TOTALITARIANISM - GENERAL

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Random check

30 die in Soviet air crash

MOSCOW — A Soviet aircraft carrying at least 30 people from Armenia to the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh crashed into a mountain yesterday, killing all aboard. — Sapa Reuter.

ANC man freed from island

CAPE TOWN — ANC member Mr Dheki Cele (35), was released from Robben Island late yesterday afternoon after a successful appeal by his attorneys in Durban. He was detained in 1988 and later imprisoned after being charged under Section 54 of the Internal Security Act for allegedly being in possession of banned literature and for having received military training abroad. Star 2/8/90 (327)

Attorney takes minister to court

Cape Times 2/8/90 327

By RONNIE MORRIS
Supreme Court Reporter

ATLANTIS attorney Mr Charles MacDonald is suing the Minister of Law and Order for R100 000 for defamation because a security policeman allegedly told advice office workers that the lawyer stole their money.

This was yesterday's evidence in the Supreme Court, where Mr MacDonald is claiming R20 000 for the impairment of his dignity and R80 000 as damages in respect of the impairment to his good name, reputation; social relationships and his office or occupation as an attorney.

Mr Isaac Phooko, an advice office worker, testified that when two security policemen searched the Atlantis Advice Office on April 21, 1988, he asked if he could telephone Mr MacDondald and was told by Constable W Abels: "You would be surprised to learn that MacDonald steals your money."

He had then instructed Miss Bedrika Daniels to write the words down.

Miss Daniels said in evidence that she had written the words down on an envelope.

The hearing continues today.

So who can De Klerk rely on for the truth?

WHAT does the president of any country do when his security advisors present him with what they aver is conclusive proof of a plot to stage an armed insurrection against his government? He is, of course, entirely at their mercy; he has no independent source of verification or guidance. He has no choice but to accept what they say and he is altogether the innocent victim if there is an attempt to mislead him, or embarrass him, or if there is a crass error of judgment within the security establishment.

Is this what has happened to President De Klerk in the past fortnight? Has there been an attempt to mislead him about an alleged "plot" by the South African Communist Party to seize control of the government by violent means if negotiations fail, as some Democratic Party spokesmen fear might be the case? Or was there a misinterpretation of data, or a perilous error of judgment, at the highest levels of the security police *and*, presumably, the National Intelligence Service *and* the National Security Council?

The probabilities

In search of answers, it is necessary to consider the probabilities. The first, of course, is the probability that as an accomplished lawyer, Mr De Klerk would not have easily assumed the guilt of the accused in the "plot conspiracy" without any charges having been laid against them or, indeed, without even the Attorney General having seen a docket.

Another probability is that a politician who has staked his entire career on negotiating with the ANC and who has faced vicious attack for doing so, would not lightly jeopardise the entire exercise, and thus leave himself looking like a wimpish sell-out, by allowing the whole "conspiracy" charge to be made public before he had even sought explanations from the leaders of those purportedly responsible.

Not much choice

But Mr De Klerk did not appear to have had much choice in the matter.

The security establishment would seem to have jumped in first with the disclosure of a "plot" (it was leaked simultaneously to all weekend newspapers a fortnight ago), adding all the hype and embellishment to ensure that it got page one treatment. Thus, whether or not Mr De Klerk had misgivings about the allegations, the public disclosure of them was a new political reality he had to live with.

On the government's electronic mouthpieces the guilt of the accused seemed to be assumed by official police spokesmen without benefit of formal charges, let alone a court hearing.

Which brings us to an unavoidable probability — that the security establishment must have known what the political implications were of going public on the "conspiracy" story within days of Mr Nelson Mandela's return to South Africa and only a few short weeks before the next round the "talks about talks", and of rubbing it in with fervour for days on end.

Those implications included the obvious likelihood that mutual suspicion and antagonism caused by "evidence" of the "red plot" would have either wrecked, or at least seriously impeded, the whole process of talks.



ISSUES

Hugh Roberton

And the implications, more importantly, included the strong likelihood of Mr De Klerk being made to look like a weak-kneed capitulator if he went ahead with talks in the light of the grave accusations made by the police — accusations later backed by transcripts of "evidence" and repeated police statements.

I can accept that an individual securocrat would fail to see all this. As in all professions, they too have their fair share of incompetents. But a whole department of securocrats, plus the NIS and the NSC, all failing to recognise the political embarrassment to the president attendant on publicly alleging a "communist plot" on the part of members of the very organisations with whom the president intends to negotiate? That, I find too improbable to swallow.

Cruelly repressive

Perhaps communists the world over deserve a great deal of the suspicion they arouse. After all, with very few exceptions, communist regimes have come to power by violent means and not through any democratic process and with few exceptions they have been cruelly repressive.

Furthermore, a political party of erstwhile Stalinist bent, which retained its Stalinist loyalty and connections through some of the most brutal excesses in human history, which has publicly announced its intention to form secret cells, which has declined to identitify its full executive, which has confirmed that some of its leaders will remain in exile, and which upholds the ideal of the "armed struggle", cannot expect to escape suspicion.

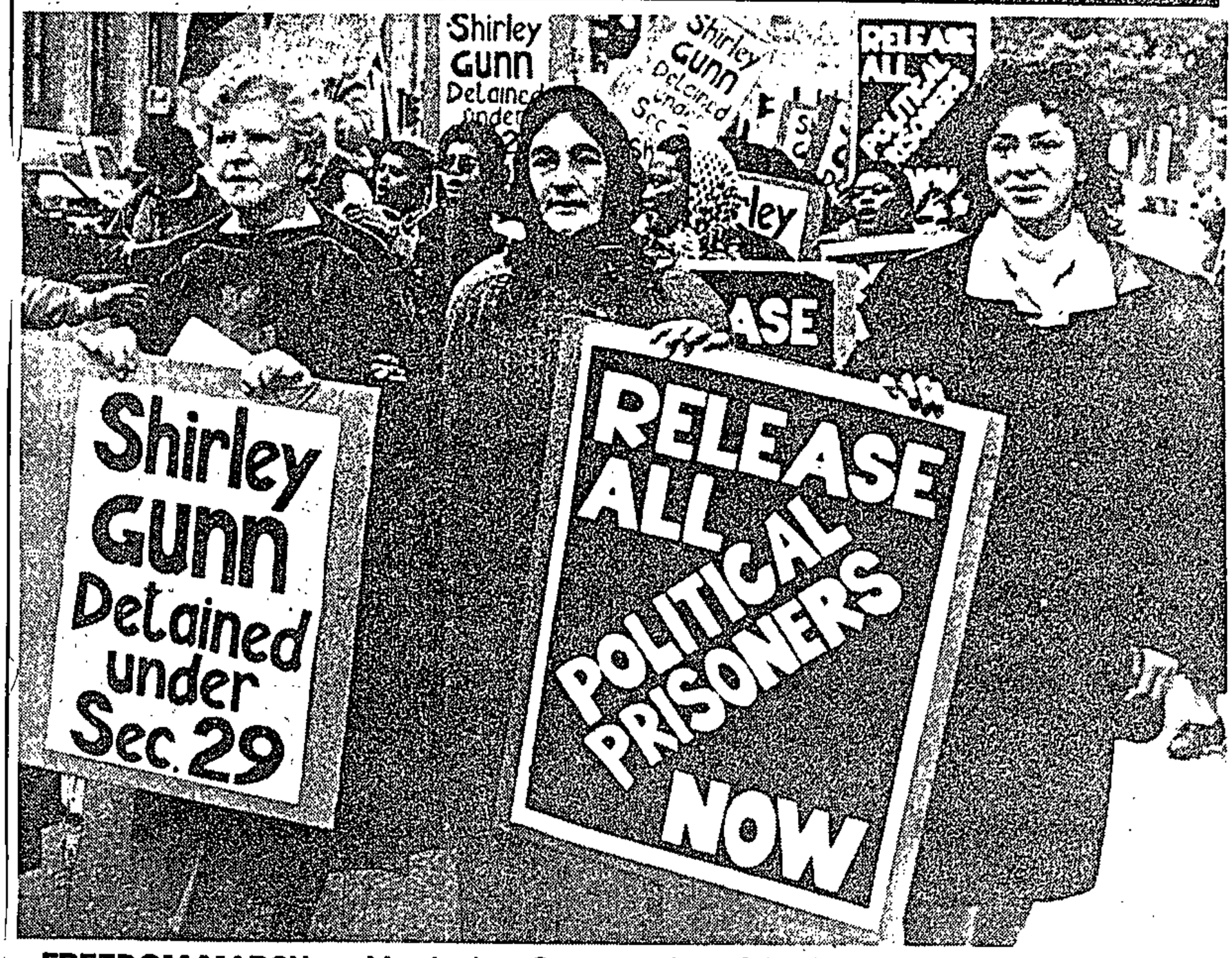
Byond incompetence

But to imply on untested, and patently ambiguous, "evidence" that SACP members of the ANC were planning the violent overthrow of the state, to add all the interpretations which have been added as if these were the findings of a court, and to do all this just as President De Klerk was about to resume talks with the ANC (with its SACP members), was surely beyond the realm of incompetence or simple error.

And if one is to look at the history of the communists, it is necessary, too, to look at the vastly less than benign reputation of the security establishment. We did not even need the evidence before the Harms and Hiemstra Commissions to tell us that they, too, have had their spells of ruthlessness, their reckless abuses of power, their moments of political high adventure, and their meddling in the affairs of state.

On balance, it is not at all improbable that what we have witnessed is their last desperate attempt to deal a fatal blow to an old adversary, to try to restore the comfortable Botharian days with clearly defined enemies and unhindered power and, who knows, perhaps even to try to stop in his tracks a president whose vision they do not even dimly understand and who they see as a threat to all that they hold dear.

Mrs Boesak back in the forefront



FREEDOM MARCH . . . Mrs Audrey Gunn, mother of detained activist Ms Shirley Gunn, Mrs Raghmat Jaffer and Mrs Dorothy Boesak lead a march on security police offices in Loop Street in support of a demand for the release of all political prisoners. There were no incidents.

Wife of Boesak leads protest

Cape Times 2/8/90 B27

MRS Dorothy Boesak yesterday helped lead a protest against detention without trial.

After a harrowing month of public scrutiny of her personal life and the announcement that she and Dr Allan Boesak are to divorce, Mrs Boesak put on a brave face to show that their separation had not weakened her personal political commitment.

Mrs Boesak, Mrs Audrey Gunn, Mrs Adelaide Mtiya and Mrs Raghmat Jaffer led a group of about 150 people in a march to hand a list of demands to police and highlight the plight of Ms Shirley Gunn, who is in detention with her small baby.

A statement circulated by the Federation of South African Women and Women Against Political Imprisonment demanded the unconditional release of all Section 29 detainees and all political prisoners.

STATE OF REPRESSION

Western Transvaal: Last Friday a 15-year-old activist, Eugene Thokozane Mbulawa, of Khutsong, near Carletonville, died in hospital after allegedly being assaulted while in police custody. (327)

On Tuesday July 10, two Kombis containing mostly Khutsong Youth Congress members on their way to a meeting with the ANC in Johannesburg were intercepted by police. WITHAM 3/8 - 5/8/90

According to witnesses all the youths were arrested and taken to Khutsong police station where police began assaulting them. They were later transferred to Oberholzer police station where they were further assaulted and lastly transferred to Welverdiend police station.

Northern Transvaal: On Sunday July 15, police raided the African National Congress offices at Lenyenye and allegedly took a list of names of people who had recently registered to join the organisation. Police allege they were investigating a theft case.

On Wednesday July 18 police raided the ANC offices in Mahwelereng. According to the office bearers, police confiscated one ANC membership card.

Northern Cape: On Sunday July 15, residents of Galeshewe township near Kimberley marched to the mayor's house to protest against the cutting off of electricity as a result of the ongoing rent boycott.The municipal policemen guarding the mayor's house shot and wounded four residents during the incident. The wounded are in hospital.

'Red plot' thickens as police pursue urgent investigation

W/Mail 3/8-5/8/90

By SHAUN JOHNSON

THE "extensive police investigation" into an alleged revolutionary plot is being urgently pursued, despite the government's propaganda blunder on Joe Slovo's involvement.

A statement by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday— promised by State President FW de Klerk after his meeting with Nelson Mandela on Wednesday — said the minister had studied all documents and evidence relating to the "plot" and was satisfied the information conveyed to De Klerk and his cabinet was "correct in all respects".

"Everything possible" was being done to "complete the investigation as speedily as possible," Vlok said yesterday, "and more information would be made known once the legal process permitted this."

Vlok's hard-hitting statement, only three days before the second round of government/African National Congress talks, suggests that the issue of "underground" activity and the arrest of senior ANC members might only be resolved by the declaration of a ceasefire and amnesty at the highest level.

Vlok said "the question of whether Mr Joe Slovo (General Secretary of the South African Communist Party) was present (at the alleged SACP planning meeting in Tongaat) was not the key question. The fact is that the meeting had, beyond any question, been attended by key figures within the SACP. There is no doubt about that".

Vlok said police investigations had revealed that "Project Vula, known as Operation Vula" was intended to establish underground structures, revolutionary bases, and a revolutioanry army in South Africa — and was designed to bring about a national insurrection".

He conceded the ANC's point that Vula was set in motion in 1987, but emphasised the police belief that it was "continued by certain elements after the endorsement of the Groote Schuur Minute".

A number of people, who had received military training within and outside South Africa, had been arrested in connection with the police investigation and were being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, he said.

Police had found several arms caches, Vlok said, and these included limpet mines, personnel mines, an RPG-7 rocket launcher and missiles, hand grenades, AK-47 assault rifles, Stechkin machine pistols and components for car bombs.

According to the statement, police also found — in "safe houses" — quantities of documents, code books, computers, modems and computer discs. Thousands of pages had been extracted from the computers, he said, and were being studied by police.



Adriaan Vlok

The documents included those from the "Tongaat meeting", he said, and these formed part of the police investigation under way in co-operation with the office of the attorney-general in Natal.

Vlok also used the statement to deny allegations that the police had tried to sabotage the negotiating process by mis-representing facts about the alleged SACP plot. This was "devoid of all truth", he said.

"The police action was bona fide in all respects, with the goal of maintaining law and order and ensuring internal security."

Vlok said he "unfortunately could not at this stage reveal facts which could possibly be used as evidence in court". If any party believed that the police had behaved improperly, he added, this could emerge in court.

Investigations would be completed as quickly as possible and more information would be made public as soon as judicial process allowed, he said.

Vlok ended his statement by attacking the "perception" that police were attempting to derail the negotiations process. Police had the task of acting against "misdeeds", whoever was responsible, and would proceed purposefully with the task "in the interests of South Africa and all its inhabitants".

STATE OF EMERGENCY w/Mail 3/8 - 518190 (327)

THE Human Rights Commission says there are no detainees being held under the Emergency in Natal.

There are, however, 81 people being held under the State of Emergency in Bophuthatswana.

Hostels 'defenceless' after SAP weapons raid

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W Mail 7/8-5/8/90

BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE
and STAN MHLONGO

OPERATION Panga — in which 5 000 policemen and soldiers combed Sebokeng hostels for weapons on Wednesday night — has deprived residents of their means of defence and left them vulnerable to attack by Inkatha supporters, an African National Congress representative charges.

Police have described Operation Panga as "a success, especially in the light of thousands of dangerous weapons which have been confiscated during a house-to-house search".

ANC Vaal representative Bavumile Vilakazi points out that the hostels are known to be occupied by staunch supporters of the ANC, and aligned community organisations, and that residents have been disarmed at a time when rumours of an Inkatha attack are rife on the Vaal.

On July 22, 27 people lost their lives in conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters. Residents are living in fear of a renewed onslaught by Inkatha supporters as they bury victims of the earlier conflict tomorrow.

The rumours of a fresh attack had been fuelled by the fatal shooting of hostel resident Simon Mphathi as he headed home from Houtheuwel Station in Sebokeng on Wednesday night, a spokesman for the Vaal Council of Churches said. Several others were injured in the attack by unidentified gunmen.

Vilakazi observed that Operation Panga "took place at the hostels only — and this was precisely where the Inkatha attack was driven off" on July 22. The fact that 11 of the 27 killed that day were migrants testified to this.

Vilakazi said it was well known that the hostel dwellers were "very strongly supportive" of the ANC and the United Democratic Front-affiliated Vaal Civic Association, which has sub-committees in the hostel. A large number of hostel residents were also members of unions within the Congress of South African Trade Unions, he added.

"The hostel residents treat Operation Panga as a situation in which their weapons of defence — which they have kept privately to protect themselves — have been removed from them."

No equivalent attempt had been made by the police to locate and disarm the Inkatha supporters, he said. It was well known that these people were bussed in from outside, "that they moved into our township carrying arms," said Vilakazi.

A police statement, released by Witwatersrand liaison officer Colonel FG Malherbe, also linked Operation Panga to the events of July 22. "The aim was to assure the law-abiding residents of Sebokeng that the police are there to render a service and protection, but on the other hand to show them that they would not hesitate to act against those who seem to disrespect law and order."

Operation Panga resulted in 25 arrests, six for alleged possession of unlawful firearms and the rest on charges including illegal dealing in liquor, possession of dagga and possession of gold dust, Malherbe said.

The four July 22 victims who will be buried at a mass funeral in Sebokeng tomorrow are: John Dube (37), Rubin Maduna (19), Daniel Rapuleng (27) and Lucky Khamdule.

The funeral will start at 12.30pm and the procession will leave for the Evaton cemetary at 3pm.

Another 11 victims are to be transported to the Transkei on Wednesday where they will be buried on August 11.

From underground to political open ground

Star 6/8/90

327

Acknowledged masters of underground political organisation, the ANC was faced with a very different challenge when its leadership returned this year to begin public reconstruction.

After a mauling by the State in the 1960s, the ANC was faced with the long and painful process of reconstructing its tattered underground structures, applying hard-learnt lessons to guard against infiltration by "the opposition", as Pallo Jordan puts it, and building into its internal structure a system of damage-control to limit the effects of penetration.

This it managed to a large extent to achieve and by the time the external leadership returned this year, the ANC was faced with the task of "translating what we had been able to do through underground activity — popularising and raising the prestige of the ANC — into organised support and organisation".

Several problems — both of the ANC's own making and those which grew out of its 30 years of banning — awaited it.

August marks six months since the African National Congress was unbanned. Pallo Jordan, Information and Research head, charts the organisational problems and achievements so far in an interview with **CLAIRE ROBERTSON** of The Star's Pretoria Bureau.



Activists

One of the most difficult to counter was to get "people who were underground activists to shed the habits of underground work.

"When you are part of an underground organisation you tend to deal with people you know very, very well; you don't easily get involved in (open) political discussion.

"And now it's the opposite; you have to go out there and convince people."

Some resistance to paying the annual R12 membership fees has come from people "who have become accustomed to organisations that didn't depend on members as their primary source of finances".

These fees will equal R48 million if the stated membership target of 4 million this year is reached — a target considered "conceivable" by Mr Jordan.

Reluctant to speculate on the numerical strength of the ANC lest he be accused of telling "wild propagandist lies", he is however encouraged by the growth: "On a scale of one to 10? Seven!"

The members are recruited at branches controlled by 15 regions countrywide. Although the ANC's goals dwarf anything seen before in South African politics, it has still managed in six months to set up more than the 10 Inkatha regional offices established by that organisation in 15 years.

On its return, the ANC was faced with a "drastic change" in leadership style from the unquestioning acceptance and implementation of decisions which characterised the closed communities of ANC functionaries in exile.

"We must take a great deal of responsibility for this problem," said Mr Jordan. The ANC is having to learn a leadership style that relies on feedback and acceptance of decisions from members involved in their own communities and workplace.

"This is a very drastic and fundamental change. Everyone has to get accustomed to the 'bottom-up' style of leadership."

But its decades in exile also produced characteristics that would be the envy of any party organiser — "a sense of total commitment to the organisation; people always prepared to put in that little bit extra".

The esprit de corps existing among the returned exiles is another valued asset.

"This can be good and bad — exiled people cling to each other for warmth ... exile does mould them into a very tight-knit and cohesive body.

"It's good in that it has that centripetal aspect, but it can be very detrimental in that it can begin to express itself in negative forms like in-groups and out-groups.

"Nevertheless, down the road, we are going to need that sense of hanging together, no matter what, to pull us through."

Organising — particularly the printing and dissemination of propaganda material — has been bedevilled by the fact that many members trained in this field are still unable to return to South Africa.

"By now I thought we would be talking in terms of an ANC weekly news bulletin, I thought we would be talking in terms of all sorts of ANC propaganda materials flooding South Africa.

"The violence in Natal is now being exported to the Transvaal. It would be proper that the ANC should make some pronouncement on that issue to the people in that area — not only in English but in the language which people are most comfortable with.

"We haven't had the people who are able to do that."

Briefings

Putting no faith in a local press "almost totally monopolised by a handful of corporations", the ANC relies on briefings.

"And you know what happens with orally transmitted information — 'Send reinforcements, I'm going to advance', after passing through 10 ears, becomes 'Send three and fourpence, I'm going to a dance'."

Recent briefings — on Nelson Mandela's trip abroad and the progress of negotiations — have been held with homeland leaders, Tom Boya of United Municipalities, the United Democratic Front, Cosatu, the Labour Party and Azapo, among others.

A target for the months ahead was to bring about a closer identification of the ANC with people's everyday, very humdrum aspirations of a better life, Mr Jordan said.

And all of this had to happen in an atmosphere of extremely high expectations.

"People almost presented us with a bill: '"I promise to pay the bearer," you said. Where is it?'

"There is a great deal of impatience for results. We have to go through a whole number of phases before we get there. Not that we don't have money in the bank. We have money in the bank. We just don't have the chequebook."

The struggle 'will go on'

Sowetan 6/8/90

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

TALKS might have begun but the struggle for liberation had not ended, Umkhonto we Sizwe's commander Mr Joe Modise told mourners at the funeral of four of people killed during the Inkatha-UDF battle in the Vaal triangle township a fortnight ago.

Addressing more than 5 000 people at the Evaton Stadium, Modise called for the continued formation of self-defence structures to combat ''reactionary forces which were distabilising communities''.

''Oppression of our people is still rife,'' he said.

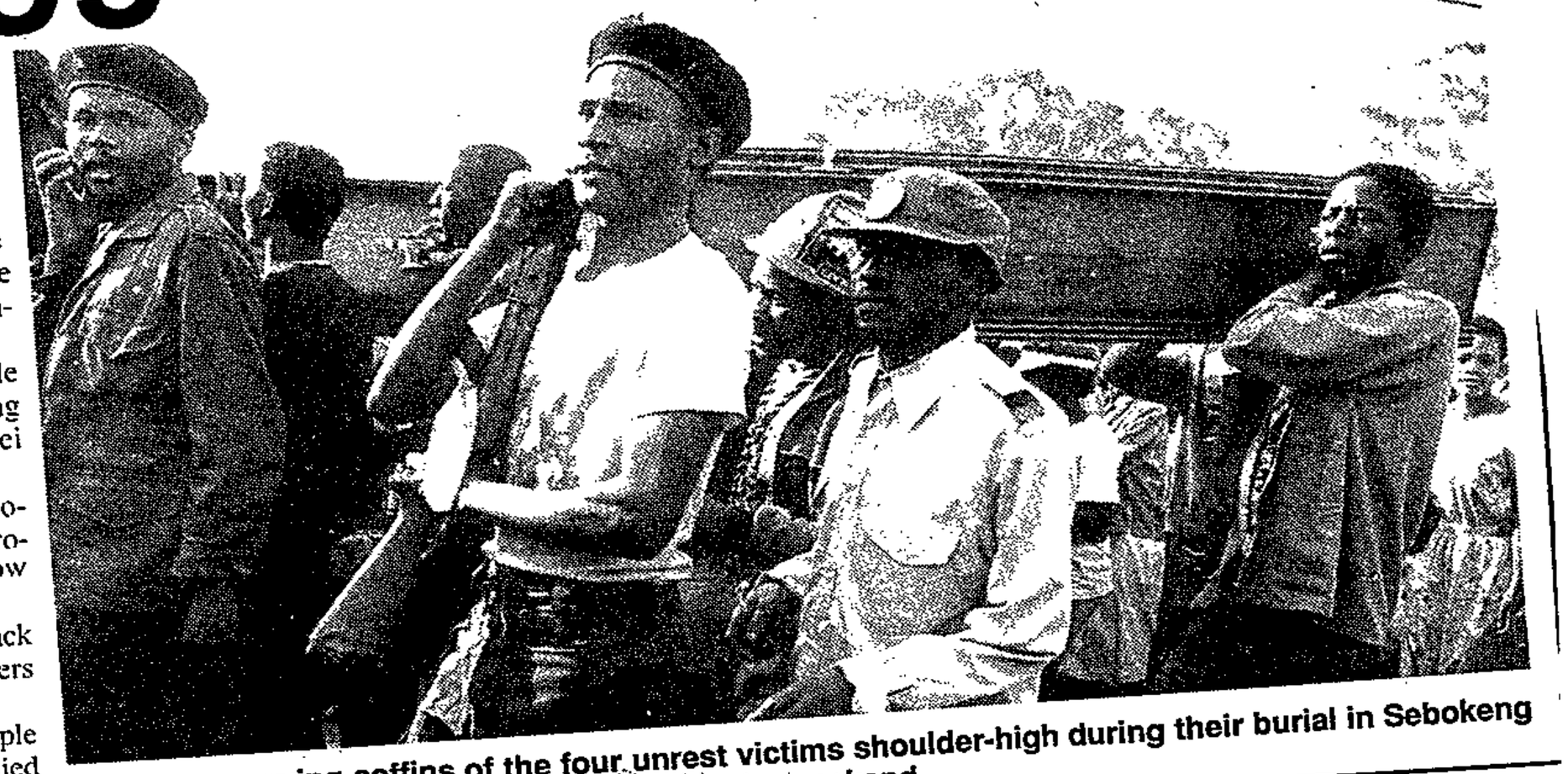
He warned that the ANC would not allow the killings to go unchallenged.

Eleven other people killed during the fighting will be buried in Transkei on Saturday.

Riot and security police monitored the proceedings but kept a low profile.

An Inkatha attack feared by the organisers did not take place.

Twenty-nine people are believed to have died during the Inkatha/UDF clash on July 22.



Activists carrying coffins of the four unrest victims shoulder-high during their burial in Sebokeng at the weekend.

Political prisoner freed for medical treatment

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By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Reporter

FORMER Robben Island prisoner Mr Anthony Xaba, 57, has returned to Cape Town for medical treatment.

One of the first men recruited for military training by Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress, he spent a total of 25 years on the Island.

He left South Africa in 1963 but was captured in what was then Northern Rhodesia. He was released 10 years later, rearrested in 1975 and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1977.

EDUCATION THE KEY

"I did not resign myself to die on Robben Island, but I did not expect any mercy from the State. I knew I'd get off the island because there was no way in which the State could stop our revolution," he said.

Mr Xaba, who earned his matric during imprisonment, emphasised the need for education.

"Uneducated people cannot expect to govern a country," he said.

He said he stayed healthy in prison until April, when he had a stroke and was taken to Groote Schuur Hospital. He remained there until shortly before his release.



Mr Anthony Xaba

"I was told on the morning of my release that I would be freed that day."

Prison authorities told him he would be returned directly to Maritzburg because of unrest in Cape Town, he said.

"I'm bitter about having had to spend 25 years in prison, but also because we were imprisoned for fighting for freedom."



TSIETSI MASHININI

Tsietsi's corpse to arrive in SA today

By DON SEOKANE

THE body of former student leader Tsietsi Mashinini is expected to arrive in South Africa today, national organiser of the Azanian People's Organisation Mr Lusiba Ntloko said yesterday.

Speaking at a Press conference in Johannesburg, Ntloko said the delay in bringing the body home was caused by the unavailability of flights during the week from Guinea to Zimbabwe.

Guinea Air has only one flight to Zimbabwe on Mondays.

He said clearance had been obtained from the Government to bring the body into the country and they hoped to conduct a post mortem to determine the cause of death.

Burial

"A committee consisting of members of different organisations is being formed to avoid areas of conflict and to plan Tsietsi's burial," Ntloko said.

Mashinini, who formed the Soweto Students' Representative Council and became its first president, will be buried in Soweto on Saturday.

His body will be received by the presidents of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council and Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Khotso Seatlholo and Prof Jerry Mosala.

Ntloko said Azapo was calling on all its members from different branches and regions to begin organising for the funeral.

ANC men detained during talks

Star 8/8/90

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

ANC activists were detained in Bophuthatswana on the night of talks between the Government and the ANC, a lawyer revealed yesterday.

The detention of seven ANC members followed the weekend launch of the ANC branch in Modderspruit, Bophuthatswana, the lawyer said.

Those detained include the ANC chairman in Modderspruit, Obed Nyundu, treasurer Florence Phiri and secretary Simon Bhebe who were responsible for the launch of the ANC in the area.

The seven are being held at Ga-Rankuwa police station under the territory's emergency regulations.

A Bophuthatswana police spokesman has confirmed the detentions but refused to give further details.

8/8/90

Important curbs on press to be removed

Political Staff

SOME of the most contentious aspects of the Internal Security Act, notably detention without trial, have not been affected by the government's commitment in the Pretoria Minute to scrap some clauses of the controversial law.

But the four provisions, to which the government said it would give "immediate consideration", will remove some of the major restrictions on the freedom of the press.

These include the provisions for banning the furthering of the aims of communism, listing people so that they could not be quoted, the banning of statements or publications in terms of security legislation and the imposition of deposits before newspapers could be registered.

The government and the ANC did say in the Minute: "In view of the new circumstances now emerging there will be an ongoing review of security legislation."

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, would issue a statement in this connection which would call for comments and proposals.

● Interested parties may submit comments or proposals regarding security legislation in writing, to reach the Director-General: Justice, Private Bag X655, Pretoria, by not later than September 15, 1990.



Riot police in Worcester in the southern Cape fire tear gas at a group of 2 000 demonstrators during a march on the local council offices yesterday to protest against high rents in the area. ● Picture by Associated Press.

Star 8/8/90 (327)

Cape marchers burn offices

Own Correspondent and Sapa

CAPE TOWN — Marchers protesting at evictions for non-payment of rent yesterday hurled bricks and set fire to the Worcester management committee offices, reports SABC radio news.

Police fired tear smoke at marchers, who were mainly high school children and tenants in sub-economic homes in the adjoining areas of Roodewal, River View and Hex-Park.

Eviction notices were served on tenants, in terms of which they were ordered to pay rent arrears or move out by today.

The illegal march started at the Worcester Secondary School and was joined by pupils from Esselenpark and Breerivier.

● Bonnievale, Cape Town, has become the hot spot of political strife in the Boland as a crowd, mostly youths, rampaged in the township Happy Valley, burning tyres and again setting alight an already fire-damaged supermarket.

While the situation in neighbouring Ashton seemed to have calmed down yesterday, Bonnievale sources feared a backlash by white residents as schoolchildren rioted.

Yesterday the business centre of the picturesque town was calm and residents went about their business, but a pall of smoke hung over Happy Valley, about two kilometres away.

Damages case to continue

Supreme Court Reporter

JUDGMENT was reserved in the Supreme Court yesterday in the R100 000 damages action by Atlantis lawyer Mr Charles MacDonald against the Minister of Law and Order and a security policeman.

The action was brought after a security policeman, during a raid on the Atlantis Residents' Association Advice Office on April 21, 1988, allegedly told one of the workers that Mr MacDonald stole their money which he held in trust.

Evidence was led that Constable W Abels had said these words to Mr Isaac Phooko, who then told a co-worker, Miss Bedrika Daniels, to write down the statement and show it to Mr MacDonald.

Mr MacDonald said he felt that his professional integrity had been attacked.

Mr Justice D G Scott presided. Mr M A Albertus appeared for Mr MacDonald. Mr Anton Veldhuizen, instructed by the state attorney, appeared for the minister and Constable Abels.

Marchers threatened

ORGANISERS of a legal march in Welkom tomorrow said yesterday they had received telephone threats from rightwing elements demanding they either cancel the march or face violent confrontation. Sowetan 9/8/90

A spokesman for the Bronville Civic Association said the callers had claimed to belong to Welkom's Blanke Veiligheid movement but had refused to identify themselves.

"We call on the police to see to it that our people are protected on the day of the march," the civic association spokesman said. - *Sapa.*



Who is ultimately responsible for freedom of speech in a society? The Government? The man in the street?

This is the third article in our series on freedom of speech and the need for independent media.

Who safeguards our free speech?

THE examples we have looked at up to now as we looked at the media internationally give the impression that government is the only key to Press freedom.

It appears as if governments are always violating Article 19: locking up journalists who refuse to toe the line; sending in troops to shoot at unarmed demonstrators; closing down newspapers.

But government is only one side of the coin. The other is the general public, which independently of the government can silence voices that are different. Families can wake up to find themselves engulfed in the flames after a petrol bomb is hurled through their window.

But the same public can defend freedom of speech against tyrants and other anti-democratic forces.

Free speech, the right to express oneself without fear, is best protected when the man in the street guards it jealously.

The African National Congress acknowledges the two sides of free speech. In an interview published in the *Index on Censorship* in April this year, Albie Sachs, a member of the ANC's Constitutional and Legal Department, spoke of protecting freedom of expression in a new constitution.

"From a technical point of view it is not difficult. We envisage having an entrenched Bill of Rights in a constitution which declares certain fundamental rights and freedoms and establishes an independent judiciary to ensure they are maintained. We could have something similar to the First Amendment. Then, if Parliament were to adopt any law, or if there were some executive act, which abridged the freedom of speech in any unconstitutional way, a citizen could go to the courts and have the Bill or Act struck down."

Here Sachs was looking at government responsibility. But later in the interview he refers in passing to the responsibility of the general public: "The question of freedom of speech has raised sharp debate. For many people, the idea of allowing 'reactionaries' to make their crude propaganda is hurtful and very difficult. And we say that it is better that they spout their rubbish than that they go underground.

"People ask if all the other splinter groups in the black movement are going to be allowed to speak as well. And we say yes, of course, that is what freedom of speech means."



The implications are that even with the best of laws protecting freedom of speech, it is the man in the street who must defend it.

We need to develop a culture of freedom of speech as we emerge from an authoritarian era that did not allow the free flow of ideas.

Anything less will make a mockery of the struggle for liberation that has been fought for all these years.

Albie Sachs continues: "It is not simply a matter of freedom of speech but the right to information. The whole colonial racist system meant that to a large extent knowledge and information was monopolised not just by a ruling clique but by a racist caste.

Part of the struggle against apartheid is to destroy the monopolisation of information and to ensure that information circulates."

President FW de Klerk's Government appears to be moving in the same direction after decades of eroding freedom of speech.

Since the National Party came into power many political parties have been outlawed; newspapers have been closed down; journalists have been locked up in jail as have been opponents of the Government.

Slowly De Klerk is shedding this past.

He has now asked the Media Council to investigate all existing legislative restrictions on the media and to make recommendations on the removal or relaxation of all those it considers unnecessary and detrimental to the public interest.

Media lawyers have often said that there are more than 100 laws in the Statute Book that interfere with the free flow of information in this country.

The Government side seems to be on the mend. It is the second side, the people's side, that needs immediate attention particularly now in the face of inter-organisational violence as the organisations fight for hegemony.

*** Tomorrow: Press freedom and the man in the street.**

Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948:

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"Article 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

March clash looms

By Rehana Rossuw

CONFRONTATION is looming in Calvinia between the municipality and residents of the township who are determined to march on Saturday.

In an unusual approach to protest marches which have taken place in numerous small towns in the Cape, an action committee in Calvinia conducted a door-to-door survey to determine whether residents wanted to march to deliver their grievances to the authorities.

"More than 90 percent of the residents said they would march and we applied for permission to the municipality and the magistrate," said action committee member Mr Lionel de Wet.

"Three days later we received a letter from the town clerk saying that approval has been granted."

De Wet said last Friday the town clerk reneged on his word and sent letters to the committee setting preconditions for the march.

He said the march could not take place at 9am as requested but at 2pm, all the names and addresses of the marshalls had to be forwarded and the action committee had to ask permission from the management committee.

"The requests are unreasonable and unacceptable. People are drunk in the afternoon and we cannot ask permission from the management committee because one of our demands is their resignation," De Wet said.



Manuel

"The municipality is looking for confrontation but we will not be deterred and will continue as planned."

The town clerk, Mr J Engelbrecht, denied that he was seeking confrontation.

He said permission had to be sought from the management committee as part of the march was in the coloured area and under its control.

The ANC's Trevor Manuel will lead the march.

Vereeniging boycott to be lifted

Star 10/8/90

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Staff Reporter

The three-week consumer boycott in Vereeniging is to be lifted.

This follows an agreement by the town council to allow protest marches through the streets, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said yesterday.

But consumer action in Vanderbijlpark would continue because peaceful protest was still prohibited there, it added.

Cosatu said boycotts in Sasolburg and Meyerton would be lifted.

Cosatu has not wasted any time in putting the new agreement into practice, announcing a march on August 18 to protest against the proposed switching off of township lights and police action against Sebokeng hostel inmates.

"This will be the first legal march in the Vaal where people will be marching without fears of being gunned down," it said.



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The irony of our struggle

Sowetan 10/8/90

327

WHAT does freedom of speech mean to the man in the street? It means:

* He has the right to have opinions and beliefs without interference from anybody else, including the government;
* He has the right to express these opinions and beliefs without fear;
* He has the right to seek and receive information and ideas from whatever source and he can also impart his own information and ideas through any medium - word of mouth, printed matter, radio, television, demonstrations or rallies; and
* He has the right to choose whatever newspaper, magazine, book, pamphlet. radio or television station he prefers.

It means he has access to the body of information and ideas in society. With this information he can make the right choices about his life and the direction that his country should take.

There should be nothing to frighten him from exercising his right to free speech.

We are struggling out of an era of fear when information and ideas were suppressed by the Government.

Some political opinions have landed thousands in prison. The old Suppression of Communism Act outlawed the Communist Party and it became an offence to advocate communism.

People listed as communists by the Government became the walking dead because it was an offence to publish anything they said, even if it had nothing to do with communism.

Banned

Later the Pan-Africanist Congress, the African National Congress, the Black People's Convention and scores of other organisations were banned.

In fact, the present Internal Security Act is a sad monument to suppression of freedom of speech in this country.

The Publications Act set up a machinery for censorship of publications and objects other than newspapers.

"Big Brother" decided, and still does, what magazines and books you could read, what films and theatre you could view, and what objects are "undesirable".

There is a host of other laws that the Government uses to suppress freedom of speech.

But as the Government intensified its repression, the more the banned material was circulated underground. The ANC and the PAC grew among the people against all the attempts to wipe them off the people's minds.

Thousands of people ended up in jail because they were found to hold the wrong ideas: they were promoting the aims of banned organisations.

For decades black politics has been a game of not getting found out.

There is a thawing now in Government circles. It started when the South African Law Commission said that a bill of rights is essential for this country.

Article 8 of the bill of rights the Commission proposed in their report to the Government was: "The right to freedom of speech and to obtain and disseminate information."

Since the commission's report there have been other developments that show this thawing. Since February 2 when State President FW de Klerk made his historic speech in Cape Town, large chunks of the Internal Security Act are no longer being used.

Banned organisations are now free to operate again; listed people are now quoted by the media; and people are no longer being charged with furthering the aims of banned organisations.

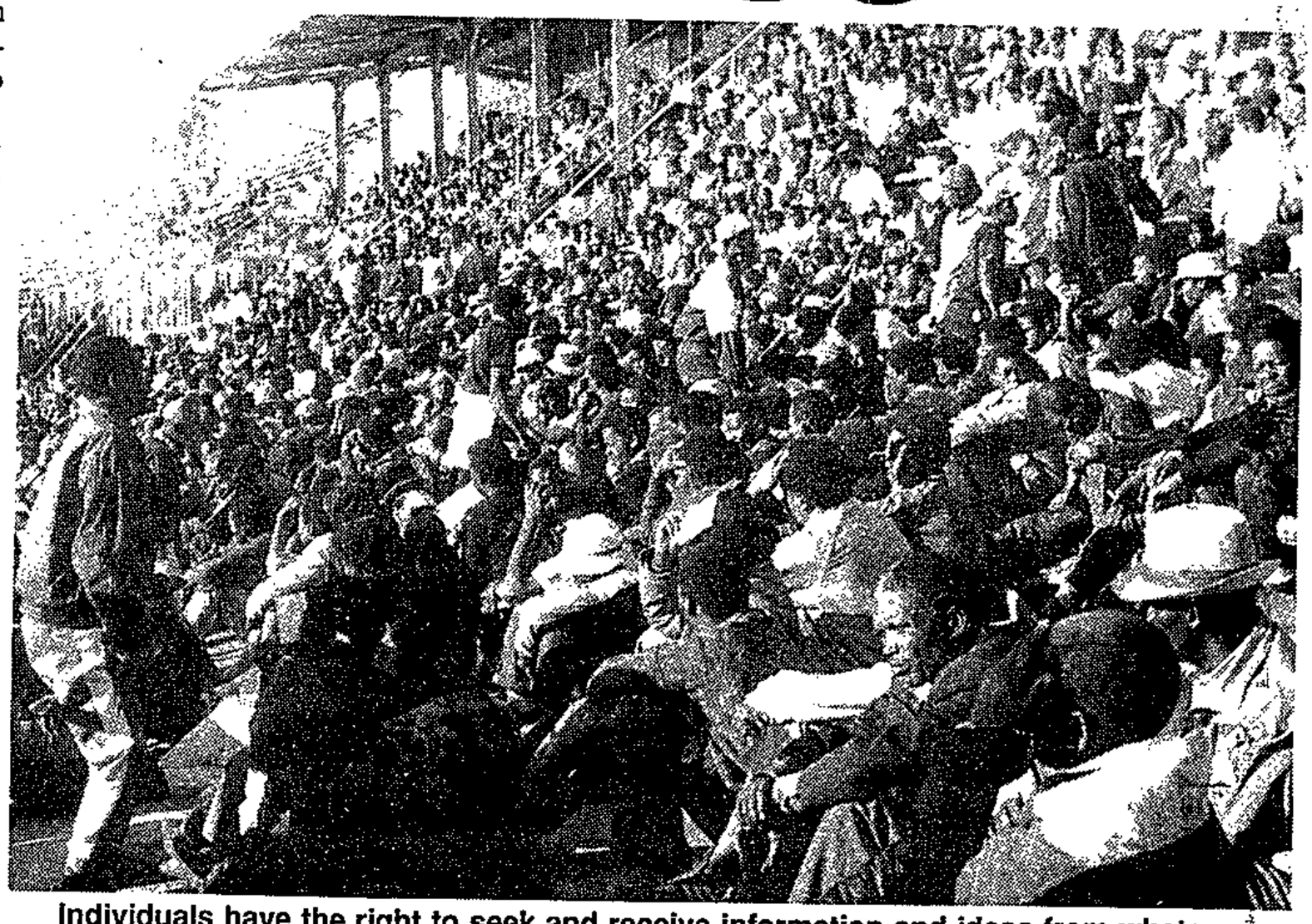
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It is tragic irony that when the Government is relenting, the people who were fighting it are now the ones who disregard freedom of speech.

The headlines in the newspapers these days tell the same stories: Cops recover burnt bodies of comrades; Vaal feud claims two more lives; and Marchers threatened - all from yesterday's *Sowetan*.

The leaders of the various political organisations always say their organisations believe in freedom of speech and in tolerance, but their followers simply ignore this as they slaughter one another.

Monday: How the *Sowetan* and the other media contribute to freedom of speech in this country.



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Queries over Tsietsi's death

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

FORMER Soweto student leader Tsietsi Mashinini could not have died of natural causes, it was claimed yesterday.

His former lieutenant and president of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council, Mr Khotso Seatlholo, told a Press conference in Johannesburg that Mashinini's body, which was flown from Zimbabwe this week, had marks on the face and his left eye had fallen in.

Seatlholo said blood marks were also found on the left ear.

He dismissed earlier disclosures that Mashinini died of a nervous breakdown in Guinea a fortnight ago.

Although his organisation had planned to conduct a post mortem, family members requested it be halted.

Meanwhile, the Tsietsi Mashinini Funeral Committee confirmed that Mashinini will be buried at Avalon Cemetery in Soweto tomorrow.

The committee, comprising family members, Sayrco and Azapo, said the service will start at 934 Central Jabavu at 7.30am.

The procession will leave for the Methodist Church in White City Jabavu where a service will start from 8am to 10.30am.

The cortege will proceed to Jabulani Amphitheatre, where a service will be held at 11am, and leave for the cemetery at 2.30pm.



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Sowetan 10/8/90

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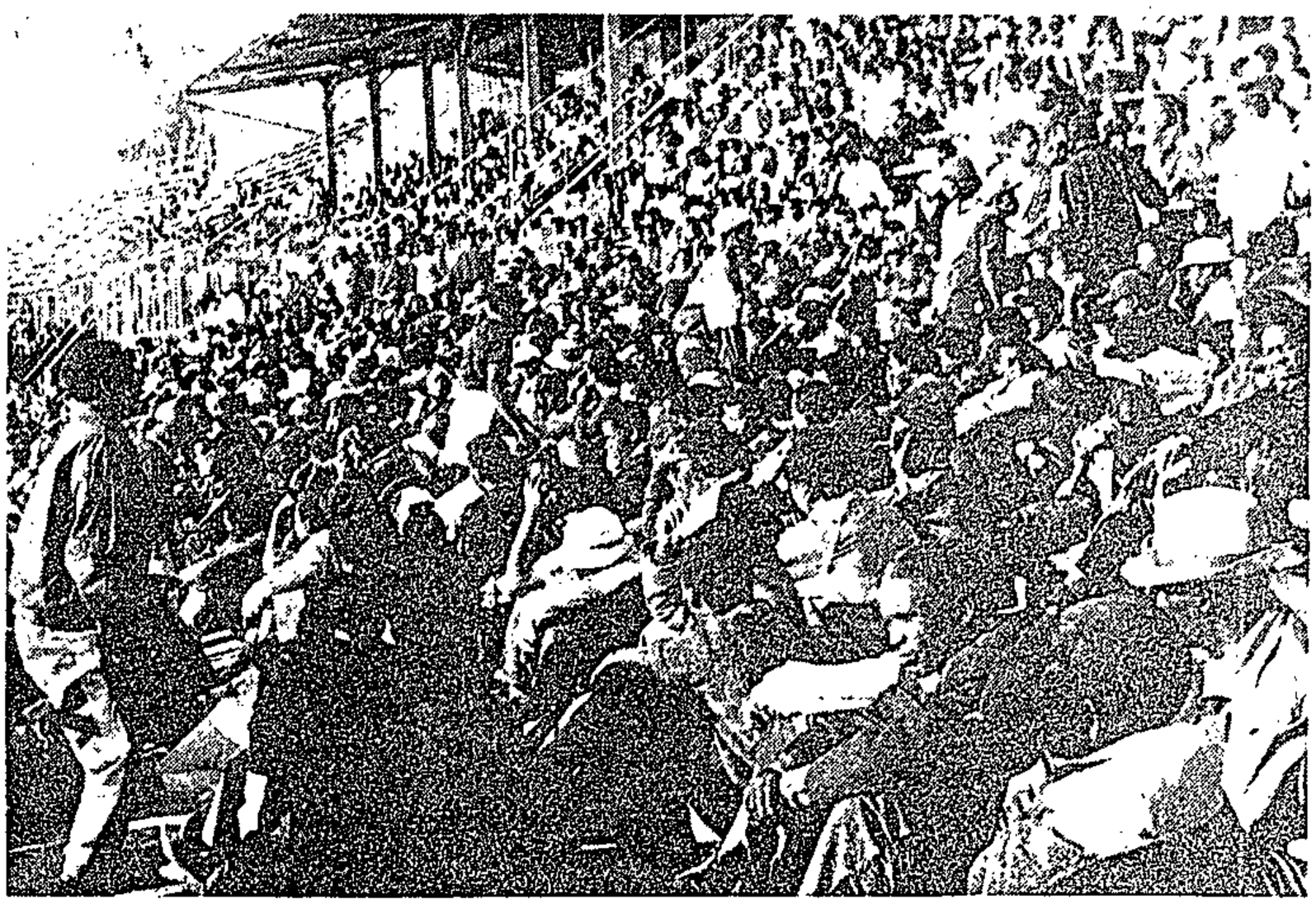
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Black consumer boycott to end

Sowetan 10/8/90

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A TWO-month black consumer boycott of white-owned businesses in the Eastern Transvaal, called by the ANC to pressure for the right to legal protest in towns in the region, will be suspended on Monday.

The Eastern Transvaal ANC Consumer Boycott Committee, the SA Police and the Eastern Transvaal Business Association met in Nelspruit on Wednesday to resolve the issue.

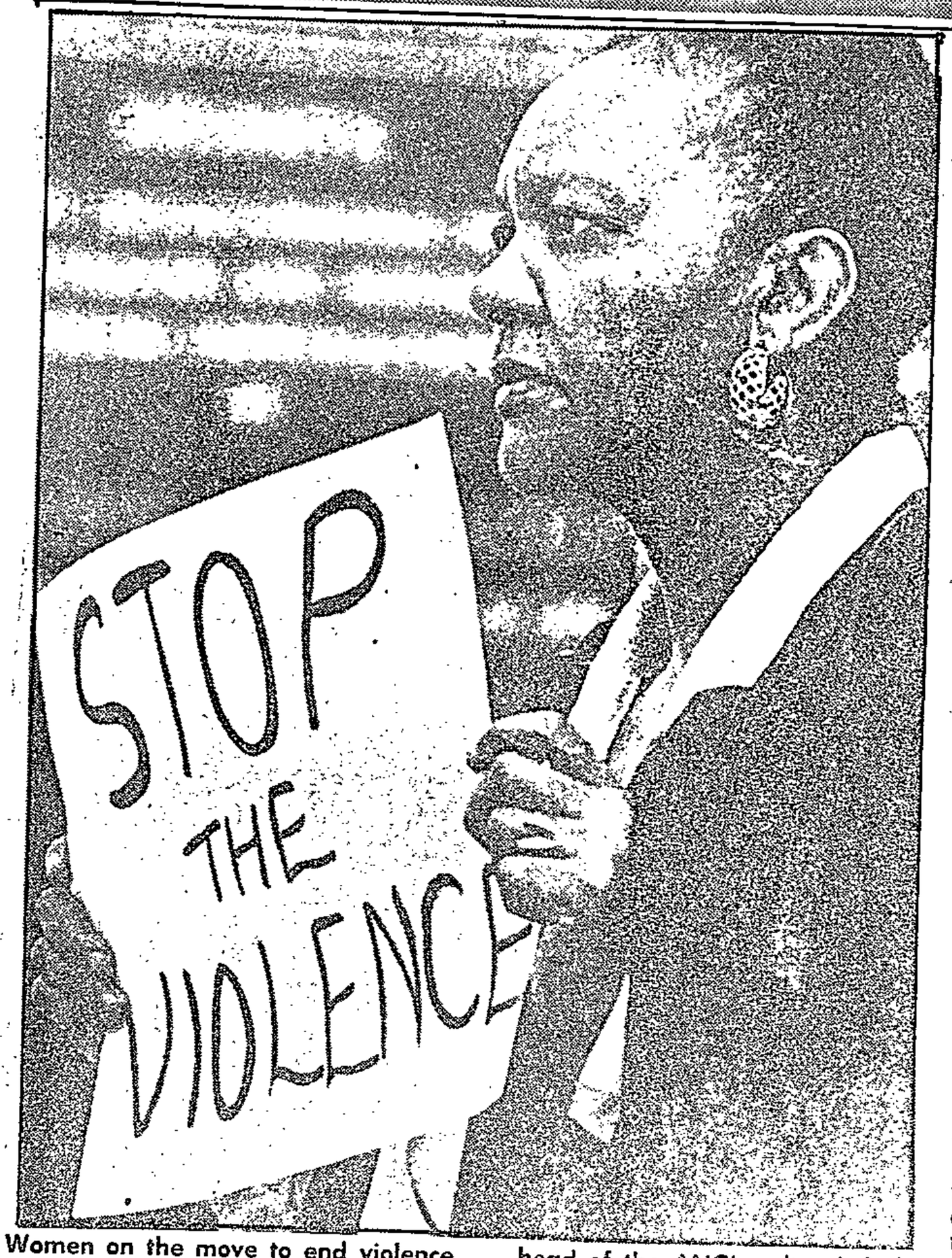
A statement from the Eastern Transvaal Business Association said it had been resolved that every person or organisation had the right to peaceful protest marches.

It was however, also agreed, that local liaison committees would be established in all towns which have a local authority to consult with interested parties before a march was undertaken.

The ANC Consumer Boycott Committee undertook not to reinstate the consumer boycott unless consultations and negotiations had failed.

The statement also mentioned that the parties held a meeting with the TPA in Witbank on Wednesday to discuss several issues related to local authorities. - *Sapa.*

Star 10/8/90



Women on the move to end violence . . . head of the ANC's cultural desk, Barbara Masekela joins the Federation of Transvaal Women's picket along the streets of Johannesburg yesterday.

© Picture by John [illegible]

Inkatha against peace – Fedtraw

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

The Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) yesterday accused Inkatha of attempting to derail the peace initiatives between the Government and the ANC.

Speaking at a press conference on violence, Fedtraw's executive member Jessie Dwarte announced that a campaign to end the violence was under way.

Fedtraw called on all those who were armed to lay down their machinery so that peace could be restored in the townships.

End to violence

An hour before the press conference 50 Fedtraw members, including the head of the ANC cultural desk, Barbara Masekela, staged a peaceful picket.

The women called for an end to violence and the resignation of Inkatha leader KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Feroza Adam of Fedtraw said August 9 was a day when women countrywide paid tribute to the 50 000 women who marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria 34 years ago to protest against women carrying passes.

This year women were carrying the message of peace, she said.

The peace initiatives on the part of the ANC and its allies appeared to have been met with violence by the right wing, Inkatha and the uncontrolled police force, she said.

Fedtraw demanded the Government disarm Inkatha, that warlords in Natal be brought to trial and that Chief Buthelezi be stripped of his power as Commissioner of Police in KwaZulu.

The organisation also called on the Government to abolish the Internal Security Act, control members of its security force and disarm right wing groups.

If the demands were met, the violence that was spreading in other areas of the country would be halted, Ms Adam said.

A resident of Sebokeng, Martha Marobi recalled the violence which had erupted in the area after an Inkatha meeting last month.

She claimed that Inkatha members went on a rampage.

Mashinini was beaten to death, claims BCM

BY CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE first president of the Soweto Students' Representative Council and leader of the 1976 student riots, Tsietsi Mashinini, who died in Guinea a fortnight ago, did not die from natural causes, the Black Consciousness Movement claimed at a press conference yesterday.

The Mashinini Funeral Committee, comprising the South African Youth Revolutionary Council, the Azanian People's Organisation and members of the Mashinini family, said that the former student activist would be buried at Avalon Cemetery in Soweto tomorrow.

However, according to the family's wishes, no post mortem would be conducted on Mashinini's body despite suspicions by those who had seen the body.

Khotso Seatholo, who succeeded Mashinini as SSRC president when Mashinini fled the country in 1976, said: "It is obvious Mashinini had been beaten. His left eye had fallen in, there was blood behind his left ear and there were marks on his face."

Although it was reported that Mashinini died after bouts of nervous exhaustion, the BCM said they did not believe this to be the cause of death.

Seatholo added that the medical papers accompanying Mashinini's body were in French, and he was waiting for these to be translated to ascertain the circumstances surrounding Mashinini's death.

Sunday Sce

SA stars for brigh

THABISO LESHOAI

A LOT of hype surrounded the massive deals local acts Mango Groove and MarcAlex signed recently with American labels for the worldwide release of their records.

And with stars such as Yvonne

very exciting music," says

Golden Ear

The chief

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"Because

"In all cases where the body or bodies to be constituted will have to consider cases on an individual basis, the process will be expedited."

It was hoped this process would be completed within six months. The latest date envisaged for the completion of the task by the Working Group was April 30, 1991.

The facts and circumstances in each individual case will determine if an offence was political or not, while certain offences, like treason, will be recognised as purely political.

The report determines that when defining political offences, three categories of people inside South Africa and abroad will have to be considered for reprieve or indemnity.

The first group constitutes people who have already been sentenced. The second group constitutes people who may expose themselves to prosecution or who are awaiting trial or are presently being tried, and the third comprises people in detention.

The power to reprieve rests with the State President and will be applied to people already sentenced.

Because there was no generally accepted definition of "political offence" or "political prisoner" in international law, it was generally accepted that principles developed in the field of extradition law were relevant in distinguishing between "political offences" and "common crimes".

The principles and factors considered while preparing recommendations on a definition of political offences in South Africa closely follow those applied by reknowned jurist Prof Carl Norgaard in Namibia.

These legal practices in respect of extradition offer guidelines:

- **The facts and circumstances of every individual case will determine if an offence was political;**
- **Certain offences are being recognised to be purely political, like treason which was directly aimed at the State and which did not include an ordinary crime like murder or assault, or the distribution of undermining literature; and**
- **In certain instances an ordinary offence could be deemed to have been a political offence, even a serious offence like murder.**

The report further said – as stated in the Groote Schuur Minute – the government might consult other political parties and movements in this matter. "For this it shall be free to formulate its own guidelines which it will apply in dealing with members of such organisations."

A cut-off date would be fixed and pardon and indemnity would only be considered for political offences committed on or before that date.

10 000 heed Tsietsi's unity call

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Sowetan 13/8/90

By DON SEOKANE

A SPIRIT of unity prevailed when at least 10 000 supporters of different organisations came to pay their last respects at the weekend to former Soweto Student Representative Council president, Tsietsi Mashinini.

Jabulani Amphitheatre, where the service was held, reverberated to cries of "Amandla" and "Viva" as Tsietsi's lieutenant Mr Kgotso Seatlholo told the crowd that the enemy was not the "comrade sitting next to you; the enemy is sitting comfortably at home in Pretoria".

In a message directed to the youth, Seatlholo said Tsietsi was a youth when he confronted the system, but his leadership had discipline which was not evident among comrades today.

Seatlholo told mourners that Tsietsi could not have died of natural causes. He said a young man in his thirties did not die of a nervous breakdown.

"His left ear was bleeding. The left eye was swollen and he had marks on his face, but we could not press the family for a post-mortem to establish the cause of his death," said Seatlholo.

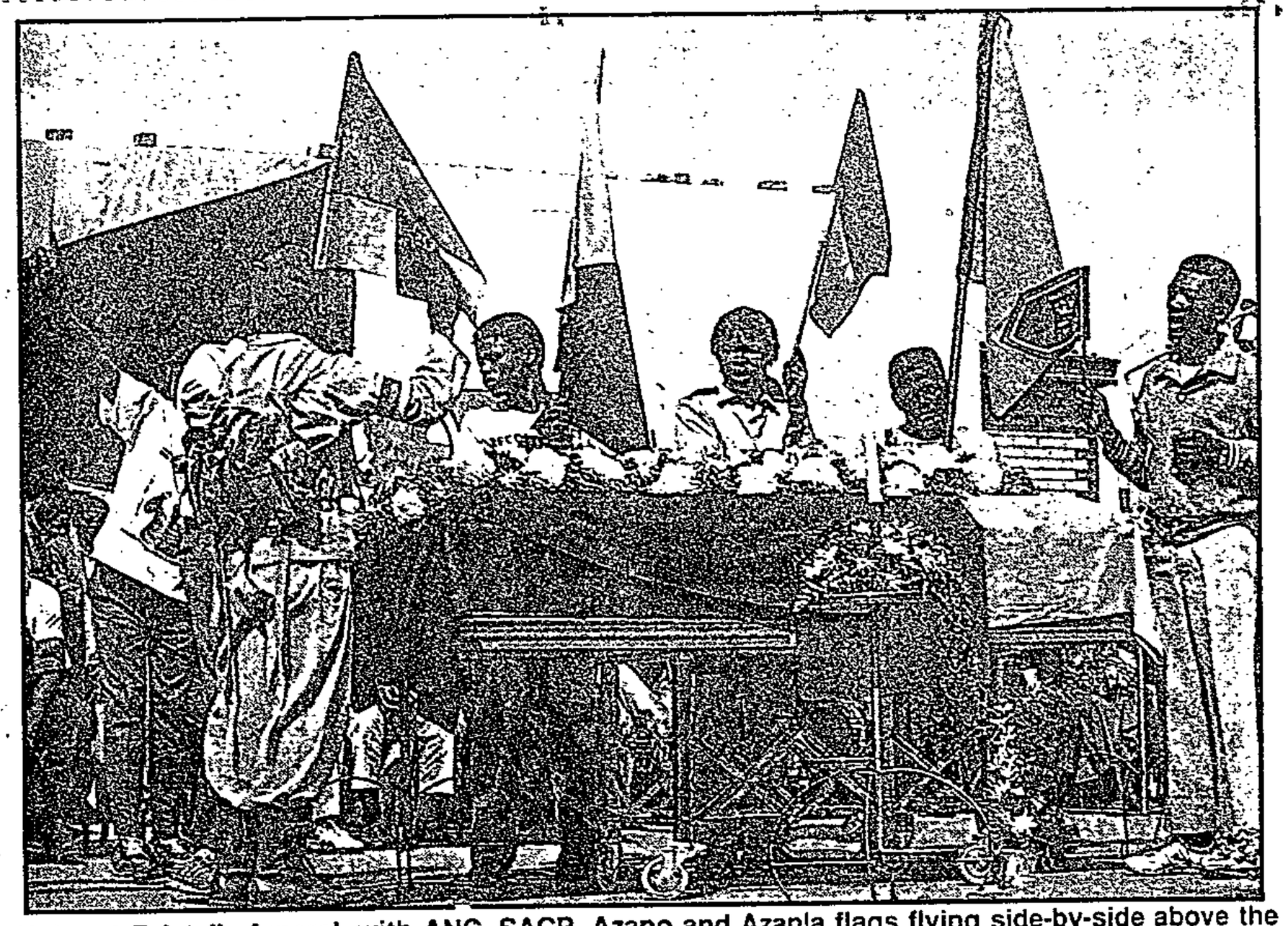
Mr Murphy Morobe of the UDF said: "If we let Tsietsi's death pass unchallenged, then we will be committing more atrocities than the Civil Cooperation Bureau.

"We have every reason to be angry because Tsietsi, lying here and not able to raise his fist, compels us to take the baton and complete the work that he has done.

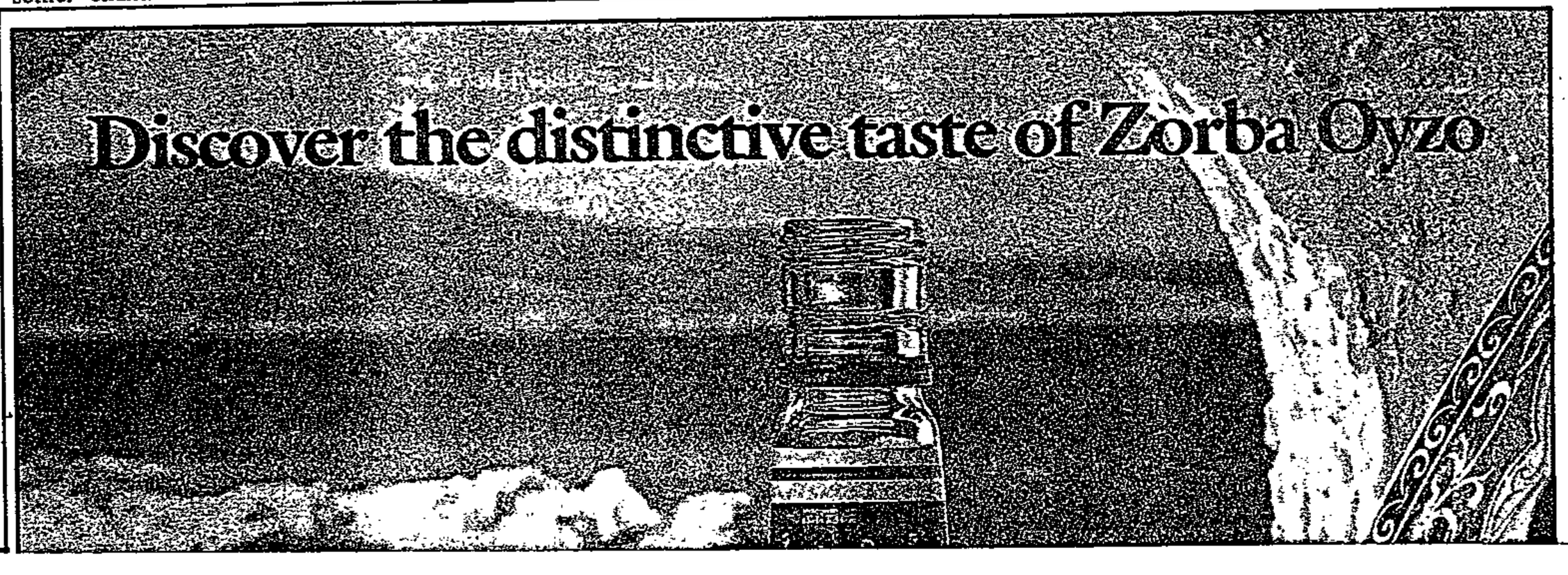
"This day will be remembered for the message we always preach - 'unity in action' has achieved something," said Morobe.

The day was filled with protest poetry and songs from the harmonious Township Fever cast led by director Mr Mbongeni Ngema.

A boy, Fancy Seale (11), had the crowd gasping in amazement when he ululated freedom slogans and shouted the PAC's 'One bullet, one settler' chant.



Unity at Tsietsi's funeral, with ANC, SACP, Azapo and Azanla flags flying side-by-side above the coffin.



GOVERNMENT 'ASTONISHED' AT ANC'S DISSATISFACTION

Vlok — Mandela clash

W/t ARGUS 327

Weekend Argus Correspondent and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, clashed sharply with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela today amidst mounting reaction to the government's new security crackdown.

With the official death toll in the bloody Witwatersrand violence now 514, Mr Vlok has expressed astonishment at the ANC's dissatisfaction with the declaration of 19 magisterial districts covering 27 black townships as unrest areas.

He noted Mr Mandela had, on several occasions, accused the government of not using the powers it had to put an end to the unrest.

He said there was an essential difference between the declaration of areas of unrest and the declaration of a state of emergency. The absence of media regulations was one of the main features distinguishing the new measures from the old state of emergency.

Meanwhile, it was announced today that crack units of the SADF would be sent into the troubled townships.

The unrest area declarations, according to a Johannesburg lawyer, give the minister "powers in promulgating regulations in unrest areas as wide as those of the State President in a general state of emergency".



Mr Adriaan Vlok

A five-hour operation by over 1 000 police and SADF members in the strife-torn Kagiso township last night led to several arrests and the confiscation of dangerous weapons.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said the operation in the West Rand township followed the recent violence which had claimed 32 lives in the past four days.

"Certain identified hostels and residential areas in the township were cordoned off and thoroughly searched."

He said seized weapons included homemade guns and Tokarev pistols of Russian origin.

The operation began at 10pm and ended at 3.30am today.

Captain Opperman said police would remain in the area in "large numbers" in an attempt to restore law and order.

Asked if widespread detentions could be expected under the new measures, Mr Vlok said: "We really want to stop the violence. We intend to look carefully at the perpetrators of violence and do our level best to remove them from the community."



Mr Nelson Mandela

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, also assured the media that they would not be removed from unrest areas if they merely observed events.

Mr Vlok's legal adviser, Brigadier Gert Joubert, said other essential differences were that unrest areas were proclaimed for three months, while a state of emergency was imposed for a year and to larger regions or the whole country. People detained under the new proclamations had the same rights as normal awaiting-trial prisoners, including visits by a lawyer, doctor and family members.

Attempts to cool the rising climate of violence and destruction also include the introduction of wide-ranging unrest regulations in terms of the Public Safety Act and the implementation of Section 2 of the Dangerous Weapons Act which outlaws the necklacing method of killing people.

Mr Vlok said in a Government Gazette published in Pretoria that he was of the opinion that "public disturbance, disorder, riot and public violence are occurring and threatening to continue in certain areas ... and that measures additional to the ordinary law of the land are necessary to enable the government to ensure the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order".

The gazette listed wide-ranging unrest regulations which come into force immediately.

The weapons ban covers the carrying of firearms and other dangerous weapons such as knives (excluding pocket knives), axes, pangas, knouts, spears, assegais, knobkerries, daggers, swords, petrol bombs, sticks shod with iron, sharp pointed sticks or metal objects, metal rods and pipes and clubs at gatherings.

People who carry firearms to a meeting with the purpose of killing and assaulting others or of causing damage to property will face prosecution.

Anyone found wielding a garden fork or spade as a dangerous weapon would also be liable to prosecution while sickles, scythes, hoes, gaffs, hammers, spanners, screwdrivers, chains and pitchforks are also classified.

The unrest regulations include search and arrest procedures for the maintenance of order, the prohibition on anyone who tries to threaten another person or his relatives and the right to ask for the names and addresses of anyone.

Report on cell death is delayed

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

Police inquiries into the death of Nixon Mayibule Phiri (16) while in police custody have not been completed, contrary to earlier police reports that the findings had been submitted to the Attorney General.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said yestErday that the findings surrounding Phiri's death were due to be handed over this week.

The spokesman said the delay was probably caused because further information was obtained.

Last month Captain E Baartman of the Western Transvaal SAP told The Star the police inquiry into Phiri's death had been completed and the matter was with the Attorney General.

Phiri died on January 16 after allegedly being tortured while in police custody at Welverdiend Police Station on the West Rand.

Asylum seeker is remanded

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Political activist Bhekumuza Jabulani Ximba, who sought political asylum in the US consulate in Durban last month, was remanded when he appeared in the Durban regional court yesterday.

His appearance arose from allegations of illegally possessing hand grenades, limpet mines and explosives.

The case was adjourned to September 14 and bail of R5 000 was extended.

In the consulate incident, Mr Ximba (39) gave himself up to the police only after being assured he would not be detained under the Internal Security Act.

No govt mandate to unban ANC, says private NP paper

B/Day 16/8/90

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EDYTH BULBRING

PRETORIA — Government was not given an outright mandate from the electorate to unban the ANC, the SACP and other political organisations, says an NP confidential bulletin circulated to all NP MPs, Ministers and President's Councillors.

The 18-page bulletin was put out by the NP's Federal Information Service and signed by its chairman, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

The circular, dated June 21, was leaked to CP mouthpiece Die Patriot.

It stated its aim was to deal with the CP's allegation that government was acting outside its mandate.

Excuse

The bulletin said the NP did not ask the electorate for a mandate to unban political organisations, but it did not bind itself to not doing so.

The NP did not ask for a mandate from the electorate to ban these organisations in the first place, the bulletin said.

A CP spokesman said yesterday it was "pathetic" that the only excuse government had for exceeding its mandate was that it had never said it would not.

The bulletin's existence indicated government's concern with CP allegations that it was acting outside its mandate.

That the bulletin was leaked to Die Patriot indicated that some of the recipients were unhappy with its contents, the spokesman said.

The bulletin deals with four areas of government reform attacked by the CP.

They include negotiations with the ANC, the destruction of white community life, the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act and the lifting of restrictions on certain political organisations.

The bulletin justifies government's unbanning of political organisations by stating that circumstances changed after September 6 with the decline of communism in Eastern Europe.

This made communism, as the "answer to all problems", no longer a persuasive ideology to the people of SA.

It also meant that money and weapons to the SACP and the ANC started to dry up, the bulletin said.

The NP was given a mandate by the electorate for its five-year action plan, which clearly outlined its goals for a just SA, the document said.

The plan was based on broad principles, but practical policy steps were spelt out where possible.

The bulletin quotes extensively from the action plan to counter the CP's allegations.

The only area it conceded it had no mandate for was the unbanning of political organisations.

The bulletin states that its recipients can use the arguments against the CP's allegations in any speeches or information circulars.

Extra police promised for Welkom mass demonstration

BLOEMFONTEIN — The proposed mass demonstration through Welkom on Saturday will have special police reinforcements in attendance, CP defence spokesman Koos van der Merwe told the CP congress meeting in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Van der Merwe, who is MP for Overvaal, said he had met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, the Commissioner of Police and the senior deputy Commissioner of Police on Tuesday.

They were just as concerned as he was about the possible security implications.

Van der Merwe had asked the police to try and convince the Welkom council to withdraw permission for the march.

If this could not be done it should be scaled down and special security measures should be taken.

Van der Merwe said he was informed by the police yesterday the march could not be cancelled because legal permission had been obtained from the council and a magistrate.

The police had, however, succeeded in getting the march scaled down and there would be special reinforcements to keep law and order.

"The National Party council of Vereeniging has given permission for 35 000 blacks to march on Saturday. There are stories emanating from Vanderbijlpark that some marchers have been told to take along matches and others would supply petrol," he said.

The CP had sent a telegram to the Vereeniging council demanding that the march be cancelled. If there was any damage to property or loss of life the blame would rest on the shoulders of the council.

Thanks

The congress unanimously accepted proposals that government should ban all marches by blacks through white areas.

A warning was also issued that government would carry the responsibilities for any loss of life or damage to property resulting from these marches.

A telegram is also to be urgently sent to President F W de Klerk informing him of these proposals.

The congress expressed its thanks to the police and proposed that consultations with the police should begin to establish house-watch systems in all neighbourhoods. — Sapa.

SB raid on ANC office in Namibia

South 16/8 - 22/8/90

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THE African National Congress representative to Namibia was visited by the security police after he made claims of secret visits to the country by a former Koevoet commander and other senior officers of the South African military intelligence.

The representative, Mr Abbey Chikane, said in a statement the movement was aware that extremists were recruiting former members from Koevoet and 201 and 202 Battalions.

The strategy of these "extremists" was to destabilise the young republic and use the country as a springboard to crush attempts to bring about peace in Southern Africa, it was claimed.

"On Tuesday, the Namibian security police came to our offices and wanted to know whether we could provide them with more information for further investigation," Chikane said.

"We had no problem providing the information, but as we have the status of a diplomatic mission, the security police will have to go through diplomatic channels to approach us.

Concerned

"I am not suggesting they were harassing us or that we are reluctant to provide the information, but the proper procedures have to be followed."

Chikane mentioned several recent events in Namibia that the ANC was concerned about.

These included the fact that the founder and former commander of Koevoet frequently flew from South Africa to northern Namibia.

He said the purpose of these visits was to recruit ex-Koevoet forces for activities, some in Natal, against the liberation movement in South Africa.

Chikane alleged that another purpose of the visit was to keep former Koevoet structures "alive" for destabilisation in Namibia.

He also accused these forces of giving assistance to Unita forces in Angola.

Accurate

The ANC was concerned that while it was deeply involved in peace in the region, there were those who did not support what the ANC and the South African government were doing.

He said while his information was accurate, he could not divulge his sources to the press.

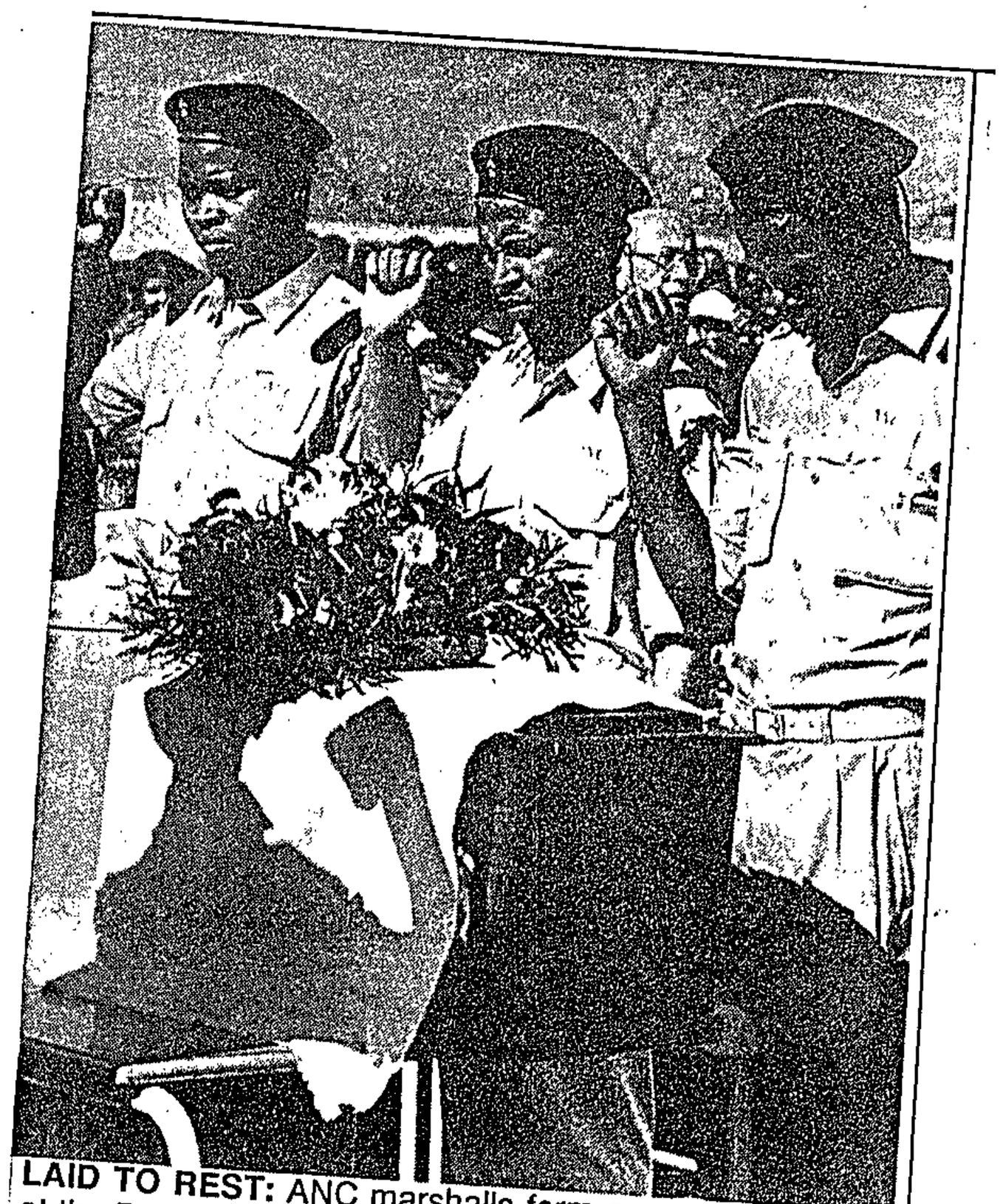
"The ANC supports the concept of reconciliation and we regard Namibia as a very good example," he said.

"We therefore appeal to those who are undermining this concept to join us in an attempt to bring about peace and stability in our region."

The publication of Chikane's allegations in The Namibian, a Windhoek daily newspaper, apparently was the reason for an arson attack on its offices last week.

The Namibian government denied the existence of a coup plot.

DAILY NEWS



LAID TO REST: ANC marshalls form a guard of honour at the Paarl funeral of exile Themba Titana last Saturday. Titana was killed in a car accident in Botswana last month (327) Sowetan 16/8 - 22/8/90 PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

No permit for mum's funeral

Sowetan 16/8-22/8/90

TWO Eastern Cape brothers serving sentences for terrorism on Robben Island were refused permission to attend their mother's funeral last Saturday.

According to their lawyer, Mr Ramesh Vassen, Lizo and Phumlani Ngqungwana had hoped to attend the funeral.

Lizo was sentenced to life imprisonment in the Cape Town Supreme Court in 1987 and Phumlani to eight years in an Eastern Cape court.

"I applied for permission twice and both times their temporary release to attend the funeral was denied," Vassen said.

The brothers' mother, Mrs Nomthandazo Ngqungwana, was a nurse at Victoria Hospital in Alice.

She leaves her husband, three sons and two daughters.

A Prisons Service spokesperson said each application of a prisoner to attend the funeral of a direct family member was carefully considered and a variety of factors taken into account.

"It is the policy of the SA Prisons Service not to comment on a specific application in this regard," the spokesperson said.

ugust 16 1990

NEW

Judge rejects claims of assault

Star 16/8/90

By Cathy Stagg

A woman who claimed police had poured acid up her nose and two men who said police had assaulted him, had their versions rejected by a judge and two assessors yesterday.

As a result of the finding in the trial within a trial, statements which had previously not been admitted as evidence would probably be read into the record today.

The trial of four people arose from the discovery of the bound body of Dianne Tollman (53) at her Parktown North, Johannesburg, townhouse on February 14, last year.

Justice R A Solomon and the assessors are presiding over the trial in the Rand Supreme Court. All four accused have pleaded not guilty.

They are: Donald Khumalo (18) of Berea; Godfrey Moerane (24) of Naledi; Thabo Makaleng (31) and Bettie Mamsie Mbuli (38) both of Berea.Ms Mbuli was Mrs Tollman's maid.

According to the indictment, Mrs Tollman dismissed Ms Mbuli at the end of January last year and Mbuli was angry about the loss of her job and accommodation.

Face covered

Ms Mbuli allegedly incited the three men to break into Mrs Tollman's townhouse unit on the night of February 13 last year.

During a trial within a trial, Ms Mbuli told the court she was taken to the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad where she was kept in an office.

She claimed a balaclava was pulled over her head so that her face was covered, then her head was pulled back and a strange smelling liquid was poured up her nostrils. She claimed the liquid must have been acid because the inside of her nose was burnt. Ms Mbuli said a similar liquid was poured on the inside of her thighs and it caused the skin to come off, yet this did not happen on her face.

The judge said it was strange that there was no damage to her face or the inside of her throat if the liquid was administered through the balaclava.

Mr Moerane and Mr Makaleng both claimed to have been assaulted. But their evidence contained many improbabilities and conflicted with evidence presented by the State, the judge ruled.

Marches 327 'invitation to violence'

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Conservative Party's Free State Congress unanimously adopted a resolution yesterday demanding the Government put an immediate end to all black protest marches in white areas.

It also warned the Government it would be held directly responsible for any consequent loss of life or damage to property.

This message would be immediately conveyed by telegram to President de Klerk, Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe announced on the last day of the party's eighth annual Free State Congress in the city hall here.

Mr van der Merwe said political marches by "communist-inspired hordes" through white areas constituted an insult to whites and were an invitation for racial conflict and violence.

Prevented

CP law and order spokesman Moolman Mentz said political unrest prevented the police from concentrating on its main task of containing crime.

As a result, there were 30 assaults in South Africa every hour, 32 murders every day and three rapes, six robberies and 48 housebreakings an hour.

He slated Mr de Klerk for appointing a joint Government/ANC security monitoring force, saying communists and terrorists have been granted co-authority over the security forces.

This was a significant step towards allowing the ANC to fulfill its goal of receiving power.

The political Right and those who supported the maintenance of democracy had been branded the enemies of the State since the unbanning of the ANC and SACP, the country's real enemies.

CP demands ban on marches

CONSERVATIVE Party discussions on black protest marches in Bloemfontein this week saw many demands for an outright Government ban on these demonstrations. Sowetan 17/8/90

Warnings were issued that if any white lost his life or sustained any damage to property as a result of these marches through "white areas", the blame would rest squarely on the shoulders of the Government."

Mr Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for Owervaal, said the NP controlled council of Vereeniging had granted permission for 35 000 blacks to stage a protest march tomorrow

"I've heard stories coming from Vanderbijlpark that some of the blacks have been told to bring matches and others would bring petrol." (327)

Delegates reiterated their stand against open hospitals and a "mixed-up" health services. It was contended that the country's health services had never been in a worse state and that key personnel were resigning.

There were constant attacks on the Press, accompanied by accusations that the Press "hated Afrikaners" and was guilty of disseminating naive propaganda. - *Sapa*

Welkom tenses up for protest march

W/Mail 1988 - 1918/90

By CHARLES LEONARD: **Welkom**

TENSION is mounting in Welkom as the town braces itself for the protest march tomorrow by residents of neighbouring Bronville township.

But, says Bronville Civic Association organising secretary Lionel Beukes, it is "no more or less (tension) than usual". "Since the killing of two black people at the beginning of the year by right-wingers, the atmosphere in our town has been very tense."

Threats from the right-wing have been building up since Monday night's warning from Conservative Party Member of Parliament Koos van der Merwe that the party would resort to violence "if one white person died".

Van der Merwe told a CP protest meeting in the town: "We will mobilise our people and stop them (the marchers) with violence."

Beukes and fellow BCA members have been encouraging residents to take part *en masse* in the protest march through the centre of Welkom to the local police station, where they plan to deliver a set of grievances and demands to the station commander.

At the CP meeting on Monday a motion of no-confidence in the National Party members of the Welkom City Council was passed and demands were made for their resignation.

On Tuesday Van der Merwe met with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe and senior deputy commissioner General Mulder van Eyk, to discuss the Welkom march.

At that meeting Van der Merwe demanded the suspension of the march. On Wednesday, at the CP Free State congress in Bloemfontein, he told the delegates that Van Eyk telephoned him that morning to tell him that the police were not able to cancel the march, but that they promised to scale it down. The general also told Van der Merwe that police reinforcements would be sent to Welkom.

The congress accepted Van der Merwe's proposal to send a telegram to State President FW de Klerk, demanding the immediate cessation of black marches through white suburbs.

"They try to instil fear in our people," Beukes said. "But we will be there in our numbers.

"The irony of Van der Merwe's threat is that we are in any case in the white suburbs every day because that is where we work," he told *The Weekly Mail* in the office of the Congress of South African Writers in the industrial part of Welkom.

Apart from the large police presence expected tomorrow, the BCA has also organised 800 marshalls to see that march is held in a disciplined manner. Beukes said: "It would mean about one marshall for every eight marchers."

The marchers would not be allowed to carry weapons, including mock AK-47s. ~~2234~~ 327

"We asked the police to make sure that the right-wingers — we expect a lot of them at the march — are also unarmed," he said.

Major Johann Fouche of the Welkom police issued a stern warning that no interference in the march would be tolerated.

A spokesman for the CP in Welkom, Hennie Kemp, told *The Weekly Mail* that, although they opposed to the march being allowed to take place, the party did not plan to take any action against the marchers.

Blast from the past as press group is ordered from unrest

(327)

W/Mail 17/8 - 19/8/90

By PHILIPPA GARSON

JOURNALISTS could have sworn they were back in the days of the national State of Emergency yesterday when they were ordered away from a scene of unrest near Jabulani hostel, Soweto.

According to a *Weekly Mail* photographer, Kevin Carter, several media people were recording an incident where police were teargassing residents who had erected burning barricades.

"Actually we only stopped because we had a puncture," he said.

Several policemen approached them and told to leave the scene immediately as their lives were in danger. Finally a Captain Paxton was called to the scene informing them he had been instructed by his senior, Colonel Tienie Halgryn, to order the journalists to vacate the area in 20 minutes.

"We have good reason to believe, and we have photos of this, that you people, or some of you people, are accused of the reason that these riots are happening here," he said.

The journalists duly left. When Halgryn was contacted later he indicated he had not given the specific order but said there was evidence that the journalists had incited people, and police therefore had the right to remove them under a section of the Internal Security Act.

"A colonel and a major saw this with their own eyes. At a certain railway station a television camera was set up and straight afterwards people started throwing stones at the line."

A *Weekly Mail* lawyer said yesterday section 50 of the ISA involved an entirely subjective discretion as to whether an individual's presence constituted incitement and it was difficult for police to prove this. "Before, (under the Emergency) if police believed an unrest situation existed they could justify the ordering away of journalists."

Police did not need proof to make this decision.

"It seems this is going to be the new section used against them in the absence of the Emergency. Journalists must familiarise themselves with this legislation. They must be aware that this involves a subjective discretion. This does not mean a fabrication," she said.

Whites warn of violence at today's Welkom march

Star 18/8/90 327

THE potential for conflict during today's march through the centre of Welkom has been addressed by the South African Police in a stern warning issued soon after the Conservative Party threatened to resort to violence if one white person dies at the march.

Major Johan Beukes of the Welkom police has said the SAP will not tolerate any interference and are determined to ensure the maintenance of law and order during the march by about 5 000 black residents of Bronville township.

Permission for the march has been granted by the Welkom Town Council, but it will take place in a delicate climate of racial conflict which has the potential of turning bloody if the right-wing tries to intervene.

Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for

SUE OLSWANG

Overvaal, has warned that today's march is an invitation to bloodshed.

"If one white person dies it will be on the Government's conscience. We will mobilise our people and stop them with violence," Mr van der Merwe said during a stormy CP meeting held in the Free State mining town on Monday night.

At its annual Free State congress held in Bloemfontein earlier this week, the CP passed a unanimous resolution to demand an immediate end to protest marches through white areas. The party also stated the Government would be directly responsible for loss of lives or damage to property caused during black political protest.

● TO PAGE 2.

March fears

Star 18/8/90 327

● FROM PAGE 1.

Today's march, organised by the Bronville and Thabong civic associations, is a protest against high service charges and inadequate housing in Bronville.

March organiser Lionel Beukes has said the marchers will stick to the 5 000 limit on numbers imposed by the Welkom Town Council.

They will be unarmed and subject to the discipline of 800 marshals.

The CP's Mr van der Merwe has, however, said Welkom whites will "simply not allow these people to march through the town carrying ANC banners, Communist flags and singing Nkosi Sikelele i'Africa".

The march will begin at Thabong Township and proceed to the Jan Hofmeyer Police Station, in Welkom, where a memorandum of grievances will be handed to police for forwarding to council authorities.

● Blanke Veiligheid (BV), a right-wing movement, has also threatened to disrupt today's march.

On July 30, the Citizen newspaper reported that BV spokesman Mr David Naude said: "We won't allow the march to take place.

We have warned police there will be bloodshed and that they should get ambulances ready."

ry 2.

SOME observers say the ANC received a raw deal in last week's Pretoria Minute in that it agreed to suspend its "armed struggle" while failing to get a commitment from the government to suspend or scrap the main legal pillar of the *total onslaught* era.

Although the Pretoria Minute contains government promises to give "immediate consideration" to repealing certain provisions of the Act and to continue reviewing security legislation, there has been no commitment to scrap it or to do away with the draconian powers it gives the government — especially its securocrats.

These powers have been described as "truly awesome" by the Johannesburg-based Human Rights Commission, which has also called for the repeal of the ISA.

DR MAX COLEMAN, a member of the commission, said the Pretoria Minute changed nothing in the continuing implementation of the Act — "except in terms of certain vague promises and undertakings".

"I see no reason why the application of the Act cannot be suspended. One can understand an Act has to be repealed by parliament, but here there is no obligation to apply it."

Dr Coleman said the two most serious aspects of the Act that were still being vigorously implemented provided for detention without trial and for bans on gatherings. At present more than 100 people are being held under the detention-without-trial provision, and the most recent detention was only a few days ago when a young Wits University student was held in Pretoria.

ANOTHER call for the repeal of the Act has come from the Five Freedoms Forum which described it as historically a law used "to bolster the apartheid state". A spokesman said that in the new climate of increased democratic activity, all those held under the Act should be charged or released and the Act itself should be withdrawn from the statute books or redefined in law so that it could not be misused in future.

The Act is also being looked at by the Media Council, according to council chairman Jan Steyn. He told Leadership magazine the Act was "top of the list" of major laws among just more than a hundred that affect the press in some way.

THE Internal Security Act is widely regarded as the last word in security legislation for enforcing the apartheid system. As the major permanent security measure, it emerged from a stormy history of ever-growing revolt against apartheid and an ever-tightening network of repressive laws introduced over four decades of Nationalist rule.

The Act came into effect on July 2 1982, but has a long ancestry of laws stretching back to 1950. Among its forerunners was a whole succession of harsh security laws, starting with the Suppression of Communism Act and progressing through a series of internal security acts, general law amendment acts, riotous assemblies acts, the Unlawful Organisations Act, and the notorious Terrorism Act.

THIS was the main legal armoury of the apartheid security system. The laws provided the machinery and the power for crushing what the security establishment saw as manifestations of subversion or revolt.



'The Pretoria Minute has changed nothing except in terms of vague promises'

— Dr Max Coleman



'The Internal Security Act is top of the list of about 100 laws affecting the press'

— Jan Steyn



The government's magic phrase to justify all this and further harsh measures as a way of life under successive states of emergency was "revolutionary climate" — a concept which to this day remains vague and undefined in its meaning and implications.

The plethora of security laws was streamlined and consolidated by the Rabie Commission, appointed in 1979. At the end of the commission's labours, a report was tabled in parliament on February 3 1982, which culminated in the Internal Security Act as we know it today. It took the place of its forerunners and it is in this sense that it is being described as the last word in security legislation.

IT is a monument to more than 40 years of toil in making laws for the defence of apartheid security against its many opponents. It is also a monument to the way in which loopholes and avenues of expression were closed one by one, until virtually no space remained for legitimate political opposition outside parliament, from which the majority of the population was excluded.

Significantly, the main security laws of the so-called independent homelands of Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda are, in effect, carbon copies of the Republic's Internal Security Act.

The powers of the ISA are indeed awesome. There is hardly a form of political expression which is not blocked, controlled or threatened by one or other provision of the Act.

ONE of the most terrifying features is the high death rate under ISA detention. There have been numerous reports of prisoners tortured while in such detention.

The grim record of what the Act has done to people over the years speaks for itself:

■ **Detention without trial:** 24 000 people detained since 1963, of which 75 percent were released without charge, four percent were convicted and 65 died. There were many reports of torture. Detentions continue in the Republic and in the TBVC homelands and about 100 people are reported to be in detention now.

■ **Banning of persons:** 2 000 persons were banned, banished or placed under house arrest since 1950 for periods ranging from one to 26 years. These provisions have not been used since 1986, but the powers are still intact.

■ **Listing of persons:** Since 1950 the quoting of listed persons has been prohibited. In 1989 there were 537 named in the consolidated list. The list, which now has more than 300 names, is still in use.

■ **Banning of organisations:** 24 organisations, declared "unlawful", were banned in the Republic since 1950 and 42 in the homelands. Heavy sentences were imposed for furthering the aims of such organisations. All the organisations concerned were unbanned on February 2, but the banning powers remained intact.

■ **Banning of gatherings:** Thousands of gatherings have been banned since 1950 and tens of thousands of people have been arrested for attending such gatherings. Since 1976 there has been a blanket ban on outdoor gatherings — a ban which was renewed on April 1 this year. In the first half of this year more than 170 people died and 1 500 were injured during the breaking up of gatherings by police.

■ **Banning of publications:** Eight newspapers were closed from 1952 to 1977. Hundreds of people were charged with possession or distribution of banned publications. At present there are no publications banned under the ISA, but banning powers are intact.

■ **Political trial and imprisonment:** Tens of thousands of people have been charged since 1950 with offences under the ISA. Thousands were convicted and sentenced to terms of up to life imprisonment. In the past five years alone there have been 500 trials, 5 000 accused and 1 000 people convicted. There have been between 300 and 400 security prisoners at any stage. ISA trials continue and about 300 security prisoners are still held.

EVEN since President De Klerk's watershed speech of February 2 this year, political trials under the ISA have continued. Some of these relate to events before that date, but others to occurrences after it. About 30 ISA trials have been completed since February 2 and about as many are still in progress.

The Human Rights Commission says the Act is increasingly taking on the character of *the major obstruction* on the path to a negotiated political settlement in South Africa.

In spite of the latest dramatic advances towards negotiations for a peaceful settlement, the main pillar designed for apartheid security remains intact. This is worrying not only the African National Congress but also several human-rights organisations. Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE examines the issue and the government's awesome powers under the Internal Security Act.

Overdue for banning: Internal Security Act

HOW much longer will South Africa remain in the iron grip of one of the most repressive laws in the country's history — the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982?

Since last week's historic Pretoria talks there has been clear unhappiness among human-rights organisations about the government's reluctance to let go of its enormous authoritarian powers under this law.

This week the ANC called for mass demonstrations on August 23 to protest against security laws and detention without trial. The call came in the wake of a strongly-worded ANC statement last weekend demanding the immediate suspension — pending repeal — of the Internal Security Act (ISA) and of other "repressive" laws. The ANC said 151 of its members had been arrested since its unbanning on Febru-

Vaal march peaceful

Sowetan 20/8/90

327

ABOUT 20 000 black protesters marched peacefully into conservative white Vereeniging on Saturday under the watchful gaze of a large police contingent.

Rightwing threats to bomb and shoot protesters if the march went ahead, did not materialise.

While a few Conservative Party supporters objected to the march, most whites expressed the view that peaceful protest was the right of South African blacks.

Sowetan Reporter

The leader of the march, Mr Zwelinzima Vavi, Cosatu's Western Transvaal regional secretary, read a list of demands to Vereeniging's Commissioner of Police, Col Piet Fourie.

Police provided a pubic address system to the march marshals so that they could address the crowd.

The marchers returned along a different route to the Vaal Showgrounds where they dispersed from there.

The march was organised by Cosatu, the Vaal Civic Association and the Mass Democratic Movement to demand an explanation as to why police allegedly ignored Cosatu's warning that there would be violence at an Inkatha rally at Sebokeng on August 22.

At least 24 people died when supporters of the ANC clashed with Inkatha supporters after the rally.

The memorandum also demanded to know why Inkatha members were allowed to carry spears, knobkerries and guns at the so-called peace rally.

Another demand was for police to bring about an immediate end to the killing of Sebokeng hostel residents. - Sapa

Youth struck down by arrow

A SIXTEEN-year-old youth was shot in the arm with a green, black and gold crossbow bolt as thousands of black protestors marched past armed rightwingers on their way to the Welkom police station to hand over a memorandum on Saturday morning.

Hundreds of khaki-clad men with Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging insignia lined a part of the 8km march route armed with rifles, shotguns, pistols, whips and batons. They however remained inside white-owned private properties.

Several took up sniper-like positions on roofs and one man was seen carrying a crossbow before the march began.

The march, arranged by Welkom ANC-aligned structures to demand action on community grievances, proceeded about 1km through white residential area to the Jan Hofmeyer police station where a memorandum was handed to SA Police deputy district commander Lieutenant-Colonel Sam Kruger.

Col Kruger assured the marchers that the demands would be forwarded to Welkom's city council.

Residents of Bronville, a suburb of so-called coloured people, are demanding one city council for Welkom, the resignation of councillors and the management committee, affordable houses and service charges and the provision of service land for new housing development.

Demand

Another demand was for the cessation of evictions and the acknowledgement by the Welkom City Council of the Bronville Civic Association.

On their return past the AWB-guarded houses, protestors danced, whistled and flaunted ANC colours chanting "ANC, ANC...", while the right-wingers returned the shouting with flat handed salutes and loud cries of "AWB, AWB...".

A dog in a house along the route was encouraged by its owner to bite and shake a bundle of green, yellow and black rags, the colours of the ANC.

Hani shrugs off refusal on indemnity

ARGUS 20/8/90 327

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hanis says he is not worried about President De Klerk's refusal to renew his indemnity.

Mr Hani's name as well as those of two other senior African National Congress members, Umkhonto we Sizwe intelligence head Mr Ronnie Kasrils and South African Communist Party member Mr Mac Maharaj, were omitted from a list of senior African National Congress and South African Communist Party members whose immunity from prosecution has been extended until the end of the year.

The trio's indemnity expired last night. Mr Hani is in Transkei, Mr Maharaj is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and Mr Kasrils is understood to be in hiding.

Mr Hani said today: "Well, I would leave it to the ANC to comment, but this really doesn't worry me. It's just an attempt to intimidate me and the two other comrades."

Only a few ANC members had been given immunity from prosecution.

"How many of our people have enjoyed indemnity? The immunity given to the leadership of the movement is not the critical part because most of our people have not been indemnified."

His stay in Transkei would depend on the leadership of the ANC, Mr Hani said.

"I'll continue with my normal activities. The struggle continues. We continued with our struggle despite the fact that we were given temporary indemnity."

Mr Hani said the ANC had decided to suspend its armed struggle, but he viewed with concern right-wing threats and violence emanating from Inkatha.

"We are observing the right-wing with a lot of anxiety. We are worried that the right-wingers could have openly brandished their weapons in Welkom on Saturday.

By force

"It's strange that the police have not raided right-wing strongholds, such as Welkom, when they don't hesitate in raiding black residential areas."

● Political Correspondent Michael Morris reports that relations between the government and the ANC are strained today after the decision not to renew the temporary indemnities of the three ANC figures.

The ANC appeared to have been taken by surprise by the decision, which is widely seen as a warning from the government that it will not tolerate war talk or hints of aggression from the organisation's leadership.

Chief ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada said leaders were expected to discuss the issue today.

Although the government has declined today to say openly why the three men have been excluded, sources made it clear it was to do with their apparent failure to commit themselves to peaceful methods.

Mr Hani, who is believed to be in the Transkei — and could face arrest if he returns to South Africa — has courted controversy since his statement that the ANC might have to seize power by force if negotiations broke down. When the ANC suspended the armed struggle, he advised members of Umkhonto we Sizwe to "stay in their trenches" and await orders.

The exclusion of Mr Maharaj — who is still in detention under the Internal Security Act — and Mr Kasrils is understood to be connected with their reported roles in "Operation Vula", an alleged communist plot recently uncovered.

● The African National Congress is going ahead on Thursday with nationwide protests against the detention of people under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Five ANC men released

Staff Reporter

FIVE African National Congress members were released from Robben Island at the weekend with sentence reductions of between one and five years.

Mr Phillip Nyongwana and Mr Jeffrey Baartman, sentenced in 1983 to 10 years in jail for murder and terrorism, were released two years early.

Also freed was Mr Alfred Ntsihlele, who was sentenced in 1988 to three years' imprisonment for sedition; Mr John Mofokeng Sekete, who served 11 years of a 16-year term for treason; and Mr Mlandlenkosi Hadebe, who served 11 years of a 16-year term for high treason.

ANC slams govt on non-indemnity

CAPE TIMES 21/8/90 (1) (2) (3) 327

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC plans to "strongly protest" against President F W de Klerk's decision to revoke the indemnity afforded three of its leading members.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macazoma said yesterday that the matter would be raised when the joint ANC-government working group met later this week, and would be taken up with Mr De Klerk if necessary.

The three whose immunity in terms of the Indemnity Act was revoked at the weekend are Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief Mr Chris Hani, detained SACP politburo member Mr Mac Maharaj and former MK intelligence chief Mr Ronnie Kasrils.

Mr Macazoma said the ANC was concerned at the move because it was not consistent with the discussions held in Pretoria earlier this month between the ANC and the government.

The ANC "doesn't see the point" of the government's refusal to renew the temporary indemnity of the three at this stage as they would have qualified for permanent indemnity in terms of the Pretoria Minute on October 1.

Mr Macazoma said the decision to "hunt down" Mr Hani, who is understood to be in Transkei, for "momentary satisfaction" did not make sense and appeared to be a "childish" attempt to placate the right wing.

He said the question should be asked: "Does this action help to clear the obstacles in the way of the negotiation process?"

The ANC was "most anxious" for the government to clarify its motives as an "apparent contradiction" existed.

The Democratic Party also slammed the government move, saying it could result in a setback to negotiations.

The DP's spokesman on Justice, Mr Dave Dalling, said in a statement yesterday: "President De Klerk should know that he cannot negotiate with only that section of the ANC of which he approves.

"He will have to negotiate a new dispensation for all South Africans with all of the ANC — as also with other parties and groupings.

"At very least, the temporary indemnity afforded to other ANC leaders should be extended to Mssrs Hani and Kasrils, and Mr Mac Maharaj should be released from detention or charged with whatever crime he is accused of having committed," Mr Dalling said.

The Ministry of Justice said in a statement yesterday that the three ANC members could make representations to the State President to have their immunity from prosecution restored.

However, the ministry would not say why their names had been omitted from a list published in the Government Gazette at the weekend extending immunity to other ANC members until the end of the year.

The Justice Ministry said: "It has never been customary to furnish reasons for the decisions of the State President in cases where he exercises a discretion conferred on him by law."

Sapa reports that police spokesman Colonel Steve van Rooyen said the step meant that "if police have reason to believe they are involved in any crime and wish to arrest or detain them, this can now be done".

Chris Hani faces arrest

OVT 7mfS 21/8/90 327

TWO ANC national executive committee members, Mr Chris Hani and Mr Ronnie Kasrils, were no longer "free to roam" and would be arrested if they "set foot in South Africa", a police spokesman said yesterday.

This follows the government's decision not to grant an amnesty extension to the two leaders and Mr Mac Maharaj.

Mr Maharaj is being held under the Internal Security Act.

Mr Hani said in Umtata yesterday that the dropping of his name from the indemnity list by the government was a tragic comedy.

"One would have expected that the provisions of the Pretoria Minute would be given a chance to become effective," said the Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff speaking from the Transkei government guest house.

At the recent Pretoria talks it was agreed that the ANC's armed struggle be suspended and that exiles be allowed to return home, he pointed out.

However, a Justice Ministry spokesman said the ANC was misreading the Pretoria Minute. Mr Hani, Mr Kasrils and Mr Maharaj were unlikely to qualify for the categories of people which the Pretoria Minute envisaged would qualify for indemnity from October 1.

Mr Hani said that as far as he knew the ANC had not been given reasons for the government's action.

An ANC and SA Communist Party leader, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, said last night "we are not happy", and there would be mass protests.

And there was strong speculation yesterday that the three had been omitted from the list because of links with the "red plot" to establish an underground militia in case negotiations collapsed.

● ANC member Mr Hein Grosskopf would "most certainly" be arrested if he made good on his promise to return to South Africa, the spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said yesterday.

The 26-year-old MK member told a Sunday newspaper in Lusaka that he was excited at the prospect of a reunion with his family and friends in Stellenbosch. — Political Staff and Sapa

● ANC slams govt on indemnity — Page 2

New

NP nod for march angers CP

Sowetan 23/8/90

THE National Party-controlled town council of Sasolburg has granted permission for a South African Youth Congress protest march through the town centre on Saturday - a move that has enraged the Conservative Party.

At a council meeting on Monday night, the NP outvoted the CP by five to three to give Sayco the go-ahead for a march. One independent councillor did not attend the meeting.

CP caucus chairman Mr Daan van Staden said the NP councillors had indicated that they were not really in favour of the march.

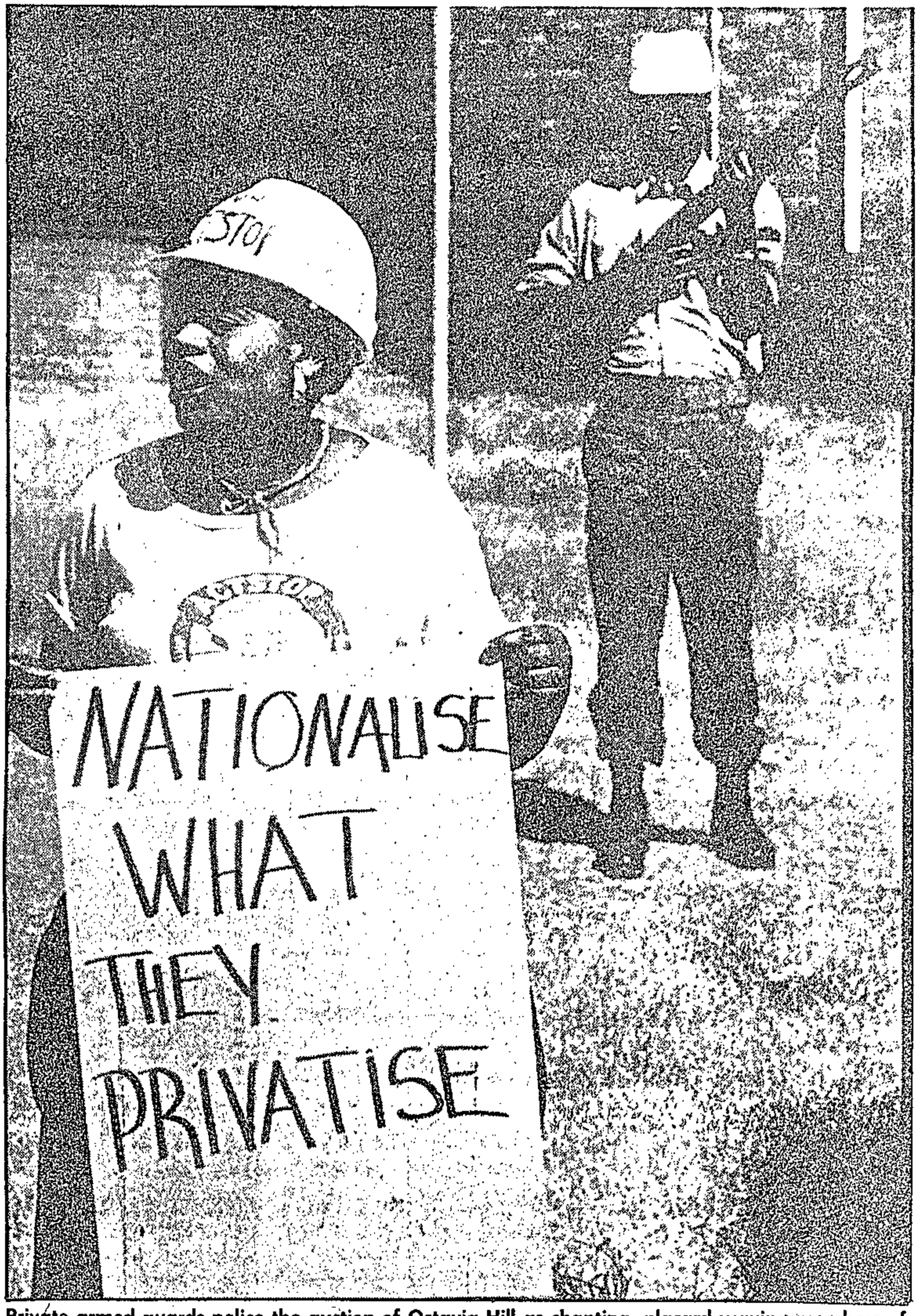
"The only reason they are allowing it is to vote against the CP," he said.

The CP was opposed to the march because it believed the African National Congress, which wanted to open a branch in the town but was battling to obtain the necessary 100 signatures, was using its "youth branch" to muster support.

"Those radical kids should be at school not campaiging for political rights for grown-ups," Van Staten said.

The CP also queried the NP's permission for the march, which included conditions that only residents of Zamdela township participated, the number of marchers kept to 12 000 and no dangerous weapons be carried.

Said Van Staden: "Who is going to check that only Zamdela residents participate, who is going to count them and what is the definition of a dangerous weapon?" - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



Private armed guards police the auction of Octavia Hill as chanting, placard-waving members of Actstop toyi-toyi and sing outside the building.. **Picture by Stephen Davimes.**

Protesters disrupt flats auction

By Shirley Woodgate

Demonstrators yesterday disrupted the auction of the controversial Fordsburg complex, Octavia Hill, which was provisionally sold to businessman Solly Essack for R3 million — well below the R5,75 million upset price.

Mr Essack said the property had been bought on behalf of property company Boshoid Ltd.

The final bid by Mr Essack must be confirmed within 14 days, during which time other offers will be considered.

Late yesterday J H Isaacs spokesman Wayne Wright denied that a bid of R6 million had been received, but said a higher offer had been expected.

The auction, which at times threatened to get out of hand as toyi-toying Actstop members chanted and displayed posters, was conducted in the presence of armed guards, employed by auctioneers J H Isaacs allegedly in response to threats.

The eight-block flat complex, which was built in 1936 for elderly whites, later housed several fleeing Soweto councillors.

It was sold by the city council for R2,5 million to the housing department in the House of Assembly, which auctioned it off.

Bidding was delayed while auctioneer Hugh Denny was involved in altercations with members of Actstop, the Save Pageview Association (SPA), the ANC, PAC, SA Council of Churches and Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa.

They demanded to know whether Mr Denny could guarantee that the property would not be nationalised when a new government took over and protested against the sale of the building while 7 million people were homeless.

Temba march flops

(327)

Sowetan 23/8/90

By ALINAH DUBE

A PROPOSED stayaway and march failed to take place in Temba, Hammanskraal, yesterday.

There was a heavy police and army presence throughout the township during the day.

The stayaway was called by residents after the detention of Miss Nomvula Masango, a Temba Civic Association member and also a Vista University students representative council member, who was detained at the weekend.





LEFT: A policeman attends to colleague hit by a brick thrown by a rioter in Kagiso yesterday. **RIGHT:** Zulu migrant workers armed with sticks guard the body of a friend murdered at Vosloorus.

Pictures: REUTER

Hani's surprise

UMTATA. — Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, said here yesterday that he regarded the question of his indemnity as irrelevant and would not take orders from South Africa's Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

"I refuse to be intimidated by anyone. I shall take my orders from the leadership of the ANC and the people," he said.

Mr Hani said he did not know why indemnity had been denied him but it did not give him "sleepless nights", nor did he know why the government was so impatient to send him back to Lusaka.

Mr Hani made a surprise appearance at a meeting in the Independence Stadium held by the Transkei Teacher Unity Forum co-ordinating committee, following a march by teachers to the Department of Education where they handed in a list of grievances.

He said Transkei had "never witnessed such a militant demonstration by the teachers".

Indemnity demand

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday demanded immediate and unconditional indemnity for Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Mac Maharaj.

The government at the weekend lifted their temporary indemnity from arrest.

