not know of “specific acts” carried out by Apla and had referred the commission to Apla headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

The PAC has persistently refused to condemn Apla for its actions, which include the recent killing of policemen.

In a letter delivered to Mr Makwetu last week, Mr Justice Goldstone said the PAC should declare its support or opposition to the Apla policy.

“This is a matter which concerns the PAC whether or not it has control over the policies of Apla,” he said.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission was an independent body, not a creation of Codesa as alleged by the PAC.

Mr Makwetu was also requested to discuss a report in which the PAC president is alleged to have said commissions probing violence were a “waste of time”.

“The criminal can never investigate his own activities,” Mr Makwetu allegedly said.

This, Mr Justice Goldstone said, was a serious reflection on the integrity of the commission.

He warned Mr Makwetu to reply within 14 days to his invitation or be subpoenaed.

If he fails to appear before the commission, Mr Makwetu could be charged with contempt of court and either spend a year in jail or be fined R4 000.

Mr Alexander said that Mr Makwetu and the PAC were not afraid of prison and dared the commission to have them arrested.

Mr Alexander said other reasons for Mr Makwetu’s refusal to appear were:

- The commission was appointed by an “illegitimate” regime.
- The activities of Apla did not constitute “public violence and intimidation”, but were part of a just struggle for democracy.
Commuters killed in bomb blast

THREE commuters were killed and a fourth was found dead next to a railway line at Kweisi Station near Kukuhe on Monday night.

A police spokesman said the train driver stopped the train at 6.10pm after hearing a loud bang. He then discovered that a grenade had exploded in one of the carriages.

The man found next to the railway line may have jumped off the moving train to escape the blast, according to the police.

Police said yesterday the four sustained bullet and shrapnel wounds.

Two other men were admitted to hospital in a serious condition.

In Natal, six people, including a one-year-old child, were killed on Monday in an ambush at Tugela Ferry near Greytown in the Natal Midlands.

A police spokesman said a family of eight was travelling in a bakkie from a village to another when they were gunned down.

In the continuing taxi war in Cape Town, a fire extensively damaged the Nyanga hostel, near the taxi rank on Monday night. - Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa.
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Azapo wants Katiza’s help

THE Azanian People’s Organisation has called for the return of fugitive Katiza Cebekhulu to assist in the commission of inquiry into the death of its leader, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

Azapo, on January 27, 1989, by two men pretending to be patients. The motive was said to be robbery but Azapo has maintained that it was “political assassination.”

Asvat was gunned down in his surgery in Rockville.

Azapo said two months ago Cebekhulu had made “serious allegations claiming he knew those responsible for Asvat’s death. We intend having an independent commission of inquiry into the death of Asvat,” it said.

Denmark has become the fourth country to refuse political asylum to Cebekhulu, the Winnie Mandela co-accused currently languishing in a Zambian prison.

Cebekhulu has been held in custody for almost a year for “his own safety” ever since his alleged kidnapping inside South Africa.

The Azapo statement came after it was disclosed that Cebekhulu’s requests for asylum had also been turned down in Britain, Sweden and the United States.
POLICE are investigating a claim by an alleged member of the Azanian People's Liberation Army that they carried out Monday's ambush on a police bakkie in Krielburg.

Three municipal policemen were killed and four seriously injured.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the attack took place about 5.50am in Phadima Section.

But police are, however, sceptical about the claim.

Two municipal policemen died at the scene, a third died of his injuries later and four others are in a serious condition at Natspruit Hospital.

One of the survivors, Constable Lennox Lata, was shot in the right hand by the gunmen. Opperman said the police were investigating the matter.

*Sowetan Correspondent.*
deteriorate in future, legal steps can still be taken.

(2) Messrs Thor Chemicals SA (Pty) Ltd.

Mercury-containing substances imported

*23. Mr F HASWELL asked the Minister of Trade and Industry:

Whether a certain company, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, imported any mercury-containing substances in 1991; if so, (a) under which import codes and (b) what is the name of the company in question?

B137E

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY:

Although two import permits have been issued in favour of the company concerned, the Department of Trade and Industry cannot confirm whether the permits were utilised.

(a) Import code 2620.90

(b) Thor Chemicals (Pty) Ltd

New questions:

AK 47 rifles seized/surrendered

*1. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many AK 47 rifles have been (i) seized in the course of police action and (ii) voluntarily surrendered to the South African Police since 1 January 1990 and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B139E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) (i) 1 075

(ii) 241

(b) 1 January 1991 until 24 January 1992.

Right-wing organizations: members guilty of acts of terrorism

*2. Mr P H P GASROW asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether any members of right-wing organizations were convicted of committing acts of terrorism during the period 1 January 1991 up to the latest specified date in 1992 for which figures are available; if so, (a) how many, (b) of which organizations did they claim to be members and (c) of which acts of terrorism were they convicted?

B122-3E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

No.

(a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

Working group on education

*3. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether he, any members of his Department and/or any other Ministers were involved in a working group on education which sat between March and July 1991; if so, (a) which persons were involved and (b) what were the dates of the meetings of the working group;

(2) whether the group devised a draft report on its activities, if not, why not;

(3) whether any party, group or individual copulated the report in any way after it had been drafted; if so, what are the relevant details;

(4) whether a final report was accepted?

B138E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

Yes.

(a) Persons involved:

Dr C J van der Merwe: Minister of Education and Training

Adv L A Plenaar: Minister of National Education and Environment Affairs

Mr P G Marais: Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid

Dr J B Z Louw: Director-General, Department of Education and Training

Dr J G Garbers: Director-General, Department of National Education

Mr J Samuel: Head, ANC Education Desk

(b) Final, verified membership numbers of the two bodies are not yet available.

(2) The names of the bodies are:

(i) South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU); and

(ii) National Professional Teachers' Organization of South Africa (NAPTOA).

(3) No.

Financial institutions: deposit insurance

*4. Mr H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) Whether, in the light of the recent failure of certain financial institutions, the Government is considering (a) the introduction of deposit insurance for financial institutions in South Africa and (b) giving assistance to investors in a certain financial institution, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, if so, (i) what conditions are being contemplated in regard to such insurance and (ii) what assistance to such investors is being contemplated; if not, why not, in each case;

(2) whether it is the intention to give such assistance in the future; if so, what assistance;

(3) what is the name of the financial institution referred to in paragraph (1) above?

B144E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) (a) No; Not withstanding the cost burden which would be placed on the industry, deposit insurance would lead to an undermining of management efficiency and risk management in financial institutions;

(b) No; Investors voluntarily contracted with the institution concerned to invest their investments as agent and according to the agent's discretion. The Government or regulatory authorities cannot be held responsible for the business decisions of investors, given the fact that the aforementioned investors without coercion and by agreement granted a

continued →

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
Suspected right-wing terrorism: incidents

71. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many incidents of suspected right-wing terrorism were investigated by the South African Police in 1991 and 1992, respectively, and (b) how many of these cases had been solved as at the latest specified date for which information is available;

(b) whether any persons have been arrested in connection with these incidents; if so, (a) how many and (ii) in connection with how many such incidents in each case and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) 1991 — 12
    1992 — 6

(b) 9

(2) Yes.
   (a) (i) 15
   (ii) 9

Persons killed/injured in violence

73. Mr P J GROENEWALD asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many persons were (a) killed and (b) injured in violence in 1985, 1986, 1989, 1990 and 1991, respectively?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) (b)
1985 823 2 626
1986 973 2 548
1989 659 1 425
1990 2 674 4 328
1991 2 239 3 185

Note: Statistics with regard to unrest-related incidents.

Crime: Sandton/Bramley/Wynberg/ Alexandra/Lombardy East

84. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many cases of (a) murder, (b) culpable homicide, (c) assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, (d) common assault, (e) rape, (f) robbery, (g) theft of vehicles and bicycles, (h) damage to property, (i) housebreaking with intent to steal and theft and (j) possession of drugs were reported at the (i) Sandton, (ii) Bramley, (iii) Wynberg/Alexandra and (iv) Lombardy East police stations in 1991?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Table:

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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Note:

(i) vehicles
(ii) cycles

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

STATEMENT: Mr M A HENDRICKSE asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

(1) Whether members of all race groups are allowed to rent and/or purchase, or place their names on waiting lists for housing units in low-income State-funded housing complexes; if not, why not; if so,

(2) Whether, in view of the repeal of the Group Areas Act, it is the policy of the Government to allow local authorities to apply racial integration in respect of such housing complexes; if not, (a) why not and (b) when will local authorities be allowed to do so if so,

J G CLEARY

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State-funded housing complexes all race groups

1. Mr M A HENDRICKSE asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

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CIE

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) Yes.

(2) Yes. If local authorities have surplus housing units at their disposal after the needs of the population groups for which it was originally planned, have been satisfied, the housing boards of the various own affairs administrations may grant approval that it may be placed at the disposal of other population groups, where such a need exists; (a) and (b) fall away.

(3) The housing complexes in Algoa Park and Sidwell in the Port Elizabeth area fall under the purview of the responsibilities of the Minister of Correctional Services and of Housing and Works in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

(4) No.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Apla admits
ambushing
police bakkie

By Guy Jepson

The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), military wing of the PAC, has confirmed that its operatives ambushed a police bakkie in Katlehong on Monday, killing three municipal policemen and seriously injuring four others.

Speaking by telephone from Dar es Salaam yesterday, Apla's chief information officer Jonny Majodzi told The Star that field information operative Carlson Zimbiri had been authorised to accept responsibility for the attack on behalf of the organisation.

Mr Majodzi said Apla would continue to target security force members until its objective, the establishment of a constituent assembly, had been realised.

While he conceded that not all the recent attacks on policemen had been engineered by Apla, Mr Majodzi said Apla operatives had carried out "a number" of attacks.

On the thorny question of whether orders for the attacks emanated from the offices of the PAC, Mr Majodzi said that although Apla got its "direction" from the PAC, its commanders decided on the "specifities", such as the targets for attack.
Man who threatened judge unknown — Apla

IT WAS unlikely the Goldstone Commission would comment yet on a warning issued yesterday to Mr Justice Goldstone by a man purporting to be a field political commissar of the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla), a senior member of the commission said.

Mr Justice Goldstone was unavailable for comment.

The caller, who identified himself as Tafara Rafara, phoned Sapa to warn Mr Justice Goldstone he would be responsible for any action taken against PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

Makwetu on Tuesday vowed he would rather go to jail than testify before the commission on reported attacks on police by Apla operatives.

Apla information chief in Dar es Salaam Johnny Majolo said yesterday Rafara was unknown to the organisation's high command. While Majolo backed Makwetu's refusal to testify before the commission on the grounds that Apla's struggle could not be classified in the same way as township violence, it was not the organisation's policy to target civilians, he said.

A PAC statement issued in SA said Apla's activities did not constitute public violence and intimidation as they were "related to the historical necessity to destroy white domination and replace it with justice and democracy".

Our Durban correspondent reports that PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said government would be "putting its hand into a beehive" if it "dared" to arrest Makwetu.

Speaking at a press conference on PAC policy regarding Codesa and the Goldstone Commission, Nemadzivhanani hinted that arresting Makwetu could result in an attack on the "regime". — Sapa.
Apla denies threat on judge Goldstone

THE Azanian People’s Liberation Army yesterday distanced itself from the man who threatened bloodshed if PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu was forced to appear before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

In a statement from the Tanzanian capital Dar es Salaam, the PAC’s military wing said the man was unknown to them and, furthermore, it was not its policy to target civilians.

The statement was issued by the organisation’s chief of information Mr Johnny Majozo, who backed Makwetu’s refusal to testify to the commission.

He said Apla’s high command had no knowledge of Tafara Rafara, who issued the threats yesterday, claiming he was a political commissar in the organisation.

“It is definitely not Apla’s policy to target civilians,” Majozo said.

Apla has admitted responsibility for the murder of several policemen this year and warned more killings should be expected, despite an outcry from the black community.

In defending Makwetu’s stance not to testify, Majozo said there was no way that Apla’s “struggle” could be classified in the same way as township violence.

Makwetu has turned down a request by Mr Justice Goldstone to give evidence before the Commission, saying he would rather go to jail. - Sapa.
PAC threat to judge who heads violence commission

A man claiming to be a “field political commissar” of the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla), military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, yesterday issued a warning to Mr Justice Goldstone that he would be held responsible for any action against PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

“...” Apla wishes to put it on record that Goldstone himself will personally be held responsible for bloodshed as a result of his provocative and irresponsible actions,” the man, who called himself Tafara Rafara, said by telephone.

The warning came only a day after Mr Makwetu himself vowed he would rather go to jail than testify on reported attacks on police by Apla operatives before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation.

He said the commission is headed by Mr Justice Goldstone.

The caller purporting to be Mr Rafara warned: "The commanders of Apla will in no way restrain forces on the ground from taking any action they deem fit in defence of president (Clarence) Makwetu and the PAC leadership."

There was no immediate comment from the Goldstone Commission or the PAC.

The PAC’s secretary for foreign affairs, Patri-cia de Lille, said by telephone: “I can’t help you on this issue. I can only refer you to PAC’s external headquarters where you can contact Apla.”

Police said that at this stage they were not in a position to comment on the warning against Mr Justice Goldstone.

Mr Rafara said Apla supported the PAC’s position that “an illegitimate and illegal regime cannot set up a legitimate commission and issue legal orders to our leader.”

Mr Rafara also warned government on possible action against Mr Makwetu.

“Apla wishes to warn the South African regime that any action taken by the Goldstone Commission against Comrade Makwetu will not be taken lying down by Apla forces and the people of Azania.

“We of Apla can assure the racist regime that any action of humiliation against Comrade Makwetu will be too costly in terms of human life as it is bound to trigger the uncontrollable anger of the oppressed and humiliated people of this land.”

Mr Rafara said the only solution to violence lay with the oppressed demonstrating their ability to defend themselves.

He added that attacks on police were Apla’s main campaign.

A police spokesman said attacks on their men would not be tolerated.

— Sapa.
Bomb shatters panes on Rhodes campus

A bomb detonated on the Rhodes University campus yesterday, shattering windows but causing no injuries.

The device exploded outside the Rhodes Union building at about 4.10 am, said the university’s press officer, Mary Burnett.

The Rhodes Union building houses a number of student organisations and societies, the university canteen and the campus radio station, Rhodes Music Radio, which appeared to take the main force of the blast.

Station director Marc Bovim claimed that the attack could not have been directed against the radio station, which he said was popular with all Rhodes students.

Miss Burnett said university officials had been informed by the police that the bomb consisted of 250 to 500 grams of commercial explosives which had been planted outside the building.

However, Eastern Cape Police spokesman Lieutenant Lisie Vermeulen said this had not yet been confirmed.
PAC raises a row over Goldstone commission

South 20/2 - 26/2/92

By Sabata Ngeal

A MAN claiming to be a "field political commissar" of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), military wing of the PAC, this week threatened Mr Justice Goldstone that he would be held responsible for any action against PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

Makwetu refuses to testify before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence, even if subpoenaed.

APLA has distanced itself from the threats, saying the man was unknown to them and it was not their policy to target civilians.

"APLA wishes to put it on record that Goldstone himself will personally be held responsible for any blood that will be shed as a result of his provocative and irresponsible actions," the man, identifying himself as Tafara Rafara, said.

"The commanders of APLA will in no way restrain the forces on the ground from taking any action they deem fit in defence of president Makwetu and the whole PAC leadership."

The commission has appealed to Makwetu to testify or be subpoenaed about alleged violent activities of the PAC's military wing.

It is alleged that APLA killed a number of policemen in the last few months.

In their statement dismissing the threats to Goldstone, APLA's chief of information, Mr Johnny Majombo, admitted responsibility for the killings.

Makwetu, however, denied allegations that APLA was involved in violence.

He said in Cape Town this week he could not expect justice from the commission "as it is an institution created by the racist illegitimate regime".

If he was threatened with imprisonment, his answer would be "I have suffered many years of imprisonment for my beliefs".

"The liberation of my people from 'baaskap' is an aim which I cherish, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to pay the price of incarceration."

Makwetu said it was clear that the principal perpetrators of violence had neither been questioned nor arrested.

"Does Judge Goldstone have plans to summon the Commander-in-Chief of the SADF, Mr FW. de Klerk, to answer widespread allegations that his army is engaged in the most notorious activities against my people?"

"Is Judge Goldstone about to summon the Commissioner of Police to account for the SAP's possible involvement in the train massacres on the Reef?"

"Are the presidents of the principal organisations involved in the violence being invited to testify why violence rages although they solemnly signed the Peace Accord?"
Bomb explodes at Rhodes University

By BULELWA PAYI
Grahamstown
A BOMB exploded outside the Students' Union at Rhodes University on Wednesday, causing minor damage to the building.

Ten windows were damaged in the explosion but no one was injured.

University press liaison officer Mary Burnett said the bomb, placed outside the Rhodes Music Radio (RMR) studio, was a commercial plastic explosive which detonated at 4:10am.

She said at this stage the university had "no idea who placed it" but would launch an investigation once the police had completed theirs.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Lisbe Vermuelen said the police did not suspect the use of commercial explosive.

President of the Students' Representative Council Daryl Lee said the bomb could have been planted by an external rightwing organisation.

"Relations between political organisations and the SRC are very good, I doubt it was somebody on campus," he said.

RMR station manager Marc Bovin said it was not clear whether the bomb was directed at the SRC, the university or the radio station.

The South African Students' Congress condemned the incident "from whatever quarters it came from".

— Ana
no further commission would take the issue
further. The proposed new laws would
be drafted by the new commission. The
commission would then submit the
proposed laws to the legislature for
further consideration.

In a related development, the
PAC released a statement expressing
its support for the proposed
amendments to the
PAC's rules of
procedure. The
PAC said it was
committed to
ensuring that the
PAC's rules
remain
relevant and
effective in
addressing the
needs of the
public.

The PAC also
announced that
it would
continue to
seek input from
the public on
the proposed
amendments.

The PAC's
Chairman, Mr.
John Doe, said:

"The PAC is committed
to ensuring that our rules
are effective in promoting
public confidence in
the commission. We
will continue to
engage with the
public to
ensure that our rules
are relevant and
effective in
addressing the
needs of the
government and
citizens."

The PAC's
statement
came at a
time when
the commission
was
discussing
possible
measures to
address
public
concerns about
the commission's
handling of
its
proceedings.

The PAC
announced that it
would
continue to
consider
possible
measures to
address
these
concerns,
including
the
possibility of
appointing
an
independent
commissioner to
oversee
the
commission's
proceedings.

The PAC's
Chairman,
Mr. Doe,
said:

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consider all
possible
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to
address
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about
the
commission's
handling of
its
proceedings.
We will
not
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to
take
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is in
the
public's
data.

The PAC
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that it had
received
significant
public
feedback on
its
handling of
its
proceedings.

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IN South Africa these days, policemen get killed all the time. Last year, 145 men in blue were mowed down — that’s one dead every two and a half days. The words “Policeman shot” in a newspaper headline were becoming as regular as “bank robbed” or “prices to rise”.

Then last October, a man calling himself Carlson Zimbiri began telephoning newspapers with a story that always began like this: “The attack was carried out by three Apla combatants . . .” Suddenly the issue looked different.

Apla, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army, is the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress. This week it claimed responsibility for an ambush in Katlehong which left four policemen dead.

The fact that Apla might be killing policemen in pursuit of political goals has shifted perceptions away from cops and criminals shooting it out towards an awkward question: is there a significant constituency in the townships that believes the armed struggle should never have been dropped?

That issue has tended to get lost in wrangling over whether Apla is actually capable of all these attacks. Jonny Majozzi insists that it is — not surprisingly, perhaps, since he is Apla’s information secretary.

Speaking from Dar-es-Salaam, Mr Majozzi told me: “For a long time the press has been ignoring the activities of the PAC and Apla. So people have the impression that we only started in earnest this year, whereas the PAC army has been consistent in its operations since 1966.”

The police, not surprisingly either, don’t want to give Apla too much credence. “While we take Apla’s claims seriously, they are not above claiming responsibility for killings they haven’t done,” says Law and Order minister representative Captain Craig Kotze. “We are sceptical about their claimed ability to kill policemen.”

Mr Majozzi says: “The build-up in activity reflects a definite expansion taking place in Apla ranks. Our strategy has been to train people outside and to set up training camps within South Africa.”

One political risk analyst estimates that “there are between 350 and 410 well-trained Apla cadres outside the country. Some have just finished their training in Libya. They are likely to start infiltrating back pretty soon.”

Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University’s Institute for Strategic Studies puts Apla’s trained strength at “around about 600”. He adds, however, that “you can teach someone to use an AK47 or a hand grenade in a day. And if they can lay hands on a supply of hand grenades and AKs they can cause a reasonable amount of havoc.”

Some of the scepticism about Apla’s current capacity may stem from past perceptions that it was a small player compared to Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC.

That view is to some extent borne out by indicators of guerrilla activity. Gary van Staden, a researcher for the South African Institute for International Affairs, notes that in 1996 just 38 Apla insurgents were captured or killed — frequently while trying to enter the country — compared with 860 from MK.

The hard fact in 1996, though, is that MK is bound to hold fire while Apla is not. “Our target has always been the security forces, both black and white — and blue and yellow for that matter,” says Mr Majozzi. “Our activities are definitely going to intensify. We remain firm that civilians are not among our targets.”

The police — formally at least — are not treating this as a political phenomenon. Lieutenant-Colonel Neville Thomas heads up a team of 10 detectives whose full-time job is to investigate killings of policemen in Soweto, where 37 officers died last year. “There are definitely two different things,” he says. “The case where a policeman is shot while making an arrest, and when gangs of people go round shooting policemen.”

It is in these planned attacks which Apla has tended to claim as its work. Colonel Thomps says it is “still speculation” to call these the work of Apla.

Colonel Thomps does however concede that while informants have come forward with information that has led to arrests in some cases, incidents for which Apla has claimed responsibility “have been more difficult”.

Information has been harder to come by,” he says, despite police offering a reward of R25 000.

He says Apla involvement does not alter his task. “I feel that a guy who kills someone is a criminal, even if he has political motives — which I don’t believe he could have at this particular time,” says Colonel Thomps. “The police have nothing to do with politics.”

But politics is likely to have a great deal to do with whether this wave of police killings ebbs or not. “Apla will cease its attacks when the political goals set down by the PAC are met — a democratic formula for the establishment of a constituent assembly,” Mr Majozzi says.

That implies an absolute unity of purpose between Apla and the internal PAC which some question. The PAC inside the country has been non-committal regarding Apla’s claims — “We neither condemn nor condone Apla”. “That simply reflects a dilemma inside the PAC,” said one observer.

According to their constitution, Apla must at all times consult with the party.”

Mr Zimbiri, following a December attack on a Soweto police station, reflected that division in a different way. “While our leadership decides over Codex, we will continue the fight.”

His remark begs a more long-term question: is that view simply confined to the PAC? Is that not a choice that others might make if events make it hard for political leaders to keep the rein on black rage?

All the ingredients are there — over-stretched security forces, high-powered weaponry available at street level — for others to make policemen their targets. Perhaps some have already started doing just that.
Mourner dies in grenade attack

Sunday Times Reporters

A WOMAN died and three mourners were injured yesterday when a grenade was hurled into a crowd after a funeral in Meadowlands, Soweto.

In apparent retaliatory attacks, three people visiting the old Meadowlands hostel were attacked and wounded, one seriously.

Since the beginning of the month, 10 people have been killed in feuding between Inkatha and the ANC and at least 25 injured.

The grenade was thrown at mourners after the burial of Sthekile Mgefa, 22, who was killed by unknown gunmen last Sunday.

Mrs Ndlovu, a 76-year-old neighbour, died and three people were taken to hospital.

At a bus stop near the old hostel, Mrs Julia Mathediso, 58, was stabbed twice in the back.
UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani yesterday told the Johannesburg Magistrate’s Court that he did not believe MK member Mr Jeremy Seeber should be punished for bombing a hotel in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, in 1986.

Hani said the struggle between the then-banned ANC and the Government had escalated to total war. “We had to hit back with everything at our disposal,” he said.

The business community became targets of MK attacks because they were seen as Government accomplices through their willingness to collude in arms manufacture.

Seeber (25) said yesterday he had placed a limpet mine in a towelling dispenser at the upstairs bar of the Devonshire Hotel on September 26 1986 after establishing that it was frequented by many SA Breweries and Liberty Life employees.

The device exploded, causing slight injuries to Mr Michael Paulson, Mr Richard Zuma and Mr Henning Snyman and R80 000 damage.

Seeber was found guilty on a charge of attempted murder and one of causing an explosion.

Prosecutor Miss J van der Bill, for the State, told Hani that the bar was frequented by many University of the Witwatersrand students who may have sympathised with the ANC.

Questioned by Van der Bill, Seeber said the victims were unfortunate casualties of a war situation.

“I regret that I had to go to such an extent to demonstrate my opposition to the Government as it was then,” he said.

Seeber said he joined MK in 1986 after telling a close friend at Wits University that he wanted to play a more active role in the struggle against the Government. After undergoing military training he was given instructions by his commander to place a bomb in the Devonshire Hotel.

The operation was later described by MK commanders as successful, Seeber said.

Seeber was arrested in August 1990. He said that while in custody he had many discussions with rightwingers, particularly Orde Boerenvolk chief-of-staff Mr Leonard Veenendaal, who is still wanted by Namibia in connection with the sabotage of a United Nations base in 1989.

Seeber’s counsel, Mr Gilbert Marcus, told the magistrate, Mr J Esterhuizen, that the most recent application for indemnity in terms of the Pretoria Minute had not yet been considered. No reasons were given for the previous refusal, he said.

The case continues.
Probe of ANC camps invited

THE ANC, trying to quell claims that it is still holding prisoners in camps outside the country, yesterday invited international human-rights bodies to inspect the camps.

"The ANC again reiterates that we have no prisoners. Those organisations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, which wish to inspect alleged prison camps are welcomed to do so through countries concerned," it said in a statement.

On Thursday, the International Freedom Foundation supported appeals apparently made by a UN-backed organisation to the ANC to aid investigations of people allegedly murdered, or still held, in ANC camps.

The IFF said appeals had been made by the International Society for Human Rights, which the foundation said was backed by the UN.

According to an IFF statement, the ISHR had sent a letter to ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, reiterating its protest.

The IFF noted among several allegations that more than 500 people were still being held and that detainees had been tortured or executed. The ANC allegedly never responded to IFF demands that prison camps be subjected to a Red Cross inspection.

The IFF had rejected the ANC's suggestion that a commission of inquiry including ANC members could perform such an inspection, saying this had to be done by a neutral party. — Sapa.
Cracked mirror convinces farmers of ‘ANC terror war’

By PETER MALHERBE

WHEN two burly farmers unveiled a cracked mirror in Bloemfontein this week, any doubts that the platteland was at war were swept away.

The mirror, from a house burgled in Verkeerdevlei last week, was daubed with the letters “ANC”.

Farmers at the Free State Agricultural Union’s special congress on security are convinced the ANC is waging a terror campaign to drive them from their farms.

This week they streamed into Bloemfontein by the hundreds to vent their anger and frustration at what they see as spin-offs of the new South Africa — squatters, crime and murder.

They believe lawlessness has been boosted by the return of political exiles and the early release of convicted criminals.

A top-level police delegation assured them there were no political motives or ANC involvement in the attacks, but the surprise unveiling of the mirror — cracked en route from Verkeerdevlei to Bloemfontein — was all that was needed to strengthen the farmers’ views.

The message from congress delegates was: “A war is on — and we won’t take it lying down.”

They gave the authorities six weeks to implement a list of demands, which included:

- Financial support for protection measures such as a radio network, security fences around homesteads, farm guards and patrols;
- The use of national servicemen for protection in rural areas;
- An increase in the number of policemen in rural areas.

In the conference centre on the campus of the University of the Orange Free State, security companies snatched the opportunity to display their wares — electric fences, alarms and intricate lighting systems.

At the start of the congress, union president Dr Piet Gouws appealed to delegates to “play the ball, not the man”.

But, for many, the three government representatives on stage proved a far more appealing target than the issues under discussion.

They were Minister of Agriculture Dr Kraai van Niekerk, deputy Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers and deputy Minister of Defence Wynand Breytenbach.

Dr Van Niekerk was coolly received, but there was no heckling when he got down to the nitty-gritty of the government’s drought-relief scheme.

As one delegate remarked: “We don’t like him or his government, but it doesn’t help to bite the hand that’s going to feed you.”

Law and Order Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers was jeered loudly when he suggested the government’s reform moves had led to the lifting of sanctions.

Momently losing his cool, he hit back by saying the people should then vote in the referendum.

A representative from the Parys Farmers’ Association, Mr Nick Kemp, described the terror campaign as the “final wave against farmers and Christianity”.

A speaker from Vrede said the outcome of the battle would decide whether there would still be farmers in the Free State by the end of the decade.

Reflecting the mood of the congress, Dr Gouws said the issue was not about solving the murders and attacks on farms, but about the survival of farmers, their families and labourers.

He said farmers were facing a determined and planned attempt to drive them from their land.

“This is a political-military problem which cannot easily be blamed on only economic factors,” he added.
‘No’ vote an ‘economic crisis’

CAPE TOWN — The equity market will probably bc pushed to new highs by a resounding "yes" vote in the referendum, Board of Executors senior portfolio manager Rob Lee says in the latest Economic Outlook.

Significant support for the negotiation process would remove a major source of uncertainty, boost domestic and foreign investor confidence and enhance the probability of a fast and sustained economic upswing over the next three years or more. Growth rates as high as 4.5% a year were possible.

A "no" vote, bringing with it sanctions and a massive flight of capital and skills, would be economically devastating and would result in a dramatic fall in the equity market. A narrow "yes" vote would have confusing implications for the market.

Lee expected a cut in bank rate within the next few weeks, probably after the referendum and the Budget.

He said the short term economic outlook had deteriorated as a result of the drought, the delayed world economic upswing and inflation.

We’ll take up arms again, says Sisulu

BONN — The ANC will renew its armed struggle if a government of the extreme right takes power in the event the March 17 referendum seeking support for dismantling apartheid fails, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu said.

In an interview with the German magazine Der Spiegel, Sisulu said if President F W de Klerk did not get majority support for a negotiated settlement, "then we could have a government of the extreme right which would reintroduce apartheid".

In such a case, he said, "we would fight such a regime just as we have fought the government, just as long as it did not commit itself to ... reform".

Sisulu also evoked the possibility of a coup staged by the extreme right.

"We are living in a crazy country and I can’t rule out that some madmen might make such an insane attempt," he said.

On the ANC’s rejection of the principle of a referendum, Sisulu said it “would never accept a veto, and would follow the road to democracy through peaceful negotiations.

He called on “all reasonable whites” to vote “yes” to stop right-wing extremists from making SA go back.

“Every vote for the right is a vote for chaos and ruin,” he said. — Saps-AFP.
THE existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the ANC's refusal to renounce armed struggle have emerged as the stumbling blocks to progress in negotiations for an interim executive authority which would oversee the election of a constitution-making body.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee all warned this week that no mixed cabinet could be introduced unless MK was disbanded.

But MK chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday the matter could only be resolved once an interim executive authority was in place, not before.

While the ANC recognized that the government saw this as an important issue, the ANC needed to be reassured that the security forces were under the control of the interim executive and could not frustrate the negotiating process before MK was disbanded, he said.

Despite the deadlock on MK, the ANC and the government moved closer to agreement at Codesa this week on what sort of body should oversee the election of an interim government.

The government has accepted the ANC's proposal for an appointed interim executive, but how the body will be constituted, how it will be appointed, how it will be constituted and what powers it will have are still to be negotiated.

The government proposes that people from other parties should be included in the existing cabinet, but the ANC wants a separate interim executive.
'Urgent talks' on arms

By Esther Waugh Political Reporter

The Government would not enter into agreements in the negotiations process unless the ANC ended the armed struggle, Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel said last night.

Two further preconditions were that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, ceased its activities and that arms caches were "properly handled", he said during a TV debate with Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais.

Urgent talks were taking place about these issues, Mr Kriel said. **STAR 9/3/92**

Mr Marais said he condemned right-wing violence, but the Afrikaner people would turn to "extra-parliamentary means" if their rights were removed. This would happen when a transitional government was established and it included communists, he said.

Communism and the SA Communist Party are emerging as a central theme in referendum speeches by right-wing leaders.

Mr Kriel warned Mr Marais not to scare voters with communism as its days were over.

He added that the Government would not prescribe to the ANC about the inclusion of communists in a transitional government, just as the ANC could not prescribe to the Government who should represent it on such a body.

Mr Marais said the SACP and ANC wanted to seize power and make the country ungovernable.

He added that the SACP controlled the ANC and the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Mr Kriel said the Government would not allow the ANC or SACP to seize power.

(Report by E Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
Blasts rock SABC radio tower

There was a common suggestion that the explosion was an earthquake. A member of the maintenance team at the time told the Associated Press that he heard a loud noise similar to an earthquake. He added that the tower had shook and twitched for a few seconds. Another maintenance worker said he heard a loud noise similar to an earthquake.

The tower is about 200 meters tall and is located on top of the SABC building in central Johannesburg. It is used for broadcasting AM and FM radio stations. The tower was constructed in 1978 and has been in operation since then. It is one of the tallest structures in the city.

The incident caused some disruption to SABC's programming, but the station's emergency procedures were put into effect and the broadcast was resumed shortly thereafter.
Freed ANC bomber Jeremy Seeber, 25, has no regrets about blowing up a busy Johannesburg hotel bar and says: "I would do it again under the same political circumstances."

Seeber, who wants to work for the "future government", was given a suspended 10-year sentence on Friday after being found guilty of attempted murder and unlawful possession of explosives.

He now intends seeking a full pardon, because he does not believe he should be punished at all.

He regards himself as an ANC "soldier" and dismissed his victims as "casualties of war".

But businessman Henning Snyman, one of three men hurt in the mini-limpet blast at the Devonshire Hotel in Braamfontein at lunchtime on September 28, 1986, said yesterday:

"If he was a soldier, he should have taken his courage in both hands and attacked armed forces.

"Attacking innocent and unarmed civilians is not an act of war — it's an act of cowardice.

"This was a brutal and calculated act. I hate Jeremy Seeber, what he stands for and anyone who resorts to such means in the name of politics."

Six years after the blast, East Rand businessman Mr Snyman still suffers pain daily, has had to give up all his sport and has a fear of crowded places.

His back was injured when the bomb exploded in a first-floor toilet off the hotel's Long Bar, frequented by Wits University students and businessmen.

"Seeb is not certain what the future holds.

**Military**

"So much has changed in the past six years. I think things are pretty well mapped out, and I don't believe we will see a return to the circumstances of the time.

"We are dealing in constitutional politics instead of revolutionary politics, the government has gained a status of credibility it hadn't had before and I think it would be counterproductive to revert to the policies of yesteryear," he said.

"He is still a member of the ANC's military wing. Umkhonto we Sizwe, and it was not surprising that MK chief of staff and SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani testified on his behalf.

"Chris is a good man, that's why he is chief of staff. He looks after his soldiers," he said.

For Mr Snyman, life has never been the same since the day he went for a lunchtime beer in the Long Bar.

"Two compression frac-

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**Victim still in pain says: I hate the coward**

Shortly after leaving the Johannesburg magistrate's court on Friday, Seeber said he found it "vindictive" that he had been tried "by the system I was recruited to destroy".

"I have been through the criminal system and I expected to have the book thrown at me — but I still don't believe I should have been punished," he said.

"This was not a personal vendetta. My only regret that I was forced into a position where I had to take action to demonstrate my support for the ANC and my disapproval of the South African system — but under the same political circumstances, I'd do it again."

"He cannot sit comfortably for more than an hour — a problem for a man who travels extensively and attends lengthy meetings as part of his job."

He told the court this week that he had just put his beer down in front of him when there was a massive explosion. When he regained consciousness, he was three or four metres from where he had been sitting.

Yesterday, he said he was "extremely bitter".

**Violence**

"Before that day, I also felt that things weren't right in this country. Now we are negotiating — but it's not the bombs that led to talks. Bombs don't soften people, they make them harder."

"I am in favour of negotiations — but not with people who aren't prepared to stop using violence."

"That is like negotiating with a gun at your head."

"It means that at any stage innocent people could become expendable again. Is that a democratic society?"

Mr Snyman said without the support of his wife, he would not have been able to cope with the after-effects of his injuries.

"The pain is worse at times than others, but it's always there."

"When Seeber planted that bomb, he was a married man himself. How could he do something like that without thinking about how the families of his victims would suffer?"

"For 18 months after his bombing, I wasn't even able to have a normal sex life."
A blast at a spice factory yesterday killed four people and left several others injured. The cause of the explosion is not yet known. The factory is located in Alberton and was producing various types of spices. The blast occurred at around 21:30, and the cause is currently under investigation.

"That's my friend," said a shocked employee as the remains of one of the victims killed in the blast at an Alberton spice factory yesterday is loaded, wrapped in a plastic body bag, into a mortuary van. Picture: Joao Silva
SAP deny allegations about fatal bombing

Crime Staff  

The SA Police yesterday denied withholding evidence about a parcel bomb that killed ANC-sympathiser Nic Cruse in Durban in 1999.

Police headquarters in Pretoria also denied that police were protecting suspended policeman Steyl Abrie, who was implicated in the bombing by a British armed forces deserter.

Johannesburg-based journalist John Carlin said in The Independent in London that the serviceman implicated the policeman in a BBC2 TV documentary interview.

Mr Carlin said the story was corroborated in an interview with rightwinger Adrian Maritz. Mr Maritz was charged for the Durban bombing together with Henry Martin and Dr Lood van Schalkwyk.

After a 60-day hunger strike last year, Mr Maritz and Mr Martin fled to England.

Dr van Schalkwyk is due to stand trial in April.

The SAP statement read: "The SA Police person was never involved in the bombing referred to and will not protect anybody from prosecution."

Steyl Abrie was not a warrant officer in the Security Branch of the SAP, as Mr Maritz and Mr Martin had claimed. The police said he was not attached to the Crime Intelligence Service (formerly the Security Branch).

Police added that Constable Abrie was to be a defence witness in Dr van Schalkwyk's trial.
Four killed in explosion

POLICE should know by to-day whether foul play was involved in the blast which killed four people at a spice works near Alberton yesterday afternoon.

However, SAP spokesman Capt Ida van Zweel said it was suspected that it might have been a chemical explosion.

She said three of the five people who had been seriously injured had been transferred to Garden City Clinic from Natalpruit Hospital.

Eight people in total were injured.

Fire department spokesman Lucas van Zyl said: "There was no fire. It was only a blast. I don't know what caused the blast; that is for the forensic experts to determine." — Sapa.

Referendum spurs rush for SA identity

HUNDREDS of people queued for more than two hours at the Home Affairs Department office in Harrison Street, Johannesburg, yesterday hoping to get identity documents in time to vote in the referendum next week.

A department spokesman said temporary identity certificates could still be obtained on the spot, though a long wait might be inevitable. The spokesman said that only applications for identity books received before Friday last week could expect success before March 17.

One elderly woman standing in line at the office yesterday complained that she and others in the queue felt like cattle being rounded up. She said she had missed her identity book.

After letting on that she was not impressed by the NP's behaviour, she said: "The hardest word in the world to say is 'no' to an errant child."

A Greek insurance broker who has lived in SA for more than 25 years said he and his friends and family would vote "yes" next Tuesday.

He was at the department to apply for naturalization. "I don't want trouble in this country," he said.

Billy, seeking a new identity book, said he knew of many people who were still undecided on the referendum question. "There is not enough real information about what the options are," he said.

Many of those in line at Home Affairs, mostly British, Greek and Zimbabwean citizens, had been intending to take out SA citizenship for some time but had been spurred into action by the referendum.

Home Affairs officials were unable to confirm reports that there had been a flood of applications for citizenship from embattled Zimbabweans after SA's cricket team trounced theirs in Canberra yesterday.

Penny Quinnan, a British citizen who has lived in SA for 30 years, said she expected a "yes" ballot, but was concerned about the numbers of "ignorant people" who might vote against negotiations.

The Home Affairs Department said yesterday that people who applied for identity documents before March 6 should not attempt to apply for temporary certificates as their documents should be ready from today.

"It is hoped that all such identity documents will be issued by March 11 and will therefore reach voters before the referendum day," it said in a statement.

In the run-up to SA's most crucial poll, Business Day is taking the pulse of white voters across the country. ADRIAN HADLAND spoke to people in the queues at the Home Affairs office in Johannesburg.

ADVERTISMENT

AFRICA BUSINESSSES...

A partner will be...
Blast suspects fail to appear in court

Pretoria Correspondent

Warrants have been issued for the arrest of two rightwingers, allegedly responsible for sabotaging post offices, who failed to appear in court yesterday.

Only two of the four men alleged responsible for blasts at post offices in the Transvaal appeared before Pretoria Regional Court magistrate, B.J.O van Schalkwyk.

Failed 12/2/72

Prosecutor T Viljoen told the court that Andries Stefanus Kriel (47), of Kaalitaagte Street, Waverley East, Pretoria, and Andries Cornelius Odendaal (27) of Mamba Street, Brits, who failed to appear yesterday, had apparently not kept their bail conditions since February.

Miss Viljoen said these conditions included reporting to the police daily, not leaving the magisterial district of Pretoria and notifying the investigating officer of any change of address.

Petrus Jacobus Judeel (28), formerly of Kraainvoor Street, Brits, and Dirk Jan Hattingh (32) also of Brits, were present.

Mr Judeel said he had changed address and asked that he be allowed to move around the whole PWV for working purposes.

"Is that work to put up posters?" Mr van Schalkwyk asked. A voice from the public gallery replied: "Part of it is".

Granted

According to Mr Judeel, he erects thatch lapas.

Mr van Schalkwyk granted the alteration to Mr Judeel’s bail conditions.

The case was postponed to March 31.

The R3 300 bail of Mr Judeel and Mr Hattingh was extended.
ANC to probe camp torture allegations

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The ANC yesterday revealed the terms of reference of a commission of inquiry appointed to probe allegations by former prisoners of torture in ANC detention camps outside South Africa.

Addressing a press conference at the ANC offices in Johannesburg, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the commission would be headed by three advocates: Lewis Skweyiya, SC, Gilbert Marcus and B Mabandla. An independent lawyer, advocate Elina Revelas, had been appointed to interview witnesses, visit detention camps and lead evidence before the commission after her own investigations. She would, in effect, be acting as the former exiles’ lawyers and act independently of the ANC and the commissioners, Mr Ramaphosa said.

The commissioners would probe complaints relating to:
- Detainees’ conditions while they were held.
- Their allegations of maltreatment.
- Complaints about the loss or destruction of their property.

Mr Ramaphosa said the commission would compile a report to be presented to the ANC president and would be required to make recommendations consequent upon its findings.

He said the commissioners would be allowed to decide whether proceedings would be held in public or private. Their first sitting would be between March 23 and 25, and every month thereafter until June.

Mr Ramaphosa stated it was unreasonable to say the inquiry was “the ANC investigating itself”, saying the independent investigator would see to the objectivity of the findings.

The findings of the commission would be by majority vote, he said, with each member carrying a vote of equal weight. Individual members would also be allowed to write separate reports.

Any ex-prisoner would be entitled to lodge a complaint with the secretary of the commission and should contact him care of Mashile, Nthloro Attorneys, Box 621, Johannesburg 2000.
Blasts rock National Party offices in the Transvaal

Campaign bombings
Red Cross attacks ANC over camps

THE ANC had denied the International Committee for the Red Cross access to camps abroad where, it is alleged, it is holding prisoners, the Red Cross said yesterday.

"Officially, the ANC has invited us to visit the camps," said Marc Hezek- lin, an ICRC official based in Pretoria, in an interview. "But in practice, we have not been able to carry out the invitation. We have met the highest representatives of the ANC several times over the past year, but to no avail."

He said the Red Cross now believed there was little chance that the ANC would allow it access to the camps, most of them in Tanzania or Uganda.

"The Red Cross knew the ANC would not allow it access to the camps, but until it made on-site inspections it would not say if camp residents were being held against their will."

The ANC said last August it would end its 15-year-old policy of barring the Red Cross from its camps.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus was adamant yesterday that the Red Cross had not been denied access to camps.

Marcus reiterated an earlier ANC statement extending an open invitation to the Red Cross to visit the camps, and said they were "free and welcome to do so." — Sapa-Reuters.
CP condemns NP office blasts

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party has condemned the perpetrators of the blasts which destroyed one National Party office and damaged another.

The first bomb destroyed the NP’s mobile office in Cullinan at 3.15am yesterday, and was followed 30 minutes later by an explosion which caused slight damage to the NP’s Nykstrøm offices.

In a statement, CP Law and Order spokesman Advocate Moolman Mentz appealed to the public to maintain self-control in these “tense and emotional” times.

(News by: P vd Merwe, 143 Verneuil Street, Pretoria.)
Straight-talking Lion of Azania

Straits talk and bold ideas are what one expects from a man dubbed "the Young Lion of Azania".

But this takes on new meaning when you meet PAC national organiser Maxwell Humbelani Nemadzivhanani — known by some as "Nemadzi-whatever" because his Venda surname is difficult to pronounce.

Recently PAC leaders were baying around trying to respond to the shooting of policemen, allegedly by the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Nemadzivhanani caused near-bysteria during a radio talkshow when he told its predominantly white listeners that "the armed struggle is the highest form of negotiation" and went on to support the shooting.

One caller suggested to the whites that, instead of bombing empty multiracial schools, they should have waited for Nemadzivhanani outside the radio station and shot him instead.

That might sound rather harsh for an unassuming militant who switches between pin-striped suits and designer Afro-cut dress. But wait until he opens his mouth. He pours out venom at everything that's opposed to PAC policies.

Surprisingly, he is married to a white Australian woman, Kerry, 34, with whom he faces charges of bombing vehicles belonging to American and South African diplomats in Australia in 1988.

O fearful of the couple were the Australian police that their investigation involved about 350 policemen and agents from different squads, including the Americans and South Africans.

Surveillance log books and charts brought to subsequent court hearings showed the police recorded about 40,000 hours in audio tapes and transcripts to assist them in the case against the couple, he said.

And the Australian government spent about $412-million (about R24-million) on the case which it later lost.

Nemadzivhanani was born at Vhufuli, Sibasa, in the Northern Transvaal on August 20, 1954, and served as a symbol of resistance during PAC/Popo campaigns.

The PAC leader was initiated into active politics through the South African Student Movement, of which he was later elected national organiser. He was also involved in the political campaigns of the Black People's Convention.

His mentor was late PAC stalwart Josiah Madzunya, who later recruited him into the then banned PAC underground.

Nemadzivhanani skipped the country in 1977 during his last year of a teaching diploma at Venda Teachers' Training College.

"I was forced to leave the country on the instructions of the PAC underground, following successive education campaigns in South Africa," he recalled.

He stayed in Botswana until February 1988 when he left to study in Australia. However, on the instructions of his organisation, he disrupted his studies in 1988 to set up the organisation's first office in the country.

What began as a temporary departure from university trapped him in full-time political work.

As the PAC's chief representative in the region from 1983 to 1988, he shuttled between Canberra and the PAC observer mission at the United Nations in New York.

In 1988 the Australian police arrested him and his wife's residence and his wife's workplace. The two were charged with bombing vehicles belonging to a US military attaché and a SA military attaché, Johannes Hough.

Charges against Nemadzivhanani were dismissed even before committal stage and Kerry was acquitted by the jury in July last year.

Though acquitted, the US declared him persona non grata. He could not assume his appointment as the PAC's chief representative at the UN that year.

In March 1990 he was appointed chief representative in Nigeria — a position he held until he was recalled to Johannesburg to work as full-time national organiser.

Now he is a member of the PAC's national executive committee.

His wife and their two children Muthundinonne, 10, and seven-year-old Shaka, are still in Canberra.

He has a 15-year-old son, Madzanga, from a previous relationship.

Nemadzivhanani's elder sister Elias, a retired headmaster, and mother Selina, a dietian, still live in Sibasa.
Eight survive blast at principal’s home

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

Eight people miraculously escaped unhurt after a violent bomb blast caused extensive damage to the home of Lowveld Agricultural College principal Fourie Kritzinger early yesterday.

The 3 am blast, heard from several kilometres away, crumbled sturdy stone walls, ripped out wooden doors, shattered windows and destroyed valuable antique furniture and other treasured possessions.

Mr Kritzinger (55), whose home is less than a kilometre from the recently opened agricultural college, said his two daughters, his son-in-law, his younger son and his girlfriend, and his frail 82-year-old mother were spending the weekend with him and his wife.

“When I was woken up by the thundering blast, I jumped out of bed and rushed through the house to see if all the family were all right,” Mr Kritzinger said.

“Thank God nobody was hurt. But my mother, who had come to us to recuperate after a sudden illness, was in a bad state of shock.”

Pretoria schoolteacher Chrisna Swanepoel (25) who, with her husband, had been visiting her parents, said she got up shortly before the blast to go to the toilet.

“No sooner had I got back into bed when the bomb went off. Had I been in the toilet seconds later, I would have been hurt or killed,” a shocked Mrs Swanepoel said.

Mr Kritzinger said he could not explain why he and his family should have become victims of a bomb attack.

“I am no politician, only a college principal interested about the future of my students in the field of agriculture.”

Police arrived with tracker dogs shortly after Mr Kritzinger reported the blast.

At 11 am they were still searching through fruit orchards for possible leads.

The blast follows an incident in January this year when a group of white students allegedly intimidated two black students in a college hostel.

One of the black students was injured when he was hit on the head by a stone allegedly thrown by a white student.

While the incident was being investigated, Mr Kritzinger made it clear to all students that political activity of this type would not be tolerated on the campus.

Anyone guilty of such behaviour would be expelled, he said.

Destruction... Lowveld Agricultural College principal Fourie Kritzinger and his wife Lettie sort through the debris of their possessions after an explosion demolished their home yesterday, destroying valuable antique furniture and other treasured items.

Picture: Clyde Johnson
Armed struggle stays while whites have veto, says ANC

THE ANC had told government its armed struggle would not be abandoned until a white veto - like this week's referendum on constitutional change, senior ANC sources said at the weekend.

The sources indicated that the armed struggle would not be abandoned until an interim government was in place and whites no longer had the ability to veto constitutional change. A shift in ANC policy in the military arena would only accompany an appropriate shift in the political arena.

ANC spokesmen have said black South Africans would mount an unprecedented offensive should the "no" vote prevail.

Should there be a "yes" vote and should President F W de Klerk indicate his willingness to introduce rapid reforms "this should be an indication that we are going to move forward and quickly", a source in the ANC's legal department said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said at the weekend the ANC had been conducting discussions on "the whole question of the referendum."

She said the issue of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, could only be resolved within the context of political and constitutional changes leading to an interim government and multiparty control of the security forces.

ANC sources said the movement would have been in a difficult position had it abandoned armed struggle only to find a whites-only referendum vetoing the reform process. However, a "yes" vote would lead to rapid constitutional change and a possible end to the armed struggle.

A source said discussions on the future of Umkhonto were "a sensitive matter especially with the referendum coming up."

He indicated that the outcome of the vote would determine progress made towards implementing the D F Malan Minute, which provides for joint government-ANC control of ANC arms caches.
Man killed by bomb at principal's house

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — In the second bomb attack on a lowveld educational institution in two days, a man was killed and a woman injured when a powerful bomb yesterday blasted a carport at the home of an Afrikaans high school principal.

Andries Sithole, a 50-year-old gardener, died at the scene, and domestic worker Sophie Mashaba (42) suffered an arm injury in the 9 am blast at the house of Con Booyens, headmaster of the Nelspruit Hoërskool.

Mr Sithole’s dismembered body was found behind an outside room. The bomb had been planted under Mr Booyens’s caravan in a carport which also housed a trailer.

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday expressed suspicion that the Government might have planted the bomb to discredit the Right.

Asked at a Pretoria press briefing to comment on suspicions that the bomb had been planted by right-wing militants, Dr Treurnicht said there were many supporters of the National Party disillusioned with its latest policy direction who might have done it.

Detonated

Shortly after the explosion police explosive experts discovered and detonated two more bombs which had been planted under the trailer.

Police said commercial explosives were used.

The blast has puzzled police. Other bombings in the area have been blamed on right-wing extremists attacking schools and colleges which admitted black pupils. But the Nelspruit Hoërskool has only white pupils.

The police officer in charge of investigations into the blasts, Colonel Daniel Alberts, could say only that it appeared school principals were being selected.

On Sunday, eight people miraculously escaped death when a 3 am explosion caused extensive damage to the home of Lowveld Agricultural College principal Fourie Kritzinger.

Blamed

The admission of black pupils to the college had previously drawn the ire of right-wing extremists, who were yesterday blamed by Agricultural Minister Dr Kraal van Niekerk for Sunday’s attack.

Police are offering a R20,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of those responsible for the bombings. The police can be contacted on (01311) 23765.

Yesterday Dr van Niekerk issued a statement on the Lowveld Agricultural College blast, saying “although it is not yet known who was responsible for the explosion, other incidents at the college recently have shown that a group of political activists and sympathisers of a specific political grouping are active at the college”

“Some of the students were involved in stone-throwing, where a black college student was injured. Disparaging remarks, with a political flavour, about the principal and staff members were painted on the steps of the main building. Four students were identified distributing political pamphlets at a Nelspruit high school.”

Yesterday’s blast was the fourth bomb attack on educational institutions in Nelspruit since the beginning of the year.
Ex-policeman says he helped doctor to send killer bomb

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — An ex-police constable who alleged he helped former rightwing hunger striker Dr Lood van Schalkwyk to send a parcel bomb that killed a Durban computer consultant has told the Pretoria Supreme Court Dr Van Schalkwyk admitted to him he was responsible for the Bloed Street bomb blast in Pretoria.

Mr Steyl Abrie, who claimed he became "like a son" to Dr Van Schalkwyk, testified yesterday that Dr Van Schalkwyk had told him he was responsible for the Bloed Street bomb in August 1990, in which one person died and 14 were injured.

He testified that he helped Dr Van Schalkwyk with the Durban bomb, which killed Mr Nicholas Cruise on October 2, 1990.

Dr van Schalkwyk, with two other rightwing fugitives — Mr Adrian Hendrickus Maritz, 43, and Mr Henry Guy Martin, 49 — were arrested in 1990 on charges relating to the Durban parcel bomb and the Bloed Street blast.

Dr Van Schalkwyk pleaded guilty to a murder charge, two charges of attempted murder and two of malicious damage to property.

Throughout his appearance yesterday, a Correctional Services medic monitored his condition and periodically changed Dr van Schalkwyk's intravenous drips.

The hearing continues.
Police probe
bomb blasts
in Lowveld

NELSPRUIT — Police yesterday stepped up investigations into two bomb blasts in Nelspruit this week which killed a man, wounded a woman and caused extensive damage to the homes of two school principals.

A R20,000 reward has been offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the perpetrators. Police can be contacted at (01311) 23-785.

Monday's blast at the house of Nelspruit Hoërskool headmaster Con Booyens was the fourth attack on education institutions in the Lowveld since the beginning of the year. The first three have been blamed on right-wing extremists.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht expressed his suspicion that the government might have planted the bomb to discredit the right wing.

On Sunday, eight people miraculously escaped death when a 3am explosion caused extensive damage to the home of Lowveld Agricultural College principal Fourie Kritzinger. — Lowveld Bureau.
ComputerKilling: Right-Winger Guilty
Right-winger pleads guilty to murder

PRETORIA Right-winger Lodw van Schalkwyk pleaded guilty yesterday to murdering a Durban computer consultant with a parcel bomb, attempting to murder two people with a bomb in Pretoria’s Blood Street, and two counts of malicious damage to property.

Judge DJ Curlewis of the Pretoria Supreme Court is expected to pass sentence soon.

Van Schalkwyk, who arrived at court in a wheelchair, had been rearrested in Bronkhorstspuit last month after failing to meet his bail conditions.

Last year Van Schalkwyk and two co-accused, Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz, went on a hunger strike in an attempt to force the authorities to grant them indemnity from all charges arising from the blasts. Martin and Maritz fled the country last October.

Van Schalkwyk admitted that on October 2 1990 he murdered Nicholas James Elvin Cruise, a Durban trainee computer consultant, with a bomb hidden in a computer. He also admitted to the attempted murder of George Bakoyi and James Allan Petrus Barton in Blood Street on August 11 1990. The two men were injured when a bomb exploded next to a busy taxi rank.

Commercial explosives, used in mines, were used in both explosions.

A total of 20 charges, including 10 attempted murder charges, were withdrawn against Van Schalkwyk in terms of government’s indemnity arrangements. — Sapa.
ANC inquiry: Did torture detainees?

ANC probe asks: Did torture detainees?

Mikelle 3 - 26 3 1992

Powerful team of lawyers in court to defend

ANC inquiry: Did torture detainees?
AN OFFICIAL of the South African Communist Party who is also a member of the ANC was killed with two other people in a hand grenade explosion in Schoenberg in the Yank Triangle yesterday.

Police spokesman Colonel Dave Briscoe said yesterday a hand grenade exploded in Transkei's hands. Mondu and John Modumo, both aged 21, were both killed in the explosion. Mondu's aged 53, who was shot in the leg. They were not injured in the explosion. Modumo's age was not established.

By KENOIS MOODRANE

Police spokesman Colonel Dave Briscoe said yesterday a hand grenade exploded in Transkei's hands. Mondu and John Modumo, both aged 21, were both killed in the explosion. Modumo's age was not established.
ANC vows not to disband MK

THE ANC is adamant it will not disband its armed wing despite reports of a threat by the government to cancel CODESA Two if it does not.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said yesterday the Government was playing a dangerous game which was not in the interests of peace, progress and the country.

A Sunday weekly reported the ministers of Defence and Constitutional Development as saying: "any deal depended on the ANC abandoning its armed struggle".

Marcus said MK would never be disbanded as it would eventually be integrated into a single democratised army.

She said there were only private armies in South Africa at the moment. - Sapa
ANC stayaway call in Nelspruit

THE ANC and Cosatu in the Eastern Transvaal have called for a stayaway tomorrow when Andries Sithole, who was killed in a bomb attack, is buried.

Sithole, of Piennare Trust, worked as a gardener for Mr Con Booyens, the headmaster of Hoërskool Nelspruit. He died when Booyens' home was bombed on March 16.

African National Congress spokesman Mr Jackson Mthembu said the work stayaway was the first protest action against violence, terrorism and racism in the Eastern Transvaal.

"The ANC strongly condemns the emergent bomb attacks on citizens' homes and public institutions," Mthembu said the ANC was convinced that the bomb attack on Booyens' house was the work of "rightwing terrorists".

"The ANC in the Eastern Transvaal calls on the rightwing . . . to stop their terrorist actions and join negotiations for a peaceful South Africa," he said.

Police have offered a reward of R20 000 for information which could lead to the arrest and conviction of people responsible for the bomb attacks on Booyens' house and that of rector of the Lowveld Agricultural College, Mr Fourie Kritzinger. Sapa.
Govt and ANC discussing MK

DEFENCE Minister Roelf Meyer was confident yesterday that the apparent deadlock over the disbanding of the ANC's military wing could be resolved.

Speaking at Codesa, Meyer said Umkhonto we Sizwe's (MK's) continued existence was being discussed bilaterally by government and the ANC. (1) 24(3) 1992.

General discussion on private armies was on the agenda of working group one dealing with free political participation, but the MK issue would continue on a bilateral basis before it came to Codesa.

Meyer told Sapa he had never referred to Codesa II being suspended if MK was not disbanded, but had emphasised government's principles.

Throughout the recent referendum, Cabinet Ministers said they would not enter into any agreement on interim government until MK was disbanded — and Meyer was quoted at the weekend as saying Codesa II would not go ahead if this did not happen.

The ANC yesterday morning confirmed its statement that it would not disband MK until an interim government was in place. — Sapa.

Films get R6.4m

24/3/92

CAPE TOWN — Government paid R6.4m in subsidies to film producers during the 1991/2 financial year for 29 films, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said yesterday.

The lion's share of the subsidies went on five films, four of which were produced by Toron Screen Corporation, Louw disclosed in Parliament. "Oh Shacks... Untag", produced by Koukas Troika, received the largest subsidy of R1 055 047.97.

The four Toron films were granted a total of R3.9m and the other 24 were granted R1.3m altogether.
ANC cadre Mthethilelel Zephania Mncube's parents, George and Winnie, are angry over the commuting of his sentence to life term.  

**Parents demand:**  

**FREE THEM**

THE parents of ANC cadre Mthethilelel Zephania Mncube greeted his Death Row reprieve yesterday with little glee.

Mncube and another ANC cadre Mzondelel Euclid Nondula were among 16 Death Row prisoners who were granted a reprieve yesterday and given alternative sentences ranging from 15 years to life imprisonment.

Nondula (30) and Mncube (31), were sentenced to death for landmine blasts in Messina in 1988.

Their sentences have now been commuted.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
and THEMBA MOLEFE

Yesterday's announcement brings to 16 the total number of death penalty prisoners who have had their sentences commuted.

Reacting to the reprieve, Mrs Winnie Mncube said it was not enough for him to be removed from Death Row.

"Why should my son spend his whole life in jail for being an ANC soldier while its leaders are free and talking to the Gov-
Joint control of SADF and MK

Accord on armed forces in the offing

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were nearing agreement on the future of SA's armed forces — including Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) — and their control by an interim multiparty committee drawn from Codesa, senior ANC sources said yesterday.

"We seem to agree on this approach," said an ANC source close to the bilateral ANC-government negotiations on the armed struggle.

The talks have focused on issues outstanding in the implementation of the Pretoria Minute and the D F Malan Accord, in terms of which the armed struggle was suspended and government agreed to release political prisoners and allow the return of exiles.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday repeated government's insistence that the level of political violence be reduced and that the ANC finally renounce the armed struggle and mass action before an interim government came into being. They would not comment on progress in bilateral talks.

However, the bilateral agreement now being worked on — the ANC source said "we only need to iron out the finer details" — would pave the way for integration of the armed forces of SA and the TBVC and for the new government committee to decide on the future of Umkhonto and, by placing the armed forces under joint control, remove the threat of the SADF which the ANC argues is the reason for Umkhonto's existence. Under such an agreement the ANC would be prepared to end the armed struggle, the ANC sources said.

PATRICK BULGER

Government, in its proposals on interim rule tabled at Codesa on Monday, made provision for a transitional council on defence matters which would determine the role of the security forces under a new constitution.

While such a council at present has no specific executive capacity, government has indicated that its duties and powers are open to negotiation.

At the same time ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the bilateral talks were proceeding well and he was confident the Umkhonto issue could be resolved soon.

Senior government sources have indicated they regard the principle of renouncing the armed struggle as being as important as the actual demobilisation and disbandment of Umkhonto.

The ANC source said other aspects of the talks were an agreement that Umkhonto remain intact outside SA's borders but that it return only once a new democratic constitution was in place.

Related to the Umkhonto issue are the fate of the remaining political prisoners and those exiles who have not been able to return in terms of the agreement between the SA government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Although the prisoner and exile problem was tabled at Codesa, "it was referred to bilateral discussions between the ANC and the government."

BILLY PADDOCK reports from Cape Town that government's Codesa negotiators yesterday sent a blunt and urgent

Armed forces

warning to the ANC and Inkatha to start talking to each other and stop using violence as a political tool.

Security Ministers also made it clear that mass action "was definitely not desirable in a society in transition".

Kriel warned that black leaders should stop using violence to improve their political leverage, insisting that no progress could be made in negotiating an acceptable transitional government in the absence of order and stability.

"When it comes to violence, the police, with the assistance of the SADF, have the responsibility to handle the situation but there is a duty on black leaders to go to grassroots level and tell their supporters to stop fighting," Kriel said.

Referring to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's statement that his party would be embarking on mass action, Kriel said government was having discussions with Buthelezi over this issue because it was highly undesirable.

"Government accepts that peaceful demonstrations and action are an inherent part of democracy but we stress that this has to be peaceful and very often these mass actions lead to violence," he said.

Coetsee said there was clear evidence that parties to the peace accord had violated the terms of the agreement regularly. Even the peace committee had referred cases to the Goldstone commission, which had found these parties were responsible for causing violence and intimidation for political ends.

Kriel said 30% of the police had been removed from combating crime in order to contain political violence.
MK: A problem of give and take

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

The immediate problem is one of reaching an amicable agreement on the disbanding of MK, which will not cause the ANC to lose too much face among (militant) black supporters, and which will at the same time not test the sensibilities of the present military regime.

The Government and the ANC are presently engaged in ongoing bi-lateral talks and both sides are confident that an agreement can be reached.

In the ANC, the question of integration is regarded as an "extremely complex and sensitive issue," according to its official mouthpiece, Mayibuye.

Needless to say, the Government regards the issue in a similar way, but in terms of its thinking, the word is not so much incorporation as it is accommodation.

There is a train of thought in Government circles that members of MK could be "accommodated" in the SADF.

The Government fears that incorporation into the SADF could give credibility to ANC boasts that it was the armed struggle that brought the political process as far as it is.

While the Government believes that there is no merit in this argument, it could be read by military personnel as admitting that MK was a force to be reckoned with.

The other, logical, fear is that if MK cadres are admitted to the SADF as ordinary volunteers without any rank or seniority, they could see themselves as foot soldiers of the white generals.

Both the Government and the ANC has, at least in terms of some of the ideas that are going around, given this serious thought, and there is confuence, particularly in the area of instituting specialised training of existing officers of high rank in MK so as to overcome this problem.

The ANC says in the April edition of Mayibuye that "continued upgrading of MK cadres and training for senior ANC members" obviously with an eye on placement in the Defence Ministry, was one way of overcoming this problem.

This would also solve the problem of "SADF domination". And, the ANC believes, this is ultimately what the ruling National Party seeks - as a kind of "security fallback" which Mayibuye explains represents "a more effective veto than a constitution would provide".

Therefore the ANC believes in the upgrading of its cadres and political leadership and working towards "ensuring a balanced and representative command structure in the course of integration."

But it is now, possibly next month, before an interim government is appointed, that the question of MK will reached a critical point, and the argument cannot continue to be spoken of in the abstract or in academic discourse.

"It will be politically untenable for the different armed forces to retain separate identities under an interim government," Mayibuye says.

The ANC believes that a Joint High Command under an interim government has to be created to minimise the possibility of "SADF disruption of the transition".

"Ideally the new defence force should be established by the democratic government so that its role, composition, character and doctrines can be shaped by democratic principles," the ANC says.

Whichever way is chosen out of this obviously loaded situation, the ANC and the Government agree that the psychological and political preparation of the personnel of both armies would be the first step.

"Vital to this is a programme of reconciliation," Mayibuye explains.
CAPE TOWN - Government and the ANC had no agreement whatsoever on the future of the SADF or Umkhonto we Sizwe, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Speaking in the Budget debate, he responded to points made earlier in the debate by the CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

"Thus far there has been no negotiations whatsoever over the control of the SADF for the interim or long term," he said.

This also applied to MK.

"To claim there is an agreement is totally untrue."

Government's viewpoint was that there could be only one defence force established and operating under a constitutional dispensation.

Private armies had to be disband before any progress could be made with the broadening of democracy.

He reproached Treurnicht for lidding away for almost a week since the referendum before speaking in Parliament.

There were democratic demands that a man who had set himself up as the leader of most whites before the referendum should also advise the results of that referendum.

"But he has once more shown that he is not someone who is able to take on the challenges facing SA." — Sapa.
THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was rapped over the knuckles this week in a remarkable statement by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation.

Issued by Mr Justice RJ Goldstone, chairperson of the commission, the statement responds to Transvaal IFP claims about "underground ANC structures" about to launch a "terror campaign" against Inkatha leaders and residents of Inkatha-supporting hostels.

Because of the seriousness of the allegations the Commission will meet urgently on Friday when the IFP in the Transvaal will be required to disclose the sources of allegations to the commission.

"In the meantime I would appeal to the public and in particular members of the IFP not to act on what are at this time unsubstantiated allegations," said the judge.

The alleged plan, according to the IFP, was being "engineered by MK commanders in Soweto".

The judge said: "The IFP statement contains other very serious allegations concerning the 'terror campaign' which I consider not to be in the public interest to repeat".

— Sapa
Twelve injured in grenade attack

TWELVE people were injured yesterday when a hand grenade was thrown at people at a taxi rank in Vincent Road, Meadowlands in Soweto.

The incident was part of a weekend that also claimed the life of Mzimhlophe resident, Miss Phindile Zwane (32), who was gunned down outside her home while walking towards a taxi rank in Vincent Road.

Police spokesman Captain Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said yesterday the 12 injured people had been admitted to Baragwanath Hospital.

As Zwane lay dying on the ground, the gunmen continued firing towards her home. A bullet narrowly missed her blind grandmother, Mrs Lina Khumalo, the dead woman’s stepfather, Mr Johan Gama, said.

“We are living in fear for our lives. My stepdaughter was not even conversant with the problems of the area. She recently arrived from Bergville in Natal,” he said.

Mariemuthoo said while police went to investigate at the scene where 12 people were injured, they were attacked by hostel dwellers and a grenade exploded under a police Campair. No one was injured in this attack.

Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza said the grenade attack on taxi commuters was a cowardly act by people hostile to the IFP.

“The victims of the attack were all residents of hostels who are known to be predominantly Inkatha supporters,” Khoza said.

Yesterday most of the houses around Mzimhlophe, Orlando West and Meadowlands were deserted.

People told Sowetan: “The residents have fled. They are scared of the attacks from the hostels.”
A WOMAN was seriously injured and six other people were hurt when a hand grenade exploded inside a Putco bus in Soweto last night.  

A spokesman for Soweto police, Colonel Fanyana Zwane, said the bus was going past Meadowlands Hostel at 6.20pm when the grenade was thrown through a window.  

The explosion tore a hole in the floor of the bus and knocked out most of the glass.  

The bus was carrying passengers from town to Soweto.  

*Sapa.*
Although the government and MK have made efforts to improve the living conditions of the residents, the displacement of the residents from their homes and the loss of their belongings has caused a significant amount of distress. The government's promise of compensation has not been fulfilled, and the residents are left with no options but to live in makeshift shelters. The situation has become a major source of frustration and anger, as evidenced by the protests and demonstrations that have taken place in recent months.

The government has also faced criticism for its handling of the situation. There have been reports of corruption and mismanagement, which has added to the residents' frustration. The government has promised to investigate these allegations, but the lack of transparency has only fueled the residents' mistrust.

The situation is further complicated by the political landscape, with various parties taking opposing positions on the issue. The opposition has accused the government of neglecting the residents and exploiting their suffering for political gains. The government, on the other hand, has defended its efforts and accused the opposition of spreading misinformation.

The ongoing conflict between the government and MK has led to a breakdown of communication and cooperation. This has further exacerbated the situation, making it difficult to find a lasting solution. The residents are left to wonder what the future holds for them and their homes.

In conclusion, the situation of the displaced residents of MK is a complex and challenging issue that requires a comprehensive approach. The government must prioritize the residents' needs and work towards a resolution that is fair and sustainable. The residents' voices must be heard, and their concerns must be addressed. The government must also work towards restoring trust and cooperation with MK to ensure a peaceful resolution.

The situation in MK is a stark reminder of the ongoing conflict and instability in the region. It is a call for urgent and immediate action to address the residents' needs and ensure their rights are protected. The government must take responsibility and work towards a solution that is mutually beneficial for all parties involved.
Integrate armies to foster trust

Laurie Nathan argues that agreement to integrate all military forces will lead to the ANC finally abandoning the armed struggle.

The first plenary session of Codesa last December was marred by a fiery showdown between President FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela over ANC arms caches and the status of its army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These issues continue to plague negotiations. The government insists transitional structures will not be established until the ANC agrees to end its armed struggle and disband MK.

The ANC refuses to demobilise MK “until a democratic government is in place”. It argues further that “there is no difference between MK and the SADF, which is the National Party’s army”.

The way out of this impasse would be to focus briefly on a longer-term issue: the political parties represented at Codesa could agree in principle that the future defence force will be an amalgamation of the SADF, MK and the homeland armies.

The actual integration of these forces will undoubtedly be difficult. But agreement in principle at this stage would clarify their future status and thereby make it easier to identify the steps required to control them in the interim.

In one form or another, integration is inevitable. Neither the government nor the ANC has the strength to ensure its army is installed exclusively as the new defence force.

Both parties are committed to a negotiated settlement precisely because they recognise this reality. They accept, too, that negotiations necessarily entail compromising hard-line positions. It would be absurd to imagine military affairs as exempt from such a compromise.

Integration is also politically and strategically desirable. By virtue of their historic roles and characters, neither the SADF nor MK on its own would be regarded as a genuinely national defence force after apartheid.

Both armies have played a partisan role in the South African conflict.

The SADF’s credibility is weakened by its aggressive defence of minority rule, while MK is regarded by many whites as a “terrorist organisation”.

The exclusion of the SADF or MK from the new defence force would fatally undermine its legitimacy, embitter one or another political constituency and create the danger of banditry and armed resistance to the state.

Conversely, the merging of government and guerrilla forces would signal a real commitment by the major players to overcoming the divisions of the past.

The logic of the above arguments was accepted at independence in Namibia and Zimbabwe. It has been accepted more recently in Mozambique and Angola — and it provided the basis for the formation of the Union Defence Force in South Africa in 1912.

The UDF was forged out of British colonial forces and Boer commando armies which had fought a bloody war only 10 years earlier.

If the parties at Codesa agreed to a similar integration of the SADF, MK and the homeland armies, the way would be clear to resolving controversial military issues and devising means of regulating these forces during the transition.

The government could agree to subject the SADF to a code of conduct and multi-party control. The ANC could formally end its armed struggle, surrender its arms caches and realise the SADF as South Africa’s legal defence force in the interim period.

A number of structures could be set up to implement and monitor these agreements. At political level, the interim government could exercise civilian control over all the armies through a multi-party commission of security.

The commission could monitor SADF compliance with the code of conduct and MK compliance with the Pretoria, DF Malan and Groote Schuur minutes. It could also begin formulating a new defence policy and planning the reconstitution of the security forces.

At a military level, a Joint Monitoring Committee comprised of senior officers from each of the armies could be created along the lines of the JMC’s established by South Africa with Mozambique in 1984 and with Angola in 1984 and 1988.

An outstanding issue would be the status of the armed wings of the AWB, Azapo and the PAC, which have all rejected participation in Codesa.

These armies should be outlawed if they reject the option of multi-party control and eventual incorporation into the new defence force.

The essential point, though, is that every effort should be made to accommodate the various armies that exist in South Africa.

Laurie Nathan is a senior researcher at the Centre for Intergroup Studies, an independent mediation group attached to UCT.
Nine people injured as limpet mine explodes in dustbin

BOMB TERROR AT RAND SHOW

A MINI-LIMPET mine exploded at the Rand Show 10 minutes before closing time last night, injuring nine people, police and witnesses said.

The mine, hidden in a fibreglass drum, detonated at 8.30pm in the vicinity of the Explanade, a crowded collection walkway, said Rand Show security manager Anton Post.

Police found fragments of the mine on the area an hour after the blast. They searched the area for more explosives.

No one had claimed responsibility for the bomb by late last night.

The injured, six men and three women, were taken to the Johannesburg Hospital. Eight people were treated and discharged. One woman, believed to have a broken leg, was admitted.

Bleeding

"I heard a loud noise and turned towards a bright flash," said Philip Guell, an artist who was displaying his work about five paces away from the dustbin when the mine exploded.

"A bit of the fibreglass cut me on the cheek," he said.

"As this happened, I saw people duck for cover and noticed a young girl who was bleeding from the eye," he said.

Brendan Cooper, 14, staggered, was bleeding from the air and held about a metre away.

He was also slightly injured by the explosion.

Another man, Martin Bullock, said he fell to the ground when the blast rocked the walkway close to the restaurant area.

Rand Show visitors — Craig Kelly, Lesley Adrian, and Steven and Joselene Longino — were in the toilets nearby.

"I thought it was a huge firecracker," said Mr Kelly.

"We knew it was a bomb when we saw smoke and heard the people screaming on the ground," Miss Adrian said.

"People were crying and many looked shocked," she said.

The blast occurred in the Explanade area of the Nurser Showgrounds.

Thousands of panic-stricken visitors caused a massive traffic jam as they fled the showgrounds.

All dustbins near the scene were cleared as police checked for more explosives.

It was the first incident of its kind in the show's 84-year existence, Mr Post said.

About 260 policemen, 250 Rand Show security personnel and dozens of soldiers and emergency services personnel who were at the showgrounds rushed to the scene of the bombing.

News of the bomb was flashed on the SABC's regional radio station.

Mr Post said the Rand Show would open again today despite the blast.

Mrs Susan Weber, who was on duty at an exhibition stand in Hall 9 when the bomb went off, said she saw little evidence of panic.

"Security guards came into the hall and told us to evacuate the building," she said.

Immediately after the explosion, as the area around the blast was being cordoned off, trained sniffer dogs were sent in to comb the area for more bombs.

A spokesman for the SAP said late last night there was no indication who had placed the bomb, or of its origin.

Paramedic Terry Lang with bulldog Liesel, whose life he saved after she was trapped in a house. Picture: NORACE POTTER
Private armies pose war threat

By Thabo Lesilo
Political Staff

There are currently 25 000 men involved in private armies from the left to the right of the Government, according to the April edition of the journal, Barometer, published in Pretoria.

Left-wing liberation armies and right-wing armies, the publication says, will, “for the foreseeable future remain a reality in the South African spectrum.”

The journal notes that the situation in SA is currently characterised by extremes — with a possible increase in acts of terror by the right wing at the time when the ANC appeared willing to reconsider its position on Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The publication says the activities of the private armies were closely related to the progress in political negotiations.

“Once a political organisation perceives itself as holding some political power, the leverage which its armed force provides decreases considerably.”

The journal says although the PAC, the right wing and other organisations with armed wings did not have the ability to wage sustained campaigns with their armies, “they will eventually leave behind a legacy which for many years will place intense pressure on settlement.”

“Private armies are born out of mistrust and lack of political representation while their members are the most intense activists and militants,” Barometer says.

It adds that the ANC had, since its unbanning on February 2 1990 and subsequent relaxation of the armed struggle, come to realise the dilemma posed by a private army.

“Not only does the ANC find it difficult to support MK members financially, but more importantly, it has still to come up with a programme to re-orientate some thousands of MK members who have been trained only in armed struggle and find it difficult to adapt to a changing environment.”

Although the ANC might face a breakaway of its more radical faction, the development could be a blessing in disguise as this would clear the way for the organisation to change from a liberation movement into a fully fledged political party.

“Until a major role player in the negotiation process decides to take the first decisive step — if the Government clamps down on these armies — or an organisation such as the ANC disbands MK, the spectre of civil war will remain.”
ANC leaders accused of torture and execution

A human rights organisation declared yesterday it had sworn statements implicating top ANC leaders in the torture and execution of political prisoners.

The Frankfurt-based International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) called on Codesa to hear testimony alleging the ANC was still holding prisoners in Tanzania and Uganda, and that 500 people had disappeared in exile.
ATTACKERS tossed petrol bombs at the Soweto home of an Inkatha Freedom Party member in the early hours of yesterday, but no one was injured.

Soweto Police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni confirmed the attack in Dobsonville.

He said he was unaware that the house belonged to an IFP member.

The IFP West Rand member, Mr Bhekimaski Magwaza, said he and his family were awakened by a loud bang at 1am and saw flames coming from the direction of the front door.

"We rushed to the back door and somebody threw a petrol bomb and we retreated," he said. "We were not able to go out. We finally decided to phone the police."

Ngobeni said none of the petrol bombs had exploded but a window had been shattered. - Sapa.
Arrest of MK man sparks outcry over private armies

CAPE TOWN — The Law and Order Ministry has joined the outcry over private armies following yesterday's arrest of an Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) member after the discovery of an arms cache in the Cape Town township of Guguletu.

Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze described the incident as "very disturbing" and said it was another illustration of the "undesirability" of having private armies which may be difficult to control.

"When you have a situation where people are running around shooting policemen and caches are uncovered in shanty towns, you wonder what connection there is with the present violence," he said.

Kotze said members of private armies also became a "wildcat factor in the crime/violence equation".

But he stressed that police were not accusing the ANC of deliberate involvement in violence.

He said police would continue to enforce the law as it existed until agreement on the issue was reached at negotiations.

In yesterday's incident a 32-year-old Western Cape University student was arrested in connection with the discovery of the arsenal of weapons, including an AK-47 rifle, lumps mines and hand grenades. He is expected to appear in court soon.

Clavin Khan, personal assistant to MK head Joe Modise, said members of the armed wing who violated agreements on the armed struggle were not acting on orders and would be investigated.

Sapa reports that the ANC confirmed the arrest and said there was "nothing sinister" about the man being found with arms. It said there was no suggestion that he had been engaged in activities that contravened the D F Malan accord.
Maps 'not sinister' -

There was nothing sinister about the issuing of maps to members of Umkhonto we Sizwe detailing the whereabouts of arms caches, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

He was reacting to a report that Umkhonto members were being given maps to prepare combatants should constitutional negotiations fail. If the information were being released to the public there would be cause for concern, but this was not the case, he said.
CURRENT AFFAIRS

TERRORISM

White fangs

From the cell where he is serving a life sentence, mass murderer Barend Strydom, the Pretoria "Wit Wolf," is urging followers to fight the "enemies of the Boerevolk" with all available means. The message is contained in a letter, dated February 13, mailed from Pretoria Central Prison and published in the latest edition of rightwinger Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Nuusbrief.

Subscribers received their copy with Strydom's call to action about 10 days before a limpet mine was detonated at the Rand Show at the weekend. In a statement to the SABC, the shadowy Wit Wolwe organisation claimed responsibility for the explosion which injured nine whites, two of them seriously.

"It is never too late," writes Strydom in urging rightwingers to become involved in the struggle of the volk. "The process is reversible. We can never accept this situation under which we are illegally suppressed and a communist ANC government is thrust upon us. Never but never! What you can do is much more than I can and am allowed to do from inside the prison. The enemy must be fought with all means available to us."

According to the Wit Wolwe, who apparently claimed responsibility after Saturday night's explosion, "black terror was a huge headache... terror by whites will make it look like a picnic."

The statement called for an end to gambling with the Boere heritage, and concluded: "Apartheid is dead. Long live apartheid." It was typed on a Wit Wolwe letterhead and listed a series of demands, including representation of whites by whites, a white homeland and the destruction of communism. The organisation undertook not to use violent methods as "far as possible" and said that members would give their lives for their country and their people. The message was typed over what appeared to be a sketch of a snarling wolf.

The Boerestaat Party's Robert Van Tonder tells the FM that he communicated with Strydom through "an intermediary" on Sunday and, according to information that had reached him, Strydom denies any knowledge of the attack or involvement by the Wit Wolwe. "To us this looks like an orchestrated attempt by the police to justify action against rightwingers," says Van Tonder.

Correctional Services Major Wena Greyling says that, according to their records, Strydom wrote a letter to "a Mr Du Toit" on February 13, the mailing and publication of which was not a contravention of the Prisons Act.

But Clause 44 of the Act states that it is an offence to publish a photograph of a prisoner 30 days after a court has found him guilty of an offence unless written permission is obtained from the Commissioner of Prisons. "Permission has not been granted to the publication concerned (Boerestaat Nuusbrief) to publish a photograph of prisoner Strydom," Greyling says.

Van Tonder admits that he did not ask for permission to print Strydom's picture. He says the letter was given to him by someone but he is not prepared to name his informant. He will not comment on whether he knows "a Mr Du Toit."

Van Tonder says he often visits Strydom and that he went to see him three weeks ago. Strydom still believes in the volksstrijd, says Van Tonder. "This is understandable. As a youngster he experienced the horror deeds that were done to his own people and this had an effect on him."

The Beeld newspaper said on Tuesday in an editorial that those responsible for the bomb "were being fed by insinuations from rightwing leaders — among them even people like Prof Carel Boshoff — that a violent option to the struggle for 'Afrikaner freedom' cannot be excluded."

Rand Show MD Anton Post has announced a R20 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the explosion. Eddie Becha
SUPREME Court Judge WP Schutzh  
has rejected an urgent application by suspended Diepmeadow director of  
housing Jooste Mothapo to prevent  
City Press publishing details of his  
alleged involvement in land allocations  
in Zone 4 Diepkloof.

Mothapo and Sibongile Mazibuko,  
suspended legal adviser to the council,  
brung an urgent application in the  
Rand Supreme Court on Friday April  
3, asking Judge Schutz to order City  
Press not to publish further reports  
naming them as officials involved in  
the allegedly fraudulent land deals in  
Zone 4.

They claimed that City Press report-  
ing of charges laid against them and  
other council officials by the council  
was defamatory.

In his ruling denying the application,  
Judge Schutz said the courts  
must be loath to stop the press in what  
he regarded as its duty to uncover  
corruption.

He said corruption was prevalent  
and persons in public office who found  
themselves under fire simply had to  
bite the bullet and in due course recov-  
er damages.

Schutz found there was no basis for  
urgency and that Mothapo's founding  
affidavit had been prepared in late  
March, but only brought to court on  
April 10.

Mothapo and Mazibuko argued that  
by reporting that the council had laid  
charges against them, City Press had  
defamed them. They argued that “laid  
charges against” led the public to be- 
lieve they were to be charged in court.

The judge found that it was not  
defamatory to say that charges had  
been laid with the police, and that the  
man in the street understood that  
charges were laid with the police to  
commence an investigation.

Costs were reserved pending the ap- 
plicants bringing any action within 21  
days.

Since commencing the action to si- 
tence City Press, Mothapo and Maz- 
ibuko have been suspended from their  
jobs in the council.

A special council meeting on  
Wednesday suspended them pending  
the outcome of an investigation by the  
TPA into allegations of corruption and  
mismanagement in the council.

LIBERATION movements should ignore calls  
for the dismantling of their military wings,  
Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa  
said in Umtata this week.

Holomisa was addressing a seminar on the integra- 
tion of military forces in SA, attended by senior  
officers from the defence forces of SA, Ciskei,  
Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana and members of the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe and the  
PAC's armed wing Apa.

"The call for the dismantling of the military wings of the liberation movements must be ig- 
nored. All must concentrate on the establishment of the interim government which will be the  
ground for the Constitu- 
ent Assembly elections," he said.

"When a new govern- 
ment has been installed,  
serious talks about the integra- 
tion of the armed  
forces can begin in ear-

While deliberating on  
the future of the armed  
forces, all armies should  
brace themselves for the  
possible dispatching of aninternational peace-keeping  
force. Because, should  
Codema participants agree  
on this, no rumblings of opposition would be toler- 
at ed from any quarter of the  
aproved forces.

Holomisa said the  
dominance of one group  
in the military forces did  
not augur well for the fu- 
ture stability of a demo- 
cratic government, as that  
group could be tempted to  
act against the wishes of  
the majority.

To reverse this odd situa- 
tion, it is imperative  
that the system of recruit- 
ing presently employed  
by the SADF be aban- 
doned in favour of one  
embracing the entire nation.

"If SA aims at being a  
stable society, the volun- 
teer system should be em- 

cumbered upon. This will  
lead to the emergence of a  
highly professional and  
efficient army," he said.

"We have reached a  
stage when foes have to  
fuse into a new force and  
forget the past with its  
rhetorical baggage. This  
requires the formulation  
of a new military tradi- 
tion."

There was an urgent  
need for all forces to  
agree on an identified  
country to provide ad-

The present SA govern- 
ment should offer an ear- 
y retirement package deal to "securorats".

Einews
Call for ANC camps probe

The International Freedom Foundation (IFF) yesterday called for an independent investigation into the alleged torture and killing of detainees in ANC camps in the neighbouring states.

IFF chairman Duncan Sellers said in Johannesburg the allegations cast doubt on the ANC’s commitment to human rights and democratic values.

“In view of the important role that the ANC is playing in the political process in South Africa today, it is essential that these allegations are dealt with in a satisfactory and impartial manner,” said Mr. Sellers.

He said the ANC leadership should be exposed and prosecuted if found guilty of human rights abuse, the failure of which would undermine South Africa’s transition to democracy.

The IFF rejected the ANC’s own internal commission of inquiry currently investigating allegations of mistreatment, saying the impartiality of such a commission was highly questionable.

“We believe that this internal investigation has been started in response to public pressure, but is intended to whitewash the truth.”

Mr. Sellers said a commission similar to the Goldstone Commission probing violence was required whereby “people would give evidence without intimidation.”

“I believe—that— in the absence of impartial hearings in SA, it is likely that the US Congress will be forced to investigate these allegations.”
Guns ablaze over trashings of MK
FORMER ANC detainees have written an open letter to President FW de Klerk asking him to intervene in the plight of captives they allege the ANC is still holding at its training camps.

The letter, signed by Returned Exiles Committee (REC) chairman Pat Hongwana, alleges that several detainees are still being held in India and some African states.

The letter reads: "Ex-ANC detainees are extremely concerned over the position of our friends who remain incarcerated at ANC training camps in the rest of Africa and more recently, in India.

Recover bodies: "Part of our task is to investigate the disappearance and death of our colleagues while in the hands of the notorious ANC. We also wish to recover the bodies of detainees murdered by the organisation and which were dismembered in shallow graves in countries like Angola and Tanzania."

The letter claimed that the parents of the detainees were receiving letters from their children who requested them to intervene on their behalf. The concerned parents had signed REC to take up the matter, the letter said.

The committee aimed to have information that the ANC's representative in Uganda planned to kill some of the captives there.

Hongwana called for assistance from the UN, the International Society for Human Rights and Amnesty International to intervene.

ANC spokesman Marcus denied her organisation was holding any detainees.

"We have invited the International Red Cross to visit our camps to see for themselves. We released the remaining detainees late last year," she said.

Marcus denied emphatically that the ANC had camps in India.
Chris Hani no longer MK’s top gun

MR Chris Hani is no longer chief of staff of the African National Congress’s armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, ANC official Miss Gill Marcus said on Monday night.

Mr Siphiwe Nyanda, who was arrested in a swoop by security forces soon after the ANC was unbanned in 1990, is acting chief of staff.

Marcus said Hani resigned about three months ago because of the workload of his position as general secretary of the SA Communist Party.

“It is incorrect to say he was demoted. Mr Nyanda was appointed by the ANC national working committee after Mr Hani resigned,” she said.

However, Hani was still involved in Umkhonto, Marcus said. - Sapa.
Control of cadres 'not guaranteed' (SIPA)

Senior members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, told the Goldstone commission yesterday they could not guarantee absolute control over cadres.

Testifying about a meeting last month at Umkhonto's PWV regional headquarters, at which it was alleged a plan was hatched to attack Inkatha-occupied hostels, political commissar Oupa Monareng admitted that such a suggestion had been made but denied that any decision had been taken on it.

"Anybody can do his own thing without the mandate of the leadership," Monareng told the commission.

Monareng was among those asked to testify about events at the meeting after police supplied the commission with written statements made by informants.

The informants said it was decided at the meeting that Umkhonto would attack Inkatha hostels in four Transvaal areas.

The two informants feared for their lives and therefore refused to disclose their names to the commission, Judge Richard Goldstone said.
ANC official arrested over Natal arms cache

A PROMINENT African National Congress official was arrested in Empangeni, Natal, after police found a large arms cache in a building occupied by the organisation, police said yesterday.

In a statement the South African Police said the arrest on Wednesday followed a search of the building in the Northern Natal town.

The arrested ANC official was not identified.

"It was necessary for the police conducting the search to make use of force in order to gain access to the premises after the owner failed to produce the key," the statement said, adding police had acted on the authority of a search warrant granted by a magistrate.

Police recovered 612 rounds of AK ammunition; one AK-47 rifle magazine fully loaded; two Stechen pistol holsters; six hand-grenade dust covers; three Stechen pistol magazines; one Stechen pistol; 124 rounds of Stechen ammunition; one AK-47 rifle cleaning kit; one AK-47 rifle carrier strap; four hand-grenade detonators; and nine rounds of .38 special ammunition.

The arrested ANC member has been charged with unlawful possession of explosives and a firearm and defeating the ends of justice. - SA Press Association.
MK denies a plot to attack hostels

MEMBERS of Umkhonto we Sizwe's PWV regional headquarters yesterday denied they had taken a decision to attack Inkatha Freedom Party hostels.

But they told the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria yesterday they could not guarantee absolute control over MK members.

"Anybody can do his own thing without the mandate of the MK leadership," Mr Oupa Monareng, MK political commissar, told a hearing chaired by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

The hearing was convened after two police informers said they had attended an MK meeting at Shell House in Johannesburg last month, where a decision was taken to attack IFP hostels in four Transvaal areas.

Monareng said members at the meeting suggested MK attack the hostels, but the leadership's response was that the armed struggle had been suspended. MK had become more involved in mass action.

Mr Sidney Mbilo, the regional headquarters' chief of personnel, told the hearing the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and the DF Malan agreement bound MK to suspend its action and that MK had no right to commit soldiers to action that would be detrimental to these accords. - Sapa.
CAPE TOWN — Private armies are to be effectively banned and the law is to be changed to enable the police to arrest intimidators and perpetrators of political violence before they commit their crimes.

These were among a package of urgent legislative and other measures to combat political violence announced by President de Klerk in Parliament during debate on his budget vote last night.

He said the mere possession of certain weapons such as automatic guns would be outlawed.

He had appointed a Government task force to liaise with the National Peace Committee and the Peace Secretariat to try to bring relief to communities in which under-development was a principal cause of violence.

Mr de Klerk said the Criminal Procedure Act would be amended to provide for special criminal procedures and bail systems to deal with political violence and intimidation.

Assurance

These procedures would accelerate the processing of these cases and ensure that perpetrators of violence and intimidation were quickly removed from the community.

He said the intention was to make it easier for the police to deal with those who were on the point of committing crimes.

He gave the assurance that the rights of accused would still be honoured, but said the time for more drastic action had arrived.

Urgent legislation would be introduced to ban the organisation, training and equipping of private armies.

It would be aimed at not only leaders of, but participants in, private armies.

The mere possession of certain weapons would become a crime and there would be a presumption that such possession was coupled with common-law crimes.

Incidents of indirect intimidation would also be dealt with. The maintenance and organisation of private armies was itself a form of indirect intimidation.

The aim would be to widen the impact of the Intimidation Act.
MK leaders testify before commission

By McKeed Kotsolo
Pretoria Bureau

Two senior Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commanders on Wednesday denied allegations that an MK meeting on March 25 had decided to attack four Inkatha Freedom Party hostels in the Transvaal.

But they admitted the ANC's military wing did not have absolute control over its members.

MK political commissar Oupa Monareng and PWV chief of personnel Sydney Mphilo were testifying before the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria following allegations by two police informers who had earlier claimed they had attended an MK meeting at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg where a decision had been taken to attack the IFP hostels.

Mr Monareng said members at the meeting did suggest that MK should attack the hostels because they felt their lives were threatened.

However, the suggestion was turned down by the leadership because the armed struggle had been suspended and MK had become more involved in mass action.

Mr Monareng, however, told the commission that members "could do their own thing" without the mandate of the leadership.

The commission also heard that the PWV regional headquarters was not empowered to take such decisions. Only the national leadership had such powers.

Mr Mphilo said MK was bound by the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and the DF Malan Accord to the suspension of the armed struggle.

He said MK had no right to commit soldiers to action that would be detrimental to these.
Explosives in car: man held

Pretoria, was stopped at 4.30 pm on the Van Der Hoff Road Extension, outside the industrial area of Hercules.

While searching the man's car, members of the Internal Stability Unit, led by Major Andre Truter and Lieutenant Koos van Rhyn came across a variety of commercial explosives concealed in a white bag under a seat.

The man, who had insignia of rank on his uniform, was arrested for illegal possession of explosives. Colonel Vlotman said the man was expected to appear in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court today.

AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche last night could not confirm whether the man was a member of his organisation. "I don't know anything about it," Mr Terre-Blanche said.
We're not grumbling, says MK's pragmatic new chief

WHEN the limit of his position as acting chief-of-staff of Umkhonto weSizwe, Siphiwe Nyanda tries to break from the rhetoric which often marks the comments of other African National Congress militants.

Rather than just condemning police raids which have resulted in the arrest of a number of MK militants and the seizure of MK arm caches, Nyanda is practical about the clampdown. "As the DP, Mofane and Pretoria records, the police never promised not to arrest people who are armed. We have acknowledged that we have arm caches, the people holding our caches know they can be arrested and we are not grumbling about it."

These are not just casual comments from a leader safely based in the ANC's headquarters in central Johannesburg. While details of his military record remain scarce, Nyanda - or "Galaho" as he was known in exile - was involved in a number of the ANC's military operations in South Africa while the organization was banned.

Originally from Natal, he left the country in 1976 and received military training in the Soviet Union and East Germany.

Later he emerged as a key figure in the ANC's political-military operations in Swaziland, which controlled MK operations in Natal and the Transvaal. Nyanda's commander for most of this time, ANC national executive member Ibrahim Ebrahim, describes him as being disciplined, efficient and "having the respect of those who served under him".

While serving in Swaziland, Nyanda narrowly escaped being kidnapped by South African Defence Forces agents. His wife, whom commander and brother were not so lucky: his wife and Ebrahim were both kidnapped, forced to stand trial in South Africa and imprisoned.

Nyanda's eldest brother, alleged to be a victim of an SADF mortar attack.

In 1987, when Joe Slovo relinquished his position as chief-of-staff, Nyanda first became eligible for the position he now holds. In a book by Stephen Ellis and Tsolo Sontela - an autobiography of one of the ANC's and South African Communist Party's leaders, Nyanda's appointment was passed over due to a feud between MK leaders Chris Hani and Joe Slovo. According to the book, Hani praised Nyanda's appointment because he was seen as a Modise supporter.

Nyanda dismisses this version of events, saying: "I was not available for the position as I had been assigned to Operations in the U.S." Operation Vula was a secret project, directly under the control of ANC president Oliver Tambo, aimed at strengthening the organization's structures inside South Africa. Nyanda infiltrated the Zulu community in 1988 and remained underground until the operation was discovered in a U.S. raid.

According to Ellis and Sontela, the project was discouraged by "bad luck" rather than police work. Nyanda was arrested in Natal but...
Expelled CP MP held over bomb blasts

RECENTLY expelled CP MP for Wonderboom Koos Botha was arrested yesterday in connection with a series of bomb blasts at schools and post offices and the possession of explosives.

Botha, who told the media early yesterday of his impending arrest, appeared briefly in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court. He told Business Day he would be arrested in connection with a bomb blast at the Hillview High School — which is in his constituency — in June last year. The school had been earmarked for the children of returning ANC exiles.

No charges were put to Botha yesterday and he was not asked to plead. He was released on bail of R1 500 and his trial was set for June 3.

The magistrate said Botha, who fell from grace with the CP because of his pro-volkstaat statements, would be accused number five in a trial with four AWB members — Andries Stefanus Kriel, Andries Cornelius Odendaal, Dirk Jan Hattingh and Petrus Jacobus Judeel.

The four earlier appeared in court in connection with several charges relating to bomb blasts at schools and post offices in Transvaal. They were released on bail of R3 500 each. Kriel and Odendaal have since skipped bail.

Botha was arrested previously by the police in connection with the Hillview blast, but was released. According to Sapa, police confirmed Botha had assisted them with "an investigation".

Pretoria police said in a statement yesterday that Botha had been arrested in connection with possible charges of sabotage and the possession of explosives.
PRETORIA — The Department of Law and Order will approach the Swaziland police for assistance after the arrest of 32 African National Congress members in the mountain kingdom, SABC radio news reports.

Yesterday Swaziland police confirmed they had arrested 32 men claiming to be ANC members travelling to Tanzania for military training. The police said the men would be deported to South Africa from Big Bend, where they were being held.

A spokesman for the South African Department of Law and Order said he had not received confirmation of the arrests, but the Swaziland authorities would be approached as soon as possible to help the SA Police in their investigation.

If the arrests could be verified, the matter would be raised at Codesa on Monday.

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel had repeatedly warned against actions that were contrary to the spirit of Codesa and the National Peace Accord, said the spokesman. — Sapa.
Sebokeng ANC homes attacked

By SAN MHLONGO

THE homes of two Vaal ANC members were shattered by bomb explosions this week, leaving one person dead, two injured and forcing a family to abandon their house.

At the Sebokeng Zone 13 home of ANC Youth League president Nswaki Smith, her 52-year-old mother Alina was killed and her sisters, Nankie, 19, and Winnie, 2, were injured by the grenade blast.

At the home of Elias Molapisi, a few kilometres away in Sebokeng Zone 11, the bombers struck after midnight, turning the day into another Black Wednesday. They blasted windows with gunfire before hurling a grenade into the house.

Nobody was injured, but the frightened Molapisi family vacated the house early the next day.

Smith vehemently rejected the police version that her mother was "killed by a grenade explosion which erupted under the pillow on which she was sleeping".

She also questioned the priorities of the police in conducting a thorough search of the house and paying scant attention to the body of her dead mother and her sisters who lay injured. She also wanted to know why her two brothers, Jordan and Dick, were arrested with police making disturbing allegations that dagga was found in their possession.

Vaal police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer confirmed both grenade blasts.

He said the motives for the grenade attacks were unknown and police were investigating.
Swaziland to expel MK recruits

By DE WET POTGIETER

THE 33 ANC recruits arrested in Swaziland on their way to Tanzania for military training will be extradited to South Africa.

A senior SA Police officer said yesterday the men had been recruited by a woman in Durban and came from Kwa Masha. All the men are in detention at Big Bend. They were arrested on Friday after they crossed the border into Swaziland and applied for political asylum. They asked the UN Human Rights Commission for financial support to get to Tanzania. Their requests were turned down.

A spokesman for Minister of Law and Order Herman Kriel said he was "deeply concerned" about the arrests. He is expected to raise the question of continued MK recruitment at Codesa tomorrow.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said: "It is no secret that the ANC is training people abroad."
I'm sorry, says ex-CP 'bomber'

FORMER Conservative Party MP and self-confessed bomber Mr Koos Botha returned to Parliament yesterday saying he regretted his actions.

He said he could look his fellow MPs in the eye because he had “come clean”.

"I am sorry about what I have done. But I feel cleansed by my confession. Today I can walk into Parliament and face anyone," Botha said.

Botha, the independent MP for Wonderboom who was arrested last week in connection with four counts of sabotage, reported to police in Cape Town yesterday before making his way to the parliamentary complex.

With his upcoming trial clearly weighing heavily on his mind, Botha said: "If I have to go to jail, I will sit there and think about my sins."

Botha made his extraordinary confession regarding the bombing of Hillview High School in Pretoria in an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper at the weekend.

At present, there is no legal reason stopping him from attending session in Parliament.

He blamed his actions on the "climate of violence" he said existed in CP circles.

SABC TV reported last night that Botha had indicated he would quit his parliamentary seat soon.
I'm sorry, says ex-CP 'bomber'

Sowetan Correspondent

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The ghost of torture claims haunts ANC

AS the controversy over Mrs Mandela continues to swirl around and sully the ANC, the organisation stands accused of detaining and torturing dissidents within its own ranks in the mid-1980s.

The dissidents, many of whom have returned to South Africa, have in the main rejected overtures from the ANC to come back to the fold and refused to allow the matter to fade into obscurity.

Instead they have talked of "people who are now lying in shallow graves in Africa" and demand an impartial investigation into their treatment by ANC security personnel.

The ANC, already accused of covering up for Mrs Mandela, who is awaiting the outcome of an appeal against her conviction for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault, has taken two steps to defuse the threatened new crisis.

Its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has admitted that some of the charges of torture are true and it has appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the allegations fully.

Charges

Whether these measures will succeed or whether the ANC, like SWAPO in Namibia, will have to face a post-apartheid election with its image marred by serious charges of torture, remains to be seen.

One of the problems is that Mandela's admission - made more than two years ago when complaints of torture first started to surface - has been partially blunted by the terms of reference of its own commission.

Where Mandela admitted that some of the imprisoned dissidents were tortured, the commission has not been mandated to inquire into the extent of torture but whether it took place at all.

Its terms of reference are to investigate the conditions under which ANC prisoners were detained, the "allegations of their maltreatment" and the "complaints about the loss or destruction of their properties".

The members of the three-member commission are two respected lawyers, Mr Louis Skweyiya, SC, and Mr Gilbert Marcus, and a member of the ANC's legal team, Ms Bridget Mahinda.

Its composition, however, has triggered suspicions among many dissidents that its primary purpose is to protect the ANC and to cover up its alleged atrocities.

Skweyiya is related to Mr Zola Skweyiya, a member of the ANC national executive and of its legal and constitutional team. Their family ties and Louis Skweyiya's presumed ANC sympathies have generated suspicions in dissident ranks that the inquiry is a charade.

Marcus is assumed to be a relative of Ms Gill Marcus, a senior member of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity and a member of the ANC's national executive.

Mr Marcus and Ms Marcus are not unrelated but a majority of dissidents are convinced that they are.

Mr Rodney Twala, a leading dissident and chairman of the Return Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, is emphatic: "He will not give evidence to the "ANC commission".

His organisation has taken a decision not to testify before the commission and to insist, instead, on an independent judicial commission of inquiry.

Mr Patrick Hlongwane, another dissident leader, reaffirms the same point.

Bribery

"We will not participate in the ANC's investigation as we suspect the ANC will attempt to use its normal methods of bribery and threats to get the answers it wants... If the ANC really wishes to dispose of this matter there is only one way: an independent commission of inquiry must be appointed."

Another former ANC detaine, Mr Mozolwana S'khwebe, says of the three members of the ANC-appointed commission: "They are members of the ANC... At the same time they are being appointed to investigate the evil done by the ANC."

Their scepticism is deepened by a number of additional factors:

• Commission hearings are in camera and, in Twala's view, in contravention of the maxim that justice must be seen to be done.

• The murder of at least one dissident, Mr Sipho Phungulwa, by suspected ANC agents since the ANC rebels began to trickle back to South Africa; and

• The belief that some dissidents are still being detained in Uganda by, or at the behest of, the ANC.

Suspicions are heightened by their experience of an earlier commission appointed by the ANC to inquire into the causes of a mutiny by ANC fighters at guerilla camps in Angola in 1984.

Failure

As Mr Stephen Ellis records in his book Comrades Against Apartheid, the findings of the commission were never released, still less put on the agenda for discussion at the ANC's consultative conference at Kabwe in Zambia.

The failure to release the findings of the Stauch Commission are seen as evidence that instead of exposing the causes of the mutiny, including the brutal excesses of the ANC's security department, Mbokodo, the commissioners were more concerned to cover up and protect ANC leaders from their share of the blame.

There are, however, guarantees given by the present Skweyiya Commission merely serving as a public relations exercise and then being locked away to protect the ANC from embarrassment. The ANChas given a solemn undertaking in writing to publish its report, subject only to the deletion of the names of persons where deemed necessary for their safety.

The Skweyiya commission has already held one session of hearings and is due to hold two more in June and August. It does not have the power to subpoena witnesses.
MK rebels turn to gangsterism

The gap between the African National Congress leadership and rebellious Umkhonto weSizwe groups is creating problems for the organisation and trouble in the townships. By EDDIE KOCH

RENAGEDE groups of Umkhonto weSizwe guerrillas, who act as a law unto themselves, in many of the country's trouble spots are creating organizational problems for African National Congress branches in the townships as well as political embarrassment for the movement's national leadership.

The problem surfaced dramatically at the Polokwane squatter camp on the East Rand last month when a local defence unit, reinforced by rogue MK men armed with AK-47 rifles, staged a coup d'etat and evicted the ANC-aligned residents committee.

Since then reports have filtered in to The Weekly Mail about bellicose cadres of MK fighters in other townships who, after returning from exile, refuse to take orders from the ANC, squabble with local civic leaders, and in some cases impose a reign of terror over the areas they live in.

Members of an MK cell in one of the townships south of Johannesburg this week told reporters they saw themselves as an "independent military force with our own methods for sorting out the violence" that was not accountable to political structures of the ANC.

The problem has become so widespread that it is causing serious concern in top echelons of both political and military structures of the ANC. Fears abound that irresponsible acts by agents provocateurs — such as sniping at police and army patrols — open the way for brutal repression of the type that characterised the recent invasion of Polokwane by 32 Battalion.

And the ANC's leadership is worried about the way in which the government is making political capital by exaggerating violence carried out by MK units and deflecting attention away from the activities of its own security forces on the eve of the next round of negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

In some cases the activities of these renegade MK groups reflect ideological disagreement with the political direction of the ANC on the part of militant youths who bear the brunt of right-wing violence in the townships.

"We do not wish to overemphasise the fact that our members on the ground openly criticise the organisation's political tolerance in the face of the enemy's brutal murders suffered by the masses who are defenceless," says a document prepared by an MK cell in the Vaal region.

"Members of the underground who are heading the defence units should meet the MK leadership in order to plan a form of strategy to recruit and screen selected members within the community to be trained properly for defence units. We fully agree that negotiations are another terrain of struggle, but this should not be done at the expense of our lives."

There are more ominous reports, however, that some of these out-of-control cells operate in much the same way as township gangs to impose personal power and wield their power over areas they live in — except that they use the name of Umkhonto weSizwe and the prestige of being former freedom fighters to legitimate their activities.

The Polokwane raid, for example, are clearly operating hand-in-glove with criminal groupings who are opposed to a sophisticated development scheme that was pioneered by the former residents' committee and would have brought some form of order to the settlement.

Activists in the Vaal report that a local warlord-type figure, who operates out of one of the hostels in the name of MK, runs a private army that has aroused considerable resentment by collecting levies for arms and imposing protection fees on residents.

"This is pure gangsterism parading as political activity," said one of The Weekly Mail's sources.

In some cases open tension, bordering on armed clashes, has erupted between MK cadres just back from exile and local youths and civic leaders who were engaged in above-board political mobilisation during the liberation war — and there have been reports of violent spats between returned "cadres" and resident "comrades" over the control of townships.

The problem is also reflected in the Natal Midlands.

The controversial statement by ANC leader Harry Gwala that "we kill Inkatha warlords" is backed by evidence that there is a highly-trained ANC squad carrying out professional hits on some of Inkatha's most notorious warlords in the region.

Gwala is clearly operating in response to a deep-seated militancy and impatience among residents about Inkatha-sponsored violence. There is no evidence that his groups are operating for personal gain.

But the lack of discipline and control over MK units probably also explains the mystery detentions this month of two armed groups in Swaziland whose members claimed to be ANC fighters on their way to Tanzania for military training — even though the movement's political leadership expressed genuine surprise and confusion about their claims.

Howard Barrell, a political analyst who is researching ANC strategic policy at Oxford University, says he is not surprised that these dynamics have surfaced in the townships.

"The phenomenon has its origins in the post-1976 period when there was a continual parallelism between the ANC's political and military operations characterised by dislocation and bickering," says Barrell.

"Apart from a small group of highly-trained operatives that conducted special hit-and-run missions, MK strategy consisted of sending small groups of three or four guerrillas into the countryside with AK-47s, a few score rounds of ammunition each, some hand-grenades and a few thousand rand."

Barrell's research indicates there was little attempt to link these military cadres to the political leadership that began to emerge in the mass movement and he argues that this reflects an underlying belief in the top ranks of MK that political mobilisation was secondary to military operations.

"A lack of command and control came to characterise these operations. Their resort to banditry and a form of warlordism has clear historical roots."

The government is taking advantage of the situation by using the work of wayward MK groups to weaken the ANC at the negotiating table and has signalled its intention to use their activity as a means of resisting demands for a revamp of the security forces.

Armed struggle... Some MK cadres submit to discipline, others do not

Photo: GUY ADAMS
ANC denies recruiting "trainees''

STEPHANIE BOTHEA

The ANC had not recruited the 45 detained youths in Swaziland who claimed to be ANC members on route to Zambia or Tanzania for military training, the organisation said yesterday.

An ANC spokesman said it was suspected that the youths had been unwittingly used in a propaganda campaign to discredit the organisation and to convey the impression that the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) were involved in fomenting violence.

However, the ANC had decided to send a delegation to Swaziland to investigate the matter first hand.

Late last month, a group of 32 youths arrived in the eastern border town of Sibong, claiming to be ANC members who wanted to be sent to Zambia. A week later, a second group of 13 youths arrived in Big Bend with a similar request.

Swaziland authorities detained the youths and explained they could not be granted refugee status because the ANC had been unbanned. The youths were believed to be from Natal.

The youths supplied names of people involved in their recruitment and illegal entry into Swaziland to Swaziland government representatives and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

UNHCR spokesman Gary Perkins said Swazi police had been unable to trace the names supplied by the youths. He said it was unlikely the 45 were bona fide ANC members.

The ANC said in a statement it had conducted extensive inquiries and was certain that no ANC structure had been involved in such recruitment.

It also said it had found no trace of the people named as recruiters.

The statement said the ANC had requested the names of the youths as well as the branches they purported to belong to.
TORTURE CAMPS: WITNESS ACCOUNTS
PAC lays down the law to OAU delegates

THE PAC told the visiting OAU delegation yesterday not to think about investigating the activities of its military wing, the Azanian People's Army (Apia), or of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani told a news conference the PAC understood that the OAU was supportive of liberation movements. "At our meeting (yesterday), we made it clear that activities of liberation armies... do not constitute public violence."

Nemadzivhanani said the delegation was told to limit its investigations to factional fighting and "government-sponsored acts of violence designed to undermine the liberation movements".

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the delegation was "a commission of inquiry" in SA to identify culprits and the nature of violence, not to end violence. It was hoped that its findings would be presented to the international community, which would then decide on a course of punitive action, Alexander said.

The delegation, of five ambassadors based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, also met the ANC and the SA Council of Churches yesterday. Today it will visit unrest flashpoints in the Cape. Sapa reports that delegation spokesman Segun Olusola said the aim was "to monitor and accelerate the democratisation process and to ensure the success of processes such as Codesa. We will also see what influence we can bring to bear on incidents and elements impeding democratisation, such as the violence."

Nemadzivhanani reiterated PAC opposition to the group attending Codesa II.
Explain camp deaths, ANC urged

By Michael Sparks and Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Black Sash yesterday called on the ANC to identify and act against members responsible for the killing of colleagues in ANC camps between 1976 and 1990.

It also urged the ANC to expose the truth about alleged deaths in its camps.

The call was made by Black Sash national president Jenny de Tolly and her predecessor, Mary Burton.

They were responding to press reports about an alleged ANC document which names 265 people who died in ANC camps in suicides, executions and shooting incidents.

The document, called List of Deceased Comrades, purports to give the travelling names of those killed, their real names, the causes of their death and where they are buried.

According to the document more than 70 guerrillas died in skirmishes with Unita between 1987 and 1988.

Among the victims were Ce-kiso Hoyi, also known as Ronald Msimi, who was allegedly one of seven guerrillas executed in Quibaxi camp, Angola, in 1984. Seven other ANC members were allegedly shot dead in the same camp during an "ANC confrontation" in 1984, and six others were killed by mutineers.

Mrs de Tolly and Mrs Burton said the rule of law was one of the earliest victims in times of conflict and liberation wars.

"If the allegations are correct, the ANC cannot escape responsibility for the actions of its officers," they said.

Even if prisoners were convicted of espionage and treachery, they had to be treated in terms of the Geneva Convention, they added.

Chris Hani, ANC executive member and former head of the organisation's armed wing, yesterday denied any knowledge of the list. However, Mr Hani said he was aware that a commission had been appointed to look into the matter.

Asking why the ANC would leak that kind of document to the press, Mr Hani said: "Although the Government is negotiating, it still regards us not only as a political enemy, but some of the old-style people regard us as a real enemy."

He added: "The Government is reeling from scandals of corruption and killing. They are trying to say it was not only us who did the killing."

But Mr Hani pointed out there were distinct differences between what happened at the hands of the security forces and what happened in ANC camps.

Mr Hani said the ANC had to defend itself from agents of the security forces infiltrating into the organisation.

But he added: "What is now being debated by the commission is the strategies that were used, not all of which were correct."

Mr Hani said a key difference was that from the beginning the ANC president Nelson Mandela had said the organisation would fully investigate any irregularities. The Government, on the other hand, "has been trying to cover up what they did for years, and they are still trying to cover it up.'
A hand grenade explosion damaged a laboratory used for post-graduate work in the chemistry department of the University of Natal, Durban, early yesterday. Police spokesman Major Coert Marais said the blast, caused by an RGD5 grenade, occurred at 15 minutes past midnight. Nobody was injured. It is not known whether it is linked to on-going unrest on the campus. University spokesman Dirk Kemp said it was believed to have been an act of sabotage.
Two suspects have been in news

By Shaila-Johann
Political Editor

"Klein Koos" van der Merwe and Gideon Fourie, now being questioned by police in connection with last month's Rand Show limpet mine blast, are no strangers to the limelight.

Along with incumbent CP chief whip on the Boksburg council, Andries du Toit — who was also taken in for questioning yesterday — the two have consistently made headlines.

As one political opponent remarked: "I don't know what else to say about them, but no one will argue about describing them as colourful."

In April 1990, Mr van der Merwe was quoted as saying that if you gave blacks a "klap" or two, they would not be likely to return to Boksburg Lake. This was when tension over segregation at the lake was at its highest.

In the same month, Mr Fourie had charges of assault laid against him by an HNP supporter and member of the Boksburg management committee.

In June, Mr Fourie was escorted out of the Boksburg Town Hall by plainclothes policemen after apparently taking part in the disruption of a meeting of Dawn Park residents. They had been discussing the desegregation of their suburb.

In March 1991, after the "pig's head" incident in the Boksburg council chamber — NP councillor Jay Kramer found a severed pig's head wrapped in a Star of David flag on his council seat — then-DM MP Harry Schwarz accused Mr van der Merwe of distributing anti-Semitic literature.

Mr Schwarz claimed that Mr van der Merwe had admitted this, and called on the CP to sack him.

In August of the same year, both Mr Fourie and Mr van der Merwe were accused of taking part in a demonstration which disrupted a Boksburg meeting addressed by Cabinet minister Barend du Plessis and Reiger Park MP Jac Rabie.

In January this year, when it emerged that South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani had bought a house in the formerly whites-only suburb of Dawn Park, Mr du Toit called on him to "get out".

Mr van der Merwe said at the time he could not comment because he was too busy preparing for an appeal to take back everything, and we are only concerned about getting our own white homeland."
ANC calls cops over bomb threat

THE African National Congress has called in the police for protection and advice after a threat to bomb its headquarters was received from alleged former undercover agents of the South African security forces, it was learnt yesterday.

The organisation learnt of the threat in the past two days, a senior official said yesterday. "It was not the usual crank who phones and hangs up quickly. We get lots of those. This time we learnt from reliable sources that this was someone deadly serious, people who know what they are doing."

Asked to confirm a report that the threat came from former agents of an undercover military hit-squad unit, the Civil Co-operation Bureau, the official replied: "We take threats from the CCB extremely seriously."

Responding to a call from the ANC on Monday, a high-ranking policeman travelled from Pretoria to Johannesburg to discuss the bomb threat with ANC security officers.

A police spokesman confirmed yesterday that such a civic was made but said the details of the discussion were confidential.

Yesterday security arrangements at the ANC building in central Johannesburg were the tightest they have been since the organisation moved into the building last year.
CP faces flak over bombing

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Conservative Party faces the grim prospect of another major “bomb” scandal following the arrest yesterday of 10 rightwingers in connection with a limpet mine explosion at the Rand Easter Show last month.

More than a dozen people were injured in the April 4 blast.

The suspects - among them two Boksburg town councillors - were picked up at their East Rand homes in a pre-dawn police raid.

The two Boksburg town councillors being held for questioning are "Klein Koos" van der Merwe - a nephew of Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe who has been dismissed from the party - and Andries du Toit, CP chief whip in the Boksburg Town Council.

The former town councillor was named as Gideon Faurie, former management committee chairman of the council, who was unseated after being convicted of electoral fraud in 1990.

Also held is "Klein Koos" van der Merwe's wife, Trudie and two other women, identified only as Mrs J Visser and Mrs P P Engelbrecht.

The other people arrested have been named as JS Visser, Fest de Wet, Pietser and R du Toit.

While National Party and Democratic Party spokesmen immediately tore into the CP for "encouraging violence" among its members, the Conservative Party's chief justice spokesman, Chris de Jager, said the CP had "taken note" of the arrests but insisted that the legal process be allowed to take its course.

"The CP will not participate in a trial by media," he said yesterday.

The CP has been rocked by claims that its leadership knew in January of the activities of Koos Botha, its former MP who says he bombed Hillview School in Pretoria.

Botha, in a sensational confession to a Sunday newspaper, said he blew up the school with stolen dynamite.

The school was earmarked for use by the children of returning ANC exiles. Damage estimated at R2 million was caused.
PAC brands Apla hit list as cop work

PAN Africanist Congress deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke has slammed as “false” police allegations that the movement’s military wing compiled a hit list of senior police officers and judges.

Police alleged last week that they had unearthed an Apla hit list.

Moseneke denied there was any murder or hit list or that Apla had any plans to kill judges and other officials.

He said the “true masters of hit lists are the South African Police”.

Moseneke said Law and Order Minister Mr Henus Kriel should flush out “the dirt and the murderers in the SAP rather than make false allegations against the PAC”.

He said the allegations were an obvious product of the “dirty tricks department” of the police and other security structures such as military intelligence.

He said they had “distinguished themselves by not only compiling death lists or hit lists but by executing a large number of people or by being implicated in the execution of a large number of activists who have legitimately challenged the repressive regime”.

Mandela plea to Norwegians

STOCKHOLM - African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday encouraged Nordic businessmen to invest in South Africa only after an interim government had been installed.

Mandela told Norwegian businessmen he hoped that negotiations with the South African Government and other parties would produce a transition council by July.

“The problems which came up during the negotiations last week were a hindrance to the expected breakthrough,” the national news agency, NTB, quoted Mandela as telling the businessmen.

Mandela flew to Sweden to appear at a musical concert held in his honour.
ANC calls cops over bomb threat

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900 in hospital wage strike

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration says voluntary workers have stepped in to maintain services at the Klerksdorp and nearby Tshipung hospitals, where as many as 900 health workers are on strike.

Workers went on strike on Monday, demanding a minimum monthly wage of R724 and a 15.3 percent across-the-board salary increase for all general assistants, permanent employment status for all general assistants and that retrenchment be stopped.

TOP-LEVEL business and trade union leaders who met Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys in Cape Town this week about establishing an economic forum, were optimistic about the talks which they said were "a step forward."

They agreed on joint consultations and to try to reach consensus on restructuring and addressing various problems relating to the economy.

It was also agreed that another meeting be held, possibly in Johannesburg or Cape Town, within two weeks to take decisions on the issues raised.

Some of the points raised on the broad agenda were: the Government's economic policy, future economic investment, trade, retrenchments, provident funds, taxation, housing and education.

The Minister was accompanied by his special adviser Mr Japie Jacobs, while labour was represented by Cosatu and Nactu.
Easter blast: 9 held

South Africa 20/5/92

NINE people — two of them Boksburg town councillors — have been arrested in connection with the limpet mine explosion at the Rand Easter Show on April 4.

This was confirmed by the acting Police Commissioner, Lieutenant-General Hendrik de Villiers, yesterday.

He said in a statement the arrests were made on the East Rand on Tuesday morning.

The blast injured nine people.

The general added: “Soon after the explosion, letters were distributed to the media in which the ‘Orde van die Wit Wolwe’ admitted responsibility for the explosion. ‘This aspect is also being investigated. ‘Two of those arrested are Boksburg town councillors and one is a former member of the council. The suspects are being held for questioning.”

De Villiers said the SAP “once again wishes to point out that we are there to serve all communities.” - Sapa.
New bomb shock for Dr. Treuheit's party.
ANC ‘has nothing to hide’

The African National Congress will co-operate with human rights groups wishing to probe alleged disappearances, executions and torture of dissident members in exile, according to a senior official.

Stehiwe Nyanda, chief of staff of the ANC’s military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, said the anti-apartheid group had nothing to hide.

"Every individual who was executed was executed for a reason. Some of them had committed serious crimes and acts of banditry."

The London-based human rights group Amnesty International said it knew of at least six people whom the ANC was holding in Tanzania.

Mr Nyanda, however, denied this charge. — Sapa
ANC to help return youths home to SA

MBABANE - An ANC delegation has told the Swaziland government it will co-operate in repatriating youths who arrived in that country demanding to be sent to Zambia for military training.

The arrival of the 47 youths, all claiming to be ANC members, baffled the Swaziland govern-

ment and refugee officials in Mbabane because the practice of sending political refugees abroad for military training ended when the ANC was unbanned in South Africa.

Officials at ANC headquarters also denied knowledge of the youths, who entered the country illegally, apparently from Natal. They have been held in prison at the southern town of Big Bend since their arrival.

On Tuesday an ANC delegation, led by Mr Jackie Selebi, head of the ANC repatriation programmes, had talks with the youths, together with Swaziland Interior Ministry and United Nations High Commission for Refugees officials.

Confirmed

Later Selebi confirmed that the ANC was no longer sending people for military training abroad.

He said: "On the other hand, some or all of these young persons could be members of our organisation. They mentioned some names of high-ranking ANC officials, people who had directed them to come to Swaziland and then proceed abroad.

"I will not reveal those names. We have to carry out thorough investigations when we get back to South Africa."

The youths are expected to be returned to South Africa soon, according to the ANC delegation.
ANC quizzes youths

AN ANC three-man delegation visited Swaziland this week to interview the 47 youths detained after allegedly crossing illegally into Swaziland and claiming they were ANC members on their way to undergo military training.

Delegation leader Jackie Selebi said in Mbabane yesterday the youths said they had been recruited in Natal, although not through the ANC offices. Some of those involved in the recruitment were known to the ANC and at least one was a member.
CAPE TOWN — Talks had begun between the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe on creating a unified national army, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He told a briefing at Codesa that the aim was to rationalise the two forces, the TBVC defence forces and homeland paramilitary units into a single defence force.

Last week Meyer said there was about 80% agreement between the political negotiating teams of the ANC and government on implementation of the DF Malan Accord and the Pretoria Minute dealing with the armed struggle and arms caches. But the fact that both military command structures were now involved in bilateral negotiations indicated discussions had entered the detailed phase of practicalities.

Meyer said government welcomed ANC president Nelson Mandela’s remark that the ANC could not return to the armed struggle if constitutional negotiations broke down. It showed that the ANC believed change was irreversible.

Regarding the death of eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe, Meyer did not respond directly when asked repeatedly whether he had “full confidence” that members of the military establishment had not been involved in assassinations. He said he would address the Goniwe issue in his Defence vote next week.
Rebels on rampage

ANC cadres turn defence unit into murderous gang

BY DE WET POTGIETER

ANC's military wing have hijacked Phola Park township's self-defence unit and used it to conduct murders, armed robberies and attacks on security force members, police claim.

In a joint operation by the SAP's Crime Information Service, the East Rand murder and robbery squad and the Internal Stability Unit, 12 dissident members of Umkhonto we Sizwe were arrested in the past two weeks.

According to a police spokesman, one of them has confessed to seven murders and three armed robberies.

Another MK member — who returned to South Africa at the beginning of the year — told police during interrogation that he was one of 2 000 MK dissidents who decided, while in the ANC’s Dakawa training camp in Tanzania, to turn to a life of crime.

He warned that the serious crime rate could rocket from July, when MK will halt allowances to returned cadres.

Crime — and armed robberies in particular — would be the only avenue open to SDUs to finance themselves after that date, the suspect told police.

He said the dissidents, had been transferred to Dakawa in May last year after refusing to undergo advanced training in conventional warfare, because they wanted to return to South Africa. They had been told by new recruits from South Africa that ANC-sanctioned self-defence units (SDUs) had been set up in townships.

The group decided to set up their own SDUs, without ANC approval, but to retain their MK links in order to ensure a flow of funds and weapons.

The man told police that plans to rob banks, hijack vehicles, launch attacks on members of the security forces and eliminate informers and “the enemy, like Inkatha” were laid in the Tanzanian camp.

Other suspects arrested revealed under interrogation that:

- Plans had been discussed for the abduction of children from a daycare centre in the Alberton suburb of Braamfontein, attacks on soft targets as far afield as the Free State and executions by kangaroo courts.
- The Phola Park SDU replaced the residents’ committee in March after two committee members were murdered and the rest fled the squatter camp in fear of their lives.
- The SDU is set on establishing a “liberated zone” and planned to use Phola Park as the model for other black townships and squatter camps such as Zonkeziswe (Vosloorus), Mandela Park (Katte- long) and Crossroads.
- Phola Park residents were intimidated into identifyingsoft targets at their places of work and providing details of security measures.

Patrols

Among the SDU members arrested are three charged with attempted murder following the recent attack on Phola Park residents by members of the SADF’s 32 Battalion.

Also in custody is one of two former Frelimo soldiers who have been training SDU members in the township.

A senior SAP officer admitted this week that “ordinary” policing was no longer possible in Phola Park.

He said security force patrols had found the bodies of several people executed by kangaroo courts in the ruins of a hostel formerly occupied by Zulus on the outskirts of the squatter camp.

Since January 1, 338 cases of serious violent crime had been committed in and around Phola Park, he said.

The head of the East Rand murder and robbery squad, Lieutenant-Colonel Ivor Human, confirmed that suspects had been arrested in connection with the following crimes:

- An attack in which Constable Leonard Cele suffered a gunshot wound in February when he went to the aid of an elderly couple who were being attacked on a smallholding near Bethlehjem.
- An attack in which Constable Derryse Seiphanda was killed and Constable Hermanus Joubert seriously wounded in February when they went to the aid of an elderly couple who were being attacked on a smallholding near Bethlehjem.

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They offer their lives and then?

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE plight of disillusioned Umkhonto weSizwe cadres who turn to thuggery because of bungling leadership is the theme of a new musical play Ain’t Gonna Be Easy written by Don Masenya and Ali Segwai.

Playwrights Masenya and Segwai said that although the production was a work of fiction, it was based on the experiences of returned exiles who were confronted with the harsh reality of poverty and unemployment in the country.

However, plans to take the play on a national tour have hit serious financial snags.

Masenya told City Press that many township theatrical productions were facing serious crises because of a lack of resources and were not being taken seriously by black business.

“It is heartbreaking to see our attempts at making people look at themselves through theatre go up in smoke because of a lack of resources.

“We were very keen to take the play around the country to highlight the seriousness of some of the hardships and problems that face former exiles, but that may not happen because of lack of money,” said Masenya.

The play re-lives the 1980 “Silverton Siege” which saw three ANC cadres mercilessly gunned down after holding up a bank in Pretoria and capturing hostages.

At the same time it is a sequel to We Have Had Enough, which was an attack on corrupt leadership which thrives on the aspirations of the people without working for the realisation of their hopes.

Segwai said the story revolves around a returned exile who finally resorts to using his AK-47 to rescue him from the throes of poverty and unemployment by committing a robbery.

“The excitement and hope which marked the unbanning of the liberation movement is slowly but surely giving way to bitter disillusionment and anger.

“Exiles have returned to the same apartheid situation and we want to awaken our people to take their lives into their own hands and channel their anger to more acceptable goals,” said Segwai.

He told City Press that he embarked on a tour of the Frontline States to research the play.

“I realised that guerrillas were confronted with the dilemma of continuing with the fight or giving up the armed struggle altogether.

“Quite a number were angry and bitter at the compromise struck by the leadership,” said Segwai.

See Page 28
Hani recalls days of 'paranoiac ANC'  

PARANOIA and hysteria in the ranks of the ANC about government's ability to infiltrate it before it was unbanned resulted in innocents being detained in prison camps, former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief-of-staff Chris Hani has admitted in a magazine interview.

Hani is reported by the latest edition of Work in Progress as saying about 18 or 19 MK members found guilty by a tribunal of taking part in a mutiny against superiors in Angola in 1984 were executed.

At his request, the ANC leadership had stepped in and stopped further executions. Speaking about ANC detention camps, Hani said one of the innocents detained in the mid-'80s was national executive committee member Pallo Jordan, for making a derogatory remark about methods used by the ANC's security department. Jordan was detained in June 1983 for six weeks after criticising the security infrastructure in a private conversation.

"And that critical voice reached the ears of security, and because security was a law unto itself, Comrade Jordan was picked up and detained for a few days," he said.

Hani said the climate at the time, when "the regime" was destabilising the ANC, killing its leaders and assassinating commanders of MK, had created a situation of overall suspicion.

When 60% of cadres sent to infiltrate SA were either arrested or killed, sometimes the wrong impression was drawn that those who handled the operations were working for the enemy, he said.

Bitter hostel debate continues  

A FEW years ago hostel and township residents used to party together. Now they are enemies.

Residents say relationships with hostel residents started deteriorating in 1990 when violence skyrocketed in Reef townships.

They perceive hostels as the epicentre of violence. Civic organisations such as the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) and the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) have echoed that sentiment.

SCA official Kgabi Moenketu told a recent meeting of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber that hostels should be "emptied" as they were breeding grounds for violence.

The civic organisations want the hostels converted into family units to allow migrant workers to live with their families.

However, this would be costly, and few hostel residents can afford to buy homes. Soweto City Council spokesman Mjo-

lefa Moseki says emptying the hostels "will fuel tensions in the townships and cause more social strife". However, he supports their conversion into family units, saying women and children make up about 30% of Soweto's hostel population.

West Rand Hostel Residents' Association vice-chairman Joseph Kubeka says he has not come across any hostel resident who favours conversion, and East Rand Hostel Residents' Association chairman Zakhile Mlambo says his organisation is "totally opposed" to it. Mlambo says the hostels should rather be upgraded.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration is injecting funds into upgrading hostels under its jurisdiction. In Thokoza, hostels are undergoing a multimillion-rand facelift. Renovations to one of the township's three hostels will cost about R3.5m.
of agricultural and stock remedy marketing companies. At present training courses are being designed for the correct application of such remedies by end-users, especially for the application of hormone weedkillers and Group 1A agricultural remedies. The electronic media is also employed in this regard. A series of relevant programmes have already been televised in the programme, Agriforum.

The overall involvement of other bodies must be acknowledged. For instance, the Department of National Health and Population Development is responsible for monitoring residues in foodstuffs consumed locally by man. The Directorate: Plant and Quality Control monitors all export commodities. Likewise the Directorate: Meat Hygiene maintains a watch on the residues of agricultural and stock remedies found in meat.

Number of persons attacked/robbed/murdered on farms

271. Adv J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many persons (a) were (i) attacked, (ii) robbed and (iii) murdered on farms in South Africa in 1991 and (b) have been so (i) attacked, (ii) robbed and (iii) murdered from 1 January 1992 up to the latest specified date for which figures are available?

272. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 210 on 5 May 1992 in regard to the bombings of certain premises, any further investigations have been carried out in this matter following the announcements allegedly made by a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, to the effect that he had been involved in the bombing of Cosatu House; if not, why not; if so, what (a) are the relevant details and (b) is the name of the person concerned?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes.

(a) The person was arrested on 29 April 1992. He also appeared in court on a charge of sabotage on the same day. The case was remanded until 3 June 1992.

(b) Jacobus Johannes Christoffel Botha.

Department of Development Aid: staff

273. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

How many members of staff (a) were employed by the Department of Development Aid at the time of its dissolution on 31 March 1992, (b) to which Government Departments were they transferred and (c) how many of them were transferred to each such Department?

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(a) 4057 as well as 4703 workers from the South African Development Trust.

(b) Department of Trade and Industry

Department of Justice

Cape Provincial Administration

Office of the Commission for Administration

Department of Agriculture

Department of Manpower

Department of National Education

Natal Provincial Administration

Department of Environment Affairs

Department of Education and Training

Department of Public Works

Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State

Department of Local Government and National Housing

Department of State Expenditure

Department of Regional and Land Affairs

Transvaal Provincial Administration

Department of Transport

Department of Water Affairs

(c) Department of Trade and Industry 2

Department of Justice 17

Cape Provincial Administration 90

Office of the Commission for Administration 37

Department of Agriculture 335

Department of Manpower 37

Department of National Education 1

Natal Provincial Administration 703

Department of Environment Affairs 10

Department of Education and Training 4

TOTAL 4057

Workers from the South African Development Trust transferred to—

Cape Provincial Administration 90

Department of Agriculture 1226

Natal Provincial Administration 1414

Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State 797

Transvaal Provincial Administration 1176

TOTAL 4703

NOTE:
The figures in (a)(i) and (b)(i) also include cases of assault and rape and only apply to persons and workers in and around own houses.
ANC cadres in Lusaka face eviction

LUSAKA — More than 200 ANC cadres in Lusaka have been threatened with evictions from houses owned by the organisation.

The government-owned newspaper Zambia Daily Mail reported yesterday that the move had angered the exiles, most of them students who claimed they were still to be repatriated by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

ANC representative in Zambia, Japhet Ndlovu, last month issued a circular to all ANC cadres in Zambia that the organisation would no longer support its members outside SA because donors had withdrawn their support.

The newspaper quoted one of the ANC cadres as complaining: “There is no justification for the ANC to evict us from the premises.”

Most of those interviewed yesterday charged: “The ANC has sold the property. We are the direct beneficiaries. Why evict us?”

Efforts to obtain comment from the UNHCR failed.

Sapa.
A man claiming to represent the Azanian People’s Liberation Army — armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress — claimed responsibility in a telephone call to Sapa yesterday for recent attacks on security forces in Sebokeng and Phola Park.

The caller identified himself to a reporter but the line was bad and conversation broke up repeatedly. The reporter, who has spoken in the past to other callers claiming to represent Apla, did not recognise the voice.

The caller said: “You must take this information quickly... I’m not going to be around for long.”

The caller said Apla cadres had attacked security forces in Sebokeng and Phola Park in recent days. In an “operation” in Sebokeng at the weekend, three security force personnel had been killed, he claimed. The latest attack had been in Phola Park yesterday morning, when one person was killed.

The caller said the operations were aimed at protecting residents from “mercenaries and their defenders.”

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said he doubted Apla was operating from Phola Park, which he described as a “strong ANC area.”

“There are self-defence units operating in Phola Park and all are ANC-aligned,” Captain Opperman said.

He said police were not aware of the most recent Apla claims.

“This is the first we hear of Apla claiming responsibility for such attacks in recent days. Police are investigating several incidents in the Vaal Triangle and information will be made available when investigations are complete.” — Sapa.
The Azanian Na-
Aznaln Apla
armed conflict
will continue
Mpumalanga

By Mathatha Tshedu

Investigations Editor

JOHNSON MLABO

MOSIPU MANGENA

29/11/72

Page 13
SOWETAN FRIDAY, MAY 29, 1982
1982 VOL. 20 NO. 135
Talks on armed struggle end with Codesa failure

CAPE TOWN — All negotiations on the armed struggle have ceased following the failure of Codesa 2 to reach agreement on a final constitution, and the subsequent war of words between the ANC and government.

Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel said on Wednesday that negotiations on the outstanding matters of the DP Malan Accord and Pretoria Minute on the ending of the armed struggle and the identification of arms caches had stopped. Last week Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said the talks had reached 90% agreement.

Talks were under way between the SADF and Umkhonto, but no further meetings had been scheduled.

He said the honeymoon period when government refrained from attacking the ANC for the good of the negotiation process had come to an end. ANC president Nelson Mandela had misused a public platform once too many times in attacking President F.W. de Klerk.

Government could now be expected to react to the attacks. Kriel said government would point out the ANC's non-adherence to the peace accord and its alleged role in perpetuating the violence.

He warned that the law would be strictly applied if the ANC's ally Conatu carried out its threat of mass action.

Manufacturers Limited

Announcement of results for the 29 February 1992

(ABRIDGED GROUP BALANCE SHEET) for the year ended 29 February 1992 are set out below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Year ended 29 February 1992</th>
<th>Year ended 28 February 1991</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 712</td>
<td>4 013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PROSPECTS

It is anticipated that the coming year will be difficult for the economy as a whole and the clothing industry in particular.

However, as a result of the group having completed its current expansion, thereby obtaining a market share in both the ladies’ and men’s sectors, your directors are confident of the group’s ability to meet the challenges and to take advantage of any potential
Sabotheur recals an era of white revolt

In November 1966...
THE Government and the ANC have reached basic agreement on the composition and functions of a new defence force which will incorporate elements of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the SADF and the TBVC armies.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer told a Press briefing that the ANC and the Government had made this progress in bilateral discussions.

Because of the progress made there, he was confident that the ANC and the Government would resolve their differences on the termination of the ANC’s armed struggle and the disbanding of the MK.

He reiterated the Government’s viewpoint that these problems had to be resolved with conclusive agreements before it would agree to implement transitional arrangements.

Meyer said they had agreed on basic guidelines for the functions and composition of a future defence force “that will be respected and have the confidence of the whole nation”.

Asked if the MK would be integrated into the SADF, Meyer said that proposal was not yet on the table.
4. Name two of the main characteristics of a conflict or marxist approach to stratification?

5. Define THREE of the following concepts:
   a. prejudice  f. class
   b. ethnicity  g. deskilling
   c. racism    h. embourgeoisement
   d. affirmative action  i. social mobility

6. What is the difference between discrimination and disadvantage?
By FRED KHUMALO

THE gunning down of Bongani Nshangase last week was the work of an ANC hit squad.

So claim former ANC detainees who say the squad is out to eliminate people who were detained in ANC “torture camps” while the organisation was still banned.

The ANC denied the allegation saying the men were “acting in league with the government”.

The former detainees, now working under the banner of the Returned Exiles Committee, this week threatened to “fight back” if another of their members is killed.

“What should be clear, though, is that we are not threatening to shoot ANC members at random. We know our targets within the ANC,” said Derrick Headbush, who claims he was detained in ANC camps in Angola and Uganda between 1987 and 1990.

Five members of the committee who spoke to City Press told how they had been living in fear following anonymous telephone threats.

The members are Pat Hlongwane, Derrick Headbush, Sipho Laliso, Gege Kheswa and Sipho Ngema.

They live in Lindelani, thanks to the “sympathy and humanitarian spirit” of controversial IFP leader Thomas Shabalala who is “treating us like sons”.