The ANC said the government had recently placed severe stress on the process towards negotiating a peaceful political transformation.

It demanded an end to arrest and harassment of ANC members by police, and release of Mr Maharaj and other detainees.

It said that since the Groote Schuur meeting, the government had placed severe stresses on the process of peaceful transition. These included:

● Leaks of confidential discussions between the ANC and the government; the arrest and detention of ANC members, and the continuation of political trials.

"These ill-considered actions are as provocative as they are insufferable," the ANC said. — Sapa

Hani 'an asset'

UMTATA. — Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani had been an asset to Transkei, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, chairman of the Transkei Military Council, said yesterday.

Reacting to the removal of Mr Hani's name from the indemnity list by the South African government this week, General Holomisa said Transkei had nothing against Mr Hani, especially since the ANC had been unbanned.

"In fact he has been an asset, because ever since he arrived here he has been talking discipline and has cleared up certain issues to the masses."

From Johannesburg it is reported that police are continuing their investigation of charges of high treason against Mr Hani.

Police in Pretoria made inquiries to Sapa yesterday about two newspaper articles quoting Mr Hani, which appeared in July in two Transvaal newspapers. Both articles reported on speeches delivered by Mr Hani in Umtata. — Sapa

Defiant Hani won't leave SA

FROM MONO BADELA
JOHANNESBURG

Hani, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, has vowed to remain in South Africa despite the withdrawal of his temporary indemnity.

In a telephone interview from Umtata, Hani said: "I am here to stay and I will not move or leave the country until I receive instructions from my organisation."

Earlier in the week the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, withdrew the temporary indemnity of top ANC leaders Mac Maharaj, Ronnie Kasrils and Chris Hani, saying their conduct was not conducive to peace.

The ANC's mass mobilisation for a armed struggle, in defiance of the ban on the organisation, was also seen as an attempt to push the ANC alliance to the left.

Hani said he was being used as a scapegoat" by the government.

"I will continue to participate in the struggle until my people are free," Hani said.

He said in South Africa and I will continue to wear his combat uniform.

Hani said he was being used as a scapegoat" by the government.

In response Chris Hani said: "I can't understand why the government is using the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign.

"Scapegoat" by the government.

In response Chris Hani said: "I can't understand why the government is using the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign.

suspension of the ANC's armed struggle, including the

De Klerk also announced his intention to push for a comprehensive

and Chris Hani, saying their conduct was not conducive to peace.

leaders Mac Maharaj, Ronnie Kasrils

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Umtata, Hani said: interview from

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South Africa despite the with-

to we Sizwe, has vowed to remain in

Hani, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto

JOHANNESBURG

FROM MONO BADELA

Chris

—

Defiant Hani won't leave SA

Sat, 22/8 - 24/8/90

327

agains him. intends to continue to work inside the country.

The ANC is expected to propose representatives on the joint Working Group the suspension of arms resolve ouistanding questions arising from the struggle.

The group is supposed to meet later this week.

The ANC views the indemnities of the refusal to renew the process of removing three as creating a potentially serious problem in the negotiations.

The SACP is also demanding the immediate and unconditional release of Maharaj and all other detainees.

A campaign for the release of all political detainees is due to begin this week.

Meanwhile police are continuing their investigation of charges of high treason against Hani.

Death row woman moved to Upington

Cpt Trials 23/8/90 (327)

Staff Reporter

A WOMAN on death row, Evelina de Bruyn — one of the Upington 14 sentenced to death last year, was moved to Upington Prison on Saturday, pending an appeal against her sentence.

Attorney Ms Sandra Liebenberg said representations had been made to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to have De Bruyn moved to Upington so she could be near to her children, family and friends.

Ms Liebenberg said that De Bruyn, who is about 55 years old, was moved because of her age, her sickness and because she was pining for her two younger children.

Her husband, Mr Gideon Madlongwana, also one of the Upington 14, is still on death row in Pretoria.

Hani hunt goes on

327

POLICE are continuing their investigation of charges of high treason' against Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A warrant officer in Pretoria made inquiries at *Sapa* yesterday morning concerning two newspaper articles quoting Hani, which appeared in July in the *Pretoria News* and the *Citizen*.

Both articles, which originated from the news agency, reported on speeches Hani delivered in Umtata.

The *Pretoria News* article, which appeared on July 23, was headlined "ANC warning not show of bravado - Hani".

So wefon 13/8/90

Warning

The MK chief of staff was reported to have said the warning that the ANC might have to seize power if it appeared the Government was not prepared to share it was not a show of "bravado" as an unnamed Sunday newspaper had indicated, but a serious declaration.

The *Citizen* report under investigation appeared on July 4, headlined "ANC's Hani rejects SADF in future SA".

Together with senior ANC and SA Communist Party officials Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils, Hani's temporary indemnity from arrest was lifted by the authorities at the weekend.

ANC information officer Saki Macozoma said yesterday the ANC did not know the exact whereabouts of Hani, only that he was still in Transkei.

Police view

Police have said they cannot act against Hani while he was still in the Transkei.

A police spokesman said if Hani returned to South Africa, the Attorney-General would have to decide on whether to prosecute him.

"A charge of high treason is still being investigated against Mr Hani," the spokesman said.

In the *Pretoria News* article, Hani was reported to have said: " ... the Government was boasting about having arrested 'Umkhonto we Sizwe comrades' but no one was saying they had violated the Groote Schuur Minute - a show of the arrogance of the white man".

Hani was quoted directly: "They think they know what's good for the stupid native. We shall decide how we shall liberate ourselves."

Sowetan Correspondent.

Ceasefire affects all, says detainee's wife

Pretoria Correspondent

The ceasefire by the ANC as agreed in the Pretoria Minute is binding on all its members and would also be binding on two alleged members of the Nchabaleng unit who were being detained under the Internal Security Act, according to the wife of one of the detainees.

Joanna Ditshego, who applied to the Pretoria Supreme for the release of her husband and a friend, said in an affidavit yesterday that, in view of the ceasefire, individuals who owed their allegiance to the ANC would cease any crimes as defined in the Act, or so-called "political crimes".

The Supreme Court action by Mrs Ditshego and Popi Makitla, both of Alexandra, for the release of Isaac Ditshego and Johannes Makitla follows their detention on June 27.

The matter, heard by Mr Justice Preiss, was brought against the Minister of Law and Order, the Commissioner of Police, the Officer Commanding John Vorster Square, the Minister of Justice, the Commissioner of Prisons and the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg.

Uncovered unit

Police claimed last week that they had uncovered the Nchabaleng unit, a military unit within Umkhonto we Sizwe, of which Mr Ditshego was the commander.

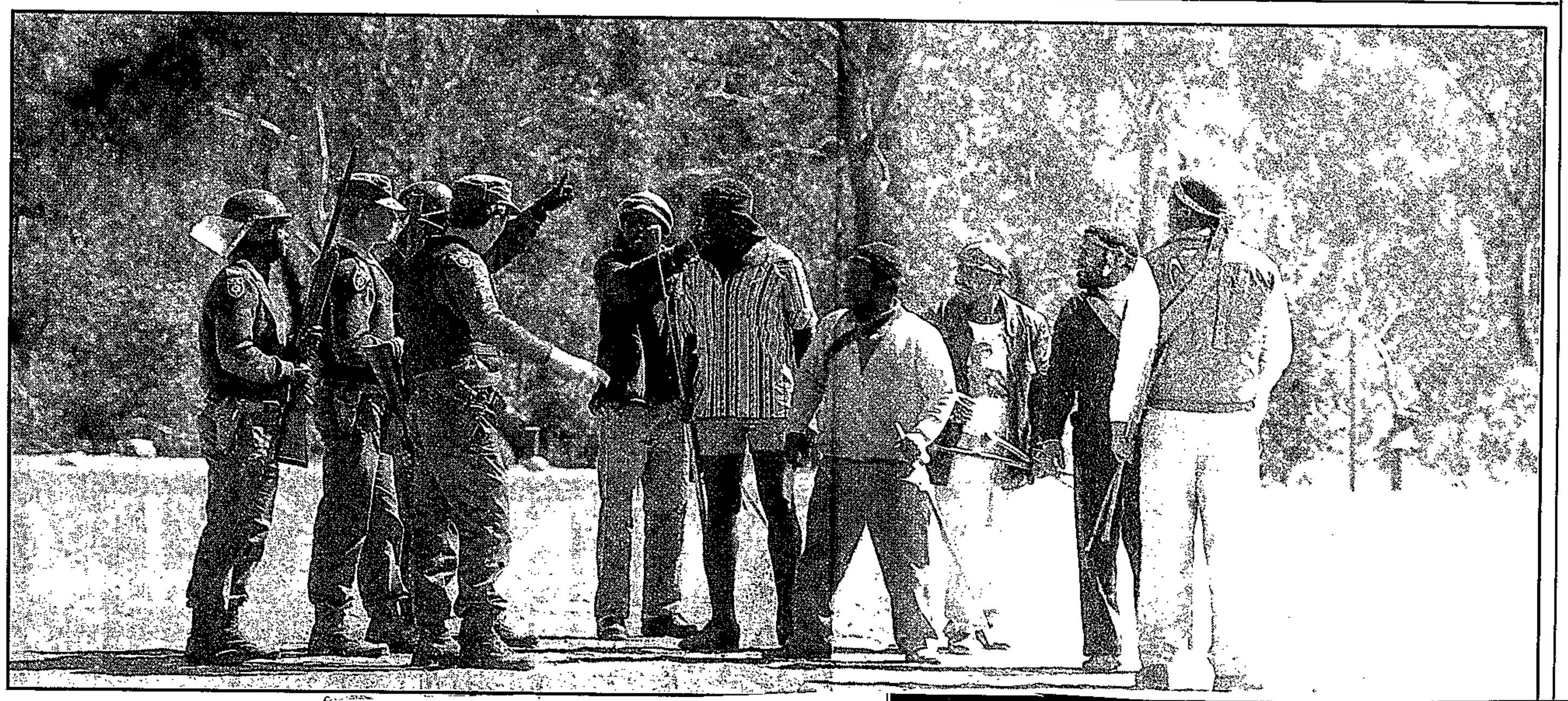
Mrs Ditshego said she had no knowledge of her husband's involvement in the unit.

Counsel for the respondents, Sam Maritz, SC, said the existence of the ceasefire had no bearing on the case.

It was argued that according to police information, the men played a leading role in the secret unit conceived to "overthrow the present Government".

Referring to an alleged assault by police on Mr Ditshego, which Mrs Ditshego has made an issue in the action, counsel for the respondents said a case had been made and was under investigation. On completion of the investigation, the dossier would be handed to the Attorney-General.

The case is proceeding.



FRIDAY AUGUST 24 1990 LATE FINAL All areas 50c (44c + 6c GST)

16 000 heed stayaway in Gazankulu

Guard shot in march

A WHITE security guard was shot and wounded in the neck yesterday when between 8 000 and 10 000 marchers returned to Mangaung township after a lawful protest in Bloemfontein.

Police liaison officer for the area Major George Moorcroft said full details of the shooting were not available but it had been said that the shot came from the crowd.

He said the march from Fort Street to Hanger, St Georges, West Burger and Fountain streets had been peaceful.

The marchers were near Batho Village on their way back to the black area when the security guard was shot.

Meanwhile, about 16 000 people yesterday heeded a stayaway call in two major centres in Gazankulu.

In the homeland's capital of Giyani, about 10 000 people, some coming from adjacent villages, marched to the local police station to present two sets of petitions.

One called on Chief Minister Hudson Ntsanwisi to resign and the other, addressed to President FW de Klerk, called for the release of all those in detention and for a halt to "threats" against Mkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

In Mangaung, rumours were rife that three people had been shot in the industrial area of Ooseinde, but Moorcroft could not confirm this.

Several firms had large-scale absenteeism as workers feared for the safety of their homes after the houses of people who had tried to go to work were stoned.

Staff who did get through the barricades were fearful of what they would find when they returned home later.

The township roads were littered with stones and other obstacles as groups of youths gathered to ensure workers heeded the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance's call for a massive stayaway to protest the "continued

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- Women flee Kagiso - Page 2
- ANC branches launched - Page 4
- Win R2 300 in prizes - Page 7
- Peace campaign - Pages 14, 15
- Hot racing tips - Page 30
- Nika Kumalo to win - Page 36
- R150 000 for Marks - Page 36

SAPA

Guard shot after march

From Page 1

detention" of its leaders, including leaders of the South African Communist Party.

Several protesters were arrested in Cape Town yesterday during an "illegal" demonstration.

Among those arrested were Miss Cheryl Carolus, an executive member of the African National Congress, and Mr Trevor Manuel.

The group demonstrated at Culemborg on the Foreshore against Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and carried placards demanding that Ms Shirley Gunn and other political prisoners be released.

A police spokesman confirmed last night confirmed the arrests in Oswald Pirow Street but was unable to confirm the names or the number of other people arrested.

In Soweto about 500 youths marched on the Diepkloof police station in Soweto yesterday and began stoning vehicles and buildings.

A police spokesman said members of the Soweto Riot Squad were called in to disperse the mob and nine youths were arrested. - *Sapa.*

Protests lead to 70 arrests

Star 24/8/90 (327)

Staff Reporters

More than 70 people were arrested in South Africa yesterday for taking part in protest action organised by the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF to demand the release of section detainees and ANC/SACP leaders, an ANC spokesman said.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria, Major Reg Crewe, confirmed 57 arrests.

ANC regional representative Trevor Manuel was one of those arrested and was among a group who elected to stay in jail rather than pay R100 bail. They are being held at the Table Bay Police Station.

In East London, 10 people were arrested for carrying mock AK-47s, and in the eastern Transvaal 17 people were arrested for holding an unlawful gathering.

The "national day of action" took the form of marches, sit-ins, pickets and rallies. Memorandums calling for the release of detainees were handed to police.

A security guard was shot and wounded in the neck when between 8 000 and 10 000 marchers returned to Mangaung after a lawful protest in Bloemfontein.

The ANC said marches and detentions occurred in Johannesburg, Pretoria, East London, the western Cape, Kimberley, Welkom, Bloemfontein and Theunissen. Police prevented demonstrations in Witbank and Mamelodi.

In Johannesburg, United Tobacco Corporation workers held a demonstration outside the company.

● About 16 000 people heeded a stayaway call in two major centres in Gazankulu yesterday.

● At Thabong, near Welkom, about 500 youths marched to the Jan Hofmeyr Police Station to demand the release of all political detainees.

● Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said in Umtata yesterday that he regarded the question of his indemnity as irrelevant and would not take orders from Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Pupils to present demands during week of action

W1Mail 24/8 - 26/8/90

By SAMANTHA WEINBERG (327)

STUDENT organisations have promised to resort to "desperate measures" to protect students against violence if the government does not heed a list of demands to be submitted during a week of mass action beginning on Monday.

The actions — which will include pickets, mass meetings and marches — have been planned to protest against the recent violence in the Transvaal which has disrupted lessons in the run-up to final year exams.

The South African National Students Congress (Sansco), the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) lay the blame for the violence at the feet of Inkatha and have drawn up a list of demands which they hope will be met as a result of the action.

"We, as Sansco, Nusas and Cosas can no longer tolerate these attacks. Unless the government takes serious action, the student movement of our country will seek desperate measures to protect students and end this violence against them," a statement said.

They have called on students across the country to join the action. According to the movement leaders, the action will include pickets on Monday and Tuesday and mass meetings and marches to police stations on Wednesday.

The demands the organisations are putting across are:

- The SAP must stop assisting Inkatha;
- Inkatha vigilantes must be disarmed;
- Inkatha must be prevented from using vigilantes for political gains;
- The homelands and the hostel system must be disbanded;
- The immediate opening of Esikhaweni College (closed by the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly three weeks ago);
- The resignation of Mangosuthu Buthelezi as Ngoye University chancellor;
- The disbanding of the kwaZulu Education Department and the establishment of one education department; and
- The postponement of exams.

Crackdown starts

Cape Times 25/8/90 327

PRETORIA. — A major crackdown by security forces got under way this morning following the government's declaration of most of the Witwatersrand black townships as "unrest" areas.

The emergency laws, announced yesterday, give the police virtually unlimited powers to arrest, detain without trial and disarm warring factions.

The laws, under the Public Safety Act of 1953, apply to 19 magisterial districts encompassing 27 black townships, including Soweto. It will be in force for three months but may be extended.

Security forces may also search anywhere in the "unrest areas" without warrant, seal off the area, shut down businesses and take over essential services, impose curfews and place restrictions on any funerals or other gatherings.

In a statement the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, also announced that carrying firearms and other dangerous weapons at certain meetings within prescribed areas was now forbidden.

This includes pangas, axes, spears, knobkerries, assegais, battle-axes, crossbows, screwdrivers, metal rods, daggers, petrol bombs and garden forks.

The measures effectively forbid rival groups from congregating and carrying traditional township weapons if police believe they are massing to "kill, assault, attack or injure another person or persons or cause damage to any property".

INSIDE — Page 2
- Tutu's Kagiso peace bid
- Cars stoned near UWC

"We want to stop the violence and intend looking very carefully at the perpetrators of violence and at removing them from the community," Mr Vlok told a press conference at police headquarters.

He added that SAP and SADF forces would be drastically increased in those areas where the bitter faction fighting of the past 12 days has killed at least 512 people and left 1 500 injured.

Mr Vlok said that news reporting of unrest would not be curbed.

African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela immediately attacked the measures as "totally useless" and taken without consultation with the rival groups. He claimed that the broad powers given police could lead to human-rights abuses and were tantamount to declaring a state of emergency.

Mr Mandela, whose supporters have been locked in battle with migrant Zulus aligned with the rival Zulu movement Inkatha, met President F W de Klerk for an hour yesterday as a follow-up to their earlier talks.

Despite the government's action, he said, peace talks between the ANC and the minority white government remained on track.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had suggested "a simple solution" to the government on how to resolve the violence.

"The pattern has been very clear that the trouble comes from the (Zulu) hostels," he said. "What is necessary is that the police should monitor the hostels to prevent armed men from leaving the hostels and also to prevent residents from harassing hostel dwellers."

The Democratic Party spokesman on Law and Order, Mr Tian van der Merwe, slammed the government for "effectively reimposing a state of emergency".

This made it possible for errant members of the security forces to operate with as little discretion and regard for the law as the violent protagonists themselves, he said.

C/Press 26/8/90 (327)

Shocks, torture alleged over 'missing' firearm

But police deny men were held



Farmworkers Phaladi Motitsoe (left) and Shongwe Sephiri were handcuffed, bags were placed over their heads and they were severely beaten by police investigating the theft of a firearm.

By CHARLES MOGALE

TWO farm labourers suspected of stealing their employer's firearm this week described the chilling details of torture at the hands of police investigating the theft.

The two, a grandfather and a youth, were released without being charged. The firearm was later found in the employer's car.

A police spokesman for the Free State, Lt J van der Merwe, denied the men were ever held by the police.

The incident happened recently in Edenville, a small town south of Heilbron in the Free State. Several families have already fled the Tulbach farm in the neighbourhood, fearing "indiscriminate" attacks.

Farm labourer Phaladi Motitsoe, 52, said he had just left his employer's home, where he had repaired a broken door, when police arrived at his home on the farm.

He was told a firearm had "disappeared" from the "huis", and his house was searched. Motitsoe said he denied any knowledge of the weapon, and was invited to the police station for further questioning.

"When we arrived at the police station, the police became aggressive. They threw me into a cell. Later that night, they took me away in a van to a lonely spot at a place called Lerothodi.

"They handcuffed me and forced me into a position which was very painful for a man my age. They put a stick under my knees, with my cuffed hands under the stick and put a hood over my head," said Motitsoe.

"I was crying out with pain, hoping they would leave me, but worse was still to come. There were two black policemen and one white – the blacks were more vicious. They produced electric devices and shocked me until I passed out. When I came to, we were at the police station late at night, and they threw me back into a cell."

The following morning, he said, he was taken to the office of a senior policeman who was "sympathetic" and apologised for the maltreatment. His employers, Jockey and Koos Rautenbach, also apologised.

After his release, the police allegedly picked up a youth called Monaheng. During interrogation, which also included electrocution, he incriminated himself and 17-year-old Shongwe Sephiri.

According to Sephiri, he was picked up and also questioned about the gun.

"I told them I knew nothing about the gun. They took me to a quarry, handcuffed me, put a hood over my head. They shocked me on the ears, anus and private parts with electric devices. I bit my tongue badly, and when they saw blood pouring through the hood, they stopped," said Sephiri.

For two days, he was driven from spot to spot where Monaheng said the firearm had been buried. Nothing was found.

"I tried in vain to convince the policemen that Monaheng was merely incriminating himself and myself because of the torture. At the time when he said we had been to the 'huis' to steal the weapon, we were together at my home. It was also impossible to get inside the 'huis' at that time. It was only after three days that they accepted that Monaheng was merely trying to avoid being tortured."

The two were allegedly taken to a senior policeman who apologised, ordered them food and had them released.

"For days I could not eat, and my hands can't take any strain now," said Sephiri.

Motitsoe and Sephiri are receiving medical treatment, paid for by their employers.

Said Motitsoe: "I can understand the apologies, but that is not helpful enough. I am a physical wreck since the incident, and who is going to look after my family if I can't work? I was born on this farm and have lived all my life here. I have spent my life working honestly for my employers. I used to look after the home and their mother when they went on holiday. It saddens me that I should be suspected of stealing a firearm."

He said he was seeking legal advice on the matter.

According to Van der Merwe, the farmer found the weapon in his car, but denied any people were arrested.

Pop star's friend speaks out after cheating death



A DIEPKLOOF man who was shot more than eight times and stabbed with a spear has lived to tell the tale.

Mannie "Mzwakhe" Mbangeni, a

which hit me in the chest and the other two fired a volley with their guns before I fell."

As people in the house screamed and scattered, another shot was fired

Terror trial delayed after escape

By DAN DHLAMINI

THE treason trial of 24 alleged African National Congress (ANC) and Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) members was postponed indefinitely after six of the accused escaped from police custody.

The escapees, who were being held in connection with a spate of limpet mine explosions in Cape Town, broke free from their guards while being taken to the Supreme Court in Pretoria on Monday.

Police said they were still searching for the men, who had been charged with 37 counts of treason, murder, attempted murder and terrorism.

The trial was postponed to a date to be announced later.

Police said the escapees had overpowered their guards and fled in a car.

Those who escaped were Mr Simon Ndlovu, 18, of Port Elizabeth, Mr Patrick Nkosi, 24, of Port Elizabeth, Mr Nelson Joya, 27, of Soweto, Mr Mzikhaya Mashigana, 27, of Port Elizabeth, Mr Mzwandile Maqina, 22, of Port Elizabeth, and Mr Mbuyiseni Mdoda, 18, of Soweto.

The escape was the most dramatic event in the trial, which began in October last year.

The accused, who were all black, were charged with a number of offences, including the murder of seven white people in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth between 1985 and 1986.

They were also charged with the attempted murder of 29 people, including a number of police officers.

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SABC told to update its approach

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Sowetan 27/8/90

ABOUT 1 500 marchers on Saturday handed a memorandum to the general manager of the SABC's corporate communications, Mr Theo Vorster, demanding that the corporation at least keep pace with current developments in the political sector.

Called by (COM), the march was initisally inspired by an SABC decision to restructure

Picture: About 1 500 people marched to the SABC on Saturday to deliver a demand for the "democratisation" of the corporation. The march was led by a delegation comprising organisations representing media workers, a handful of thespians, the Black Sash and Cosatu.

by ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

broadcasting within the corporation and, according to COM, a Broederbond tuype task force was set up to do so.

The task force, which was headed by SABC chairman Professor Christo Viljoen, was "totally unacceptable", the memorandum read.

The pivotal questions, COM said, were: "How is public broadcasting going to be accountable to the South African public during this period of change?

"And, how can public radio and television broadcasting be restructured on a democratic basis?"

Receiving the memorandum for Viljoen, Vorster said he was unable to respond within a week as demanded in the memorandum, but would hand the memorandum to the head of the SABC.

Viljoen was pleasantly surprised at what he called a small turn-out for the march.

"Surely this was not a reflection of our viewers and listeners. We have about 17-million subscribers and there are less than 2 000 marchers here today," he joked.

However he said the COM memorandum would be studied carefully and a decision would be reached in due course.

The march ran smoothly, with the Johannesburg Traffic Department helping along and the South African Police keeping a low profile. Among the delegation that led the march was the ANC's Ms Barabara Masekela, the former editor of the Daily Mail, Mr Raymond Louw and a handful of actors and poets.

The march was supported by the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa), South African Film Technicians Trade Association (Saftta) and Film and Allied Workers Organisation (Fawo) and Cosatu.



African National Congress supporters at the launch of the movement's branch in Mamelodi, Pretoria, toyi-toyi at the local hall yesterday. Branches were also launched at Garankuwa, Atteridgeville and Mabopane. Pic: LEN KUMALO

Mass burial protest

Sowetan 27/8/90



By DON SEOKANE

THE Mass Democratic Movement has called for a stayaway today to mark the mass burial in Soweto of some of the people killed in the current violence.

Also today, the South African Council of Churches has called for a day of prayer and fasting.

At least 122 people are believed to have died in Soweto alone during the wave of violence that spread from the East Rand to the West Rand last week.

Ms Gill Marcus of the ANC's information department said at the weekend the stayaway had been called only for Soweto because of the mass burial.

Mr Murphy Morobe of the United Democratic Front said the service for the burials will be held at Jabulani Amphitheatre from 10am and the procession will leave for Avalon Cemetery at noon.

The secretary-general of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, said a call for prayers stemmed from the deep concern by church leaders and the SACC over the escalating violence.

The Soweto Civic Association, in conjuction with other civic groups in the area, has called for a stayaway to demand that:

* Police stop collaborating with Inkatha;
* All those in possession of arms be disarmed;
* Hostels be dis-

To Page 2

INSIDE TODAY

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- BobSave soccer results - P32

P.T.O

Mineworkers' leaders held, released on bail

Staff Reporters

Police yesterday arrested National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and NUM president James Motlatsi in Newcastle after an illegal gathering, a police spokesman said.

In all, 61 people were detained by police but all were released on R50 bail yesterday afternoon, the spokesman said.

Human rights activist Max Coleman has labelled the arrest "outrageous", saying the state of emergency still in effect in Natal clearly impeded the freedom of political expression.

Mr Coleman said the emergency in Natal should be scrapped as soon as possible.

United Democratic Front assistant general secretary, Mohammed Valli Moosa, said:

"It is high time the Government stopped describing legitimate and peaceful union activity as an illegal gathering.

"The harassment of respected leaders of the black community is outrageous and provocative, and can only exacerbate the already volatile situation on the mines."

ANC League marches to Tuynhuys

Women demos seek 'warlords'' arrest

Sowetan 27/8/90

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A SMALL group of women from the ANC Women's League marched from District Six to President FW de Klerk's Tuynhuys office in Cape Town on Saturday.

They presented a memorandum to officials calling on Government to end violence in the townships; to disband the KwaZulu police; to do away with hostels and to create a disaster crisis fund to assist families uprooted by the violence on the Witwatersrand.

They also called for the arrest of 'warlords' in townships and the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal.

The women called for a judicial commission of inquiry into the violence and said security forces must play 'an effective and impartial role as peacekeepers'.

"Hostels have proved to be breeding grounds for attacks against surrounding communities", the memorandum said.

The memorandum, drawn up by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of ANC internal head Mr Walter Sisulu, also said the Women's League was seeking meetings with De Klerk's wife Marieke.

Meetings were also sought with the wife of Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and Health Minister Dr Rina Venter.

Amid rumours in the 100-strong crowd that the leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and khaki-clad bodyguards were observing the march, the group made its way to Tuynhuys under police escort.

Among the group was ANC Western Cape executive member Ms Cheryl Carolus, recently released after having been detained in an ANC march earlier in the week.

"The women of South Africa protest in the strongest terms against the violence," the statement said, adding that if the conflict had been in white residential areas, or if the victims had been white, police would have taken stronger action.

The SAP had "failed to protect communities from attack" and had not shown impartiality to "Inkatha vigilantes", it said.

The march was part of a nationwide co-ordinated series of marches by the ANC Women's League scheduled throughout SA on Saturday.- *Sapa.*

Security police in W Cape shake-up

By DALE KNEEN
Crime Reporter

THE head of the security police and several other officers, including one involved in the shooting of Mr Ashley Kriel, have been moved out of "field" service in the Western Cape.

Brigadier Jan Griebenauw, the 52-year-old regional chief of the security branch, is to be transfered to a position at the security police head office in Pretoria next year.

Another senior staff officer in the security branch, Colonel Johan van Wyk, has been appointed district commissioner for Middelburg in the Transvaal.

The head of the terrorism detection unit, Captain William Liebenberg, and a member of the unit, Warrant Officer Jeffrey Benzien, have been assigned to administrative positions.

Warrant Officer Benzien was involved in the killing of African National Congress guerrilla Mr Ashley Kriel. In addition, he has been accused of torturing suspects in the Yengeni terrorism trial.

Captain Liebenberg was accused of being present when some suspects in the 1987 terrorism trial of Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Lizo Ngqungwana and 14 others were allegedly assaulted by police.

TORTURE

Brigadier Griebenauw denied the transfers of Warrant Officer Benzien and Captain Liebenberg were related to the killing of Mr Kriel. He also rejected the allegations of torture and assault.

He said the transfers were "part of the regional restructuring of the police" in the Western Cape.

It is understood that several other policemen attached to the security branch in Paarl, Oudtshoorn and Cape Town have filled administrative positions at police headquarters.

The position being filled by Brigadier Griebenauw in Pretoria from next January is a new one.

He previously worked in what was then South West Africa, where he was recruited in to the security branch.

He also served in the security branch in East London and Paarl, where he was the head of the unrest unit for six years.

Govt announcement on inquiry expected soon

Star 28/8/96

The Government will make an announcement this week about the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the police shooting of black protesters on March 26.

A spokesman for President de Klerk — who has had the report for some time — said he was not sure if the announcement would be the release of the report or commentary on it. — Political Staff.

Calls for dismantling of township hostels

Soweto buries violence dead

Sowetan 28/8/90

327

THOUSANDS of Soweto residents yesterday attended the mass funeral of seven people killed in the past fortnight's violence between residents and hostel dwellers.

The funeral, held at Avalon Cemetery, was one of the biggest in Soweto. The seven were buried side-by-side.

At least 10 other violence victims were buried at the weekend.

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

Those buried yesterday were: Moshoeshoe Tejane (33) and Petrus Tau (25), both of Naledi, Mpho Mcosana, of White City Jabavu, B Seleke, of Naledi Extension, Josia Dose, of Zone 4, Pimville, Richard Lebona Mosia (29), of Central Western Jabavu, and Andries Bonginkosi Zuma (17), of Orlando West.

They were among 126 people killed during fighting in Soweto in the past two weeks.

Speakers at a three-hour service at Jabulani Amphitheatre included Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and South African Council of Churches general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane.

Most of the speakers lashed out at the Government and big business for creating the "hostel system". They demanded the dismantling of hostels and that they should be converted into family units.

There were also calls for peace

To Page 2



The "Young Lions" stand next to the coffins of the seven victims of violence in Soweto. Thousands of residents attended the joint funeral service at the Jabulani Amphitheatre yesterday.



Qualify in one of the most dynamic fields in South Africa and rise up the ladder to success.

LET DAMELIN'S HIGHLY TRAINED LECTURERS HELP YOU EARN THIS TOP CERTIFICATE IN JUST 3 MONTHS.

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Duration: 3 Months. You have the choice of attending classes on Saturday morning from 8.15 - 12.30 p.m. OR Monday and Thursday evenings from 5.45 - 7.45 p.m.

STARTING DATES:	Saturday Course	Evening Course
Johannesburg City Centre	8 September	6 September
Pretoria	8 September	



Soweto residents formed a guard of honour along the route while ANC marshalls led the procession of the seven unrest victims who were buried in a mass funeral in Soweto yesterday. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

Sowetan 28/8/90 (327)

Violence victims buried

From Page 1

and residents were urged not to seek revenge. However, this did not mean residents should not form structures to defend themselves.

Tutu said it was a lie to say the ongoing fighting in the townships was a "tribal war". He and many people in the townships lived harmoniously despite belonging to different ethnic groups.

He said in many places



DE KLERK

that they had visited the residents blamed the police for the killings and they wanted to tell State President Mr FW de Klerk about this.

"Police must not only be seen to be impartial but must be impartial. We want a new police force that will be acceptable to the people," Tutu said.

I did not bomb Khotso House – Shirley Gunn

Star 28/8/90 (327)

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Umkhonto we Sizwe member Shirley Gunn said she was not responsible for the explosion which destroyed Khotso House, the former headquarters of the South African Council of Churches.

The trade unionist faced the press for the first time yesterday since being released on Sunday.

Ms Gunn was held incommunicado under section 29 of the Internal Security Act for almost two months.

She said: "I want to say that the Khotso House bombing was a load of nonsense.

"It's absolute nonsense that I am being held responsible for that bomb attack.

"I wasn't responsible."

Lawyer Essa Moosa said Ms Gunn was due to appear in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court on October 24 on a charge of being in possession of a firearm.

Ms Gunn said it was self-evident that she would have been charged if she had been the bomber.

"If I'm responsible, where is the charge?"

In January last year, police alleged that she had had a hand in the bombing of Khotso House in Johannesburg, in August 1988.

War

Confirming for the first time that she was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, Ms Gunn said she did not believe that any other MK member would have planted the bomb.

"But I think we mustn't forget that we are in times of war. There's a war going on in this country."

It had been "very, very terrible" to have been subjected to detention under the Internal Security Act, she said.

Ms Gunn took her 16-month-old son, Haroon Gunn-Salie, to prison with her.

They were initially separated by security police, but the child was later returned to his mother following a decision by the Commissioner of Child Welfare.

"I was very affected by it. It can drive any mother mad to be away from one's child.

"And I know why they tried to do it — to intensify my interrogation."

ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada yesterday welcomed Ms Gunn's release.

"All we can say is that it again confirms our criticism and condemnation of this sort of arbitrary detention.

"One cannot help but notice the double standards the Government applies in detaining our people and rightwingers.

"Our people are detained for weeks and months and then face a minor charge of being in possession of a firearm."

B'Day 28/8/90 (327)



About 35 000 people attended the funeral yesterday, at Soweto's Jabulani amphitheatre, of seven victims of Reef township violence which has claimed more than 500 lives in the past two weeks. Winnie Mandela, head of the ANC's social welfare department, was one of the leaders present.

Pictures: ROBERT BOTHA



Top Cosatu officials arrested in police raid

B1 Dany 29/8/90

MATTHEW CURTIN

POLICE yesterday arrested Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo during a raid on Cosatu's Johannesburg headquarters.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Col Frans Malherbe said three men, whom Cosatu identified as Naidoo, assistant general-secretary Sydney Mafumadi and distribution officer Baba Schalk, were arrested yesterday for allegedly abducting and assaulting an SAP constable.

John Vorster Square police had been informed the constable, identified by Sapa as Joseph Maleka, was being held at the National Acceptance House offices after being taken from Rissik Street.

Police freed Maleka and arrested the men in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act.

The three union officials were charged with kidnapping, robbery and assault and released on R1 500 bail each by a Johannesburg magistrate last night. They are due to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court this morning.

Cosatu information officer Neil Coleman said last night that Cosatu officials had approached Maleka, who was acting suspiciously outside the building, and invited him inside. He had entered voluntarily and said he was a police informer, sent to spy on SACP member Geraldine Fraser.

Coleman said Cosatu officials concluded such an operation appeared a prelude to an assassination attempt and called a Press conference and informed the police.

Sapa reports that at the Press conference Maleka said he had been recruited by police at a Sebokeng nightclub.

Malherbe said Maleka might have given Cosatu a "cover story".

Sactu human chain in Durban

B27

Sowetan 29/8/90

NEARLY 24 000 members of the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union took part in human chain protests at five different points in the Durban area at lunchtime yesterday.

Sactu claimed its anti-apartheid protest had been "a great success", in spite of a refusal by the Pinetown magistrate's office to sanction a protest there.

The Sactu statement said "reports from different industrial areas show that about 23 800 workers linked hands in the five areas".

Permission was granted by Durban's chief magistrate and the municipality of Durban for the "chains".

Sactu shop stewards had negotiated with employers that the normal lunch-hour break of 30 minutes be extended to one hour.

The Sactu statement said: "It (the chains) formed part of Sactu's campaign to put forward workers' right for inclusion in the constitution of a post-apartheid South Africa.

"Such rights will include organisational rights - to strike, picket, belong to trade unions, and bargain with employers.

"Industrial democratic rights sought include the partaking of management of enterprises, joint appointments with employers of judges to industrial courts, as well as rights to trade union independence - from the state, political parties and employers".

Sactu said that preliminary indications were that the number of workers who had taken part in yesterday's protest campaign, were 5 800 from Mobeni, 4 700 from Jacobs, 5 400 from Clairwood, 4 000 from Mayville/Overport, and 3 900 from Durban central.

- *Sapa.*

Top Cosatu men charged

Capt Trials 29/8/90 327

JOHANNESBURG. — Police raided the Cosatu head office yesterday — to free a constable who had allegedly been abducted and assaulted — and arrested general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo and two others.

Last night the three Cosatu officials were released by a magistrate on bail of R1 500 each after being charged with kidnapping, robbery and assault.

Mr Naidoo denied the charges against himself, Cosatu assistant secretary-general Mr Sydney Mufamadi and Mr Baba Schalk of Cosatu's media section.

He spoke at a press conference at John Vorster Square police station after his release last night.

Before yesterday's swoop, Cosatu officials paraded a police constable before a press conference, claiming the policeman had been "spying" on a member of the South African Communist Party with offices in the same building.

"We took it upon ourselves to apprehend this person," Mr Naidoo told reporters as he and SACP member Ms Geraldine Joselyn sat on either side of their trembling and occasionally crying suspect.

The man, identified as Constable Joseph Maleka, told reporters he had been recruited by the police to monitor the movements of Ms Joselyn.

Saying he feared that publication of his picture in newspapers would prompt township activists to burn his house down or kill his mother, the visibly frightened constable shielded his face with a sweater during the press conference.

Witnesses said burly men in the room with Mr Naidoo forced the suspect's arms away from his face and grabbed his hair to pull his head up to face photographers — action evidently giving rise to the assault charges.

Police later confirmed he was a constable.

Mr Naidoo claimed that the policeman was carrying a two-way radio and a photograph of Ms Joselyn when he was nabbed at a garage near the office building.

He lashed out at police for failing to investigate complaints by its members of being harassed or subject to attack, yet having the time to put police on surveillance duty.

"We are investigating criminal charges," police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe confirmed. — UPI and Sapa

Gunn 'had hand in blast'

Star 29/8/90

ANC activist Shirley Gunn was detained because of information that she had, among others, been involved in the Khotso House bomb blast, the police public relations division in Pretoria said yesterday.

The division issued the statement after the ANC demanded a public apology from Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok over allegations that Miss Gunn had been linked to the blast.

The division added: "Miss Gunn made a confession to the effect that she had received foreign training as a member of the ANC."

Miss Gunn was released from detention on Sunday and said on Monday that she had not been responsible for the May 1987 explosion.

"The investigation against her is continuing and everything possible will be done to finalise it as soon as possible," the division said. — Sapa.

Police stop march

POLICE yesterday stopped a march by about 500 Medical University of Southern Africa students to the Rosslyn Police Station.

They were to present a memorandum protesting the involvement of the police and the South African Defence Force in the violence that has claimed hundreds of lives in the black areas of Natal and Transvaal.

The students were stopped by armed policemen about 5km from Medunsa.

The march was in response to a call by the South African National Student Congress, National Union of South African Students and the Congress of South African Students for mass action against the killings and the alleged support of Inkatha by security forces.

By ALINAH DUBE

Colonel TJ Bezuidenhout, district commandant for the Northern Transvaal, told the students the march was illegal and that he would receive the memorandum on the roadside.

In the memorandum, the Medunsa SRC accused the police of failing to disarm "the warlords" despite the fact that sworn affidavits were given to them.

The students called on the Government to ensure that security forces were impartial during violence, dismantle the KwaZulu police and bantustans, heed the call for the postponement of matric examinations and open all schools which had been closed as a result of unrest.



Some of the people police yesterday stopped during a Medical University of Southern Africa march to the Rosslyn Police Station to present a memorandum protesting against the alleged involvement of policemen and the South African Defence Force in the violence that has claimed hundreds of lives in black townships in Natal and Transvaal.

Prisoner freed two years early

AM64 30/8/90

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

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ROBBEN ISLAND prisoner Mr Herbert Vhoya has been freed — almost two years before he was due to be released.

He said yesterday that political prisoners on the Island were eagerly awaiting Septemeber 1 when security prisoners are due to be freed in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

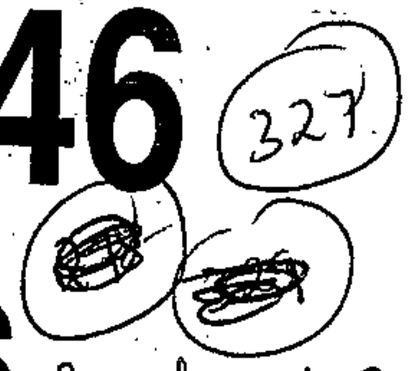
DEATH ROW

"I was told of my release last Monday and left Robben Island with mixed feelings because my comrades are still there. I hope that many of them will be freed on September 1."

Pretoria-born Mr Vhoya, 23, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1987 after being convicted of terrorism. His co-accused Sibiso Masuku is on death row in Pretoria, having been sentenced to death.

Mr Vhoya said he should have been freed on 29 April 1992.

Police arrest 46 Wits students



Sowetan 30/8/90

POLICE yesterday arrested 46 Wits University students who tried to march to John Vorster Square in Johannesburg as part of the "week of action" to protest against violence in the townships.

A police spokesman confirmed the arrests and said the students are to face charges of illegal gathering when they appear in court today.

Those arrested were part of a group of 50 who had earlier gathered at the Johannesburg Public Library intending to march to John Vorster Square police headquarters to present a list of

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

demands on the ongoing violence.

They were, however, dispersed with teargas and batons by the police.

Injured

A police spokesman said that at one stage, when police tried to disperse the group, two members of the force were slightly injured. One of them was knocked over by the crowd and one was hit by a stone on the leg.

At that point, a white woman and five black men were arrested outside the library. He said at noon, about 60 people grouped in front of John Vorster Square.

They were warned to disperse within five minutes. However, before this time had elapsed, 40 people handed themselves over to the police to be arrested. They were charged with Article 46 which prohibits illegal gatherings.

The march was one of two planned on police stations in Johannesburg and Pretoria yesterday to highlight the "week of action".

It was organised by the South African National Students' Congress, the National Union of South African Students and the Congress of South African Students.

The purpose of the march was to hand a list of demands to the police to forward to the Government.

The demands included that the SAP stop assisting Inkatha; Inkatha vigilantes be disarmed; Inkatha be prevented from using vigilantes for political gains; the homelands and hostel systems be disbanded; Esikhaweni College be immediately be reopened; and that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi resign as chancellor of the University of Zululand.

NEWS



Police open fire on students at the University of the Western Cape, Bellville, yesterday during a protest against the violence in the townships. Several students were injured when police used birdshot, rubber bullets and teargas. ● Picture by Reuter.

Police open fire on demo over violence

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Teargas and birdshot were used to disperse about 500 University of the Western Cape students after a picket by the students.

The picket took place outside the gates of the university as part of a campaign to demand an end to the violence.

After a university assembly, about 500 students moved to the campus gates in an "orderly and disciplined manner", SRC president Robert Mopp said.

SRC spokesman Isaac Felix said about five police vans arrived on the scene and the students were given five minutes to disperse.

"They fired teargas before the five minutes were over, and four students were injured, one seriously, when birdshot was fired," Mr Felix said.

A police spokesman confirmed that teargas and birdshot were used on students after they "attacked police with stones and bottles" during an illegal march off the campus.

Mass funeral for 26 Kagiso victims

Sowetan 31/8/90 327

A MASS funeral of 26 people killed during the violent clashes between Kagiso residents and hostel inmates last week will be held on Sunday.

The violence is believed to have claimed the lives of at least 45 people in Kagiso alone.

A spokesman for the Kagiso Crisis Committee has appealed to residents to identify bodies at the mortuary.

By DON SEOKANE

The spokesman, Mr Edwin Molatlhegi, said arrangements had been made with the Transkei Consulate to send the bodies of Transkeian nationals to the homeland.

Molatlhegi said there also seriously injured people in Leratong Hospital who remained unidentified

The South African Council of Churches had declared this week a national week of prayer and fasting after the violence that hit Transvaal townships claimed more than 500 lives.

The Kagiso funeral service will begin at 9am at the local stadium and will proceed to the cemetery at 2pm.

Molatlhegi said local undertakers had pledged to provide free burial services.

He said contributions should be made to priests of the various denominations in the township to avoid criminal elements from collecting money.

The victims to be buried are Ms Giddy Babeseng Katane (37), Mr Ben Mbiwane (57), Mr Madala Zulu (33), Mr Sam Moeketsi (40), Mr Paul Sehularo (37), Mr Thomas Ramajoe (37), Mr Bethuel Ramabala (30), Mr Jabulani Mtshali (27), Mothusi of Sebenzisa, Mr Michael Mashaba (60), Mr Mzwamadoda Mbelu (age unknown), Mr Wonderful Dlamini (age unknown), Mr Dlamini Gongota, Steve Banda, Lubisi Sithole, Mthunzi Matiwane, Ms Iris Ndzimande (25), Mr Samuel Adams (33), Tshabangu, Gxekwa, Mthembu and Mr Jacob Netswa.

Another three people will be buried at the Avalon Cemetery on Saturday, a spokesman for the Broad Forum said yesterday.

He said the service would start at Phiri Hall at 10am before proceeding to the cemetery.

Those who will be buried are Sandy Matladi, Pascaline Ndlela both from Mapetla and Abraham Modise of Phiri.

use of the fire was probably internal. "I spect electrical wiring," he said.

Sarah (8), v
Kenilworth,

Islanders free soon?

By CHRIS BATEMAN

ROBBEN Island's 273 remaining political prisoners expect to go free from tomorrow — and are today holding a major officially sanctioned party to "celebrate the implementation of the Pretoria Minute".

Today's island "farewell" party will include warders, many of whom have formed close friendships with the inmates, lawyers said.

Lawyers for the majority of the inmates said yesterday indications were that up to 120 "islanders" would be released within a fortnight, beginning "hopefully Saturday".

The festivities will consist of a braai with 150kg of mutton chops and ribs, cold meats and salads, cheeses, 400 samoosas, 250 cakes, sweets, puddings and ice cream. The bill of R8 000 is being met with money donated to prisoners.

A Prisons Services spokesman yesterday rejected the notion of the party being "a farewell" saying that the prisoners' recreation committee would be holding a "function to celebrate the end of their 'winter games' ".

Prizes for sporting prowess would be handed out, she added.

A lawyer who has co-ordinated contact between the majority of the prisoners and the outside world for several years said that while it was not the first such party, it was "certainly the biggest".

There was "absolutely no doubt" that the party was seen by prisoners as a farewell celebration, she added.

There was a stony official silence yesterday on a schedule of releases but it was reliably learnt that the government/ANC working group had completed its report on this aspect of the Pretoria Minute.

'Paradise' on the island — Page 3

Youths gag groups at mass funeral

327

Sowetan 3/9/90.

THE mass burial of 19 unrest victims yesterday broke into chaos at different stages in Kagiso when ANC supporters wanted only speakers from the Mass Democratic Movement to address the public.

By SONTI MASEKO

The supporters said representatives from organisations not linked to the MDM would not be tolerated.

A Kagiso councillor and an Azapo speaker were prevented from addressing the mourners by youths who jeered, booed and toyi-toyied.

Azapo member Mr Dan Matsobane was stopped twice from speaking.

After Matsobane stepped down for the first time, UDF official Mr Popo Molefe pleaded with the crowd to be disciplined and be more tolerant towards the views of other organisations in the struggle.

When Matsobane tried to address the gathering the second time a rowdy group of youths started singing and others ordered him to leave.

Relatives of the 19 victims were allowed only to read orbituaries.

Nearby, hostels were heavily guarded by police and SADF armoured trucks.

Senior

The funeral was attended by senior ANC members, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Alfred Nzo and general secretary of the South African Council of Churches the Rev Frank Chikane.

President of the South African Youth Congress Mr Peter Mokaba warned the Government in a fiery speech that the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC did not mean the people had suspended the right to defend themselves.

He called for the youths to swell the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, and its underground structures.

PAC prisoners 'held hostage'

Cape Times 3/9/90

Staff Reporter

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS political prisoners were being kept "hostage" by the government to force the organisation to the negotiating table, according to Mr Benny Alexander, PAC national executive member.

Mr Alexander was addressing about 400 people at the Nxolo Primary School, where the Crossroads PAC branch was launched yesterday.

"One who keeps another a hostage is a terrorist, and we do not negotiate with terrorists," he said to loud applause.

He told the crowd two men were sent to the PAC on September 17 with a letter from the State President's Office inviting the PAC to talks.

The government asked that the matter be dealt with confidentially, but the national executive met last Wednesday to discuss the letter and decided there was no room for secrecy.

"The government has a two-fold conspiracy against the PAC — a conspiracy of silence, and, if that fails, a conspiracy of distortion. When they came with the conspiracy of silence they pretended the PAC did not exist ... they later believed their own lies," he said.

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lay September 4 1990

Num president, office bearers in the dock

Sowetan 4/9/90

327

PRESIDENT of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr James Motlatsi, of Johannesburg, and 56 NUM Northern Natal coal-mine office bearers appeared in the Newcastle Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with an alleged illegal gathering in the town on August 26.

NUM general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaposa was also to have appeared but was excused as he was busy with urgent consultations with Iscor.

The case is a sequel to a march from NUM headquarters in Newcastle, to a hotel a few kilometres away.

Good nature

The case was postponed to October 1 pending a decision by the attorney-general.

They appeared before Mr J von Reiche who asked them to disperse quietly as there were other cases in progress.

The men did so, many of them showing good nature.

Most of the accused are office bearers of the NUM's 13 branches in Northern Natal and all are coal miners.

They were released on R50 bail each. - *Sapa*



REUNION . . . Lawyer Mr Willie Hofmeyr shares a joke with one of the 11 freed Robben Island clients at Cowley House yesterday.
Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

CAPE TIMES 4/9/90

Freed ANC 11 'confused'

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By CHRIS BATEMAN

FIFTEEN security prisoners, including 11 from Robben Island, were released yesterday after serving most of their sentences.

The Prisons Department confirmed that 11 of the 15 were from Robben Island but was unable to give particulars of the other four.

Speaking at Cowley House in Woodstock, spokesman for the Robben Island group Mr Michael Tyala Matakata, of Paarl, claimed "confusion" over what criteria the government had used to grant them freedom. He said he and his ANC comrades were due for release on remission of sentence anyway.

Mr Matakata, jailed for eight years in 1986 for terrorism, said the group's leadership had tried repeatedly to get permission to visit them on Robben Island without success.

"It's very difficult for us to abide by the Pretoria Minute in these circumstances but we support the process begun by the ANC," he added.

They had been told by prison authorities on Friday that they would be released yesterday but "no explanation" had been given.

Others released (all ANC cadres) are: Messrs Malusi S Motimela of Pietersburg (sentenced to five years in 1988 for terrorism), Moses Mokoena of Witbank (five years in 1988, terrorism), Charles D Gans of Bloemfontein, (four years in 1988, terrorism) Sipho Nodlawu of Port Elizabeth, (10 years in 1984, high treason), Jeremiah Radebe of Qwaqwa (15 years in 1985, high treason), Kwanele Matiwane of Port Elizabeth (four years in 1988, terrorism), David Maloma of Witbank (five years in 1988, terrorism), Ntsikelelo Qaku of Queenstown (seven years in 1986, terrorism), Patrick Mbelelekane of PE (10 years in 1984, high treason), Lassy Chiwayo of Witbank (five years in 1988, terrorism).

● Gains in European oil prices — Page 10



FREEDOM . . . Mr Michael Matakata after his release from Robben Island yesterday. Behind him is his father. ● **Report — Page 2** Cart Tigs 4/9/90 327

Picture: REUTER

Hani refuses his indemnity

Carl Tight 6/9/90 Own Correspondent 327

JOHANNESBURG. — Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani yesterday refused to exercise his 41-hour indemnity to meet the ANC's national executive, but said he was optimistic that progress would be made at today's first meeting of the joint working group on the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle.

From Umtata, Mr Hani reiterated his refusal to accept the conditions of the indemnity, adding that the SAP could not be trusted not to arrest him.

The ANC chose Mr Hani to lead its delegation to the talks before the government refused to renew his indemnity from prosecution. The working group was agreed to at last month's meeting between the government and the ANC, at which the ANC announced it was suspending its armed struggle.

Today's meeting in Pretoria is expected to explore all issues relating to the suspension, as well as current unrest. The non-renewal of Mr Hani's indemnity is also likely to figure on the agenda.

Mr Hani said yesterday that he would have "loved" to attend the meeting because he regarded the suspension of the armed struggle as important.

There was no question, he said, that the working group would be unable to function without him, saying that other ANC members would be in a position to answer most of the questions raised.

It was unclear yesterday who would head the ANC delegation in his place.

Khala can go to conferences

Star 7/9/90 (327)

By Celeste Louw

The general secretary of the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) succeeded yesterday in having his bail conditions amended to allow him to attend union conferences. He faces charges of armed robbery and attempted murder.

Sithembele Khala (32) asked permission of a Johannesburg magistrate not to report at the Jabulani police station daily in September as Mwasa was involved in negotiations in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. Mr Khala was granted bail of R25 000 earlier this year after his arrest for allegedly robbing a branch of Nedbank in March.

According to the charge sheet, Mr Khala and a co-accused, Mchgwati Diseko (34), also allegedly attempted to shoot three men.

Freed 11 'first of 125 to be released

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE 11 political prisoners who have walked free from Robben Island are part of a group of 125 due to be freed between September 1 and 14, according to the ANC.

They were in the "administrative releases" category, having served two-thirds of their sentences.

ANC regional co-ordinator Mr Trevor Manuel said: "A great many comrades are in (the political offences) category and there is a great deal of uncertainty over how and when they will be released."

Those freed yesterday included Mr Michael Matakata, who had done four of seven years for terrorism; Mr Malusi Motimela of Pieterberg and Mr Moses Mokoena of Witbank, who were both sentenced to four years for terrorism in 1988; and Mr Charles Gans of Bloemfontein, who did two of three years for terrorism.

ACCUSED OF TERRORISM

Also freed were Mr Sipho Nodlawu, Mr Jeremiah Radebe and Patrick Mbelekane, all of Port Elizabeth, who were convicted of high treason. Mr Radebe was jailed in 1980 and was due to be freed in five years' time and Mr Mbelekane and Mr Nodlawu were due for release in 1993 after nine years.

The four others freed were terrorism-accused Mr Lassy Chiwayo of Witbank, Mr Ntsikelelo Qaku of Queenstown and Mr David Maloma of Witbank, all due for release in 1992; and Mr Kwanele Matiwane of Port Elizabeth, due for release next year after three years.

Cosas march causes hours of traffic chaos

AFTER three hours of negotiations during which traffic in Jan Smuts Avenue came to a standstill, police managed to peacefully disperse a Congress of South African Students (Cosas) protest march in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon. 327 62

The march, said to have been illegal, was aimed at presenting a petition to the city's regional office of the Department of Education and Training (DET) as part of a nationwide campaign to have black matric examinations postponed to November 12.

Students occupied Jan Smuts Avenue for almost three hours while armed police with a helicopter hovering above refused to allow the march to proceed.

About 100 students were eventually allowed to picket at the offices of the department.

A chaotic 5pm rush hour situation was avoided when police allowed students to march to Johannesburg station to board trains to Soweto. One train was extensively damaged by students.

Police said no arrests were made. 6 10cm 7191 90 08 15

Cosas executive member Pemmy Majodina warned yesterday that the march would continue today, when a delegation of principals, parents and students is to meet DET officials to discuss students' demands. — Sapa.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE WEEKLY MAIL SEPTEMBER 7 1990

Weekend Mail



Great Trek. Great Return. Great Trauma

W/E Mail 7/9-13/9/90

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As the Pretoria Minute ticks on South Africa is faced with the return trek of anything from 30 000 to 100 000 exiles. While they and their families will rejoice a number of problems need to be faced. Where will they live, where will they work, who will foot the bill and what problems are they importing?

By MARK GEVISSER

THE Mfecane. The Great Trek. The Gold Rush. Forced Removals. Forced Exile. South African history has always been about huge population movements — people caught up, with their oxwagons or mining picks, their AK47s or Australian entry visas, in stampedes across colonialism's borders.

We learnt history from those nonsensical maps showing thick black arrows plummeting down one coast and thin white ones climbing up the other.

Now let's make a real map: write 1990 under it, take your kokis and draw thick arrows squeezing south through Komatipoort and Beit Bridge.

Add The Great Homecoming to our venerable history of population movements, as a scattered nation reconstitutes itself.

If South Africa's clock ticks in time to the Pretoria Minute, then some categories of exiles will be granted indemnity in just over three weeks, on October 1.

An African National Congress-government Working Group has also been instructed to set up a timetable for granting indemnity on an individual basis to those who are in Umkhonto weSizwe or have charges against them: "The latest date envisaged for completion of the total task," the Minute states, "is not later than April 30 1991."

Reverend Sol Jacob, director of refugees' ministries for the South African Council of Churches, predicts that at least 30 000 exiles will return by

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FEATURES

Hillbrow's last white stronghold is no more

The last bastion of whites-only hotels in Hillbrow has fallen **Page 4**

THE ARTS

Culture and the ANC's return

The cultural family patches up its differences **Page 7**



FILM FESTIVAL

Classics of South African film history – and more

Your guide to the annual Weekly Mail Film Festival **Pages 8,9**



Home again ... Hugh Masekela, surrounded by fans, greets crowds in the Great Hall foyer before the Abdullah Ibraham concert

Coming back home — to shelter in a port of storms

w/e Mail 7/9 – 13/9/90. 11A

What awaits the exiles who will, in the next few months, stream back into South Africa? MARK GEVISSER spoke to a family which has been back from London for two years, and to an ANC staffer who returned from Lusaka in May

THE SETILOANES

THE Setiloanes have been back from Britain for two years and, says Chwaro Setiloane, a Unisa behavioural scientist who has written a case study of his own homecoming experience, "the longer we stay here, the more we realise the way we became anglicised by our years away. It doesn't just take a couple of months to readjust — it takes a lifetime".

Chwaro and Mandisa Setiloane have divided their life back home into three phases:

●The "Spectator Phase" when "we were fascinated by the novelty of our surroundings".

●The "Involvement Phase" when an emptiness set in and "we felt a desire to establish a deeper and more meaningful relationship with the community".

●The "Coming-to-Terms Phase when they realised their inherent difference from the community and the role that they, as outsiders, were expected to play.

In England, where the couple met, they were part of a tight exile community bonded by a common cultural identity and the dream of going home. The power of the dream overrode considerations of tribe and race: they were never forced, by society, to consider the fact that he was Motswana and she Xhosa, and they lived as free individuals in a society that was racist, certainly, but in a community that was "colourless".

Now they're in a township; now they have to deal, every day, with the harshness of racism in the street, in the classroom, and in the workplace.

"On our second day back," says Chwaro, "we were nearly killed by a white policeman because I dared to talk back when we were accused of stealing the car we were driving. I'm used to certain rights and my freedom to stand up for them. Now I've had to readjust. What do you tell your child when he comes back from school one day and says 'Daddy, am I a kaffir?'"

Because their home language is English, the three children are at private schools in Pretoria, where they are made constantly aware of their otherness, as black children and as foreigners with London accents. "We get such strange looks when we ride the taxis and we speak to each other in English," the family says. The parents are encouraging their children to learn Setswana by spending time with other families in the township, but, says Mandisa, "what we've found is that when they are invited out it's so that the other kids can practise their English!"

When the Setiloanes decided to return in 1987, they encountered much hostility from people in the exile community who felt they were betraying the cause. And when their children mentioned at school that they were going back, they were told by teachers that South Africa was evil and that they should protest. "We had to bribe them with promises of visits to granny, and we had to overplay the spirit of adventure aspect of it all," Chwaro says.

Because of Chwaro's Unisa post, they settled far away from their families in Cape Town and the Transkei, and had to start from scratch in Atteridgeville. Chwaro became involved, as soon as possible, in local organisations — this, he says, was his primary reason for returning, but it also assisted immensely in their social integration into the township. The Setiloanes are now staunch members of the African National Congress's Atteridgeville branch, and Chwaro chairs the local Education Crisis Committee.

"At first," he says, "I felt an element of suspicion as to what my motives were for coming back, but now people are beginning to know and to trust us. People were very suspicious of me."

Mandisa, who did not work at first, had a hard time adjusting to the isolation of a housewife and the role that is expected of women in South African society. In Atteridgeville as in London, the Setiloanes are faced with trying to reconcile a belief in African custom with the lifestyle acquired by living in Britain.

"Life is so much more communal here," Chwaro says. "When I built a wall around my house, the neighbours suggested that a low wall — or no wall at all — is better security than a high one, because they can keep an eye out when we're not at home."

The Setiloanes are getting used to the communal, African life and are beginning to enjoy it. Apartheid, however, is harder to tolerate: "We were naive in thinking that the changes happening in some parts of Jo'burg and Cape Town were true for everywhere. Had we realised the extent to which apartheid is alive and thriving in Pretoria, we might not have come back."

Of course, they say, they are nostalgic for Britain. "But we're still new here, we've hardly just finished building our home. It takes time. This is what other returnees must realise."

JOEL NETSHITENZHE/ PETER MAYIBUYE

When Joel Netshitenzhe left medical school in 1976 to join the ANC, he could not tell even his family he was going. Like most of the ANC exiles in Zambia and Tanzania, he was required, for security reasons, to effect an absolute schism with his South African life: he even changed his name.

Because he edited *Mayibuye*, the ANC newspaper, he became Peter Mayibuye. "But now that I'm back I'm Joel again. We must go back to our real names to ensure that we're not suspended from our roots and that we integrate fully into our communities." He smiles. "I'm more recognised as Pete, though."

Reintegration has been relatively easy for him because, he says, he has come back to a job with the ANC: "In many ways I've just been transferred from one bureau to another. It won't be this simple for the majority of exiles, though."

He also feels that reintegration will be easier for those of the Seventies generation: "Unlike the comrades of the Sixties," he says, "the whole period we were in exile was characterised by a resurgence of mass movements, and we had much contact with those movements. So the political world we find here isn't that foreign."

He knew he would be coming after the NEC meeting in early March, he says, and although he had apprehensions, particularly concerning his safety, he had no conflict about return: part of the ANC training, after all, was that you could be expected to return underground at any moment.

"And the challenge was so great," he says, "to come back above ground and do work you haven't been able to do from the outside. Every time I wrote from Lusaka, I felt like I was shooting with a pellet gun. I didn't know where my shots would land. Now, I'm in touch with my readership."

Internal activism and external activism are of course, he says, very different. Perhaps most importantly, "we worked more in broad generalities outside — we read, we thought, and we theorised. Inside, though, the culture's more of a day-to-day pragmatism."

Another major difference is that "outside the country, you belong to the ANC and that's the end of the story. You work in an ANC office, and you live in the movement's residences with other ANC members. Here, though, there's a whole dispersed mass movement to consult with and work with — trade unions, civic, et-cetera. A culture of wide consultation must develop within the ANC now that it is back."

The initial problem he found in political organising was that "I had this label saying 'ANC Lusaka' round my neck. People didn't relate to me as an individual, but as a representative from head office giving them the head office line. I felt this pressure to perform."

He is aware of being back in a society where his skin colour renders him a "non-being" to many, but, he says, gesturing to Sauer Street beneath him, "it really is different from when I left. There's a sense of mass self-assertion now. People even walk with more confidence."

Most difficult, he says, is adapting to working in the open. "We've been forced into such secrecy, and we're so used to operating under cover, that it's difficult to shed ourselves of that skin. But it's crucial. We have to encourage a culture of free discussion and free exchange."

The conversation shifts tone as we talk about his reunion with his family. "Of course," he says, softly, "they were worried about me. And even though they supported my decision to go, they were upset that I didn't finish my medical studies. They had such ambition for me."

The reunion was a few weeks ago: on the way up to the far-northern Transvaal, his car broke down, and so he arrived at the family home at 3 am, eight hours after he was expected. "The whole family was still there, up and waiting for me. All the old ladies, everyone. Nobody had gone home."

There were strange cultural jolts, such as the regular prayers in which God was profusely thanked for having returned him. But overall, he says, "there was elation".

Media clampdown. Back to the Emergency?

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W Mail 7/9 - 13/7/90

Renewed harassment of journalists and regulations allowing for their removal from scenes of unrest are reminiscent of Emergency rule.

CASSANDRA MOODLEY *reports*

RESTRICTIONS unleashed on the media this week amidst the turbulence in Vaal and East Rand townships mirror grimly the State of Emergency lifted in June.

Police confirmed this week that they were again barring the press from certain areas of unrest in terms of the "Unrest Regulations 1990" declared in 19 magisterial districts a fortnight ago because people in unrest areas were inclined to "give a show for journalists".

This came despite assurances from Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and police commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, when the regulation was promulgated that it would not be used against journalists.

The restrictions are already in force. Yesterday, in Soweto near the Merafe hostel, police threatened to arrest journalists if they did not vacate the area but backed down when the press contingent grew bigger.

Worldwide Television News (WTN) sound recorder Brian Greene was arrested in Vosloorus on the East Rand on Tuesday.

WTN bureau chief Vincent Francis said the news crew had been ordered to leave the area by police. Apparently, Greene was arrested when he was spotted by a policeman who had ordered him to leave five minutes earlier.

Francis reported that Greene had phoned the WTN offices during his arrest screaming: "I'm being hit."

Greene appeared in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court on Wednesday on charges of contravening the new regulations and resisting arrest.

His case was postponed to October 23 and he was granted an emergency bail application of R 5 000 on Tuesday night.

Media lawyer David Dison said the Unrest Regulations are a duplication of the State of Emergency, which had drastically censored the media for five years.

"If a police officer believes he needs to remove a journalist or anybody else, he has the power to do so — the same regulations they always used against journalists."

He added that the police also had the power to remove anybody from the scene of unrest if they saw fit, to make arrests and remove film from cameras.

Media groupings yesterday slammed the new restrictions, saying "press freedom" experienced since the lifting of the countrywide Emergency regulations in June (except in Natal) seems to have been just a passing phase.

The Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag) said: "It is disappointing that the lull in the storm has ended and it's back to the old game of bashing the media."

The Association of Democratic Journalists said the ban on the media from "unrest areas" indicated a sinister return to the State of Emergency regulations, and Media Workers Association vice-president Mathata Tsedu said: "The police are unable to control the situation and as usual are using the media as their scapegoats."

But police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman stressed that reporters were not entirely barred from covering unrest situations. The press, he said, were requested to leave scenes of unrest for their own safety. He cited the case of a South African Press Association journalist whose vehicle was stoned and set alight in Sebokeng on Tuesday.

The press does face an onslaught from both sides. *Weekly Mail* reporters were confronted by youths in two separate incidents this week. Yesterday in Soweto about 30 youths brandishing stones and petrol bombs advanced on the *Mail's* car. One threatened to hurl a brick at the car but was stopped by a woman resident. They claimed the press had no right to be there, saying "you people bring the police, take our photos, and then they come and pick us up".

On Wednesday, *Weekly Mail* journalists were also reprimanded by a hostel committee member for interviewing residents without the committee's permission. "If you want to see action, lady, you will see it now," the man said.

"It's a pity that nobody has effectively taught people the value of having journalists present. They are after all the means by which the public can be informed of abuses.

"Part of the problem is caused by police masquerading as journalists," said Acag, commenting on the attacks on the media by communities.

Lawyers slam police ban on newsmen from unrest areas

Sowetan 7/9/90

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TWO prominent human rights lawyers have raised fundamental questions about Wednesday's admission by police that journalists were being barred from certain unrest areas.

Confirming that the media were being ordered to leave certain areas of unrest in terms of the application of "unrest regulations" contained in the Public Safety Act, Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said this was being done "where it is necessary".

Sowetan Correspondent

In terms of the regulation any policeman or SADF member may order any person out of an unrest area where he believes it necessary in combating public violence or in maintaining order.

Brian Currin, the national chairman of Lawyers for Human Rights, said the enforcement of the regulation led to the assumption that the police were planning to act in future in such a way that they would have "things to hide".

John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits, said in the light of the reassurance given to journalists by Vlok and General van der Merwe, he would have thought that "orders of this kind would have come from the Commissioner himself".

"The danger of excluding the press at this time is that allegations of police bias in the conflict will not be tested," Dugard said.

Violence

Until this week the "media" provisions of the Public Safety Act - which was applied to 27 Transvaal townships on August 24 - had not been implemented.

The enforcement of regulation 2(3) had now become necessary because people in certain unrest areas were inclined to "give a show" for journalists, causing violence to escalate, Opperman said.

Indemnity granted to 29

PRETORIA — Twenty-nine people received temporary immunity in terms of the Indemnity Act yesterday, according to a Government Gazette notice.

They are P Appalraju, S de Bruyn, M Gana, A Khumalo, T Lushaba, R Maphanga, M Mavimbela, F Mfenyane, T Morathi, D Motswenyane, S Mtoti, T Ngwenya, L Njenje, S Nogxina, G Tshabalala, L Colvin, H Dolney, K Kgositsile, J Kubu, R Mafisa, B Masekela, C Mayson, D Molefe, Y Motsoene, S Msimanga, M Ncumani, M Nhlanhla, S Nkondo and E Pahad.

The notice was signed by President F W de Klerk and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The immunity will be valid until December 31 this year. — Sapa.

Toekomsrus marchers may face violence

THE CP has warned of a possibly violent confrontation today between conservative whites and residents of Toekomsrus township - if an authorised protest march proceeds through the white residential area.

Dr C P Mulder, CP MP for Randfontein, said in a statement yesterday he had lodged his party's opposition with the Randfontein magistrate, the town clerk and the local SAP Security Branch.

"The white residential area through which the march is to take place has about 30 000 to 40 000 white residents. This is CP country and we have heard persistent rumours that some people will not allow this march through their area.

"We fear residents may even form impromptu commandos to confront the marchers," Mulder warned.

He was highly upset about the authorities allowing the planned protest march through a white area, which was organised by the Toekomsrus Crisis Committee.

"This is looking for confrontation," Mulder warned.

"The Conservative Party will hold the National Party, which allows these marches through white areas, responsible for any damage or incidents resulting from this," he concluded.

Town Clerk Mr Louw Brits, approached for comment, said the march would start at 10am from the Toekomsrus sports fields. Residents would march to the municipal offices where a petition against the high municipal service costs would be handed over to the town clerk.

327 **Objection**

Brits said he had received the CP objection on Sunday - and had moreover proposed to receive the petition in Toekomsrus itself to save residents from having to march. Sowetan 11/9/90

About 100 municipal traffic officers and policemen would be on duty to control the march, and another 100 reservists would be standing by.

Brits said he had also sent a letter to all residents along the route, asking them to remove their cars and not to interfere with the marchers. - *Sapa*

Toekomsrus residents air their grievances

Sowetan 12/9/90

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A PEACEFUL crowd of about 1 000 Toekomsrus residents handed over a petition of grievances to the Randfontein Town Clerk Mr Louw Brits yesterday morning.

Toekomsrus Crisis Committee secretary Shadean Butler said Brits had been given an ulitimatum to reply to the petition within a week.

There was a strong police and SA Defence Force presence along the road from the township playing fields into town but there were no incidents.

White residents along the way kept a low profile.

Another Toekomsrus resident, Mr Cecil Byron, said high rents were the main source of unhappiness in the area.

For a four-roomed house "very old, nothing more than a matchbox", said Byron, residents paid R380 a month.

Another woman said although many residents in Toekomsrus had bought their homes, electricity and water rents were cripplingly high - R400-R500 a month she claimed.

Another resident from this Western Transvaal township, Mr John Elland, said Labour Party leaders the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr David Curry were desperately needed to help the community. - *Sapa*

Biko services to be held nationwide

Sowetan 12/9/90

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AZAPO is to hold several services in the Northern Transvaal in remembrance of the death in police custody 12 years ago of Steve Bantu Biko.

At Mankweng, Turfloop the president of the newly launched Azanian Students Convention (Azasco), Mr Xolani Kalaote, and the honorary president of the Azanian Student Movement, Mr Kgotso Seatlholo, will both address a service to start at the university Great Hall at 10am.

Seatlholo and Kalaote will later travel to Seshego for another service at the Community Hall scheduled to start at 3pm.

By RUSSEL MOLEFE and SAPA

At Mankweng, a workshop on the relevance of black organisations in a non-racial society will begin at 2pm.

Azapo regional chairman, Mr Don Nkadimeng will lead discussions.

On Friday, the president of Azapo, Professor Itumeleng Mosala will address a service at the University of the North at 7pm.

The interorganisational violence sweeping black areas in the Reef will come under spotlight at a service to be held at the Nkowankowa community hall, near Tzaneen, at 5.30pm today. The regional coordinator of the National Council of Trade Unions and Azapo branch chairman, Mr Phosakuwa Mashele, will be the main speaker.

He said the film *Cry Freedom* will also be shown.

At Makwarela, Sibasa, the *Biko Inquest* will be shown after a service which will start at the Roman Catholic Church at noon today.

Another service in honour of the late Black Consciousness leader in King William's Town on today

A large number of people are expected to attend the service, organised by the Eastern Cape branch of the Azapo, said regional general secretary Mr Fanenele Mtyaleni.

He said Azapo had declared this week "Biko Anniversary Week".

A special workshop was arranged for tonight in Port Elizabeth to teach Azapo members, youth and women about the movement, he said.

Comrades in arms



ALL SMILES . . . Freed Robben Island political prisoner Mr Molliat Mfeketo (right), is greeted by friends on his release yesterday under the terms of the Pretoria Minute. He was one of a group of five prisoners freed in Cape Town. All were members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Picture: REUTER

Cape 'politicals' among 7 freed

Staff Reporter

SEVEN more political prisoners — five from Robben Island and two from Pollsmoor Prison — were released yesterday and on Monday.

They include Mr Molliat Mfeketo, of Guguletu, brother of Cape Town activist Ms Noma India Mfeketo of the United Women's Congress (now the ANC Women's League).

Mr Mfeketo was arrested in 1988, convicted of terrorism the following year, and jailed for 2½ years.

Also released was Mr Colin de Souza, 18, of Bonteheuwel, one of the leaders of what was known in the press as "the Bonteheuwel Military Wing".

He was convicted of public violence (possession of a petrol bomb) and sentenced to three years' imprisonment, supposedly ending in 1991.

The others were: Mr Anderson Ncivata, of Langa, sentenced to five years ending in 1992 for "assisting terrorists"; Mr Sivuyile Xhayiya, of Langa, sentenced to eight years for terrorism, ending in 1993; Mr Joseph Mkhuhlwa, of Guguletu, who got five years for terrorism, ending in 1993; Mr Minden Motsa, of Mapetla in Johannesburg, given eight years for terrorism in 1985; and Mr Ncedani Mase, of Zolani township at Ashton, who received a 9½-year sentence for public violence, ending in 1995.

Mr Amos Lengisi, a UDF executive committee member (and ANC member), said he was unable to say whether the release of some people convicted of public violence meant that all convicted of those charges would be freed.

"The demand from the ANC was for the release of all political prisoners. Public violence cases were part of the call," he said. "There is an expectation that they will be released."

Mr Xhayiya, a spokesman for the group, said all seven releasees were members of the ANC, and they fully supported the suspension of the armed struggle.

"We would like to say that we are happy to be released from prison, as it is a living hell-house," he said, "but the releases of the past few days are rather insignificant.

"We demand the release of all political prisoners now. It is ironic that while leading spokesmen of De Klerk's government say apartheid is dead, the jails are still overflowing."

There were still over 270 political prisoners on Robben Island, Mr Xhayiya said. However, the spirits of those still behind bars had never been higher.

Teenage detentions: Reviving old trends?

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

Teenagers have begun disappearing off the streets of the townships and into detention cells again, since the government declared townships across the Reef to be "unrest areas".

On Wednesday, a group of eight Soweto teenagers — understood to include two boys of 14 years — was released from Johannesburg's Diepkloof Prison after 12 days in the cells, according to an attorney acting for one of the boys.

Workers at the Detainees' Aid Centre, alerted to the case, are watching carefully for signs of a return to the old State of Emergency pattern of widespread detention of youngsters — still defined as children in terms of welfare legislation.

Asked yesterday to confirm that the eight had been detained earlier this week, a spokesman for the Police Division of Public Relations avoided answering directly. The only available comment was: "The persons mentioned in your fax message are not currently in detention. We do not confirm releases."

The attorney said it appeared the youngsters had been held in terms of section 3(1) of the regulations governing "unrest areas".

She added that the youths were held in a cell at Diepkloof with 42 others — all juvenile prisoners awaiting trial for criminal cases.

"Our main concern was that they were being badly treated by the others. They have dagga and liquor in the cells and force our clients to do their dirty work, for instance wash their underwear," she said.

The attorney said her young client had told her that a boy had been stabbed in the cell.

She observed that the legal provision that "unrest detainees" be held as awaiting trial prisoners was a mixed blessing. On the one hand, it entitled detainees to regular visits by their families and access to lawyers. On the other, it exposed them to criminal elements.

Although in this case the young detainees had been held only with juvenile prisoners, this still meant that 14-year-old detainees were in the same cell as 20-year-olds suspected of criminal acts.

The Department of Prisons Services states that prisoners under the age of 21 are considered juvenile and "it is the policy to incarcerate juveniles separate from other prisoners and to differentiate them where possible".

Tacitly confirming the incarceration of the youths, a prisons service spokesman added: "The allegation that one of the occupants of the cell where the youths were held was stabbed is not true."

Regulations on unrest detainees bear a strong resemblance to those of the four-year State of Emergency. They state that "a member of the security forces may, in an unrest area, without warrant of arrest, arrest any person whose detention is, in the opinion of such member, necessary for the combating or prevention of public disturbance, disorder, riot or public violence or the maintenance or restoration of public order."

Detainees may be held on this basis for up to 30 days and thereafter their detention may be indefinitely prolonged in terms of an order by the Minister of Law and Order.

The police spokesman said his division did not have "figures readily available as to the number of arrests made in terms of the unrest regulations".

affairs for Sanlam. ...ceive R5 000, runner-up R3 500 and the entrepre-

Biko services at Turfloop end today

AZAPO president Professor Itumeleng Mosala will close the Biko Week services at the University of the North tonight, where he will share the platform with Peter Jones, the last civilian to see Steve Biko alive.

Announcing this yesterday, Azapo regional chairman Mr Don Nkadimeng said Mosala would outline decisions taken at a central committee meeting last week regarding the possibilities of a peaceful transformation of the country.

Tonight's service will mark the end of a week-long programme at the university, which saw services and workshops on various aspects of the Black Consciousness ideology. The service starts at 7pm.

wl Mail 1469 – 20/9/90

●THE Publications Directorate banned 126 films in 1989. Of the total of 1 655 films submitted to it, 839 were approved unconditionally and 680 conditionally (ie with age restrictions and/or excisions). (327)

West Rand march over grievances

By Montshiwa Moroke

Troops and police yesterday stood by while about 5 000 Toekomsrus residents marched to the Randfontein Town Council offices and presented a petition listing their grievances.

The march proceeded without incident despite a Conservative Party warning of possible violent confrontation.

The march was organised to protest against high rents and water and electricity tariffs.

A Toekomsrus Crisis Committee spokesman said a rent boycott was in progress in the township and it would remain in force until grievances had been addressed satisfactorily.



Peaceful rally . . . About 5 000 residents of Toekomsrus, near Randfontein, march to present a petition to the town council. ● Picture by Stephen Dayimes.

Retribution before reconciliation – PAC

CAPE TOWN — The militant Africanist chant "One settler, one bullet" was a call for retribution against the crimes against black South Africans, senior Pan Africanist Congress official Barney Desai told more than 1 000 people in Cape Town on Saturday.

Addressing a mass PAC rally in the Hanover Park civic hall, Mr Desai said: "I say if you think we are going to absolve you of the crimes you have perpetrated against the black people of this country you are mistaken."

He was referring to a letter written by a reader of a Cape Town newspaper this week who took exception to the slogan.

Mr Desai said the PAC stood for reconciliation but "there can be no reconciliation between master and servant, oppressor and oppressed unless justice is done".

The PAC called for a constituent assembly as it believed the people of a country had to draw up their own constitution.

The organisation demanded a constituent assembly based on one-person-one-vote in a unitary state.

"It is not a question of writing a constitution in someone else's lavatory. If you do it the only thing to do with that constitution is to pull the chain," Mr Desai said.

People opposed to a constituent assembly wanted to protect their racist priveleges.

Launching an attack on the ANC for taking part in negotiations with the Government, Mr Desai said the PAC asked no favours from "our oppressors".

The organisation had been invited to talk to the Government and it may do so — but it would not budge from its demand that the people write their own constitution.

The meeting also featured speakers from the National Council of Trade Unions, the New Unity Movement and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.

Chanting youths added to the militant tone at the meeting. — Sapa.

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CAPE TIMES 19/9/90 (#10) (#8) 327

ANC brass meet over govt 'Iron Fist' plan

Cape

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leaders met in an urgent session yesterday to formulate their response to the government's tough "Operation Iron Fist" security plan to stop the unrest in Witwatersrand townships.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said there was "quite a significant chance" that the policy-making National Executive Committee (NEC) would suspend peace talks with the government in retaliation for the security measures.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela hinted that the ANC would consider withdrawing from the peace process because of its dissatisfaction with Operation Iron Fist.

The ANC executive was meeting "because we find the situation intolerable", he said.

"If we find there is no will on the part of the government to take emphatic steps to stop this violence, then we will have to take a decision that will reverse almost everything that was done since May this year," Mr Mandela said.

But he added that it was unlikely the talks would be called off "because we initiated them . . . We must hold our ground. But all this is subject to the government carrying out its duties".

A press conference will be held today at the end of the NEC meeting, which is taking place at an undisclosed venue in Johannesburg.

Seven weeks ago and before the outbreak of the conflict which has killed up to 750 people, the ANC and the government were preparing the way to full-blown power-sharing negotiations on ending apartheid.

During talks last Friday on the bloodshed, Mr Mandela told President F W de Klerk the NEC would discuss demands from township residents that they be armed to protect themselves from further attack if the government failed to take adequate security measures.

On Saturday, police announced Operation Iron Fist — a sweeping strategy to curb the township conflict with roadblocks, heavily armed patrols and barbed-wire barricades. Mr Mandela immediately condemned the measures as excessive and "a lic ence to kill" township residents.

The ANC noted that the proposed security forc action did not address the cause of the strife, whic the movement claims is a shadowy "third force' manipulating clashes between migrant-worker Zu lus supporting Inkatha and the predominantly Xhosa township dwellers.

Mr De Klerk has conceded there may be a hidden force, but insists the original cause is tribal conflict. He also has said the talks process may be threatened if the parties lose trust in each other. — Sapa and UPI

CAN THIS 19/9/80 327

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Attack on unionist

(327)

South 20/9 - 26/9/90

A CAPE TOWN trade unionist has laid charges at the Kensington police station relating to what he says is a mysterious "campaign of intimidation" against him.

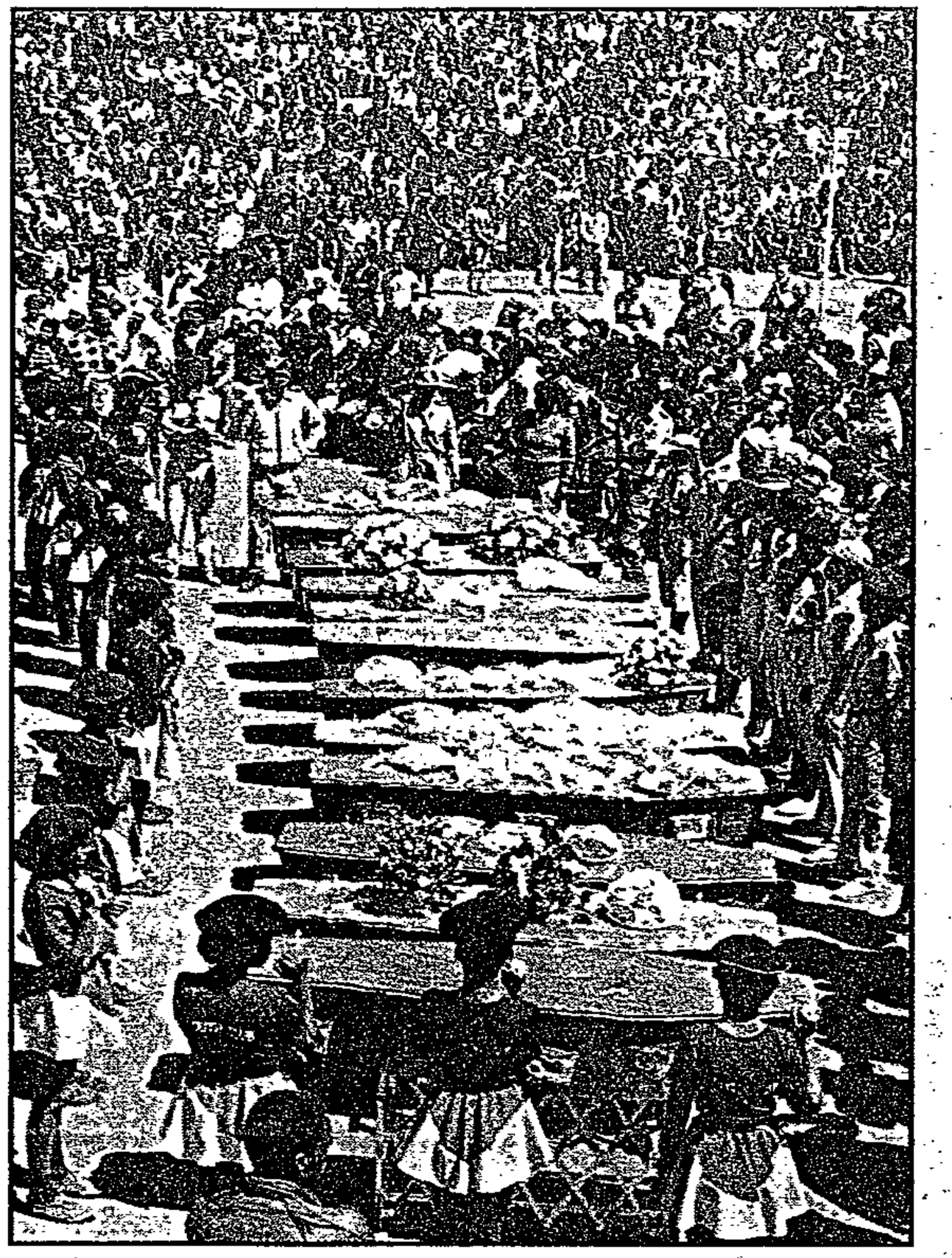
Graffiti accusing Mr Brian Williams of being a Pan-Africanist Congress supporter was painted on walls outside his Kensington home last Friday.

His car tyres were slashed on the same day and his wife received several threatening phone calls.

Williams, an organiser for the Metal and Electrical Workers' Union of South Africa (Mewusa), said he was not a member of the PAC.

The ANC's deputy convenor in the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel, said the ANC condemned the action.

Meanwhile Mewusa members are staging a nonstop picket outside the National Panasonic factory in Parow where they have been locked out since earlier this month.



Twelve victims of the recent violence in Reef townships were given a mass burial in Soweto yesterday after a service attended by thousands of mourners at Jabulani Amphitheatre. Pic: Reuters

ANC warns on State's aim to disarm blacks

By DON SEOKANE and Sowetan Correspondent

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said the measures implemented by the Government to quell the violence was aimed at disarming the liberation movements and black people while arming whites.

Mandela was speaking to more than 15 000 people at the service for 12 unrest victims at the Jabulani Amphitheatre.

The service was attended by an ANC delegation including Mr Walter Sisulu, national executive committee member Mr Jackie Selebi and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Joe Modise.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said no incidents were reported and the funeral service went on smoothly.

Except for the ANC, the service was dominated by priests, who in the words of one of them, gave "theological reflections on the orchestration of violence".

The people who were buried yesterday were: Benny and Martin Maboa, of Tladi Camp; Abram Mlangeni and Benjamin Ramatlotlo, also of Tladi Camp; Mapule Motshwana of Orlando East; Sabata Makhanya of Mofolo South; Mickey Nyame of Naledi; Solomon Seema of Naledi Extension; Elias Theola of Mapetla; Lessy Mosetlhe of Moletsane; David Motseme of Central Western Jabavu; and Benjamin Khanye of Mapetla.

*****

The Vosloorus Crisis Committee said 10 victims of the recent violence in the township would be buried at a mass funeral tomorrow after a service at the local stadium at 10am.

Local ANC official official Mr Elliot Sogoni expressed concern over the delay in post-mortems conducted on the bodies.

The people to be buried are Ntsheteka Zwane, Butiki Selebe, Nantu Chauke, Evaton Mathaka, Sipho Mathe, Vusi Shabangu, Amos Gama, Alfred Zulu, Amstrong Tsoke and Mbewu Tsotsojane.

Sogoni said 22 of the 89 hostel refugees living at a local hall would be integrated into the community and the rest, who were unemployed, would be sent to the bantustans.

CASINO is closed today Friday

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CASINO opens Sat. 22 with SPECIALS

SOWETAN Friday September 21 1990

Police search home of Soweto environment specialist Lekgetho

POLICE yesterday searched the Dobsonville home of A rican National Congress member Mr Japhta Lekgetho.

Lekgetho, the organisation's spokesman on the environment, said police left a message that he should report at Protea Police Station today.

He was out at the time.

Police also asked whether his children were "his own" and whether they attended school.

"This is not normal practice," Lekgetho said.

"Why can't they come during normal hours?"

Colonel Tienie Halgryn of the Soweto police said there was "nothing wrong with the visit".

"It is normal police practice to visit people. We can visit them any time and search their homes at any time," he said.

Soweto 21/9/90

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ANC man's home raided

JOHANNESBURG. — The Dobsonville, Soweto, home of the ANC's spokesman on environmental matters, Mr Japhta Lekgetho, was raided in the early hours of yesterday by 10 men claiming to be policmen.

However, Captain Joseph Ngobeni at the SAP headquarters at Protea in Soweto said yesterday that he did not know anything about the raid.

According to Mrs Lekgetho, the "policemen" were uniformed and armed. — Sapa

Cape Times, Friday, September 21 1990

Iron Fist policy 'misunderstood'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE beefed-up judicial measures to deal with conflict situations announced by President F W de Klerk this week, showed that the government took the ANC's reservations about the security forces seriously, government sources said yesterday.

"The government is trying to demonstrate that it is not insensitive to the possibility that there may be elements in the security circles which are not playing the game," one source said.

After weeks of repeated accusations by the ANC that the police and the SADF were taking sides in the conflict, the announcements after this week's cabinet meeting contain a number of significant concessions.

Apart from an independent ombudsman to investigate allegations of abuse of power by the police, SADF and other government institutions, judges and officers of the Department of Justice will become increasingly involved in reaching speedy decisions on the culpability of parties in conflict situations.

Non-policemen will also increasingly probe the behaviour of police; special "expeditious" units under attorneys-general or deputies will speedily investigate the worst cases of violence, and inquests headed by judges will also investigate killings.

Asked to comment on the underlying intention of the measures, one government source said yesterday: "They certainly do not reflect an uncompromising attitude (towards the ANC)."

Although endorsing the government's controversial operation "Iron Fist" to stamp out the township violence, both Mr De Klerk and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, acknowledged that the more heavy-handed aspects of the initiative had been over-emphasized or misunderstood.

Yesterday Mr Nelson Mandela criticised Operation Iron Fist when he spoke at a funeral of unrest victims at Jabulani Stadium, arguing that the implementation of security measures should flow from a joint decision involving the ANC.

Sapa reports that Mr Mandela said the Iron Fist operation was designed to warm the white minority government and disarm the liberation movements.

Stadium packed for funeral of 12 violence victims

By PHILIPPA GARSON

THOUSANDS of people heeded the stayaway call and flocked to the mass funeral of 12 victims of the Reef violence at Jabulani Stadium in Soweto yesterday, amid a heavy security force presence. Shops were closed and children thronged the streets. Armoured vehicles patrolled, keeping a close watch on the funeral proceedings.

At least 15 000 mourners, many bedecked in African National Congress colours, filled the stadium to capacity.

Midway through the proceedings ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, sparking great excitement among the crowd. He arrived with internal ANC leader Walter Sisulu, Umkhonto we Sisiwe commander-in-chief Joe Modise and Jackie Selebi, youth leader and NEC member.

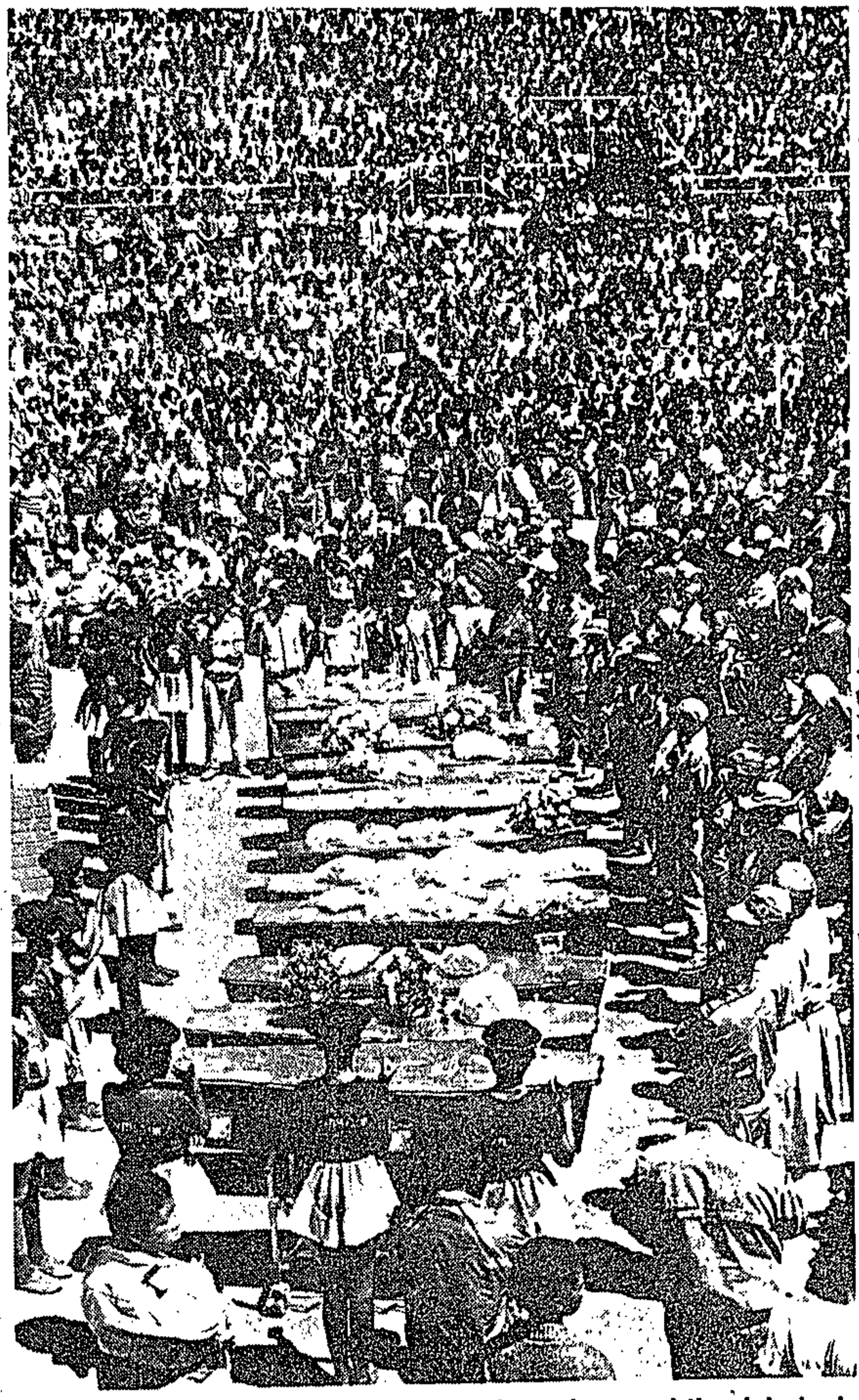
While a police helicopter circled above Mandela said the wave of violence on the Reef was not "black-on-black" violence but instigated by a "third force operating in this country, a third force which is backed by the same security forces which are supposed to maintain law and order in this country. These are the people who are shooting and killing our people".

While appealing for discipline and "commitment to the peace process" a weary-looking Mandela spoke of the possibility of forming defence units and arming soldiers who had recently laid down their arms.

"There is a widespread demand amongst our people that they should be armed. We regard this demand as reasonable and it willbe difficult for us to oppose ..."

Mandela said the government would have to discuss a joint approach with the ANC if it wanted to end the the violence.

After the speeches the crowd sang the national anthem and then streamed to the Avalon cemetery some kilometres away.



Colourful ANC and SACP flags were draped around the Jabulani Stadium yesterday and women formed a guard of honour around the 12 coffins of those killed in the recent Reef violence Picture: JUSTIN SHOLK

Protesters vow to defy Soweto Iron Fist curfew

Sunday Times Reporters

SOWETO protesters yesterday vowed to defy the planned curfew that will effectively bar blacks from leaving township homes from 9pm at to 4am the next morning.

About 3 000 protesters told Soweto Mayor Sam Mkwanazi in a strongly worded petition that they would ignore the curfew.

Shebeen owners in Thokoza, Katlehong, Vosloorus, Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof and Dobsonville — where the curfew will come into operation on Tuesday — said they would be put out of business.

ST Times 23/9/90 (327)

Concern

Mr Mothobi Mutloatsi, whose musical production, Baby Come Duze, opens at Johannesburg Market Theatre on Tuesday night, is equally furious.

"This curfew is going to affect our business and we will be forced to issue a form of 'na pas', as in the 50s," he said.

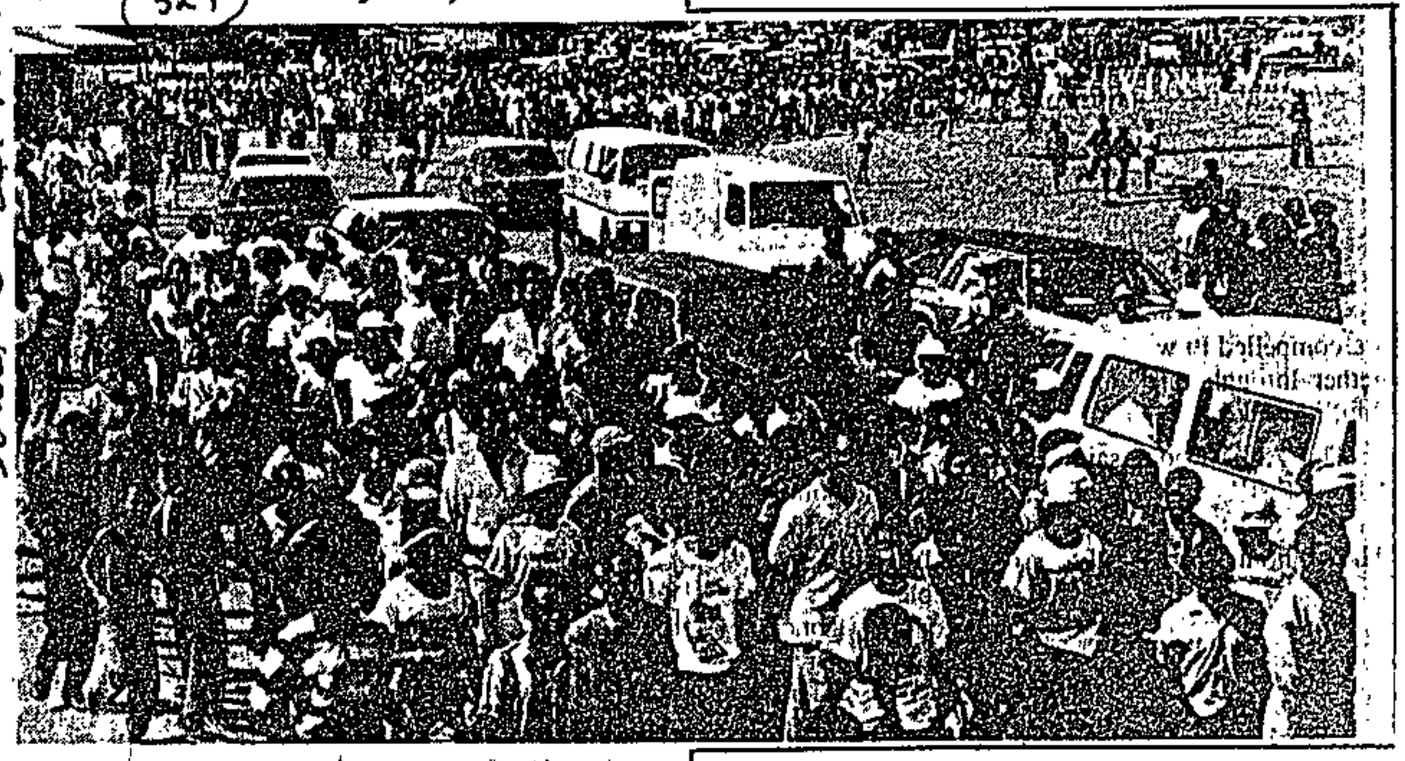
Promoter Leonard Sithole, who is behind the Brenda Fassie show in Soweto, said performances would continue despite the curfew.

The National Soccer League also expressed concern that the curfew would affect fans who support evening games, usually on Friday night.

Mass funeral for Vosloorus victims

Hundreds of people attended the mass funeral at the weekend of victims of the recent violence in the East Rand. This part of the crowd who marched to the Vosloorus cemetery. Pic by PAT SEBOKO

PAC shel over talk



Police, army keep watch at stadiums

Sowetan 24/9/90

By DON SEOKANE

SEVENTEEN victims of the recent violence were buried over the weekend in mass and private funerals in the East Rand.

Services for the 12 Tokoza and Vosloorus victims were were held at the local stadiums while five others were buried at a private funeral at the African Methodist Episcopal church in Vosloorus.

The army and the police kept a heavy presence over the mass funerals in Tokoza and Vosloorus and foot patrols by the army were visible.

The burial service at Vosloorus stadium was dominated mainly by speakers from the bereaved families and the priests.

Appealed

Conducting the service, Reverend Zungu, appealed to people to stop the senseless slaughter.

"I hope we do not come here again for similar funerals. There should be end to this violence and the perpetrators should be exposed," said Zungu.

Speaking at the service held at the Methodist church in Vosloorus, Mr Sy Montsisi of PAC Vosloorus branch, said if African alliance could be used to close ranks, the violence could be stemmed.

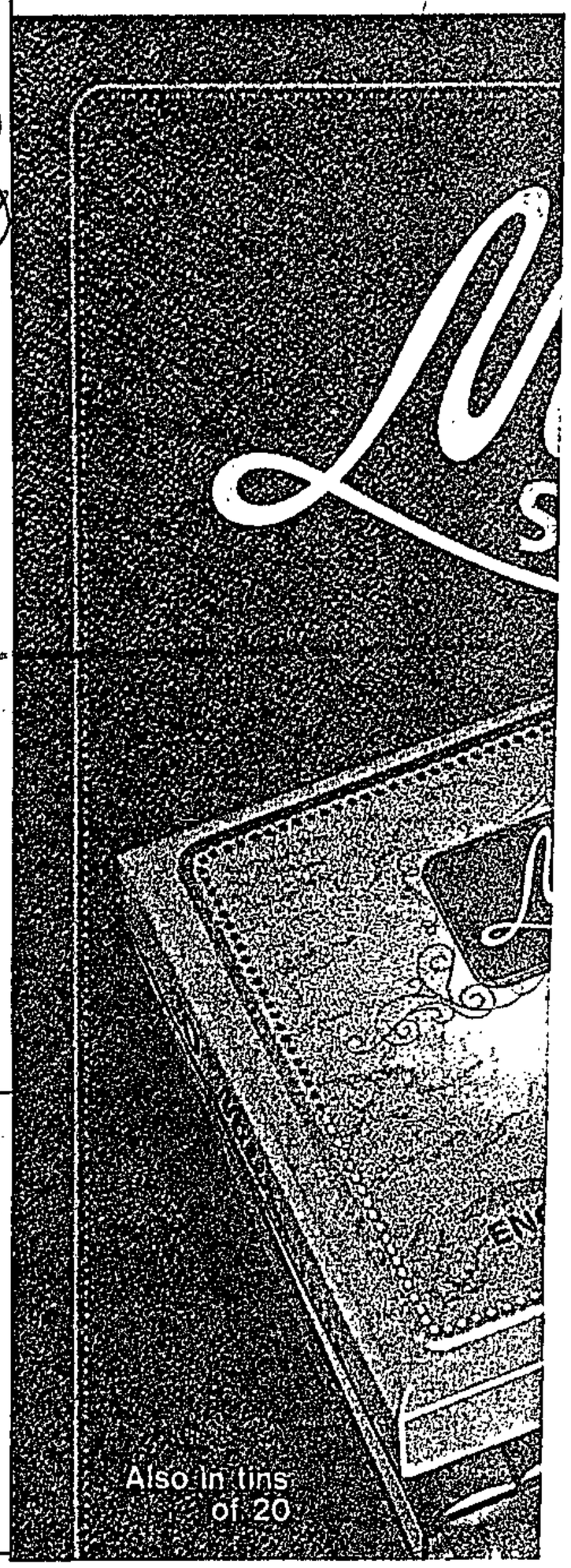
Names of the victims buried at Tokoza are: Albert Serongwe (51), Piet Gaborone (24), John Molete (16), Hendrik Mokotedi (30) and Maria Mokotedi (26); while the following were buried at Vosloorus stadium: Isaac Butiki Selebe (39), Stenco Zwane (28), Amos Gama (63), David Khumalo (61), Geoffrey Shale (41), Vusi Chauke (19) and Sipho Mathe (35).

The service held at the Methodist church was for Daniel Serialong Louw, Ezekiel Namae Segole, Calvin Brian Segole, Vusi Mokgethi and Ignitious Kelo Segole.

Policemen murdered

TWO policemen of the SAP unrest unit were stoned to death by taxi drivers in Ladysmith on Friday, police in Pretoria said yesterday.

There have been no arrests and investigations are continuing, a police spokesman said last night. - *Sapa.*



September 24 1990

Tomorrow the tough curfew

Soweto 24/9/90

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CURFEW measures installed by the Government in Thokoza, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof and Dobsonville, are to come into effect tomorrow.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok announced in the Government Gazette on Friday curfew with effect from September 25 as an additional measure to the Unrest Regulations announced by the Government last month.

No person in an unrest area in the magisterial districts of Alberton, Boksburg, Germiston, Johannesburg, Roodepoort and in Thokoza, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof and Dobsonville is allowed to be present beyond the limits of any residential site between 9pm and 4am.

The prohibition will not apply to anyone who is a member of a security force in his capacity as a member of such a force or, if in the opinion of a member of a security force, the person submits sufficient reasons for the non-compliance with the prohibition.

If such a person is an employee he must be in possession of written proof signed and issued by his employer. - *Sapa*

Protest march against curfew

JOHANNESBURG. — A standoff between the authorities and Soweto residents loomed at the weekend over plans to introduce curfews in the township this week.

More than 3 000 singing and placard-carrying protesters in Soweto marched on the city council offices in Jabulani on Saturday, vowing to defy the measure that forms part of the "Iron Fist" operation to stem bloody township battles. Police in armoured personnel carriers, vans and cars closely followed the protesters.

"We reject Iron Fist. We reject curfew. They offer no solution," a placard carried by a militant youth proclaimed. "We will defy the curfew."

The curfew comes into effect tomorrow, to back up measures including roadblocks that are already in place.

Many placards called for Inkatha to be disarmed and others demanded the scrapping of the hostel system and provision of proper housing for the inmates — mostly Zulus.

A strongly worded petition was presented to Soweto mayor Mr Sam Mkhwanazi at the council offices. In the petition, which notably demands "impartial and effective" protection of residents, protesters demanded a response within seven days.

"The residents give the government an ultimatum that our demands be responded to by 29 September, failing which other forms of struggle will be resorted to," it said.

ANC local official Mr Baba Schalk declined to spell out the nature of the action that would follow.

Mayor Mr Mkhwanazi and his councillors listened calmly as Mr Schalk read the petition. But the mayor told a delegation of protesters he could not commit himself on when he would respond. — Sapa

Unrest victims buried

JOHANNESBURG. — Victims of recent fighting were buried in mass and private funerals in East Rand townships on Saturday, while a heavy police and troop presence bore testimony to the government's Operation Iron Fist, implemented to stop the violence.

In Vosloorus, where hundreds of people attended the mass funeral of eight people, 32 Battalion troops in riot gear patrolled with white officers through the dusty streets, backed by police and army vehicles.

Military vehicles watched over a funeral in Katlehong's Huntersfield Stadium, where a few thousand people listened to militant speeches, and sang and danced at the burial of nine people. — Sapa

SOWETAN

Building the Nation

TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 25 1990 MORNING FINAL All areas 50c (44c + 6c GST)

INSIDE TODAY

- Words fly at rent indaba - P2
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- Eight die in shooting sprees - P4
- Evictions set to go on - P6
- What your stars foretell - P11
- All the tips for Vaal - P23
- Chiefs vow to win cup - P24

Townships clampdown

Soweton 25/9/90

327

A CURFEW comes into effect tonight in seven Reef townships - the scene of violence which has claimed about 800 lives in the past five weeks.

By LEN MASEKO

The restrictions are part of measures, codenamed "Operation Iron Fist", introduced by the Government to quell fighting in the townships.

The townships are Soweto - including Diepkloof, Meadowlands and Dobsonville - Tokoza and Vosloorus. These townships have been declared "unrest areas" under the Public Safety Act of 1953.

The curfew, announced by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan

To Page 2



Curfew in Reef townships

Sowetan 25/9/90

From Page 1

Vlok in the Government Gazette last Friday, will be effective between 9pm and 4am.

Under the "unrest" regulations, no one should be outside their homes during that time.

However, the measures will not apply to members of the security forces on duty or members of the public who provide police with sufficient reasons for not complying with the regulations.

Late-night workers would have to produce letters signed by their employers showing that the nature of their jobs makes it impossible for them to observe the curfew. The letter should contain such details as:

* The full name and address of the bearer;

* The full name, business address and telephone of his employer;

* The full name, address, position and telephone number of the person who issued the letter; and

* The nature of the tasks of the workers, details of working and travel times and a statement explaining why they should be exempted from the curfew regulations.

The police may arrest and detain for up to 12 hours anyone suspected of being in possession of falsified documents.

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Fine

Anyone found in possession of such documents will be liable to a fine of up to R1 000 or sentence of up to six months or such imprisonment without the option of a fine.

The Regional Commissioner of Police in Soweto said yesterday ticket stubs from concerts, cinemas and soccer games would be considered to be legal permits when the curfew comes into effect.

Major-General Johan Swart said he realised that certain people attending concerts, soccer games and other functions would experience difficulty in sticking to the curfew times as these events often ended after the curfew had started.

He announced yesterday that the police would accept a ticket stub as a legal permit. He said this was not a way of circumventing the curfew legislation but was being implemented in Soweto for public convenience.

Calls to defy township curfew

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TIM COHEN, MIKE ROBERTSON, WILSON ZWANE, THEO RAWANA & PETER DELMAR

THE ANC, Cosatu, and allied organisations yesterday called on township residents to ignore the seven-hour curfew which comes into effect in seven Reef townships tonight.

But police yesterday reaffirmed that the curfew would go ahead and that they would act firmly against offenders.

Also yesterday, the Greater Soweto Accord teetered on the brink of collapse minutes after being signed when the Soweto People's Delegation (SPD) objected to the imposition of the curfew.

SPD secretary Patrick Lephunya told a Press conference: "If the curfew is not lifted, not only is it going to be defied, but its continuation could jeopardise this entire accord." Bldm 25/9/90

Lephunya said the imposition of a curfew a day after the signing of the agreement was a unilateral decision and contradicted the spirit and letter of the accord.

Residents of Soweto, Diepmeadow, Dobsonville, Vosloorus, Katlehong and Thokoza face a maximum R1 000 fine or six months jail if they defy the 9pm to 4am curfew.

Residents in these townships will be confined to residential sites during the curfew.

A notice in Friday's Government Gazette said the people who could furnish written proof from their employers that they needed to travel during the curfew would not be affected.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brig Leon Mellett said police would act firmly against any person or group that wilfully set out to break the curfew.

He stressed, however, that the aim of the curfew was to protect law-abiding citizens against violent gangs and not to harass ordinary people.

Police, he said, had been briefed "right

☐ To Page 2

Curfew

Bldm 25/9/90

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☐ From Page 1

down to the last bone" to apply the curfew with discretion.

The ANC said in a statement that it totally rejected the curfew, which it said would give the police licence to "hunt people as if they are game".

The curfew was not aimed at the perpetrators of violence but at communities which would have a decreased capacity to defend themselves from vigilantes.

"We would not be surprised if the result of these measures is the outbreak of large-scale vigilante attacks on communities that we experienced at the beginning of the violence in the Transvaal."

Cosatu said in a statement it supported the calls to "defy the draconian curfew".

Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal secretary-general Sam Ntuli said his organisation would defy the curfew.

"We are planning meetings in some townships to take place during the hours of the curfew," Ntuli said.

National Taverners' Association official Ray Mollison said the curfew would cripple the taverners as their business was normally conducted in the evening.

The ANC-affiliated SA Youth Congress said in a statement it did not consider itself bound by the government's recently announced "Iron Fist" measures and the curfew in particular.

TANIA LEVY reports that National Association of Stokvels president Andrew Lukhele said yesterday the billion-rand stokvel movement would be badly affected by the curfews.

Addressing a group of stockbrokers at the JSE, Lukhele said the association felt helpless to assist its members.

The curfew would cut short stokvel parties, which could go on for two days and which generated thousands in turnover for their hosts. There were about 10-million black people who exchanged about R7bn a year as stokvel members, he said.

● See Page 3

Cops slate call to defy night curfew

Sowetan 26/9/90

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THE SA Police yesterday expressed concern that calls had been made for township residents to defy curfew regulations which became effective last night.

A statement from SAP liaison chief Major-General Herman Stadler called on the public to support the security forces.

''These non-aggressive measures are aimed at protecting defenceless, law-abiding residents and to ensure they sleep in peace.''

The curfew became effective in seven Reef townships last night, as part of ''Operation Iron Fist'' announced by police and the Government to stop violence in these areas.

The Civic Associations of the Transvaal (Cast) on Monday said it opposed the curfew.

Cast said the regulations were a reversion to ''the old draconian apartheid-style repression'', aimed at instilling fear and panic in people.

They also facilitated attacks by vigilantes and hit squads.

Stadler gave the assurance the intention was not to punish people or make life difficult for them.

Police were determined to see an end to the violence and urged residents to ignore people inciting them to defy the regulations, Stadler said.

Withdraw

The United Democratic Front would consider defying the curfew in Reef townships if the State did not withdraw the new measures.

In a statement, the organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, said the curfew would not end the violence in townships.

While the UDF welcomed the present calm in the townships, it believed it was temporary until the underlying causes had been addressed.

These included the abolition of the hostel system, the arrest and prosecution of warlords, the institution of independent tribunals and the weeding of elements in the security forces that were intent on destroying the negotiation process.

Civil action against death row prisoners

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — While the Zimbabwean authorities have agreed to improve death row conditions for three condemned South African agents here, anti-apartheid activist Jeremy Brickhill is bringing a civil action against two of them for injuries he received in an October 1987 car bomb attack.

A lawyer acting for Mr Brickhill, Mr Bryant Elliott, confirmed yesterday that papers for a R450 000 suit had been served against Kevin Woods and Michael Smith in the Chikurubi prison, and against Barry Bawden, who is serving a life sentence for aiding the May 1987 SADF raid on ANC premises in Harare.

Woods, Smith, and a third former member of the Rhodesian security forces, retired police sergeant-major Philip Conjwayo, 56, were sentenced to death in 1988 for the killing of a Zambian civilian in an attack on an ANC "safe house" in Bulawayo.

Their lawyer, Mr Robin Hartley, said yesterday that he had been assured they would no longer be stripped naked from 4pm to 7am nor kept locked up for over 23 hours a day in their individual windowless cells measuring 4,5m by 1,5m.

Referring to recent reduction in tension between Zimbabwe and South Africa, officials here told Mr Hartley "new circumstances" allowed death row conditions to be relaxed.

Meanwhile, Mr Hartley said he was awaiting a reply to his request to see President Robert Mugabe personally and appeal for an amnesty for Woods, Smith, Conjwayo, Bawden and two other convicted people, Odile Harington, 29, and Denis "Sammy" Beahan, 42.

Reef curfew: New source of conflict?

CAPE TIMES 26/9/90 327

Political Staff

THE 9pm-to-4am curfew in seven Reef townships, including Soweto, started last night but threats of defiance could turn it into a new source of conflict.

The police yesterday urged the public to support the security forces.

Major-General Herman Stadler said: "These non-aggressive measures are aimed at protecting defenceless, law-abiding residents and to ensure they sleep in peace."

Calls to defy the curfew were made by five ANC branches in Soweto, the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) and the Civic Associations of the Transvaal (CAST).

The ANC said the curfew gave police a licence "to hunt people as if they are game".

Yesterday the UDF said it would consider defying the curfew if the state did not withdraw the Iron Fist measures. It said the curfew would not end the violence.

While it welcomed the present calm in the townships, it believed this would be temporary until the underlying causes had been addressed.

These included the abolition of the hostel system, the arrest and prosecution of warlords, the institution of independent tribunals and the weeding out of elements in the security forces that were intent on destroying the negotiation process, the UDF said.

In his statement, General Stadler gave the assurance that the intention was not to punish people or make life difficult for them.

Police were determined to see an end to the violence and urged residents to ignore people inciting them to defy the regulations.

"The sooner the situation normalises, the sooner these regulations may be lifted."

General Stadler added that the security forces would enforce the curfew strictly but judiciously.

The UDF said the curfew would not bring about an everlasting solution to the problem of violence.

"At most, this measure militates against the creation of a climate conducive to free political activity and tampers with the civil liberties of residents in the affected areas."

The state had effectively reintroduced the state of emergency.

"We therefore demand that the state withdraws the recently announced measures, failing which we might be forced to support the view that the curfew should be defied."

From last night, only members of the security forces and workers with signed authorisation from their employers were allowed on the streets in the seven townships between 9pm and 4am.

The police have also said that people with valid cinema or theatre tickets will be exempt from the curfew provisions.

● Sapa reports from Johannesburg that the Southern African Black Taxi Association has asked the authorities for an exemption from the curfew.

Sabta spokesman Mr Fanayana Shiburi said the organisation had written to Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok asking that valid Sabta members and their passengers be exempted from the curfew.

Taxi operations would be adversely affected because they operated late into the night, often ferrying hotel and restaurant staff who finished after dark. Many Sabta drivers operated on long-distance routes and arrived back on the Reef only late at night.

"In the light of the curfew we have recommended our members start a door-to-door drop-off operation for all passengers on local and long-distance routes," said Mr Shiburi.

Families in protest for prisoners

Cape Times 26/9/90
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Staff Reporter

ABOUT 30 family members of political prisoners began a sit-in at the American embassy yesterday in a protest against continued detentions aimed to coincide with President F W de Klerk's US visit.

The protesters refused to leave unless they were allowed to hand over a letter, intended for President George Bush, to the consul-general.

A consulate spokesman said staff members had met the protesters, but declined to comment on whether a statement had been accepted from them.

The letter, which has already been sent to Mr De Klerk, said that fewer than 10% of all political prisoners had been released since the government's public commitment to reform in February this year.

The families demanded the unconditional release of all political prisoners and an end to political trials and detention without trial.

Council spy ring illegal — Hiemstra

Argus 27/9/90 327

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.— The Johannesburg City Council did not have the authority to run a spy ring with ratepayers' money and its clandestine activities were illegal, the Hiemstra Commission has found.

The commission, in a 217-page report, confirmed the substance of a series of shock disclosures on the spy network in March this year.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Victor Hiemstra found that in his view the infiltration of and spying on trade unions, other organisations and individuals undertaken by the council's security department constituted a "wrongful intrusion upon the privacy of their targets".

Trickery and deceit

"Covert eavesdropping on the private meetings and confidential conversations of others is manifestly unlawful," the judge said, adding that an invasion of privacy was both a civil and criminal wrong.

He asked: "Can it be any different if the intruder were to gain access to those private meetings and become a party to those confidential conversations by dishonest trickery and deceit? Clearly not."

Judge Hiemstra said that only State departments required by law to perform functions regarding national security were authorised to collect intelligence. The city council, he said, was not a department of state.

He went on to say that even State departments authorised to do so may not, as a rule, do so in a covert manner.

"Only the SAP and the SADF engage in the covert collection of intelligence, and then only in times of war and when engaged in counter-intelligence."

Judge Hiemstra strongly suggested that charges of crimen injuria could be brought against some of those responsible for spying.

Act didn't exist

The "big four" behind the spy ring were Mr Manie Venter, the town clerk, Mr Pearce, Brigadier Jan Visser, director of the security department, and Mr F J "Frik" Barnard, who co-ordinated the spy ring.

In the case of Mr Venter, the judge said he had authorised more than 60 payments for spies under an act that did not exist, but which he thought provided for the safeguarding of assets.

Mr Venter, he found, knew of the infiltration of organisations, though he was not apparently kept informed by officials operating the spy network.

Judge's finding welcomed

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A number of organisations today welcomed the findings of the Hiemstra Commission into the Johannesburg City Council's spying activities, and urged that action be taken against people implicated in these activities.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer, said the Hiemstra Commission Report confirmed "the worst fears" people had at the time the council was under the late Mr Danie van Zyl.

The people of Johannesburg, Dr De Beer said, could only be grateful to Mr Justice Hiemstra for exposing the rot and be thankful that the city now had a different kind of administration under the DP's Mr Ian Davidson.

The leader of the Conservative Party in the council, Mr Jacques Theron, declined to comment on the grounds that he had not yet seen the full text of Mr Justice Hiemstra's report.

In its reaction, the African National Congress said the report was yet more evidence of the existence of "clandestine, para-military organisations" which had the full backing of the police and the Defence Force.

Spokeswoman Gill Marcus said the ANC welcomed the fact that these clandestine activities had now been exposed, and the organisatin hoped that the Johannesburg spy network's links with the police and the SADF would be fully investigated.

The Five Freedoms Forum, victim of the council's spying activities, hailed the report as a justification of "our angry rejection of the activities of the Johannesburg City Council spy ring".

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Desai appeals against book restriction

Political Staff

AN appeal has been lodged by the PAC's Western Cape co-ordinator, Mr Barney Desai, against a decision by a publications committee to restrict the distribution of his book on the death in detention of Imam Abdulla Haron 21 years ago today.

The committee ruled in June that the book, The Killing of the Imam, by Mr Desai and Mr Cardiff Marney, was "not undesirable but that it should be confined to university and reference libraries only".

Imam Haron, a popular religious and community leader, died 21 years ago today, on September 27, 1969, after he had been held in solitary confinement for four months.

The first official statement said his death had been from natural causes and no special inquiry was necessary.

However, at the subsequent inquest in February 1970, a post-mortem examination found thadt 26 bruises — some fresher than others — had been found on the Imam's body. A haematoma had been found on his back and one of his ribs had been broken.

Police evidence was that the Imam had fallen down some stairs, but the Haron family's lawyer, Mr (now Judge) Wilfred Cooper, alleged that the Imam had been beaten to obtain a statement.

Afterwards, Mrs Catherine Taylor, then the United Party MP for Wynberg, said in Parliament that the evidence at the inquest had "cast ugly doubts" about the treatment of prisoners in detention and she called for a top-level inquiry.

Cape Times 27/9/90

Jhb council spent R1,8m on spying

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The City Council here spent R1,8m of ratepayers' money in four years of unlawful spying on more than 100 individuals and 20 organisations, the Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry reported yesterday.

The commission's report, released last night, found that former management committee chairman Mr Danie van Zyl set up the council's spy ring with four senior council officials. One of them, current Public Safety director Mr John Pearce, was found to have been grossly negligent in his duties.

Management committee chairman Mr Ian Davidson will announce the council's response to the report today, but sources said any action against officials named in the report would encounter a legal minefield.

The commission, which heard more than 4 000 pages of evidence during its three-month sitting, found that Mr Van Zyl did not inform the council of the spying operation.

The four key members of the security information section were:

● Mr Pearce, of whom the commission said: "One of the cornerstones of democracy is accountability and it is on the issue of accountability that Pearce stands accused."

● Town Clerk Mr Manie Venter who the commission found was not grossly negligent but who should have been more critical.

● Brigadier Jan Visser, then deputy security director. The commission found that Brig Visser, who now heads the Security Department, had Mr Venter's assurance that the information gathering was legal.

But the commission found that he had said nothing about aspects of the security system, like personal profiles "which should have raised his ire".

● Mr Frikkie Barnard, deputy director operational services in the security department, whose bona fides the commission accepted.

The commission found he "was full of suspicion about leftist bodies and in his enthusiansm overstepped the limits of his mandate".

It found that the infiltration and spying on trade unions, other organisations and individuals constituted wrongful intrusion on the privacy of their targets.

"Covert eavesdropping on the private meetings and confidential conversations of others is manifestly unlawful.

"It is clear the Johannesburg City Council had no such authority to engage in covert collection of intelligence."

Education can prevent rise of totalitarianism

Freedom of choice in education is a fundamental human right which does more than any other factor to prevent the rise of a totalitarian form of government.

Embodied in both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Covenant of Human Rights, it is intended to prevent the monopoly of young people by the State.

"Private schools, lacking the financial resources of the State, do not necessarily offer the most comprehensive education facilities, and where they attract better teachers it is often because of job satisfaction rather than higher salaries.

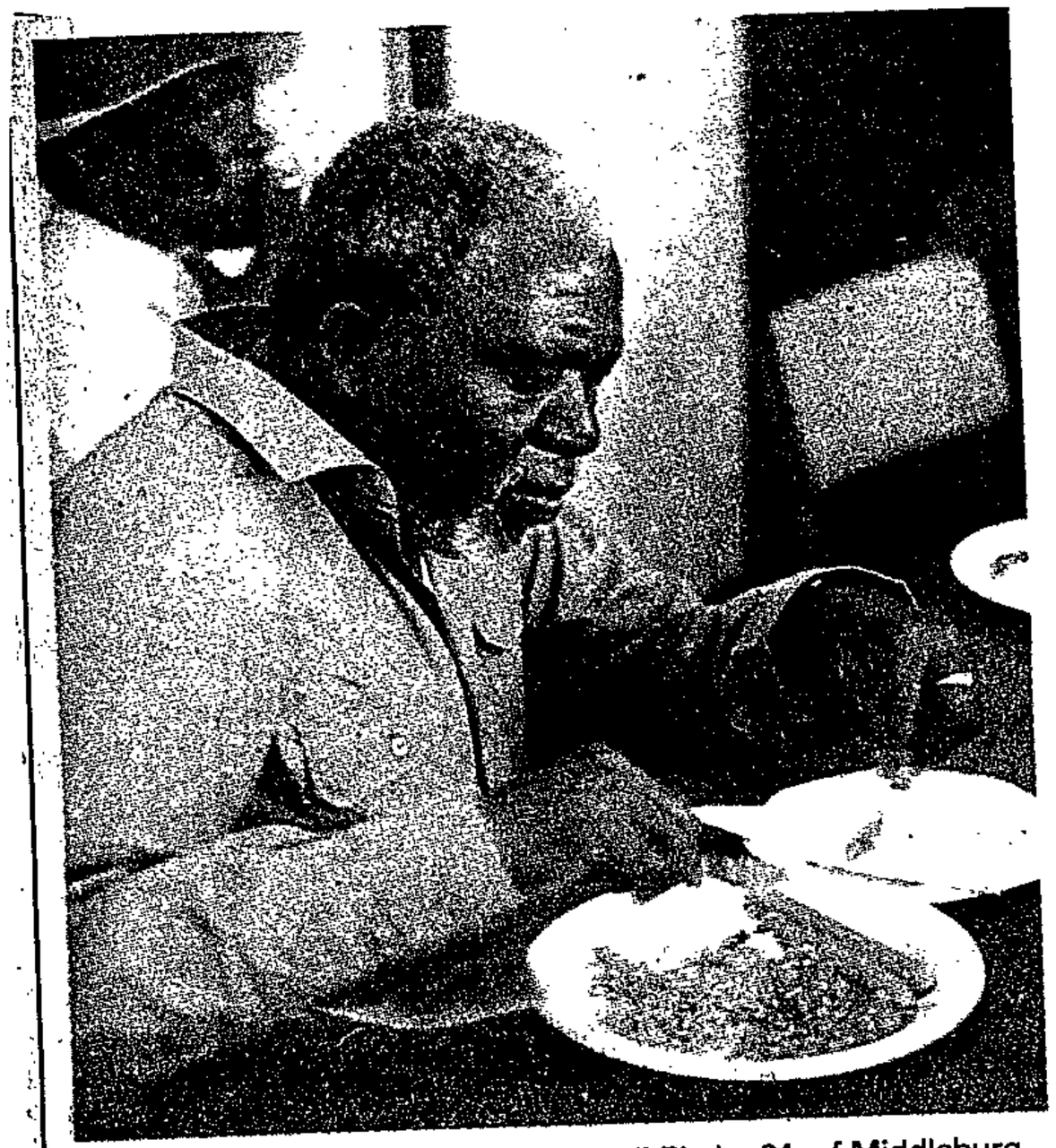
"But independent schools represent, in tangible bricks and mortar, the intangible attitudes and beliefs the people supporting them have in common. And they offer an alternative to people who want to reject the philosophical teachings of government education," says Mark Henning, national director of the Independent Schools Council of SA, which is experiencing a surge in inquiries about private school education.

He stresses, however, that the rights of parents and pupils to free choice in education cannot be exercised in a vacuum.

"The community also has a right to determine what children are taught. Private schools must be held accountable to the community; they have a responsibility to produce responsible, productive members of society."

The Government's role, he says, is twofold — to ensure that all schools adhere to minimum standards in terms of teaching and facilities, and to tke responsibility for those children whose parents are indifferent to their education.

And it is for this reason that he rejects suggestions that children — rather than school institutions — be individually sponsored. Star 28/9/90 (327)



TASTING FREEDOM ... Mr Mawhidi Phala, 64, of Middleburg, gets his first taste of non-prison food at Cowley House yesterday after 13 years on Robben Island.



HOME AT LAST ... Released Robben Island prisoner Mr Reed Macozoma, 30, of Langa, hugs his niece Nozuko Macozoma, 5, at the Table Bay quayside yesterday. Pictures: CHRIS BATEMAN

CMH Trufs 28/9/90 (327)

15 ANC prisoners' release 'administrative'

By CHRIS BATEMAN

TWO Capetonians were among 15 ANC prisoners released nationwide yesterday, 11 of them from Cape prisons and Robben Island.

Most had served more than half their sentences.

The Capetonians were Mr Reed Macozoma, 30, of Langa, who served nearly four years of a five-year sentence for harbouring or assisting a terrorist, and Mr Monwabisi Maqhoqi, 23, of Guguletu, who served half of his 3½-year terrorism sentence.

Longest serving were Mr Mawhidi John Phala, 64, of Middelberg and Mr Jan Afheli Thabo (age unknown) of Venda. They had served 13 of their 20-year terms on Robben Island after being convicted for possession of arms and ammunition.

At Cowley House in Salt River they were joined by released Pollsmoor prisoner Mr Malungisa Tusha Kumalo, 23, of Mossel Bay (who had served half of his 3½-sentence for terrorism) and Mr Maqhoqi from Victor Verster prison.

Four other security prisoners, whose jail terms, offences and home addresses are unknown, were released simultaneously from jails in Johannesburg, Goedemoed and Krugersdorp. They were Messrs Daniels, P Matlotho, P Maganu and A Zwane.

A spokesman, Mr George Manthatha, 33, of Dendron, Northern Transvaal, (who served 5½ years of an eight-year sentence for terrorism), told assembled media that they regarded their releases as "administrative".

"Our main regret is that these releases are taking very long," he said.

Cape Times 28/9/90

Spy report: Joburg town clerk retires

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The city's town clerk, Mr Manie Venter, has agreed to retire.

His decision comes after a long meeting on Wednesday night with management committee chairman Mr Ian Davidson and in the wake of the Hiemstra Commission report on the spying activities of the council's security personnel.

Council sources said the management committee had engaged two senior counsel a week ago to consider the position of senior officials likely to be censured in the report.

Mr Davidson yesterday refused to comment on his meeting with Mr Venter, but confirmed that the committee had refused permission for public safety director Mr John Pearce, described by the commission as "grossly negligent", to travel to a US conference next week.

Council sources said the Transvaal Provincial Administration had decided that no action should be taken against Mr Venter. It believed that any attempt to fire him would fail on legal grounds.

Meanwhile, Mr Pearce faces a council disciplinary inquiry.

Mr Davidson told reporters yesterday the council would decide soon whether to suspend him.

The commission found Mr Venter was not grossly negligent.

He is to take immediate long leave pending retirement in September next year.

Mr Davidson said the conduct of other officials involved in the unlawful activities — former spy-handler Mr Martin Hennig, former End Conscription Campaign spy Mr Anthony Bennett and a third person, Mr John Egan — were being urgently investigated.

CAPE TIMES 28/5/90

Youth leader shot in raid

JOHANNESBURG. — The general secretary of the SA Youth Congress, Mr Rapu Molekane, has been detained after he was shot and wounded during a raid on his home in Soweto on Wednesday, police confirmed yesterday.

They were quoted as saying they confiscated firearms during the raid.

The ANC has protested against his detention. Mr Rapu is now being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, the organisation said. — Sapa

Chris Hani can come in from cold

CM+T&P 28/9/90 327

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The government has renewed the indemnity of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani until the end of the year following representations by Mr Nelson Mandela, the Justice Department said yesterday.

According to a department statement, Mr Mandela said in a recent letter he had no doubt that Mr Hani remained "committed both to the letter and spirit of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes".

Mr Hani and two other senior ANC members, Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr Ronnie Kasrils, lost their indemnity from prosecution when the government renewed the immunity of 41 ANC leaders last month.

Since then he has remained in Transkei and recently refused to take up a 41-hour indemnity offered for him to confer with the ANC leadership.

On being told of his renewed indemnity, Mr Hani said from Umtata yesterday the news was unexpected and added he did not "know whether to laugh or cry".

The key to carrying out the reform initiatives to which President F W de Klerk again committed himself in the United States this week lies in his government's handling of the security situation. An escalation of violence can derail or even wreck the peace process. To prevent this, a new approach to security and a new image for the country's security establishment may be needed. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE examines some of the issues involved.

Security shadow is FW's big challenge

w/t ARGUS 29/9/90

AFTER his triumphant visit to the United States, one of the most formidable challenges facing President De Klerk is to deal with the can of worms in his security establishment.

The signs are that he can no longer afford to delay effective — and visible — steps to remove the repressive instruments of his predecessor's discredited "total strategy" system from his administration.

Heads may have to roll if Mr De Klerk is to purge his security establishment of elements like murderous hit squads, "dirty tricks" operators, specialists in destabilisation, state-backed vigilante groups, and shadowy former agents of the disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

SOME political analysts say a new approach to security is needed. The security establishment must be made to shed its aggressive and even belligerent image of the "total onslaught" era. The establishment also needs to get rid of the "lazy bloodhound" image when it comes to investigating rightwing political crimes.

One urgent remedy advocated in political circles is increasing consultation by the government with political leaders and groupings on security issues, especially before any tough measures are introduced or enforced.

From all sides warnings have been given that violence is the biggest single threat to the reform process. Unless effectively defused, it can derail the De Klerk/Mandela peace initiatives.

There can be no doubt that this is going to be the big challenge for Mr De Klerk and his administration in coming months.

THE crucial importance of the security issue was emphasised this week by experts ranging from Idasa's policy director Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert to top economists quoted in a briefing sheet for a stockbroking firm.

Dr Slabbert envisages, among other things, a huge security shake-up over the next five years — including major adjustments for bodies like the SAP, the SADF, homeland armies and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"Sanitising" the maintenance of law and order will be "absolutely critical" for progress, he says.

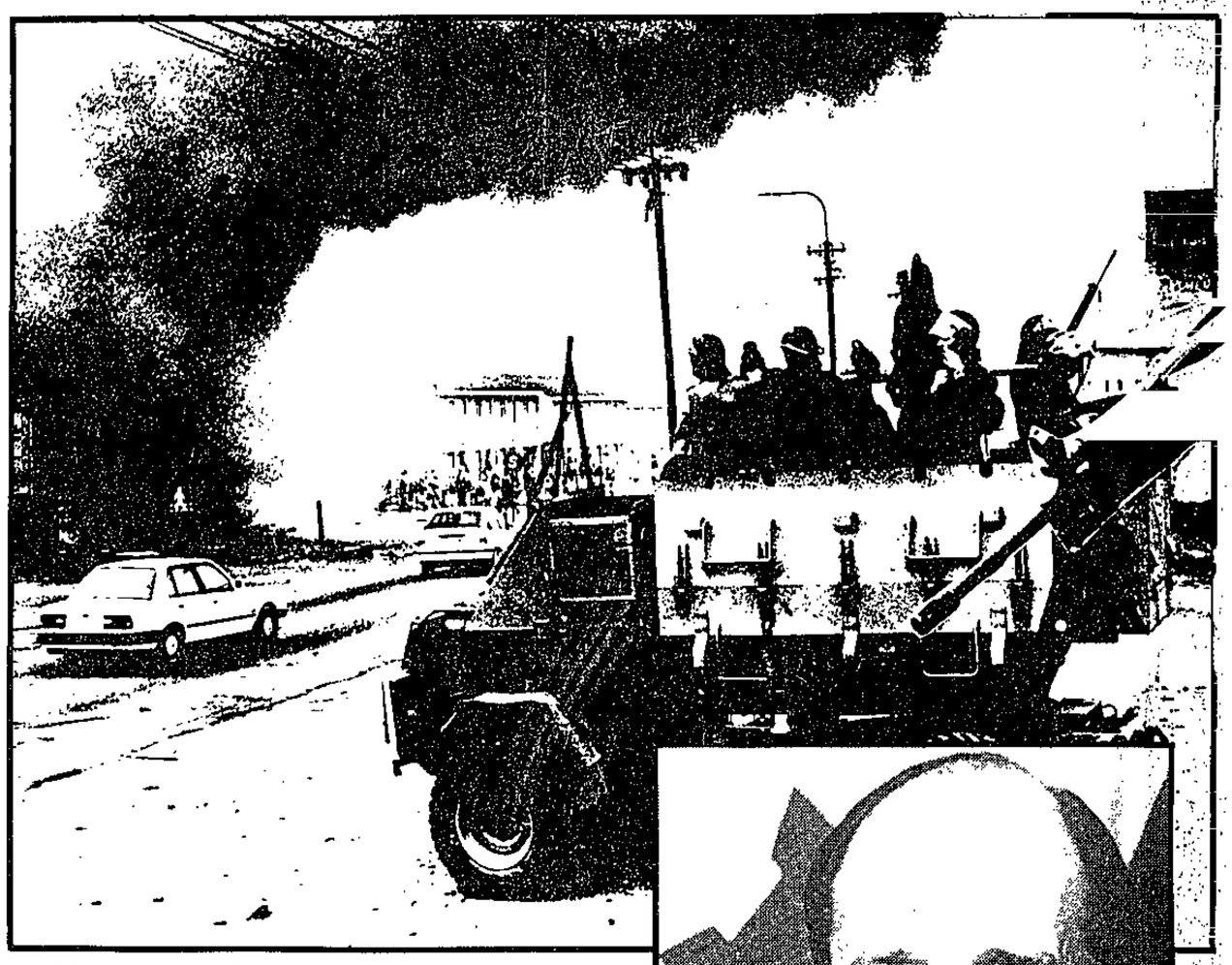
Meanwhile the influential Johannesburg-based Human Rights Commission (HRC), in association with the David Webster Trust, has focused attention on the whole security can of worms by publishing an in-depth analysis of the CCB, its origins, actions and structure, and some recommendations for state action.

STEPS recommended by the HRC include:

■ The proper dismantling of the CCB — an action to be supervised by a joint working group consisting of members of the African National Congress and members appointed by the government.

■ The prosecution of some former CCB agents for their alleged role in crimes ranging from treason to murder, sabotage, attempted murder, malicious damage to property and conspiracy to murder opponents of the government.

■ The dismissal of Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and top Defence Force officers who allowed the CCB to carry out projects involving criminal activities.



■ The early introduction of legislation to provide proper control over secret defence projects and to prevent sinister organisations like the CCB from ever rising again.

■ An order to the SADF to trace all CCB files and all military equipment accumulated by the CCB in secret arms caches and arsenals.

THE HRC's report says evidence to the Harms Commission — despite certain failings — had painted a picture of "a chilling and deadly group of men, acting as if with complete impunity from the law."

On August 1 the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, announced the CCB had been disbanded and its personnel transferred to the SADF. However, the manner and details of the disbanding remain a secret, as do details of the CCB's structure, its operatives and its projects — completed and uncompleted.

The new analysis is based largely on the hearings of the Harms Commission and the testimony of witnesses. The origin of the CCB is traced back to former State President P W Botha's "total strategy" developed in the turbulent 1970s.

THE HRC's report says it is clear that during Mr Botha's rule, the military became a "multi-functional security organisation" — "and one of its functions was the elimination of government opponents, both inside and outside the RSA."

One of the most alarming aspects of the CCB, according to the report, is that it controlled large caches of military weapons ranging from air-to-ground missiles to limpet mines, live ammunition for automatic weapons and finally smaller Russian-manufactured weapons such as Makarov and Tokarev pistols.



General Magnus Malan

From the evidence it appears that no proper record was kept of these weapons. It may even be that delivery is still awaited of some arms caches bought by the CCB.

The HRC says it is "absolutely critical" that all CCB files be traced by the SADF. The CCB members must be given an opportunity to make these files available.

IF they fail to do so, they should be liable to prosecution and imprisonment.

If necessary, legislation should be passed dealing with the liquidation of the CCB. It should be made an offence to maintain or harbour any existing project files of the CCB.

On the question of prosecution, the HRC says evidence to the Harms Commission clearly shows that "a number" of CCB members ought to be prosecuted for "numerous and diverse offences."

The least of these offences is the refusal of certain CCB members to obey the command of the Chief of the SADF to co-operate with the commission and to produce the project files. This was wilful defiance of authority in terms of Section 19(1) of the Military Discipline Code.



A charge of treason may be brought against those CCB members who "openly defied the authority of the State President because of their political conviction and their opposition to the present political programme of reform."

FURTHER investigations should be carried out into the role played by any member of Region 6 of the CCB in the murder of Dr David Webster.

Charges of attempted murder could "definitely" be laid against certain CCB operatives involved in activities against various people. Should the evidence not be sufficient to prove an attempt, it would certainly support a charge of conspiracy to commit murder.

The CCB's attack on the Athlone Early Learning Centre may amount to sabotage, and those involved could all face prosecution for this. Alternative charges could be either terrorism or malicious damage to property.

There have also been several suggestions that financial irregularities took place in the management of CCB funds. This was a matter that could be taken further by the Attorney-General.

MILLIONS of rands were spent annually to establish the CCB and to finance its activities both at home and abroad. It appears none of the CCB's activities was ever reported to parliament and that no audit of the funds spent was ever placed before anybody else but the Auditor-General, who had no choice — in the face of no evidence at all — but to accept "whatever explanation was dished up by the military".

"If parliament had controlled the funds available to the SADF, it is virtually certain that the CCB could never have happened," says the HRC. "Unfortunately the Botha era left us with the legacy of an SADF which had become a law unto itself — a state within a state, owing accountability to nobody and wasting millions of rands."

29/9/90

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Mr P W Botha

The Botha era left us with the legacy of an SADF which had become a law unto itself ...

SUPPLEMENT TO THE WEEKLY MAIL AUGUST 31 1990

Weekend Mail



His mission: Morality

W/C Mail 31/8 - 2/9/90 (327)

He is disarmingly frank, he welcomes dissent and believes no subject is taboo. He is the chief censor. CHARLOTTE BAUER spoke to Louis Pienaar

WHEN Louis Pienaar was appointed chief of the Publications Appeal Board in April this year he begged for time: "Give me 100 days in office before you start crossing swords with me," he pleaded.

His time is up, the swords are drawn and the suspicion is growing that Pienaar is a man with a mission — a moral one.

It is generally agreed by all concerned, media lawyers, anti-censorship groups and Pienaar himself that, at least for the time being, the days of heavy-handed political censorship are over. Little more than a month ago, the unheard of happened: the Directorate of Publications, which for years has religiously issued lists of banned publications each Friday, had nothing to issue.

In the past three months, only one political publication has been brought to the attention of the Appeal Board — a Pan Africanist Congress pamphlet which was passed without further ado.

"It doesn't really surprise me ... I expected there would be very little to do in terms of political censorship," says Pienaar.

But while this amiable new arrangement is good news for the freedom of political speech, it leaves other old war horses like pornography, blasphemy and violence to face the firing squad alone.

Lawyers fear that Pienaar's strongly held, conservative opinions of all of the above, coupled with his confessed unfamiliarity with current cultural media, will set South Africa on a retrogressive path.

Until the declaration of Namibian independence from South Africa on March 20, Louis Pienaar's job description was Administrator-General of South West Africa. During five years in Windhoek, Pienaar had little time to

●To PAGE 2

FEATURES

Beware of the curse of the coconuts

It's bad luck to watch the suggestive coco-der-mer while they're at it **Page 6**

THE ARTS

The great rock rip-off

Rock stars ... They can sing. But can they act? **Page 12**



SCIENCE

Missing ... Most of the universe and string

The ultimate answers to life, the universe and everything **Pages 8, 9**

A SENSE OF MOVEMENT

New chapter in the story of a bookshop

There is a sense of movement as one flips through the pages of the tale of Yeoville Bookstore. And tucked away in the shelves of its shiny new premises are some collectors' gems.

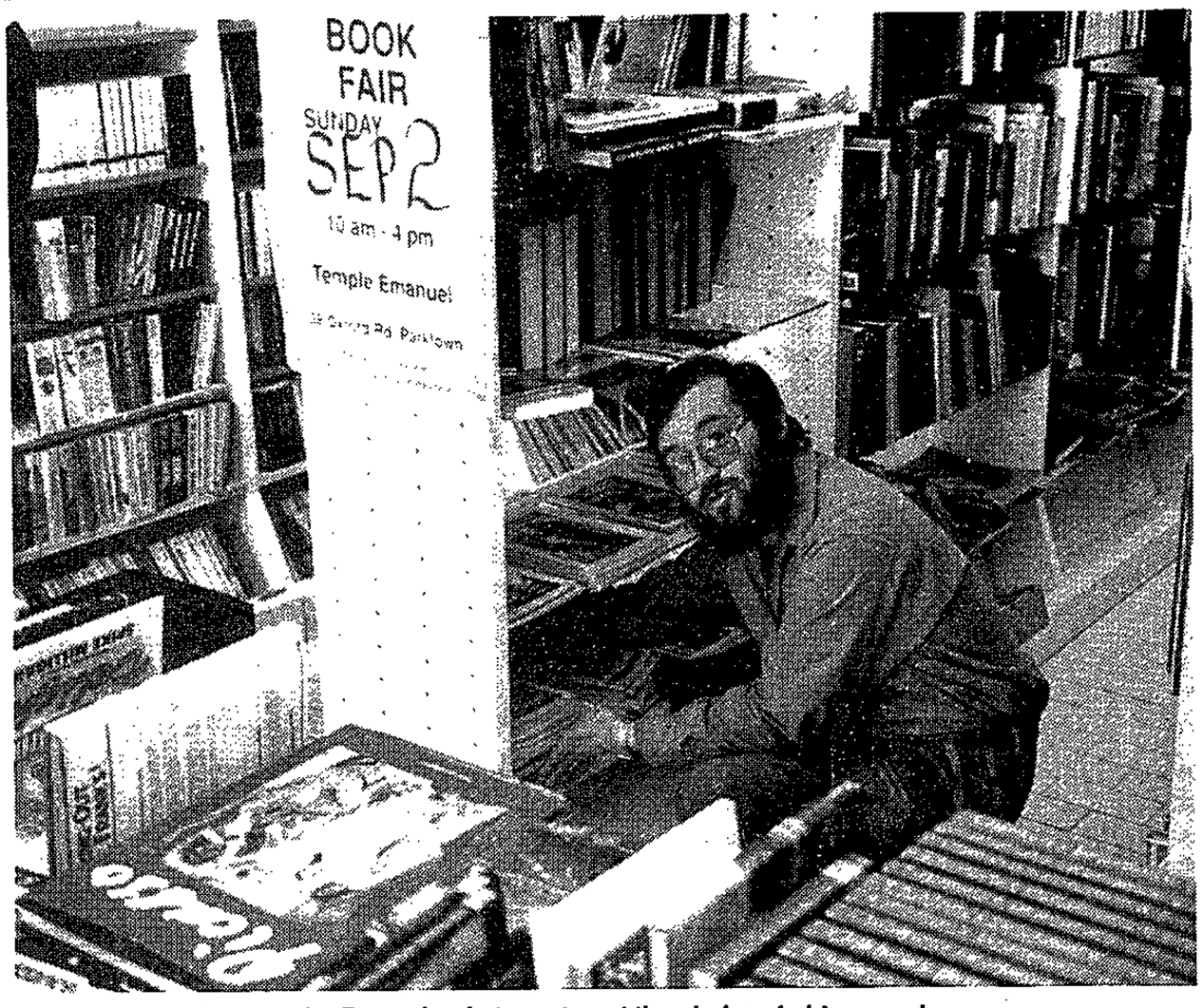
By SHAUN DE WAAL

DORON LOCKETZ started selling books at the Edenvale fleamarket five years ago — some from his own collection. Hardly a goldmine, but he enjoyed it thoroughly: "We made R6 and I thought it was wonderful."

His current book-selling enterprise is more ambitious. Growing from his stall at the Yeoville and later Bree Street fleamarkets, it took up a tiny shop in Yeoville's Bizarre Centre, then moved to a bigger (but still small) shop in Cavendish Road — at which point Locketz gave up his job as a chartered accountant to cope with book-dealing fulltime. Now the Yeoville Bookstore has moved again, to 28 Rockey Street, a much larger space. That, too, however, is filling up fast.

Locketz says he has to be careful not to over-buy, but he still brings in books by the box-load almost every day. His sources include auctions of deceased estates and remainders from publishers (which is why you can often find the hardcover edition of a book at the Yeoville Bookstore soon after the paperback has hit the shelves). One is constantly surprised and pleased at the variety with which Locketz manages to keep his shelves stocked, and the low prices of his books. He has some gems in the way of Africana, history, modern first editions and quality fiction in paperback. His stock of South African literature alone (much of it out of print) makes the shop worth a visit.

Locketz still peddles his wares at the Bree Street and Balfour Park fleamarkets; his parents and sister help out with the running of the shop, which, in its new location, seems to be attracting an ever-growing clientele. Locketz is also a founder member of the Book Fair, held every three months at Temple Emmanuel (the next one's on Sunday, September 2), at which book dealers gather to exhibit and sell their finest acquisitions.



Stocking up ... Bookdealer Doron Locketz sorts out the shelves in his new shop

Picture: SHAUN DE WAAL

He's a man with a mission . And it's a moral one

W/C Mail 3/8/1 - 21/9/90

●From PAGE 1

read anything other than the legalistic political tomes that dropped onto his desk. Although he and his wife, Isobel, attended nearly every production staged by the state-controlled South West African Performing Arts Council (SWAPAC), they didn't, in five years, see a single film.

If Pienaar's appointment to the highest censorial post in the land took lawyers, publishers and film distributors by surprise, it produced a fairly stunning effect on the man himself.

Pienaar is frankly unsure why President FW de Klerk chose him. His own guess is: "I don't think they knew what else to do with me."

That may be true, but an equally likely reason for hiring the Cape Town civil servant is that in 1974, Pienaar served on a Commission of Inquiry whose recommendations led to the promulgation of the first-ever Publications Act. This in turn led to the establishment of a whole new bureaucracy, relieving supreme court judges of a job they didn't want anyway. "They hated their role as censors," says Pienaar.

De Klerk had served on the same commission. "Both of us were strong protagonists for the idea of a permanent tribunal to consider censorship matters ..." Pienaar says, adding, a little wistfully, "... and that was the last I ever had to do with censorship — I suppose the president remembered me from that.

"I was rather surprised when he called ... and a bit scared. I had only a vague impression of the Act and knew very little about censorship issues or current film and publishing trends."

However, despite Pienaar's initial reluctance to take the job ("It was a question of deciding whether to stay at home and do nothing — or not."), now that he's in the hot seat, he's warming to the idea.

In fact, so seriously is he taking the "intellectual challenge" of his task, he has hinted at using his powers in a manner that many lawyers who take up censorship cases on behalf of film distributors believe is positively high-handed.

They fear too that the public who fought tooth and nail for political publishing freedom will not be nearly so galvanised by censorship operations performed upon excessively violent or pornographic films and books. Many people who say they are against censorship are likely either to find "moral" censorship too "trivial" to bother with or, indeed, may agree with it.

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It is a particularly strange twist of irony that some of Pienaar's arguments in favour of clamping down on lusty portrayals of the female body in film scenes coincide with the feminist argument against "pornography", the definition of which remains slippery.

"I have a great problem with the exploitation of female nudity whether it's for commercial or prurient purposes," Pienaar says, unconsciously echoing a familiar feminist line.

Human rights lawyer Gilbert Marcus expresses the fear that from now on censorship will go "slipping and sliding past us" precisely because it is *not* political.

"Feminist groups in this country are not going to object to certain portrayals of women being censored. You are not going to find as many objections to the censorship of violence ... it just won't elict the same degree of outrage as political censorship has done in the past.

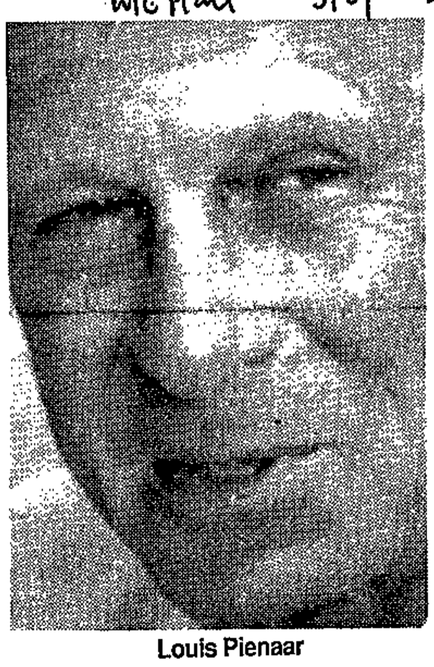
"It would be wrong not to become indignant about this kind of censorship just because political censorship *seems* to be taking care of itself."

The danger of ignoring — or even being secretly pleased by — the ongoing cover-up of nipples, say, is the wider implication of such coyness.

A lawyer whose client's products are frequently the subject of Appeal Board scrutiny summed it up: "I do feel a bit stupid sometimes standing up and making a big legal argument for breast nudity in some trashy video — but I remain convinced that there is a link between this kind of censorship and the overall way in which the state is able to marshal people's minds. From here it is only one small step to total control."

Pienaar denies any missionary zeal, taking refuge in the law, his commitment to upholding the Act, the fact that he does not make decisions alone and the "objectivity" he claims the Act allows him and his colleagues to indulge in: "As a lawyer, I have developed the ability to argue dispassionately," Pienaar says, "that is the skill I bring to the Board."

At the same time, he admits to being "shocked" by bad language, graphic violence and explicit sex. He admits that it would be impossible to "discount my own background or wipe the slate clean of everything I believe in." He admits that when it comes to blasphemy, he is influenced by the dictates of Christianity: "Blasphemy is out ... it's not something to which I'm prepared to apply the test of prevailing tolerance levels ... it's just out."



Louis Pienaar

Pienaar demonstrates the point: "Let's say a guy gets up on screen and says something like: 'Jesus Christ you motherfucker ...' Well, 'Jesus Christ' is going to come straight out ... and possibly 'motherfucker' too."

Pienaar's "100 days" of grace are up; but the swords were drawn and sharpened long before he declared open season. Pienaar creates a strong impression that he not only doesn't mind controversy, but would positively welcome it. His only real complaint at the moment is that there isn't enough of it.

"I'm finding it a rather lonely job. One gets very little reaction from either press or public ... except from rather weird groups, if you know what I mean."

But while regular appellants — predominantly film distributors — and their legal teams may have, until now, adopted something of a 'wait and see' approach, Pienaar's peace may not last much longer.

The rumble of dissent is sounding louder. One of the main reasons for it is a result of the most startling statement Pienaar has so far made. Within weeks of his appointment, Pienaar made it clear that if an applicant appears before him appealing excisions that have been made by a censor committee and he thinks the committee has been too "soft", he will impose even more cuts.

While it is true that in terms of section 23.5 of the Publications Act he is empowered to do this, no one who has ever had anything to do with censorship laws can think of a precedent — his immediate predecessor, Professor Cobus van Rooyen never did it in his 10 years as chairman, and neither did *his* predecessor, the draconian Lammie Snyman. As one censorship lawyer put it: "Traditionally, you simply don't come out of an appeal worse off than when you went in."

Lawyers who act on behalf of film distributors fear for the future of the industry: "If we find ourselves in the bizarre situation where the censor committees are more liberal than the Appeal Board, there is a possibility that distributors won't risk taking a chance on the board. They might either just accept the committee's cuts or, if those cuts make the film unwatchable, they may even resort to not bothering to show the film at all."

Pienaar waves away the criticism by once again invoking the Act: "If the Act gives me wider powers to impose further cuts then I am fully entitled to do so and I will if necessary." For example, Pienaar says that if the committee has "erred" it would be up to his board to "rectify that error ... to avoid being criticised for seeing it and ignoring it".

But this begs the question: what counts as an "error" in the sometimes surreal realm of the censors?

For example, a committee may cut from a film a sex scene in which the woman is on top of the man, but leave in another that shows the man on top of the woman. The Appeal Board, by Pienaar's reckoning, may uphold the cut — then decide that the second scene should be snipped as well, implying that the committee should have seen this much for itself. The labels "right" and "wrong" don't reasonably apply.

Pienaar defers: "Well, that's the whole problem of censorship isn't it? We're dealing with abstract principles, ideas and emotions. You can only do your best." Yet, he says, "if you have to err, it must be on the side of freedom of speech." It might seem curious that the most senior censor in the land believes in freedom of speech, but Pienaar maintains he does. "No subject under the sun should be taboo," he says, "but there can sometimes be a problem with the manner in which that subject matter is presented."

Another thing about the new Pienaar regime that has thrown lawyers into a state of uncertainty is what seems to be his determination to make what they term "a clean break with the past".

Pienaar's immediate predecessor, Van Rooyen, might not have been quite the sympathetic liberal he was often labelled, but during his 10-year tenure, he built up a system of precedent that was, at least, predictable. In addition, Van Rooyen wrote a book *Censorship in South Africa*, containing guidelines that gave lawyers and their clients a fair idea what to expect in their own case.

So far, Pienaar seems disinterested in building upon or even referring to Van Rooyen's book, preferring to be guided by old supreme court decisions dating back to the 1960s.

Pienaar is, however, keen on the idea of giving films "ratings" that would act as encoded warnings about any profanity, sex or violence contained in a film. While he has no authority to insist that distributors carry "warnings" on advertisements for films, he can put them in an uncomfortable Catch-22 situation.

"For instance, we put it to the distributor that if the 'desirability' of the film hinges on this point, the distributor will usually offer to carry warnings on public posters ..."

Yet Pienaar is emphatic that even if, at some future date, a ratings system were to be absorbed into the Publications Act, it would not provide a controlled platform for pornography.

"I'm not prepared to consider X-rated films in order to make pornography accessible ... no, I'm not going to be swept into a pornographic corner."

But more than anything else, Louis Pienaar is worried about "applying rules that cannot, in reality, be applied". He refers to the arbitrariness of the "age-restriction" and the home video market.

While this is the point at which many people gain an instant of unobserved relief from censorship, Pienaar hates the idea that in the privacy of our own homes, kids can watch whatever they like — age-restricted or not.

"It makes us feel like hypocrites. We determine the age-restriction, then we wash our hand of the whole affair, like Pontius Pilate and say it's no longer our responsibility.

"Well ... maybe it isn't. Deep down I do sometimes feel like Pilate."

Continuing this vein of disarming frankness, Pienaar concludes that, however he may run the Appeal Board, he probably doesn't have much time left in which to do it.

"Within five years there will be a new government in this country. I don't know what that will mean for censorship, but I do not see myself being re-appointed ..."

State must deliver its security apparatus for peace

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w/Mail
3/8 - 29/90

In declaring what amounts to a unilateral suspension of violence the ANC appears to have met the government more than half way. Now the state must ensure that its security apparatus is controlled, argues **MAX COLEMAN** *in a paper on 'State Violence: A Study of Repression'*

THE contents of the Pretoria Minute of August 6 came as something of a surprise. A ceasefire agreement involves two parties but it seems only one party has delivered and has put the other party on its honour to deliver. In this situation it is important to be clear as to what constitutes state violence as presently practised, and what is necessary to level the playing field before the game of negotiation can commence.

The modern era of repression dates back to 1950 and to the grand-daddy of all of our present day repressive legislation, the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. It arose out of a culture of repression that developed as an accompaniment to the new social engineering experiment of apartheid and separate development. This culture fed off racial prejudices and hatred, born of racial discrimination and exploitation, and spread within the law enforcement agencies of the police and army. As international censure mounted, the repression culture flowed into a full-blown paranoia about a perceived "total onslaught" from within and without. The response to the perceived threat of the "total onslaught" found expression in the "total strategy", a multi-component strategy developed by the security establishment.

The domination of the securocrats in furthering the interests of the state peaked during the years of 1984 to 1987 which were characterised by the ramming through of the unpopular structures of the tricameral parliament and Black Local Authorities; followed by the States of Emergency.

However, the dominance of the securocrats began wearing thin in early 1988. Total strategy was showing signs of failing, both in its internal manifestation of the Emergency which had succeeded only in driving resistance underground and in its external manifestation of destabilising the Southern African region which had become prohibitively costly.

Just as serious was the foreign debt crisis brought about by South Africa's isolation from the world's financial system when it declared an Emergency in July 1985, resulting in a precipitous withdrawal of foreign investment and the refusal to make any new loans available until political and economic stability is perceived to have returned. South Africa, normally a capital importing country, has over the last five years become the exporter of R30-billion, through foreign debt repayment and flight of capital. It still has a foreign debt of over R50-billion, nearly half of which must be paid in the next four years.

So it became clear in 1988 that total strategy was turning into total disaster and that a new direction would have to be taken — a political direction. First indications of the switch came with the announcement of the decision to withdraw from Angola and commit itself to the implementation of Resolution 435 on Namibia. The age of the securocrats seemed to be over; the politicians had prevailed. Out went PW Botha, the main architect of total strategy; in came FW de Klerk, the apostle of the new strategy of outreach and negotiation.

But have we seen the last of the securocrats? It seems not if one is to judge by the situation on the ground. All the elements of total strategy are still in place and functioning. Are we witnessing a revolt against the new reform policy or simply knee-jerk reactions by security forces unable to break old habits?

The components of total strategy, from the most visible to the least visible are as follows: security legislation, security management, vigilantes, hit squads.

Each component uses methods less defensible publicly than the previous one and relies therefore on a greater degree of secrecy and covertness. The first relies on the existence of laws and public law enforcement agencies; the second on a management system; the third on the planting of a "fifth column" within communities; and the fourth on means of last resort, the actions of faceless assassins and strike groups.



FW de Klerk ... Can he control the securocrats?

The two main pieces of legislation which generate the powers under which security forces can act, are:

- The Public Safety Act (PSA) enabling the declaration of a State of Emergency and thereby unleashing a wide range of powers, usable on a mass scale, with virtual indemnity from prosecution and away from the eyes of the media. An Emergency is in operation only in Natal (including kwaZulu), but this constitutes an obstacle to a ceasefire.
- The Internal Security Act, permanently in place, with wide powers of detention without trial, banning of persons, organisations, gatherings and publications, and of imprisonment for various political actions. The application of the powers to ban persons, ban organisations and ban publications has been put on hold. "Immediate consideration" is being given to repealing the listing of persons, and the question of the release of political prisoners and the cessation of political trials seem to be well addressed. But there are two areas of great concern.

Detention without trial continues to be used unabated. Over 100 detainees are in solitary confinement. Reports are emerging that torture is taking place, and there have been three deaths in detention this year.

The banning of outdoor gatherings continues even though the repeal of the ISA is not a necessary prerequisite for the cessation or suspension of this practice. It has become a major cause of violence in the country today. Records kept by the HRC since De Klerk's February 2 speech show that over 200 people have been killed and over 2 000 injured as a result, directly or indirectly, of police action against gatherings.

Most of these gatherings were for the purpose of expressing grievances around the issues of housing, education, health services, services and infrastructure. The brutality with which peaceful protest is often met, carries with it the danger that communities will conclude that peaceful methods of articulating their demands will lead nowhere. It raises the question as to whether it represents an attempt on the part of elements in the security forces to sabotage the negotiation initiatives.

The concept of security management gained full expression in the National Security Management System, created in the mid-Eighties by army generals and police chiefs and designed to co-ordinate the activities of all the components of total strategy. At the top of the system was the State Security Council, a secretive super-cabinet, being fed with information from a network of regional, district and local committees (Joint Management Centres) on matters of security patterns in every corner of the country, matters such as the activities of opposition organisations and the identities and whereabouts of political activists. The information fed to the SSC would be digested to form a security profile and to make decisions on security action.

In November 1989, De Klerk announced what amounted to the downgrading of the NSMS with the National Security Council retained but subordinated to the cabinet. Other features have been retained but committees given different names. The system has been renamed as the "National Co-ordinating Mechanism" and attempts made to emphasise the welfare role and downplay the security role of the network. The significance of the move lies in its manifestation of the power struggle between the securocrat and political camps within the government.

Vigilante groups have their origins in the support systems which have been built up around apartheid-created structures of homeland authorities and black local authorities.

They are recruited either from conservative "traditional" elements, from criminal elements or simply from the ranks of the desperate unemployed.

Vigilantes have a vested interest in the maintenance of the homeland and black council structures, and will intervene in any situation which threatens those structures. Intervention of this kind is lethal in intent and has as its express purpose the elimination of leadership and rank-and-file members of opposition organisations.

The existence of hit squads has been felt for many years through assassinations and other acts which have occurred since the Seventies. In the Eighties these incidents escalated in frequency and level of sophistication.

A sequence of events commencing in late 1989 led to the revelations that such hit squads were spawned within the structures of the police (the security branch) and within the structures of the Defence Force (the Special Forces Division). Nor will it come as a surprise to find that the hit squad concept, as a means of "last-resort", was evolved by the total strategy proponents, and that it has flourished under the guidance of the State Security Council. It is inconceivable that the budgets needed for such activities could have been created without the knowledge of those at the top.

Minister 'hopes Boesak will return to church one day'

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

DR ALLAN Boesak and the NG Sendingkerk have parted company, but a leading minister said today he hoped the former Moderator of the church would return one day.

The Rev A J van Wyk, chairman of the Presbytery of the SA Gestig, praised Dr Boesak, his wife Dorothy and their children for having served the church.

Dr Boesak had played a significant role, in South Africa and internationally, in the struggle for liberation and had published thought-provoking theological works.

"He was a great church leader and his example made many young churchmen join the struggle for democracy in South Africa. I wish him and his family all the best. I hope he will return to the church one day."

The Presbytery had learned with "great sadness" that Dr Boesak had apostatised (abandoned) his post.

The fact that Dr Boesak had already notified the actuary of the NG Sendingkerk of his resignation made it "self evident that Dr Boesak will lose his status".

The Presbytery found that Dr Boesak's decision was unilateral and it had no choice but to declare that he had apostatised his post.

It believed the matter was now "beyond its faculties and responsibilities" and referred it to the Bellville church council for further handling.

Israel will start issuing gas masks

Crisis halts exiles' return

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A ROW erupted between the government and the ANC yesterday over the indemnification of the first 3 000 exiles as the target date for their indemnity passed without official approval.

All indications yesterday were that the row had brought to stalemate negotiations over the return of exiles.

At the heart of the controversy was the Department of Justice's apparent insistence that the ANC outline exactly what indemnity was being sought for each applicant, and not merely supply names of those they felt were eligible.

A Justice Department spokesman, Mr Nick Grobler, confirmed that his department had contacted the ANC saying they wanted to send application forms to elicit which category of indemnification members would fall into.

"The list of 3 000 names alone which they gave us is not in accordance with the recommendation of the Pretoria Minute working group, to which they agreed," he said.

Mr Grobler said that in terms of the Indemnity Act, indemnity was granted in respect of "certain categories or categories of events", which meant the ANC had to specify for which events members sought indemnity.

However, a top member of the ANC's legal team, Mr Penuell Maduna, rejected this, intimating that the government was on a security "fishing expedition".

His reading of the Minute was that it was not incumbent upon the ANC "or any other liberation movement" to do anything beyond provide lists of members it believed qualified for indemnity.

At "no stage" did the ANC ever undertake to "go around asking individual members to make admissions which could incriminate them", he said.

"What protection do our people have? They want us to supply confessions to crimes. They must either grant indemnity or refuse it," he said.

His "gut feeling" was that the government's actions contravened the terms of the Pretoria Minute and detracted from creating a "correct climate".

Mr Grobler replied that the forms were a mere "vehicle for information" to which the joint working group had agreed, and which the ANC's national executive committee had approved.

"Should the event for which indemnity is sought not be disclosed, it would not be mentioned in the Government Gazette and consequently no indemnity for that event would flow from the notice," he added.

● ANC spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC's understanding was that the estimated 20 000 SA exiles would be dealt with "as groups".

"Only a very few specific cases, which are 'grey areas', will have to go before a review board, like those of death row prisoners or Hein Grosskopf," she added.

● **Govt 'still considering' new summit with ANC — Page 5**

ANC man: 'They tried to turn me into an askari'

ARGUS 2/10/90

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The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Umkhonto we Sizwe member Mr John Mchunu, who took refuge in the United States Consulate in Durban after his alleged abduction by "askaris", has obtained an interdict restraining the police from assaulting him.

Mr Mchunu denied in papers before the Durban Supreme Court that police released him after his detention on September 5, and alleged that he escaped from askaris only on September 23.

Mr Mchunu, alias James Talagu, brought the urgent application before Mr Justice Shearer late yesterday against the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok and the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe.

The court ordered that the police be temporarily interdicted from assaulting Mr Mchunu and the Minister of Law and Order and Commissioner of Police were directed to take all reasonable steps to prevent South African Police members and askaris from assaulting Mr Mchunu and have to show cause on November 7 why the order should not be confirmed.

The 28-year-old Methodist emerged from the sanctuary of the United States Consulate in Durban Bay House and spoke with reporters only after his attorneys had the Supreme Court order.

He said he had hidden in Lamontville since escaping from alleged captivity in Pietermaritzburg on September 23. He fled to the consulate for refuge yesterday. Despite the court order, Mr Mchunu said he still feared for his safety: "I know that if the askaris can find me they will shoot me."

(The name "Askaris" is the term used for guerrillas who have left the ANC and work for the police.)

Mr Mchunu, who received military training in Angola in 1985, alleged in court that he was abducted by askaris in Durban's OK Bazaar store on September 5. His family brought an application on September 24, demanding that police produce him.

In a responding affidavit security policemen Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Taylor and Sergeant Aubrey Mngadi said that after questioning Mr Mchunu at the Kings Park sports stadium, he had been returned to his Lamontville home.

"Mchunu was not harmed at all during the questioning and he was in good health when I dropped him in Lamontville," Sergeant Mngadi said.

The family's application was later withdrawn.

In his affidavit yesterday, Mr Mchunu "categorically" denied the police version of events. He said he was asked at the Kings Park sports stadium where the police took him whether he was training people or if he possessed weapons.

He was taken to a house, was handcuffed and put in leg chains and interrogated. A white police officer "informed me that his name was Shoshoba and he told me that he had been responsible for the death of many ANC members and Communists," he alleged.

Later he had guns cocked at him and was and the police officer said "he was ordered to kill all ANC members".

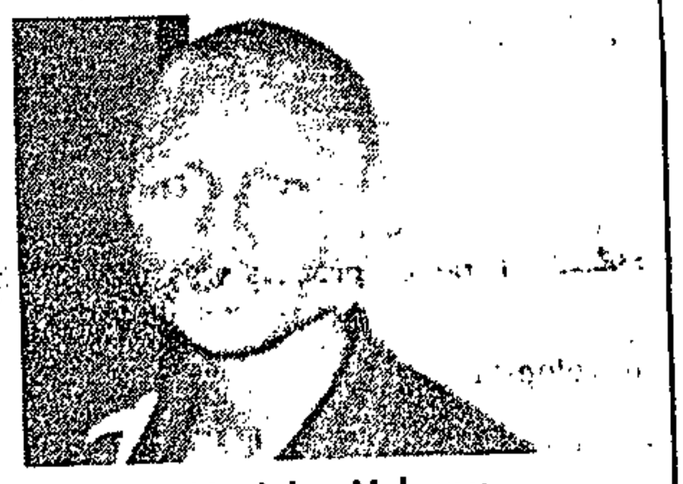
He was asked to identify individuals whom he was allegedly told he should know because he trained with them in Angola, from photographs.

On September 20 he was allegedly asked to write the date as September 5 and translate a statement, the essence of which was that he wanted to join the SAP, and he signed it.

He was allegedly asked to co-operate in identifying other MK members "who had returned" and walked Pietermaritzburg's streets in search of them.

He escaped on Sunday, September 23, despite being told he would be tracked down and killed if he escaped, he alleged.

"I arrived in Durban and immediately went into hiding."



Mr John Mchunu.

Crisis halts exiles' return

By CHRIS BATEMAN

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● Govt 'still considering' new summit with ANC — Page 5

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Farmers to stage massive city protest

By Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

The biggest protest ever mounted by South African farmers is to take place in Pretoria tomorrow.

Militant farmers are to tell the Government they do not agree with plans to scrap two land Acts, thereby opening the way for black ownership of land. It is, according to sources, likely to be one of the most dramatic protests against President de Klerk's reform policies.

Spearheading the protest — to take place at Pretoria City Hall — are members of the conservative-leaning Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU).

One farmer, who declined to be identified, said there had already been talk of "tractors and ploughs clogging the streets of major cities" as one way in which to bring home to the Government the anxieties felt by farmers.

TAU president Dries Bruwer last night said the union had decided that no further land owned by whites would be let or sold to people of colour.

This decision had been taken earlier this year after more than 95 percent of the province's 15 000 white farmers had voted in a referendum on the issue. There are more than 70 000 farmers in South Africa.

Denied

The referendum had followed a call by the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) for farmers to give their views on proposed amendments to legislation governing white ownership of farm lands. Blacks are, in terms of the 1913 Black Land Act and the 1936 Development Trust and Land Act, specifically denied ownership of land which is not in a prescribed black area.

Farmers were asked by the SAAU to complete a questionnaire on the issue. The Cape, Natal and Free State provincial agricultural unions agreed to do so, but the TAU decided on a simple "yes or no" being sufficient to gauge farmers' feelings on the matter.

Mr Bruwer said the TAU could not accept that the two Acts were to be repealed without organised agriculture being officially informed.

The union regarded the announcement in a serious light. The announcement came after a meeting between the State President, leaders of self-governing homelands and the Administrators of the four provinces.

President de Klerk said in August that the interests of white farmers would be maintained and that their land would not be sold about their ears.

Police seize weapons

BIDaily 4/10/90

GERALD REILLY 327

PRETORIA — Police have seized a large quantity of arms and ammunition, mostly after anonymous tip-offs following Piet "Skiet" Rudolph's appeal to Boere-staat Party supporters to turn in their weapons.

Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe said yesterday the weapons included light machine guns, R-4 and R-5 rifles, shotguns, pistols, night-sight appa-ratus, mines, mortars, explosives and ammunition.

No one who had handed over weapons was charged, he said. He confirmed that some of the weapons were those that had been stolen from the SA Air Force headquarters in Pretoria earlier this year.

'Iron Fist' curfew lifted in Soweto

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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The controversial 9pm to 4am curfew has been lifted in Soweto with immediate effect, said Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok today.

The curfew will operate still in Tokoza, Vosloorus and Katlehong on the East Rand.

After intensive analysis, Mr Vlok said the move was justified in the greater Soweto area of Meadowlands, Diepkloof and Dobsonville because the crime level had dropped dramatically.

CO-OPERATION

Crime figures have dropped in the township by more than 65 percent in the 10 days the curfew has been in force, with murder dropping by 62 percent.

Mr Vlok regretted that certain people and organisations, including the African National Congress, were suspicious of it.

The curfew, part of Operation Iron Fist to deal with recent violence, was condemned by the many organisations and residents who said it would not only leave township residents unprotected, but would also act as a shield for vigilantes and "agents of darkness".

Mr Vlok visited Soweto on Wednesday night to check on the success of the curfew.

A 24-hour hotline has been instituted by which residents can report criminal activity.

● The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, swiped again at the African National Congress and its allies today for waging "indirect warfare" through disruption and talk of armed struggle.

There was no justification for this, he said at the opening of a new ammunition depot at Naboomspruit. He demanded a clear rejection of the armed struggle.

There was no place any longer for unrest, violence, intimidation or other actions; nor for strikes, stayaways and resistance.

There's plenty of 'Fist' out east (327)

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night, we found those guys (police) waiting and they would not take our explanation."

"There were a few cars parked about a kilometre away from the police roadblock and we joined them sleeping until after four in the morning when the police drove away," added Ndlovu.

"I really did not understand why those guys chose to treat us the way they did because we told them that we had sought permission from the police station," he said.

On Wednesday night the three East Rand townships' streets were deserted long before 9pm and there was hardly any security forces in sight: one police Casspir outside the Thokoza police station; none at the Natalspruit Hospital entrance and few policemen manning a road-block at the entrance to Vosloorus.

"People are scared," said Phillip Tsotesi, who runs a tavern in Katlehong.

"We do not do good business these days except over weekends when people tend to say come what may," he said.

Only a few people could be spotted in the streets despite a general feeling that "there is no curfew" inside the townships.

I visited some famous shebeens just after 9pm and gates were locked or they were just deserted. Even the cosy Ronty Carlos tavern in Katlehong's Credi section had closed.

There were also very few patrons at a busy nightclub down Easy Street.

"I don't care a damn for this curfew. It's a waste of time aimed at disrupting our social life," said one patron.

Vosloorus streets were equally deserted, but, like in Thokoza and Katlehong, there were no police patrols.

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DP refuses to vote out councillor

JOHANNESBURG. — The row surrounding Johannesburg City Council's traffic chief Mr John Pearce took a bizarre turn yesterday.

Moves to cement the suspension of Mr Pearce backfired when members of the ruling Democratic Party refused to enter the council chamber to vote on the issue at a special council meeting called for that very purpose.

Opposition councillors shouted "cowards, cowards" when the DP members, despite being present in the Civic Centre building, failed to enter the chamber to vote on the DP-initiated motion to lengthen the period of suspension imposed by the acting town clerk on Mr Pearce.

Independent city councillor Mr Cecil Long said the apparent explanation for the DP's behaviour was that the National Party caucus on the council had rallied behind Mr Pearce and had decided not to support the DP-controlled management committee call to suspend him.

This loss of support, coupled with the absence of several DP councillors, including Mr Dave Verster who is serving a jail sentence for contempt of court, would have resulted in the motion being overturned.

The DP members had then "pulled out", thereby upsetting the council's quorum, rather than face defeat, Mr Long said.

Mr Pearce, the city council's director of traffic and public safety, was temporarily suspended on Wednesday because of his role in the establishment and running a spy network which operated out of the council security department.

The Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry which investigated the spy network found that Mr Pearce had been "grossly negligent".

Yesterday's council meeting was called because the acting town clerk's power to act against Mr Pearce was limited to a 10-day suspension. The council's approval was required to suspend him for the longer duration of an internal disciplinary hearing.

However, Mr Pearce appears to have won the support of the NP, so warding off the suspension. He will still face the disciplinary hearing. — Sapa

Boesak's 'problems' with ANC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

PAMPHLETS distributed in Cape Town yesterday alleging an "unholy alliance" between ANC leaders Mr Trevor Manuel and Mr Johnny Issel to "get rid" of Dr Allan Boesak were dismissed by the ANC as another state dirty tricks campaign.

However, Dr Boesak told the Cape Times yesterday that problems — of both an ideological and personal nature — did indeed exist between himself and ANC leaders in the Western Cape.

He did not wish to go into details but said he might make a major statement on the issue in the near future.

Dr Boesak, who said he was still considering whether to become a member of the ANC, also confirmed reports that Mr Manuel and Mr Issel had visited him to urge that he keep a low public profile for the time being.

However, Dr Boesak also dismissed the pamphlets, distributed in the name of the so-called "Boesak Support Committee," as "silly rubbish" aimed at creating division in the ranks of the ANC.

Dr Boesak said he had nothing to do with pamphlets which were distributed at bus stops and at other public areas in Athlone, Wynberg, Belhar and elsewhere this week.

He said there was no such thing as the "Boesak Support Committee", adding that the pamphlets appeared to an example of "mischief-making" by dirty tricks operatives within the defence force or the security police.

"It is very clear that the language and style of the pamphlets are the same as those which used to attack me not so long ago," Dr Boesak said.

Mr Manuel, the ANC's publicity secretary in the Western Cape, said yesterday: "We have seen this type of pamphlet being thrown around in the dark in the past.

"I would like to challenge the Minister of Defence (General Magnus Malan) to say unequivocally

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that the dirty tricks department and other covert departments established by the SADF have been disbanded," he said.

A SADF spokesman in Pretoria last night categorically denied any involvement in, or any knowledge of the pamphlet, which claimed that there was a plot to deny Dr Boesak a leadership position in Cape Town.

Speaking about his relationship with the ANC, Dr Boesak said he had not joined the ANC yet, although he had been responding to a number of invitations to attend ANC meetings and launches in the Cape.

However, there was still "a state of confusion" about his position with regard to some ANC leaders in the Western Cape.

He confirmed that Mr Manuel and Mr Issel had come to see him recently about his role in the ANC but emphasised that "problems between me and certain people in the ANC originated more than a year ago".

Asked to elaborate on the sort of problems he was experiencing, Dr Boesak responded: "I am not sure I want to talk about this."

Pressed on whether the problems were of an ideological or personal nature, he said: "Probably both." A major statement would be forthcoming, he said.

A recent article published by the Vrye Weekblad quoted ANC Western Cape president Mr Christmas Tinto as saying he did not know why Mr Manuel and Mr Issel had been to see Dr Boesak about his relationship with the ANC as the two had not been given a mandate to do this.

The newspaper went on to quote Mr Tinto as saying: "We also don't know why Boesak was asked to withdraw. In any case, when do we as a party intervene in the private lives and problems of others. None of us are perfect or angels.

"All I know is that the national executive committee of the ANC asked us to recruit members and establish local structures. Definitely not to give attention to personal problems.

"But I know those two. We were together in the UDF for years. I think their problem is that their leadership positions may be endangered if Boesak comes into the party."

Mr Manuel said last night he did not wish to comment on the Vrye Weekblad article.

The ANC's regional congress in the Western Cape last weekend had decied to establish a commission to investigate the article and he did not wish to pre-empt the work of the commission, he said.

peared to have been stolen from the house.

State lifts Soweto curfew

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By IDO LEKOTA

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok at the weekend announced the lifting of the controversial 9pm to 4am curfew in Soweto.

However, the curfew still in force in Tembisa, Katlehong and Tokoza on the East Rand.

The curfew was condemned by many organisations and residents when it was declared by State President FW de Klerk on September 25. They claimed it would not only leave residents unprotected but would also make them vulnerable to attacks by the "forces of darkness".

Vlok said the drop in the crime rate in Greater Soweto areas like Meadowlands, Dobsonville and Diepkloof justified the lifting of the curfew.

He said the Government could lift the curfew quickly because of "the wonderful co-operation" of the people of Soweto in the past weeks.

The Pan Africanist Congress said they had always condemned the curfew. A spokesman said the PAC saw Operation Iron Fist as a continuation of the earlier operation Watchdog which was the Government's plan to disarm the residents. The spokesman said the Government was using the recent violence as an excuse to continue with the campaign under a new name.

Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said residents are most probably happy about the lifting of the curfew "in relation to their original call for the removal of the army from townships".

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No clemency for future crimes – FW

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A cut-off date of midnight yesterday has been set for political exiles involved in illegal or criminal events when the Government considers clemency and indemnity, President de Klerk has made clear.

He clarified the position of clemency and indemnity after the latest round of talks with the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) in Cape Town yesterday.

The talks ended on a conciliatory note, with a re-dedication to negotiation.

The Government is to consider ANC submissions on the detention of some of its members, Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela announced in a joint statement after the Cape Town talks.

Mr de Klerk pointed out that the process of indemnity might apply more widely than ANC-related individuals only.

This process would be activated after the ANC had accepted a report of a joint working group on indemnity.



President de Klerk . . . stipulated conditions.

Mr de Klerk stipulated the following conditions:

- That no pending or current legal process was suspended by this announcement.
- That no indemnity for anyone or for any event or offence was granted automatically.
- That application for indemnity must be made through predetermined channels, and only those who fell within the guidelines for "political offences" would qualify for indemnity. The same applied for the release of prisoners.

"In this regard, 45 prisoners have been released since August 6, and 15 more will be released this week. This accords with the spirit of the Pretoria Minute," Mr de Klerk said.

"The Minister of Justice, H J Coetsee, will announce the relevant procedures, guidelines and related matters by Friday," he added.

The statement referred only indirectly to Mr Mandela's previous allegations about a "third force" of Government officials who he claimed were provoking bloodshed in the townships.

"A review in depth was made of the present spate of violence in South Africa. Both sides reaffirmed the need to keep the negotiation process on course, and to act in such a way as to sustain and strengthen the atmosphere of trust necessary to achieve this objective."

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Zim unconditionally frees Rory Maguire

BULAWAYO. — The Zimbabwe government has unconditionally released Mr Rory Burt Maguire, 39, who two years ago was jailed for failing to report the presence of South African agents and of assisting them in carrying out sabotage inside the country.

The Zimbabwean national was jailed for seven years on July 14, 1988, for withholding information from authorities about the 1988 bomb attack which resulted in the death of Mr Obert Amon Mwanza and injured a number of South African refugees. — Sapa

FW's deadline for political pardons

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By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE way has now been cleared for indemnity for exiles and political prisoners — one of the major obstacles that existed between the government and the ANC.

The announcement that noon, October 8, was the cut-off date for indemnity was one of three moves made by the government yesterday which were aimed at reducing tension between it and the ANC.

● In a separate move, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said a judge would conduct an inquest into the deaths of 11 people shot by security forces on September 4 in Sebokeng.

This is the first time a judge has been appointed to head an inquest in South Africa.

● The government also agreed to deal "expeditiously" with ANC submissions concerning the continued detention of some of their leaders and members under security legislation.

The three steps came after President F W de Klerk met a high-ranking ANC delegation, led by Mr Nelson Mandela, in Cape Town yesterday afternoon.

The talks ended with a joint statement that negotiations between the government and the ANC are on course, despite "different current perceptions" on violence in South Africa.

Statements by Mr Mandela that a "third force" of government officials was deliberately provoking bloodshed in South African townships had threatened to derail the talks between the government and the ANC.

But their joint statement, issued after a longer-than-expected 3½-hour meeting, clearly suggests that progress was made on the issue of violence.

Although the joint statement by Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela did not refer to the "third force", the three moves are clearly intend to diffuse tensions between the government and the ANC over security issues.

After the meeting Mr Mandela read out the joint statement to reporters, but refused to answer any questions. "It is a very sensitive matter. I ask you to accept the statement as it is," he said.

ANC aides said difficult issues were involved in the talks, but that they had been encouraged by the discussions' length.

Mr Mandela was expected to have handed over sworn affidavits gathered by the ANC on the role of the "third force", but there has been no indication whether these are to be released publicly.

In a separate statement released after the talks, Mr De Klerk said the cut-off date for indemnity and immunity would apply only to acts committed before noon yesterday, and he stressed that "no pending or current legal process is suspended by this announcement".

He emphasised: "No indemnity for anyone or for any event or offence is granted automatically."

Applications for indemnity would have to be made through pre-determined channels, and "only those who fall within the guidelines for so-called 'political offences' will qualify for indemnity".

This also applied to the release of prisoners, 45 of whom have been freed since August 6. In accordance with the spirit of the Pretoria Minute, 15 more will be released this week.

The procedures, guidelines and related matters will be announced by Mr Coetsee by Friday, October 12.

Mr De Klerk's statement indicates that the problems surrounding the return of exiles and the granting of indemnity for those who could be prosecuted have now been resolved.

He said that in terms of the Indemnity Act, which was passed this year, the president was vested with the power to grant indemnity against civil and criminal proceedings to people or categories of people "with a view to peaceful solutions for the Republic of South Africa".

The process by which indemnity could be acquired was the subject of discussions between the ANC and the government.

"It is, however, a process which may apply more widely than to ANC-related individuals only.

"The government has now decided to activate the process for indemnity, after the ANC had indicated that the report of the working group on immunity and indemnity was affirmed by them."

Mr De Klerk said this announcement should not be confused with his statement that all individuals who surrendered whatever arms illegally possessed or controlled before October 31 would be granted special indemnity.

Mr De Klerk called on the public and all organisa-

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● Sebokeng probe 'too restricted' — Page 2
● Mandela to meet prisoners today — Page 2

P.T.O.

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tions to help create a peaceful atmosphere and make South Africa a safe haven for everybody.

● At yesterday's talks at Tuynhuys, Mr De Klerk was accompanied by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The ANC delegation, apart from Mr Mandela, included its secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo; a member of its national executive and secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, and its head of intelligence section, Mr Jacob Zuma.

The joint statement said: "A review in depth was made of the recent spate of violence in South Africa.

"Note was taken of the different current perceptions concerning the causes and handling of this violence.

"There was general agreement that all sides must do their utmost to bring this violence to an end."

The statement concluded: "Both sides reaffirmed the need to keep the negotiation process on course and to act in such a way as to sustain and strengthen the atmosphere of trust necessary to achieve this objective."

Mandela to meet ANC prisoners in city today

Cape Trips 9/10/90 (327)

Political Staff

MR Nelson Mandela is to meet ANC political prisoners, including between 20 and 30 from Robben Island, in Cape Town this morning.

The meeting follows talks last week between 17 PAC prisoners, the organisation's secretary for foreign affairs Ms Patricia de Lille, and its Western Cape co-ordinator, Mr Barney Desai.

As with last week's talks, today's meeting will be held at Pollsmoor Prison.

Mr Mandela is likely to explain the latest developments regarding indemnity and immunity, including the method being used to release prisoners.

He is also likely to explain the latest developments in the negotiations with the government and solicit the views of ANC members in prison on this process.

ANC prisoners on Robben Island, unhappy about the lack of consultation between them and ANC leaders, staged a short hunger strike recently.

There was also a sit-in recently in the lobby of the US embassy by relatives and friends of ANC prisoners who were dissatisfied about the pace at which prisoners were being released and the lack of information about the indemnity process.

Mandela greets prison pals

By CHRIS BATEMAN

MR Nelson Mandela was reunited with former fellow prisoners yesterday on his first return as a free man to Robben Island in eight years.

The spirit of comradeship was so strong that emotions ran wild, he told reporters later.

Mr Mandela briefed some of the estimated 260 remaining island prisoners on release procedures and negotiations over returning exiles.

He was accompanied by Mr Jacob Zuma, head of the ANC's military intelligence, and Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general.

Mr Mandela said they left the prisoners with a "clear impression about what's going on and of the phasing of political prisoner releases".

Asked if he would like the island closed as a prison, he replied: "I hope that with the democratic changes . . . it will not be necessary for us to have any prisons," adding jocularly to the questioner: "I'm sure you'll behave."

While he did not have an opportunity to visit his old cell or tour the prison, inmates had left a clear impression that conditions had improved.

The ANC expects the release today of several prisoners from Robben Island and three Transvaal prisons, Sapa reports.

A fleet of buses and taxis has been arranged to transport people to the harbour area from as far as Paarl and several relatives and friends will fly into D F Malan Airport for reception celebrations.

The prisoner release was announced on Monday by the State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

According to the ANC, the released men will include (origin, where known, in brackets):

From Robben Island: B Z Banda and M A Budaza (both Witbank), J Boesak (Oudtshoorn), W Cele, M J Cikozani (East London), S W Dinga (P E), P P Ditsebe, T Sekonyela (both Bloemfontein), W V Gunge, T Hendricks (Paarl), B P Kumane and J R Legoabe (both Johannesburg), J J Maabe, M J Mkize (Natal), A S Sobhuwa (Guguletu).

From Pretoria: I G J Maraise.

From Modderbee: I L Lekuthla.

From Johannesburg: T J Kumalo.

● A spokesman for Prison Services said it was not the first time Mr Mandela had visited political prisoners since his release.



JAIL REVISITED . . . ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela steps from the Robben Island ferry yesterday after briefing the island's 260 remaining political prisoners.

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CITY [ ] NATIONAL

All political prisoners free by May — Mandela

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Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

ISLAND VISIT: ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela, centre, with ANC secretary general, Mr Alfred Nzo, left, and three colleagues including Mr Jacob Zuma, partly obscured by Mr Nzo, on board the Table Bay harbour ferry, Dias.

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ALL political prisoners will be freed by May, Mr Nelson Mandela has claimed.

He said this yesterday after returning to the mainland from his first visit to Robben Island in eight years.

He had briefed a delegation of 20 ANC prisoners held there about the "procedures to be followed in the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles", he said.

The group had raised a number of points with him and other executive members, Mr Alfred Nzo and Mr Jacob Zuma, who had accompanied him.

It was clear to them that the prisoners were not up to date on events.

"We took advantage of the meeting to brief them on a number of issues we are discussing with the government."

He had seen only ANC members, but the movement's demand was for the release of all political prisoners, he said.

"We've set the date for the release of all political prisoners — the end of April 1991."

Transferred to Robben Island with his co-accused in the Rivonia Trial in 1964, he was moved to Pollsmoor prison in 1982.

Memories

Yesterday's return to the Island had evoked pleasant and unpleasant memories, Mr Mandela said.

"I decided to concentrate on the pleasant ones."

Asked about pleasant memories, he said newspapers were forbidden on the island and he had "remembered very well how we smuggled newspapers in".

"We were certain that our cause would be victorious. I'm happy that I've had the chance to to go to Robben Island again."

He had not had the opportunity to look around the island prison to see if conditions had improved since his departure.

"We had very little time. We did not have enough time to visit my old cell."

Asked if the prison on Robben Island should be closed, he said: "I hope that with the democratic changes in South Africa it will not be necessary for us to imprison people."

'Prisoners will be free by May'

Star 10/11/90 (327)

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — All political prisoners would be released by the end of April next year, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday after his first visit to Robben Island in eight years.

He said he had briefed a delegation of 20 ANC prisoners held there about the procedures to be followed in the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

The group had raised a number of points with himself, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo and intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, who accompanied him.

It was clear to them that, because of poor communications, Robben Island political prisoners were not up to date with what was happening.

"We took advantage of the meeting to brief them on a number of issues we are discussing with the Government," Mr Mandela said.

He had seen only ANC members, but the movement's demand was for the release of all political prisoners, he said.

Smuggled

Transferred to Robben Island with his co-accused in the Rivonia trial in 1964, Mr Mandela was moved to Pollsmoor prison in 1982.

Yesterday's return to the island had evoked pleasant and unpleasant memories.

"I decided to concentrate on the pleasant ones," he said.

Asked about pleasant memories, Mr Mandela said newspapers were forbidden on the island, and he had "remembered very well how we smuggled newspapers in".

While imprisoned in South Africa's jail for political prisoners, all "were certain that our cause would be victorious. I'm happy that I've had the chance to go to Robben Island again."

He had not had the opportunity to look around the prison to see whether conditions had improved since his departure.

"We had very little time. We did not have time to visit my old cell."

Asked if the prison should be closed, he said: "I hope that with the democratic changes in South Africa, it will not be necessary for us to imprison people."

Curfew to be lifted soon, hints Vlok

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has hinted that the 9pm to 4am curfew in the East Rand townships of Tokoza, Vosloorus and Katlehong will be lifted shortly.

Addressing a Press conference at the Vosloorus Police Station on Tuesday night Vlok said after evaluating the situation on the ground, he believed that the curfew could not remain in force "for a long period".

"We will lift it as soon as circumstances permit but I want to stress that if violence breaks out again we will not hesitate to reimpose the curfew," he said.

He and several top police officials, including Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe, had earlier visited a police roadblock at the Phola Park squatter camp in Tokoza.

Vlok talked to motorists while their vehicles were being searched.

Vlok's party, accompanied by representatives of the media, then drove through the seemingly deserted squatter camp before returning to Vosloorus.

At the Press conference Vlok said that he had been pleased to find that residents were heeding the curfew and co-operating with police, but added that electricity blackouts in certain areas made law enforcement difficult.

Vosloorus mayor Mr Morrison Sinukela said the imposition of the curfew had saved "very many lives in Vosloorus" and had been welcomed by local residents.

"Before the curfew more than 200 people died in this town," he said.

He said that as the situation was normalising he hoped the curfew would be lifted during next week.

A nightly seven-hour curfew went into effect in Soweto, Katlehong, Tokoza and Vosloorus on September 25.

The measure was lifted in Soweto last week. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

cient allocation of resources in the entire national economy, they say.

Curfew set to be lifted next week

PETER DELMAR

GOVERNMENT would probably lift its township curfew measures next week, sources said yesterday.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said on Tuesday he was considering scrapping the curfew in certain areas after visiting the East Rand to assess the security situation there.

Vlok said he would lift the curfew as soon as possible, but declined to be drawn on an exact date.

But government sources said yesterday the 9pm to 4am curfew — which came into effect in seven townships on September 25 — would probably be lifted completely within days.

However, it was unlikely that it would be ended this week. Lifting the curfew would probably also be accompanied by a government warning that it would be reapplied if violence flared up again.

The curfew was ended in four townships within the greater Soweto area last week after a marked reduction in violence. Crime levels also declined in the affected East Rand townhips of Vosloorus, Katlehong and Thokoza.

FW's deadline means freedom for all ANC

Staff Reporter

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's announcement of the October 8 cut-off date for clemency and indemnity meant that all political prisoners would be released "forthwith", the ANC said yesterday.

It was the organisation's understanding of the ANC-Government Working Group's report that once a cut-off date had been announced all political prisoners would be released, a spokesman said.

All pending or current legal proceedings and processes would also be halted "forthwith" and all Internal Security Act detainees would be released.

"We call upon the government not to engage in useless time-wasting delaying tactics on this matter," he added.

"The government is obliged to grant unconditional permanent indemnity to all those who committed political offences, whether such people be inside or outside South Africa," the spokesman added.

The government must not cover up the fact that about 3 500 political prisoners remained in jail and 358 political trials were in progress.

Government spokesmen were not prepared to comment yesterday.

Constitutional Affairs spokesman Mr Hannes de Wet said the government would have to study the statement carefully before reacting.



GOING HOME . . . Elated to be free, Mr Wellington Gumenge of Port Elizabeth (front) and Mr Johannes Boesak of Oudtshoorn leave Table Bay harbour yesterday. They were two of 15 Robben Island ANC prisoners granted early release. Picture: BENNY GOOL

Freed men call for peace

Staff Reporter

FIFTEEN Robben Island political prisoners released yesterday called for "all peace-loving South Africans" to support the "peace initiative" and urged their fellow ANC members to support the ANC to "give peace a chance".

In the most conciliatory statement yet by newly released political prisoners, Mr Vronda Banda of Orlando West, jailed for 12 years for treason in 1983, urged the government quickly to remove all remaining obstacles, "so that negotiations can begin in earnest".

The remarks, made on behalf of the group, came a day after Mr Nelson Mandela paid his first visit to Robben Island since being transferred as an inmate from there to Pollsmoor Prison in 1982.

However, none of yesterday's 15 men were among the delegation of 20 prisoners who met Mr Mandela on the island on Tuesday.

The group said that of the 246 prisoners remaining on the island, 17 were PAC members and the rest ANC.

Of those released, three were from the Western Cape. They were Mr Titus Hendricks, of Paarl (seven years, terrorism, sentenced 1986), Mr Johannes Altau Boesak, of Oudtshoorn (seven years, sabotage, sentenced 1986) and Mr Alton Sobuwa of Nyanga East (terrorism and murder, 12 years, sentenced 1983).

Western Cape ANC executive member Mr Reggie September said a national and international campaign was under way to fund an infrastructure for released political prisoners and returning exiles.

"But it's also normal for the community to give assistance to someone who comes back into the fold — poor people do that," he added to huge applause from relatives and supporters at the Cowley House reception in Salt River.

The prisoners said the first they heard of their release was on Monday morning.

Others released (crime, sentence, year convicted) were: Mr Mawakhe Cikozani of East London (terrorism and receiving military training, 12 years, 1983), Mr Jeffrey Legoabe of Soweto (treason, 16 years, 1979), Mr Bennet Komane of Soweto (treason and terrorism, 16 years, 1979), Mr Siphiwe Dince of PE (treason, 12 years, 1983), Mr Wellington Gumenge of PE (treason, 10 years, 1984), Mr Petrus Sekonyela of Bloemfontein (possession of hand grenade, four years, 1988), Mr Thlomelang Maape of Bophuthatswana (terrorism, four years, 1988), Mr Wanda Cele, of Umgababe, Natal (arson, four years, 1988), Mr Parks Dibebe, Dewetsdorp (terrorism, seven years, 1987), Mr Moses Mkhize of Maritzburg (terrorism, six years, 1987) and Mr Madoda Budaza of PE (terrorism, possessions of arms and ammunition, six years, 1987).

Bugging devices found at ANC man's home

CAPE TIMES 12/10/90

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Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Bugging devices found attached to the telephone of prominent ANC member Mr Harold Wolpe have raised fears that he has been under secret surveillance for at least 15 months.

The discovery of the transmitters at the exiled lawyer's home here was reported yesterday in the New Statesman and Society magazine.

Mr Wolpe, a close friend of Mr Joe Slovo, has been living in exile since he and fellow lawyer Mr Arthur Goldreich escaped from Johannesburg's Marshall Square police station in 1963.

The two men had been instrumental in arranging the ANC's purchase of a farm at Rivonia, allegedly for insurrection purposes.

The two tapping devices were found last weekend at Mr Wolpe's house by journalist Mr Duncan Campbell.

Mr Wolpe, now a lecturer in sociology at Essex University, and his family were unaware of the devices until last month when they were mysteriously sent tapes of telephone conversations they had made during June 1989.

Early in September the Wolpes received an anonymous call from a man claiming to have found two cassette tapes in the house he was moving into. They received the tapes two weeks later.

Although there was no "direct evidence" as to who had planted the bugs, Mr Campbell claims: "It is entirely consistent with a pattern of SA intelligence activities in London uncovered over the past 15 years."

Last night an SA embassy spokesman in London declined to comment on the report. Mr Wolpe could not be reached for comment yesterday.

UCT fires officer for being 'spy'

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Staff Reporter

THE University of Cape Town has dismissed a campus control officer for allegedly being a police spy — and two other control officers are facing similiar disciplinary charges.

Details of the allegations against the three were published this week in the student newspaper Varsity.

The moves against the three followed a three-month probe into a possible police network on campus.

The newspaper labelled the investigation's findings the "tip of the iceberg".

UCT Registrar Mr Hugh Amoore confirmed last night that the article was "substantially correct".

He said a university disciplinary committee had decided "on the balance of probabilities" that the officer had passed on information to the SAP Security Branch.

Two other Campus Control officers were also implicated.

One, who had worked closely with the dismissed officer in the investigations branch of Campus Control, had already appeared before a disciplinary committee.

A decision on the hearing of another, who had been moved to the traffic department two years ago because of alleged links with the SAP, would be made soon, Mr Amoore said.

The dismissed officer allegedly collected money from policemen at Rhodes Memorial "on more than one occasion".

He also allegedly copied down names and addresses of students and staff from confidential UCT records and read out pamphlets by student organisations over the telephone.

Varsity expressed concern over "the possible implications of having security agents in Campus Control", which has access to the names and addresses of all UCT students, as well as to every building on campus.

Campus Control officers also investigate crimes on campus themselves.

SRC president Mr Richard Smith was quoted as saying "the presence of numerous government agents, who are nothing more than security branch spies, seems out of place with National Party rhetoric and contrary to the spirit of national political developments".

● Pretoria police declined to comment yesterday on the allegations.

'Iron Fist' township curfews lifted

JOHANNESBURG. — The government yesterday lifted township curfews on the East Rand.

"The fighting is mostly over. The curfews are no longer necessary," Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said, noting that police would leave "much smaller contingents" in the affected areas of Vosloorus, Thokoza and Katlehong, east of Johannesburg.

Police warned, however, that curfews would be reimposed if necessary.

Authorities lifted the curfew in Soweto, the only other affected township, on October 5.

The curfews were imposed last month as part of Operation Iron Fist, which aimed at quelling the wave of factional violence which killed almost 800 people.

The ANC welcomed the government's decision, but reiterated its position that Iron Fist measures were unnecessary.

"Usual police procedure should have been sufficient to apprehend the perpetrators of the violence. We reiterate that these harsh measures were aimed at curbing normal political activity," the organisation said. — UPI and Sapa

Govt halts release of prisoners

Star 13/10/90

Saturday Star October 13 1990

Prisoners

FROM PAGE 1.

ing in Cape Town on Monday and acted in bad faith when he addressed the National Party's Cape congress that night.

The ANC questioned the Government's bona fides and Mr de Klerk's integrity. The ANC released a document which served as the basis for Monday's discussions, in which it attacked the Government on security issues.

Shortly before flying to Portugal on Thursday, Mr de Klerk denied the charge. He asked why the ANC had made this claim three days later, and shortly before he was due to go overseas?

He said the ANC was under pressure because of its adherence to policies which had proved a dismal failure throughout the world.

Responding to the attack, the ANC said last night that its differences with the Government would be taken up at unspecified discussions between the two parties.

According to a statement released last night, the ANC said it was only seeking the full implementation of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes as agreed between itself and the Government.

It said it was encouraged that the Government was prepared to proceed according to the letter and spirit of the working group report.



as Wolf-Peter Pfumfer and Jan van Beukering lead husband and wife team Arnold and Estelle Matthee

DURBAN — THE release of political prisoners has been temporarily held up by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, as relations between the Government and the African National Congress worsened this week amid allegations of bad faith, broken confidences and hardline exchanges.

Details worked out by a joint ANC-Government committee for the release of prisoners have been clouded in secrecy, and Mr Coetsee said yesterday it was not possible to proceed with the process.

He said the Government was ready to move "in a phased manner" on two reports drawn up by the working group established by the Groote Schuur Minute — one dealing with the definition of political offences, time scales, norms and mechanisms, and the other on a plan for the release of prisoners and granting of indemnity.

Accepted

Both reports had been accepted by the Government and the ANC, he said.

The Government said on Monday that it would announce guidelines defining political offences by yesterday.

Yesterday Mr Coetsee said it was not possible to proceed with the announcement of these guidelines and related procedures "until clarity is reached on certain press statements by faceless and apparently uninformed ANC spokesmen, nevertheless purporting to be official".

"These pronouncements appear to be in direct conflict with the Groote Schuur Minute, the Pretoria Minute and the working group reports expressly accepted by the ANC."

Coetsee slams statements by 'faceless' ANC

MARTIN CHALLENOR

Mr Coetsee said this decision had been conveyed to the ANC. "The Government is ready to proceed according to the letter and spirit of these documents once the ANC has clarified its press statements in this regard," Mr Coetsee said.

But in a response that differed markedly from the hostile words exchanged this week between the ANC and the Government, the ANC said last night that it was "encouraged that Mr Coetsee has stated that the Government is ready to proceed according to the letter and spirit of the reports of the working groups to which both parties have agreed".

"The faithful implementation of the agreements is all the ANC has been seeking."

Political observers believe that a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela will now have to take place to clear the air between the two sides, as happened in the past when relations between the two former deadly enemies began to fade.

Both sides have said they remained committed to negotiations.

The ANC said on Thursday that President de Klerk had betrayed confidences of the ANC-Government meet-

TO PAGE 2.

Sachs: Warmth needed

By ZB MOLEFE

Apartheid's crime was to deny our humanity

ALBIE Sachs refuses to be bitter.

Instead a warm smile crosses his ravaged features which recall the horrific Maputo bomb blast which nearly killed him two years ago.

His right arm was blown off when he opened the door of a booby-trapped car intended for ANC East Berlin chief Indres Naidoo.

Naidoo says: "I could not believe my eyes ... parts of the car were scattered many metres away. There was blood everywhere and worst of all, pieces of flesh were lying about on the street."

Despite the attack and the months of solitary confinement before he was driven into 24 years of exile, Sachs is calm and not revengeful.

"Why should I be bitter? It is not a question of forgiveness. It is more the question of who we are

"We are not like them. We must never allow ourselves to be like them ... to make us take their values, their cruelty."

He was amazed how people responded to his tragedy "I found people crying for me.

"They wanted me to be alive. I felt it through the nurses, the doctors. Everybody."

When he was transferred to a London hospital he experienced the same human warmth.

This is the very thing he has tried to bring out in his books.

"I think South Africans are longing to find that humanity. But our society has made it difficult. I think this is the crime of apartheid," he says.

How does he react to Afrikaners and apartheid now that he is back from exile?

"Samora (former Mozambican President Machel) used to say racism knows no frontiers. Afrikaners in their fight for freedom at some stage suffered domination and oppression.

"Now they are being asked to liberate themselves from something they imposed on themselves and others."

But he finds the element of confession in the Afrikaner Calvinistic tradition unsettling. "I don't want anybody to get on their knees and confess. I want us to get on with a new South Africa."

You soon realise you cannot talk to Sachs about anything without bringing in the question of art as a political weapon. Or its handmaiden, the cultural worker.

He is very careful to say that he is not pointing fingers, because he himself used the term cultural worker for almost 20 years.

"But sometimes we can hide behind this thing, cultural worker. Not take responsibility for what we are doing. I think a painter should paint; a writer must write, the musician must make music.

"We mustn't attach the word 'worker' to give us a proletarian characteristic. If I am not a worker in the sense it is understood, I musn't become a pseudo-worker by using a label."

He agrees art had been used as a weapon of liberation, but this had become a barrier "to the freedom we want to enjoy".

"I have this image of snakes as a reptile that needs its skin to protect itself. As it reaches a certain stage it must shed this skin to be able to move properly.

"I think we (artists) are like that. It's like armour that protected us, but it (art as a liberation weapon) can become heavy. Now my view is that we have reached that stage to explore, to take chances. We need to be open."

How does Sachs, as a constitutional lawyer, see the future?

"My major task is to contribute as a member of the ANC constitutional committee, to provide back-up for the (ANC) leadership who will be negotiating."

SAP: No comment on UCT spies

Staff Reporter

THE use of "co-workers" by intelligence services was a practice recognised worldwide, and it was "unreasonable" to create the impression that police were involved in "evil practices", the South African Police said in a statement.

The police declined to comment on a report in Saturday's Cape Times that the University of Cape Town had dismissed a campus control officer for allegedly spying for the security police.

"The SAP have taken note of the content of the article 'Campus Controlled' in Varsity (UCT's student newspaper). The SAP do not comment on articles and allegations such as these," the police statement said.

The dismissal of the police spy followed a three-month probe into a possible police network on campus and another two campus control officers were implicated.



Released . . . 'The Government can show its sincerity by scrapping Section 29 of the Internal Security Act,' says recently released political prisoner Stephen Marais, pictured here with his wife Khethiwe. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

Released prisoner plans to work for ANC

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

Recently released political prisoner Stephen Marais, who was reunited with his wife and two children last week, intends to work full-time for the organisation for whose activities he went to jail — the ANC.

Mr Marais (33) was one of 21 political prisoners released from prison on Wednesday last week in terms of the Pretoria Minute agreement.

Mr Marais said he fully supported the talks between the ANC and the Government.

"What the Government is trying to do is quite clear — it wants to create a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance-type of an organisation which will get about 50 percent of the vote.

"What gives me hope, however, is the fact that there is no alternative to the talks . . . and I think both sides realise this."

Mr Marais said the Government could prove its sincerity by scrapping Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and either releasing or charging those detained under the Act.

Mr Marais was arrested in the Transkei in March 1986. He was found guilty of terrorism and was sentenced to 10 years in prison. The sentence was reduced to seven years on appeal.

Born in Stellenbosch, Mr Marais matriculated at the Paul Roos Gymnasium in 1974. In January 1975 he spent a week in the army before getting a six-month exemption from conscription for medical reasons. In the same year he enrolled for a BA Fine Arts at the University of Cape Town.

When he received a military call-up towards the end of his studies in 1978, Mr Marais went to live in Lesotho. On his return to the Cape two years later he got a job with the Environmental Development Agency and in 1983 he joined the ANC.

Illegal march: 30 in court

Star 16/10/90 (327) (102) (2)

By Abel Mushi

Thirty of the 32 people arrested in Rockville, Soweto, on Saturday for taking part in an allegedly illegal march appeared briefly in the Protea Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The trial was set for November 15.

Warrants of arrest have been issued for two of the accused who failed to appear.

The accused, who are said to be supporters of the South African Youth Congress, held the march to call for the release of Mac Maharaj, an executive member of the SA Communist Party and ANC.

He was arrested in July for alleged involvement in an arms-smuggling plot.

The accused, some of whom were accompanied by their parents because they were under age, were not asked to plead.

Exile issue on agenda today

CAPE TIMES 16/10/90

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC was confident that the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnity would be put back on track at a working group meeting in Pretoria today, spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

However, he indicated that delays in finalising the return of exiles could force the organisation to postpone its conference scheduled to begin on December 16 in Bloemfontein.

Mr Macozoma said a routine working group meeting had been planned for today before the row between the two sides blew up last week.

"We assume (Justice Minister) Mr Kobie Coetsee will seek the clarification he referred to in his statement on Friday, and expect to sort out the differences in interpretation," he said.

Mr Macozoma explained that, of greatest concern to the ANC, was the impression created by government — "inconsistent with the working group report" — that each individual member of the ANC in exile would have to complete a detailed form on his or her life and political history.

In the ANC's view, most exiles fall into groups categorised by the working group report, and the ANC would apply for indemnity collectively.

● Mr Chris Hani is due to lead the ANC's delegation for the first time at the meeting today.

Latest talks end anger over exiles

CBT Tues 17/10/90

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Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A meeting of the joint ANC/government working group on political offences yesterday effectively ended last week's slanging match between the two sides, sources said.

The sources described the discussions here as "constructive" and said it was likely that the group's report would be released by the government next week.

It appeared that differences in interpretation, which contributed to last week's hiccup in the process, had been ironed out and the mechanism for the further release of prisoners and return of exiles would be set in motion soon.

Sources said the differences had largely concerned whether it would be necessary for each individual candidate for indemnity to provide detailed information, or whether many could be dealt with collectively.

The report is expected to be submitted to the leadership of both organisations after changes have been made.

● The working group dealing with the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle also met here yesterday.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani led the ANC delegation for the first time, while Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok headed the government side.

It is understood that Umkhonto commander Mr Joe Modise and ANC information chief Mr Pallo Jordan did not attend.

Council calls for curfew

Sowetan 17/10/90

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THE Atteridgeville City Council on Monday proposed the implementation of a curfew and "Operation Iron Fist" after it cut off electricity supplies to houses and shops whose owners are in arrears with rent.

By MONK NKOMO

A private company was hired by the council to cut off the electricity supply at a cost of R80 per house, according to a spokesman for the local civic association (Asro).

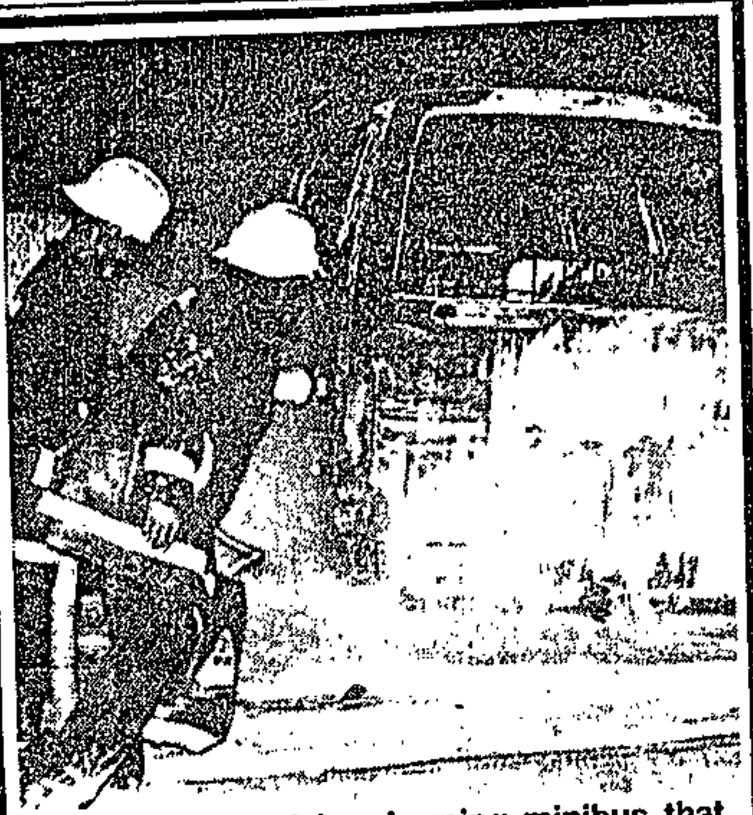
Mr Daan Mouton, acting town clerk of Atteridgeville confirmed the power cuts but said he did not know the amount being paid to the private company.

The ANC, UDF and Asro yesterday condemned the council's decision. "This is a highly provocative and suspicious move. We call upon our people to look at a form of mass action", the three organisations said in a statement.

A spokesman for the local branch of Cosas said the power cuts were going to retard their progress as they were busy preparing for final examinations.

The cuts were done four days after the Pretoria City Council announced that they were not going to cut electricity supplies in Atteridgeville and Mamelodi again after the Pretoria Regional Services Council granted both town councils loans to pay their electricity bills following a rent boycott.

The decision by the Atteridgeville council to cut electricity supplies yesterday was taken at a special council meeting on October 5 "to convince the RSC and the Pretoria City Council that we are doing something", *Sowetan* established yesterday. The council also discussed the possibility of implementing Operation Iron Fist and curfew after the power cuts.



Firemen extinguish a burning minibus that swerved off the Potchefstroom road near Moroka police station on Monday night. No one was injured in the accident.

Rate

Mouton said the reconnection fee of electricity was R15 per house plus rent arrears from June 1 this year. The rent boycott started on April 1.

A number of residents yesterday telephoned Sowetan appealing to Asro officials to hold serious talks with the council to determine a flat rate and to resolve the rent crisis.

Rulers tend to hang messenger

South 18/10 – 24/10/90

By ANTHONY HEARD

THE ominous lesson, which we should note particularly in these heady days of "political reform", is that, when pressured, authorities blame the media.

And only the wisest and most coolheaded rulers resist the temptation to hang the messenger. They have to be physically prevented from doing so — constitutionally and in other ways.

It has taken long years of repression, detention, banning, suppression, threat and bluster, for the government to arrive at the point where it is prepared to relax some of the controls on the press.

But, before the hurrahs, it is necessary to see what it has in mind. There have been occasions in the past when the state, with the cooperation of the established newspapers and their organised bodies, have worked behind the scenes to "reconsider" laws on the press — producing precious little at the other end.

If the government and the newspaper owners who so uncritically support it wish to demonstrate that they are seeking a truly new order for the media, the reform must go way beyond dismantling Mr P W Botha's eccentric media emergency and attending to some of the more horrendous security and censorship laws.

Three essential steps are:

● Scrapping all laws — which means a hundred or so — which inhibit the public's right to know. That means key provisions in, among others, the Defence Act, the Police Act, the Prisons Act, the Publications Act, National Key Points Act, Nuclear Energy Act, Protection of Information Act, and a whole range of security measures which are still alive and well though under review by the newspaper industry and the government. Specific and justifiable constitutional guarantees against reversion to state control are required.



Anthony Heard

● Breaking up the press conglomerates which, as Nelson Mandela reminded an audience in Lenasia last week, ensure that four groups control virtually 95 percent of the print media — and one company alone 50 percent. Without access to one or other of the resources — whether printing, distribution, administration or news service — run by these groups, it is almost impossible to produce a sizeable newspaper, as a recent bitter experience has shown in Johannesburg.

● Destroying the government hold on the South African Broadcasting Corporation, not by polite petition and plea but by demanding and securing that control be placed outside the interests of one particular party.

Without securing these bridgeheads, no negotiation or test of the will of the people will be free. The process will be a farce orchestrated by government, certain malleable blacks and friendly media. White power will have pulled off what it could not achieve in Zimbabwe and Namibia: continued control.

If the country is to emerge from this exciting but dangerous phase of negotiation politics with the chance of a democratic future, the lessons of past repression must be learnt and acted on.

But to secure the above ends, it will be necessary to organise and to plan. Free media are not run on good intentions.

Monopolies do not readily give up their grip — nor governments the blandishments of the airwaves.

Bureaucrats, in love with secrecy, come to regard controls on the press — which means the public — as part of ordinary life.

Denied freedom, the public can view repression as normal. Future rulers might see control as a short-cut to the achievement of their aims.

Just now, a particular danger is that, sensing the need for change, the monopolistic group will employ subtle tactics.

Instead of keeping those that threaten their monopoly at arm's length, they might offer them a nice-looking piece of the action - but firmly under the control of the big companies.

That's the way monopolists think: if you can't beat or buy them, make them rely on you. That applies to diamonds, gold, platinum, news, ideas; you name it.

Moreover, the government, seeing the inevitability of a democratisation of the SABC, might refine tactics, too. Through selective "privatisation" of the airwaves and support for channels owned by the conglomerates, it might secure future help for its cause.

The power struggle that began in earnest with President De Klerk's speech on February 2 will not be confined to constitution-making.

It powerfully concerns the public's right to know, and whether that right will be served by a diversity of free viewpoints or dominated by government and monopolies.

Diversity is essential if a democratic culture is to underpin the new order that emerges.

(Anthony Heard is the former editor of the Cape Times.)

'Nothing in the way of negotiations now'

FW lifts emergency

CM-Times 19/10/90

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From ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk yesterday lifted the state of emergency in Natal, enhancing prospects for an end to sanctions and removing one of the key obstacles to constitutional negotiations named by the ANC.

South Africa stood on the threshold of real negotiations, he said later at the opening of the Transvaal congress of the National Party,.

"Stumbling blocks have been removed. The door is now fully open.

"Let us get on with the job. Let us put petty politics and manoeuvring aside."

Mr De Klerk told more than I 500 people gathered in the city hall here last night that support for reconciliation through negotiation was "growing by the day".

Earlier he had told a media conference that conditions in Natal had stabilised to such an extent that ordinary laws were sufficient to ensure the public's safety and to maintain order.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told the conference however that security force levels in Natal townships would not be reduced. They were needed in case of renewed outbreaks of violence.

For the first time since June 1986 no state of emergency is in force anywhere in South Africa.

The announcement was hailed by the ANC and Inkatha who agreed it would help pave the way to full-blown constitutional negotiations.

And the move was met with immediate positive reaction abroad.

The White House warmly welcomed the announcement.

Spokesman Mr Marlin Fitzwater termed the move "another important landmark on the road toward full normalisation of political activity in South Africa" and credited Mr De Klerk with political courage and leadership.

Momentum

"As the President George Bush said on the occasion of President De Klerk's visit to Washington, we believe that the process of change in South Africa has become irreversible. The lifting of the state of emergency in Natal reflects that reality."

A spokesman for the British Foreign Office said: "There is now a heavy responsibility on all South African political leaders to restrain their followers from further violence and maintain the momentum towards negotiation."