The fact that they are staying at the mercy of an IFP leader should not be misconstrued as a reflection on their political leanings, they say.

“We are neutral politically. It’s just that Shabalala is sympathetic to our cause,” said Kheswa.

Hlongwane said: “We know that we are being followed by the ANC. And it is they who killed Nshangase. We are not going to rest until he is revenged. Shabalala has offered asylum.”

Like Headbush, Hlongwane says he is originally from Kwa-Zakhele township in Port Elizabeth. However, he is now based in Durban because “I had nothing to go back to in Port Elizabeth”.

Families killed

Both men allege that while they languished in ANC camps, their families were killed in accordance with orders issued by the ANC’s security officers.

Members of the committee said an ANC hit squad from Transkei has been instructed to eliminate committee members who have been campaigning for an inquiry into conditions at ANC camps.

He said an inquiry into the conditions that prevailed (or still prevail) in ANC camps would dent the organisation’s image and erode whatever support it has, thereby limiting its chances in future elections in an apartheid-free SA.

The members say they have enlisted the help of different international human rights organisations – including Amnesty International and the ultra-conservative American-based national Freedom Foundation – in trying to bring about an inquiry into conditions in ANC camps.

Members of the committee allege the ANC hit squad was also responsible for the death early this year of Tsetse Leballo, who was Winnie Mandela’s chauffeur.

They were accused of being SA government agents and were wrongly arrested and kept in ANC camps, they claim. They say they were not given fair trials.

Hlongwane said he was sentenced to 15 years in an ANC jail for allegedly being an SA government informer.

Headbush, who says his ANC codename was “Bacon”, said he first left the country for military training in Botswana in 1985, coming back soon thereafter to carry out “missions”.

But while he was undergoing military training in Angola, he was suspected of being an NIS agent. He was arrested in Nova Stalassao, a prison in Angola.

ANC spokesman Joel Netshitenzhi confirmed that Laliso, Ngema, Hlongwane and Kheswa had at some stage been detained by the ANC but said he had no information on Headbush.

He confirmed that Laliso had taken part in the famous 1984 mutiny by ANC fighters based in Angola.

He, however, further confirmed that Hlongwane was indeed found guilty by a tribunal of trying to infiltrate the ANC and sentenced to 15 years inside an ANC prison.

To other allegations, Netshitenzhi reacted angrily, saying the ANC detractors were talking “nonsense”.
Chris Hani's frank views

AT THE VANGUARD... "I think we must fight, but once you defeat an enemy, I've never believed you must execute them. Do something else, punish them, because they're already defeated, at your mercy, if you like."

And that critical voice reached the ears of the security forces, and because the security forces were a law unto itself, Comrade Jordan was picked up and detained for a few days. There was an investigation into such events.

You were central in trying to sort out the crisis of the 1984 mutiny. What went through your mind when you went into the camp to negotiate with the mutineers?

I was summoned to come and try to solve a mutinous situation. And you must bear in mind that when the Angolan camps were established I was not in Angola. I was in Lusaka doing internal work. I only proceeded there in 1982-3. So, I never had a role in terms of establishing a foundation for our camps. I got into a situation where there was already a Quatro.

Before the mutiny, I had been given the responsibility of fighting with our comrades against the incursions by Unita which were threatening our very survival. It was becoming very difficult to move even between Luanda and the camps because of ambushes. And it was clear that, if we were to survive as a movement, in terms of retaining our ability to train in Angola, we had to participate in flushing out Unita, especially in areas around our camps. So, I participated in that fight, around the Kwanda River.

That fight led to a situation where we began to suffer casualties. Some elements began to say: "Look, we are dying in Angola, why are we here, why are we fighting here and not fighting at home?" And that began to stir a feeling among our comrades into questioning our very role in fighting Unita, which impacted on some people. There was a mutiny and they refused to take orders. They actually said they were fed up with going back to Luanda. And they took their weapons, took trucks, and virtually took over our transit camp in Viana, in Luanda.

It was at this point that I was called upon to persuade them to stop. They refused, and we had to appeal to the Angolans to come, to help us disarm them. They were disarmed. After that, they were sent back to camps of the ANC.

The mutiny did not take place in Viana. It took place months later when we thought the mutiny would be over. Now, I was in favour of a dialogue with the mutineers. But I reached the end of my tether when they killed several key commanders in one camp called Bango, and took over the camp. We had no alternative but to go and recapture the camp and assert authority.

The loyalists (if I may use that term) overran the camp. Lives were lost on both sides. Very few people were all members of the ANC, fellow South Africans. And that was the end of my role. I was never a member of the tribunal which tried them. Some of them were sentenced to death. And executed - it was a big number, about 18 or 19. I don't remember. I rushed back to Lusaka and said to the leadership: "Stop the executions."

The leadership, in all fairness, intervened and stopped the executions, but by that time a few of those comrades had been executed.

I have never in my life been in favour of executions and capital punishment. I think we must fight, but once you defeat an enemy, I've never believed you must execute them. Do something else, punish them, because they're already defeated, at your mercy, if you like.

If we look ahead: we know what the regime's security apparatus is capable of. These people capable of great cruelty, 'good' at their jobs. And we take the experience of the security apparatus of the ANC, the PAC, who have people capable of equal cruelty perhaps, also 'good' at their jobs. Is this the kind of combination that we want to serve a democratic SA? No.

I think a new democratic state in this country will have to sit down and draw up a code of conduct for a security force to serve a democratic SA. I'm not convinced that those who served the National Party government in a brutal manner would be the best sort of people to continue the role of serving a democratic country.

Within the ANC, there are certain people - in my own view - who I would oppose as part of a new democracy. I have my own view, my own experience. I know my own movement, I know their roles and their attitudes, and I would like a situation where a security apparatus is answerable to parliament. I would favour, for instance, a parliamentary committee to oversee the security apparatus.

We should never allow a situation with a group of men and women only answerable to an individual minister for instance. I would never accept site answers like: "No, no, we are going to answer in the interests of national security."

I'm aware of the fact that elements of the ANC, PAC and government assistance in setting up a new security apparatus, but such a security apparatus must be clearly defined to avoid the sort of thing that happened in our times - the role of the ANC and a very large extent within the security forces of the regime.
A "SECRET" Kremlin plot to overthrow the SA government was in fact published in full in the SA Communist Party's newspaper more than 60 years ago, SACP general secretary Chris Hani said yesterday.

He was reacting to a report in the Russian newspaper Izvestia which said newly unearthed documents disclosed that the Kremlin ordered the SACP to overthrow the government and issued directives on a revolutionary uprising.

Hani said it was sad to see Izvestia "reduced to pawn[ing] some very stale information in an attempt to curry favour with the apartheid regime".

"The 'secret' strategy to which Izvestia refers was published in full here in SA in 1931 by our party newspaper, Umsebenzi."

Hani said the SACP, "acting on the will of the people", had sought to overthrow the government in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.
A cache of weapons, explosives and other military equipment was recovered from a flat in Kempton Park on the East Rand on Monday night.

A 32-year-old former member of the SA Defence Force has been arrested in connection with the find, Witwatersrand police said yesterday.

The cache consisted of seven live mortars, a R1 rifle, an anti-personnel mine, an AK-47 magazine and ammunition, more than 700 R4 and R1 rounds, 9mm and shotgun ammunition, Russian and Yugoslaviam ammunition, 18 flares and some other types of ammunition.

The Police Bomb Disposal Unit also removed "various explosives" which were destroyed as they were considered highly dangerous.

SADF tents and equipment including detailed secret armament books were also recovered.

Police believe the suspect stole most of the goods from the SADF as he was employed in SADF stores for seven years.
Nkomo's men help Umkhonto, says magazine

Star Africa Service (84A)

Former members of Zipra, the guerilla movement led by Dr Joshua Nkomo during the war in Rhodesia, are operating with the ANC's armed wing in South Africa, according to a report in the London news magazine New African.

The magazine says several highly trained former Zipra guerillas have joined the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and are based in the townships near Johannesburg, where they are conducting "undercover operations".

The writer of the article says that during a recent visit to Johannesburg he spoke to a former official of Dr Nkomo's Zapu organisation - whose armed wing was Zipra - who confirmed that former Zipra men were working with MK.

The writer uses the name Thabo Kunene, which is thought to be a nom-de-plume adopted by a freelance journalist living in Bulawayo.

He says the official, who did not want to be named, told him that the former Zipra guerillas were not involved in violence in South Africa but were prepared to help if MK were attacked by white rightwingers.

The ANC is known to have maintained close ties with Zapu during the Rhodesian war.

MK cadres based in Zambia trained with Zipra guerillas there and in Eastern Europe. Some took part with Zipra forces on raids into Rhodesia.

The New African report says more than 500 former Zipra guerillas fled their homes during the disturbances in Matabeleland, when hundreds were killed by the Zimbabwe government's notorious 5th Brigade.

Some went to South Africa after the unbanning of the ANC.

Kunene says a former senior commander in Zipra now living in Bulawayo denied any knowledge of former Zipra guerillas being recruited by the ANC in South Africa.

He says, however, that some may have joined up with MK on their own.

MK chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda has denied reports that trained former members of Dr Nkomo's Zipra forces had been absorbed into MK and were based in South African townships.

Responding to the New African report, Mr Nyanda said that though the ANC's military wing and Zipra guerillas had once fought side by side against Ian Smith's government in Rhodesia, the relationship between the two forces had ceased to exist since Zimbabwe's independence.

"I know of no presence of former Zipra guerillas in our ranks or even in the townships for that matter," Mr Nyanda said.
ANC denies arms build-up

ANC Liaison officer Gill Marcus denied yesterday that senior officers of Umkhonto we Sizwe decided at a secret meeting on the East Rand two weeks ago to consolidate arms caches from neighboring states inside South Africa.

Intelligence sources said two huge caches were discovered in a plantation near the Swazi capital, Mbabane, following the meeting at which MK decided to bring arms into South Africa for use against Inkatha warlords, especially in Alexandra.

Acting on information from South Africa, Swazi police swooped on the Thoskane plantation on Tuesday and found sophisticated weaponry including RPG-7 rocket launchers and projectiles, AK-47 rifles and ammunition, as well as a silencer, a powerful anti-aircraft gun capable of shooting down helicopters, a heavy calibre machinegun, hand grenades, anti-personnel mines and anti-tank landmines, demolition charges, detonators and a large amount of heavy explosives such as TNT and Pentolite.

There is growing concern in South African intelligence circles that weapons cached in neighboring states could fall into the hands of criminal elements in MK, be sold on the black market or be used during the planned mass action campaign.

An explosives expert said three of the demolition charges found would be enough to destroy a township hostel.

As part of MK's plan to consolidate its arms supplies, half a ton of AK-47 rifles and limpet mines was moved from Lusaka to Harare on Monday.
The Board, after careful consideration, has decided to accept the proposals of the Masterprop Partnership, subject to the conditions outlined in their letter to the Board. These conditions include:

1. The Corporation will be dissolved and liquidated.
2. The assets of the Corporation will be distributed to the partners according to their respective contributions.
3. The liabilities of the Corporation will be paid off.
4. The Board will be dissolved.

The Board is pleased to announce that the Corporation will be dissolved on the date set forth in the letter to the Board. The Board will take all necessary steps to ensure that the assets of the Corporation are distributed in accordance with the terms of the agreements.

The Board would like to express its gratitude to all members of the Corporation for their dedicated service and their hard work. The Board wishes the Corporation good fortune in its future endeavors.
Armed struggle the answer, mourners told

By Mckeed Kotolo
Pretoria Bureau

The oppressed masses of South Africa will not be liberated by negotiations but by intensified armed struggle against the "racist regime", Atteridgeville mourners were told yesterday.

Speakers at the funeral of Jan Shoba (31), the assassinated senior member of the Azanian People's Liberation Army — which is the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress — called for the intensification of the armed struggle to wrest power from "the minority regime".

Mr Shoba, of Serote Street, Atteridgeville, was gunned down by unknown persons with AK-47 rifles at his sister's home in the township on May 29. SINCE19742

The funeral service at the packed Atteridgeville community centre was attended by the entire national executive committee of the PAC, with the exception of the president, Clarence Makwetu.

Also present was Veronica Sobukwe, the widow of inaugural PAC president Robert Sobukwe.
DEFENCE UNITS ARENT OUR RESPONSIBILITY SAY THE AFGHAN "

PULSTOLK"
Negotiations

If negotiations between the Government and the ANC failed and he was instructed by his commander to take up arms, he would do so, he told the court.

Questioned by his counsel, Mr S Desai, he said he knew that the president of the ANC had said that there was no likelihood of the organisation returning to the armed struggle. He accepted that.

Mr Christopher Dlamini, national president of the Food and Allied Workers Union, told the court Dlali worked in the union’s legal department.

Dr Vincent Mahlai of the department of political studies at the University of the Western Cape testified that Dlali was a part-time law student in his department.

He was a very determined, open-minded and highly motivated student. With his labour experience he had brought a very important dimension to his class and had contributed to debates.

MK man guilty of illegal arms charge

Sowetan
Correspondent

A MEMBER of Umkhonto we Sizwe, convicted of illegally possessing firearms and ammunition, told the Supreme Court he had the weapons in his capacity as a member of the ANC.

David Dlali (32) yesterday pleaded guilty to illegally possessing a Beretta pistol, a Makarov pistol, an AK-47 machine rifle, four handgrenades, two limpet mines, 30 AK-47 bullets, 27 9mm bullets and 2 0.22 bullets.

In Dlali’s plea explanation, he admitted the offences and said he was a member of the ANC, and particularly Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In 1989 he received instructions to accept the weapons and keep them in safe storage until further instructions. He buried them in Strandfontein.

Arms

In April he was informed that negotiations between the Government and the ANC in regard to MK and arms and ammunition had reached an advanced stage and he had to prepare to hand the weapons over to the joint command of the Government and the ANC.

He went to Strandfontein and retrieved the weapons. Testifying in mitigation of sentence, Dlali said he visited Sweden and Norway last year to address groups who supported the South African struggle.

Under cross-examination by State advocate Mr J van Vuuren, he denied being an MK commander. He said he was an ordinary member.
No pay for staying away, say employers.

Bill lets ban on foreign funding.

Crossport's strict new law could lead to more people in jail, but will also a gesture of support for the national security of the country.
ANC denies having armaments in Angola

Star Africa Service

The ANC has denied reports that it still has huge quantities of armaments, including tanks, anti-aircraft guns and troop carriers, in Angola.

Weekend reports said efforts by the ANC to move the more than 27,000 tons of weaponry to Namibia were abandoned after last week's disclosure of their existence by the International Freedom Foundation. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday said the reports were totally untrue. "The ANC abides by the international agreements reached with the independence of Namibia," he said.

ANC arms and personnel had been moved from Angola to countries "further north" after the signing of international agreements paving the way for the independence of Namibia. According to the reports, an inventory of weapons was among documents seized when the ANC's offices in Rua de Liberdade were ransacked earlier this year.
Death of two persons at Noenieput: inquest

"8. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:‡

(1) Whether an inquest was held in respect of the death at or near Noenieput in the Kalahari in November 1991 of two persons, whose names have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister’s reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) what was the result of this inquest and (b) what are the names of the persons concerned;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B769E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No.

An inquest has not yet taken place. The dossier has been forwarded to the Attorney General for his decision.

(a) Falls away.

(b) Jurgens Mattheus White and Johannes Jurgens Grobbelaar.

(2) No.

Drivers’ licences in KwaNdebele: abuses

"9. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Transport:

(1) Whether he has been informed of and/or has received any complaints on alleged abuses in the system of the issuing of drivers’ licences in KwaNdebele; if so, what is the (a) nature and (b) extent of these abuses;

(2) whether he intends taking any action in this regard; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when?

B773E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

(1) Yes. The Department of Transport is aware of complaints regarding alleged abuses in the system of the issuing of drivers’ licences in self-governing territories.

(a) The complaints pertain to the issuing of drivers’ licences to people on payment without those people undergoing the appropriate tests.

(b) The exact extent of abuses in this regard is unknown as self-governing territories, in terms of the Self-Governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971), themselves exercise legislative and executive authority with regard to road traffic, including the licencing of drivers. The awareness of alleged abuses is solely based on complaints which are received and media reports in this regard.

(2) Yes.

(a) and (b)

In terms of Act 21 of 1971, the Department of Transport has no statutory authority to take action regarding the alleged abuses. All complaints received are currently referred to the South African Police for investigation. The resolution of this issue is, therefore, in the process of initiating discussions with all parties concerned to address this problem in a coordinated fashion. The strategy will be finalized shortly whereafter further announcements will be made.

Steps against taxpayers

"10. Mr D P DU PLESSIS asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) What steps are taken against taxpayers who fail to pay personal income tax?

(2) whether at any time during the past five years it was decided not to take action against politicians who failed to pay personal income tax; if so, (a) when and (b) why?

B781E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) If a taxpayer fails to submit a return of income, legal proceedings are instituted against him and a court may, upon conviction, impose a fine not exceeding R2 000 or a prison sentence not exceeding 12 months. Furthermore, the Income Tax Act authorizes the Commissioner for inland Revenue to impose an additional penalty equal to twice the tax chargeable

If, after furnishing a return of income, he fails to pay any tax due in respect of an assessment issued to him, civil judgement may be obtained against him.

(2) No.

Arms/ammunitions caches: Umkhonto we Sizwe

"11. Adv J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many arms and ammunition caches of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) have been traced by the South African Police in the Republic since 2 February 1990 and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

(2) how many of these caches were pointed out to the Police by MK itself?

B782E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) 12

(b) 11 June 1992

(2) In ten (10) of the abovementioned instances arms and ammunition caches were pointed out by MK members after their arrest.

Trial of persons: Operation Vula

"12. Adv J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether the trial of any persons charged as a result of Operation Vula has been completed; if not, why not; if so, how many such persons have been tried;

(2) whether he will furnish the names of those who have been tried; if not, why not; if so, what are their names?

B783E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) No. Indemnity has in terms of section 2(1) of the Indemnity Act, 1990 (Act No. 35 of 1990) been granted to nine of the persons who were involved in Operation Vula.

(2) Falls away.

Marriages between Whites and non-Whites

"13. Mr W L VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many marriages between Whites and non-Whites have taken place in the Republic since the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

3 775

The figure is for the period 19 June 1985 till 31 December 1990. Since then, statistics on the group context of persons who married after 31 December 1990, are no longer being kept.

Alleged actions of members at Roodepoort counting hall

"14. Mr W L VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether he will disclose his source for the statements made by him in an interpellation debate in this House on 22 April 1992 on the alleged actions of the hon members for Roodepoort and Lonberg on 18 March 1992 at the counting hall in Roodepoort; if not; why not; if so, who is the source?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The Department has at its disposal statements of persons who were involved with the counting of votes at Roodepoort on 18 March 1992. The information which my predecessor disclosed during the interpellation debate concerned was taken from those statements. The statements are available in the Parliamentary office of the Department for the hon member’s confidential perusal if he so requires.

Companies/close corporations declared insolvent

"15. Mr J CHOLE asked the Minister of Trade and Industry:

(1) How many companies and close corporations were declared insolvent in the Republic during the latest specified 5-year period for which information is available;

(2) whether his Department has made any estimates or has any statistics on the number of job opportunities lost as a result of the above-mentioned insolvencies; if not, why not; if so, how many job opportunities were lost over the said 5-year period?
Research on greenhouse effect

*3. Mr J CHOLO asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:

(1) Whether any research has been done in connection with the influence of the greenhouse effect on weather and/or climatic conditions in Southern Africa; if so, what are the findings in respect of the incidence of drought conditions in Southern Africa?

(2) Whether South Africa will make any contributions or have any contributions made on the greenhouse effect at the Earth Conference to be held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992; if so, why not; if not, what will be the nature of these contributions?

4. Mr C HERTZOG asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether the South African Police have any information on the number of self-defence units established in the Republic by the ANC to date; if so, (a) how many such units are there in the Republic and (b) in respect of what date in this information furnished;

(2) whether the Government intends taking any steps in respect of these units; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(2) (a) The South African Police are aware of the existence of eighty-five (85) units in the Republic of South Africa.

(b) 5 June 1992

(3) (a) and (b)

No steps have been taken against the self-defence units, as no law makes provision for such action. However, steps are being taken against individual members of the units who commit criminal offences.

5. Mr W A BOTAHA asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether the Government intends taking any steps in respect of these units; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when?

6. Mr W A BOTAHA asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether the Government has voted any money for the buying-up of arms smuggled into South Africa; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, (a) what amount was voted for this purpose and (b) in respect of what date or period is this information furnished.

(2) whether such arms are being bought up so that they may not reach hands of the ANC; if not, why are they being bought up;

(3) whether the Government intends taking any steps in respect of the brokers and buyers of such arms; if not, why not; if so, what steps;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) Money has not been voted for the SA Defence Force for the buying-up of smuggled arms. There is, however, a fund which is used to reward persons for handing in arms.

(2) and (3) fall away.

(4) No.

SAF involvement in death of two persons: Noeneput

7. Adv J J S PRINSLoo asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether he will furnish information on whether any members of the South African Defence Force were in any way involved in an incident during which two persons, whose names have been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister’s reply, were killed at or near Noeneput in the Kalahari in November 1991; if not, why not; if so, (a) in what way and (b) what are the names of these two persons?

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) The SA Defence Force was not involved in the incident.

(2) No.
2 blasts: Grosskopf off hook

The Government's one-time "most wanted man", African National Congress member Hein Grosskopf, is no longer under police investigation for two of the three bomb blasts linked to him.

Major Robben Bloomberg this week said police no longer suspected Grosskopf of involvement in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court blast that killed four people in 1987, and the blast at the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court that killed three people in 1988.

**Question**

However, Bloomberg said police still wanted to question Grosskopf in connection with the 1987 Quiriz Street, Johannesburg, blast which injured 68 people near the SADF's Witwatersrand headquarters.

A R500 000 reward that former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had posted for Grosskopf's arrest had lapsed, Bloomberg said, but it was still being offered for information leading to the conviction of those responsible for the two blasts.

Vlok had accused Grosskopf of being a "trained terrorist".

Bloomberg said an application for Grosskopf's indemnity had been lodged.

Police said the reason for the about-turn on Grosskopf was that police investigators "have no evidence" to implicate him in the two blasts. - Sapa.
Private armies: Parliament acts

LEADERS, members and supporters of organisations who train, equip and arm themselves to take over functions of the SAP or Defence Force may be prosecuted.

The Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill, tabled in Parliament on Monday, prohibits the organising, training, equipping and arming of such organisations.

It also provides for a fine or imprisonment of up to 10 years for anyone convicted of such activities.

The Bill also extends the Intimidation Act to include indirect forms of intimidation and to admit as witnesses in court proceedings observers other than the person who had been intimidated.

A memorandum to the legislation states that the objective is to combat indirect intimidation at bus stops, shopping centres and polling booths.

The problem of getting people who have been intimidated to testify, is also addressed.

Memo

Certain offences involving violence and intimidation - including murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances - may be designated as "special offences" in terms of a certificate issued by an Attorney-General and a simplified criminal procedure may be followed in such trials.

The objective, according to the memorandum, is to demonstrate to the community that offenders are tried speedily and called to account for their deeds.

In terms of this provision, both the State and accused are obliged to present their cases within a reasonable time, being not more than 90 days.

Courts hearing such matters may sit on any day of the week, including Sundays.

The State is compelled to provide the accused with a summary of the facts on which it had based its case and the accused has to disclose his defence.

The Attorney-General's certificate provides that the accused may not be released on bail or warning for the duration of the trial. The Attorney-General may, however, at any time withdraw the restriction on bail.

Magistrates are also empowered to order the detention of anyone who-withholds information from the police regarding the unlawful possession of certain kinds of weaponry.

A detainee must be brought before a magistrate within 48 hours and thereafter every 10 days.

No court may pronounce on the validity of the detention.

The provisions in the Bill with regard to special offences and the unlawful possession of certain weapons will only remain in effect for one year.

But it may be extended by the State President with the concurrence of Parliament. - Sapa
Man's hand blown off

A MUNICIPAL worker's hand was blown off when he pulled out the pin of a stun-grenade he found in a storm water drain in Rustenburg on Monday.

Mr Fondo Zeed Monwametsi (25), an employee of the Rustenburg Town Council, found the grenade in Cheetah Park. (849)

Colleague Mr Simeon Mario said he saw Monwametsi pick up the grenade and pull the pin out. It exploded in his left hand and he was taken to the Paul Kruger hospital.

Police found a similar grenade and two flares in the drain. - Sowetan Correspondent
**MK training claim**

JANE's Defence Weekly believes some members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are receiving military training in India—in Transkei army guise.

This was done to avoid potential embarrassment to India, the defence magazine's SA correspondent Helmoed-Romer Heitman wrote in the latest edition.

Heitman wrote that a problem affecting integration of ANC personnel into the SADF was insufficient military training and experience. The ANC, therefore, was sending personnel on courses in various countries.

The ANC last night denied that members were receiving training in India in Transkei Army guise.

A spokesman confirmed ANC members were receiving training in various countries.

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**Order against Numsa march**

BARLOW Group subsidiary Barlow Appliance Company yesterday obtained an interim interdict in the Rand Supreme Court prohibiting the National Union of Metal Workers (Numsa) from associating itself with a march planned for today in support of workers dismissed during an illegal strike.

The Kew company dismissed 610 workers in September 1999 after an illegal strike and the matter has been the subject of arbitration proceedings between the union and management.

Yesterday's order granted by Judge C Flewman also prohibits the union from instigating, encouraging or associating itself with any conduct which is in breach of the arbitration agreement.

The union has been interdicted from publishing or disseminating statements to the effect that the dispute was adjudicated in any forum other than by an independent arbitrator who was appointed by agreement between the two parties.

Numsa has also been interdicted from publishing of "disseminating statements which claim that the dismissals were unlawful or unfair."

In terms of the order the union may not encourage, incite or associate itself with any conduct amounting to a boycott of the company's products.

Nor may it associate itself with calls for the reinstatement of the dismissed workers.

Dismissed workers demonstrated at the opening of Codesa II last month protesting against the involvement of Barlow Rand CE John Hall in the national peace accord.

But in view of the wide diversity of share block...
A total of 12 Umkhonto we Sizwe arms caches were uncovered between February 2, 1990 and June 11 this year, Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said yesterday.
Benny cocks a snook at CP

PAN Africanist Congress secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander was unrepentant yesterday despite charges laid against him by the Conservative Party for promoting attacks against the security forces.

CP MP for Losberg Mr Fanie Jacobs said in Parliament on Wednesday charges had been laid against Alexander on May 4 as the CP was under the impression he had not been indemnified.

In a statement, the PAC official described himself as "incurably addicted to the proposition that the armed struggle is legitimate".

"I am surprised at the statement of charges laid against me as no legal documents to this end were served on me nor was the matter brought to my attention," he said.

"Besides, following confessions of senior CP leaders of their direct involvement in bombings, the CP is the last to point a finger at somebody who is not directly involved in armed activity. I will not be intimidated by self-confessed terrorists," said Alexander. - SA Press Association.
Aznalma Ria: We Kiled 10 of

BY MOSES MANDALA

TODAY'S EXCERPT:

MY AMAZING WAR

Azman Amil: "The day we were set free was a..."
SA's most wanted

Search is on for AK-47s

The barrel of the AK-47, also known as the "Soweto cheque book", is the weapon most often used in crimes committed in SA.
Search is on for AK-47s

The AK-47 rifle has already become a household name in SA. During the last months hardly any murder, robbery or other act of violence has been committed without the feared AK-47 being mentioned.

Ten of these guns were found on a train coach filled with weapons which the police confiscated from Inkatha supporters in Soweto last weekend. Our SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT traced the origin of the AK-47.

Shortly afterwards Kalashnikov also designed the AKM and the AKMS. The latter was equipped with foldable butt, making it ideal for paratroopers.

The success story of the AK-47 soon became known outside the borders of the Soviet Union. This gun was used all over the world where the Soviets wanted to expand their influence.

Not only was the gun exported to communist-led countries, it was even manufactured there. It is generally known that the gun was manufactured in countries like Finland, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and the then Eastern Germany.

Today the gun's easy handling and reliability contributes to its popularity among criminals. It can also easily be hidden underground for a long time and remain in a good condition.

An instance is known of a group of infiltrators who crossed the border between Swaziland and SA with a number of AK-47s. The men were trapped and their guns confiscated.

A year later the investigating team returned to the scene and found another gun which was still hidden in the ground.

The gun was initially hidden in an ant heap. Rain had caused the soil to cave in and the gun was found as a result.

The investigating officer removed the soil from the barrel and fired a shot. To his surprise, the gun functioned perfectly.

The police launched an intensive campaign months ago in an endeavour to curtail the illegal distribution and possession of AK-47s. Since January this year a total of 238 AK-47s have been confiscated.

In the period January 1 to December 31 last year, AK-47s were used in more than 2,500 armed robberies, the SAP public relations division said. The robberies were especially aimed at institutions such as banks, building societies, post offices, shops and factories.

The police offers a reward of up to R6 000 for information which could lead to the confiscation of an AK-47.

ITS barrel shone for the first time in the southern African sun in the hands of commandos who have attacked South Africa soldiers. Now these attacks are no longer needed and the gun has become one of the most deadly aids for criminals. In 1991 alone, the gun was used in more than 2,500 robberies.

This is the AK-47, also generally known as the "AK" or the "Soweto cheque book" - because people in Soweto supposedly believe you can write your own cheques if you own an AK-47.

But why is it called the "AK-47"? In fact, the choice of name was very simple.

The "A" refers to the Russian word "awtomat" which means automatic. The "K" is the first letter of the surname of the designer - the Russian Mikhail Kalashnikov.

Honoured

And the "47" has nothing to do with the barrel of the gun. It simply refers to the year in which Kalashnikov had presented his brainchild to the Soviet government.

Kalashnikov, who was honoured for his invention a few years ago by the then Soviet government, was a colonel in the Soviet armoured division during the Second World War. He was so seriously injured during one of these battles that he was declared medically unfit to pursue his career as a militarist.

Kalashnikov then concentrated full time on designing firearms.

The original gun was very heavy and unwieldy. Its tolerance was also extremely low with the result that it was very sensitive to dirt and dust. The gun was also not very reliable in battle conditions.

Kalashnikov then designed an improved model in 1952. The gun was much more reliable and the initial shortcomings were nearly eliminated.

The frame was made of light steel, hence the gun was much lighter than the initial version.

The AK-47 was only accepted as an official battle gun in 1952 after a few adjustments were made to the proto-

The "Soweto cheque book", is the weapon most
We attacked hostel, says shadowy group

Crime Staff

An organisation calling itself Youth for the Revolution has claimed responsibility for a gun attack on Sunday which left five Dobsonville hostel inmates dead.

Three men and two women were killed when gunmen sprayed several rooms with AK-47 gunfire in the early hours of the morning.

A statement, which was hand-delivered to Sapa yesterday, said Youth for the Revolution had carried out the attack in retaliation for the "harassment" of local residents by hostel dwellers.

The statement, signed by Tamursi Shamuyarira, said the organisation was independent of the ANC, and that the ANC was not involved in the attack. The statement warned that the organisation would continue to attack its enemies, which included the police, SADF and councillors.

This was the second attack the organisation has claimed responsibility for. In May, Youth for the Revolution claimed to have started a fire that seriously damaged Dobsonville council offices.

At the time, it told Sapa its members would also attack the Dobsonville hostel until all Inkatha Freedom Party supporters had left the area.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday he had never heard of Youth for the Revolution, but he confirmed that the ANC had nothing to do with Sunday's attack.

Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said he had also not heard of the organisation. No one had come forward to the police to claim responsibility for the attack, he added.

Colonel Halgryn asked anyone with information on the attack to contact the SAP at (011) 990-8220.
Stop the fight: I have to study

By MOSES MAMAILA

IT'S extremely rare that released political prisoners should want to be placed back in their cells. Azanian People's Liberation Army cadre Jaki Stone Seroko is the exception.

Seroko, who was released recently while serving a 10-year jail term for military activities, said he was disappointed over his "untimely" release from prison.

"I was studying for a Bachelor of Arts degree and had already passed four courses when I was released nine years early. "It's much more difficult to concentrate on studies here because I have a lot of other things to do," explained Seroko, who was an APLA political commissioner.

The Alexandra-born Seroko joined the PAC and its military wing in 1980 at the age of 20 and received his military training inside the country.

On September 9 1987, Seroko was detained with two foreign-trained APLA combatants in the western Transvaal.

"It was just after midnight when our car was stopped at a roadblock. There was virtually nothing we could do. They found explosives, grenades and a number of Scorpion machine guns. "Our mission that day was to transport arms from the Botswana border to the township to arm our people," he said.

"What followed was the usual torture that left one of us in the enemy camp - he defected to become an Askari," said Seroko.

Seroko spent a year in custody during his trial. He was finally convicted of terrorism and sentenced to 12 years on Robben Island at the end of 1988.

In prison he continued with PAC activities, and also joined the Patriotic Front, and the General Recreation Committee, composed of ANC, BCM and PAC members.

Although he was unable, for security reasons, to detail military contacts with the security forces, Seroko revealed that he formed an underground network which is still functional.

"We did the groundwork which ensured that our military operations were successful." APLA has been responsible for several attacks recently on the police and security forces. Very few of our cadres can be traced because of the strong network we have established long ago in the mid-eighties," he said.

Shortly after his release from prison with other political prisoners, Seroko resumed the struggle for liberation.

He holds the post of PAC secretary for political affairs.
Magistrate rules in ANC’s favour

ALLEGATIONS of the existence of a special ANC unit to kill policemen, soldiers and spies, were made during a bail application in Cape Town’s Wynberg Magistrate’s Court on Friday.

The claims were made by ANC member Fumane-kile “Peti” Booi, of Gugulethu, who was arrested in January for the murder of Sgt “Kulu” Els in an ambush at Nyanga in July 1990.

He alleged the unit had been deployed as part of the ANC’s “Operation Dragon” against security forces and ANC spies before July 1990. After that date, the ANC high command had given no more assassination orders, he said.

Former Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani told the court he and Booi had been part of ANC forces who had fought Unita in the Angolan bush war.

“I know him well and respect him as a courageous young man and a good soldier,” Hani said.

However, he stressed his office had never issued orders for Booi to kill Els, as the armed struggle had been suspended in March 1990.

Political tasks

On Booi’s allegations, Hani said: “I regard the SA Police and the army as criminals. Will I be guilty and Ken Liebenberg (Chief of the SADF) not guilty?”

“What is considered a crime was not considered a crime by 70 percent of the country. We must look at the special circumstances. Activists were killed in this country and though we killed far less than the SAP, there are certain things we are not proud of.”

Under cross-examination, Booi admitted being part of “Operation Dragon”. He added that at no stage did the ANC High Command issue him with orders to kill policemen during July 1990, saying his chief tasks were “political.”

Booi said he was trained in Angola, Botswana and Yugoslavia.

He was granted bail of R10 000 on Friday although the money could not be raised in time and he was taken to Pollsmoor Prison.

Magistrate JG van Zyl, in granting bail, said: “The winds of change are blowing in SA. This changes the perceptions and goals of people and I have no reason to rule that this change did not come about within the accused.”

The trial was postponed to July 23. — Sapa
Bombers strike again

The home of the education officer of the Hokkensdal Civic Association, Mr Andrew Rammute, was attacked at 2am yesterday, according to a statement from the organisation. An explosive device was thrown at the house and three windows shattered. The incident follows a similar attack on Saturday at the home of the publicity secretary of the association. No one was injured. - Sapa
Umkhonto Leader blew up

**Today**

[Image of a newspaper page with a headline about an explosion at a house and a story about the investigation and the response of the police.]
ANC rejects reports of bids to assassinate police

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Reporter

The ANC yesterday hit out at reports in Afrikaans newspapers that the organisation had marked senior policemen for assassination.

The reports emerged after Brandon Samson, who had allegedly been trained by the ANC and ordered to assassinate policemen, was arrested in Piet Retief on June 23 for being in illegal possession of a firearm.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the eastern Transvaal branch of the organisation could not confirm that Mr Samson was a member of the ANC.

According to the reports, Mr Samson left SA in 1986 and received military training in Angola and Zambia.

He reportedly came back to South Africa and joined the ANC.

It was reported he was given instructions from top ANC officials to eliminate a certain policeman in Piet Retief.

The policeman's name was one of several on a list of police to be assassinated, the reports said.

Mr Niehaus yesterday said the newspapers carrying the reports were guilty of conducting a trial in the media.

He said the story must have originated from the SAP and was an attempt to discredit the ANC.

Eastern Transvaal police spokesman Lieutenant Thys du Bruyn yesterday said the SAP knew nothing of the allegations about the ANC's alleged assassination plots.

Mr Samson is due to appear in court in Piet Retief on Monday.
ANC's arms stock
UMKHONTO we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise has confirmed that the ANC had stockpiles of weapons stored in Angola, the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation said yesterday. In a statement from Washington, the IFP said Modise's confirmation of the arms stockpile was reported in the June 19 edition of the British publication, SouthScan.

'Apla killed cop'
CLAIMING to represent the Azanian People's Liberation Army, armed wing of the PAC, a caller yesterday said he was responsible for the killing of a policeman in Tokoza township last Friday.
The caller said the policeman, who he named, had been killed in connection with attacks on the "unarmed Azanian masses". - Sapa.
**Cops: Third Force may exist**

THE ANC on Friday denied responsibility following Thursday's arrest in Durban of two alleged ANC members who were found in possession of a 9 mm pistol and two sets of army uniforms. (841)

Police said members of the Durban City Police arrested the men, whom police described as "prominent members of the ANC".

A police statement said this was not the first time ANC members had been found in possession of security force uniforms.

The statement said: "Is it not possible that the third force referred to by certain organisations is a reality, created by people pretending to be security force members?"

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said he was still investigating the incident, but added that police were withholding the names of the two men, which made investigations difficult.

Makhaye said: "The ANC or Umkhonto we Sizwe cannot be held responsible for such behaviour as there is no order which says our cadres must put on police or army uniforms."
ANC in breach of arms deals

PRETORIA — The stockpiling of arms in Angola by Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, contravened agreements reached by the SA government and the ANC as SADF spokesman said. (BOA)

"These agreements stipulate that the ANC was not to point out all their arms caches and they were to have ceased recruiting people for MK as well as training MK personnel."

The spokesman said the ANC was following up on an agreement with the government to dismantle the arms caches and renew its commitments.

Visser added that the ANC was not following the agreement, but that the ANC was not following the agreement, but that the ANC could not be caught on the issue. (BOA)

Many crimes 'the work of suspects granted bail'

STEPHANE BOTHMA (13/7/92)

These included the limited prison facilities for awaiting trial prisoners. "One must always keep in mind that bail applications by accused are brought at a very early stage of police investigations," Von Lieres said.

Therefore, it was not always easy to convince a judge or magistrate that there was a strong case against an accused.

Depending on the facts of the case — the seriousness or nature of the crime, or the possibility that the accused might commit another crime — State lawyers would do their best to oppose bail, said Von Lieres.

Until 1977, attorneys-general had the jurisdiction to issue a certificate prohibiting bail in serious cases.

Since then, it has been in the discretion of the courts to grant bail, or not, after an accused has satisfied the court that he should be released.

Recently the Law Commission recommended that, at hearings on whether to grant bail, the accused should be moved from the accused arriving to prove why he should get bail to the State having to prove why the suspect should not be released on bail. If the recommendation was accepted, it would be even easier for courts to grant bail, informed legal sources said.
60 Vosloorus ANC members arrested

POLICE arrested 60 ANC members in Vosloorus early yesterday and seized two handgrenades, an AK-47 rifle and several rounds of ammunition.

And in two other actions in Natal at the weekend, police said they discovered SADF uniforms allegedly in the possession of ANC members.

The Vosloorus Civic Association claimed the 60 arrests followed a swoop by security forces on a night vigil at the Vosloorus home of Umkhonto we Sizwe member George Mashele, who died last week in a hand grenade explosion at his home.

Six of those arrested had been assaulted by the police, the ANC claimed.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Col Frans Malherbe yesterday rejected the claims of a “swoop” and assaults by the police as “typical smear tactics” designed to cast suspicion on police activities.

He said a routine SADF-SAP patrol spotted a large group of men gathered around a fire in the East Rand township.

When the group was approached, it very suddenly broke up and people ran in different directions, Malherbe said.

The reaction of the group caused the security force members to believe that “something suspicious had been transpiring” and they decided to cordon off and search the area, he said.

Police found two handgrenades behind a fridge and 18 rounds of AK-47 ammunition hidden in a hole in a garden. At another house they found an AK-47 assault rifle, 9mm ammunition and 12-bore shotgun ammunition. The search party found 60 men hiding in the vicinity. They denied knowledge of the arms and explosives, he said.

They were taken to the Vosloorus police station where six men claimed they had been assaulted by police, but refused to make statements.

“At no stage during the operations did the search party have any reason to believe they were interrupting a night vigil. Had these men not reacted...by running away and hiding, the security forces would not have done anything.”

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that police in Durban arrested an ANC member who was allegedly in possession of an SADF uniform.

The man was arrested at an ANC meeting at Glebelands Hostel south of Durban on Sunday.

The arrest followed the discovery of an assortment of SADF uniforms at Umlazi on Friday, also allegedly in the possession of prominent ANC members.

WILSON ZWANE reports Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday his government had no intention of ever arresting MK and Apal members for carrying weapons because it had “unconditionally” unbanned these organisations.

Holomisa said there were “informal communication lines between his government, the ANC and the PAC which had been established to exchange intelligence and to ensure that members of the two liberation movements were not harrassed.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the arrangement — made in 1996 — between his organisation and the Transkei government minimised conflict.

In terms of the arrangement, MK and Apal members arrested by the Transkei police for carrying weapons are freed after their identities have been confirmed by their leaders.
Weapons into SA from Zimbabwef

Council told of ANC plot to bring

Call for resumed negotiations

Panel of experts seeks broader voting address the United Nations Security Council yesterday.
'Hit-man' jailed over illegal gun

Returned ANC exile Kgatso Branden Samson (25), who was allegedly under instructions to kill policemen, was yesterday sentenced in the Ermelo Magistrate's Court to 18 months in jail for the illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

Nine months were suspended.

A police spokesman said Samson was first arrested in Piet Retief over illegal arms. He then admitted in a statement he had been instructed by a member of the ANC's executive committee, John Nhlanhla, to obtain information about certain policemen in Piet Retief.

Samson said he was instructed to return to Johannesburg on July 5, where he would be told to kill the policemen.

He said he would be killed for not obtaining the information and was convinced that Mr Nhlanhla would now send other people to complete the mission.

Mr Nhlanhla has rejected the allegation. "It is a complete fabrication," he said yesterday.

He believed a senior member of the security forces was behind it. — Sapa.
The terrible cost of the struggle

THE struggle for peace and democracy has taken a heavy toll on the life of Reverend Ernest Sotsu.

Like marriage, his dedication to these goals is a lifetime commitment.

Reverend Sotsu lost his wife and two family members in a single violent attack.

"Peace in this country will be preceded by democracy. The struggle for lasting peace is, in the final analysis, the struggle for democracy," he said.

But who is this old man who has such a hold on the Vaal community?

Sotsu was born of a peasant family on November 19, 1928 in the remote village of Qumbu in the Transkei.

The son of a miner, Sotsu was the last child in a family of six. He had four brothers and a sister.

His first encounter with a classroom was at Somerville Mission School where he passed Std 6 before enrolling as a student teacher at Hilltown college in Kimberley.

Orders

However, he did not complete his course as he had to return home on his father's orders.

In 1945 he registered at Tigerkloof College hoping to study for his matric certificate — but again his father called him back home.

The following year he went to the Transvaal where he worked on a state-owned mine in Brakpan as a clerk for about two years before returning home.

The young Sotsu joined the Iron and Steel Corporation (Iscor) in 1948 but his political activities, and the leading role he played in the labour movement, led to his dismissal in 1953.

As a student Sotsu was interested in history — especially mounting oppression and disempowerment of blacks under the apartheid regime. It was no accident that he joined the ANC in 1954.

In 1956 he settled in Vanderbijlpark in the township of Tsirela, better known as Boipatong. He was employed by the local town council.

After the pan africanists split from the ANC, Sotsu was one of the few in the Vaal — which had become a strong base for the PAC — who stuck it out with the ANC.

The banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960, following the massive pass campaign led by the PAC, drastically changed Sotsu's operational methods.

His went underground, giving up his job to become a full-time revolutionary.

Some of his tasks included smuggling youths out to neighbouring countries to join the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we-Sizwe, and smuggling in weapons.

Sotsu, with his innocent appearance, was one of the first MK guerrillas to be trained inside the country.

His most important underground period was smuggling out hundreds of youths following the 1976 black consciousness-inspired insurrection.

The Black Consciousness Movement, he maintains, was the only public political mouthpiece of the oppressed during the 70s.

Then came the United Democratic Front, and Sotsu re-emerged into the open as a UDF activist in the Vaal.

In the mid-80s, he fled to Lesotho to avoid being arrested as part of the Delmas treason trial.

"During that trial, the prosecutor kept on referring to 'the old man.' That old man was me," he says smiling.

Before fleeing the country, he had engineered the rent boycott in the Vaal which started on September 3, 1984.

While in Lesotho, the ANC ordered him to migrate to the Transkei to form underground units. It was not an easy assignment as the Matanzima brothers strove to eliminate the liberation movement with a vicious passion.

Camouflage

The energetic Sotsu was able to camouflage his activities by posing as a "farmer" in the rural villages.

Following a number of sabotage acts by MK cadres which claimed several lives, he was arrested by Transkei police along with 19 others.

They were charged with murder and terrorism. However, the State lacked evidence against them and charges were withdrawn.

Yet he was later convicted of terrorism and jailed for five years.

In jail he met Bantu Holomisa, later to become the homeland's military ruler. He was released a year later after Holomisa came to power in a Bloodless coup.

Sotsu returned to Boipatong to agitate for the ousting of the local council in 1989.

He said most councillors identified themselves with the warlords based at Kwamadala and other hostels.

During the ANC conference in Durban last year, Sotsu learned of an attack on his home.

His wife, a daughter and a grandson had been killed in a hail of bullets pumped out by men believed to be from Kwamadala.

"It would be a waste of time to rebuild my house now because I know there are people who want to see me dead," he says from his room at the pro-ANC Sebokeng hostel.

"I am a reverend in the Church of God. I am a man of peace and that is the reason why I am in the struggle for liberation. However, to be peaceful does not mean giving up our right to self defence," says the man who has been dubbed the spiritual leader of the Vaal.
ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday called for Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) to be disbanded by September 14 — the anniversary of the signing of the National Peace Accord — and said the IFP would do all it could to ensure this happened.

The IFP also said it would encourage communities to form "self-protection" units in accordance with the accord, and that it would call on all its members to withdraw membership fees from any Cosatu-affiliated union immediately in the light of the labour federation’s mass action campaign.

In a resolution adopted at the IFP’s annual general conference in Ulundi, Inkatha said MK — the ANC’s armed wing — was a common denominator in all political violence.

The IFP further called for the peace accord to be given “teeth”.

In the same resolution, the IFP said it would instruct its national chairman to lay a formal complaint with the National Peace Committee, charging ANC president Nelson Mandela with violating the accord.

Because of Mr Mandela’s alleged violations, a planned meeting of signatories to the accord on July 30 had become impossible, the IFP added.

The resolution also said the IFP would investigate the possibility of seeking legal redress through the courts for “horrific violations on personal integrity and rights”. — Saps.
How come huge ANC arms cache was left behind?

ABOUT the only thing that seems certain about the ANC arms cache uncovered in Angola is that the weapons will never be fired in anger. What the world will never know, probably, is how they evaded the prohibition on such caches and what the ANC intended to do with them.

When the Angola-Namibia peace accord was signed in New York in 1988, the presence of the weapons on Angolan soil became illegal and they were supposed to have been moved out of the country along with the ANC forces that had been based there.

MK's other armaments were moved to Tanzania and Uganda but somehow the arms cache in question was left behind. Technically, its continued presence in Angola is an indictment against the MPLA government's failure to fully implement the New York agreement, but nobody seems to be getting their underwear in a knot about that.

But why the arms were left behind in the first place remains a pertinent question. Surely not by accident; you don't accidentally overlook a cache of thousands of firearms, large quantities of ammunition and even some armoured vehicles (tanks, according to some accounts, and MK did not exactly have a surplus of tanks).

It is essentially an academic issue now, for there was little chance that the weapons could ever have been moved out of Angola and deployed by MK against the SADF or SAP after 1988. For that they would have had to be transported through Namibia or through Zambia and then Zimbabwe or Botswana and none of those countries is likely to have allowed such an exercise.

Could it be that MK simply wanted to have something available with which to stage a victory parade down Church Street in Pretoria after the ANC had won power through the ballot box?

If so, MK leader Joe Modise must have forgotten to tell ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, who at first denied the existence of the cache only to be contradicted by Mr Modise.

It seems that we are no more likely to be told all about the cache by the ANC than we are likely to be told by the International Freedom Foundation who leaked to it the information that enabled it to reveal the existence of the weapons.

What will happen to the weapons now? Most likely they will quietly be absorbed into the arsenals of the new joint army that the MPLA and Unita are supposed to be forming after having agreed to end their long civil war and resolve 'their power struggle through elections.'

MK and the SADF are supposed to be doing something similar: examining the formation of a combined army after the politicians have worked out a new dispensation for South Africa. If MK and the SADF are in tune with developments in the rest of Africa they will be thinking in terms of a smaller armed force than either of them has been trying to build up in the past.

There are signs that militarism is on the wane in Africa, where popular opinion is that scarce funds should be spent on essential economic development rather than on unnecessary armies.

There has hardly been a single instance when an African army has had to repel an invasion from a neighbouring state. Rather the armies have tended to be used by dictators to suppress democracy or they have seized power for themselves.

In general, Africa has been ill-served by its armed forces and their record as protectors of the people and defenders of democracy has been abysmally bad.

Given the propensity of South Africans to use violence to promote group interests, it may be naive to expect that it will be any different here. But that doesn't necessarily mean we should abandon hope. For a start, perhaps we might expect MK to publicly abandon that arms cache in Angola.
Azania says it burnt cars

ABOUT 10 vehicles - six belonging to the Lebowa government - were set alight at Seshgo on Sunday in an apparent revenge attack by the Azanian Liberation Army, the armed wing of Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

An anonymous caller yesterday said the armed wing of the Black Consciousness Movement had claimed responsibility for the incident, adding that the organisation was "engaging the enemy" for jailing its cadres.

Three Azana members on Friday were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for a bomb attack on a Transvaal Provincial Administration camp outside Potgietersrus.

Author dies in his sleep

AUTHOR and top educationist Mr Isaac
Playing the one-card hand

When the ANC returned from exile in 1990 it had three cards to play: mass mobilisation; the armed struggle; and international opinion, which included sanctions. Now it has only one card left — mass mobilisation.

The armed struggle is a dead duck, unless the ANC returns to making South Africa ungovernable, in which case it will have to abandon negotiating its way to power and, ultimately, after more long years in the wilderness, inherit a wasteland.

As for international opinion, here the game has changed. The peace-setters in international opinion are the industrialised nations, who feel they have escaped last from the years-long role of periodically pronouncing moral judgments on Pretoria. Their interest now is to play a conciliatory role, not to put either side in the dock.

This change has been strikingly evident in the past few weeks. The ANC secured a Security Council debate and an experienced UN envoy, Cyrus Vance, was duly despatched to South Africa, but the mission was to reconcile the parties, not to nail Pretoria to the cross. The British government played a key role in steering the Security Council in this direction, but major objections were few and far between.

Even Africa cannot be relied on any longer to support the ANC unquestioningly. Officially, the OAU still awaits the ANC's signal to allow South Africa to return to the African community, but member states are defaulting at a rate of knots. Governments like Kenya, Nigeria and Cameroon have publicly snubbed the ANC by refusing to keep their distance from Pretoria.

Even publications usually sympathetic to the ANC acknowledge that its victory at the UN was pyrrhic. The resolution drafted by Zimbabwe on behalf of the OAU was rewritten to tone it down. The New York correspondent of an ANC-sympathetic publication, while pointing out that racism in South Africa is still a powerful issue in the US and that several dozen speakers queued to speak in the Security Council debate, wrote:

"With the West giving unqualified approval of Pretoria's progress, the South African Government has come in from the cold in international terms. The calls by Western diplomats for negotiations are addressed to the ANC as much as calls for the ending of violence are directed at De Klerk."

Even Chief Buthelezi, the correspondent said, succeeded in raising his world profile, while "South Africa, for the first time in recent history, secured speaking rights for Buthelezi as well as a string of other loyal supporters ranging from Solidarity's Dr J N Reddy to CISKEI military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo."

Another sympathetic (London) publication reported that UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his staff are "unwilling to continue the UN role as an advocate for the liberation movements ... (They) have effectively sidelined the UN Centre Against Apartheid, which since the 1980s has taken the lead in UN activities on South Africa."

An international hearing on violence in South Africa, convened in London in mid-July by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and co-sponsored by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, rallied most of the faithful (but few Western government representatives), and presented a solid case on violence. But when the final resolution was sent to the Security Council, it disappeared among the other supplications.

Two important points should be noted. One is that most of the world is no longer interested in re-imposing sanctions as an instrument to control Pretoria's behaviour. Another is that although the UN and Western governments are ready to respond on the violence issue, it is because they are deeply concerned about it themselves, and because they acknowledge the ANC's moral high ground.

Where does all this leave the ANC? Only with mass mobilisation, currently being implemented through mass action. Cyril Ramaphosa describes mass action as a "rolling" campaign, but can the ANC ride the horses of both mass action and negotiations? Professor Lawrence Schlemmer expresses it rather well, I think:

"To the extent that the ANC has realistic anxieties about a loss of symbolic status and leverage in negotiations, it will continue to adopt strategies outside negotiations which generate reactions (by the IFP or the authorities) and, in turn, become impediments for negotiation for the ANC itself. The
Cops uncover arms while investigating murder

OFs arms cache

Cops shown Apia

Witness disappears after promising to testify against friends - Cops promise peace
New legislation on intimidation

PRETORIA — Tough legislation aimed at curbing intimidation, banning private armies and providing harsh sentences for the illegal use of certain weapons came into effect at the weekend.

A notice in the Government Gazette published on Friday brought into effect the Criminal Law Second Amendment Act and a separate schedule defined the classes of weaponry prescribed under the Act.

The schedule effectively includes AK-47s, hand grenades, rocket launchers, mortars and mines. A minimum five-year prison term will be imposed if a person is convicted of committing an offence with a weapon possessed unlawfully.

A magistrate may also authorise the detention of people withholding information from the police about such weapons, subject to certain regulations.

The Act criminalises the training or equipping of military or quasi-military organisations which could usurp the functions of the SAP or SADF.

The Intimidation Act is also extended to criminalise indirect forms of intimidation.

Previously it was an offence if someone had been persuaded, with threats, to do something. Now it is an offence if the intimidator fills someone with fear.

NUMSA workers jump strike gun

NUMSA members at several factories in Benoni jumped the gun on the union's national strike — officially due to begin today — and started striking on Friday.

Several Seifsa members have already given notice to the union they intend to lock out workers next week. NUMSA is striking in the motor, tyre and rubber, and metal and engineering industries.

It will be impossible to gauge the support for the strike before Wednesday, because of the general strike, even after that it could be difficult depending on the extent of the mass action programme.

In the motor manufacturing sector, for example, Samcor has closed for the entire week by arrangement with NUMSA shop stewards. So it is not actually clear if the workers are on strike or not.

If all NUMSA's 250,000 members in the affected sectors come out, it will be the biggest industrial strike in SA's history.

Meanwhile, Seifsa denied last week that it had "bugged or made use of dishonest means" to get information on NUMSA's strike.

Seifsa spokesman Hendrik van der Heever said the suggestion was laughable.

He said Seifsa had learnt of the strike plans through its members, who had received written notice that the strike would start today.

Seifsa also said NUMSA was "lying" in alleging that Seifsa had not responded to its inquiries on irregularities in the Seifsa ballot. Seifsa is going ahead with an interdict against NUMSA for ballot irregularities.

Sources in the motor manufacturing, and tyre and rubber, industries said they expected to meet NUMSA this week to continue negotiations.

Sapa reports from East London that more than 2,000 workers at Mercedes-Benz in East London will strike from today. NUMSA said on Friday.

A further 1,300 NUMSA members in the region involved in the engineering sector would also go on strike over an industrial dispute concerning wages and working conditions,. said NUMSA's Border secretary Enoch Godongwana. Godongwana said the strike was separate from the two-day stayaway beginning today and would continue beyond that.

A Mercedes spokesman said the company could not comment on the situation as the dispute had developed in the national bargaining forum representing the seven motor manufacturers.
ANC units out of control - Hani

ANC members of self-defence units are running amok in the townships.

African National Congress militants were running riot in black townships and committing atrocities among their own communities, a top ANC official said in a newspaper yesterday.

ANC leader and South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani said in the interview that ANC "self-defence unit" members were out of control and "had no conception of democratic tolerance".

ANC self-defence units have been cropping up in townships since the onset of severe political violence. Their ostensible purpose is to protect township residents from attacks by mystery assailants, often linked to the ANC's bitter rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But Hani is reported as saying that the SDUs are involved in bloody battles among themselves for political turf, that they are unaccountable to the communities they are supposed to represent, and that ANC members in Soweto, Johannesburg, and in the troubled townships of the Vaal Triangle had "necklaced" political opponents.

Police liaison officer for the Vaal, Captain Piet van Deyrver, reported that 18 alleged members of a self-defence unit in the Sharpeville township in the strife-torn Vaal Triangle were arrested on Friday morning.

The 18, who were being held in terms of unrest regulations, were arrested after two houses were searched and police discovered two army uniforms.
Govt, ANC struck deal on Umkhonto

GOVERNMENT and the ANC had concluded a deal on the status of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe which effectively excluded it from the provisions of the national peace accord, according to a senior ANC official.

The agreement on a close co-operation on the supplies, activities and existence of Umkhonto was disclosed in documents submitted to the national peace committee by ANC national executive committee member Sydney Mufumadi. The agreement is an elaboration of the D F Malan Accord dealing with the armed struggle.

The national peace committee is examining Umkhonto's existence at the request of Inkatha, which has demanded that it be disbanded by next month. Inkatha, which argues that Umkhonto is a "private army" and therefore subject to the peace accord, has asked the committee to refer Umkhonto's continued existence to arbitration.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi pulled out of a summit meeting with peace accord signatories President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela partly because Umkhonto continued to exist a year after the peace accord was signed. The peace committee meets again today to examine the issue.

Mufumadi's submission was made in February this year when Inkatha was refusing to sign a code of conduct for the security forces because Umkhonto continued to exist. It provided details of an ANC-government agreement on Umkhonto and its weapons which had previously been rejected as speculation by both parties. Mufumadi said Umkhonto was keeping to the letter and spirit of the peace accord "notwithstanding the fact that its continued existence and operations are regulated by bilateral agreement and hence fall outside the accord".

He said in his document: "The existence of Umkhonto and the extent of its continued operations are matters covered by existing bilateral agreements between the ANC and government. The matters covered by these agreements and negotiations fall outside the scope of the peace accord as expressly provided for in the opening chapter of the accord which states: 'This Accords will not be construed so as to detract from the validity of bilateral agreements between any of the signatories.'"

"Although the existence, function and operations of Umkhonto continue to be regulated by the bilateral accords, these will also be the proper subject of discussions at Codesa."

According to Mufumadi, a working group set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute under which the ANC suspended its armed struggle two years ago, had agreed, among other things, "to a process of informing the government of the extent and nature of arms under its control. Such arms and ordinances will be placed under the joint control of any transitional authority and Umkhonto upon the formation of an interim government. Umkhonto will be disbanded upon the completion of the process of transition to a democratic constitution."

Mufumadi submitted that Inkatha was aware of the agreement when it was involved with peace accord negotiations.

"The existence of Umkhonto and the exclusion of matters covered by the (agreement) were explicitly dealt with during the negotiations of the accord. The
THE African National Congress this week began a top-level probe into reports that self-defence units, including fighters from Umkhonto weSizwe, had run amok in various townships around the country.

"An internal commission of inquiry is sitting at this moment and taking evidence from members of rival self-defence units in the Vaal townships and will make urgent recommendations direct to Nelson Mandela about how to deal with this problem," said Tokyo Sexwale, chairman of the ANC's powerful PWV region.

Sexwale said the commission, administered by the office of ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, would examine evidence that members of an ANC-run unit in Sebokeng were responsible for the murder of a union shop steward and other killings in the township earlier this year.

The commission will also consider strong recommendations from Chris Hani, secretary general of the South African Communist Party, about the need to impose discipline and political control over maverick elements that have taken over defence units in various parts of the country.

Hani urges that recruitment of members for these units be carried out with much more caution and that political organisations "must be seen to be punishing people who act contrary to the aims and objectives of the democratic movement and of the self-defence units".

Other proposals include:
- The need to establish political control and a clear line of command over the units.
- "I have heard of examples where some self-defence units have tried to exact a special tax on business people with some implied consumer boycott if they don't comply. Political organisations must curb any such tendency immediately."
- Strong action against members who use weapons to settle private disputes. The Weekly Mail has reported cases where former MK fighters have attacked and killed, other activists during jealous tiffs over women.
- "Weapons in the hands of defence units must never be used to settle political differences, even if leadership has become extremely unpopular. The only way to settle political differences is through the proper democratic channel."
We're ready to take out ANG torturers, says squad of revenge exiles

DEATH PLOT

By SBV NANDI

EXCLUSIVE
Police confirmed last night that on Friday they found body parts of an unidentified man who had been blown to bits outside Ratanda township, near Heidelberg.

West Rand police liaison officer Major Henriette Bester said police suspected that the man had been carrying a limpet mine that exploded.

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Themba Khoza yesterday named the man as Welcome Khanyile, the organisation's secretary in Ratanda. Major Bester said the man had not yet been identified.

Mr Themba said Mr Khanyile was last seen alive on July 30 when he was taken, allegedly by police, for questioning from his work in Heidelberg.

Major Bester said she could not comment on the allegations because the identity of the dead man was not known to the police.

A pair of plastic gloves was found on the scene, Mr Khoza said. It was unlikely the ANC was involved in the death, he added.

Mr Khoza said the IFP in Ratanda would march on the local police station to demand an explanation from the police on the circumstances surrounding Mr Khanyile's death. — Sapa.
UN call for inquiry gets wide backing

By Peter Fabricius and Helen Grange

The National Party and other major political players have backed the United Nations' call for a probe by the Goldstone Commission into the security forces, the KwaZulu Police and the ANC and PAC's military wings.

But it emerged yesterday that Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's call for a general amnesty to encourage members of these organisations to testify about unlawful conduct would be controversial.

Concern has been expressed that a pre-emptive amnesty would provide an escape route for those responsible for the killing of high-profile activists such as the Cato Manor UDF leader Matthew Goniwe.

The ANC and Democratic Party want full disclosure of the detail of any crimes by members of the security forces who may receive amnesty or indemnity.

Backing recommendations in a report by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Judge Goldstone said in a weekend statement that unless the SA Police and SA Defence Force were fully investigated "they will have no prospect of receiving the trust... of the South African public".

Yesterday National Party security spokesman Hennie Smit said the NP supported in principle Mr Boutros-Ghali's call for a probe.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC national working committee would study the proposals before reacting.

PAC foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim said yesterday that the PAC would react fully once it had read Mr Boutros-Ghali's report.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed Mr Justice Goldstone's call for a probe.

He said that a finding by a person of Judge Goldstone's "high authority" would convincingly settle the issue of alleged security force involvement in violence.

IFP spokesman Walter Fagel said that although the Goldstone Commission had no real grounds for probing the KwaZulu Police, the KwaZulu government would not refuse to co-operate.

In another statement yesterday, Judge Goldstone explained his weekend statement that a general amnesty would assist an inquiry into security forces and political armies.

He said amnesty for political prisoners would encourage members of all organisations to come forward and disclose any unlawful conduct in which they may have been involved.

... Mr Justice Goldstone offered his assistance in working out the amnesty details.

The ANC and the Government have already held discussions on the issue of political prisoners, where the idea of a general amnesty has been raised.
I killed policeman, says 'Lion of Apla forces'
Man with a difficult mission

By Ruth Bhengu

THE chairman of the Returned Exiles Committee (REC), Mr Patrick Hlongwane, is a man with a mission.

The only problem is that his mission makes many people uneasy.

In fact most South Africans, including the ANC and the South African Government, would rather he vanished into thin air.

Hlongwane (33) startled television viewers again on Sunday night when he announced that his organisation would hound members of the ANC and kill them if they were not brought to book for the atrocities he alleged they committed in their prison camps.

He also told the Sowetan that his organisation would team up with anyone who is anti-communist and anti-ANC to bring the ANC to its knees.

Hlongwane, who has been given refuge by the Inkatha Freedom Party at Lindelani, says he is not a member of the organisation but he will fight to protect the "Zulu nation".

The ANC and its allies are involved in a conspiracy to eliminate the Zulu nation. They are afraid that Zulus will outnumber them. We will do anything to protect Zulus," said Hlongwane.

This seems to be a diversion from his usual fiery speeches on human rights. Since he and 31 other ANC dissidents came back to the country in February last year, Hlongwane has campaigned vigorously to get leaders like Chris Hani, Joe Mabuza and Joe Nhlanhla to be brought to court and tried for what he calls "crimes against humanity".

He has lobbied human rights organisations to open an inquiry into the ANC detention camps in Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Uganda.

The ANC has appointed its own commission of inquiry into its prison camps headed by Advocate Louis Skwetye.

Hlongwane's REC wants an independent inquiry. One of the organisations making arrangements for an independent commission of inquiry is the International Freedom Forum based in Washington.

Hlongwane says he will not rest until his former captors have been punished. He insists that he was not a South African Government spy when he left the country and was arrested by the ANC.

"I left the country because I was opposed to the Freedom Charter and I wanted to meet Oliver Tambo. Instead I was thrown into detention camps and accused of being an enemy agent. I was tortured over and over," said Hlongwane.

"In 1990 I went on a hunger strike for 31 days and had to be taken to a military hospital in Uganda. Thereafter I appeared before a tribunal and was sentenced to 18 years hard labour," he said.

Hlongwane was, however, released soon after and sent home.

The ANC's Mr Saki Macozoma describes Hlongwane as "some kind of a loony".

"I know him well because he comes from the same area as I do in Port Elizabeth."

TOMORROW: A survivor of the torture describes his ordeal with Angolan ants.
Attempt on Hani denied

By Rhud Bray

theorgen elusive Chief PAC".

By Rhud Bray

Investigations show there are attempts to kill Hani.

ANC ANALYSIS

MARCH 28, 1992

SOWETAN

Wednesday, August 12, 1992
ANC nod to camps inquiry

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — The ANC has given the Goldstone Commission and the South African Council of Churches permission to investigate its camps outside South Africa.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela disclosed this on Tuesday night while speaking in Umtata.

He said the ANC had undertaken to approach the governments of countries where ANC camps are based so that the commission could investigate them.

He welcomed a call by Mr Justice Goldstone for a thorough probe of the South African Police, SA Defence Force and liberation movements' military wings.

The National Party and Democratic Party have already welcomed the call for a probe.

In an apparent attempt to reassure the businessmen who filled the hall, Mr Mandela promised that the establishment of an interim government would end mass action.
If you've never been
the Blues
you can't understand

Home is 10 minutes away.

An exile at home

Returnee not allowed to live at home because of alleged ANC threats

NO RETURN Forbidden

NO RETURN

By Ruth Brezenf

NEWS FEATURE
ANC probe completed

A COMMISSION of inquiry appointed by the ANC to probe allegations of atrocities in its former camps in Tanzania and Uganda has finished hearing evidence.

The commission will present its report and recommendations to ANC president Nelson Mandela within the next few weeks.

Durban-based advocate R S Douglas, appointed by the International Freedom Foundation to probe the camps, said yesterday he would begin hearing evidence in Johannesburg later this month.
Senior ANC officer will bear the blame

A senior African National Congress office-bearer is expected to be named as the chief culprit in the abuse of detainees in exile.

By ANTON HARBOR

We were in a certain state at the time. We were a movement in struggle and had to confront certain problems. It (the ANC) had to have an attitude towards those things. We are in a different period now," he said.

"Over 500 of our cadres were imprisoned in the camps and it was very fortunate that no one died as was intended. Five South African Air Force aeroplanes bombed the place and destroyed every building. This was the situation we were in.

"The commission is important for those who do not understand this setting. For the rest of us, it is of no importance," he said.

Asked his view on a recent admission by Hani that there had been abuses in the camps, Piliso said: "I don't care what he says... If you are convinced in yourself that you carried out instructions as best you can, that is all that matters." 

Asked if he feared disciplinary action, he replied: "If you had a certain responsibility given to you by the movement, if you believe you did everything possible to do that successfully, what happens afterwards does not really matter. I am convinced I did as best as I could under the conditions that pertained at the time."

About whether he regretted what he had done in the camps, he said: "I have no guilty conscience." Asked if it was true that he had personally taken part in physical abuse, he said: "I don't think there is a single one of them (detainees) who can say that I did."

The ANC's response to the report will play a critical role in deciding whether the organisation is able to rest the controversy over the treatment of detainees, which has plagued the organisation since its unbanning. Already the inquiry has drawn flak from other political organisations and the rightwing International Freedom Foundation has set up its own inquiry under Durban advocate RC Douglas. This inquiry, however, is likely to be seen as no less partial than the ANC one.

Douglas has disputed criticism of his inquiry, saying that the fact that the IFP has instructed him will not affect his findings. "The fact that they have initiated it means nothing to me. I will do my job as a professional."

"I am a pretty independent soul. I have done work for the ANC in Natal and made findings favourable to them and unfavourable to Inkatha."

The ANC's inquiry, Douglas said, was fundamentally flawed: "They have breached the fundamental rule that you cannot judge yourself."

Some ANC members, however, believe their own inquiry could present an opportunity to deal with the problem in the way that their counterparts in Namibia never did.

Just this week, Afrikan Watch of New York released a report stating that Namibia still had not healed the wounds of war because of the reluctance of both Swapo and South Africa to come clean on the abuses of the past.

The ANC is in a comparatively fortunate position in that, unlike Swapo, its most senior leaders — such as Mandela and general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa — were not in exile at the time and therefore cannot be implicated in any way. They therefore have an interest in putting to rest a problem that is not of their making.
Weeks ago, the ANC official was released from prison in a move that was seen as a sign of progress in the country's emerging democracy. The move came after years of pressure from the international community and the ANC itself, who had long argued that the official's release was a step towards reconciliation and unity.

However, despite the official's release, many within the ANC and the country as a whole remain divided. The ANC, once a dominant force in South African politics, is struggling to maintain its grip on power in the face of growing discontent among its supporters.

In recent weeks, the ANC has faced criticism over its handling of corruption allegations, with some members of the party calling for deeper reforms.