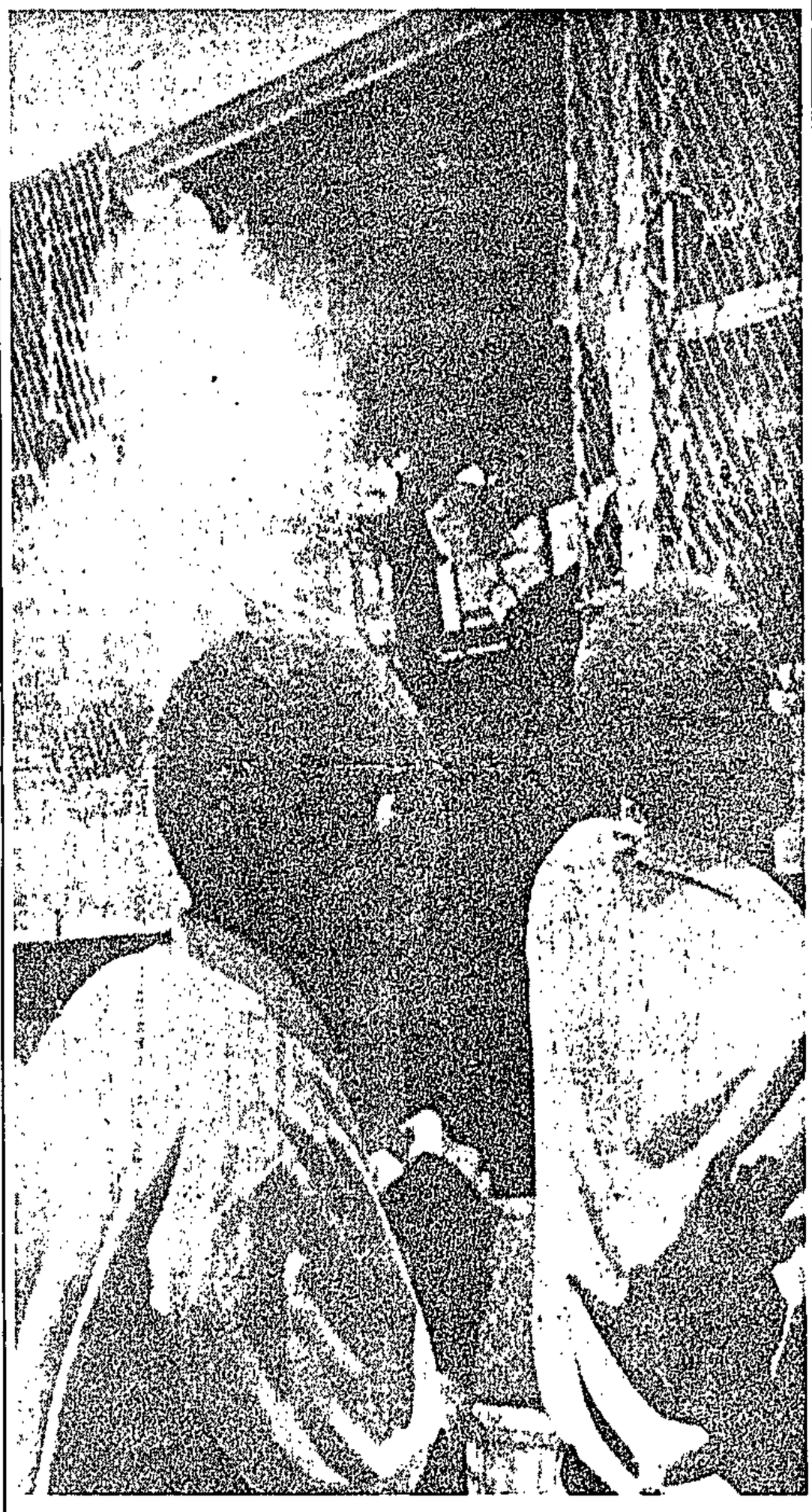
The ANC said yesterday that the step taken was part of the process necessary for the removal of obstacles in the path of negotiations.

"We hope this will be extended to eradicate the remaining obstacles, in particular the release of all political prisoners and detainees and the repeal of all security legislation.

"The lifting of the state of emergency should be accompanied by the withdrawal of troops such as 32 Battalion from Natal," the statement added.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said it was his fervent hope that the move would give peace initiatives "greatly added scope" to succeed. He called on everybody in the KwaZulu-Natal region to make a concerted effort to put an end to political violence "once and for all".

Responding to questions ater his announcement, Mr De Klerk said it was impossible to provide a



SHOT . . . Police (above) fire teargas from an armoured vehicle yesterday to break up a protest by Toekomsrus residents against the suspension of electricity and water supplies. Below: The body of a man shot dead by police lies beside an armoured vehicle after security forces fired on the demonstrators. **Report — Page 7**

Picture: REUTER

FW to visit Morocco

By BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT F W De Klerk will visit Morocco next week.

President De Klerk's trip was confirmed last night in a brief statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

"On their way to Europe, the State President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs will pay a working visit to Morocco," the statement said.

Mr De Klerk is expected to hold talks with King Hassan during his brief visit to Morocco's capital of Rabat.

Morocco, which has strongly supported the international campaign against Iraq since the conquest of Kuwait and has sent troops to Saudi Arabia, is regarded as one of the moderate Arab states.

After leaving Morocco, Mr De Klerk will travel to Holland on Tuesday for an official state visit where he will meet Queen Beatrice and Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers.

Commuters pushed off Joburg train

JOHANNESBURG. — Fifteen commuters were thrown from a Pretoria-Johannesburg train yesterday morning.

Police said the incident occurred between the Birchleigh and Riebeeck railway stations near Kempton Park.

The 15 injured passengers were admitted to hospitals in the Kempton Park area. Four of them were in critical condition.

No arrests have yet been made. Sapa



As a protest against this government's policies I refuse to

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

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Responding to questions ater his announcement, Mr De Klerk said it was impossible to provide a timetable for a new constitution, as negotiations were in essence a multi-party process and could not simply be bipartisan.

The government had a four-year limit before the next elections were due but it would obviously prefer to honour its commitment to test the opinion of the existing electorate sooner than then.

It would seek a mandate from the electorate for a totally new constitution in which everyone would have a vote of equal value.

"If the negotiations are not concluded before the next election is due, we will be forced to hold another election."

He was confident the National Party would be "part of the winning side" in the election held under the new constitution.

Commenting on Archbishop Desmond Tutu's plans to convene a summit of black leaders to formulate a joint strategy to negotiations, he said he welcomed each initiative to bring more stability to the country, but he would not comment on the archbishop's method of doing this.

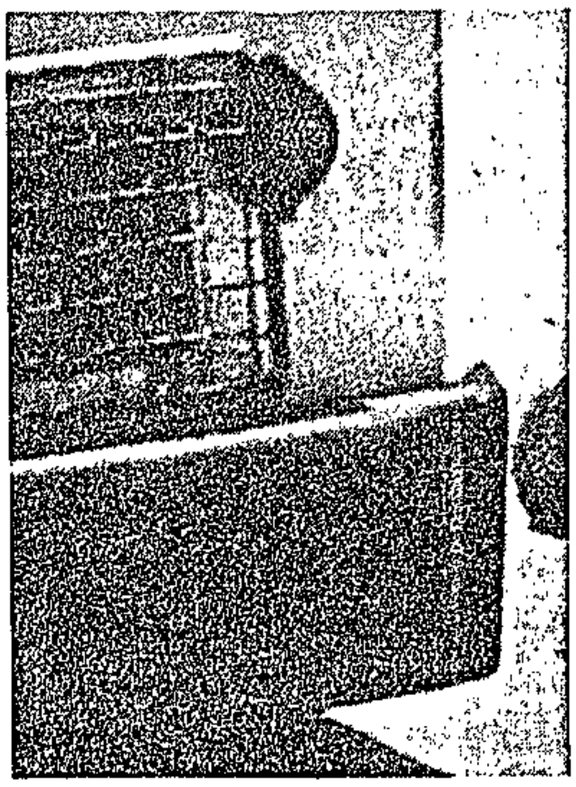
Mr De Klerk said the leadership of extra-parlia-

To page 3



SHOT . . . Police (above) fire te yesterday to break up a protest the suspension of electricity a body of a man shot dead by vehicle after security forces fir

port — Page 7



Natal curbs lifted

Sowetan 19/10/90

(327)

Page 2 SOWETAN Frida

Emergency ends

●From Page 1

The first clue he gave that Government was considering scrapping the emergency entirely was on August 9 when he said there were indications new developments could lead to the re-evaluation of the emergency in Natal.

The Government lifted the emergency in the other three provinces on June 8.

He said the violence in strife-torn Natal, and the rampant intimidation which has plagued the rural areas there, had subsided to such a degree that it was now possible to drop the measures.

He warned that the Government would, without hesitation, be tough on any resurgence of violence in the province and elsewhere, no matter from what quarter.

De Klerk leaves for the Netherlands and Luxembourg at the weekend.

His announcement yesterday is likely to warm yet further what is expected to be a cordial reception, and silence Holland's vociferous anti-apartheid groups.

His announcement partly meets requirements by foreign governments for the elimination of economic sanctions. Sowetan 19/10/90

The end of the State of Emergency is one of five specific conditions of the US's Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 for the lifting of US restrictions.

A lifting of the state emergency is also one of the conditions the African National Congress set for its participation in formal negotiations on a future constitution for South Africa. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

PRESIDENT de Klerk lifted the State of Emergency in Natal yesterday.

The move ended years of emergency rule in South Africa.

It will boost the Government's and particularly De Klerk's standing among foreign governments, and hasten the crumbling of economic sanctions against the country.

De Klerk made the announcement at an international news conference at the Union Buildings at 2.15pm.

He said conditions in Natal had stabilised to the extent that ordinary laws were sufficient to maintain order in spite of sporadic violence.

●To Page 2

Unrest: Curfew in Toekomsrus

PRETORIA — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday slapped a 9pm-to-4am curfew on the battle-scarred Toekomsrus township near Randfontein.

The imposition of the curfew comes amid continuing violent protests, which began on Wednesday, against a decision to terminate electricity supplies to some households in the area.

A youth, 18-year-old Malcolm Kano, was killed and a policeman received burn injuries in the violence, police said.

Local authorities have cut off electricity or water, or both, to several other townships.

Earlier yesterday the Kroonstad town council announced that it had decided to provide water to neighbouring Maokeng township for two hours a day, starting yesterday.

The announcement followed a decision by Maokeng residents late on Wednesday to begin a stayaway starting yesterday until all the services were restored.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) has provided water tankers to Emzinomi township, outside Bethal, and Wesselton, near Ermelo.

Meanwhile, the Regional Services Council (RSC) of Pretoria yesterday approved a loan of over R17 million to Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Zithobeni township councils to meet their services' arrears to the end of October.

The recently formed Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) grouping has threatened to mount a mass campaign against the power and water cuts.

Both the UDF and the ANC have condemned the cuts. — Sapa

West Rand placed under new curfew

B|Dam 19|10|90

LINDEN BIRNS, TANIA LEVY and TIM COHEN

GOVERNMENT last night placed a curfew on the West Rand township of Toekomsrus, where violence erupted on a large scale yesterday.

One person was shot dead and there were running battles between police and residents.

Although the clashes were related mainly to electricity cuts, an ANC spokesman for the area said the trouble began when police allegedly teargassed a squatter settlement, which resulted in the suffocation of an elderly woman.

On Wednesday night tempers flared in Toekomsrus, culminating in the burning down of the township's library.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok warned in a statement last night he would not hesitate to reimpose curfews on other Reef townships if there was a breakdown in law and order. He said he had ordered the curfew to protect law-abiding citizens.

(327)

Failure

Meanwhile an 11th-hour decision by the Pretoria Regional Services Council (RSC) to lend three of the city's townships R17m to meet service arrears prevented the blanket suspension of electricity supplies to the townships.

RSC chairman Peter Delport announced the loans to Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Zithobeni yesterday, shortly before electricity was due to be cut to the townships because of their failure to meet their electricity, sewerage and water arrears.

The loan, which must be paid back over the next five years, will meet the council's arrears until the end of October.

The loan is intended to pay for the council's bulk service commitments, and will not result in the restoration of electricity to about 2 000 Atteridgeville residents who have not paid their bills.

Water and electricity supplies have been cut at six townships which collectively owe at least R12m.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration has provided water tankers to Emzinomi township, outside Bethal.

Sapa reports that TPA spokesman Piet Wilken said yesterday water tankers would be provided as soon as possible to Wesselton township near Ermelo, the other Eastern Transvaal township affected by water cuts.

Those affected by cuts in essential services are Silobela near Carolina, Mhluzi in Middelburg, Daveyton near Benoni, Atteridgeville, Zithobeni in Bronkhorstspruit and Maokeng in Kroonstad.

The Kroonstad Town Council, which cut water and power supplies on Wednesday, decided yesterday to provide water to Maokeng township for two hours a day.

The curfew which came into effect last night begins at 9pm and lasts until 4am every day and covers Toekomsrus and Toekomsrus Extension 1.

Any residents stopped outdoors between those times will have to show documentary proof of their bona fides. Police will man roadblocks from 9pm and will search vehicles from that time.

Sapa reports that police travelled through Toekomsrus last night announcing the curfew in English and Afrikaans, barely an hour after Vlok had introduced the measures.

Barricades made from assorted debris barred streets. Police attempting to clear them were pelted with petrol bombs and other missiles.

In a statement, the UDF said the countrywide termination of electricity supplies raised questions as to the TPA's sincerity in holding negotiations to end the rent and services boycott.

See Page 6

Major obstacle to talks removed

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Natal is free of emergency

B/Day 19/10/90



● DE KLERK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday lifted the four-year-old state of emergency in Natal, thus enhancing prospects for an end to sanctions and removing one of the key obstacles to constitutional negotiations named by the ANC.

De Klerk told a media conference in Pretoria that conditions in Natal had stabilised to such an extent that ordinary laws were sufficient to ensure the public's safety and to maintain order.

EDYTH BULBRING
and PETER DELMAR

His announcement was hailed by the ANC and Inkatha who agreed it would help pave the way to full negotiations.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said the lifting of the emergency was further proof that the process of change in SA was irreversible.

"We see this as yet another landmark on the road toward full normalisation of political activity in SA. President de Klerk deserves credit for his political courage and leadership."

De Klerk said he trusted conditions would remain such that it would not become necessary to reintroduce the emergency.

He would not hesitate to do so to protect lives and property and maintain good order if circumstances required it.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok told the conference that security force levels in Natal townships would remain the same in case of renewed violence.

De Klerk said clashes between Inkatha and ANC/UDF supporters had claimed more than 4 000 lives over the past four years.

Government had consulted KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as well as its own security advisers. De Klerk said there was a broad consensus on the extent of stability in the province, he said.

He said the door to peaceful negotiation was now fully open and he appealed to all political leaders to accept the challenge of "this open door" to bring about peace and reconciliation.

By ending the emergency, De Klerk has met another of the five requirements in the US's Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA). The Act says the US president can lift sanctions if four of the five requirements are met.

The others are the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political parties, the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts and an agreement to enter good faith negotiations.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that a US administration official confirmed yesterday that government now had to satisfy only one more of the CAAA's conditions.

De Klerk told yesterday's media conference it was impossible to determine a

☐ To Page 2

PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk will visit Morocco for a day on Monday, where it is believed he will hold talks with King Hassan.

De Klerk and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha will pay a working visit to the north African Arab country on the way to Europe for talks in the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

The President will hold talks with the Dutch minister president and foreign minister, and attend a lunch hosted by Queen Beatrix.

On Thursday he will leave for Luxembourg, where he will meet the prime minister. — Sapa.

The Emergency is over! But Vlok steps in with a curfew

U/Mail 19/10 - 25/10/90 (327)

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE last vestiges of former President PW Botha's State of Emergency — imposed on June 12 1986 — disappeared yesterday when President FW de Klerk lifted the Emergency in Natal.

De Klerk warned, however, that he "would not hesitate" to take steps, as had been done on the Witwatersrand, to protect the lives and property of all in Natal.

As proof of this, within hours of the Emergency being lifted, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok imposed a curfew in the strife-torn township of Tockomsrus. He said this showed the government's determination to maintain law and order while the process of peaceful change was in progress.

The lifting of the Emergency in Natal will have little immediate effect. However, it brings the government closer to meeting the requirements for US sanctions to be lifted, and gives De Klerk a good send-off on his trip to the Netherlands and Luxembourg next week.

Announcing his decision on the eve of the National Party's Transvaal congress, De Klerk said it been taken in consultation with kwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and security advisors.

"It has become clear that there is a broad consensus that conditions in Natal have become stabilised to such an extent that the ordinary laws of the land are again sufficient to enable the government to ensure the safety of the public."

A separate Emergency was declared in Natal on June 8 when the annually renewable Emergency for the rest of the country fell away.

The announcement achieved a rare solidarity across the political spectrum.

Buthelezi appealed to everyone in the kwaZulu/Natal region for peace. He warned that "no group should regard it and the peace initiatives being undertaken as providing circumstances in which they would be free to perpetrate political violence".

The African National Congress welcomed the lifting of the Emergency — which eradicated one of the remaining obstacles to negotiation — saying it should help create the climate essential for peace and "free political activity".

"We hope this will be extended to eradicate the remaining obstacles, in particular the release of all political prisoners and detainees and the repeal of all security legislation," an ANC statement said.

...ably be released today or tomorrow. Minu



GUARD OF HONOUR ... President De Klerk is ecorted past a guard of honour at his arrival in The Netherlands yesterday. Picture: REUTER

FW to free 72 political prisoners

327 Cape Times 24/10/90

From BARRY STREEK

THE HAGUE. — The release of 72 more political prisoners has been authorised, President F W de Klerk said here yesterday.

He had signed the releases on the eve of his departure to Morocco, Holland and Luxembourg.

Mr De Klerk told a press conference that the government and the ANC had agreed on a process for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Target dates, procedures and the dates of the releases and methods for dealing with borderline cases had been agreed on.

Everything was to be completed by April 30, Mr De Klerk said.

During the conference he was questioned by a former detainee and one-time refugeee in the Dutch embassy in Pretoria, Mr Klaas de Jonge, about the continued existence of SA's security laws in view of his commitment to democracy.

Mr De Klerk replied that the Internal Security Act was being investigated, as stated in an agreement with the ANC, and that it would be revised.

FW 'will serve under Mandela' — Page 5

Funding squeeze for Natal groups

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — More than 20 anti-apartheid organisations in Natal face possible closure because of substantial cuts in funding by the EC's Kagiso Trust.

Established in 1987 to "assist victims of apartheid", the Kagiso Trust has come under increasing pressure from lobby groups to move its funding activities away from political organisations.

Kagiso Natal chairman Mike Sutcliffe said the trust was "restructuring and redirecting its operations toward developmental organisations". He said international funders had decided to slash funding for organisations with a "more political profile".

Sutcliffe said the majority of the organisations facing possible closure were part of Kagiso's civic and advice centres programme in Durban and Maritzburg, including the Durban Central Residents Association (DCRA).

Funding for the New African newspaper is expected by sources within Kagiso to dry up by the end of the year. It is understood if the affected organisations wish to continue their operations, they will have to generate their own funds.

New African co-editor Sipho Khumalo yesterday denied the newspaper would close as a result of the fund withdrawal.

He said Kagiso had not yet informed him of any decision to withdraw funds.

Sutcliffe said funds available to Kagiso were not adequate to address the needs of the civic and advice centres' programme.

DCRA chairman Sayed-Iqbal Mohamed said they could last only another month and a half before closing their offices.

Apartheid death squads may be back in business

W/Mail 19/10 - 25/10/90

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Sinister assassination attempts on activists over the past week suggest that repression has shifted from formal to informal methods. Report by

GAVIN EVANS and VUYELWA QINGA

A SPATE of assassinations and attempted murders of African National Congress activists over the past week has raised fears that apartheid death squads are back in business.

Human rights groups say the incidents appear to have been professional operations, which suggest a pattern of "informal repression" aimed at leading members of ANC-aligned groups.

The following are among the incidents reported over the past week:

● Early yesterday morning the chairman of the United Democratic Front-affiliated Western Cape Civic Association, Michael Mapongawana (45), was wounded by a bullet in the back and his wife Nomsa (34) died from a bullet wound in the chest after their house was petrol bombed in Khayelitsha.

Police report that the couple were in bed at 1.50am when four men threw three petrol bombs through a window. The couple were gunned down while fleeing after the house caught fire.

● Leading Border trade unionist and ANC official Jeff Wabhena was murdered by a lone gunman wearing a stocking over his head last Friday night. Wabhena, the chairperson of his ANC branch, was at a meeting in Mdantsane when the gunman walked in, fired one shot at the paraffin lamp and then pumped four more into Wabhena's chest at point-blank range.

This was the fourth attempt on his life in three years. In one attack in January this year he was shot in a leg and injured from flying glass after a grenade and machine gun attack on his home.

ANC Border leader Reverend Arnold Stofile said a fake pamphlet, issued in the name of the ANC, had been issued in January, accusing Wabhena and other activists of being informers. He said he thought the vendetta could only be the work of Askaris (former ANC members who had joined the police).

Wabhena is the third person to be attacked among those listed in the pamphlet. In an incident in March this year, two other Mdantsane activists were attacked. Vusumzi Msauli died after being shot with a Makarov pistol, while Ndiko Mnyute was injured in a grenade attack.

● Job Sithole, Human Rights Commission employee and student liaison officer for the SA Youth Congress in the Transvaal, was shot at in Alexandra township on Friday night while returning home. Over the past month several Alexandra residents have been questioned about his movements by unidentified characters. The HRC reports that "questions were asked about the location of his bedroom and the position of his bed in relation to the window".

Sithole was detained under the Emergency Regulations from April 1987 to March 1989. He went on hunger strike and was one of the four detainees who escaped from hospital and sought refuge in the German Consulate. Police public relations officer Lieutenant Colonel JJ Mostert said yesterday that any information about the incident should be reported the police. This can also be done anonymously by telephoning Alexandra detectives.

● HRC member and leading UDF activist Joyce Mabudafhasi reports a series of suspicious incidents suggesting moves towards an assassination attempt on her. On October 9 occupants of a motor car asked after her at her home. Two days later, bootprints were found outside her bedroom window, and on Saturday a group of men again asked after her.

Three years ago Mabudafhasi was severely injured, and narrowly escaped death, when her home was bombed. She was also detained under the Emergency Regulatiosn from October 1986 to January 1989 and again in August and September last year. After both detentions she was issued with restriction orders.

● National Anti-Repression Forum Kroonstad fieldworker Biza Makgato reported yesterday that in the latest of a series of telephonic assassination threats, the caller said: "Tonight is ours because the township will be in darkness".

● The HRC reported that its Heidelburg fieldworker yesterday met an unemployed man who said he had been recruited as a "security guard", after which he and others were trained to use guns with silencers. It is investigating the possibility that this could be a death squad training camp. A similar incident was reported in Sibasa, Venda.

The HRC said yesterday these incidents "substantiate the trend we have observed that repression has moved from formal to informal methods".

According to the Institute for Contextual Theology, which has done a study on the violence around the country over the last three months, "recent incidents suggest that the 'Third Force' attacks are not simply coming from random right-wing elements".

"Our research shows that they have been carefully planned by people with the resources, experience, expertise, weapons and training to kill and destabilise. It is not clear whether those responsible are acting on their own or are officially sanctioned in some way, but if we ask who has the motive and the means, we must look towards the special forces of the SADF and SAP as possible culprits," says the report.

Island prisoners' plea

W/C ARGUS 27/10/90 327

Petition calling for right to pre-release advice rejected

Weekend Argus Reporter

ABOUT 180 political prisoners on Robben Island have petitioned for the right to pre-release consultation and counselling.

But the Prisons Service has rejected the proposal, citing the Prisons Act.

This emerged at a Press conference held by the Emergency Services Group at Cowley House yesterday. The group is an umbrella organisation of counsellors, social workers, doctors, psychologists, nurses, psychiatrists and other health-care workers.

Spokesman Mr Terry Doudell said the petition was sent two weeks ago. The prisoners demanded permission for their elected representatives to meet a delegation of counsellors to discuss the anxieties prisoners feel about issues surrounding their release.

The prisoners were concerned about their security, mental health and medical care.

"This consultation is essential for our smooth integration into the community. We hope you will not use the terms of any Prisons Act to deprive us of the consultation for it will go against the spirit of the agreements reached between your government and our organisation both at Groote Schuur and Pretoria," the petition read in part.

'Against spirit'

Said Mr Doudell: "We, as members of the progressive health-care organisations in Cape Town, are appalled that the Prisons Service continues to deny political prisoners the basic right to see the counsellors of their choice.

"In recent weeks and months we have grown increasingly alarmed by reports which filter back to us about the psychological state of the political prisoners on Robben Island and in other prisons nationwide."

THE FACTORY OF DEATH

POLICE this week uncovered a massive arms factory during one of the biggest raids yet mounted as part of Operation Iron Fist. ST Times 14/10/90

By MARION DUNCAN who went with the security forces on a dawn raid of a hostel weapons factory.

The raid, a joint operation by 1 500 policemen and 500 members of the SA Defence Force, was on Iscor's Masiza Hostel, in Sebokeng — a complex that houses more than 8 000 Xhosa workers and their families.

The factory was found in a ground floor washroom in a four-storey flat block.

It contained stolen engineering machinery worth more than R20 000 used to make metal spears, assegais, pangas, knives and other hand weapons for sale.

Some of the finished spears even had price tickets: R30 for the largest, R20 for shorter models.

Tens of thousands of the viciously sharp weapons were confiscated during the raid and are scheduled to be destroyed.

Armed

The operation, commanded by SAP Colonel Fritz Buter, involved policemen from throughout the Transvaal and the Free State as well as the men and horses of SADF Group 17 from Vereeniging military base.

More than 200 vehicles were used, including Casspirs and Buffels.

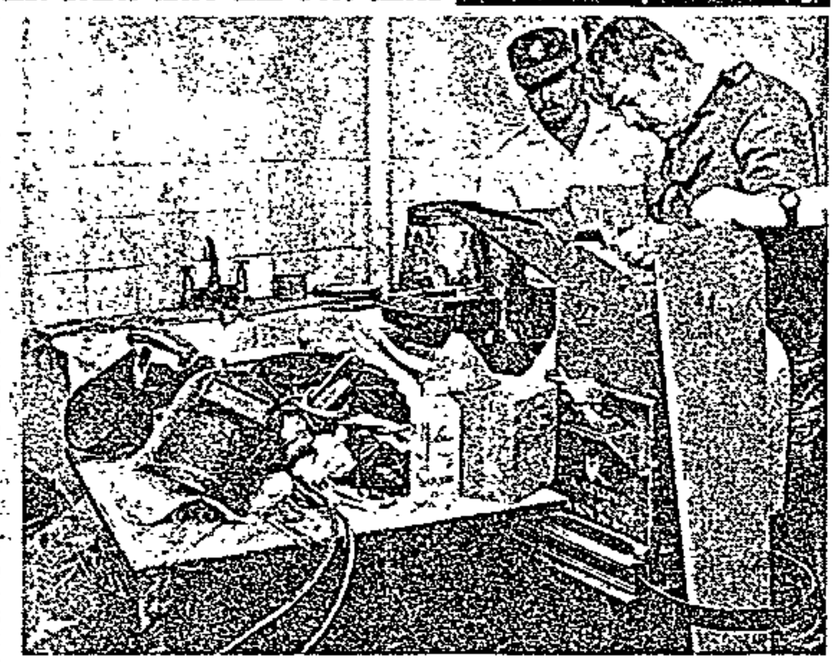
The men and machines gathered before dawn outside the De Deur Police Station on Thursday.

Leaders of the 51 different sections were briefed by Col Buter, who revealed the target and mode of operation.

"We have received information that there are illegal firearms in the Masiza Hostel," he explained.

"The information is strong. We know the residents are armed: they patrol the hostels themselves at night and no policemen or security men are able to enter there after dark.

"We feel that it is enough. Those weapons are used to inflame the conflict between the Xhosas and the Zulus, and we cannot tolerate that.





FACTORY WITH A DIFFERENCE . . . this stolen equipment was used to manufacture the stockpile of death confiscated by the police — Pictures: JOE SEFALE



FRITZ BUTER
Made some friends

"Our aim is to find those weapons, and any other dangerous weapon that might be concealed there.

"We must be effective and objective. This is very important. The enemy is always attacking us by saying we are not impartial and that we can no longer handle the security situation in our country.

"We must prove this is not true.

"We can use this operation not only to defuse a potentially dangerous situation, but also to make friends. You must respect people's property and treat them with respect."

As the police dispersed to their various objectives, the soldiers sealed off each hostel block and mounted guard.

Using boltcutters and crowbars when necessary, policemen painstakingly searched every room under the impassive gaze of the residents.

Home-made spears and assegais, pangas and knives were found in their thousands under mattresses, taped under tables and chairs, hidden in food bins, jammed behind wardrobes, sealed in suitcases and locked in dark places.

The early morning quiet was shattered by the sound of clashing steel as the piles of confiscated weaponry grew.

Every padlock sliced open by a boltcutter was replaced with a new one after the search. Doors forced open with crowbars were carefully repaired and thousands of pamphlets were handed out exhorting people to help the police locate illegal weapons.

Then came a shout: "Jackpot!" The factory had been found, full of welding and grinding machinery, copper wire and lead solder — all the equipment needed to produce the evil metal weapons that have become so familiar in recent months.

Two hours later, the tally was made: 15 petrol bombs, complete with fuel and fuses; 10 boxes of commercial explosive; 22 firearms (including 11 .22 Olympic revolvers); 760 rounds of ammunition (250 of them R4, while the rest ran the gamut from AK-47 to gas bullets and shotgun shells); dagga; some gold dust and three truckloads of assorted spears, knives, assegais, pangas and swords. Out in the sunshine, Col Buter was facing a disturbed delegation of residents. "You've disarmed us. Now Inkatha will attack us and we are defenceless," the leader pleaded.

So the colonel and the convoy headed off to Iscor's Zulu hostels a few kilometres away.

Nothing was found.

Colonel Buter was delighted with his day's work, however.

"We achieved the whole thing without any unpleasantness — and yes, I do think we made some friends today."

Island prisoners want counselling before release

Cape Times 27/10/90 327

By PETER DENNEHY

MOST of the remaining "maximum-security" prisoners on Robben Island have signed a petition asking for psychological counselling before their release.

Psychologists and social workers belonging to the Emergency Services Group (ESG) said many prisoners were under strain as they had been expecting their release for weeks.

Indications are that all 235 remaining political prisoners should be free by April next year.

The ESG released the prisoners' 180-signature petition at a press conference at Cowley House in Woodstock yesterday.

ESG psychologist Mr Terry Dowdall said his organisation was able to muster several psychologists who were willing to visit the Island regularly for therapy sessions there.

"Members of progressive health-care organisations in Cape Town are appalled that the prison service continues to deny political prisoners the basic right to see the counsellor of their choice," Mr Dowdall said.

"In recent weeks and months we have grown increasingly alarmed by reports which filter back to us about the psychological state of the prisoners on Robben Island and other prisons nationwide."

One prisoner had summed up the feelings of many when he said the pre-release period was "more traumatising than his arrest, detention, torture, trial and imprisonment combined".

Not telling people when they would be released amounted to psychological torture, Mr Dowdall said.

'Rhoodie claimed editor informed'

CNC Tip 29/10/90 327

By BARRY STREEK

FORMER Secretary of Information Dr Eschel Rhoodie claimed that the editor of an English-language South African newspaper was an informer for the government, the former editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, has revealed.

Dr Rhoodie did not name the editor but said the head of the Bureau of State Security (Boss), General Hendrik van den Bergh, had told the then prime minister, Mr John Vorster, that the editor had supplied information in return for "assistance" — secret information.

Details of Dr Rhoodie's claims, contained in a memorandum by a Cape Times reporter, have been published in a book, "The Cape of Storms", by Mr Heard.

The book has just been published in North America but is not yet available locally.

About the alleged informer, Mr Heard writes that Mr Vorster was told the security services had received information through an editor about what parts of an auditor-general's report on the Department of Information had been leaked to the press.

This was disclosed by a Cape Times reporter in a memorandum to Mr Heard after the reporter had interviewed Dr Rhoodie.

In the memorandum the reporter informed Mr Heard she had asked Dr Rhoodie to enlarge on his claim that an editor was an informer.

"Still refusing to identify the editor further, Dr Rhoodie recounted a conversation between Vorster and General Hendrik van den Bergh just before the info scandal broke."

The emergency meeting, attended by Dr Rhoodie, had taken place at the time of investigations into the department by the auditor-general.

In the course of the conversation General Van den Bergh had identified the informer as an editor of an English-language newspaper and named him.

"I asked Rhoodie if the editor concerned was still an editor. He declined to comment, other than: 'It's certainly not Anthony Heard'," the memorandum read.

Mr Heard has made a number of previously unpublished disclosures, including details of a secret attempt by ex-President P W Botha to persuade newspaper owners to censor themselves and examples of D-notices by the Defence Force to "request" newspapers not to publish details of call-ups and operations in Angola.

He has also revealed that South African military men were training an Islamic nation's forces in the operation of G-5 cannons that had been exported to the Gulf at the very time the Ned Geref Kerk passed a resolution violently attacking Islam.

It is understood Mr Heard was referring to Iraq.

Heard — OB assassin missing link?

Staff Reporter

A KNOWN Ossewa Brandwag assassin, who was later hanged for murder, was in Cape Town in August 1945 when the well-known anti-nazi journalist Mr George Heard disappeared, his son, Mr Tony Heard, has disclosed.

In one of South Africa's most famous and baffling missing-person mysteries, George Heard, then in the navy, failed to turn up for a supper on August 8, 1945, and no trace of him was ever found again.

Mr Tony Heard said in his book, "The Cape of Storms", which has just been published in North America and is due for release in South Africa early next year, that every lead into his father's disappearance had been followed up, but nothing had been discovered.

"I discovered years later a known OB assassin was in Cape Town at the time.

"There is evidence that he discussed the Heard case with a naval acquaintance later traced to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

"That discussion was a short time after the disappearance in 1945."

Mr Heard said his family had never given up and it had pored over documents, talked to countless people in the world and checked court records and newspaper files.

Inkatha swamps city

By ELIAS MALULEKE

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday staged one of the biggest marches Johannesburg has ever seen when more than 50 000 people protested against alleged police harassment.

The march was led by Inkatha central committee member JJ Jiyani, West Rand regional secretary Humprey Ndlovu and controversial Inkatha youth leader Themba Khoza.

Many by-standers said it was the city's biggest march ever.

The marchers handed a memorandum to police at John Vorster Square.

The memorandum accused police of trying to appease certain political organisations at the expense of Inkatha, which it claimed had been harassed and disarmed.

In presenting the memorandum to police, Ndlovu said: "Inkatha is a major force in the Transvaal -- and our voice must be heard."

re, Back Page

October 2

described the situation as tense.

Bloem said Kroonstad municipality, which supplied Maokeng with water and lights, had said Maokeng residents were R1,5m in arrears.

A Maokeng council spokesman confirmed the cut-off.

compelling the Daveyton and Benoni councils to restore their electricity supply, alternatively that they continue to supply electricity until December 31 at the flat rates of R70 or R150.

Daveyton's power was cut off on October 16 by the Benoni council and Eskom in anticipation of the case being lost.

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said the outstanding amount owed to Benoni by the Daveyton council was R3m as at September 3.

This led to Benoni being in arrears in paying accounts to Eskom which sued the Benoni council for

Benoni to resum
to the Daveyton

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Vlok lifts unrest order in 11 townships

B Day 1/11/90

PRETORIA — Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday lifted the unrest declaration on 11 East Rand townships with effect from today.

The declaration of 27 townships as unrest areas was part of the Iron Fist operation to quell the reef violence and made provision for curfews in these areas.

Unrest declarations still exist in 16 other Reef townships, including Soweto. This situation would remain until violence was no longer a threat, Vlok said in a statement yesterday.

EDYTH BULBRING

The affected townships are Wattville, Daveyton, Katlehong, Thokoza, Tembisa, KwaThema, Duduza, Bothleng, Ratanda, Vosloorus and Tsakane.

During October, only 32 unrest incidents took place in these areas compared with the 363 incidents reported in September and 382 in August, Vlok said.

Vlok said he realised the decision to lift the declaration was risky and the situation would be closely watched and evaluated.

Liebenberg takes the reins of SADF

LINDEN BIRNS

GEN "Kat" Liebenberg took over as Chief of the SADF yesterday, replacing Gen Jannie Geldenhuys who has retired. B Day 1/11/90

Liebenberg, formerly Chief of SADF Staff, was sworn in at a ceremony at Voortrekkerhoogte.

When Liebenberg commanded the SADF's Special Forces, the covert Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) — recently the subject of the Harms Commission of Inquiry into alleged politically motivated murders and hit squads — was established.

Geldenhuys has since announced the CCB's disbanding.

Liebenberg, a BA Law graduate, also served as SA's military attache in London before taking command of Sector 10, then Special Forces and then as Chief of the Army.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



Political comment in this issue by Jim Jones. Newsbills by Michael Moon. Headlines and subediting by Cecile Reyniers. All of Times Media Ltd, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg.

Fawu member to be charged after protest outside embassy

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Police are to charge Food and Allied Workers' Union national executive member Nosey Pieterse for allegedly failing to meet magisterial conditions imposed on a demonstration outside the Taiwanese embassy yesterday.

Cape Town police district commissioner Col Philip Delport confirmed this after monitoring the noisy, placard-bearing demonstration on Festival Square outside the Standard Bank Centre yesterday.

He said a docket of failing to comply with the conditions — which included no more than 50 demonstrators be allowed to gather and that they stand 5m apart — would be opened against Pieterse.

Pieterse said the demonstration of the estimated 250 Irving & Johnson workers and Fawu members was to demand compensation for the 40 local fishermen who had lost fingers while working in the cold rooms of Taiwanese gill-netting trawlers.

It was also to draw government's attention to the "crisis" in the fishing industry caused by gill netting along the SA coast. This included massive retrenchments and companies introducing "short-time" — labourers working only two-and-a-half days a week.

Fawu was also demanding that anti-gill-netting legislation be tabled in Parliament as soon as the new session opened.

Pieterse was allowed to see consular official Tom Chou, who told him that he was awaiting a reply from his seniors in Pretoria about Fawu's compensation demands.

Vlok lifts decree on unrest in townships

Sowetan 1/11/90

327

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok yesterday lifted the decree declaring 11 townships unrest areas.

Wattville, Daveyton, Katlehong, Tokoza, Tembisa, KwaThema, Duduza, Bontleng, Ratanda, Vosloorus and Tsakane will no longer be regarded as unrest areas, Vlok announced yesterday.

He said the security situation had improved to such an extent the lifting of the declaration was now possible.

"During October, only 32 unrest incidents took place in these areas in comparison with the 363 incidents reported in September and 382 in August," he said.

He warned, however, the situation would be watched closely and evaluated constantly. Violence would not be tolerated and would be supressed by all means allowed by the law."

Peace

"It is of cardinal importance that law and order be maintained to make peaceful change in the country possible."

He would not hesitate to declare as unrest areas places where the public order was disrupted by disturbance of the peace, disorder, rioting or public violence.

"Conversely, these powers will only be employed where the situation demands it and for only as long as unrest endures."

The unrest situation in Soweto and other areas where the declaration of unrest areas was still valid did not allow the measures to be lifted, he said.

"The situation is, however, being closely monitored and the declaration of these areas as unrest areas will, as soon as it becomes clear that violence is no longer a threat, be lifted." - *Sapa.*

Drop in violence:

Vlok lifts curbs

Capt Trufts
1/11/90
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JOHANNESBURG. — The government lifted emergency regulations in 11 black townships around this city yesterday, citing a sharp drop in the tribal clashes which prompted the measures in late August.

But Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, said the special rules giving police wide powers of search and arrest and imposed in 27 townships on August 24 would be maintained in the remaining 16 areas as they were still experiencing sporadic violence.

Mr Vlok's announcement coincided with the burial of 31 unidentified victims of the violence — which claimed up to 800 people in August and September — in a mass ceremony in Soweto today.

A senior member of Inkatha was shot in broad daylight on Tuesday in Maritzburg.

President F W de Klerk lifted the 52-month-old state of emergency in Natal on October 18.

Police said yesterday that the latest killing was "part of this region's small and regular black-on-black outbursts".

Mr Vlok said "a large measure of calm" had returned to the 11 townships enabling him to lift the regulations stipulating them unrest areas.

He said of the other townships around Johannesburg affected by the rules, including Soweto: "There is still sporadic violence.

"It is of cardinal importance that law and order be maintained to make peaceful change possible," Mr Vlok added, apparently referring to suggestions from the African National Congress that the strife threatened its talks with the government.

The emergency measures were imposed after more than two weeks of factional fighting killed some 500 people. But the battles continued and the major violence was quelled only after another month and 300 deaths by the introduction of the military-style Operation Iron Fist.

Most Iron Fist measures, including roadblocks, heavily armed army and police patrols and cordoning off of flashpoint areas, are still in effect. — UPI

Two key Jhb spies cleared by council

Cape Times 1/11/90

JOHANNESBURG. — Two key Johannesburg City Council spies have been cleared of any misconduct by the council's security department.

A third, spy handler Mr Martin Hennig, will on November 26 face charges of hiding documents.

Mr Anthony Bennett, who infiltrated the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) for the council's security department, was acquitted of fraud by an internal disciplinary inquiry.

The council's security department brought no charges against Mr John Egan, who spied on the council's 13 trade unions.

All three former spy-ring officials are still in the employ of the council.

Five Freedoms Forum spokesperson Ms Gail Neke said the FFF found it reprehensible that the public had no evidence of justice prevailing where public servants had acted wrongly.

"Whether these two are technically cleared or not this outcome is morally unacceptable. It lowers even further the trustworthiness of public servants in the eyes of the public," she said. — Sapa

Star 2/11/80 (327)

Residents in rates protest

About 500 residents of Kliptown, Eldorado Park, and Klipsruit West yesterday marched through Eldorado Park and presented a memorandum to the Johannesburg City Council.

The memorandum, which rejected the present water, electricity and service charges, was handed to deputy director for housing Ken Cunningham-Scott by Joseph Parks, an organiser of the peaceful march, at the Eldorado Park civic centre.

The residents demanded a response from the council by November 14. — Staff Reporter.

Storm over MP

By VIVIEN HORLER
Staff Reporter

A MAJOR row has erupted over a police ban on Claremont Democratic Party MP Mr Jan van Eck entering the "unrest areas" of Khayelitsha and Crossroads.

The MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, has written two letters to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

In the first letter he asked Mr Vlok to overturn the decision on Mr Van Eck. The second letter was to express concern that MPs "were being inhibited from doing their work on the ground".

An angry Mr Van Eck described the decision by Major-General Flip Fourie, Western Cape Police Commissioner, as "a blatant attempt to prevent people such as myself from observing the exact nature of the repressive measures being used by the security forces".

'Stupid' decision

It indicated a return to the P W Botha era and the dominance of the security forces, he said.

Other DP MPs in the Peninsula rallied around Mr Van Eck last night, backing a statement by Mr Momberg which described General Fourie's decision as "stupid" and one that was going to cause "a lot of unhappiness" inside and outside the townships.

The MPs include Mr Colin Eglin, Mr Tian van der Merwe, Mr Roger Hulley, Mr Jasper Walsh and Ms Dene Smuts.

Mr Eck said: "If the security forces have nothing to hide why prevent MPs, among others, from entering the townships? Or is it merely an attempt to prevent us from witnessing the numerous excesses the police have been guilty of recently in these areas?"

The grounds given by General Fourie were that Mr Van Eck's presence caused township residents to "over-react" and that Mr Van Eck always took sides with the residents. Mr Van Eck said these grounds were "absurd and make a mockery of the government's so-called normalisation process".

'Valuable role'

Mr Momberg said Mr Van Eck had played a valuable role in monitoring unrest.

"We in the Democratic Party believe that the only way we can help to defuse violent situations is to be actively involved inside the townships and to monitor the situation.

"The decision of the police to ban a Member of Parliament from entering these townships smacks of the Botha era and will not help to reassure people that the De Klerk government is not just practising apartheid with a smile instead of a wagging finger."

● A spokesman for Mr Vlok's office in Pretoria said today that the letters had been received and would "receive the necessary attention".

The minister was expected to react later.

● See page 13.



Mr Jan van Eck: Barred by police.

Star 2/11/90 (327)

Proviso set for release, indemnity

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has announced that ANC political prisoners and exiles who have been involved in serious crimes such as violence will be released or indemnified only when the ANC has fully complied with its undertakings to pursue peaceful negotiations.

This emerged yesterday when Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced the guidelines for the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

The ANC's Matthew Phosa said last night that the ANC had not agreed to this arrangement and demanded the immediate release of all prisoners.

Synchronise

Mr Coetsee disclosed that the Governmemt had decided to synchronise the release and indemnification of political offenders with progress made by the joint ANC/Government working group discussing the implementation of the ANC's decision to "suspend armed actions and related activities".

Mr Coetsee said difficult cases — especially offences involving violence — would be considered when it was clear the ANC was sticking to its commitments to peaceful negotiations.

Observers believe this means that the ANC will have to agree to stop training cadres for its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Phosa said the ANC had never agreed that "phased release" had anything to do with degrees of violence committed by political offenders. But he said the ANC agreed in general with the guidelines.

Mr Coetsee said that:

- Those already sentenced, serving or awaiting execution of sentence, liable to prosecution, awaiting trial or in detention would qualify for pardon.
- Anyone could apply for pardon and indemnity if they committed themselves to peace.
- The guidelines did not mean Attorneys-General had to discontinue prosecutions.
- Unconditional indemnity would be granted to people who left SA without valid travel documents and those who left SA at a place other than a legal port.
- Individuals would have to furnish full details, including the offences for which they required pardon or indemnity.
- Specified categories needed to supply their names and addresses only.
- Applicants abroad would also have to satisfy the requirements of citizenship and the right to stay in the country.
- No information obtained for the purpose of indemnifying exiles would be used against them in court.

Mr Coetsee said there were 250 to 600 political prisoners, excluding minor offenders.



MP ARRESTED ... A police officer leads MP Mr Jan van Eck to a police van. Mr Van Eck yesterday refused to leave the Khayelitsha after having been barred from the area by a police general.

Outrage over arrests of MP and UDF man

By CHRIS BATEMAN

LICE arrested Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck and UDF regional secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr in Khayelitsha yesterday during a tour by top-level dignitaries, prompting a storm of protest.

Both were released after being told that dockets of failing to leave an unrest area when warned to do so and additionally, in Mr Hofmeyr's case, obstructing police in the execution of their duties, would be opened. The men were held for more than an hour at the Khayelitsha police station.

The controversial arrests — believed to be the first of an MP in several years — followed an extended township tour in peaceful conditions with no evidence of any police or army presence. It came the day after Mr Van Eck was banned from Khayelitsha by police regional commissioner General Flip Fourie.

Among dignitaries warned to leave the area were the deputy mayor of Cape Town, Mr Frank van der Velde, and city administrator Mr Gys Hofmeyr.

Reporters watched as a police van sped beside the convoy of dignitaries. The convoy included ANC secretary-general Mr

From page 1

Mr Willie Hofmeyr then sat down in the road in front of the van into which Mr Van Eck had been escorted. Police promptly dragged him to his feet and put him in a separate van.

Minutes later police fired teargas to disperse a small crowd outside the Khayelitsha Shawco offices where Mr Nzo, the two council officials, Anglican Bishop Edward McKenzie, Professor Jakes Gerwel and Mr Trevor Manuel were among lunch-time guests.

General Fourie said later that Mr Van Eck's arrest followed his being discovered addressing a "swelling" crowd of about 100 people, adding that police were later forced to use teargas to disperse the "unruly" crowd.

Mr Van Eck described this as a "blatant untruth", saying he was confronted by police seconds after emerging from his car, which they had stopped.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer protested "in the strongest possible terms" against Mr Van Eck's arrest, saying the reasons advanced by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, for the "preposterous" township ban on him were "totally unacceptable". He would not let the matter rest there.

Mr Van Eck said the only conclusion he could draw was that police were trying to prevent him from seeing first-hand what excesses were being committed by elements of the police force. He had been doing full-time township work since 1985 and had on several occasions contributed to bringing calm into the area and exposing security force excesses, he said.

He said the DP and other regional organisations would use "all methods at our disposal" to get the ban lifted even if this meant repeating yesterday's actions.

Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the new unrest regulations aggravated

rather than calmed township tensions "as today's events showed".

● It was reliably learnt last night that local activist organisations were considering a "week of defiance" of the new unrest regulations.

● Mr Trevor Manuel, regional ANC convener, told reporters before the township tour that his group would try to confirm reports that unoccupied homes were being raided and "beds overturned" by police in house-to-house searches. He said the community was "amazed" at the imposition of the 9pm-4am curfew imposed on Old Crossroads and Khayelitsha on Thursday.

A police spokesman said police were under standing orders not to search locked or closed-up homes unless owners were present. If Mr Manuel had any proof or evidence he should make a statement and it would be "fully investigated".

● The last recorded unrest in Khayelitsha

To page 3

In from the cold

FW welcomes home SA spy; thaw in SA-Zimbabwe relations

PRETORIA. — South African spy Miss Odile Harington was welcomed home yesterday by President F W de Klerk and the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

Her release represents a significant thawing of relations between Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and the South African government.

Unidentified diplomatic sources told SABC-TV yesterday that the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress had also had a hand in negotiating her release.

Described as "naïve" and "untrained" by counsel in her November 1987 trial for spying on the ANC and breaking Zimbabwe's Official Secrets Act, Miss Harington, 30, was sentenced to 25 years, which was reduced to 12 years on appeal.

She was suddenly released into the custody of National Intelligence Service agents on Thursday after serving less than three years.

Harare South African Trade Mission representative Mr Nico Nel said Miss Harington was released just after noon and flown to South Africa on a special flight that afternoon.

A special aircraft had to be supplied from South Africa as regular commercial flights were full.

In a statement the office of the president yesterday said both President De Klerk and Mr Botha welcomed Miss Harington back into South Africa in the president's office.

Pardoned

"The government is grateful that Miss Harington has been released and expresses its appreciation to the government of Zimbabwe," the statement said.

President De Klerk yesterday sent a personal message of thanks to President Mugabe for authorising Miss Harington's release.

Ziana news agency confirmed that Miss Harington had been pardoned by Mr Mugabe.

"The president's decision was prompted by the general improvement in the political climate in Southern Africa, including the cessation of hostile acts against Zimbabwe by the South African government," said the statement, signed by the Minister of Justice, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa.

Two unofficial sources said Miss Harington had been admitted to No 1 Military Hospital, Pretoria, for a physical examination late yesterday. Hospital sources declined to comment and routed queries to the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Miss Harington is the daughter of Dr Jack Harington of the Mount Sinai Medical Centre in New York and Ms Eone de Wet, a well-known South African artist. The couple divorced in 1968.

Ms De Wet said last night she was "delighted" that Odile was now free. She had not yet been in contact with her daughter and had been unaware of her impending release.

Miss Harington, who was arrested in January 1987, is a former Pretoria University and Wits student. She was described by a family member as a "highly talented, sensitive and attractive woman — but very eccentric".

She was granted refugee status in Zimbabwe in 1986. While occupying a Harare "safe" house with ANC refugees, she asked a policeman to post letters for her to South Africa. One of the envelopes, which was unsealed, contained photographs.

During her trial she broke down and wept. She told the court she was spying on the ANC and not the Zimbabwean government.

'On her own'

She said she was doing it for "Jeff", who represented the South Africa government, which she supported. She did not expect to be paid for her services and had not been trained, she said.

● After Miss Harington was sentenced, the then South African Police Commissioner, General Hennie de Witt, said she was not a police spy.

"What she did, she did on her own," he said. — Sapa UPI and Staff Reporter

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ANC men 'feel they are hostages'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC executive committee member Mr Santhyndranath "Mac" Maharaj, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Siphiwe Nyanda and six other ANC members, allegedly involved in a plot to overthrow the government, felt they were being held "hostage" as part of the negotiation process.

Mr Nyanda, 40, Mr Maharaj, 65, Mr Raymond Lala, 32, Miss Catherine Mvelase, 25, Miss Susanna Tshabalala, 30, Mr Dipak Patel, 26, Mr Pravin Jamnadas Gordhan, 41, and Mr Amnesh Munnessar Sankar, 22, appeared in the Regional Court here yesterday for a bail application.

The matter was adjourned until November 9 as their defence counsel, Mr Z M Yacoob, was not ready to proceed.

Mr Yacoob also needed time to consider the implication and effects of a statement by Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, on Thursday night in which he revealed certain guidelines (defining political offences under which people could be pardoned or granted an indemnity).

He said it appeared the guidelines would have an effect on the way in which the bail application was conducted.

Mr P J Blomkamp, for the state, had, said Mr Yacoob, applied for the matter to be adjourned back to the Durban Regional Court on January 15.

This seemed pointless and the accused, who had made applications for indemnity, were disturbed about it. They felt they were hostages as part of the negotiation process and regarded it as unjust and thoroughly unfair.

Mr Yacoob said the matter ought to be adjourned to the Supreme Court, where it belonged, after the bail application had been disposed of.

Mr Blomkamp said the intention to adjourn the matter to January 15 was because no Supreme Court was available to hear the trial this year. He denied the accused were being held as hostages or being used as "bargaining pawns".

Cops 'abducted' Imbali member

Citizen Times 3/11/90 327

MARITZBURG. — A police constable who headed a so-called "combi squad", found earlier this year to have been responsible for the death of a 16-year-old schoolgirl, allegedly led the group that abducted and assaulted a prominent Imbali ANC member.

This was alleged during evidence in the Supreme Court here yesterday in an application by Mr Larrington Mnyamazeli Silwane for a final interdict against the police.

Const Willem de Wet — implicated in the shooting in which Rosemary Ntokozo Ngcobo was killed — allegedly also led a group of policemen said to have assaulted Mr Silwane.

Mr Silwane was subsequently granted a temporary interdict against Const De Wet, Special Constable Tibo Ndlovu, Captain Daniel Meyer and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The hearing is to determine whether the interdict should be made final.

The hearing was adjourned until May 2 next year. — Sapa

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aturday, November 3 1990

ANC rejects talk of 'time scales'

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday rejected talk by Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, of time scales in the granting of indemnities and freeing of political prisoners, saying this was not part of the ANC-government working group arrangement.

An ANC member of the working group, Mr Matthew Phosa, said yesterday that the ANC expected the flow of political prisoner releases to start immediately for all prisoners who qualified.

He said the organisation would next week supply the government with a list of more than 3 620 prisoners' names the ANC considered were political offenders.

Many of these prisoners qualified for immediate release in terms of the indemnity agreement in which one-third of each sentence plus one year had been written off.

Applications of indemnity for people still on trial for politically related offences should also have the immediate effect of postponing or suspending their court cases.

The ANC members being charged for involvement in Operation Vula, the alleged plot to overthrow the government, clearly fell within the political offences ambit.



Mr Kobie Coetsee

Time scales for the release programme were never the subject of the working group discussions and the ANC challenged the government to produce documented proof that they were.

"The only determining factor for the release of prisoners is whether or not they are imprisoned for political offences," Mr Phola said.

Another ANC working group member, Mr Penuell Maduna, agreed Mr Coetsee's comment that government recognised 250 to 300 definite political prisoners and possibly as many as 600 in a wider interpretation, differed considerably with the ANC's figure of more than 3 620.

Mr Coetzee had however made it clear his figures did not include minor political offenders and therefore government's figure could be a lot closer to the ANC's number, Mr Maduna said.

Mr Phola said that despite small differences with certain of Mr Coetsee's comments, the ANC was essentially satisfied with the working group report released by the Minister of Justice on Thursday as it accurately represented what was discussed.

The working group would be maintained until all political prisoners had been released and the way had been cleared for exiles to return unhindered and without fear of prosecution.

The ANC would start visiting prisons next week to assist political prisoners in applying for release. — Sapa

'I just want to rest' — free spy Odile

By ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Convicted South African spy Odile Harington arrived home from a four-year nightmare in Zimbabwe pleading for time to recuperate and readjust to life beyond bars.

"Give me a break," is what she told officials on her first day of freedom in Pretoria. "I just want to be by myself. I just want to rest."

This emerged after Miss Harington, 30, jailed in Harare on November 27 1987 for spying on the African National Congress, was freed and flown home on Thursday following years of effort — orthodox and unorthodox — by South African officials to win her release.

A variety of attempts at various levels to free her included Foreign Minister Pik Botha personally asking the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, to raise the matter when he met Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

Mr Botha, apparently obsessed with the case through revulsion at the cruelty and abuse she had to endure in prison, also tried via the Pan Africanist Congress to liberate her.

Meeting with FW

The Department of Foreign Affairs is said to have worked hand-in-glove with the National Intelligence Service to achieve her return.

Miss Harington met Mr Botha and President De Klerk in the Union Buildings.

"Miss Harington indicated that she would like to rest for a while and that she was happy with the arrangements in respect of accommodation and care which were made in co-operation with her," said a statement issued by Mr De Klerk's office.

"The government is appealing to the media to respect her wishes. When she feels ready, a media appearance will be arranged."

Mr De Klerk sent a personal message of appreciation to Mr Mugabe yesterday. The release is seen as a sign of improving relations between South Africa and its neighbours.

Those who have seen Miss Harington since her return say she looks attractive but frail and small, but showing no outward signs of physical cruelty.

"Psychologically, she is in very good shape considering what she went through," said one who has seen her and knows details of her prison ordeal.



UNDER ARREST: Democratic Party Member of Parliament Jan van Eck, in a police van, moments after being arrested for violating a restriction order prohibiting him from entering any of the recently declared unrest areas, including Khayelitsha township. He was later released. ● Photograph: AP.

Van Eck arrested in Khayelitsha, then released

CAPE TOWN — Police have released Claremont Democratic Party MP Jan van Eck and DP spokesman Willie Hofmeyr on their own recognisances, after earlier arresting them in Khayelitsha yesterday.

Western Cape police district commissioner Major-General P C Fourie said in a statement police had opened dossiers relating to unrest regulations in effect in Khayelitsha from Thursday.

Police had escorted the two out of the township after their release.

Police used teargas to disperse crowds, who had started rioting during Mr van Eck's arrest, but no injuries were reported, said General Fourie.

The arrests came after Mr van Eck

VIVIEN HORLER and SAPA

entered Lingulethu, Khayelitsha, after his requests to do so were refused by General Fourie and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Mr van Eck had been addressing a crowd of about 100 people in the township about 12.50 pm.

More people had started gathering and police had requested Mr van Eck to leave. He had refused and was arrested, said General Fourie.

Mr Hofmeyr was arrested after he sat down in the middle of the road in front of a police vehicle and called on bystanders to follow suit, General Fourie added.

When Mr van Eck arrived in the township he was approached by a police officer holding a Government Gazette. The officer said that Mr van Eck was aware he was barred from the township.

He was asked to leave. He refused and two minutes later a second police officer arrived and said he was arresting Mr van Eck.

A major row has erupted over police Commissioner for the Western Cape Major-General Flip Fourie's refusal to allow Mr van Eck into Crossroads and Khayelitsha, where a "mini-emergency" was declared on Thursday.

When Mr van Eck arrived in Khayelitsha at about 11am yesterday he said he was prepared to defy the police "because we cannot afford to return to the P W Botha era".

Mr van Eck said he had spoken to Mr Vlok and the Minister had told him he endorsed the ban.

Mr van Eck was in Khayelitsha with Mr Alfred Nzo, African National Congress national executive member, and local ANC executives, including Western Cape president Mr Christmas Tinto.

The group included the Deputy Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Frank van der Velde. A large convoy of cars drove to the home of Western Cape Civic Association leader Mr Michael Mapongwana, whose wife was murdered in a midnight petrol-bomb and firearm attack two weeks ago.

Outrage over MP's arrest

w/t Argus 3/11/90

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By VIVIEN HORLER
and EDWARD MOLOINYANE
Weekend Argus Reporters

MEMBERS of a delegation that visited Khayelitsha yesterday to see conditions in the newly proclaimed unrest area were outraged at the arrest of Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck and the firing of teargas at the Shawco centre.

Civil rights lawyer Mr Willie Hofmeyr also was arrested when he sat in front of the police van in which Mr Van Eck was placed. They were later released.

Meeting in town

Trouble began when the ANC-organised delegation visited the police station at Site B to discuss Mr Van Eck's ban from the township. Members included ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, Deputy Mayor Mr Frank van der Velde, city administrator Mr G R Hofmeyr and Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University of the Western Cape.

Informed that the station commander was at a meeting in Cape Town, the delegation left for the Shawco centre, followed by police. On arrival, Mr Van Eck was asked to leave the township but he refused.

He was arrested and a gathering crowd shouted slogans. Mr Hofmeyr was arrested minutes later.

The crowd scattered when teargas was fired.

Delegation member Mr Trevor Manuel, publicity secretary of the ANC, said the arrests and teargassing were done "without the slightest provocation".

"The whole thing was absolutely absurd," he said.

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, also condemned the arrest of Mr Van Eck. .

He called Mr Van Eck, who was barred from Khayelitsha this week on the orders of Major-General Flip Fourie, police commissioner for the Western Cape, "one of the most valuable members of my parliamentary caucus".

General Fourie said Mr Van Eck was seen addressing a crowd of about 100, with more approaching. Police asked him to leave the area. He refused and was arrested, General Fourie said.

His version of events was disputed by Mr Van Eck as well as Mr Hofmeyr and Mr Manuel.

All three claimed Mr Van Eck had no opportunity to address any crowd.

THE VULA DOSSIER: Sunday Times special report by Mark Stansfield and Terry van der Walt

SAFE AS HOUSES

Across the country — 15 havens for terror used by Vula plotters who did a bunk when security police pounced

A MAID working in a R1 500-a-month Johannesburg apartment block unwittingly helped destroy vital information used by Operation Vula conspirators accused of plotting an ANC coup.

The maid, who is now too scared to have her name published, worked at one of 15 safe houses set up in Johannesburg and Durban by Operation Vula organisers.

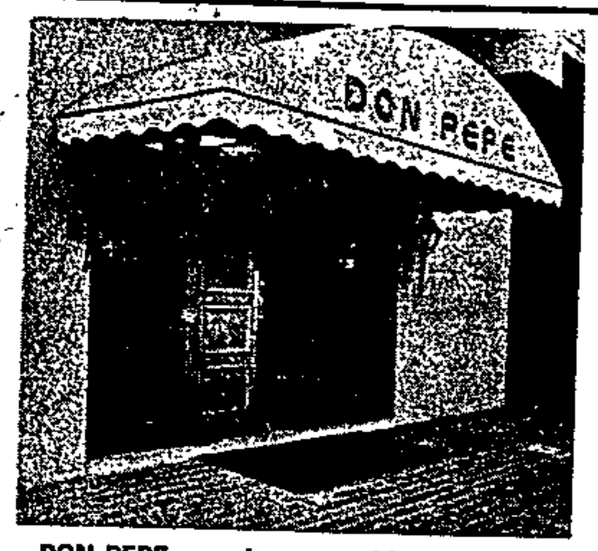
Her story is but one of the many ironies the Sunday Times this week uncovered while tracing the houses and missing players in the Operation Vula plot.

It was from these flats and houses that the alleged masterminds of Operation Vula co-ordinated the intricate scheme and stored arms and explosives caches.

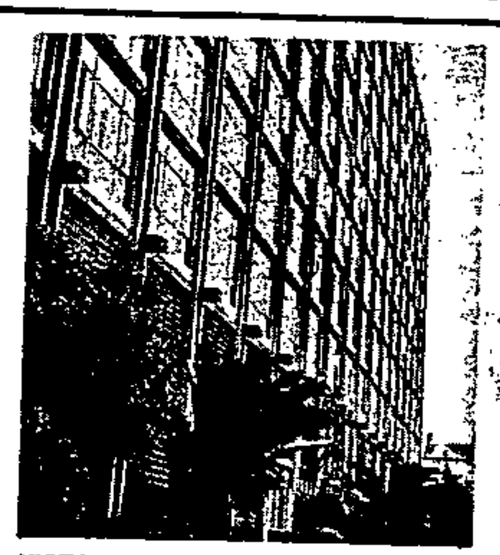
The maid said she had worked at the plush Don Pepe apartment block, used by top companies to accommodate seconded staff, situated in a shady cul-de-sac in Melrose North, Johannesburg.

Outside apartment 113, she said, "Madam Suzanne" regularly left a pile of computer printout sheets on the carpeting with strict instructions that they be destroyed — a task the domestic worker dutifully carried out.

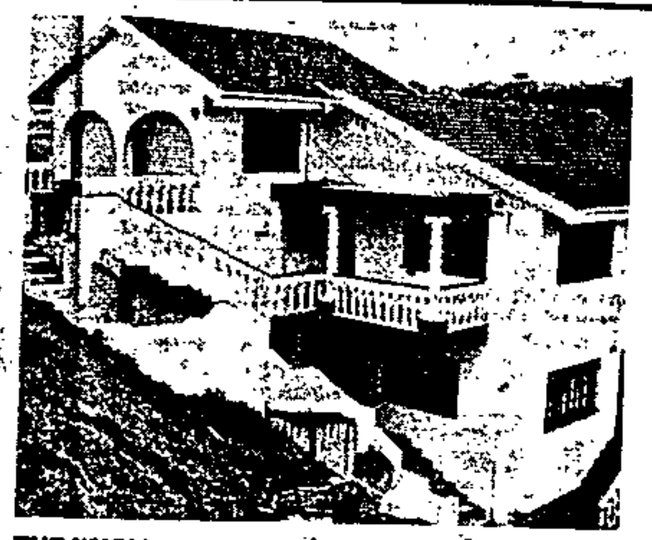
Little did the maid realise — until grilled by security police — that "Madam Suzanne Brown", who had rented the apartment in July with her live-in lover "James", was in fact pretty Wits graduate Janet Yetta Love — one of the alleged masterminds and chief communications officer of Operation Vula.



DON PEPE ... where a maid unwittingly destroyed vital information



VISTAERO ... another safe house used by the elusive Janet Love



THE KNOLL ... everyone in the area knew something was in the air



LA LUCIA ... where the owner 'never suspected a thing'

Bleepers

Janet Love escaped the police dragnet during the crackdown on the alleged conspirators after she and several other Johannesburg plotters were warned of the SAP action by pagers and bleepers — including a paging company used by the security police — as well as the sophisticated computer link-up.

No one realised that her rented grey Toyota Cressida had been modified to carry explosives and arms inside the petrol tank. She regularly drove the car into her parking bay at the apartment block, taking time out to smile and chat to the security guard on duty.

Nor could their neighbours have guessed that "Suzanne Brown" and "James" spent their nights feverishly hunched over a computer terminal behind the locked door of apartment 113.

Their computer was linked nationally and internationally to other safe houses in Johannesburg and Durban and to an ANC operative known only as "John" who lived in London. The computer printouts contained information of shipments of arms, operatives and cash which "John" supplied from London and which Janet Love allegedly distributed by means of a telephone computer modem to the other safe houses.

Another of the Johannesburg safe houses uncovered by security police was 12 Piccadilly Place, in trendy Rockey Street, Yeoville. It was rented in June by "Miss R J O'Reilly" who moved in with "very expensive" clothes, furniture and her computer.

"Miss O'Reilly" was none other than Janet Love — in one of the many clever disguises the East-German trained agent used during her stay in SA.

She abandoned 12 Piccadilly Place, leaving behind the clothes, furniture and food and moved into the Don Pepe apartment.

Disguised

"She lived lavishly," a security source said this week. "Money was obviously not a problem."

Miss Love also lived for a time at 508 Vistaero apartment in Berea, Johannesburg, where she was known as "Janet Klein". The most interesting "safe" location targeted by the Operation Vula team was 129 12th Street, Parkhurst.

Beneath the bedroom floor was a cunningly disguised storage space. In it police found an arms cache that included ground-to-air missiles.

The Parkhurst house was rented by a Canadian woman, Miss Susan Jeanette Grabek, a short, chubby, primary school teacher with dark, bobbed hair and thick, bottle-bottom glasses who has since fled back to Canada.

She, too, left the house furnished and her "plot car" — a red Ford Laser — in the garage.

The Sunday Times located Miss Grabek in Toronto, Canada, but she refused to speak about her South African "visit".

Miss Grabek, a teacher at the Centurion Academy, in King George Street, Johannesburg, phoned the vice-principal from Toronto after she fled the country and claimed her father had suffered a heart attack.

Subsequently the principal, Mr K Fisher, phoned her at the request of the police and she told him she was not coming back to South Africa.

Her Vula codename was Norma, according to police.

Evidence

At 40 12th Avenue, Parktown North, lived a "quiet" Canadian couple, Robert Ian Douglas and his wife Helen Lilian.

Neighbours had no reason to suspect that Mr and Mrs Douglas were storing arms and explosives in their little rented home. They, too, fled, leaving the evidence behind — including some choice literature with titles like:

- The Setting of Charges on Cargo Ships, Truss Bridges, other Bridges, Roads, Airports, Pumpstations, Ships, Pipelines, Factories, Oil Refineries and Railroads.
- The Homemade Manufacture of Weapons and Bombs.
- Kitchen Improvised Fertiliser Explosives.

Similar literature was found in many of the other Durban and Johannesburg safe houses.

The Douglas couple's Vula codenames were Nigel and Jenny.

Mrs Douglas worked for Real Books in Randburg and left the country in such a hurry that she didn't have time to collect her salary.

Intelligence sources this week disclosed that the Douglas couple had fled on the night of July 15, booked into the Devonshire hotel in Braamfontein and flew out early the next morning. They have returned to Canada.

On the day they left Jan Smuts security police swooped on their rented Parktown home.

"It was like an invasion," said a neighbour.

"Police cars, trucks and plenty of guns — we did not know what was happening."

Ten houses in the Durban area, including a designer home in plush La Lucia, were also allegedly used as bases and safe houses by those accused of planning to overthrow the government.

No one living in the vicinity had a hint that insurrection was allegedly being plotted under their noses — until police started their crackdown.

"I never suspected a thing," said Ester Schoeman, who rented her luxury La Lucia home to Martin Krabs, one of the fugitives, and his "family" for R1 700 a month.

With it went all the furnishings and a maid, who told Mrs Schoeman that the "couple" slept in separate bedrooms.

Mr Krabs, a woman and a teenage girl moved into the house at 26 Timavo Drive in March, but later a second man moved into the house and he shared a bedroom with the woman.

"Mr Krabs said he was with a company that needed the house for immigrant workers from Holland to stay until they found somewhere permanent to live.

"At about nine o'clock on June 21 he phoned to say the company had gone bankrupt and they would be leaving the next day for Holland.

Network

"A week later the police came round looking for buried ammunition but they did not find anything," she said.

Mr Krabs has been named as a collaborator of the nine people facing charges of setting up a national underground network to recruit, train and arm a "revolutionary army" which would "seize power from the government of the republic by means of an armed insurrection ... codenamed Vula".

Everyone in the Indian suburb of Kenville in Durban knows about "Operation Vula" but they never had reason to connect the occupants of 40 The Knoll a maisonette where police found a massive arms cache — with the plot.

It was here that accused No 5, Dipak Patel, is said to have set up home for himself and for people he helped to smuggle into the country as part of the project.

"We used to see a lot of people come and go at night, men and women of all races," said neighbour Romila Rampsad.

"They were not sociable but we had no problems with them."

The landlady, who asked not to be named, said a man she knew as Ashok Makan regularly paid the R420 rental on the maisonette. He told her he worked

Conjure

In busy Brickfield Road residents recalled how the tenants in one of the secret offices (4 Sahara Mansions) kept to themselves and hardly made a noise.

There were always people coming and going at late hours but the worst scenario neighbours could conjure up was that the flat was a brothel.

The tenant, who asked not to be named, said: "A few weeks before the arrests in July an Indian man came and asked if I heard noises coming from the flat before he and a security guard opened it.

"The flat was empty but there were filled black plastic bags. I thought that crooks had put things in the bags ready to take away and I suggested they watch the flat from across the road to catch them," said the neighbour.

He never did find out what was in the bags, but he is relieved the mysterious tenants are no longer there.

Residents in Westview Road in nearby Greenwood Park were "shocked" when they read that No 70 was used as a safe house by the network.

Township curbs a 'major issue'

By CHRIS BATEMAN and ANDRE KOOPMAN

THE nightly curfew in Khayelitsha and Old Crossroads and their declaration as unrest areas are set to ignite into major political issues.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer is scheduled to visit the areas this weekend. Asked whether he would defy police if ordered not to enter the townships, Dr De Beer said: "I would be a fool to cross that bridge before I get to it."

Mr Jan van Eck, DP spokesman for Black Affairs, who faces possible charges of refusing to leave an unrest area when told to do so (in Khayelitsha last week), said Dr De Beer had sent an urgent fax to President F W de Klerk yesterday.

The fax requested a meeting between President De Klerk and a DP delegation consisting of DP caucus chairman Mr Colin Eglin, national chairman Mr Tian van der Merwe, regional chairman Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr Van Eck as leader of the DP's Urban Monitoring Action Committee (UMAC).

The delegation would try to persuade President De Klerk to lift the curfew and the unrest areas declaration, and to explore the "unfounded" allegations against Mr Van Eck about his behaviour in black townships.

Mr Van Eck said Dr De Beer had given a clear message to DP MPs that if the unrest regulations interfered with their normal duties, they should defy them. Dr De Beer declined to comment on this last night.

Meanwhile, the ANC is set to launch a major defiance campaign against the new measures.

ANC publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel said last night that executives of all Peninsula branches had met at the weekend and were at present consulting their constituencies as to what action to take.

The new regulations were based on an "unfounded rumour in a situation where policemen have their own political agenda in advising their minister", he said. He did not see why ANC members should be victimised for the "failure of the system of black local authorities".

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said last night that the ANC's intended defiance was contributing to confrontation.

● A police spokesman said anyone with queries about unrest regulations should phone 461-2161 (all hours).

FW flayed

Argus
4/11/90 327

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Dr Zac de Beer has delivered his toughest attack yet this year on President De Klerk, the National Party and the police — over the ban on Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck from entering Crossroads and Khayelitsha.

He also warned the NP that, at the very time when bridge-building was essential for its political survival, it had "once again acted so as to smash those bridges and drive people apart on a racial basis".

Referring to the ban and to Mr Van Eck's arrest in Khayelitsha, Dr De Beer said: "I tell the president that if he continues to allow his minister (of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok) and his police to behave in this way then the chances of maintaining any civilised sort of law in our country in the future will be remote.

'Relentless politicians'

"I have never thought much of the Nats when it comes to justice, but I have always given them credit for one thing — they are shrewd, cunning, relentless politicians in their own interest. Nothing matters so much to them as to get power and keep it. But even at that level, the arrest of Mr Van Eck simply makes no sense."

He said that nine months after Mr De Klerk's February 2 speech, "I would have hoped that some sort of human rights culture might have developed within the National Party and the establishment.

"I'm afraid the evidence is that this has not happened. On the contrary, when the chips are down, Mr Vlok and his police slip back all too easily into a 'kaffir op sy plek' mindset.

"Human rights are for the Nats and their pals. Not for the people of Khayelitsha and not for Jan van Eck, it seems."

He said that in using the Public Safey Act against Mr Van Eck the police used a legacy of the worst days of ruthless, repressive apartheid.

'Arrested him'

"When Mr Van Eck nonetheless went (into the township) in the course of his duties as an MP, they arrested him.

"In spite of all the protestations by President De Klerk that apartheid is dead, in spite of the promises of a brave new South Africa, the police — and we know they were supported at Cabinet level — can arrest a member of parliament for visiting a township to see what was going on there."

● Western Cape Civic Association members in Khayelitsha last night decided to defy the 9pm to 4am curfew imposed on the township.

● See page 7.

Police hold 5 over huge arms cache

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Sowetan 7/11/90

POLICE uncovered a big arms cache after they stopped and searched a car in the Table Mountain area near Maritzburg last night.

The five occupants, including a special constable, have been arrested.

Police said the vehicle was stopped at 10pm and, after searching the car, they found two AK-47 rifles, two F1 hand-grenades, detonators, four AK-47 magazines with rounds, a 9mm Star pistol with magazines, a Z88 pistol with magazines, 120 R4 rounds, 26 .45 rounds, two 30.06 rounds, two 7.6 rounds, one .38 bullet, two 2.32 rounds, 50 9mm rounds and two cleaning kits for AK-47 rifles.

Police refused to give further details about the arrest as investigation are continuing. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

ANC gears up for major conference

CONSTITUTIONAL issues will feature strongly at the ANC's national consultative conference scheduled to take place in Johannesburg next month. South 8/11 - 14/11/90

More than 1 000 delegates from ANC branches around the country are expected to attend the conference which will examine strategy and tactics for the organisation in the crucial next six months. Details made available this week showed issues to be discussed are negotiations, an interim government, a constituent assembly and sanctions.

The conference will also examine the state of the ANC, which presently has about 545 branches.

Each branch will be allowed to send two representatives to the consultative conference and branches with more than 1 000 members will have an extra delegate.

The ANC originally intended to hold its national conference in December but last month postponed the national conference until June next year.

The postponement is intended to ensure that exiles and political prisoners are able to participate in the national conference and to give branches more time to recruit members and discuss issues.

Transkei funerals for Khaya victims

South 8/11-14/11/90

By MUSA NDWANDWE

EIGHT of the 10 victims of Khayelitsha violence two weeks ago will be buried in the Transkei this weekend.

The bodies include that of Ms Nomkhanyelo Kwaza, 27, who was seven-months pregnant at the time of her death.

One funeral, of 13-year-old Wandisile Nomaxhayi, will take place in Khayelitsha on Saturday and another in Bloemfontein.

Organisers of the funerals, the Khayelitsha Advice Office workers, have not yet finalised the transportation arrangements due to a "difficult financial position".

All 10 victims died during the violence that erupted in the township before the start of the aborted march on the Lingelethu West Town Council which residents wanted dismantled.

Thousands of residents who had gathered at the traffic lights near Site C were told by police to disperse shortly before they opened fire. The march had not been authorised by the Wynberg Chief Magistrate.

Lawyers acting on behalf of the victims' families claim that all residents died during police action. Police subsequently denied responsibility, claiming that only birdshot was used during the action.

A memorial service for all the victims will be held at the Khayelitsha Presbyterian Church on Friday afternoon.

The victims are Mr Themba Sokutu, 27; Mr Mteteleli Mtitshana, 32; Mr Wilson Siwanana Chakata, 41; Mr Buyisile Mbali, 22; Mr Lundi Gaga, 20; Ms Nomkhanyelo Kwaza, 27; Mpumelelo Dyantshi (age not known); Mr Phumzile Nyingeni, 19; Mr Petros Malefane, 20; and Wandisile Nomaxhayi, 13.

Campaign to defy restrictions

South 8/11 - 14/11/90

THE Western Cape region of the African National Congress will embark on a series of protest actions from Friday in defiance of unrest regulations in effect in Khayelitsha and Old Crossroads.

The townships were declared unrest areas last Thursday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

A curfew imposed on the townships was withdrawn this week. Police have powers to order anyone who is not a resident of the affected townships to leave the area.

The commissioner of police in the Western Cape could not be reached for comment. (327)

The ANC regional executive committee ruled out any prospects of abandoning the call for defiance.

"Our actions will not be suspended by this move," said REC member, Advocate Dullah Omar.

"Our call goes beyond the curfew towards the total dismantling of the town council," he said.

With leaders of allied organisations, the ANC REC will attend the vigils on Friday of 10 victims of the Khayelitsha violence who died on October 25.

The regional executive will also attend the funeral of Wandisile Nomaxhayi, 13, the only one to be buried in Khayelitsha.

ANC slams defence units

South 8/11 - 14/11/90

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress this week slammed

COMMENT

Knee-jerk police action not the answer

South 8/11-14/11/90



Mr Adriaan Vlok

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has once again resorted to kragdadigheid to solve a political crisis.

The imposition of a state of emergency in the Wynberg magisterial district and a curfew on Khayelitsha is no answer to the conflict which has wracked both Khayelitsha and Crossroads in th past month.

Iron fist

The iron fist approach cannot possibly resolve the deep-seated grievances of township residents which gave rise to the violence in the first place — in particular the controversial and discredited community councils.

Unless these grievances are addressed, violence is inevitable.

Breeds violence

Repression itself breeds violence and already there are disquieting reports that the mini state of emergency in these townships give license to masked vigilante groups.

Repressive measures strike a discordant note with the politics of negotiations.

There cannot be round table discussions at a national level and knee-jerk repression on the ground.

Repression

Repression did not work in the past and it is difficult to understand why the minister thinks it will work in the South Africa of the 1990s.

The message emanating from these townships is loud and clear — address our grievances and do away with puppet councils.

These are issues that need to be resolved and using a curfew or emergency measures as a lid on a seething cauldron can but lead to disaster.

Not consulted

The ANC says it was not consulted before these measures were adopted and that the actions of the authorities are out of keeping with the Groote Schuur Minute.

Already the state's response in Khayelitsha has launched it on a collision course with the ANC.

The ANC has undertaken a defiance campaign to demand that the measures are withdrawn and the local councils disbanded.

Undermine

The ANC has voiced the opinion that the wave of violence which has wracked townships throughout the country this year is being orchestrated with the express purpose of undermining the ANC .

If the government is sincere about resolving problems, it will have to keep Vlok on a leash and send representatives who are prepared to listen and act on the people's grievances.

Govt lifts curfew on Khayelitsha

Cape Times 8/11/90

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By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE government yesterday lifted the 9pm-to-4am curfew on Khayelitsha and Crossroads.

However, the unrest regulations, which give police emergency powers in the Wynberg magisterial district and the two townships, remain.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the situation in Khayelitsha and Crossroads remained "volatile".

In other developments yesterday:

● Police lifted the ban on Democratic Party MP and spokesman for black affairs Mr Jan Van Eck entering Khayelitsha and Crossroads.

● Police arrested a man in connection with the assassination attempt on Khayelitsha's Western Cape Civic Association chairman Mr Michael Mapongwana and the murder of his wife Nomsa three weeks ago. They also confiscated a firearm and ammunition from the suspect and said they expected further arrests.

The scrapping of the curfew by Mr Vlok came within hours of the ANC's Western Cape executive calling for a mass influx to Khayelitsha tomorrow evening to "visit and show sympathy with" families of 10 residents killed in unrest there on October 25.

The ANC said this would not change its plans.

The regional police commissioner, General Flip Fourie, gave no reasons for lifting Mr Van Eck's ban. Mr Van Eck, who faces possible charges for refusing to leave Khayelitsha when ordered to do so last week, said the lifting of the ban would not prevent police ordering him or anyone else from the area in future.

At the ANC press conference yesterday, publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel said the organisation was reconsidering attending a meeting scheduled for tomorrow with the administrator, Mr Kobus Meiring, over the Khayelitsha crisis.

Mr Manuel said the ANC had evidence that Mr Meiring had "colluded" with police in declaring the local unrest areas.

A spokesman for Mr Meiring said yesterday that the CPA had no notice of any cancellation.

Restraining order on SAP

DURBAN — A temporary interdict restraining members of the police from assaulting or threatening Umkhonto we Sizwe member Mr John Mchunu was made final in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Mr Mchunu brought the application against the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissoner of Police after his alleged abduction in September. — Sapa



Jan van Eck . . .
Opposed to regulations.

Ban lifted, but MP spurns concession

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Police have lifted the ban on Democratic Party MP Jan van Eck entering Khayelitsha and Crossroads.

Regional Commissioner of Police Major-General Flip Fourie telephoned Mr van Eck yesterday to tell him the ban had been lifted, but also that the unrest regulations were still in force.

Mr van Eck said the lifting of the ban was meaningless because the unrest regulations allowed for a similar curb to be placed on him or anyone else at any time.

"The lifting of the ban on me personally will not prevent the police from ordering me out of Old Crossroads and Khayelitsha again.

"When I was arrested it was not because I had defied the ban, but because I refused to leave the area when ordered to do so by police.

"Unless the emergency in the area is lifted, police will remain empowered . . . to ban MPs or anyone else whenever they feel like it."

He warned that the conflict in Khayelitsha and Old Crossroads would continue as long as the unrest regulations and the "virtual total suspension of the democratic process" were maintained, and until the local black councils were suspended or abolished.

ANC snubs police over 'emergency'

ARGUS 8/11/90

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE ANC has refused to attend a meeting with the police today to discuss the mini-emergency in Peninsula townships and is reconsidering a planned meeting with the Administrator tomorrow on ways to end violence.

The curfew in Crossroads and Khayelitsha was lifted yesterday but the ANC says it will defy other Public Safety Act regulations still in force.

At a Press conference yesterday, Mr Dullah Omar, a member of the Western Cape ANC executive, said: "Our people are totally opposed ... not only to the curfew, but to the state of emergency."

In a tough statement, read at the Press conference, the ANC said it had come to its attention that "there has been collusion between the Administrator (Mr Kobus Meiring) and police in declaring the emergency".

Because of this, the movement was "reconsidering" a meeting with Mr Meiring tomorrow.

Wynberg district

ANC Western Cape co-ordinator Mr Trevor Manuel said Mr Meiring had colluded with police over the inclusion of the Wynberg magisterial district in "unrest areas" a day before he met an ANC delegation last week.

"We have been requested to meet the Regional Commissioner of Police, Major-General Flip Fourie, tomorrow. Our response is that we do not see our way clear to meeting him because our members believe the measures taken were in conflict with the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes."

But, he added, "there may be a future meeting".

Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, treasurer of the ANC in the region, said the movement's demand that the Lingelethu West Town Council should resign still stood.

"We're going to intensify our campaign for the resignation of the council. There cannot be peace in Khayelitsha while they are there."

He ruled out any meeting with the council.

Athlone meeting

Mr Manuel said ANC members and supporters would meet at Athlone Stadium at 6.30pm tomorrow before leaving for Khayelitsha to deliver flowers, a symbol of peace, to the community.

In Khayelitsha "we will attend the vigil for victims of the violence".

The bodies of nine of the 10 people killed in Khayelitsha on October 25 will be transported to Transkei after the vigil.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said yesterday the situation in Khayelitsha and Crossroads had improved, but had not yet stabilised sufficiently for him to lift his declaration of the areas as unrest areas.

● See Page 20.

Councils plan protests

Star 8/11/90 (1614) (327)

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

There will be a number of marches in the southern and western Transvaal next week to demand the dissolution of black local authorities and to protest against the switching off of electricity, Cas Coovadia, spokesman for the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast), said yesterday.

The marches would be the beginning of mass action to mobilise people for effective change in their day-to-day lives, the statement said.

They were organised after a mandate given to Cast at a special conference about three weeks ago.

Mr Coovadia said organisers had applied for magisterial permission.

Cast, Mr Coovadia said, welcomed the recent resignations of black councillors, including former Daveyton mayor Tom Boya, and regarded this development as "a powerful vindication" of its position.

He called on all councillors to resign by the end of November, saying failure to do so would lead to their isolation in the communities

No. 2640 **9 November 1990**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—SETTING ASIDE OF DECLARATION THAT PUBLICATIONS ARE UNDESIRABLE

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 15 (2) of the Act on review that the undermentioned publications are not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act. The undermentioned entries in respect of the publications are hereby deleted:

No. 2640 **9 November 1990**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—TERSYDESTELLING VAN VERKLARING DAT PUBLIKASIES ONGEWENS IS

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 15 (2) van die Wet op hersiening beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie. Die ondergenoemde inskrywings ten opsigte van die publikasies word hierby geskrap:

Entry No. Inskrywing No.	Publication or object Publikasie of voorwerp	Author or producer Skrywer of voortbringer	Inskrywing No. Entry deleted
P90/06/33	***No Fist is Big Enough to Hide the Sky*** .	Basil Davidson.....	G.G./SK. 8534, G.N./GK. 228, dd/ged. 1983-01-28.
P90/07/03	***Revolution in Guinea—An African People's Struggle***	Amilcar Cabral.....	G.G./SK. 4704, G.N./GK. 941, dd/ged. 1975-05-09.
P90/07/13	***Face-Lift Apartheid—South Africa After Soweto***	Judy Seidman	G.G./SK. 7392, G.N./GK. 198, dd/ged. 1981-01-30.
P90/10/24	***Work in Progress*** No 25 February 1983.	An Editorial Collective, Braamfontein .	G.G./SK. 8592, G.N./GK. 573, dd/ged. 1983-03-11.
P90/10/27	***Work in Progress*** No 11 February 1980.	An Editorial Collective, Braamfontein .	G.G./SK. 6952, G.N./GK. 810, dd/ged. 1980-04-11.
P90/10/28	***Work in Progress*** No 10 November 1979	An Editorial Collective, Braamfontein	G.G./SK. 6761, G.N./GK. 2761, dd/ged. 1979-11-30.
P90/10/30	***Work in Progress*** No. 23 June 1982	An Editorial Collective, Braamfontein .	G.G./SK. 8343, G.N./GK. 1768, dd/ged. 1982-08-13.
P90/10/49	***Pan Africanism: Struggle against Neo-Colonialism and Imperialism***	Afro-Carib Publications, Canada.....	G.G./SK. 7195, G.N./GK. 1787, dd/ged. 1980-08-22.

No. 2641 **9 November 1990**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—SETTING ASIDE OF PROHIBITION ON POSSESSION

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 15 (2) of the Act on review that the possession of the undermentioned publication is no longer prohibited within the meaning of section 9 (3) of the Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

No. 2641 **9 November 1990**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—TERSYDESTELLING VAN VERBOD OP BESIT

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 15 (2) van die Wet op hersiening beslis dat die besit van ondergenoemde publikasie nie langer binne die bedoeling van artikel 9 (3) van die Wet verbied is nie. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

Entry No. Inskrywing No.	Publication or object Publikasie of voorwerp	Author or producer Skrywer of voortbringer	Inskrywing No. Entry deleted
P90/10/49	***Pan Africanism: Struggle against Neo-Colonialism and Imperialism***	Afro-Carib Publications, Canada.....	G.G./SK. 7273, G.N./GK. 2242, dd/ged. 1980-10-24.

No. 2642 **9 November 1990**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—EXEMPTION FROM SECTION 9 (1)

A Committee refered to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has in terms of section 11 (2) of the Act decided that the undermentioned publications are not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2).

With regard to these particular issues the Directorate of Publications hereby grants exemption from section 9 (1).

No. 2642 **9 November 1990**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—VRYSTELLING VAN ARTIKEL 9 (1)

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies nie ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet.

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies verleen gevolglik vrystelling van bepalings van artikel 9 (1) ten opsigte van hierdie besondere uitgawes van die publikasie.

Entry No. Inskrywing No.	Publication or objects Publikasie of voorwerp	Author or producer Skrywer of voortbringer
P90/08/26	***Sechaba March 1987***.....	ANC, Lusaka.
P90/09/42	***Sechaba March 1989***.....	ANC, Lusaka.
P90/09/41	***Sechaba September 1989***.....	ANC, Lusaka.

Fake pamphlet calls for boycott

By CHARLES LEONARD

ONE spelling mistake on a pamphlet calling for a boycott of Indian-owned shops in Pretoria blew the cover of a dirty tricks campaign this week.

A bogus pamphlet issued under the name of the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business (Achib) was distributed in downtown Pretoria last week calling for a boycott of Indian-owned shops from October 27 to November 17.

The pamphleteers, claiming that members of the African National Congress supported the boycott, gave themselves away with the spelling of the abbreviation of October, by using the Afrikaans version, "Okt".

Outraged Achib treasurer Beauty Nkosi slated the "dirty tricks department" who distributed the racist pamphlet in their name. "What makes it worse is that this pamphlet is the second one that is being distributed under our name," she said. "A similar pamphlet also calling for a boycott of Indian shops has been distributed in Klerksdorp." W\Mail 9/11 - 15/11/90

ANC Pretoria spokesman Moss Chikane said it was "complete rubbish" that the ANC had been consulted about the boycott.

The pamphlet claims that hawkers in Brits have been arrested by the police because "Indian traders reported them as illegal traders who are stealing their customers".

Nkosi said that they had heard nothing of any such arrests.

Naledi victims are buried

By KENOSI MODISANE

ABOUT 8 000 people yesterday attended the funeral of five of the 16 victims who died when armed men attacked residents at random in Naledi, Soweto, last week.

Those who were buried were Benjamin Moopeloa (27), Star Lekagane (32), Marks Molefe (26) and his brother Michael (35) and Leroy Mthethwa (27).

Most of the speakers, who included Mr Tokyo Segwale of the ANC, Dr Nthato Motlana and Father Emmanuel Lafont of the Ministers United for Christian Co-responsibility, called for an end to "the orchestrated attacks on blacks".

"It is well known that there is a third force behind all the killings. And we call upon the Government to investigate and apprehend the perpetrators," said Lafont.

The funeral was arranged by the Soweto Funeral Undertakers Association.

A large police and SADF contingent escorted the procession. Mounted soldiers on horse back patrolled the cemetery.

Star 9/11/90 327

Govt in tough stand over 'mass action'

Political Staff

The Government and the ANC are expected to cross swords today over ANC mass action. This is likely to be the key issue at today's resumed meeting of the joint ANC/Government working group in Pretoria.

President de Klerk has singled out boycotts and other forms of mass action as destructive and tantamout to violence, and has promised to "call the ANC leadership to account" if it fails to give a clear undertaking to distance itself from boycotts, intimidation and mass action.

Emphasised

But Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, only this week emphasised at a meeting in Johannesburg that Mr Mandela had called for the intensification of the struggle on all fronts.

She said Mr Mandela had telephoned her from London and asked her to convey this message.

During a speech in Bethlehem this week, Mr de Klerk said the Government had accepted the necessity of change, but mass action, threats and intimidation were not necessary to achieve this.

He expressed deep concern about the emergence, "stronger than ever before", of a "clearly defined strategy of intimidation and undermining of local authorities, regional and self-governing states, the refusal to pay rent and service fees, boycotts of mortgage bonds and other forms of destabilising orderly government ... just about everything that is not violent but has the same destructive capacity of violence if it is not brought under control".

Mr de Klerk added: "These things are in reality just another form of violence."

In terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, he said, the ANC should distance itself from these activities.

"I expect from them an unqualified stand against everything that is not conducive to the peaceful search for solutions. The whole country expects this of them. The ANC must accept its responsibility in this regard.

"If I do not get a satisfactory answer, I will certainly call the ANC to account."

The Government has differentiated between political mass action such as rallies and meetings, and mass action linked to the armed struggle, including boycotts and stayaways.

The joint working group's work has taken on a new importance with the announcement of guidelines for the granting of indemnity and the release of political prisoners.

The Government has linked this process to progress made in reaching a peaceful political settlement and the satisfactory resolution of the armed struggle.

Granting indemnity and release of political prisoners will be partially linked to progress made by the working group.

Joy over bail for terror accused

Star 10/11/90 (327)

JUBILATION greeted the release yesterday of terrorism accused Mr Tony Yengeni and Ms Jenny Schreiner — on trial with four others — on bail of R40 000 each with stringent conditions.

They may not attend meetings of a political nature to celebrate their release called by the SA Communist Party, the ANC, the UDF, the MDM or any affiliates.

Mr Yengeni and Ms Schreiner were the last accused — out of an orginal 14 — to be released from custody.

A group of about 50 excited relatives and friends mobbed them as they came out.

Mr Yengeni, alleged to have been an ANC commander, was arrested on September 17, 1987, and Ms Schreiner, alleged to have been the head of propaganda units, was arrested hours later by security policemen. They were detained in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act until March 1988, when they first appeared in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court. — Sapa.

Peter Gilder worth R750. She is our second prize winner in the "quickie" daily competitions as part of the Great Cape Times Giveaway.

'Brilliant' spy exposed — PAC

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress claims it has discovered and suspended a "brilliant" police spy from its ranks.

The man entered the country in 1988 as a Kenyan businessman operating under the alias Dr Ali Mohomed Nkomo, but infiltrated the African National Congress as Dr Sipho Dlamini in September under the guise of being a returning exile with a PhD in Economics, the PAC alleged.

He was sent to Durban to trace his family, where his security police handlers instructed him to move to the PAC to discredit and influence the organisation's economic policy.

The PAC intelligence department put him under surveillance, which lead to his being uncovered, a statement said.

The movement said its external mission had a recorded confession from the man. They were aware of a number of agents within its ranks and would soon expose them.

Police declined to comment. — Sapa



NOW . . . Odile looking thin and tired



BEFORE . . . Odile just before jail

Odile's jail horror is over, but the scars still remain

(327)

S(Times 11/11/90

By STEPHANIE HULL

THE suffering of torture and jail is etched forever on the face of former beauty Odile Harington.

The 30-year-old South African spy, who was released last week after nearly four horrifying years in a grim Zimbabwe jail, is emaciated and prematurely aged.

Sources said Odile was under observation and received medical treatment at a military hospital until Thursday.

Odile was jailed in November 1987 after she confessed to supplying security related information to South African agents in contravention of Zimbabwe's Official Secrets Act.

She was jailed for 25 years by the High Court in Harare but the sentence was reduced to 12 years on appeal.

Rest

During her time in prison she was repeatedly abused — brutally flogged with wire flex, starved and sexually molested.

"She looks much better than she did when I saw her in March this year," said her mother Mrs Eone de Wet after lunching with her daughter and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha this week.

Odile left for a game farm belonging to friends after seeing her mother for the first time since her return on Thursday.

Mrs de Wet said she did not know when she would be seeing her daughter again and had no idea of her plans for the future.

Government sources said Odile felt she was not ready to face the media and needed to rest for a while longer.

Rumours of a rift between her and her mother have been denied.

Mass action puts strain on talks

Vlok clamps curfew on two Pretoria areas

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday clamped a night-time curfew on two Pretoria townships amid growing signs that ANC calls for mass action were straining the negotiation process.

Vlok declared Pretoria townships Atteridgeville and Saulsville unrest areas and put them under an immediate 9pm to 4am curfew in a special Government Gazette yesterday.

This followed weekend violence that left at least two dead and 28 injured.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said at the weekend government was becoming increasingly worried that campaigns by civic organisations, especially attempts to isolate town councillors, were creating an inflammatory environment that was not conducive to negotiations.

Other government sources indicated that attempts had been made to include intimidation of town councillors in discussions of the working group appointed to resolve outstanding questions arising from the ANC decision to suspend armed action.

Government has apparently argued that intimidation of councillors is covered by a phrase in the Pretoria Minute which refers to cessation of not just armed actions but "related activities by the ANC".

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela on Saturday reiterated his call for the intensification of mass action, saying such action would continue until government instituted structures to address the complaints of the disenfranchised.

"Mass action is a fundamental principle of democracy to be enjoyed by all, even those with the vote," Mandela said, adding that government should be held responsible for chaotic consequences of recent mass action.

WILSON ZWANE and MIKE ROBERTSON

On his return from an 18-day overseas fundraising tour, Mandela said the ANC remained committed to ending violence.

Also fuelling fears that the negotiation process was stalling was the failure of the joint government/ANC working group on the armed struggle to make any significant progress at a meeting on Friday.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani flew to Johannesburg from Port Elizabeth yesterday and was expected to discuss the apparent deadlock surrounding the working group with Mandela.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said recently the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnity would be linked to progress in resolving matters relating to the ANC's armed struggle.

Vlok's announcement of the curfew measures was made the day before a consumer boycott and stayaway were due to begin in Pretoria and surrounding areas. The measures were aimed "wholly at criminals, hooligans and the perpetrators of violence who prey on law-abiding citizens".

Police and residents have clashed repeatedly since the Atteridgeville council decided last month to cut off electricity supplies to defaulting residents.

"I appeal to the residents to assist the police in restoring law and order to these areas," he said.

Vlok also appealed to employers to provide residents of affected areas with the necessary documents for exemption from the curfew regulations.

☐ To Page 2

Curfew

Local ANC spokesman Abe Nkomo slammed the measures, saying a "precedent" existed that "the curfew was used by government-supported vigilante groups to kill people. We really are concerned that sinister operations will be put in place under the cloak of the curfew."

Asked if his organisation and the Atteridgeville-Saulsville Residents' Organisations (Asro) intended defying the curfew, Nkomo said people were angry and a meeting would be held soon to determine what action should be taken in response to the measures.

☐ From Page 1

Other townships previously declared unrest areas include the Greater Soweto townships, Thokoza, Tembisa, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Toekomsrus and Bekkersdal, as well as Khayelitsha and Old Crossroads in the western Cape.

● Picture: Page 3

Curfews on Tvl townships

(327)

JOHANNESBURG — Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok yesterday clamped a nighttime curfew on two Pretoria townships amid growing signs that ANC calls for mass action were straining the negotiation process.

The curfew was imposed after weekend violence which left at least two dead and 28 injured.

SAP liaison officer Major Ray Harrald alleged police vehicles had been stoned and petrol-bombed by residents throughout the day.

He however denied allegations by ANC Atteridgeville branch spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa that police had shot dead two people in their Atteridgeville homes on Saturday morning.

He also denied allegations that police had used live ammunition.

Deputy Constitutional Development and Information Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said at the weekend that the government was becomming increasingly worried that campaigns by civic organisations were creating an inflammatory environment which was not conducive to negotiations.

Local ANC spokesman Mr Abe Nkomo slammed the measures, saying there existed "a precedent that the curfew was used by government-supported vigilante groups to kill people". — Own Correspondents, UPI and Sapa-Reuter

● Mandela calls for mass action — Page 2

CCB chief sacked?

GPA Times 12/11/90

327

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Colonel Joe Verster, head of the highly controversial Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), has suddenly vacated his post — and sources claimed yesterday that he had been sacked from the SADF by Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

However, other reports this morning said that Colonel Verster had taken early retirement.

Defence Ministry spokesman Mr Das Herbst said yesterday that General Malan would not comment on issues relating to the Harms Commission until legal proceedings had run their course.

He referred the Cape Times correspondent to a parliamentary debate on allegations surrounding the CCB on February 26 this year, but said he could not make any further comment on Colonel Verster or the CCB.

General Malan told Parliament in February this year that "if official investigations on the basis of proven and tested evidence should bring to light any malpractices on the part of the CCB a surgical cut will be made to remove the malignancy".

The Harms Commission was told on several occasions that Colonel Verster had to approve and often initiate the CCB's covert operations both inside and outside South Africa.

Colonel Verster, who was the managing director of the CCB, also indicated to the commission his concern that government policy had moved to the left, leaving the CCB out of step, with its own political agenda no longer concurrent to the government's.

Meanwhile Free State attorney-general Mr Tim McNally came under fire at the weekend for having agreed to lead evidence before the commission after he had already decided that evidence of key witnesses was questionable.

Mr McNally lodged the findings of his committee which probed police hit squad allegations last November.

Yesterday when asked to respond to the criticism, Mr McNally said he would "take some time to react", and added that he would probably release a statement some time in the near future.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee released Mr McNally's findings on Saturday. He said he felt they were relevant to current legal proceedings.

A Justice Department spokesman said this probably related to the R1 million defamation case brought by SAP Scientific Services chief Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling against Vrye Weekblad newspaper.

Vrye Weekblad maintains its articles are based on factual accounts as told to them by former security branch captain Mr Dirk Coetzee.

To page 2

From page 1

Mr McNally found the testimonies of Mr Coetzee, death row prisoner Almond Butana Nofemela and David "Spyker" Tshikalanga — all of whom confessed to being hit-squad members attached to the SAP's insurgency identification unit based at Vlakplaas — to have doubtful credibility.

Sapa reports that Professor John Dugard of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIR) felt Mr McNally should not have been appointed to the Harms Commission to lead evidence, as his own findings could have prejudiced the manner in which he presented evidence. GPA Times 12/11/90

At the very least, Mr McNally should have drawn attention to this possibility, he said.

Professor Dugard said Mr McNally's participation in the Harms Commission would affect the commission's credibility as far as its findings on the police part of its investigation were concerned and he felt Mr McNally should have recused himself.

Professor Dugard said he was very surprised that in the light of his findings as chairman of the McNally committee Mr McNally was prepared to act as a so-called independent presenter of evidence for the the Harms Commission. Cape Times 12/11/90

Star 13/11/90 (327)

Yengeni, Schreiner seek indemnity

CAPE TOWN — Terrorism accused Tony Yengeni and Jennifer Schreiner have applied for indemnity from prosecution, the Supreme Court was told.

H Klem, SC, for the State, told the court that in the light of the promulgation of guidelines for indemnity and the lodging of an application for indemnity on behalf of Mr Yengeni and Miss Schreiner on Friday, both parties in the hearing would be requesting an adjournment.

The application by the two was made on Friday after their release on bail of R40 000.

Mr Klem gave notice of a request for an adjournment of the trial for a month. The adjournment application will be made today. — Own Correspondent.

Activists flee Bophuthatswana crackdown

Sowetan 14/11/90

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

HUNDREDS of activists and members of the African National Congress in Bophuthatswana have gone into hiding to escape the ongoing security crackdown on anti-homeland opposition groups.

Following the government's revelation on Monday of an alleged ANC plot to assassinate Chief Lucas Mangope, 44 people have been detained.

Police spokesman Colonel Dave George said those arrested were being held in terms of the homeland's state of emergency.

Among the 44 detained are Mrs Laura Taylor, Mrs Bothao Maila, Mr Silas Mmeepa, Mr Mangel Panchia, Mr Mandla Magwetyana, Dr Thabo Rangaka and Mrs Nomvula Hlangwana.

The alleged plot and the nationwide operation which coincided with a work stayaway in the homeland has been dismissed as "reckless and absurd" by the ANC.

The organisation said Mangope's claims were typical of an unpopular regime trying to postpone its demise by repression.

The clampdown on opposition groups continued yesterday and more arrests were expected, George said.

He could not indicate what charges could be brought against the detainees.

Meanwhile, police moved into the University of Bophuthatswana campus yesterday, according to sources in Mmabatho.

Sources described the situation as "very tense" as police manned roadblocks. Several security policemen were seen camping outside the homes of some Unibo lectures.

Some of them had escaped the dragnet following a tip-off about the raid.

Speaking from a "hideout", Dr David Green said a "reliable source in the establishment" had tipped him and a number of lecturers and ANC executives about the planned swoop by police on Friday.

ANC member and lecturer, Mr Paul Dalphene, who is also in hiding, said a Mafikeng attorney, Mr Mangel Panchia, was arrested on Monday night.

This was before he could bring an urgent application to the Mmabatho Supreme Court to secure the release of 32 people detained the previous day.



Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and lawyer Mr Matthew Phosa stand outside Moosa's Mayfair home after it was allegedly raided by police yesterday.

Raid was normal, say police

Sowetan 14/11/90

POLICE were investigating a criminal offence and had needed no warrant to search the Mayfair, Johannesburg, home of African National Congress activist Mohammed Valli Moosa yesterday morning, police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said.

He said the possibility existed that a policeman had ordered a servant at the house at gunpoint to lie down on the ground.

(327)

"If she feels that police action was unnecessary, then she may supply us with a statement under oath in that regard," Opperman said.

"In terms of Section 25 of the Criminal Procedures Act police are entitled to enter premises in connection with State security or any offence and such a policeman may take the steps which he deems necessary for the purpose of the investigation," said Opperman.

He stressed the police had "visited" Moosa's home in 5th Avenue as part of a police investigation.

"They had reason to be there and were investigating a criminal case," he said.

"Police will not go and enter people's premises at random. That's just not being done," he said.

Opperman was not prepared to comment on the details of the investigation. - *Sapa.*

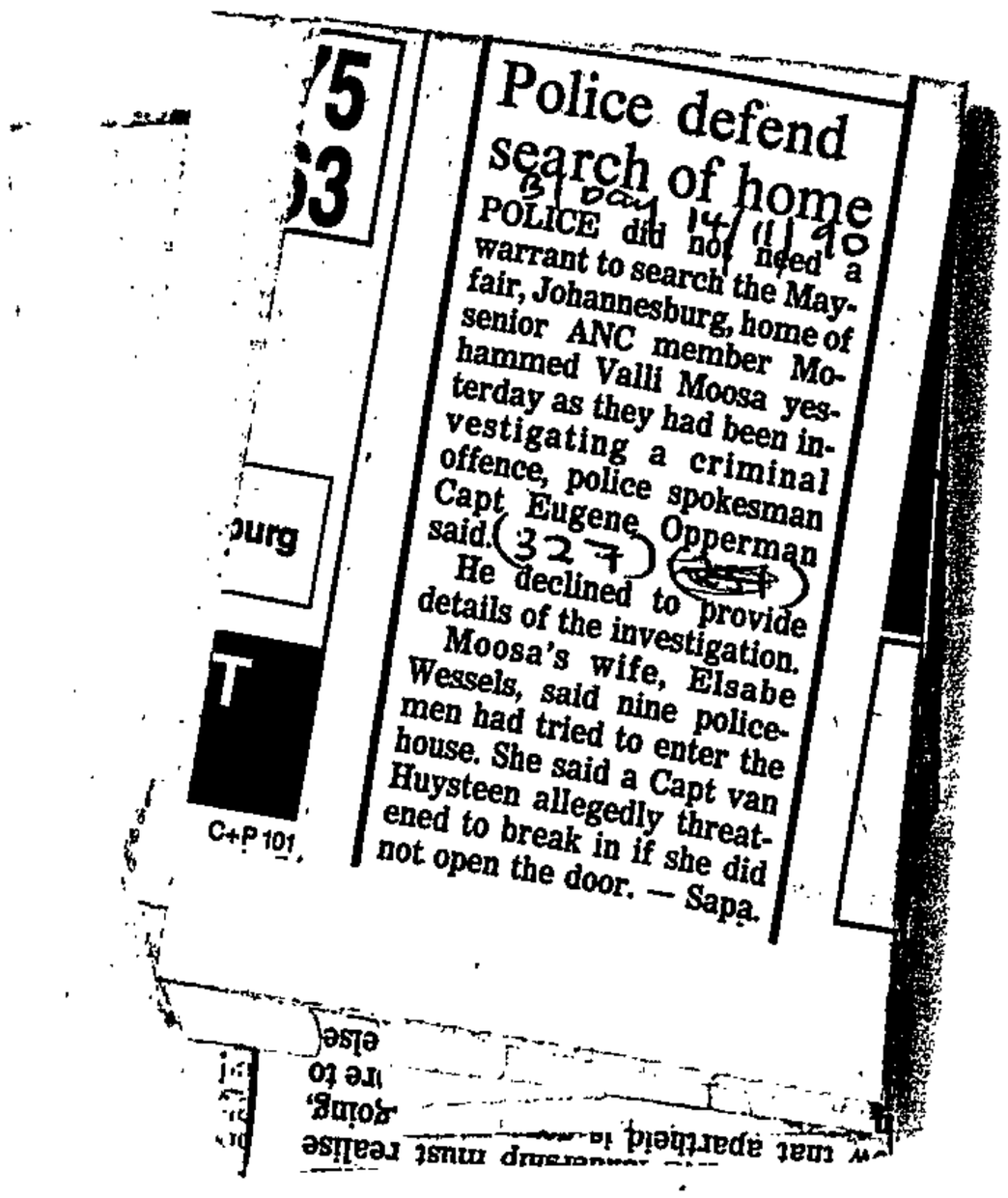
the total Black population. Corresponding figures were: whites 35,7%, coloureds 49,6%, and Asians 45,7%.

Police defend search of home

POLICE did not need a warrant to search the Mayfair, Johannesburg, home of senior ANC member Mohammed Valli Moosa yesterday as they had been investigating a criminal offence, police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said.

He declined to provide details of the investigation.

Moosa's wife, Elsabe Wessels, said nine policemen had tried to enter the house. She said a Capt van Huysteen allegedly threatened to break in if she did not open the door. — Sapa.



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Police defend search of home

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Police threaten to break into ANC home

JOHANNESBURG. — Nine plain-clothes policemen yesterday tried to gain entry to the Mayfair home of ANC political committee secretary Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, his wife, Ms Elsabe Wessels, said.

Ms Wessels, who was at home when the police arrived, said a Captain Van Huysteen had told her that under unrest regulations police needed no warrant to enter the house. He had initially asked to see "M V Moosa", but had later said they were looking for a woman.

She said Captain Van Huysteen had threatened to break into her home if she did not open the door.

"Captain Van Huysteen wanted to know if I was Valli's wife. He also wanted to know under which contract I was married. He said he had reason to attach Valli's property," Ms Wessels said.

Ms Margaret Pinda, who was doing the laundry, said a policeman wearing a white shirt and jeans had her told at gunpoint to lie on the ground. Three of the policemen had been armed, she added.

A police spokesman said later that police had been investigating a criminal offence and had needed no warrant to search.

On July 25 police arrested ANC executive Mr Mac Maharaj at the house. — Sapa

Civic groups to march on Reef and Vaal

By DON SEOKANE

THE Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal is to hold protest marches on Saturday to demand the resignation of councillors, Cast announced yesterday.

Cast president Mr Moses Mayekiso said marches would take place in Johannesburg, Germiston, Toekomsrus and the Vaal at 10am.

Memoranda would be presented to the regional offices of the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

Permission had been granted for Johannesburg and Germiston. The organisation expected authorities that had not yet granted permission for the marches not to create "a climate of confrontation".

He said: "We must reiterate our contention that these marches are part of a programme of peaceful mass action to rid our people of the ravages of apartheid and improve the quality of people's lives.

"The curfew imposed in Atteridgeville and the policy of switching-off of power in various townships make it virtually impossible for negotiations to take place in a conducive climate."

Demands

The demands to be presented to the TPA included:

* The dismantling of black local authorities, coloured and Indian management authorities by the end of December;

* The immediate end to power cuts in townships; and

* The establishment of one city and one tax base.

Minister told people to aid cops - witness

IT WAS a well-known fact in Clermont that KwaZulu Deputy Cabinet Minister Mr Bekizizwe Jamile encouraged people to co-operate with police and other authorities, the Maritzburg Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was heard during the cross-examination of Captain Eric Nkabinde, a witness in the trial of Jamile and his co-accused, Mr Msizi Hlophe.

Jamile (60) and Hlophe (19) have pleaded not guilty to five charges of murder, seven counts of attempted murder and three charges of incitement to murder.

Nkabinde has been branch commander of the KwaDabeka Police Station, which serves the Clermont area, since October 1987.

Under cross-examination by Jamile's defence counsel, Mr Gideon Scheltema, he agreed that Jamile was criticised severely in United Democratic Front circles for his appeal to people to co-operate with police.

(Proceeding). - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

SOWETAN Thur



Justice Harms

Harms report: the shock waves

Slain lawyer's family to act

Sowetan 15/11/90

THE family of slain Durban attorney Mr Griffiths Mxenge has vowed not to rest until his killers are unmasked even though the Harms Commission found no clear-cut answer into his death.

Lawyer for the Mxenge family Mr Bheka Shezi said the family will not rest and were now waiting for the Attorney-General's next move.

"The family is very clear on this, they waited for the commission's report and now they will wait for the AG and if he refuses to prosecute, then they will take legal action," said Shezi.

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The family has asked for a copy of the commission report to study while planning their next step.

"The family is convinced that these policemen were involved in the killing and they want the full facts known," said Shezi.

Mxenge was murdered on November 20 1981.

His killing was a mystery until Death Row prisoner and former policeman Almond Butana Nofomela told lawyers the night before he was to hang that he was involved in the murder.

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Police hunt 'Vula' four

SO letter 15/11/90

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POLICE said yesterday they were looking for four suspects, including senior South African Communist Party member Ronnie Kasrils, in connection with the illegal importation of arms, ammunition and explosives.

The police said the arms were imported under "Operation Vula", the alleged plot to overthrow the South African Government by force.

According to a police statement released in Johannesburg, Kasrils, Janet Love, Charles Ndaba and Christopher Manye were being sought by the Durban police.

Rewards

The statement said the suspects were expected to be "armed and considered dangerous" and "continuously made use of all sorts of disguises" to hide their identities.

Police said Love also used two aliases, Cathy McCarthy and Vanessa Brown.

Rewards were available for information leading to the arrest of the four but did not specify how much was being offered.

African National Congress spokesman Mr Saki Macomoza said the organisation could not comment fully as it was not in a position to consult with the people mentioned in the police statement.

He said, however, that the ANC had reason to doubt the police statement as they had in the past "deliberately lied" about Operation Vula".

Sapa

bers of the Pretoria-based multiparty Commission of Inquiry into Violence

ANC to march in Cape city centre

By GLENDA DANIELS: Cape Town

A MAJOR campaign aimed at "creating conditions for the rapid removal of apartheid restrictions and unjust laws" is being launched by the African National Congress in the Western Cape.

This week thousands of pamphlets were distributed in the Cape calling on people to join a march in the city centre tomorrow. The pamphlet reads: "It is nearly the end of 1990. Since February 2 we have heard plenty of sweet promises from FW de Klerk and the Nats. But ask yourself — has your life really changed?"

The ANC has arranged with the railways to provide free transport and permission has been applied for.

The campaign is being run under the banner of "Peace Not Promises: Real Change Now".

Its demands are: The immediate release of political prisoners and the return of exiles; an end to spiralling prices on basic commodities; for employers to negotiate in good faith with unions and to resolve current disputes; the immediate scapping of undemocratic town councils and management committees; and the demand for a constituent assembly.

A rent boycott and possible stayaway are presently being discussed in all structures of the ANC-COSATU-SACP-UDF alliance and mandates will be taken on these actions shortly.

The ANC said in a statement this week there was a growing feeling that the terms and spirit of the Pretoria Minute were being interpreted to narrow, short-term political advantage by the government, and that "while the ANC remains resolutely committed to the negotiation process, the responses of those with power leave many wondering what has changed.

"The government must stop using our comrades as pawns or hostages to try and force us into political positions on terms favourable to them and determined unilaterally."

Marches against local authorities

By TSHOKOLO MOLAKENG

PROTEST marches across the Reef this weekend mark the intensification of a countrywide campaign against local authorities — the focus of much of the township violence in recent weeks. W Mail 16/11 - 22/11/90

The Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal, an umbrella body of 38 civic associations, has arranged marches to various Transvaal Provincial Administration offices, where protesters will deliver memorandums to the officials tomorrow. 327

The demands include the resignation of councillors; scrapping of all rent and service charge arrears; immediate restoration of electricity and water supplies; and dissolution of racial local government and their replacement with a freely elected non-racial local government with a single tax-base and one city council.

DOUGLAS GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION · DOUGLAS GREEN VI
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Govt 'preparing for violation of civil rights'

B10ay 16/11/90

THERE were signs that President F W de Klerk and his government were attempting to prepare public opinion for the violation of civil rights, ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela said last night.

Mandela, addressing the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Johannesburg, said it was universally accepted that various means of political expression, including public meetings, rallies and non-violent resistance, were aspects of freedom of speech.

While the media's freedom of speech was recognised, the same could not be said of the people's right to assemble, hold

TIM COHEN

meetings and processions, and stage mass demonstrations.

He said a regime accustomed to authoritarian behaviour needed time to grow accustomed to democratic practice.

He said it had been accepted that the interface of extra-parliamentary and parliamentary activities was essential for the unfolding of democratic politics.

Mandela said it would be foolhardy for anyone to align themselves with government's attempts to curtail these rights.

Shopkeepers attempt to end boycott

B Day 16/11/90

KROONSTAD shopkeepers are taking the lead in attempting to resolve a consumer boycott.

Residents of Maokeng township started the boycott after the Kroonstad Town Council cut electricity and water supplies.

Maokeng residents have been boycotting service charge payments.

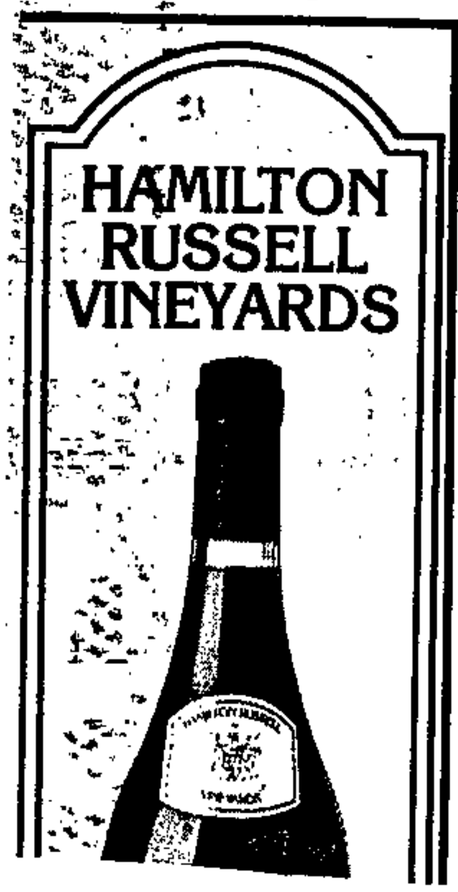
Kroonstad store owner Greg Papapanous said yesterday that the week-and-a-half old boycott had hit shopkeepers hard.

He said 50 traders had signed a petition calling for the dispute to be settled.

Papapanous said he had met the boycott organisers, the Moakeng Democratic Crisis Committee, on Wednesday and they had agreed to try and find ways of ending the boycott.

A meeting between shopkeepers and the Kroonstad Town Council was due to be held last night.

Papapanous said he hoped that progress towards a compromise would be made. — Sapa.



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INTERIM REPORT 1990/91

As sugar cane, citrus and grain are seasonal crops and dividends from investments are not received at regular intervals the figures shown are half those estimated for the current year and the comparative figures are half the actuals of last year.

	APRIL/ SEPT 1990	APRIL/ SEPT 1989	%
	R100s	R000s	CHANGE
Turnover	18 603	17 553	+ 6
Net operating income before interest (Note: 1)	2 607	2 317	+12
Income from investments (Note: 2)	920	1 711	−46
Net interest paid	(372)	(97)	

Busy Steyn quits Media Council post

CAPE TOWN — Media Council chairman Jan Steyn has resigned as from January 1 1991 due to the increasing workload of his chairmanship of the Independent Development Trust, a council statement said yesterday.

He was appointed the head of the trust in March this year when the R2bn fund was established by the State President for the socio-economic upliftment of SA's disadvantaged.

Steyn, formerly the Urban Foundation's executive director and chairman, became chairman of the SA Media Council when former Appeal Court judge Mr L de V van Winsen (the council's first chairman) retired on April 1 1989.

Relaxed

"During his term of office with the council, Mr Steyn spearheaded continued representations made to the government in seeking the lifting of the then prevailing restrictions on the media," the council statement said.

"Commenting on this, Mr Steyn said he had been singularly fortunate that it was during his term of office that a much more relaxed atmosphere between the media and the government had prevailed."

Steyn said: "I have attempted to ensure that the relationship remained on a sound and vigorously independent footing."

A council general meeting will be held on December 12 to appoint a successor. — Sapa.

Star 16/11/90 (327)

Govt mounts attack on mass mobilisation

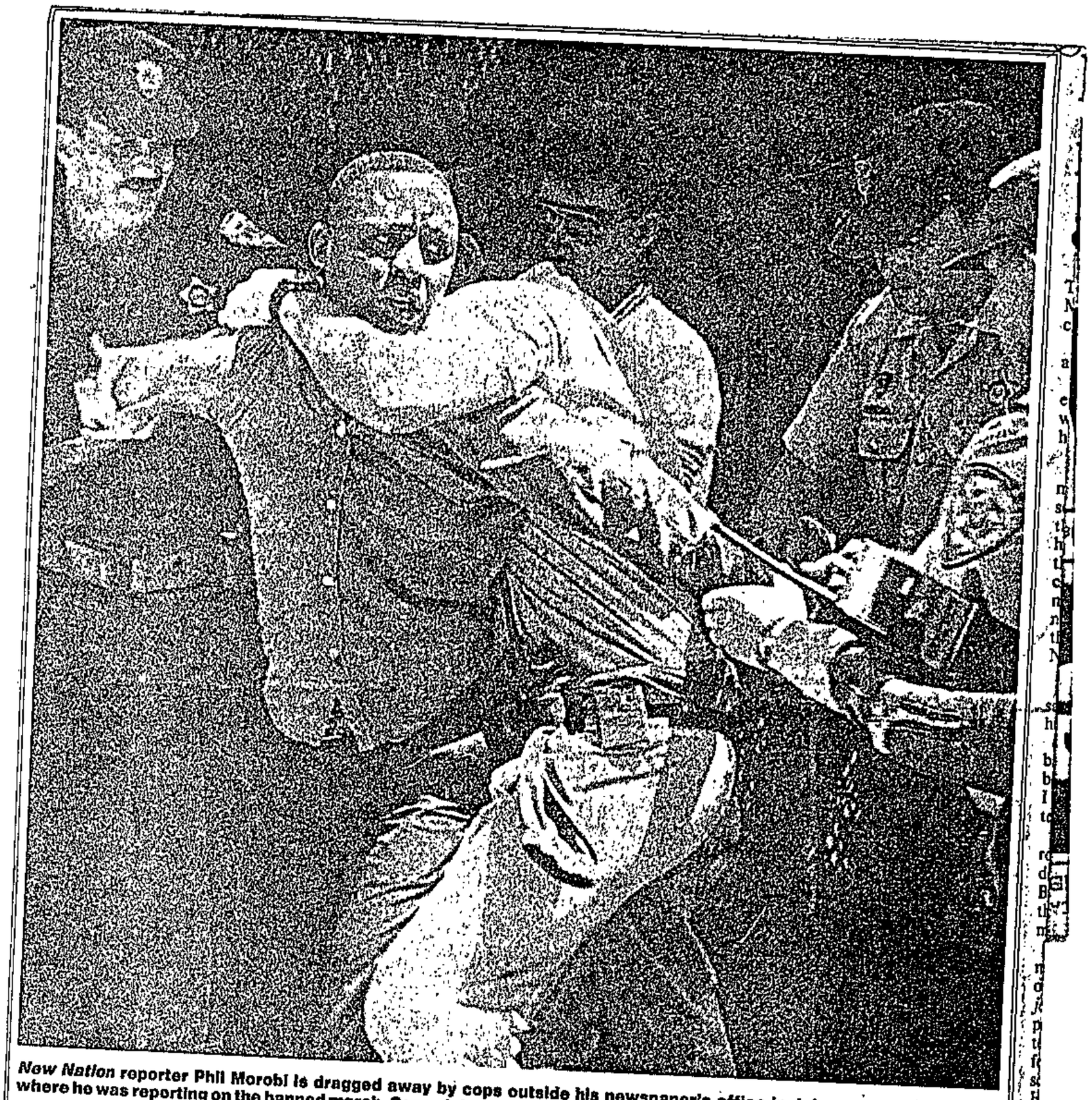
The Government has launched an attack on the ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation, a major point of disagreement currently being discussed in the joint Government/ANC working group.

The Government claims that the mass mobilisation campaign is part of the armed struggle — which the ANC has agreed to suspend. The ANC insists that the campaign is a separate issue, justified as long as blacks lack the vote.

The issue was expected to be high on the agenda of the working group's meeting in Pretoria today.

The group has also reached deadlock over whether the ANC may continue to recruit and train members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These questions are expected to be discussed by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela when they meet on November 27.



New Nation reporter Phil Morobi is dragged away by cops outside his newspaper's office in Johannesburg yesterday where he was reporting on the banned march. Cops claimed he threw a bag of potatoes at a cop. ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI



A plainclothes cop tries frantically to save his service pistol during the street battles which broke out in central Johannesburg yesterday. ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

Clashes in city as police halt protest march

RUNNING battles broke out in the Johannesburg city centre yesterday between protesters and police after permission for a planned march protesting against black local authorities was refused.

By late yesterday it was not known how many people had been injured, although eye-witnesses said at least 10 people had been injured by rubber bullets.

As early as 9.30am hundreds of placard-waving protesters gathered at Plein and Wanderers streets to march to the local TPA offices. Traffic ground to a halt and businesses closed early.

Police ordered the crowd to disperse within two minutes. Leaders of the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) told their supporters to sit down while their president Moses Mayekiso tried to plead with police to allow the enraged crowds to continue.

When police refused, attempts by Cast leaders to urge the protesters to leave the area were booed.

People fled in all directions as a strong contingent of police moved in on them, firing rubber bullets and chasing protesters with batons in Wanderer's Street.

Flat tenants and protestors hurled stones and beer bottles at the police and SADF personnel.

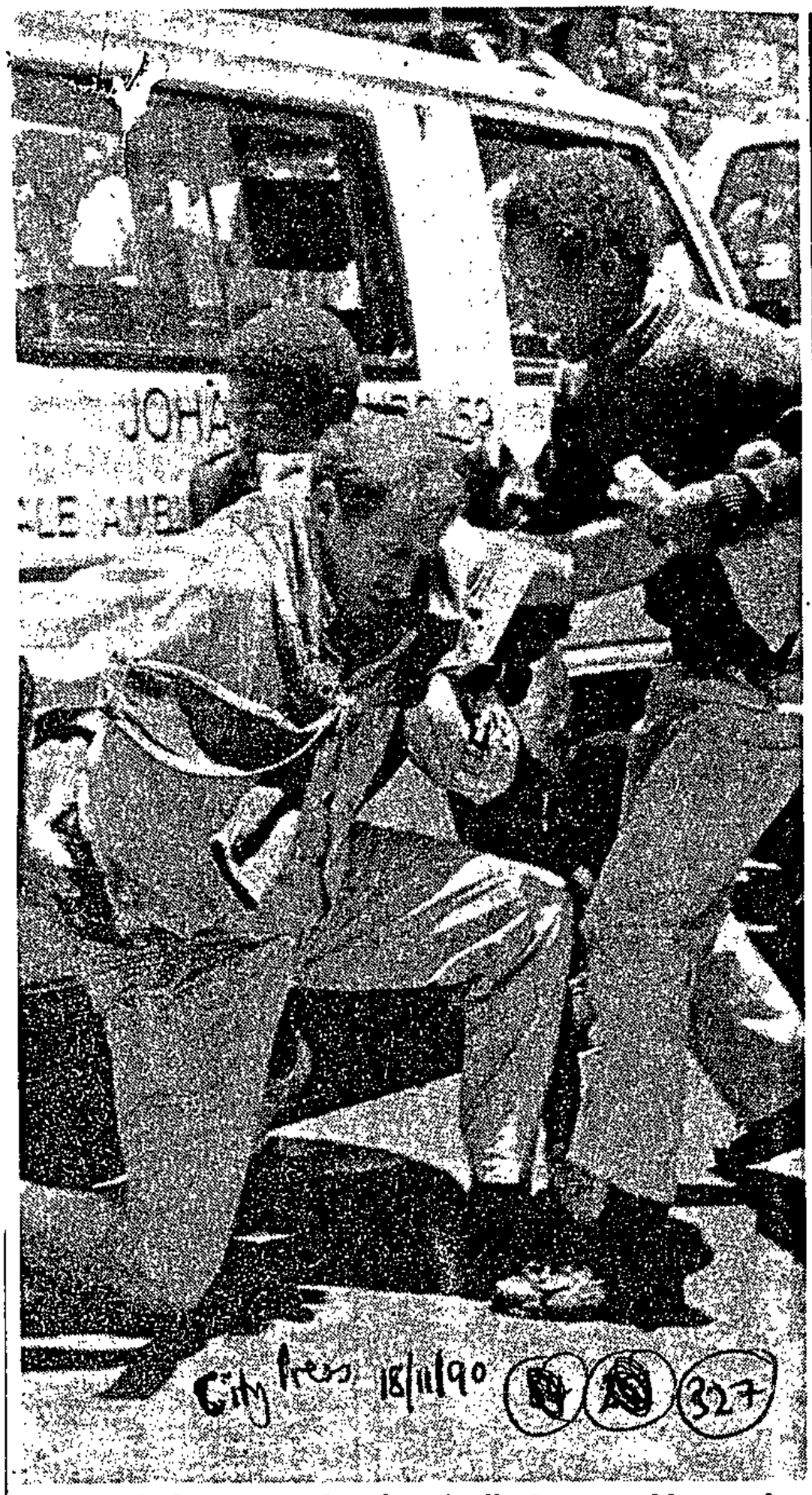
Two police vans were petrol-bombed, a policeman stabbed and all the windows of a senior police officer's car smashed, according to eyewitnesses.

As the battles raged, riot cops were seen shooting rubber bullets from rooftops and balconies.

The march was aimed at demanding the immediate resignation of councillors, the reconnection of lights and water and the creation of "one city" town councils.

Similar marches took place in Germiston, Potchefstroom, Vereeniging and Randfontein.

Meanwhile about 2 500 banner-waving marchers brought traffic to a halt in central Cape Town on Saturday morning in an ANC-organised protest against the black local authority system. – CP Reporters, Sapa



A plainclothes cop tries frantically to save his service pistol during the street battles which broke out in central Johannesburg yesterday. ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

Clashes in city as police halt protest march

RUNNING battles broke out in the Johannesburg city centre yesterday between protesters and police after permission for a planned march protesting against black local authorities was refused.

By late yesterday it was not known how many people had been injured, although eye-witnesses said at least 10 people had been injured by rubber bullets.

As early as 9.30am hundreds of placard-waving protesters gathered at Plein and Wanderers streets to march to the local TPA offices. Traffic ground to a halt and businesses closed early.

Police ordered the crowd to disperse within two minutes. Leaders of the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) told their supporters to sit down while their president Moses Mayekiso tried to plead with police to allow the enraged crowds to continue.

When police refused, attempts by Cast leaders to urge the protesters to leave the area were booed.

People fled in all directions as a strong contingent of police moved in on them, firing rubber bullets and chasing protesters with batons in Wanderer's Street.

Flat tenants and protestors hurled stones and beer bottles at the police and SADF personnel.

Two police vans were petrol-bombed, a policeman stabbed and all the windows of a senior police officer's car smashed, according to eyewitnesses.

As the battles raged, riot cops were seen shooting rubber bullets from rooftops and balconies.

The march was aimed at demanding the immediate resignation of councillors, the reconnection of lights and water and the creation of "one city" town councils.

Similar marches took place in Germiston, Potchefstroom, Vereeniging and Randfontein.

Meanwhile about 2 500 banner-waving marchers brought traffic to a halt in central Cape Town on Saturday morning in an ANC-organised protest against the black local authority system. – CP Reporters, Sapa

March organisers to blame — Vlok

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B Day 20/4/90

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday entered the dispute over Saturday's Johannesburg CBD violence by directly blaming civic association leaders for going ahead with an illegal march.

Vlok, who warned that ANC-organised mass action was straining the negotiating process, also released a letter sent to ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu two days before the march.

He said in a statement the march organisers, the ANC-aligned Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) "flouted the law and deliberately sought confrontation with police".

Two people died and about 20 were injured in running battles between police and SADF members and demonstrators and the public after police dispersed Cast supporters wanting to take part in the illegal march.

"It is clear from the information at our disposal that blame for the violence rests squarely on the shoulders of Cast," the statement said.

Vlok said the march went ahead despite repeated appeals from his office for it to be halted and so avoid confrontation. "Cast leaders knew that police would have no choice but to enforce the law if an illegal march went ahead and they were informed of such the previous day," Vlok's statement said.

Business Day Reporter

In the letter to Sisulu, ANC liaison representative Col Steve van Rooyen pointed out permission had not yet been granted for some of the marches. "I urge you to use your influence with these associations so that authority is, in all cases, applied for timeously, in order to avoid confrontation," the letter said.

Cast spokesman Cas Coovadia yesterday questioned why the organisation was informed of the decision not to grant permission only late on Friday afternoon when the organisation had applied on November 2.

The Johannesburg City Council had approved the march the previous Monday, he said.

Witwatersrand SAP spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman yesterday declined to say whether police had recommended that permission for the march be refused, saying the matter was "confidential".

Senior policemen and Cast leaders last night agreed to set up new channels of communications between them.

● Comment: Page 10

No light shed on missing activists

South 22/11 - 28/11/90

(327)

HUMAN rights organisations have compiled a list of 42 murders on which the Harms Commisssion failed to shed light when its controversial findings were made known last week.

In addition, seven anti-apartheid activists have disappeared without trace.

SOME OF THE UNSOLVED CASES ARE:

Griffiths Mxenge, Durban civil rights attorney, who was stabbed to death near Durban on November 10, 1981;

Alex Pilane of Cosas was beaten to death in April, 1988;

Cradock community leaders Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlawuli were stabbed, shot and burnt to death outside Port Elizabeth on 27 June, 1985;

Russel Mnomezulu, Joseph Mtembu, Sandile Khawula, Chwepheshe Mbambo died in an explosion at Lamontville/Chesterville on December 1, 1985

Victoria Mxenge, a Durban civil rights attorney and a member of the UDF, was shot and axed to death near Durban in 1985;

Tato Dweba of the Natal Freedom Committee died near Durban August 25, 1985 after his throat was cut;

Thabo Mokoena of the National Federation of Workers Union and the UDF was killed in September, 1985l;

Godfrey Phuso of Jabula High School, Pimville, was shot in mysterious circumstances on September 8, 1985;

Lefu Rasego of Cosas was hacked and burnt to death near Tumahole in December, 1985;

Ian Zamisa of the South African Allied Workers' Union was killed near East London in December, 1985;

Zalisile Matyhola of Saso was killed in Zwelitsha near King-Williamstown in 1985

Frank Martin died when a petrol bomb was thrown into his home on March 21, 1986

Fabian and Florence Ribiero, both active in civil politics, died after being shot outside their home in Mamelodi on December 1, 1986;

David Modimoeng, a trade union organiser, was injured when a homemade bomb was thrown into his home at Oukasie, Brits on May 28,1986. His mother Joyce died in the attack;

Petrus Mnisi of the umemployed Workers Coordinating Committee was stabbed to death near Sebokeng on November 5, 1987;

Amos Tshabalala of the Ntsakane Association and the Ntsakane Parents Crisis Committee was stabbed to death near Ntsakane on November 17, 1987;

Samuel Ndlovu of Sosco died after being shot on September 2, 1987;

Amos Boshomane, a trade unionist, died after being shot near Katlehong on February 25, 1988;

Michael Banda, a Potwa shopsteward died after being shot on July 1, 1988;

Sicelo Dhlomo of the Soweto Students' Congress and the DPSC, died after being shot near Soweto on January 25, 1988;

Sidney Msibi, a former ANC member, was killed at Pimville, Soweto on July 5 1988;

Linda Brakvis of the UDF was killed near Heldemoed on January 29, 1988;

Nthuthuseli Paye, a youth leader, was killed near Cape Town in June/July 1989;

Sawutini Buti, President of the Alexandra Youth Congress, was killed after a petrol bomb attack on his home in February 1989;

David Webster, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand was shot dead outside his home in Johannesburg on May 1, 1989;

THE FOLLOWING ACTIVISTS ARE MISSING:

Siphiwo Mtimkulu and Topsi Madeka, both of Cosas, disappeared while on their way to Livingstone Hospital in Port Elizabeth in April 1982;

Champion Galela, Sipho Hashe and Qaqawuli Godolozi, all of Pebco, disappeared at the HF Verwoerd Airport on May 8, 1985;

Vincent Mahlalela disappeared from the Pietersburg Police Stafion on December 21, 1986;

Stanza Bopape, of the Mamelodi Civic Association, disappeared on June 12, 1988, shortly after being detained by the South African Police.

OTHER SUSPECTED POLITICALLY MOTIVATED DEATHS ARE:

Anton Lubowski, human rights lawyer and prominent member of Swapo, who was shot dead outside his Windhoek home September 12, 1989;

The mutilated body of Themba Myapi, a Witwatersrand Council of Churches field worker, was found in the veld at Phola Park in November, 1989

Aldo Mogano, executive member of the Alexandra Youth Congress, was shot dead by two unknown gunmeN outside his home in Alexandra, Johannesburg in April this year;

Japhta Masemola, executive member of the PAC was killed in a car accident in Johannesburg in April 1990;

Sidwell Nono, 32, a shopsteward of the South African Railways and Harbours Workers Union (sarhwu) was hacked to death in Langa in May this year;

Simon Maswanganye, executive member of the Soweto Civic Association was shot dead in Soweto. Residents allege men in a white minibus without registration plates were responsible.

Mangope may lift emergency

Bl Day 22/11/90

EDYTH BULBRING

PRETORIA — Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope looked set to lift the country's state of emergency next month, government sources said yesterday.

The sources said Mangope would make an important announcement on December 6, the anniversary of Bophuthatswana's independence, as well as clarifying his government's position on negotiations.

A Bophuthatswana government delegation would also meet the ANC next month in a move that would go a long way towards clarifying the tempestuous relationship between the two, the sources said.

They met for the first time on Sunday.

The Bophuthatswana government this month used emergency regulations and other legislation to detain 48 ANC members after it alleged an ANC plot to kill Mangope.

Bophuthatswana's information secretary Jerry Reid said yesterday both sides intended meeting again.

However, he could not confirm the date or the venue. ANC spokesman were unavailable for comment last night.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports Bophuthatswana police yesterday confirmed the release of ANC Mafikeng chairman Job Mokgoro.

However, sources in the area now claim that Bophuthatswana police have arrested another 10 Winterveldt residents.

No comment has yet been forthcoming on the arrests.

The lawyer for the families of the alleged detainees, Pat Huma, has confirmed that the men are all ANC members.

ANC announces 'mass action'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is to embark on a mass action campaign in a bid to force the government to speed up the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

The launch of the new campaign comes amid increasing tension between the government and the ANC over the organisation's continued commitment to "mass mobilisation".

Announcing the new campaign, the chairman of the ANC's PWV region, Mr Kgalema Motlanthe, said it would be launched by the staging of marches through Johannesburg and Pretoria on December 6. This would be followed by other forms of "mass action", he said.

● 'ANC policies put off investors' — Page 2

Star 22/11/90

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Five Bop detainees on hunger strike, says doctor

Five people detained in Bophuthatswana during a recent crackdown on ANC activists are alleged to be on a hunger strike, while at least two other detainees are apparently in poor health.

The five have not eaten since Monday, the publicity secretary of the National Medical and Dental Association in the area, Dr Fazel Randera, said yesterday.

He said Jomo Kgasu, a diabetic, was on insulin injections. Dr Thabo Rangaka was a hypertensive patient.

The two were arrested at the weekend in a swoop in which more than 40 people were detained under Bophuthatswana's emergency regulations.

Dr Randera added: "We have evidence that soon after his arrest, Dr Rangaka suffered from a chest pain on his left side — possibly as a result of a heart attack. Despite this, he was not taken to hospital.

"It is disturbing that the men are still detained after we had learnt that an agreement had been reached with the Bophuthatswana government that all detainees would be released."

Police spokesman Colonel David George was unavailable for comment. — Sapa.

'Lift the ban — and save lives'

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

UNLESS government policy on outdoor gatherings is changed — and changed soon — conflict between police and civilians in the streets of Johannesburg threatens again in two weeks' time when the African National Congress mounts a mass protest march in the city.

Just days after two people were killed when police broke up an illegal gathering in central Johannesburg, the ANC's PWV region announced its intention to hold mass marches in both Johannesburg and Pretoria on Thursday December 6 to press home its demands for the removal of obstacles to negotiations.

One of the marchers' demands will be the repeal of the Internal Security Act, the law in terms of which all outdoor gatherings, except those authorised by a magistrate or the minister of justice, have been banned for almost 14 years.

The restoration of the right to assemble could be achieved without the repeal of the Act, however. It would take nothing more than Minister Kobie Coetsee publishing a notice in the *Government Gazette* revoking his March 30 proclamation, which renewed the ban.

"The government could, by ministerial decree, lift the ban tomorrow and save many lives in the process," observed Human Rights Commission commissioner Max Coleman.

As matters stood, the security forces were given powers to break up illegal gatherings, he said, and they often used considerable force in doing so.

Coleman highlighted the fact that coordinated marches taking place on the same day in different places might be treated differently by magistrates. Those gaining permission went off peacefully. Those refused permission drew police intervention

"It's obvious where the violence is coming from. It is state-created violence, created through legislation and its enforcement."

National Association of Democratic Lawyers Transvaal chair Clive Plasket said: "There is no place for a prohibition on outdoor gatherings. But the rights of others using public areas must be catered for at the same time. This should be done not by removing the right to assemble, but by administrative procedures which facilitate the exercise of the right to assemble."

The manner in which the blanket ban invites police intervention and often results in violence, injury and even death is illustrated by the following cases:

- On October 13 nine people were reported to have been shot and injured in the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand while returning from a funeral. A police liaison officer said police fired teargas into the crowd after they defied police orders to disperse. He denied police used live ammunition and that nine people were injured.
- The same day police fired teargas and bullets to disperse about 500 marchers at Elkah Stadium in Soweto. Permission for the march had been refused. At least six people were injured and 32 arrested.
- On October 3 in Cape Town, eight workers were hurt when police fired rubber bullets at a union march in support of Nampak strikers. The union alleged no warning was given; police disputed this.
- The police unrest report of July 6 recorded a death resulting from police intervention in a gathering at Namahadi in the Free State which was apparently peaceful until it was forced to disperse.

An analysis of unrest reports for July reveals that on 51 occasions police acted to disperse illegal gatherings. In only five cases was there any hint of violence on the part of the crowd. In 19 cases the methods used by the police were specified — including use of teargas, rubber bullets, birdshot and stun grenades. At least 931 persons were arrested and two deaths recorded.

'Hit squad' march today

CAPE TOWN — Marchers demanding that Defence Minister General Magnus Malan be sacked for his alleged political links with military "hit squads" will take to Cape Town's city centre streets today.

The organisers of the protest, the Campaign for a Judicial Inquiry into Hit Squads, will also challenge President F W de Klerk to a television debate on the Government's reaction to the Harms Commission report.

A campaign spokesman said the legal march would start at 11 am, near Buitenkant Street off the Grand Parade.

The procession would end at St George's Cathedral, where a mock funeral would be held, symbolising the death of the "principle of political accountability". — Sapa.

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He's no common criminal!

25/11/90 Cpress.

ANC battles to get prisoners released

By THEMBA KHUMALO

ABSOLUM MADONSELA is a typical ANC guerrilla who was trained in South Africa by the organisation's military commanders early in 1987.

On his debut mission, he and another cadre shot and wounded two Soweto municipal policemen who were guarding an electricity sub-station and took their rifles.

Subsequently they were both apprehended but Madonsela's comrade later escaped from the police cells in Soweto and fled the country to rejoin Umkhonto weSizwe. Having spent almost a year in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, Madonsela was later charged and convicted of two counts of attempted murder, armed robbery and illegal possesion of a firearm.

He is currently serving a 12 year-sentence at Leeuwkop prison and, because of the nature of his crime, he is treated as an ordinary criminal. He will not qualify for indemnity agreed upon in terms of the Pretoria Minute between the government and the ANC.

The ANC will have none of that. According to Pennuel Maduna, an attorney serving in the ANC-government working committee, Madonsela is a classic example of thousands of cases his organisation is fighting.

"We have heard of thousands of our imprisoned comrades whom the Prisons Service has classified as ordinary criminals and mixed with common-law prisoners. We maintain that these are our comrades and they are not criminals. We will definitely not rest until they are released," Maduna said.

Munira Balin, a lawyer at the offices of Ishmael Ayob and Partners – who defended Madonsela in court – said their client's appeal was dismissed in the Rand Supreme Court in September last year.

"There is nothing we can do for him legally now that we have exhausted our legal means of fighting his case. The only thing left is to fill in the forms through which we will apply for indemnity for him," she said.

His family thinks their son's case was aggravated by the fact that three days after a State witness had testified in Madonsela's trial, that witness – who was once his intimate friend – was shot dead near his Orlando West home.

"We feel that he was punished for the deeds of those who had killed the guy who testified against him," said his elder sister Sbongile.

Matthew Phosa, also serving on the working committee, said his organisation was going all out to fight the prisoner issue once and for all.

"We have deployed lawyers to go to all South Africa's jails to assist these people to fill in the indemnity forms. The government is talking about 600 prisoners who will qualify and we in the ANC had compiled at least 3 622 names by the end of August and the figure is increasing," he said.



Raymond Mhlaba . . . the Kirkwood hunger strikers were unhappy they had not been freed.

MK 3 urged to stop their hunger strike

CALL off your hunger-strike is the message three Umkhonto weSizwe members who have been identified as HIV-positive carriers got from senior ANC member Raymond Mhlaba this week.

On Thursday the former Rivonia trialist visited the three, who are being held in JC Steyn Prison, Kirkwood.

He gave them forms to complete to apply for their release in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

"Two of the three Umkhonto weSizwe prisoners were brought to the consulting room in wheelchairs. I appealed to them to call off their hunger strike," Mhlaba said.

According to him the hunger-strikers were dissatisfied that they had not been freed in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

"They were also unhappy that some of the privileges they had at Pollsmoor Prison had been withdrawn and that they were being kept apart from other prisoners.

Earlier this week Mhlaba saw a five-man delegation representing 51 other political prisoners.

They will get similar forms at a follow-up visit.

21 HELD DURING PEACEFUL REEF MARCH



FAITHFUL FEW: Sayco members protest in Kempton Park yesterday Picture: RICHARD BLADES

POLICE outnumbered marchers in Kempton Park yesterday when the Tembisa branch of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) took to the streets in protest.

The 60 demonstrators handed a memorandum of political demands to Major D Swanepoel at police headquarters.

Leaders blamed "police harassment" for the small turnout. A police spokesman confirmed 21 people had been arrested for marching outside the agreed route.

But march organiser Timothy Mabena insisted that those detained were only proceeding to the assembly point.

"There is no way these people could have held their own separate march, unless police expected them to fly to the assembly point," he said.

The march was one of several in various parts of the country. All went off peacefully and, in Cape Town, even with a touch of humour.

Sunday Times Reporters

Yesterday morning shoppers stared in surprise at the sight of a goose-stepping "Magnus Malan" accompanied by a masked "President F W de Klerk" — in reality, artist David Roberts and drama student Alan Smith.

The protest was organised by the Campaign for a Judicial Inquiry into Hit Squads.

Organiser Deon Swart said campaigners were demanding that General Malan be sacked over the activities of the covert Civil Co-operation Bureau, and that the hit squad inquiry be extended beyond South Africa's borders.

They also wanted a TV debate with Mr De Klerk on the findings of the Harms commission.

The campaign was supported by the ANC, the Black Sash, the Democratic Party, student organisations and "many Afrikaans speaking people", Mr Swart said.

Seven people, including a four-year-old boy, were shot when police broke up a demonstration at Montana township outside Wolseley.

In the Transvaal, two black townships held marches to protest against local authorities and other issues.

More than 3 000 people marched in Dobsonville, where a delegation from the local branch of the Soweto Civic Association found the gates to the town

council offices locked when they tried to present a memorandum to the mayor.

A police guard said the councillors had "left for a meeting".

Marchers then headed for the post office and the police station, where they presented memorandums.

In Atteridgeville 1 000 peaceful mourners buried a victim of last week's violence.

21 held after Tembisa march

AT least 21 people were arrested during a march by the Tembisa ANC Youth League to Kempton Park security police offices on Saturday.

Both police and protesters confirmed that the march was peaceful. But SAP liasion officer Eugene Opperman said those detained "did not observe the conditions of a permission granted by the magistrate".

Opperman said 15 men and six women were arrested for walking on other routes than those prescribed by the magisterial permission.

Tembisa residents association secretary Timothy Mabena disputed the police figure on the arrests. He said 30 people were arrested - and they were still only on their way from the Kempton Park railway station to the assembly point where the march was supposed to start.

"There is no way that these could have held their own separate march, unless police expected them to fly to the assembly point," said Mabena.

He said the arrests took place between Kelvin and Plein streets in Kempton Park.

Scores of other people were allegedly turned back by police while on their way to the march. Mabena claimed that they had either been told the march was over or that they were not allowed to march to Spartan because it was an industrial area and they would be arrested for trespassing.

Sapa

Plea to Vlok over curfew

Sowetan 27/11/90

By MONK NKOMO

THE Atteridgeville\Saulsville Residents Organisation meets the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in Pretoria this morning to discuss the possibility of lifting the dawn-to-dusk curfew in the township.

The civic body also wants the lifting of unrest curbs imposed in the Pretoria township on November 11, said acting general secretary of Asro, Mr Simon Tshidi.

Unrest area

Vlok introduced the 9pm to 4am curfew and declared the township an "unrest area" following a weekend of violence in which two youths were shot dead, allegedly by police, and houses of several town councillors and former town clerk, Mr Solly Rammala, petrol-bombed. A number of shops were also damaged.

"We think the curbs are unnecessary and, in fact, they inconvenience people," Tshidi said.



Jubilant dance ... toddlers from Pamela Nursery School in Soweto celebrate the end of the school year.

Victim's burial a first for Jo'burg

Sowetan 29/11/90

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HISTORY will be made this week when the first black is buried at Johannesburg's Central Park Cemetery.

Mr David Oupa Hlongwane (33), who died during a demonstration in the city centre last week, will be buried on Sunday, executive member of Actstop Mr Mohammed Dangor said yesterday.

"This is a victory for Actstop," which was also involved in the march, said Dangor.

By IKE MOTSAPI

"Who would have thought that this would be possible? We have been fighting for the abolition of all racial laws because we felt that no individual should be restricted.

"We are saying this is history to bury Oupa at the Johannesburg Central Cemetery whereas that is not so. He, like other many blacks who have died before, should have had the legitimate right to have been buried there.

"This is not history but a right for the entire black population," he added.

Dangor said deputy president of the African National Congress Mr Nelson Mandela and the Rev Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches will be the main speakers.

Hlongwane died after police shooting incidents during a march in Johannesburg organised by the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal.

Cast is fighting for the abolition of discriminatory laws.

In cross-examination, the officer told the crowd. — Sapa.

Western Cape worst hit by violence

EDYTH BULBRING

PRETORIA — The western Cape has had the highest incidence of unrest in the country this year, with Natal a close second, says Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Vlok was speaking at the opening of the new Vela police station in Inanda, near Durban.

From the beginning of the year to November 22, there were 2 655 unrest incidents in Natal compared with 2 990 in the western Cape. B1Dau 30/11/90

Vlok said there was clearly a campaign aimed at the lives of policemen. Nineteen policemen had been killed since the beginning of October this year.

These killings were over and above the campaign being waged against black SAP members in an attempt to "drive them into the arms of the anarchists".

However, the campaign has floundered because of the loyalty displayed by the victims of this campaign.

The new police station, which cost R211 000, was part of a budget of R24m approved by Cabinet in June for SAP structures in Natal, Vlok said.

Since the outbreak of violence in Natal, various public organisations had asked for a bigger police presence to protect them from organisations which "pretended" to act in their political and constitutional interests.

Vlok said government was well on the way to creating a new political dispensation and the matter at hand was the economic reconstruction of SA and the creation of new jobs.

Vlok declares unrest area on East Rand

LINDEN BIRNS

ZONKEZIZWE, the troubled East Rand shack settlement, was yesterday declared an unrest area by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. 327

The declaration, which will go into immediate effect, includes the imposition of a 9pm to 4am curfew which began last night.

Since November 22, 69 people have been killed in the settlement, with the worst attack taking place early last week when a Zulu raiding party allegedly launched an attack after which 19 dead men's bodies were found in the area.

Vlok said the "extraordinary measures" were aimed at hooligans and criminal elements who were preying on law-abiding citizens. B1Dau 30/11/90

Vlok appealed to Zonkezizwe's residents to co-operate with the police in re-establishing law and order in the area.

Employers should assist their workers who lived in the settlement by providing them with the necessary travel documentation, he added.

Yesterday police found the bodies of at least 14 people following overnight clashes in townships countrywide.

At the East Rand's near-deserted Zonkezizwe shack settlement, police found nine hacked and stabbed bodies. Yesterday morning they had no idea who the dead men or their assailants were.

"We think there is a possibility of this being a faction fight between Xhosas and Zulus, but we are investigating the attack," a police spokesman said.

Sapa reports that four other bodies were found in nearby Thokoza on the outskirts of Alberton, south of Johannesburg. Police liaison officer Capt Piet van Deventer said the police were not sure if these bodies had been victims of unrest-related incidents.

At Hopeville, in Natal, one man was shot dead by a gun-toting mob while a similar attack left a man seriously injured at Natal's Table Mountain. Youths in the same area also set a house alight.

Other incidents — in which there were no deaths — were reported at Jouberton near Klerksdorp, Rocklands near Bloemfontein and KwaMakhuta near Durban.

enants to oppose roup Areas case

ST LONDON: Black tenants living a white East London suburb were s week waiting for judgment after a urt bid to have them evicted for not ying rent.

esidents of Skyways, in Southern- ood, have been withholding rent ice September over alleged poor nditions in the flats. Their landlord s gone to court in an attempt to es- olish his right to evict them, but the igistrate reserved judgment after a ecial hearing last weekend.

leanwhile residents fear an attack rightwingers after an incident Monday in which a group of at st ten unidentified white men owled around Skyways.

NPU 'almost struck a deal' with Botha

By ANTON HARBER

A NEW book by former *Cape Times* editor Tony Heard has revealed that former president PW Botha came extremely close to striking a deal with the Newspaper Press Union in 1986 that would have enabled him to "bludgeon into submission" the "alternative" press.

The deal was designed to exempt the NPU newspapers from Emergency media regulations, thus isolating the "alternative" newspapers and giving Botha a free hand to act against them.

It would have given Botha, in Heard's words, "what he always wanted: a 'responsible' and 'patriotic' established press, with the rest bludgeoned into submission".

The deal, acceptable to most of the NPU executive and editors of the Afrikaans newspapers, apparently only fell through because a handful of liberal English-language editors, led by the then editor of the *Sunday Times*, Tertius Myburgh, resisted it.

These editors blocked a decision, until Botha withdrew his offer of an agreement.

Heard's book, *The Cape of Storms*, has been published in the US and will shortly be published in South Africa by Ravan Press. Subtitled "A personal history of the crisis in South Africa", it deals with the tense relationship between the press and government in Heard's three decades in journalism.

The government, considering the renewal of the State of Emergency and the harsh media curbs, offered to exempt the established papers from these laws if they accepted a set of "guidelines", which Heard publishes for the first time. They call on newspapers to agree not to assign staff to scenes of unrest or security force actions; not to publish "subversive" statements; and not to publish blank spaces, photographs of unrest or security force action or details of the treatment of detainees. The advantage for Botha was that the guidelines would be secretive, thereby avoiding public outcry.

"By regulating themselves secretly under voluntary 'guidelines' and not being openly coerced by State of Emergency law, the participating newspapers would escape heavy fines, or jail for their staffs. The price was treachery against the others," writes Heard.

VULA PAIR ARE DEAD, ANC FEARS

CIPNEWS 2/12/90

TWO key members of the ANC's "Operation Vula" have disappeared, sparking fears they may have died in detention.

The two are KwaMashu schoolteacher Mbuso Shabalala and Charles Ndaba.

According to the ANC, their capture in early July in KwaMashu, Durban, gave security police their first break on the Vula case.

Police strongly deny the pair were ever arrested, while attempts by the ANC to establish the whereabouts of these two "highly disciplined" operatives have drawn a complete blank. (327)

And, in an interview with *City Press*, Vula fugitive and MK intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils intimated that an alert on television programme *Police File* in mid-November (a week after the release of Vula trialists on R300 000 bail) describing himself, Ndaba, Janet Love, and Christopher Manye as "armed and dangerous", might be an official cover-up.

By S'BU MNGADI

"It's strange that they waited four months to put out this alert," Kasrils said.

"Siphiwe Nyanda, Mac Maharaj and the others were arrested in July, and the police have been looking for the rest of us ever since. Now suddenly there's this melodramatic announcement mentioning the four of us.

"I believe it is a smokescreen to provide an alibi for the special branch (security police), because it is possible Charles Ndaba is dead.

"We believe Charles, who came back into South Africa early this year to take part in Vula, was arrested on July 6 in KwaMashu.

"Two days later, Mbuso Shabalala, a schoolteacher from Port Shepstone involved with Vula, went to meet Charles at a rendezvous in KwaMashu – and hasn't been seen since," Kasrils said.

The pair's failure to return to an underground "safe house" in Durban on schedule was followed within three days by the arrest of nine other ANC members and, in mid-July, of the ANC's senior executive member Mac Maharaj and MK commander Siphiwe Nyanda.

Kasrils said safe houses were raided "and it was clear police were acting on information they could have gained only from Charles. These were places where he had left his belongings and the weapons he'd been using in training underground units."

Nine Vula trialists said at a Press conference after their release on bail last month that it was obvious from security police questioning that they could only have obtained information from the missing pair.

Kasrils – who called it "sinister" – said it initially looked as though Charles was co-operating with his captors and would appear as a state witness.

"Now things look different: instead of being named as a state witness in the Vula trial, or as a co-accused, he is named as a 'wanted person' by the police. And Shabalala was not mentioned at all.

"Charles and Mbuso are highly disciplined comrades – there's no way they would simply have disappeared of their own accord. We've got ways and means of communicating. They would have reported to the organisation if they were safe," he said.

According to Shabalala's wife Mary-Rose, he disappeared early in July, leaving her behind in her sixth month of pregnancy with their two children – Nombuso, 6, and Ntokozo, 3. Despite strenuous police denials, she strongly suspected they were holding him.

Police have since searched Shabalala's house twice and questioned his friend, Wiseman Luthuli.

It is believed Vula's existence was unknown to Pretoria's intelligence establishment until early July – the time the two men disappeared.

ANC spokesmen fear the highly unusual *Police File* television broadcast may not have been intended primarily as a message to the public, but as an indirect pre-emptive police denial of responsibility for the fate of the pair.

Intense ANC pressure on the issue is likely in the coming weeks. This will add new fuel to already substantial tension between the ANC and the government.

The ANC remains adamant the indemnity granted after their first meeting with De Klerk at Groote Schuur covers the activities of both Maharaj and Kasrils – and that there is no justification for any action against them.

■ BRIGADIER Leon Mellet, Press secretary for Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, this week dismissed as unfounded fears that Shabalala and Ndaba might have died in detention.

"If police had arrested the two in early July, as alleged, we would have informed their families immediately – even if they were being held under the Internal Security Act," he said.

'No backing down on mass action'

THE ANC would "never back down" on its campaign of mass action, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He told about 300 people gathered for a funeral at Wits University that mass action was a right and accepted as normal in democratic countries.

"Mass action is going to remain an important part of our policy," Mandela said. He added that the ANC would apply for permission for all marches, giving government "the responsibility of refusing permission". 327

If no permission was received, or if it was in an unacceptable form, the demonstrations would go ahead anyway.

The body of David Tshonga, who was killed by police during a march in Johannesburg on November 17, was before him because "the perception is that the life of every black man is very cheap", Mandela said. B1 Day 3/12/90

He said he had informed President F W de Klerk of what the ANC saw as the cause of the violence, namely the involvement of the National Intelligence Service and Military Intelligence.

In addition, he had given names of officials in the security forces who had "tortured" recent detainees, he said. No action had been taken, nor had any investigation been launched.

Mandela welcomed the fact that the PAC would be holding its annual congress inside SA, and he hoped it would consider

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Mandela B1 Day 3/12/90.

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the call for a united front in "the struggle against apartheid".

On the subject of his wife, Mandela said he was encouraged by the level of support she had received.

He criticised the conduct of police investigating her alleged offences. "This is no ordinary case," he said.

He accused the media of having found his wife guilty before she appeared in court.

United Democratic Front general secretary Popo Molefe, in calling for mass action to be intensified, accused the police of being "trigger happy" and "racist".

He said Inkatha marches were tolerated but "our marchers are mowed down like flies".

Molefe said the police and the security forces should be put on trial and that society should be free of "legalised killers" like the CCB.

Actstop's Cas Coovadia said people should bury David Tshonga with "discipline and dignity, but also with anger". The anger, he said, should be channelled into "intensifying the mass struggle". — Sapa.

● Picture: Page 3

Police keep watch on Vaal marchers

(327)

Sowetan 3/12/90

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

A protest march on the Vanderbijlpak police went without a hitch at the weekend as ANC supporters strolled around the police station block.

The march which was closely guarded by the police was a prelude by the Vaal supporters of the ANC's "march for peace and freedom campaign" which kicks off on Thursday.

Police kept a watchful eye on marchers. Snippers were perched on roof tops while the white community of this conservative Vaal town watched fascinated behind fences as the crowd moved around the police station inside the barbed wire.

A memorandum to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was handed to the police representatives.

They demanded:

Peace

* An interim government and a constituent assembly.

"The Nationalist Party must cease to be the referee and a player towards peace.

* A bridging finance to solve the services crisis.

* A non-racial town council with a single tax base.

* A closer look into current violence. "We demand that all warlords be arrested. We note with concern the usage of the media by the top brass of your police to foster tribal divisions within communities in hostels and the surrounding areas."

"We have been dealt a raw deal," Cosatu secretary for the Western Transvaal region Mr Zwelibanzi Vavi, said after the 20 minute walk.

"The route we were given was too short and was on the outskirt of the town. We are not satisfied and we would organise for another march, this time through the town."

Meanwhile police arrested 25 people in Pretoria on Saturday when they staged an illegal march in Pretoria.

ANC city march gets go-ahead

Star 4/12/90 327

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

The Johannesburg City Council yesterday gave the go-ahead for a march in the city on Thursday which starts off the ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now!" campaign, a spokesman for the town clerk's office confirmed yesterday.

A decision from Johannesburg's Chief Magistrate is expected shortly. He can overide the council's decision.

A spokesman for his office said a decision would be announced soon after the matter was studied.

The Chief Magistrate refused permission for a march organised by the Civic Associations of the Transvaal on November 17 in which two people died after clashes with the police.

Council to look into converting hostels

B 104 5/12/90

THEO RAWANA

JABULANI men's hostel in Soweto is a complex of live-in couples, shebeens and discos — and the discovery has moved the Soweto City Council to look into the question of converting hostels into family units.

The hostel featured prominently in the recent feuds between dwellers and Soweto residents which left more than 800 people dead.

An inspection of the hostel by councillors and officials unearthed a semblance of family life.

Councillor Edward Kunene said there were six discos in the complex, where the registered population was 4 465.

"The only answer to this problem is conversion of these hostels into family units," said Kunene.

Kunene said the plight of the hostel dwellers was exacerbated when their wives came to visit from their rural homes. "The man has to get out of the hostel and hire a backyard room in the township at a rental of about R80 — on top of the R18,50 he pays for his bed," he said.

But he said some of the older dwellers were against the idea of their hostel being converted.

Housing Committee chairman Simon Mkhize said the council would look into the question of either upgrading the hostels or converting them into family units.

"This would go along with the upgrading of two old townships, Mzimhlophe and White City Jabavu, which are lined up for upgrading."

Houses in these townships are divided into three family units.

Police show the 'whole picture' behind video

B 1004 5/12/90

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THE ANC's video showing alleged police collusion with Inkatha-supporting Zulus at Zonkezizwe was yesterday described as "a distortion by ommission" by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze.

Kotze, accompanied by SA Police public relations head Brig Bernie Mostert and Vosloorus Unrest Unit chief Maj Hein Killian, addressed journalists and ANC members at a Pretoria briefing. He distributed photographs showing "the whole picture of events" which took place on November 12 in the shanty town.

The photographs, taken by a police photographer, showed how at least two Casspirs were used to transport delegates from the Xhosa and the Zulu factions of Zonkezizwe to joint negotiations where Killian acted as mediator.

They also showed police disarming both groups prior to the negotiations.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in a statement released by Kotze that the ANC had "apparently willfully" given out a distorted version of events by not showing "or even subsequently admitting" that Xhosa representatives also attended the peace negotiations.

Kotze and ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma argued about the police translation of a chant sung by armed Zulus on the video tape. Kotze said it was a peace chant, which stated that "the war is over", but Macozoma said the chant was a war song

LINDEN BIRNS

proclaiming that the battle of Blood River would be fought again, against the Xhosas.

In reaction to ANC calls for the police to identify the negotiators, Kotze said he could give the name of only one of the Zulu men, Elias Mazibuko — whose hacked and shot body was discovered by the police on the morning after the negotiations — and a Mr Madiba from the Xhosa delegation.

When asked to name more of the delegates to the talks, Kotze said neither side had wanted individual members to be identified "and made into targets as happened with Mazibuko".

Replying to queries on why the police had not released the photographs earlier, Kotze said they had been processed only after the police were sure they constituted "hard evidence".

PETER DELMAR reports that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he "deplored and condemned the vicious smear tactics of the ANC".

He accused the ANC of "a hideous bit of propaganda" by producing a video tape with "ingeniously contrived scenes and commentary to make propaganda". No Inkatha member would ever sing an Inkatha song containing the name "Gatsha", as happened in the video, Buthelezi said.

"On the other hand, it is policy of the ANC leadership . . . to use that pet name of mine — not as a sign of endearment, but to belittle me," he said in a statement.

ANC marches get go-ahead

Sowetan 5/12/90

THE ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" marches in Johannesburg and Pretoria will go ahead tomorrow as planned after permission was received from the authorities.

Johannesburg's chief magistrate and the city council have given permission for the march and the Pretoria City Council has approved a second application after the march was initially banned.

Final permission still has to be obtained from Pretoria's chief magistrate but ANC sources said they did not anticipate any problems.

The organisers have appealed for calm and restraint from marchers and the authorities to ensure there was no repeat of the bloody clashes on November 17 between police and marchers in Johannesburg, which resulted in two deaths.

"We are calling for people to conduct themselves in a peaceful and orderly way and for the authorities to act with restraint and flexibility," said ANC spokeswoman Barbara Hogan.

In Pretoria, marchers will gather at Cosatu House in Brown Street at 10am.

They will proceed at noon to Du Toit, Vermeulen and Administration streets to Government Avenue to present a memorandum at the city hall.

In Johannesburg, marchers will gather at the corner of Plein and Wanderers streets at 10am.

They will proceed along Plein Street at 11am to Harrison Street. A memorandum will be handed over to officials at the city hall.

Marchers will continue to Commissioner Street and John Vorster Square where a second memorandum will be handed to police.

The memorandum calls for the release of detainees and political prisoners, an end to political trials and the granting of indemnity to all exiles before Christmas.

It also calls for the creation of an interim government and constituent assembly, the repeal of security legislation, an end to violence and the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa.

2 ANC marches get green light

By Louise Burgers

The ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" marches in Johannesburg and Pretoria will go ahead tomorrow as planned after permission was received from the authorities.

Johannesburg's Chief Magistrate and the Johannesburg City Council have given permission for the march in the city and the Pretoria City Council has approved a second application from the ANC after the march was initially banned.

Final permission still has to be obtained from the Pretoria Chief Magistrate, but ANC sources said they did not believe there would be a problem.

March organisers have appealed for calm and restraint from marchers and the authorities to ensure there is no repeat of the bloody clashes on November 17 between police and marchers in Johannesburg which resulted in two deaths.

The ANC's regional secretary in the PWV area, Barbara Hogan, appealed to marchers not to rise to any provocation that occurred.

"We are calling for people to conduct themselves in a peaceful and orderly way and for the authorities to act with restraint and flexibility."

Memorandum

In Pretoria, marchers will gather at Cosatu House in Brown Street at 10 am. They will proceed at noon to Du Toit Street, Vermeulen Street and Administration Street to Government Avenue. A delegation will present a memorandum at the City Hall.

In Johannesburg, marchers will begin gathering at the corner of Plein and Wanderers streets at 10 am. They will proceed along Plein Street at 11 am to Harrison Street. A memorandum will be handed over to officials at the City Hall.

Marchers will continue to Commissioner Street and John Vorster Square where a second memorandum will be handed to police. Ms Hogan said traffic police had asked that people be collected after the march by their transport in Goch Street.

The memorandum calls for the release of detainees and political prisoners, an end to political trials and the granting of indemnity to all exiles before Christmas this year; the creation of an interim government and constituent assembly; the repeal of security legislation; an end to violence; and the reintegration of Bophuthatswana into South Africa.

The marches coincide with the 10th anniversary of Bophuthatswana's independence.

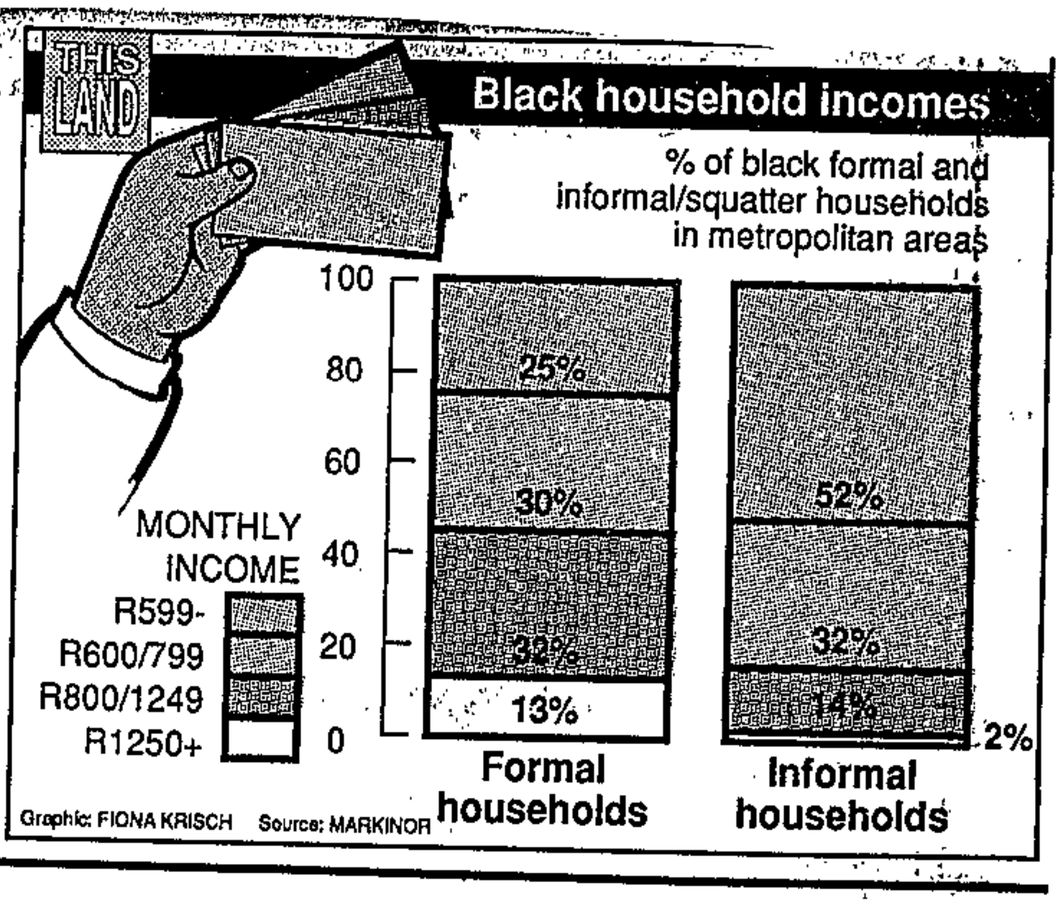
In Johannesburg, the march will be led by Mac Maharaj, Alfred Nzo, Aziz Pahad, Josiah Jele, Gertrude Sharpe and John Nkadimeng. In Pretoria, Joe Slovo, Ruth Mompati and Pallo Jordan will lead marchers.

Govt elements seek to end mass protest — Mandela

DURBAN — Key elements in government had set out to foster carnage to halt mass action and paralyse the ANC, the organisation's deputy president Nelson Mandela alleged yesterday.

Speaking at alliance talks at Natal University between the National Union of South African Students and the SA National Students Congress, Mandela said the country was entering a time of hope — but elements in government were trying to crush the ANC, and it was to be remembered that government's positive actions had not been made without pressure.

Mandela confirmed that nationwide mass protests were being organised for today, and reiterated the ANC's position: "We are excluded from democratic participation; mass action is our only alternative." — Sapa.



ANC mass marches given the go-ahead

(327)

BI Day 6/12/90

MASS marches by tens of thousands of ANC protesters will be staged today in Johannesburg, Pretoria, the Free State and eastern Cape.

But in many of its largest regions, the ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" campaign will get off to a slow start.

Spokesmen for the ANC's eastern and western Transvaal, northern and western Cape and Border regions said yesterday they had no marches planned. There will also be no marches today in southern Natal and the Natal Midlands.

Intervention

The ANC's northern Transvaal and northern Natal regions could not be reached for details of any marches today. A western Cape member said the campaign had already been launched in Cape Town last weekend.

An ANC PWV spokesman confirmed yesterday permission had been obtained for mass marches in Pretoria and Johannesburg. He could not confirm a Sapa report that permission for the Pretoria march was granted after intervention by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

GERALD REILLY reports permission for the Pretoria march was granted by Chief Magistrate P A J Burger after the city council approved a second amended application.

PETER DELMAR

The march will be led by ANC national executive members Joe Slovo, Ruth Mompati and Pallo Jordan. It will not start from Church Square as originally planned, but from Brown Street.

Johannesburg organisers expect 20 000 marchers. Between 10 000 and 20 000 are expected in Pretoria.

Despite government's concern about the ANC's mass action, ANC regional leaders said magisterial permission for all but a few marches had been granted by late yesterday.

Eastern Cape publicity secretary Mike Xego said the ANC would follow up its marches — planned for townships throughout the region — with mass marches on black councils to demand that councillors resign.

The only other ANC region to organise widespread marches is the Free State. There will be marches in Bloemfontein, Thabong (Welkom) and six platteland towns.

This would be followed by further mass action around the ANC demands for a constituent assembly and interim government.

The campaign will highlight demands for the speedy return of exiles and the release of political prisoners as well as call for government action to end the township violence.

Govt 'bush summit' today

B|Day 6|12|90

MIKE ROBERTSON

GOVERNMENT acknowledged the democratic right of peaceful protest by way of marches, but could not allow mass action to deteriorate into violence and intimidation, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said last night.

Government had acknowledged the right to hold peaceful marches last year and rejected accusations it was against any form of peaceful and democratic protest, he said after Cabinet completed a marathon three-day meeting.

Ministers, deputies and other senior government members will gather at a "bush summit" outside Pretoria today to arrange priorities for the approaching parliamentary session.

The Ministerial Committee on Negotiations has met regularly over the past month to finalise the NP's constitutional proposals and to figure out ways in which to break the logjam in negotiations. Government concern that the ANC's commitment to mass mobilisation was contributing to instability and violence was expected to receive high priority.

Government was concerned about the disruption and conflict that appeared to go hand-in-hand with programmes of large-scale and repetitive political protest.

It was also concerned about certain political leaders' inability to get their followers to behave in a disciplined manner.

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Bush summit

B|Day 6|12|90

"An atmosphere of dangerous political intolerance has set in towards persons and organisations expressing and promoting divergent political views," Viljoen said.

"If wanton destruction, physical intimidation and violence are indeed not part of the political agenda of organisations launching mass action, and if these organisations in fact reject such conduct, then they should display much greater care and responsibility in ensuring orderly and lawful action.

"The government has repeatedly emphasised that genuine negotiations for a new constitution can only take place if they are accompanied by a parallel process of maintaining good government and sound administration according to existing laws and constitution."

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It was generally accepted that existing structures would be replaced by new ones after peaceful negotiations.

At the bush summit, government is also expected to consider a document outlining future options for NP alliances following its decision to open its ranks to all races. Priorities to be addressed in next year's budget are also expected to come up for discussion, as is a report on measures to protect "own community life" after the Group Areas Act has been scrapped.

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March

Mass action: Viljoen warns - Page 2

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Sowetan 6/12/90

LAST-MINUTE intervention by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela made today's march in Pretoria possible, march organiser Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

By MONK NKOMO and ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

At a Press briefing yesterday, Mamoepa said permission for the march was granted by Pretoria's chief magistrate Mr PAJ Burger after the Pretoria City Council had approved an amended application submitted by the ANC.

The capital's chief magistrate had turned down the first application.

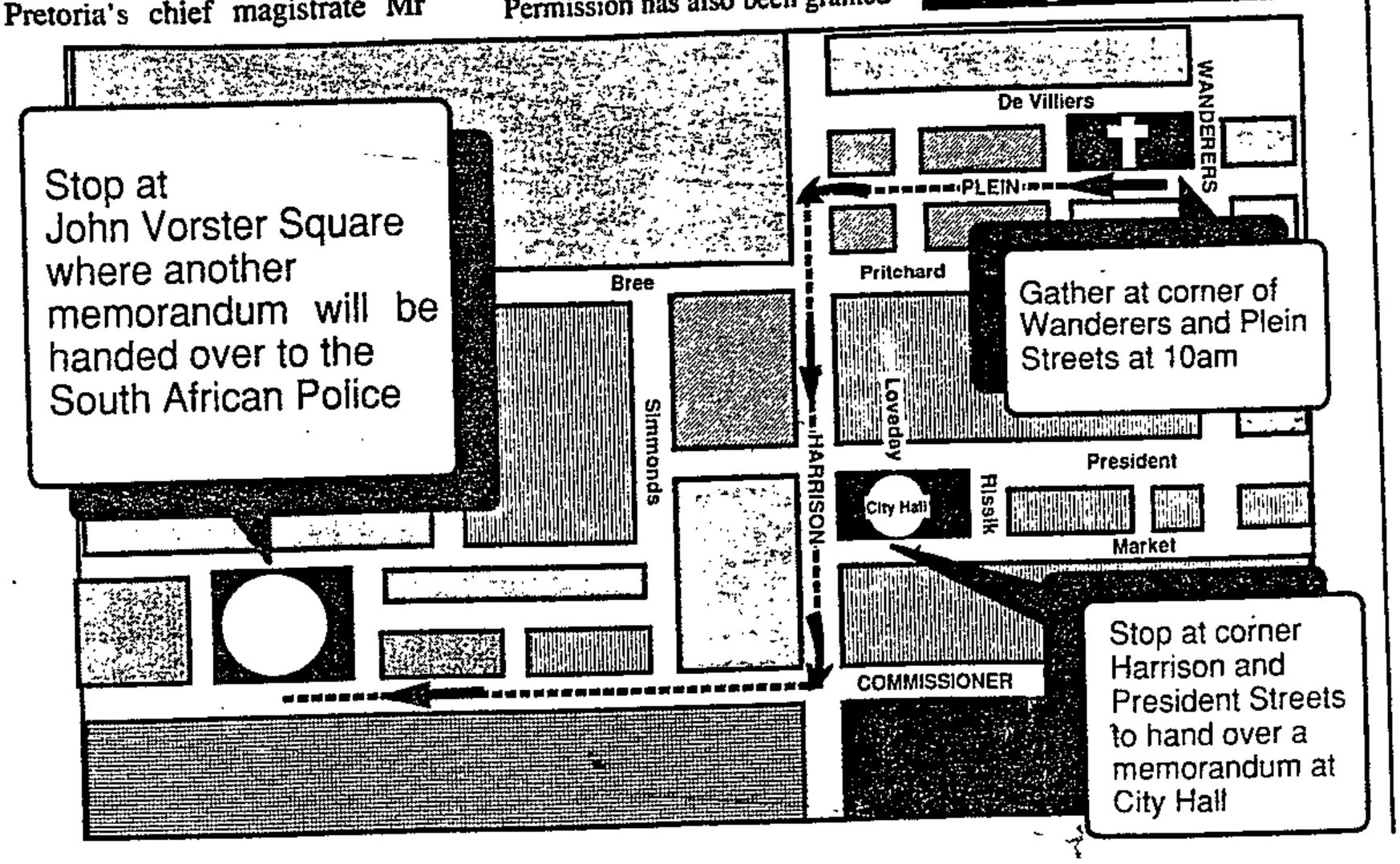
The ANC's plans for marches in the capital and in Johannesburg today are now back on course.

Permission has also been granted for the ANC's protest march in Bloemfontein today, reports Sapa. The marches are part of the "Peace and Democracy Now" campaign.

Permission was granted by Bloemfontein's chief magistrate Mr Ben Loots. Certain streets will be closed for the march and motorists have been warned to avoid these streets.

The march will start in Mangaung about 11am. The protesters will enter Bloemfontein

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Protest marches all set to go ahead

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on Dr Belcher Street and move along Fort and Hanger streets into Maitland Street in the city centre.

The march should end at 2.15pm.

Meanwhile, in Pretoria Mamoepa said South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo would lead the Pretoria march from Brown Street to the Union Buildings.

Slovo, who is also a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, will lead the march at noon after a mini-rally that is scheduled to start at Brown Street at 10am.

Organisers of the marches yesterday stressed that there was no call to stay away from work today.

In Johannesburg, marchers are to begin gathering at the corner of Plein and Wanderers streets at 10am from where they will proceed along Plein Street at 11am to Harrison Street where a memorandum will be handed to officials at City Hall.

The procession will continue to Commissioner Street and John Vorster Square where a second memorandum will be handed to the South African Police.

Ms Barbara Hogan of the Johannesburg regional office appealed to the police to adopt "a flexible and tolerant" attitude.

Hogan called on marchers not to provoke the police. She also appealed to marchers "and the authorities" for restraint to avoid a repeat of the bloody clashes on November 17 in Johannesburg. Two people were killed.

Hogan said traffic police had asked that after the march people should wait for transport in Goch Street behind John Vorster Square.

Viljoen warns on marches

MASS protests to highlight political demands were no longer necessary, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Viljoen said in a statement that although the Government acknowledged the democratic right of peaceful protest and freedom of expression by way of marches and public meetings, such actions should take place within the limits of the law.

The protests should also consider the rights of other people.

He said the Government had acknowledged the right to peaceful protest and freedom of expression in September 1989.

The Government was concerned at the inability of certain political leaders to ensure that their followers conducted themselves orderly and responsibly.

"Their failure to exercise effective discipline during mass protests repeatedly leads to disorder and senseless violence.

"Mass protests have proved to entail considerable potential for being abused. There is proof of intimidation forcing the public to take part in so-called mass action," said Viljoen.

Tight control at ANC's city marches

THE ANC yesterday staged a show of strength when thousands of its supporters took to the streets of Johannesburg, Pretoria and other centres.

ANC marshals and security forces exercised strict control and virtually no incidents were reported.

A march through the Johannesburg CBD attracted 15 000 ANC supporters, while about 10 000 marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Sapa reports 3 000 turned out for a similar march in Bloemfontein and 1 000 in Port Elizabeth.

EDYTH BULBRING and WILSON ZWANE

The marches brought large sections of central Pretoria and Johannesburg to a standstill.

With the marches the ANC formally launched its programme of mass action, Peace and Freedom Now.

In Pretoria and Johannesburg memorandums were presented calling for a constituent assembly and interim government, an end to violence and the release of

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ANC marches

☐ From Page 1

political prisoners.

The Pretoria march was led by the ANC deputy president's wife Winnie Mandela and ANC executive members Joe Slovo, Ruth Mompati and Pallo Jordan.

Security forces monitored the Pretoria march and escorted demonstrators the length of the 3km route.

The only incident was one in which a man holding placards with right-wing slogans was removed by police and later released.

Hennie Botha, deputy director-general of the President's Office, accepted a memorandum from Mandela and Slovo.

Mandela told marchers in front of the Union Buildings the ANC had not said it would talk to government at any cost. If the violence was not stopped, it would have to reconsider its position, she said.

Addressing government fears about ANC mass action, Slovo said the march proved that democracy was not dangerous.

Memorandums handed over at Johannesburg City Hall and John Vorster Square accused government of not being fit to manage the transition to a post-apartheid SA. They said government, though an essential player in the resoultion of the country's problems, was engaged in a process of trying to smash all those committed to democracy.

"Our people never trusted you (President F W de Klerk) and your government and since the Pretoria Minute the little trust that was beginning to emerge has been wiped out. Your motives are beco n-ing suspect and our people are questioning your sincerity and our wisdom in negotiating with you," the statement said.

"It is now more urgent than ever before that an interim government be established to restore our people's trust in the unfolding negotiation process," the ANC said.

After the memorandum was handed in at John Vorster Square, ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo told the cheering crowd the march disproved the government's propaganda machinery which sought to show mass action should not be allowed.

Sapa reports that London academic Andrew Willis, 29, was detained briefly by police during the march in Pretoria.

Police bundled him and anti-ANC placards he had been displaying into a car and whisked him away when they encountered him along the route of the march in Vermeulen Street.

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● Comment: Page 8

FOCUS ON MASS ACTION

Defiance in 1990:Fewer people, wider sweep

While 1990's mass mobilisation campaign may not be as visible as that of previous years, it certainly seems to be effective.

JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports

MASS mobilisation has become the bone of contention in the present pre-negotiation phase. Is it merely a useful stick which the government can use to beat the African National Congress — a notion with little basis in reality? Or is it a prevalent form of political action which may affect the balance of forces at the negotiating table?

As President FW de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela sat down to disagree about the issue a fortnight ago, there wasn't the visible tide of defiance of a year earlier. Public protest marches in late 1990 are a shadow of their 1989 Defiance Campaign past.

Nor is there an equivalent of the mass euphoria and spontaneous conflict that characterised Mandela's first days at large.

Nor yet the constant street battles, the empty schools and the climate of ungovernability of the 1985/86 years.

In fact several recent "occasions" in the democratic calendar have been of modest proportions — especially those which took place in the main urban centres.

But if things are really that tame, how is it that as many — if not more — community councillors have abandoned their positions at this point in time as in the crisis years of 1984/6? By the end of October 685 positions on black councils — or 37 percent of a total of 1 867 — were vacant. The number has increased since then — the whole of Mhluzi council in the Eastern Transvaal has gone, for instance, as has the high-profile mayor of Daveyton, Tom Boya.

While there is no exactly comparable figure for the mid-1980s, between September 1984 and May 1985, according to official figures, a total of 197 councillors resigned.

There is a tendency to ascribe the recent resignations to blatant "intimidation" — and attacks on councillors' homes certainly still occur.

More significant is the context of community action in which many of the council resignations take place.

In Mhluzi, for instance, authorities responded to the rent and service tariff boycott in the area by cutting electricity and water supplies. Under the co-ordination of the Mhluzi Civic Association, residents retaliated with a consumer boycott of white-



Tumahole's children join the protest against the decision by Parys Town Council to cut the townships' water supply Photo: JUSTIN SHOLK

Throughout the Free State and Transvaal towns like Brits and Heidelburg organised land invasions have taken place, forcing the authorities to allocate land to tens of thousands of homeless people.

Even in the relatively unorganised Western Transvaal there are rent boycotts in Klerksdorp, Wolmaranstad and Leeudoringstad — with consumer boycotts in the last two, according to Lawyers for Human Rights organiser Levi Present.

In the Potchefstroom township of Ikageng last month the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) march in the campaign against black local authorities drew a crowd estimated by local sources to be about 10 000-strong.

Further west, the Northern Cape community of Huhudi suspended its consumer boycott once it became known that public facilities in the town of Vryburg would be declared open to all races. The rent boycott continued, civic association spokesman Darkey Afrika confirmed this week, together with a gradual implementation of plans to occupy vacant land in the township.

Rent boycotts, suspension of services and consumer boycotts are to be found in many towns of the Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal. In Port Elizabeth, for instance, the rent protests in the Northern Areas, which were violently countered and led to riots claiming 49 lives in September, are still in force.

In Khayelitsha increases in rent and service charges led to boycotts and calls for the removal of Mali Hoza and town clerk Graham Lawrence — and to a mass march at the end of October, when police and residents clashed.

In sum, it is clear that mass action is no phantom. But it is also not, in this phase, quasi-insurrectionary as it was in 1985/6. And the main urban centres — with the exception perhaps of parts of the Peninsula, the East Rand, the Vaal and some Pretoria townships — are no longer the main locus of popular action.

The action tends to be reactive, but is often combined with politically enterprising demands. The trigger may be the suspension of services or housing shortages, but the political demand for the creation of non-racial local authorities offering greater public resources to black residents sits very comfortably with these grievances.

In many areas it has been the established civic associations that have acted, with the ANC branches usually a late (but increasingly prominent) arrival on the scene.

The slightly more liberal political climate has made it possible for organisations to resort to a combination of actions in support of their demands — boycotts interchange with marches, petitions and more directly challenging action, such as sit-ins or the dumping of night-soil on councillors' lawns.



Tumahole's children join the protest against the decision by Parys Town Council to cut the townships' water supply

Photo: JUSTIN SHOLK

As President FW de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela sat down to disagree about the issue a fortnight ago, there wasn't the visible tide of defiance of a year earlier. Public protest marches in late 1990 are a shadow of their 1989 Defiance Campaign past. wlmail 7/12/-13/12/90

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While there is no exactly comparable figure for the mid-1980s, between September 1984 and May 1985, according to official figures, a total of 197 councillors resigned.

There is a tendency to ascribe the recent resignations to blatant "intimidation" — and attacks on councillors' homes certainly still occur.

More significant is the context of community action in which many of the council resignations take place.

In Mhluzi, for instance, authorities responded to the rent and service tariff boycott in the area by cutting electricity and water supplies. Under the co-ordination of the Mhluzi Civic Association, residents retaliated with a consumer boycott of white-owned stores and a five day stayaway last week.

The deadlock was broken by the intervention of Middelburg Steel, whose representative, Mark Drewell, said the company saw the situation deteriorating in a way that was "not desirable for the entire Middelburg community". Middelburg Steel agreed to pay the service charge arrears of R37 000 so that electricity can be reconnected.

The civic association agreed that residents would pay an interim flat rate for services and negotiate a longer term rate with the township administrator. The Mhluzi council members announced their resignation and asked the province to appoint an administrator in their place.

Before the settlement was reached, however, a women's protest march in Mhluzi had been forcibly dispersed and one person had been killed.

At least four other Eastern Transvaal towns are reported to be affected by consumer boycotts — Witbank, Waterval Boven, Belfast and Bethal.

Some weeks back teachers at Witbank staged a mass three-week sit-in to demand the authorities address serious shortcomings in educational facilities. According to community sources, about 420 teachers occupied a single school in the area and the executive committee of the Witbank Teachers' Union spent the same period in the local school inspectors' office. They relented in their protest only when senior education officials began to engage in discussions with them.

wlmail 7/12/-13/12/90

Nor is the action in the Eastern Transvaal confined to the towns. The homeland areas of Bushbuckridge and Acornhoek have witnessed mass protest marches in the last month. According to ANC Eastern Transvaal spokesman Joe Nkuna, at Acornhoek residents of Lebowa and Gazankulu marched in their tens of thousands to demand an end to the homeland system and — perhaps more importantly — access to clean drinking water.

In the Free State several towns have been stung into action by threatened or actual service cuts. In Kroonstad's Maokeng township — which accommodates some 100 000 residents — the suspension of water and electricity supplies a month ago caused an immediate work-stayaway. Services were briefly resumed, then again suspended. When summonses were issued against 45 residents last week, youths began burning commerical vehicles in the township.

Maokeng residents are sticking to their month-old consumer boycott, insisting that only a switch-on of services and undertaking to negotiate a settlement will release their buying power to the white town again.

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The local ANC Youth League is talking of militant direct action. Interim chairman Thami Phaliso told Sapa: "We are going to apply every strategy which is at our disposal, including militant action. As a revolutionary organisation we do not have confidence anymore in these negotiations to resolve the crisis in Maokeng."

In Bloemfontein, a four-week consumer boycott ended in mid-October, with the Bloemfontein council facilitating the meeting of the demands of the Mangaung Civic Association. While residents agreed to pay for electricity, the council agreed to lay on temporary water supplies to the huge shack settlement of Freedom Square and the provincial authorities undertook to plan for permanent provision to the area.

The agreement effectively by-passed the Mangaung Town Council, which has for months refused to supply water to the shack towns. The civic association holds that it is a "contradiction in terms" to negotiate with a council whose resignation it is demanding.

The shack settlements themselves are the result of popular action. They were created by the homeless under the guidance of the civic association, which negotiated the permanence of the settlements and their formal lay-out with the province.

declared open to all races. The rent boycott continued, civic association spokesman Darkey Afrika confirmed this week, together with a gradual implementation of plans to occupy vacant land in the township.

Rent boycotts, suspension of services and consumer boycotts are to be found in many towns of the Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal. In Port Elizabeth, for instance, the rent protests in the Northern Areas, which were violently countered and led to riots claiming 49 lives in September, are still in force. wlmail 7/12/-13/12/90

In Khayelitsha increases in rent and service charges led to boycotts and calls for the removal of Mali Hoza and town clerk Graham Lawrence — and to a mass march at the end of October, when police and residents clashed.

In sum, it is clear that mass action is no phantom. But it is also not, in this phase, quasi-insurrectionary as it was in 1985/6. And the main urban centres — with the exception perhaps of parts of the Peninsula, the East Rand, the Vaal and some Pretoria townships — are no longer the main locus of popular action.

The action tends to be reactive, but is often combined with politically enterprising demands. The trigger may be the suspension of services or housing shortages, but the political demand for the creation of non-racial local authorities offering greater public resources to black residents sits very comfortably with these grievances.

In many areas it has been the established civic associations that have acted, with the ANC branches usually a late (but increasingly prominent) arrival on the scene.

The slightly more liberal political climate has made it possible for organisations to resort to a combination of actions in support of their demands — boycotts interchange with marches, petitions and more directly challenging action, such as sit-ins or the dumping of night-soil on councillors' lawns.

Even before the State of Emergency was scrapped, the practice of automatically detaining the leaders of popular campaigns ceased.

The possibility of local-level negotiations has been opened up once more (after PW Botha firmly put the lid on such moves in the mid-1980s) — and local business interests under pressure of direct mass action have often acted as catalysts in resolving grievances.

There is a marked swing towards adult participation in township campaigns, typified perhaps by the degree to which teachers have now embraced the causes which their pupils championed some years ago.

The present mass action may involve fewer people, but it encompasses a broader sweep of the country than any prior wave of campaigning.

And, says the ANC's Nkuna, it is wishful thinking on the part of the government to suppose it can be stopped by any precondition to talks. "The argument of the government is irrelevant because we still don't have a parliament. Our only parliament remains the streets, the mines and the factories."

As Gus Silber is on leave, his column, Off The Wall, will not appear for the rest of the year

Bread price rise: Poor to protest

MEMBERS of the Unemployed Workers Union in the Cape allegedly plan to "storm shops and supermarkets to eat bread" in protest against the recent bread price rises. 327

The bread protest is part of a campaign of mass mobilisation in the Cape, which begins tomorrow when balloons with political prisoners' names on them will be released.

On Sunday a rally will be held in Khayelitsha to demand the resignation of the Lingelethu West Town Council. W\Mon 7/12/- 13/12/90

Marches will be held from Tuesday to Thursday in Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Wynberg, Bonteheuwel and Gugulethu.

The ANC's Trevor Manuel said: "The state president has said all the right things but this has not been matched by deed. The cut-off date agreed to by the working group for the release of political prisoners was April."



Thousands of ANC supporters make their way to John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, during the organisation's "March for Freedom and Peace" yesterday. Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

Thousands in ANC marches

Sowetan 7/12/90

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE and ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

SOUTH African Communist Party central committee member Mr Mac Maharaj yesterday called for a constituent assembly and an interim government to solve the country's problems.

Addressing thousands of marchers in central Johannesburg yesterday, Maharaj reaffirmed the ANC's seriousness to negotiations with the Government.

But he warned that his organisation "does not want solutions drawn behind closed doors".

He and several ANC leaders, including Ms Barbara Hogan, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr Andrew Mlangeni led the ANC's " March For Freedom and Peace" through the streets of Johannesburg. ~~111~~ 327

The procession was closely monitored by Security Police and South African Defence Force members from the rooftop of Darragh House in Wanderers Street.

A memorandum addressed to Johannesburg's acting town clerk, Mr Graham Collins, was handed in at the City Hall.

At John Vorster Square where a petition was handed over to Colonel Desmond Keyter. He assured the ANC delegation that the memorandum would be "immediately referred" to Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan

To Page 2

ANC march peaceful

Sowetan 7/12/90

From Page 1

Vlok. ~~111~~ 327

MONK NKOMO reports that SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo yesterday told thousands of ANC supporters in Pretoria that the Government must listen to the voice of the oppressed majority and realise that democracy was not a dangerous game.

Slovo also lauded the police for their responsible behaviour during the peaceful march from Brown Street to the Union Buildings and back.

Shortly after submitting the memorandum containing demands, including the setting up of an interim government, Mrs Winnie Mandela said: "We are tired of burying our people everyday and if this violence continues, the peace process will be in jeopardy".

Mandela and Slovo were part of a delegation of 10 which presented the memorandum to Mr Hennie Botha, deputy director general at the State President's Office.

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Rights abuses up in SA

By BARRY STREEK

DESPITE President F W de Klerk's speech on February 2, the human rights situation in South Africa had deteriorated to an unprecedented level, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) said yesterday.

The organisation said it hoped that once South Africa had settled its problems, it too would be able to join the international community in the celebration of the adoption of the universal declaration of human rights on December 10.

In the city, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) said yesterday it will hold a public meeting on Monday, December 10, in the Cathedral Hall, Queen Victoria Street, to commemorate the 42nd anniversary of the signing of the declaration, while the Black Sash will hold poster demonstrations at various points in the city.

HRC spokeswoman Ms Val Rose-Christie said the meeting will be chaired by Mr Moaketsi Ntsano.

The speakers will be HRC Western Cape commissioners Mrs Mary Burton and Mr Dullah Omar.

"In spite of some political changes which have taken place, the HRC notes with concern the continuing violation of human rights in this country," said Ms Rose-Christie.

The LHR's director of research and education, Mr Selewe Motlhe, said that, except for the unbanning of political organisations, the release of some political prisoners and the holding of preliminary discussions with political leaders, mainly from the ANC, the change in South Africa since February 2 had "simply been on paper".

Among the positive measures taken were the change in the Separate Amenities Act, the lifting of the state of emergency and the government's intention to tackle the Group Areas and Land Acts.

"On the ground, however, South Africa has witnessed the worst violence ever," said Mr Motlhe.

"The government continued to detain political activists. Exiles have not yet returned to join the process of participating in the negotiations for a future political dispensation.

"Political prisoners are still held in various prisons in South Africa, while the process of negotiation has not yet reached an irreversible position."

'1 000-plus' ask for indemnity

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Justice Department says it has received "considerably more than a thousand" applications from ANC members for indemnity from prosecution.

It said "all applications are being processed as speedily as possible".

A considerable number of applications, it said, related to more than one offence.

In regard to the processing of applications for indemnity from people who left South Africa without a passport or crossed the border at points other than recognised border posts, the department said a list of names of people who had been granted unconditional indemnity would be published in the Government Gazette soon.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the process of granting indemnity to these two categories of exiles is to be completed by the end of this year.

The department was unable to say how many charges against people being tried for political offences, such as being a member of a banned organisation, had been dropped. It said, though, that "a considerable number" of charges had been dropped or withdrawn.

ANC tell Vlok of 'kidnap'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday protested to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, against the alleged abduction of two ANC members by Askaris — former ANC-PAC members working for security police.

An ANC statement said Mr Job Kubu and Mr Madiba Khumalo were approached by four men, including one they recognised as an Askari, to discuss the ANC's analysis of the political situation.

When they met the four later in the day, a white security policeman told them they were under arrest and they were taken to Hillbrow police station.

After again showing their documents and advising the police to contact Mr Vlok, they were released.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman said last night that the incident was under investigation.

"Many ANC supporters are involved in illegal activities and this necessitates constant police monitoring," he said.

The ANC said the action illustrated the manner in which "elements of the security apparatus are destabilising the peace process".

FW, Mandela clash on 'armed action'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government-ANC working group on armed action has not met for three weeks because President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela have not been able to agree on what constitutes activities related to "armed action".

Sources said yesterday that the target date for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles agreed to by both sides was now in doubt, unless a breakthrough was reached soon.

This was because of Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee's decision that the return of exiles be linked to the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

Picket on wheels!

OLD Mutual workers have resorted to a unique form of picketing: placards and posters are stuck on the workers cars which are parked in front of the company offices in the city centre. (327)

A spokesperson for the workers' committee, Mr Lizo Manelli, said workers were using this new method as the company had obtained an interdict earlier which prohibited striking workers from picketing outside the building.

There is no end in sight to the strike, which began five weeks ago.

According to the committee, the workers would be prepared to suspend the strike if any concrete proposals on their demands on wages and working conditions were made. South 13/12/-17/12/90

The striking workers have meanwhile canvassed for national support for their strike and say they have received a positive response.

Old Mutual's assistant general manager, Mr Theo Hartwig, suggested that the strikers set a date for a second round of talks. In a statement, the company said they did not recognise the committee representing workers as a bargaining unit.

Old Mutual nevertheless remained willing to talk to the committee in the interests of the staff.

Workers are demanding:

- The improvement of working conditions such as ending favouritism and racism;
- An improvement in the pay structure, motor scheme and housing subsidies;
- Improved education opportunities such as bursaries, specially for black workers and their dependants. — *PEN*

Abortion a 'hot potato' in new SA?

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South 13/12/ – 17/12/90.

The debate on legalised abortion — a potentially controversial issue in a new South Africa — has started. Firing the first salvo, ANC constitutional expert Kader Asmal told a conference on women in Cape Town recently that a woman had a right "to determine her fertility; whether or not she should have a child". But family planners are saying abortion must not be seen another form of contraception, writes REHANA ROSSOUW:



ABORTION will be legalised in a new South Africa if women are involved in constitution-making and believe they have the right to abortions, according to a top African National Congress legal department spokesperson.

At a recent conference titled "Gender and the Constitution" Mr Kader Asmal said women had the right to determine their political, economic and health rights for a new South Africa.

"Around the question of health, women have the right to abortion," Asmal said.

"I believe firmly in a woman's right to determine her fertility, whether or not she should have a child."

Outlaw

Asmal said not all women's rights could be reflected in a constitution; a Charter of Women's Rights which would encompass the basic rights of women would have to be drawn up.

Once a new government was in session, equality legislation would have to be passed and new legislation would be guided by the Womens' Charter.

Legislation outlawing abortion in South Africa except under extreme cases could be legalised by the new parliament.

ANC Women's League spokesperson Ms Lindiwe Phillips said the organisation had begun the process of drawing up the Charter at a national consultative meeting in Johannesburg last weekend.

"We have decided to consult all women's organisations in the country about the Charter as we want all the women to be involved," Phillips said.

She said the Women's League would not find Asmal's suggestion "outlandish" as they had already had debate in commissions and workshops on the question of women's fertility.

Several women felt they had the right to determine their fertility and should have the freedom to abort if the child was conceived under trying circumstances.

"Women must reserve the right to decide whether to abort," Phillips said.

"It is they who are faced with the responsibility of raising a child they do not want.

"Some women feel that the issue of abortion is linked to child abuse and rape.

"But this needs far more debate and we will consult as many women as possible on the issue."

However, organisations involved in family planning warned that abortion should not be regarded as an alternative form of contraception.

There are no accurate statistics on illegal or "backstreet" abortions in South Africa.

However, the Groote Schuur Hospital admits 20 women a day and even more are treated daily at the Baragwanath Hospital.

"We estimate that between 250 000 and 500 000 women have abortions every year in South Africa," said Ms Erica Greathead of the Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa.

Greathead said her organisation believed abortion should not be used as a form of contraception as women faced health risks after the procedure.

Women risked death, infertility and emotional problems after undergoing abortions.

"We often find that after the event, up to four or five years later, women manifest these problems," Greathead said.

"Rural women particularly, who have no access to health care, risk death or infertility when they have abortions.

"Even for healthy women, abortion has a physical or mental effect."

At the same time, an important statistic to keep in mind is that South Africa has among the highest teenage pregnancy rates in the world. One in five South African teenagers fall pregnant every year.

"In urban areas, teenagers have access to health care and are able to obtain legal abortions on the grounds of the psychological effects of the pregnancies," Greathead said.

"They have knowledge and access, unlike their rural counterparts."

Greathead said her organisation was often contacted by parents wanting to know where they could go for illegal abortions.

People did not know they were eligible for legal abortions.

"But abortion on demand achieves nothing. It must not be seen as an alternative form of contraception," Greathead said.

Teenagers

"We believe that only under certain cicumstances must abortion be made legal — failed contraception or sterilisation, for instance.

"We need to extend the present law, not legislate for the legalisation of abortion.

"The age of the person eligible for a legal abortion can be extended to encompass teenagers and women over 35, the social circumstances of the person can be taken into account or failed contraception can be used as a criteria."

There is also debate whether abortion is an issue affecting only women.

In other countries, court cases brought by men in an attempt to stop a woman aborting his child have not been successful.

"While it is understood that the conception of a child directly affects women, it has not been disproved that men are as equally committed," said a male activist who has experienced three women abort his child without consulting him.

"So far, only women's sentiments have been addressed when the legality of abortion is discussed. This attitude tends to leave out the other party; thus opinions on abortion are not fully representative."

Greathead agrees fertility is a joint issue, considering the fact "that it takes two to make a baby".

"But at the same time men should realise that they must not make babies if they can't be fathers," she said.

"For some men, making a woman pregnant is their way of proving their manhood. Men must also take responsibility for not making babies."

Greathead said South African women and men were ignorant about their body and its functions. Many did not know how contraception worked and myths about contraception had to be dispelled.

"Political parties would serve their members better if they educated them about the benefits of family planning and thus prevented more abortions."

"Political parties in South Africa seldom address the quality of life of the population," Greadhead said.

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K'litsha march for prisoners

Staff Reporter

MORE THAN 1 000 people marched through Khayelitsha last night, as part of the ANC's campaign calling for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles before Christmas.

The march started at Site C and ended at the police station, where a petition was handed over to the station commander.

The march, for which permission had been obtained, went off without incident.

14(12) – 19/12/90

Cars hold a 'picket' outside Old Mutual

By XOLA SIGONYELA: Port Elizabeth

STRIKING workers at Old Mutual have found a unique way around a supreme court interdict prohibiting them from picketing: they park their cars covered in posters and stickers outside the company's offices.

Since Monday, the workers have parked about 10 cars outside the Old Mutual every morning.

The cars carry posters and stickers with slogans like: "Care for our communities" and "Give equal opportunities to all". — Pen

14/12 – 19/12/90

Police raid home of exiled PAC man

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Sowetan 14/12/90

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

THE Kagiso home of exiled PAC member Mr Jimmy Matsapola, currently in the country, was raided by West Rand police early yesterday morning.

Police searched the house and questioned his 63-year-old mother about his whereabouts. They also wanted to know whether Matsapola was in the country legally.

"I was told of the raid when I telephoned my mother to notify her I was on my way," Matsapola, a lawyer in the United States, said.

"I returned home later and received a message to phone an officer Odendaal at 8am.

"Before I could telephone him I got another message while at my sister's house that the police were visiting again. I was advised to consult my lawyer in Pretoria."

Police liaison officer for the West Rand Captain Hester Bester confirmed yesterday the raid had taken place.

Rule

"As a rule the SAP does not confirm visits to premises during the course of their duty," she said.

"However, we confirm that the house was visited. The after-hours visit was necessary because he (Matsapola) could not be located during the raid," she said.

A member of the firm of attorneys representing Matsapola telephoned the police on his behalf and he was told they suspected Matsapola was inside the country illegally.

"They wanted to know whether he had indemnity," he said.

Matsapola, who left the country in 1974, is one of 18 PAC members who were granted immunity to attend last week's congress.

Another 26 freed from Robben Island

W/E ARGUS 15/12/90 327

By JANIS FRASER, Weekend Argus Reporter

ANOTHER 26 political prisoners were released from Robben Island today.

The surprise move, which leaves 205 political prisoners on the island, caught friends and family unawares and there were only a handful of people to meet the ferry when it arrived in Table Bay docks about 11.30am.

The men formed a human chain to offload possessions packed in apple boxes, sports equipment and even a cockatiel in a cage belonging to Frans Ranoto of Soweto who served six-and-a-half years of his 12-year sentence for high treason.

It was a bitter-sweet occasion for Barry Pule and Dina Mlimi. He was transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison where the couple were married this morning. After the ceremony the groom remained in detention while his bride celebrated their wedding with friends and the newly released group at Cowley House in Woodstock.



TWO GENERATIONS: A Young Pioneer of the ANC Youth League welcomes ANC president Oliver Tambo at the movement's consultative conference in Johannesburg last weekend. **PIC: MANDISA MJO**

Cops outnumber protesters as ANC takes to the streets in small Natal town

From CHRISTINA SCOTT

DURBAN. — The first ANC protest in Vryheid provided hours of family entertainment on Saturday as a mini-march scandalised this conservative Northern Natal town.

Tannies crept fearfully near police to take snapshots, a blonde boy shook his head in amazement from behind a wall and families clustered on the stoop within easy retreating distance.

The amazing sight: less than 100 residents of Bhekuzulu and Mondlo townships toyi-toying with an ANC flag after four previous applications for permission to march had been refused.

Organisers blamed fears of rightwing violence for the low turnout.

Protesters knew their town — one policeman called this reporter a "baboon", an AWB-type asked: "Why are you whites with the kaffirs?" and a resident "accidentally" let his Rottweiler run free.

With two troop carriers, three Buffels, four Casspirs, 10 vans and at least a dozen police cars, security forces easily outnumbered protesters. I counted 48 uniformed police at one corner alone.

At the Vryheid police station, Captain Johan Nysschens accepted a protest memorandum and shook hands with Mr Desmond Pota, a union and youth organiser, and Mr Simon Zwane, vice-chairperson of the local South African Youth Congress branch.

The memorandum accused police of harassing supporters of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu and "acting as if they are still banned". The police were asked to cease alleged disruption at Filidi High School in Bhekuzulu.

Unionist Mr Johannes Myeni said demands that police provide protection against criminals and charge perpetrators of violence sprang from persistent rumours of a northern Natal anti-ANC campaign using men involved in the attacks on Xhosa mineworkers.

Ms Joyce Mnyandu, a Nondweni ANC voluntary convener, said township residents feared the return of mineworkers from the Transvaal hostels for the Christmas break.

Mnyandu alleged that plans to attack her home on Christmas Day were announced at a councillor's report-back meeting on December 9.

The Legal Resources Centre (LRC) has had no response from SAP Commissioner General Johan van Niekerk to investigate Mnyandu's affidavit implicating KwaZulu police in attacks on her and her home since July.

Lawyers from the centre have themselves been the victim of rightwing attacks in Northern Natal, which appears to have slept through February 2.

Mr Howard Varney of the LRC had his car door locks coated in glue in front of the Newcastle police station when he went to trace one arrested protester earlier this year. Fortunately, he has central locking.

Police said they had no comment. — *DURBANEWS*

CP vow to keep suburbs white

DEFYING the current political climate, two Conservative Party-controlled suburbs have vowed to remain white.

Algoa Park and Young Park formed a joint action committee after the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act. The committee last week published an advertisement in two local newspapers proclaiming that Algoa Park and Young Park are reserved for whites only.

"Notice is hereby given that no non-white, regardless of status, will be allowed within the proclaimed white suburbs of Algoa Park and Young Park", the advertisement states.

It was presented with the emblem reminiscent of the Nazi eagle.

The advertisement continues that "non-whites" cannot own property, use public facilities, hawk, loiter or "share in the facilities of our white and Christian schools" in Algoa Park or Young Park.

The chairperson of the action committee who compiled the advertisement, Mr Chris Meyer, could not be reached for comment.

Independence

Earlier this year — after the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act in October — the Conservative Party declared a Rhodesian-style "Unilateral Declaration of Independence" for Algoa Park and Young Park.

The Nationalist Party MP for the Algoa constituency who has twice defeated Meyer in parliamentary elections, Mr Frans Pieter Smit, said: "If they want to take law and order into their own hands, they must face the consequences — including Meyer himself.

In response to the advertisement, the Democratic Party regional director, Mr Bobby Stevenson, said law and order appeared to be breaking down in many parts of South Africa, with many people wanting to take the law into their own hands.

"This is clearly unacceptable, whether it be township violence or inflammatory declarations," he said.

Meanwhile a police spokesperson for the Eastern Cape, Colonel Fred Sauerman said: "If it (the statement) is an offence, the police will look into it." — *PEN*

Political prisoners 'can't all be freed by April'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The release of political prisoners cannot take place by April because, among other things, prisoners appear to be dissatisfied with the agreement between the government and the ANC, says a new body established by two legal organisations.

The Political Prisoner Release Programme was established by Lawyers for Human Rights and National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) to facilitate the release of prisoners.

The memorandum motivating the formation of the body makes it clear the government is not solely to blame for the slow pace of releases.

Problems in identifying political prisoners, the prerequisite that the organisation of which the prisoner is a member must endorse the release and the limited resources of the liberation movements have played a role in the hold-ups, the memorandum says.

In also says that it will not be possible to complete the releases by April, but possibly by June.

The memorandum notes that there could be 3 000 political prisoners, while the government says there are between 300 and 600.

Some dissatisfaction with the agreement concluded by the government and the ANC arises from the lack of consultation before and after the signing of the agreement, the memorandum says. As a result, some prisoners have refused to sign the indemnity forms.

Cops outnumber protesters as ANC takes to the streets in small Natal town

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Police said they had no comment. — *DURBANEWS*

Garner Thomson reports from London on a press watchdog's findings

Step forward, two back for media

Star 18/12/90

THE year 1990 will go down in South African history as the year in which, "for the first time in four decades of harsh, authoritarian National Party rule," the pressure was eased and the media were able to operate in relative calm.

But, adds the International Press Institute's World Press Freedom Review, just published in London, newspapers remained subject to a great many restrictive and punitive laws.

The country has undergone a startling transformation this year, the report continues, including the lifting of the emergency restrictions on the media, in force since 1986. However, it says, plenty of legal mechanisms remained, permitting the authorities to harass the press, and a number of journalists fell victim to these or other dangers.

The report points out that the unbanning of black liberation movements introduced a new factor in black journalism. "Whereas before it was sufficient for black journalists to be against apartheid, now they were required to show a preference for one or other of the black liberation movements," it says. "If they were perceived to be critical of one movement, they were adjudged to be opposed to that movement, and as opposition could not be tolerated, they were regarded as enemies."

This resulted in intimidation.

But the picture wasn't much different elsewhere in the world, the IPI reports.

"This was a year in which democracy and freedom advanced two paces in many countries and then pulled back at least one," it says. "Despite great improvements in some parts of Central and Eastern Europe, Romania, for one, presents a hugely depressing picture.

"The euphoria over the downfall of the Ceausescu regime had barely faded before it became clear that the new leaders were falling into many of the same traps as their brutal predecessor, especially in their antipathy to freedom of expression."

The media in countries such as Turkey, Colombia and Kuwait, after Saddam Hussein's invasion, continued to face considerable oppression, the IPI says. ⊡

Aid fund on way back after ban

Star Bureau Star 18/12/90

LONDON — The International Defence and Aid Fund is to transfer its activities back to South Africa, where it was banned nearly 25 years ago, it decided at a special conference.

The fund plans to use resources to provide defence for those in court for opposition to apartheid, and to inform the world about apartheid.

Writer wins case against journal

CAPE Times 19/12/96

From IAN HOBBS

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LONDON. — The specialist journal Africa Confidential wrongly accused well-known South African-born freelance journalist Mr Kenneth Pottinger of being linked to Pretoria's intelligence services, the Press Council said yesterday, following an 18-month investigation.

The British media watchdog body also upheld a complaint by Lisbon-based Mr Pottinger that the journal inaccurately claimed that the similarly named Portuguese newsletter Africa Confidencial, of which he was director, was owned by the Angolan rebel movement Unita.

The British report added that Mr Pottinger was known for his "excellent security sources in Pretoria".

Africa Confidential editor Mr Stephen Ellis claimed his report never said Mr Pottinger had contacts in South African intelligence, but the Press Council adjudication found the journal had implied that Mr Pottinger was linked to South African security services.

ANC cleric accuses CCB of parcel bomb attack

By ANDREW MELDRUM

ANGLICAN priest and African National Congress member Father Michael Lapsley accused South African President FW De Klerk of responsibility for the parcel bomb which nearly killed the militant cleric in Harare this year.

Both Lapsley's hands were blown off and one eye destroyed by the April 28 blast which came in a book mailed to him from South Africa, according to evidence held by the Zimbabwe police.

Speaking publicly for the first time since the explosion, Lapsley addressed a protest demonstration in front of the South African Trade Mission in downtown Harare on Monday.

"It was the South African government through its sinister Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) which mailed that bomb to me," charged Lapsley, shaking the metal hooks that now serve as his hands.

"The bomb was not supposed to injure me, but to kill me.

"Ultimately De Klerk holds responsibility for those covert death squads. Pretoria still maintains a Department of Death, a department to kill the opponents of apartheid inside and outside South Africa."

Lapsley (43) urged the international community to maintain pressure on the South African government through sanctions.

"The international community is making a mistake if it thinks apartheid is gone just because Nelson Mandela has been freed and the ANC and the South African Communist Party are now legal," he said.

Many in Harare believe that it was Lapsley's effective campaigning for sanctions in Canada, Australia and his home country of New Zealand, that caused him to be marked for assassination.

Surveying the crowd of some 300 ANC exiles and a few hundred Zimbabweans holding anti-apartheid banners, Lapsley said: "I am surprised to see so many of my South African sisters and brothers still here. I thought you would have been in South Africa by now."

As a result of his injuries Lapsley went to Australia for several months for reconstructive surgery and therapy before returning to Harare last week.

TV stations stay mum on restrictions

B Loay 21/12/90

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MARCIA KLEIN

M-NET and the SABC would not respond yesterday to comments by Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw on restrictions facing M-Net news broadcasts.

Louw said on Wednesday that direct news competition between the SABC and M-Net without the restrictions of specific time slots "may lead to emphasising the sensational or emotional which must be avoided at all times".

He was commenting on reports that it would be difficult for M-Net to operate a viable news service if its news broadcasts were confined to between 9pm and 10pm.

Louw said concessions made to M-Net were responsible and balanced, and "the sound competition brought about as a result could only lead to improved TV services in SA".

M-Net group public relations manager John Badenhorst said yesterday while he was not prepared to comment on what Louw said, M-Net "was somewhat disappointed" by the initial announcement on its news broadcasts.

He said the restrictions "had slowed down M-Net's thinking processes".

However, the matter of a news broadcast would be discussed as soon as all the directors had returned in January.

The SABC refused to elaborate on previous statements which said the awarding of a news broadcast go-ahead to M-Net restricted the SABC.

● Comment: Page 8

Bulawayo bomb aimed at ANC

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Cutt Times 22/12/90

BULAWAYO. — A bomb exploded this week at a suburban house here where ANC members are living.

Zimbabwe's official news agency, Ziana, said the bombing was blamed on "enemy agents" whose targets also included ANC houses in Lusaka.

Sources close to the ANC told Ziana yesterday that five other ANC houses were bombed in Lusaka two weeks ago, including that of the movement's treasurer-general, Mr Tom Nkobi.

No one was injured in any of the blasts.

The blast at 117 Ullswater Drive in Morningside, Bulawayo, shattered windows and some parts of the house. The occupant, a member of the ANC, said he had so far not assessed the extent of the damage.

The bomb went off at 9am on Tuesday and was planted at a place he frequented a great deal.

The man, who did not want to be identified for security reasons, was visibly shaken and said he was waiting for "some people" before he could give more details on the matter. He was referring to ANC officials who were expected to arrive yesterday or today from Harare.

'Maximum destruction'

Police here could not immediately say what type of bomb was used. The house is currently under police guard.

Other sources in Bulawayo said the Lusaka houses were extensively damaged and household goods destroyed.

"It must be a well-planned and executed move by enemy agents because the Lusaka houses all belong to the ANC. All the bombs were set to explode during the lunch-hour for maximum destruction, as that is the time when most people return home for lunch," an unnamed source said.

"Had the explosions taken place 15 minutes later than they did, many people would have been killed or maimed," he said.

An ANC official in Harare said, however, that he had not been informed by his Lusaka headquarters about the bombings in Zambia.

Bulawayo police confirmed that the bombed house was occupied by South African refugees sympathetic to the ANC and that investigations were in progress, Ziana reported. — Sapa

COPS, COURTS TIGHTEN THE SCREWS, DESPITE 'REFORM'

DESPITE the South African Government's declaration of reform, human rights lawyers are as busy as ever due to an increase in arrests, detentions without trial and court proceedings against activists.

Bail conditions, too, are often stricter than before and have effectively kept activists from engaging in political activity.

This has come as foreign organisations that previously supported legal action are cutting their aid.

These developments are particularly prevalent in outlying towns, where white conservatism holds sway. c/p Pers 30/12/90

In the past anti-apartheid activists were simply detained under the State of Emergency regulations maintained by the government since 1986. There would be no investigations or charges.

But since the emergency regulations were lifted for most parts of the country in June this year, says lawyer Julie Mohamed, the police have taken to arresting people on a variety of charges. This has been most pronounced in communities supporting rent and consumer boycotts as well as public protests.

Attorney Richard Spoor identified three broad categories of offences:

- Those against the police, such as obstructing police and attacking police stations and vehicles;
- Those against the state, such as attending illegal gatherings; and
- Those against unpopular township figures and property, resulting in hundreds being charged with intimidation, public violence, malicious damage to property, murder and attempted murder. 327

In late October, 2 500 people were involved in some 300 to 400 trials, according to the Human Rights Commission (HRC). The bulk of those in court have been local township activists, rather than well-known or national political figures.

Spoor believes the high numbers are in part due to poor quality police work and an "overwillingness of the police to prosecute people without thorough investigation". But a more compelling reason, he argues, is "the general animosity and hostility of the police to any kind of resistance to the status quo.

"I have a feeling that in the immediate post-February period (when the ANC was unbanned and Nelson Mandela was released) the police were far more accommodating and far less confrontational; but they are now more aggressive than before."

"The removal of opportunities to hold people without trial under the State of Emergency has been followed by a sharp increase in the number of detainees held in terms of Section 29 of existing security legislation. 2554

When the emergency regulations were lifted in June, Section 29 detainees numbered 45. In the two months afterwards that figure broke the 100 mark. There are also at least 10 to 15 members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), on trial.

Bail conditions have been particularly harsh in some courts. In Davel in the Eastern Transvaal 19 youths charged with arson and intimidation were granted bail on condition they attended school, steered clear of political meetings and did not advertise a political organisation by, for instance, wearing a badge or T-shirt bearing the name of a political party.

They, like most of their schoolmates, did not attend classes on the final two days of term. As a result they were arrested for breaking bail conditions.

Hundreds of kilometres away in the Orange Free State, the ANC's convenor in the town of Luckoff was also restricted from attending political meetings as part of his bail conditions. He successfully challenged them.

The Luckoff police also made an unsuccessful bid to disregard the winds of change by arresting and charging four activists for selling ANC T-shirts at a time when the ANC was already unbanned. When lawyers pointed this out, the youths were then charged with selling goods without a licence. Eventually they were acquitted.

Lawyers report an extremely high acquittal rate. For both Mahomed's and Spoor's legal firms it is around 90 percent.

Countrywide this year HRC statistics show that only 13 percent of accused were convicted. Charges against almost 70 percent were withdrawn, with the remainder being acquitted or discharged.

The large number of arrests of political activists is a serious indictment of the government's reform claims. As Spoor puts it: "The political changes at present, insofar as they affect the lives of the people on the ground, are cosmetic. Repression is still in place."

Yet international funding agencies, acting on the understanding that there has been a marked drop in repression, have cut back funding for litigation.

The trade unions and major anti-apartheid organisations are looking at filling the gap but, points out Spoor, the political and civic organisations operating outside the metropolitan centres will have difficulty doing so – and it is their supporters who are the primary targets of repression. – AIA

New strategies for SA's 'political' publishers

BIDAY 31/12/90 (327)

DIANNA GAMES

THE new political order in SA has not only allowed banned people to be read by their fellow countrymen, it has allowed political publishers to work without hindrance from the security apparatus. It has also prompted some to rethink their publishing strategies.

David Philip Publishers, which has served the cause of protest in SA for 19 years, had two books by Albie Sachs on sale to the public within months — The Jail Diaries and The Soft Vengeance of a Freedom Fighter. Both books had been on sale in the rest of the world before publication here was allowed.