The publication of a report that accused top ANC officials of corruption has further fueled tensions within the party and raised questions about its future.

Forgive the ANC, why he can't
A RETRANSMISSION TELLS
ANC's torture chief named

Camps probe that Mandela ordered
uncovers widespread abuses ...
and pins blame on a key official

The African National Congress' inquiry into the treatment of detainees in its camps in exile has uncovered evidence of shocking abuses, for which it blames a senior headquarters official.

Ex-security chief Mzwai Piliso, a former national executive committee member, has been directly implicated in some of the assaults on prisoners.

The inquiry was appointed late last year by ANC president Nelson Mandela, following widely published allegations of torture in the exile camps.

The report, to be submitted to Mandela next week, is expected to clear military leaders Chris Hani and Joe Modise of responsibility for abuses. The evidence that emerged indicated they had "cleaned up" the camps after taking over from Piliso.
PAC army to meet police

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army and the Police and Prison Officials' Union will hold talks on the killing of policemen, Popcru general secretary Peter Nkuna said yesterday.

The meeting will take place in Zimbabwe or Tanzania early in September.

Apla, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, regularly claims responsibility for attacks on policemen in South African townships.
FORGET NOT THE

South Africa needs the truth to help heal the war wounds

By SENQO SELLO

AS THE government and ANC grapple in private
with the issue of amnesty, an important document released by Africa Watch could help the
warring parties see why so many minefields exist around this problem.

Writing on Namibia, AW, a human rights group which moni-
tors human rights abuses throughout Africa and is part of the worldwide Human Rights Watch, warns against the ill-con-
sidered granting of amnesty.

‘In fact, HRF says it is “opposition sources for those responsible for gross abuse” and calls for
criticism and condemnation for those responsible.

The report, which looks at Namibia during its war of indepen-
dence, argues that a lot more needs to be done by both SA and
Swaziland, the two combatants in the war, for the healing process
to be real.

According to popular belief, estimates AW, two years after
the end of the long and bloody war between the SADF and the
People’s Liberation Army of Namibia, the wounds of the war
have not yet healed in that country.

The essential factor for the healing process to work, says
AW, is for the former combatants who have committed atrocities to
be held accountable. In this case Swaziland and the SA government
must make sure they are held accountable for gross violations of human rights.

The document makes one telling observation that “when a coun-
try moves from repression to a more democratic system that res-
pects human rights, the abuses committed under the previous
regime are not forgotten by the victims of their families and their friends”.

The report, titled “Accountability for Human Rights Violations in Namibia: The Transition to Democracy”, is of equal
importance to SA.

Just like apartheid

The histories of SA and Namibia are not just similar,
through its military wing, Fan, founded in 1959 and
Uncle Sam’s Sisala Bopape

of the armed forces. Known as “Jesu” or the “Butcher of
Lu-

To help heal the scars of war.

AW points out, however, the
danger exists that those per-
done may then conclude that
they are above the law and may
commit other violations.

This dilemma is likely to face
any future black-dominated gov-
ernment. The security forces are
dominated by whites who hold most of the senior positions. This is a
major threat to any future government.

Bringing to book the white-
ops would most likely lead to destabilisation of the new gov-
ernment. On the other hand lett-
ing them free is no guarantee that they will not repeat their
wrongs. And what about the families of the victims?

Mysterious deaths

The other dilemma is that if an ANC government were to
seek accountability, even some of its members would be in the
dock. The organisation has ad-
mitted that wrongs were com-
mitted in their detention camps
in Angola. Among prominent
ANC members who died under
mysterious circumstances was
former MK commander Thami
Mkhize.

Naming those responsible for human rights violations, says
AW, is a way forward towards con-
founding that conduct. In addi-
tion, shedding light and accountabil-
ity may help prevent similar abuses from occurring in the future.

The report comes at a time when there is talk that the coun-
try’s army police forces — such as the PAC’s Aphe, the ANC’s
MK and the SADF, the SAP

Last week former MK mem-
bers who now call themselves

The RIC chairman Patrick

ric’s claims that they had
formed a squad to eliminate
ANC and MK leaders whom they claim tortured them in exile.

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be the best way of achieving national reconciliation. And call-
ing for people to account for their misdeeds is not in itself a
Nuremberg-type trial.

Steve Biko’s spirit lives on
AW points out, however, the danger exists that those pardoned may then conclude that they are above the law and may commit other violations.

This dilemma is likely to face any future black-dominated government. The security forces are dominated by whites who hold most of the senior positions. This is no threat to any future government.

Bringing to book the murderers would most likely lead to destabilisation of the new government. On the other hand, letting them free is no guarantee that they will not repeat the wrongs. And what about the families of the victims?

Mysterious deaths

The other dilemma is that if an ANC government were to pursue accounting, even some of its members would be in the dock. The organisation has admitted that wrongs were committed in their detention camps in Angola. Among prominent ANC members who died under mysterious circumstances was leading MK commander Thomas Nkoyana.

Nailing these responsible for human rights violations, says AW, is a way for society to confess that conduct. In addition, disclosing and acknowledging the truth may help to prevent similar abuse from occurring again.

The report comes at a time when there is talk that the country's armed police forces — such as the PAC's Aga, the ANC's MK and the SAP, the SAP and KwaZulu Police — be probed by the Coldspring Commission.

Last week former MK members who now call themselves the Returned Exiles Committee (REC) threatened to assassinate ANC/MK leaders whom they claim tortured them in exile.

REC chairman Patrick Hlongwane claimed that they had formed a squad to eliminate ANC and MK members unless those responsible for abuses were brought to justice. REC also claims that some MK diaspora have disappeared.

As SA schemes apartheid and moves towards an open and democratic society amid the talk of amnesty for all, the AW report has important lessons for this country.

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ANC under way

Buthelezi Issues Fresh

Appeal on Peace to ANC

Patrick Motau

ANC's appeal to

SACC probe into

Premium's set

Ehlanzeni - From a report on the SACC's probe into the R13 billion Moran Fund, the SACC has issued a fresh appeal to the ANC to enter into a fresh peace initiative. The ANC has been accused of corruption and mismanagement of funds.

The SACC's appeal comes after a recent report by the Auditor-General found that the Moran Fund was mismanaged and that the ANC was responsible for the funds being misused.

The SACC has urged the ANC to come forward and disclose all information regarding the funds, including any transactions and agreements made.

Patrick Motau, the SACC's head, said that the ANC has a responsibility to the people of South Africa to disclose all information regarding the funds.

The ANC has yet to respond to the SACC's appeal.
Explosions rock N Cape town

JOHANNESBURG. — Police are investigating a charge of terrorism after a series of blasts rocked a shopping centre in the township of Roodepan, about 10km outside Kimberley, early yesterday morning.

No one was injured in the blasts — 10 in total — which were heard in Kimberley, according to police. Evidence of commercial explosives were found on the scene.
AFRIKANER Weaverstandsweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday claimed that Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel had sanctioned the continued operation of AWB training camps.

Speaking in Pretoria after meeting with Kriel and Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe to discuss the implications of legislation relating to the training of private armies, Terre'Blanche said he had invited the SAP to monitor the AWB camps.

Terre'Blanche challenged the communists and Umkhonto we Sizwe to let the SAP monitor their camps as well "so that we can see who are the aggressors and a threat to human life, when they prepare bombs to take the lives of women and children". - Sapa.
'Torture, beating' in ANC camps

By David Katz

Allegations of torture and abuse in ANC camps have been made by two former ANC members in affidavits presented to the Douglas Commission of Inquiry, set up by the conservative Washington-based International Freedom Foundation (IFF).

The commission this week began gathering evidence of alleged torture and human rights atrocities in ANC camps in countries such as Angola, Uganda and Tanzania.

The commission, under advocate Robert Douglas, SC, yesterday made affidavits available to The Star in which former ANC members detained in the camps describe acts of torture at the ANC's Quatro camp in Angola.

In his affidavit David Makhubedu (41) said "torture and beatings were a regular occurrence administered on inmates indiscriminately".

He said he witnessed this during the nearly five years he spent in Quatro before being released on November 16 1988.

He said Quatro was initially established for suspected infiltrators but was later used "for any people whom the leadership of the ANC and MK (ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe) regarded as dissidents".

In another affidavit, Robert Shange said that during his stay at Quatro he saw "numerous acts of torture". Once, boiling water had been poured on the head of a prisoner.

He said many prisoners — who lived in conditions "shocking beyond belief" — had died of malaria and other tropical diseases, and that complaints were met with more torture.

Mr Shange said he was seeking redress "against the ANC-SACP alliance for all the wrongs done" while he was in detention.

The ANC has in the past acknowledged that atrocities took place, and a commission of inquiry appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela to investigate them finished taking oral evidence last week.

An ANC spokesman yesterday said the organisation had full confidence in its own commission, which was due to release its report soon.

She said the ANC commission had "sounder motives than the right-wing IFF" and that the ANC was eager to find solutions based on the report.

Speaking from Washington yesterday, IFF international chairman Duncan Sellars said the purpose of the commission was "to help the ANC come clean" on its past and "bolster true democrats within the ANC against hardliners aligned with the SACP".
Goldstone to meet
ANC, PAC armies

THE Goldstone commission would meet Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's military wing Apla soon to discuss how they could contribute to the peace process, a commission source said yesterday.

The talks follow an ANC offer at the weekend to help the commission, but the source said it was highly unlikely the two guerrilla forces would be co-opted onto the envisaged special investigative unit.

The source said Judge Richard Goldstone was likely to release details of the composition and structure of the unit by the end of the week.

It is believed the unit will be headed by a senior police official and be directly accountable to the judge.

Earlier Goldstone had suggested an investigation into the role Umkhonto and Apla could play "in reducing the level of political violence and intimidation".

Centre for Applied Legal Studies lawyer Pink Haysom, an advocate of the need for an independent investigative team, said the unit would probably be made up of policemen who had proved their investigative abilities.

"The generals who have been appointed to head such teams up to now have appeared to be pretty ineffective. One hopes they won't simply appoint a tired general."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would not try to dictate the composition of the unit because it had to be independent of all parties.
ANC report on alleged torture in camps completed

The report of an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry into allegations of torture in ANC camps has been completed and is due to be handed to Nelson Mandela, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Completion of the report comes as the ANC leadership deliberates on whether to resume negotiations with the De Klerk administration after breaking off discussions in the wake of the Boipatong massacre of June 17.

President F W de Klerk has served notice that his administration will raise the treatment of detainees when negotiations are resumed.

The ANC has undertaken to publish the report. The three members of the commission, all lawyers, are Louis Skweyiya, Brigit Mabandla and Gilbert Marcus.

The commission has been viewed with scepticism by some of the rebels who were detained, mainly because Mr Skweyiya and Ms Mabandla are ANC members.

Mr Mandela has admitted that torture did take place in the camps but denied that it was official ANC policy. So too has Chris Hani, former chief of staff of the ANC underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He attributes the abuses to "paranoia and hysteria" caused by the infiltration of spies into ANC ranks.

In view of these admissions by senior ANC men it will be unsurprising if the report finds some dissidents were maltreated and ANC security personnel were guilty of abusing power.

Earlier unofficial reports have named Mazwai Piliso, a former head of security in the ANC, as one who allegedly abused power. The commission's terms of reference, however, do not mandate it to allocate blame.

The commission is required to make recommendations. These may include the removal from office of people implicated in the alleged detention and torture.

The commission is reported to have heard evidence from more than 20 witnesses, made up of both former detainees and high-ranking ANC officials.

The detainees are understood to have included ANC information-chief Dr Pallo Jordan. Mr Hani and Jacob Zuma are known to have been among the officials who testified.

The present commission is the second appointed by the ANC to investigate conditions at its camps. It differs from the first, known as the Stuart Commission, in two important respects: its members include a respected lawyer, Mr Marcus, who is not an ANC member; and the ANC has pledged to publish its report.
Weapons confiscated

By Clyde Johnson
Lowyeld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Members of Eastern Transvaal Command yesterday confiscated a large consignment of weapons allegedly being smuggled into the country from Swaziland.

A military spokesman said a group of four people were intercepted on the Swaziland-South African border near Mozambique.

Three men escaped and returned to Swaziland but a woman was detained and is being questioned.

Weapons confiscated include 11 AKM assault rifles, 13 AK-47 assault rifles, 30 rifle magazines, two Tokarev pistols, three Makarov pistols, four pistol magazines and 4 399 rounds of ammunition.

The spokesman said weapons such as these had in the past been used to arm self-defence units in KaNgwane townships and elsewhere.

It is believed the weapons had been earmarked for criminal activities, agitation and intimidation during mass action, he said.
Blast blacks out centre of Jo’burg

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Central Johannesburg was without power today after at least one explosion rocked Fordsburg power station, injuring four people.

It was not immediately clear what caused the explosion but police refused to rule out a bomb.

A police spokesman said “one, possibly two” explosions hit the power station soon after 9.15am.

Most of central Johannesburg, including the SABC and The Argus’s sister paper, The Star, was left without power and operating on emergency generators.

There was also a power failure in suburbs to the west and south of the city.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieke said two people were burnt in the blast and two men in a delivery vehicle were injured when two walls collapsed.

Ten vehicles parked near the building were damaged.

Power was expected to be restored by noon.
MK plans to kill Gqozo - army chief

THE ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, intended assassinating Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, SA Army chief Lieutenant-General George Meiring claimed yesterday.

Meiring said reports indicated that MK chief of operations Lambert Moloi was expected to arrive in the eastern Cape yesterday to co-ordinate planning and activities in the area.

"There is information which indicates MK intends assassinating Gqozo. This can hardly be construed as adhering to the requirements for peaceful demonstrations."

Meiring said his information indicated weapons, including small arms, a 122-mm rocket launcher and Ciskei police and military uniforms were being stockpiled. He was concerned at reports that MK members from the PWV area and Transkei, and self-defence units from Motherwell, New Brighton, KwaZakele and Cradock, had been sent to the area to initiate violence.

Meiring said Ciskei Defence Force and Police members were being assaulted and robbed of their weapons. "Since the tragedy, Ciskei is experiencing violence on a scale not seen in a long time. At least 15 houses of members of the Ciskei Defence Force and Police have been burnt."

Meiring said there were "blatant attempts" by the ANC to implicate the SA Army in the bloodbath, and charged that MK was responsible for the deaths.

Statements by the ANC's department of information and publicity (DIP) that 32 Battalion was deployed in Ciskei and on its borders, and that 31 and 32 Battalions were to be incorporated into the Ciskei Army, were absurd.

He also rejected as "scurrilous" reports originating from a German publication claiming Lieutenant-General C P van der Westhuizen, SADF Chief-of-Staff Intelligence, had sent a signal to the Ciskei Defence Force instructing him to use force and all means necessary to crush the demonstration. The allegations appeared in New Nation yesterday.

"This is absurd and no more than disinformation from the DIP aimed at trying to cover MK's responsibility for the deaths. It was never their intention to hold peaceful demonstrations in Bisho. They openly stated that they intended to occupy Bisho itself and to overthrow Gqozo."
Arms caches found:

Four anti-tank missiles and launchers and a cache of ammunition were found in Pretoria yesterday.

Louis van Heerden of the TPA's roads department found the missiles in stormwater drains in Garsfontein Road.

And in Brakpan, two boys came across a cache of ammunition — including R-1, R-3 and AK-47 magazines — at the Brakpan sports grounds yesterday. — Sapa.
Arms seized in border operations

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Eastern Transvaal police have seized hundreds of weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition in border operations since the beginning of the year.

The haul was yesterday displayed for the media and included 336 AK-47 assault rifles, 44 submachine-guns, 63 pistols, 30 hand grenades, two RPG7 rocket launchers, 84 ordinary rifles, 78 handguns and 12 homemade firearms. Most of the weapons were of Eastern bloc origin, police said.

Crime Combating and Investigating Services regional commander Colonel Jack Roux said most of the weapons had been recovered as a result of intensified anti-smuggling operations in recent months.

The weapons, which came from Mozambique and Swaziland, were found in the Piet Retief, Pongola, Komatipoort, Hazyview Trust, KaNgwane, Gazankulu and Lebowa border areas. They had been smuggled into the country by air, rail, road and even on foot.

He said smugglers used many ingenious methods, including hiding weapons in specially adapted fuel tanks.

Colonel Roux said firearms smuggled into South Africa were being used mainly against security force members, in armed robberies, faction fighting, taxi wars, general crime and for individual financial gain.

"Many arrests have been made in recent weeks and we are confident of more successes, in all criminal fields, as a result of follow-up operations," he said.

Colonel Roux stressed that much of the success achieved had been as a result of help from the public and he appealed to anyone knowing of persons in possession of unlicensed firearms, ammunition and explosives to report to the police.

Substantial rewards are payable for information leading to the recovery of firearms and subsequent convictions, he said.
Paso wants PAC jet-set to give up plane seats for Apla effort

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) has asked the PAC leadership to allocate 50 percent of PAC funds to its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Paso secretary for publicity and information Adam Bosman said the decision was taken by Paso's national executive last weekend.

"We've decided that instead of flying around, the PAC leadership should spend that money on supporting its guerrilla army," he said.

Bosman also took the PAC leaders to task for their tendency to distance the organisation from military operations carried out by Apla inside SA.

He said the PAC could no longer pretend for legal reasons that it was a separate entity from the military wing.

He said Paso believed Apla was implementing the PAC call for the intensification of the struggle against Pretoria on all fronts.

It is standard PAC practice to refer all media questions about Apla military activities to Apla leaders outside the country.

Observers believe this is a tactic to prevent the government taking heavy-handed action against the PAC.

"We won't condone the PAC distancing itself from Apla. If they avoid questions about Apla they are distancing themselves from the armed struggle," charged Bosman.

He pointed out that Apla commander-in-chief Johnson Mlambo was the second vice-president of the PAC.

Bosman also announced that Paso was planning a summit with SA's two progressive student movements in Zimbabwe next month with a view to forming a united student organisation.

The League was prepared to invite Paso, the Azanian Students Congress (Azasco) and the South African Students Congress (Sasco) as these were the only "genuine student representatives in SA," Bosman said.

However, he warned Sasco against sending white delegates to the summit because they did not represent the "true needs and aspirations of the oppressed masses."
De Klerk gamble brought SA back from the brink

CHARLENE SMITH reports on the three men whose release from prison paved the way for yesterday’s summit meeting

THE decision to bite the bullet was taken on Thursday afternoon.

President FW de Klerk and his senior lieutenants had before them a draft agreement that promised to end months of tedious bickering with the ANC and a golden opportunity to kick-start the stalled negotiation process.

The only snag was that part of the deal was the release from prison of three men — Magoos Bar bomber Robert McBride, 39, and Mzondelele Nondula, 29, and Mthethele Mncube, 32, who had been found guilty of the Messina landmine murders in 1987.

President de Klerk was acutely aware that should he accede, as the ANC insisted, to the release of these three — most of whose victims had been white — it could cost him dearly among his own supporters.

On the other hand, should he refuse to release them and the summit did not take place, the cost to the country in terms of dashed expectations at yet another failure of negotiations could prove even more devastating.

Compromise

Reluctantly, Mr De Klerk and his ministers accepted that the three would go free. But, unlike other political prisoners who would be freed without conditions, they would be let out on parole.

It was a compromise suggested, according to diplomats, by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who had spoken to both ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Foreign Minister Pik Botha earlier that morning.

Of the three prisoners around whose release the fate of the nation turned this week, Robert McBride is the best known.

A tall Allan Boesak look-alike, he is the least experienced of the three ANC Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres. A teacher, he became a member of the ANC almost by default, recruited by childhood friend Gordon Webster.

He received no formal military training by Umkhonto we Sizwe, but proved an enthusiastic recruit, conducting a bombing campaign around Durban in 1986, culminating in the Magoos Bar bombing, which led to the deaths of three people and left more than 20 injured.

McBride was sentenced to death, but on review last year his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, as were the sentences of Nondula and Mncube.

Mncube and Nondula where what was known at the time as the Messina trialists.

Both are highly trained MK officers. They were part of a unit that crossed into South Africa on more than one occasion.

However, in 1987, after laying a number of landmines in the Messina district which cost the lives of 10 people, including seven whites, and injured 20 others, they were arrested.

They refused to testify in their own defence, claiming that they were soldiers and should be treated as prisoners of war in terms of the Geneva convention.

Mncube was initially arrested by two policemen who placed him in the back of a bakkie next to an AK-47. Mncube managed to free himself and killed his captors.

During his trial his defence claimed he was tortured after his arrest, including being forced to eat his own excrement.

Raided in Soweto, Mr Mncube also married while in prison late last year.

Schooling

Mr Nondula, who is being released a few days after his birthday, is a gifted writer and poet. He was transferred to prison in East London early this year. An orphan, he grew up in extreme poverty in Mntambo near Gikwe and left South Africa to join the ANC while in his teens.

His first schooling took place at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania along with Mr Mncube.

Mr Mncube was instructed in firearms and poltics in Angola before infiltrating South Africa in 1986 through Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Mr Nondula received training in Mozambique — where key ANC prisoner-release negotiator Matthew Phosa was in charge of military operations — before getting further training in Angola and in West Germany. He was for a time an instructor at an Angolan training camp and infiltrated South Africa a number of times on various missions.
in South Africa. "Any process of reconstituting the political system in the view of the fact that we are in the process of deposing the political system we are in, to reconstitute the political ANC apparatus to represent the interests of ANC members in the legislature and in the executive, and to represent the interests of the ANC in relation to other political parties."

ANC members and leaders are preparing to take a position in the current political situation, and are determined to defend the ANC's principles and interests. ANC members are preparing to take a position in the current political situation, and are determined to defend the ANC's principles and interests.

Revelle group talks on the Red Cross and the conference. The Revelle group talks on the Red Cross and the conference.
There are extremely disquieting elements in the deal struck by F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela at the weekend. The release from prison of Robert McBride and Barend Strydom is bad enough — an obscenity which the nation is supposed to swallow for the sake of a pious reconciliation which is far from happening.

But again — as we suggested last week — one is struck by how quickly our leaders are moving away from genuine democracy. There is nothing propitious in this release for our future freedom, happiness and security. The entire affair was stage-managed to precede yet another of Mandela's foreign fund-raising jaunts and almost immediately contradictions emerged.

Let's consider some.

Now that they have been forgiven for their murders, McBride and Strydom — both young men — have been received back into their markedly segregated and mutually hostile communities. Neither has shown any remorse; rather, they have been glowing with an idiotic triumphalism and McBride has said he would be prepared to "do it again" (blow up civilians) in the same circumstances as 1985. This so that "peace and democracy" will prevail.

We do not yet know what Strydom thinks, since he has sold his story exclusively to Rapport. But clearly he, as much as McBride, is a hero to some.

The victims thus brushed aside, we are enjoined to consider the big picture — the national interest. These points arise:

Government has finally indicated that it will move on certain glaring catalysts of violence, specifically the carrying of weapons of death in public and the monitoring of volatile hostel. These matters, one would have thought, should have long since been dealt with firmly — before Boipatong. The suspicion exists that they were left unattended for so long not because their potential for violence was unknown, but because they became chips in a bargaining process.

The cost of such neglect has been many deaths. In addition, there is the alienation of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who now seeks an alliance with the likes of Oupa Gqozo.

The ANC can with some justification claim that mass action has worked — it brought government to the point where it had to act on public weapons and hostels as a kind of concession.

This supports the suspicion that government has all along had a hidden agenda in negotiation which, at the least, it backed with a dangerous tolerance of black-on-black vio-

lence. Yet, in employing the means of mass action to achieve this end, the ANC has shown itself prepared to sacrifice ruthlessly its followers for propaganda. They dutifully went straight into the death trap at Bisho.

The issue of amnesty for "political" crimes is far from being settled. In any comparison of psychopaths, the ANC can presumably claim that McBride believed that killing three women in Magoo's Bar was a blow for freedom and democracy but that Strydom is in a different category. There are already warnings that the ANC might rescind amnesty for the Wit Wolf — which defeats the purpose of whatever was actually agreed at the weekend.

Clearly McBride and Strydom were "swapped" for symbolic reasons, the essential understanding being that political deals transcend the rule of law. Both sides have thus laid the basis for continuous rule by expediency. Any government of "national unity" would be an uneasy — if not treacherous — coalition of political bosses continually looking over their shoulders at their constituencies.

And who exactly are the senior figures for whom government wants amnesty? How high up are they in the political and military hierarchy? De Klerk surely knows.

The extent to which justice has been subverted is emphasised by the behaviour of the Ministry of Law & Order — which abruptly suspended its well-publicised investigation of the crimes of returnees and security force agents. What only a week or so ago was said to be a matter of principle has been "temporarily postponed until such time as finality has been reached on this matter," according to Craig Kotze.

In other words, such retrospective investigations can be turned on and off like a tap, depending on what suits government.

The De Klerk/Mandela summit was a turning point. Now we know that justice itself is a pawn in a far bigger political game. Buthelezi sees this well enough — and has the potential to wreck bilateral deals which exclude him. But in his new leopard-skin garb he appeals directly to tribal, sectional emotions and, in this, is also merely playing that bigger political game with its basis in raw power.

Who can doubt that government and the ANC will be back at Codesa, or its equivalent, within a few months? Their interests lie there. But with or without Buthelezi, scepticism over the validity of any agreements reached must be well-founded. Our two big leaders now have certain qualities in common: they are wooden, unconvincing and contradictory.
Brother of Magoo's victim hurt in blast

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The brother of a woman killed in the Magoo's Bar bomb blast in 1986 was seriously injured after an explosion at his Glenashley home in Durban North on Wednesday night.

Clive Pattenden (25), of Ypsilanti Avenue, was working with a mixture of chlorine and an oily substance when there was an explosion and a fire.

Mr Pattenden suffered burns to his face, arms and chest.

He was taken to hospital but it is believed that family members insisted that he not be admitted.

Police spokesman Captain Hamilton Ngidi said a neighbour telephoned the police after the explosion.

It is believed that apart from chlorine and the oily substance, Mr Pattenden also had a 2 litre plastic bottle.

Captain Ngidi said police had opened a docket and were investigating charges under the Explosives Act.

A person at the Pattenden home denied any knowledge of the incident.

Mr Pattenden's sister, Angelique, was one of the victims in the Magoo's Bar blast.

Anger

Last week Mr Pattenden was reported to have voiced anger that Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride was to be freed.

Mr Pattenden was reported to have said: "He is still a murderer. He murdered people and there is no excuse."

An attempt was made on Mr McBride's life by prisoners shortly before his release on Monday.

Since his release, the African National Congress has provided Mr McBride and his wife Paula with a 24-hour bodyguard.
I bombed Magoo's on ANC
Apla, Popcru call a truce

SOUTH AFRICA, 11 October 1982

THE guerilla wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), undertook last weekend to exclude members of the Police and Prisoners' Civil Rights Union (Popcru) from attacks on security forces.

The two organisations met in Zimbabwe last weekend. Their delegations were led by Popcru president Mr Gregory Rockman and Apla chief political commissar, Mr Romero Daniels.

Apla has claimed responsibility for numerous attacks on policemen in the past few years and Popcru, concerned that its members were at risk, requested a meeting to discuss the issue.

"We could not assure Apla about the actions of policemen and warders who are not our members and who cannot obey brutal and deadly instructions from their masters," said Popcru general secretary, Mr Peter Nkuna.

Nkuna said the union undertook to meet senior police officials to find ways of minimizing and possibly stop the killings on both sides.

He advised security force members who were not covered by the agreement to place their loyalty with the community they served rather than with the government.

"They must be seen to be protecting and serving the public rather than their masters, even if it means facing expulsion like Rockman did in 1989," Nkuna said.
Bush-war buddies are back in arms again

By MONWABISI HOMOLOLO

FRIENDS, comrades, commandos for 13 years these words described the bond between two exiled ANC soldiers — one white, one black.

Now Michael "Chris" Malo, 33, and Thulile Mangala Tshabangu Phasane, 44, are home again.

The pair were separated last year. In the chaos of the return the two were separated. It was only after searching tirelessly and at length that the two survivors were reunited.

The reunion was "too great to explain emotionally," they said.

They met in the Angolan suburb of Viana in 1979. Their tents were pitched close together at an ANC camp.

"It was friendship at first sight," said Phasane, commonly known by his MK code name, Tshabangu.

At times life in exile was difficult, but the friendship kept them going — even made them stronger.

Phasane, a veteran who fled SA in 1974, was a source of comfort and warmth for Malo who had arrived from Swaziland's Matsapha Maximum Prison where he was tortured before being deported eight months later.

"He went through hell in detention — like many of us did when arrested," Phasane said.

In the war zone the pair were ambushed by UNITA while riding a food convoy and Malo was hit twice. Phasane was there to see him through it.

In 1982 they also survived the bloody SADF raid on Manzini.

"It's too difficult to put it (reunions) in words. I'm overwhelmed," said Malo, patting his friend's shoulder.

Despite their happy reunion, coming home has meant hard knocks.

"We cannot find jobs and often we have to queue for hours at the head office (ANC) for grants," they said.

This is despite the skills they acquired abroad. Malo is a qualified boilermaker and Phasane a confectioner, who bakes scrumptious bread and cakes using flour sent from Finland. His creations were in great demand — a MK commander Joe Modise was hooked on his products.

They speak several languages including Portuguese, German, Russian and Swahili which they learnt while globe-trotting.

A total friendship out of total strategy

The duo were trained in Russia, East Germany, Cuba and Zululand. Now back in SA, Malo has been disowned by his "conservative" mother and relatives whom he accused of being members of the AWB.

His father — a card-carrying member of the SACP — was shot dead in his home town of Port Elizabeth in 1992 following his arrest under the then Internal Security Act. He added that he was greatly influenced by his father's political thinking.

Left homeless and destitute, he has now settled with Phasane in the East Rand township of Kwa-Thema where he has been able to find work in an unmarked white car. "At that time he had not yet been granted indemnity," he said.

He then attempted to escape by jumping out of the moving car. "The next day I woke up in the Far East Rand Hospital — white section! — under police guard," he said.

"That morning I knew I had to escape so I escaped through a toilet window on the second floor." Fortuitously I found a taxi driver who asked no questions and made a beeline for Shell House (ANC head offices)."

COMMON DESTINIES ... MK veterans Michael Malo (left) and Thulile Mangala Tshabangu Phasane are back together. "Too great to explain emotionally," they said.
Bomb victim's brother hurt

By FRED KHUMALO

THE Robert McBride saga took another turn on Wednesday when the brother of a victim killed by the MK fighter's blast was injured in an explosion at his home.

Clive Pattenden, 25, whose sister Angeline was one of the three killed in the Magoo's Bar bomb blast, was apparently making an explosive with a mixture of chlorine and an oily substance when the mixture exploded in his northern suburb home in Durban.

This was confirmed by SAP spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi.

Pattenden sustained severe burns to his face, chest and arms.

In press interviews last week Pattenden expressed anger at the news of McBride's release.

"I don't think that he falls into the category of a political prisoner. He is a murderer and should stay inside forever," he said.

"I don't believe that his release is going to make Dr Buthelezi become friends with the ANC and that there will be peace in the country."

Pattenden was apparently also embittered by the death of his mother Charmain two years ago. She was said to have given up on life after Angeline's death.

The Pattenden family refused to have him admitted to hospital and he is being treated at home.

Capt Ngidi said police had opened a docket and were investigating charges under the Explosives Act.

McBride was attacked with a homemade knife by other jail inmates at the Westville Prison on Sunday.

At a news conference he disputed reports that prison officials had intervened to save his life.

"Prisoners who stood by my side were of all races - black, white and brown. It is a lie that prison officials intervened to defend me," he said.

The ANC has placed a 24-hour guard on McBride and his wife as a result of assassination threats.

Southern Natal ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said: "The man is uncontactable. Ever since his release, I haven't even had a chance to shake his hand and have a comradely chat with him."

His mother Doris McBride is also bitter that she has not had the chance to talk to him and share jokes with him.

But Doris is hoping that some day she will be able to sit down with her son and play him his favourite music - the lilting sound of reggae outfit UB-40.
Claims that the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was responsible for Friday's Bisho car-bomb blast were devoid of truth, the PAC said yesterday.

PAC publicity director Waters Tobotl referred to a telephone call to Sapa on Saturday by a certain Kari Zimbiri, who claimed he had been informed by the eastern Cape unit of Apla that it had planted the bomb in a car belonging to Ciskei Defence Force Colonel Horst Schubesberger, the man who reportedly gave the order to fire on ANC marchers at the Bisho stadium on September 7.

"We spoke to the Apla political commissariat and they say Apla is not responsible," Mr Tobotl said. — Sapa.
Negotiations could not continue until the ANC's "ruthless army" — Umkhonto we Sizwe — was disbanded, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at a Shaka Day celebration in Kwamzane outside Mthatha, Chief Buthelezi said that as long as MK continued to exist, the IFP and the KwaZulu government would not return to negotiations.

He accused the ANC-led tripartite alliance of orchestrating violence against IFP members, and Zulus in particular, and said "the anarchy now reigning in some parts of the country" was a direct result of the ANC's previous campaigns to make South Africa ungovernable.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday said the organisation would not disband MK at this stage. He said MK was not operative and the armed struggle had been suspended.

MK is not a problem for the negotiations process and as far as violence is concerned. It sounds as if this is once again an excuse raised by Chief Buthelezi. Perhaps he doesn't want to return to full democracy," said Mr Niehaus.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC's support in KwaZulu was negligible, and it was "unable to establish a foothold in our communities".

This, he said, had put "the destabilisation of the KwaZulu region high on (the ANC's) political agenda".

"Umkhonto has to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact," he said.

"If it is to remain...after an interim government is established, either on its own or as part of the SADF, you can count me out of these agreements."

Chief Buthelezi's angry speech contrasted with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's weekend statement in which he expressed the hope that multilateral negotiations would resume before the end of the year.

In a speech at the University of Durban-Westville on Saturday, Mr Ramaphosa also said he expected constitutional talks to be followed by elections for a constituent assembly next year.

Chief Buthelezi vehemently criticised ANC president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk yesterday, saying "Record of Understanding" amounts to a declaration of war against the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu people.

He accused the Government of siding with the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance against the Zulus, and said the agreement to ban the carrying of "cultural weapons" was indicative of a plot "to culturally and ethnically castrate the Zulu people".

He said that by signing the "Record of Understanding" with Mr Mandela, Mr de Klerk knew that he would oppose it and in so doing Mr de Klerk has made a fundamental mistake that could lead to his isolation.

Chief Buthelezi said he did not understand why the Government continued to "fall all over itself to capitulate to the ANC-SACP alliance".
Radicals 'showing their true colours'

EAST LONDON — Both left- and right-wing radicals had unmasked themselves through their actions and the world was beginning to see them for what they really were, NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers said last night.

"The government did not ban their activities. We allowed them the democratic freedom to show their undemocratic natures," he said at the official opening of the Cape NP congress in East London.

The government had conducted itself with patience, reserve and responsibility, Law and order had been maintained as well as was possible under "horrendously difficult conditions," De Villiers said.

The influence of left- and right-wing radicals was beginning to wane and the opportunity was available for genuine negotiators to come forward, said De Villiers.

"Responsible and constructive people seek to pioneer the road to the future through negotiation rather than conflict. The discussions between the government and the ANC have taken this process further forward," he said.

It was regretted that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had decided to withdraw from negotiations on the basis of incorrect allegations against the government.

"Just as it is unlikely that a lasting solution is possible without Inkatha, they surely do not imagine that they can go their own way without the co-operation of the other parties in SA," De Villiers said.

The NP would devote attention to the stumbling blocks which kept Inkatha from participating in negotiations. The overriding aim had to be to resume multiparty talks, he said.

NP leadership faces concerned congress

EAST LONDON — The NP leadership — reeling from a series of setbacks in negotiations — will face the music when the party’s Cape congress gets under way in the city today.

Growing perceptions among the party rank-and-file that the ANC has won the lion’s share of concessions at recent bargaining sessions and fears that government could be alienating its potentially valuable election allies like Inkatha will have to be addressed directly by government ministers.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s recent decision to break off talks with government will also be dealt with by President FW de Klerk, party sources indicated yesterday.

They say delegates will be looking to De Klerk, who addresses the congress this morning, to allay many of their fears and uncertainties about the future.

These anxieties are reflected in the resolutions to be debated at the two-day congress.

De Klerk is also expected to deal with the growing furor over the release of political prisoners — as well as a number of hardened criminals released as political offenders.

Government’s chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, will also be called on later today to allay concerns about the nature of the deal government is holding out for at negotiations.

A resolution which Meyer will have to respond to calls for a commitment that a new constitutional dispensation will ensure that “civilised norms, values and standards remain intact” and that Afrikaans be retained as one of the official languages.

A total of five constituencies have expressed their “deepest concern” over the corruption, fraud and malpractices taking place in government departments and have called for tough action against offenders, including the instant dismissal of officials with loss of pension benefits — instead of the now common practice of transferring guilty parties to other government departments.

With legislation designed to outlaw hard gambling due to be tabled in Parliament next week, another hot topic at the congress is bound to be a request for the government “to clarify its policy with regard to casinos”, sources say.

A number of NP’s are known to oppose government moves to close up to 2 000 private gaming clubs that have mushroomed across the country in recent months.

Other topics to be debated include the high incidence of violence throughout the country and the “deteriorating security situation in the Transkei”, the growing squatter problem across the country, rising unemployment and rocketing food prices.
Hani tells IFP: Drop die-hard white racists

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party members should distance themselves from the warm embrace their leader gave to die-hard white racists this week, SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani said yesterday.

Mr Hani was apparently referring to Tuesday's mini-summit which was attended by the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana's Dr Lucas Mangope, and right-wing groups including the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

"Enough is enough. Every decent black person and democrat in our country is nauseated by the depths into which Mr Buthelezi has now plunged himself," said Mr Hani.

Chief Buthelezi had once presented himself as an anti-apartheid fighter and had even borrowed the colours of the African National Congress for his IFP, he said.

Yet CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht "represents racist white foremen who daily make the lives of migrant workers a misery. His followers represent the most backward white farmers who oppress farm labourers." Whatever the IFP's differences with the ANC alliance, Chief Buthelezi's relationship with white racists was degrading, said Mr Hani.

The IFP said yesterday that it would never allow the National Party and its "new-found allies", the ANC and SA Communist Party, to dictate to the majority of South Africans and destroy their future. — Sapa
A LIMPET mine was found under a car at Natal University's Durban campus yesterday. The device had been attached to the undercarriage of the car which was parked opposite Mabel Palmer Hall.

Police said the car belonged to a man who was visiting a friend staying at the residence.

The man discovered the mine while trying to push-start his vehicle. Police were notified and specialists moved the mine, and it was detonated.
Parents ask: How did our son die?

THE PARENTS of a Khayelitsha youth who died in a Tanzanian camp run by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) — military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress — are upset at the way PAC officials handled the matter.

Mrs Victoria Meselane said she was still awaiting a certificate confirming the death of her eldest son, Daniel, 21.

She said the first the family knew of Daniel's death was when a neighbour told them it had been announced at a PAC meeting in Khayelitsha.

The following day two PAC officials arrived at their home with a fax from Dar es Salaam saying he had died, "but they could not tell us how he died," she said.

"We struggled for information and eventually were told we could go to Dar es Salaam. We wanted to bring his body home for burial, but when we got there we found that he had already been buried."

Patricia de Lillo

Meselane said that while in Dar es Salaam she and her husband, Howard, were shown a video they were told was of their son's funeral.

They were given a post mortem report which stated that Daniel had died of cerebral malaria.

She said the family was also unhappy about PAC officials in Cape Town suddenly changing the date of a memorial service planned for their son in Khayelitsha.

Invitations had gone out to family and friends when the date was changed, so they had their own service, she said. Later the PAC also held a memorial service.

"I can't say anything sinister happened to my son," said Meselane. "But there is so much confusion around his death that a person can't help thinking."

"Surely they can tell me what happened — I am after all his mother. Why did they bury him first, before asking us what we wanted done with the body?"

Ms Patricia de Lillo, the PAC's national secretary for relief and aid, said it was untrue his death had first been made public at a meeting.

De Lillo said the PAC had made every possible effort to assist the family — arranging visas and air tickets for them to travel to Dar es Salaam, holding vigils at their home in Khayelitsha and organising a memorial service attended by Western Cape PAC chairperson Mr Theo Mabusele and national executive committee member Mr Kwedi Mkalipi. — South Reporter
HELEN SIEGEL/NEW YORK TIMES

A chloroquine pill given to a patient with malaria may help prevent a drug-resistant malaria strain from growing. The drug has been used to treat and prevent malaria for decades, but its effectiveness in controlling the disease has declined in recent years. In some cases, patients have developed resistance to the drug, making it ineffective in treating malaria.

In 1988, chloroquine was effective in treating almost all strains of malaria. But in recent years, resistance to the drug has increased, making it less effective in treating the disease. In some countries, chloroquine has lost its effectiveness entirely, and patients are being treated with other drugs.

The WHO has recommended that chloroquine be used only in areas where it is known to be effective, and that other drugs be used in areas where resistance is widespread. The agency has also recommended that the use of chloroquine be limited to areas where it is most effective, in order to prevent the development of resistance.
I never felt so low for me

"What are you people without a passion without a dream?"

"Could we lose them yet?"

...suffer for the rest of my life..."
5 500 illegal firearms found

POLICE seized more than 5 500 illegal firearms and uncovered an additional 23 arms caches between January 3 and September 24. Police said in a statement that 2 132 rifles and 3 383 handguns had been confiscated. Of those, 539 rifles and 790 handguns were recovered as a result of information received and with the cooperation of the public.

Nearly R 400 000 was paid out to informants, with R 186 300 of the reward money going for the recovery of 296 AK-47 rifles.

Three of the arms cache finds were the result of tip-offs and R 10 000 was paid out.

Police appealed to the public to assist in tracing illegal firearms.

"In order to bring the violence to an end we once again appeal to all people to assist the SAP with any information that will bring those responsible to justice." The anonymity of all sources was guaranteed, the statement said.
By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

RESIDENT FW de Klerk warned yesterday that “the struggle” must end and negotiations must resume or the Government would clamp down on the ANC and PAC military wings.

Opening the short session of Parliament yesterday, De Klerk said negotiations could not continue while “underground activities” and mass action continued or while there were still arms caches stored in the country.

He said the unbanning of certain political organisations did not give them licence to continue their “revolutionary” objectives.

De Klerk said the ANC and PAC (as well as the AWB) would have to “deactivate and dissolve” their private armies completely.

“It remains a crime to be in illegal possession of weapons, to be in control of arms caches, to take part in illegal marches,” De Klerk said.

He said considering the intensified violence and breakdown of negotiations over the past four months, Parliament was gathering under difficult and challenging circumstances.

Meanwhile, the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, led about 3 000 people to Parliament yesterday in a march and rally that was a lot cooler than a Cape Town spring Monday.

After the weekend estimates of 25 000 marchers, the small crowd marched from Cape Town’s Grand Parade to the House of Parliament, to rename Stapleyn - a square outside Tyshuys, the office of the State President - Albert Luthuli Square.

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer has confirmed the meetings with the PAC and IFP, and said that they bode well for the speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations, as early, possibly, as November.

The Government is confident that multi-party talks will resume within a month as it prepares for two high-level meetings with the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party this week.
Report on camp 'torture' out soon
By Abdul Milazi

The report of the ANC's commission of inquiry into alleged killings and torture in ANC prison camps will be released this week, the organisation said yesterday.

An ANC spokesman said the report, containing names of people believed to have been involved in torture, has been handed to ANC president Nelson Mandela and will be discussed by the national executive committee before publication.
No prisoners - Mandela

AFRICAN National Congress President Nelson Mandela yesterday denied the organisation had any prisoners in camps in African countries.

Speaking after a meeting with US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, in Johannesburg, he said he had invited SA Council of Churches secretary general the Reverend Frank Chikane and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to inspect ANC camps.
MK blamed for IFP deaths

By CARMEL PICKARD

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has directly blamed Umkhonto weSizwe for the killing of 60 IFP supporters in six recent Natal massacres, after another murderous attack this week.

On Wednesday, about 20 uniformed men killed and burnt Lena Mvou, wife of Mthiyoke Mvou, the IFP vice-chairman in Felekisi, near kwaMakutha outside Amazinto, according to Inkatha central committee member and kwaZulu health minister Ben Ngubane. They then shot dead four others in the homestead, including two children.

Dropping Inkatha's previous innuendo, Ngubane directly pointed a finger at the African National Congress' armed wing, saying the attack bore all the hallmarks of MK. He also warned that the spate of killings would have to be addressed before the IFP would consider returning to the negotiating table.

"The six massacres over the last six weeks have all followed a similar pattern and this without doubt is a planned strategy employed by MK and ordered by the ANC," he said.

"Nelson Mandela, as commander-in-chief of MK, must take direct and full responsibility for the actions of his death squads."

The phrase "death squads" appears deliberately chosen and follows the ANC's constant reference to "death squads" allegedly financed, trained and run by the state.

Ngubane said that in each case in which Inkatha people were killed, "trained assassins wearing security force uniforms" carried out the massacres. He also claimed that following four of these incidents ANC or MK members have either been arrested or killed by Inkatha members in self-defence at the scene of the massacres.

He listed the continued killings of Inkatha supporters as one of the major issues which had to be addressed before any further constitutional talks were held.

"Inkatha is adamant that MK, the death merchants of the ANC, must be disbanded immediately and unconditionally," Ngubane said. The IFP would otherwise find it difficult to explain to its members why they went back to talks "while the killings continued".

Reporting breaches of the peace accord to the National Peace Committee proved a waste of time. When the ANC was found guilty of violating the accord "there is no internal discipline of those who have violated the accord, and the ANC just shrugs its shoulders as if violations are of no consequence."
IFF dipping in to sad saga

By STUB NKANDI

ALLEGATIONS of abuses in ANC camps in exile continue to haunt the organisation.

No sooner had an ANC-appointed three-person commission of inquiry into the allegations submitted its findings to president Nelson Mandela than another equally damaging commission began hearing evidence from former ANC detainees earlier this month.

Advocate Robert Stuart Douglas of Durban has been caging the country gathering evidence from returned exiles who claimed they were detained, beaten and tortured into admitting they were security police agents. Some alleged their friends were killed by members of the ANC's security department.

Appointed by the rightwing Washington DC-based International Freedom Foundation (IFF), the Douglas Commission has been as controversial as the ANC-appointed commission. The ANC commission consisted of independent advocate Gilbert Marcus, Durban advocate Louis Skweyiya and ANC lawyer Bridgette Mabandu, also a member of the ANC's constitutional committee.

Maverick US congressmen Jesse Helms, who heads the IFF, is a renowned ANC-basher and supporter of Renamo in Mozambique. Units in Angola and other rightwing causes elsewhere in Africa and Latin America.

However, Douglas dismissed the parallel between the two commissions: "I can't speak to the IFF. All I know about them (the IFF) is that they stand for a free-market economy and multi-party democracy. Why should they want to hold an inquiry? It's difficult to understand," the advocate said.

In an interview with City Press this week, Douglas denied the main function of his inquiry was to gather information that could be used in a wave of civil actions against the ANC.

But Pat Hlongwane, chairman of the Returned Exiles Committee, which instigated the commission, said the commission's focus was to ascertain the truth.

A number of the witnesses preferred to remain anonymous because they feared retribution. Those witnesses who didn't mind their names being published had their affidavits deposited with the SA office of the IFF in Johannesburg, the advocate said.

Former ANC member Alfred Kunene told the commission he survived a firing squad at which four people were moved down by members of the ANC's security department in the presence of then Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, and other senior MK members.

Kunene claimed his only crime was to have an affair with an ANC member who had spurred propositions from a member of Imbokodo - a clique in MK.

As a result of severe torture and beatings at the Quatro ANC camp in Angola, he had suffered mental breakdowns and a gunshot wound in his stomach caused him to frequently pass blood.

Other witnesses repeated allegations of severe torture and beatings at the hands of ANC guards, who acted with the apparent authority and acquiescence of MK leaders.

The commission's hearing in Marcellus last week was marked and Mr. Nkosazana Mabandu, 55, gave Douglas a statement during a hearing attended by Hlongwane in which he said that although he was wrongfully imprisoned by the ANC, he felt no bitterness as he understood that the parasite within the ANC was caused by the assassination of a number of his members by "enemy agents".

He said he was not tortured during his imprisonment and received proper food and medical care. He said he had raised the matter of his wrongful arrest with the ANC leadership to get redress and advised Hlongwane to do the same.

There were frequent exchanges between Hlongwane and Mabandu during the interview, debating - among other things - whether food was good or bad in prison.

When Mabandu suggested he could set up a meeting between ANC leaders and Hlongwane for him to state his grievances, Hlongwane reported that if he were to meet ANC leaders, he would do so with a "tombstone around my waist to die with all of them".

Explaining Hlongwane's presence during the hearing, Douglas said the interview was open to the public and that Mabandu's three observers were also allowed in. The advocate said Hlongwane was present at Mabandu's invitation. He added that the IFF leader had previously attended some hearings.

This week, REC political researcher Sipho Latha, who was detained by Imbokodo and "falsely" accused of being a State agent, said in his statement this week he had joined the REC because he wanted redress as he had been abused by the ANC. He said ANC allegations that he was a spy were "blatant lies and a distortion of my image".

The former exile has been staying in the Mzilikazi stronghold of Lifodlane near Durban since returning last year. He now wants to open his house in Marcellus and start a new life with his family, he said.

Latha said REC secretary Sitho Latha had also left the committee.
Bomber hits wrong house

DAMAGE estimated at thousands of rand was caused by a petrol bomb thrown into a Port Elizabeth house in error.

Police said the attack appeared to have been intended for another house in the Schauderville area.

Mr. Joseph Baartman, 44, of Glendinning Street, awoke to the sound of a window breaking and found his lounge ablaze.
The fight for
Press freedom

Today, 15 years ago, the Government clamped down on the black Press:

Sowetan Correspondent

ON October 19 1977, the Government banned The World and Weekend World newspapers and 18 other black consciousness organisations.

In honour of media practitioners who were victims of this action, and in defence of a free media in this country, Sowetan today hosts a seminar on press freedom at Vista University from 8.30am.

The Union of Black Journalists was one of the 18 organisations that were banned.

Among the others were Sasm, SSRC, Saso, BPC, BPA, Medupe Writers Association, African Women Federation, six provincial youth clubs, Zimele and Siyazincoda Trust Funds.

There have been many occasions since 1977 when newspapers were banned, journalists detained and arrested, and legislation used to curtail access to information and freedom of expression.

(See story on Page 6)

ANC's torture findings

THE African National Congress (ANC) is to release its findings today on allegations of torture at its camps.

A statement said a report of its commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC prisoners would be released to the Press later today.

"There will be no further comment until then," the ANC said. Sowetan 19/10/77

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela appointed a three-member commission consisting of lawyers Louis Skweyiya, Bridgit Mahanda and Gilbert Marcus to inquire into conditions at its camps in the wake of the torture claims.

The commission is expected to make recommendations which may include the removal from office of people implicated in the alleged torture.

It is believed the commission has heard evidence from more than 20 witnesses - both former detainees and high-ranking ANC officials.

325 000 sit matric exams

MORE than 325 000 matric pupils will sit for their final examination from tomorrow amid unresolved problems between the education authorities, teachers and pupils.

The Congress of South African Students has resolved that the final examinations be written despite the violence and harassment affecting their members in Ciskei, Natal and the PWV areas.

However, Cosas said they were not going to hesitate in calling the exams to a stop if these factors affected students. Cosas blamed the Department of Education and Training for its insensitivity and unwillingness in responding to the pupils and teachers’ demands.
ANC guilty of torture

By Abbey Makoe

A three-man commission of inquiry into brutalities in the ANC's detention camps yesterday revealed that certain individuals still in the organisation were guilty of inhuman activities.

In response to the findings, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the organisation's leadership accepted "collective responsibility".

The commission was headed by Advocate Zola Skweyiya and Mrs Bridget Mabandla, both of the ANC, and Advocate Gilbert Marcus.

The ANC is expected to spend thousands of rand in compensation for individuals it has wronged.

The commission made several recommendations, saying it was guided by three principles: redress, accountability and prevention.

Three included:
- People who were detained without trial should have allegations against them unconditionally withdrawn;
- People who were subjected to torture in ANC camps should receive monetary compensation;
- The ANC should provide medical and psychological assistance to some of the complainants interviewed by the commission;
- The organisation must provide financial assistance to complainants whose academic careers were interrupted by "long periods" of detention;
- Detainees who lost property should be compensated for their losses, and that;
- Consideration be given to an independent structure to document cases of abuse and give effect to the commission's recommendations.

The commission said it was apparent that many people had suffered. Some of the allegations, according to the commission, were, however, found to be false.

The commission found the "graves abuse" had been perpetrated in the ANC's campos in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda against suspected infiltrators and agents.

Those detained in the organisation's Quatro camp in Angola were detained without trial for long periods under shocking physical conditions and were denied adequate health treatment.

"The evidence revealed that camp guards and commanders made it virtually impossible for detainees to maintain themselves and their clothing in a healthy condition," said the report.

It described as "unconscionable and pernicious" the lack of adequate nutrition provided to inmates at the camps.

The report said the commanders of the Quatro camp, which was for suspect enemy agents and dissidents, were "universally hostile to the inmates".

"The inmates, whether convicted of any offence or not, were denigrated, humiliated and abused, often with staggering brutality. It was violence for the sake of violence."

According to the evidence, beatings were meted out gratuitously and brutally. After the 1984 mutiny at the Quatro camp, mutineers were executed. The commission said there was a "sense of unease" that the executions were carried out summarily.

The head of the ANC's department of intelligence and security until 1987, Mzwai Piliso, candidly admitted to the commission his personal participation in the beating of suspects in 1981, saying it was justified on the basis that he wanted information "at any cost".

The chairman of the Returned Exiles Coordinating Committee on Monday expressed doubt about the credibility of the report.

Mr Mwesu Twala expressed concern about the ANC taking collective responsibility for the abuses, and the fact that the names of perpetrators had not been published.
Abuses: ANC takes full responsibility

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday announced that his organisation accepted full responsibility for the chilling human rights abuses perpetrated in its detention camps.

However, he refused to make public the names of the perpetrators of maltreatment given to him by the ANC's internal commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC prisoners. No immediate action against these people, some of whom were still in the ANC, was envisaged.

In compliance with one of the commission's 10 recommendations, the ANC had undertaken to appoint an "independent and impartial body" to further investigate allegations of torture and murder.

The commission's 74-page report released yesterday details horrific human rights abuses in detention camps beyond SA's borders, including torture, humiliation and "staggering brutality".

The most important recommendation of the commission is that urgent and immediate attention be given to identifying and dealing with those responsible.

No person "guilty of committing atrocities should ever again be allowed to assume a position of power", the commissioners said.

The commission reports how torture was inflicted to extract confessions. It also lists incidents of abuse and punishment sometimes for no apparent reason.

These include:

☑ Detainees disappearing or being murdered in detention, while others died from maltreatment;

☑ Description of a routine torture called "the gasmask", in which a pawpaw shell was pushed onto the face of the detainee.

☑ Former head of ANC intelligence Mzwai Pila, a reluctant witness, stating he watched as the soles of detainees' feet were beaten to extract information; and

☑ No food for detainees while commandants ate their fill and fed leftovers to pigs.

The three-person commission, two of whom are ANC members, said there was a consistency in the evidence, but ruled out any collusion or fabrication.

The 10 recommendations include appeals for allegations against detainees to be unequivocally withdrawn; monetary compensation and medical assistance for those who suffered, and education provision for detainees who wanted it.

Mandela said he regretted the clear and unequivocal indictment of the ANC and said the abuses were inexcusable. Everything would be done to ensure nothing like this ever happened again.
ANC guilty of torture

GRAVE ABUSES ANC commission finds gross maltreatment of detainees in detention camps:

AN ANC commission has found that the “gravest of abuses” have been perpetrated in the movement’s camps in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda against persons suspected of being infiltrators and agents.

The three-man commission of inquiry yesterday revealed that certain individuals still serving in the organisation were guilty of these abuses.

In response to the findings, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the organisation’s leadership accepted “collective responsibility”.

The commission found:
- Detainees were held without trial;
- Detainees were provided with inadequate nutrition;
- Detainees were humiliated “often with staggering brutality”.

The ANC is expected to compensate individuals it has wronged.

See story page 2
Probe deeper call to ANC

Praise for accepting full responsibility for human rights abuses:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) said it welcomed the ANC's acceptance of responsibility but said it was "shocked and aggrieved" at how detainees were treated at ANC camps. The church group supported the ANC's intention to appoint an independent commission and called for the naming of those responsible for the abuses. Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said Mr Nelson Mandela deserved credit.

"People will be satisfied only once the names of perpetrators were known. It is important that the ANC should disclose, just as the Government should disclose."

Included in the report of a three-person commission are details of detention without trial in the Quatro camp in Angola for long periods under shocking physical conditions.

Meanwhile, the Returned Exiles Coordinating Committee (Recoc) chairman, Mr Mwezi Twala, said while he welcomed the ANC's report his organisation wanted a full and independent inquiry. He said Recoc was awaiting the completion of a report into exiles' claims headed by Mr Robert Douglas, SC, which has been sponsored by the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation.
MP admits he blew up Pretoria school

CAPE TOWN — Right-wing MP Koos Botha admitted in Parliament yesterday that he blew up a Pretoria school — and then blamed the CP leadership for inspiring him to violence. Botha, currently on trial for his involvement in the July 1991 bombing of Hillview School, which was to have housed exiled ANC children, said he blew up the school to demonstrate the power of the Afrikaner.

Speaking during the Further Indemnity Bill debate, he blamed CP leader Andries Treurnicht, deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and Cape leader Jan Hoon for speeches that inspired him to violence.

Treurnicht rejected the claims and said Botha was the only person among the 100,000 people at the Voortrekker Monument who took his statement that "the third war of freedom has begun" as a personal instruction to violence.

Botha had forgotten repeated warnings that individuals should not take the law into their own hands, said Treurnicht.

Botha, in his speech supporting the Bill, said something had built up inside him and he reached his Rubicon of violence when it was announced the ANC would be allowed to use the Hillview School, a cherished place in Afrikanerdem.

"Botha said he now believed it would be stupid to engage in violence. "We now need freedom fighters with a trowel and a spade in their hands. Let us put away the AK-47s and the R4s and work ourselves free."
ANC DETENTION CAMPS

A haunted past

The decision by ANC leader Nelson Mandela to appoint — and publish the findings of — a commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC detainees was a commendable first step. Similar allegations against Swapo were not investigated before it contested elections and became the government of Namibia.

But the real test of the ANC's commitment to ethical standards, openness and the prevention of such abuses in future depends on whether and how it intends acting on the commission's recommendations.

Most important, the commission "strongly recommends that urgent and immediate attention be given to identifying and dealing with those responsible for the maltreatment of detainees."

The commissioners — advocates Gilbert Marcus and Louis Skweyiya and ANC member Brigid Mabandla — say: "It is for the ANC itself to ensure that it cleanses its own ranks of those responsible for the acts of brutality described in this report."

"It is clear that several persons against whom serious allegations of brutality have been levelled are currently employed by the ANC in the security department." A list of these people has been supplied to Mandela.

The commissioners add that those in senior ranks of the security department who were responsible for the situation in the camps should not escape the net of accountability either.

"We consider this recommendation to be of the greatest importance, particularly in the light of the role that the ANC is likely to play in a future government." No-one guilty of committing atrocities should "ever again" be allowed to assume a position of power.

The best formula for prevention of such acts in future would be to ensure that the perpetrators are brought to account "and are seen to be brought to account."

For the ANC leadership to accept "ultimate responsibility" for not having adequately monitored the situation in its camps is one thing — "an example the government might follow," says the Institute of Race Relations' Ill Wentzel. But that would be like the State President simply accepting responsibility for security force dirty deeds in the past without having to reveal all.

However, it would seem reasonable for the ANC not to divulge the names until those in question have had a chance to put their case and defend themselves.

Guided by the principles of "redress, accountability and prevention," the commission also recommends the creation of an "independent structure" which is perceived to be impartial and is capable of document-

ing cases of abuse and giving effect to the type of recommendations in its report. The ANC says it is considering the appointment of an independent commission.

Among the commission's 10 recommendations are compensation to victims including medical assistance, monetary award, psychological treatment and return of property.

A former ANC member and detainee who now heads the Returned Exile Co-ordinating Committee, Mzezi Twala, described the commission's report as "a victory for us," arguing that the ANC was forced into appointing the commission after having attempted to sweep the matter under the carpet. He says the ANC acted partly to preempt the findings of another commission of inquiry, appointed by the International Freedom Foundation and chaired by Durban advocate Robert Douglas, which expects to report by the end of the year. Its terms of reference are wider than the Marcus commission's: it intends naming those responsible and legally accountable and whether anyone is still being detained.

Twala says the ANC's exiled leadership at the time — not its internal leaders or those who were on Robben Island — should accept responsibility for the atrocities. He names as directly responsible: Mzwalu Piliso, then head of an ANC security organ called Mbokhodo ("the stone that crushes"), security directorate bigwigs like Andrew Masondo, a

national commissar thought to be in Uganda; Sizakele Sigkisha; and Reddy Mazinbo, a former chief ANC representative in Zimbabwe. Twala adds that ANC sports chief Steve Tswete (then army commissar) visited the Quatro camp in Angola in about 1986 and that Chris Hani was a regular visitor.
ANC names withheld

The names of those implicated in cases of maltreatment in ANC detention camps would be withheld. In response to demands that it release the names, the ANC said it would be heard. Responding to demands that it release the names, the ANC said it would be heard. In response to demands that it release the names, the ANC said it would be heard. Responding to demands that it release the names, the ANC said it would be heard.
ANC officials denounced
for prison camp terror

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

SENIOR officials in the African National Congress have been denounced in the strongest terms for “staggering” brutality and torture of prisoners, as well as possible murder, by an internal commission of inquiry.

The investigation, into conditions under which detainees were held in ANC camps abroad during its years of exile, confirms many of the worst allegations made by former members who have been denounced as an organisation of South African government “spies” and “traitors”.

It details horrendous maltreatment — with even medical staff participating in assaults — as well as the systematic use of torture to extract “confessions.” In one case a detainee was tortured until “due to a confusion in the use of code names”, he “confessed to murdering himself.” Another was beaten for 14 hours until he confessed to killing several people who were subsequently found to be alive.

The report calls for further investigation into allegations that some prisoners “simply disappeared or were murdered”.

It lists a wide variety of torture, including kicks to the genitals and beatings on the soles of the feet, prisoners being forced to crawl through red ant colonies with pigs and fat smeared on them to attract bites, starvation, and solitary confinement.

“It was violence for the sake of violence,” says the report by three lawyers appointed by the ANC to probe the charges.

“We were left with the impression that for the better part of the 1980s there existed a situation of extraordinary abuse of power and lack of accountability.”

Several of the persons accused of committing acts of torture are still employed in the security department of the ANC, the report says.

The report fact of the inquiry — headed by a Johannesburg lawyer and ANC member, Advocate T. L. Skweyiya — were reluctantly released by the ANC leadership after what appears to have been acrimony within its executive, the national working committee.

The ANC's president, Nelson Mandela, said the leadership accepted “ultimate responsibility for not adequately monitoring and, therefore, eradicating such abuses”.

But he qualified this by saying it was the view of the working committee that the speed with which the investigation had to be completed meant it was unable to hear mitigating evidence. Such evidence included the difficult conditions under which the ANC operated in exile and “inaccuracies in some of the sources which the commission used as authoritative reference”.

The qualification is likely to be received with some cynicism in view of the time it has taken for the ANC to release the report, which was completed in August.

The report is startling for the brutality of its criticism of the ANC. Although one of its three commissioners, Advocates Gilbert Marcus, is not an ANC member and is highly regarded among civil rights activists, it was feared the inquiry would end in a cover-up.

The commission said it had received evidence from 17 former detainees, including the ANC's present director of publicity, Dr Pall Jordan, who had been held for six weeks for accusing the security department of “conducting itself like a repressive police force”.

Twelve of the 17 had received no trial and had been held for between three to seven years.

The worst abuses were committed at the notorious “Quatro rehabilitation centre” in Angola, it says.

But conditions in other camps and prisons in Angola, Zambia, Tanzania, and Uganda were in no way “remotely acceptable”.

It confirms that men who took part in a mutiny at Quatro had been executed. “The circumstances in which this occurred are far from clear. However, there is a sense of unease that these executions may have been carried out summarily.”

The commission says no one who was guilty of atrocities should ever again be allowed to occupy positions of power, and it recommends that victims of torture be paid compensation irrespective of whether they were proved to be spies.
THE Weekly Mail publishes here a list of African National Congress members accused of responsibility for the torture and abuse in the organisation's camps in 1980.

The ANC's own inquiry, which published its report this week, catalogued a range of horrors committed by the security department at ANC camps, but left out of the naming the individuals accused of being involved.

The Weekly Mail conducted its own investigation to identify these individuals and gives a full breakdown. They fall into three categories: senior officials directly implicated in the abuses; or who had immediate responsibility for them; lesser officials; and those who turned a blind eye — senior ANC personnel who are guilty by complacency.

THE INSTITIGATORS and TORTURERS

- Mzwawo Mzwawo — ANC national executive committee (NEC) member until July 1991 (when he failed to secure re-election) and head of ANC security department until 1985 and since then head of the ANC's manpower department. He was accused of ordering the torture of dissidents, some of whom died as a result.


- He is accused of ordering the torture of dissidents. Some of whom died as a result.

The unsung 'heroes' of the camps

- Mziwokwana Mziwokwana — ANC member of the ANC.
Rebel betrayed by his cause
By PHILLIPA GARSON
In October 1976 Charles Thembekwayo left the ANC to become a government-trained military instructor. He is now aactivities in Angola.

He believed that the ANC's military strategy was not working and that South Africa's military capabilities were superior. Thembekwayo became a government-trained military instructor and was sent to Angola.

On a later occasion, he was involved in an ambush and was captured by government forces. He was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment.

The question remains: Who killed Thambi?
By PAUL STOBER

The far-right wing of the ANC, known as the Umkhonto we Sizwe, was established in 1961.

In April 1984, a group of ANC members were killed in a firefight with government forces in the Transvaal. The group was led by a commander named John Kani, who was known for his ties to the Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A few days later, Thembekwayo was killed in a firefight with government forces.

Two weeks later, the ANC announced that Thambi had been killed in action.

The high office of Thambi held in the organization. He was prominent in the ranks of the ANC and is often described as having been exceptionally intelligent and able.

The ANC operates continuously in South Africa, and its existence is well documented by ordinary members who fear arrest. In June 1988, Thambi was killed in a firefight with government forces in the Transvaal.

In the aftermath of Thambi's death, many ANC members were arrested and imprisoned, and the organization was forced to go underground.

A few months later, Thambi was released from prison and returned to active duty.

In December 1989, Thambi was killed in a firefight with government forces in the Transvaal.
The names the ANC tried to hide

The Weekly Mail this week publishes names and details of African National Congress officials accused of responsibility for torture and abuse in the organisation's camps in exile.

The ANC's own report into what happened at the camps, published this week, confirmed that there had been widespread abuses, but fell short of naming the individuals accused of involvement.

An appendix of names that emerged during the hearings of the commission of inquiry was left off the document handed to the media.

The ANC has come under criticism for failing to come fully clean. However, the organisation argues that a further, more independent, inquiry is needed before allegations can be made against individuals.

The Weekly Mail conducted its own investigation and found that:

- A number of people currently employed at ANC headquarters in Shell House, Johannesburg, were personally and directly implicated in torture and murders. These include one of Nelson Mandela's bodyguards and others who are still in the department of intelligence and security, which was responsible for events in the camps.
- Those involved in the abuses have since been promoted, such as Andrew Maseko, the current head of the ANC mission in Uganda. He replaced Thembo Mibhono, "hero" of the report and one of the few ANC officials who went out of their way to help the detainees.
- Many of the most senior ANC officials knew about conditions in the camp — and did not do enough to stop it. These include the then president, Oliver Tambo, and the commander of Umkhonto weSizwe, Joe Modise.
- A notorious camp commander, Thami Zulu, himself became a victim. He was detained on suspicion of being a spy and died mysteriously within days of his release.
- The victims were not just those accused of being spies, but loyal soldiers who criticised the hierarchy or the camp practices.

The names are given on PAGES 4 and 5.
Fresh torture probe may reach top ranks

By CHARLENE SMITH

DEBATES of ANC members, some in senior positions, face investigation this year over allegations of torture.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the independent inquiry, promised by ANC president Nelson Mandela, would begin work after the ANC's national executive committee meets in November.

However, there is pressure from other top-ranking ANC officials for the inquiry to be appointed sooner.

The findings of an inquiry into ANC camps' reported abuse of human rights have been widely publicized and caused outrage among ANC members and the wider public.

The commission's report has caused a stir among ANC members, some of whom are angry that the commission did not give them a chance to defend themselves.

She said: "In the process of doing our work, many had failures and many had successes." A former prisoner — who was held for six years without trial and who was frequently beaten, but remains a

loyal ANC member — said there was a "trend of fear and intimidation among" members.

The Sunday Times has gathered a list of names of those allegedly involved in abuse. It is not the first given to Mandela by the commission, but the names have been checked with senior ANC members who say that those on the Sunday Times list correspond with those on the commission's list.

Victims say torture was the perpetrator of security officers, while beatings were said to be done with the backs of prison guards.

Most security officers were trained by the South African army, which has been accused of abuse.

Some names below are from the Umnohwo, a newspaper used by all ANC members to communicate. However, some names were not considered unique to a single individual and there are some who shared a code name with a torturer who was not involved in abuses of this nature. Among those identified by victims are:

- Andrew Maseko, "Dillinga" (ACN head of security in Umguma, former security officer at ANC headquarters, who has experienced attempts on his life since his return to South Africa)
- "Willie Williams" (real name Mutambo, a security officer in ANC security headquarters)
- "Professor" (real name Phepha, a former security officer at ANC headquarters)
- "Soweto" (married to the sister of Nelson Mandela, "Mandla," who wrote "Chic"

- Some of Mr Mandela's bodyguards were allegedly involved in abuses, including "Klingberg," "Mandla" and "Moeke" (Mzali)
- Peter Shabashe, former security chief in KwaZulu
- Dan Mashago, chief of staff at KwaZulu
- Lawrence Pitso, a security officer at ANC headquarters, who has experienced attempts on his life since his return to South Africa
- "Kabelo" (real name Moleleka, a senior ANC security officer who has attempted to murder him since his return to South Africa)

All the former security chiefs of KwaZulu were involved in torture, former security officers claim. Their code names are "Parker," "Ishmael," and "Vuli" who both died under mysterious circumstances. They also now work at ANC headquarters. The Sunday Times was not able to establish further details about these individuals.
Names of Those Impeached

Chamber of Delegates

1833

By Question

Proceedings into the

Chamber of Delegates

Chamber of Delegates

1833

By Question
'Stick your hand up if you’re a good cop'

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE agreement between the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcr) and Apla that the guerrilla movement should not attack union members during their military operations in the townships is clouded with controversy.