As recently as May last year Philip's offices were visited four times by security police and books were confiscated. However, he persevered: "We have survived the past 19 years and we are going strong into the 1990s."

There have been rewards along the way, not the least of which was winning the Noma Award for Publishing in Africa for the publication Uprooting Poverty by UCT's Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele.

He has a number of prestigious and formerly banned authors on his books. Recently he published High Lewin's Bandiet, SACP member Jeremy Cronin's book Inside and Nadine Gordimer's My Son's Story.

State harassment led to the birth of the Independent Publishers' Association of SA (Ipasa) which was formed to provide mutual support within the industry, especially for smaller players. Philip is president of Ipasa which has grown to 40 members, including publishing heavyweights such as Penguin, Struik and Heinemann.

Ravan Press emerged from the work of the Christian Institute which was banned in 1977. Manager Glenn Moss said it was felt that there was a need for a publishing house that explored non-racial or "socially engaged" writing.

In the pursuit of this goal it came under heavy attack from government. For many years its books and contributing authors were banned; it was charged under restrictive statutes; its Braamfontein premises were firebombed and it was raided by police.

Moss said the company's insecurity was compounded by the financial losses of having books banned and losing books and records in police raids and in the firebombing.

However, the last police raid was early last year and the majority of names have been removed from the consolidated list, allowing many more writers to be published or to be quoted in other published works. And through everything, Ravan managed to keep up its exports, mainly to North America and the UK.

Moss said the change in the political environment meant that more material, which had previously been forced onto the periphery of the book world, was now appealing to the mainstream market.

He admitted that the emphasis had not always been on quality but on giving protest a voice. Now, he said, the protest component was becoming less important and the work more merit-based.

Jonathan Ball, of the publishing company of the same name, said he was leaning more and more into the political field. He described his policy as one of "liberal sanity that panders neither to the right nor the left". He has lined up a biography of President F W de Klerk by his brother Willem.

"We publish politics carefully and turn a lot of stuff down." But, he said, recent developments in SA had been "a great liberation" for publishers.

He said the pace of change had inevitably dated many political books "but they are valuable because of their historic worth". He sees the trend moving from scenario books to explanations of what is happening and examinations of the past.

Southern Books MD Basil van Rooyen said the problem with political manuscripts was that they stood the danger of becoming outdated before they were published. He said it sometimes took up to six months for a book to get onto the shelves.

Collins Publishers (SA) MD Malcolm Edwards said many British publishers took the view that publishing could be a force for good and had done their bit to try to get political writing into SA against the odds (and the censors).

Collins has published Sachs and Albert Luthuli. Heinemann has published such authors as Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Steve Biko.

Edwards said UK publishers considered SA an important market for books and made special deals on prices for books for this market. This meant UK publishers often made less money per book on what was sold to SA than elsewhere.

The Penguin Group's John Allen said it was cutting back on the number and variety of titles being brought into SA. He said print runs in the UK were tightening up, resulting in "sharper" buying decisions in SA.

Penguin publishes some well-known SA writers such as Alan Paton and Nadine Gordimer, Donald Woods and J M Coetzee.

In response to the new debate in SA, Penguin recently launched the Penguin Forum Series. It already has three books out — MK, on the ANC's military wing; Death Squads; and Water, Waste and Wildlife.

BOOKS

ly".

depoliticise them. No de-

regime".

Police in Bop disrupt meeting

Sowetan 31/12/90

The African National Congress at the weekkend alleged Bophuthatswana police disrupted an ANC branch meeting in the Winterveldt and arrested 56 people.

Police said they arrested two people after dispersing an illegal meeting.

ANC Pretoria spokesperson Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said police disrupted the meeting and went house to house arresting ANC members.

Bophuthatswana police spokesperson Col D A George said two people were arrested, and one released almost immediately. - *Sapa.*

Azapo's plans for year ahead

Sowetan 31/12/90

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) President, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe declared 1991 a year of struggle on all fronts, including military, in his New Year message.

Nefolovhodwe said people must completely remove the idea from their minds that reforms are meant to enhance the status of black people, on the contrary reforms are meant to replace naked racism and explotation with subtle forms of racism and exploitation.

Azapo believes black people are entitled to know their role in the economy and what happens to the products they produce and how profits are distributed, he said.

Nefolovhodwe said the new year comes at a time when people are ruthlessly murdered by the forces of darkness.

He said the (violence) situation is exploited by those who seek power above liberation and are prepared to use human life in order to gain their nefarious objectives.

"New forces are emerging and new alliances across the (political) divide are just being formed to maximise the power of the state against our people," Nefolovhodwe said.

"This is the road through which neo-colonialism enters at the time when the oppressed masses are preparing for final victory," he said. - *Sapa.*

Pan Africanist Congress members in full cry at the funeral service of Mr Phillip Mokgadi, the PAC's West Germany's chief representative who was buried in Mamelodi on Saturday. *Pic: Mbuzeni zulu.*

PAC says FW has SA gems in foreign vaults

Sowetan 31/12/90

HARARE - President F W de Klerk would soon be asked to account for South Africa's diamond and gold believed to be kept in the vaults of Israel, Switzerland, the United States and Britain, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander is reported by Ziana national news agency as saying in Harare.

Alexander said De Klerk would also be asked questions regarding the return of the land, he claimed was stolen from "our forefathers".

The State President, he said, may also be confronted with causes such as the transfer of power and the ownership of South Africa's economy.

He said 1990 saw De Klerk being asked "peripheral" questions which he had answered "brilliantly", thereby establishing himself a good image in the world.

"Only one man can ask him these questions ... (PAC president) Clarence Makwetu," said Alexander.

Alexander is in Harare paying a courtesy call on the PAC diplomatic mission here.

He criticised De Klerk's vision of a post-apartheid South Africa. De Klerk, he said, had rejected the principle of one-person-one-vote in favour of a system that sought to co-opt " Africans" so that no one would have power over another.

"That means a situation of perpetual powerlessness, and that will be firmly rejected by the PAC, the Azanian," said Alexander.

He said the alternative would be for the PAC and the people to intensify the struggle "on all fronts".

Alexander expressed pessimism over the release of PAC political prisoners. Such releases, he said, would be made conditional and dependent on a concession in which the liberation movement should suspend its armed struggle prior to negotiations.

"Scoundrels, murderers and thieves fear to go to prison. Since the days of the Biblical Apostle Paul to the current PAC leadership, men of principle did not fear to go or remain in prison," Alexander said. - *Sapa.*

FACTFILE - by Norris McWhirter

TOTALITARIANISM — GENERAL

1991

JANUARY — MARCH.

SAP dismiss claims

The SA Police division of public relations in Pretoria yesterday dismissed as "another propaganda ploy" claims from Harare which said the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), had claimed four military operations against South African security forces.

The report, carrying a statement from Dar es Salaam and released in Harare on Monday, termed the operations a "festive campaign of shock and choke".

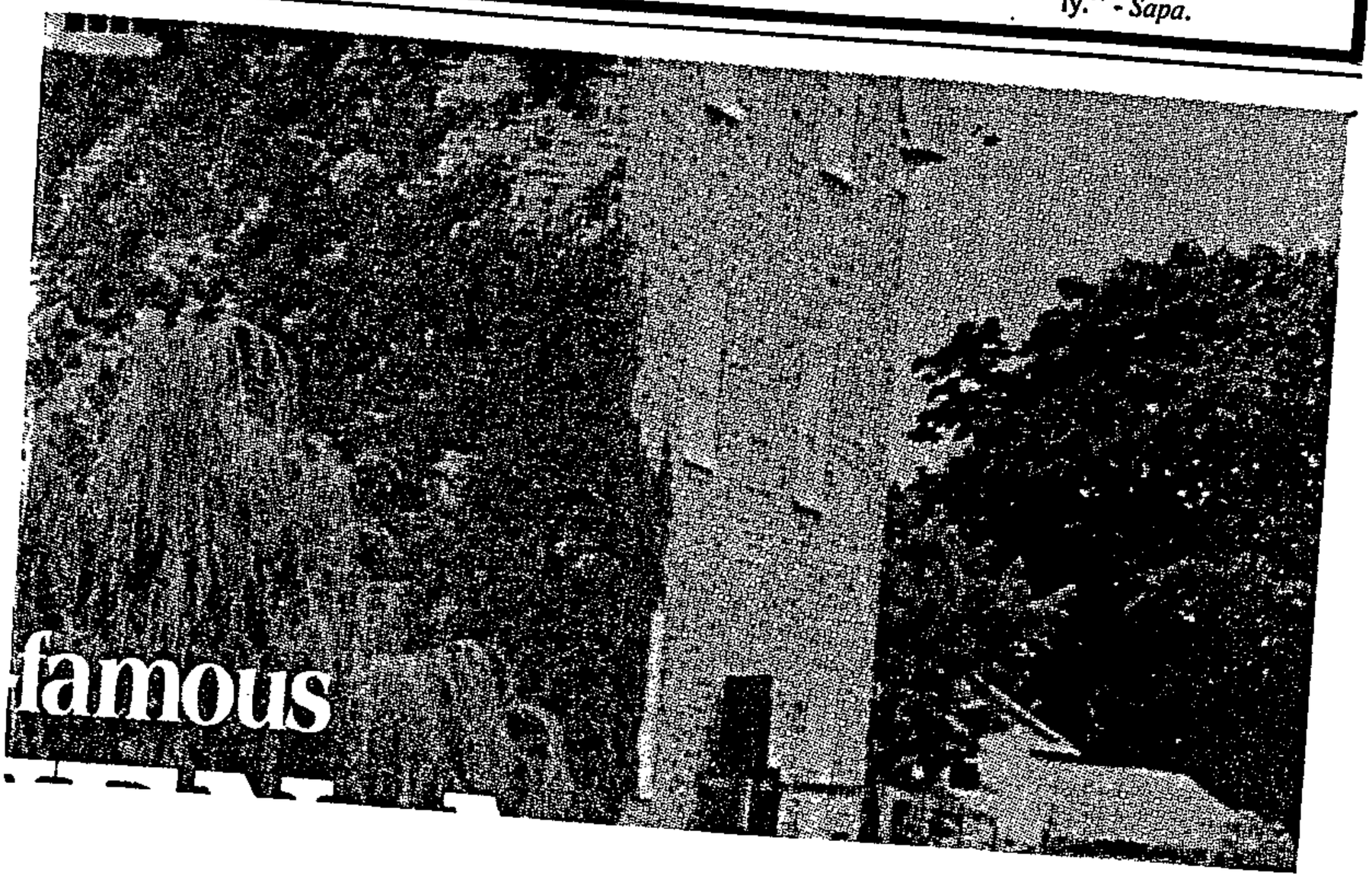
The statement from Dar es Salaam, signed by Apla political commissar Romero Daniels, said the attacks were carried out between December 23 and 30 in Soshanguve (Pretoria), Zwide (Cape), Despatch (between Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage), and Inanda (Durban).

Died

According to the Apla statement, three security force members died and five others were injured in the Zwide attack of December 26.

In its reaction yesterday, the SAP said: "This is obviously another propaganda ploy by the organisation concerned.

"In the past they have issued similar propaganda statements which nobody can be expected to take seriously." - *Sapa*.



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ANC hits at police firearm crackdown

C/Press 6/1/91

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Vlok ... Security Branch to play a cardinal role in fire-arm recovery units.

By CHALES MOGALE and Sapa

THE ANC has dismissed the government's crackdown on illegal firearms as a veiled attempt to disarm the organisation.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced this week the establishment of special police units to track down unlicensed firearms and substantial rewards for information leading to the recovery of weaponry.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said the causes of crime in the country were broader than the government seemed to perceive.

"The issue of AKs or of any weaponry belonging to the ANC is part of the discusssions of the (ANC-government) working group. We are hoping that Vlok is referring to gunrunning. The problem should be addressed from a broader perspective. You have to talk about the disarming of the population in general," she said.

South African whites had about five guns to a family, making the country one of the most highly armed in the world.

Vlok said the new measures would form part of the police's anti-crime drive.

He announced a reward of R6 000 for information leading to the recovery of an AK 47 rifle or any machinegun.

The police would in addition pay rewards ranging from R800 for a handgrenade to R5 000 for a radio-controlled explosive device.

Vlok said the availability of AK 47 rifles was a source of great concern.

"I am convinced the removal of this type of weapon from the community would lead to a great reduction in violent crimes," he said.

Firearm-recovery units would be established wherever needed, countrywide. One such unit would be formed immediately in Soweto.

Because of their knowledge and experience, members and former members of the Security Branch would play a cardinal role in these units, he said.

Vlok revealed that an alleged robber – armed with an AK 47 – who died during a robbery attempt at the Voortrekker Road Cash Butchery in Pretoria on December 23 last year, had been a trained PAC "terrorist", Ephraim Lebakwe.

Vlok said police had also formed three "tourism support units" in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban to protect people against thieves.

Other elements of the anti-crime blitz, dubbed "Operation Sentry", include the following:

- A campaign to recruit at least 10 000 more cops;
- Civilians would, where possible, replace police members performing administrative duties; and
- Vehicle and foot patrols would be extended and temporary crime-reporting centres opened.

Vlok said former Koevoet members, employed temporarily as civilians by the SAP, had tracked down as many as 115 000 stolen head of cattle and slashed the theft of Eskom powerlines from R3-million to R600 000 a month.

ANC supporters die in vigilante raid

B/Day 8/1/91.

DURBAN — A raid by vigilantes left 17 ANC supporters dead and caused thousands of refugees to flee from residential areas near Umgababa in southern Natal yesterday, residents said.

One resident said a large gang numbering several hundred vigilantes from the "Inkatha area" of Hlanzeni arrived at the ANC stronghold of Emagcino at 5.30pm on Sunday. She said they launched sporadic attacks throughout the night which left 17 dead.

However, police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi said yesterday police could confirm only eight of the deaths.

He said another seriously injured man was recovering in C J Crookes Hospital in Scottburgh.

An Inkatha spokesman last night described the killings as a tragedy, and said the incident would be investigated. But she warned against "jumping to conclusions" that the perpetrators were Inkatha members, PETER DELMAR reports.

Residents claimed the vigilantes said they had come to kill all "comrades" in the area. Any youths found by the gang were attacked.

The attacks continued sporadically throughout the night and yesterday vigilantes were seen roaming the area.

Own Correspondent

Many of those who fled the area sought refuge at the Illovo Beach police station and at Umgababa station.

A heavy SAP and SADF presence was seen in the area and senior police officers were making an "on the spot" analysis of the situation.

Tension was running high yesterday following a threat by the vigilantes that they would return to attack Emagcino again.

An elderly woman, who declined to be named, said the attackers were after boys "even from the age of seven upwards". She said the younger members of her family had fled to Umgababa station.

However, most of those killed were over the age of 20.

In their unrest report yesterday police said a mob attacked a kraal and killed two people in rural Natal on Sunday, Sapa reports.

The mob also set two huts alight during the attack.

In another incident at Alexandra township near Randburg, a woman was injured when she was attacked by a group of people armed with pangas.

At Robertson in the Cape a private home was petrol-bombed.

New chief of Media Council backs freedom of expression

B/Day 8/1/91

NEWLY elected Media Council chairman Prof Kobus van Rooyen, better known for his controversial career as chairman of the Publications Appeal Board (PAB), says he will be in a position to promote directly freedom of expression.

Van Rooyen was elected unanimously to chair the media council from January, replacing Jan Steyn who resigned because of his full-time commitment to the Independent Development Trust.

In an interview Van Rooyen said he would strive to uphold the interests for which the Media Council stood.

These were freedom of the Press, the maintaining of high standards of journalism and a realisation that the Press played an important role in a democracy.

Van Rooyen, after graduating in 1965 from the University of Pretoria, lectured in law from 1966 and became professor in the Criminal Law department in 1971.

In 1975 he became vice-chairman of the PAB and succeeded Mr Justice Lammie Snyman as chairman in 1980.

Retiring from the post in March 1990, he was appointed senior counsel by the State President in December.

Van Rooyen has published three books — two on censorship and one on contracts — and has written several articles on Press freedom. He said he took Press freedom seriously, and numerous judgments of the PAB during his tenure were evidence of this commitment.

As chief censor he was known for his open approach to publications control, and

MARCIA KLEIN

under his chairmanship the PAB unbanned the Freedom Charter in 1984.

The PAB was also not prepared to institute pre-censorship on publications, and the films Cry Freedom and A Dry White Season were passed without cuts.

In his new role, Van Rooyen said, he would act as Media Council spokesman and strive to create greater public awareness of the Press's role in a democracy.

(327) Constraints

He would promote, too, the idea that a Press free from arbitrary government control was also reliable.

In addition, he said, he would promote the council's image as an independent representative council promoting the interests of the Press, promote the council and the Press internationally, strive to have government restraints on the Press removed, promote research in the field of journalism and communications, endeavour to have removed unnecessary criminal law provisions affecting the Press and strive for a return to the rule of law with a bill of rights guaranteeing fundamental rights.

The SA Union of Journalists expressed surprise last week at Van Rooyen's election, saying there was irony in the appointment of a state censor, however enlightened, to a body whose objective was to uphold and maintain the freedom of the media in SA.



'I was sent to kill editor'

JOHANNESBURG. Former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) agent Mr Donald Acheson was sent to South-West Africa (now Namibia) to assassinate Namibian newspaper editor Miss Gwen Lister but was not involved in the murder of Swapo official Mr Anton Lubowski, Mr Acheson said in an exclusive interview with Beeld newspaper here.

Mr Acheson, an Irish citizen who was held by Namibian police for eight months for Mr Lubowski's death, said he had been made an easy scapegoat by Namibian police.

"I was in Namibia during the assassination, but was sent there to eliminate Gwen Lister." He had to kill her as she was a "troublemaker" and had links with the British intelligence service, he said.

He suspected CCB agents of killing Mr Lubowski and also suspected that the American CIA was involved. — Sapa

CCB man 'was sent to Namibia to kill editor'

JOHANNESBURG. — Former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) agent, Mr Donald Acheson was sent to South West Africa (now Namibia) to assassinate Namibian newspaper editor Miss Gwen Lister but was not involved in the murder of Swapo official Mr Anton Lebowski, Mr Acheson said in an exclusive interview with Beeld newspaper.

Mr Acheson, code named "The Cleaner" told a Beeld reporter that anything he said was not to be published and he would deny anything reported from the interview.

'Easy scapegoat'

Beeld, however, said it felt the information was in the public's interest to be made known.

Mr Acheson, an Irish citizen who was held by Namibian police for eight months for Mr Lubowski's death, said he had been made an easy scapegoat by Namibian police.

"A senior police officer involved in the case was on the CCB's payroll and wanted to break me.

"I had to hang for the murder while the real killers got off scot-free," Mr Acheson alleged.

"I was in Namibia during the assassination, but was sent there to eliminate Gwen Lister. I also had to monitor the elections," he said.

He had to kill Miss Lister as she was a "troublemaker" and had links to the British Intelligence Service, he said.

According to Mr Acheson, who was recruited into the CCB at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg, the murders of Dr Webster and Mamelodi activists Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife Florence, were possibly carried out by the same people, whom he suspected were CCB agents.

"All these people were shot with AK-47 rifles from moving vehicles. Certain CCB members operate in this way.

"I also saw one of the CCB agents, after Mr Lubowski's death, with a suitcase full of American dollars.

'CIA was involved'

"Just before the murder the agent was visited by an American businessman and a Mr Hodgson. This strengthens my suspicion that the CIA was also involved in the murder," he reportedly said.

According to Mr Acheson, the CCB also killed a Johannesburg night club owner, Mr George Meiring, whose charred body was found in a piece of veld outside Johannesburg.

Mr Acheson said the CCB still existed. — Sapa.

Police want to quiz Acheson over CCB allegations

Argus 11/1/91

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police have launched an urgent investigation into allegations made by former Civil Co-operation Bureau agent Donald Acheson.

He claimed this week he was sent to Namibia to "eliminate" the editor of the Namibian, Ms Gwen Lister.

Mr Acheson, who has kept a low profile since the publication of his comments in Beeld newspaper, is still in South Africa despite an order for his deportation.

He told the newspaper he had had nothing to do with the murder of Swapo lawyer Mr Anton Lubowski, but had been sent to kill Ms Lister.

Spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said yesterday that attempts would be made to obtain a sworn statement from Mr Acheson.

'THE CLEANER'

Mr Acheson said his CCB codename was "The Cleaner" and that he was in Namibia at the time of Mr Lubowski's assassination, but his job was to eliminate Ms Lister because she was a "trouble-maker".

The Irish national, who was in police custody for eight months after Mr Lubowski was murdered in August 1988, said the Namibian police had used him as a scapegoat.

"A senior police officer is on the payroll of the CCB and wanted to break me. I was to hang for the murder while the real murderers got off scot free," he said.

He also claimed he suspected the American Central Intelligence Agency was involved in the murder of Wits academic Dr David Webster and that he had worked for the PLO, the IRA, Soviet military intelligence and British intelligence.

Body found in stolen car — police

Crime Reporter

THE car in which underworld figure James "Peaches" Gordon was found shot and stabbed to death near Langa on Friday had been stolen, police said.

Mr Gordon, who claimed before the Harms Commission last year that he had been recruited by the Civil Co-operation Bureau to kill civil-rights lawyer Mr Dullah Omar, was found on the front seat of a blue Alfa Romeo next to the N2 about 8pm.

A police spokesman said he could not confirm that Mr Gordon was a police informer.

He said Mr Gordon had a telephone call before being picked up by a person driving the Alfa, registration CFR 14633, from his Athlone home at 6.10pm.

A Somerset West couple noticed the car pull off next to the N2 at 7.55pm. Two men were seen to run to the car.

His mother, Mrs Marie Gordon, said Peaches had been trying to reform but was often blamed unfairly for gang activities.

Anyone with information which could help should telephone ☎ 951 6665 (o/h).

Omar 'shocked' at would-be killer's murder

Staff Reporter

ANC Western Cape executive member Mr Dullah Omar said yesterday that he had been shocked to hear that his former would-be assassin had been murdered.

The mutilated body of self-confessed former CCB operative Mr Edward "Peaches" Gordon, 25, who once gave evidence that he had been paid to assassinate Mr Omar, was found on Friday evening near the Langa turn-off on the N2 in a stolen Alfa Romeo.

Mr Gordon's body was lying in the abandoned vehicle covered in blood from several stab and shot wounds in the neck and body.

"I am upset," Mr Omar said. "He (Mr Gordon) came to see me after the disclosures of the attempt to kill me. He apologised. Insofar as it was within my power to do so, I forgave him," he said.

"I felt sorry for him. It was clear to me that he was just a victim of the situation."

Police said a couple driving on the N2 behind the blue Alfa Romeo saw the car pull on to the side of the road near the Langa turn-off. The car moved very slowly on the verge and two men emerged from nearby bushes and ran to it.

A short while later the couple, whom police declined to name, returned to the car, which by then was parked about a kilometre from where they had last seen it. All the doors were open and Mr Gordon's body was sprawled inside.

Police ask anyone who saw the Alfa (registration CFR 14633) travelling in the Peninsula area to contact the Murder and Robbery Unit at 951-6665 or 951-1712.

South African killer squads 'still active'

Sowetan 15/11/91.

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HARARE - Anti-apartheid campaigners say South Africa is still operating so-called "death squads" in neighbouring black states, despite its declared commitment to peace in the region.

"My information is that the killer machine is in place," said South African Anglican priest Michael Lapsley, who lost an eye and both hands when a letter bomb exploded in May 1990 at his exile home in Harare.

He blames South African agents for the letter bomb and says he wants an international investigation into attacks on opponents of Pretoria.

"I prefer to have the issue handled by an international commission and to see all the perpetrators of these crimes punished," said Lapsley, who spent more than seven months in hospital.

Another anti-apartheid activist, teacher Jeremy Brickhill, has vowed to sue the Government for R900 000 in damages after he was seriously injured in a car bomb blast three years ago.

Paralysis

Since October 1987, he has spent most of his time in London hospitals receiving treatment for the burns, internal injuries and multiple fractures he suffered in the blast at a suburban shopping centre in Harare. A shoulder injury still causes him sporadic paralysis.

Brickhill (35) a naturalised Zimbabwean who was born in South Africa, says Pretoria has frustrated his efforts to mount a court case by refusing to grant him a visa to enter the country.

"As victims of South African death squads and destabilisation campaigns we have the right to demand that these structures are dismantled completely," said Brickhill, who was an adviser to the African National Congress at the time of the blast.

He says he has proof that South African death squads are still active in neighbouring black states.

FOCUS

While such accusations were commonplace in the early 1980s, they have petered out as Pretoria has moved over the past 18 months to shed its former commitment to white minority rule.

South Africa for years ran well-documented sabotage operations against its neighbours, including years of occupation of southern Angola, funding of a Mozambican guerilla movement at least until 1984, and fly-by-night raids into Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho.

High cost

The so-called destabilisation campaign is estimated by the region's economic body to have cost black-ruled southern African countries more than R140-billion since 1980.

Pretoria admits that until recently it employed sabotage units in neighbouring black states to assassinate its opponents, mainly exiled South Africans from anti-apartheid groups which were outlawed until a year ago.

But State President FW de Klerk, who has begun talks with the ANC to end apartheid and introduce a multi-racial democracy, has said cross-border operations stopped after he came to power in July 1989.

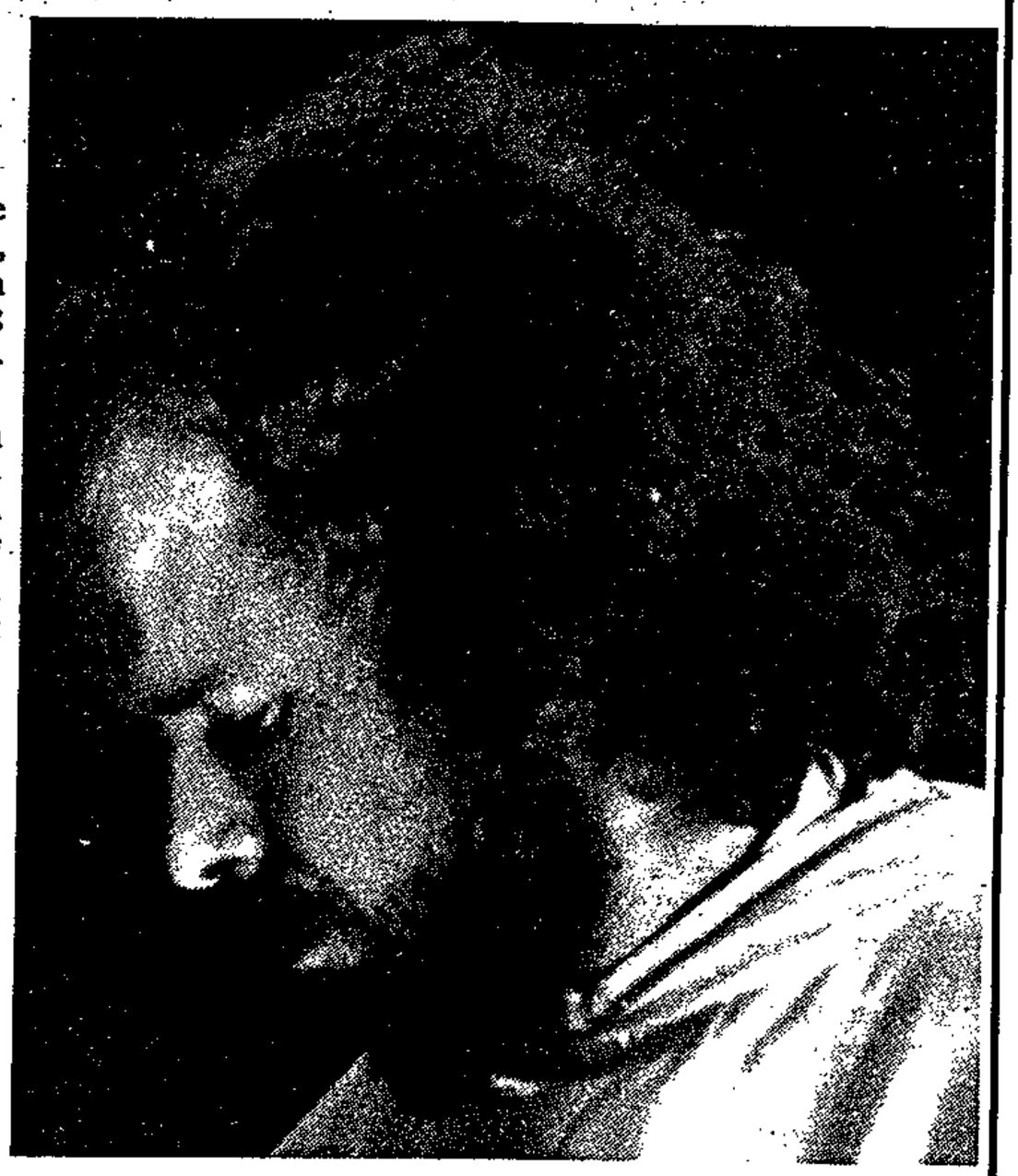
Campaign

Brickhill, looking pale and frail, told a recent news conference he was going to press on with his campaign to start his court case in South Africa.

He said he had evidence, which he would disclose in court, that the death squads were still active in southern Africa.

A South African judicial inquiry into allegations that death squads operating inside the country were controlled by the State ruled in October there were no direct Government links.

But the Harms Commission was barred from hearing about South African sabotage attacks in the rest of the region.



Before the blast tragedy ... Father Michael Lapsley.

Brickhill said the fact the commission did not inquire into the death squads' external operations showed their foreign wings were still in place.

He said Pretoria's refusal to give him a visa to instruct lawyers in South Africa was also evidence of this.

"That to me is strong evidence that the cover-up is intended to keep death squad structures intact for future use," he said. "In view of the chicanery of the South African Government, this should be done in full public view."

Since De Klerk came to power, Pretoria has lifted the ban on anti-apartheid movements including the ANC, released hundreds of political prisoners and allowed thousands of exiled South Africans to return home.

Some world leaders have said the South African Government is now acting in good faith to secure a negotiated end to apartheid.

But diplomats and analysts say they are not so sure white right-wingers and elements in the South African Defence Force are toeing the Government line.

They point to Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony, where private groups of right-wing white South Africans and former Portuguese settlers are believed to be funding a rebel movement fighting a 15-year-old bush war to topple the government.

Maputo says South African right-wing groups replaced Pretoria in supplying arms and logistical support to the Mozambique National Resistance.

Harare-based sources in the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, both demanding majority rule in South Africa, said they believed the death squads were still in place.

"Our intelligence indicates they are all over but lying low," said a PAC official. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

Detectives seek clues in killing of 'hitman'

DETECTIVES armed with a metal detector yesterday afternoon scoured the side of the N2 near the Langa turn-off — where self-confessed CCB operative Mr Edward "Peaches" Gordon was found dead on Friday evening — for spent cartridges and clues.

Mr Gordon, 25, of Athlone, had testified before the Harms Commission into politically motivated murders that he had been paid R25 000 by the disbanded Civilian Co-Operation Bureau to assassinate civil-rights advocate Mr Dullah Omar.

Police said it had been established that after receiving an anonymous phone call at 6pm on Friday, Mr Gordon had been picked up in a blue Alfa Romeo with the registration number CFR 14633.

A couple who drove behind the same car on the N2 about 7.55pm near the Langa turnoff saw it pull from the national road on to the grass verge. They became suspcious and returned to the car and found Mr Gordon's bullet-riddled body.

Missing CCB advocate reappears

Argus 15/11/91

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — An advocate who represented a former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) member at the Harms Commission, and who disappeared mysteriously seven months ago, is in the Free State.

Mr Pieter Leeuwner, 32, who disappeared on July 2 last year during the commission hearings into politically motivated acts of violence, spoke by telephone last night from a farm in the Free State where he is "taking time off to recuperate".

LINKED

At the time of his disappearance it was reported that it could have been linked to CCB activities.

Mr Leeuwner represented a former member of the CCB Mr Willie van Deventer, in hearings before the Harms Commission.

He went missing from his Arcadia home without a trace.

Quoted in reports, people close to Mr Leeuwner feared that he might have been kidnapped by the CCB, while others believed he had fled in fear for his life.

Yesterday Mr Leeuwner sounded cheerful and said he was in a "relatively healthly condition". He did not elaborate.

Asked what had happened, Mr Leeuwner said he did not want to divulge his "whole uninteresting story" now, but would do so when he returned to Pretoria within a month.

"I was out of the country periodically and it was too dangerous for me to make contact."

Mr Leeuwner denied reports in an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, which at the time said that he wanted to sell privileged information about the CCB to the paper.

'NONSENSE'

"That was utter nonsense.

"No advocate in his right mind would even consider such an act. He would be be struck from the roll and possibly even be prosecuted."

He said there had been no unethical conduct from his side.

"A considerable time has lapsed since it all started. I need time to pull things together."

Mr Leeuwner said he had told his family and the Pretoria Bar Council of his situation.

Anti-US protests in SA — 16 arrested

D Wam 16/1/91 LESLEY LAMBERT and WILSON ZWANE 327

SIXTEEN protesters were arrested in Cape Town after demonstrations against US intervention in the Gulf were staged there and in Johannesburg yesterday.

A Call of Islam spokesman said yesterday the organisation would meet tonight to assess the Middle East crisis and discuss a local programme of action.

Sapa reports that youths, apparently members of the Qibla fundamentalist Muslim movement, shouted "Death to Israelis and Americans" during the 20-minute picket in Cape Town.

Police spokesman Capt Denise Brand said the demonstrators were expected to appear in court yesterday to face charges of staging an illegal placard protest.

In Johannesburg, members of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action staged a placard demonstration outside the US consulate.

Muslim Judicial Council president Nazeem Mohammed said the council supported the demonstrations because it was opposed to "foreign intervention in Kuwait", but the council did not condone Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's action.

A US Information Services spokesman said the embassy saw no reason to comment on the demonstrations.

Meanwhile, thousands of South African Jews met last night around the country for special prayers for peace.

PATRICK BULGER reports that SACC general secretary Frank Chikane said yesterday the SA government did not have the moral right to involve SA in a Gulf war.

Chikane urged government not to participate even indirectly in any war by offering SA assistance to the US war effort.

Section 205 erodes press freedom, say lawyers

Staff Reporter

Lawyers have slated the use of section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act as an erosion of press freedom and the public's right to information.

Joan Fubbs, formerly employed by Sapa, became the second journalist to be issued with a subpoena in connection with a Cosatu press conference last year at which a man was allegedly kidnapped and assaulted. Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber was issued with a subpoena last week.

Nicholas Haysom, professor at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies and a member of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, said: "The great danger in using section 205 against journalists is that it inhibits their willingness to report on events of public interest out of fear they will be forced to testify in court.

"They may be told to reveal sources, which are important for gathering information, or they may be perceived to be agents of the State or extensions of the police."

Ahmed Motala of Lawyers for Human Rights said the subpoenas "give lie to Pik Botha's statement on the first programme of 'Agenda' that South Africa still has freedom of expression. We believe section 205 violates freedom of expression. Journalists are inhibited in pursuing their profession. The Government should take urgent steps to remedy this situation."

Police detain PAC men, seize weapons in township raid

B/Day 17/1/91

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TANIA LEVY

POLICE yesterday detained five PAC members and confiscated several illegal weapons in a pre-dawn swoop on Kagiso township near Krugersdorp.

SAP spokesman Maj Reg Crewe said several weapons, including an AK-47 rifle, a Chinese stick grenade and a .22 rifle were seized.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander alleged in a statement that police were accompanied by "members of a rival political organisation and probably members of a monitoring committee", Sapa reports.

But Crewe denied that anyone other than police had been involved.

Alexander said police had claimed that they were looking for members of the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla).

He said six men had been arrested. They were: national executive committee member Mike Matsobane, Themba Hlatswayo, Paul Vusi Hlatswayo, Richard Pretty Moletsane, Sipho Mtshembe and Thabo Kekana.

"We condemn these acts of terrorism against our non-combatant members and we demand the immediate release of our NEC member and others," he said.

Police confirmed five arrests and denied that Matsobane was being held.

Crewe said homes were searched as a result of information received and all occupants had been treated in a humane fashion.

Sapa reports from East London that police on Tuesday linked two deceased PAC members to attacks on policemen which left two dead and three injured in the eastern Cape.

Port Elizabeth police on Monday handed over to family members the bodies of the two PAC members.

A spokesman said on Tuesday "intensive investigation" had linked Mongezi Colin Cãkata of Duncan Village, East London, and Jabu Jeremiah Mdunge of Tembisa on the East Rand to two attacks on policemen in the Eastern Cape.

Scrapyard

Both were shot dead at a scrapyard at KwaZakhele near Port Elizabeth on January 2.

Police liaison officer Capt Pieter van Straaten said Mdunge, 26, and Cakata, 31, were positively linked to two attacks, one in which Sgt Johan Gerber and Const Cornelius de Wet were killed, and another in which Deputy-Officer I J McClaren sustained multiple shrapnel wounds and Sgt J Gruss and Const J Neethling were slightly injured.

Van Straaten said ballistic 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 attacks on the policemen.

Judge finds newspapers articles defamatory

JOHANNESBURG. — The central question in the defamation trial launched by police forensic laboratory head Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling against two weekly newspapers was whether the statements made were true or not, Mr Justice J C Kriegler said yesterday in the Rand Supreme Court.

The judge is handing down judgment in a R1,5-million civil action launched by the general against Vrye Weekblad, which published reports on November 17 and December 1, 1989, and against the Weekly Mail, which published an in-depth analysis in November 1989.

In all three, former police captain Mr Dirk Coetzee said General Neethling supplied poison to be used to kill ANC members.

At the start of the judgment, Mr Justice Kriegler said his findings would be split into eight sections. It is expected the judgment will last more than a day.

One of the first findings was that all three articles were defamatory.

The judge said that though there was no direct link between the allegations in the first article and General Neethling, the average reader would have believed the general was responsible for the poisoning of two men.

Mr Coetzee claimed two unco-operative ANC members were first poisoned, and when that did not work, later shot. He claimed everyone spoke about "Lothar's poison". — Sapa

Top cop loses R1,5m death squad case

JOHANNESBURG. — Findings of the Harms Commission were turned on their head in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday when most of rebel police captain Mr Dirk Coetzee's allegations about death squads were found to be true.

Giving judgment in the R1,5-million defamation case brought by Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling against the Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail, Mr Justice J C Kriegler said the general had lied when giving evidence before the commission — and had lied during this case.

HARMS PROBE UNDER FIRE
See PAGE 3

He ruled that General Neethling was not entitled to any damages and dismissed his application. He ordered the general to pay the legal costs of the newspapers.

An elated Mr Max du Preez, Vrye Weekblad editor, said legal costs amounted to about R1 million and that this award would now keep his newspaper afloat.

He called for the resignation of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and an in-depth investigation into the entire forensic laboratory activities.

General Neethling declined to comment. However, as the judge left the courtroom, the general demanded angrily that he return so he could give notice of his intention to lodge an appeal.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Kriegler said he believed that General Neethling's civil rights had not been compromised by newspaper articles, as these had served the public interest by publishing the facts.

Instead of dealing with the allegations that he supplied poison to kill ANC activists, General Neethling had given long, evasive answers in an attempt to divert at-

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tention away from core issues.

Referring to former police captain Mr Dirk Coetzee, the judge said he had treated him as one would treat an accomplice in a criminal trial.

The evidence was weighed very carefully — but there was not one example to show he had lied during this case.

On the other hand, Mr Kriegler described the general's testimony before the Harms Commission and during this civil hearing as untruthful and misleading, and said his motive for lying must have been important.

The judge also criticised the testimony of General Mike Geldenhuys, the former Commissioner of Police.

He noted that Mr Coetzee's evidence was mostly self-incriminating.

The judge weighed up the tape of the interview with Vrye Weekblad reporter Mr Jacques Pauw, a TV video, extracts from the Harms Commission evidence, documentary evidence, evidence given by freelance journalist Mr Martin Welz and evidence the former policeman gave in London.

The judge had not seen Mr Coetzee in the witness box because, after the shock disclosures made by death row prisoner and former policeman Mr Almond Nofomela last year, alleging the existence of police death squads, he had fled the country.

At that stage, he had been discharged from the police force. In an interview with Mr Pauw in Mauritius, he told the story which formed the basis of the articles which led to the trial.

His evidence for this trial was given in London.

However, there had been no contradictions despite extensive cross-examination. — Sapa

Harms probe under fire

PORT ELIZABETH. — The SA Union of Journalists yesterday congratulated Vrye Weekblad on its successful defence and called for further investigations into the police forensic laboratory.

The paper's courageous efforts in unearthing sinister activities among the police were "an outstanding example" of the value of a free press.

However, many questions about the activities of the police forensic laboratories remained unanswered, the union said.

Lawyers for Human Rights said the judgment would "open up once again the can of worms surrounding the Harms Commission".

The Campaign for a Judicial Inquiry into Hit Squads said: "The judgment confirms our view that President F W de Klerk is busy with a cover-up on the hit squad issue and that the Harms Commission was a farce." — Sapa

Unions slate 'new attack' on press

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ), the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), and the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ), have condemned "in the strongest possible terms" the issuing of new Section 205 subpoenas against journalists.

The organisations condemned the issuing of subpoenas against Weekly Mail co-editor Mr Anton Harber and former Sapa journalist Ms Joan Fubbs.

For decades South Africa had lived with stringent censorship and individual journalists had been harassed, detained and banned, the SAUJ said. Newspapers had been closed "at the whim of the government".

"In this era of change, the government purports to be moving into a new climate of democracy. But, with respect to press freedom, the media is still in the same position as before February 2.

Restrictions

"The removal of media restrictions under the state of emergency means nothing as long as the more than 100 statutes restricting press freedom remain.

"And just when we thought that the government would move further and address the remaining obstacles to press freedom, the State has started an apparent witch hunt against the press."

The SAUJ said it questioned why police needed journalists to give evidence when they apparently had all the evidence they needed.

"The State's intention appears to be to destroy trust between reporters and their sources which is nothing but an attack on press freedom. Trust is a foundation of the free flow of information.

"In the same way that police would never disclose the identity of their informers, journalists have a duty not to disclose their sources." — Sapa.

Neethling evidence was lies, says judge

o/c Angus 19/1/99

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Bumper costs if appeal fails

Weekend Argus Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — General Neethling will have to bear both sides' legal costs — running into millions of rands — if his appeal on March 2 against Mr Justice Kriegler's ruling fails.

His counsel, Mr Willie Oshry, explained during the hearing last year that the State Attorney agreed to pay the general's costs on condition that he not be linked to any irregularities.

The visibly shaken general refused to disuss the issue after the finding, but equally upset former-police commissioner General Mike Geldenhuys stood up and shouted that General Neethling would have to pay the amount running into millions.

"The general will pay. Why do you ask such stupid questions? Why don't you ask other questions?" he demanded.

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez said the newspaper's bill came to about R1 million.

A calm but clearly relieved Mr Du Preez called for an end to the State paying for public officials involved in defamation cases because this was often abused to intimidate journalists from writing.

He demanded those implicated by Mr Justice Kriegler's findings — including General Neethling — be charged with murder by the Attorney General.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok should also resign and a special investigation into the dealings of the police's forensic lab in Pretoria should be established.

"If the State President doesn't react to this, I will personally lose my confidence in his ability to run a clean administration." he said.

Weekly Mail journalist Gavin Evans — whose article was the centre of the case against his employer — said the judgment contradicted the Harms Commission.

JOHANNESBURG. — Findings of the Harms Commission were turned on their head in the Rand Supreme Court where the overwhelming mass of Mr Dirk Coetzee's allegations of death squads was found to be true.

Mr Justice J C Kriegler said in the R1,5 million defamation case against Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail that Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling had lied when giving evidence before Mr Justice Louis Harms during the commission — and had lied during this case.

Instead of dealing with the allegations that he supplied poison to kill ANC activists, General Neethling gave long, evasive answers in an attempt to divert attention from core issues.

Single witness

Referring to former police captain Dirk Coetzee, the judge said he had treated him as a single witness and as one would treat an accomplice in a criminal trial.

The evidence was weighed carefully — but there was not one example to show Mr Coetzee had lied during this case.

The judge had not seen him in the witness box because after the shock disclosures made by death row prisoner and former policeman Almond Nofomela last year, alleging the existence of police death squads, he had fled the country.

At that stage, Mr Coetzee had been discharged from the police force. In an interview with Vrye Weekblad reporter Jacques Pauw on Mauritius, he told the story which formed the basis of the articles which led to the trial.

His evidence for this trial was given in London.

The judge weighed up the tape of the interview with Mr Pauw, a TV video, extracts from the Harms Commission evidence, documentary evidence, evidence given by freelance journalist Martin Welz and evidence the former policeman gave in London.

There was no contradiction, the judge found, despite extensive cross examination.

Turning to General Neethling's credibility, the judge said "the sorry conclusion I am forced to" was that he had failed to pierce the web of evidence which was drawn around him. An honest answer would have pierced the web easily, the judge said, and an honest man would have relied on the truth.

The general deliberately misread part of the Harms Commission's record during the trial in an attempt to cover up a contradiction, the judge said.

Among the factual findings made by Mr Justice Kriegler were:

- Mr Coetzee had visted General Neethling's house;
- He had also spent more than a few moments in the general's office;
- Mr Coetzee had General Neethling's unlisted telephone number in his notebook; and
- Mr Coetzee had taken part in cross border raids, acting on official instructions.

Even if the judgment had gone in favour of General Neethling, the judge said, damages would have been nowhere near the amount claimed. — Sapa.

Harms probe sought

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Lawyers and human rights activists have welcomed yesterday's Supreme Court judgment against General Lothar Neethling, saying it throws the Harms Commission findings in strong doubt.

They have also called for investigations to be reopened into the Harms Commission evidence.

Professor John Dugard, of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said the judgment "clearly places the credibility of the Harms Commission report in question".

"It suggests there has been a police cover up of the activities of hit squads. It also begs the question as to why the so-called independent prosecutors in the Harms Commission did not probe police irregularities more fully," he said.

Mr Raymond Louw, chairman of the Campaign for Open Media and editor and publisher of The Southern Africa Report, said yesterday's judgment seriously discredited the findings of the Harms Commission.

Mr Louw said yesterday's judgment also implied that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok should resign.

"He (Vlok) is ultimately responsible for the conduct of the police," said Mr Louw.

Mr Louw said it would be "admirable at this time" for the government to use Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act — " which it has used against journalists" — to extract information from the police.

Mr Max Coleman, of the Human Rights Commission, said the judgment would also have implications for the former Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

■ The South African Union of Journalists yesterday congratulated Vrye Weekblad and its staff on their successful defence in the case brought by General Neethling.

The union, representing 850 journalists, also called for further investigations into the police forensic laboratory.

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19/1/91

CAPE Times
iday, January 21 1991

Call to reopen Harms probe

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Lawyers representing the Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail, which successfully defended a R1,5m defamation suit brought by police forensics head Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling, expect to recover only 60% of their costs of more than R500 000.

In the Rand Supreme Court on Friday, Mr Justice Kriegler ruled that General Neethling would have to pay the costs of the newspapers' defence.

However, an attorney said the court's taxing master would probably order General Neethling to pay 60% of the actual costs, while the newspapers would have to pay 40%.

Meanwhile, Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez and lawyers representing the Afrikaans weekly have called for the reopening of the Harms Commission.

This follows the court's acceptance of claims by former police captain Mr Dirk Coetzee about a secret police hit squad of which he was a member.

The Harms Commission found Mr Coetzee had lied about the existence of the covert unit, his own involvement and his claims that he was given poison by General Neethling to murder ANC members.

After Mr Justice Kriegler dismissed General Neethling's claim, attorney Mr David Hoffe said the court had believed Mr Coetzee.

"Everything that Harms disbelieved has been believed," Mr Hoffe said.

Mr Du Preez said the Harms Commission "has obviously been discredited", and called for it to be reopened.

"This judge has found that several people lied and misled Harms."

He also said the attorney-general should look into the matter (of hit squads). Those involved, including General Neethling, should be charged.

Mr Du Preez said he was extremely happy about the judge's finding that the newspapers had had a public duty to publish the hit squad stories.

Another important aspect, he said, was that the judgment should frighten public figures away from using the threat to sue as a means of intimidating journalists into not publishing stories of this nature.

He said Mr Coetzee should be allowed to return to SA. — Sapa

PAC blames 'agents' for death

HARARE - The PAC yesterday blamed South African "agents" for the assassination of one of its members, Dumile William Stoolman, 10 days ago. Sowetan 22/11/91

In a statement from its external mission headquarters in Dar es Salaam, the PAC vowed to mete out "revolutionary justice" to those responsible for Stoolman's death.

It said his death had been preceeded by telephone calls threatening his life. The last such call was made on January 11, the day of his murder outside his Uitenhage, eastern Cape, home.

"As he left his house . . . agents attacked him with hand grenades," said the statement. - *Sapa.*



EX-COP ...
Dirk Coetzee

Coetzee wants to go home

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Former death squad policeman Mr Dirk Coetzee could face the death penalty if he stands trial in South Africa, but after his version of events was exonerated in the Supreme Court last week, he would like to return home.

Financial considerations were the only thing restraining him from returning immediately, Mr Coetzee said yesterday, although he also expressed concern for his safety at the hands of the security police.

He would need "the security of good financial backing" to return and stand trial.

Mr Coetzee has reconciled his marriage which broke down after his flight from South Africa. While his wife, Karin, is at present running a business in Pretoria, Mr Coetzee's sons Kalla, 12, and Dirk, 14, have joined him in London.

He may remain in London "for another three or four years".

Mr Coetzee said Friday's ruling in favour of his claims that Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling had given him poison to kill ANC activists, was encouraging, both to him and to the families of CCB victims who have launched civil actions against the police.

While he was prepared to stand trial in an open court, Mr Coetzee expressed concern that police would detain him under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act the moment he entered the country.

"If only the police would admit that they, like all human beings, could make mistakes and be prepared, as I am, to face a just court of law. But I am not in this alone and I want everybody who shares in the guilt to be there in the accused benches with me," Mr Coetzee said.

"After that I just want to be left alone — especially by the police — and be allowed to pick up the pieces of my life and start all over again."

(327)

PAC death: SA 'agents' blamed

HARARE. — The PAC yesterday blamed South African "agents" for the assassination of one of its members, Mr Dumile William Stoolman, 10 days ago.

In a statement from its external mission headquarters in Dar Es Salaam, the PAC vowed to mete out "revolutionary justice" to those responsible for Mr Stoolman's death.

It said his death had been preceded by threatening telephone calls. — Sapa

Crackdown on intimidation

Star 23/11/91

Political Staff (327)

The SAP had started a tough campaign to eliminate the vicious intimidation sweeping South Africa, Deputy Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers said yesterday.

His message came just a day after delegations of the Government and ANC met in Pretoria to discuss details of the organisation's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

The ANC said this undertaking did not prevent it from a programme of mass mobilisation and recruiting for Mkhonto we Sizwe.

The ANC intends to stage mass protests on February 1, the day Parliament opens, to push for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Mr Scheepers said law-abiding citizens, particularly in the townships, had increasingly become the target of an intensified and orchestrated campaign of mass intimidation.

"This situation, fanned and aggravated by plans for mass mobilisation and action, has long been unacceptable and has now reached intolerable levels.

"The SAP is in the process of implementing a comprehensive countrywide and hard-hitting campaign to counter this vicious intimidation."

Most law-abiding people demanded this strong action, he said.

Eliminating intimidation was now one of the SAP's top priorities and everything possible would be done to protect peaceful citizens.

Action aimed at the destruction of local government and legitimately-constituted authorities was nothing less than mass intimidation, which exceeded the bounds of legitimate democratic protest.

Such action included intimidating people not to pay rent and service charges, Mr Scheepers said.

Mass action often resulted in attacks on police and town councillors, violent confrontation, and the intimidation of law-abiding citizens.

He appealed to the public to help the police, and also not to become entangled in a situations which could result in injury or death.

The SAP had been given strict instructions to ensure that the Intimidation Act was vigorously enforced, and intimidators dealt with severely.

Mr Scheepers said, however, that peaceful protests and marches were universally accepted in democratic countries "and we adhere fully to this principle".



Committee for Peace in the Gulf leaders Yusuf Saloojee, left, and Ebrahim Kharsany announce that the Islamic organisation plans marches on US missions. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Protest outside US consulate

Bday 24/1/91

ABOUT 150 people demonstrating in central Johannesburg against the Gulf war yesterday were chased by police when some of the group tried to enter the building housing the US consulate-general.

There was a disturbance in the lobby of the Kine Centre building when some of the protesters, after being dispersed by police, tried to clamber over the turnstiles in the lobby and go to the consulate on the 11th floor of the building.

The consulate was deserted but for a security guard in the lift lobby. The staff had all been evacuated earlier following a bomb threat.

The demonstration was organised by the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), youth wing of the PAC.

WILSON ZWANE (327) reports that Citizen journalist Antoinette Hoffman received an eye injury during the demonstration, apparently when her glasses were broken.

"She was taken to a hospital by a photographer," a spokesman for the newspaper said.

Sapa reports that Azanyu vice president Ntsie Mohloai, who was among the demonstrators, said the demonstration was in solidarity with the people of Iraq.

Meanwhile, an Islamic organisation is planning mass marches in Pretoria and Johannesburg tomorrow to protest against what it describes as the "senseless war" in the Gulf.

Committee for Peace in the Gulf spokesman Yusuf Saloojee told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday the marches would be on the US embassy in Pretoria and the US consulate in Johannesburg.

The marches were not aimed at exacerbating the crisis in the Middle East but at restoring peace in the region, Saloojee said.

Saloojee said his organisation was not backing the call by a Port Elizabeth-based Islamic group for SA Muslims to take arms and fight in the Middle East.

Bail conditions eased

Scud reprisal

☐ From Page 1

Police to probe Neethling case

ARGUS 24/1/91

Political Staff

POLICE have ruled out suspending forensics chief Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling until their lawyers have examined "contradictions" in findings by two judges.

This emerged in a statement by Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, who disclosed that lawyers had been instructed to examine differences in the findings of Mr Justice Kriegler and the Harms Commission.

"Without such legal advice it is not possible for the police to take a just and fair decision and also not possible to make further comment," he said.

URGENT MATTER

"Police realise the gravity and urgency of this matter and that it is in the public interest to reach a decision as soon as possible," he said. This would happen within weeks.

Last week General Neethling lost a damages action he brought against Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail over allegations he had been involved in poisoning opponents of the State.

Mr Justice Kriegler said he had misled the commission ar[illegible]d tried to mislead the court, too.

It is un[illegible]od that police have not been given a copy of [illegible]iegler judgment.

General [illegible]der Merwe said the lawyers would analyse th[illegible]dings.

It is understood that the legal team will consist of police and private lawyers. General Van der Merwe did not name them.

LABOUR

Campaign of intimidation against top Cosatu official

By DREW FORREST

THE sinister incident involving armed, balaclava-clad men at Cosatu's Germiston office last week forms part of a relentless campaign of intimidation against the federation's vice-president, Chris Dlamini.

Coupled with the burning of union offices and systematic attacks on unionists in the Vaal (see story on facing page), it also suggests a rising tide of violence against organised labour recalling the dark days of the Emergency.

Four men, who refused to identify themselves, entered Cosatu's Germiston office last Thursday in search of Dlamini and the Cosatu regional administrator. One was later seen loading a gun inside the building.

As a key unionist, SA Communist Party leader and community activist — he is the treasurer of the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal and prominent in Daveyton and kwaThema civic affairs — Dlamini has drawn more than his fair share of harassment.

Last January, he received a phone call from a man with an Afrikaans accent, saying: "You have been warned quite a number of times. You mustn't think we are playing. We have now reached the stage where we must act."

Earlier, he received a letter containing a small coffin and a death threat. This was followed by a letter warning that "the time has come when you must be eliminated", and a visit to his home by three whites and two blacks claiming to be policemen.



Cosatu vice-president Chris Dlamini ... more than his share of harassment

The pattern of threats continued throughout last year, he said this week in an interview.

Reacting to the latest outrage, Cosatu said: "We remain convinced that elements of the security forces, the Civil Co-operation Bureau and other agencies of apartheid terror continue on a war footing against the democratic movement."

It warned the government that workers would not react to harassment with the same patience as last year.

KOBUS VAN ROOYEN FM 25/1/91

MINDING THE MEDIA

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Kobus van Rooyen's recent appointment as chairman of the Media Council, an independent regulatory body, has inspired reaction very similar to what he earned when he chaired the Publications Appeal Board.

In those days, even the most avid critics of censorship conceded grudgingly that if censorship had to exist, then you couldn't do better than to have Van Rooyen in charge.

And many journalists say that since they are stuck with a media council, he is a worthy choice for chairman.

In his days with the board, he wrought many small miracles. Censorship in SA, under Jannie Kruger and the old Publications and Entertainments Control Board Act, belonged in the dark ages. Not much progress was made with the appointment of the board's first chairman, Lammie Snyman.

When Van Rooyen (47) took over in 1980, after serving five years as vice-chairman, he made sterling efforts to bring censorship to terms with the 20th Century. An uncharitable interpretation would be to wonder what possible purpose there could be in fitting power-steering to an oxwagon. What he proved was that the oxwagon could be pointed in a new direction. The changes he made were profound.

Under his chairmanship the board set new and often politically daring precedents. It put paid to a lunatic petty censorship that was used to prohibit things such as a black man seen kissing a white woman. It recognised that civilisation in general and the bureaucratic Afrikaans interpretation of it in particular, were not imperilled by the sight of a bare nipple and the occasional four-letter word.

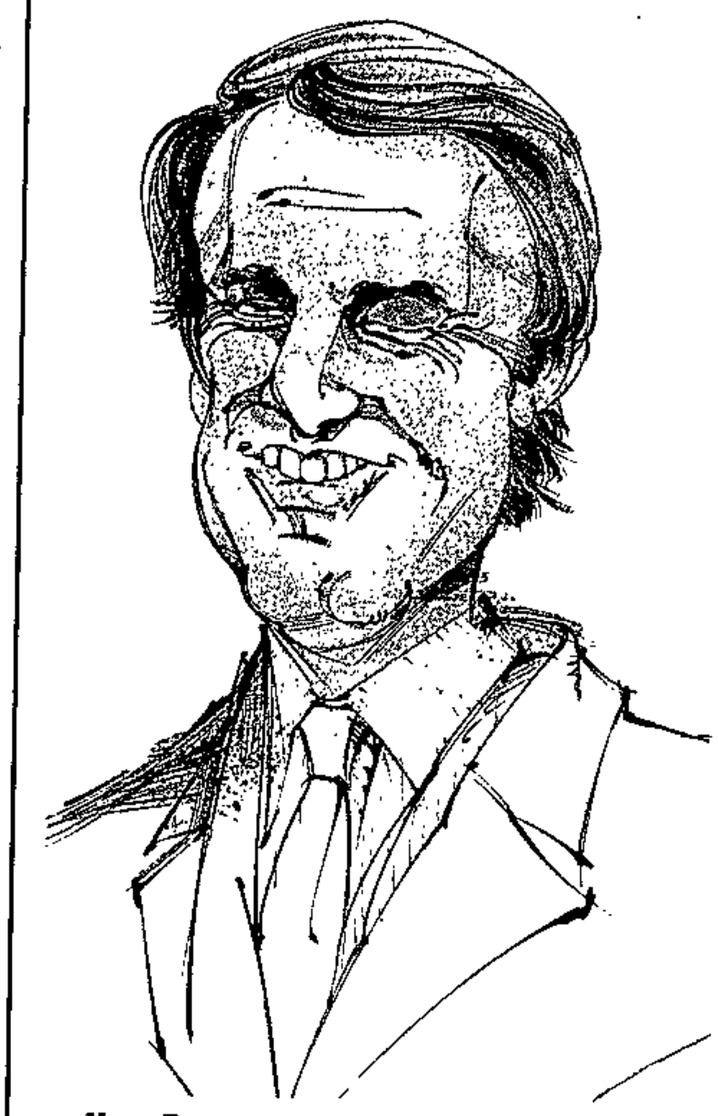
In doing all this and in providing a cognitive base for it, he invented a new academic discipline he called "The Science of Publications Control," a meticulously annotated and argued set of axioms which, in actual texture, were less a science than an exercise in the legal.

And it is, of course, as a lawyer that Van Rooyen has an impeccable record. He graduated in 1965 from the University of Pretoria and, after lecturing for a few years, was appointed to head the department of Criminal Law at age 26. In the past, his students have voted him the most popular lecturer of the year. He has published two books on censorship and written several articles on press freedom.

Prof Gilbert Marcus, of Wits University's Centre for Applied Legal Studies, a long-time adversary of Van Rooyen at board hearings, describes him as one of the finest legal academic minds in the country.

Van Rooyen is both accessible and sensitive. And, unlike so many government functionaries, he has always jealously guarded his right to independent opinion.

This led to a few notable occasions where he seemed to hear a different muse to his masters. One recalls the passing of the film *Cry Freedom* by the board and the prohibition of its distribution under security legislation by functionaries in President P W Botha's administration.



Van Rooyen ... *from chief censor to defender of press freedom*

When Minister Stoffel Botha was hell-bent on banning *New Nation,* it was the board, under Van Rooyen, which passed four issues brought before it. Perhaps the most notable occasion was in 4, when his board unbanned the Freedom rter, a document that previously had been garded as so radically undesirable, its m e possession was prohibited.

Van Rooyen's "liberalising" of censorship caused rumblings within Pretoria's conservative elements. One story is that Snyman, the former chairman, warned that the most salient result of Van Rooyen's efforts was to reserve himself a guaranteed seat in hell.

Perhaps — but as Van Rooyen once said: "It's quite difficult to get to heaven if you're a censor — and often you feel as if you are in hell."

With his new appointment (he replaces Jan Steyn, who wanted to make a full-time commitment to the Independent Development Trust), the rumblings are being heard from a completely different quarter. Disquiet comes from the Left, where an irony has been noticed: how can a man who was our chief censor be appointed to a position where his brief is principally one of preserving the freedom of the press?

Not that Van Rooyen will now find himself completely divorced from the functions of the censor. The difference is that the protagonists will not be distributors of wine glasses decorated with nude women, distributors of films, publishers of political pamphlets and rude playwrights, but what will probably prove to be far more doughty opposition in the form of SA's newspaper editors and the public.

What is more, any decision taken by the council is virtually guaranteed healthy debate in the papers.

Journalists have kept an uneasy peace with the council. Following the Steyn commission of the early Eighties, there was a threat from government to bring journalists under statutory control. The reaction to this from the Newspaper Press Union and the Conference of Editors was an undertaking that the press would bring its own house into order. This resulted in a revamping of the Press Council into its new form as the SA Media Council.

Simultaneously, a proposed amendment to the Newspaper Imprints and Registration Act was mooted that said newspapers which did not subscribe voluntarily to the Media Council's Code of Conduct would have their registrations withdrawn. Presumably, government still sought secondary control. But the amendment was never promulgated.

The Media Council also sits in judgment on those who are not part of it. The SABC, for example, is not a member of the council and, therefore, is not subject to its disciplinary jurisdiction. This, however, does not preclude the council making findings with regard to the SABC's conduct. Indeed, they have in the past.

Van Rooyen says the appointment is a great honour and that he feels very enthusiastic about his new role. An irony is that during his 10 years as board chairman, he was, in a sense, himself a victim of censorship.

He had to think and work within the provisions and restraints of our ludicrous Publications Act, a piece of reactionary claptrap that still disgraces our statute books. The Act was part of Connie Mulder's cultural legacy and the sooner it is expunged the better.

In the Media Council, Van Rooyen will find more scope for his generous intellect. There is no doubt he will again demonstrate a highly creative interpretation of his function.

Robert Kirby

Mandela to lead march on Parliament

TIM COHEN

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will lead a mass march on Parliament next week while President F W de Klerk delivers the opening address.

The ANC is also planning a stayaway in the PWV area to coincide with the opening of Parliament — as part of a campaign the ANC predicts will be its biggest yet.

Spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the Cape Town march would mark the start of a country-wide campaign of mass action to demand free political activity and a constituent assembly.

Marches are planned in townships and suburbs in the PWV area, in Kurgersdorp, Port Elizabeth, Durban and other centres including Pietersburg and Louis Trichardt.

In the western Cape, public meetings will be held in all the ANC's 17 "zones" prior to the opening of parliament.

The ANC decided at its consultative conference last year to embark on the Constituent Assembly Day campaign.

Marcus discounted criticism that the ANC's "mass action" programme was cultivating a culture of violence, stressing that peaceful protest was an internationally accepted right.

Intimidation at root of 'most SA violence'

Star 28/1/91

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Intimidation is at the root of much of the violence in South Africa, according to the latest SA Institute of Race Relations Survey.

In recording the mix of positive and negative trends in South African society during 1989/1990, the annual survey, which was released this week, draws particular attention to the way in which coercion is threatening two vital institutions — black schools and the press.

It notes that some ANC leaders have tried to address the problem and have called for discipline — particularly on the part of the youth.

Lost

What wholesale intimidation has done to black education is encapsulated in a quoted statement by Dr Oscar Dhlomo (when he was KwaZulu's Minister of Education) in which he said "national academic genocide" was being committed by people who did not have their own children in the schools they were disrupting.

The survey quotes at length from a report by senior Sunday Star journalist Jon Qwelane in which teachers and principals complained they had lost control to certain educational and students' organisations. They disobeyed those parties at their own peril.

A headmistress said: "We have been thoroughly intimidated and we know it. We are even afraid to speak out, because we will be called 'sell-outs' and 'reactionaries' and be dealt with mercilessly."

Referring to a new form of censorship — the intimidation of black journalists — the survey quotes a number of discussions at which journalists spoke of the risks they took (including one threatened by necklacing) if they openly criticised some of the political organisations or their leaders.

The senior assistant editor of the Sowetan, Thami Mazwai, is quoted as saying that "the battle for the media continues".

Whereas the Government had previously succeeded in getting sectors of the press as its apologists, it had now become commonplace for all organisations to do the same.

The survey found that criticising strategies, such as class boycotts, was considered taboo by political activists.

It also noted that the Inkatha-owned Ilanga newspaper had dropped circulation by more than 20 000 copies through a "well-orchestrated campaign" of intimidation.

Distribution trucks had been held up, while gangs of "faceless people" had threatened to burn down shops that sold the newspaper.

People, who had bought the newspaper in defiance of the campaign against it, had been forced to eat it, the survey said.

— Sapa.

Lenient sentences blamed for increase in crime

Political Correspondent

ONE of South Africa's top policemen, deputy CID chief General Jaap Joubert, has hit out at lenient sentences and alternative punishment as an ineffective deterrent against rising crime.

And he singled out death penalty reform as a major contributory factor in the record murder rate increase of more than 25 percent.

Speaking at a weekend briefing for parliamentary journalists at Lambert's Bay, General Joubert said bluntly: "Sentences handed down by the courts apparently have little deterrent effect on the criminal.

"The present tendency to lean over backwards to find and apply alternatives to imprisonment has had no beneficial effect whatever on the crime rate. Crime statistics prove it."

He added: "Since the effective moratorium on the death sentence, capital offences have reached record levels. The total number of murders for 1990 exceeded 15 000."

General Joubert said police were encountering unprecedented levels of brutality among criminals.

He acknowledged that South Africa was reputed to have the highest prison population per capita in the world, citing this, however, as evidence of the success of police work against criminals.

General Joubert also said that unrest related incidents rose by nearly 50 percent last year.

Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe announced that a major study was being conducted at the South African Police Academy in Graaff-Reinet into the role played by the administration of justice — and punishment particularly — in combating crime.

The study would consider how many South Africans perceived the legal system to be legitimate and what percentage of the population were deterred from crime by the system of punishment administered by the courts.

The study would involve criminologists and others from universities and other institutions.

Vlok vows to find out truth about hit squads

Political Correspondent

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said he wants to "get to the bottom" of allegations that police were involved in hit squad activities.

"I am interested in the truth ... I want that more than anything," he told reporters at the weekend.

He was responding to a question on the reaction of police to Mr Justice J C Kriegler's decision in favour of the Vrye Weekblad newspaper in a suit brought by senior forensic police officer, General Lothar Neethling.

General Neethling had claimed that allegations by former police officer, Captain Dirk Coetzee, published in the newspaper, were false and defamatory.

UNRELIABLE

Earlier, the Harms Commission had found Captain Coetzee's evidence unreliable.

Mr Vlok said: "The two judges, Kriegler and Harms, differ on fundamental evidence before them.

"My and my department's position is that we have to look at Mr Justice Kriegler's judgment. We are studying it and I cannot comment further now, except to say that I want to get to the bottom of this whole affair.

"I am interested in the truth. Is Coetzee a liar or not?"

War fears erode tourism

POLLY JONES

THE number of foreign tourists visiting SA had dropped off significantly since the outbreak of the Gulf war, tourism experts said yesterday.

Federated Hotel, Liquor and Catering Association (Fedhasa) executive director Fred Thermann said fears of being stranded at holiday destinations, and gold price fluctuations since the outbreak of hostilities, had increased the number of empty hotel beds.

Southern Sun MD Peter Smith said foreigners and South Africans were reluctant to travel because they feared "problems at airports and on aircraft".

Satour executive director Spencer Thomas said foreigners — particularly Dutch, Swiss, Italian and Japanese tourists — had cancelled a substantial number of holidays.

Tourists from the UK, Germany and France had not made as many cancellations.

The total impact of the war would depend on its duration, he said.

Thys Steyn of the National Parks Board said in a statement few overseas tourists had cancelled reservations at the board's parks.

SAA was unable to comment on changes in foreign tourist numbers.

PETER GALLI reports that an Association of SA Travel Agents (Asata) spokesman said recently tours and cruises to Turkey and Greece had shown "quite heavy" cancellations because of fears the Gulf war would spread.

A TFC Tours spokesman said the company had received numerous cancellations for its five cruises starting in June, and reservations were more than 50% down on last year.

Other tour operators said people had cancelled bookings for flights and tours to the Mediterranean areas.

Pilgrims expected back from Jeddah

PATRICK BULGER

A GROUP of 330 SA Muslim pilgrims, left stranded in Saudi Arabia after the outbreak of the Gulf War, is expected back late tonight.

A chartered Boeing 707 flew from London to ferry them from Jeddah, in Saudi Arabia, to Nairobi. From there they will fly on an SAA flight to SA.

It is believed a Muslim Foreign Affairs official has been in London since last week, negotiating with Saudi officials. The Saudi government gave permission earlier this week for the pilgrims to leave.

An initial attempt to get them out of Jeddah failed when SA Muslim leaders angered the Saudi government by saying they would recruit local Muslims to fight against allied forces in the Gulf.

Plans for mass action outlined

CAPE TOWN — The Cape Town City Council, which has given permission for an ANC-organised march to Parliament on Friday, has recommended that the widest roads be used to limit inconvenience to visitors and shoppers.

But deputy city administrator Allan Dolby said the organisers of the march, which is to demand a constituent assembly and to oppose the opening of a racially segregated Parliament, were still awaiting magisterial approval.

In Johannesburg the PAC and ANC have joined forces to organise a stayaway in the PWV region on Friday and to launch a mass action campaign to back up these demands.

ANC regional executive member Mohammed Valli Moosa told a joint ANC-PAC media briefing in Johannesburg yesterday that Friday has been named Constituent Assembly Day.

He said the campaign also had the support of Cosatu, Nactu and Azapo.

Trade union federations had been asked to inform employers of the stayaway so workers would not be victimised.

Mass action would include marches in Pretoria, Soweto, Kagiso and Sebokeng, mass meetings or rallies in four East Rand townships, and a signature campaign in GaRankuwa.

In Cape Town, Dolby said about 20 000 people were expected to march.

The Grand Parade would be closed for parking from 6am on Friday and the marchers would start gathering from about 8am. Special trains have been organised for marchers from outlying areas. The organisers will supply 400 trained marshals.

A momorandum will be handed over to representatives of Parliament.

The marchers will return to the Parade and will be addressed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela from the upper balcony at City Hall. — Sapa.

Family alleges police assault over prisoner

Sowetan 30/11/91

By MATHATHA TSEDU

A SESHEGO family has alleged that four white policemen raided their home and intimidated and assaulted them for about 12 hours last Friday.

They arrested the eldest son, Mr Steven Piliso.

Piliso told *Sowetan* yesterday that the policemen, accompanied by three black men, had refused to identify themselves.

He said they arrived about 1am on Friday and questioned them about a man who was sentenced to 40 years in prison last year.

"They produced a letter which was apparently addressed to the man, Mr Josias Pilane, and asked me to identify the handwriting.

"But they refused to let me read it. When I said I did not know anything about the letter they assaulted me in my room while others did the same to my brothers," Piliso said.

Lebowa police spokesman Lieutenant LM Tlomatsana confirmed that a docket had been opened on the matter.

SAP spokesman Lieutenant WF Voight confirmed that Piliso had been kept in custody at the Pietersburg police cells until Friday afternoon. He said the policeman involved was a Sergeant Van Straten of John Vorster Square in Johannesburg.

He referred *Sowetan* to Van Straten. Van Straten could not be reached for comment.

Piliso said from glimpses he stole of the contents of the letter, the author was asking Pilane to indicate the prison where he was being kept as the author and other people had amassed weapons, including AK-47 rifles, to stage an escape.

He said the policemen later took him to Pietersburg Police Station where he was kept in custody until 1pm.

Top white

A SOWETO parent claimed yesterday that formerly all-white schools now open to all races were turning down applications from black pupils without good reasons.

The woman, Mrs Nana Mgojwa, of Dobsonville, said she had applied for her 12-year-old daughter to enrol at Parktown Girls

Bold steps expected from De Klerk

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

A BOLD new government approach to local government aimed at creating joint, nonracial structures in towns and cities is expected to be one of the main features of President De Klerk's speech when he opens parliament on Friday.

He is also expected to announce a thorough overhaul of security legislation and will confirm that the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts are being scrapped.

Measures to give local authorities powers to enforce existing standards after group areas have been scrapped are being considered.

POST-APARTHEID

While the government is keen for negotiations on a post-apartheid constitution to start soon, top Nationalists feel that the local government crisis must meanwhile enjoy top priority.

Black local government structures have collapsed in many areas, there are pressures on remaining councillors to resign with the ANC calling for elections and there are serious problems arising from rent and electricity boycotts.

A government initiative on these problems is now urgently needed according to Nationalist politicians.

They therefore expect this to be one of the main features of Mr De Klerk's speech exactly a year after the unbanning of organisations and the start of moves in the direction of a new South Africa.

In his opening speech Mr De Klerk is expected to elaborate on a statement last month that the necessity to end the fragmentation of local government on racial grounds had been accepted by the government.

He then said that considerable progress had been made with the planning of a new system that would acknowledge the principle of "one city, one tax basis".

He envisaged interim steps and negotiation initiatives aimed at the speedy institution of joint local management systems for all communities in towns and cities.

It appears as if the government will at this stage propose metropolitan boards in which representatives of all the communities can consult and negotiate.

One of the problems to be ironed out is that of the tax base and the division of local government revenue.

NEW DEAL

The emphasis will be on the negotiation of a new deal in local government, even before negotiatians on a new constitutional system start.

The need to start negotiations is bound to be another theme in Mr De Klerk's speech, but he is not expected to make a firm announcement on this.

Instead of this he will probably call on interested parties to join in the planning of the negotiations in a multiparty conference without be-

Askari abducted, assaulted me — ANC chief claims

THE chief representative of the ANC in Nigeria and West Africa, Mr George Nene, this week alleged he was abducted by Askaris in central Johannesburg on January 15, reinforcing allegations that clandestine operations are still being carried out. South 31/1-6/2/91

Nene submitted evidence during an Independent Board of Inquiry Into Informal Repression (IBIIR) hearing. He alleged the men were armed with pistols and carried what appeared to be police identity cards.

Nene claimed he had known most of his abductors as ANC cadres while he was ~~still~~ in exile.

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'Blindfolded'

The statement described how he was blindfolded and bundled into a kombi. Nene was taken to a place where he met four plain-clothed white policemen. One introduced himself as "De Kock".

During a sitting of the Harms Commission, an SA Police Major Alexander de Kock was mentioned as the present Commander of Section C1 of the Security Police, a position formerly held by Captain Dirk Coetzee.

Also, evidence led by Death Row prisoner Butana Nofemela implicated a "De Kock" in several activities both within and outside the country, leading to the deaths of several people.

Harms

The IBIIR, in argument before the Harms Commission, called for the disbanding of the Askari unit to prevent "a recurrence of the type of abuse of state power which was investigated by the commission".

"The alleged acts of the Askaris in this instance add weight to this argument and to the call that the Askari unit be disbanded," the IBIIR said this week.

The Askari unit, also known as the A-team was held responsible for the deaths of ANC operatives inside the country.

Askaris are defectors from the ANC and PAC and work closely with the SAP to identify and arrest members who have ~~re~~entered the country.

Members are housed at police bases and are protected by the state.

Journalist on fundraising charge

South 31/1 – 6/2/91

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AN Oudtshoorn journalist will appear in the Cape Town Regional Court on February 22 in connection with charges of contravening the Fundraising Act.

Mr Derrick Jackson, coordinator of the Oudtshoorn-based trilingual alternative monthly, Saamstaan, was charged with contravening the Act from September 1984 to October 1989.

The alleged offences are said to have taken place when funds to finance the newspaper project were gathered from overseas sources.

In 1989 Saamstaan was charged for publishing a picture of then-imprisoned ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Last year the newspaper was charged for contempt of court following its report on a pending court trial. It won both cases.

Saamstaan is the only newspaper in the country published in three languages — Afrikaans, English and Xhosa. It is distributed throughout the country and overseas.

FW's guests may join Cape march

Sowetan 31/1/91

AMBASSADORS attending a reception hosted by President FW de Klerk at his Tuynhuys office in Cape Town today have been invited to join a protest march against 'hit squads' beforehand.

The invitation to attend the march on the eve of Parliament's opening was issued at a meeting in Cape Town yesterday called by the Campaign for a Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Hit Squads.

More than 100 people at the lunch-time meeting in the St George's Cathederal Hall heard an MP, a former 'hit squad' target and a law professor call for a full and renewed probe into State-sanctioned 'hit squads'.

Speakers also demanded the resignation of Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and that responsible Government officials be called to account for alleged "acts of State-sponsored terrorism".

Government embarrassment at a planned vigil at the Tuynhuys during the Presidential reception had probably led to the chief magistrate of Cape Town ordering a re-routing of the march, said campaign spokesman Mr Kobus Visser.

Marchers, including Democratic Party MPs, would silently stand at Parliament's Adderley Street gate, pointing accusing fingers at whom they believed responsible for covering up 'hit squads', said Visser.

Mrs Molly Lubowski, the mother of slain Windhoek lawyer and Swapo official Anton Lubowski - an alleged 'hit squad' victim - and another targetted for assassination, Mr Laurie Nathan, would address a rally beforehand on the Grand Parade at 7pm.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, Democratic Party MP for Green Point, Stellenbosch public law lecturer Professor Lourens du Plessis and lawyer Mr Dullah Omar, also targetted for assassination, addressed the meeting. - *Sapa.*

Four towns refuse permit for marches

Staff Reporters

Constituent Assembly Day organisers across South Africa are preparing for marches tomorrow — but four Eastern Transvaal towns have already refused permission for processions to be held.

The towns — three of them Conservative Party-controlled — are Witbank, Ermelo, Carolina and Groblersdal.

A single massive march will be held in Pietersburg to mark the opening of Parliament. Granting permission was described yesterday by a town councillor as a "victory for diplomacy and good sense".

According to police spokesman Lieutenant Werner Voigt, the ANC had agreed to cancel its planned marches in Phalaborwa and Tzaneen.

Other Eastern Transvaal towns which have given the go-ahead are Nelspruit, Bushbuckridge and Hazyview.

Bloemfontein chief magistrate Ben Loots has also given the green light for a march.

A march on Parliament in Cape Town, and other marches in Pretoria and Soweto, are also being planned.

Yesterday Eastern Transvaal police commissioner General Robbie Robinson issued a statement directed at residents in those areas where protest authorisation had been denied.

He warned the police would have no option but to intervene if illegal marches went ahead.

Police would be present to prevent any intimidation and to protect law-abiding citizens.

ANC regional secretary Joe Nkuna appealed to the police not to harass those people who go ahead with marches.

"March after march our people apply for is turned down," he said.

Stayaway biggest on E Rand

Staff Reporters Star 1/2/91

There was a mixed response on the Reef today for the joint African National Congress/Pan Africanist Congress call for a huge work stayaway to back demands for a constituent assembly.

Trains to Johannesburg from East Rand townships carried few passengers this morning, but many Sowetans went to work as usual.

A Spoornet spokesman said Soweto trains were 70 percent full, while East Rand trains were 10 percent full.

Two of the most prominent symbols of the present parliamentary system — the Union Buildings in Pretoria and the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town — have been targeted for marches headed by prominent ANC and PAC leaders later today.

The Ministry of Law and Order has warned that participation in illegal marches could lead to conflict between protesters and police.

Organisers expected thousands of people countrywide to take to the streets in protest marches later today in support of demands for the establishment of a constituent assembly.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said by last night "permission had not been sought or granted for more than half of the planned marches of which police have knowledge".

Towns which have banned marches are Potgietersrus, Louis Trichardt, Tzaneen, Phalaborwa, Middelburg, Witbank, Ermelo and Groblersdal. (327)

Permission was also refused in Klerksdorp when the town council demanded a R100 000 public indemnity policy from the local ANC office if the march was to be held.

The ANC was unable to come up with the money.

In Middelburg, activists have sworn they will go ahead with their planned

● To Page 2

Work stayaway hits East Rand hardest

Star 1/2/91

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● From Page 1

march in defiance of its banning.

The call for the marches and stayaways have been met with condemnation from business organisations and a call by Inkatha for people to ignore the PWV stayaway.

The South African Communist Party, the trade union federations Cosatu and Nactu and the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal have come out in support of Constituent Assembly Day.

Today the streets of Johannesburg were markedly quieter but far from deserted as a result of the stayaway call.

There were fewer people on the streets than usual and taxi drivers reported loading just less than half the passengers they usually bring to town.

Taximen said business was slow for a Friday, when practically everyone came in because it was payday.

"We are also very busy bringing in shoppers at the month's end, but this was not the case today," said one.

There were fewer taxis and street vendors. Most of the tables and stalls used by vendors around Hoek Street were deserted.

The usual activity at building sites was muted because few building workers appeared to have reported for work.

Buses from the townships were also half empty and fewer buses ran.

Many shops near the station, usually well patronised by black shoppers, were still shuttered well after 8 am.

In the Pretoria townships of Soshanguve, Mabopane and Winterveld, few residents appeared to have heeded the stayaway call and most went in to work this morning.

Primary schools in Soshanguve reported good attendance and buses in Atteridgeville ran as normal.

However, a number obviously did heed the stayaway call, with very few black taxis running in central Pretoria today and Putco buses few and far between.

There were some passengers on services from KwaNdebele.

In Brown Street, from where the march on the Union Buildings is to take place later today, there was little activity early today.

The stayaway appeared more effective on the East Rand, where many township residents stayed away from work today.

In Tembisa, many people did not go to work. Railway stations were empty and only a few taxis operated.

A joint rally by the ANC and PAC was to be held at the Mehlareng stadium later in the day.

In Katlehong, a heavy police presence was reported.

No taxis operated in Vosloorus, but Putco buses were reported to be carrying commuters to town.

The situatuion in Tokoza was reported to be quiet and only a few people were seen going to work.

In the Eastern Transvaal towns of Middelburg and Witbank the power, coal mining and steel industries reported a 100 percent workforce.

Industry spokesmen believed the protest marches in the townships planned for later today would not go ahead as most township residents were at work.

Clamp put on march

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THE chief magistrate of Witbank, Mrs Dalene Venter, has refused to grant permission for a protest march planned for today. Sowetan 1/2/91.

A local police spokesman had since warned that people who take part in the planned march in defiance of the decision would be arrested.

A spokesman for the Witbank City Council said his council had nothing to do with the refusal to grant permission for the march as it was planned to take place only in the local township of KwaGuqa.

He said the township was outside his council's jurisdiction. - *Sapa.*

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2/2/91

Waiting for freedom



Prisoners have at various times called it Island of Chains, Island of Shame and Devil's Island, writes DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff. Today they probably call it Island of Despair and Anxiety because this sums up their feelings as they wait to be freed.

IMMINENT release is often more traumatic than imprisonment for the inmates of Robben Island... one prisoner who was about to be released hid in the toilet all night rather than face those who were staying behind.

Isolation, confusion and despair have taken a new meaning for the about 215 political prisoners still held on the Island, South Africa's infamous home for those convicted of crimes against the State.

Cut off from the mainland and their organisations, they have no idea of when they will be relased.

"The government refuses to issue a timetable spelling out details," says the Liaison Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners in the Western Cape.

TOLD by the State last year that political prisoners would be freed, the islanders felt a surge of hope that they would go home before completing their sentences. Their spirits lifted even higher on September 1 last year when the government and the African National Congress agreed that political prisoners would be freed from that day.

"Fully expecting releases to begin on that day, most political prisoners packed their belongings and threw another farewell party. Families gathered at the harbour to wait the arrival of their loved ones."

But to their dismay 11 prisoners were freed on September 3.

The situation on the island has become acute.

"Because of the releases, sports teams have been decimated, the leadership has been removed, and those left behind are feeling increasingly abandoned by their political organisations."

In anticipation of their release, prisoners used up their visit quotas.

Now their funding has dried up prematurely their hopes of release have gone unfulfilled.

"Compounding all these stresses have been the widespread dissatisfaction over the indemnity process," says the organisation.

ONE prisoner summed up the feelings of his colleagues by saying the uncertainty, confusion, heightened expectations and lack of information were more traumatising for him than the combined effects of his arrest, detention, torture, trial and imprisonment, according to a 12-page document titled *Political Imprisonment, Release and Mental Health: The Case for Pre-release Counselling.*

The cumulative effect of this uncertainty, axiety and disappointment, coupled with the ordinary deprivations and stresses associated with prison life, was bound to take its toll on the mental health of political prisoners.

Reports filtering back from family members, released prisoners and conversations with islanders indicated that "the psychological and psychiatric state of political prisoners on Robben Island is a matter of concern and urgency".

Prisoners were reporting a persistent inabilty to concentrate on one subject for long periods. Many have abandoned their studies or failed to write exams because of the difficulties experienced in concentrating while release was so close.

Prisoners were also exhibiting, more than before, common stress-related reactions such as headaches, psychosomatic illnesses, gastro-intestinal disorders, short-temperedness and frequent anxiety attacks.

"Other telltale signs of the severe stress under which political prisoners have been living include memory problems, irritability, wild mood swings, increased interpersonal problems with colleagues and greater reliance on avoidance mechanisms."

THE failure of prison authorities to warn prisoners in advance of their release has provoked severe stress reactions such as the prisoner who hid in the toilet.

Arguing for pre-release counselling for prisoners, the liaison committee said that this was necessary not only to assist them with specific psychiatric or psychological problems. It was "critically important for every single political prisoner in order to ensure that... reintegration back into society is as smooth as possible".

The call for pre-release counselling should not be viewed merely from the clinical perspective. "It must also be understood as a humanitarian response to the basic questions and ordinary concerns of those about to emerge from prolonged incarceration."

Last October more than 180 islanders signed a petition calling on prison authorities to allow a delegation of counsellors to visit a group of nine colleagues to discuss their counselling needs. Permission was refused.

"In a nation where access to mental health information and care is not available on a wide scale for the majority of citizens, the call for pre-release counselling by 180 political prisoners still serving their jail sentences is indeed a landmark event in the provision of mental health care for the black community."

THE petition, said the document, took on a bigger significance if it was realised that many political prisoners emerged from incarceration to serve in key leadership positions in their organisations.

"It shows that South Africa's future leaders place a high premium on mental health and care for the victims of apartheid policies. This in itself is a positive step towards reconciliation and healing in South Africa, and their call should not go unheeded."

The call for pre-release counselling was supported by the Emergency Services Group, National Health and Dental Association, Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa, South African Black Social Workers' Association, Dependants' Conference, Black Sash, Cowley House, Catholic Justice and Peace Commissions, various ANC branches, Political Prisoners' Support Group, South African Red Cross, Dr Frances Ames (neurology consultant, former professor of neurology at Groote Schuur Hospital), and University of Cape Town deputy principal Dr J V O Reid.

Letters of support were received from the American Public Health Association, Dutch Foundation for Health and Human Rights, Committee for Health in Southern Africa and Columbia University.



ANC to probe disappearances

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The ANC will investigate the mysterious disappearance during 1985 of three Eastern Cape civic leaders, Mr Nelson Mandela has announced.

The missing men are Mr Qaqawuli Godolozi, Mr Sipho Hashe and Mr Champion Galela, of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco). The ANC will also investigate the disappearance of student leader Mr Siphiwo Mtimkulu and his friend Mr Topsy Madaka.

The Pebco men went missing after leaving their homes to meet a British embassy representative at Port Elizabeth's H F Verwoed airport on May 8, 1985.

Mr Mtimkulu was disabled on his release from detention, having been poisoned with thalium. He disappeared with Mr Madaka on his way to hospital in April 1982.

"Certain investigations will start soon and we will come back to the families and report our findings," Mr Mandela told Eastern Cape ANC leaders.

ANC, PAC leaders hold unity talks

JOHANNESBURG. — Senior ANC members, led by Mr Nelson Mandela, met a PAC delegation headed by the organisation's president, Mr Clarence Makwethu, last night to strengthen ties between the rival organisations.

"The meeting marked the beginning of closer co-operation," Mr Mandela said.

The organisations will establish a liaison committee to formulate joint strategies and deal with incidences of inter-organisational violence.

Both leaders appealed to their members to cease all hostilites and maintain a spirit of political tolerance. — Sapa

Govt to propose centres for handing in MK arms

Political Staff

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.

Malan: CCB now almost disbanded

DP urges hit squad probe

Political Staff

WITNESSES to hit squad activities should be given indemnity so that the stone wall of denials and lies could be breached, the Democratic Party's law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said yesterday.

People wanted to see the guilty punished, he said.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, dismissed the call for another inquiry into the hit squad allegations and said Mr Van der Merwe should be realistic.

Political Staff

MINISTER of Defence General Magnus Malan says most members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) have left the security forces and more than 80% of the organisation's administrative structures, including front companies, have been disposed of.

Speaking in parliament on the third day of the debate on the State President's speech, General Malan also said an internal audit had found no grounds for reports that some R28 million had been unaccounted for in CCB operations.

He took a swipe at "certain people" who insisted on keeping the CCB in the spotlight and said it had been suspended in February last year and "operationally disbanded" on July 31.

All CCB members had a service contract and the overwhelming majority were not guilty of misconduct or a crime. However, by far the majority of members had chosen to end their service.

Other structures were to be closed down, he said.

The auditor-general had audited the CCB and his report would be referred to the Joint Committee on Public Accounts, after tabling in Parliament.

Allegations in the press that millions of rands were unaccounted for had been thoroughly investigated and found to be totally unfounded.

was being conducted.

Human rights abuses continue in SA, says international 'watchdog'

By Noel Bruyns (852) (327)

AMNESTY International (AI) told a UN commission this week human rights violations still occurred in South Africa. South 7/2-13/2/91

Since President FW De Klerk's opening of parliament address last year, the South African government had "taken some initiatives to reduce violations of basic civil and political rights," AI told the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland.

However, specific concerns raised by AI in a statement to the UN Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa in 1989 had yet to be addressed.

"Insufficient action has been taken to prevent the assault and torture of detainees, often held incommunicado, and some have died as a result.

"The government has so far failed to repeal laws which permit indefinite incommunicado detention without trial and grant indemnity to the security forces against prosecution, provisions which facilitate human rights abuses," AI said.

Pretoria had failed to take adequate steps to investigate and bring to justice members of the security forces implicated in the torture and killing of government opponents.

AI reported that "at least 18 people" died in police custody under suspicious circumstances last year.

Torture

In the aftermath of only one of the 18 deaths in custody did the government order an independent judicial inquiry into the circumstances.

Certain police stations, notably Welverdiend near Carltonville, had been repeatedly named as places where torture had occurred.

At Welverdiend, the victims were predominantly 15- to 20-year-olds who had described being beaten, kicked, suspended upside down on an iron bar, partially suffocated and given electric shocks.

Commenting on police action in breaking up peaceful demonstrations, such as the one in Sebokeng last year when five people were shot dead and 161 wounded, AI said it was "apparent that the police violated international standards in this incident and appear to have committed extrajudicial executions".

"The government should state publicly and unequivocally that the torture and ill-treatment of prisoners will not be tolerated. Formal procedures to ensure that all such allegations are subjected to independent and impartial investigations should be established.

"Those responsible for human rights violations should be brought to justice. In particular, individual members of the security forces must be held accountable for the human rights violations which they commit or authorise."

STATE OF REPRESSION

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL: Buses and trucks ferrying people to an ANC march on February 1 were allegedly stopped by the police and army, according to the HRC. Marshalls deployed in the town to control the crowd were also allegedly assaulted. w/mail 8/2-14/2/91 (327)

●In Louis Trichardt on the same day a local businessman, Bob (surname unknown), who aided Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani with accommodation and transport during his visit to the area, had his house raided by police.

'Webster identikits looked like CCB men'

JOHANNESBURG. — Identikits on television and in newspapers soon after the murder of Wits academic Dr David Webster remarkably resembled CCB members "Slang" van Zyl, Calla Botha and Chappie Maree.

This was the testimony of a surprise witness introduced by the Sunday Star at a Media Council hearing yesterday.

The hearing follows a complaint from hotelier Mr Alexander Kavouras about a Star report of February 25 last year, alleging that the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) had used his hotels in Hillbrow for meetings.

Mr Kavouras, owner of the Park Lane and Quirinal hotels, claims the report breached the Media Council's code of conduct in being untruthful, inaccurate and not objective.

A former Park Lane food and beverages manager, Mr Ralph Fell, told the hearing one of the identikits had strikingly resembled Mr Chappie Maree.

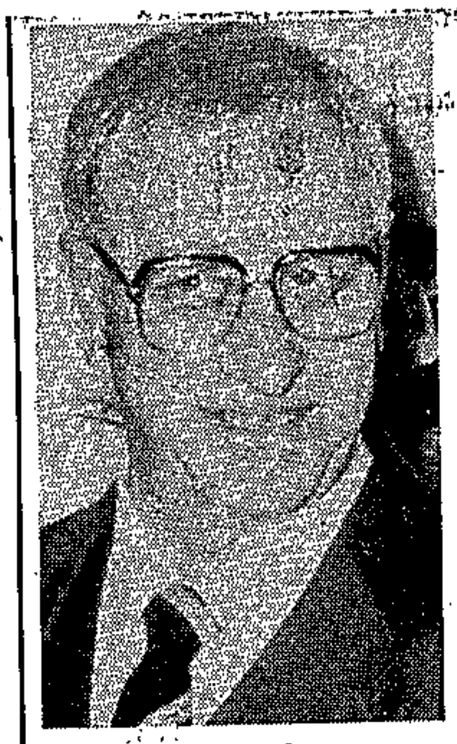
He also confirmed Star allegations that Mr Maree, Mr Van Zyl and Mr Botha had regularly visited Mr Staal Burger during his period as general manager at the Park Lane Hotel.

The hearing continues today. — Sapa

Indemnity for security forces also, says Vlok

CNA Times 9/2/91

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Mr Vlok

Political Correspondent

MEMBERS of the security forces would also be entitled to seek indemnity from prosecution for politically related crimes, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Mr Vlok told a press briefing yesterday that not only those on the left and the right of the political spectrum could seek indemnity.

Security force members involved with combating "terrorism" would also be entitled to apply for indemnity, even though the police, as servants of the state, were obliged to act in a politically neutral manner.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee told Parliament that three retired judges would be appointed to head committees to examine the cases of those requesting political indemnity.

They are Mr Justice M T (Tienie) Steyn of the appellate division, and former judges Mr R N Leon and Mr R A Solomon.

The judges, who would look at problem cases would begin work immediately, he said.

Government sources said about 16 000 people had already been granted indemnity.

Individuals who were members of formerly banned organisations or had contributed financially to liberation movement are automatically granted indemnity.

Mr Coetsee said that while the government had agreed to review legislation to ensure free participation in normal political activities, such legislation could not be summarily repealed.

The government could not escape the realities of the country's internal security situation. As long as there was violence and intimidation, security measures would have to be maintained.

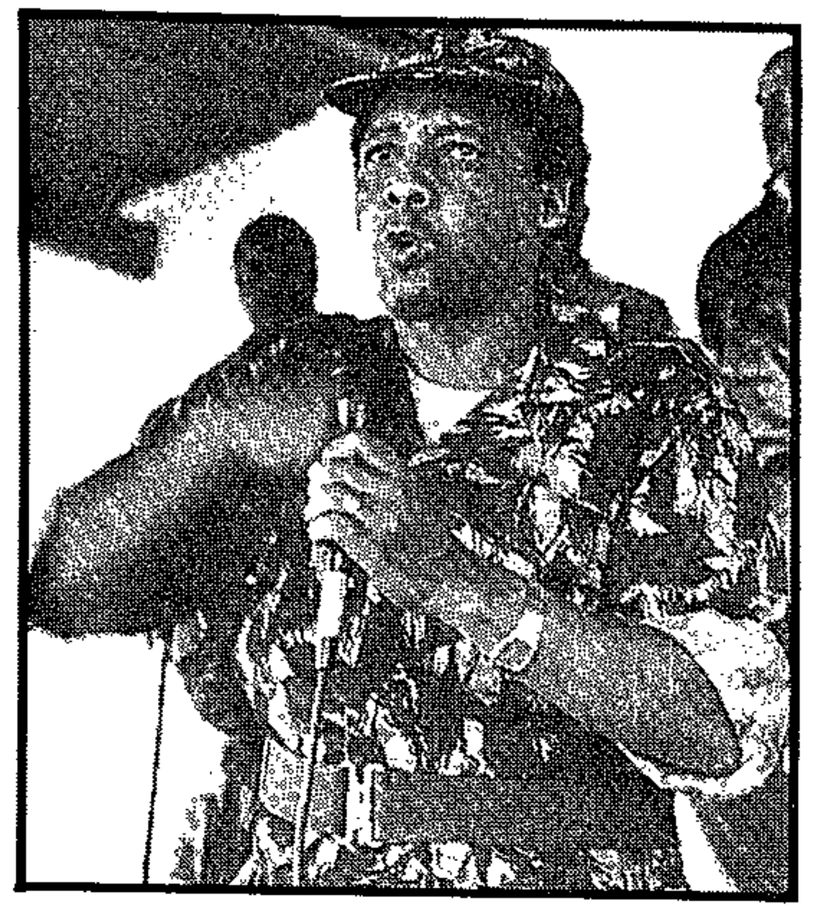
Earlier, Mr Vlok told journalists that the police still "needed" Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention, to deal with individuals on both the left and the right who were bent on destabilising the reform process.

He said the police had managed to solve about 90% of cases of right wing terrorism, which would not have been possible without the act.

'Whites-only' OUT



...res IN



A dramatic change of face for South Africa's entire security system appears to be on the cards when race classification is scrapped from the country's statute book. FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent, talks to analysts on their vision of security in the "new South Africa".

W/L-AR64S 9/2/91

Security system set for shakeup

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WHETHER the government's securocrats like it or not, big changes are going to take place all around them — even inside their own cosy domain.

This will happen because of a growing need for security forces to become more acceptable to all citizens. In the "new South Africa" there can no longer be a security system with a predominantly "whites-only" image, say security specialists.

They say the end of compulsory military conscription for white males, for example, is on the cards — even though Deputy Defence Minister Mr Wynand Breytenbach told Parliament this week there were no plans to phase out conscription at this stage.

And experts foresee a transformation in the composition and management of the defence force and the police force in coming years. Many more people of colour who qualify will be placed in top positions, and in spite of the present resistance from government securocrats a time is envisaged when members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), will be absorbed into the SADF and other security forces.

AN independent strategic analyst, Dr Jakkie Cilliers, told Weekend Argus there was a need for all significant groupings to work out a vision (or plan) for a future national defence force.

This could be done at a round-table discussion between key players such as the SADF, the ANC and the four independent black homelands — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

"They are the people who control armed forces. They must therefore get together to work out a vision for the future."

Although there was much suspicion and distrust of one another among the various groupings, this could be overcome in the development of a new military culture.

In spite of the dogged resistance of government securocrats to the idea of incorporating MK into the SADF, Dr Cilliers believes this will eventually be done. He is in favour of having as many MK cadres as possible absorbed by the SADF — and their experience and military training should be taken into account in placing them in the security establishment. MK members should be absorbed individually and not as a group.

Difficulties are likely to arise because MK has a very different military culture from that of the SADF. Dr Cilliers sees MK as a "highly politicised communist-type culture" in which the armed forces are an element of the party machine. They fight for a cause and are highly motivated, but their training is probably less technical than that of the SADF. They will therefore not fit easily into a sophisticated modern defence force.

Dr Cilliers says it has been clear for some time that national service for whites will have to be replaced by a system involving all races. At the latest this will have to be done by 1994 when the mandate of the present parliament expires.

TO extend the present national service system fully to all races will be logistically impossible. The remaining options, according to Dr Cilliers, will be: either to return to a ballot system for calling up national service recruits (of all races), or to revert to a professional defence force based on a system of voluntary recruitment.

A voluntary force could include long-service and short-service volunteers. Short-service recruits could be absorbed on a contract basis for, say, three years.

Dr Cilliers believes South Africa is highly unlikely to face a conventional military threat for at least the next 10 years.

Security analysts also foresee inevitable changes in the police force and its management.

Mr Paul Graham, who has monitored the ANC-UDF/Inkatha violence in Natal, has proposals for improving the peacekeeping role of the police force. As Natal regional director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), he has emphasised a crucial aspect of security in a "new South Africa" — that the security forces must be acceptable to all citizens.

The question he poses is: how then to ensure that the existing police force is able to exercise its role as keeper of the peace and enforcer of justice?

Mr Graham suggests South Africa needs a social contract for peacekeeping in which all the relevant actors, including the police, agree to play their part in providing security and stability for the transitional period.

Without such a contract there seems little likelihood of a substantial reduction in violence, says Mr Graham.

HE suggests various steps, including the opening of the police force to public review and scrutiny, and a more rapid racial integration and internal promotions to help the force become a part of the "new South Africa".

His recommendations include:

- A public review panel or even a re-definition of Cabinet arrangements for police accountability to the country and its citizens.
- Communities must be given the capacity to deal with their own conflicts rapidly and, if possible, before conflicts become violent. An example worth looking at is San Francisco where neighbourhoods establish panels of volunteers (community boards) who can be called upon to deal with community conflicts. They are not courts, police, arbitrators or vigilantes, but play the role of "village elders".
- A community relations service on the lines of one operating in the United States. Its mission is to help resolve community disputes relating to discriminatory practices based on race, ethnic or national origin.

DEMOCRATIC Party defence spokesman General Bob Rogers says that although the SADF has always been open to all races, not many blacks joined — mainly for political reasons.

But he foresees big changes in the SADF's composition once the Population Registration Act is removed and a new constitution is negotiated.

A different view of the defence force and the police is likely to develop among black people. Where they were often regarded as "the enemy", they are now part of a South Africanism which embraces all population groups.

For the SADF to become acceptable to black people generally, there would have to be the approval of organisations like the ANC and PAC. To achieve this, the ANC's military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and possibly the PAC's military arm would have to be integrated into the SADF.

In addition, the armies of the black homelands will have to be accommodated in the South African security establishment if they are to become part of the "new South Africa".

Blacks will have to be appointed in senior positions not only to give the security services a new image, but also to make black people at grassroots level feel they are part of the system.

Although there are differences of opinion within the government on this issue, it is generally accepted that a common loyalty to South Africa is needed.

From chief censor to promoter of free speech

Star 9/2/91 (327)

Personality

KOBUS VAN ROOYEN

Interviewed by: MALCOLM FOTHERGILL

AMONG the many prints of paintings by old masters that Professor Kobus van Rooyen has collected over the years is one he bought not so much for its artistic merit as for its resonances with his own life.

The picture, Goya's Execution of the Emperor Maximilian, shows the ill-fated emperor facing a firing squad.

Professor van Rooyen bought it not as a comment on what it felt like being chairman of the Publications Appeal Board but rather as a constant reminder that if power is not exercised humanely, injustice often follows.

Changed sides

Nowadays, as the newly elected chairman of the Media Council, he has in a sense changed sides, from the side of the controllers to the side of the controlled; but the switch is not as pronounced as might be thought.

Even as the country's "censor in chief", Professor van Rooyen was known as an enlightened pragmatist, always more anxious to allow a film to be seen or a document to be published than to wield the big scissors.

During his 10-year term of office, from 1980 to April last year, the move was away from absolutism ("this film is banned, that one is not") and towards differentiation ("this film may be seen by anyone, that one only by adults").

Although Professor van Rooyen has no doubts that some censorship is necessary, for instance to protect children from pornography, he's by no means doctrinaire in his views.

Yes, he admits, there is evidence that pornography allied to violence does seem to have harmful effects on young children. But he adds that the corrective influence of parents should not be underestimated.

Professor van Rooyen took over the hot seat at the Publications Appeal Board almost by accident.

He was born in Durban (not Bethlehem, as many a press report has had it), the son of teachers, and received his LLB degree *cum laude* from the University of Pretoria.

As a young lecturer, he was looking for "the odd extra job" — just at the time the Publications Appeal Board was looking for a vice-chairman.

He jumped at the opportunity, not because he was particularly interested in censorship but because he wanted the practical experience of taking part in an appeal process.

Despite the brickbats that flew his way in the 15 years that followed, five of them as vice-chairman and 10 as chairman, he has no regrets about having become involved in censorship — in fact, the reverse.

Thanks largely to him, the Freedom Charter was unbanned in 1984 — and the sky did not fall on anyone's head.

And controversial films such as "Cry Freedom" and "A Dry White Season" were passed on appeal, again without disaster striking. "At the end," he says, "I could feel that at least a change had been made.

"Now, as chairman of the Media Council, I'm privileged to promote free speech. I've always been part of defending the freedom of the press. The only difference is that now I'll be promoting it and working for it."

The Media Council, an independent body, has three main aims — to uphold the standards of good journalism; to monitor circumstances that might affect the freedom of the press, such as restrictive laws and the intimidation of journalists; and to guard against any monopolistic trends in media ownership.

South Africa, says Professor van Rooyen, is as open to diverse opinions as anywhere else, "but freedom of information is another matter.

"Secrecy is sometimes defended on the grounds of national security. The problem is: what should be kept secret? In my opinion there should be some system to test rulings in court, in camera.

Every ripple

"We must watch out that the phrase 'State security' is not misused. Not every ripple on the ocean is a danger to the country."

In general, says Professor van Rooyen, it's far better to air a view than to stifle it.

"Saying things or seeing them on film can sometimes have a certain cathartic effect, so expressing



opinions can in a sense contribute to the security of the State by making people more relaxed."

Although he's against censorship of the press *per se*, Professor van Rooyen believes the right of the press to publish does not outweigh other rights, such as the rights of people not to have their privacy substantially invaded.

He's reluctant to commit himself on any particular issues, for fear of prejudicing future decisions he may be called on to make.

However, he does say he sees his new job as being to protect the media from arbitrary control by Government and from criminal statutes based on ideology.

The Media Council has made some proposals to the Government on the freedom of information, "and we're hoping some laws will be scrapped".

Away from his work for the Media Council, Professor van Rooyen is head of the department of criminal law at the University of Pretoria, a job he's held since he was 26.

He loves teaching, and though he doesn't believe in cracking jokes in class he likes to lighten the mood by reading the humorous bits from judgments.

Unusual honour

He was made a Senior Counsel last year, an unusual honour for an academic.

At home, Professor van Rooyen relaxes by listening to classical music, to Dixieland jazz (a taste he acquired on a visit to New Orleans) and to his collection of Italian opera 78s.

To keep fit he jogs and cycles. Squash, which used to be a passion, he gave up a few years ago. He is married and has three children.

ASKARI DEATH SQUAD

Police accused of using traitors to do their dirty work

By S'BU MNGADI

BLOOD spattered the pavement of Durban's busy Warwick Avenue last week as ANC member Mthunzi Njakazi was shot to death.

The ANC says askaris did the dirty work, but the SAP says policemen killed Njakazi.

A woman bystander was injured in the shooting and a handgrenade was allegedly seized.

Askaris are former members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), who have subsequently joined the SAP and are now responsible for tracking down former comrades.

SAP liaison officer Captain Coert Marais said police "confronted two suspects in Warwick Avenue" while investigating a robbery.

He said the suspects pointed a gun at policemen before fleeing. One was later shot while being arrested.

But the ANC and Durban lawyer Kwenza Mlaba, representing the deceased's family, disputed the police version of the incident.

Mlaba said he had been informed by Njakazi's companion, known only as Vusi, that they were on the way to take an Umlazi-bound taxi when they came across two local men with whom they had undergone military training outside the country.

Unaware that their former comrades were now policemen, they exchanged greetings and Njakazi and his friend asked the askaris for money, Mlaba said.

Njakazi was given a R50 note by one of the askaris, whom Mlaba identified as coming from Chesterville in Durban. They then parted.

As Njakazi and his friend were about to board the Umlazi-bound taxi, the two former comrades confronted them with guns blazing. Vusi managed to escape unhurt but a passerby was wounded and Njakazi killed.

The ANC's southern Natal chairman and the organisation's chief of intelligence, Jacob Zuma, supported Mlaba's version.

Zuma said Njakazi "did not attempt to run away at all. Neither was he armed nor on any military mission nor involved in any robbery".

He said there was doubt whether the handgrenade allegedly found by police had been in Njakazi's possession.

"Njakazi's murder is more proof of the continuation of the State's campaigns against members of the ANC. We note that police have admitted to killing him."

Zuma said Njakazi was one of the MK guerrillas already in the country at the time when the ANC's armed struggle was suspended and he was at times acting "under orders of the ANC in line with the Pretoria Minute".

"MK soldiers are under orders not to carry out any military activities."

The SAP this week stood by its original report, but emphasised they had not stated that Njakazi was a robbery suspect.

■ Two recent civil actions against Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in the Durban Supreme Court indicated askaris were active in Natal and operated from safe-houses in Durban and Maritzburg.

MK guerrillas Mbuyiselo Mkontwana and Fonono Mchunu told how they were "detained overnight" at a farmhouse about 60km from Durban.

A white security policeman threatened to douse Mkontwana with acid if he did not co-operate and join the askaris.

A judge ordered police to stop harassing, abducting or torturing Mkontwana.

him with them with the greatest pleasure. [Interjections.] Hansard 12/2/'91

†Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I understand that he cannot now tell us how it happens that regarding realized investments there is a loss above a return, but will the hon the Deputy Minister release a public statement on the matter some time, and I refer him to page 306 of the Report of the Auditor-General.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member may ask a specific question on the matter and then we can give him a specific reply to it.

Prison services: apartheid abolished

*6. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Correctional Services: Hansard 12/2/91

Whether he recently made a statement to the effect that apartheid in the prision services was being abolished; if so, what specific steps have been taken to give effect to this statement in relation to the (a) accommodation and treatment of prisioners, (b) housing of prison officials, (c) recreational facilities available to such officials and (d) employment and promotion policy and practice within his department? B9E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

(a) I announced on 27 April 1990 during the debate on the Prisons Vote that legislation would be tabled to remove mandatory segregation in prisons based on race. Section 23 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959), was consequently amended to the extent that segregation in prisons is no longer applied on racial grounds. All references in the Act to race and colour have also been removed. These amendments were published in the Government Gazette on 11 July 1990.

The meaning of this amendment of section 23 of the Prisons Act is that decisions on the allocation of prisoners to different prisons, sections and cells, would henceforth be taken without having to consider race as a madatory criterium but with due consideration of factors such as the classification of prisioners in terms of maximum, medium or minimum security detention that may be required; their privilege classification based on behaviour and adaptation in prison; the desirability of the separation of hardened criminals from first offenders, unsentenced prisoners from sentenced prisoners, juveniles from adults; their work allocation or involvement in particular treatment programmes; the maintenance of an orderly dispensation; the prevention of conflict, etc. Hansard 12/2/'91

The policy concerning the treatment of prisoners is a uniform one applicable to all prisoners and differences in application that may still exist are based on economic realities that cannot be eliminated overnight.

(b) The Government-supported housing loan and subsidy scheme is accessible to all staff attached to the Department of Correctional Services.

Where new housing for staff is being erected on departmental property, it is being done according to uniform building norms and standards. Accommodation erected prior to the implementation of those uniform norms and standards is placed on programme for suitable additions where justified.

The allocation of official quarters to personnel is done in accordance with functional considerations, also taking cognizance of applicable statutory provisions.

(c) The policy provides that recreational facilities and sport facilities provided for staff by the Government on departmental property will be accessible to all personnel.

(d) The separate establishments which previously existed in the department were rationalized to one establishment during 1985 and since then the recruitment, allocation, development and promotion of staff takes place solely in accordance with the principles of merit and efficiency.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

Old Crossroads/Khayelitsha: MPs refused entrance 327

*7. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether the Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape recently refused that permission be granted to certain members of Parliament to enter the Black townships of Old Crossroads and Khayelitsha; if so, (a) who are the members of Parliament and (b) for what reasons was permission refused, in each case;

(2) whether any of these members were arrested in the residential areas concerned; if so, (a) who are these members and (b) for what reasons, in each case? B13E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) Mr J van Eck.

(b) In the period immediately preceding the declaraton of the relevant areas as unrest areas in terms of section 5A of the Public Safety Act of 1953, Act 3 of 1953, the atmosphere was extremely tense, especially in Khayelitsha. Several people were killed in the preceding period and much damage was done to property. These circustances in particular gave rise to the Unrest Regulations being declared for the areas, including Old Crossroads and Khayelitsha. It was under these circumstances that the South African Police were doing their utmost to keep the sensitive situation under control.

The tension and unrest were due mainly to the persistent efforts of certain organizations to dissolve the existing, legally elected local committees and for its members to resign. It is common knowledge that Mr Van Eck is opposed to the present system of local authorities and supports the attempts of these organizations. The residents of the relevant areas who support the system are antagonistic towards him. On 15 October 1990 he was also attacked in Crossroads by a group of women who wanted to display their objection to his presence. This makes his presence in these areas not only undesirable, but also creates the potential for unrest incidents, disturbances and public violence.

On 25 October 1990 Mr van Eck was also in the presence of certain groups in Khayelitsha who immediately after his departure, threw stones at members of the South African Police. 327

It is for these reasons that Mr Van Eck was prohibited in terms of Unrest Regulation 7(b)(vi) from entering those areas where the Unrest Regulations were in force.

(2) Yes.

(a) Mr J van Eck.

(b) Mr Van Eck was arrested in terms of the provisions of Unrest Regulation 2 and in accordance with this provision removed from the unrest area. The officer who arrested and removed Mr Van Eck from the area was of the opinion that Mr Van Eck's presence there could contribute to public disturbance, disorderliness or public violence.

UNHCR: monitoring of refugees

*8. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether the United Nations High Commission for Refugees will be allowed to monitor, from within South Africa, the return of refugees; if not, why not; if so, from what date;

(2) whether there will be any restrictions governing its activities; if so, (a) what restrictions and (b) why?

Hansard 12/2/91. B14E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) and (2) The extent of possible involvement by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees within the Republic of South Africa, if any, has not been finally resolved and discussions in this regard are being continued.

No needling on Neethling

Political Staff

THE government has refused to disclose how much has been spent the defamation case brought by Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling against two weekly newspapers.

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Johan Scheepers, said the legal costs — which, it is understood, are already well over R1 million — could be "taxed" only when the appeal had been heard.

General Neethling, head of the police's forensic division, sued Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail for R1,5 million damages. The case was dismissed with costs by the Rand Supreme Court last month.

However, General Neethling has said he will file notice by April 1 of his application for leave to appeal.

Mr David Dalling, DP Sandton, asked Mr Scheepers what the legal costs had been so far, but the deputy minister said these could be assessed only after the appeal had been finalised.

Replying to Mr Fanie Jacobs, CP Losberg, Mr Scheepers said when the state paid legal costs, MPs had the right to know what these were once a case had been completed.

He said General Neethling had consulted his department about changing his legal representatives.

The State Attorney Act provided for the state to carry costs initially, although these could be recovered from the policeman if necessary.

"It is of the utmost importance to the South African Police that its integrity be protected at all times," Mr Scheepers said.

"The police have a moral obligation to help a member who in the course of his duties has been wronged or allegedly wronged, to enable him to right such a wrong."

Although he did not say so directly, Mr Scheepers hinted strongly that the state would pay for General Neethling's appeal.

Hundreds of prisoners to be freed?

Cat Times 14/2/91 327

By CHRIS BATEMAN

BETWEEN 300 and 800 of an estimated 2 750 prisoners jailed for unrest and security-related offences will qualify for release at the end of April in terms of the Pretoria Minute, extensive investigations indicated yesterday.

A spokeswoman for the Department of Justice quoted the minister, Mr Kobie Coetsee, as saying that between 250 and 300 people might apply for indemnity. However, she added that Mr Coetsee had indicated that a "broader definition" of the Pretoria Minute could extend this number to 600.

Indemnity committees under three Supreme Court judges are about to begin considering individual cases.

A spokeswoman for the Human Rights Commission in Johannesburg, which monitors political prisoners, said between 500 and 800 prisoners could qualify in terms of the Pretoria Minute definition.

The Pretoria Minute extends the remission of sentence for criminal prisoners (paroled after serving two thirds of their term) to "political prisoners", and takes an additional year off "political" sentences.

The HRC spokeswoman said her organisation had the names of 1 321 known "political" prisoners with 1 075 of these jailed for unrest-related offences (under the Criminal Procedure Act) and 246 for security offences (under the Internal Security Act).

Between February 2 and December 30 last year 256 people had been released, she added.

None of the "high profile" political prisoners would qualify for release in terms of the Pretoria Minute, she said.

A spokesman for the Department of Correctional Services declined to comment.

In spite of sustained efforts, an ANC spokesman could not be contacted.

One snag to lifting curbs - US envoy

14/2/91

THE release of political prisoners is the only issue standing in the way of the United States lifting sanctions against South Africa, says US Ambassador Mr William Swing.

Speaking at a business seminar in Johannesburg yesterday, Swing said there was widespread recognition that South Africa was moving away from apartheid and that this would relate sanctions to yesterday's issue while job creation would become the main issue in the country.

He warned, however, that apartheid could disappear in practice but the devastating effects of the policy would still be felt.

Swing said only a growing economy and social reconstruction could remove the effects of apartheid. - *Sapa.*

TONY LEON

TIME TO OPEN UP (327) FIM 15/2/91



Tony Leon is the DP MP for Houghton and a former lecturer in law at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"The only purpose for which power can be rightly exercised over any member of a civilised community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others . . . over himself, over his own mind and body, the individual is sovereign." — John Stuart Mill: *On Liberty*.

Mill's injunction was resolutely ignored when the Publications Act was promulgated in 1974. Section 47 (2) provides that a publication or object will be found to be undesirable if it, or any part of it, is "Indecent or obscene or it is offensive or harmful to public morals."

Similar provisions relate to blasphemy, inciting racial hatred and subverting the safety of the State.

However, the unshackling of political free expression in the sweeping reforms of 1990 indicates that moral vigilantism, more than dissenting or even radical opinion, will be the focus of SA's controversial censors. The imminent arrival of SA's own *Penthouse* raises the stakes.

Liberal lawyers who have batted against the Publications Appeal Board (PAB), the apex of SA's censorship system, fear that non-political clampdowns aimed at girlie magazines, exposed nipples and profane language will not elicit the interest and anger which political censorship aroused in the past.

Indeed, there is every indication that the Calvinist puritan label — which censorship critic Prof Johann van der Westhuizen attaches to recent decisions of the PAB — will find favour with unlikely allies.

The ANC wishes to prohibit racism and sexism and ban utterances of both; local feminists join issue against pornography which they characterise as portraying women as "sexual objects who enjoy pain, humiliation and abasement."

The sea-change in local censorship is underlined by the musical chairs which government has played with the pivotal chair of the PAB. Out after 10 years of reforming service went the widely acclaimed Prof Kobus van Rooyen. His replacement was the dour, deeply religious Louis Pienaar, who briefly took the reins in 1990, en route between Namibia and the Cabinet. The current acting chairman, Prof Piet Oosthuizen, is hardly a cosmopolitan libertine. Censorship critics label him as "insensitive" to arts and literature and as a securocrat who has already diverged sharply from the many enlightened opinions established in the Van Rooyen era. In short, a censorious conservative straddles the censorship system.

Whoever administers the Publications Act, however, faces a continuous dilemma: how to balance two competing liberties — freedom of speech on the one hand and freedom from offensiveness on the other. The Publications Act is of little assistance. Nowhere does it define "public morality" — and the trend of the board has been to determine this on an evolving basis, relative to time and place. It seeks to determine the tolerance level of the "average South African" which is the test used to determine whether or not a book or movie will pass muster. Needless to say, on the whole, the "average South African" is viewed as "inherently conservative," according to media lawyers Bell, Dewar & Hall.

Indeed, even the liberal-minded Van Rooyen perpetuated a degree of moral militancy. The acclaimed Scorcese movie *The Last Temptation of Christ* was banned outright, as were 10% of the movies submitted in 1989. In the same year, only half (837 of 1 655) of the films passed were approved unconditionally. One-third of the 1 038 publications submitted were consigned to the bin.

If the principles guiding censorship are vague and arbitrary (and destined under the new regime to be even more vigilant and straitlaced), then the structure and system underpinning it engenders little confidence and even less openness. The PAB is overwhelmingly male, white and establishment-minded.

It does not reflect the wider community, nor is there any requirement that its members be qualified to adjudicate books and films.

The chairman, while requiring legal expertise, needs no (indeed, often displays very little) understanding or appreciation of aesthetics and literature.

The engine-room of the system, various local committees on publications who act as arbiters of the first instance, also require no special qualification or need display any community representativeness. Even more prejudicial is the fact that they are administratively appointed in conditions of anonymity.

Unlike in the US, our Supreme Court has no jurisdiction over censorship appeals. It may only, in narrow circumstances, review judgments of the board. Thus the prejudices, composition and jurisprudence of the PAB is of the utmost significance. Censors do not even pretend to be value-free. Thus, in an interview while at the helm, Louis Pienaar opined:

"Blasphemy is out — it's not something to which I'm prepared to apply the test of prevailing tolerance levels . . . it's just out."

The US Supreme Court has for some time refused to protect hardcore pornography with the First Amendment right to free speech.

However, its decisions distinguish between extremely graphic depictions of sexual intercourse and variants which are suppressed as "obscenity" rather than mere erotica.

This argument is not so much about whether we should be watching *Debbie Does Dallas* or *Thoroughly Amorous Amie*. Rather, it is a realisation that banning objects on the grounds of public morality is both difficult and dangerous. It is a slippery slope down which lies book-burning and thought-control.

There is no reliable evidence establishing a casual link between erotica and violence. Pornography might well be a symptom of deviant sexuality. It can rarely, if ever, be the cause of it.

We should use "informed consent" as the basic test for censorship. Adults who willingly and knowingly wish to read or view objects which others find distasteful, should be so permitted.

As we liberalise many institutions of the old SA, it's about time the winds of change gusted through the corridors of censorship as well.

STATE OF REPRESSION ปาดัง 15/2-24/2/91

POLICE allegedly conducted raids on the houses of African National Congress leaders in Postmansburg in the Northern Cape on February 8. They allegedly occupied one deserted home until the local advice office telephoned the police station to complain. The police subsequently left, but money was found to be missing from the house and local activists have raised the matter with the relevant authorities.

●Members of the SA Defence Force (SADF) allegedly disruped a soccer match in Malamulele, Gazankulu, on February 9, by sjambokking people indiscriminately.

The HRC says on the following day Gazankulu police and members of the SADF arrested the five people who had reported the incident, took them to the local dipping pond, and allegedly assaulted them and made them swim. They were taken into custody and charged, but the charges are unkown.

(327)

Plan on prisoners likely

Sowetan 15/2/91

253
327

MINISTER of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee is expected to make a major announcement today on the release of political prisoners, one of the major stumbling blocks in the way to constitutional negotiations.

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice said yesterday that no details of the announcement could yet be revealed.

The Government and the ANC, in a marathon meeting in Cape Town this week to iron out hitches in the political process, are believed to have reached agreement on issues hampering the political process.

They included the release of political prisoners, the indemnification of exiles and security legislation.

Exact figures on the number of security prisoners are not known.

The Human Rights Commission believed there were 246 "known" security prisoners, jailed for offences in terms of the Internal Security Act, in South Africa and the TBVC states.

Its number of "estimated" security prisoners was slightly higher on 250.

The HRC said there were 1 321 "known unrest prisoners, jailed for offences such as public violence, arson and intimidation".

However, its number of "estimated" unrest prisoners was much higher on 2 750.

The ANC estimate on political prisoners totalled 2 500 and the organisation believed only about 500 political prisoners had been released since February 2 last year.



COETSEE

BOMB VICTIM: HIT SQUAD LINK

Peace knocks on the door

THE way has been cleared for the return of an estimated 40 000 exiles and the release of [illegible] political prisoners by April 30 following this week's agreement between the ANC and government.

The agreement reached on Tuesday was made public on Friday.

State President FW de Klerk said: "If there is implementation according to the letter and spirit of the agreement we will be moving rapidly towards multiparty negotiations."

Other significant undertakings contained in the pact were that there would be no armed attacks by the ANC, infiltration of men or material, creation of underground structures, statements inciting violence, threats of armed action or training inside South Africa of Umkhonto weSizwe troops.

Both sides agreed the population had a right to



By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

THE bomb explosion which killed activist lawyer Bheki Mlangeni on Friday night was yesterday condemned by the ANC, Cosatu and the Human Rights Commission and fingers were pointed at the State.

The bomb, which was hidden in the earphones of a tape recorder, was returned to sender from the Lusaka postal address of exiled police captain Dirk Coetzee, who exposed police hit squad activities.

Coetzee was interviewed by Mlangeni in London about eight months ago on hit squad activities at the time when the Harms Commission was sitting in London to hear Coetzee's allegations.

The parcel, which contained a tape recorder, earphones and a cassette, was supposedly sent by "Bheki" from an old address of the Johannesburg legal firm Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom, for whom Mlangeni worked.

After its return from Lusaka, Mlangeni, 32, took it home to listen to the cassette marked "evidence of hit squads". His wife Seipati said he took the recorder and cassette into his room and shortly thereafter there was an explosion. Family members rushed to the scene and found him dead with severe head injuries.

Lethal parcel meant for exiled cop Dirk Coetzee

In a statement yesterday the ANC denounced "this foul murder perpetrated by the forces of racism and apartheid against a young and extremely talented activist".

It said examination of the facts available convinced the ANC the person or persons "who carried out this vicious act had at their avail the best in state-of-the-art assassination equipment".

The ANC asked for "the total and verifiable dissolution" of killer squads and the immediate suspension of the activities of special counter-insurgency units like the Askaris, the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), and the Z-Squad.

Cosatu said in a Press release "only the CCB and other State death squads have the technical capacity and knowledge to execute such a murder".

The Human Rights Commission said yesterday the killing of Mlangeni – ANC chairman in Jabulani, Soweto – clearly pointed towards the involvement of the CCB.

"The sophistication of the explosive device and the manner of setting the trap, bear all the hallmarks of highly skilled and totally ruthless professional

REDISC



Murdered ... ANC chairman of Soweto's Jabulani branch Bheki Mlangeni.

ies.

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"The sophistication of the explosive device and the manner of setting the trap, bear all the hallmarks of highly skilled and totally ruthless professional assasins."

A long-time friend of Mlangeni, Chris Ngcobo, said Mlangeni not only interviewed Captain Dirk Coetzee and Death Row prisoner Butana Nofomela about hit squad activities. He also investigated Askaris – "turned" ANC guerrillas.

When ANC Chief of Information Pallo Jordan heard about Mlangeni's death, he said: "Good God. Oh damn!," and kept on muttering.

After regaining his composure, Jordan said: "It is more than likely it was the regime. He was a thorn in the flesh of the regime."

The Board on Informal Repression, which investigates hit squads, said Mlangeni had received an anonymous telephone call in April last year stating that a hit squad had been sent to kill Coetzee in Zambia.

Cheadle Thompson and Haysom informed the Harms Commission of Inquiry, which was investigating hit squads at the time.

"It appears therefore that one month before the parcel was sent to Coetzee unknown persons were aware that Bheki Mlangeni was in contact with Coetzee.

"The assassin clearly took advantage of the working relationship between Bheki Mlangeni and Dirk Coetzee and used his name to allay possible suspicions about the parcel," the board said.

Mlangeni is survived by his wife, Seipati, a three-year-old boy Mandla, his parents and two brothers.

■ A bomb exploded at the Klerksdorp home of ANC activist Solly Rasmeni early on Friday morning, cracking the ceiling and front portals of the home and destroying the door and windows.

Lawyer Satish Roopa said Rasmeni and his

■ To Page 2

ed boy's mum to take action

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tendent of Messina's Limpopo Hospital.

Van Zyl had told *City Press* he called police to remove the boy from his hospital because the media was paying too much attention to the case to gain "political mileage".

When asked why a police van and not an ambulance was used to transport the youth, Van Zyl said if the youth could pose for photographs "he could not have been too bad – and they could have used a wheelbarrow or anything for that matter. It was up to them."

Several doctors and lawyers told *City Press* this week that Van Zyl could be charged under the Medical and Dental Act for "negligent and unprofessional conduct".

They also said the Minister of Health should probe the matter.

The youth was admitted to the hospital on December 8 last year after his former employer, Jan Van der Westhuizen, allegedly handcuffed and welded his wrists to a workbench, doused him with petrol and set him alight.

Van Zyl had said the boy was handed to police for transfer to another hospital.

However, police took him to court where he was charged with housebreaking and theft of a firearm, saying "the boy's condition permitted it and this was in accordance with a medical document issued to the police (by the hospital)."

After the case was postponed to February 12, police drove the youth – in the back of a van – to a Louis Trichardt police station who refused to take him.

They then drove him back to Messina before taking him to the prison in Pietersburg.

Pretoria police spokesman Captain R Bloomberg said the youth was admitted to prison as a sergeant involved was not aware of arrangements to take him to the Pietersburg Hospital. He was moved to hospital the next day.

The youth was due to reappear in court on Tuesday, but his new doctors said he was too sick to appear in court and the case was postponed indefinitely.

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 Umgababa 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

Citizen 17/2/91

P.T.O.

Bomb: Hit squad link

■ From Page 1 327

Citizen 17/12/91

family had been asleep in the house when the bomb went off about 2.30 am.

Klerksdorp police allegedly told Rasmeni it appeared that commercial explosives were used.

Rasmeni is an executive member of the ANC in Klerksdorp, as well as regional organiser for the National Union of Mineworkers. His wife, Rachel, works for the ANC as a secretary.

Booby-trap headphones which killed lawyer were meant for rebel cop

COETZEE: MY BOMB ESCAPE

327
Times 17/2/91

By JEREMY BROOKS and DAWN BARKHUIZEN

ROGUE cop Dirk Coetzee told yesterday of his lucky escape from a bizarre walkman bomb sent to him in Lusaka nine months ago. The parcel containing the cassette recorder was returned to Johannesburg where it killed his ANC lawyer.

The booby-trapped package addressed to Coetzee arrived before he flew to London to give evidence against controversial SAP forensic chief General Lothar Neethling last year.

Presumably to appear authentic, it carried lawyer and ANC official Bheki Mlangeni's name as the sender. It was returned to a puzzled Mr Mlangeni in Johannesburg and on Friday night, when he played a tape in it, explosives packed into the right headphone were triggered.

The 32-year-old lawyer died instantly.

Coetzee, who claimed to be a member of police death squads, said in London last night: "This murder has all the hallmarks of a police hit squad operation."

Killer

The ANC also blamed killer squads which it said had access to "state-of-the-art assassination equipment".

Coetzee — and his two sons Dirk, 14, and Carl, 12 — escaped death by an incredible twist of fate.

The Sunday Times has pieced together the movements of the booby-trapped package:

● On May 10 last year the killer posted the package, addressed to Coetzee in Lusaka, from the Joubert Park post office in Johannesburg.

● The insured parcel took nearly three months, by surface mail, to reach the Lusaka post office.

● Coetzee was informed early in August, that there was a package waiting to be collected. But he had no transport and was living in a motel 6km outside town.

● Two months later, on October 2, he was being driven to the airport to catch a flight to London to give evidence before Mr Justice Kriegler in Gen Neethling's unsuccessful libel action against the Vrye Weekblad. En route he stopped off with his sons at the post office to collect the parcel. But because of the high duty charges he was asked to pay, Coetzee refused to take delivery and left for London.

● At 9am on Wednesday this week an unidentified white woman telephoned Mr Mlangeni's Soweto house. He was not home and she telephoned again on Thursday and Friday morning, leaving messages for him to collect a parcel from a Johannesburg city post office, said the ANC in a statement yesterday. On Friday, she asked the family where he worked.

Explosion

● The parcel was delivered on Thursday to the law offices of Cheadle Thompson & Haysom, where Mr Mlangeni took it from his pigeonhole on Friday. He unwrapped the package and found the walkman, with headphones and a tape marked "Evidence of hit squads".

● He took the recorder home and at 8.35pm on Friday he walked into his bedroom. The explosion, believed to have been triggered by sound when the tape was played, occurred moments later, killing him instantly.

● Police were called and his body was removed.

Shocked, a stammering Coetzee described yesterday how he nearly took delivery of the tape recorder in Lusaka.

His temper, well known to former police colleagues, saved his life: he stormed out of Lusaka's main post office after a furious row over the duty, leaving the parcel behind.

Had he paid for the parcel, the former security po-

□ To Page 2

P. T. O.

Coetzee's escape

ST Times 17/2/91 327

□ From Page 1

lice captain would have triggered the bomb in one of two places: the car where his young sons were waiting outside the building, or inside the aircraft of a London-bound flight on Zambian Airways.

Instead, Coetzee told the officials to return the package, about the size of a book, to the senders. The address, typewritten and incorrectly spelt, was Mr Mlangeni's legal firm in Johannesburg. Next to the address was written: "From Bheki."

Veering between extreme anger and horror that his family had come so close to being murdered, Coetzee yesterday gave vent to his feelings.

He raged: "Those vicious hooligans! That bomb was meant for me.

Evidence

"In the post office I stood and argued with the officials for 30 minutes, with the parcel lying on the counter between us.

"I didn't see why I had to pay duty when I was going to take it straight out of the country again."

Coetzee said he was already suspicious when he saw the labelling of the package's contents: he had not asked Mr Mlangeni for a tape recorder and the lawyer had not warned him that one might be coming.

He told Stanley Brown, the ANC intelligence official with him at the time, that he was uneasy and thought the parcel might be a "trap".

"Stanley couldn't understand why I was making such a fuss about the parcel when I thought it was a trap and didn't want it anyhow," said Coetzee.

"But in my mind it was important that we should at least get a chance to see what it contained, and possibly get fingerprints as well."

Coetzee, keen not to miss his flight, then left the post office. He said he specifically asked Mr Brown to warn Mr Mlangeni that the parcel was on its way and to tell the lawyer that he should "be careful".

That warning never reached Mr Mlangeni. The oversight cost him his life.

Coetzee was angry that the killers thought he would "fall for such a simple trick".

"They used it on so many occasions — starting with Ruth First nearly 10 years ago. They haven't come up with anything better in all that time."

Coetzee, who has been living in exile after exposing police death squads in 1989, had been working closely with Mr Mlangeni for a year.

The lawyer flew to London when Coetzee gave evidence to the Harms Commission on the death squads and the two met again twice in Lusaka. According to his colleagues, Mr Mlangeni was the recipient of death threats at the time of the Harms Commission.

Said Coetzee: "Bheki died in my place. Knowing that, I can't even begin to express my shock. I only hope that his death, in the end, won't be for nothing."

Coetzee's death would have taken place immediately before he was due to testify in London before Mr Justice Kriegler in the Neethling case. The judge dismissed Neethling's R1,5-million damages claim against the Weekly Mail and Vrye Weekblad.

Reacting yesterday, the ANC said: "We have no hesitation in saying that those who carried out this crime targeted both Coetzee and Comrade Mlangeni because of their work in exposing the activities of the CCB and hit squads.

"This murder underscores the urgent need for the total dissolution of these killer squads and reiterates our demand for their immediate suspension."

Terrorist expert and retired police officer, Maj-Gen Herman Stadler said the type of explosive device used in the walkman murder was a "first for SA".

"To my knowledge, explosives have never before been placed in a walkman."

He added that military type, plastic explosives were stable enough to withstand being transported halfway across the world, and back, without losing their potency.

● Coetzee, in an open letter addressed to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, has called for Pretoria to give him indemnity and allow him to head an investigation inside the country into hit squad activities.

"There's a rotten beehive there, stretching from the very top to the bottom.

"Only one man can cut it open — and that's me. Given a free hand, I would do it within days."

CMH Tues 18/2/91

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Police spurn ANC's help

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police yesterday turned down an ANC request to be allowed to take part in investigations into the killing of ANC lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni in a bomb blast on Friday.

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

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

SAP spokesman Major Reg Crewe said yesterday permission had been granted for an ANC representative to be present when police investigated the incident at the Mlangeni home on Saturday night.

Asked if the ANC would be represented at subsequent investigations, Major Crewe said: "The investigation is a police matter and there is no question of any other party getting involved."

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

The ANC said yesterday said it would tighten up security following the assassination.

A spokesman said the organisation would re-advise its members on the handling of parcels and general security procedures, but refused to divulge further details.

Describing Mr Mlangeni's killing as not isolated but "part of a whole plan", the ANC joined other organisations, including the Human Rights Commission and Cosatu, in blaming hit-squads for the killing.

Vlok 'outraged'

Police responded to the allegations calling them "speculation", adding that it was too early to place blame.

Police appealed for anyone with any information to come forward, in particular, anyone who had handled the parcel.

Expressing "shock and outrage" at the killing, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said the police "would do everything in their power to track down those responsible".

And in London yesterday Mr Coetzee said the bomb had killed Mr Mlangeni because of "disgraceful" security failures by the ANC and South African authorities.

Mr Coetzee, who lives under ANC protection, said he was certain that the same bomb that killed Mr Mlangeni was first sent to him in Lusaka.

He said: "That little killer parcel was shuttling around for about nine months. The killers knew where it was and the ANC should have known where it was — but a good man still died. I feel sick and sorry and disgusted."

He said he had given ANC security written details and descriptions of the parcel — "but they obviously did nothing. It is a disgrace nobody can find excuses for."

Mr Coetzee offered to give the ANC and Mr Vlok any help needed to "nail" a police unit he alleged was responsible for Mr Mlangeni's murder.



Grieving . . . Bongane Ntuli was one of many friends who gathered at the home of slain activist Bheki Mlangeni to console the family and each other. Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

Mlangeni: ANC blames hit squads

By Helen Grange

Police have launched an in-depth investigation into the assassination of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni — but have refused to comment on allegations of hit-squad involvement.

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

The ANC has blamed "forces of racism and apartheid" for the death, calling on Pretoria to show verifiable proof that the covert Civil Co-operation Bureau has been disbanded.

"Mr Mlangeni's murder shows the urgent need for the dissolution of hit squads and the suspension of the activities of the counter-insurgency units," an ANC statement said.

Police have established that Mr Mlangeni told his wife on Friday night that he wanted to play a tape he had received from another country. He had turned down his wife's request that the family listen to it.

Two questions remain unanswered: why did Mr Mlangeni take the parcel home if it was not sent by him (it was marked return to sender) and why did he not allow his wife to listen to the tape with him?

Sunday newspapers reported that former self-confessed police hit-squad member Dirk Coetzee — for whom the booby-trapped package was initially intended — was shocked and saddened by his friend's death.

He said the killing had all the hallmarks of a hit-squad job.

Mr Coetzee had never collected the parcel in Lusaka because of the high duty-charges on it. It was apparently returned to the sender's address, given as Mr Mlangeni at Cheadle Thompson & Haysom law firm.

Squads active – claim

Sowetan 19/2/91

THE murder of ANC lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni confirmed that "hit squads" continue to operate despite Government denials, Lawyers for Human Rights said in a statement yesterday.

Mlangeni was killed on Friday night by an explosive device planted in the earphones of a walkman tape recorder he received in the mail.

He died when he switched on the walkman, activating the device.

LHR urged the Government to appoint an independent investigating team "as the Harms Commission proved that the police are reluctant to investigate their colleagues".

It said Mlangeni's assassination indicated that former police captain and "hit squad" member Dirk Coetzee – reportedly the intended victim of the tape bomb – faced being killed if he returned to face trial.

Also responding to Mlangeni's murder, Mr Tian van der Merwe, Democratic Party spokesman on law and order, said the Government faced questions in Parliament on the killing.

"I've got every intention of raising it at every opportunity," said Van der Merwe, who has also closely monitored the "hit squad" issue.

Government statements on the "hit squads" issue had been absolutely pathetic, he said.

Neither President FW de Klerk, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan nor Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok had known anything about the "hit squads" then.

"It must be obvious there are still death squads and they still know nothing about them."

More political prisoners to be released soon

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

SEVEN political prisoners will be released from Robben Island within the next couple of weeks.

This would bring the number of security prisoners released since February 1 last year to about 270, according to the Department of Justice.

Their names are withheld until their next-of-kin had been informed. The delay in their actual release is purely administrative.

Sowetan 19/2/91 · 327

Applications

In a statement delivered at the weekend, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said that the processing of approximately 760 applications for release from prison was in an " advanced stage."

He said that some may be released because they fell within the guidelines for political offences as prescribed by paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute.

More than 2000 people have received indemnity for leaving the country illegally.

Slain lawyer was harassed - family

Sowetan 20/2/91 (327)

THE family of assassinated ANC lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni has alleged that policemen investigating his death were also responsible for his continuous harassment and detention while he was alive.

The claim was made by the ANC yesterday.

Mlangeni died at the weekend when a bomb exploded at his Soweto home soon after he turned on a tape recorder.

In a statement, the ANC reiterated calls for an independent investigation into the assassination.

Reacting to the allegation, Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said Mlangeni may have been detained under security legislation before February 2 last year.

"If his family sees this as harassment, then I will say the police are there to enforce the law."

He said the Mlangeni family should define what they meant by harassment. Halgryn refused to disclose the name of the investigating officer.

Mlangeni died early on Saturday morning when a Walkman tape recorder, sent to him by post, exploded at his Soweto home.

The ANC said the Mlangeni family had expressed concern about the way in which Soweto police had conducted their investigations into the assassination.

Despite protests, police had taken the entire family to a police station, where each family member was taken into a separate interrogation room to give a statement.

According to Halgryn, police had been unable to take statements at the Mlangeni home because of the presence of reporters and spectators.

He said statements were taken in separate rooms to expedite the investigation process.

The ANC also announced that a memorial service for Mlangeni would be held today between 6pm amd 8pm at Pace College, Jabulani, Soweto.

Mlangeni will be buried on Saturday in Heroes' Acre at Avalon Cemetery.

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

Book grabbing days are over

8-Ev 20/2/91. (327)

Political books which were once banned are now legitimate reading. NORMAN CHANDLER peruses the Government Gazette to see what's available.

THE days when zealous customs officials at Jan Smuts Airport and other ports of entry looked at every suspicious bulge in your overcoat, and invariably found a banned book which was confiscated with glee, seem to be over.

These men, during the course of their duties, resorted to every method possible to eliminate the entry into South Africa of books and other publications which were regarded as not being quite what we, the citizens, should be allowed to read.

Body searches, x-rays and searches of luggage were commonplace in the hunt for these books.

Countless thousands of air passengers will testify to a little niggle of fear that the selected works of Lenin, for instance, would not survive the journey from the front door of the terminal to beyond the customs area.

And if it did, well, there was always that pride of place on the bookshelf which it could occupy — provided a policeman wasn't your best friend.

That was South Africa before February 2 1990.

Every week since then, the Government Gazette has been churning out lists of books and publications which you and I may now legally own. Of course, forget about Playboy, Playgirl and other publications, which every now and again are given a definite thumbs-down from the Department of Home Affairs.

And even the sanitised Penthouse magazine will be printed in South Africa after years of being verboten.

However, some publications may no longer be undesirable, but that does not necessarily mean they can appear on bookshelves: anyone with a one-time banned book needs to know whether it is classified as undesirable, or whether prohibition of possession has been set aside. Any good bookshop will have those lists.

The latest Government Gazette is an example of a truly radical change in thinking since President de Klerk's momentous speech unbanning the ANC, PAC and SACP, and, by doing so, gave customs officers less to do than they ever had over the previous 42 years.

Right at the top of the list published this week is Apartheid Great Land Theft. Now that title alone would be a red rag to a bull for any AWB-leaning South African who agrees with the concept of 87 percent of the land for whites and 13 percent for blacks.

A United Nations publication called Poets Against Apartheid is now also off the banned list.

Books about or by former Chinese leader Mao Tsetung are now available.

Mao's thesis on how to mobilise for a war of resistance is also acceptable after 11 years of being read nearly everywhere except in South Africa.

In the new South Africa of President de Klerk there may be no place for resistance and revolution, but at least South Africans can now read how it could be done if they felt so inclined. □

...	*Fighting Apartheid a Cartoon History* ..	IDAF Publications Ltd, L
..	*Our Great Spring Victory*	General van Tien-Du
.....	*What is Soviet Power?*	V. I. Lenin .....
.....	*Lenin: On the October Revolution*	Novosti Press, Mosco
.....	*Lenin In His Own Words*	Ernst Fischer .....
.....	*Lenin: On Just and Unjust Wars*	Progress Publishers, M
....	*Trotskyism: The Marxism of Today*	Tom Kemp .....
	enin: A Great Beginning	

IMGS 2/2/91

Seven prisoners to go free today

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Political Staff

A SOCIAL worker, a high school teacher and a former University of the Western Cape student are among the seven political prisoners due to be freed from Robben Island today .

Authorities on the island told Cowley House, a transit house for freed islanders, that Cecil Esau, Quentin Michaels, Sazi Veldtman, Douglas Myamya, Nazeem Lowe, Colin Ndebo and Solomon Mokape would be released today.

CONVICTED OF TERRORISM

A further three, Lindile Mxiweni, Thandixolo Nokele and Sakhiwo Mehlo, are expected to be released tomorrow.

Esau, Michaels and Veldtman were convicted of terrorism in the Cape Supreme Court on August 6 1987 by Mr Justice Nel. Myamya was convicted of harbouring or helping terrorists.

Esau, a former UWC law student, and Michaels, a high school teacher, were each jailed for 12 years and Post Office clerk Veldtman for 15 years.

SOCIAL WORKER

Myamya, a social worker, was jailed for eight years.

Lowe, an accused in the Ashley Forbes trial in the Cape Supreme Court, was convicted of terrorism by Mr Justice D M Williamson and jailed for 10 years on December 15 1988. A further 10 years was suspended for five years.

No appeal for 3 ANC convicts

Sowetan 21/2/91

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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 Donelly (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 Donelly 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*

7 political prisoners to be freed

327

Sowetan 21/2/91

SEVEN political prisoners are expected to be released from Robben Island this Thursday, a lawyer acting on their behalf said on Monday night.

Four of them - including Cecil Esau, co-accused in the trial of Liso "Bright" Ngqungwana, and Nazeem Louw, co-accused in the Ashley Forbes trial - are from Cape Town.

The ANC has given the government an April 30 deadline for the release of all political prisoners.

Two others expected to be released were also co-accused in the Ngqungwana trial after which 12 were jailed in August 1987 on terrorism charges ranging from possessing explosives to bringing weapons into the country.

Esau was jailed for 12 years after admitting that he had selected places to hide arms for the ANC; Quinton Michaels for 12 years; Sazi Veldtman for 15 years; and Mthetho Douglas Myamya for eight years.

Grenade

Louw was sentenced on December 14 1988 to 10 years' imprisonment on terrorism charges for his part in a hand grenade attack on the Manenberg police station. He was one of 14 accused in the Ashley Forbes trial.

The two other men expected to be released are Colin Mdebu and Solomon Mokape. - *Sapa*



CADRES WELCOMED ... Released political prisoners, from left, Mr Douglas Myamya of Guguletu, Mr Cecil Esau of Worcester, and Mr Nazeem Lowe of Bontheuwel, are welcomed by ANC executive member Mr Reggie September, right, Yengeni trialist Ms Jenny Schreiner, on his right, and local ANC media spokesman Mr Trevor Manuel (obscured behind Ms Schreiner). Mr Lowe's mother, Mrs Fowzia Lowe, is standing behind him. Picture: RICHARD BELL

Cape Times 22/2/91 327

Tears, hugs for released cadres

Staff Reporters

A ROUSING welcome awaited six Western Cape Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres released from Robben Island yesterday — some as many as eight years early.

The six cadres, and a seventh from Soweto, received a hearty welcome from about 150 family members, ANC leaders and well-wishers who gathered at Quay 5 in Table Bay where the Robben Island ferry docked.

They are:

● Mr Nazeem Lowe, of Bontheuwel, sentenced to 10 years for terrorism in 1988 in the Ashley Forbes trial; Mr Colin Ndevu, of Paarl, sentenced to 12 years for terrorism, and Mr Solomon Mokape of KwaXuma, Soweto, sentenced to 11 years for terrorism in 1987.

● Three trialists from the 1987 Lizo "Bright" Ncgqungwana terrorism trial: Mr Sazi Veldman, of Nyanga, sentenced to 15 years; Mr Cecil Esau, of Worcester, and Mr Quinton Michaels, of Bonteheuwel, both sentenced to 12 years for terrorism; and

● Mr Douglas Myamya, of Guguletu, sentenced in 1987 for assisting those involved in the Ncqungwana trial.

There were tears and joyful hugs as the men moved among the crowd clamouring to touch them.

They were welcomed by ANC executive member Mr Reggie September, Yengeni trialist Ms Jenny Schreiner from the SA Communist Party and Mr Bongani Jonas from Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Veldman said on behalf of the group that their release was being used by the government to "boost its own image and credibility".

"It still continues to wage a psychological war against political prisoners, their relatives and the oppressed people of South Africa," he said.

He questioned why indemnity was granted to some prisoners and refused to others who were serving the same sentences for the same offences.

STATE OF REPRESSION

THE house of Solly Rasmeni, an activist from Jouberton in the Western Transvaal, was bombed in the early hours of last Friday morning. (327)

Rasmeni is an executive member of the African National Congress Klerksdorp branch and the Jouberton Civic Association, and regional organiser for the National Union of Metalworkers. Police are investigating and suspect commercial explosives were used.

●Ciskei civil servants were allegedly teargassed and sjambokked by Ciskei and South African security police last Friday on their way to welcome union leaders from Johannesburg, the HRC reports. The unionists were scheduled to meet Ciskei's military ruler Oupa Gqozo to resolve the current civil servants crisis in the area.

3 March 24-28/2/91

All you wanted to read about, but couldn't

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Sowetan 22/2/91

POLITICAL books which were once banned by successive governments are becoming available to South Africans after years of control over what people could read. NORMAN CHANDLER peruses the Government Gazette to see what is available.

THE days when zealous customs officials at Jan Smuts Airport and other ports of entry looked at every suspicious bulge in your overcoat, and invariably found a banned book which was confiscated, are over.

These men, during the course of their duties, resorted to every method possible to eliminate the entry into South Africa of books and other publications which were regarded as not being quite what we, the citizens, should be allowed to read.

Body searches, X-rays and searches of "suspicious" luggage were common in the hunt for these books.

Thousands of air passengers will testify to a little niggle of fear that the selected works of Lenin, for instance, would not survive the journey from the front door of the terminal to beyond the customs area.

And if it did, well there was always that pride of place on the bookshelf which it could occupy - provided a police officer wasn't your best friend.

That was South Africa, pre-February 2 1990.

Every week since then, the ponderously-grey Government Gazette has been churning out lists of books and publications which you and I can now legally own - of course, forget about *Playboy*, *Playgirl*, and the other publications which every now and again are given a most definite thumbsdown from the Department of Home Affairs.

Among "other" do not include the sanitised *Penthouse* magazine, which will actually be printed here after years of being declared *verboten*.

Lists

However, some publications may no longer be undesirable but that does not necessarily mean that they can appear on bookshelves: anyone with a one-time "banned" book needs to know whether it is classified as "undesirable" or if "prohibition on possession" has been set aside.

Any good bookshop will have those lists.

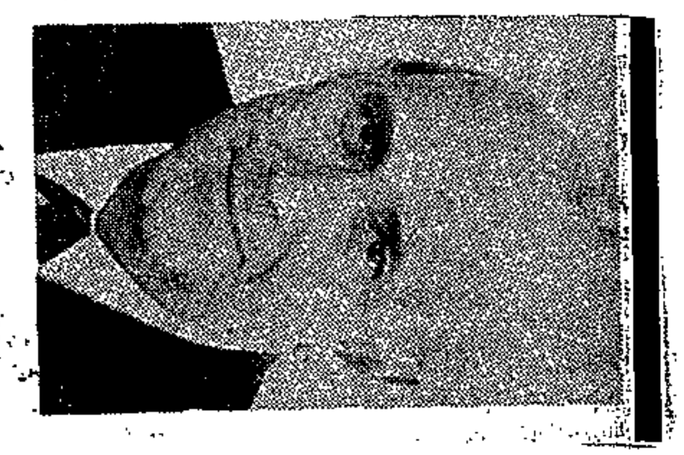
The latest Government Gazette is an example of a truly radical change in thinking since FW de Klerk's momentous speech unbanning the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party and, by doing so, gave customs officers less to do than they ever had over the previous 42 years.

Unbanned

Previous Gazettes unbanned the ANC's *Sechaba* magazine as well as many others which organisations had sought to smuggle into the country over the years.

Right at the top of the list published this week is *Apartheid Great Land Theft*.

Now that title alone would be a red rag to a bull for any AWB-leaning South African who agrees with the Verwoerdian concept of 87 percent of the land for whites and 13 percent for blacks.



FW DE KLERK

But, according to Notice No 307 of 15 February 1991, *Apartheid Great Land Theft* - first banned on March 27 1987 - is no longer undesirable.

The Government was also not too keen on cartoon or photographic histories of the country - particularly if the titles include words such as apartheid.

But that's all in the past as well: a 1988 ban on *Fighting Apartheid: A cartoon history* is now acceptable.

A United Nations publication called *Poets against Apartheid* is now also off the banned list.

Mao now

Books on, or by, one-time Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung and North Korean strongman Kim Il Sung are now available, as is a publication lording the founding of the 'Anti-Japanese People's Guerilla Army.'

Mao's thesis on how to mobilise for a war of resistance is also acceptable after 11 years of being read everywhere except in South Africa, while Sung's ideas of how to promote world revolution is another which you can have on your bookshelf.

In the new South Africa of FW de Klerk there may be no place for resistance and revolution but at least South Africans can now read how it could be done, if they felt so inclined.



TEARFUL WELCOME . . . Freed Qibla leader Imam Achmat Cassiem is greeted by his daughter, Waghieda, 17, left, and his sister-in-law, Mrs Aziza Salie.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

Cape Times 23/2/91

Imam granted bail after sitting 5 years

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Staff Reporter

QIBLA leader Imam Achmat Cassiem broke down and wept last night at an emotional welcome in Table Bay harbour on his return from nearly five years of imprisonment on Robben Island.

Mr Cassiem has been granted bail pending an appeal against his six-year prison sentence, which he began serving on May 2, 1986, for "terrorism and plotting to overthrow the state", said Mr Barney Desai, Western Cape PAC leader.

As he disembarked from the prison ferry with two cardboard boxes containing his possessions, Mr Cassiem was welcomed by family members, PAC leaders and prominent leaders in the Muslim community with cries of "God is great", "Jihaad (holy war) is our means" and the "Koran is our constitution".

Coetzee in plea to FW

Peta Thornycroft

CAPTAIN Dirk Coetzee this week sent an affidavit to the State President, asking to be allowed to head an investigation into police hit squads.

It was signed in London. A copy was sent by the Sunday Star to Mr F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys in Cape Town.

Presidential spokesman Casper Venter said Mr de Klerk would not see it until he returned to his office tomorrow.

Captain Coetzee wrote to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok last week, asking to be re-instated as a policeman for a limited period to get to the bottom of his hit squad allegations.

But he took the matter a dramatic step further yesterday by telling Mr de Klerk in the affidavit he sought "to persuade you of my sincerity".

In his sworn statement, he says he is prepared to have any evidence he collected tested in court, and was prepared to go into the dock along with former colleagues he would implicate.

Mlangeni killers 'will have to pay for crime'

THE men who had murdered ANC lawyer Bheko Mlangeni would have to answer for the crime when a civil government came into power in South Africa, SACP chairman Joe Slovo said yesterday.

He was speaking at Mlangeni's funeral in Soweto. Apoeis 24/2/91

Mlangeni was killed last week by a parcel bomb hidden in the headphones of a cassette player which had been addressed to former SAP Captain Dirk Coetzee.

Slovo also warned that the murder of Mlangeni tested the credibility of President FW de Klerk. Failure to act now meant that he would tolerate corruption. (327)

"The act was carried out by professional killers on the payroll of a government which is claiming to be just," said Slovo.

He accused Defence Minister Magnus Malan of being the godfather of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), which Slovo alleged was responsible for Mlangeni's death.

"Mlangeni's death was the construction of a warped mind that has murdered its political opponents."

Those who stood in the shadows while evil ruled supreme in the country would be condemned.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said Mlangeni's death was a challenge to all democrats. Mlangeni had stood for order, humanity and justice.

Mlangeni had been a key figure in investigations into the covert CCB and police death squads.

ILLER

(327)

Cop who made bomb named in letter to FW

By TOBIE BOSHOFF and CP Correspondent (Press 24/2/91)

FORMER Police Captain Dirk Coetzee, the man who came close to becoming the victim of the bomb which killed ANC attorney Bheki Mlangeni last weekend, says he knows who made the bomb.

Coetzee wrote a letter to State President FW de Klerk, mentioning the name of a colonel with technical know-how, whom he believes to be the only policeman capable of making the sophisticated bomb which was hidden in the earphones of a cassette player.

Coetzee told *City Press'* London correspondent the name of the "brilliant" colonel – but lawyers have advised *City Press* not to publish his name.

When approached, the colonel concerned refused to comment. He said inquiries should be made through normal channels.

A spokesman of the SAP Directorate for Public Relations said Coetzee's latest allegations were of "a serious nature, but without substance".

He added: "It is really strange that these allegations are only now being made by Coetzee after he had indicated that he now has a clean conscience, that he has revealed everything he knew in evidence before the Harms Commission and during the (General Lothar) Neethling defamation case".

He said the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police had instructed that independent experts gain access to forensic tests regarding the Mlangeni bomb. The case was also being investigated by one of the country's most experienced and able detective officers, Major General Ronnie van der Westhuizen.

In his letter to De Klerk, Coetzee said he did not believe the officer concerned would have made the bomb if he had known it was meant to kill him (Coetzee).

"We have been good friends since we attended an officer's course in 1975. He must have made the bomb on the instructions of the chiefs of the security police," Coetzee said.

The bomb exploded last week when Mlangeni fitted the earphones to his head. Mlangeni received the parcel containing the bomb after Coetzee failed to fetch the parcel, addressed to him, from the post office in Lusaka.

"In the past, he (the officer concerned) also prepared mechanisms for me and I used two of the bombs in Swaziland," Coetzee alleges.

"I blew up an ANC transit house with the one and a wooden house with

■ To Page 2



Dirk Coetzee ... informed FW de Klerk



I know the bomber – Coetzee

■ From Page 1

the other. I always carried some of these mechanisms in my car in case I needed them."

He was also present when colleagues used such bombs, Coetzee said. A colleague once made a mistake in placing such a bomb next to a railway line in Swaziland. It did not explode. "When the Swazis found the bomb the next day, they asked the same South African officer to defuse it."

The timing mechanisms of the bombs were Russian pocket watches. Coetzee does not know where the police obtained the watches, but it had to appear as if the bombs were made "by the other side".

The colonel concerned allegedly drilled a hole through the watch and pushed some fishing line through it. The countdown started when the line was removed.

Coetzee said he had a high regard for the abilities of the officer. He is a tecnical expert, not an ordinary policeman. "He prepares this clandestine stuff for the whole of the country's security police force."

Coetzee also told how the colonel built a camera into a briefcase.

In his letter to De Klerk, Coetzee asked to be allowed back into the country to help solve a number of murders, including that of David Webster, Griffiths Mxenge and his wife Victoria, Japie Maponya, Peter, Vusi, Isaac Mohema and others.

He asked to be appointed to the SAP temporarily "to reveal the truth".

A week ago Coetzee addressed a similar request to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

THE PEOPLE'S PAPER Tel: Jhb (011) 402-1632 Durban (031) 301-4636 PRICE RSA R1.50 (R1.33 + 17c GST) Elsewhere, Back Page Feb

COETZEE: I KNOW LAWYER'S KILLER



Cop who made bomb named in letter to FW

By TOBIE BOSHOFF and CP Correspondent

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Dirk Coetzee ... informed FW de Klerk

Police 'devices killed lawyer'

S/Times 24/2/91.

327

A SECRET hi-tech unit at the police's technical division in Pretoria produced "killer devices" like the walkman earphone bomb that murdered ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, claims renegade security policeman Dirk Coetzee.

Captain Coetzee said he was certain that the earphone bomb that was meant for him, but killed his lawyer instead, could only have been made at the unit in Rebecca Street.

But a police spokesman last night dismissed his allegations as "pure propaganda" and challenged him to return to South Africa to help with the investigation into the death of Mr Mlangeni.

Captan Coetzee said he knew one of the officers in the technical department — Colonel Wal du Toit.

"I like to believe that he had nothing to do with the walkman bomb that killed

By IAN HOBBS
London

Mlangeni and should have killed me. I am sure he would have refused to have anything to do with it. He is like that.

"But he is the technical genius. He taught me everything I know about these killer devices."

Captain Coetzee, who defected to the ANC and is living in exile in London, said he was appealing yet again to the government and President FW de Klerk to allow him to come home under protection "to blow the lid off the Rebecca street unit and a lot more that is still operating and killing people and damaging South".

"I wonder how many devices from Rebecca Street killed people in all sorts of countries that we don't yet know about. I know it can be proved that when there was someone they wanted removed, certain oficers were called in and people would go to places like Namibia.

I want to do it because the truth has to come out. The same applies to the ANC. They did terrible things and the truth about them must also be revealed. They had their own Rebecca Street-type places and they must admit the terrible things they did."

A police spokesman said the SAP had already proven its bona fides with the Mlangeni investigations by allowing an independent expert to examine forensic exhibits.

"If Mr Coetzee really wants to see the alleged murders being solved he should return to the country to assist in the investigation."



WIDOW'S GRIEF: Sepati, wife of slain ANC official Bheki Mlangeni, at yesterday's funeral in a traditional mourning blanket **Picture: SUE KRAMER**

Slovo: We seek retribution, not simply justice

By MARK STANSFIELD

SOUTH AFRICAN Communist Party chief Joe Slovo yesterday called for retribution — not justice — against the killers of activists. ST Times 24/2/91.

ANC official Bheki Mlangeni had been "cold-bloodedly" murdered by professional killers paid by the government, claimed Mr Slovo at the activist's funeral yesterday.

Mr Mlangeni died when a booby-trapped tape cassette exploded.

The killers would pay for their crimes when a civil government came to power in South Africa.

"We seek retribution and not simply justice — this was an act of cold-blooded murder ... what cowardly war were these men fighting when they hacked to death Griffiths Mxenge and killed Bheki (Mlangeni)? 327

"What respect can they expect when they act like thugs and gangsters?" he asked.

Mr Slovo called Defence Minister General Magnus Malan the "Godfather" of the Civil Co-operation Bureau and expressed "disgust" that he still remained in office.

Webster Trust plans to prosecute shadowy ex-agents

By MARK STANSFIELD and HERMAN JANSEN

FORMER members of the SA Defence Force's shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau are to be charged with the murder of academic and anti-apartheid activist Dr David Webster.

Lawyers acting for the Webster Trust confirmed this week that they would bring a private prosecution against "several" former CCB agents.

An indictment is being prepared and will be handed to Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres shortly, the lawyers said.

"If he declines to press charges on the basis of the indictment, we will go ahead with a private prosecution," said a spokesman for the trust.

This would be only the second private prosecution for murder in South African legal history.

The Webster Trust also confirmed that former CCB agent Donald Acheson — code-named The Cleaner — might testify against the suspects, who are also facing charges of attempted murder, assault, terrorism and trespassing.

Acheson — who was held in a Windhoek prison for eight months in connection with the assassination of Swapo lawyer Anton Lubowski — is in detention at John Vorster Square, pending deportation to the Republic of Ireland.

Professor John Dugard of the University of the Witwatersrand's law faculty said the state could not refuse a private prosecution, and that it was almost certain that former CCB members would have to answer charges put to them.

A Webster Trust spokesman declined to identify the ex-CCB members named in the indictment, but the nature of the charges indicates that the trust is also acting on behalf of several persons outside the Webster family. These could include the family of slain Mamelodi doctor Fabian Ribeiro and his wife, Florence. The couple were gunned down at their home in December 1986.

The Harms Commission found that former Selous Scout Noel Robey was a CCB member at the time and might have been involved in their assassinations.

Other CCB agents identified by the Harms Commission were the chairman, Major Eddie Webb, the managing director Joe Verster, former policemen Staal Burger, Chappie Maree, Calla Botha, Slang van Zyl and Ferdi Barnard, Christo Brits, Shane du Plooy, Willie van Deventer and Pieter Botes.

News of the Webster Trust prosecution surprised top policeman Brigadier Floris Mostert, who has been investigating murders and criminal acts allegedly committed by former CCB members.

"This is news to me ... I have nothing new to report."

Military explosives killed ANC lawyer

Star 24/2/91 (327)

Ivor Powell

EXPERTS say military-type plastic explosives were used in the walkman bomb that killed ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni at his home in Soweto last week.

He died when the booby-trapped earphones blew his brains out as he switched on the machine.

Independent explosives experts told the Sunday Star this week that only military-type plastic explosives — which were not available to anyone outside the security forces — could have been used.

Mr Mlangeni's injuries suggested that the "Monroe effect" had been used in priming the bomb, they said.

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Sophisticated bomb was used to kill Mlangeni

(327) Star 24/2/91

● From Page 1

A cone shape is hollowed out within the packed plastic explosives when it is put into place.

When detonation occurs the charge focuses itself as an inverted cone, rather like seeing the original cone shape in a mirror.

Explosion "spillage" is avoided and the charge is tightly directed towards its target.

Such a bomb blast would leave injuries consistent with those inflicted on Mr Mlangeni. When the bomb detonated, the back of Mr Mlangeni's head was blown off while his face was left unmarked.

There appears to be no precedent in Africa for a booby trap of this degree of sophistication.

As far as commercial explosives were concerned, experts agreed that those readily available, such as the type used in the mining industry, would not have served the purpose of the "Mlangeni bomb".

They said commercial explosives fell into two categories. One involved the use of nitro-glycerine, the so called first generation of commercial explosives.

Such explosives, while they had a more or less indefinite shelf life, were highly volatile. An explosive of this kind would not have survived the buffeting resulting from nine months of passing to and fro in the post.

The parcel (which listed "Bheki" as its sender) was posted from Joubert Park Post office, Johannesburg, on 10 May 1990. Having been refused by its addressee (Captain Dirk Coetzee) in Lusaka, it was finally returned to Johannesburg and detonated on February 15.

First-generation explosives had the added disadvantage as a tool in covert operations of having a powerful odour and of leaking tell-tale quantities of liquid.

The other type of explosive available commercially was the water gel or emulsion type.

While being odourless and more or less leakproof, these second-generation explosives had a limited shelf life and became progressively less sensitive as they grew older. Such explosives, said the experts, could not have retained their potency during the long delay between the sending of the parcel and detonation.

Speaking to the Sunday Star this week, Captain Coetzee said there existed a special "technical department" attached to security police headquarters in Pretoria which was capable of manufacturing a bomb such as that used in the Mlangeni killing.

One third of a gram would be capable of blowing off a man's hands, he said.

Meanwhile, negotiations are underway to secure the services of a top military and explosive scientist on behalf of legal firm Cheadle Thompson and Haysom, where Mr Mlangeni worked as an articled clerk and the Indpendent Board of Inquiry Into Informal Repression, for which Mr Mlangeni investigated allegations of security police hit squads.

Police have offered to make evidence available to Mr Mlangeni's law firm after an earlier refusal, and a protest to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

● Police public relations spokesman Major Ray Harrald said the police "technical department" referred to by Captain Coetzee was the Bomb Disposal Unit. These units were operated by police throughout the world, he said.

He also dismissed Captain Coetzee's reference to a 40 kg crate of explosives he allegedly carried in his car as having been dealt with at the Harms Commission.

MK men freed from island

CP Correspondent (327)

TEN Umkhonto weSizwe soldiers were freed from Robben Island this week.

Former University of the Western Cape law student Cecil Esau, high school teacher Quentin Michels, post office worker Suzi Veldtman, social worker Douglas Myamya, Nazeem Lowe, Colin Ndevu and Solomon Mokape were freed on Thursday.

Thadixolo Nakele, Sikhiwa Mehlo and Lindile Mxiweni, all serving six-year sentences for terrorism, were released on Friday.

The seven were given a rapturous welcome by friends and relatives as they stepped off the ferry which brought them to the mainland. CTPress 24/12/91

Esau, Michels and Veldtman were convicted of terrorism in 1987. Esau and Michels were each jailed for 12 years and Veldtman for 15 years.

Myamya was convicted of harbouring or assisting terrorists and jailed for eight years.

Lowe was convicted of terrorism in 1988 and imprisoned for 10 years on December 15, 1988. A further 10 years was suspended for five years.

Nakele's mother, Tazie Nakele, travelled from Port Elizabeth to be with her son and his two friends, whom she regards as her "own sons". She hugged them all.

She did not believe they would be freed, she said.

"I thought it was one of the government's tricks. I'm so happy they are back. I visited each of them on Robben Island."

New SA: Freed Imam 'not hopeful'

By PETER DENNEHY

RELEASED Robben Island prisoner Imam Achmad Cassiem said yesterday he was not optimistic about the prospects for real change in South Africa in the next five years.

The former leader of the Muslim movement Qibla came off the island on Friday on bail of R5 000 pending an appeal against his terrorism conviction.

"We need a legitimate constitution, from which a legitimate government would emerge," Mr Cassiem said. "And then a process of reconstruction of education, the economic system, the health services, local government, central government . . . one could go through the whole lot.

"All have been contaminated with racist policies."

Mr Cassiem, 45, has been in jail since May 2, 1986, in this most recent term. In the 1960s he also served a five-year term on Robben Island.

He has been restricted for many years. Once he was convicted of negligently breaking a banning order by coming home late from work.

He is restricted again, this time by bail conditions which, among other requirements, prohibit him from acting as a spokesman for Qibla or the PAC.

"It means I could be a spokesman for the ANC or the AWB," he said wryly, "but the restriction is nonetheless unjust."

Slovo warns 'cassette killers'

JOHANNESBURG. — Those responsible for the murder of ANC lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni would answer for the crime in a new South Africa, South African Communist Party (SACP) leader Mr Joe Slovo warned at Mr Mlangeni's funeral in Soweto on Saturday.

Mr Mlangeni was killed last week by a parcel bomb hidden in the headphones of a cassette player. His stature in the ANC and the SACP was underscored by the presence at the funeral of Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Slovo and a number of other senior officials of the organisations.

Mr Slovo alleged that the murder was "carried out by professional killers on the pay roll of a government which is claiming to just".

This tested the credibility of President F W de Klerk — a failure to act against death squads meant that he would tolerate corruption, he said.

Those responsible for the murder would have to answer for their crime when a civil government came to power in South Africa, Mr Slovo warned. — Sapa



FUNERAL . . . An African National Congress marshal guards the coffin of lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni. The service was attended by senior anti-apartheid officials including Mr Nelson Mandela.

'Pretoria workshop made killer bomb'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A secret workshop at the police Technical Division in Pretoria produced "killer devices" like the walkman earphone bomb that killed ANC lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni, renegade security police captain Mr Dirk Coetzee claims.

Mr Coetzee was certain that the earphone bomb could only have been made by the unit in Rebecca Street run by his friend, "technical genius" Colonel W A L "Wal" du Toit.

Mr Coetzee claims that he was taught about "these killer devices" by Colonel Du Toit, who works under the command of Lieutenant-General Basie Smit. He named senior police officers allegedly involved in political assassination attempts.

Mr Coetzee also claimed to have precise information which would prove that police involved in covert operations had "robbed the country blind by doing these jobs and then putting in false cash claims".

● Investigators probing the assassination of Mr Mlangeni yesterday said they were aware of allegations of the existence of an SAP "death factory" in Rebecca Street, Pretoria, and intend investigating the workshop.

Concern over lawyer's killing

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Association of Law Societies and the General Council of the Bar yesterday expressed "deep concern" over the murder of Johannesburg candidate attorney Mr Bheki Mlangeni, the disappearance of witnesses in the Winnie Mandela trial and the inadaquate witness protection system.

Thousands pay tribute to Mlangeni

Thousands of ANC supporters braved the heat to pay tribute to slain ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni who was buried at Heroes Acre at Avalon Cemetery in Soweto at the weekend.

Deputy president Nelson Mandela and other senior ANC executive members were among the dignitaries who attended the service.

Speakers at the service accused the SA Defence Force's Civil Cooperation Bureau of being responsible for Mr Mlangeni's death.

Mr Mlangeni was killed last week by a booby-trapped walkman cassette player.

SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo accused Defence Minister Magnus Malan of being "the godfather of the CCB".

"Those who are responsible for Mlangeni's and other activists' death will be brought to book under a new government in South Africa," he said.

"Comrade Mlangeni's death is a challenge to everyone who stands for democracy," said ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu.

"He lived and fought for justice, humanity and order. And we should continue from where he left off."

Mr Mlangeni is the third political leader to be buried at Heroes Acre. The others are PAC president Zephania Mothopeng and Soweto student leader Tsietsi Mashinini. — Staff Reporter.

Police keep eye on service at graveyard

By Therese Anders
Highveld Bureau

MIDDELBURG — As police watched through binoculars from behind trees and a plane buzzed overhead, about 200 members of the dispossessed Doornkop community went ahead with a rededication service at their graveyard yesterday.

Police imposed 13 conditions on the service.

These included specifying who could speak and restricting the service to one hour and not allowing more than 1 000 people to attend.

Police banned the meeting which the Doornkop Homecoming Committee had planned to follow the service and would not allow former residents to walk over the old farm.

The committee had planned to discuss the resettling of the Doornkop farm, from which up to 25 000 people were uprooted during the early 1970s.

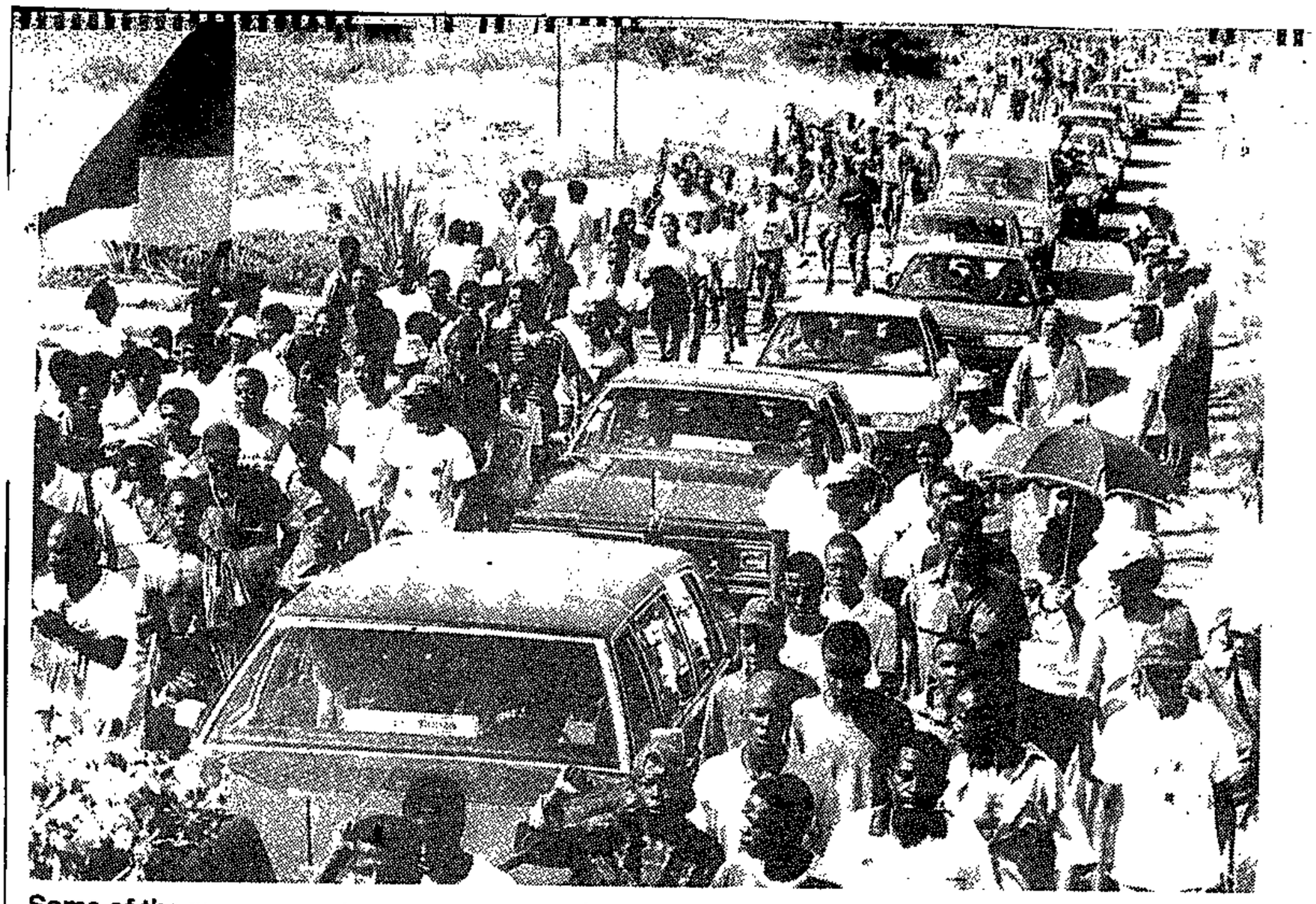
The former residents had always believed the land had been abandoned after the evictions.

However, the SAP has since put up boards on the disputed land saying the area is a police shooting range and warning of unexploded bombs, shells and cartridges.

Last week the police issued a statement saying the farm had been State property since 1967 and had been handed over to the police by the Department of Public Works in 1987.

After the service, Homecoming Committee organiser Abe Maloma said the organisation's legal team would meet top Government officials to get permission for a meeting.

Mr Maloma said many had stayed away after Radio Lebowa broadcast that police had prohibited the service as well.



Some of the mourners who walked about 15km at the funeral of slain ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

Hero's burial for slain ANC lawyer

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Sowetan 25/2/91

SLAIN ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni was buried at Heroes Acre at Avalon Cemetery in Soweto at the weekend in one of the biggest funerals seen in the township.

Mlangeni is the third political leader to be buried at Heroes Acre.

By KENOSI MODISANE

The others are PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng and Soweto student leader Tsietsi Mashinini.

Thousands of ANC supporters braved the scorching heat and led the procession as they jogged from the hall to the cemetery as thousands more lined the streets.

Senior ANC executives, including deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, were among the dignitaries.

Speakers at the service accused the SA Defence Force's Civil Co-operation Bureau of being responsible for Mlangeni's death.

Exploded

Mlangeni died last week after a walkman cassette player exploded when he fitted on the earphones.

"This is the work of professional people who are on the payroll of the Government," Slovo said.

Slovo also accused Defence Minister Magnus Malan of being "the godfather of the CCB".

"Those who are responsible for Mlangeni's and other activists' deaths will be brought to book under a new government in South Africa," said Slovo.

"Comrade Mlangeni's death is a challenge to everyone who stands for democracy," said ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu.

"He lived and fought for justice, humanity and order. And we should continue from where left off."

Another ANC cadre released

Staff Reporter

ANC cadre Mr Michael Gongo of Uitenhage was released from Robben Island yesterday after serving three years of a five-year prison term for terrorism.

He began serving his sentence on April 26, 1988.

He is the 12th political prisoner released from the island since last Wednesday.

The release of another political prisoner, Mr Malusi Majola, is expected today.

MK cadres optimistic they'll be freed soon

Argus 27/2/91



WELCOME BACK: A jubilant Mr Ebrahim Ebrahim is hugged by a well-wisher moments after being released from Robben Island.

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN 327
Political Staff

THE 165 Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres on Robben Island are optimistic they will be released by April 30, according to Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, who has been freed after the Appeal Court dismissed his 20-year sentence for treason.

Mr Ebrahim, the most senior MK member on the island, was released yesterday immediately after the Appeal Court found that the Transvaal Supreme Court should never have tried him because he was abducted from Swaziland and brought to South Africa by "vehicles of the state" in breach of international law.

He said: "This was a historic decision because the Appeal Court has ruled for the first time that the South African police do not have the right to kidnap people."

News that his appeal had succeeded was given to him at 4pm yesterday. Most of his comrades had been locked up for the night by then and he did not have time to say goodbye to all of them. "I could say goodbye only to my comrades in the maximum security section where I was held.

Family for reunion

"I was excited that the appeal had gone in my favour, but was sorry to leave my comrades. There's a lot of optimism on Robben Island that all of them will be freed by April 30."

His family were expected in Cape Town today from the Transvaal for a reunion.

His fiancee, an American citizen, has arrived in Pretoria from Harare and he would try to speak to her today, he said.

● Sapa reports from Bloemfontein that the Appeal Court found the Transvaal Supreme Court had no legal jurisdiction to try Mr Ebrahim.

The court has set aside his conviction and sentence of 20 years for high treason and other offences under the Internal Security Act.

Mr Ebrahim was tried and convicted after Mr Justice Daniels dismissed an application of objection to the court's jurisdiction in 1987 in the circuit court in Piet Retief.

Mr Ebrahim objected to the court's competence to try him on the basis that he had been abducted from Swaziland and detained in South Africa — a breach of international law.

Should have succeeded

Mr Justice Steyn held that Mr Ebrahim's application should have succeeded. At the time he was entitled to the following orders:

● He was not amenable to the criminal jurisdiction of the court;

● His apprehension and abduction in Swaziland and subsequent transportation to South Africa, and his arrest and detention, was in breach of international law — wrongful and unlawful;

● He had not been properly and lawfully arrested or tried before a court of competent jurisdiction on the indictment put foward by the prosecution against him and two others; and

● He was entitled to be discharged from his imprisonment and detention, pending his trial on the indictment.

Mr Justice Steyn said circumstances changed drastically after the dismissal of the application. The trial proceeded and conviction and sentence followed.

What was now important was to undo those consequences.

Five northern areas schools to admit all

By FEROZA MILLER
Tygerberg Bureau

FIVE more schools in the northern areas have voted in favour of opening their doors to all races.

Voting closed at all the schools at 9pm yesterday and the staff of primary schools Kenridge, Gene Louw and Eversdal and high schools Stellenberg and Fairmont — all in Durbanville — met at Kenridge Primary School to count the votes.

Kenridge, a dual-medium school, polled a high percentage of 96,7 percent with 98,5 percent voting in favour of open schools.

The chairman of the school committee, Mr Kobus Smith, said: "Only 17 potential voters didn't cast their votes and 23 voted against."

● Eversdal Primary had a 98,7 percent poll with 90,8 voting in favour.

● Gene Louw Primary: 85,6 percent poll with 91,5 percent in favour.

● Stellenberg High: 83,4 percent of which 79,4 percent voted in favour.

● Fairmont High: 89,3 percent with 85,4 percent in favour.

The five schools' committee chairmen ascribed the "resounding success" of the poll to the schools' co-operation and a single meeting at Stellenberg High.

The five schools will join other northern schools, Settlers High, Edgemead High and Edgemead Primary, which voted in favour of open schools last year.

MP pleads for life of man on Death Row

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party has appealed to President De Klerk to pardon Paul Bezuidenhout, scheduled to become the first person to be executed in South Africa after a 15-month moratorium on the death penalty.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said in parliament yesterday that Bezuidenhout, 22, would be executed but that the date would not be announced beforehand.

He said the Appeal Court had rejected Bezuidenhout's appeal against the death sentence and the government had dismissed his plea for clemency.

Mr Peter Soal, Democrat MP for Johannesburg North, who has campaigned against the death penalty for many years, yesterday asked Mr De Klerk to pardon Bezuidenhout.

Bezuidenhout was sentenced to death on September 15 1989 on two counts of murder.



RELEASED . . . Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim smiles at friends and well-wishers after his sudden release from Robben Island yesterday.

Appeal court frees Ebrahim

Staff Reporter

THE most senior MK cadre ever sentenced, Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, was yesterday released from Robben Island, after the Bloemfontein Appeal Court found that the Transvaal Supreme Court had no legal jurisdiction to try him.

The Appeal Court yesterday set aside his conviction and sentence of 20 years on charges of high treason and other offences under the Internal Security Act.

Mr Ebrahim was tried and convicted after Mr Justice H Daniels in the Transvaal East and South-East local circuit court at Piet Retief on August 6, 1987, had dismissed an application of objection to the court's jurisdiction.

Mr Ebrahim objected to the court's competence to try him on the basis that he had been apprehended in, and abducted from, Swaziland on December 15, 1986.

He contended that his subsequent transportation, arrest and detention in South Africa was in

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From page 1

breach of international law and was unlawful.

Mr Justice Steyn yesterday held that Mr Ebrahim's application should have succeeded.

Disembarking from the prison ferry, a smiling Mr Ebrahim said: "It was surprise and I'm feeling great — not just about coming off the island but that a South African court finally noted that the SAP had no right to abduct a person from another country."

He said his lawyers were drafting papers to take legal action against the state, pending the outcome of the appeal. Mr Ebrahim said he had been told at 4pm he was to be released.

Mr Ebrahim's family were not even aware of his release when the ferry docked at 5.40pm last night.

Handing down judgment, Mr Justice Steyn said circumstances changed drastically after the dismissal of Mr Ebrahim's first application.

He said that in the light of the denials referred to in the judgment, it could be accepted that the police were not involved at all in the abduction.

It was, however, highly probable that Mr Ebrahim's abductors were "vehicles" of the South African state. "Vehicles" in this sense referred to persons who acted on the instructions of one or other state institution.



A-G Klaus von Lieres ... heading murder probe.

Mlangeni probe sets Govt precedent

Star 27/2/91 (327)

The investigation of the assassination of human rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni has received unprecedented attention from the Government. HELEN GRANGE reports.

THE treatment of sinister assassinations, which in the South Africa of the past afforded no special attention, has taken a dramatic turn with the recent death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

Probes into scores of mystery killings of political activists — many of them still unsolved — have been, to many apartheid critics, handled carelessly and inadequately by police whose results were untrustworthy.

However, in the case of Mr Mlangeni, who died when the earphones of a booby-trapped Walkman exploded, the weight placed on finding the culprit or culprits has created a surprising precedent which may go a long way to restoring some faith in the state's long doubted method of dealing with political crimes.

For the first time, police detectives are working hand in hand with human rights lawyers in what constitutes an unusually mixed and professional investigation team.

Heading the team in a supervisory capacity is Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, a man who needs little introduction.

At the centre of the most controversial criminal procedures, he has a reputation for unwavering decisiveness in difficult and weighty matters.

The criminal investigation is being headed by one of the police's top men, Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen.

Controversy

A seasoned detective, General van der Westhuizen is no stranger to controversy.

His last noted assignment was to investigate the alleged involvement of security forces in violence on the Witwatersrand last year.

Ironically, it was during this probe that police spurned suggestions that a member of the Independent Board of Investigation sit with General van der Westhuizen.

Human rights lawyer Brian Currin also pointed out then that although General van der Westhuizen might be scrupulous, the "plain fact is that a large number of people have lost trust in the police".

This time, General van der Westhuizen is conducting his work with the help of people who may just have been his adversaries under any other circumstance.

Peter Harris, an attorney of Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom, as well as senior partners Halton Cheadle and Clive Plasket, have been granted independent access to evidence and have arranged for a top forensics expert to come to South Africa.

(The forensic tests would normally be handled by the police forensic laboratory, still headed by General Lothar Neethling.)

The lawyers have also had a share of initiating legal probes into political violence. The firm was involved in the Natal violence and made the first legal applications against warlords in the region.

On a number of occasions, their work has meant challenging the State on behalf of political activists. On this occasion, it means co-operating with the State on behalf of a close colleague whose death many suspect may have been orchestrated from within state structures.

Mr Plasket said yesterday that he and his colleagues had gathered various statements from people, but that much of the investigation was on hold until the forensic expert (who may not be named) arrived.

Suspicions

"We are determined to reveal the facts of this case," he said.

It has been reported that the lawyers have "strong suspicions about who was behind the murder", and former police hit squad member Dirk Coetzee has identified the assassination as having all the hallmarks of a hit squad murder.

Captain Coetzee said a special "technical department" attached to security police headquarters in Pretoria was capable of manufacturing a bomb such as that used in the Mlangeni killing.

Police have responded to Captain Coetzee's remarks by saying that until he came to South Africa to have his claims tested in court, they could not be given much credence.

The cassette player which exploded when Mr Mlangeni activated it, was sent to Captain Coetzee in Lusaka last year. He refused to pay the duty charges on the parcel and it was sent back to the sender's address — given as Mr Mlangeni at the offices of Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom.

So far, the investigation into the tragedy has been difficult, and police have said they have found no direct leads arising out of their examination of the remains of the device and the tape-recorder.

However, the understanding that the recorder was insured may be a vital key to pinpointing the sender.



Blast victim ... lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

CNA Times 28/2/91

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Prisoners back PAC

Staff Reporter

PAC prisoners on Robben Island told their leaders yesterday that they fully supported the PAC stand that their releases must not be negotiated — even if this meant longer prison terms.

Mrs Patricia de Lille, the PAC's foreign-affairs secretary, said this after her return from the island yesterday.

She had gone there with three other PAC leaders — publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai, general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and national organiser Mr Mpolose Mangqangwana — to consult prisoners about the PAC policy on their release.

Protest picket at Oudtshoorn

From Makhaya Mani
Oudtshoorn

SOWETO 28/2-6/3/91

THOUSANDS of ANC supporters plan to stage a protest at the Magistrate's Court here on Friday as part of the ANC's mass action campaign although the local chief magistrate has refused permission. (327)

Mr Sipho Kroma of the local ANC branch, said the organisation had applied to chief magistrate Mr Len Labuschagne, for permission to picket the court building, but this was refused late on Wednesday.

The picket will highlight residents' demands for the release of Umkhonto weSizwe member Mr Thami Jack who is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, the withdrawal of charges against 55 Oudtshoorn residents charged last year with picketing in the local tannery and against Saamstaan journalist Derrick Jackson, who was charged under the new Fundraising Act.

They also want the withrawal of charges against two students, Zola Ganjana and Fayzel Carelse, who were charged with public violence and resisting arrest respectively.

'Crime, not terror, new danger'

Secret police scrapped

Political Staff

ONE of the main reasons for scrapping the security police is the shocking crime wave that is battering South Africa.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, used these words yesterday when he announced the security police would be merged with the Criminal Investigation Department to boost the police's crime-fighting capacity, in line with the force's change of emphasis.

More people were afraid of crime than of terrorism, he said.

The controversial National Intelligence Services (NIS), which dealt with political crimes, are to be scrapped on April 1.

Mr Vlok said this would "remove the police from the political playing field".

Another step towards this end is the Police Amendment Bill, before Parliament, that will forbid members of the police force being members of political parties.

The SAP had investigated comprehensively the components of the police force, Mr Vlok said.

There had been a marked reduction in crimes against the state, whereas crime, violence and terror attacks had become directed more towards individuals.

"These factors, combined with various agreements reached between the government and the ANC — which hold out the possibility of further reduction in terrorism — were all analysed and taken into account."

Mr Vlok said there had been 27 incidents of terrorism in the past three months, but crime had increased by almost 9% in the past year.

Structures

It was for this reason that the NIS were to be merged with the CID under security chief Lieutenant-General Basie Smit. The amalgamated force would be called the Crime Combating and Investigation Section (CCI).

The two divisions would keep their structures and General Smit would use all members in combating crime until a new system was devised. However, the security police would no longer be used exclusively to gather intelligence.

The regional command structure was being studied to determine who would be in charge, Mr Volk said.

Asked if the move was merely a change of name and image, Mr Vlok said: "We are very serious about our endeavours to shift the emphasis from the political terrain to combating and investigating crime — and their (the security police's) knowledge is extremely valuable."

All members of the police, including the security police, were re-trained periodically.

Mr Vlok denied the government was going soft on security, saying the new division would continue to safeguard it. Security programmes that were under way also would be continued.

In another vital change, the Training Service was to be upgraded to a fully-fledged police branch, led by CID chief Lieutenant-General Alwyn Conradie.

Mr Vlok said 60% of the police force was black, coloured or Indian, but few were in management positions. This had to change, but promotions would continue to be made on merit.

Sapa reports that the Democratic Party's spokesman on law and order, Mr Tian van der Merwe, and Lawyers for Human Rights have welcomed the announcement.

Both said the move will help prepare police for a new South Africa.

Security Branch had outlived its usefulness

The Argus Correspondent, Pretoria

PRACTICAL reasons - and not the change in South Africa's political climate - have led to the Security Branch being incorporated into the ordinary detective branch from April 1.

POLICE

This is the view of informed sources who dismiss allegations that the move is to change the Security Branch image of "villain" tc one of "Mr Nice Guy" to fall in line with the government's vision of a New South Africa.

But the political overtones cannot be denied.

Generally regarded as a cloak-and-dagger operation to combat the "swart gevaar" or the "total onslaught", the Security Branch was a source of comfort to securocrats and a source of fear to many others (notably blacks).

The Security Branch was long perceived - rightly or wrongly - to be a police force on its own, with its own set of rules, or even a lack of rules.

Certainly South Africa's security in the face of internal and external forces was often over-emphasised, especially in the John Vorster and P W Botha eras.

Terrorists

The National Party fought its election battles in large measure on a security ticket, warning voters against the dangers of negotiating with the African National Congress, let alone allowing these "subversives" to roam the streets.

But times have changed. For many people the ANC, unbanned, is no longer a terrorist opponent but a political opponent, or even a potential member of a "partnership" government.

Police firmly believe this transition has led to a new threat - not one of political revolutionaries, but one of criminal revolutionaries running wild.

There can be no denying that lawlessness and the already high crime rate have spiralled dramatically since a host of political organisations were unbanned in February last year.

Violent deaths have more than doubled, while armed robberies are common.

Police make no bones about their belief that the almost out-of-control crime rate went hand in hand with the unbannings.

Of the many arms caches and weapons brought illegally into South Africa for the "armed freedom struggle", a large percentage is now being used for "ordinary" crime which affects every law-abiding citizen.

Amalgamation

Thus, whereas the threat of political terrorism against the State has diminished, a number of political factors such as sanctions, unemployment and the deteriorating economy have turned crime into an ever-more-profitable option.

The amalgamation of the CID and the SB is to address the policing needs of all South Africans - not only of a privileged sector as in the past - and to fill a gap which has existed for a long time.

In practical terms, the tasks and methods of the Security Branch will not change much.

Regrouped and renamed, the Crime Combating and Investigation Unit (CCI) will combine the expertise of the Security Branch and the CID to address current problems and prepare the entire SAP for a New South Africa.

Sources indicate that if the current negotiations stay on track, the political tasks of the SB will diminish over the years and make way for even greater emphasis on curbing daily crime.

Skills

General Basie Smit, head of the Security Branch, will take charge of the CCI, comprising some 12 000 detectives - of which 4 000 belonged to the SB.

The move will effectively not change the structures of either the CID or SB, nor will it entail security policemen taking up posts at police stations. It boils down to a pooling of resources and skills.

Another step in the major SAP overhaul is that the training section, up to now an auxilary service, will become a fully-fledged branch under the command of the present CID chief, Lieutenant-General Alwayn Conradie.

As the Security Branch was a secretive organisation, documentation of its history is difficult.

It was known in the 1940s as the Special Branch, and concentrated on investigating subversive activities.

A spate of sabotage acts in the early 1960s developed the then-renamed Security Branch into an almost independent force. This was compounded by intelligence that many ANC members were receiving training overseas to commit acts of terrorism on their return.

It was during the 1960s, with John Vorster as Minister of Justice, that South Africa gained its "jackboot" image at home and abroad: Mr Vorster used tough tactics to try to crush the mainly black resistance to apartheid.

He introduced various Acts and the necessary machinery to "obliterate" the "subversive activities" of "enemies of the State".

In the early 1970s the SB made headlines by arresting most of the 19 Moumbaris Group members who infiltrated South Africa by boat via the Wild Coast.

Boycotts

And 1976 was marked by investigating nationwide riots and school boycotts, and a renewed spate of people undergoing military training in foreign countries.

Arguably the darkest moment in SB history was its detention of black consciousness leader Steve Biko, who died while in custody in 1977.

Mr Jimmy Kruger, Minister of Police, vented the prevailing feeling within the SB with his infamous remark: "It leaves me cold."

The SB also embarked on an intensive campaign to infiltrate student bodies and keep a close eye on people serving banning and restriction orders.

The period 1984-86 was generally one of unrest - the ANC deploying its "people's war" with the alleged intent of rendering South Africa ungovernable.

Announcing the amalgamation yesterday, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok warned that it did not imply a softening on security matters but was more a shift in priorities.

Whatever the semantics, it appears he has taken a hint or two from President de Klerk.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

STATE OF REPRESSION

FORMER president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, was murdered outside his home in Maphumulo district in Natal on February 25. He was shot as he was getting into his car.

According to the Human Rights Commission (HRC), Maphumulo was an outspoken critic of Inkatha and the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

●Issie Lorenzo, a member of the De Aar Residents Association in the Northern Cape, received several threatening telephone calls in the last week, the latest threatening her life. She has raised the matter with her lawyers.

●The Nebo, Northern Transvaal, home of African National Congress member Morris Mokgobi was raided by members of the security police last week, and in Mankweng, also in the Northern Transvaal, ANC Youth League member David Mathiba has also received several late-night visits, the HRC reports. Police allegedly told Mathiba he was on a list of activists who needed to be checked on.

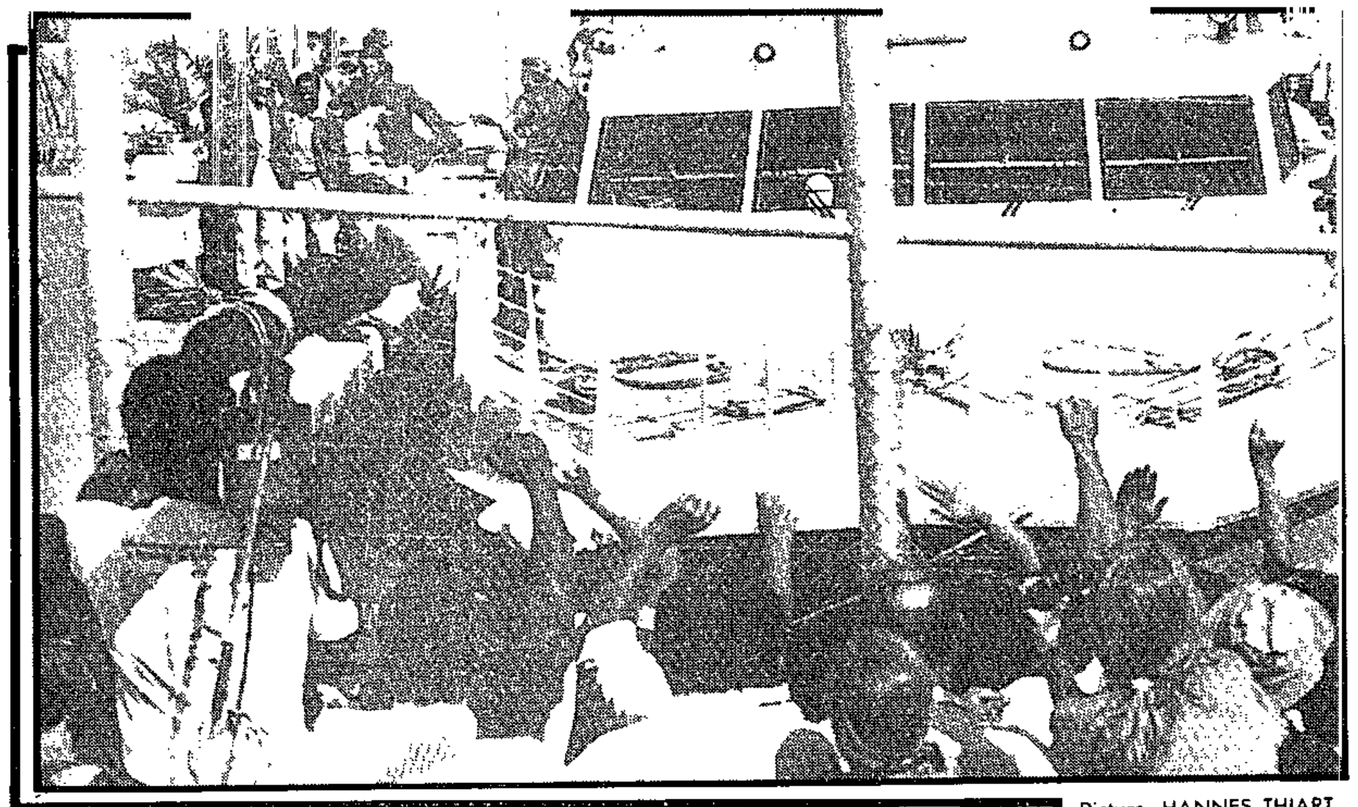
DETENTIONS AND RELEASES

THE HRC has recorded one new section 29 detention this week, and four others not recorded in previous briefings. Moss Thuso from Queenstown was detained on February 25, and Musa Ngubane from Durban, Ronny Gole from Atteridgeville, and Dumisani Gumede and Vusi Makhathini from Pietermartizburg remain in detention. Five more section 29 detainees were released in February, according to the HRC.

Flags, flowers and tears as 7 more put ashore from island

LO/CARGUS 2/3/91 (327

Mingled feelings of joy and fear often turn homecoming into a traumatic period for those political prisoners being released in batches as part of the government/ANC negotiations. But what is it like for those who await them? ANDRINA FORBES, whose own son Ashley is imprisoned on Robben Island, looked and listened as seven more came home last week. She sets the scene in her own words.



Picture: HANNES THIART, Weekend Argus.

"Emotion pulsates as families and supporters push their fingers through the net wire fence that separates them for the last time from their loved ones..."

THE crowd starts gathering at Quay 5 in Table Bay Harbour from early morning because at 8.30 a ferry will arrive, bringing with her seven Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres from Robben Island.

They are Bright Megqungwana, Sazi Veldman, Cecil Esau, Quinton Michaels, Nazeem Lowe, Colin Ndeva and Solomon Mokope.

But then we get word from Cowley House that they are arriving at only 4.15pm. We are confused; but there is general agreement that our sons waited for years and years for their freedom. It is a privilege for us to wait a few more hours.

By now, a steady flow of buses and cars has begun. A little distance off, pupils from Silverstream Secondary march towards us with a huge banner. They have come here today to honour their teacher, Quinton Michaels.

Everywhere ANC banners and flags flutter.

A boy shouts: *Renne fleg! Renne fleg!*

As time trickles by, fish and chips, wors and chips, soft drinks and fruit are shared.

By 3.30 the excitement begins to mount once more. Marshals and leaders begin frisking the people.

The crowd is excited and restless.

There is a stir ... but then the crowd seems to become paralysed; all eyes fixed on the ferry.

She sails in gracefully and triumphantly with white plumes of frothy sea beating up against her flanks.

There is a momentary lull. Why is the boat so quiet?

All of a sudden a voice rings out: "Wel-[illegible]"

A Soweto mother's cry quivers, her shrill scream awakening the spellbound crowd. The people respond with a tumultuous roar, heralding their returning heroes. Hooters blare.

Flags, flowers, tears ... emotion pulsates as families and supporters push their fingers through the net wire fence that separates them for the last time from their loved ones. Women strain their lips against the wire barrier fence for a kiss.

Amid hooting, screaming, jostling, the seven men are driven away to Cowley House.

Myriads of flags flutter as if to challenge the breeze created by the movement of the massive crowd. The flags dot the dusty scene like birds taking off.

Charged with emotion

At Cowley House families are wearing "family" stickers, to allow them entrance into the spacious open-air porch. A long table and chairs dominate the yard. The immediate family are permitted time with their loved ones in a large private room.

Through a window, I watch the drama unfolding inside. It is charged with emotion, ecstasy and magic. I turn away, overcome with the happiness, tears and love taking place in there.

Then the voices swell and fill the air, as the seven take their seats behind the long table, with their next of kin proudly standing behind them. A buzz of solidarity and wonder rises.



Picture: DION TROMP, Weekend Argus.

Andrina Forbes... "I turn away, overcome with the happiness, tears and love taking place in there."

Slowly, the noise dies away until there is complete silence.

Each of the men, in turn, stands up and introduces himself. The people cheer, laugh and cry. The atmosphere is electric.

The cool porch resounds with the sound of many people.

Cameras click

A tree stands in the center of the yard; her branches sway, from the weight of youngsters nestling in her arms to get a better view of their heroes. The tree's purple-blue flowers drop and scatter. Cameras click, speeches are made.

The seven men are strong but still.

May we ask a few questions? asks a reporter.

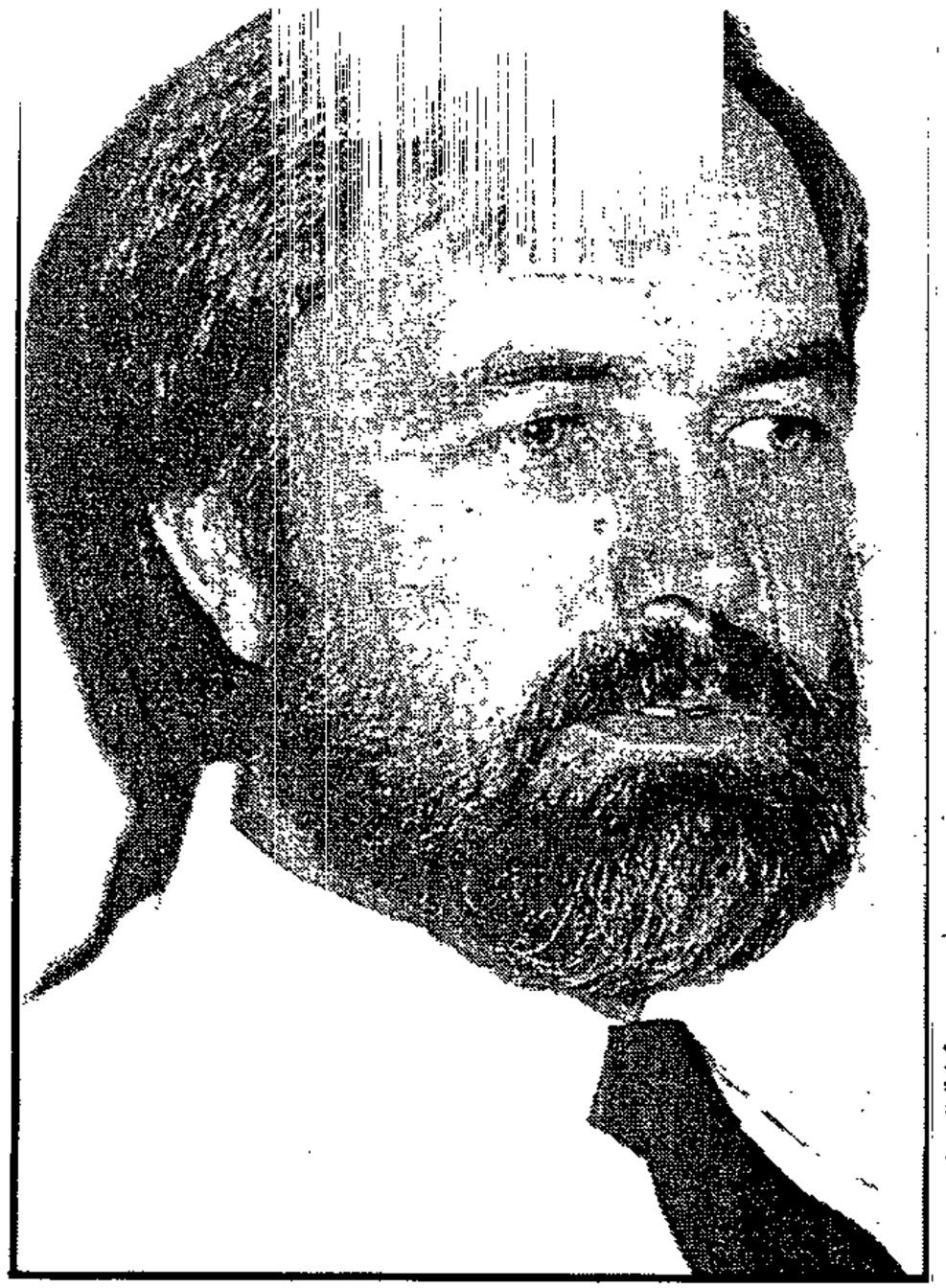
"No."

We understand the men are plunged into a different world. They need to adjust themselves.

Families, children, animals, pots and pans, smells, sounds and relationships are experiences they will have to learn all over again, like the alphabet.

Outside Cowley House, Chapel Street is dense with people, movement and noise.

After the first rush of emotion has subsided, a moving church service is held in the jam-packed little chapel. Somehow freedom and peace seems closer than it has ever been before.



KEITH MATHEE: Former BOSS spy is now Ciskei's Minister of Justice. ● Photograph: Ken Vernon.



DEREK BRUNE: Former police spy and NIS agent is now Sam Nujoma's head of security in Namibia.



CRAIG WILLIAMSON: Former security branch superspy has now quit the President's Council.

Former campus spies come in from the cold

Star 2/3/91.

(327)

PAT DEVEREAUX

THREE former South African campus spies who operated in the early 1970s appear to have come in from the cold and performed complete turnabouts in their political careers in the past two decades.

The most recent case was that of the newly appointed Ciskeian Minister of Justice, Keith Mathee.

A former self-confessed Bureau for State Security spy, Mr Mathee operated at Durban's University of Natal.

He made headlines when, as president of the Durban campus SRC, he confessed he had spied for Boss.

Similarly, Derek Brune confessed in 1976 he was a police spy throughout his student career at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Soon after Namibian independence he was appointed head of Swapo President Sam Nujoma's security department — the people he had been fighting!

Mr Brune was once a senior officer in Pretoria's National Intelligence Service and is cousin to former captured spy, Lieutenant Olivia Forsyth.

He was recently transferred to become acting commander of the Namibian police college, according to a Namibian police liaison officer.

The Saturday Star was unable to speak to him. A colleague said he was away on holiday.

Meanwhile, former Security Branch superspy Craig Williamson — who during his student days posed as a Nusas portfolio holder and became an ANC member — resigned from the State President's Council last year with a liberal message for State President de Klerk.

"One can't have a sole monopoly on power".

He also said it was time for some form of interim power sharing.

Asked about his spying activities, Mr Williamson said this week: "We were the young and foolish."

He said the trio had all known each other while on campus.

"At the time I viewed my activities as a job which I was doing like a lot of other young white South Africans," said Mr Williamson.

"I was committed to the National Party but I didn't analyse who was right and who was wrong. It's not that simple now.

"In 1989 I was one of the few NP members who stood for the elections saying we should be talking to the ANC.

"I left the President's Council in 1990 because we need new people to run the country. I don't think it's productive to have the same people who were killing each other at the negotiating table."

He added that he was currently involved in business outside South Africa — specifically in Mozambique — but he declined to elaborate.

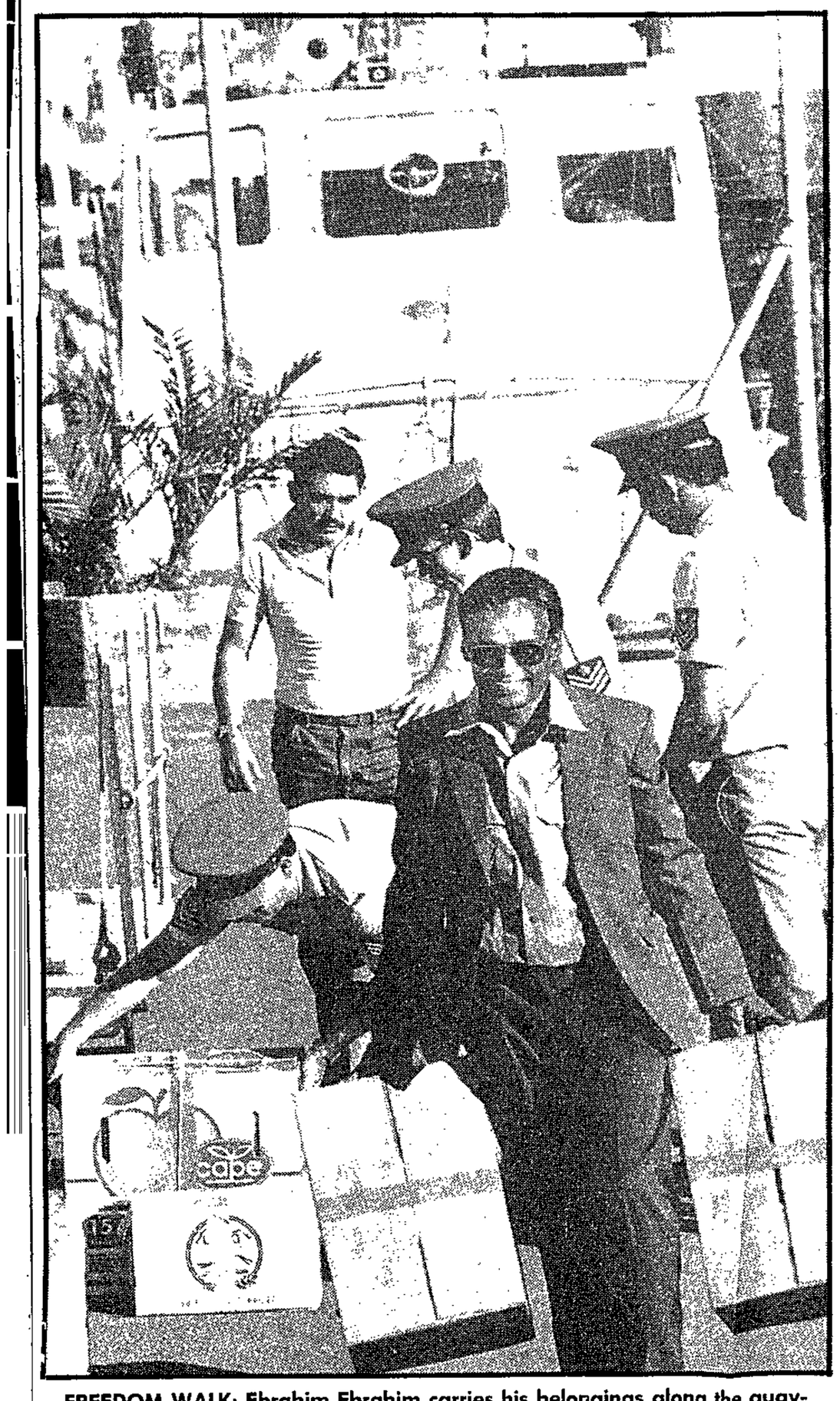
This week Mr Mathee said he had repented of his spying activities.

"I was only 18 at the time. I had been raised in a conservative community in the Orange Free State. I was approached to spy for Boss before I entered university in 1973.

"But my ideas changed while I was at university and I finally made a public confession in 1976. My action dismayed my family, especially my father, who had been with the police force for 40 years."

The night that changed Ebrahim's life

Star 2/3/91. (327)



FREEDOM WALK: Ebrahim Ebrahim carries his belongings along the quayside after disembarking from the Robben Island ferry on Tuesday.

DECEMBER 15 1986 was a Monday. The weather in Pine Valley, a secluded district in the Swaziland mountains, was cool; the air, moist and fresh.

Senior ANC member Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim and a youngster named Dumisane had just finished their supper.

They were watching television in the lounge when there was a knock at the door. That knock was to change Mr Ebrahim's life.

It would lead to him being convicted of terrorism and jailed for 20 years. He would also contest the conviction in the Appeal Court — and win. He would have his sentence set aside and become, once again, a free man.

But, that night in 1986, Mr Ebrahim was not concerned. He had been working underground. "Very few people knew where I was."

As he stepped outside two men held guns to his head. "They threatened to shoot and kill me if I resisted or made the slightest noise.

"They tied me up and took me into the house," said Mr Ebrahim. "I told Dumisane not to resist, fearing they would kill him. They tied him up as well. They searched the house and took some documents and placed them in a steel container.

"They also took about R4 500, my radio, a suitcase full of clothing and a walkman radio. I was then blindfolded and put in the back seat of the car. The guns never left my head," the Umkhonto we Sizwe commander said.

He was later removed from the car and made to walk down a small incline at what Mr Ebrahim believed to be the Oshoek border post.

"At the border fence, my blindfold was removed and I was told to jump over."

For the first time in about three hours his abductors spoke to him.

"One of them told me we would have to wait for a while because people coming to fetch me would be coming from Johannesburg."

After a while, he saw two cars parked in the distance.

"As we walked towards them, I could see three whites armed with rifles hiding among trees. As I neared the cars there were two whites standing nearby. They immediately put leg-irons and handcuffs on me.

EBRAHIM Ismail Ebrahim, released from Robben Island this week, spoke to JOVIAL RANTAO about the night that changed his life — when he was kidnapped from Swaziland by SA agents.

"I could see one of the white men, whose name turned out to be 'Jeff', having a conversation with one of my abductors. My abductors handed him the suitcase and all my belongings and he threw them in the car trunk."

He was bundled into a car. A second car drove in front.

It was now early morning. The abductors asked Mr Ebrahim how he felt about being captured on "December 16 — Freedom Day".

"They said I should tell them where I had planted the bombs around the country," he said. "Of course I refused to speak to them."

The abductors also interrogated him about ANC members in Maputo and other places. He said he again refused to answer, but this time he was threatened with torture and death.

At 2 pm on December 16 the entourage arrived in Pretoria and he was taken, he believes, to security police headquarters.

He said he was made to sit in an office and a senior policeman, who introduced himself as Brigadier Schoon, came in, accompanied by another high-ranking policeman.

"I complained to him that I had been abducted. He said that was of mere academic interest, adding: 'Now that you're here ... you're going to give us all the information about the ANC'."

Mr Ebrahim was then told he was going to be detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

His steel trunk was brought in — minus the suitcase full of clothes, the R4 500 and the radios.

At 11 pm he was transferred to a police station in Pretoria, where he met a few other security prisoners. At the police station his handcuffs and leg irons were removed.

The police then brought a "turned" former ANC member named "September", who was kidnapped in Swaziland four months before Mr Ebrahim.

Mr Ebrahim was transferred to John Vorster Square in Johannesburg where he had his first taste of mental torture.

"I was exposed to loud continuous noises, sometimes for 24 hours nonstop. I thought I would go off my head completely. At some stage I could not sit or sleep. I used to pace up and down the cell."

While at John Vorster Square, he managed to smuggle a letter out to his lawyers, stating he had been kidnapped and tortured.

His lawyers brought an urgent application for his release but before the judge could hand down his ruling, Mr Ebrahim's name was added to those of two ANC cadres, Mandla Maseko and Simon Dladla, who faced treason charges and were subsequently tried.

This week, speaking from a friend's home in Cape Town, Mr Ebrahim said he was excited about his release. "My feelings are inexplicable ... I'm just happy to be back."

He was due in Johannesburg today to be reunited with his daughter Cassia (7).

● The SA Police have been given a copy of this article. Yesterday, a spokesman said police would reserve comment until they had time to study the court record.

A WEB OF POISON, LIES AND MURDER

A hitman 'sings'

HIT squad agent Leslie Lesia's revelations about the assassination of ANC members by Military Intelligence and his evidence recently against SAP general Lothar Neethling regarding the supply of poison to kill political opponents of the government, has put hit squad activities under the spotlight again. This is the second of a three-part series by DESMOND BLOW which tells the dramatic story in Lesia's own words.

I WAS shocked when Brown laughed and told me: "Don't worry, we have taken care of Joseph!"

I felt the skin crawl on my scalp. I realised Joseph was killed because of me.

Joseph played a minor role in ANC activities and I believe he was killed to involve me in the Military Intelligence (MI) scheme.

They never asked me to account for the R3 000 expenses they had given me for the mission to Mozambique. I had spent very little of it.

A couple of weeks later Becker phoned me at home and said they wanted me to go to Botswana.

He told me to drive to Klerksdorp where he met me, handed me more than R1 000 for expenses and two parcels.

The smaller one was well wrapped and the second one I could see contained two dozen Castle beers.

He told me to go to the Russian Embassy in Gaborone and say I was a member of the ANC. I had to ask to speak to "Big Jack". I was to hand him the parcels.

I was told later that they contained poison.

During the Neethling defamation action I told the court about the delivery to the Russian Embassy, but under cross-examination it was made to appear that the intention was to poison "Big Jack".

However, I gathered from Becker that "Big Jack" was an MI spy and that the poison was being delivered to him for a purpose he knew about.

He appeared to expect my visit and spoke very little to me.

I reported back to Becker at the Pretoria Holiday Inn.

My first trip as a MI agent to Maputo took place in January 1987.

I phoned the ANC in Maputo on New Year's day 1987. I spoke to my contact Mhlope and told him I was coming.

After being briefed by Becker and given expense money I travelled through Swaziland by car and was met at the Mozambique border by the ANC who took me through to Maputo. I stayed at the Askola Hotel.

Although I was supposed to monitor the ANC I didn't try very hard. I would just sit around and did nothing to make anyone suspicious.

I visited Jacob Zuma, who was the head of the ANC in Maputo. I told him I wanted to work as an informant for the ANC in South Africa.

It was arranged I would work with Mhlope. He would be my handler.

Back in South Africa Becker told me they planned to train me to handle poisons and detonators. The detonator I refer to is an explosive device which "booby-traps" a door. It detonates when the door is opened.

I was told I would be placed on their payroll and was given a contract to sign.

I also had to sign an official secrets document. It was brought to me at the hotel by an SADF brigadier.

A bank account had been opened in my name at Barclays Bank in Bloemfontein and I was given a savings book.

I was to be paid R1 600 a month. I had received four salary payments by the time I was abducted to Zimbabwe, but nothing since.

I then had a three-day session with Becker and Brown about poisons and detonating devices.

Becker and Brown showed me different poisons. One poison was a yellowish liquid in a small glass bottle with an aluminium and rubber top.

I was also assured this poison took about one to two weeks to kill – and that it was impossible to trace in a post mortem examination.

They provided a ring with a hollow top in which the poison could be kept, and then surreptitiously slipped into a victim's drink.

I was told any high official in the ANC should be poisoned. And I was to administer the poison whenever I had the opportunity.

I was also told of a plan Brown had evolved, using TV sets and video recorders as "booby traps".

The idea was for me to take TV sets and video recorders to members of the ANC as gifts. I was to say that these were stolen goods and that I had connections with gangs who stole them.

I took my car to Johannesburg for them to fit it with a secret compartment.

During this visit – while we were having a meal at the Airport Holiday Inn coffee house – Becker pointed out General Lothar Neethling to me (as I testified in court) as the man who gave us the poison. Neethling was with another man and two women.

When they brought back my car a secret compartment had been fitted behind the dashboard.

I was told my main mission when the time was right would be to travel by car to Mozambique with hidden explosives and poisons.

Between January and May 1987 I made several visits to Maputo as well as to Johannesburg to report to my MI handlers.

The poison and the explosive detonators stayed in the secret compartment of my car together with a 9mm firearm Becker had given me after showing me how to use it. I never made use of them although I took them to Maputo.

Becker also told me I was to arrange with ANC officials in Maputo how to deliver TV sets and video recorders to them as gifts.

I discussed the matter with an ANC member called Herbert, in Maputo. We agreed that Sipho, who had replaced Zuma in January as the chief ANC representative in Mozambique, should be given the first TV set as a gift.

In March 1987 I accompanied Becker to the police laboratory in Silverton, Pretoria, which I was told was being run by Neethling, although I did not see him there.

We fetched one case of brandy, one case of vodka, and three cases of Castle beer which Becker said were spiked with poison.

I gave this evidence in the defamation case which Neethling brought against *Vrye Weekblad* and the *Weekly Mail*.

Later in my hotel room Becker showed me how the beers had been doctored. He said that the tab which is pulled off the beer tin could be lifted to insert a syringe needle to inject the poison.

Becker also gave me a leather suitcase with clothes, poisoned bottles of brandy and vodka and one case of beer.

I met Sipho in Maputo and gave the liquor and 20 tins of the beer to him as a gift. I kept four tins of beer which I later destroyed.

I did what I was instructed to do, because I feared for my life if I disobeyed. I knew that MI had me under surveillance in Maputo and Brown had once warned me: "You go against us and you will just disappear."

I was invited to an ANC party in Maputo. I did not see the vodka and brandy at the party, but I saw a young man named Gibson Ncube drinking a Castle beer. He mentioned he had just come from Sipho's flat. Gibson died about two weeks later.

In fact I helped arrange for Gibson's parents to fly to Maputo for the funeral, which I also attended.

From people close to Gibson I learned that he had first become ill when his feet became paralysed. The paralysis gradually spread over his body. He died within eight days.

Becker told me to take a booby-trapped TV to Maputo with me when I attended Gibson's funeral.

I travelled to Maputo through Swaziland and once I was in Mozambique I stopped the car and pulled up two pieces of metal at the back of the TV set which would activate the bomb so it could be set off by a radio from a distance.