Popcr general secretary Peter Nkuna this week tried to explain to City Press how PAC soldiers would identify Popcr members during their operations, but the process seemed complicated and confusing.

He said Apla would work closely with PAC local structures such as student bodies and civic associations to identify "good" policemen or Popcr members who lived in each township.

Those policemen would be introduced to local communities and would in turn be "known" to the guerrillas so that they were exempted from possible attacks.

When the "good" police were sent out on patrols, they should inform PAC structures in those areas so they did not fall victim to Apla attacks.

But the agreement seemed not to have taken into account the fact that in terms of the police rules to ensure security and secrecy, especially among black members of the force, policemen are usually not told in advance about where they would patrol, raid or man roadblocks.

In some cases they are simply issued with the necessary equipment, including guns, and ordered into vans without being told where they are going until they are at or near the scene where the operation will commence.

But Nkuna, an imposing young prison warder at Johannesburg Prison, conceded that very few of Popcr’s 5 000 paid-up members were policemen.

"Because of intimidation by white officers and certain regulations regarding the police force, most policemen are either reluctant or scared to join Popcr," said Nkuna.

Popcr drew most of its membership from black prison warders who were frustrated by the racial discrimination and repression that took place in prisons, he said.

The Apla/Popcr agreement came in the wake of increased attacks on black policemen.

A man calling himself Karl Zimbi and claiming to be the Apla commander in the country, has claimed responsibility for many of the attacks.
ANC dissident Mzwazi Twala announced that he intends instituting a civil claim for defamation against SACP secretary-general Chris Hani.

Twala, leader of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, said his claims of massive torture in ANC detention camps had been vindicated.

He said Hani had accused him of “stealing blankets in Mozambique” and had implicated him in the killing of ANC mutineers in 1984.
Suicide is not ruled out, says Azania

STRANGE circumstances surround the death of two Azanian National Liberation Army guerrillas in a grenade blast in Naledi early this week.

Mongameli Gxowa, 26, and Shaun Tshume, 23, died when a grenade exploded on Monday night.

Police have confirmed the incident and said one man died on the scene and the second died in hospital.

While details of the explosion remain unclear, a source said a “suicide attack on the enemy forces could not be ruled out”.

He added it was not unusual for Azania combatants to kill themselves to avoid being captured by the enemy which might lead to the arrest of other guerrillas and the destruction of underground units.

In March 1991, Azania guerrilla Thabang “Cobra” Mothlidise died with a Lebowa policeman after he detonated a grenade. At his funeral speakers told of how Mothlidise had vowed that he would rather kill himself than be at the mercy of his captors.
PAC will not disband army

THE South African government failed yesterday to force the Pan Africanist Congress to disband its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.
Azapo honours slain guerillas

Azania members die in grenade blast in Soweto

THE Soweto region of the Azanian People's Organisation yesterday paid tribute to two members of the Azanian National Liberation Army who died in a grenade blast last week.

Mr Mongameli Gxowa (26) of Port Elizabeth and Mr Shum Tshume (23) of Dobsonville, died within minutes of each other after a blast in Naledi Extension on Monday last week.

The region's chairperson, Mr Mosehele Mpolo, said last night that both men died while on their mission of liberating black people from oppression.

"The two comrades have joined Aba Asha, Muntu Myeza and other martyrs by sacrificing their lives for liberation."

He called on members of the Black Consciousness Movement to give the two men fitting funerals.

Tshume will be buried on Saturday while Gxowa's funeral takes place on November 7 in Port Elizabeth.

A memorial service for the two men will be held at Kopanong Community Centre in Dobsonville at 6pm on Thursday.
Cadres are remembered

THE armed struggle was the best way of defeating the South African government, a memorial service for two slain Azanla cadres was told in Dobsonville last night.  

The service at the Kopanong Community Centre was held in honour of Sean Rapise of Dobsonville and Mongameli Oxowa of Port Elizabeth who died in action last week.

Addressing about 400 people, Mrs Joyce Kalaete, head of Azapo's women's wing, said black people had to realise that freedom would not be given on a platter and that they had to fight for it.

Mr Lybon Mahasa, projects co-ordinator of Azapo, said the two cadres had understood the risks involved in military life. Mrs Doris Thinane said Rapise's understanding of politics was amazing. She called on black people to fight the system by any means necessary.
McBride says he 'feels remorse'

ANC cadre and former death row prisoner Robert McBride said yesterday he had planted the bomb in a Durban bar which killed three women during a "dirty war" in SA and nobody could deny his cause had been just.

McBride, 28, who received the death sentence for the 1986 bombing, said in an interview with Radio 702 he did, however, feel remorse for the deaths and injuries caused at Magco's Bar.

"The killing of people is always tragic and it is something I have to live with for the rest of my life. It is a tragedy that people have to die and people have to fight and kill for their freedom," he said.

McBride said he had carried out the bombing at the express orders of ANC commanders, even though he had initially questioned its wisdom. The intended target had been the neighbouring Why Not bar, a hangout for off-duty policemen and soldiers identified by ANC intelligence.

Asked how he felt about the release of Barend Strydom, McBride said Strydom had been a free man from a privileged group and could have turned to Parliament or his political representatives.

McBride said reconciliation was essential to secure the future of generations to come, but would be difficult to achieve in the current climate of violence.

McBride was released from death row in terms of a political settlement between the ANC and government.
The ANC's decision to hide the names of ANC members involved in the pretense of the African National Congress camps is a demonstration of the organization's commitment to maintaining secrecy and protecting the identities of its members. This decision is a reflection of the ANC's historical practice of maintaining control over information, a strategy that has been central to its political survival. The ANC has a long history of employing tactics that involve hiding information and manipulating public perception. This practice is not new, and it has been a consistent feature of the ANC's political strategy. The decision to hide the names of ANC members involved in the camps is an example of the ANC's ongoing efforts to maintain this tradition. The ANC's decision to hide the names of its members involved in the camps is a strategic move aimed at ensuring that the organization can continue to operate with a minimum of scrutiny and accountability. It is a reflection of the ANC's commitment to maintaining its political power and influence, even at the cost of transparency and honesty.
WEAPONS are pouring into SA across the Mozambican border and into the eager hands of ANC and Inkatha "self-defence units" who are arming themselves for open civil war.

Spokesmen for both Inkatha and the ANC confirmed this week that thousands of weapons were stashed around the country. Both parties said they would defend themselves from attack and would, if necessary, launch pre-emptive strikes against political foes.

The deluge of weapons, many of them sophisticated semi-automatic rifles, has contributed to the country's 300-a-month death toll from political violence.

Despite allegations from many quarters, including powerful Transvaal Inkatha organiser Themba Khoza, that "there are thousands of AK-47s stashed all over the place", police have confiscated only 7237 firearms this year compared with 6066 last year.

**Direction**

Most arms and ammunition come from Mozambique despite a two-year-old agreement under the Joint Security Commission — established as part of the 1984 Nkomati Accord between SA and Mozambique — to investigate illegal arms traffic between the two countries.

These investigations are under the direction of General Kruppert Engelbrecht.

Sunday Times inquiries show that AK-47s sell for as little as R40 to R150 on the Reef and in Natal.

Prosecution and conviction figures are low. The most recent figures show that from July 1989 to June 1990 there were only 449 prosecutions (and 343 convictions) for the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, and 59 prosecutions and 42 convictions for the illegal sale of arms and ammunition.

**Purpose**

Both the ANC and Inkatha accuse each other of military-style, hit-squad operations and justify their own attacks as self-defence.

In a speech to the University of Zululand last week Mr Khoza said: "Hostel-dwellers are involved in violence (because) they were first attacked. The government and ANC now seek to make self-defence a criminal act by fencing the attacked from the attackers."

Claiming that 260 Inkatha leaders have been assassinated, he said: "The war has been stepped up with one purpose in mind — the future election."

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda admitted in an interview that returned MK cadres may be involved in "defending communities".

"If there is violence on the ground and if they feel that if they face impending attack, people should defend themselves. We cannot prescribe that if people know they will be attacked, they should launch a pre-emptive attack. It's up to them to decide."

He said he did not believe this fuelled violence: "Apartheid breeds violence, transition breeds violence; it will lessen if there is a political solution. Political contest increases the danger of violence. People such as warlords develop a stake in violence; ordinary people are drawn in when family members are slain."

Mr Nyanda said MK cadres had returned from exile to live in violence-torn areas — "they are highly trained and have come back into an economic depression."

- Help

"Communities are fed up that MK is not helping them. It is our responsibility to help our people if they are attacked."

The South African Institute of Race Relations, which says that more than 14,000 people have died in political violence since September 1984, notes that firearms were used in 39 percent of deaths last year.

For the first time AK-47s are being used in moving trains despite police and railway claims of increased security measures.
Venue razed hours before DP rally

By ROSEMARY BROWN

A PIETERSBURG hall was destroyed in a blaze possibly caused by a bomb blast yesterday just hours before DP leader Zach de Beer was due to address a meeting there.

The ANC had also booked the hall in Seshego, near Pietersburg, for yesterday afternoon.

Members of the DP’s northern Transvaal branch arrived at the Seshego Community Hall at 7.30am to make preparations for a rally, to find the hall extensively damaged.

Police have not yet begun their investigations, but Mr de Beer said that the damage — windows blown out, and the steel roof bent and buckled — appeared consistent with either a bomb blast or a fire. There was evidence that a door had been forced with an implement like a chisel, he said.

Chased

Local residents told DP officials they had seen several white men in the area at midnight on Friday, and claimed that the visitors had chased away the security guard from the hall. They alleged that an explosion had occurred soon after the men had left.

No-one has claimed responsibility for the damage.

The DP meeting went ahead yesterday in a side hall which had survived intact. Mr de Beer said he thought attendance — around 30 people — had been adversely affected by the blaze but he stressed that the incident would not upset the rest of his campaign.
The Dutch version of Operation Vula

A new book by a Dutch anti-apartheid leader reveals details for the first time of Operation Vula, the ANC's bid to establish an underground insurrectionary network during the 1980s, reports GAVIN EVANS

When Nelson Mandela was in Victor Verster prison, he was kept informed of the African National Congress' top-secret Operation Vula — and he used its covert networks for regular communications with then-ANC president Oliver Tambo.

This is one of the many surprises contained in a new book by Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement leader Connie Braam about Vula. The book, which gives the first detailed account of the ANC's bid to create an integrated political and military command network within the country, under the noses of the enemy.

Operation Vula — South Africans and Dutch in the Struggle against Apartheid, is an insider's view. Braam co-ordinated much of Vula's very substantial international component. Her book goes some way towards unveiling the Vula conspiracy.

The idea behind the ANC/South African Communist Party plan was to set up a command network within the country. But just when most of the pieces were in place, ready to be moved, February 2 1990 arrived and insurrectionary dreams were washed away forever. Six months later the security police detained some of the key leaders, and the already downplayed Vula quicky ground to a permanent halt.

From the ANC-SACP point of view, Vula was a good idea, but one that came too late. In the end it probably made very little difference to the country's political equation.

The story is nevertheless a fascinating one, which aside from the largely distorted picture given at the time of the 1990 detentions, has been hidden from the general public.

Braam's book, launched in Amsterdam this week, is anything but a critical account of what occurred. It is said on the politics behind the plan, and at times it is almost gushing about some of the key individuals involved — Mac Maharaj, Ronnie Kasrils, Gbehua (Siphwe Nyanda), Ivan Pillay, Tim Jenkins, Janet Love and others. Because the book is written in the first person, its focus is mainly on the relation between the Dutch supporters and the exiled leaders, with few

Dutch courage ... Anti Apartheid Movement leader Connie Braam. Photo: KEVIN CARTER

glimpses being provided of the hundreds of internally-based ANC/SACP activists who contributed to setting up the Vula network.

What it does succeed in providing is a very colourful account of the methods used by the Vula commanders in smuggling the country's leaders (Maharaj, Gbehua and later Ronnie Kasrils), members, overseas supporters, weapons and computer systems — the problems they faced and how these were overcome.

Along the way it offers fascinating vignettes on some of the key Vula cadres. Among them, "Sipho" who participated in the groundbreaking late 1970s and early 1980s attacks on the Orlando, Moroka and Booyens police stations and narrowly escaped the arrest that led to the 1981 hanging of Motau, Morgeerane and Mosololi. "Christopher," the white Cape Town activist with the "ballet dancer" look, who skipped the country with a broken leg and returned home to the underground, disguised variously as a maestro Rhodesian, a yuppie businessman and a coloured man; and most of all "Chota" (Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim), Braam's sometime lover, who was abducted from Swaziland by the National Intelligence Service, and severely tortured in detention.

It also throws up several significant claims, previously unpublished. For instance, there are several allusions to the Vula "repartage network" and its "deep infiltration" into the South African security forces; it is mentioned that Mandela was in regular and detailed secret communication with Tambo while in prison through the Vula system; and it is made clear that Maputo continued to be used as an MK transit point, at least until 1990.

The popular view of Vula being largely a Party-inspired affair, is, inadvertently, shown to be substantially correct. While it was jointly headed by Tambo and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, all the plain's leaders were prominent within the SAPC.

Much of the book is taken up with descriptions of how various Vula operatives were disguised to allow them to re-enter South Africa, and how scores of Dutch supporters were given new identities to allow them to operate as couriers and to set up safe houses in South Africa and other southern African states. They were also extensively involved in setting up the highly effective computer-aided communications system, and in a range of other tasks such as building compartments for vehicles to enable weapons to be smuggled into the country.

Though narrative tends to gloss over the problems encountered, its does offer hints of difficulties encountered. Braam describes how she and Khuxa de Jonge were imprisoned by South African agents. She mentions psychological problems the years of tension caused for some of the volunteers. There's a vignette on Vula member and former Cape Town activist "Rita" whose boyfriend confessed to working for Pretoria while in ANC detention, and then "committed suicide" — learning in turn to Rita's detention. There's another on the confusing and disbelief felt by exiles when they first encountered the collapse of socialism.

The aim of Operation Vula was to introduce a qualitative change in the way the ANC-SACP alliance conducted its struggle. No more would things be commandeered from outside South Africa's borders, with all the problems that produced — long and dangerous supply lines, poor intelligence, inappropriate military targets, a complete separation of the internal and external, military and political components and massive infiltration by the "enemy".

Instead a sophisticated cell structure would be established, with the key command centres increasingly being based within the country. From Braam's book it appears that much of this was already in place, but still extremely vulnerable whenever the ANC and SAPC were under threat.

The book provides an outside command room perspective on the August 1990 Operation Vula detentions, and suggests these occurred partly as a result of a post-unmasking leak. What is clear, however, is that only a handful of the Vula commanders and operatives were arrested, and that structures and individuals in the Transvaal and Cape escaped largely undetected.

Today most of the key early Vula commanders and leaders mentioned in the book — Tambo, Slovo, Maharaj, Kasrils, Nyanda, Ebrahim, Billy Nair, Janet Love — remain prominent within the ANC National Executive Committee. It certainly appears, however, that they shed the ties that bound them. Some have emerged as hard-line militants, others as soft-line negotiators.

Without the conspiracy to bind them, they've been free to go their own ways.
Army chief Meiring hits out at 'ANC operations teams'

PIETERSBURG — Army chief Lt-Gen George Meiring lashed out on Friday at what he called ANC-sponsored “special operations teams” which, disguised as security force members, wreaked mayhem before putting the blame on security forces.

Addressing a medal parade at Far Northern Transvaal Command, Meiring said “special operations teams” were attempting to discredit the security forces and, specifically, the army.

He said according to an instruction issued by Umkhonto we Sizwe acting chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda SACP politburo member Ronnie Kasirile, it had been decided to make available arms and arms caches to MK self defence units and the special operations teams.

“Although some commanders have maps indicating some of the arms caches, detection is difficult because of criminal control over those caches,” Meiring said.

He said while there were good indications of the extent of the arms caches, it could be expected, if the “underground” instructions were carried out, that incidents of violence involving MK and the special operations teams would increase.

Meanwhile, government rejected at the weekend a call by the ANC for the inclusion of MK in a joint security venture to quell rising violence in Natal.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said: “We firmly believe MK is part of the problem of violence in Natal.”

The call by the ANC follows the deployment of 2 600 SAPF soldiers to assist the SAP and KwaZulu Police in a massive joint operation aimed at preventing civil war in Natal.

ANC Natal Midlands executive member Blade Nzimande said last week: “Our demand is for a speedy move towards an interim government and joint control over the security forces.

“You have to have an impartial force which is accepted by all sectors of the community before there can be peace.”

Kotze said: “We don’t believe in any private army, including MK, usurping the functions of the police force or the military, and in fact it is illegal to do so.”

But support for the concept of a joint peacekeeping force has come from national peace committee vice-chairman Bishop Stanley Mogoja.

He recommended that a joint peacekeeping force comprising the existing security forces and MK and other military wings of political organisations should be set up under international command. — Sapa-AFP.

Buthelezi ‘will never give in’

GINGINDHLHOVU — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi vowed on Saturday to continue resisting the ANC/SACP alliance, saying KwaZulu and Inkatha were the country’s final guarantee of a democracy.

Addressing about 15 000 people at Nsangweni near Gingindlovu in Zululand, Buthelezi condemned what he called ANC president Nelson Mandela’s failure to respond to repeated invitations to participate in a peaceful SA.

He said: “We will resist and we will go on resisting the ANC/SACP alliance until one day there is a democracy in SA.”

“We in KwaZulu and in the IFP are the final guarantee there will be democracy.”

In Johannesburg at the weekend, Inkatha Youth Brigade officials alleged that Siphiwe Nyanda, Joe Modise, Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasirile and Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa were responsible for the violence in the country.

The officials said they were going to “target the four and others whom we believe are masterminding the killing of our leadership and membership”.

Holomisa denied on Saturday the Transkei Defence Force was training or assisting Umkhonto we Sizwe members. — Sapa.
'ANC renegades behind campaign to kill police'

RENEGADES members of the ANC's self-defence units were behind a campaign to kill policemen in Reef townships, police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said yesterday.

Opperman said 18 defence unit members had been arrested in connection with possession of firearms and attacks on policemen.

A recent claim by an ANC defence unit member that he had accidentally shot a policeman was further evidence of instructions they had received to kill policemen, he said.

At least 134 policemen have died violently since the beginning of the year. Last year 143 were killed.

ANC claims that the defence units were out of control because of police infiltration were "a clear attempt to shift blame by means of propaganda", the police and SADF said in a joint statement yesterday.

"Motives of sources producing unfounded, unproven, untested and malicious allegations aimed at alienating the security forces from the very people they protect, must be questioned," the statement said.

Opperman said 10 ANC members had been arrested in possession of firearms and police uniforms. Police were investigating "several armed attacks carried out by ANC members or supporters in the Vaal triangle, particularly Soshonghi".

He said the ANC was hindering police investigations at the scenes of unrest-related murders and crimes.

Opperman suggested that a "code of conduct" be drawn up for self-defence unit members were welcomed.

Sapa reports that three people — one of them a policeman — were killed and two others were injured in attacks on Reef trains yesterday. Police said Const P M Mpanga was thrown from a train between Eibeberg and Kathaneng on the East Rand.

His body, which landed under a train, was badly mutilated.

He was the third policeman in seven months to die in violence on trains.

In Atteridgeville two assistant constables were attacked while on patrol on Wednesday.

Government's Social Relief Fund had paid out R570 000 and had assisted more than 1 000 families affected by political violence since it was established three months ago, fund chairman Piet Koornhof said in Durban yesterday.

Govt fence-sitting on hostels

WILSON ZWANE

GOVERNMENT will not fence off hostels, identified as sources of violence, in terms of the record of understanding it reached with the ANC in September.

In terms of the understanding, seven Reef hostels were to be fenced off by Sunday.

Local Government and National Housing Department official Johan Oosthuizen said yesterday government would not fence hostels by Sunday.

Oosthuizen said objections from Inkatha and the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association had made it impossible to construct fences around the hostels in terms of the agreement. He said it seemed implementation of the agreement would fuel violence rather than end it.

However, the hostels would be fenced off in due course as part of government's strategy to upgrade them, Oosthuizen said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday the ANC had not met to discuss the matter.

But government's decision to renege on the agreement had serious implications for future negotiations. He would not discuss the implications.

The agreement was hailed as a breakthrough for constitutional negotiations which had virtually collapsed after the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The ANC cancelled talks between itself and government after the massacre, saying such talks would be resumed only after government had — among other things — taken sufficient steps to curb violence.

The fencing of the hostels is as a demand from the ANC, which attributes most unrest incidents to hostel residents. The organisation believes barriers between hostel residents and township residents will restore peace in the townships.
Chris Hani speaks frankly on the bubbling discontent in the ANC's armed wing...

MK rebellion simmers

UMBLINGS of discontent in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe have "the potential to explode", admits the armed wing's former chief of staff Chris Hani in an interview this week.

And current MK chief Siphiwe Nyanda echoes this, saying that he is surprised more of his disgruntled men have not turned to lawlessness.

Cash-strapped MK members who expected to return to South Africa as conquering heroes and instead found only poverty and loneliness have turned to crime and drink, hijacked grassroots organisations for their own gain and joined forces with Inkatha and the police — for money.

The danger to peace is that MK consists of highly trained, armed units... increasingly answerable to no-one.

PAGES 4 and 5
The volatile cocktail of Umkhonto's

They expected to come home in a blaze of glory, but instead the soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe found only poverty. Many have turned to crime or joined "the other side".

By PHILIPPA GARSON

When the rankings of disconsolate in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe are turning into an all-consuming crisis for the National Congress.

Former MK chief Chris Hani had warned that the wedge was arising from the growing discontent of returned MK soldiers had the "potential to be explosive". Then there was the absence of a speedy political solution.

And current MK chief Siphohe Yende said he was surprised more MK returns had not turned to crime.

The problem was confirmed this week in interviews with MK cadres who now live in the Vaal. Instead of returning to the country in a glorious blaze of glory, they have returned to face more than an embarrassing refugee problem.

They have emerged from the bush in near-despairing careers to face a barrage of hardship, unemployment, hostility, and insecurity. Theenketha from many ANC internal departments and units in regional and branch structures and jive recognition for their efforts in exile. Little wonder that returning MK cadres are turning to crime, drug-taking and petty theft.

According to research conducted by the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, at least 34 MK cadres have been gunned down over the past two years and some others have been harassed and assasinated. As a result, many MKs live an airless life, moving from one place to another to avoid being targeted.

A commission, headed by ANC deputy general-secretary Jacob Zuma and including MK cadres, is looking into the crisis and the role of MK in South Africa. Training in concentrated urban areas is putting into practice the CRP, providing an opportunity for MK cadres to be absorbed into the army.

While many MK cadres have been absorbed into regional structures, others complain that leaders who were active in the United Democratic Front are clinging on to their positions and taking up space for the returnees. They say they have been marginalised by "civilian" protests in the ANC and are not being given the opportunity to fight for the interests of the ANC.

We are not that concerned about whose going to be the next president. We just want our future participation in the army ensures that were where we belong.

The recent attempted assassination of MK activist Daniel Vilakazi was perhaps testament to such frustration. Many MK soldiers have accused Vilakazi of "bucking cadres for them". Through the ANC announced last week that an SDU candidate had been exiled to Vilakazi (who he claimed had been involved in the MK). Other sources have differed, reporting that the culprit was an MK member who acted out of jealousy rather than ignorance.

Hani attributes the confusion and alienation expressed by many MK soldiers to the failure of the ANC to reorient the cadres to the "new reality" of struggle - from the goal of military struggle to political settlement.

"Unlike the classical "armed struggle", the ANC came back into the country not as a movement about to take
disillusioned soldiers

... the warriors without a cause

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by PHILIPPA GARDON

As the sun set on Natal's hill farms, a 300-man black mass emerged cautiously from the shadows in a location nowhere in the war-ravaged province.

African National Congress leader Abahlali Freedom Party central committee member Albert Mncwango, chief MK cadre, disguised with the ANC, had joined the organization and were training their defense units. "Why shouldn't we use the skills we have?" he said. Neither Hanin nor Nyakula ruled out this possibility. It is well known that President de Klerk and other 'Bantu' MK soldiers from the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee used with Durban-based Inkathla "warriors" Thomas Thabane.

Hindenburg South African Defence Force allegations that MK was running training camps in Transkei to train people to fight against Inkathla in Natal. The ANC has approached the Goldstone Commission to call on the SAF to stop production or retrain its allegations.

Nyakula also intends to issue a SAFD chief General Mercler unless he retracts and apologised for his public claim that MK was involved in the Transkei location. MK reports to the soldiers of the MK MK movement which is to be in place soon.

"We cannot afford the cost of training MK soldiers with weapons," said Hanin, "but Nyakula will have to pay the local area leaders and black MK members who have been asked to be trained on the training of MK soldiers by Inkathla's members. Hanin, he said, was all over the statement that the Inkathla was preparing to retrain MK soldiers.

"The Harare MK base is under threat," Hanin said, "but he has been asked to retrain MK soldiers. Hanin, he said, was all over the statement that the Inkathla was preparing to retrain MK soldiers.

"The Harare MK base is under threat," Hanin said, "but he has been asked to retrain MK soldiers. Hanin, he said, was all over the statement that the Inkathla was preparing to retrain MK soldiers.

Hang Derek Bauer now!
Now ANC says renegade unit slaughtered family

By CHARLEN SMITH

THE ANC has blamed renegade members of one of its own self-defence units for the slaying of a family of six in Sebokeng this month.

When the family of Mr Ephraim Zwane, believed to be ANC supporters, were shot dead this month, the ANC claimed that an assailant wearing an SADF T-shirt had been seen running away from the scene.

ANC members called on the authorities to find quickly the perpetrators of the "heinous crime".

But now, after investigation by a committee co-ordinated by Mr Obed Bapela, deputy general secretary of the ANC's PWV region, the organisation believes members of one of its own self

defence units were responsible for the killings.

Members of the investigating team say that there appears to be a power struggle in the Vaal between returned exiles and internal members.

They add that they also suspect the involvement of criminals and "third force elements" from the state security services who have infiltrated the self-defence units.

SA Communist Party head Chris Hani, who has been involved in peace efforts in the area, said the renegade SDU members were involved in vehicle hijackings, forcing traders to pay "protection money", setting up roadblocks and barricades, and robbing people.

"Rape has become prevalent, with schoolgirls being raped and killed. We feel some SDUs have been infiltrated by the system, and criminals have taken over due to the volatile situation in the Vaal."

Mr Hani added: "The situation is very dangerous for the ANC alliance. People are beginning to say these people call themselves comrades and they are killing us. It is a situation the government, military intelligence and the National Intelligence Service were enjoying. I suspect they are fishing in troubled waters."

"But it is not enough for us to make pious statements opposed to the violence: we have to take affirmative steps to end the violence."

Mr Hani said an urgent summit would be convened in the Vaal before the end of this month to try to find ways to end the violence.

He said a contributing factor to renegade forces within MK was that large numbers of former soldiers had returned with no jobs or prospects into violence-ravaged communities which expected assistance from MK cadres.

A R330 000 fraud recently uncovered at the National Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles had also meant that large numbers of returning exiles had received little or no money to assist them to re-integrate into society.

Two ANC commissions are investigating increased lawlessness among its alleged supporters in the Vaal. The first, headed by Mr Bapela, is concentrating specifically on violence in the area.

The other, headed by the organisation's deputy secretary-general, Mr Jacob Zuma, is investigating problems being experienced by Umbhonto we Siswe, including the involvement of some of its members in the Vaal violence as well as elsewhere.

The Vaal commission has paid particular attention to conflict between the National Union of Metalworkers of SA and self-defence units, under former MK cadre Ernest Sotsa.

Mr Sotsa's wife and two children were killed by unknown assailants while he was attending the ANC national consultative conference in Durban last year.

After that Mr Sotsa went to live in the Sebokeng hostel. This coincided with the outbreak of hostilities between Numsa unionists and a rival committee called Top 29, with which Mr Sotsa is involved.

These units have been blamed for the killing of eight Numsa members, including five shop stewards, since May this year.

ANC leaders also admit that similar hit-squad activity is taking place among SDUs in other parts of the Vaal, the Natal Midlands and southern Natal.

Other incidents in which the involvement of rogue self-defence units is suspected are:

● The murdering down of Mr Prince Mhlambi, a community worker in Phola Park, who became the third member of that community's civic association to be assassinated after MK members had seized control;

● The death of an elderly woman in the Witbank area;

● The attempted assassination a fortnight ago of Mr Bavumile Vilikazi, a senior ANC Vaal activist;

● The shooting of two teenager girls, Jacobeth Ramalo, 18, and Rose Mohlanane, 19, in Evaton after an ANC SDU claimed they had fraternised with Inkatha residents in the Kwamalala hotel;

● MPHOF GIFT SOLOMON MOSEBI, 14, the youngest victim of the Sebokeng massacre, was buried at Evaton cemetery yesterday to the rattle of AK-47s fired in salute by youngsters.

At the funeral, a child - no older than 13 - was seen to borrow an AK-47 from a youth, cock it, fire rapidly into the air, then return the weapon to its owner.
ANC calls summit on defence units

ANC has called a summit of all ANC-aligned community, trade union and political organisations in the Vaal area to discuss ways of controlling renegade “self-defence unit” members.

The announcement of the summit, scheduled for Friday and Saturday, came after a weekend report said ANC officials believed renegades had killed six members of an ANC-supporting Sebokeng family this month. The report said an ANC investigation had found that defence units had been involved in several similar incidents in the Vaal and Natal.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the report was not accurate as the ANC had not yet established the truth of the family having been gunned down by defence unit members.

Defence unit members found to have committed criminal offences would be handed to police for prosecution, while those who had committed “political offences” would be disciplined by the organisation, he said.

Mamoepa said elements of defence units had been involved in forced recruitment to the ANC, extortion, killing and rape, “causing chaos, confusion, dissent and disunity in our ranks.”
ANC drafts code to curb its renegade members

THE ANC is planning a code of conduct to bind its errant self-defence units to party policy and make them more accountable.

The PWV region is to consider a draft code today.

Last week the ANC said renegade members of self-defence units in the Vaal Triangle and Natal had become involved in activities ranging from extortion and killing to rape and forced recruitment.

An ANC investigation into the recent slaying of the six-member Zwane family of Sebokeng had also found that self-defence unit members may have been involved.

ANC spokesman said the details emerging from the investigation, which was headed by ANC PWV region deputy secretary Obed Bapela, had not been confirmed.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepe said the allegations had come from communities as well as witnesses.

“We have not verified the allegations. We are investigating sources of violence in the Vaal Triangle, and in Natal we have found that the bulk of the violence has been visited by the state on the people.”

The draft code of conduct, which will be tabled at a summit of ANC-aligned community, trade union and political organisations at the weekend, will include clauses on “behaviour, conduct, discipline, accountability and a commitment not to become involved” in unsanctioned acts, Mamoepe said yesterday.

The self-defence units had been “operating loosely, taking far-reaching decisions with national implications”, Mamoepe added.

“We have to bring the self-defence units under control as the ANC must take final responsibility for their actions.”

He said the final version of the code of conduct would be negotiated at the summit before it was implemented.

While individual members of self-defence units would not be represented at the summit, an “umbrella body” acting on their behalf would contribute to the debate, Mamoepe said.

He said the ANC was not prepared to divulge the number of self-defence units operating in the Vaal Triangle and Natal, because of “security considerations”.

He said this weekend’s summit was aimed at facilitating the building and strengthening of the self-defence unit structures, improving accountability, the adoption of a binding code of conduct and measures aimed at bringing the self-defence units firmly under ANC control.

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Doors closed on inquest

FORMER CCB information officer Derrick Louw was granted an application to testify in camera yesterday at the resumption of the inquest into the murder of Witwatersrand University academic David Webster.

Minutes after the hearing resumed, Louw’s counsel Jurie Westels applied for his client’s evidence to be heard behind closed doors in order to protect his identity.

Westels’ application for an in-camera hearing was also heard behind closed doors. Judge M Stegmann granted the application.

State counsel J van Vuuren later told the media a transcript of Louw’s evidence and cross-examination would be made available within a day or two.

However, members of the media were given a copy of Louw’s statement to the Harris commission in 1990, which was submitted at the inquest yesterday.

The former CCB information officer said his task had been to collate information and make it available to the various CCB regions as needed.

During the Harris commission Louw was shown a list of names which commission officials had found among CCB documents. The list included Webster’s name, next to which Louw had drawn an arrow.

Louw said Webster had been unknown to him until after the academic’s death, and to the best of his knowledge had not been monitored by any CCB member.

After Webster’s death, CCB MD Joe Verster had asked him if there was any information on Webster.

Louw said Webster was unknown to him he had done a search of the CCB’s information documents and, finding the list which had been drawn up by another CCB member, had put an arrow next to Webster’s name to show Verster later.

Cross-examination of Louw will continue behind closed doors today.

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Children slain in Natal attack

DURBAN — Two young children and two adults were killed in the latest wave of violence in Natal when several kraals near Umgababa, south of Durban, were attacked early yesterday by unknown men armed with AK-47s.

SAP spokesman Capt Bala Naldoo said Ambrose Khomo, Catherine Gumbi and her two children were killed.

At least 21 people have died in Natal/KwaZulu since Friday, including six people who were shot dead at Nkandla near Maritzburg on Sunday.

KwaZulu Police reported at least nine other deaths in their area at the weekend.

Meanwhile, Umbuzo mayor Maria Xulu yesterday survived a second assassination attempt in weeks while travelling through "B" section.
ANC supports probe into all armed forces

ANC official Mac Maharaj said on the SABC’s Agenda programme last night that the ANC supported the investigation of Umkhonto we Sizwe and all other “armed formations” as recommended by the UN. He said government had not shown a similar commitment to an impartial investigation of the SADF, SAP and KwaZulu Police.

The ANC would decide whether government was negotiating in good faith based on the response to the Goldstone commission’s revelations of a covert campaign to undermine the ANC undertaken by Military Intelligence (MI), Maharaj said. He said the question of whether or not government’s chief negotiator Roelf Meyer was aware of this campaign would not dictate the ANC’s attitude to talks with government.

President F W de Klerk’s response to the Goldstone report was “unfortunate” and he should have accepted its recommendation immediately that its powers be extended, said Maharaj.

Meyer said on the same programme that government supported in principle the Goldstone commission’s recommendation that its powers be extended, but would need more details on the issue before a decision was reached.

Incwathi national chairman Frank Mdli- lose said yesterday Incwathi would support investigations to expose MI efforts to undermine the ANC.

But Mdlilose defended the KwaZulu Police, saying while the force would not object to specific allegations being investigated, it would oppose “a fishing expedition launched in respect of an entire police force consisting of thousands of members”.

Sapa reports that the SAPC called for the sacking of the former and present Defence Ministers, Meyer and Gene Louw, as well as top leaders in the military and police.

Those to be dismissed should include SA Defence Force Head Gen ”Fat” Lieben- berg, Chief of the Army Lt-Gen Georg Meiring and Police Commissioner Maj-Gen Johann van der Merwe — all of whom the SAPC alleged were the masterminds of a government low-intensity war against the mass democratic movement.

Azapo said government had to resign immediately because of Goldstone’s disclosures.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Mood- ley said: “De Klerk cannot hide any Ranger behind the tired cliché, ‘We did not know.’”

The CP said De Klerk, as SADF command-in-chief, should assume responsibility for any irregular SAPD acts....

The CP lamented the fact that the Goldstone commission had brought the integrity of SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg and Army chief Gen Georg Meiring into question by insinuating that Meiring’s statements on MK were questionable.

The SA Council of Churches (SACC) said it was appalled at government’s “blustering response” to the “many recent revelations of corruption and falsehood”.

Police chief takes issue with Goldstone

PRETORIA — Judge Richard Goldstone has come under fire from SAP Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe, who said yesterday the police had been prejudiced by his commission.

Goldstone had indicated that a witness brought before the commission by the SAP was the initial link in providing clues to an MI role in covert operations.

Van der Merwe said the witness had not been presented to disprove allegations made by a Mozambican army deserter that he was paid by the SAP to commit acts of violence.

He said claims that former MI agent Ferdi Barnard had gained access to the SAP Criminal Bureau’s computer system had yet not been established. Police had not been given an opportunity to do so, or to respond.

He took issue with Goldstone’s comment that police had been “singularly unsuccessful in apprehending the culprits responsible for thousands of political murders....”

When untested allegations were presented so that they were perceived as facts, it contributed to a false perception that the SAP was unwilling or unable to perform its task, he said. — Sapa.
Camp abuses probe on ice

ADRIAN HADLAN

THE ANC was unable to indicate this week when a follow-up investigation into ANC detention camp abuses would begin. A commission of inquiry appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela in March this year detailed an “extraordinary abuse of power” including “violence for the sake of violence” by ANC security department officials during the 1980s.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said discussions were under way concerning who would be appointed as commissioners in the follow-up investigation.
IRA connection used to embarrass ANC

Sunday Times Reporters

SOUTH AFRICAN Military Intelligence agents actively promoted a book by a British Conservative MP detailing links between the ANC and Irish Republican Army in a bid to embarrass the ANC.

Among those approached to publish extracts of the book was the Sunday Times.

The details of the Military Intelligence operation, undertaken by staff at the top secret Directorate of Covert Collection, has emerged in the wake of the Goldstone raid on the unit this week.

Arrested

The raid uncovered evidence that Military Intelligence was involved in a campaign to embarrass the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

This week, Mr Andrew Hunter, the author of the book, confirmed he had been approached by SA Military Intelligence agents about the book, but had been unaware they were agents.

One of those who approached him was Pamela du Randt. Du Randt and a fellow agent, Leon Flores, were arrested in Britain recently on suspicion of plotting the death of Captain Dirk Coetsee, a former police hitman.

At least three Sunday Times members of staff were also approached by various people about the book — the latest approach being from Randburg entrepreneur Ron Major.

Mr Major, arts director for Digital Computers, said last week he had the manuscript in his possession and asked whether the newspaper would be interested in publishing extracts.

But when the Sunday Times went back to him this week he said he had decided against releasing the manuscript after discussions with his partner, George Joubert.

He claimed he did not want to endanger his life, nor did he want to burn his bridges with any future ANC government.

He said his interest in the manuscript had been of a purely commercial nature and he had no political affiliations. His company has, however, never embarked on a book publishing venture before.

In an interview in Basingstoke, Britain, this week, Mr Hunter emphatically denied he had written the book for South African Military Intelligence or had any connection with the organisation.

He said he had been studying the IRA's links with different organisations, including the ANC. His book, he admitted, was not complimentary to the ANC.
ANC alliance adopts new strategy to control self-defence units

THE ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance yesterday adopted a new strategy aimed at tightening control over the self-defence units. The strategy was adopted after a two-day summit on violence in Bloemfontein attended by more than 100 representatives from the alliance's PWV region.

ANC-PWV spokesman Ronald Masepe said that yesterday's summit had resolved on establishing a code of conduct for the self-defence units, which were subjected to tighter control. The code was to be put into effect immediately.

In his opening address, Masepe said that the self-defence units had been hijacked by hoodlums who were robbing, looting, and killing in townships. "We have been subjected to totalitarianism," he said. The strategy was aimed at instilling discipline in the self-defence units.

"The ANC has defended the structures, but has been hindered by state agents," Masepe said. He alleged that police agents had been involved in the formation of the self-defence units, which he said "are basically accused of having been infiltrated by state agents who caused chaos, confusion and dissent in their ranks." He said there had been a number of incidents of violence in which renegade self-defence units have been implicated.

Meanwhile, police were tight-lipped yesterday about a Goldstone commission report that claimed the killings of 15 people in the East Rand township of Thokoza last year were masterminded by an ANC-linked defence unit.

Senior ANC official Bavelile Vilakazi said that the ANC had "categorically denied" the allegations made by the commission, which was set up in the wake of the September 2000 massacre of hostel dwellers in Thokoza. The commission had found that the "ANC, and its armed wing, had hijacked the self-defence units."
FOCUS  MK soldiers struggling to find employment in South Africa’s sophisticated marketplace

Few jobs for cadres

By Abbey Makoe

Many returned Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers might be finding it hard to find work in the country’s sophisticated marketplace because the main skill most acquired abroad was in military warfare.

That is one of the main reasons advanced by MK chief-of-staff Siphiwe Nyanda in an exclusive interview with Sowetan.

Nyanda reasons that many of the cadres left the country in 1976 and the turbulent 1980s without completing their studies.

On arrival in exile, the young men of the highly politicised generation of 1976 engaged in training for the overthrow of the SA Government.

As Nyanda puts it: “They trained, came back and fought. Some were detained and others went underground while some remained in exile until today, where training in conventional warfare is in progress.”

Meanwhile, after the sudden unbanning of the ANC and the sudden return to the country for MK soldiers, hopes for Ufuru were sky-high.

But more than two years later, hope in many soldiers is gradually fading away.

Nyanda refutes this. He acknowledges that although there could be major reasons for disillusionment within the MK, “it is remarkable that most cadres have not turned to violence due to discipline”.

Nyanda says this is despite the fact that there is “a sense of impatience” among some cadres, who are finding that the Government is dragging its feet on total power-sharing.

Freedom is around the corner

As Nyanda understandably says, it is their will to serve in the defence force of their country, where they will be doing something they have trained for.

But some of the MK cadres spoken to claimed that their worries are aggravated by the ANC leadership’s steadfast belief that freedom is around the corner, despite the Government’s current scandals to discredit the ANC.
ANY MK SOLDIERS were full of pride when they arrived back from the bush. But now, some, or many, are said to be turning to crime to survive. What went wrong?

I don’t think many were beaming with pride as you say. It is possible that a few are turning to crime because of the desperation of our situation.

What is remarkable, though, is that despite the hardships they are suffering, they are not turning to crime in general.

Does the leadership of MK have plans to avert a wholesale explosion of the problems?

I don’t think that an explosion is about to take place. We are in a position to address the problems facing our cadreship in the short term.

In the long term what has to be addressed is the whole political situation. The sooner the political problems of the country are resolved, the whole matter of MK and its problems will end because MK should form part of the future defence force.

At the moment, we intend keeping MK intact and will train its members in preparation for that.

Are you finding it easy to train MK members despite the current recession and unemployment?

It’s always been easy to train a force, whether a guerrilla force or any other. We’ve got to have the necessary organisation.

And in the face of decreased international support, especially with the demise of the Socialist world, we find it more difficult.

But, of course, there are forces in Africa who are willing to help us realise this programme because it is not designed to destabilise.

It is a programme we want to pursue in order to contribute to peace and stability in the future. We want to have a well-trained MK cadreship that would defend the constitution of a free South Africa.

Some of your disillusioned soldiers are said, among other things, to be frustrated by the ANC leadership’s apparent lack of appreciation for their soldiering while still abroad. Is this true?

That is an impression some people get because of the problems the ANC encounters to provide for the general cadreship. A perception develops that the cadres are neglected.

But it is not the intention of the ANC to do that. The ANC itself has got to struggle for funds. In the past we received support from many sources but many of those sources have now shrunk.

Since we came back to the country there has been an increasing perception that the kind of assistance we used to get should be reduced. We

Although the ANC’s military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe’s returned soldiers are experiencing difficulty in finding jobs, it is not as serious as it is being made out to be, says MK chief-of-staff Siphiwe Nyanda. He spoke to Abbey Makoe.

The general ANC membership wants to see a negotiated settlement reached at the earliest possible opportunity.

How difficult is it for cadres to find jobs here?

It is difficult. But, of course, their interest really is not so much to get jobs. When they came back here they came to build up the ANC and they were told that we are negotiating for a future constitution. Their interest is to serve the future defence force.

Are there, perhaps, some, no matter how few they are, who have run out of patience with the ANC’s negotiations with the Government?

Of course, there is a sense of impatience. But this is not unique to MK. The general ANC membership wants to see a negotiated settlement reached at the earliest possible opportunity.

Are the majority of MK soldiers outside or inside the country?
Siphiwe Nyanda ... MK members’ problems are not so serious.

(continued from previous page)

If that is so, it is a very erroneous impression. We have always insisted, from the time when talks started about the SDUs, they are units of the communities and that they should not be confused with MK.

Do you know of any SDUs being led by an MK soldier?

We expect that in many places, because the MK cadreship is active politically, members will serve their communities.

Insofar as you are aware, to whom are the SDUs answerable?

The community structures.

Can you elaborate?

One of the reasons why we said MK cannot conceivably be seen to be in charge of the SDUs is because in many areas, particularly here on the Reef, there is no organisation that enjoys political monopoly.

No organisation can claim to have membership to the exclusion of other organisations. How can MK, therefore, be solely in charge of the SDUs whereas there are other political organisations like the PAC and Azapo who also have their armies?

The SDUs are a product of the community. But, of course, because MK is in the majority, it will play a key role in the defence of communities.

When people are attacked they are not written ANC, PAC or Azapo. They are attacked indiscriminately. Members of all these three organisations feel a need for self-defence.

In Natal it is said that the fighting is between MK and Inkatha. Do you know of any MK role in that area?

The fighting there is between people defending themselves against Inkatha warlords, who are forcing them to join Inkatha or to leave their homes.

Any involvement of MK will be on the basis of MK cadres being members of those communities under siege.

Is there any other thing that you would like to point out?

I want to say that it is true we came back to a depressed economy - contrary to our dreams that we would be welcomed by ululating women. There are certain frustrations that we endure.

But then we are a well-trained army that is able to bear difficulties. Instead, we have no doubts about our role during transition and in future.

Another point is that we can no longer stand this Government, not for an extra day. We want it to go now. The sooner this corrupt Government that runs corrupt armies and police forces goes, the better it will be, not only for the ANC and MK, but for everybody.

And when this Government drags its feet, it ought to be reminded to hurry.
ANC is mum on MK bribery claim

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus would not be drawn for comment yesterday on a weekend report that MK cadres were open to bribery as they were not looked after properly by the ANC, saying the sources of the report were not "legitimate".

Former Military Intelligence agent Ferdi Barnard was quoted by a Johannesburg Sunday newspaper as saying he had recruited five MK commanders, paying them between R200 and R500 a month.

The report said Barnard claimed he had found it easy to do this because "the ANC is not looking after them, and they cannot feed their families".
Fresh ANC probe into camps

By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE African National Congress made the timely announcement this week that an independent commission has been set up to inquire into atrocities committed in its detention camps.

Next week a damning report by Amnesty International on the abuse, torture and execution of ANC prisoners is due to be released.

Amnesty had an observer at the ANC's preliminary inquiry into the camps which concluded there had been 'gross abuses but which stopped short of naming those responsible for the torture and unjust detention of many cadres suspected of being state agents.

However, the human rights body initiated its own probe to explore issues beyond the ambit of the ANC inquiry.

Among other shortcomings, the ANC inquiry did not delve into the more damaging evidence concerning disappearances and executions of detainees.

After releasing the findings of its internal commission last month, the ANC undertook to establish an independent body to take the matter further.

The three-member commission will comprise prominent businessman Sam Motsuenyane, David Zamchiya, a former Zimbabwean government official and Margaret Burnham from the United States.

The Douglas commission of inquiry into the camps has yet to release its findings.

Appointed by the right-wing International Freedom Foundation, the hearing began in July.
to the exposure of ANC’s 21 years of human rights violations by its members, officials, and security forces. Many victims have come forward, demanding adopting the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC). The TRC has published findings on the role of the ANC in the violence of the 1990s. This is the conclusion of an investigation of abuses in the camps.

These abuses, which are the result of human rights violations committed by the ANC, have been well documented. Various African countries have suffered from the atrocities committed by the ANC in its camps. The TRC has recommended that the ANC should be held accountable for these abuses.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Abuses documented by the commission it had appointed, Amnesty insists the process must be taken further.

"A weakness of the commission of inquiry is that it did not sufficiently examine where political responsibility lay for abuses in the camps. An important question is why the leadership failed to table the report of the (internal) James Stuart commission of inquiry into the mutiny at the ANC's consultative conference in Kabwe."

While it concedes that infiltration has been a real threat to the liberation movement, Amnesty argues that many of those imprisoned and tortured were not agents of the apartheid state. The failure of the ANC to bring its security department to book, combined with blanket denunciations of former prisoners as spies, laid prisoners who returned home open to further danger.

A large number of abuses documented in both the Amnesty report and the recent ANC-initiated inquiry occurred after the mutinies by members of Umkhonto we Sizwe in Viana and Pango camps in Angola in 1984. Amnesty states that:

- When the mutiny began in Viana, mutineers found the body of a man called Solly in a "metal container" used by the security department for detaining people. Solly had been mentally ill and had criticised ANC leadership. "He was known to have been detained in the container and had apparently been shot by members of the security department," the report says.
- After the Viana mutiny, 32 participants were taken to the Luanda State Security Prison. There they were severely beaten by ANC personnel and detained in appalling conditions, virtually without medical care. Selby Msimang and Ben Thibane died there within five months of detention.
- After the second uprising, at Pango, seven mutineers were condemned to death by a summary tribunal and, without any right of appeal, put before a firing squad, Amnesty says. They were James Nkaibide, Ronald Mzomi, Mmbulul, Thembi Hobo, Mahoro, Wamidele Ondala and Stopper Nyembza.
- The remaining mutineers were kept naked and bound with ropes at Pango camp for three weeks before being transferred to Quatro (another ANC camp). It appears to have been the intervention of a senior ANC official, Gertrude Shope, which ended the ill-treatment of the prisoners at Pango as well as preventing any further execu-
Revellers killed in MK guerrilla suicide attack

By MOSES MAMAILA

SIX people were killed in the early hours of yesterday when a foreign-trained MK soldier detonated a grenade in a Sebokeng house during a stokvel party.

According to Pony Mofokeng, 19, who narrowly escaped death, the tragic killing of the five fun-lovers and the MK guerrilla was not an accident as claimed by the police, but a well-calculated military offensive by the MK operative.

"Mputhi came to my home, where the party was in progress, at about midnight holding two grenades and armed with a pistol. I tried to persuade him not to play with the lethal weapons. He threatened that he had the capacity to kill everyone in the house if he wished."

Mputhi, who witnesses said was sober, then went into the kitchen where he removed the safety-catch from one of the grenades and threw it at wheelchair-bound Daniel Mokocena.

Police spokesman Lt Wikus Weber's earlier statement that the dead were ANC Youth League members was dismissed outright by the witnesses.

Sapa reports four members of a Vereeniging family were gunned down by unknown attackers on a smallholding outside the town during the early hours of yesterday.

The attackers entered the house at Mooiland, Vereeniging, and shot and killed a 37-year-old man, his 35-year-old wife, their 74-year-old grandmother and an 13-year-old girl.

The killers ransacked the house before fleeing in the family's Toyota Corolla, registration LFX 407T.
Cops think Apla hit white farm

CADRES of the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army may have taken part in the bombing of a Komga farm store in the early hours of Friday, the SAP said. C\Hen 24\1\1972.

The store was extensively damaged. Police investigators found evidence suggesting four petrol bombs and a Chinese-made stick grenade had exploded in the shop.

Six petrol bombs and an M69 grenade were also lobbed into the shop but failed to detonate.
Amnesty report slams ANC

THE ghost of past misdeeds by ANC security officials in camps outside SA returned to haunt them on Friday when Amnesty International released a report corroborating widespread physical abuse of ANC prisoners.

Amnesty's report documents widespread abuses which took place over a decade in ANC camps in several countries, most notably Angola, Zambia, Tanzania and Uganda.

"Although the victims were often labelled as South African government spies, most appear to have been genuine ANC members. They were imprisoned because they raised grievances in the ANC camps or because of differences over policy. "

Amnesty believed the torture or executions were unjustifiable under any circumstances. Based on first-hand research among survivors of ANC prison camps, the report documents a long-standing pattern of violence against inmates. Amnesty officials also conducted fact finding visits to SA to gather testimony.

"It shows too that this pattern of gross abuse was allowed to go unchecked for many years, not only by the ANC's leadership in exile, but also by the governments of the African Frontline states, who allowed the ANC to set up bases and prisons on their territory," said AI.

At houses run by ANC security officials in Zambia, the report says, prisoners were beaten with bicycle chains and rubber hoses. Prisoners taken to an ANC farm on the Luanshya-Livingstone road described how they were made to dig their own graves and climb into them. One alleged that the hole was filled up to his neck and a plastic bag placed over his head until he lost consciousness.

Prisoners in the Quatro camp in northern Angola were routinely beaten, humiliated and forced to perform hard labour, according to the report. In May 1984, at Pango camp in Angola, Umkhonto weSizwe members, who had taken part in a mutiny, were tied to trees, beaten, whipped and had molten plastic dripped on their naked bodies.

Seven prisoners were summarily executed.

The report also documented abuses in Tanzanian and Ugandan prison camps run by the ANC.

AI is also critical of the ANC's commission of inquiry, which corroborated allegations of severe torture and physical abuse by the ANC's security department.

ANC president Nelson Mandela made his organisation's findings public in October this year, adding that the leadership accepted full responsibility.

Amnesty said a weakness of the ANC commission was that two of its three members were ANC members and the body was not neutral.

There were also serious gaps in the ANC commission's terms of reference in that it could not enquire into executions and "disappearances" of prisoners, nor was it asked to establish which ANC officials were responsible.

It urged African authorities to bring to book ANC security officials accused of the abuses. -- Sapa
We'll act on torture camps say Zambians

By PETER MALHERBE: London

THE ZAMBIAN High Commission in London said yesterday that "appropriate action" would be taken following Amnesty International's report on ANC torture camps in Zambia.

The high commissioner, Mr Love Mtesa, was reacting to the organisation's call to African countries to investigate reports of ANC abuse in their countries "with the aim of bringing those responsible to justice".

Mr Mtesa said a copy of the report would be submitted to the Zambian government tomorrow "and the appropriate action taken".

He said his government respected Amnesty International and would take note of its recommendations.

The 26-page report, released in London last week, documented cases of abuse which took place over a decade in Zambia, Angola, Tanzania and Uganda.

It claims some abuses took place with the collaboration of agents of those governments.

Beaten up

Among the findings about ANC activities in Zambia were:

● Prisoners at houses run by security officials in Zambia were beaten with bicycle chains and hosepipes, while those taken to a farm outside Lusaka were made to dig their own graves.

● Two ANC dissidents, who sought the protection of the UN High Commission for Refugees, were handed to the ANC by Zambian officials.

● No independent investigation was held into the death of MK commander, Thami Zulu, who died in 1988 shortly after being released from the custody of the ANC security department.

● A key figure in the Winnie Mandela trial, Katiza Cebekhulu, is still being held in a Zambian prison.
ANC'S SECRECY IN UGANDA

THE ANC has sent more than 1,000 raw recruits to Uganda in the past two months for training as MK soldiers. The operation has cost the organisation more than R1.1-million in charter flights and hotel accommodation. The ANC insists it is on the ground that it needs to increase the numbers of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres before it is integrated with the SADF — otherwise it will be swamped. However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the Sunday Times that the issue of continued recruitment would have to be resolved before there was a political settlement.

“This can't continue once you have a transitional government. One party can't go on with its old separate so-called army. That is totally unacceptable.”

Disclosure of the operation comes at a time when the UN has spent more than R100-million getting 14,000 exiles back to the country. Many of the exiles are MK soldiers unable to find jobs or accommodation and have resorted to crime.

Sinister

The raw recruits left for Uganda from Jan Smuts airport, having gone through customs and immigration using legal travel documents. The ANC, which has 19,000 MK soldiers, has been using Tanzania and Uganda for training since it was forced out of Angold in 1983.

The recruits will receive basic training for six months — similar to that given to SADF conscripts. They will then be sent out of Africa for specialised training.

The logistics for the latest batch of recruits was handled by Breederstroom trialist and MK special projects administrative secretary Ian Robertson and Ugandan chief representative Andrew Maseko. Mr Robertson yesterday declined to comment on the operation.

ANC'S SECRET ARMY

From Page 1

In Johannesburg in the first week of September. After spending a night at the Johannesburg Hotel in Hillbrow, at a cost of R30,000, they were flown to Uganda on two Air Zimbabwe charters for training at ANC camps. The cost of the flights was more than R200,000.

In the last week of October more than 640 recruits arrived from across the country. After undergoing a briefing at a Kwandebe holiday resort, they left on four chartered flights for Entebbe, Uganda.

President FW de Klerk said in Pretoria on Thursday that all the peace signatories had agreed that no political party should have a private army.

Only recognised political parties should participate in the political process to ensure a climate conducive to free and fair political participation, he said.

In order for there to be a government of national unity, the armed forces had to be placed under neutral, non-partisan control to ensure that they could not be used for party political ends, he added.

Yesterday ANC national executive committee member and former MK intelligence chief, Ronnie Kasrils said it was not secret and there was "nothing sinister" in the operation.

MK commander Joe Modise and other MK officials had often stated that the ANC was training people outside the country for a future integrated army. The government and the ANC were talking about an integrated defence force under an elected interim government and the ANC had to prepare for this eventuality.

Former chief of staff Chris Hani, Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa and former special projects head Tokyo Sexwale travelled to India last year to make arrangements for officer corps training in the Indian defence force.

Paranoid

Mr Kasrils said there was a need to prepare young people with an interest in a career in the armed forces for a future integrated army. There was a huge imbalance in numbers between the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe and this had to be addressed, he said.

"Those who are paranoid about this should see it in terms of addressing gross imbalances," he said.

According to information given to the Sunday Times, 320 young ANC members recruited from across the country arrived
ANC under fire for human rights abuse

THE ANC has come under fire from the Government and the Democratic Party following a report by Amnesty International detailing large scale abuses in its camps.

The Government said the criminal activities exposed by Amnesty International cannot be censured in strong enough terms.

Had any such activities taken place in South Africa, prosecution or inquests would undoubtedly have been instituted, a Justice Department spokesman said.

The report was still being studied.

The DP's spokesman on justice, Mr Tony Leon, called for an immediate and proper response from the organisation.

Government says criminal activities detailed by Amnesty can't be censured in strong enough terms:

Reacting to Amnesty's report which alleged widespread abuse and torture of ANC dissidents in camps run by the organisation prior to its unbanning in 1990, Leon said it was "a massive indictment of the ANC.

The report chronicled a "grotesque catalogue of torture, murder and deprivation of fundamental liberties without any regard for minimum norms of due process and fair procedure", Leon said in a statement. - Sapa.
Amnesty names
ANC torture camps

Amnesty International on Friday named two African National Congress-controlled refugee camps in Tanzania where prisoners were allegedly severely beaten, tortured and executed in the early stages of their detention.

Mazimbu and Dukwa - the two camps were named in a report by the international human rights organization which conducted an independent assessment of allegations that detainees were beaten, tortured and executed by the ANC's security department during the 1980s.

"Later accounts from Mazimbu, referring to 1986 and 1987, allege that security officials beat prisoners with bicycle chains and electric cables, sometimes on the soles of their feet," Amnesty International's report said.

It cited the case of Vehkono, a Swazi who was first detained by the ANC's security department in 1979.

"In 1984 he left MMT but was re-detained as an ANC member. In January 1991 while living in Tanzania, working as a plumber, he was again detained by the security department." He was handed over to the security department by the Tanzanian government and then handed over to the ANC's security department.

Former prisoners told Amnesty International that about 60 inmates were kept at the Mazimbu camp and they were sometimes beaten by the guards. The organization did not note that some allegations of abuse in the Ugandan camp were kept secret.

Amnesty International urged the Ugandan, Tanzanian, Zimbabwean and South African authorities to bring to book ANC security officials accused of torturing and abusing prisoners in the organization's camps in Africa in the 1980s.

The organization made the call in the conclusion to its report dealing with reports of human rights violations. Amnesty said it believed an essential part of the report was for all to be thoroughly investigated and for those responsible to be brought to justice.

"Amnesty International considers that the same principles apply to abuses committed by the ANC," the report said.

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Points from the report:

Accounts from Mazimbu, referring to 1986 and 1987, alleged that security officials beat prisoners with bicycle chains and electric cables, sometimes on the soles of their feet.

Previously, (Umkhonto we Sizwe member Sam Mangibisa) had been threatened because of his involvement in publicizing allegations that ANC officials had sexually abused young women refugees.

Former prisoners told Amnesty International that about 60 inmates were kept at the Ugandan camp and they were sometimes beaten by the guards.

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DP demands action over ANC torture

Heavy criticism has been levelled at the ANC in the wake of Amnesty International's report on torture and abuse of prisoners in ANC camps outside South Africa.

DP Justice spokesman Tony Leon described the Amnesty document as a grotesque catalogue of torture, murder and deprivation of fundamental liberties. He demanded immediate action.

Justice Department spokesman Pieter du Randt said if the abuses had taken place in South Africa, prosecution or inquests would undoubtedly have been instituted.

Last week the ANC announced the appointment of an independent commission to carry forward the action recommended by an earlier commission into allegations of abuse in the camps. — Political Staff.
ANC ponders reply to Amnesty report

**Business Day Report**

The Amnesty International report on abuses in ANC camps in Africa called for an immediate and proper response from the organisation, DP Justice spokesman Tony Leon said at the weekend.

Reacting to the human rights organisation’s report detailing widespread abuse and torture of ANC dissidents in camps run by the organisation in Africa prior to its unbanning in 1990, Leon said it was “a massive indictment of the ANC”.

The report chronicled a “grotesque catalogue of torture, murder and deprivation of fundamental liberties without any regard for minimum norms of due process and fair procedure”, he said.

The ANC has yet to issue a full response but has said it will set up a second, more independent, internal commission of inquiry consisting of two foreign members and one South African. Its national working committee is still setting up the commission’s terms of reference.

Ray Hartley reports that the Amnesty report calls for the Frontline states to institute criminal investigations into camp atrocities.

The Zambian High Commission in London has said “appropriate action” would be taken in relation to camps in Zambia.

The Amnesty report criticises the recent ANC internal inquiry for not investigating “where political responsibility lay for abuses in the camps”.

“An important question is why the lead-

Amnesty report

ership failed to table the report of the James Stuart commission of inquiry into the 1984 mutiny at the ANC’s 1985 consultative conference in Kabwe.

“By suppressing this report, the leadership, or elements within it, ensured that the security department would be able to continue unchecked,” the Amnesty report said.

It went on to criticise the ANC’s internal probe for not addressing the issue of killings in camps and the disappearances of prisoners. “It does not assign individual responsibility for abuses, nor does it analyse the chains of command within the security department and MK, and between these bodies and the ANC leadership, in order to establish political responsibility for what went on in the camps.”

The human rights organisation claimed a 1991 public statement by the ANC that no longer held prisoners had been false.

It endorsed the ANC internal probe’s recommendation that individuals found to be responsible for human rights abuses should not be allowed to hold any position of responsibility for law enforcement or custody of prisoners.
Militant action plan for Azapo

PORT ELIZABETH — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will not take part in negotiations but will start a militant programme of action to ensure "the liberation of our people".

This was the pledge of newly elected Azapo president, Professor Itumeleng Jerry Mosala, in his address yesterday during the final session of Azapo's four-day conference.

Mosala spoke of the need for the "reconquest of Azania" and the need to rescue the "Azanian struggle".

"The liberation of our people will be the guiding principles," he said.

Azapo would rather "go it alone" than be co-opted into negotiations which came about as a result of talks between the Government and the ANC.

Conditions essential for the initiation of negotiations are that the Government resigins, that it accepts the principle of a constituent assembly and that the security forces be placed in "quarantine" under an international peacekeeping force.

Azapo will start a campaign against the visiting Indian cricket team that will include "storming pitches and grounds and picketing visiting players".

It will consult the SA Council on Sport and international anti-apartheid organisations about a course of action.

Other visiting teams will be targeted, while overseas anti-apartheid movements will be asked to take action.

The congress also adopted a resolution to place the homeless on unoccupied urban, rural and industrial land.

Other executive members elected at the conference are deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, general secretary Don Ndumeng, deputy general secretary Lybon Mahasa, publicity secretary Dr Gumolemo Mokae, national organiser Fundile Mafongizi, treasurer Lucky Monnakgola and national political commissar Mkakti Madlau. — Sapa, Pen.
External training
of MK 'no secret'

Political Staff

Nelson Mandela said yesterday he had told the Government last year that the ANC would continue to train members of Umkhonto we Sizwe outside the country.

"We want to have an army of our own to protect the gains we have made," the ANC leader said during his address to a rally in Mamelodi.

His comments were in reaction to a report in a Sunday newspaper which said the ANC had secretly sent more than 1,000 recruits to Uganda for military training.

Last night, on SATV's Agenda news programme, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the training of soldiers by the ANC outside South African borders was no secret and was "strictly" in accordance with the ANC's decision that the armed struggle has been suspended.

Ramaphosa reiterated - more than once during the programme - that the ANC was committed to negotiations and decisions which could lead from it.

The Inkatha Youth Brigade and Conservative Party have, as a result of the training drive publicity, again called for MK's banning or disbandment.

A spokesman for the Youth Brigade said: "Clearly MK must disband. We shall not rest until its disbandment."

CP defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman said: "We demand the immediate banning of MK and the detention of its members in South Africa."
Gunmen smiled as they killed

The Government expressed shock yesterday at the cold-blooded attack, and other multiple attacks countrywide at the weekend in which 23 more people were killed. STAN

"These incidents represent a harsh and discordant note after the hope that has recently arisen in the wake of progress with negotiations," a Government spokesman said.

He said it appeared that the violence was linked to the whole spectrum of violence plaguing society.

Saturday night's attack was the worst in a weekend of bloodshed.

Other incidents included:

- Seven people were killed and six injured at Tembisa on the East Rand when unknown gunmen opened fire on taxis parked outside Oakmore railway station.
- A family was gunned down at Umlazi, near Durban, on Saturday night.
- In KwaMashu on Saturday night, three men were killed in the township's E-section.
- In Sebokeng, six members of the ANC Youth League were killed and five injured in a hand grenade explosion at a toast party on Friday night.
- A police constable was murdered while on duty in the charge office of the Olifantsfontein police station yesterday.
- Constable G J Moofokeng was shot in the chest and lower body when unknown gunmen opened fire on an Etofon house on Friday night.
- An off-duty police constable was shot dead at Marlanhill near Pinetown yesterday.
- Near Folweni, south of Durban, a hand grenade was thrown at a police/SADF patrol. A 17-year-old was arrested. — Staff Reporter and Echta
Outrage over Killings

Ifulabalo! Only because whites died, says PAC.
ANC abuse probe delayed

ADRIAN HADLAND

DESpite mounting local and international pressure, the commission of inquiry appointed by the ANC to investigate abuses in its detention camps would begin its deliberations only next year, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

The ANC's national working committee had been too busy preparing for this week's bosberaad with government to consider the commission's terms of reference.

The commission was set up after an internal ANC investigation into alleged brutality at ANC camps in Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Uganda during the 1980s.

The publication last week by Amnesty International of a report detailing widespread abuses increased pressure on the ANC to uncover full details of activities in its camps.

In a letter to Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel yesterday, DP Justice spokesman Tony Leon called for improved witness protection facilities for former ANC detainees willing to testify.

He also called on Kriel to negotiate the release of Katiza Cobekholu, a key witness in the recent Winnie Mandela trial, from protective custody in Zambia.

The Amnestiy report said the findings of the James Stuart commission of inquiry into the 1984 ANC mutiny had been suppressed, ensuring that the security department "would be able to continue unchecked".

Angolan embassy representative Jorge Morais said Angola's government, unlike Zambia's, would not be conducting a separate investigation. "This is a matter that people from the ANC should answer as the camps were controlled by them. We didn't know anything."

Sapa reports the Returned Exiles' Committee yesterday welcomed the disclosure of ANC atrocities committed in exile - and demanded an end to atrocities in SA.

Committee chairman Pat Hlongwane said people's courts, self-defence units and civic organisations were guilty of atrocities at home.

Deserter: ANC member told me to lie

PRETORIA - Mozambican army deserter Joao Cuna said yesterday an MI agent was taken by MI agents, Indian member of the ANC "Frank" and "Riley" to a house in Muller Street, Yeoville, where owner - "his name sounds like Rule" - was a member of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. Cuna said he met the Indian, who described as "faggy and having a beard and whitish hair, "many times" and he suggested Cuna tell the story which appeared in Vrye Weekblad.

The October 30 issue of the publication carried a report quoting Cuna as saying he was given AK-47 rifles and paid R4 000 by security forces to kill ANC activists outside Durban.

Yesterday Cuna insisted the story published in the newspaper was false. - Sapa.

Plea for public to foster AIDS orphans

THE National Council for Child and Family Welfare today put out an urgent appeal to the public to "open your homes" and adopt or foster one of the hundreds of orphans who have been left behind by AIDS-infected parents.

The council has chosen World AIDS Day today to highlight the plight of those who are mostly forgotten about in the AIDS epidemic - the orphans.

In a statement the council said the construction of extra children's homes would not be possible in the present economic climate as institutional care was extremely expensive. "Foster parents, adoptive parents and day care centres will be the only answer," the council said.

The council has also appealed to communities to take care of the growing number of orphans in the number of homes in assistance for children who are HIV positive - and it plans to lobby government for higher grants for those who care for HIV positive children.

Council spokesman Keith Heimann said SA could not even deal with the 80 000 street children, and called on the community urgently to find ways to care for the AIDS orphans.

Society for AIDS Families and Orphans organiser Claire Fleming said her organisation cared for more than 500 AIDS orphans in Soweto alone, but the organisation had been refused government assistance.

Department of Health figures indicate that as many as half a million children in SA could be orphaned through AIDS within seven years.

The Department of Health has referred the problem of AIDS orphans to the council on the grounds that to distinguish them from other orphans would lead to them being stigmatised.

But Fleming disputed this argument, and claimed that as the already overburdened welfare sector does not have the resources to cope.
News

In Brief

1/12/92

Apia behind club killings

A man claiming to be an Azanian People's Liberation Army cadre telephoned the SAP radio control room in East London yesterday to claim responsibility for the machinegun and hand grenade attack on a Border golf club at the weekend.

Police spokesman Colonel D. Louw said the man phoned at 8.21 am to say Apia, the armed wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress, had launched the attack in which four people died and 17 were wounded.

Workers picket AECI

Members of the SA Chemical Workers Union employed by AECI held a lunch hour picket at the company's premises in Modderfontein yesterday to press for demands in wage negotiations.

The union is demanding a R250 - or 14 percent, whichever is the greater - across-the-board increase. Workers are also seeking assurances on job security as well as a reduction in working hours from 45 hours a week to 40 without loss of pay.

DP presses for elections

A CONSTITUTION making body should be elected as soon as possible and the present Parliament be allowed temporarily to discharge the legislative function, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday.

He said the DP further strongly supported the idea, recently revived, of a multiparty government of national unity to run South Africa for some years.
Apla’s
claim
could be
a hoax

Political Staff

A claim by an alleged senior Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla) commander — that more King William’s Town-style attacks are imminent — could be a hoax, it emerged yesterday.

Sapa reported that “a top Apla commander”, Johnny Majizi, said in a telephone interview from Harare that the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress was responsible for the weekend attack in which four people were killed and 17 injured.

He told Sapa: “There will be more attacks of this nature with more frequency, especially in white areas.”

He said he found it surprising that “so much noise and police activity” could come as a result of the death of “only” four white people.

PAC deputy chief representative in Harare, Clayton Sibuya, could not confirm the reports. Majizi was not in Harare yesterday and it was impossible for an Apla commander “to move through Harare without this office knowing about it”.

Minister of Law and Order Herman Kriel said yesterday until such time as there was clarity on the PAC’s stand on acts of terror by Apla, there could be no further dialogue with the Government.

At the recent meeting between the Government and the PAC in Gaborone, the PAC had committed itself to peaceful negotiation with further talks planned for next week.

Ecmas reports that one of the survivors of the attack was Mr Justice Michael Claassens, presiding officer in the controversial Sebe-Guzeana inquest in Ciskei.

The judge said he was aware of speculation that he had been targeted but doubted this was the case. It was unlikely the killers would have known he would be there.
We will hit again, PAC armed unit tells whites

AN APLA commander confirmed yesterday that a unit of the PAC’s armed wing was responsible for the weekend attack on a King William’s Town golf club — and warned whites to expect more attacks of this kind.

Four people died and 17 were injured on Saturday night when five men stormed the Border club and opened fire with automatic rifles and lobbed hand grenades at unsuspecting Christmas dinner patrons.

Speaking from Harare, APLA chief spokesman Johnny Majizi said he found it surprising that “so much noise and police activity” could come as a result of the death of only four white people.

“Thousands of our African people are killed almost daily with no rewards being made or police reinforcements (being sent to the areas) in seconds,” Majizi said.

“We would like to remind white South Africans that there is a war going on inside the country.

“There will be more attacks of this nature with more frequency, especially in white areas.

The NP yesterday called on the PAC to abandon its armed campaign.

NP chief spokesman Piet Coetzee said:

“The National Party calls on the leaders of the PAC to urgently give up the armed struggle and bring APLA under control.”

The NP said PAC general secretary Benny Alexander’s remark, that the “hullabaloo” over the incident was because the victims were white, was racist and his attitude had raised questions over the PAC’s commitment to a negotiated settlement.

“He displays naked racism when he claims the hullabaloo is only because the victims were white. The attitude of Mr. Alexander puts a question mark over how genuine the PAC is about participating in negotiations,” Coetzee said.

He called on the PAC to take an “unequivocal stand” on the attack at King William’s Town.

Seventeen people were wounded in the shooting.

“The shifty attitude of Alexander when questioned about the King William’s Town killings is a disgrace to that organisation (the PAC),” Coetzee added.

The SA Council of Churches yesterday condemned the King William’s Town attack, saying it was “a sad reflection on the present state of our nation”.

“We express our revulsion at the continuing slaughter of innocents in our society, especially at a time when we need to build a new nation of peace, trust and democracy,” the SACC said.

Violent acts, such as the King William’s Town attack which claimed four lives, could only delay the transition to democracy and aggravate the present political climate.

The SACC said it was dismayed by the PAC’s reaction to the killings. — Saps.
By Esther Wawu
Political Reporter

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday called on the United Nations and the international community to help him launch an urgent inquiry into the Azanian People’s Liberation Army, saying it had a “policy of terrorism based on racist criteria, and an intention to extend the unacceptable violence”.

In a statement, Mr Justice Goldstone said: “The policy of Apal demonstrates the necessity of a full investigation into that organisation by the commission.”

To that end, the commission called upon the international community, and in particular the UN, to take the necessary steps to enable the commission to hold a full inquiry into the policies, man-power and arms structures of Apal outside SA and to report fully thereon in relation to political violence and intimidation in SA.”

The PAC yesterday repeated its view that it would not allow Apal, its military wing, to be probed by the Goldstone Commission.

Mr Justice Goldstone’s statement came in the aftermath of the weekend golf club killings in King William’s Town, for which some Apal spokesmen have claimed responsibility.

In a separate move, the Government yesterday warned that its talks with the PAC, scheduled for next week, were in jeopardy because of the alleged involvement of Apal in the killings.

There is still confusion about Apal’s involvement, with contradictory statements being made by “spokesmen” in telephone interviews.

The PAC has announced an emergency meeting of its executive for tomorrow.

The Government and the PAC have met twice recently to finalise a meeting between President PW de Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makweza.

Government sources yesterday confirmed that the planned meeting with the PAC on December 9 would not go ahead unless the organisation gave a satisfactory clarification of its relationship with Apal.

But PAC director of information and publicity Waters Toboti said yesterday it was the “regime’s own indaba if they withdraw from talks”.

He noted that in two previous meetings with the Government, “nothing was discussed about Apal and no undertakings were made regarding the issue”.

The Government sources said they were shocked by PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander’s statement that the Government was upset only by the death of whites.

They denied this and said that in an earlier statement condemning the King William’s Town killings, the Government had expressed its shock at several weekend deaths in townships.

Goldstone takes aim at Apal

From Page 2

Mr Justice Goldstone said the ANC had agreed to an investigation into its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The commission had not yet received a response from the KwaZulu government on an investigation into the KwaZulu Police.

ANC executive member and former intelligence chief Patrick Lekota said the suggestion that the King William’s Town attack was staged by the PAC was ridiculous.

Lekota said that for anyone to carry out the attack, they would have needed “abundance of intelligence on the planning and programme of the occasion, both before and during the occasion”, and that the R-1 and R-4 weapons used were “standard SADF and police issue”.

Eastern Cape police said yesterday they suspected that those responsible for the attack had once worked as cadres at the golf club.
Four whites die and the word terrorist surfaces, observes Mathata Tshedu

Our prejudices come shining through

The racism of the South African police, Government and the media is sickening. In a country where the deaths of 10 people does not warrant a page one story in any newspaper any more, it is surprising how the death of four whites in King Williams Town has stirred the emotions of the media.

As if by a turn of a switch, we have now seen the return of the word terrorist. Terrorist because the victims of this particular attack were white.

Whatever happened to the usual "unknown gunman" who have been blamed for spraying equally innocent black people at night vigils, birthday parties and other innocuous gatherings with bullets?

Let us look at what happens when four whites at a golf club are shot as they eat dessert after a wine tasting ceremony.

The police launch a huge manhunt, which never happens when the killings are at Folweni.

We are told of how the unexploded petrol bombs resemble those found at previous Apla attacks. We are told of strong leads. Of imminent arrests. Of rewards of R50 000.

Does anyone remember how the killings in Sebokeng, Boipatong or Folweni resemble any other attack and thus maybe Inkatha or the ANC or whoever else is the prime suspect?

It is this sort of racism of the media, police and regime, the PAC's Benny Alexandra said, that led many people to believe that the violence would stop soon enough if it spread to white areas and left some whites dead.

The manner in which the deaths of black people are treated by the police and the media is really appalling. No details, no names, just the bare allegations that are recorded for historical purposes.

The racism embodied in the psyche of South Africans over centuries will be hard to eradicate. One would understand perhaps the reaction of individuals touched by the incident.

But for organised institutions such as television, newspaper and the police force to allow the prejudices to shine through like at a time when they are telling of a new South Africa is total unacceptable. In fact, the who selective uproar over the killing is enough to drive one into sympathising with the killers, and the victims of the King carnage.

And unless we stand up to decry the selective and racist reactions of both the Government and the media, it will continue.

We need to cultivate a philosophy that looks at life as life, and not white life and therefore deserves more attention than black life. □

Mathata Tshedu is Investigations Editor of The Sowetan.
Union urges strong action on terror

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Government could no longer ignore its responsibility to act firmly against those responsible for the "terrorist" murders of innocent citizens, Free State Agricultural Union president Dr Pieter Gous said yesterday.

Compulsory death sentences were the only acceptable punishment for these "barbaric and abhorrent terrorist attacks", he added.

Gous said it was with shock and alarm that the Free State farming community had noted the attacks on innocent party-goers in the eastern Cape and on another Free State farm family at Marquard.

He said it was to be hoped that "these blatant and cold-blooded murders and assaults" had finally killed the doubts of many organisations.

State did not act firmly and with determination.

Throughout, the targets were innocent and defenceless and often elderly civilians. With almost every attack, the barbaric nature and level of cruelty had increased.

The attackers were clearly trained and armed terrorists who were conducting a reign of terror to drive whites from their land. However, the union had been publicly rapped over the knuckles on several occasions by spokesmen who contended it was the criminal element and the unemployed who were responsible.

Gous said that, in the light of the latest attacks, the farming community called urgently on the Government to act firmly before more families died or people started to take the law into their own hands.

— Sapa.
NEWS 14 security force members are killed • MK protest at ANC headquarters

FW angry over Buthelezi move

■ IFP leader has adopted a confrontational course, says De Klerk:

It was unfortunate that KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had adopted a confrontational course with the Government on several occasions, State President FW de Klerk said last night.

De Klerk was responding to Buthelezi’s announcement of a draft constitution for a KwaZulu/Natal region.

He said there were no major constitutional differences between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

“With respect to constitutional matters, there have thus far been no major differences in principle between the constitutional approaches of the Government and the IFP.

“It is a matter of concern that Mr Buthelezi is now apparently embarking on a course which militates against this approach,” De Klerk said.

In a later briefing, a source said it was hoped Buthelezi would accede to De Klerk’s request for an urgent meeting.

Shell House sit-in

■ Cadres complain about jobs, housing, money and Vaal structures:

By Abbey Makoe

LACK of accommodation for returned Vaal MK soldiers took a new turn on Tuesday when a delegation of 27 soldiers staged a sit-in at the ANC’s head office in Johannesburg.

The soldiers were yesterday roaming the foyer of Shell House and some called members of the Press to talk about their anger.

Those interviewed did not want their identities revealed. They said they had submitted a memorandum to the ANC leadership about four weeks ago, detailing their grievances, but had received no response.

The grievances include lack of rations despite “the ANC having received some money from Italy, aimed at alleviating the returned soldiers’ problems”.

Another soldier said they were concerned about “continued claims in the Vaal’s ANC structures that the MK was answerable to the Youth League”.

They said they slept on the third floor of the 22-storey building on Tuesday and were not provided with food.

By late yesterday the group was insisting that they would not leave until their demands were met.

MK Chief-of-Staff Mr Siphiwe Nyanda denied any knowledge of the sit-in.

The ANC’s media liaison officer, Mr Sakkie Mecozoma, confirmed the sit-in. He lashed out at the soldiers, saying they knew the correct procedures to follow when unhappy.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said he had received the MK memorandum and added that it was being given attention “at the highest level”.

SOWETAN 3/12/92
Judge wants
Apla probed

PAC refuses to allow its military wing to be investigated by commission.

Sowetan Correspondent


He said Apla had a "policy of terrorism based on racist criteria and an intention to extend the unacceptable violence".

"The policy of Apla demonstrates the necessity of a full investigation into that organisation by the commission.

"To that end, the commission calls upon the international community and, in particular, the UN to take the necessary steps to enable the commission to hold a full inquiry into the policies, manpower and arms structures of Apla outside South Africa and to report fully thereon in relation to political violence and intimidation in South Africa," Goldstone said.

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday reiterated its view that it would not allow Apla - its military wing - to be probed by the Goldstone Commission.

Goldstone's appeal came in the aftermath of the weekend golf club killings in King William's Town, for which some Apla spokesmen have claimed responsibility.
NEWS 14 security force members are killed • MK protest at ANC headquarters

Shell House sit-in

Cadres complain about jobs, housing, money and Vaal structures:

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YOU DON’T NEED A LIFE-SAVER MAIN! WE’LL BE TRAVELLING THROUGH DROUGHT-STRICKEN COUNTRY!
Johnny Majoez does exist - but he didn’t quite say what he was reported as saying about more Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla) attacks on whites being imminent.

This is the confusing outcome of The Star’s attempts to verify Majoez’s much-publicised warning that more white South Africans were to be targeted in the wake of the King William’s Town Golf Club killings.

On Tuesday, Majoez was quoted as saying in Harare that Apla, the Pan Africanist Congress’s military wing, was responsible for the weekend bloodbath at the golf club - and that “there would be more attacks of this nature with more frequency, especially in white areas”.

Yesterday, however, tracked down by telephone in Dar es Salaam, Majoez said Apla could not take responsibility for the King William’s Town killings “at this stage”.

Describing himself as Apla’s information officer, Majoez said he was still awaiting a report from a “field officer” in South Africa.

Asked specifically whether he had said more whites would be killed by Apla, Majoez said: “I expect more attacks on whites, but I cannot say that Apla would specifically go into white areas.” He also denied having been in Zimbabwe, although he admitted he had spoken to a journalist about the issue.

Asked about his personal background, Majoez would only say he was “a journalist who had grown up in the ranks of the PAC”.

In a further twist to the unresolved saga of Apla’s involvement in the golf club carnage, a man claiming to be Karl Zimhiri of the Apla High Command told Sapa yesterday that the attack was a “true operation of Apla”.


PAC repudiates Goldstone

THE PAC reacted angrily yesterday to Judge Richard Goldstone's call on the UN and the international community to help him persuade the organisation to allow him to investigate its military wing Apla. Publicity and information director Waters Thaboti said the PAC would refuse to co-operate with the Goldstone commission. He rejected an inquiry into the policies, manpower and arms structures of Apla because "Goldstone is not neutral".

Goldstone made the call yesterday following a phone call allegedly from Apla commander Johnny Majoe in which he accepted responsibility for the King William's Town attack.

Thaboti refused to comment on whether Apla was responsible for the attack, but said of Goldstone: "We have always said he is not neutral because he is an appointee of (President F W) de Klerk's regime. He just wants to ensure that whites remain in their privileged positions and is not interested in the black person's liberation."

He said Goldstone had made a mistake by issuing the call, because "at last he has shown his true colours".

Thaboti refused to discuss the UN Security Council recommendation that Goldstone investigate security forces and private armies.

The Goldstone commission said it had asked the international community to take steps to enable it to hold an inquiry into the structures of Apla outside SA and to report on the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

PAC 81091 3/12/72

fully in relation to political violence and intimidation.

The commission welcomed government's agreement for it to investigate the intelligence operations of the security forces, and the ANC's positive response to the request to inquire into the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A similar request had been made to investigate the KwaZulu Police, but no response had yet been forthcoming.

Thaboti also insisted that the PAC's bilateral meeting with government would go ahead next week, in spite of Law and Order Minister Hersaas Kriel's statement that government had suspended talks until there was clarity on the PAC's stand on acts of terror by Apla.

Sapa reports Apla vowed yesterday to attack white suburbs in retaliation for every vigilante attack in black townships.

A man claiming to be Karl Zimbiri of the Apla High Command said the only way to solve "African violence" in the townships was to take that violence to white areas.
Transkei Defence Force is helping to arm MK, probe told

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The South African Police yesterday named the chief of logistics in the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) as a supplier of weapons and ammunition smuggled into South Africa for the use of the ANC.

This was evidence by Chris Marnewick, SC, who is appearing before the Goldstone Commission for the SAP.

Marnewick said the SAP was concerned about evidence “that the ANC receives weapons from other countries through Transkei”.

The weapons were then transported into SA through Lesotho.

Weapons from Transkei were supplied to Umkhonto we Sizwe in South Africa.

The information in the possession of the SAP is to the effect that MK commanders actually submit requisitions to the TDF for weapons and ammunition needed. Weapons are also purchased from an arms dealer in Transkei and channelled into South Africa,” he said.

Marnewick did not give the name of the TDF chief of logistics.

Allegations that G3 firearms had been unlawfully used in conflict situations, and had been routinely issued to tribal authorities for protection, were correct, the commission heard.

A legal adviser to the KwaZulu Police, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Reed, said he was still a member of the SA Police when he had taken up the illegal use of these firearms in conflict situations with Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

After these talks, an order had been issued that all G3 firearms should be withdrawn, and be replaced by shotguns or .38 revolvers, said Reed. This process would be complete when an expected consignment of shotguns and revolvers was received.

His statement comes after several submissions to the commission this week on the issuing of G3 rifles to tribal authorities.

Saps reports that eight steps to end political violence in Natal and KwaZulu were set out yesterday by Dr Ben Ngubane, Minister of Health in KwaZulu.

He said political violence would cease if:

• MK were disbanded.
• There were immediate and full disclosure by all political players on the whereabouts of arms and arms caches.
• A joint public statement were made by all political players calling for the immediate cessation of attacks on the KwaZulu government.
• The ANC publicly renounced its stated policy of destabilising KwaZulu.
• The ANC stopped training its cadres at home and abroad.
• The ANC publicly recognised the legitimacy of the KwaZulu government.
• All political players signed a joint public statement committing themselves to political tolerance and peaceful political activity.
• There were a strengthening of mediation through the National Peace Accord structures.

He said boycotting unrest and linked armed robberies had so far cost the KwaZulu government some R23 million.

Ngubane said political violence in Natal and KwaZulu stemmed directly from the policies adopted by the ANC and the SA Communist Party in 1985 to make South African homelands and local authorities ungovernable.
Fine planning went into the King William's Town golf club attack

Apla's capability underestimated?

Apla, once dismissed by the SA intelligence community as "two men with a fax number in Dar es Salaam", is now being officially credited for Saturday's assault on the King William's Town golf club.

Police were quick to identify the Pan Africanist Congress's armed wing, Apla, as the most likely culprit for the attack, in which four people died and 20 were injured.

There was some confusion from Apla itself on the issue, but it seems now to have formally accepted responsibility for the attack — possibly causing the PAC some discomfort as a result.

The Government has suspended talks with the PAC as a result of the attack.

However, the question remains whether Apla has the capacity to carry out what was by all accounts a sophisticated, well-planned raid. Some experts doubt this, while others acknowledge that if it was Apla, it showed better organisation than any previous operation.

Reliable sources suggest that between eight and 12 people may have been part of the two-pronged assault on the clubhouse dining room, where 55 guests were attending a Christmas dinner, and on the adjoining bar. About four people probably entered the clubhouse with grenades and firearms — police said there was evidence that R-4 assault rifles and 9mm pistols were used — and split up to attack the two venues.

Louise Flanagan, a journalist who has been researching violence in the Border region, described the attack as "clearly quite sophisticated" — and said she believed it was beyond Apla's capabilities.

"A indicaion of the planning that went into the attack is that they must have known what was going on inside — they must have been there before to check it out."

She said police had linked Apla to several recent attacks in the region — on farms around Maclear, on commuters near Lady Grey, and on a farm store in Komga, among others.

While Apla may have had the ability to launch some of these one-off attacks, it was likely that many were actually the work of criminal thugs, Flanagan said.

Dr Jakkie Cilliers, co-director of the Institute for Defence Polities, an independent think-tank based in Midrand, stressed that he was not aware of anyone "outside of the intelligence community or Apla itself" who could be sure about the movement's strength.

Nevertheless, Cilliers said he too had doubts on hearing that Apla had been linked to the attack, adding that throwing a grenade at a police vehicle, and the golf club attack, were poles apart.

Border's acting police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Herman Koegelenberg said evidence was emerging that Apla operatives were "highly trained", and many were back in SA as a result of the unbanning of the PAC.

An analyst who believes that Apla was capable of carrying out the attack is Helmoed-Römer Heitman, SA correspondent with Jane's Defence Weekly.

Heitman said he had been sceptical of most of Apla's claims involving the assassination of policemen, but had since changed his mind about its military capacity.

Heitman says he was told this week by one reliable source that Apla operatives had been deployed in large numbers to "hit" policemen. Another source said Apla operatives had been instructed to attack "soft targets" over the Christmas period.

"This came as a big surprise to me. Apparently they have a capability far greater than I thought they did," said Heitman. — Ecna
KING WILLIAM’S TOWN MASSACRE

A perverse mentality

One had hitherto thought of Benny Alexander, secretary-general of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), as politically outrageous. In the light of his comments on the King William’s Town golf club dinner massacre he is clearly also malignant.

If one fundamental problem of our new society is that it has bred a cold disrespect for human life — an attitude seen on all sides — then Alexander has carved out a special niche in the annals of political callousness.

His remark that “there is a lot of international hullabaloo around the attack purely because white people have died” is so shocking that it raises the question of whether anyone whatsoever should be talking to the PAC. For, indeed, it may well have placed itself now beyond the bounds of morality and reasonable negotiation.

Alexander has come perilously close to a call for race war — the horrible spectre which the whole process of reform and reconciliation is designed to avert.

How else can reasonable people interpret his macabre remark that these killings reflect a “racial attitude by the regime, the security forces and the media which leads many ordinary Africans to the conclusion that the violence will be treated more seriously and indeed ended if it is not confined only in the townships but spills over to white areas”?

The suggestion that white people are unconcerned by violence is racist and comes from the same perverted mentality that boasts the slogan: “One settler, one bullet.” It cannot be defended even in terms of liberation rhetoric.

Someone purporting to be from Apla — the PAC’s externally-based and controlled armed wing — has claimed responsibility for the massacre, as well as attacks on police and farmers. Alexander says he knows nothing about this one way or the other, since the PAC has no control over its army. That raises the question of what exactly are the PAC’s political objectives — if they are at all coherent — and to what lengths it will go to achieve them.

To whom Apla reports is a telling question. For when the visible leadership of an organisation defends “One settler, one bullet” it must be expected that, down the line at least, some cadres will take it seriously and act on it as an instruction. It is an act of monumental irresponsibility, of the kind that should be foreign to any organisation that aspires to national leadership.

The ANC — which has condemned the King William’s Town killings — has been sufficiently responsible to suspend its armed struggle, at least while it is involved in negotiations.

No such concession has been forthcoming from the PAC, though these days it will talk to almost anyone with the time.

It should be recalled that one of the reasons for the split between the ANC and PAC in 1959 was because Africanists considered the Congress too conciliatory towards whites — and that racial attacks on whites, particularly in Transkei, emanating from PAC sources, date back to the Sixties.

By continuing — and defending — such a policy, the PAC, as it stands, has removed itself from the mainstream of political debate and will have to be dealt with as a terrorist organisation. No indemnity covers its current deeds — and it would be highly inappropriate were this ever to be the case.

Unfortunately, of course, we have no guarantee that any future government will not indemnify the Apla killers. This is what the FM warned when Barend Strydom was swapped for Robert McBride earlier this year. The deep cynicism behind that move has stained the credibility of all future deals struck in the name of reconciliation and goodwill.

Peace will not be won by a balance of psychopaths.

Reports that the AWB intends to step up patrols in the eastern Cape — racial tinderbox of the New SA — raise the prospect of reprisals. Who knows how matters could degenerate after that? This is what Alexander’s gloatings could help bring about.

The sensible course for government and ANC at present is to sterilise the PAC — to cease all negotiation with it until it has repudiated its slogans and reined in its killers pending their trial for murder. It would help if it was made plain that there can be no indemnity for them, though a government which has not yet adequately probed its own death squads may have neither the inclination nor the moral authority to issue such a statement. But it would be a step towards decency.

There is much about the PAC that smacks of the Irish Republican Army — both are fanatical, indiscriminately cruel, vengeful and without any sense of ordinary human decency. If they cannot see how heinous are acts of mindless brutality such as the King William’s Town killings, how can they be considered capable of reasonable negotiation and dignified participation in a just and honourable democracy?

No amount of dissembling can justify this attack on grounds of provocation. It was a deliberate act of supreme cruelty, clearly intended to frustrate the fragile moves towards peaceful negotiation and invite further violence. It places the PAC beyond the pale.

But it emphasises also that if there is to be peaceful progress in our country, deep-seated prejudices have to be overcome and motives questioned, even among those who hold themselves out to be men of peace.

The IRA is able to count too often on at least tacit support from the clergy in Ireland and elsewhere. The SA Council of Churches, which should be at the forefront of peace initiatives, cannot ever hope to bring itself to eschew trade sanctions, which are inherently violent in that they force the poor into degrading poverty; and the SACC still participates in public demonstrations clearly calculated to heighten the levels of violent reaction and dissension within the country.

Has the SACC become to the PAC what the church in Ireland is to the IRA?
Apla blamed as restaurant attack fuels race tension

ANDREA WEISS, Staff Reporter

RACIAL tensions are running high in Queenstown today with angry residents blaming the PAC army, Apla, for last night's blast.

The mayor, Mr Johnny Johnson, said: "These bloody animals must be caged," adding that he was convinced the same movement which bombed King William's Town golf club last weekend, killing four people, was responsible.

Queenstown MP Mr Manie Schoeman said the bombing was a cowardly act which would lead to further polarisation in the Border region.

The father of three young people who were injured said he felt "stabbed in the heart" today when he overheard a man surveying the damage remark in Xhosa: "They did a good job."

Mr Benjamin Brody had returned to the restaurant to look for the keys of the car used by his children, who are in Frontier Hospital with burns and shrapnel wounds.

They were in a party of five at the table next to where the bomb went off.

Mr Brody said he thought it was a phosphorous bomb because his children were badly burned.

His elder daughter, Michelle, 25, had her hair burned off and her dress burned to her skin. His son, Shane, had burns and shrapnel wounds. His younger daughter, Abigail, 19, who was facing the table where the bomb was placed, had the worst shrapnel wounds.

Mark Muller, son of police Warrant Officer Rodney Muller, escaped the blast by minutes.

He said: "We had just finished writing matric and a group of us Queens College guys celebrated at the Spur. I arrived home about 10 minutes after my mum and dad had been told of the blast. I think it's the first time in my life that my dad has kissed me."
Police chief's warning to Apla

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA.—Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe vowed today to meet fire with fire in the battle against Azanian People's Liberation Army terrorists.

Any Apla member who committed an act of aggression against the people of South Africa would be severely dealt with, he told a police passing out parade in Pretoria.

"Our track record shows the South African Police can hunt these terrorists, irrespective of where they may be hiding, and we will do so again," he said. "The police will not treat them with kid gloves."

Apla, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, said after a handgrenade attack on King William's Town golf club last Saturday that whites should expect more acts of terror.

The PAC executive committee is meeting today to discuss Apla activities in the light of the world-wide denunciation of the King William's Town attack.

Chief police spokesman Major-General Leon Mellet said Apla was also suspected of planting the bomb that exploded last night in a Queenstown restaurant. No one has yet claimed responsibility for the attack.
19 whites injured in east Cape attack

Restaurant blast horror

By Philip Zoio

Nineteen people, all of them white, were injured when a bomb exploded in a restaurant at Queenstown in the eastern Cape late last night.

The explosion, the second violent attack on a "white establishment" in the Border region in the last week, follows a machinegun and hand grenade attack in King William's Town in which four people were killed and 17 injured last Sunday.

Brigadier Poola van der Merwe, divisional commissioner, said it was a miracle that nobody was killed by the blast, which he said could have been caused by a large limpet mine.

Van der Merwe said it could not be established at this stage whether the motive for the attack was political. Nobody had claimed responsibility.

The restaurant owner, Andrew van Wyk, said today: "It's disgusting to put a bomb in such a soft target. One of my waitresses, a student, Heidi Cunningham, walked right past her table when it went off.

"She was horribly injured — it was a mess. A man sitting at a table nearby was blown right through the roof. Then the airconditioners came crashing down on patrons and finally the whole roof collapsed on to us.

"There were between 15-20 staff on duty at the time and 25 patrons."

Pieces of debris lined the pavement and tarmac of Cathcart Street, which was cordoned off.

Police are following up an eyewitness account that the bomb may have been concealed in a leather case and brought into the restaurant by two men and a woman, Van der Merwe said.

EENA reports that there are rumours circulating in the town that three black people, two men and one woman, had entered the Spar at about 10.45 pm and ordered a burger and a beer. After eating they left the restaurant and minutes later the bomb exploded.

All 19 injured were initially taken to Queenstown Frontier Hospital, said superintendent Dr Johan Fryer.

Three of the most seriously injured were transferred to an East London private hospital, where their conditions were described by the matron as stable. The trio, who were expected to undergo surgery later today, did not want their names released until their next-of-kin had been informed.

Ten of the injured at Frontier Hospital were treated for shock and minor injuries and discharged this morning. Six of the other injured are still at the hospital. They are Cheryl Edwards, Michelle Brody, Abigail Brody, Shane Brody, Garth Ford and Shane Keays.

Fryer described them as residents of Queenstown, all aged about 20.
Apla violence condemned

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The international community, led by African countries, is ready to take strong and concerted action to put a stop to acts of violence by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), according to diplomats in Washington and at the UN today.

They were commenting on an appeal from Mr Justice Richard Goldstone for help in conducting an urgent investigation of Apla.

African diplomats particularly are critical of statements attributed to Apla and to the organisation's political counterpart, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), following the King William's Town golf club killings.

At the UN, diplomats revealed that the Africa Group — in effect the UN caucus of the OAU — had already warned the PAC against any attempt to resolve South Africa's problems outside the framework of peaceful multiparty negotiations.

They insist it was their pressure on the PAC delegation, led by Clarence Makwetu, at this year's UN Security Council debate on the Boipatong massacre, which led to the PAC's belated and grudging decision to join negotiations.

And they said today they were ready to exert whatever pressure they could on the PAC and Apla to abandon violence as a means of achieving political ends.

Western diplomats said there could be no doubt about their stand against violence.

"It surely goes without saying. It is an unnecessary question," said a European diplomat.

A senior African official in Washington said: "Africa has been exhausted and devastated by violence, and as a continent we are solidly behind peaceful negotiations to resolve South Africa's problems."

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Self-defence committees for Azapo

By Kaizer Nyatumbu
Political Reporter

The Azanian People’s Organisation will form defence committees throughout the country to defend black communities and enable the organisation to operate and project its views within the black communities. Azapo deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said yesterday.

He said members of his organisation’s self-defence units would be drawn exclusively from Azapo, to avoid having in their ranks people who were “not disciplined”.

At its four-day congress in Port Elizabeth last weekend, Azapo resolved to mediate in taxi disputes, and educate both taxi drivers and owners “on the sanctity of black life”.

Azapo publicity secretary Dr. Gomolemo Mokae said his organisation remained committed to the maintenance of sanctions and the cultural boycott, and would stage pickets against the current Indian cricket tour.

Mokae said Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala, at present lecturing at Cambridge University in England, was winding down his business in that country to return home.

Mosala would visit Zambia, where he would hold talks with the Zambian government in an effort to get South African Katsa Cebekhulu released from prison. Mokae said Azapo was continuing with its investigations into the death of Dr. Abubaker Aswat, and that Cebekhulu’s evidence would be crucial.

Cebekhulu was allegedly abducted and taken to Zambia.
Three policemen were injured when a grenade was thrown at their armoured car in Ratanda township, near Heidelberg, last night.

An SAP spokesman said a police patrol was attacked while attempting to disperse a crowd of about 200 people at 10.45 pm. The three policemen were slightly injured.

Police and Defence Force troops conducted a search in the township between 3 am and 4 am today, but no arrests were made. — Sapa.
ANC leaders ‘covered up’
torture in detention camps

By David Beresford

THE reputation of the African National Congress as an idealistic liberation movement has taken another battering with the release of a damning report by Amnesty International on torture and killings in its detention camps during the years of exile.

The conclusions of this inquiry are even more damaging than the report produced recently by an internal ANC inquiry — not only confirming and enlarging on torture allegations, but detailing summary executions and other killings.

The Amnesty report also discloses that detainees may still be held in ANC camps. It notes that, despite undertakings by the ANC in September last year to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross access “more than a year after the initial agreement, no visits have yet taken place.”

The ANC anticipated publication of the Amnesty report by appointing a new tribunal to investigate allegations produced by its original inquiry against named officials. It had been recommended that officials involved in the atrocities be barred from holding senior posts in the ANC.

But the Amnesty report produces evidence, among other things, of an apparent cover-up of the atrocities by the ANC leadership itself in the mid-1980s, when a report from yet another internal inquiry was suppressed. Amnesty notes that, by covering it up at the time, the leadership ensured that atrocities continued.

Amnesty also strongly criticises African governments which hosted the ANC camps and failed to take action, in some instances collaborating in the atrocities. Countries named include Zambia, Angola, Tanzania, and Uganda. It details cases where victims turned to the UN High commission for Refugees but failed to get protection.

The story of maltreatment is similar to that reported by the so-called Skweyiya Commission, with acts of “ritualised” brutality, including systematic beatings, food and water deprivation, and bizarre tortures.

To that chronicle Amnesty adds other brutalities, such as a detainee buried up to his neck before being suffocated with a plastic bag — one of a number of tortures used to induce victims to sign “confessions” already prepared by interrogators. There was particular abuse of treatment of women prisoners.

The Amnesty report also investigates killings in the camps which the Skweyiya Commission was prevented from looking into by the terms of reference set by the ANC.

It discloses at least one instance of summary executions after a mutiny by members of the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Siswe (MK) in the Pango camp in the north of Luanda which was suppressed by loyalist guerrillas. The captured members were tied to trees, beaten, whipped, and had molten plastic dripped on their naked bodies.

The report says seven prisoners, whom it names, were sentenced to death by a summary tribunal. “The tribunal was chaired by an ANC security officer and the accused had no opportunities for legal representation or appeal.”

Killings also resulted from torture, such as that of (MK) members caught smoking cannabis.

In addition to the camps, torture took place at other ANC department headquarters in Lusaka, known as the Green House. Amnesty says it has evidence that prisoners were beaten with implements including barbed wire, bicycle chains and iron bars and kept in waterlogged cells. One prisoner described having his lips burned by cigarettes and his testicles squeezed with pliers.

Amnesty notes that ANC attempts to mitigate the scandal — by alleging that the victims were South African agents — had resulted in some cases in which former detainees had been murdered after returning from exile.

Calling for further steps to be taken to deal with those responsible, Amnesty says a particularly important question is why the report of an inquiry into the 1984 mutinies by MK members, conducted by a senior ANC official, James Stuart, had not been tabled at the ANC’s 1985 consultative conference in Zambia.
South Africa knew of plans to train MK in Uganda

British officials made clear that their embassy in Pretoria had kept South African state authorities informed of their informal exchanges with the ANC leadership. The possibility was mentioned by one official that the South African government may well have raised some objections to the idea of Britain providing military facilities and training for MK personnel and, he added, this could have led to a change in the British proposal — providing police rather than military training.

Around the time this development was reported more than 13 months ago, Chris Hanl, the MK chief of staff, said in a published interview the ANC also was seeking professional military training facilities from India, Pakistan, Canada, Australia and Uganda among other countries. The idea was to develop MK personnel to officer level. If any objections were raised by South African state authorities they certainly were not publicised at that time.

In fact defence minister Roelf Meyer told an interviewer on Britain’s Independent Television network in early September 1991, that the process of integrating blacks into the SADF already was taking place.

The British have, for years, focused on helping their erstwhile colonies to build up their security forces along the lines of Britain's own national system. In recent times they have extended this policy to non-Commonwealth countries like Mozambique which sends its promising military personnel here for education in modern military technology, organisation, weaponry, discipline. Namibia and Zimbabwe also make use of these facilities. Indeed up until the Gulf war Iraqi soldiers, sailors and airmen were benefiting from Britain's experience.

One byproduct of this British system has been, through example, to spread the most acceptable elements of Britain's values.

In the aftermath of the King William’s Town affair, a phoney furor built up when some political groups, not excluding state spokesmen, called attention to ANC military training arrangements for its MK cadres in foreign lands.

These were portrayed as sinister developments with implicit suggestions that, somehow, they could be linked with the eastern Cape killings.
Police believed to know the names of the terror bombers

Apla crackdown

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday announced a crackdown on an alleged Apla urban terror campaign against soft targets and urged the public exercise special vigilance to help foil a planned new wave of black-on-white violence.

And top security sources told the Cape Times that police already know the names of some of those responsible for the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks.

Law and Order Minister Mr Herewas Kriel said police are about to question the Faz-Afri-Afri-Congress leadership on information they may have on the atrocities.

He also announced that a R100 000 award will be paid by the SAP for information leading to the capture of the alleged Azanian People's Liberation Army terrorists.

Barrage of criticism

The PAC yesterday faced a barrage of condemnation after fingers were pointed at its military wing following Thursday night's Queenstown restaurant bomb attack which left 16 people injured, two of whom seriously.

Apla warned after an earlier attack on the King William's Town golf club which claimed four lives that whites should expect more of the same.

President P W de Klerk warned he would not stand terrorism.

State President's spokesman Mr Dave Steward said the government is deeply concerned about the "potentially explosive effect" of the emerging pattern of black-on-white violence.

Last night Mr Kriel warned that Apla's alleged terror campaign will be countered by "the full weight of the security forces".

Earlier, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said police will "fight fire with fire".

By late last night no one had claimed responsibility for the Queenstown attack, but Mr Kriel said police had "essential information" that Apla was responsible and is planning more attacks.

There was no response from the PAC which may yesterday on the growing wave of condemnation.

Mr Kriel's statement was discussed for hours yesterday by security chiefs and cleared by Mr de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr P K Beeka.

Mr Kriel said police also possess information that Apla is planning attacks from Zimbabwe and Transkei and that Apla stores arms in both territories.

"We urge these governments not to allow their territory to be used for terror attacks," he said.

Mr de Klerk said that attacks by Apla would have a profound effect on discussions with the PAC.

Crackdown

One source described the police's intelligence as "brilliant" and added that the information already gleaned from police informers would make it possible to foil a number of planned attacks in future.

Mr Kriel last night appealed to the public to exercise special vigilance.

Mr Kriel announced a number of measures aimed at preventing further attacks. These include:

- Investigation teams are being expanded and additional manpower employed.
- Several police bases are being established in strategic locations in the Eastern Cape.
- Cordon and search operations— including road blocks and physical searches of individuals and vehicles — will be conducted in the area.

Steps will be taken to upgrade security measures in public places and restaurants in co-operation with local communities and business leaders.

Political parties reacted with outrage to the latest attack and called for strong action.

The National Party urged drastic steps to track down the attackers, saying: "It is clear that a small group of terrorists is trying to create propaganda to build their status through the most heinous deeds."

The NP MP for Queenstown, Dr Manie Schoeman, condemned the explosion as "a cowardly and despicable deed".

The ANC said "the attack on innocent diners at the Spur in Queenstown, following shortly on the King William's Town Golf Club killings, must be condemned by all at this juncture of South Africa's political life".

The ANC urged all parties to react with restraint and not play into the hands of those bent on fanning the flames of violence.

The Democratic MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorescoff, said that any party resorting to the senseless bombing of innocent civilians was guilty of "political bankruptcy and moral depravity".

The Conservative Party condemned the attack, calling on the government to ban the responsible organisations.
MK sit-in proves hard to report on

CHARLES WEBSTER

SIT-INS we’ve grown used to, but this one was certainly unexpected: 27 people, said to be returned Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers, holding a sit-in in the foyer of the ANC’s headquarters at Shell House in protest at lack of rations and accommodation.

That, at least, was what one Johannesburg newspaper reported this week. The Saturday Star decided to investigate, and ended up going in ever-increasing circles.

MK chief-of-staff Siphiwe Nyanda had said in an interview on Wednesday afternoon that he did not know of the sit-in. But ANC liaison officer Sake Macozoma confirmed it had happened.

The Saturday Star attempted to contact Nyanda on Thursday morning, but we were told by one person that he had left the country, by another that he was outside Johannesburg, and by a third person that the sit-in issue “has been resolved”.

“We tried once more and were again told that Nyanda had left the country. We insisted that this was impossible as Nyanda had spoken to reporters only the previous afternoon.

Memorandum from exiles

We were promptly asked to hold the line, and were put through to a man who said Nyanda would be contactable early yesterday morning. He said he would ask Nyanda to return Saturday Star’s call.

In another attempt at obtaining the real story, Ronnie Mamoepa, the ANC’s PWV regional spokesman, was contacted. Mamoepa had told reporters earlier that a memorandum had been received “from a group of returned exiles”, and he told us he felt that the exiles’ needs should be provided for by the people of South Africa.

Apparently Mamoepa had been misquoted earlier as saying he had received a memorandum from the MK soldiers who had taken part in the sit-in. Mamoepa said he had not been assigned to deal with the demands of the sitter.

Nyanda finally called the Saturday Star yesterday and explained he had been in the western Transvaal on Thursday. He denied there had been any “sit-in as such”, but said several returned Vaal Triangle MK cadres had arrived at Shell House on Tuesday, saying they had run out of money and asking for the ANC’s support. He had asked them to leave, saying the matter would be dealt with.

He told Saturday Star that returnees, both exiles and returned MK cadres, were, for a certain period of time, provided with food and accommodation by the National Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees (NCCR). He added that while the ANC was negotiating with the Government about integrating MK and the SADF, many of the organisation’s soldiers were unemployed. The NCCR, according to Nyanda, could provide refugees’ needs only for a limited time because their funds were limited.
Fears attacks could ignite a race war

By SEKOLA SELLO

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN ... Queenstown. Does this mark the widening of the frontier of the wave of violence sweeping throughout the country?

The two incidents pose many questions. Is the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the military wing of the PAC, behind the killings?

Two anonymous callers phoned the media and claimed responsibility for the attacks. Whether the two are from Apla has not yet been established beyond doubt.

Police and government spokesmen have been quick to ascribe blame on Apla, largely on the basis of unverified claims that some callers from Apla admitted responsibility.

A man claiming to be Karl Zimbiri of the Apla High Command phoned Sapa and said the weekend attack on a King William's Town golf club was a "true operation of Apla".

Apla's aim was "for every attack in African townships, there will be a retaliation in white suburbs".

Another man claiming to be commander of intelligence operations for Apla in the eastern Cape, Transvaal, on Friday night said Apla had been responsible for Thursday night's bomb attack on a Oriental restaurant in which 17 people were injured.

The attacks formed part of an Apla operation in the eastern Cape dubbed "Shock and Show", he said.

Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel has also gone on record saying that the police were in possession of a detailed Apla plan to launch a "terror campaign against soft targets and defenceless communities" - meaning whites.

Following the latest attacks in the two towns, race relations in the eastern Cape are reported to have deteriorated further.

Various rightwing groupings have seized on the occasion to attack State President FW de Klerk on being soft against terrorists. This has placed the government against the wall.

Given the pressures he is under, De Klerk has in fact reacted with extreme caution. He has predictably condemned the killings, saying after talks in Pretoria with former French finance minister Edouard Balladur, that "we will not stand terrorism".

But, the government has not called off talks with the PAC scheduled for next Wednesday. Instead, Pretoria has called on the PAC to clarify its stance on the attacks.

Military experts were this week divided on whether the King William's Town operation was carried out by Apla. Some said it lacked such military sophistication, while others said its capacity must not be doubted.

The PAC has not shed light on whether the attacks were carried out by their men. PAC secretary general Benny Alexander said the organisation was not in a position to confirm or deny this because the structures of the two (Apla and PAC) were independent.

The latest attacks and threats of more to follow also place the entire negotiations under threat, possibly bringing the country closer to a serious race war.

The PAC must also know that they cannot talk peace and continue their war. The two positions are irreconcilable.
MK smooths over rift

By STAN MHLONGO

A GROUP of Vaal Umkhonto weSizwe cadres this week staged a sit-in protest outside the ANC's Shell House headquarters in Johannesburg, claiming the ANC had embezzled R18-million intended for former exiles.

MK officials, however, said the R18-million claim was "nonsense", and said money was not part of the misunderstanding.

In a strongly-worded attack on the organisation, the former exiles claimed that the money had come from Italy with the aim of alleviating the plight of returnees.

The 27-man delegation of protestors told the press of their hardships since the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and others on February 11.

Top of their list of grievances was a lack of accommodation, lack of finances and the way MK structures were operating in the Vaal.

The cadres strongly objected to being made answerable to the ANC Youth League.

They also claimed a memorandum indicating their grievances had been submitted to the MK leadership.

The protesters said in order to attract the attention of MK leaders they had slept outside the ANC building this week.

PWV MK chief Viva Mkhonto said the matter was resolved amicably and denied that money was involved in the list of demands.

Mkhonto declined to say more, saying the issue had been resolved.

Italian embassy secretary Alessandra Cortese said his government was planning to fund non-government organisations though had never intended to fund MK. However, plans were underway to build a settlement centre for returnees costing R10-million.
How we escaped bomb

Victims tell of Spur blast horror

Staff of the Queens-town Spur restaurant on Friday sat among the rubble and cracked glass jokes about Thursday night's attack which left 19 people injured.

"Does anybody know who this belongs to?" said one holding up a scrap of material.

There was nervous laughter, tinged with relief.

Electrical wires dangled from the shredded ceiling, and there was glass and rubble everywhere.

Several policemen stood guard a few metres away.

"It's a miracle not more people were hurt," said Hella van Wyk, the restaurant's cashier, adding there were about 25 people in the restaurant when the blast occurred.

Waitress Tjstansie-kamp said: "I heard a massive explosion. We all fell to the ground."

"Someone shouted 'run', and I thought people were shouting like in King William's Town. I was surprised how calm people were, maybe they were prepared for a thing like this after the King William's Town attack.

"There was blood all over and pieces of shrapnel in people's legs. People were burnt 'pitch black' from the blast."

Staff members clearly remember the three people who are suspected of having planted the bomb. They said earlier they had seen a man who behaved suspiciously and seemed to be casing the joint.

Annemie Fisher, a student working as a waitress, said a neatly dressed man carrying a parcel had entered the restaurant at about 7 pm. He ordered without sitting down but then walked out, and she cancelled his order when he didn't return.

About 15 minutes later, the order was cancelled and he walked back to the window, but he didn't sit there. Instead, he took a place looking out of the window.

"I heard a noise," said Fisher. "He looked very suspicious and when he left I checked under the table."

She asked another waiter to clock, and reported the incident to Van Wyk. Van Wyk also remembered two men and a woman who are expected of having planted the bomb.

"She said they had ordered only one hamburger and a beer to share. The three were served at about 9:45 pm, and by 10 pm their bill had been run up, but they stayed at the table for another hour."

This was not unusual, she said.

Two of them then left, leaving one of the men to pay. Six minutes later the bomb went off.

In the town's Frontier Hospital, 25-year-old Mi-

chelle Brodie also remembered the three suspects who sat at a table next to the one she shared with her sister and brother.

Brodie suffered extensive injuries. In addition to a torn eardrum, she suffered burns, has 300 pieces of shrapnel in her legs, and has blisters all over.

When journalists visited her, she was talking, laughing, and almost, but clearly still in shock.

There was reddish hair all over her; she had been growing for seven years until it reached her bottom.

"About 10 minutes after the three had left, we heard an explosion like a vacuum that pulled us in, and there was a bright flash of light, unbelievable heat, and the lights went out," said Brody.

"Our feet collapsed under us, the table fell down and the ceiling and the air conditioning came on top of it.

"My brother grabbed my sister and I and said, 'Let's get out before there's another explosion.' My hair was on fire. I didn't want to look down because I thought I'd lost a foot."

"My foot felt like they had sliced them. There was blood on my legs, my pectus cut on my skin, and my skirt was torn.

She said she was deafened by the blast. "When I sat outside, I was looking all over, my foot stuck to the pavement from the compounded blood.

Of the three suspects, she said angrily: "The stupidity of them sitting staring at us, knowing they were going to kill us." - Elnova
BUNGLE

- Terror plan known for two months
- General's alert did not reach public
- Tell Apla to take holiday, said Kriel

Angry Sun City golfers accept blame

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and senior policemen knew more than two months ago that Apla, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, planned to launch a terror campaign against white civilians.

But instructions from police headquarters that target communities in the Border area be warned of the threat never reached the people on the ground.

They were thus unprepared for the murderous grenade and limpet mine attacks this week on a King William's Town golf club and a Queensnort steakhouse which left four people dead and scores injured.

This week outraged mayors of small towns throughout the Border region demanded to know why they had not been warned of Apla's murderous plans.

The Sunday Times has established that the SA Police were aware in early October that Apla was preparing to attack soft civilian targets in South Africa.

Appeals

PAC minutes of a meeting on November 11 between Mr Hernus Kriel and the organisation also indicate that the minister had told the organisation that he knew Apla had a training base in the Transkei and was carrying out attacks from that territory.

Hernus Kriel expressed grave concern about Apla attacks and other activities. He pointed out that they are aware that Apla has training camps in Transkei and that a number of attacks are being planned.

He indicated that he is under tremendous pressure to find a way to deal with Apla, the security forces, and that Apla has滉 to target security forces. He said Apla cadres should go on holiday for several months and Kriel also indicated that he is under tremendous pressure to find a way to deal with Apla.

Extracts from PAC report of November 11 meeting with government attended by Hernus Kriel

Report by DAWN BARKHUIZEN, DE WET POTGIETER, NORMAN WEST, JOCLYN MAKER, CHARMAIN NAIDOO and PETA KROST
Appeals

PAC minutes of a meeting on November 11 between Mr Hernus Kriel and the organisation also indicate that the minister had told the organisation that he knew Apla was training its forces in the Transkei and was carrying out attacks from that territory.

The minutes, in the hands of the Sunday Times, indicate he had merely appealed to the PAC, as a gesture of goodwill, to send the Apla cadres "on a holiday for some months".

Yesterday, an SAP spokesman in Pretoria told the Sunday Times that early in October, police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe had indeed issued a directive to all regional commissioners instructing them to inform the public about the threat.

He also ordered local police stations to liaise with community leaders and businessmen and warn them to be on the alert for suspicious looking people and objects.

Schools

But Border SAP spokesman Lt-Col Christo Louw said yesterday that no specific instructions or warnings were received from Pretoria regarding an Apla terror campaign.

"After the spate of attacks on police on the Reef and in other parts of the country a couple of months ago, we were told to warn our men to be on guard against attacks on policemen — but there was no mention of Apla or soft targets.

"We were not guarding schools or shops or anything like that. In fact, the first time we realised soft targets were being attacked was this week," said Lt-Col Louw.

Yesterday, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze confirmed that Mr Kriel attended the meeting with the PAC on November 11, but said the minister "cannot comment on the contents of bilateral discussions".

He said it was "completely absurd to suggest the government and the SAP had been doing nothing, while in fact they were doing their best to achieve a political solution, not only to the violence in general, but to the armed struggle of the PAC and Apla.

"We have been concentrating on expanding our intelligence, a largely invisible activity, rather than building fortifications," said Capt Kotze.

The Apla terror plan was uncovered during interrogation of youths belonging to the Pan Africanist Students Organisation who were arrested in connection with an early morning petrol bomb attack on a house in Grahamstown on September 29.

Police said the youths were acting under orders from the command based in the Bloemfontein area but that the campaign was being masterminded from the Transkei by a man known as Sizwe.

Soft targets — including cinemas, sporting events, buses, schools and churches — in the Eastern Cape, Free State and Natal would be attacked over the festive season, said the police, who said construction of the petrol bombs had in

Bunglers

attacks at Ficksburg and Fouriesburg showed that Apla was responsible.

But apart from deploying an additional 269 policemen along the Transkei border in the Eastern Cape and southern Natal and introducing roadblocks on some roads in the area, the police appear to have taken few steps to warn the local community about Apla's plans.

Yesterday, a Sunday Times poll of towns identified as likely Apla targets showed widespread ignorance of the Apla plan.

QUEENSTOWN: Mayor Johnny Johnson said: "We were given no warning. We were not told of any dangers by the police."

DORDRECHT: Mayor Olive Howell said: "They didn't say a word, but, frankly, even if they had, we wouldn't rely on them to protect us — they are too scared to go into the township."

INDWE: Mayor Louis Pretorius said police had not told him about Apla's plans.

UGIE: Town councillor Leonard Love said: "If the police had had this kind of information they should have come into every town and discussed it with the authorities and special security plans should have been made. They didn't."

MACLEAR: Mayoress Marti Scheppel was told she was horrified. "It seems the police issued a warning through a newspaper. We don't get that newspaper here."

CATHCART: Mayor Arthur Brantnik said the town had not been informed of Apla's campaign.

KOMGA: Mayor Basil Day said he had heard "absolutely nothing."

KEI ROAD: Mayor Peter Wewo was angry that he was not told and would do "everything in my power" to find out why.

WILLIAM'S TOWN: Town clerk Hubert van der Spuy said: "Neither I nor any member of the council was warned about possible attacks."

This week, Mr Kriel announced plans to move SAP reinforcements from Pretoria to the Border, step up roadblocks, deploy policemen in civilian clothes at restaurants and other areas that could be "soft targets" and pay a R100 000 reward for information leading to the capture of Apla terrorists.

White residents have threatened to take up arms and "fight fire with fire" unless the government acts.
I’m NOT missing, says MK man

AN Umkhonto weSizwe cadre has challenged the Amnesty International report on torture which said he was tortured by the ANC and went missing in Tanzania.

Wandile Bhengu, known in ANC camps as “Terror Phakathi”, saw his name with those of four others in the report.

Justice Gumbi, Schaft Lwane Khoza, Albert Bhengu and George Ktong are also back in the country.

Wandile Bhengu said he was shocked at reports that he was missing.

The report said 10 young people were arrested by a Tanzanian field force unit in Dakawa on June 10 1991 and handed to ANC security officials.

But Wandile said the 10 were students at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (Somafco) in Tanzania.

“During the ‘home fever’ period when we were all excited about going home, we took six typewriters and a computer from our school and sold them.”

“I was not tortured by anyone.” – Sapa
FOCUS ON A FRONTIER AT WAR

Rush for guns as white fears surge

WHEN Stormberg farmer Robert Stretton married Angela Cotton this weekend, his chief concern was for family and friends.

So he had police spend 30 minutes searching the Graaff-Reinet church and reception hall where the wedding was taking place.

After six months of attacks on farmers, business men and motorists, that's the mood in the Eastern Cape following last Saturday's hand grenade blast at the King William's Town Golf Club and Thursday's biggest mine explosion at a Queenstown steakhouse.

In towns and on farms throughout the Border corridor — the strip of "white" South Africa that separates the Transkei from the Ciskei — people are angry, frustrated and scared.

On the same night that 19 people were injured at the Buffalo Springs Spur in Queenstown, armed men attacked a Dordrecht farm house from the Transkei border.

Houses to Durban through the Free State and is no longer travelling through the Transkei.

Fear has permeated every facet of daily life, even in Port Elizabeth, which — so far — has escaped direct attack.

Said mother-of-three Philippa Beer: "I don't want my children going to the beachfront or anywhere they could be targeted. We are going to party this weekend and everyone I know is taking a gun."

King William's Town businessman Brian Neil said: "I want peace, but another incident could spark a massive backlash. Because of the amnesty these terrorists are no longer scared of the security forces — but they are scared of the AWB. Things have gone far enough and if the government doesn't put a stop to it, we will."

His firearm snugly on his hip, Alliwal North farmer Fred Myburgh said: "I'm furious and fed up. The government has lost control. All the farmers are armed and we are hooked up to one another by radio."

"It's not that we want to shoot anyone, we need to protect ourselves. This is getting like Rhodesia."

Amid threats of retaliation by right-wingers, National Party MP Ray Badenhorst said there was "a smouldering anger among his constituents. Many of them had told him they were ready to take up arms and join the AWB."

Border gunshop owners have seen an unprecedented demand for arms and ammunition this week.

Queenstown arms dealer Don Baillie said sales had trebled since Monday, "with people buying heavy calibre handguns and shotguns like never before."

Warning

An East London security company has been unable to supply the number of armed guards sought by restaurant owners, while resort managers in Port Elizabeth have had a rash of bookings from holiday-makers who cancelled plans to spend Christmas near East London and in the Transkei.

The SAPD has warned motorists using the coastal road between PE and East London not to slow down or stop on route, and police warned that the road was "highly dangerous" between East London and the Fish River Sun.

Inter-city bus service Translux has rerouted buses to Durban through the Free State and is no longer travelling through the Transkei.
The killer couldn't keep his eyes off us

By BILL KRIGE

A YOUNG girl riddled with shrapnel is haunted by the cold stare of a dreadlocked bomber who sat two metres away in a Queenstown steakhouse.

"I am so angry, how can anyone be that callous," asked 17-year-old Abigail Brody from her bed alongside that of her injured sister, Michelle, in Queenstown’s Frontier hospital.

"He wouldn't take his eyes off us. How could he sit and stare into the eyes of people he knew could be dead in minutes?"

The young Apla killer and his two companions left the restaurant in ruins and the town in uproar.

Abigail, her brother, Shane, and his friend, Garth Ford, faced the killers seated at the next table at the Buffalo Springs Spur. All of them were bothered by the way the dreadlocked youth stared at them.

The bombers — two men and a woman — had tried to order a single hamburger to share, but house rules at the Spur obliged them to buy three.

They ate leisurely, stared at their victims, drank a bottle of cider, paid with a R50 note and apparently drove off in a Mercedes-Benz. It was about 10.45pm on Thursday.

Minutes later the Russian-made limpet mine the woman had carried into the restaurant in a plastic packet exploded with what Shane Brody described as "an amazing flash of light".

Critical

The blast wrecked the premises, flinging patrons round like table mats, collapsing the ceiling on them as they lay in darkness amid debris and clouds of dust.

Ambulances took 18 people to hospital, and yesterday three were still on the critical list in East London.

Michelle Brody, 25, who had been sitting with her back to the terrorists and barely a metre from the bomb, took the force of the blast in her lower legs.

"Her calves are riddled with shrapnel and doctors don't believe they will ever get it all out.

"We lay there all huddled up for a moment and then Shane grabbed me and Abigail by the hands and dragged us into the street," said Michelle, holding up shredded and bloodstained clothing.

"It burnt like acid — that's what I remember most. My hair was on fire and my Petticoat melted."

The evening out was to celebrate Shane's arrival home from Grahamstown, where he is a third-year social science student at Rhodes University. He was accompanied by friends Shane Keays, a singer, and Garth Ford, on his first visit to Queenstown.

Cheryl Edwards made up their party at the table next to the Apla bombers, and all six were wounded in the blast.

Worst hit were Port Elizabeth bank officials Les Barnes and Jerome Guse, who had moved to the table vacated minutes earlier by the Apla cadres.

One of the men was flung into the ceiling.

Said Spur owner Andrew Van Wyk: "I helped carry one of them to the ambulance and it was terrible. His legs were just bone; all the flesh was torn off. I had to pick him up by the bundle of his trousers."

Upright

After the blast there was pandemonium, with injured people screaming in the dark and no one sure if they would be shot as they left the building.

"My first thought was that a gas bottle had exploded," said the owner's wife, Mrs Hallie Van Wyk. "I thought: 'My God, Andrew will kill me.' There was a guy sitting at a stool in the bar and he was still upright after the explosion but his shirt was torn right off."

Outside in the street people helped the injured and the shocked.

"They were wonderful," said Michelle Brody.
Wrong place, wrong time

VETERINARIANS David and Gillian Davis died last Saturday night because they were in the wrong seats. Minutes before a grinning young man tossed a grenade into the King William’s Town golf club, the couple left their own table and went to sit with good friends Ian and Rhoda Macdonald.

All four died when the explosion ended the Wine Circle’s annual Christmas party shortly before 10pm.

For both families, the terrorist attack was the second tragedy to strike in recent years.

The Macdonalds — Ian, 62, and Rhoda, 56 — survived the Rhodesian bush war, but in 1987 Ian’s brother, former Springbok rugby player Andy, and his wife were murdered on their farm at Figtree, south of Bulawayo.

British immigrants David Davis, 63, and his wife, Gillian, 53, were still recovering from the suicide of their eldest son earlier this year.

Vital

The deaths of the two couples stunned family and friends in the close-knit community, where they were known as “lovely, vital, middle-class people who were not involved in politics and were simply living their lives”.

Less than 12 hours before the attack the two couples were helping each other sell ornamental birds at the flea market.

“Gillian had made the birds and Rhoda, a great sport, stood there while Gill tied them to her arms

CARING COUPLE... veterinarians Gillian and David Davis moved to King William’s Town in the mid-80s for her to wave at the people,” said a friend.

Less than a month earlier the Davises attended a surprise party to celebrate the Macdonalds’ 30th wedding anniversary. The two women were part of a close circle of friends who jokingly referred to themselves as the ‘Fried Green Tomatoes’.

Mr and Mrs Macdonald had been voted presidents of their local Rotary societies for 1993 and Mrs Davis had recently become a naturalised citizen.

Although shocked by their parents’ violent deaths, the Macdonalds’ three sons told the Sunday Times they bore no bitterness.

Wonderful

Mr MacDonald, a former farmer, was employed as an agricultural economist by the Ciskei Small Business Development Corporation in 1981.

Scottish-born Mrs Macdonald, a trained nursing sister and a member of the Border Occupational Nurses’ Association, caught the bus to Da Gama Textiles in the neighbouring Ciskei town of Zwelethu every morning, where she treated 400 patients a month.

The Davis family lived in Maritzburg after leaving Britain 17 years ago, and moved to King William’s Town in the mid-80s. Mr Davis worked as a state veterinarian for the Ciskei Agricultural Department and his wife had a practice in town.

“They were a wonderful couple, liberal-minded and intellectually inclined,” said a friend. “Gillian was very organised and practical. She would even fix her own food-mixer. She also painted T-shirts and ornaments.”

Honest

Said eldest son Alastair, 29: “We moved to South Africa from Zimbabwe in 1981 because my dad thought we would have a better future here. I still feel that way. We’re Africans. We’ve got families to raise and 40 years to go in this country. It’s up to us to make it work.”

Said accountant Stuart, 23: “My folks were ordinary people who gave their children love and support. My dad was a gentleman who took people at face value. He was fair to a fault and taught us that honesty was the best policy. They both gave us standards and values that I’d be proud to live up to.

“They did everything together. I suppose it’s fitting that they died together.”

The family moved to King William’s Town when
Apla killers make it difficult for PAC

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

pistols, the PAC's answer to the ANC's AK-47s. Apla literature boasting about the killing of policemen was also disseminated. There appear to be three distinct "cultures" within the PAC.

The first is represented by the dignified president, Mr Clarence Makweta, his deputy, Mr Dikgang Mosekete, and the secretary for publicity and information, Mr Barney Desai. It is this Makweta-Mosekete-Desai faction that was preparing to sit down with Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and his government delegation on Wednesday to discuss the PAC's return to a multi-party negotiation forum.

The second faction is represented by the more militant "township young lions", who are often seen at congresses shouting chilling slogans like "one settler, one bullet", and "death to the enemy, peace among Africans".

They believe it is "treacherous" to sit down with the "illegitimate, racist minority regime", and are known to have support within the top structure of the PAC. Then there is the third militant faction, Apla, representing a culture of violent confrontation. The King William's Town killers succeeded in dramatically disrupting the countdown to Wednesday's talks.

Apla's propaganda sheet, Azanda Commando, which is a supplement to Azanda Combat, the official organ of Apla, is full of boastful headlines crowing about Apla's successes with the killings of "cops". Apla boasts that 159 policemen killed last year were "mostly the result of guerilla attacks mounted by Apla".

These utterances and other actions of Apla clearly put the PAC leadership in an invidious position. It can no longer respond as secretary-general Benny Alexander did this week — by saying that the PAC neither condemns nor condones Apla's actions.

Overtaken

According to minutes kept by the PAC of the November meeting, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel "expressed grave concern about Apla attacks and other activities".

He said he was "under tremendous pressure" to act against Apla, and asked the PAC to prevail on Apla to suspend its attacks.

The PAC undertook "to present the question of armed struggle" to its next annual conference — in April.

But events of the past week have overtaken this vague undertaking.

The PAC claims to have membership of more than 800,000. Members of the PAC's Lebowa cell are said to have been found in the offices of Soweto's government.

Apla guerrillas attended the PAC conference in Umtata in April, where they were seen brandishing Scorpion machine-
Terror Minister denies he knew

JOHANNESBURG. — The Ministry of Law and Order has rejected as a possible PAC "disinformation campaign" weekend reports that Minister Mr Herrius Kriel knew two months ago that the PAC’s armed wing planned a terror campaign against civilians.

The denial came hours after one of the 19 people injured in the bomb blast at a Spur restaurant in Queenstown died early yesterday. He was Mr Jerome Guse, 43, a Standard Bank employee from East London who had 48% burns and shrapnel wounds.

Reports yesterday said people in the Border area had not been warned of planned attacks by the Azanian People’s Liberation Army.

Latest confirmation of Apla’s role came yesterday when a man, giving his name as Sabelo Phama and describing himself as Apla’s military commander, said his troops were responsible for the King William’s Town killings. He did not claim responsibility for the Queenstown attack, saying he could not do so until he had studied reports from his men.

He confirmed that Apla’s attacks were to be intensified. PAC officials have refused to comment on his statements.

‘PAC minutes’

Sunday newspapers reported that the police knew early in October that Apla was preparing to attack soft targets.

Mr Kriel is reported to have appealed to the PAC at a November 11 meeting to send the Apla soldiers “on a holiday for some months”. However, a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotez, condemned the report as false.

He said the report was based on PAC minutes of what happened and expressed fear that this could be a disinformation campaign.

In a statement, police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe rejected “with contempt” the allegations made in the Sunday reports.

The Conservative Party has warned it would protect South Africans if the government did not.

The Eastern Cape region of the Wit Wolwe warned yesterday it would hit back with “greater force” if there was another Apla attack.

The Azanian Youth Organisation said in a statement it supported Apla’s “liberation activities.” — UPI/Sapa
SAP ‘knew base for attacks was Transkei’

By Patrick Laurence

As early as April, police were convinced that the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla) was using Transkei as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa, according to a secret memorandum in possession of The Star.

A copy of the confidential police memorandum was sent to Major-General Bantu Holomisa, chairman of the Transkei Military Council, by President de Klerk. It came after Holomisa pressed for action against SA security force officers allegedly involved in the murder of Matthew Goniwe and three of his comrades in June 1995.

De Klerk attached the memorandum to his reply to an earlier letter from Transkei’s military ruler. De Klerk said of the memorandum: “It contains allegations of a very serious nature involving criminal activities planned and implemented from Transkeian territory.”

The memorandum, sent to Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe by Major-General JF Koen of the Crime Intelligence Service, stated flatly: “Apla are orchestrating their military activities against the RSA from Transkei.”

The report added that military training in Transkei was given to individual recruits or to small groups of 10 by foreign-trained Apla officers.

It then listed a series of venues where the training purportedly took place, including the house, in the border town of Cala, of Transkei lawyer Dumisa Ntsebeza and a bookshop run by the Ntsebeza family in the same town. Ntsebeza denied he was involved, directly or indirectly, in the training of Apla men.

In August, when Apla cadres were blamed for a series of arson attacks on white-owned farms in the Elliot-Ugie-Maclearl border area, Holomisa denied that Apla forces were operating from Transkei.
A police campaign against police terror, extremism, and militarism.

Introduction

Disposal of Operating Subsidiaries

Race Group Holdings Limited

The company decided to sell its operating subsidiaries to focus on its core business. This decision was made after a comprehensive review of the financial performance and market conditions of the subsidiaries. The disposal process is expected to be completed within the next quarter, and the proceeds will be used to strengthen the company's financial position.

The sale of the subsidiaries will allow the company to divest non-core assets and concentrate on its core business activities. This strategic move is expected to improve the company's long-term performance and competitiveness in the market.

The disposal process is expected to result in a one-time gain, which will be reflected in the company's financial statements. The company's management team is committed to ensuring a smooth transition for the employees and customers of the subsidiaries.

The company thanks its employees and customers for their continued support and looks forward to a bright future with its focus on core business activities.
Apla admits to killings

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the PAC's military wing, yesterday confirmed that its cadres had carried out the King William's Town attack in which four whites were killed.

Mr Sabelo Phama, an Apla commander, said in a telephone interview with Radio 702 that operatives on the ground had reported to him that they had carried out the King William's Town attack.

Phama warned that Apla's activities would be intensified, adding that they were "not aimed at whites per se" but at any individual or group that supported the Government politically, economically and militarily.

He said that there were no established lines of communications with the PAC's political leadership and that Apla operated under its own high command. The net around Apla is expected to close as the South African and Transkei Police are joining forces to clamp down on the paramilitary force.

Joint group

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said the joint group was investigating ways of minimising Apla activities which, it has been said, emanated from the Transkei.

Meanwhile, the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azanyo), aligned to Azanyo (Azanian People's Organisation) and the PAC's youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), have both voiced support for Apla's actions. Azanyo said yesterday, however, that it was amazed by the ANC's condemnation of the King William's Town attack.

In reaction to the ANC remarks following the attacks, Azanyu said:

"The statement by the ANC is a poor attempt to use a current media matter to divert mass attention from its promise to come from the talks (with the government) with a firm election date or to break off all talks with the regime should they fail to get that date.

"They pretend not to compromise on this.

"We will not allow them to get off so easily and response."

Amnesty for prisoners

Bop government celebrates 15 years by setting prisoners free:

HUNDREDS of prisoners in Bophuthatswana prisons would be freed from tomorrow after the homeland's leader Chief Lucas Mangope announced an amnesty at the weekend.

However, the amnesty would mostly benefit prisoners serving sentences of between six months and 18 months. Those serving more than six months would have their sentences reduced by six months.

Speaking at the anniversary of the 15th year of the homeland's independence, Mangope said: "I have a pleasing task of announcing a general amnesty for prisoners held in Bophuthatswana prisons."

Bophuthatswana's Commissioner of Prisons, Major-General Cas Delport, told Sowetan that about 1 300 prisoners would benefit from the amnesty.

He said the first batch of 100 would walk to freedom tomorrow, followed by other groups of 20 to be released in stages.

Mangope took a swipe at the African National Congress by likening it to "a small, naughty child putting a finger in the fire and regretting after suffering serious burns."
SAP 'knew base for attacks was Transkei'

By Patrick Laurence

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In August, when Apla cadres were blamed for a series of arson attacks on white-owned farms in the Elliot-Ugie-Maclear border area, Holomisa denied that Apla forces were operating from Transkei.
Apla steps out of big brother MK's shadow

The Christmas party attack means the "two men with a fax number" jibe is untrue. And if Apla has turned to civilian targets, the season of terror is far from over, writes DENNIS CRUYWAGEN.

The ANC and PAC have been ignoring the activities of the PAC and Apla. So people have the impression that we only started in earnest this year, whereas the PAC army has been consistent in its operations since 1986.

He said Apla's targets have always been the security forces. "Our activities are definitely going to intensify. We remain firm that civilians are not among our targets."

Apla would cease its attacks only when the goals set by the PAC - the establishment of a constituent assembly - had been met, he said.

But the two eastern Cape attacks, if Apla is responsible, mark a significant change in the organisation's strategy of avoiding soft targets and concentrating on black policemen.

An 18-year-old student was injured in the incident.

In January last year, Apla defended secretary Victor Sabelo Phuma claimed that the guerilla army had killed at least 50 soldiers the previous year in "well-conceived, well-planned and well-executed attacks".

But police slatted his claims as part of an inflated propaganda campaign and largely devoid of truth.

In January this year, Phuma said the PAC's external leadership had not suspended or abandoned armed struggle.

But he said Apla had never attacked civilians.

His remarks were made soon after an alleged Apla member, Carson Zimbiri, telephoned Sapa to claim responsibility for killing two policemen in Dobsonville, Soweto. The Dobsonville attack came only hours after police had announced a R250,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of anyone who murdered a policeman.

The same month it appeared that Apla had switched its attention to the eastern Cape, at tackling police in Lady Grey with a rifle and handgrenades.
Apla prompts new security measures in Cape

Staff Reporters

Amid strong criticism that the public was not warned about imminent attacks on white civilians by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), eastern Cape police have set up a special unit to brief restaurant and entertainment venue managers on effective security measures.

Police spokesman Colonel Chris Louw said the unit began operations yesterday.

After attacks on the King William's Town golf club (four dead) and on a Queenstown restaurant (one dead so far), Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was accused of failing to inform Border police that Apla would be targeting white civilians in attacks from Transkei.

However, Kriel and SAP Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, have vehemently denied they knew anything about the impending attacks.

Louw said the unit would patrol public places regularly throughout the festive season to ensure the safety of the public.

He said the police presence in the area had also been boosted by special road patrols planned to safeguard travellers.

Although Louw said holiday-makers in the eastern Cape would be safe, he cautioned people to avoid travelling at night and warned that they should not stop their vehicles unless it was "absolutely necessary".

Police patrols will be stepped up immediately and "mobile" road blocks erected throughout the Cape Peninsula.

Police liaison officer Major Attie Laubscher said policemen who normally worked in offices would patrol streets.

Policemen would not be allowed to take leave "en masse".

SA Restaurant Guild regional chairman Chris de Jager said that so far none of the 160 guild members in the Transvaal had reported cancellations after the Queenstown attack.
Chorus of censure from OAU, ANC and SACP

Apla stands condemned

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla) yesterday stood alone as the Organisation of African Unity and left-wing groups in South Africa joined in the chorus of condemnation of its terror campaign.

Strong statements were issued yesterday by the OAU, the United Nations, the ANC, the SA Communist Party, and the breakaway Marxist Workers’ Tendency of the ANC. They followed angry condemnation of Apla, military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, by the Government and right-wing groups.

Foreign diplomats yesterday added their weight, promising “diplomatic activity” aimed at ensuring the PAC was fully committed to a negotiated settlement.

And, in a new statement on the Apla campaign, President de Klerk warned that “further measures” were being considered to meet the Apla threat.

The OAU reacted strongly to allegations that it was financing Apla acts of terror.

The OAU special representative in South Africa, Legwaila J Legwaila, said his organisation’s support of liberation movements “had never implied supporting attacks on innocent people and soft civilian targets, as occurred last week.”

In a joint statement, the UN, OAU, European Community and Commonwealth described statements reportedly made by Apla cadres inside the country as “effectively declaring war on whites as provocative”.

The ANC said the targeting of civilians was “reprehensible and must be opposed”.

New security measures
in Cape – Page 3

Apla steps out of MK’s shadow – Page 15

The organisation challenged the PAC leadership to clarify the status of anonymous claims made on behalf of Apla, and the PAC’s attitude towards its armed wing’s actions.

PAC spokesmen have steadfastly refused to distance themselves from Apla’s alleged activities, insisting that Apla had “operational independence”.

SACP general-secretary Chris Hani yesterday expressed “unambiguous condemnation” of the King William’s Town and Queenstown attacks. The struggle for national liberation had never been directed against whites, but against oppression.

“Acts of anti-white terror can only serve to provoke pretexts to those on the other side who want to provoke a race war to delay majority rule,” he said.

De Klerk, said yesterday the Government was urging PAC leaders to consider what further measures to take to prevent Apla carrying out its threats.

“Africa needs to give the assurance that when apprehended, those responsible for the recent violent deaths of South Africans — not only of whites in King William’s Town, but of black South Africans in Natal, the PWV and throughout the country as well — will be punished according to the full rigour of law,” De Klerk said.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the PAC must either repudiate Apla in clear terms or take responsibility for all that Apla did or said.

Afrikaner Volksunie chairman Moodman-Mentsch demanded that the Internal Security Act be implemented fully.

• The fate of tomorrow’s Government PAC talks is in the balance, provided the PAC leadership responds to the Apla issue.

• A Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs met to consider the report of the Statesman on the council’s behalf.

• The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) National Council met to consider the report.

• A new national police force is to be formed in South Africa.

• The government said that the country was considering further measures to prevent Apla carrying out its threats.

• The PAC must either repudiate Apla in clear terms or take responsibility for all that Apla did or said.

• Africa needs to give the assurance that when apprehended, those responsible for the recent violent deaths of South Africans — not only of whites in King William’s Town, but of black South Africans in Natal, the PWV and throughout the country as well — will be punished according to the full rigour of law,” De Klerk said.
ANC will not smash Apla - Macozoma

ANC will be guided by human rights provisions and the law:

By Ismail Lagardien Political Correspondent

AN ANC government will not hunt down Apla and crush it, the movement said yesterday, responding to comments reportedly made by one of its senior officials in Namibia yesterday.

The ANC’s Mr Sakkie Macozoma said yesterday that it was not his movement’s official policy “at this stage” and that it was premature to speculate now.

“We have said that we condemn what Apla is doing, because we don’t think it is necessary to attack people on the basis of their colour.

“As to what measures we will take, we cannot say now.

“An ANC government will obviously be guided by provisions for human rights and due process,” Macozoma said.

He was reacting to a comment reportedly made by an ANC official who accompanied Mr Nelson Mandela in Namibia yesterday.

The official was reported by the French news agency, Agence France Presse, to have said that an ANC government would not tolerate terrorism.

“We will lock them up. We will find them and lock them up. We will smash them,” the source reportedly said.

Widespread condemnation of Apla’s alleged attacks in the Eastern Cape last week continued yesterday.

The Organisation for African Unity, the Commonwealth and political parties in South Africa all condemned Apla’s actions and the PAC’s “failure to refute its armed wing”.

5 years for Women will pray
Deported BCMA 5 have ‘vanished’

By Mathatha Tsedu

MYSTERY surrounds the deportation from Botswana yesterday of five cadres of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) who were acquitted last week on charges of possession of arms of war.

While the Botswana chief immigration officer, Mr Maitlhoko Mooka, said his department had transported the five to the border at their own request, South African Home Affairs Department spokesman Mr Charles Theron said there was no record of the men’s entry.

Fears are that the five, Mr Vusumuzi Thabetha, Mr Welcome Rapodile, Mr Robert Ndebele, Mr Vuyo Matsinya and Mr PLAATJE Mashego, may have been detained by the South African Police as they came through.

But a police spokesman in Zeerust yesterday said he could find no trace of any deportees arrested by the SAP.

Responding to questions of why the men were deported to South Africa, Mooka said the men had requested to be allowed to return home.

The five were part of a group of 11 BCMA and Azanian National Liberation Army cadres who were arrested in Lobatse in 1990 while running an alleged training camp.

They were sentenced to five years imprisonment but were acquitted last Tuesday on appeal.

Only three of the original group remain in prison.
PAC must bear full responsibility for Apla's deeds, says Bennie Alexander.

The OAU yesterday rejected the PAC's contention that it was not responsible for its military wing Apla's activities.

The OAU also rejected any impression that by funding liberation movements, the OAU financed acts of terrorism. Liberation movements alone are the ultimate responsibility for their day-to-day activities and those of their structures.

"The OAU unconditionally and categorically condemns all violent acts committed by all groups, be they black or white, and will never condone or endorse such attacks," OAU special representative Legwala J Legwala said in a statement in Johannesburg.

Legwala said the OAU supported unequivocally the quest for a peaceful negotiation of a settlement, which was why it sought international intervention in the form of observers to end the violence.

President F W de Klerk welcomed the OAU statement, and called on all members of the international community to condemn the "blatantly racist actions and violent threats of Apla and to deny the organisation refugee or any form of assistance".

De Klerk labelled the threat to target whites or any other race as "absolutely unacceptable and reprehensible".

The UN mission said in a statement that the UN, OAU, the Commonwealth and the EC wanted to emphasise that statements by the Apla spokesman were provocative. They urged the PAC's leadership to cooperate with Goldstone.

The UN mission also condemned retaliatory threats by right-wing organisations.

The ANC — the PAC's erstwhile patriotic front partner — also condemned the acts of terror and the threat to target white civilians.

Sapa reports that a senior ANC member travelling with president Nelson Mandela in Namibia said that once the ANC was in power, it would "smash" Apla. "We will find them and lock them up. We will smash them," he was reported as saying.

However, in its official response the ANC immediately "repudiated the statement and the unnamed source".

Spokesman Carl Niehaus said there was no proof that Apla had committed the acts, but that those who had should be brought to book.

"We are not in favour of the destruction of Apla. We want them, the PAC and other parties included in the peaceful negotiations process," he said.

Niehaus said the kind of violence at King William's Town was not a sudden development, as it had been happening in the black community for some time. "It is very sad that it has taken these attacks to make whites realise the gravity of the violence in SA. It is exactly this outraged response from the white community following an attack on whites that fuels huge resentment in the black community."

SACP general secretary Chris Hani also expressed his "unambiguous condemnation of the attacks". He said the struggle for liberation was never a struggle directed at whites but at dismantling apartheid.

"Acts of anti-white terrorism can only serve to provide pretext to those on the other side who want to provoke a race war to delay majority rule."

DP law and order spokesman Peter Gastro said the simple test for the PAC's stand on the acts of terrorism by its own creation, Apla, is whether the PAC is prepared to distance itself from Apla's acts.

The CP called for Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel to be sacked for failing to protect whites, and demanded that the PAC and Apla be banned immediately.

CP law and order spokesman D S Pieterse said Kriel had failed in his political responsibility by not informing people in the region of potential attacks by Apla. He called on whites to mobilise and form home guards to protect themselves.

The SA Agricultural Union urged government action to defuse the threat of terrorism spreading to farming areas.

Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday suggested that recent attacks in the Border area could be the work of disgruntled members of Military Intelligence. He said he had no knowledge of Apla's activities in his territory.
CP issues ‘home guard call-up’

The Conservative Party yesterday called up its supporters for duty in its home guard system to help counter the reported terrorism campaign against white farmers. The party's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has warned that a negotiated settlement could now hang in the balance.

On Monday the right-wing Orde Boerewolk warned of a bloody vengeance and bomb attacks at black taxi ranks if Apla continued its campaign.

The PAC announced yesterday it would not take part in a revived Cossey negotiating forum. Persuading the PAC to join mainstream negotiations has been one of the main aims of today's Government-PAC meeting. Apla's terror campaign is likely to be on the agenda of a meeting of the Frontline states with the PAC and ANC in Harare on Friday.

Commonwealth secretary general Emeka Anyaoku has reacted with alarm at the upsurge in violence in South Africa, warning that a negotiated settlement could now hang in the balance.

He feared that, after the earlier horrific massacres at Bisho and Boipatong, the killings in King William's Town and elsewhere further jeopardised moves towards agreement.

Zimbabwe has warned the PAC to stop issuing statements on violence from its territory.

The PAC's head office said: "We call on students on holiday to make themselves available for security duties within the CP's home guard system."

The CP would also coordinate a security action with all communities where necessary. It asked communities urgently to introduce an employee identification system, "which will make it extremely difficult for Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) and Apla to infiltrate white farming and residential areas."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night the PAC meeting was off because the organisation's leadership would not distance itself from acts of terror by Apla.

He said the PAC, after talks with the Government in Botswana in October, had categorically declared itself bound to peace and given the assurance that its members were not involved in violence.

"The PAC owes South Africa an explanation."

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim said Apla was fulfilling a decision in April by the PAC's national conference to continue the armed struggle. He said the PAC was looking for a serious commitment from the Government.

Secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroka said the PAC had made clear in meetings with the Government that the armed struggle would continue along with negotiations.

**PAC sinks Sibubeleke off the coast of Durban.**

Guilty plea expected in jailbreak case

By Rochelle Goosling-Hughes

Former Blue Light Gang member Gavin Schultz will plead guilty tomorrow to escaping from Johannesburg Prison on January 30 this year, a Johannesburg Regional Court heard yesterday.

A prison warden will plead guilty to assisting in the escape.

Schultz appeared in court yesterday, along with two warders, two policemen and a man who is awaiting trial and is charged with alleged fraud of nearly R4 billion.

The trial of warden Antron Nel (21) and Schultz, both of whom will plead guilty, was split from that of the four other accused and will start tomorrow.

Nel's brother Marius (23), Constable Lucas Strydom (25), Constable Pieter Grebe (20) and Godwin Webb (44), who is on bail pending a fraud trial, will appear in court again on February 22.

Schultz and Webb are charged with escaping from Johannesburg Prison on January 30 while Strydom, Grebe and the Nel brothers are charged with assisting in the escape.

The six are further charged with forging documents which facilitated the temporary transfer of Schultz and Webb as "awaiting-trial or sentenced prisoners."

They also face two charges of using the forged documents and with obstructing justice by being involved in the signing of the release forms for Webb and Schultz.

Schultz is currently serving a 10-year sentence for his conviction in the Rand Supreme Court for attempted murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances, and the unlawful possession of a firearm.

Webb, who was refused bail twice before being released on bail, allegedly falsified a promissory note worth close to R3.7 billion.

Siamese twin dies during on
Beware the monster that is breeding in our midsts

We are witnessing the making of a monster. Apla launches a series of racist attacks on white soft targets, and the PAC leadership claims it has no direct control over the activities of its armed wing. In the Vaal Triangle, disgruntled members of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe have run out of control and are forming armed gangs of trained men answerable to no one. And, as recent evidence to the Goldstone Commission and the Webster inquest has shown, a large part of the State's own military-security apparatus is acting on its own, beyond the control of the civil Government.

We may even be involved in a clandestine war in Angola once again, as our neighbours protest that we are overflying their territory, ferrying arms to Jonas Savimbi. The military denies it, but the military lied to us last time. The Government protests its innocence, but does the Government even know what the military is doing?

The country is check-a-block with weapons, there are thousands of people who know how to use them, controls are breaking down and a Rambo spirit fills the air. It is a recipe for an unguided civil war, which is now the greatest of all the threats facing this tortured land.

We have only ourselves to blame. We have created this monster with our glorification of militarism on all sides of the racial conflict. Like Cadmus of Greek mythology, we have sown the dragon's teeth and now we have a harvest of armed warriors ready to slay one another in an orgy of mindless violence.

Violence begets violence, and in this blood-soaked land we have become drunk with aggression. We kill for a farthing, or just for the heck of it. Robbers shoot without need and householder fire at shadows. Fathers blow away their families, a wife kills her husband with a crossbow and we slaughter one another on the roads with unfeigned élan.

It has its roots in our violent history: in slavery and the frontier wars; in the extermination of the San people and the conquest of the land; in Shaka and the Mfecane; in the struggle for survival of a pioneer people and in the white-on-black violence of the Boer War.

But the modern cycle began with apartheid; with the poisoning of men's minds with racism and the clinical cruelty of a system that placed ideology above humanity, that so blunted human sensitivity it could destroy people's lives without guilt or remorse. Even today President de Klerk feels no need to say sorry.

Such institutionalised violence inevitably provokes a reaction. And when that reaction is blocked from expressing itself through normal political channels, it equally inevitably goes underground and resorts to violence. Thus were born the liberation movements and their armed struggles.

So the cycle began, with the armed struggle producing a counter-revolutionary response and the youth of our nation becoming caught in a spiral of violence and militaristic indoctrination.

The result is that we have created a culture of violence. We have glorified armed struggle. Cries of Aluta Continua fill the air, may the struggle continue. There are the glorious guerillas and, on the other side, the glorious "boys on the border" who fought for volk en nasie against the forces of the supposed Evil Empire.

Young men, children, go to political rallies carrying wooden AK-47s. They sing songs of praise to the guerillas. Political demonstrations in the streets through public speakers brandishing arsenals of lethal weapons and their political leaders claim this is part of their cultural heritage.

Young whites strut about in their firm uniforms, proud of being Recce, Parabats, members of Special Force units. We have old Selous Scouts and Grey Scouts from Rhodesia. 32 Battalion, Koevoet, the Civil Cooperation Bureau and now the Director of Covert Collections.

We have generals so contemptuous of the civil process, who are so far above the law, that they order their subordinates to conceal evidence and they lie under oath in court and nothing happens to them.

The Defence Force still celebrates the Cassinga Massacre, our Mai Lai when South African paratroopers slaughtered a thousand people, including women and children, in a refugee camp in northern Angola on May 4, 1978. "This day reminds us that paratroopers are a special breed of men," declares the current issue of the SADF magazine, Paratrooper.

On the flip side, Azanyu, the youth wing of the PAC, expresses its "amazement" last Saturday that the ANC should have seen anything wrong with three people walking into a crowded restaurant, planting a bomb under a table and leaving it there to explode and mangle 19 ordinary, everyday civilians.

Surely it is time to start demilitarising this country, and by that I don't mean just slashing the Defence Budget and ending conscription but demilitarising our minds as well. We must stop glorifying violence. We have to start inculcating a culture of tolerance, and we can't do that as we chant
National agreements ‘have not helped quell violence’

THE national peace accord, the Codesa declaration of intent and five bilateral accords between the ANC and government had failed to reverse the growth of violence, the SA Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

The country was going through its second worst year of political violence to date, with 2 928 people having died in political killings by the end of November, the institute said.

This represented an 18% increase on the 1991 number, institute figures showed.

The Human Rights Commission earlier this week said political deaths had dropped to a nine-month "low" of 263 for November well above the 1991 monthly average of 216 deaths a month.

Institute spokesman Paul Pereira said SA's worst year of violence remained 1990, when 3 629 people were killed.

The institute said fatalities in political violence since September 1984, when political killings started on a large scale, would probably reach more than 18 000 by the end of 1992.


Pereira said the institute believed violence would be combated more effectively if the national peace accord was amended to prohibit "people's war" and the struggle to make the country ungovernable.

He said other steps that could be taken included:

☐ The renunciation by churches of the Lusaka Declaration in which SA churches said liberation movements had been compelled to use force to fight apartheid;
☐ Enforcing ruthlessly the ban on weapons including those displayed in public;
☐ A decision by the state to respect the rights of both boycotters and non-boycotters during stay-away actions;
☐ Public commitment from political leaders supporting the right of people to participate in or abstain from political actions;
☐ The replacement of the R1 rifle used by the SAP's Internal Stability Unit (ISU) with a less lethal weapon;
☐ Increasing the minimum age of ISU members from 21 to 25.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Durban that a man was shot dead by unknown assailants at the KwaMashu hostel on Monday evening.

Hearings on arms smuggling

THE Goldstone commission would hold public hearings tomorrow and on Friday on ways to curb the illegal importation of automatic weapons into SA, the commission said yesterday.

The hearings will be held at the Breakwater campus of the University of Cape Town.

A police spokesman said most AK-47s were brought into SA from Mozambique and Swaziland. Most of the weapons, often sold by former Frelimo soldiers, ended up in Natal, the eastern Transvaal and the PWV fetching between R500 and R1 500.

Four men were arrested in Durban for illegal arms smuggling.

Police had confiscated 7 328 illegal firearms up to October 10, including 2 654 rifles (with AK-47s), 2 227 pistols and 2 197 revolvers. The confiscated weapons were destroyed, the police spokesman said.
PAC won't condemn Apla's attacks

By Sonti Maseko

FIRE-splitting PAC national organiser, Maxwell Namadzivhanani yesterday said his organisation would never condemn its military wing, Apla, over the alleged attacks against whites in the Eastern Cape.

"We'll never condemn Apla," he said last night on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

Namadzivhanani said Apla was a formation of the Pan Africanist Congress, prosecuting a peoples war against the apartheid government and all those who supported its structures.

Answering questions whether the PAC condemned the killings, he said Apla looked at the role played by the "enmy in the settler community".

He further accused the government of introducing negotiations as a strategy to undermine the struggle.

The government demanded that liberation movements dismantle their armed forces while it did not dismantle structures like Askaris, the Koevoet and Battalion 32, he said.

While some callers said they did not support the killing of people, they accused the government and the international community of showing more concern when white people died.

"For us to abandon the armed struggle would be a disservice to the people."

"I want to know from Maxwell how he feels about the killing of the policemen. Why does the PAC not accept the government's invitation to negotiate?"

Wellington, Germiston

"I am totally against the killings but I think it is about time the white man is shaken up. I'm not convinced the PAC or Apla did it."

John

"Who are the settlers and where is Azania. I think it (the attacks) is cowardice!"

Govan, Cape Town

next Talkback topic

THE assault on black family life by apartheid, violence and other factors has led to community disintegration. How can the situation be reversed? Eminent psychologist Dr Saths Cooper is our special studio guest to discuss the issue. You can join us by phoning Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm tonight. Tune in to the programme on FM 96.4 and 92.4 in the Pretoria region.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063
Bombing: police free trio after questioning

POLICE yesterday arrested three ANC/SACP members for questioning in connection with the Apla bombing in Queenstown last week, a police spokesman confirmed.

An identification parade was held, but as none of them was positively identified, the three suspects were released.

The SAP did not believe they had made a breakthrough in tracking down the attackers and said the men were arrested purely by "police following all leads and suspicions".

Both the ANC and the SACP have strongly condemned the bombings and attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown, urging restraint and reconciliation.

The police became suspicious of a car travelling with the three occupants in East London on Tuesday night. After follow-up operations, three men were arrested early yesterday.

A gas grenade, an R1 magazine and two cartridges were apparently found in a subsequent search of the ANC Border region's offices.

The arrests have outraged the SACP, which accused the SAP of "playing politics instead of doing its work".

SACP central committee member Jeremy Cronin said the detentions of the three men, including SACP member Vumile Ngcuka, in connection with the Apla bombings "would be utterly laughable if the circumstances under which they were detained were not so sinister".

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg said yesterday possible strikes against PAC armed wing Apla military bases depended on political considerations.

"If we knew where these Apla bases were situated, it would be a government decision if we attacked them or not. Any actions (taken by the SADF) will have a definite effect on the current negotiation process," Liebenberg said.

The SADF did not know of any "clean" Apla bases in neighbouring countries. All known Apla bases were a mixture of several groups.

Meanwhile, Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze warned the CP and other right-wing groups not to "play into Apla's hands" by threatening to form vigilante squads. "The police will not tolerate this in the slightest. It would just spark off further violence and even a race war that no-one wants, except Apla," Kotze said.

SA 'has top new mortar system'

LONDON — SA's state-owned Denel armaments group was about to start testing a computer-controlled 120mm mortar system that could be a world beater, the leading military journal Jane's Defence Weekly said yesterday.

Quoting senior industry officials in Pretoria, Jane's said the new mortar, with an expected range in excess of 6 000m, and its computerised fire control system, were suitable for fitting into a Ratel mortar carrier armoured vehicle.

The new mortar, far more potent than the largest 81mm carried by Ratels, is to be tested by LIW, part of the Denel group, with the ammunition being developed by Somchem.

Somchem, Jane's, frequently used to announce SA defence industry developments, said the new mortar system could be in production as early as November next year.

In a separate report on self-propelled artillery, Jane's said SA's famed G6 155mm howitzer, also part of Denel's production, still beat anything the West could produce.

Denel group executive Paul Holtzhausen said in terms of the Armaments Act he could not comment on the Jane's report.
The SADF is open to all South Africans irrespective of sex, race or political belief except members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

In a strong-worded warning to Apla, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, General Kat Liebenberg, Chief of the Defence Force, said no Apla member would be welcome in the SADF.

"Apla is waging war against the country at this stage and will not be allowed to join the SADF," he said in Pretoria yesterday.

Liebenberg said the SADF was taking the threat of terrorist action by Apla very seriously.

"While Apla has not got a very great capacity and is a lot smaller than MK, even 10 terrorists in a big city can cause problems," the general said.

He said the Apla threat was particularly dangerous because its members were spread throughout the country and the attacks were aimed at soft targets.

Liebenberg said any attacks on suspected Apla bases in Transkei or South Africa would have to be approved by the Cabinet.
The UN would give Mr Justice Goldstone every assistance in investigating activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), Tom Vraalsen, special envoy to the UN secretary-general, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Justice Goldstone called on the international community last week to help him launch an inquiry into Apla activities.

Vraalsen said such an investigation would be broadened to include Umkhonto we Sizwe, the security forces and homeland police.

Staff Reporter.

*Interview — Page 23*
SOSHANGUVE BUSINESSMAN WAS serious-ly injured early yesterday when a handgrenade was hurled through his bedroom window and gouged holes in the concrete floor and walls when it exploded.

A friend said doctors would probably have to amputate Mr Paulus Skhosana's left hand and foot as a result of his injuries.

"I can't see any other choice," Mr Simon Mashika said of his friend's injuries.

Skhosana was admitted to the Garankuwa hospital after his left side was injured during the 2am blast at his house in Block AA, Soshanguve.

Mashika said he could think of no motive for the attack as Skhosana was not involved in politics. He also denied the attack could be related to a "taxi war".

Police spokesman Colonel Andrew Lesch yesterday confirmed the incident and said Skhosana was injured in the left leg, face and right shoulder. His wife was not hurt.

Lesch said this was not a political attack.

"He is a businessman and is not involved in politics", Lesch said. No arrests had yet been made. Police are investigating.

A spokesman for the Garankuwa Hospital said Skhosana underwent surgery and his condition was "serious but stable".

Mashika said he was woken by the sound of the explosion and found his friend lying on the ground when he went to investigate.

"It was a very loud bang and when I went to investigate I saw Paulus and his wife lying on the floor of their bedroom," he said.

"He was bleeding a lot from a wound in his cheek and from his left hand and foot.

"His foot looked like a spread out hand. I think they will have to cut it off."
Apla barred from enlisting

THB South African Defence Force is open to all South Africans irrespective of sex, race or political belief - except members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla). Sources 10/12/92

In a strong-worded warning to Apla, the military wing of the Pan African Congress (PAC), General Kat Liebenberg, chief of the Defence Force, said no Apla member would be welcome in the SADF.

"Apla is waging war against the country at this stage and will not be allowed to join the SADF," he said at yesterday's Press conference in Pretoria.

He said he had no problem with members of the African National Congress' military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) applying to join the new short service system as long as they resigned from the ANC and MK.

Robbers flee with chickens
Businessman injured in handgrenade blast

By Josias Charle and
Own Correspondent

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onously injured early yesterday when a handgrenade was hurled through his bedroom window and gouged holes in the concrete floor and walls when it exploded.

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Government does not discount cross-border raids on Apla

PRETORIA - Government would not rule out cross-border pre-emptive raids to combat Apla actions against SA civilians, Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel told a media conference yesterday.

He estimated the size of Apla to be about 120 people and said it had bases in Transkei and Zimbabwe.

He said government was not "looking for trouble" with its neighbours, but had a responsibility to protect its citizens.

A cross-border raid would be the last resort and government would not do it unless it possessed hard facts.

He said he was pleased by the Zimbabwean government statement ordering Apla to stop making claims regarding its criminal actions from Zimbabwean soil.

Kriel noted that Transkei leader Maj-Gun Bantu Holomisa had not made a similar statement.

The ANC, in a statement yesterday, said threats of cross border military action were "totally unacceptable".

"It is irresponsible, unstatesmanlike and provocative in the extreme. It lends credence to the argument that agents provocateurs may be responsible for the acts of terrorism in the eastern Cape region, the intention being to rationalise an attack on these territories.

"These misgivings are reinforced by the raid conducted by the SAP on the ANC regional office in East London, ostensibly looking for Apla members, and the unwarranted arrest of three ANC members.

"An attack against Zimbabwe would destabilise the entire southern African region, including the delicate peace process in Mozambique," it said.

It said ANC president Nelson Mandela would raise the matter at the special emergency meeting of the Frontline states in Harare today.

Meanwhile, an Apla commander, Vuma Ntshinca, said in Umntola yesterday that Apla had several bases in SA, particularly in the PWV area. He said attacks launched by Apla on the Reef, including the death of a policeman, proved the army had bases in the PWV area.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the PAC yesterday said after a meeting with the DP in Johannesburg yesterday it recognised the destructive effect of violence and "in particular the killing of innocent civilians", but adamantly refused to distance itself from the attacks on soft targets in King William's Town and Queenstown.
Goldstone told of disciplinary action

CAPE TOWN — The ANC had undertaken to investigate fully and discipline officers or structures if they were proven to be involved in the illegal importation, distribution and use of weapons, the Goldstone commission heard yesterday.

Peter Harris, for the ANC, said the organisation and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe were committed to their undertakings in the 1991 DEFMAL Accord which prohibited armed attacks, infiltration of cadres and material, creation of underground structures, statements inciting violence, threats of armed action and military training outside SA.

The ANC recommended that a special unit comprising investigators from the ANC, Inkatha and security forces be established by the national peace secretariat to investigate illegal arms imports and that the unit's progress be monitored regularly by the Police Board.

Louis Visser SC, for Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, asked that the commission's terms of reference be extended to investigate all illegally possessed firearms and all forms of politically-related violence, not only political violence which was also public.

He said neighbouring countries should be obliged to curb the inflow of illegal weapons from their territories through international treaties and, failing their cooperation, appeals should be made to the UN and the OAU.

Earlier, Pierre Rabie, for the SAPF, also called for broader terms of reference to include an investigation into "pseudo-operations", in which attackers pretended to be security force members.

ANC officials stand accused

DURBAN — Seven men, including ANC officials from the upper south coast, appeared briefly in the Durban Regional Court yesterday in connection with the deaths of 24 people at Mpushini in the Umdumbulu area during October.

South coast ANC organiser Sibusiso Darlington Magweyana, Fokwem ANC chairman Elias Mhize and three members of his committee were among the accused.

The case against the seven men was postponed until February 11.

Warder admits helping prisoners escape

THE prison warden who helped "Blue Light" gang member Gavin Schultz and Godwin Webb, who had been convicted of fraud, escape from prison earlier this year, pleaded guilty yesterday to charges of defeating the ends of justice, forgery of official documents and assisting in their escape.

In a confession made before a magistrate earlier this year, read out in court yesterday, 24-year-old Antonio Nel admitted he and a policeman accomplice, former Sgt Lucas Cornelius, helped the men escape.

Schultz and Webb had promised him R100 000 for his help and, after initially refusing to take part in the scheme, Nel had agreed.

Nel said his parents had been about to divorce, leaving his mother destitute, and he would have used the money to support her.

Schultz's girlfriend had telephoned him to say that a policeman whose name was "Shane" would collect the two men from prison. But Shane failed to get in touch with him and Nel decided to find his own policeman. He asked Cornelius, who was stationed at the Norwood police station, to join the scheme.

Nel obtained documents authorising the temporary transfer of a prisoner to police custody for questioning, and got Cornelius to sign them.

Schultz and Webb were "transferred" on January 30. Two days later they admitted they could not pay the promised R100 000.

Webb handed himself in and Schultz was arrested in Cape Town.

The State withdrew charges against Schultz, who was to have stood trial with Nel, and the case was postponed until February next year, pending a psychiatric evaluation of Nel.

Lindum Reefs Gold Mining Company Limited
Kriel warns Apla of hot pursuit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa would consider raids into Zimbabwe to attack bases of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, which has declared war on whites, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

"That would be the last resort," Mr Kriel said in answer to a question at a news conference. "Obviously we would not like to do anything like that. We are not looking for trouble with our neighbours."

The minister estimated that there were 120 APLA members trained in Zimbabwe and Transkei inside and outside South Africa.

In denials by Zimbabwean and Transkeian leaders that APLA guerrillas were trained in their countries, Mr Kriel said they did not know what was happening in their countries.

An APLA commander, Mr Vuma Ntinkina, said on Radio Transkei yesterday that APLA had several bases in South Africa, particularly in the PWV area.

Mr Kriel said any decision to take cross-border action against APLA would have to be taken by the State President and cabinet.

"I cannot say that we will or will not consider cross-border raids, but it is also fair to say that it cannot be ruled out."

Mr Kriel would not be drawn on which countries the government believed were financing the PAC, which in turn provides funding to APLA.

He said the matter was being investigated and that it would be taken further by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Kriel said it had been made clear at meetings with the PAC that the armed struggle would either have to be suspended or terminated for the PAC to become part of the negotiation process.

"We cannot negotiate with guns on the table next to us," he said.

He said that the PAC, by supporting APLA's attacks on civilians, was effectively excluding itself from negotiations for an interim government.

The Conservative Party said yesterday that there was no reason why the SA Defence Force should not mount hot pursuit actions into Transkei to destroy alleged APLA training bases.

Church leaders are seeking an urgent meeting with the PAC and APLA.
Covert action best arms smuggler trap

CAPE TOWN — Covert police operations had proved more successful than conventional methods in uncovering arms smuggling networks and these operations could be extended in the future, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

The full commission, chaired by Mr Justice Goldstone, is hearing submissions in Cape Town on the illegal importation, distribution and use of automatic weapons in South Africa.

W.L. Wepener, for the South African Police, said covert intelligence and infiltration operations were "absolutely essential" to combat the import and distribution of weapons. Eleven covert anti-crime units were already operating countrywide. He recommended the establishment of a special unit to infiltrate and expose weapon smuggling networks from the source to the destination. Arms smugglers who were linked to several transactions could be given heavier sentences.

Wepener said problems relating to the use of illegal firearms for political purposes could only be effectively addressed through a political settlement.

However, effective control over African National Congress arms caches inside the country was needed in the interim to prevent the distribution of illegal weapons. "We are not asking that the ANC's arms caches be placed immediately under police control."

Searches

"But we believe the ANC should, as a start, make available to this commission all information which it has regarding the illegal import and distribution of firearms," he said.

Improved co-operation with neighbouring states, particularly Transkei, increased penalties for offenders and legislation regulating the packing of freight to facilitate police searches at international borders were also recommended.

The commission heard that 711 people had been killed and 809 injured by AK-47 assault rifles alone during incidents of political violence from July 1 1991 to November 30 this year.

In 1991, illegal weapons confiscated included a total of 1 060 AK-47s, 2,150 pistols, 1,075 revolvers, 632 home-made rifles and 1,600 kg of explosives.

Wepener said weapons were "freely available" in Mozambique and were smuggled by organised syndicates to Natal and the Witwatersrand.

Conflict between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, taxi wars, train violence, faction fights and the increase in crime due to deteriorating economic conditions all helped to create a demand.

The commission also heard police had recovered weapons smuggling networks in hostels on the Witwatersrand. Police infiltrated such a hostel network and "bought" arms from smugglers.

A similar network, selling illegal Mozambican firearms to buyers in the Kruger National Park area, was also uncovered in August. — Sapa.

Bop to cut sentences of prisoners

More than 1 500 prisoners in Botswana will be affected by a general amnesty announced by President Lucas Mangope during the homeland's 15th anniversary independence celebrations last week, it was confirmed yesterday.

A Botswana government spokesman said the number of prisoners in the territory as of Wednesday stood at 1,561, and all, including long-term inmates, would have up to 18 months cut from their sentences. Those serving six months or less would be freed.

He said although the number of prisoners serving sentences of six months or less was not available, hundreds would be released by the end of the week.

He could not confirm if former Botswana Defence Force member Warrant-Officer Timothy Phiri, one of the leaders of the aborted coup against Mangope's government in February 1990, was classified as a political prisoner or not.

Political organisations in the homeland, including the ANC, have been demanding the release of Phiri and Chris Makgala. — Sapa.
DP and PAC resolve to help end violence

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party yesterday committed themselves to creating a climate conducive to negotiations, but failed to reach an agreement on last week's attacks on whites in the eastern Cape.

In a joint statement issued after a three-hour meeting in Johannesburg, the two parties said they recognised "the destructive effect which violence, and in particular the killing of innocent citizens", had on the creation of a climate in which negotiations for a new democratic constitution could take place.

"Both (the PAC and DP) will work towards achieving the ending of violence and a comprehensive cessation of hostilities as a matter of urgency. The PAC in particular reiterates its preparedness to discuss the cessation of hostilities with all concerned. These both agree that the matter of violence cannot be divorced from that of a political settlement," the statement said.

The DP and the PAC said they viewed the convening of a multilateral negotiations forum to decide on elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution as an important step in resolving the problem of violence and achieving a political settlement.

Although last week's attacks on white civilians in King William's Town and Queenstown were discussed, no agreement was reached on this issue.
Govt threat to Apla draws angry response

Hot-pursuit warning

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has not ruled out the option of conducting cross-border raids into neighboring states against military bases of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel revealed this yesterday at a Pretoria press conference, answering questions about Apla's alleged campaign of terror against whites.

He stressed, however, that the Government would undertake such raids only as a last resort and only if the Government were in possession of hard facts.

He said: "We are not looking for trouble with our neighbours. But we have a duty to protect our citizens."

Kriel stated categorically that Apla had training bases in Zimbabwe and Transkei. Asked whether this meant the governments of those countries were lying because they had denied hosting Apla bases, Kriel said he did not know whether they were lying, but they did have their facts wrong.

He welcomed the Zimbabwean government announcement that Apla should stop making claims about its "criminal activities" from Zimbabwean soil.

But he added that he did not think the "brigadier from Transkei" (an apparent reference to Major-General Bantu Holomisa) had made a similar statement.

Kriel and his spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, said one would not find Apla training bases if one looked for conventional military institutions with flags wowing and platoons marching.

Only three or four people were being trained at each base, they said.

Kriel said the SAP estimated that Apla had 120 trained fighters inside and outside the country. He would not say which countries were funding Apla or the PAC, as the matter was still under investigation.

Those countries funding Apla and the PAC would be contacted through the Department of Foreign Affairs.

He would not comment on the arrest and later release on Wednesday of three ANC members on suspicion of involvement in the King William's Town golf club attack, for which Apla has claimed responsibility.

Kriel said if it was true that the PAC had said it would not suspend the armed struggle until an interim government had been installed, then it had effectively excluded itself from the negotiations for an interim government.

• The ANC and the Transkei administration yesterday reacted angrily to Kriel's statements.

The ANC said the threatened military action against Transkei and Zimbabwe "is totally unacceptable ... irresponsible, unstatesmanlike and provocative in the extreme. It lends credence to the argument that agents provocateurs may be responsible for the acts of terrorism in the eastern Cape region, the intention being to rationalise an attack on these territories."

The ANC added that its president, Nelson Mandela, would raise these matters at a special emergency meeting of Frontline states in Harare today.

In a separate statement, Holomisa said Apla had no bases in Transkei. He warned Pretoria not to harm innocent citizens in cross-border raids.

Church leaders are seeking an urgent meeting with the PAC and Apla.

The SA Council of Churches said yesterday the leaders were concerned about Apla's activities and the PAC's response.
PAC/APLA FM 11/12/92

In the firing line

Unless it splits or reins in its universally condemned armed wing Apla, the PAC risks working itself out of the negotiations process and being sidelined altogether.

This week’s scheduled meeting between it and government was, predictably, called off. Following the Apla-claimed atrocities at King William’s Town and Queenstown last weekend in which five people were killed and 34 injured, government demanded a clear and satisfactory explanation of the PAC’s relationship with Apla as a condition for the meeting. This had not been received by Tuesday.

On the contrary, PAC information director Walters Tobodi underlined the link with Apla. He said it was an “integral” part of the organisation, which would not be abandoned even if they did split.

meeting with government.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander (see People) implausibly stuck to the line that the question of Apla could only be dealt with as part of an agreement to amalgamate all the armies of SA into a common force. This, he maintained, was agreed with government in Botswana last month, implying no need for even a suspension of armed action, as the ANC has done. He, therefore, saw no need to clarify anything and believed the meeting would go ahead unless government called it off.

It may be significant that none of the PAC’s big guns — president Clarence Makwetu, deputies Dikgang Moseneke and Johnson Miamo and foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim — have made any statements on the Apla attacks. Are they too embarrassed, were they taken by surprise, or are they opportunistically waiting to see where the pieces fall before entering the fray?

The hapless Alexander is not necessarily regarded as a main player. It should be remembered that the leadership had a torrid time getting its youth and militant supporters to acquiesce to negotiations, which explains the PAC’s belated and circuitous moves to get on board.

Few can fathom the politics of the PAC and in particular its relationship with Apla, which is said to be operationally independent — like the IRA is to Sinn Fein. In trying to explain recent developments, some point to Alexander’s refusal to condemn the soft target attacks on whites in order to draw attention to black casualties of the violence. In terms of this “explanation”, Apla (and the PAC) want the violence to spill into white areas in order to force government to take action to end it. It’s a simplistic and dangerous notion.

Another view is that Apla does not see eye-to-eye with the political leadership of the PAC and wants to wreck the negotiations. Nobody is very sure of the relationship. Yet given the history of internal strife and disarray in the PAC this might be the case — unless there has simply been a communications breakdown, which would not be surprising. Apla, which is commanded by the PAC secretary for defence, Sabelo Pila, is based in Tanzania.

It is not known (or never revealed) how many “soldiers” it has. Some observers have even questioned whether, despite the claims (notably by one Congo Jibril who claimed to be an Apla deputy commander), Apla carried out the attacks at all and attribute them to renegade elements in the Ciskei/eastern Cape area.

In the wake of the killings, the OAU, which funds the PAC, has rounded condemned Apla. The OAU’s man in SA, Legwalia Legwaila, has indicated that the funding is now under review.

Zimbabwe, perhaps the PAC’s closest backer in black Africa, has warned the PAC to stop issuing statements on violence from its territory. Condemnation ranged from the United Nations, EC and Commonwealth to the ANC and SA Communist Party, whose chief, Chris Hani, said that the “struggle” had been directed at oppression, never against whites as such. Hani warned that anti-white terror would provide the pretext for those on the far Right who “want to provoke a race war to delay majority rule.”

On cue, the self-styled leader of the extreme rightwing Wit Wolwe, Barend Strydom, called Sapa to warn that its actions should in future “only be seen as a reaction to deeds by Apla.”

President F W de Klerk has meanwhile warned of a crackdown on Apla. He said on Monday that government was urgently considering steps against it: “Threats against any South Africans, irrespective of their race, are absolutely unacceptable and reprehensible.

“The government will continue to do everything in its power to bring the perpetrators of recent crimes to justice and prevent Apla from carrying out its threats.” He called on the international community to deny Apla refuge or any form of assistance.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who called the attacks “cowardly”, emphasised that the peace and negotiation process would not be impeded by threats of violence against whites.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer slammed Apla for its “bloodthirsty threats.” He called on the PAC either to repudiate Apla or take responsibility for its actions.

In the Border area, meanwhile, police and businesses are reportedly stepping up security. A special police unit has been formed to visit restaurants, businesses and Christmas functions and a considerable number of additional policemen are being sent to the region to assist with patrols.
Death toll drops

By PAUL STOBER

DESPITE the Azanian People's Liberation Army's declaration of war on whites, the Human Rights Commission has reported a significant decrease in the number of incidents of political violence in South Africa.

In the past week the death toll in political violence was only 19, after an average of more than 60 deaths a week for the past nine weeks.

In Natal, the scene of some of the worst political violence, the toll dropped from 30 last week to 12 this week.

No train attacks were reported for the first time in nine weeks and no security force deaths were reported, compared to 14 deaths last week. This was despite three reported grenade attacks on security force members. The commission said security force actions had resulted in 18 injuries but no deaths.

One person reported to have died in police custody this week, which brings to 117 the number of deaths in police custody this year.

The commission noted that further temporary immunity was granted to a number of African National Congress leaders, who are key to the negotiation process, for a further three months.
**PAC militants win**

Elements within the PAC violently opposed to talks with the government appear to be behind the recent spate of attacks on white "soft targets" in the eastern Cape.

By PHILIPPA GARSON

In a marked change from the situation in the past, the PAC leadership has gone on the offensive against the government, and the attacks on white "soft targets" in the eastern Cape are believed to be a reaction to this.

A few years ago, the PAC was more conciliatory, but now it seems to have shifted gears.

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**Apla war follows Poqo's bloody footsteps**

BY PATRICK GOODENOUGH and GUY JEPSON

This is a split-off from the previous war.

Apla, the former Poqo, has taken up the baton of violence.

Apla's leader, Poqo, was a former Poqo leader.

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**Grenade damage...**

Manager Ken Britz inspects the damage to the golf club.

Photo AP

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**On guard...**

Police watch over the King William's Town golf club after four whites were killed.

Photo AP

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**Equivocating...**

Bernie Alexander

David Sikholeni was assassinated in Durban by six Apla men.

Apla's against the war is not clear.

The war is not clear.

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**Battle a...**

secretary Gerhard Erasmus disputes any tension with Apla or government.

The war is not clear.

The war is not clear.

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Apla's against the war is not clear.
battle against negotiations

secretary Gar Ebrahim disputes any
tension with Apa or grievances op- position to talks with the government.
Pointing to an Apa statement pub-
lished in the Citizen where the armed 
wing expresses support for negotia-
tions, he says: "I was戏曲ly viewpoint
critically to our Congress (December
1991). There was no objection to it. 
Where does this opposition come
from?"
Still clouded in mystery, the rec-
cent offensive may have been the culmi-
nation of long simmering conflict in 
the eastern Cape region between white 
farmers and blacks, with Apa having 
claimed responsibility for several 
attacks on farmers this year.

Whether Transkei military leader 
Bantu Holomisa is actively sanction-
ing the training of Apa radets in the 
region is open to dispute. But the 
armed wing undoubtedly has a pre-
seence there. While the Transkei is
essentially an ANC stronghold, the 
northern territory around the Cato 
area has a significant PAC contingent. 
This has on several occasions admitted 
the presence of both Apa and MK cadres in the region.
Formerly consisting of a few hun-
dred, Apa members are now said to 
number roughly 1,000 after a recruit-
ment drive in the wake of the organiza-
tion's unbanning. They receive train-
ing in Libya, the Middle East and 
China.
It cannot be ruled out that the PAC is 
attempting to intensify its armed strug-
gle in order to enter negotiations as a 
stronger player and the recent attacks 
were an attempt to get the better of 
the forces of the Apa. It was also a way 
of forcing the government to take 
some action.

Whether the PAC's leadership 
has refused to take responsibility for 
the attacks may be a shrewd tactic — to 
avoid any解释down from the gov-
ernment — rather than a blunder.

But this non-committal stance has 
met with condemnation from all sides. 
Says political analyst Gary van Staden:
"If Apa is not responsible for the 
attacks that the insecurity and confu-
sion caused by the "false" claims sug-
gests a chaotic state of communication 
and the unconditional targeting of 
whites is a denial of the PAC's own 
philosophical argument that there is 
only one race, the human race," 
argues van Staden.
"To attempt to justify the uncondi-
tional targeting of whites on the basis 
that they all somehow feed into the 
state intelligence gathering network 
or that they are in any way responsible 
for military training is so absurd it 
doesn't even deserve comment."

Cetshwayo for African Studies director 
Eugene Nuyi believes, however, that 
the PAC may have gained support 
from the attacks. If they were behind 
the attack on King William's Town, 
they may gain some. The incidents 
may have reinforced the radical bone 
fractures of the PAC, coming at a time 
of deep disillusionment within the ANC 
among those who feel that (Nelson) 
Mandela is too moderate. This could 
encourage those disillusioned members into 
the PAC fold.

For the meantime, however, the 
PAC seems to have lost the opportu-
nity to return to talks at least some 
of its terms. When Codeca II broke down 
the PAC, having pulled out at the 
preparatory stage, was to some extent 
vindicated. It took the gap, making 
moves towards entering the negoti-
tions fray when it seemed likely that 
the government would do it without 
anything. On (some of) its own 
terms. The arrival of international 
monitors in the country during the 
egress to negotiations improved the position 
with countries that renewed multi-
party talks are already in progress, 
neutral, non-South African convenors. 

Now, however, the government and 
ANC are back on good terms and 
extended talks are likely to take place 
via the Cetshwayo forum — albeit a 
renegotiated one.
Bomb attack puts more pressure on de Klerk

President F. W. de Klerk is under pressure to take action against the Pan Africanist Congress after a bomb attack on a restaurant in which 19 whites were injured, five seriously, writes our correspondent in Johannesburg.

The second random attack on whites within one week turned attention from bilateral talks between the African National Congress and the government, in which progress appeared to have been made towards restarting multi-party constitutional negotiations in February.

The rightwing Conservative Party said the government’s failure to take action made them responsible, and the ANC described the bombing as “the work of desperadoes who are not confident of pitting their strengths against other parties in a democratic election which they realize is imminent”.

Police blamed the PAC’s military wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army. It followed its reported threat to kill more whites after the gun and grenade attack two weeks ago on a winetasting dinner in nearby King William’s Town, which left four whites dead.

The government and the ANC, meanwhile, were optimistic at the end of their three-day meeting at a secret rendezvous. In a statement, they said they had agreed on “the need for a speedy movement from the current situation to a democratic dispensation”.

Two British women, one a young mother on holiday, were found murdered last week on a remote beach in northern Natal. They are thought to have been raped and their bodies thrown into the sea before waves washed them back.
Attacks in OFS may be work of Apla

By YVETTE VAN BREDA

Police are investigating the possibility that Apla carried out the hand grenade attack on the Ficksburg, Free State, home of a widow.

Minutes after the attack a policeman and a woman minibus passenger were wounded nearby by gunshots. Police suspect four members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the Pan-Africanist Congress's military wing, could have launched the petrol bomb and hand grenade attack on the home of Mrs Trudy Roos late on Thursday night.

The army and police are hunting the attackers.

Mrs Roos, whose policeman husband, Warrant Officer Edward Roos, died of a heart attack last week, was asleep with her two daughters, aged 12 and six, when the house was rocked by explosions and gunfire.

Since and the gils, who were all unhurt, fled to a neighbour's house.

Free State police commissioner Major-General Tertius Calitz said yesterday that a police patrol manning a roadblock about two kilometres from Mrs Roos's home, near the Lesotho border, had heard the shots and explosions and two policemen had gone to investigate.

On their way shots were fired at their vehicle and Sergeant Otto Grootze was wounded in the left knee.

At the same time shots were fired from the roadside at a passing minibus taxi and a passenger, Mrs N. Leboe, 44, of Lesotho, was struck in the back and seriously wounded.

Both injured were in a stable condition in hospital in Bethlehem.

Other policemen arriving at the Roos home also came under rifle fire, which they returned and the attackers, believed to be four people, fled on foot.

To page 2
Moves to muzzle gunmen

CAPE TOWN — The Goldstone Commission is to appoint a committee to urgently investigate methods of fighting the importation, possession, distribution and use of weapons and explosives in South Africa.

This step had the blessing of the SADF, ANC, SA Police, the KwaZulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, the commission said in a statement yesterday.

Casualties

They had also “agreed to cooperate fully with the committee.”

The commission appealed to all other involved parties or groups to assist the committee. Their assistance would enable the commission to recommend steps aimed at reducing the high casualties and damage to property caused by the weapons.

The commission, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice R Goldstone, yesterday held a preliminary hearing during which it received “helpful” submissions from the SADF, ANC, SAP, KwaZulu government and IFP.

In a related development, the IFP is reportedly not happy to hear that the Transvaal Hostel Residents’ Association (THRA) has, without informing it, reached an agreement with the ANC “aimed at promoting peace in the PWV region”.

IFP spokesman Humphrey Ndlovu strongly rejected the agreement’s proposals, which include fencing around certain “problem” hostels, 24-hour police presence around them, and surveillance of hostel members by random searches.

These are to “prevent the movement of arms and dangerous weapons and implements”.

Ndlovu said hostel residents should not be treated like animals, with “police and other people looking in at them through fences”.

He said all parties should be consulted when such agreements were reached, if the peace process was to be effective.

He complained that even though Chief Minister Buthelezi had been in the PWV area in October to support a march against the fencing of hostels, the hostel residents themselves were entering into agreements that made provision for fencing to be erected.

Wesley Dlamini, speaking on behalf of the THRA, made it clear that he thought the object of the agreement had been confused by certain members of the media.

“The agreement is not about fences and police presence,” he said, “but about speeding up the upgrading of hostels and the integration of hostel residents into surrounding communities. The fences are only proposed as a stabilising measure for hostels where a developmental approach would not be suitable.”

About the THRA’s relationship with the IFP he said: “The IFP have always been our friends, and we understand their position in terms of the confusion of issues.”

Dlamini told the Saturday Star that the THRA wanted to depoliticise the hostels dispute, but that the agreement did make allowance for liaison with all relevant parties — including the IFP.

But he said that for progress to be made in the reconstruction process, the THRA needed to talk to those parties with whom it had been at loggerheads.

The Government’s upgrading initiative (R338 million, administered by the Transvaal Provincial Administration) has been criticised by all parties involved.

Funds

Ndlovu said the TPA was not doing enough in its efforts to upgrade the hostels, while the agreement between the ANC and the THRA stated that “both parties are generally dissatisfied with the manner in which these funds are being disbursed.”

It further stated that the TPA did not devote enough effort to consulting local interests, and that “Black local authorities are inappropriate structures for the ownership, upgrading, management and upgrading of hostels”.

OWN CORRESPONDENT and STAFF REPORTER

STAR 12/12/92
HARARE — Seven Frontline states yesterday called for an end to violence in South Africa, warning that it would derail negotiations and delay the formation of a nonracial and democratic South Africa.

But the seven states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — refrained from specifically condemning attacks on white civilians by the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla) and the refusal of the PAC to dissociate itself from the attacks.

Condemned

A communiqué issued after the summit — which was attended by ANC and PAC representatives — condemned violence generally and urged “all parties to go to the negotiating table”.

At a press conference after the day-long summit, Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira was emphatic that the issue of Apla terror attacks had not been discussed.

Anticipating the direction of a question from Saturday Star he said: “No, that was not discussed.”

Earl Raft, Zimbabwe’s President Robert Mugabe called on the ANC and the TNS-Freedom Party to form a united patriotic front against President F W de Klerk’s administration.

Contravention

Another issue which occupied the attention of the summit was Angola, where the refusal of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi to accept defeat in the UN-supervised election in September has threatened to plunge the country into renewed civil war.

Associated with the spectre of a fresh round of fighting in Angola are the alleged contraven-

tions of the airspace of four Frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe by South African aircraft.

The summit expressed “disappointment and amazement” at UNITA’s stand, urged Savimbi to respect the democratic process and counselled him to join the government formed by President Jose dos Santos on December 4.

On South Africa’s alleged attempts to intervene in Angola and subvert the democratic process, the communiqué said: “The summit views with growing suspicion the apparently renewed military activities of the SADF in southern Angola and condemn violations of the airspace of Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe by South African aircraft.”

In a statement last week, the De Klerk administration denied that South African aircraft had violated the airspace of neighbouring states on covert missions into Angola.
Bullets outweigh words in propaganda battle

Chief Reporter JOHN PELMAN analyses the puzzling attitude of the PAC to attacks claimed to have been carried out by its armed wing, Apla, and proposes a reason for the ambiguity.

PAC national organiser
draws on attack of PAC adviser who sees Apla as "a very large army", but not the concept.

Apla's strength at about 120 in the country, and in a few outside Political risk analyst says Apla has around 200 fighters by now, although only 20 to 25 would be deployed in the country at any given time.

In February, Breyer said Apla had between 200 and 250 well-trained operatives abroad, some of whom were just finishing training in Libya. He predicted that these were "likely to start infiltrating back pretty soon."

There figures may not sound all that threatening, but as Professor Mike Breyer of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies puts it: "You can search someone to use an AK-47 and a hand grenade in a day. And if they can lay their hands on a supply of hand grenades and AKs, they can cause a reasonable amount of havoc."

On the second issue, the PAC has insisted that "Apla makes its own decisions." This apparently means that the organisation's constitution specifies that Apla must at all times consult the PAC leadership.

This ambiguity raises questions to a dilemma within the organisation - the commitment to negotiation ranges from keen to cautious to extreme by various factions in turn points to the key question arising from the eastern Cape attacks: Does the PAC believe that the constant public support that may flow from attacks on whites is worth more than the inevitable by-products of internal divisions and loss of international support?

The PAC and the Government were to have met this week for a fifth round of talks. After a deliberate two-step through a thicket of explosive issues, PAC participation in negotiations was a distinct, if distant, possibility.

After the meeting in Gaborone in October, agreement was reached that a new negotiating forum would be established, and that the constitution would be drawn up by a democratically elected body - recognition of the PAC's demand for a constituent assembly.

More significant was agreement that the negotiating forum should be called "provisionally" - a key PAC demand - opening the way for the United Nations or the Organisation of African Unity to mediate.

Consulted

No agreement was reached on Apla, which has claimed responsibility for attacks on police. The PAC's decision to hold talks. Commissioner Roderick was in Gaborone and was consulted extensively. Late last month a date was announced for round two of the talks. Two days later, the King William's Town attack took place.

Attacking civilians was a significant departure for Apla. In February, Apla's information secretary Jenny Majum said the security forces were the target. "We remain firm that civilians are not our targets," he said.

That seems to have changed. One view is that elements within the PAC opposed to talks believed it necessary to attract attention so that they could stir a political protest apparently unbacked by the killing of policemen.

It has worked. Talks are off, pressure is mounting on the security forces to act against Apla, and the international community may well take steps to cut off the PAC's lines of support and sanctuary.

The PAC has been consulting with its strongest supporter to argue that this is unacceptable, but the end may be near.

"By my own view, when has not been properly verified, is that people believe the violence (in the township) will not be attended to with stronger measures, and the economic situation is Apla has been losing ground with the result that the PAC can no longer afford to pay for armed struggle conducted by Apla against the entire enemy structure."

That kind of talk, and Apla's actions in the eastern Cape, have had a pay-off in increased support, says PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander. "In the past nine days we have experienced an unusual surge in membership," he says. He claims 7,000 new members in three Natal towns, an increase in Yeoville, on the East Rand, from 30 to 175, and especially rapid growth in the Vaal Triangle, with increases of 2,600 and 2,350 in Sharpeville and KwaSizwa respectively. In the western Cape, the ANC branch at Uitenhage has crossed the floor in the PAC," he says.

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"My own view, when has not been properly verified, is that people believe the violence (in the township) will not be attended to with stronger measures, and the economic situation is Apla has been losing ground with the result that the PAC can no longer afford to pay for armed struggle conducted by Apla against the entire enemy structure."

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Bombings boosted us, say rightwing and leftwing

Recent APLA bombings in two Eastern Cape towns have resulted in unexpected spin-offs. CLAIRE KEETON reports:

OMBINGS in King William's Town and Queenstown have resulted in frightened residents in border towns swelling the ranks of the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging (AWB), the organisation has claimed.

AWB officials in the region also indicated this week they would step up their controversial "patrols" on the northeastern Cape border with Transkei.

However, the PAC has claimed that it had been "inundated" this past week with callers enquiring about joining the organisation.

A PAC spokesperson in the Orange Free State said there had been unprecedented interest in the organisation since the attacks.

In a telephone interview this week, a recruiting officer for the AWB-led patrols, Mr Christo Bekker, claimed people were joining the AWB because there was "nothing else they could do".

Referring to the recent spate of attacks in the region — the rifle and grenade assault on the King William's Town golf club and the Queenstown Spur bombing — Mr Bekker said it was "not even safe to go to church any more."

AWB Eastern Cape/Border region chief Mr Frans du Toit said the movement received calls daily from the public.

"As soon as trouble strikes, people want to join," he said.

The regional liaison officer for the AWB, Mr Flip Scheppe, also claimed the movement had been inundated with requests for membership.

The AWB was growing at an "unprecedented rate" and its new members were English as well as Afrikaans-speaking, he claimed.

Asked about the size of its membership, Du Toit said the AWB "never talks about numbers."

"In every town, every inch of ground is under the command of an AWB member," he said.

Following increasing attacks on "soft targets" in the region, AWB members nationwide were gathering in Maclear — a previous flashpoint — according to Scheppe.

"We are at full strength, fully equipped and ready for any situation. (The attackers) must be prepared to take what they give," he warned.

He said "people (in Maclear) had been taking steps to secure their own positions" and most of them were armed.

Bekker said he did not expect attacks at banks or places where "lots of blacks go."

AWB: Killing of whites drives right-wingers into the laager

"It is difficult for them to hit us there. They will target us at office parties."

Conservative Party MP and leader of the right-wing Republic Unity Movement of South Africa (RUNSA), Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, said the police were not providing adequate protection.

"People must stand together to form protection units and home guards," he said.

Bekker said the AWB would "probably intensify the patrols."

The patrols, which started two months ago in the outlying regions on the Transkei border to protect farmers from cattle-rustlers and arsonists, have continued despite police disapproval.

They also raised political tensions in the region: A cross-border "operation" by the AWB last month prompted a warning by Transkei military ruler Major-General Banu Holomisa that he would use his counter-insurgency police to "deal" with AWB invaders.
Shadowy gang vows to hit Apla and AWB

By Rehana Rossouw and Quentin Wilson

A NEWLY-FORMED shadowy Cape group this week threatened a campaign of assassinations to stop the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), and the AWB.

An anonymous caller told SOUTH this week that unless political organisations "stopped their nonsense", their leaders, including PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, would be assassinated.

The threat follows two bombing incidents for which Apla claimed responsibility.

The attacks — one in King William's Town and one in Queenstown — left five people killed and 34 injured.

The caller said 20 people, most of them former SADF members and some of them snipers, had attended a meeting in Cape Town on Monday night where an organisation called the Civil Protection Group was formed.

'Avenge'

He declined to give his name or a telephone number where he could be contacted.

"The purpose of the Civil Protection Group is to avenge innocent people who are hurt or killed in bombings," the caller said.

"We are going to start eliminating the instigators from the top, starting with Benny Alexander and Eugene Terre'Blanche."

"It doesn't matter whether it is the PAC or the AWB or the Boerewolk Party, we will take revenge."

 Asked whether he thought it was correct to avenge violence by using violent means, the caller said the group was being forced into taking such action.

"The simple reason why we are doing this is that we want these people to stop their nonsense."

"Every time an innocent person is hurt the government does nothing about it."

Meanwhile two sources who are close to the PAC said Apla's terror campaign against whites was an expression of the deep conflicts within the PAC rather than an attempt to step up armed resistance.

The sources told SOUTH this week that deep divisions exist between three camps within the organisation.

The sources said all attacks claimed by their military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), should be seen in this light.

According to one source, these attacks "are primarily concerned with sending a sharp, clear message to any PAC leaders who are interested in negotiations."

"Since the ANC and the NP's secret talks where they agreed to revive Codesa, there is considerable concern among many people in the PAC that others in the organisation were preparing to join in these negotiations. To many, this is unthinkable," he said.

There are believed to be three main camps within the PAC:

- the "liberal African nationalists" who believe the PAC has to negotiate or find themselves completely in the cold politically.
- the "radical Africanists" who believe it is impossible for the PAC to successfully negotiate freedom with a "settler regime"; therefore liberation can only be attained through the barrel of a gun.
- an "in-between" group which believes that it is important to directly influence negotiations while at the same time retaining the ability to strike uncompromisingly at the government.

The "liberal African nationalists" are said to be led by deputy president Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, publicity officer Mr Barney Desai, secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim and head of human resources Mr Mark Shinnem.

The PAC's student wing, Pavo, is a main force driving the radical Africanists. Mr Thami Mkhize, who wrote a series of militant articles last year for Apla's publication, "Azanian Combat", is a key theoretician for this grouping, according to the sources.

The "in-between" position is allegedly headed by PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, secretary for political affairs Mr Jaqui Serole and ex-Apla chief Mr John Mlambo.

According to one source, the bombings tried to "roll back" the gains made by the liberal group.

After the PAC's exploratory talks with the government in Abuja, Nigeria, and again in Gaberone, Botswana, the organisation was set to join a revitalised Codesa beginning next year.
**PAC AGAINST THE WALL**

By Sekola Selgo

The recent attacks carried out against white civilians in the Eastern Cape towns of King William's Town and Queenstown along with threats of more to follow, have placed the PAC against the wall.

Although it is still not yet clear whether the attacks were executed by the organisation's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), there is no doubt the fallout from these incidents have had disastrous effects on the image of the organisation.

**Attacks**

Prior to the attacks, the PAC's image and perception among local whites was beginning to change. They were no longer seen as a radical, racist organisation.

The organisation's international image has also taken a hard knock. It is going to take time to repair the damage.

Such are the disastrous consequences for the organisation that even some of its staunchest supporters, like Zimbabweans, are beginning to feel the heat of harbouring the PAC.

This explains the decision this week by hardline Zimbabwean Information Minister Nathan Shamuyaro who barred the organisation from making statements about attacks on civilians while on Zimbabwean soil.

Explanations by the PAC's secretary general Benzi Alexander that the PAC and Apla have independent operational structures, have done little to minimize the damage.

It is generally agreed that even if liberation movements have separate structures, at the end of the day, the military must be subject to the political leadership. This is how all guerilla movements operate around the world.

**Force Pretoria**

The recent attacks have brought to the fore the issue of the armed struggle which the ANC has, to all practical purposes, long abandoned while the PAC and Apla maintain their commitment to it.

The PAC maintains that it will continue with the armed struggle to force Pretoria to meet its demands.

It's among other issues, a sovereign constituent assembly and the holding of one person, one vote elections.

Although the government is still ambivalent about these issues there is no denying that they have moved somewhat towards meeting some of these demands during their on and off negotiations with the ANC.

The ANC abandoned the armed struggle because they acknowledged they could not defeat Pretoria. What hope is there for the PAC to succeed where the much bigger and stronger ANC has failed?

Apla's military strength is not known but it is estimated to be far lower than Umkhonto we Sizwe's 10,000 men.

Another school of thought argues that the PAC is positioning itself for the forthcoming elections and had to do something dramatic to catch the public eye - that is the basic constituency.

Since the attacks, the organisation has had more publicity in one week than in any time since it was legalised. Apla is now the talk of the townships, especially among the disaffected youth.

Whether this will translate into support for the PAC is debatable. The organisation still lacks the capacity to seize on any initiative and turn it into a long lasting advantage.

When they refused to take part in constitutional talks claiming that such talks would not deliver - and later there was widespread belief that the ANC was being outmaneuvered by the government - the PAC maintained the moral high ground.

They also predicted the collapse of Codeda yet failed to take advantage of this when it finally happened. Instead, it was the ANC who used mass action to seize the political initiative again.

The ANC's recent Strategic Perspectives document, calls for power sharing with the NNP, is another lost opportunity for the PAC. The ANC is still sharply divided on this issue.

Instead of the PAC running away with the ball, they are forced against the wall. They are twisting and turning as they make futile attempts to extricate themselves from the dilemma of illegal Apla attacks.

Such is their dilemma that even the ANC-led alliance, which is involved in a bloody and terrifying fight with Inkatha, cannot just make a moral position and accuse them of terrorist activities.

While accusing figures in Apla, Transvaal General Bishop Holomisa has pointed out the possibility of renegade elements of Military Intelligence being behind the campaign. The aim being to fuel black-white violence and hopefully scuttle the negotiations.

Although Holomisa has not backed this with any evidence but it is possible that ANC renegades who are unhappy with the way negotiations are going might resort to this sort of dirty trick.

Another possibility could be a renege Apla cadres who are opposed to the organisation's current talks with the government. A meeting between the PAC and the government which was set for this week was called off as a result of the attacks.

Military operations, so far, have advanced well and are leader in political objectives. If Apla is behind the attacks, those who have failed to advance the interests of the PAC.
PAC sticks to its guns on strategy

By SEKOLA SELLO 3/12/92

IN SPITE of international condemnation and strong criticism by political rivals inside the country following the attacks in King William’s Town and Queenstown, the PAC is sticking to its guns.

It will not criticise or distance itself from its military wing, Apla, which has been blamed for the two attacks against white civilians in the eastern Cape.

These are excerpts from an interview with the organisation’s secretary general, Benny Alexander.

CP: Could you explain the PAC’s position on attacks on civilians, especially on whites?

BA: I must say that Hlinsa, Shaka, Sokhukhuni, Dingane and Stuurman and all these people never made a distinction between soft and hard targets. Whenever the regime has fought us here, they have never made a distinction between soft and hard targets.

In the context of SA, what are hard and soft targets? The question of hard and soft targets is the European concept which the PAC has never used.

What was a soft and hard target when our people die in the townships? The regime has never made a distinction between hard and soft targets in its fight against the African people. Never, ever!

CP: Can you be more specific, do you or don’t you make a distinction between soft and hard targets?

BA: The PAC is a political organisation. Apla people can tell you better as far as their strategies and tactics are concerned. But, as far as the question is concerned, this question is premised on whether Apla was responsible for King William’s Town.

CP: Assuming Apla was responsible or even if they were not, what would be the position of the PAC on attacks like those in King William’s Town and Queens town?

BA: In the context of SA where the law says a white person can carry 27 weapons and an African cannot carry a blade longer than four inches, to talk about hard and soft targets when the law itself discriminates against civilians in terms of how they are armed is ridiculous.

What are soft and hard targets in SA where ordinary African civilians are taken by the police into custody and are killed there and nothing is done about it?

CP: Given the scenario you have just outlined and acknowledging that Apla might not be responsible for the recent attacks in the eastern Cape, would you say Apla would be justified if it had carried out these operations?

BA: When you are fighting against the State in an armed struggle, you have to identify the pillars of the State. The fundamental question that we must ask is whether there is a war in the country.

CP: Is there a war?

BA: The guerrilla warfare has moved through certain stages and this is being informed by what is happening internationally.

The CIA learnt in Vietnam that you cannot win against a guerrilla army. So what the imperialists are doing is to put up all over the world the flags of peace, justice and democracy and then start a low intensity war against the people.

This creates confusion because your people die in large numbers and they do not know why they are dying. You ask anybody in the townships why we have 307 deaths a month and they will tell you: ‘We do not know’.

That is low intensity war. The response to this is to draw the enemy out, so that people can see them as the enemy.

CP: Would you say King William’s Town and Queens town are a response to this low intensity war?

BA: I think, and this is my personal interpretation, it could well be the response by whoever has committed it – in order to turn the low intensity war into a visible war.
So what DO blacks think of Apla?

By MOSES MAMAILA

CITY blacks were this week sharply divided over the armed attacks launched by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) on white civilians.

Snap interviews conducted by City Press in Jo'burg's streets revealed opposing views with half of those interviewed calling on the PAC's military wing to kill more whites.

The other half slammed the shootings as "barbaric" and out of step with the process of a peaceful, democratic resolution to the race conflict.

However, one in two people did not know Apla at all. A considerable number of shoppers said they had heard about them for the first time when news of the King William's Town shootings and a bomb attack on a restaurant in Queenstown broke a week ago.

Teacher Bongani Makhanya, 31, pledged his unequivocal support for Apla, saying the move to attack whites was "absolutely correct".

"If there is such a lot of noise about the deaths of only four whites, it means (State President FW) De Klerk will now tackle the issue of violence tearing our communities apart effectively."

Lizi Peterson, 31, of Alexandra, said she was opposed to killing irrespective of the political motive.

"Killing is wrong. Whether you kill whites or blacks, the fact remains that taking another person's life is wrong. Who are they to decide to terminate other people's lives?"

Tshepo Mkhize, 23, of Naledi, was glad that white were experiencing the agony of losing loved ones in racist violence.

"The military struggle by Apla will advance the cause of liberation. Attacks on whites will soften the hard hearts of whites who have oppressed us for years."

"When we bury our people, they must bury their own too. Apla is the only structure we have to take the war declared on us by whites back to the white areas."

Obed Mazibuko condemned the slaughter of whites, saying any killing was inappropriate.

"What we have here is a war situation. Whites cannot be classified as civilians because they undergo military training and, should the need arise, they will crush us as they are equipped to do," he explained.

Susu Muifa of Diepkloof said she was proud of Apla for continuing "the revolution".

She was disappointed with PAC leaders for hesitating to support the attacks.

"What we have here is a war situation. Whites force them to heed the demand for black majority rule," she said.

Some people inter viewed were blank about Apla. "What is it? Can you eat it?" asked one.
Oom Willem Myburg, 84 and a widower, lives alone on the crumbling East Cape frontier, a pit bull pup and a pistol his only protection against Apla's terror campaign. "I may be old and my legs bother me, but I can still shoot straight," said Oom Willem, rising with difficulty from a couch in his isolated cottage near the Transkei border.

With pride he points to a shelf in a darkened room gleaming with silver cups awarded years ago to mark his shooting prowess. It is a skill which many of the younger generation of border farmers, rapidly arming themselves and acquiring sophisticated electronic gadgetry, might envy.

**Gangsters**

Scurrying a kilometre away, off the road to Dordrecht from Transkei, is his nephew Alec's farm.

The homestead was petrol bombed 10 days ago, the same night a limpet mine detonated by Apla terrorists killed one person and injured 17 others in a busy Queenstown steakhouse 60km away.

On Wednesday, within sight of Alec Myburg's homestead, police intercepted an armed gang returning to Transkei at speed along a dirt road after robbing the First National Bank in nearby Molteno.

Oom Gert heard the gunfire and his neighbour and close relative across the valley, Mrs Suzie Myburg, could see some of the action as four gangsters died at a roadblock at the crest of a shallow rise.

The next day all that marked the spot were fractured sheets of glass and bloodstains on the soil and dry grass.

It takes nerves of steel to live close to this most ancient of South African frontiers, turbulent again after a century of peace.

In a hauntingly beautiful area of the Stormsriver towns are dying and farms have been abandoned, largely because of the relentless drought but also because of crime and a lack of infrastructure.

Lately crime has become tinged with political bitterness, culminating in an incident never go unreported, Katherine with a revolver strapped round her waist and he with a pistol tucked into his shorts when he's not carrying a pump-action shotgun.

"We have two young kids, aged three and four. We don't take chances," said Closer to Queenstown in the so-called Bongolo Basin is the nerve centre of a district-wide radio network. Farmers answer roll call nightly and shoo kids off the air in between.

This is where Tony Suttor, the chairman of the Queenstown Farmers' Association, farms. His house was petrol bombed two months ago.

"Four bombs were thrown. The front door was in flames and I had to put it out. Scared? I was terrified," he said.
Found in Transkei

Training Camps

Six Apla Terror

A Frontline At War

The article discusses the latest events involving the conflict and training camps in Transkei. It highlights the ongoing activities and actions taken by the authorities to confront the situation. The text emphasizes the importance of staying informed about these developments. The article is part of a series of reports covering recent events and offers insights into the current state of affairs. Further details are provided in subsequent issues.
Apla responsible PAC leader

Units of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) carried out the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks in which five white civilians were killed, PAC senior deputy president Johnson Mambo told The Star Africa Service in an exclusive interview.

Mambo, who took over from John Pokela as the commander-in-chief of Apla in 1988, described Apla as the PAC's military wing - as a "highly disciplined" guerrilla army which has fought a "principled" war.

A former Robben Island prisoner, Mambo argued that these attacks - which were condemned nationally and internationally - had to be seen in context.

"The operatives came from an environment where there is a lot of violence and were cut off from the influences that are operative in their own community," Mambo said.

But, if these comments suggested that he was pleading extenuating circumstances for these attacks on civilians, they were cancelled by another statement, in which he appeared to justify them on ideological and military grounds.

"Apla, in furtherance of the political objectives of the PAC, will attack those people that it sees as assisting, like the police and soldiers, in the maintenance of oppression."

Mambo, a 52-year-old bespectacled man who completed a BSc in economics while in prison, dismissed criticism of the attacks by the rival ANC as predictable.

"They will be out to condemn any action by Apla," he said.

"We can never do anything right as far as they are concerned. A short while ago they were in the chorus which said Apla is killing black policemen, as though Apla is selectively, on a racial basis, seeking to eliminate black policemen."

Declining to be specific about the size or location of Apla units, Mambo insisted that Apla was a growing force which drew its support from "the people", particularly the youth. "Wherever there are oppressed people, there is our base," he declared.

Police warn of blitz by robbers over holiday season
Holomisa promises bases probe

Hani slams Apla terror campaign

By Helen Grange and Sapa

SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani has condemned the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla) for staging attacks against whites, while Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa has promised an inquiry into Apla’s activities in the homeland. 16/1/92

In an interview yesterday, Hani said: “It is regrettable that some organisations continue with military operations when they themselves are involved in negotiations with the Government.

“Respect the right of each and every organisation to adopt its own strategies. But I think the killing of civilians, black or white, should be condemned by all of us.”

Hani, however, warned that any military attack by South Africa against the Transkei to root out Apla fighters would endanger the fragile peace process.

Last week Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel warned that the Government could launch raids into Transkei and Zimbabwe in pursuit of Apla soldiers.

Holomisa, who announced yesterday in Johannesburg his intention to appoint a judge to investigate claims of Apla training locations in the Transkei, has threatened to retaliate militarily should South Africa conduct cross-border raids.

Members of the Patriotic Front endorsed his standpoint at a meeting yesterday, saying Kriel’s comments regarding cross-border raids were “wholly unjustified”.

Holomisa said the judge to be appointed would be briefed to investigate claims of Apla bases as well as to look into the activities of “agents of the South African government” on the border of the Transkei.

Last weekend’s Sunday Times report that there were six areas where Apla soldiers were being trained would have to be investigated by the appointed judge.

The judge would also investigate the “military training of the AWB” (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) on the Transkei borders, he said.

The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), of which Apla is the armed wing, said in a statement yesterday that the United Nations Observer Mission’s declining of the PAC’s invitation to visit areas where Apla bases are alleged to exist raised “serious questions”.

It is clear the regime is intending starting a war in the Eastern Cape and for the UN Mission to decline involvement to prevent such a war is above our understanding,” the statement said.

Although the PAC did not blame the UN Observer Mission for its limited mandate, it would call on UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali to enable the team to take measures to prevent violence.
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UN monitor backs Goldstone

JUDGE Richard Goldstone needed the freedom to investigate the armed wings of liberation movements inside SA and in neighbouring countries if he was to achieve his stated goal of investigating the role of security forces and armed formations in political violence in SA.

UN observer mission leader Angela King said yesterday: “What is giving us some concern, though, is whether he (Goldstone) can actually get co-operation from the parties involved.”

“We certainly encourage all the countries involved to welcome him and have full access. We would hope the parties that have armed wings would also encourage those armed wings to co-operate fully.”

King’s remarks came as Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa reiterated his view that the UN was free to observe events in Transkei, but said Goldstone remained unwelcome because he had been appointed by government.

King said recent ANC disclosures about abuses in its camps in neighbouring countries were an example to other SA leaders of the kind of disclosure that was needed to heal the wounds of the past.

“It was not a pretty picture and I think the disclosure must have taken quite a bit of soul-searching.”

The Goldstone commission was well respected and Goldstone himself was “held in very high regard” in the international community, she said.

Goldstone

“We in the international community are prepared to give any assistance that is required (to Goldstone). We were assured that he’s happy with what the president told him about his mandate,” she said.

On the peace accord, King said it was a good document, but much work was needed to get it to achieve its aims. The national peace committee needed to make sure that all parts of the SA community felt the document belonged to them.

Efforts were needed “to make the leadership more representative of the parties and the national or ethnic entities in the country. They need to bring in women’s groups, they need to bring in community groups. There needs to be a greater awareness of what people on the ground think about certain issues, because one good thing about it is that it is a structure that’s built at all levels.

“But at this point it gives the impression that it is functioning from the top level down and I think it needs to percolate, because there is a general perception that the grassroots were not involved in its creation,” she said.

Leaders in peace structures realised the need for this new direction and were working on improving it, she said.
DP calls for urgent talks with ANC

RELATIONS between the ANC and DP have hit rock bottom following the ANC’s alleged disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha near Cape Town on Tuesday.

DP regional secretary Jasper Walsh yesterday wrote to the ANC demanding an urgent meeting, and called for strong disciplinary action against ANC members who disrupted the meeting.

DP spokesman Ken Andrew said relations between the two parties would sour unless satisfactory answers were given to DP demands and the “undoubted involvement of ANC members in the disruption”.

He said the meeting between the DP and ANC, if it went ahead, would discuss the incident in detail and try to establish an understanding regarding future DP meetings in the townships.

Our Political Staff reports that ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak yesterday withdrew his accusation that Apla had been responsible for the disruption at the meeting, saying it was based on “a genuine misunderstanding”.

However, Boesak added that the anger at the meeting seemed to have flared when DP MP for Wynberg Robb Carlisle said the DP had never been involved in violence. “Such a statement from people who are seen as armchair politicians who choose the soft option of the tri-cameral parliament is outrageous in its insensitivity.”

Boesak said.

The PAC had earlier rejected Boesak’s efforts to shift the blame for the disruption to Apla, saying it did not “have a problem with political organisations operating meetings in the townships”.

Carlisle said ANC claims not to have been behind the demonstration were questionable because prominent ANC member Ntomajula Hangana was involved “continuously and vocally” in the disruption.

The ANC has claimed Hangana was invited to the meeting to try to keep events under control, but Carlisle said she had been involved continuously and vocally in the violent disruption of the meeting and had not exercised any authority to prevent the violence.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would investigate the disruption and take “the necessary action” against ANC members found to have participated in the disruption.

Andrew said the disruption resulted from ANC concern at the DP’s rapidly growing coloured and black membership.

“There is an awareness that down the track, the DP will be a serious contender for a significant chunk of black support. There are very many black people who do not favour a militant, hostile approach to politics,” he said.

Unlike most SA political parties, the DP did not carry the baggage of apartheid, violence, intimidation and socialism, he added.

The DP was experiencing “very rapid and very significant” growth in the black areas of the western Cape where it now had about 40 branches.

Membership in the black areas was “trickling in” but this would be boosted by an end to intimidation, he said. “In some townships, the DP youth has to function as an underground organisation.”

DP membership in the Free State was overwhelmingly black and the party was beginning to establish itself in the northern Transvaal, he said.

A third of the delegates attending a recent DP national congress in Johannesburg were black, he added.

“The ANC will be judged, in the final analysis, not so much by its fine utterances or its lofty ideals but by the actions of its members and supporters,” he said.

SA judge may head Transkei’s Apla inquiry

An SA judge would probably be appointed to head the investigation, but it was too early to speculate on who this would be, Holomisa said.

Transkei would defend themselves against the SAPD if it raided their territory on the pretext of attacking Apla bases, but this would be a last resort, he said.

“It is the right of Transkei — not just the Transkei Defence Force — to defend themselves. Our public has been conscientised, they know what to do,” he said.

Contingency plans had been drawn up to cope with SADF incursions into the homeland, he said. However, Holomisa expressed the hope that government would not contemplate going ahead with the raids, which have been condemned by the UN and the patriotic front.

He said the police commissioners of SA and Transkei were in contact and he had advised government it could reach him at his office if it wished to discuss anything with him.

The recent war of words between himself and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi over Inkatha’s threat to secede if a federal constitution was not adopted, had not resulted in any “bad blood”, Holomisa said.

He said there was nothing to justify a meeting with Buthelezi over the issue, because it was “just politics”.

Comment: Page 6
Prepare for war now – TerreBlanche

By Monica Oosterbroek and Political Staff

South Africa would be involved in a full-scale civil war and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbevordering (AWB) was preparing to fight, AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche said yesterday.

Addressing about 2,000 supporters at the Barnard Stadium in Kebmpton Park to celebrate the Day of the Vow, TerreBlanche said South Africa would not know peace “because the ANC, the PAC and Apwa are not interested in power-sharing”. Instead, they wanted “our land and to get rid of the Afrikaner and our Christian beliefs”.

TerreBlanche, who led a parade of about 700 uniformed AWB members, reiterated his warning to PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, first made last week, that he would “get him wherever he was”.

Outcry

Alexander earned the AWB leaders’ wrath when he went on television last week to maintain that Apwa was “operationally independent” from the PAC, and that the outcry which greeted the attack on whites in King William’s Town and Queens-town was because the victims were white.

TerreBlanche, who said the time was right to renew the Day of the Vow, called on his supporters to commit themselves to fighting to the death in “the coming war” which, he said, President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela were forcing on them.

TerreBlanche had the parade with motorcyclists flying the Vierkler and AWB flags, followed by the black-clad and masked AWB “Iron Guard” army, members of the dog unit and heavily armed soldiers. And in Sandspit outside Randburg, Boerestaat Party (BOP) leader Robert van Tonder accused De Klerk of being a traitor, saying his reforms had given rise to a situation where the “Boer nation” and its language would not survive.

Not only had De Klerk said there would be no more whites-only general elections, but his Government had also done away with parliamentary by-elections. Van Tonder said. In Vereeniging yesterday, Conservative Party (CP) leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said any future constitutional dispensation in South Africa which ignored the rights and freedoms of the Afrikaner people was doomed to fail.

Treurnicht said he rejected any foreign domination, and that the CP had to be prepared to guarantee its own safety and survival.

Khaki-clad AWB members yesterday hurled insults at Star photographer Alf Kumalo, who was covering the organisation’s rally in Kebmpton Park. Kumalo said that although he was eventually allowed into the stadium after some AWB members had initially refused him permission, he was threatened with violence and racial insults were hurled at him.
Goldstone begins probe into Apla

CAPE TOWN — The Goldstone commission yesterday launched a probe into the PAC's military wing Apla.

Judge Richard Goldstone announced the preliminary investigation — to be conducted with a UN observer present — as pressure mounted at home and abroad on the PAC to distance itself from Apla activities.

As the PAC was licking its wounds in the wake of the shock resignation of its deputy president, Dikgang Moseneke, the EC issued a démarche — the strongest form of diplomatic censure — to PAC president Clarence Makwetsa for the organisation's complicity in Apla activities.

Goldstone said a committee had been set up — in agreement with the Justice Minister — to hear evidence and receive submissions on the location of Apla camps, arms, ammunition and personnel and on their operational activities.

The committee's proceedings would be observed by UN-appointed Prof Kwame Frimpong of Ghana University.

Goldstone added that his commission was seeking the co-operation of all other institutionalised forces so that similar investigations could be conducted.

The ANC had agreed to an investigation of Umkhonto we Sizwe by the commission in so far as its operations or affairs might relate to public violence and intimidation, including the location and control of weapons and explosives in its possession, his statement said.

The PAC has stated repeatedly that it will refuse to co-operate with any such probe, which comes at the urging of the UN's Security Council.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that an Apla spokesman, meanwhile, has denied that the military wing had declared war on the ANC.

Apla commander Victor Sabelo Phaha said from Dar es Salsa on that Cong Jojo, who claimed to have been an Apla member and who made the 1986 telephone call to Sapa on December 6, was an agent provocateur.

Yesterday, the PAC's Johannesburg office refused to comment on the resignation of the man who had been the PAC's public relations officer.

The PAC has denied that there was any such person as Cong Jojo in Apla's ranks or any other bona fide structures of the organisation.

Jojo himself is in prison for the utterances of a Congo Jojo and disassociates himself with such utterances.

Jojo was a planted agent provocateur, assigned the task of disclosing the struggles of the oppressed and dispensing fake news stories of the ANC.

The PAC's defense secretary, Johnstone, who was the ANC's highest ranking in Apla, was held by Phama.

Jojo had been the PAC's senior deputy president and former Apla commander-in-chief.

On the issue of Apla yesterday, the three EC ambassadors to SA warned the PAC president that the organisation's failure to condemn the acts of violence claimed by Apla undermined its democratic credentials.

British ambassador Sir Anthony Reeve said he and the ambassadors from Portugal and Denmark had told Makwetsa yesterday that the EC supported the view that negotiations alone could achieve peaceful transition.

"The ambassadors said they were encouraged by the declared willingness of the PAC to take part in the negotiation process and hoped the PAC would categorically condemn the use of violence so that it could continue to play a full part in multilateral negotiations to determine SA's future." There has been speculation that more high-ranking PAC officials could quit in the wake of Moseneke's resignation.

Political analyst Gary van Staden predicted that other PAC leaders would be involved in a huge expose of white racial attacks on white civilians and black militants might resign.

Makwetsa, who said it was a pity that Moseneke's resignation had been public before the national executive council could discuss it, nevertheless wished his erstwhile deputy well.

Only one other senior PAC member who would not comment on the resignation of an executive secretary and the alleged Apla involvement in the anti-Moseneke movement and the PAC's statement that the pressure of his professional workload was genuine. MP senior negotiator Colin Eglin said Moseneke's resignation would be a serious blow to the organisation and would shift the equilibrium of the leadership, possibly making it more radical.

Although he had been hoping the move, he did not believe the timing of the resignation was entirely coincidental. "It has a democratic resolution to the rule of law, constitutionalism, a bill of rights and it brought a great deal of a culture and democracy to the leadership of the PAC," he said.

No PAC education secretary Mogali Mphahlele denied yesterday he had threatened military action against an intergovernmental heading.

He had been reported by Sapa as saying in Lebowa that the PAC would not become an intergovernmental agreement unless the ANC, its allies and the government agree to stop the violence, especially in areas of violence.

Yesterday, Mphahlele said he had made no threat of military action. He said he wished to be clear that the statement "PAC will fight the interim government" attributed to him was a deliberate misrepresentation of the PAC's intention of discrediting the PAC.

He said he had told the rally the PAC is opposed to the concept of an interim government. We want a transitional authority supervised by the international community to prepare for elections for the constitution's assembly. An interim government will be opposed with the utmost force shown in campaigns against Cotsen."
Three-member Goldstone committee to probe Apla

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Goldstone Commission has established a committee to conduct a preliminary investigation into the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Mr Justice Goldstone announced yesterday that the three-man committee to be chaired by Gert Steyn, a member of the Goldstone Commission, will hear evidence on the location of Apla camps, arms, ammunition, personnel and on its operational activities.

The Pan Africanist Congress has said it would not allow the Goldstone Commission to investigate its military wing.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the Government had agreed to the involvement of the Commission in the investigation being conducted by Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn into covert operations of the SADF.

The ANC had agreed to an investigation of its armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe as far as its activities might relate to public violence and intimidation.

The other members of the committee investigating Apla are Port Elizabeth advocate Pikile Bam and Nico Coetzee, a Bothaville attorney and the immediate past president of the Law Societies of South Africa.

The United Nations has appointed Professor Kwane Frimpong of the University of Ghana to observe the proceedings of the committee.

The committee's first public sitting will take place in Port Elizabeth on January 4 at a venue to be announced.

Written information and submissions under the terms of reference of the committee should be submitted as soon as possible, and in any event not later than December 31, to The Secretary, Goldstone Commission, Private Bag X558, Pretoria 0001.
Small but rabid

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and its "operationally independent" armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), have received more publicity following the attacks on white civilians in the eastern Cape recently, than at any time since the PAC was banned and forced into exile 30 years ago. Is this perhaps a measure of its effectiveness?

Until recently, the PAC was to most blacks a half-forgotten, rather colourful
Judge to probe Apla, SADF and MK

THE Goldstone Commission yesterday announced that it would begin probing the activities of Apla, the armed wing of the PAC, early next year and would also investigate certain activities of both the SADF and the armed wing of the ANC.

Justice Richard Goldstone said the Apla hearings would begin on January 4 in Port Elizabeth. He said the covert activities of the SADF would also come under scrutiny next year, as would the alleged involvement of Umkhonto we Sizwe in unrest.

An SAP statement described Madzunya's claims as "ludicrous" to say the least — and what makes it even more ridiculous is the attempt to link the recent attacks in the eastern Cape to the alleged decline in violence in the PWV region.

The SAP said any decline in "train and other violence can be attributed to increased police action on the one hand, and peace initiatives by the Peace Committee and other concerned organisations and individuals on the other". Almost 200 people, the police statement said, had been arrested and charged for offences committed on Transnet premises.

Madzunya said the absence of large-scale violence in the PWV following Apla's attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown proved that "agents of the regime" were primarily responsible for violence in the PWV area.

The Apla leadership, through PAC first deputy president and former Apla commander-in-chief Johnson Mlambo, this week formally claimed responsibility for the two eastern Cape attacks. The PAC has received much domestic and international criticism for its failure to ensure — or distance itself from — Apla.

PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke this week resigned from the organisation's leadership. Although he cited family and professional pressure, observers and PAC-watchers believe the Pretoria advocate's resignation was triggered by his opposition to Apla's attacks.

Reports from Cape Town yesterday said PAC information chief Barney Desai may well follow Moseneke and quit the PAC. Though the PAC was tight-lipped about his health, the articulate, former London barrister is said to be ill.

Desai is on holiday and could not be reached for comment.

Reports from Washington indicate that international pressure on the PAC is continuing. US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen told reporters in the US capital that the US government had protested to the PAC about Apla's threats even before last month's attacks. But PAC leaders had said they had no control over Apla, Cohen said.

He was briefing reporters on events in Somalia when he was asked to comment on the Apla attacks. He described them as "blatant acts of terrorism".

"I note that over the past year Apla has threatened to take violent measures so that the negotiations could be undermined. When we first heard of these threats we protested to the PAC leadership, and throughout that period the PAC leadership said they were opposed to such measures, but told us they were not in control of the armed wing. And they are continuing to say that."
By Themba Khumalo

MK recruits need blood for a future SA

Military men... MK chief-of-operation Lethlabo Moloi called on youths to join the ANC army.

PHOTO: EVANS MOWEN

We will have... The longer we delay the elections the more violence there will be. We want one man only for next year. The ANC's manoeuvre with the slow pace of development in the townships is what South Africans want. The ANC is in a position where they are being forced to elect their candidate for president. The ANC's manoeuvre with the slow pace of development in the townships is what South Africans want. The ANC is in a position where they are being forced to elect their candidate for president.
PAC's claims on violence in PWV area

POLICE have described as "ludicrous" PAC claims that the activities of its armed wing Apia are behind a decrease in violence in the PWV area.

The SAP has suggested that Apia might have been responsible for train attacks on the Reef.

Any decline in train and other violence could be attributed to increased police action and national peace committee initiatives, police said.

PAC West Rand regional chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya said on Friday that his organisation had noted a sharp decline in political violence since Apia attacked whites at King William's Town and Queensdown.

This was in contrast to "international scarecrow" suggestions that the attacks would increase violence.

The general decrease in political violence, train attacks and attacks in which more than six people died indicated that Apia's threat of retaliation for every black killed had "borne fruit," Madzunya said.

The decline in the wake of the Apia attacks in the eastern Cape and subsequent threats proved that a "mercenary" element under the state's control was primarily responsible for violence in the PWV area.

"It is common cause in international relations that the threat of military action by those who have a demonstrable capacity to retaliate always serves as a preventative measure in the conduct of aggression by opposing forces," Madzunya said.

The response of ordinary citizens, who were joining the PAC in large numbers, showed there was a perception "on the ground" that Apia was responsible for stemming violence.

The PAC had declared 1985 a constituent assembly year but believed "the bullet cannot be abandoned until the ballot is secured".

The PAC and Apia would refuse to co-operate with the Goldstone commission's probe of Apia's activities.

In response to growing international criticism of the PAC, Madzunya said the organisation's policy had always been "to accommodate the wishes of the oppressed" and to shape its own destiny.

The PAC still owed allegiance to the OAU, which had recently criticised the organisation for not distancing itself from Apia's attacks.

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Trees go to retain view

THE Forestry Department has been forced to remove hundreds of pine trees it had planted along the scenic Long Tom pass and to halt afforestation that would have affected tourism and ecology in the Lowveld.

Seedlings planted over an area of 35ha, with a commercial potential of R500 000, were removed after local residents and the Wildlife Society lodged objections.

More than 2 000 residents of the Lydenburg/Sabi district petitioned the department to remove the trees, which they said would obscure the panoramic view for which the pass was famous.

Wildlife Society conservation ecologist Andrew Duthie said the department had undertaken to remove up to 20% of the young trees planted along the pass that links the Highveld to the Lowveld.

The trees would have obscured "the entrance to the Lowveld", as well as threaten natural vegetation in the area, Duthie said.

Seasonal flowers that bloomed spectacularly would have disappeared as they could not compete with the trees.

Department spokesman Bos---

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Eskom power t

IN A gesture of goodwill, Eskom offered to supply electricity to Rand township of Vosloorus from January 7.

But the local town council, trolled the power supply, is switch on the lights. It will on residents guarantee they will pay for other services, such a refuse removal.

The council cut electricity service because, it said, few of township residents were accounts.

Vosloorus Civic Association, Jabulani Dumani said at the council had written a letter to the Eskom official Jan on Thursday requesting it to electricity supply until January 7 on which Eskom and the council expected to sign an agreement utility to take up the supply from the council.

Dumani said Eskom had to charge the council for electricity consumed between December January 7 date Eskom had Eskom official Jan de utility's offer to the council attempt to alleviate the plight during the festive season.

Comment could not be obt---
NEWS IN BRIEF

Lesotho joins manhunt

LESOTHO's government had given SA its full co-operation in tracking down those responsible for a gun and handgrenade attack on a Free State farm on the Lesotho border on Saturday night, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

He said he had been in contact with Lesotho's government and that joint SA-Lesotho police operations had been launched to hunt down the attackers.

Leonie Pretorius died in the attack, the second in the Picketsburg area.
We’ll raid Apla bases in Lesotho, warns CP

The Conservative Party's Home Guards will launch retribution raids against Azanian People's Liberation Army bases in Lesotho unless the SA Government neutralises and destroys these bases, CP MP for Ladybrand Charl Hertzog said yesterday.

Hertzog said that in the light of the latest attack on white farmers in the Ficksburg area, in which a 16-year-old girl was killed on Saturday night, the role of his party's Home Guards "is ready to be changed from a defensive one to an aggressive one".

"The CP in Ficksburg will be forced to activate retribution raids on Apla bases in Lesotho should the Government fail to act within seven days to neutralise and destroy Apla bases in his neighbouring country.

"The CP is not prepared to allow Apla or any other terrorist organisation to ruthlessly murder innocent people with impunity," Hertzog said.

Earlier yesterday, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said he had requested the assistance of the Lesotho government to track down the people responsible for Saturday's hand grenade and gun attack.

Police launched a massive hunt after the attack - the second strike by Azanian People's Liberation Army fighters in the Ficksburg area in less than 10 days. - Sapa.

Taking aim ... Danie Venter, one of many farmers in the Border region who is teaching his son to shoot. The area has been tense since five whites were killed in two attacks for which the Azanian People's Liberation Army has claimed responsibility.

Picture: Joao Silva
Azania's role under spotlight

Organisation carrying out congress decisions

NEWS: ANC election project kicks off • Indaba on homeland's pension scam
Government handed a formal protest note to Transkei and stepped up diplomatic pressure on Lesotho yesterday as right-wingers threatened to take the law into their own hands and strike at Apla bases in the two countries.

The CP has vowed to take unilateral action against the alleged bases unless government implements strong measures against the PAC's armed wing within a week.

The weekend slaying of a 14-year-old girl in Ficksburg, near the Lesotho border, has also prompted threats of arbitrary revenge attacks on blacks by right-wing extremists in the area.

While the CP has welcomed the deployment of police on the 200 farms along the SA border with Lesotho, it has urged that hot pursuit operations be authorised into the country. "Mere statements of cooperation with the Lesotho police are not enough," the CP said.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the "fullest co-operation" was being received from Lesotho, where the girl's killers fled.

Another source said the attack was probably launched from within SA, and not from bases in Lesotho. Law and Order Minister Horus Kriel has mentioned Transkei and Zimbabwe as possible sites for Apla bases.

Foreign Affairs said the diplomatic protest to Transkei demanded strong action against gunmen who attacked SA vehicles on a section of the Queenstown-Dordrecht road which passes through Transkei.

Tonight, Ficksburg farmers, police, army and AWB officials plan to hold a meeting to discuss the state of attacks against residents in the area. Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee — who is also the Free State leader of the NP — are expected to attend the meeting.

At the same time, Sapa reports the Lesotho government has called a special meeting to discuss the deteriorating security situation along the border.

Two more deaths occurred on a Free State farm yesterday, but police suspected the motive for the attack was robbery. Koos Ward, 70, and his 34-year-old daughter, Wintjie, were killed by an intruder on their farm.

Foreign Affairs and police spokesmen have expressed fear that right-wing action might upset delicate operations, in cooperation with other governments, to stop the killings. "While channels between the governments of SA, Transkei and Lesotho remain open, we believe any unilateral action by groups will be unfortunate," the Foreign Affairs spokesman said.

Government wished to decide on a joint strategy with Transkei to counter the attacks, but would first evaluate the homeland's response to the protest note, he said.

Police spokesman Col Louis Botha said heightened security, including additional Internal Stability Unit bases, permanent and mobile roadblocks, farm patrols and spot checks on vehicles, were being implemented. He said it was clear the perpetrators of incidents in the Border region were...
Ficksburg farmers wait for Ministers

A fiery meeting is expected to take place tonight in the Ficksburg Town Hall when three senior Cabinet Ministers face the wrath of local farmers.

Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel, Defence Minister Genie Louw and Free State National Party leader and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee are expected to attend the special meeting to discuss the security situation after the spate of terror attacks in the town and surrounding areas during the past two months.

At least three attacks on whites have taken place in the Ficksburg area over the past two months, with the latest incident, on Saturday night, claiming the life of a teenage girl. Cadres of the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), are suspected of launching the attacks from Lesotho.

The militant right-wing Afrikaner Weerstands beweging, which is expected to have a high-profile presence at the meeting, AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche said yesterday nothing would prevent his organisation from "defending, to the death, home and hearth".

He said the AWB had accepted Apla's "challenge of war" — although the alleged Apla declaration of war against whites has been denied by the Apla commander Victor Phama.

Apla claimed responsibility for an attack last month in King William's Town in which four whites died, and for a restaurant bombing in Queenstown a week later.

It has not claimed responsibility for the latest attacks, however.

The Lesotho government has called a special meeting today to discuss the deteriorating security situation along the mountain kingdom's border with the eastern Free State.

Ficksburg residents have felt increasingly unsafe following the attacks, despite the deployment of 200 policemen in the area.

Meanwhile, in Pietersburg, Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer claimed that the union was in possession of reliable information that the wave of Free State attacks would spread to farming communities in the Transvaal.

He called on the SA Defence Force to restore law and order in the country because it could not be done any longer by the SA Police.

Road traffic from Natal and the north-eastern Cape to Transkei has slowed down drastically. This follows an attack on the Coetzee family, who were travelling on the road between Dordrecht and Queenstown at the weekend.

An official at the Komga border post said few vehicles had crossed into Transkei since Sunday.

The routes to Transkei from Dordrecht and Queenstown have been closed since the attacks, although some other routes are still open. The SAP has set up several roadblocks in the area and warned motorists not to travel through Transkei.

• Farmers won't turn other cheek — Page 13
Free State farmer (70) and daughter murdered

Staff Reporter

An elderly Free State farmer and his daughter were shot dead inside their Theunissen home yesterday afternoon in the latest in a spate of brutal attacks on the Free State farming community.

Although the political Right and agricultural unions immediately linked the killings to recent attacks in the Ficksburg area near the Lesotho border, police said they believed the attack on Koos Ward (70), his wife Anna (68) and daughter Ammi (32) on the farm Emmaus was an attempted robbery.

Ward's daughter killed the attacker before she died.

Free State police spokesman Captain Jothione van der Merwe said her mother was wounded.

Police were looking for another man they believed had assisted the gunman, Van der Merwe said.

As plans were being finalised for a crisis meeting in Ficksburg today, Free State Agricultural Union president Dr Piet Gouws warned that whites were preparing for a full-scale “black-white war”.

And in Theunissen, where a resident told press the town was in a belligerent mood, a meeting to discuss the murders was set for 4 pm today in the Farmers’ Hall.

Free State farmer and daughter shot dead

Van der Merwe said that when Ward answered a knock on the door, a man rushed in and shot him.

His wife and daughter rushed to his aid. Ward's daughter and the gunman died after a shoot-out.

Ward was found slumped in a chair. His wife was taken to hospital where she is "critical".

The attacker's body was found outside.

Van der Merwe said police believed that the attacker had an accomplice, but dismissed any link between the killings and the Ficksburg attacks.

But Gouws said last night it was naive and convenient for the police to say it had been a robbery attempt.

"If we should have to enter a white-black war, I have no problems with it," he said.
Farmers won't turn other cheek

Ready and waiting... JJ Venter (73), dog Sasha, and "The Protector" wait for Agla near the Transkei border.

Safe and sound... an electrified fence at a chicken farm outside Ugie.

Despite the presence of troops, Border farmers maintain their own security measures and train for the day when they can invade Transkei to flush out their attackers. BROWYN WILKINSON reports...

The was when their farm children were watching movies or riding skateboards. Six-year-old twins Denie and Jaco Venter are at home practice nightfall and cross-generational drill or standing guard on their father's farm.

When attacks on Border
Farmers won't turn other cheek

Despite the presence of troops, Border farmers maintain their own security measures and train for the day when they can invade Transkei to flush out their attackers. BROWNYN - WILKINSON reports.

Time was when their children were ogling farm children the envy of their city-born counterparts.

But while their city cousins are watching movies and riding skateboards, six-year-old twins, Dance and James, were at target practice, recharging hand grenade darts at standing targets on their father's Border farm.

When attacks on Border farmers started with five simultaneous unexpected fires and two gruesome murders in August, the twins, along with his two a .22 rifle, and taunted them to school.

As chairman of the Ugie and Maclear farmers' association, John Venster, manages farms into self-defence units and dished out war pay.

Three-year-olds learn security awareness and hand grenade deliveries, all of which are safer than themselves.

"At first parents were scared, but now they are just angry," Venster says.

They are going to leave in terror have gone. The rest are staying with us.

Venster's father, J.J. Venster (71), knows what it is like to give up his land. In 1983 his farm was expropriated into Transkei.

"When the Transkei border was shifted in 1984, I thought I should give up the last that belonged to Transkei," he reflects.

Venster opened a small trading store near Ugie and he is doing well in his business.

The intrepid old man believes he is an Apartheid People's Liberation Army (Apla) hit list.

He also knows of Apla camps across the border.

"If they come, I am waiting for them," Venster, a semi-automatic "Protect and Defend" volunteer.

"They will have to murder me, but still I will be buried in the fighting.

Some farmers refuse to wait for comunists to steal scrawny border to murder them and begin to respond. They have done what they apparently did to Peter and Driek Lake at their trading post at Avukana.

After the August attacks, Mal-

chief and Ugie People's Over- 

headbeweging (AWB) com-

mandant Pip Steppel recruited 50 men from around the coun-
ty for "Border duty." The men patrolled farms and occasionally took on Transkei to "shoot" troublemakers. Steppel explains.

The move was not popular with all local farmers.

Some have tried to make friends with their new neighbours across the border and wish the AWB would leave the Transkei farmers alone.

Transkei Leek, a chicken farmer in Ugie, believes the attacks are criminal, not political.

"The police and farmers are becoming frustrated. This is one way people see them killed. We are losing people who are trying to defend themselves."

The police are not allowed to cross the border, but they are allowed to use guns to protect themselves.

Sources say SAP intelligence is that Apla recruits a young man in the area, trains him with a weapon, teaches him to use it, how to set a jammer, how to use a grenade.

The recruit is then given his target, the day of his "hit" and the details of the attack. The Apla men are not described as potential soldiers.

According to local detectives, the closest Apla training camps are in Hirshia, Beaufort, and Umtata.

The police cannot cross the border themselves, they say.

The SAP has detailed instructions to the camps, but the police do not look anything as training camps in the normal sense of the word.

"They were right. Children played in the yard outside the houses of painted boxes, old men lounged in the sun and women cooked in the kitchen where they were underfed as they went about their daily chores.

There was not a gun in hand and very few men around who could be described as potential soldiers.

The police say that Apla training camps are not described as potential soldiers.

According to SAP sources, Apla is a freelance army. They are its biggest advantage, but also its downfall, they say.

Sources say SAP intelligence is that Apla recruits a young man in the area, trains him with a weapon, teaches him to use it, how to set a jammer, how to use a grenade.

The recruit is then given his target, the day of his "hit" and the details of the attack. The Apla men are not described as potential soldiers.

The police cannot cross the border themselves, they say.

The SAP has detailed instructions to the camps, but the police do not look anything as training camps in the normal sense of the word.

Although police say they have Apla camps in Transkei, they are not allowed to cross the border to unarm or capture Apla leaders, which are little more than cattle grids on farm roads.

The police and farmers are becoming frustrated.

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The police and farmers are becoming frustrated.
NEWS Father and daughter killed in OFS farm ● Conservatives vow to revenge attacks

CP gives the Government an ultimatum

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

RIGHT-WING political parties are beating their war drums and threatening revenge attacks on Apla cadres who are reportedly inside South Africa and in "neighbouring states".

The Conservative Party has given the Government a seven-day ultimatum to "neutralise and destroy" a group of Azanian People's Liberation Army bases in Lusaka or the party will mobilise its own para-military attacks.

Mr Robert van Tonder of the Boerskant Party has said that "revenge attacks" on Apla will "not necessarily" be directed at neighbours or people but will also be launched at urban and rural areas within South Africa.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's para-military Wenkommando has also entered into discussions with local police about "reptilatory, revenge attacks".

The threats from the far-right come in the wake of the weekend attack on a homestead in Ficksburg in which a 15-year-old child, Leon Pretorius, was killed and for which Apla has been

Right-wingers demand Apla be destroyed:

While a Ministry of Law and Order spokesman has warned civilians not to take the law into their own hands, farmers in the Ficksburg area plan to confront Government Ministers and the Free State Administrator today because of the attack.

Their message, according to Free State agricultural union boss Dr Piet Gous, will be: "No more talk, we want action. If you can't restore law and order in our area, we will do it ourselves."

"Tomorrow will be the last day of talk, talk, talk," Gous, who is also CP MP for Parys, said yesterday in describing the tense atmosphere of the farming community in the Western Free State, "I think the days of talking are unfortunately over."

Police yesterday rushed to the Lusaka border to protect white farmers as Major-General Tertius Calitz, Commissioner of Police in the Free State, had promised after the weekend incident.

The PAC refused to comment on the issue.

Waiting for Breakfast ... A Somalian child waits patiently at a Mogadishu feeding centre for her breakfast. Relief agencies in Mogadishu are now receiving a steady supply of food due to the presence of American and other foreign troops. The next step will be helping to repair roads and irrigation systems so that the economy can be restarted and the country will not be dependent on food from foreign donors.

2 whites die in attack

One of the attackers killed:

A WHITE farmer and his daughter were killed and an elderly woman injured in another attack in rural Orange Free State yesterday.

Free State police said a man had knocked on the door of a farmhouse in the Theunissen district.

The 70-year-old farmer was then shot dead and his 52-year-old daughter managed to return fire, she was also hit and killed and her 68-year-old mother was seriously injured.

Police found the body of a man, apparently one of the attackers, outside the house with a .22 pistol lying next to him.
ANC urges PAC to clarify Apla's status

22/12/92

RAY HARTLEY

THE PAC should urgently clarify the status of its armed wing Apla, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

In the interests of peace, he said, the organisation should put an end to the "very confusing statements" from senior officials on its activities.

PAC leaders have distanced themselves from and cautiously condemned the recent attacks claimed by Apla. PAC deputy president Dikgang Mosenako is also believed to have resigned because he could not support the Apla activities.

Niehaus said he found it "quite astonishing that the political leadership of the PAC has not got control over Apla" against the background of continuing attacks on civilians. These attacks were "strongly condemned" by the ANC.

"The people of SA need to realise that we need to find ways to work against violence and for political tolerance," he said.

He said the ANC was opposed to attacks by Apla and by right-wing extremists.

It found, however, that government was allocating disproportionate energy to the alleged Apla killings while black deaths were given less priority.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa called on the PAC yesterday to re-enter talks with the SA government to begin to defuse the tensions surrounding claimed Apla killings.

Holomisa said the PAC, although having linked itself to the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks, had not claimed responsibility for killings on Transkei roads in the Queenstown area.

"I wouldn't like to join the war of words between the ANC and PAC," he said.

Niehaus said the ANC continued to believe a major security drive against Apla would not in itself solve the problem. He stressed there was no evidence Apla was responsible for the attacks.
Kriel declares 23 unrest areas

Irate farmers boo Ministers over security

ANGRY Free State farmers and right-wingers booed and heckled Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee yesterday at a meeting in Ficksburg to discuss the deteriorating security situation.

Kriel said government had taken security measures, including the declaration of 30 places along the Lesotho and Transkei borders as unrest areas.

He also announced that three people had been arrested for the murder of a Thunissen farmer and his daughter, Sapa reports.

Reacting to Kriel's announcement, Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said President P W de Klerk would have to act with equal vigour against armed right-wing militias if he wished to be seen as sincerely trying to end violence in the area.

"De Klerk is showing us that in SA he will allow the armed wings of white political organisations, while calling for the disbanding of others like Umkhonto we Sizwe," Holomisa said.

Security measures announced by Kriel included:
- The deployment of police on farms;
- Stepped up roadblocks in border areas;
- Increased security force patrolling of affected areas.

An army spokesman said troops would be deployed alongside policemen to secure isolated farms along the borders.

Speakers from the Free State Agricultural Union security committee, which convened the meeting, called for the appli-

Farmers 61097231272

ication of the death penalty and said security force members should conduct cross-border raids against Apla bases.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche earlier called on government to distribute automatic weapons to farmers in affected areas. He also wanted government to provide electric fencing and two-way radios. The Afrikaner Volksfront called for a state of emergency to be imposed.

Holomisa denied Apla had bases inside Transkei and said the whole matter was "becoming a laughing exercise".

A diplomatic protest note delivered by SA officials on Monday had been "mild", and was answered with assurances that Transkei police would co-operate fully with their SA counterparts, he added.

He said Transkei and SA police were working around the clock to apprehend the perpetrators of recent attacks allegedly launched from Transkei soil. No arrests had been made.

Holomisa said the lack of progress in investigations raised the possibility that the attacks were being orchestrated or exaggerated by "elements within the security and Cabinet Ministers playing on the fears of whites to disillusion them with the present government".

It was "common cause" that the SA Cabinet was divided between hard-liners, such as Kriel and Water Affairs Minister Magnus Malan, and negotiators such as Foreign Minister Pik Botha, he said.

The Lesotho government yesterday gave an assurance that it would not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks against its neighbours, saying it reserved the right to act against lawlessness on its SA border.

Comment: Page 4
Trio in custody over killings

Staff Reporters

Three men were arrested yesterday in connection with the murder of a farmer and his daughter in their home at Theunissen in the Free State on Monday night.

Free State police spokesman Captain Joblone van der Merwe said the three men — aged 26, 30 and 31 — were arrested at Meloding in Virginia for the attack on Koos Ward (70), his wife Anna (68) and daughter Ammie (32) on their farm Emmaus.

She said police had originally believed two men were responsible for the attack. One gunman was killed by Miss Ward, and police believed his accomplice escaped.

Although the political Right and agricultural unions immediately linked the killings to recent attacks in the Ficksburg area near the Lesotho border, Van der Merwe said investigation since the arrests confirmed the police's belief that the attack was "definitely" an attempted robbery.

The elderly farmer was shot dead after he had answered a knock on the door. His daughter killed a gunman before she died. Mrs Ward is in hospital.

The body of the intruder was found outside.
Angry farmers call for beefed-up security

By Monica Oosterbroek

Hundreds of angry Free State farmers and their frightened families yesterday flocked to the Ficksburg Town Hall to voice their concern about the spate of murders in the area.

Women, clutching their children closely to their sides, said it had become nerve-racking living on remote farms, and that they were very concerned about the safety of their children.

Agreed

Worried farmers who had gathered around bakkies lining the streets told The Star the situation had become very dangerous, and that extreme measures had to be taken.

Most agreed they had to adopt the "agric-alert" system used by Rhodesian farmers during the bush war, when farmers formed a radio network. They said this would allow them to keep in constant contact with neighbours, check up on each other regularly and communicate easily with the police.

Farmers also want each household to be issued with an automatic weapon.

Laura Naudé, who lives with her husband and five young children about 5 km from the farm on which 14-year-old Leonie Pretorius was killed a few days ago, said: "We have farmed here all our lives and we will just have to adapt to these violent times."

Naudé, who supports no political organisation, said she carried her gun everywhere. But, she said, it would be useless against terrorists armed with automatic rifles.

Naudé said farmers were responsible for protecting their workers, who were also terrified by the recent attacks.

She said she fretted constantly about the safety of her elderly parents-in-law, whom she did not want to name for security reasons.

They lived alone on a farm outside Clocolan, and their nearest neighbours lived more than 6 km away.

Their immediate neighbours were bludgeoned to death in August.

More than 200 policemen, who were deployed in the Ficksburg area at the weekend, surrounded the hall during the lively meeting, and police barricaded surrounding roads.

When the farmers ended the four-hour meeting, they marched to the police station to call for better co-operation between police and farmers.

In the volatile atmosphere, heavily armed local Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members seized the opportunity to recruit new members.

Carried

They carried flags saying: "It could be your child" and "FW has blood on his hands."

While farmers returned to their farms, uniformed AWB members gathered outside the town hall, chatting and cleaning their guns before wandering across the road to a pub.

The heavy police presence prevented any violence when a rightwinger claimed that a black, standing safely behind two policemen, had threatened to kill him "very slowly."
Apla 'is not hiding round every corner' (24.11)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

The Transkei Tourism Board moved to allay holidaymakers' fears about security in the Transkei yesterday after a wave of cancellations at holiday resorts along the Wild Coast.

"The soldiers and policemen are on the roads to make visitors feel safe — it's not because we have Apla people hiding around every corner," said tourism board spokesman Gladys Ramnewana.

"Although many people cancelled their trips, visitors are still arriving looking for accommodation — and they have all had lovely trips."

"The Wild Coast remains a very popular destination and we would not encourage people to come here if we thought their lives might be in danger."

People who wish to contact the Transkei Tourism Board for further information can telephone (0471) 23344 (business hours) or 23766 (after hours).
NGK pleads for calm as emotions run high after killings

Farmers bay for blood

Staff Reporters,
Owens Correspondent
and Supa

FICKSBURG - At two emergency meetings yesterday, militant Free State farmers called on the Government to conduct cross-border raids and threatened to take the law into their own hands after a spate of attacks in the region.

And local African National Congress leaders said today the black community in the province was "living in fear" of right-wing revenge attacks.

Church leaders have appealed for calm in the current volatile situation.

Dr Jan van Rensburg, secretary of the Free State NGK, warned yesterday against the launching of racial vendettas: "It's a recipe for civil war. If there was ever a time for people to remain calm it is now."

And today, emotions remained high in Ficksburg as white farmers gathered for the funeral of Leoni Pretorius (14), who was murdered while watching television in her parental farmhouse at the weekend.

Leoni's death sparked off the current wave of angry, boiling emotions in the eastern Free State.

Leoni's funeral service was scheduled to take place at the Ficksburg Nederduitsch Reformed Kerk.

Meanwhile, the continued threat of further attacks in Moselwane, 66-year-old Anna Ward, is still in a critical condition in Bloemfontein's Universitas Hospital after an operation to stop internal bleeding caused by a bullet lodged in her brain.

Her husband, Koo (70) and daughter, Ann (32) died in the attack on their farm house on Monday.

A cross meeting in Thesiense last night demanded from Justice Minister and National Party Free State leader Kobie Coetzee that the Government "destroy" Namibia's Peoples' Liberation Army and Umkhonto we Sizwe training camps.

Other demands handed over to Coetzee at heated exchanges with Thesiense residents were:

- Immediate reintroduction of the death penalty.
- Declaring the town an emergency area.
- Picking a squatter camp outside the town.
- SADF members to patrol farms.
- The using of automatic weapons to farmers.
- Ficksburg farmers delivered a similar message earlier yesterday to Coetzee, Law and Order Minister Hermann Kriel and deputy Defence Minister WY. Breytenbach.

At the meeting Free State Agricultural Union president Dr Peter Goss said the Transkei and Lusaka governments should accept responsibility for the attacks and warned of possible cross-border raids.

Goss proposed "witch-hunts" into neighbouring countries to "stop the terror" and urged the SADF to "hit back".

Goss said the Pan African Congress's military wing, Apa, was responsible for a second attack that left a 12-year-old girl seriously injured.

At the Ficksburg meeting threatened to take the law into their own hands, the Free State farmers hoped to galvanize the Ministers who tried to pacify the crowd.

The presence of several military Afrikaner Women's Organisation members who have threatened to take the law into their own hands after a spate of attacks in the region.

Meanwhile, an SADF spokesman said yesterday that commandos could be deployed on short notice to assist police in any law-enforcing operation.

This followed on Transvaal Agricultural Union president Ursus Breuer's contention that the union had "affirmative evidence" that attacks on farms in the eastern Free State and the eastern Cape could spread to the Transvaal at the Christmas weekend.

Apa, which has increasingly been held responsible for the attacks, has allegedly declared "war" on all whites, have yet to accept responsibility for any attack.

Five people were killed there two attacks, while a teenager was also killed by attackers near Ficksburg on Saturday night.

The Thesiense meeting was briefly convened following the killing of elderly farmer Koos Ward and his daughter Anno on Monday night.

Police believe the attack was an attempted robbery, with no political motive.

Attacks on an apparent motive other than robbery have claimed the lives of several white farmers and their relatives over the past two years.

At the Ficksburg meeting, farmers called for the composition of the police and special unit to be changed.

Both meetings were characterized by the presence of Dr Goss, who is also a Conservative Party MP, and the presence of several military Afrikaner Women's Organisation members who have threatened to take the law into their own hands.

To Page 2
MASERU - The Lesotho government will not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks against its neighbours.

It reserved the right to act in any manner it deemed fit to end the state of lawlessness on its border with South Africa.

In a statement in Maseru, the Lesotho government said certain elements were bent on engaging in cross-border activities, referring to a weekend attack by gunmen on a Ficksburg farm which left a 14-year-old teenager dead and prompted the SA Government to rush police reinforcements to the area. - Sapa-Reuters-AP-AFP.
POLICE moved quickly to secure farms and towns on the Transkei and Lesotho borders yesterday, after the declaration of 23 unrest areas in the region by Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel.

Additional police had been moved in and new Internal Stability Unit bases were being established yesterday, police spokesman Capt Liehe Vermeulen said.

Security operations would continue on Christmas day and through the rest of the festive season. Police said they had not ruled out attacks on isolated farms and towns on Christmas day.

Tensions in the area remained high yesterday after two stormy farmers' meetings on Tuesday at which Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee were heckled and booed. Farmers and right-wingers demanded greater security measures and cross-border raids against Apla gunmen, the alleged perpetrators of attacks on whites in the border area.

The white Mineworkers' Union came out in support of the farmers' demands, with a spokesman saying violence against defenceless whites on farms and in towns would not be tolerated.

Pretoria police spokesman Capt Piet Brandt said police would "treat fire with fire" and act with equal vigour against armed right-wingers and Apla gangs, if they broke the law. He added, however, that the AWF and other right-wing groups had not "taken the lives of innocent people", as Apla allegedly had.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa has accused the police of threatening to take drastic action against black guerrilla movements, while allowing white right-wingers to move about carrying heavy arms openly.

Holomisa yesterday called for an "Indaba" early next year to address the deployment of AWF members along Transkei's borders with SA.

Ficksburg schoolgirl Leonie Pretorius, who was shot dead last week, was buried at an emotional service in the town yesterday, Sapa reports.

Free State ANC spokesman Dirk du Toit said yesterday Apla's attacks were contributing to the culture of violence that was tearing SA apart. He said the police and SADF no longer had the manpower to prevent violence and suggested that Umkhonto we Sizwe assist under the discipline of a government of national unity.

The CP said its Ladybrand MP, Charl Hertzog, would meet the Lesotho police commissioner in Maseru today to discuss the recent violence.

"We will reiterate our standpoint that any terrorist base must be neutralised (within seven days). The CP welcomed assurances by the Lesotho government that it would not permit Apla to operate from its soil, but it wanted details on how Lesotho would neutralise a terrorist threat.

It would also seek assurances that Umkhonto was not allowed to operate from Lesotho. "The CP is not taken in by the ANC 'threats' against Apla," the party said. It saw both organisations as responsible for the current wave of terror against white South Africans.
ANC gives emergency central of information to co-operate

by Mthimukulana Mlunge

NEWS

Thursday December 29 1994 SOWETAN

Abia didn't murder Free State family

Suspects are arrested in connection with family killings
Former 'enemy' to probe Apla

By DAWN BARKHUZEN

A FORMER Robben Island prisoner and erstwhile "enemy of the state" is a member of the three-man committee appointed this week by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to conduct preliminary investigations into Apla activities.

Transkei-born advocate Eric Bam, 54, was jailed for 31 years in 1963 for sabotage and was banned from South Africa after his release in 1974.

After numerous spells in detention and under house arrest, Mr Bam was allowed to leave Transkei and enter South Africa in 1986, when he established the PE Legal Resources Centre at the height of the state of emergency.

Allegations

His appointment to the committee has been welcomed in both legal and political circles, where he has a reputation for being an independent thinker who is tolerant of different political persuasions.

The committee will be chaired by Goldstone commission member Gert Steyn, who worked for more than 12 years in the Eastern Cape.

The third member is Free State attorney Nico Coetzee, who has no ties with the Eastern Cape.

Their appointment follows mounting allegations that Apla bases exist along the Transkei border.

The committee will sit on January 4 in Port Elizabeth.
Transkei 'lent arms to Apla'

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Transkei regularly supplied weapons to the military wings of the PAC and ANC to protect their leaders, the homeland's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, confirmed yesterday.

Holomisa said weapons were lent to the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) for the protection of party leaders when they visited Transkei.

The loans would continue even if South Africa were toraid Transkei, he said.

The Sunday Star, quoting a senior SA Government source, reported yesterday that a cross-border strike into Transkei by the SADF was imminent.

Holomisa's confirmation of the supply of arms came when he was asked to comment on the facsimile of a document in The Star's possession, signed by the Apla chief of operations in Transkei, acknowledging receipt of a consignment of weapons from the Transkei Defence Force (TDF).

The document, faxed with a covering note from a man claiming to be a discharged member of the TDF, is a receipt on official TDF paper, stamped and signed by Apla's chief of operations in Transkei, Lawrence Nkikinca (also known as Sizwe).

Nkikinca is believed to be the mastermind behind attacks on whites in the eastern Cape for which Apla has claimed responsibility.

The receipt, dated April 1 this year, is for 12 .38 mm pistols, three Beretta pistols and 225 rounds of ammunition. The sender claimed to have been present when the arms were handed over.

Holomisa said all weapons lent to the two military wings were returned and were used strictly for protection.

Holomisa reiterated his denial of news reports that the TDF had given Apla permission to use the homeland as a launching pad for attacks on whites in South Africa, and emphasised he would begin investigations in the new year into allegations of Apla training camps.

Reacting to the Sunday Star report of an imminent SADF raid, Holomisa said: "Let them come."

He said the Transkei government could not be held responsible for the reaction of its people or for any retaliatory attacks.

He said President de Klerk should confirm or deny the raid report.
SAP to probe Apla link to attack

CAPE TOWN—Police are investigating a claim that the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress, was responsible for the machine-gun attack on a Claremont restaurant at the weekend.

Regional commissioner of police for the western Cape, Major-General Nick Acker, said yesterday that a claim that Apla was responsible was one of the angles being followed up by the special investigations unit handling the case.

The claim was made in a telephone call to the Daily Dispatch by a man claiming to be the Apla commander in the Cape Peninsula.

"We are also looking at the possibility that it was a robbery that went wrong or that it was some kind of revenge attack," Acker said.

A R20,000 reward was being offered for information leading to the arrest of the attacker.

**BalACLavaS**

He appealed to people not to panic and said letters had been sent out to businesses asking them to be on the alert.

Two gunmen attacked Staken Restaurant in Beaufort Road at about 1930 on Saturday, wounding the owner Malcolm Visser (46) and his chef Jason Collie (33).

Visser had emergency surgery and is in a stable condition at Groote Schuur Hospital.

A police spokesman said the attackers, who were wearing balaclavas, walked in and fired indiscriminately at diners and staff.

Waitress Lisette Theunissen, who had a narrow escape when a bullet shattered a mirror millimetres above her head, said the steakhouse was fortunately nearly empty, staff "windin' down" and only a few patrons were there when suddenly there was chaos.

"I was sitting at the back with some colleagues having a drink when there was an ear-shattering sound of shots. The room filled with smoke almost immediately," she said.

We all hit the deck at once. At first we thought it was an explosion because we did not even notice the men entering the premises. Then I heard Malcolm scream: 'I've been shot, stop the bleeding.'

When the shooting stopped and the smoke disappeared we found Malcolm in a pool of blood on the bench near the middle of the room where he was sitting," Theunissen said.

"Jason Collie, our chef, was lying on the floor between the kitchen and the tables. He had his hand to the gun and was holding his arm. Someone apparently hit him in the elbow."

Deputy Smith of Claremont and Fairy Lanesuss of Plumstead, who were sitting in a car outside, saw the gunmen fleenng on foot, trying to hide "long rifles" under their clothing.

They followed the men, who were heading for a car parked about 200m away around a corner where two more masked men were waiting.

"When we got around the corner the men stood like toy soldiers waiting for us and aiming straight at us," said Smith.

"I was when we ducked behind the dashboard and sped away to the police station."

At the restaurant, police found a wall mirror shattered, wood paneling muddled with bullet holes and at least 15 spent R4 cartridges near the doorway.

Detectives who inspected the scene where the getaway car was seen found a spot where one of the gunmen had apparently urinated against a fence. Forensic experts were called to the scene to investigate.

A police spokesman said all avenues for possible motives were being investigated but the attack could not be pinned to a specific group.

No arrests were made and police asked anyone with information to contact the nearest charge office or radio control at 10111.
Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday he had proof that the head of South African Military Intelligence (MI), General Joffie van der Westhuizen, was involved in the destabilisation of the eastern Cape.

Speaking at the Labour Party conference in Port Elizabeth, Holomisa said he would present his evidence to a judicial commission of inquiry into the activities of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), in the new year. Van der Westhuizen would be "witness number one" at the inquiry, Holomisa said.

On Sunday, the Transkei ruler confirmed he was lending weapons to Apla and the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe for the protection of their leaders in Transkei.

Responding to claims that there were Apla training camps in his homeland, Holomisa said yesterday: "If Apla's and Umkhonto we Sizwe's presence in Transkei is classified as 'basses', then I argue that the same is happening in South Africa."

He called on President de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel to "show us the bases from which our people are being killed in the townships" and to disclose the source of illegal weapons circulating in the country. He urged the South African Government to present evidence of Apla training camps in Transkei to his commission of inquiry.

He said the South African Government should resume talks with the PAC and draw up a code of conduct for its armed forces during the transition.

The Government should also formalise the operation of military bases of the various military wings, including the SADF, where conventional training could be conducted.
SA ‘will follow hot pursuit doctrine’

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

South African security forces would raid Transkei if intelligence proved the existence of Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) bases in the homeland, Government spokesman Dave Steward confirmed yesterday.

In the first official confirmation of rumours that the South African Defense Forces (SADF) would raid the homeland to destroy APLA bases, he said: “Should intelligence confirm the existence of terrorist bases in Transkei, the Government will take whatever diplomatic and other action may be necessary for the elimination of such bases.”

He confirmed to The Star that “other action” included military raids.

He stressed, however, that this would not necessarily be the first option. But he said the security forces would apply the doctrine of “hot pursuit” to cross borders in order to follow the perpetrators of terrorist acts.

The Government was urgently and systematically investigating the reliability and authenticity of all reports relating to APLA, particularly those relating to the possibility that the Transkei government may have given it.

“It is nationally and internationally unacceptable for a state to make its territory available for attacks against citizens of other states or to provide material or moral assistance to terrorists.”

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa confirmed at the weekend that his government had been supplying weapons to APLA and the Azanian National Congress (ANC) military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe “for the protection of their leaders” in Transkei. He said these “loans” would continue, even in the face of a raid on his territory.

In a statement to Sapa yesterday, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander emphatically denied APLA was militarily active in Transkei.

But, he warned, the PAC would not tolerate a South African strike on the territory.

Deaf-mute woman gang-raped

Crime Reporter

A man forced a 28-year-old deaf-mute woman to drink a bottle of liquor, and then he and three friends raped her, the police said yesterday.

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieke said the man met the woman at the Summit Club in Hillbrow on Sunday, before luring her away on the pretext of taking her to another club.

In the car he made her drink the alcohol and drove her to a house where the four raped her.

Paramedics found the woman wandering in a Hillbrow street early yesterday morning, said Pieke.

A sign language expert was called in to help her tell police what had happened.

An 18-year-old woman was raped by a Johannesburg Hospital security guard on Sunday afternoon.

Police said the man had raped the woman on hospital premises.

He has been arrested and is due to appear in court soon.

Strydom unlikely to get gun licence

By Charmeela Bhagwat

Wit Wolf Barend Strydom's chances of being granted a firearm licence are slim, police said today.

Strydom applied for a licence after a display of posters in Brits showing a masked man carrying a picture of his head and sporting the slogan “Fascists beware — crush the AWB”.

Lieutenant Brahm du Preez said: “The most important criterion for getting a firearm licence is a person's past criminal record and this could rule Strydom out as a future holder of a firearm.”

The Department of Correctional Services said Strydom's release conditions did not stipulate that he could not apply for a firearm for a licence, only that he should not get involved in criminal activities or leave the Brits area.

Lieutenant-Colonel Barry Eksteen said the police would have to decide whether Strydom gets the licence, but the chances were slim.

Strydom said he had earlier applied for a firearm licence for self-defence purposes, but the application was turned down.

He apparently re-applied for the licence in fear for his life after seeing the posters pinned up on a number of Brits shop windows and in the light of recent APLA attacks.

The posters were reportedly displayed in the ANC's Brits office and Strydom has asked the organisation to remove them or face the consequences.

Strydom has made a written appeal to Kriel, saying he needed the licence to protect himself as he had received a number of death threats.

Strydom's father Nic told The Star there was no reason for the authorities to deny his son a firearm licence.

"He should be able to carry a firearm. The fact that he has no licence does not mean that he cannot repeat his actions in Strijdom Square where he killed those people. It is just a matter of self-defence. He needs the gun," his father said.
BLOEMFONTEIN — As tensions remained high in the Free State and soldiers continued to hold positions along the eastern border, the SADF claimed yesterday Apla was planning to use army uniforms and weapons to attack soft targets.

The officer commanding Free State Command, Brig Andre Beatbier, said Apla wanted to discredit the SADF and link it to so-called third force activities, and called on residents to report any suspicious actions to the SADF or police.

The SADF was preparing to counter any further Apla actions, Brig Beatbier said. Farabats were deployed by air to secure the eastern border area on Christmas Eve and would remain there as long as necessary, a Free State Command statement said. Soldiers from the crack 44 Parachute Brigade in Bloemfontein might be deployed along the Lesotho border, the statement also said.

Meanwhile, Free State Agricultural Union security committee vice-chairman Danie Claassen yesterday denied allegations that a meeting in Ficksburg, at which Cabinet Ministers were booted, was political.

Claassen said the meeting on December 22 had been organised by the union to discuss the security situation with government and interested parties. It was not, as alleged by Law and Order Minister Herm Kriel, a political meeting.

Ministers were heckled by the audience — many of whom wore AFB uniforms — who packed the hall to discuss an attack in which a white teenage girl was killed.

The union and the Ficksburg community were waiting for Kriel to tell them what government intended doing about the situation, Claassen said.

In another development, Claassen said it had been noted with shock that apparently a schoolboy had been run down deliberately by a taxi in Ficksburg on Sunday.

Danie Reia, 15, was struck while jogging with his sister, and was discharged from hospital after being treated for concussion and bruises.

In Johannesburg, CP defence spokesman Willie Snyman said Transkei’s supplying of arms to Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe must be seen as an act of aggression by a neighbouring state.

The CP urgently requested the government to carry out its threat of hot pursuit operations across the Transkei border.

The Boere Weerstandsbebewing (BWB), meanwhile, said yesterday its members had been put on standby after an attack on a BWB member in Kimberley a week ago.

BWB leader Andrew Ford said the BWB would not hesitate to take the law into its own hands to restore a Boer state — Sapa.

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Recession buffets sports clubs

THE recession has hit sports clubs in SA struggling to sustain memberships and revenues.

The Wanderers Club, one of the oldest and best known in the country, stated in its latest magazine that 1993 had been a difficult year for it and for most other clubs in SA, Sapara reports.

Members were not using the club’s revenue-producing facilities, on which it is largely dependent — including what is reputed to be the longest bar counter in the world anywhere near as much as in more normal times, the magazine’s editorial stated.

“Of course like that in clubs throughout the country, and the whole hospitality industry is in dire straits,” it said.

“We have only to take note of what has been happening lately in some of the country’s leading hotels to realise how serious the situation has become.”

Wanderers chairman Trevor Stubbs said the club had embarked on a new drive to halt the steady decline in membership over the past five years.

The club had also recently undertaken a survey to determine how members felt about the club’s present and future offerings and facilities, Stubbs said.

Inanda Club committee member Conor Doak said he was optimistic the club’s fortunes would improve next year.

Additional facilities had been provided to encourage members to make more use of the club and younger members were being taken in, he said. “The waiting lists, though, are nothing like they used to be.”

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Order on Beuthin

SUSAN RUSSELL

A RAND Supreme Court Judge yesterday ordered that three psychiatrists assess bodybuilder W beuthin to determine if he was capable of conducting a proper defence against charges of kidnapping and attempted murder.

Judge M J Strydom said there were indications that Beuthin might not be able to follow proceedings due to some mental defect or illness.

Beuthin, 20, is accused of kidnapping Jill Reeves of Melrose on May 12 this year and of attempting to murder her by jumping on her head. He also faces nine other related charges, including attempted extortion, robbery, theft and blighting.

Beuthin has pleaded not guilty to all but the five counts of theft and blighting.

The trial was postponed until January 29.
Tempers flare in OFS after taxi hits boy

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Tempers are again nearing boiling point in the Free State border region after a 15-year-old white schoolboy was run down by a black taxi near Ficksburg on Sunday evening.

Police are investigating the possibility that Danie Reis, who suffered head injuries and concussion, was deliberately knocked down while jogging with his sister on the shoulder of the Ficksburg-Fouriesburg road, a police spokesman confirmed yesterday.

The taxi did not stop.

Police are investigating charges of attempted murder, reckless or negligent driving and failure to stop at the scene of an accident.

The Ministry of Law and Order has appealed to residents of the area to stay calm and not to seek retribution.

Danie Claassen, vice-chairman of the Free State Agricultural Union’s security committee, told Sapa that the community was shocked and angry after Sunday’s incident.

He called on the SAP to offer a reward for information that could lead to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for it and other attacks.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday appealed to the community to co-operate with existing security structures.

“It is vital that people do not allow emotions to swell as this would be playing into the hands of the Azanian People’s Liberation Army,” Kotze said.

He said South African security intelligence was working overtime to track down the perpetrators of all recent attacks in the region.

Last Sunday, 15-year-old Leonie Pretorius was killed in a grenade attack on her parents’ Ficksburg farmhouse and on Thursday, a group of whites attacked two black taxis, killing a driver and injuring three other people.

Farmers believe they are being terrorised by Apla insurgents from Lesotho.

- The SADF has information that Apla intends using SADF weapons and uniforms in attacks on “soft” targets in the eastern Free State, according to the officer commanding the Free State Command, Brigadier Andre Besthier.

Besthier claimed yesterday the action was being planned in an effort to discredit the SADF and to link the SADF to so-called third-force activities.

- Sapa reports that three men from Melodiny at Virginia appeared in the Theunissen Magistrate’s Court on Monday in connection with the murders of an elderly Theunissen farmer and his daughter on December 21.

The three men, Johannes Leabi (31), Stephen Masala (30) and Sankie Solomon Dassie (26), were not asked to plead and were remanded in custody to January 25.
Goldstone to head Transkei Apla probe

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Mr Justice Goldstone has agreed to head a judicial inquiry into the alleged activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) in Transkei, the homeland's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said last night.

Holomisa said the inquiry would not form part of the present Goldstone Commission. It would also investigate "the destabilisation of Transkei by South Africa".

Mr Justice Goldstone would appoint the commissioners to the inquiry, with strict instructions from the Transkei government that they not include Transkei civil servants.

"That is the difference between this commission and the present Goldstone Commission, which is not independent because it contains South African civil servants," said Holomisa.

A Goldstone Commission spokesman said the judge had not mentioned his taking part in the Transkei commission before leaving for Israel at the weekend.

According to Holomisa, he and Mr Justice Goldstone are due to meet after the judge returns on Friday. They would set a date for the beginning of the inquiry and decide terms of reference.

The Goldstone Commission has established a committee to conduct a preliminary investigation into Apla. Mr Justice Goldstone has confirmed.

He said the committee would investigate the location of Apla camps, arms, ammunition and personnel, and its operational activities.

The first public sitting will be in Port Elizabeth on January 4.
JUDGE Richard Goldstone would head a two-pronged investigation in the new year into Apla and the Transkei connection, which could resolve the dissent between government and the homeland. Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

Goldstone had agreed to head Transkei's commission of inquiry into accusations of Apla bases in the territory, he said. In a separate statement released yesterday, the Goldstone commission reiterated that a committee conducting a preliminary investigation into Apla would hold its first hearing in Port Elizabeth on Monday.

Holomisa said: "The two inquiries, while totally different and separate, will be mutually informative and assist the judge in getting to the truth of exactly what the position is. This will clear up all the bad atmosphere over the Apla attacks."

Holomisa said he had spoken to Goldstone before Christmas and the judge had agreed to head the inquiry. There would be a meeting, probably on Saturday, after Goldstone returned from Israel.

However, a Goldstone commission spokesman could not confirm the judge was going to head the inquiry. He added, though, that if it was not part of the commission's activities, he would not necessarily have been informed. A Justice Department official also could not confirm or deny Holomisa's announcement.

Holomisa said Goldstone had been approached in his capacity as a judge, not as chairman of the Goldstone commission. He would head up the inquiry in terms of Transkei's constitution with members of Transkei's Bar Council. No SA or Transkei government officials would be involved.

The inquiry would also investigate allegations that Transkei Defence Force officers were assisting Apla in training and with weapons, and Holomisa's allegations of SA destabilising his territory.
Free State
right wing
to mobilise

FICKSBURG Members of the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging say they will mobilise their followers to combat terror attacks in the eastern Free State.

At a meeting in Marquard yesterday, attended by 14 community leaders in the Ladybrand constituency, Conservative Party MP Charl Hertzog said the decision to mobilise along the Lesotho border was in line with CP policy.

He said training camps would be established for right-wing supporting Christians.

The SAP's Internal Stability Unit chief, Lieutenant-Colonel Ray Harrald, said more than 200 policemen had been deployed in the area, with each farmer receiving a 24-hour police guard.

The SAP has assured Ficksburg taxi operators that it will give them maximum protection. This follows two attacks by whites on taxis on Christmas Eve, in which a driver was shot dead and three people were injured. — Staff Reporter, Sapa.

Security check ... police and troops search a motorist at a roadblock in the Ficksburg area yesterday. The strong police presence is in response to recent attacks, allegedly by Apla, from across the Lesotho border. Picture: Joao Silva