Becker had earlier told me another agent would activate the bomb in the TV.

In Maputo I was met by Mhlope who told me he wanted the TV set.

I explained the set was meant for Sipho, but Mhlope said he would pay me well for the set and I could get Sipho another one later.

Before I gave him the TV I defused the bomb – or at least I thought I had.

Becker had told me that if the two metal strips were pushed down, the batteries would go flat and the bomb could not be activated.

I visited Sipho's flat to meet Gibson's family. There were a lot of people there.

I introduced myself to Gibson's mother as the friend who had phoned her to come to Maputo. She thanked me.

On April 26 I attended Gibson's funeral.

On April 27 I returned to South Africa and reported to Becker. I lied and said I had given the TV to Sipho.

A week later Becker wanted to see me in Johannesburg. I arrived to find Becker furious. He demanded to know what had become of the TV.

I repeated the lie that I had given it to Sipho, but he said the TV had not exploded.

He told me I had to go back to Mozambique and reclaim the TV. I said Sipho would never return it to me. He said he didn't care. I must go back.

On May 6 Becker taped my explanation of how I had delivered the TV to Sipho after which he ordered me back to Maputo.

I returned to Maputo on the pretext that I was on a business trip to import prawns.

I would not have lingered in Maputo had I been aware the TV set could still explode.

It exploded on May 11, 1987, at the home of a minor ANC official in Harare, Zimbabwe, killing his wife Tsitsi Chilisa.

Four days later my 39-month nightmare began.



Leslie Lesia and his wife Miriam outside their Botshabelo home. Leslie spent 39 months in Zimbabwean prisons after he was exposed as a spy.

NATIONAL

Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, released from Robben Island last week, spoke to Argus Correspondent JOVIAL RANTAO about the night that changed his life — when he was kidnapped in Swaziland by South African agents.

Freed ANC man tells of abduction

JOHANNESBURG. — On Monday December 15 1986 senior ANC member Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim and a youngster named Dumisane had just finished supper.

They were watching TV when there was a knock at the door. That knock was to change Mr Ebrahim's life.

It would lead to him being convicted of high treason and sentenced to jail for 20 years. He would also contest the conviction in the Appeal Court — and win. He would have his sentence set aside and become, once again, a free man.

But, that night in 1986 Mr Ebrahim was not concerned. The Umkhonto we Sizwe commander had been working underground. "Very few people knew where I was."

As he stepped outside two men held guns to his head. "They threatened to shoot and kill me if I resisted or made the slightest noise.

"They tied me up and took me into the house," said Mr Ebrahim. "I told Dumisane not to resist, fearing they would kill him. They tied him up as well. They searched the house and took some documents and placed them in a steel container.



Mr Ebrahim

"They also took about R4 500, my radio, a suitcase full of clothes and a walkman radio. I was blindfolded and put in the back seat of the car. The guns never left my head," he said.

He was later removed from the car and made to walk down an incline at what he believed was the Oshoek border post.

"At the border fence my blindfold was removed and I was told to jump over."

He saw two cars parked in the distance. "As we walked towards them I could see three whites armed with rifles hiding among trees. As I neared the cars there were two whites standing nearby. They put leg-irons and handcuffs on me."

Mr Ebrahim was bundled into a car with his possessions. A second car drove in front.

"The abductors said I should tell them where I had planted the bombs around the country," he said. "Of course, I refused to speak to them."

They interrogated him about ANC members in Maputo. He again refused to answer, but this time he was threatened with torture and death.

At 2pm on December 16 the entourage arrived in Pretoria and he was taken, he believes, to security police headquarters.

'Academic interest'

He was taken to an office and a policeman who introduced himself as Brigadier Schoon entered.

"I complained to him that I had been abducted. He said that was of mere academic interest, adding: 'Now that you're here, you're going to give us all the information about the ANC'."

Mr Ebrahim was told he would be detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

He was transferred to John Vorster Square where he had his first taste of mental torture. "I was exposed to loud continuous noises, sometimes for 24 hours non-stop. I thought I would go off my head completely. At some stage I could not sit or sleep. I used to pace up and down the cell."

He was later tried on treason charges.

● A police spokesman said police would reserve comment until they had studied the court record.

Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, released from Robben Island last week, spoke to Argus Correspondent JOVIAL RANTAO about the night that changed his life — when he was kidnapped in Swaziland by South African agents.

Freed ANC man tells of abduction

JOHANNESBURG. — On Monday December 15 1986 senior ANC member Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim and a youngster named Dumisane had just finished supper.

They were watching TV when there was a knock at the door. That knock was to change Mr Ebrahim's life.

It would lead to him being convicted of high treason and sentenced to jail for 20 years. He would also contest the conviction in the Appeal Court — and win. He would have his sentence set aside and become, once again, a free man.

But, that night in 1986 Mr Ebrahim was not concerned. The Umkhonto we Sizwe commander had been working underground. "Very few people knew where I was."

As he stepped outside two men held guns to his head. "They threatened to shoot and kill me if I resisted or made the slightest noise.

"They tied me up and took me into the house," said Mr Ebrahim. "I told Dumisane not to resist, fearing they would kill him. They tied him up as well. They searched the house and took some documents and placed them in a steel container.

"They also took about R4 500, my radio, a suitcase full of clothes and a walkman radio. I was blindfolded and put in the back seat of the car. The guns never left my head," he said.



Mr Ebrahim

He was later removed from the car and made to walk down an incline at what he believed was the Oshoek border post.

"At the border fence my blindfold was removed and I was told to jump over."

He saw two cars parked in the distance. "As we walked towards them I could see three whites armed with rifles hiding among trees. As I neared the cars there were two whites standing nearby. They put leg-irons and handcuffs on me."

Mr Ebrahim was bundled into a car with his possessions. A second car drove in front.

"The abductors said I should tell them where I had planted the bombs around the country," he said. "Of course, I refused to speak to them."

They interrogated him about ANC members in Maputo. He again refused to answer, but this time he was threatened with torture and death.

At 2pm on December 16 the entourage arrived in Pretoria and he was taken, he believes, to security police headquarters.

'Academic interest'

He was taken to an office and a policeman who introduced himself as Brigadier Schoon entered.

"I complained to him that I had been abducted. He said that was of mere academic interest, adding: 'Now that you're here, you're going to give us all the information about the ANC'."

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He was later tried on treason charges.

● A police spokesman said police would reserve comment until they had studied the court record.

New questions:

Equal social pensions

*1. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of National Health: Hansard 5/3/91

(1) Whether, with effect from the date of repeal of the Population Registration Act, No 30 of 1950, equal social pensions will be paid to all South African citizens, regardless of their current race classification; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether any contingency plans have been made to give effect to this change in policy; if so, (a) what plans and (b) what is it estimated will it cost in total to implement this policy in the current financial year?

B238E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

(1) Social pensions are not payable in terms of the provisions of the Population Registration Act,

(2) falls away.

Certain person: false passport

*2. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether the South African Police have received information and/or complaints to the effect that a certain person, particulars of whom have been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, is or was in possession of a South African passport allegedly describing him falsely as Chris Alexander; if so, (a) what is the name of this person and (b) what steps have been taken in regard to the matter;

(2) whether the Police conducted and/or are conducting investigations into the alleged illegal activities of this person; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant particulars;

(3) whether a certain hotel, the name of which has been furnished to the South African Police, has been identified by the Police as an establishment where illegal activities have been taking place; if so, what steps have been taken in this regard;

(4) whether the Commissioner of Police has ordered members of the Police Force to desist from assisting a Johannesburg newspaper in making further enquiries about the person in question; if so, why?

B244E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No.

(a) Alexander Kavouras.

(b) Falls away.

(2) Yes, investigation was instituted and he was questioned by the South African Police regarding alleged illegal activities.

(3) Yes, various arrests were effected in respect of prostitution at and in the vicinity of the hotel.

(4) No, an officer of the South African Police was originally approached for assistance after which he granted an interview to the specific newspaper. No information at the disposal of the South African Police was furnished to the newspaper.

After it had become apparent during the Media Council proceedings in progress between the person referred to and the newspaper, that a civil suit could result therefrom and that the South African Police could become involved in such a suit if it furnished any information at its disposal to any of the parties, the officer was instructed not to furnish any such information to either the parties or the Media Council.

†Adv C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, arising out of this reply and the arrest for suspected prostitution, can the hon the Minister inform us what Government's policy is in respect of prostitution, that is to say, whether or not it is going to legalise it? [Interjections.]

†The ACTING SPEAKER: Order!

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, I am surprised that the hon member for Bethal, whom I know very well, should be interested in a matter such as this.

Soweto: taxpayers Hansard 5/3/91

*3. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Finance:†

(1) How many taxpayers in Soweto are registered with his Department;

(2) whether any of these taxpayers are in arrears with the payment of tax; if so, (a) how many and (b) for what average period;

(3) whether any action has been or is being taken against these persons; if not, why not; if so, what action?

Hansard 5/3/91 B262E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE (Dr G Marais):

The Commissioner for Inland Revenue retains statistics of taxpayers only in magisterial districts, and accordingly separate statistics in respect of Soweto, which forms part of the Johannesburg magisterial district, are not available.

However, I wish to assure the hon member that all taxpayers, irrespective of race, receive impartial treatment from the Department of Finance and that active steps are taken against any taxpayer who is in arrears with the payment of tax.

Diepkloof Prison: prisoners injured

*4. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

(1) Whether any prisoners were injured by warders at Diepkloof Prison on or about 1 February 1991; if so, (a) how many and (b) what was the nature of their injuries;

(2) whether any action has been taken against the warders involved; if not, why not; if so, what action?

Hansard 5/3/91 B296E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

(1) On 1 February 1991 prisoners who were detained in cell A19 participated in a demonstration upon the unlocking of their cell to allegedly voice their dissatisfaction regarding complaints and requests which had not been dealt with to their satisfaction. In the process a document containing their grievances was handed to the section officer. The prisoners concerned were thereafter again locked up in their cell following which they became riotous. In dealing with the latter situation which, inter alia, necessitated the removal of agitators from the cell, some of the prisoners sustained injuries. Once the ringleaders had been removed from the communal cell, order was restored and attention could be given to individual complaints and where justified, problems were solved. Hansard 5/3/91

(a) Eight (8).

(b) Swellings, bruises, abrasions and lacerations. Injured prisoners received the necessary attention and have since then recovered.

(2) In line with general prevailing policy this incident was immediately investigated by the Head of the Prison and a report was submitted to the Commanding Officer who dealt with it suitably in terms of his powers and authority. Complaints of alleged assault were taken up with the South African Police, Mondeor, for the necessary investigation and for justice to take its usual course (CR numbers 244/02/91 and 245/02/91 refer). Depending on the outcome of this process suitable further steps will be taken, where justified.

SAP: promotion of communism

*5. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:† 327

Whether the South African Police are at present investigating any case of contravention of the prohibition on promoting communism in South Africa; if so, (a) against what persons or organisations and (b) what progress has been made with these investigations; if not, why not? Hansard 5/3/91

B299E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No, because as far as can be ascertained, no complaints of this nature were reported to the South African Police.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is it not public knowledge that the SA Communist Party was openly re-organised in South Africa at a public occasion and that the SA Police were aware of that formation and of the activities of

the SA Communist Party in support of the ideology of communism in South Africa?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have replied to the question, and the question was whether the SA Police are at present investigating such charge or case. The reply is no, a charge has not been laid, and if a charge is laid, it will be investigated in the same manner as any other charge. If the hon member therefore wishes to lay a charge, he can lay a charge. It will be handed over to the relevant attorney-general who must decide on it.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising from the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister is he therefore saying that unless a member of the public lays a charge with the SA Police about an offence committed quite openly before the eyes of the SA Police, the SA Police will not investigate such offence?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, if the hon member wants a reply to this question, I am saying to him that it is not the intention of the SA Police to lay a charge so that a contravention of the prohibition on promoting communism can be investigated. If he wishes to lay such a charge, he can do so and it will be investigated.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, can he give us an indication of the extent to which this attitude of the Ministry of Law and Order relates to the undertaking by the SA Government, in the Pretoria Minute, paragraph 7(a), where the Government give the following undertaking to the ANC:

> The Government shall give immediate consideration to the repeal of all provisions of the Internal Security Act which refer to communism or the promoting thereof.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, with due respect, I do not think the hon member is conversant with the Government's standpoint on this matter, because as early as 6 March last year the hon the Minister of Justice gave an explanation in this House of the Government's standpoint on this matter, and that standpoint still stands.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Well, you give an explanation now.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member for Overvaal says I must give the explanation now, but he need only look up Hansard, Questions and Replies of 6 March 1990, col 301. He will get the reply there. [Interjections.]

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising from the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is it the hon the Deputy Minister's standpoint, with reference specifically to the oath which he took in this respect as Deputy Minister, namely to honour the law of the Republic of South Africa and to see to it that it is honoured, that where an offence is commited *prima facie* before his eyes, he will not in consequence of that oath lay a charge with the SA Police or instruct that such offence be investigated?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, if it is the standpoint of the hon member regularly to report offences which are committed in his presence to the SA Police, I want to suggest that he join the Neighbourhood Watch System because we need people like that there. If the hon member is of the opinion that I am breaking the oath that I took, he has free access to the hon the State President to convey it to him. [Interjections.]

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising from the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, can I then infer from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply that he is no longer anti-communist? [Interjections.]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, my standpoint on communism is that it must be fought. The standpoint of the Government is that it is now no longer necessary to fight it by means of legal and punitive measures, but that we can fight them from platform to platform. I invite hon members of the CP to fight against communism with us, and to stop fighting against fellow Afrikaners. [Interjections.]

The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! Hon members of the opposition parties sometimes complain that there is too little time available for putting questions, but if the hon members of the opposition waste the available time themselves, they must not complain if all the questions cannot be replied to.

*6. Mr J van Eck—Law and Order.† [Questions standing over.]

Mercury in tooth fillings

7. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health:

(1) Whether she has received any requests from individuals and/or organisations to ban the use of mercury in tooth fillings; if so, from whom;

(2) whether her Department is investigating the possibility of banning the use of mercury in tooth fillings; if so, why;

(3) whether she will make a statement on the matter?

B303E

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

(1) No;

(2) no;

(3) no.

Medunsa: new teaching hospital

8. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health:

(1) Whether the ground works for the new teaching hospital of the Medical University of Southern Africa have been completed; if so, (a) when and (b) at what cost;

(2) whether it is the intention to proceed with the construction of the new teaching hospital; if so, when will construction start; if not, why not?

B304E

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

(1) Yes, (a) June 1988 and (b) R6 396 050;

(2) yes, phase one of the Central and Oncotherapy blocks to the amount of R53 715 450 is ready to go out on tender. The Cabinet has decided that the planning phase of Ga-Rankuwa Teaching Hospital can be completed. When funds become available tenders can be asked for. In the present economic climate, funds are not available.

Additional teaching posts

*9. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Training:

(1) Whether the additional teaching posts referred to in his reply to Question No 15 on 12 February 1991 have been filled; if not, why not; if so, at which schools;

(2) whether further posts, over and above those mentioned in his reply on 12 February 1991, are to be created in the Cape Peninsula this year; if not, why not, if so, (a) how many and (b) when?

B312E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(1) Yes.

Primary Schools	Number of posts
Ebulumkweni	6
Imbasa	25
Bonge	1
Andile	12
Umnqophiso	2
	46

Secondary Schools	Number of posts
Luhlaza	6
Mvuzemvuze	5
Masiyile	1
Lagunya	1
Kaya Mandi	5
Langa	1
	19

Note:

(a) Applicants have already been interviewed and the appointments are being finalised.

(b) Since 12 February 1991 two additional posts have been created at Masiyile, which brings the total number of posts at secondary schools to 21.

(2) No. Not in the 1990/91 financial year. The possible creation of additional posts during the 1991/92 financial year will be considered once the Minister of Finance's budget suggestions are known.

Death of Mr W Ndadla: appeal against sentence

*10. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether the State intends appealing against the sentence handed down by the

(3) A committee comprising mainly of experts from the private sector, is at present busy with inter alia an investigation into the investment opportunities of the pension funds. I shall provide a full statement on this matter as soon as this extensive investigation has been completed.

Family planning: amount spent

*15. Mrs C H CHARLEWOOD asked the Minister of National Health:

Whether there has been a decrease in the amount spent by her Department on family planning in the current financial year; if so, (a) why and (b) what amount (i) has been spent on family planning in the current financial year and (ii) was so spent in the 1989/90 financial year?

B343E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

No, (a) falls away and

(b) (i) R128 000 000 has been spent up to date in the present financial year and (ii) R113 000 000 was spent in the 1989/90 financial year.

Project Dyson

*16. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) (a) What is understood by Project Dyson, (b) when will this project be completed and (c) how many present members of the Defence Force are involved in it;

(2) whether any former members of the Defence Force are involved in this project; if so, (a) how many and (b) why?

B349E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) (a) Project Dyson is primarily aimed at the rationalisation of occupational differentiation in the Permanent Force. In terms of the Project, 38 different occupational classes have been consolidated into a single occupational class, namely that of Military Practitioner. The rationale of the Military Practitioner dispensation rests on the concept of soldiership in order to neutralise the over-emphasis of functional specialities at the cost of soldiership. By implication, the nucleus salary structures of 38 different occupational classes have been reduced to a single basis salary structure for the Military Practitioner. A further facet of the Project also includes the rationalisation of the various allowances.

(b) The Project has not been finalised in total. The Military Practitioner dispensation and the accompanying salary structure has been implemented with effect from 1 July 1990 and was completed on 28 February 1991. The refinement of certain facets of salary and allowances is in progress. The remaining facets of Project Dyson will be implemented as part of other personnel projects on an ongoing basis.

(c) All members of the Permanent Force are, in one way or another, affected by Project Dyson.

(2) No. Only those persons who were members of the Permanent Force on the implementation date, in other words 1 July 1990, are affected by it. (a) and (b) Fall away.

SADF: Special Forces

*17. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether there are still Special Forces in the South African Defence Force; if so, what is the function of these forces;

(2) whether these forces exist as separate Defence Force units; if so, how long will they continue to exist as such units?

B352E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) Yes. The Special Forces are, just as other units of the SA Defence Force, employed in accordance with the stipulations of section 3(2) of the Defence Act.

(2) Yes. With the exception of CCB which has already been operationally disbanded and is in the process of having its administrative affairs closed down by the Chief of the Army, it is not planned to disband any of the remainder of Special Forces.

Afrikaans as official language

*18. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education:†

(1) Whether it is the standpoint of his Department that Afrikaans should be retained as an official language under a new constitutional dispensation; if not, why not; if so, for what reasons;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B354E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) The official status of languages, and thus also Afrikaans, will be dealt with in the process of negotiation and eventually in the new constitutional dispensation.

It is however the view of the Department and the Government that the status of Afrikaans, as well as English, will be maintained in the new constitution.

(2) Lapses.

Peaceful protest marches

*19. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether, with reference to statements made by him during an interpellation debate on 13 February 1990 (a newspaper report on which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply), proposals to clarify the requirements for peaceful protest marches have been formulated; if so, what requirements have been laid down; if not, why not?

B357E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

The enactments providing for the control of peaceful protest marches are to be found in *inter alia* the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act 74 of 1982) and various Provincial Ordinances.

As already indicated by me the provisions relating to gatherings and processions are under review. It must be pointed out that at present the authorities enjoy the co-operation of the majority of organisers of protest marches in complying with formal and informal arrangements and directives.

Mbekweni: electricity supplied to schools

*20. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Education and Training:†

(1) Whether schools in the Black residential area of Mbekweni, Paarl, falling under his Department, are not being supplied with electricity at present; if so, which schools;

(2) whether the electricity account for these schools has been paid to date; if not, why not; if so, for what reasons are these schools not being supplied with electricity at present;

(3) whether he is contemplating steps to have the supply of electricity to these schools restored; if not, why not; if so, what is the nature of these steps?

B358E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(1) Yes.
Simon Hebe Secondary School
Mbekweni Primary School
Langaboya Junior Primary School

(2) Yes. According to my information, the electricity supply to the township was cut off by the Paarl Municipality. This was apparently caused by residents refusing to pay the Mbekweni Residents' Council for services since October 1990. Consequently the latter has been unable to pay the Paarl Municipality for the services.

(3) No. Negotiations between the Paarl Municipality and the Mbekweni Residents' Council, as well as the Council and the residents are in progress in order to end the boycott and resume the supply of electricity. Local conditions preclude the selective restoration of power to schools.

SADF: support to certain organisations

*21. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether, over the past 10 years, any section of the South African Defence Force has directly or indirectly given financial or organisational support to certain organisations, whose names have

CP and ANC join outcry over Star writer

Staff Reporters

The State's efforts to force Patrick Laurence, a senior political writer on The Star, to reveal his sources, have caused outrage among journalists' organisations and human rights groups in South Africa and abroad.

Mr Laurence was released on bail last night after being sentenced to 10 days' jail by a magistrate.

South African political parties from the ANC to the Conservative Party have condemned the imposition of a jail sentence on a journalist for respecting the confidentiality of his sources.

Calls have been made to President de Klerk and the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, to stop the harassment of journalists, and to halt the use of section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act in terms of which journalists can be subpoenaed and jailed for failing to reveal their sources.

The International Press Institute (IPI) sent faxes to both Mr de Klerk and Mr Coetsee condemning the magistrate's court sentence of 10 days' jail imposed yesterday on Laurence (53), who is now out on R500 bail following an urgent application to the Rand Supreme Cout last night.

"The (magistrate's) court decision is a serious threat to press freedom," IPI director Peter Galliner told the President and the Minister.

The British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, said in Pretoria that Laurence "was a highly respected journalist. The embassy welcomes the decision which was finally reached to grant him bail".

The deputy general secretary of the National Union of Journalists, Jacob Ecclestone, said in London: "The NUJ applauds Patrick Laurence's courageous stand which is in the best traditions of journalism."

Within hours of Laurence's imprisonment yesterday, the international anti-censorship group, Article 19, telexed a letter to Mr de Klerk, urging the Government to rescind the sentence and unconditionally free



Out of jail . . . Patrick Laurence with his wife Sandra after being released.

Laurence.

The South African Media Council said it was dismayed by the proliferation of section 205 subpoenas against journalists.

The council's alternate chairman, Mr Justice G P C Kotze, said: "This is extremely damaging to the free flow of vital information which would not otherwise come to light."

An ANC spokesman said freedom of the press included the right of journalists to protect their sources, provided that the information published had been accurate.

The South African Union of Journalists said it was outraged that Laurence, a union member, had been sentenced to jail for his ethical stand.

The Association of Democrat ic Journalists said it was deeply disturbed by the sentence.

The chairman of the Foreign Correspondents' Association (FCA), John Battersby, said news of Laurence's sentence would be prominently reported in the international press since Laurence, who contributes to overseas publications, was well-known abroad. He said the FCA deplored the State's decision to compel Laurence to reveal his sources.

Lawyers for Human Rights described the sentence as "shocking". Director of litigations Ahmed Motala said the sentence imposed on such a highly respected journalist made a lie of the Government's claim to a free press.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the judgment constituted a "very severe inroad" on press freedom.

CP justice spokesman Chris de Jager said it was ironic that people who intimidated witnesses and created fear among journalists of exposing their sources were not prosecuted.

"Those intimidating them are the ones who should be acted against and not the journalists."

The chairman of the Campaign for Open Media, former Rand Daily Mail editor Raymond Louw, said yesterday: "A journalist should not be penalised in this drastic way for following the principled dictates of his profession."

Repression to be watched

(327)

Sowetan 6/3/91

A CIVIL rights organisation launched yesterday plans to monitor informal repression which it says is on the increase.

The National Anti-Repression Forum was formed as a successor to the Detainees Parents Support Committee and the Detainees Support Committee.

One of the founders of Naref, Dr Max Coleman, told a media conference that the new group would be involved in community structures and would not be a centralised political body.

Coleman said Naref was not aligned to any organisation and would fulfil a non-political function.

Repression

The focus of State repression, he said, had shifted "from traditional targets such as the media, churches, and even anti-apartheid organisations and is being directed against community-based structures".

This repression took the form of illegal security force actions, vigilante attacks, hit squad strikes and rightwing violence, Coleman said.

The Human Rights Commission, also at the conference, called for an end to detention without trial.

Both Naref and the HRC announced plans to commemorate national detainees day for the 10th consecutive year in South Africa on March 12.

The event will be marked by a prayer service and speeches in several venues. - *Sapa*.

Foreign funding: investigation

*5. Mr L T LANDERS asked the Minister of Justice: Hansard 6/3/91

Whether the foreign funding of any organisations has been scrutinised and/or investigated to date in terms of the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act, No 26 of 1989; if not, why not; if so, (a) which organisations were affected and (b) what were the findings in respect of each of them? 327

C16E

Laurence freed after judge grants bail

Star 6/3/91.

By Helen Grange

Journalist Patrick Laurence of The Star was last night granted bail of R500 by the Rand Supreme Court after a magistrate had earlier sentenced him to 10 days' jail.

The urgent bail application was heard by Mr Justice Levy in a bid to reverse the decision of magistrate Hein Verhoef who denied bail for Laurence following his refusal to divulge his sources as demanded by a subpoena in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Mr Justice Levy granted bail pending an appeal against sentence and an application to have the validity of the subpoena reviewed.

Laurence walked out of Diepkloof Prison just before 11 pm. His wife, Sandra, the deputy editor-in-chief of The Star, Rex Gibson, and lawyer W Wendland met him.

Speaking soon after his release, Laurence described his stay in jail as "an interesting experience" and said he had been treated well.

"Prison officers who received me were considerate and kind," he said.

Mr Wendland said the review and appeal proceedings would be instituted soon.

Mr Verhoef earlier yesterday refused Laurence's application for a review of a subpoena issued to him under Section 205 on the grounds that an inquiring magistrate could not review decisions by the magistrate issuing subpoenas.

Mr Verhoef sentenced Laurence to 10 days' jail with immediate effect for his refusal to name a source who had supplied him with information about the disappearance of a key witness in the "Winnie Mandela trial".

Laurence was then held at the court cells before being transferred to Diepkloof.

However, last night Mr Justice Levy found that Mr Verhoef should not have assumed that the subpoena was beyond appeal.

The subpoena, he said, could be reviewed by an inquiring magistrate — and the subpoena should have at least been granted the hearing of a reviewing court.

The judge said that although his decision to grant bail would deny the State the opportunity of exercising pressure on Laurence, he was not prepared to put the matter to test.

In addition, Laurence's intended appeal against judgment and sentence would become academic since he would already have served his time in jail by the time the appeals were heard.

Laurence refused to give the name of his source to the magistrate yesterday, saying he was bound by his word and by journalistic ethics. It was only if and when the source relieved him of his commitment that he could disclose information for a police investigation into Gabriel Megkwe's disappearance.

Webber Wentzel, the lawyers acting for Laurence, intend launching an immediate appeal against the magistrate's judgment and sentence — as well as applying for a review of the subpoena.

In a statement yesterday, the editor-in-chief of The Star, Richard Steyn, strongly criticised the use of Section 205 against journalists. "It is wrong for the State to use the press to gather evidence or to trace witnesses.

"Compelling journalists to reveal sources not only exposes them to danger, but has serious consequences for free flow of information."

● Outrage over sentence — Page 2



Herman Cohen . . . says he will follow the law on US sanctions policy.

Not time to lift sanctions – Democrats

Star 6/3/91.

By David Braun
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Democratic congressmen made it clear to the Bush Administration yesterday that they would resist the lifting of sanctions even if Pretoria complies with all the requirements of American law.

The gauntlet was thrown down during a hearing of the US House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa. It prepared the way for a fierce debate when the committee meets on April 30 to get an update on US sanctions policy.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, told the subcommittee the Bush Administration was committed to carrying out the provisions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

However, ranking Democrat, Howard Wolpe, supported by others, said as encouraging as the recent changes were, it would be foolish to think they could not be reversed. Furthermore, nothing fundamental had changed with relation to the structure of power.

● Big US grant — Page 4.

prisoners were sentenced to solitary confinement with dietary punishment in terms of section 54(2)(e)(ii) of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959).

(a) and (b)(ii) In one hundred and fifty five (155) cases other sentences were imposed on prisoners in terms of the stipulations of section 54(2) of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959). The detail of which is as follows:

— section 54(2)(a): In fourteen (14) cases prisoners were reprimanded.

— section 54(2)(c): In one hundred and forty one (141) cases prisoners were sentenced to the deprivation of one or more meals on any one day.

During this period no sentences in terms of section 54(2)(d) (corporal punishment) or section 54(2)(e)(i) (solitary confinement without dietary punishment) were imposed or served at the Leeuwkop Maximum Prison.

(2) No. The privacy of prisoners is respected and it is therefore policy not to make details of individual prisoners available.

(3) Yes. Regulation 103 of the Prisons Regulations issued in terms of the stipulations of section 94 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959) sets out the procedures for dealing with complaints and requests. Prisoners are daily afforded the opportunity to lodge complaints/requests. The head of the prison or his delegate records the complaints/requests by entering them in the appropriate register whereafter such complaints/requests receive immediate attention. Feedback is given to the prisoner as soon as the complaint/request have been dealt with.

In addition to this prisoners may also lodge their complaints/requests to inter alia any of the following persons/institutions:

— the member in charge of the section where the prisoners sleeps (continuous);

— the commanding officer;

— visiting district surgeon;

— visiting inspectors of prisons;

— visiting officers of the command headquarters;

— the institutional committee;

— the Commissioner of Correctional Services and other visiting officers;

— visiting judges;

— visiting magistrates;

— visiting family and friends;

— legal advisers;

— the Legal Aid Board;

— the Court (Supreme Court) — notice of motion; etc.

Publications Act: committees

114. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) (a) How many committees referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, No 42 of 1974, are currently in existence and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

(2) (a) who are the members of each of these committees and (b) what, in each case, are the (i) ages, (ii) race, (iii) sex, (iv) educational qualifications and (v) literary and artistic expertise of these members?

B318E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) The Directorate of Publications does not appoint permanent committees with a fixed membership. All committees are appointed on an ad hoc basis to perform specific tasks and they become defunct immediately on completion of their tasks. The members of these ad hoc committees are selected from a list of persons appointed in terms of section 5 of the Publications Act, 1974, by the Minister for a period of 3 years after countrywide advertising in all the main newspapers.

(b) 21 February 1991. On that date there were 146 names on the list referred to above, and these persons were appointed for the term 1 April 1990 to 31 March 1993.

(2) (a) and (b) fall away.

I am prepared to place the list referred to in paragraph (1)(b) at the honourable member's disposal if he so requires.

SADT: land

115. Mr M A TARR asked the Minister of Development Aid:

(1) (a) What areas of land are under the control of the South African Development Trust in (i) the Transvaal, (ii) Natal, (iii) the Cape Province and (iv) the Orange Free State and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

(2) what is the current policy regarding the disposal of such land?

B326E

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

	Province	*Area*	*Extent in ha*
(1)(a)(i)	Transvaal	Zebediela/ Mynhardskraal	30 111
		Blouberg South	25 500
		Munnik Block	3 199
		Bewaarkloof	20 800
		Malitse	1 643
		Pietersburg	2 749
		Louis Trichardt	3 972
		Burgersfort	18 248
		Letaba	2 655
		Trichardtsdal	25 456
		Witvinger	51 202
		Steilloop	42 141
		Immerpan/ Saliesloot	63 000
		Moepel	25 509
		Bosbokrand	6 660
		Zaaiplaats	24 000
		Morgenzon	1 900
		Delareyville	860
		Brits	8 135
		Hammanskraal	2 303
		Pretoria	2 495
		Rustenburg	11 961
		Marico	5 332
		Bronkhorstspruit	24 682
		Warmbad	34 000
		Koster (Mthopestat)	4 427
		Coligny (Serobatse)	5 864
		Amersfoort (Daggakraal)	2 669
		Wakkerstroom (Driefontein)	6 971
		Pretoria (Soshanguve)	6 162
		Brits (Lethlabile)	4 153
		Brits (Hartbeestfontein)	5 693
		Letaba (Segops Location)	3 174
		Paul Pietersburg/Piet Retief	102 000
		Moutse	66 000
		Other	2 228
		Total	647 854
(1)(a)(ii)	Natal	Ntambanana	35 000
		Babanango	3 028
		Empangeni	12 892
		Eshowe	4 925
		Alfred/Harding	2 245
		Impendle	16 979
		Ingwawuma	182 933
		Ixopo	7 103
		Ladysmith	2 032
		Matatiele	3 309
		Melmoth	1 639
		Newcastle	1 096
		Port Shepstone	2 738
		Richmond	1 181
		Umzinto	2 104
		Vryheid	5 190
		Estcourt	6 100
		Lower Umfolozi (Reserve No 4)	23 446
		Ladysmith (Waaihoek)	25 136
		Port Shepstone (Frankland)	530
		Nkandla	3 500
		Ladysmith (Qinisa)	2 500
		Umzinto (Ifafa)	15 000



Police seize posters from journalists who staged a lunchtime demonstration outside the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg yesterday against the prison sentence imposed on The Star journalist Patrick Laurence. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

30 journalists held after picket protest

DURBAN — Thirty journalists were arrested in Durban yesterday during a lunchtime picket to protest against the 10-day sentence on Patrick Laurence of The Star and the use of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act against reporters.

Sapa reports the protest was one of a series of countrywide demonstrations in support of Laurence.

Section 205 requires journalists to disclose confidential sources of information to the authorities.

The journalists were charged with taking part in an illegal demonstration and released on their own recognisances. They will appear again later this month.

Scuffles broke out in Johannesburg when police ordered about 60 journalists to end a demonstration outside the Rand Supreme Court in support of Laurence, PATRICK BULGER reports.

Laurence was sentenced to 10 days imprisonment on Tuesday for refusing to disclose the source of a report on the disappearance of a witness in the Winnie Mandela trial. He was later freed on bail of R500 on the order of the Rand Supreme Court, pending appeal.

The Johannesburg picket took place shortly after Winnie Mandela emerged from the Supreme Court to cheers from bystanders during the lunchtime recess.

Journalists stood with posters declaring, "Away with Section 205", "Hands off our Press", "Journos for Justice" and "Viva Laurence of Azania". Police later tore up many of the posters.

Laurence appeared at the picket and was cheered by journalists.

PAC to re-enact anti-pass campaign

THE Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) will re-enact the 1960 anti-pass campaign which led to the Sharpeville massacre on March 21 that year.

A PAC statement said the main event would take place in Sharpeville, near Vereeniging. After a grave-cleaning ceremony, the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, would lead a re-enactment of the 1960 march to the place where the massacre happened.

A mass meeting would be held afterwards.

Similar re-enactments would be held nationally, the PAC said.

Meanwhile, Mono Badela reports from Johannesburg that the PAC last weekend commemorated the death of its leader and founder, Mr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto.

Sobukwe died in 1987 in Kimberley, to where he had been banished by the government after serving a prison sentence on Robben Island.

A small crowd of less than 100 attended the commemoration.

Dogs, police and placards at picket protest for press freedom

Star 31/3/91

Staff Reporter

Scuffles broke out near the Rand Supreme Court yesterday as policemen with dogs confronted placard-carrying journalists who were protesting against the jail sentence imposed on Patrick Laurence of The Star in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Protests were also held in Pretoria and Durban, where 30 journalists were arrested.

The lunch-hour picket in Johannesburg, which was organised by the South African Union of Journalists, was attended by more than 50 journalists, including representatives from the Media Workers Association of SA and the Association of Democratic Journalists.

A police major on the scene gave journalists five minutes in which to disperse.

When journalists grouped opposite the Rand Supreme Court, policemen on duty at the Winnie Mandela trial rushed over and tried to disperse them.

There were scuffles as some journalists resisted.

The protesters regrouped and started chanting "Free the press, free the press".

Some of the placards proclaimed: "Dark days for press freedom", "Section 205 strangles press freedom" and "Weg met 205" (away with 205).

Police tried in vain to disperse a barrage of local and foreign cameramen.

No-one was arrested.

Laurence arrived as journalists were dispersing.

He was released on bail from the Diepkloof Prison on Tuesday night following his sentencing to 10 days' jail for refusing to divulge his sources as demanded by a subpoena in terms of the Act.

Staff of the Pretoria News yesterday held a one-hour placard picket outside the newspaper's offices.

The demonstrators, who numbered about 20, displayed placards calling for the repeal of Section 205 and for the police to end harassment of journalists.

In Durban, about 30 journalists were arrested yesterday during a lunchtime picket.

About 10 of the journalists were from The Mercury, about 12 were from The Daily News and the rest were from The Sunday Tribune, Sapa was told.

About 100 journalists attended the picket, including many from Ilanga, Post Natal, City Press, UmAfrika and a number of freelance writers.

According to a police spokesman, 30 journalists had been arrested and would be released after being charged.

Similar pickets are planned in Cape Town, Maritzburg and Port Elizabeth later this week. — Sapa.



The tooth and the word . . . journalists demonstrating against the jail sentence imposed on Patrick Laurence confront a police dog handler outside the Johannesburg Supreme Court yesterday. Picture: Associated Press

SOFIA:

(i) South Africans:
2 Line function posts
2 Administrative posts

(ii) Local Citizens:
7 Administrative posts
4 General posts

WARSAW:

(i) South Africans:
2 Line function posts
2 Administrative posts

(ii) Local Citizens:
7 Administrative posts
4 General posts

ANTANANARIVO:

(i) South Africans:
2 Line function posts
2 Administrative posts

(ii) Local Citizens:
6 Administrative posts
9 General posts

RABAT:

(i) South Africans:
2 Line function posts
2 Administrative posts

(ii) Local Citizens:
7 Administrative posts
4 General posts

(3) Yes.

Saint Denis (Réunion)
La Paz (Bolivia)

Teachers: salaries outstanding

91. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

(1) Whether the salaries of any teachers employed by his Department have been outstanding for more than one month; if so, (a) how many teachers are involved and (b) for what reasons are these salaries outstanding;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B230E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(1) Yes.

(a) 544.

(b) Continuous endeavour is made to improve the system of payment, in order to limit this type of error to the minimum. Where such cases occur they receive prompt attention.

(2) No.

Blacks: matriculation examinations

97. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Education and Training:†

How many Blacks (a) entered for and (b) passed the matriculation examination in 1988, 1989 and 1990, respectively?

B265E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

1988 (a) 41 812 (b) 21 909
1989 (a) 42 729 (b) 17 249
1990 (a) 56 081 (b) 18 946

Note:
This information is as on 7 January 1991 and applies to the candidates of the Department of Education and Training who offered subjects for a senior certificate with matriculation exemption.

Publications Appeal Board

112. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Who are the members of the Publications Appeal Board;

(2) what, in each case, are the (a) ages, (b) race, (c) sex, (d) educational qualifications and (e) literary and artistic expertise of these members;

(3) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B316E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) and (2) The honourable member is referred to the accompanying schedule. In regard to (2)(e) it should be noted that section 35(3)(b) of the Publications Act, 1974, requires only "educational qualifications and experience".

(3) 26 February 1991.

(1) Member/Lid	(2)(a) Age/Ouderdom	(2)(b) Race/Ras	(2)(c) Sex/Geslag	(2)(d) Educational qualifications/ Opvoedkundige kwalifikasies
Ramsamy, A	65 years/jaar	Asian /Asiër	Male/Manlik	National Diploma in Commerce/Nasionale Diploma in Handel National Diploma in Accountancy/Nasionale Diploma in Rekeningkunde Natal Teachers' Senior Certificate/Natal Seniorsertifikaat in Onderwys National Commercial Teachers' Diploma/Nasionale Onderwysdiploma in Handel BCom
Pretorius, C E	58 years/jaar	White/Blanke	Female/Vroulik	BA TOD LTCL BA(Hons) MA D.Litt
Mettler, J J F	52 years/jaar	Coloured/ Kleurling	Male/Manlik	Dip Th
Hugo, G	59 years/jaar	White/Blanke	Male/Manlik	BA LLB
Mawasha, A L (Prof)	52 years/jaar	Black/Swarte	Male/Manlik	BA B.ED M.ED MA D.ED
Louw, F C	65 years/jaar	White/Blanke	Male/Manlik	BA MA
Hough, M (Prof)	46 years/jaar	White/Blanke	Male/Manlik	BA BA (Hons) MA DPhill BA (Hons)
Du Preez, J A (Brig)	64 years/jaar	White/Blanke	Male/Manlik	Dip Iuris, Dip Legum
De Jager, J J	51 years/jaar	White/Blanke	Male/Manlik	BA TLB BA(Hons)
Oosthuizen, P (Prof)	55 years/jaar	White/Blanke	Male/Manlik	BA LLB LLD
Van der Merwe, P R	64 years/jaar	White/Blanke	Male/Manlik	BA Dip Th
Grové, A P (Prof)	72 years/jaar	White/Blanke	Male/Manlik	BA MA UOD DLitt

Own Affairs:

Model B schools: cadet activities

21. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether permission has been granted to all pupils at Model B schools whose parents so request to be excluded from cadet activities; ifnot, why not; if so, when was this permission granted;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B315E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) Yes, to the best of my knowledge;

(2) no.

Training of pharmacists

26. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

(1) Whether, pursuant to the instruction by the Minister of National Education in July 1986 that the Universities and Technikons Advisory Council (the UTAC) investigate the training of pharmacists in South Africa, the report and recommendations of the UTAC have been submitted to the

'Viva Laurence of Azania' as SAP hits press

By DREW FORREST

THE Winnie Mandela trial had presented the police with fresh opportunities for venting their long-standing hostility to the press, the chairman of the Campaign for Open Media, Ray Louw, said yesterday.

"The lifting of the Emergency and unbanning of liberation movements has curtailed the SAP's clampdown on journalists, which is second nature to them. They'll harass wherever they can, and are now using section 205 subpoenas to do it."

And yesterday the 175 000-member International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) hit out at the "intolerable assault on essential democratic freedoms" following the police crackdown, which it said was "resonant of the worst days of apartheid oppression". The reaction follows the serving of a subpoena under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act on veteran *Star* political writer Patrick Laurence, requiring him to identify a source quoted in an article on the Mandela trial.

Subpoenas have also been served on ZB du Toit, the editor of the Conservative Party's mouthpiece, *Patriot*, and CP general secretary Andries Beyers, in relation to the case. Other recent targets for 205s have been *Weekly Mail* editor Anton Harber and former Sapa reporter Joan Fubbs.

Laurence has been sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment for his refusal to testify — a penalty which could be reimposed if he repeats the offence while the trial is in progress.

In sequels to the Laurence case, 30 journalists were arrested in Durban this week during a picket protest calling for the repeal of section 205 and an end to the harassment of journalists. At a lunch-hour protest outside the Rand Supreme Court, also organised by the South African Union of Journalists, police with dogs clashed with members of the SAUJ, Mwasa and the Association of Democratic Journalists after giving them five minutes to disperse. A one-hour picket was also held outside the offices of the *Pretoria News*.

Placards proclaimed "Section 205 stranggles press freedom", "Dark days for press freedom" and "Viva Laurence of Azania". And in another incident, a journalist covering the Winnie Mandela trial and an official of the National Coordinating Committee for Returnees were arrested in the Rand Supreme Court on Wednesday and charged with trespass.

Police said Audrey Brown, from *Vrye Weekblad*, and the NCCR's Moss Chikane, lacked accreditation from the Bureau for Information required to attend the trial. They were released on R200 bail and ordered to appear on April 17.

'Shut up, or we'll shoot

(327)

HIT squad agent Leslie Lesia's revelations about the assassination of ANC members by Military Intelligence and his evidence recently against SAP general Lothar Neethling over the supply of poison to kill government opponents, has again spotlighted hit squad activities. This is the last of a three-part series by DESMOND BLOW which tells the dramatic story in Lesia's own words. Lesia was in Mozambique in May 1987 to retrieve a booby-trapped TV he had given to a Maputo-based ANC official, unaware that it had exploded in Harare, Zimbabwe, killing the wife of an ANC official.

ON Friday May 15, 1987, my nightmare began.

I was in my hotel room in Maputo that morning at 11am. There was a knock on my door and four men in civilian clothes burst in. They searched my room.

Speaking Shangaan they told me to pack. They refused to answer questions.

They told me: "Shut up, or we'll shoot you here and now!"

They were members of the Zimbabwe Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO), but I didn't know it. I assumed they were Mozambicans and were checking on my visa.

After I had packed my belongings they took me out of the hotel to their car.

They pushed me flat on the floor in the back of their vehicle and blindfolded me.

We drove for an hour before they stopped. I could hear aircraft. Then I was taken out of the car and frogmarched aboard an aircraft.

Once we were airborne my blindfold was removed. It was a smallish passenger plane.

We landed at Lusaka in Zambia. Then I was blindfolded again. I was taken off the aircraft and frogmarched up some stairs.

My blindfold was removed and I found myself in a room with about a dozen men.

I recognised one of them as an ANC man named Pat whom I had known in South Africa.

I asked Pat: "Why am I here?"

He replied: "Just tell these people the truth."

I asked: "What about?"

Pat replied: "Just tell them the truth."

Then they all started shouting at me, accusing me of being a South African spy.

They shouted: "What information did you give the Boers?"

I said: "Hey wait a second. F . . . you, gentlemen. I have been gathering information for the ANC."

I had no idea the TV set had exploded in Harare and killed Mrs Tsitsi Chilisa, the wife of an ANC official there.

I was then blindfolded again and taken to an office where my CIO abductors and three other men interrogated me. I told them I worked for the ANC and gave Jacob Zuma as my reference.

"Bullshit!" they replied, "he knows you're a South African spy."

Apparently at that stage they were not sure I was a spy, and were also not sure the blast that killed Mrs Chilisa was caused by the TV.

In the early hours of the Monday morning the four CIO agents blindfolded me again and took me to a car. We drove for hours.

At about 11am I discovered we were in Zimbabwe when the CIO men removed my blindfold and took me to a police station where they charged me with murder.

It was the first time I learned the TV had exploded and killed someone. It was a great shock to me. I was then driven to Harare and taken to the CIO's notorious Goromonzi detention centre.

I was stripped naked and thrown into cell number one, known as Mugabe's cell. My hands were manacled behind my back and attached to one ring on the wet cement floor and my feet to another. I lay on my back unable to move.

I was left there for three days without food and water. I forced my mouth to the cement floor to lick the water to quench my thirst.

On the third day they carried me out – still naked – and threw me onto the gravel yard.

Odile Harington, the South African woman spy, was also in the yard. I saw her being tortured.

They took two pick handles and thrashed me on the soles of my feet until I passed out. I received this treatment for several days.

My legs swelled up so much I couldn't walk.

you here and now!'

C/Pres 10/3/91

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and I passed blood in my urine.

I still maintained my innocence and they brought my car to Harare from Maputo. They found the secret compartment with the poison, the poison ring, firearm and detonators.

They knew I was guilty and then really became vicious. I was given electric shocks on my private parts.

Under the severe torture I admitted my guilt. However, I never told them the full truth.

I was kept at Goromonzi from May 18, 1987 to January 22, 1988. I was then transferred to Chikurubi prison and stood trial on October 4, 1988, but the charges were withdrawn.

I was re-detained in Chikurubi without trial under Zimbabwe's State of Emergency regulations and was released on July 25 last year, after the State of Emergency was lifted.

I was met at Jan Smuts Airport by a military colonel who was unknown to me.

I was treated for 10 days in Voortrekkerhoogte's military hospital where I was debriefed by several MI officers.

I came to the conclusion I must have been working for the CCB, although I was unaware at the time of it's existence.

I had been in hospital for about a week when they offered to accommodate me and my wife – whom I had not seen in three years – in a hotel.

The next thing I received a phone call from a colonel. He told me: "Man, we are sorry, things are not going as they should. We are only prepared to pay for your accommodation at the Diplomat, you will have to pay for the food yourselves."

I replied: "Look I am from prison. Where do you expect me to get money from?"

I went to see Guy Bawden who had been in prison with me in Harare, also as a South African agent, and he said: "Damn them!"

He knew what I had suffered in prison in Zimbabwe. He gave me a few rands and said he would see what he could do for me.

Later, through him, I met a reporter from *Vrye Weekblad* and I related my story to him. That is how I came to give evidence in the Neethling case.

I am now suing Minister of Defence Magnus Malan for R62 400. This is for back-pay for the 39 months I was in detention in Harare.



Leslie Lesia holds the bottle of poison Zimbabwean agents found hidden in his car.



Lesia displays the silenced pistol his captors found in a secret compartment in his car.

Bill seeks to ban carrying of all arms in public places

Star 11/3/91

CAPE TOWN — A Bill providing for a ban on the carrying of all arms in public places, unless by members of security forces or other legitimate security officers, was published in Parliament on Saturday.

At present only the public carrying of pistols or revolvers, unless in holsters, is banned.

The Arms and Ammunition Amendment Bill, introduced by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, also provides for a ban on the import into South Africa of ammunition for a machine-gun or machine-rifle, unless authorised by the State.

The Bill seeks to amend the principal Act of 1969 to extend the definition of "arm" for the purpose of certain sections to include a machine-gun or rifle.

The Bill further provides for a tightening-up of measures taken by people (such as policemen) entrusted with arms in their official capacities, to safeguard such weapons, even when they are not being carried on their person or are not under their direct control. — Sapa.

Vlok declares six strife-torn townships unrest areas as death toll rises

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok last night declared six magisterial districts unrest areas as the death toll in Rand township violence since the beginning of the weekend passed 50.

He declared the magisterial districts of Soweto, Alexandra, Tembisa, Dobsonville, Diepkloof and Meadowlands unrest areas.

In terms of curfew measures, residents must prove to police that they have good reason to be outside their homes between 9pm and 4am.

Vlok's announcement came after a ceasefire agreement between the ANC, Inkatha and the UDF-affiliated Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) failed to prevent continuing outbreaks of violence in Alexandra yesterday.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the declaration of unrest areas had never solved problems in the past and would not now. Police should exercise maximum restraint. However, the ANC felt police had acted responsibly in their handling of the latest outbreaks of violence.

Security forces maintained a large presence in the township north of Johannesburg and in Soweto, where fighting claimed another six lives.

By late yesterday afternoon the Alexandra death toll since violence erupted at the township's Number One hostel on Friday had risen to 41, with 53 injured. The Alexandra Health Centre put the number of injured at 269 by midnight on Sunday.

LINDEN BIRNS

Sapa reports four men were killed in unrest-related incidents in Tembisa early yesterday morning. Two men died in a shootout with police at Vusimusi Hostel, and the bodies of two more were discovered by police on the Etafeni soccer field.

Police in Alexandra yesterday announced a ban on the carrying and display of weapons in public. Alexandra Unrest Unit commander Capt A J Buitendag announced this while addressing about 600 armed Inkatha supporters at the hostel. Some Inkatha supporters agreed to remove their distinctive red headbands but rejected the call to leave weapons in the hostel.

Further clashes were also reported yesterday in Soweto's Meadowlands area following renewed fighting at the Mzimphlope hostel late on Sunday night.

Police shot and killed one man in Alexandra yesterday morning after he apparently threw a petrol bomb at a police vehicle. Shortly after daybreak the body of a second man was found.

SAP spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said the situation in Alexandra was tense but relatively quiet during the day.

In Alexandra police brokered a ceasefire agreement during a meeting between representatives of Inkatha, the ANC and Cast yesterday morning.

Malherbe said all the representatives had promised to tell their supporters to stop fighting.

Similar peace negotiations were being undertaken in Soweto yesterday.

□ To Page 2

Unrest

□ From Page 1

The SADF's 21 Battalion maintained a strong presence in the hostel vicinity with armoured troop carriers and support vehicles. Troops armed with R-4 machine-guns were on guard around the hostel's perimeter, which was sealed by razor wire.

Police Casspirs and army Buffels patrolled Alexandra's streets, which were still heavily barricaded by late yesterday morning.

Alexandra Health Centre director Dr Tim Wilson said the "vast majority" of the 269 patients admitted to the centre between Friday and midnight on Sunday were injured in the unrest.

By late yesterday afternoon Wilson said the centre had been put back on alert and told to expect further ambulance loads of patients from fighting which took place after lunch.

At the hostel police escorted non-Zulu residents, who had fled during the weekend, to their rooms to retrieve belongings.

Police removed another body from the hostel complex yesterday morning while armed Inkatha supporters watched.

Meanwhile, in Soweto yesterday morning, police stormed the Meadowlands Presbyterian Church after shots were fired at an SAP patrol vehicle from the church.

Soweto police spokesman Col Tienie Halgryn said pangas, a 9mm pistol, petrol bombs, empty bottles and petrol were seized when police entered the church.

"A huge number of youths ran away," said Halgryn.

Other East Rand, West Rand and Vaal Triangle townships, where most of last year's ANC/Inkatha and ANC/Azapo clashes took place, were reported to be quiet yesterday.

● Comment: Page 6

Welkom health march delayed

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By Esmaré van der Merwe

Anti-apartheid groups in Welkom, Virginia and Odendaalsrus last night decided to postpone a march on Saturday to protest against continued discrimination at Goldfields Hospital.

The chairman of the Goldfields branch of the South African Health Workers' Congress, Shadrack Motloung, said the decision to postpone the march had been taken to accommodate the Welkom City Council, which had said it could not meet representatives of the Goldfields Hospital Desegregation Campaign Committee today but was prepared to meet the group sometime next week.

Mr Motloung said: "We want to be seen to give negotiations a chance. But we are adamant that the march will take place at some stage." Star 14/3/91

The council had earlier refused permission for the march.

Commenting on the AWB's threat this week that protesters might incur right-wing wrath, the anti-apartheid activist called on the SAP to "take care of such insulting statements."

● More reports — Pages 8 and 17

Security workers in national protest

SOWETAN 14/3-2012/91

By Waghied Misbach

SECURITY workers will stage nationwide marches in protest against the controversial Security Officers Act.

Workers are demanding that the Act be scrapped and say they will not register by the April 1 deadline.

According to a statement by the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), workers face prosecution if they do not register by the stipulated deadline.

Marches are expected to take place throughout the country on Friday. In Cape Town, security workers will stage a march in the city centre, a TGWU spokesperson said on Wednesday.

Scrapped

The spokesperson said the workers wanted to establish an industrial council and have wage determination scrapped.

Workers are refusing to be fingerprinted and pay a registration fee of R35 and the annual fee of R70.

TGWU assistant general secretary, Mr Randall Howard, said from the union's Johannesburg head office the workers were also protesting against state involvement in the industry.

"Any regulation of the industry should be negotiated between the employers and the workers," he said.

The workers have also demanded to meet the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok.

At the time of going to press, their employers association could not be reached for comment.

Robben Islanders briefed on possible release

Star 14/3/91

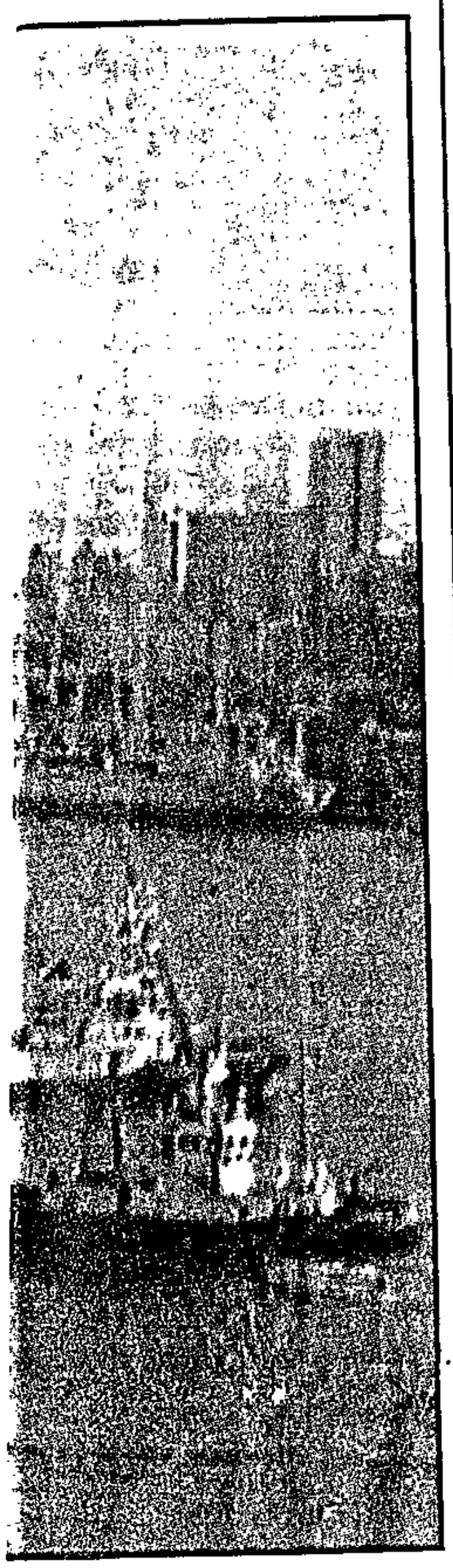
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — ANC leaders Joe Slovo, Walter Sisulu and Alfred Nzo led a delegation to Robben Island yesterday to brief the remaining 168 ANC prisoners on the island about their impending release.

The three men returned to Table Bay harbour at lunchtime after three hours of talks with a group of prisoners chosen to represent the 168.

Mr Sisulu said the delegation — which included western Cape ANC figures Bulelani Ngcuka and Amos Lengisi and senior officials from the ANC's law department in Johannesburg — "went to brief our comrades on the island on the situation outside".

Speaking on the quayside after returning to the mainland, Mr Sisulu said: "They have concerns about their fate."



The QE2, a virtual floating city ... setting out for Southampton.

General flies to UK to see Dirk Coetzee

Star 18/3/91

327

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

A top police officer handling investigations into ANC member Bheki Mlangeni's parcel bomb murder left for London yesterday to interview former hit-squad member Dirk Coetzee.

Police spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen will interview self-confessed former hit squad operative and now ANC member Coetzee on the instructions of Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.

"The Minister wants to get to the bottom of the matter and to track down Mr Mlangeni's murderers, whoever they are," Captain Kotze said.

The cassette player which killed Mr Mlangeni, a lawyer, had been addressed to Coetzee in Lusaka, but had been returned to Mr Mlangeni whose name appeared on the parcel as the sender when it was not claimed in Lusaka.

Coetzee says he knows who prepared the device and has asked to be allowed to return and be taken back into the SAP temporarily so that he could help solve the murder.

● A Sunday newspaper reported Coetzee had gone into hiding after a man tried to break down the door of his London flat with a crowbar last week.

Not even his wife and children know his whereabouts.

C

Yengeni Six, Piet Skiet in big amnesty

Political Staff

FAR-RIGHT alleged bomber "Piet Skiet" Rudolph, the six "Yengeni" accused and 33 others are being released as part of a major amnesty and indemnity of political prisoners announced last night.

It will include the first grant of indemnity for crimes of political violence since the government and the ANC agreed to this last August.

Rudolph and the Yengeni six — Tony Yengeni, his wife Lumka, Jenny Schreiner, Michael Lumbambo, Mbutho Nduku, Wellington Mkwandla — were on trial for a string of bomb explosions.

Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice and Correctional Services, said in a statement released in Cape Town yesterday that President De Klerk had decided on the amnesty and indemnities as part of the process of implementing the Pretoria Minute agreed to between the government and the ANC last August.

It is understood the 40 political prisoners, held on Robben Island and Pretoria, will be released from today.

Apart from Rudolph and the Yengeni trialists, who are being granted indemnity, 31 serving prisoners — they include former RAU student Carl Niehaus, convicted of terrorism — have been granted amnesty by special remissions of sentence of up to nearly seven years.

Mr Coetsee said the 31 would be released within the next few days.

They are: Carl Niehaus, S F Mkhonta, P M Williams, S G L Malamba, R M Dumisa, F K Morule, S N Maphumulo, K D Mkhwamubi, D Hlongwane, W S Makhathini, M B Mokgosi, P Ngqungwana, Z E Mazantsana, G P Ramahlo, A Pule, S G Sizani, Z M Dikiza, E S Mahlabo, G M Mabengeza, P M Sekopo, Z A Molotsi, O B Nqubelani, S M Dlomo, N S Seboge, J Ngqondela, E B V Mthombeni, M A Dlomo, J M Molefe, T P Ngcobo and J T Maja.

Two more prisoners serving life sentences, V J Nene and M M Meyiwa, had been granted special amnesty.

Rudolph was "in the process of being released". He had been due to stand trial for detonating explosives at five different places last year and for stealing arms and ammunition from air force headquarters in Pretoria.

The so-called Yengeni trialists, including Tony Yengeni and Jenny Schreiner, daughter of a prominent University of Natal academic, had been granted unconditional indemnity, Mr Coetsee said.

They were being tried in Cape Town for detonating a car bomb and other explosives in Cape Town during July 1987, and other alleged offences.

Mr Coetsee pointed out that although the charges against Rudolph and the Yengeni accused were serious and government and private property had been damaged "no serious bodily injuries were sustained by any person".

Mr Coetsee referred to Mr De Klerk's speech in parliament on June 7 last year in which he called on the country to forget the injustices of the past and "create a new future for our children".

He said the latest batch of releases would bring to 310 the total number of convicted political prisoners released so far.

ANC anger at 'Skiet' release

Argus 19/3/91 327

Political Staff and Sapa

THE indemnity given to far-right leader Mr Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph has angered the African National Congress — but his release was welcomed by right-wing organisations.

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu today slammed the indemnity for Mr Rudolph and demanded that all ANC prisoners be released.

Last night Minister of Justice and Correctional Services Mr Kobie Coetsee said the government had given indemnity to Mr Rudolph, the six Yengeni Trialists, and 33 others.

But Mr Sisulu said: "I don't want to be used. The government is giving me the impression that it is using the indemnity given to ANC members as a cover to indemnify the right wing.

"I am not concerned over what the government does with the right wing, but the slow trickle of releases of ANC members is annoying me ... we want all ANC prisoners to be freed now."

Expected indemnity decision

Advocate Mr D P de Villiers, QC, a member of the Yengeni defence team, said the idemnity would change his lifestyle of the past few years.

"Never in my wildest dreams did I think, when we began the case in 1989, that it would end this way. This brings great happiness and will contribute to stabilising relationships in South Africa."

And the man who prosecuted the Yengeni trialists says he accepts their indemnity in the interests of reconciliation. But for justice to have been done, the six should have been convicted.

Mr Hendrik Klem, SC, deputy attorney-general of the Cape, with co-prosecutors Mr Jannie van Vuuren and Mrs Sandra Swart, conducted the State's case.

He said they had put "a lot of hard work" into the trial but they had expected a decision of this kind. And it was "better to have finality".

The indemnity granted to Mr Rudolph, was welcomed by Mr Rudolph's lawyer, Mr Jack Nel.

His sentiments were echoed by the leader of Boerestaat Party, Mr Robert van Tonder, and the OB's acting deputy leader, Mr Coen Vermaak.

'Puzzled' and 'concerned'

But they were "puzzled" and "deeply concerned" that similar indemnity had not been granted to the ordinary members of the Orde Boerevolk who were still in detention.

Meanwhile opposition politicians said today the government was engaged in a balancing act.

"We are apparently starting a game of one-for-me, one-for-you," said Mr Chris de Jager, Conservative Party spokesman on Justice. "Government wants to satisfy both sides."

The leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zac de Beer, rejected that the government was using arithmetic for the releases.

"What is happening is that in an attempt at reconciliation, the government is granting indemnity to ... to begin again to build up national unity," he said.

● More reports, page 6.



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, the Argus.

FREED: Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Tony Yengeni and his wife Lumka, with son Mandla Bantu.

Yengeni trialists don't like link with Rudolph

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THREE of the freed Yengeni trialists have joined internal ANC chairman Mr Walter Sisulu in criticising the indemnity given to Order Boerevolk leader Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Tony Yengeni said it was a great relief to have been indemnified.

"We have already given up hope because of the government's inconsistencies in keeping its side of agreements."

He has a "lot of reservations" about being indemnified with Mr Rudolph, he said.

"This says a lot about the government's intentions. All political prisoners, and I mean those people who have been jailed for fighting apartheid, must be freed immediately.

"The very fact that 'Piet Skiet' has been indemnified criminalises us and takes away the distinction of what we fought for and he stood for."

His wife, Mrs Lumka Yengeni, said she was happy at being free. "But I'm unhappy that we are being used with 'Piet Skiet'."

Former University of Cape Town lecturer, Ms Jenny Schreiner, said the indeminity given to "us and 'Piet Skiet' smacked of political tactics".

She said the Yengeni trialists were first arrested 42 months ago and had applied for indemnity in November. "We've been complaining for a long time that we were being used as hostages."

She hoped that their indemnity was the beginning of the release of all political prisoners, return of all exiles, full implementation of the Pretoria Minute, and the stopping of all political trials, she said.



Released — Mr Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph and Ms Jenny Schreiner.

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Monique Rissen

Sharpeville Day services planned

327

Sowetan 19/3/91

By THEMBA MOLEFE and SAPA

THOUSANDS of workers are expected to observe the 31st anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings on Thursday.

Azapo has called for a national stayaway and invited other liberation organisations to join it at mass rallies planned countrywide.

The PAC, ANC, Nactu and Cosatu are also lining up services throughout the country but have not called for a stayaway, saying March 21 was generally accepted as a holiday.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu will address a service in Sharpeville after the ceremonial cleansing of the 69 victims' graves in the morning.

The ANC is also planning a rally in Sharpeville.

In a joint statement yesterday, the ANC and Cosatu's Eastern Transvaal regions said they intended holding more than 50 rallies in the area on Thursday.

The PWV region of the [illegible]ys three rallies, to be held on Thursday to commemorate the massacre, will coincide with the launch of its signature campaign calling for the setting up of a constituent assembly ahead of negotiations.

PWV ANC publicity secretary Ronnie Mamoepa said SACP general secretary Joe Slovo will address a rally at the Sharpeville stadium, outside Vereeniging, while the ANC's national executive committee member James Stewart will deliver a speech at another rally at the Mamelodi Community Centre, in Mamelodi, Pretoria.

A third rally - to be held at Jabulani stadium - will be addressed by the ANC's treasurer general Thomas Nkobi.

The rallies will start at 10am.

Freedom for 40

Cape Times 19/3/91

327

By LARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE six Yengeni trialists — and deputy leader Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph — were granted indemnity last night.

And convicted terrorist Carl Niehaus, a former Rand Afrikaans University student, is also to be freed.

This was announced last night by Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice and Correctional Services.

He also announced that 31 Robben Island and Pretoria Central political prisoners, some of whom still have seven years of their sentences to serve, are to be granted indemnity and freed.

Two political prisoners serving life sentences, V J Nene and M M Meyiwa, are to be released as well.

The Yengeni accused have been on trial for terrorism in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, for more than three years.

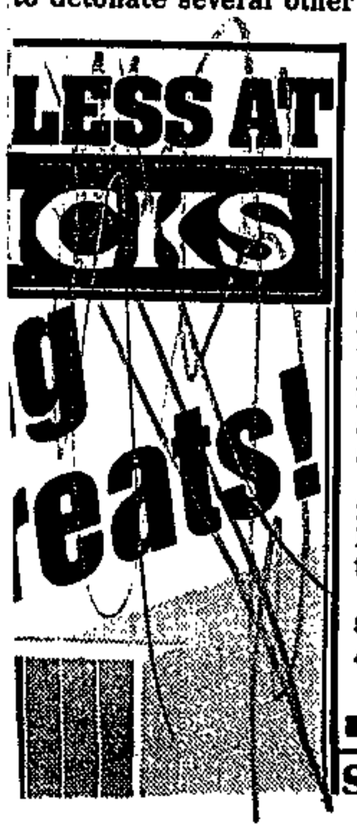
Mr Coetsee said they had been granted unconditional indemnity.

The trialists are: Mr Tony Yengeni, his wife Lumka, Ms Jenny Schreiner, Mr Michael Lumbambo, Mr Mbutho Nduku and Mr Wellington Mkwandla.

Mr Coetsee said they were being tried for the theft of a motor car for use in a car bomb, various counts of illegal possession of firearms and explosive devices, the detonaton of car bomb in the parking area of Castle Court in Cape Town on July 20, 1987, the detonation of two explosive devices at D F Malan Airport on July 21 and July 22, 1987, and "conspiring to detonate several other explosive devices".



INDEMNITY GRANTED . . . The 40 people freed yesterday ranged politically from the last six of the Yengeni trialists — and deputy leader Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph (right), who was being held in connection with the theft of weapons from air force bases. The Yengeni trialist were photographed earlier this year when they were visited by the MK chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, at the Supreme Court.



Mr Rudolph, leader of the Order Boerevolk and former Pretoria city councillor, twice launched hunger strikes while in detention and said last month that he was prepared to die for his beliefs.

He had been in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act since September 17 last year.

Mr Coetsee said Mr Rudolph was to have stood trial for theft of arms and ammunition from the SA Air Force headquarters in Pretoria and detonating explosive devices at Melrose House in Pretoria on May 23 last year, at the offices of the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) on May 26, at the National Party offices in Auckland Park on June 22, at the NP offices in Roodepoort on the same date and at Beeld newspaper on September 22 last year.

Mr Niehaus was jailed for 15 years for terrorism in 1983 and married his fellow accused, Jansie Lourens, who was given a four-year sentence, in jail two years later.

They were found guilty of trying to overthrow the state and endangering law and order in South Africa.

Apart from Mr Niehaus, the other political prisoners, who are to be freed "within the next few days", are: S F Mkonta, P M Williams, S G L Malamba, R M Dumisa, F K Morule, S N Maphumulo, K D Nkhwamubi, D Hlongwane, W S Makhathini, M B Mokgosi, P Mgqungwana, Z E Mazantsana, E B V Mthombeni, M A Dlomo, J M Molefe, G P Ramahlo, A Pule, S G Sizane, Z M Dikiza, H D Diptse, E S Mahlobo, G M Mabengezam P M Sekopo, Z A Molotsi, O B Nqubelani, S M Dlomo, N S Seboge, J Ngqondela, T P Ngcobo and J T Maja.

Andre Koopman reports that Mr Nduku, of Guguletu, when told of the news by the Cape Times last night, responded with disbelief. "That's good," he said cautiously. "I think it's been too long a time but I am very happy about it."

He said the Yengeni Six had applied for indemnity in November.

Mr Reggie September, a member of the ANC's national executive, welcomed the news last night saying it was "about time".

Ms Schreiner's mother, Elsa, said from Maritzburg last night that the news was "very welcome and wonderful".

Cable fault plunge suburbs into darkn

A southern suburbs hospital was plunged darkness when a power failure hit homes, and restaurants in Bergvliet, Tokai, Ladies' and Retreat last night.

"We were lucky we had no patients in the the time," said a spokesman for the Princess Orthopeadic Hospital in Retreat.

The spokesman said the hospital had its tricity cut for "a couple of minutes" at 7 before the emergency generator was

The hospital's power was reconnected main grid about 10pm. Electrical engineers still searching for the cable fault which the blackout about two hours after it ha was expected that power would be today.

70c (62c + 8c GST) TUESDAY MARCH 19 1991 MORNING FINAL

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN SALDRU LIBRARY

Major amnesty for political prisoners and Yengeni accused

Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph goes free

Star 19/3/91.

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Right-wing bomber "Piet Skiet" Rudolph, the six left-wing "Yengeni" accused and 33 others are being released as part of a major amnesty and indemnity of political prisoners announced last night.

It will include the first grant of indemnity for crimes of political violence since the Government and the ANC agreed to this last August.

Mr Rudolph and the Yengeni six were on trial for a string of bomb explosions.

Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice and Correctional Services, said in a statement released in Cape Town yesterday that President de Klerk had decided on the amnesty and indemnities as part of the process of implementing the Pretoria Minute agreed to between the Government and the ANC last August.

Special

It is understood the 40 political prisoners, held on Robben Island and Pretoria, will be released from this morning.

Apart from Mr Rudolph and the Yengeni group, who are being granted indemnity, 31 serving prisoners — including Carl Niehaus — have been granted amnesty by special remissions of sentence of up to almost seven years.

Mr Coetsee said the 31 would be released within the next few days.

Two more prisoners serving life sentences, V J Nene and M M Meyiwa, have been granted special amnesty.

Mr Rudolph was "in the process of being released". He had been due to stand trial for detonating explosives at five different places last year and for stealing arms and ammunition from SA Airforce Headquarters in Pretoria.

The so-called Yengeni accused — including Tony Yengeni and Jenny Schreiner, daughter of a prominent University of Natal academic — had been granted unconditional indemnity, Mr Coetsee said.

They were being tried in Cape Town for detonating a car bomb and other explosives in Cape Town during July 1987 and other alleged offences.

Mr Coetsee pointed out that although the charges against Mr Rudolph and the Yengeni accused were serious and government and private property had been damaged "no serious bodily injuries were sustained by any person".

Mr Coetsee referred to Mr de Klerk's speech in Parliament on June 7 last year in which he called on the country to forget the injustices of the past and "create a new future for our children".

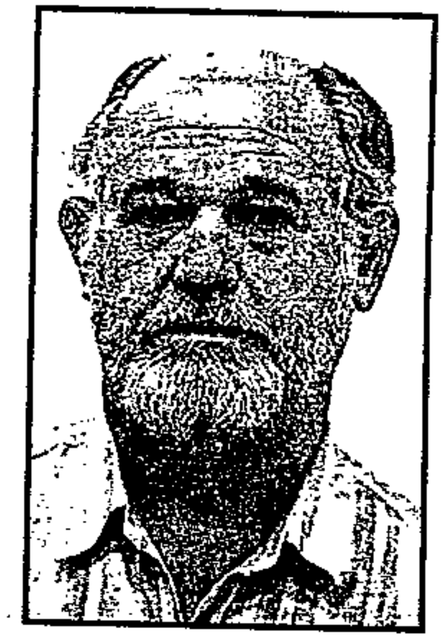
Charges

He added that the latest batch of releases would bring to 310 the total number of convicted political prisoners released so far.

Mr Coetsee said Mr Rudolph was to stand trial on charges relating to the following offences:

- Theft of arms and ammunition from SAAF Headquarters, Pretoria.
- Setting and detonating an explosive device at Melrose House, Pretoria, on May 23 last year.
- Detonating explosive devices at the offices of the Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) on May 26 last year, at the offices of the National Party in Auckland Park on June 22 last year, at the offices of the National Party in Roode-

● To Page 3



Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph, Yengeni accused go free

Star 19/3/91.

● From Page 1

poort on June 22 last year and at the offices of the newspaper Beeld on September 22 last year.

Mr Rudolph, a former Pretoria city councillor and deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party, was known as the "Boere Pimpernel" for the manner in which he evaded a police net for several months last year.

A reward of R50 000 for his arrest was posted by police — an action which immediately elevated him to a place in Afrikaner folklore.

Mr Rudolph was also a founder of the Movement for the Liberation and Preservation of White South Africa.

He was arrested on September 28 by police in Pretoria and was detained in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Rudolph initially asked for amnesty in August last year when he called on the "Boers" to agree to his decision and to end all aggressive illegal action.

He began his first hunger strike on September 21 and was said to be "willing to die". His strike ended on September 25.

The Yengeni accused were being tried on charges based on the following "events":

- The theft of a privately-owned motor car with the intention of using it for a car bomb explosion.
- Various counts of illegal possession of firearms and explosive devices.
- The detonating of a car bomb in the parking area of Castle Court in Cape Town on July 20 1987.
- The detonating of two explosive devices at DF Malan Airport, Cape Town, on July 21 and 22, 1987.
- Conspiring to detonate several other devices.

Mr Coetsee named the 31 prisoners who had been granted amnesty through a special remission of sentence of up to nearly seven years.

They are: C G Niehaus, S F Mkhonta, P M Williams, S G L Malamba, R M Dumisa, F K Morule, S N Maphumulo, K D Mkhwamubi, D Hlongwane, W S Makbathini, M B Mokgosi, P Ngqungwana, Z E Mazantsana, G P Ramahlo, A Pule, S G Sizani, Z M Dikiza, E S Mahlabo, G M Mabengeza, P M Sekopo, Z A Molotsi, O B Nqubelani, S M Dlomo, N S Seboge, J Ngqondela, E B V Mthombeni, M A Dlomo, J M Molefe, T P Ngcobo and J T Maja.

ing two hats: one as mayor, with a responsibility to all of the township's residents, and the other as an Inkatha member.

He criticised the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) for — he said — trying to create the impression the council was exInkatha's presence in the area.

Sapa reports the ANC's Alexandra branch has denied that people who gathered at the township stadium on Sunday and were alleged to have killed three Inkatha supporters, were ANC members.

Joint report on Durban region released

Bday 19/3/91

DURBAN — A joint report on the developing Durban "functional region" is being released today by Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel, Agriculture and Development Aid Minister J de Villiers, Natal Administrator C J van R Botha, and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The report addresses the demographic characteristics of the region, the needs of the population and their quality of life, land use and transportation, the quality of the environment, the economy of the area and essential services.

A holistic approach should be applied to address the problems of the region, the report concludes, and problems should be dealt with on a priority basis.

The Ministers called for community participation and involvement in future initiatives arising out of the report, saying this would guarantee the success of these ventures.

Responsibility for action arising from the report has been assigned to the Planning Advisory Committee of the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority. — Sapa.

SAP general to see Coetzee

(327)

CAPE TOWN — An SAP general is expected to go to London this week to interview fugitive former police captain Dirk Coetzee about the death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

He is Maj-Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said in Cape Town that arrangements had been made for the two men to meet. Bday 19/3/91.

Mlangeni was killed by an explosive charge concealed in a tape player sent to Coetzee. Mlangeni's name was given on the parcel as the sender and it was returned to him when, according to reports, it did not reach Coetzee.

Coetzee has linked Mlangeni's death to the activities of alleged rogue policemen. After the apparent attempt on his life he has again adopted a low profile. — Sapa.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



Cape Times 20/3/91 (327) SEN

Yengeni trial cost govt millions

The aborted 269-day terrorism trial of Mr Tony Yengeni and five co-accused cost at least R5 million, it was reliably established yesterday.

Mr Yengeni and his co-accused — Ms Jenny Schreiner, Mr Yengeni's wife Zanmka, Mr Michael Lumbambo, Mr Mbutho [illegible] and Mr Wellington Nkwandla — were accused of two bomb blasts in the Peninsula.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice, Mr Nic Grobler, was yesterday unable to say how many applications for indemnity had been lodged for people accused in other "political" trials, or whether a moratorium was being considered in such trials to save public funds.

Defence and prosecution sources yesterday concurred that each court day of the trial cost the taxpayer at least R20 000.

Mr Yengeni, who is now the regional organiser of the South African Communist Party, said yesterday that he was relieved not to have to face the prospect of a long prison term.

"It's a great relief to be back and unrestricted, or not to have to report to police once a day whenever you aren't in court," he said.

Mr Yengeni's bail conditions restricted him to the Peninsula, and prohibited from addressing gatherings.

In other reactions to the indemnifications yesterday:

● The ANC welcomed the release of political prisoners, but expressed concern at the sluggish pace of the process since the agreement with the government on the release programme.

● The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said Monday's action did not substitute the demand for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

● Lawyers for Human Rights welcomed the release of political prisoners and the ending of political trials, but said the announcement "makes only a small dent in the expected numbers of those to be released". — Staff Reporter and Sapa



INDEMNIFIED . . . Mr Tony Yengeni, now regional organiser for the SA Communist Party, and co-trialist Ms Jenny Schreiner at the party's Guguletu offices yesterday. Picture: ANNE LAING



REUNITED . . . ANC prisoner Mr Carl Niehaus, released yesterday after seven years in prison for treason, is welcomed by his wife Jansie, right, and a supporter. Mrs Niehaus is also a former political prisoner.



BARS OF FREEDOM . . . ANC activist Ms Pumla Williams pictured at the front gate of her Soweto home after she was released from prison yesterday. Ms Williams served four years for treason.

31 leave Robben Island today

CNE Talks 21/3/91

327

Political Staff

A GROUP of 31 political prisoners, including two serving life sentences, are to be released from Robben Island today.

The prisoners, who were granted amnesty this week, are due to arrive in Cape Town this afternoon and will hold a press conference afterwards.

They include Mr John Nene and Mr Matthews Meyiwa, who were given life sentences in Maritzburg in 1977 together the ANC leader in the Natal Midlands, Mr Harry Gwala.

All three had served previous sentences on Robben Island before they were sentenced to life imprisonment for attempting to overthrow the state by force.

A Dependants Conference spokesman said yesterday that the 31 would appear at a press conference at Cowley House this afternoon.



Mr Joshua Motha was shot in the hip

Scars still show of SA's double date with sorrow

MARCH 21 is a double anniversary of tragedy when both the Sharpeville shooting of 1960 and a chilling carbon copy of that shooting at the Uitenhage township of Langa in 1985, is remembered.

At Sharpeville, 69 people were shot dead — many of them in the back — and 177 were wounded by police gunfire after a massive anti-pass demonstration at the local police station.

At Langa, exactly a quarter of a century later, mourners were gunned down by police while on their way to a funeral in Kwanobuhle. The official death toll was 21, although community leaders said it was closer to 43 dead with scores injured.

Today the communities of Sharpeville and Langa still show their scars.

In Sharpeville you will find people like 72-year-old Joshua Motha and Mrs Lizzie Ntsala, who was only eight years old at the time.

Mrs Ntsala was in hospital for seven months after the shooting and has lost her right leg.

Former bus driver Joshua Motha was shot on the hip.

"My injury has affected my life I cannot not do anything for myself. I cannot work because I cannot drive. So, now life is very difficult."

A former policeman James Mabusa, now a pensioner, was among the hundreds of police trucked from various police stations along the Reef. He claims the shooting was planned and unlawful.

"You see, we blacks, we were given knobkerries and assegais. I could not stand the shooting.

"In fact I quarrelled with an Inspector Smit. I told him to stop shooting. He was shooting even those who were running away from the scene."

Another veteran of Sharpeville day, Joseph Thamae, 76, said although he was not a member of any organisation, he too participated in the march.

Dompas

"You see the dompas restricted our movements, you could not look for work where you liked. People hated the dom-book."

He was one of the lucky few who escaped unhurt.

Thirty years after Sharpeville the state president FW de Klerk ushered in a new era.

He lifted the bans on the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and other political organisations, but life for the nearly 90 000 inhabitants of the township outside Vereeniging had not changed a bit.

"Although the government has "abolished" the passes, I found very little has changed. We are still badly off," says Mr Thamae.

The police station where gun-toting policemen challenged the protestors is still there.

The only difference is that the police force has been reinforced by kitskonstabels and municipal 'greenflies'.



Mrs Lizzie Ntsala lost her right leg in the Sharpeville shootings



PEACEFUL TOWNSHIP?: The police have moved into Sharpeville again, this time with their peace campaign which is not likely to impress residents

'Formal inquest needed on death'

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

Lawyers have criticised the fact that a formal inquest was not held into the death of 16-year-old Nixon Mayibule Phiri of Khutsong, Carletonville, who died during interrogation in police custody more than a year ago.

Lawyers representing the Phiri family told The Star yesterday they had been notified of an informal inquest only on March 1, almost two weeks after it had been held at the magistrate's court in Carletonville.

They claimed that the normal procedure in the case of an informal inquest was that lawyers be notified 14 days before the hearing so that affidavits could be submitted.

Neither witnesses nor lawyers have to be present, but family members should attend an informal inquest so that they can raise questions.

In the case of a formal inquest, witnesses and others involved are subpoenaed and cross-examined. Family members and their lawyers have to be present.

The lawyers representing the Phiri family said letters were submitted to the senior prosecutor of the Oberholzer Magistrate's Court, E Erasmus, to magistrate C Potgieter and to Transvaal Attorney-General Don Brunette demanding that the inquest be reopened so that witnesses could be called.

Mrs Potgieter said yesterday she had not yet received any correspondence from the Phiri lawyers and would make a decision after studying the facts before her.

She said the court had previously found that the cause of death was unknown.

Ms Erasmus said the Phiri family were notified of the informal inquest by post, but she could not say whether they had attended the hearing.

The lawyers said: "Since Phiri's death, we have been battling with the authorities to hold a formal inquest, and nothing has come out of it.

"Phiri died a sinister death. We believe there should be a formal hearing."

Nixon Phiri died on January 16 1990.The postmortem showed the cause of death was cerebral haemorrhage associated with external injuries, which had contributed to shock.

Captain Reg Bloomberg of police headquarters in Pretoria told The Star that the youth died during interrogation while in police custody at Welverdiend police station near Carletonville.

After Phiri's death, people also detained at Welverdiend gave lawyers detailed accounts of how he was allegedly brutally tortured.

Shot dead

Since his death, two key witnesses who were also members of the Khutsong Youth Congress were shot dead by police in two separate incidents last year.

Thomas Tshabalala, who was shot dead on March 7, and Pule Mac Mothupi, who was shot dead on March 4, were allegedly tortured and jailed with Phiri at the police station.

Police said the deaths occurred during unrest-related incidents. Pule was fatally wounded after police fired shots into a mob who were resisting arrest after they allegedly threw a petrol bomb at police vehicles.

Thomas was fatally wounded after police fired birdshot and rubber bullets after an police patrol was trapped by about 100 armed youths.

Coming home 'is hard for exiles and ex-prisoners'

ARGUS 22/3/91

327

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

FREED political prisoners would face the same traumas on their return to society as those encountered by returning exiles, says Mr Norman Yengeni, Western Cape secretary of the Association for Ex-political Prisoners.

Formed shortly after February 2 last year, the association draws its members from the ANC, PAC, and the South African Communist Party.

Mr Yengeni, brother of recently indemnified terrror trialist Tony, said: "We are not an ANC organisation. Membership is open to all people who have been jailed for opposing apartheid because political prisoners experience the same problems."

Finding employment is the first obstacle faced by newly-released political prisoners.

"This is the central issue among all political prisoners. If we are employed we are assured of a steady income and self-respect."

But political prisoners are tainted.

"The private sector is reluctant to employ us, they fear that we will destabilise the workplace. We know that we have been labelled as terrorists and agitators.

"Employers flinch when you tell them that you are a former political prisoner; they view you as a dangerous animal."

CULTURE SHOCK

He said the cultural shock awaiting former prisoners was real. "They have been marooned for years and have not been exposed to the real life outside. When you are free you look at people and realise that you are behind the times.

"When it comes to measuring the success of others and the sacrifices you have made, you realise that you need to look like them. It's not a case of regretting your role in the struggle because we joined out of free will. We did not expect to be paid."

Accommodation was another problem. Political prisoners often felt they were placing a burden on their families, many of whom were living in overcrowded homes, he said.

The association is investigating the feasibility of starting some projects which will generate employment.

"By running them successfully we will be able to prove something to ourselves and the country."

He said freed prisoners supported the peace process and wanted to be part of it.

● The association will meet over two days at the University of the Western Cape tomorrow and on Sunday. All former political prisoners are welcome to attend.

Weekend Argus,

Freed man resets goals to be doctor

1 800 granted indemnity

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

HE was arrested, tried and jailed before he could start his internship, but four years behind bars has not destroyed Mr Sibongeseni Dhlomo's ambition to be a doctor.

The desire to be of service to the poor is as fierce as it was more than 20 years ago when he decided to do medicine.

Mr Dhlomo is one of 31 Umkhonto we Sizwe members freed from Robben Island this week.

He had completed three years of a 10-year-sentence for terrorism after being jailed along with 10 others in 1977.

Married during trial

He was married during his trial. However, he and his wife Nono have not lived together as husband and wife since they took their vows in 1987.

"I really can't talk about my future. I've been out of jail for one day and have not met my wife or my family. I can't make an objective evaluation of my life. I will do my internship when I get home," he said.

When he was jailed, he thought he would be released in 1997.

Hopes of an early release were kindled in 1989 when the government released Rivonia treason trialists Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Raymond Mhlaba.

"On the island we came to realise that the government was trying to ease the pressure on it and we knew that freedom was at hand."

But they had to wait until the government and the ANC had signed the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes last year before the process began.

He said he was told at 9.30pm on Tuesday that he would be released. "I was quite shocked."

The son of a bus driver, he joined the ANC in 1982 while he was a third-year medical student at the University of Natal where he gained his MB ChB degree in 1985.

For three years he lived a double life: a hard-working medical student by day and anMK member by night.

Overconfidence and betrayal by informers led to his arrest at home in Umbumbulu, Natal, on December 25 1985.

"We became overconfident. At the start of any project one is quite vigilant. As you become more successful you tend to ignore safety measures."

He said his arreste shattered his family. "They came for me at 6.30 am. I was quite emotional when they took me away and had to hold back the tears."

He was held in solitary confinement under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for six months before he was tried.

"Initially it was hell. There was a hell of a lot of intimidation, beatings, threats and interrogation."

"Section 29 was meant to break you, make you beg and recognise your enemy as your friend, regret why you stood fort you had stood for, and aimed to make you a new person."

Suicide entered his mind, but an inner voice told him he owed it to the struggle not to take his own life. Anti-depressive drugs helped him forget about interrogation.

Reasons for joining

Why did he join the ANC, considering that he had been an Inkatha member at school?

"At high school it was part of the curriculum to join Inkhata. Then I came to understand the policies of the ANC, that this was a national movement fighting for democracy for all oppressed people."

He said charges that the ANC was Xhosa-dominated were unfounded. "Dr J L Dube, the first president of the ANC, and Chief Albert Luthuli, who was president when the movement was outlawed in 1960, were both Zulus."

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

NINE trialists in the Operation Vula case — including senior Communist Party member Mac Maharaj — and five rightwing trialists linked to Piet "Skiet" Rudolph are among a batch of more than 1 800 people granted indemnity.

President De Klerk also decided to reduce the sentence of Johannes Jurgens Dempers, jailed last year for his attempt to release one of the suspects in the SAAF headquarters weapons theft case.

Yesterday's announcement by Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee is the second "balancing act" indemnity measure in a week. Earlier, indemnity was granted to the Yengeni trialists and Rudolph.

Reconciliation

Opposition spokesman saw the balancing of interests on the left and right of the political spectrum as an effort to engender reconciliation.

Altogether 1 819 people who had military training, including members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, have been granted indemnity.

The names appeared in yesterday's Government Gazette.

The two most prominent groups of people indemnified are the Operation Vula trialists and those involved in the so-called "Tubbs trial" in the Rustenburg Regional Court for allegedly aiding and abetting Rudolph.

In both cases the indemnities, signed by President De Klerk, were granted unconditionally. Mr Coetsee said the people involved "now subscribe to the principles of peaceful solutions and development".

The Vula trialists indemnified yesterday are Siphiwe Nyanda, Rayman Lalla, Catherine Dipuo Mvelase, Priscilla Susana Tshabalala, Dipak Patel, Pravin Jamndas Gordhan, Anesh Munessar Sankar, Sathyandranath Ragunanan "Mac" Maharaj and Billy Nair.

Those in the "Tubbs trial" are Rudolph Christian Tubbs, Elsie Johanna Tubbs, Allen Marnewick, Izak Wybrand Venter and Barend Bartholomeus Burger.

Mr Coetsee said that to date 5 414 people had submitted applications for indemnity or release to the Office for Indemnity and Release. On request by the ANC, about 20 000 application forms were sent to the office during August and Septemeber last year.

Of the 5 414, 4 584 applications were for indemnity and 830 for release.

Of these, 2 974 people who unlawfully left the country had been given indemnity on December 18. The names of 2 188 had already been published in the Government Gazette and the balance of 786 appeared yesterday.

The names of 1 819 people who underwent military training before October 8 1990 and now subscribed to peaceful solutions were also published in yesterday's gazette. They were indemnified subject to certain conditions.

He said that since August and September last year, 310 political prisoners had been released and indemnity granted to a further 12 individuals who could not be dealt with by way of category. They included the accused in the Yengeni case and Rudolph.

Forty-two applications were being processed for consideration by the Indemnity Committee consisting of Mr Justice M T Steyn, Mr Justice R N Leon and Mr Justice R A Solomon.

The balance of names were individual cases which could not be included in any of the existing categories at this stage. Some of these cases might concern serious offences.

Yesterday's announcements were intended to give effect to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

Editor of The Star to face contempt charge

Sowetan 25/3/91

TODAY'S contempt of court case in the Rand Supreme Court against *The Star's* editor-in-chief Mr Richard Steyn has brought swift reaction from the Campaign for Open Media and the Anti-Censorship Action Group.

In statements in Johannesburg on Saturday, chairman for the Campaign for Open Media Mr Raymond Louw and Ms Joyce Ozinski, director of the Anti-Censorship Action Group, criticised the incident.

The contempt of court proceedings were initiated by Mr Justice J Coetzee against Steyn on Friday.

He was asked to explain his conduct in publishing statements critical of a court judgment.

However, on Friday Steyn was not asked to make any statements when he appeared in court.

Reasons

Instead, he was ordered to appear again today.

The court has asked that *The Star* submit reasons why last Wednesday's article should not be considered *prima facie* contempt of court.

Steyn's appearance followed an article on Wednesday about an agreement between the National Soccer League and the South African Soccer Association - which had been put aside in a judgment by Justice Coetzee.

The Star's report quoted Mr Eric Dalton, chairman of Cape Town Spurs soccer team, as saying that justice had not taken its course.

Louw said in his reaction that, while not commenting on the legal merits of the judge's action, the Campaign for Open Media "was appalled at its detrimental consequences for the free flow of infornmation".

"It means that newspapers in future may be unable to publish statements critical of court decisions and judgments - a situation which is fundamentally dangerous in a democratic state.

Comments

"It is important that newspapers should be free to publish comments and criticisms of judgments in the interests of the free flow of information," Louw said.

Ozinski said *The Star* was doing its duty of reporting what was taking place in the community.

"Acag does not wish to discuss the legal merits of the judge's action, but points out that if the editor is penalised, censorship of the media will in effect have been imposed." - *Sapa.*

BCM soldier buried with full honours

GRAVE no 459 in Maokeng's new cemetery is still a fresh mound of soil.

It was, until Saturday afternoon, just another open grave waiting for its owner to claim and settle forever.

Its owner arrived at 3.15pm on Saturday, accompanied by a long convoy of cars, buses and police vehicles.

Mr Thabang "Cobra" Motlhodisi, a guerrilla of Azanla, killed in a skirmish with security forces in Mahwelereng three weeks ago, was



By MATHATHA TSEDU

given what organisers said was a military funeral.

Marshals of the BCM, dressed in jet black suits with golden epaulets and a red star, drilled in military style as speakers poured praises on Motlhodisi, who "killed himself rather than be captured and forced to compromise the struggle".

Maokeng township was turned into a huge guard of honour as thousands of people lined up streets along the 10km route to the cemetery, to ululate and salute the passing motorcade.

Azapo deputy president Dr Nchaupe Mokoape told the multitudes that filled the stadium that Motlhodisi had conquered fear and laid down his life for the liberation of black people.

He said Maokeng residents should rename the local stadium to Thabang, in recognition of the bravest of your sons, who loved life so much that he gave his own, to protect the struggle and also to make sure we can learn from him".

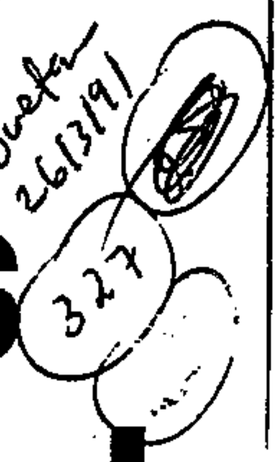
Security police brought a balaclava-hooded man to the stadium when the funeral had got underway, Sapa reports.

The man, alleged by organisers of the service to be an ex-guerilla working with the SA Police, used binoculars to point out people.

The presence of the "hooded Askari" prompted comments by senior members of the BCM that the notorious Civic Cooperation Bureau (CCB) was still alive and bent on killing government's opponents.

National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) official and Azanian People's Organisation member Mr Mutle Phasha told the crowd the advent of Azanla guerillas was a welcome step.

Lifting of meetings ban hailed



THE decision not to renew the blanket ban on outdoor political gatherings was an important step towards the removal of obstacles to free political expression.

This was said in a statement yesterday by the Human Rights Commission following an announcement by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

The ban expires at the end of this week.

The HRC warned, however, that the decision by the Minister still fell substantially short of achieving "the kind of freedom of assembly demanded by any reasonable Bill of Rights."

Under the Internal Security Act, specific gatherings could still be banned by any of the 350 district magistrates or by the Minister of Law and Order.

While the Internal Security Act continued unchanged on the Statute book, the Minister could reinvoke the blanket ban at some future date.

The HRC said the Internal Security Act still stood as the major obstacle to negotiations.

This put into question the Government's political will and stated commitment to ongoing review of security legislation in order to ensure free political activity, the statement concluded.- *Sapa.*

Two cheers for lifting of ban on political meetings

(327)

Political Staff Star 26/3/91

The Human Rights Commission yesterday welcomed the Government's decision not to renew the blanket ban on outdoor political gatherings when it expires at the end of this week.

The decision, the HRC said in a statement, was an important step towards the removal of obstacles to free political activity.

However, it nevertheless fell "substantially short of achieving the kind of freedom of assembly demanded by any reasonable bill of rights", the statement said.

The HRC was commenting on the announcement by Justice and Correctional Services Minister Kobie Coetsee on Friday that the ban on all outdoor political gatherings, imposed more than 15 years ago, would not be renewed. Permission will not be required to hold outdoor political meetings.

The HRC said that under the Internal Security Act it was "still perfectly possible" for specific gatherings to be banned by district magistrates or even by the Minister of Law and Order. While the Act remained unchanged, the ban could be reinvoked.

"It is clear, nearly 11 months after the Groote Schuur accord, that the Internal Security Act stands as the major obstacle to negotiations and puts into question the Government's political will and stated commitment to ongoing review of security legislation ... in order to ensure free political activity," said the HRC statement.

Indemnified ANC pair still on wanted list



● GROSSKOPF

GOVERNMENT has indemnified "Red Pimpernel" Ronnie Kasrils and alleged Krugersdorp bomber Hein Grosskopf — but the two remain wanted men.

As the April 30 deadline for ANC members' indemnification draws closer, government faces the prospect of having to deal with politically "difficult" cases like Kasrils, Grosskopf, Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride and right-wing mass murderer Barend Strydom.

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

But Kasrils and Grosskopf, who have been indemnified from prosecution for

B Day 27/3/91

PATRICK BULGER

having undergone military training, will still have to answer for other deeds.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said Kasrils was still being sought in connection with Operation Vula — an alleged SACP plot to overthrow government if negotiations failed — while 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

To Page 2



● KASRILS

Wanted

B Day 27/3/91

From Page 1

in connection with those bombings," Kotze said last night.

While the other Operation Vula accused applied for and last week received indemnity, 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.

Sapa reports the organisation said in a statement that it had recently become aware of the plight of 61 political prisoners held at the Barberton prison.

"These political prisoners are not being treated as political offenders and we believe their position is indicative of the kind of treatment being meted out to many hundreds of political prisoners held in jails dotted around the rural areas.

"They are not in separate sections within the prison, have no access to reading materials of their choice, have a totally inadequate diet and are being forced to do hard labour," the ANC alleged.

"We demand the government launch an immediate investigation into the situation at Barberton and other rural prisons. The political prisoners must be transferred to a separate section, pending their long overdue release. The conditions in Barberton are a sad reflection on the government's intentions regarding political prisoners."

ANC 'bomber freed', but still on run

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has partly indemnified "Red Pimpernel" Mr Ronnie 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, Magoo'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.

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Hani gets warning from Magnus

Political Staff

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan has warned Mkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Chris Hani to remember that he had only temporary immunity from prosecution.

In a vitriolic attack yesterday, General Malan said Mr Hani had an obsession with power. He and his fellow-travellers were putting the negotiation process under threat and "reasonable South Africans" could no longer tolerate the "cold-bloodedness" they represented.

Recent comments by Mr Hani were simply an exercise in blaming the government for everything that was not to the ANC's liking.

"If he thinks he is placing the government under pressure to dance to the ANC's tune, he is making a big mistake," said General Malan.

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STATE OF REPRESSION W\Mail 28\3-4\4\91 (327)

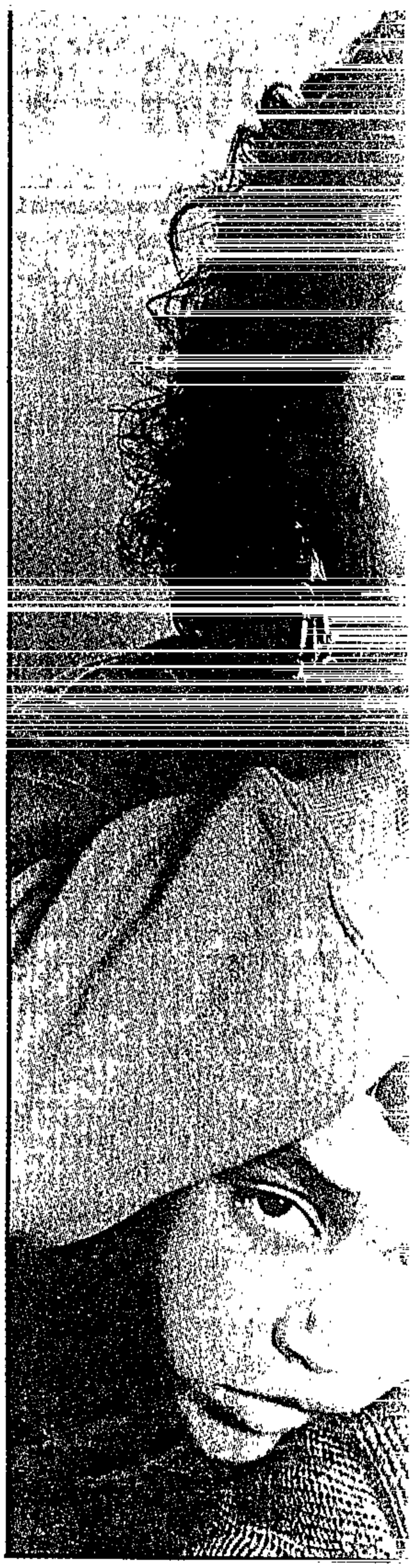
THE HRC says 105 people were killed and 140 injured in 139 incidents involving security force, vigilante, hit squad, right-wing and other action during February.

The highest casualties were in Natal, where 89 people were killed and 60 injured. Thirteen people died in the PWV and 63 were injured. The HRC attributed the highest number of deaths (79) to vigilante related action.

W\Mail 28\3-4\4\91

Her husband, Mac, has been hunted, jailed and tortured. Her children, too, have spent their lives on the run. For Zarina Maharaj, married life has been anything but normal. In her own words she describes the strain; but in an ironic twist, even as she was committing her thoughts to paper, her husband was about to be granted indemnity from prosecution after having gone on trial with seven other members of the African National Congress.

Pain and fear of marriage to an ANC activist



I CALL it combat fatigue. The years of fear and uncertainty of living in exile in the South African underground have exhausted me. But in June last year, when my husband Mac, like other ANC leaders, was granted an indemnity to return to South Africa, I thought the war was over, or at least that my family would be granted a period of calm.

Perhaps we and the children could now live somethang of a normal life. We assumed that his indemnity would provide some protection from an enemy we desperately wanted to believe was changing.

On July 25 last year, we had our suitcases packed and were ready to go home. Mac had returned earlier and found a house in Johannesburg for us and a school for the children, Amilcar, now eight, and six-year-old Sekai. After only a few months in yet another country, this time England, we were on the move again. And then the phone call.

Mac had been detained in South Africa, under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention incommunicado, without trial, access to lawyers, personal doctors, family or friends.

With the children in shock, the suitcases had to be unpacked.

According to the security police, my husband and others had been involved in preparations for a military coup. Yet, at negotiations in May 1990 between the ANC and the government, the existence of an underground armed resistance movement was openly acknowledged. A ceasefire and handing over of arms had still to be agreed, so Mac continued his underground activities.

Mac, now 55, joined the ANC at the age of 18 and he'd been active for 37 years. He stopped in June 1990 and came to England. A month later, having stumbled on "Operation Vula", a major part of the ANC's underground network, the police claimed an insurrectionary plot by Communists.

All the time Mac was underground, he was undetected by the police. Ironically, as soon as he returned to South Africa and began to live openly, believing in the indemnity, he was arrested as Vula's internal commander. It was an attempt to cause a rift between the ANC and the Communist Party but it backfired when ANC president, Oliver Tambo, claimed overall command of Vula.

This was not my husband's first experience of South African jails. In 1964, he was arrested and tortured so brutally that fellow inmates said they could hardly recognise him. He had refused to give information, but years later told me that he had been so scared of revealing names that he had twice attempted suicide.

In the end, they broke his neck, charged him with sabotage and sent him in plaster of Paris to Robben Island, where he spent 12 years in the Isolation Section alongside Nelson Mandela.

He was released in 1976 but placed under house arrest. Escaping across the border, he began his term of exile. We met in Mozambique where I was teaching at the university. We married in Zambia. From the beginning, our life together was permeated with the threat of South African death squads who frequently attacked ANC personnel in the frontline states. I had to learn to use firearms for self-protection.

On one occasion when Mac was away, I trapped a man apparently ready to ambush me at my front door, but I was too shocked to use my pistol. Another time, I emptied my AK-47 in the direction of the feet of intruders who had already cut halfway through the grille of my bedroom window. Eight months pregnant, I jumped between Mac and an attacker. It worked. The man ran away.

In addition, there was the problem of being followed. We had always to be on the alert, living in safe houses and often having to move furtively after dark. Our children have had to grow up in this underground culture.

During the years we lived in Zambia, Mac was often away, his work initially taking him across neighbouring states. With the ANC's decision to launch Operation Vula, we felt instinctively that Mac should undertake the task.

After 1987 there was, therefore, the added tension of being alone with the children, knowing that he was secretly working inside South Africa and not knowing when we would meet again.

There was always the possibility that he might never come out alive. It is rarely recognised that the partners who stay behind are as much in the front line as those who cross it.

After I had a serious car accident in Zambia, we decided, 18 months ago, that I should move with the children to England.

For the first time in their lives they were able to move about freely, mixing openly with other children outside school. In spite of this newfound freedom, they still craved the company of their father.

Amilcar still veers between enormous pride and enormous resentment that his father is elsewhere when he needs him. But, last year, for a few wonderful months, Mac was able to leave his work to help us settle.

Then, in February, the ANC was unbanned, leading to a quite unexpected chain of events. It was then that Mac was instructed by the ANC to "surface" and return legally to the country under an indemnity from prosecution which was to expire on 19 August 1990.

He did so, but with three weeks of the indemnity still to run, he was arrested and landed in hospital under police guard, at times kept in leg-irons. Assault, this time, had led to a damaged vertebra.

What is so difficult to accept is that this is all happening while the regime has agreed a framework with the ANC for the release of all political prisoners, the ending of all political trials and the return of all exiles.

My own uneasiness about his safety and the good faith of De Klerk's "reform" process was strikingly reflected just after Mac's arrest when my son confided his feeling that it was not a question of "when we would see Daddy again" but "whether".

The children and I intend to return to South Africa next week. In Britain, I've been living off my savings. It's time to find a job and give Amilcar and Sekai some stability.

But for now, such is the emptiness, pain and uncertainty of the families of all those on trial, we cannot help but wonder what De Klerk's agenda really is.

■ London Observer Service

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■ London Observer Service



WAITING FOR MAC: Zarina Maharaj and her children Amilcar and Sekai.
Inset: Mac Maharaj, now indemnified after being prosecuted along with seven others in connection with Operation Vula.

Piet Skiet says CCB planned arms theft

(327)

S(Times 31/3/91.

right-wing leader Piet Rudolph says state securits have infiltrated some ng organisations and are iem for their own ends.

first in-depth interview since anted indemnity by President Klerk, Mr Rudolph said he the arms heist at the SA Air adquarters in Pretoria last Eas- instigated by the SA Defence ivil Co-operation Bureau.

ned that the plan was the brain-

Sunday Times Reporter

child of a "police officer" who told him the stolen weapons would be distributed to members of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Rudolph said he had reason to believe his Orde Boerevolk organisation had been infiltrated and used from the outset by "white Askaris" — agents of various security organisations.

"The policeman who suggested the raid on the SAAF armoury gave me a key to the arms safe and told me any weapons we took would find their way to Inkatha.

"I became suspicious of the whole scheme after he gave me the key. I had a growing conviction that I would be shot by the very people who had helped me as soon as the weapons were handed over," he said.

Despite his fears, he went ahead with the heist.

Mr Rudolph handed the arms out to many OB members and, in spite of his call from prison to return them, only a third of the weapons have been recovered, according to police.

Mr Rudolph says he does not know where the rest of the arms are hidden or who has hidden them.

Mr Rudolph said his six months on the run from police ended when he was betrayed by a fellow right-winger.

"I have known and trusted him for years. I understand his motives for the betrayal and I've forgiven him — but I also know that no one within right-wing circles will ever trust this man again."

arranged trysts with his wife — "my beloved blue-eyed Breggie" — in the veld.

"Life on the run was not all fear and tension, though. There were some hilarious moments, too.

"I had a number of close shaves. The police often missed me by no more than a day, and once came within inches of me.

"While I was visiting a doctor with another commando member, the police burst in, guns at the ready.

"I hid behind the door and watched the cops run out of the back door in search of me.

"I think one reason they did this was that the doctor just happened to be standing at the back door, calling his dog.

"His name is also Piet!"

While underground, with a R50 000 bounty on his head, Mr Rudolph was sheltered, fed and often transported by more than 300 supporters who formed a tight network around him from April 13 to September 17 last year.

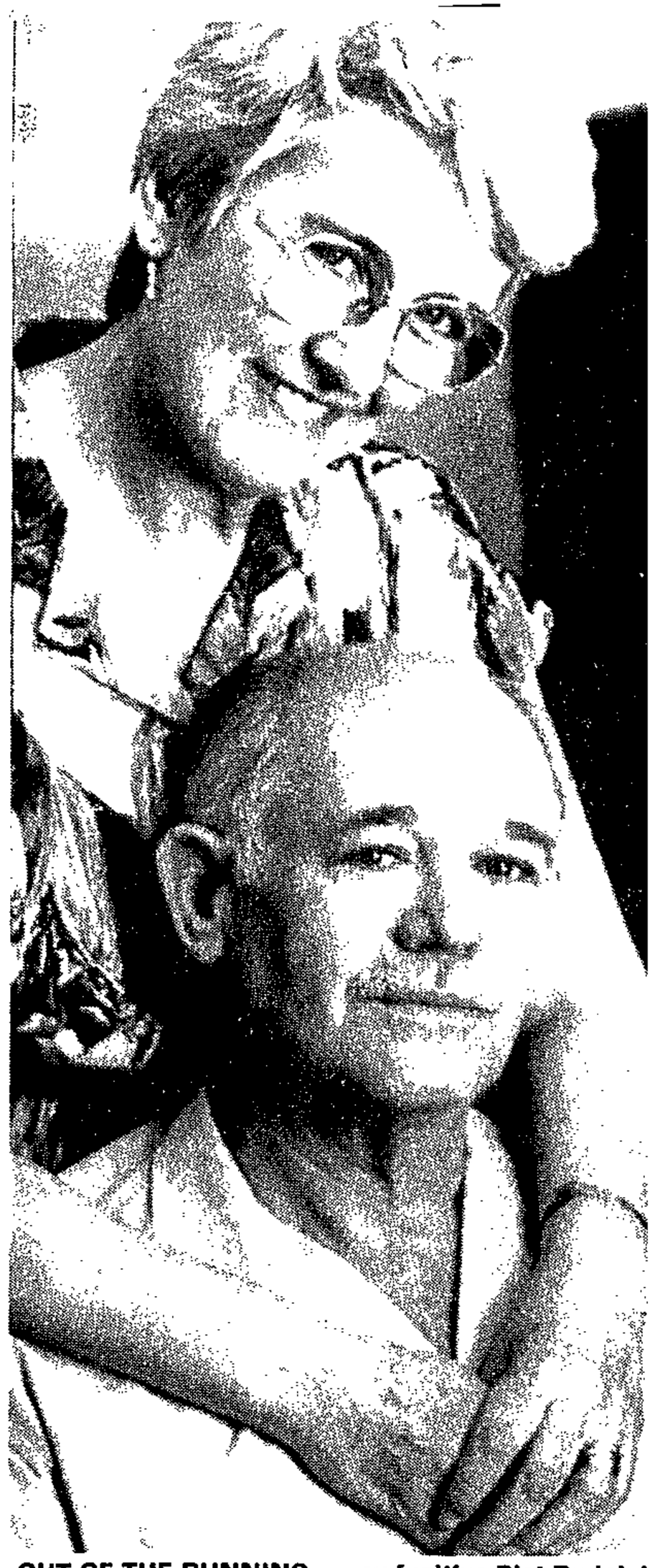
He covered more than 15 000km while on the run, travelling as far afield as Namibia.

"I never stayed in one place for longer than a day. The pattern was to eat something, sleep for a while and leave again within hours."

Although he frequently altered his appearance with the help of wigs, false beards and moustaches, Mr Rudolph scoffed at reports describing him as a "master of disguise".

Hilarious

But he was in disguise when he visited the offices of *Vrye Weekblad* to deliver a personal message and when he held carefully



OUT OF THE RUNNING . . . ex-fugitive Piet Rudolph with wife Breggie Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN