

TOTALITARIANISM — GENERAL

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No 'gatherings at will'

Prohibition won't be renewed

JOHANNESBURG. — The fact that the existing prohibition on certain outdoor gatherings, including political meetings, is not to be renewed, did not mean that gatherings or processions may now be held at will, Justice and Correctional Services Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said in a statement at the weekend.

The prohibition in question expired yesterday.

"Persons wishing to hold gatherings in public places or on public premises must still obtain the necessary permission in terms of the relevant by-laws from the local authority concerned."

Permission for processions in public streets or places must also still be obtained from both the affected local authority and the district magistrate, Mr Coetsee stressed.

He said such measures remained necessary to protect the rights of "other individuals and the interests of, for instance,

traders", and to ensure that traffic arrangements were observed.

He also appealed to organisers to ensure that gatherings or processions did not result in "public disturbances or riots, damage to property, obstruction to traffic or interference with the amenities and conveniences of the

public generally".

Mr Coetsee said his decision not to issue a further prohibition of certain outdoor gatherings was made possible by the fact that organisers mostly co-operated with authorities.

"If this co-operation continues it will be possible to manage gatherings and processions effectively in terms of the measures that remain," he added. — Sapa

Ban on gatherings falls away 327

Staff Reporter

1/4/91
The prohibition on outdoor gatherings was allowed to expire yesterday, according to an announcement by the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee.

He said the decision not to issue a further prohibition was made possible by the fact that organisers of gatherings and processions usually co-operated with authorities to ensure that they were peaceful and orderly.

But this did not mean that gatherings, and especially political gatherings, could now be held at will, warned the Minister.

The necessary permission to hold gatherings in public places or premises had to be obtained in terms of the relevant by-laws from the local authority concerned.

For processions in public streets or places, permission should be obtained from the magistrate of the district and

the local authority.

"This interaction remains necessary to ensure that the rights of other individuals and the interests of, for instance, traders, are protected and that traffic arrangements are observed," said the Minister.

Mr Coetsee appealed to organisers to take care that gatherings or processions were held in such a way that there were no public disturbances or riots, damage to property or obstruction of traffic.

Township nightspots feel the pinch of the curfew

WILSON ZWANE

810 my 2/4/91
THE imposition of township curfews was harming the liquor and entertainment industries, shebeen and nightclub owners said at the weekend.

Blue Fountain Nightclub owner Godfrey Moloi said the curfew imposed on Soweto and other Rand townships by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok on March 11 had harmed his business.

"There is a marked drop in patronage despite our efforts to reassure the people that the curfew is not aimed at innocent people who want to unwind and enjoy a couple of drinks," Moloi said.

A Soweto shebeen king, who wished to remain anonymous, said while he appreciated the need for the curfew to quell the violence in the township, his operation was "greatly affected".

"My busiest period is from 8pm, and now a substantial number of my customers have deserted me because they cannot en-

joy their drinks until late."

Another shebeen owner said trade had dropped by about 50%.

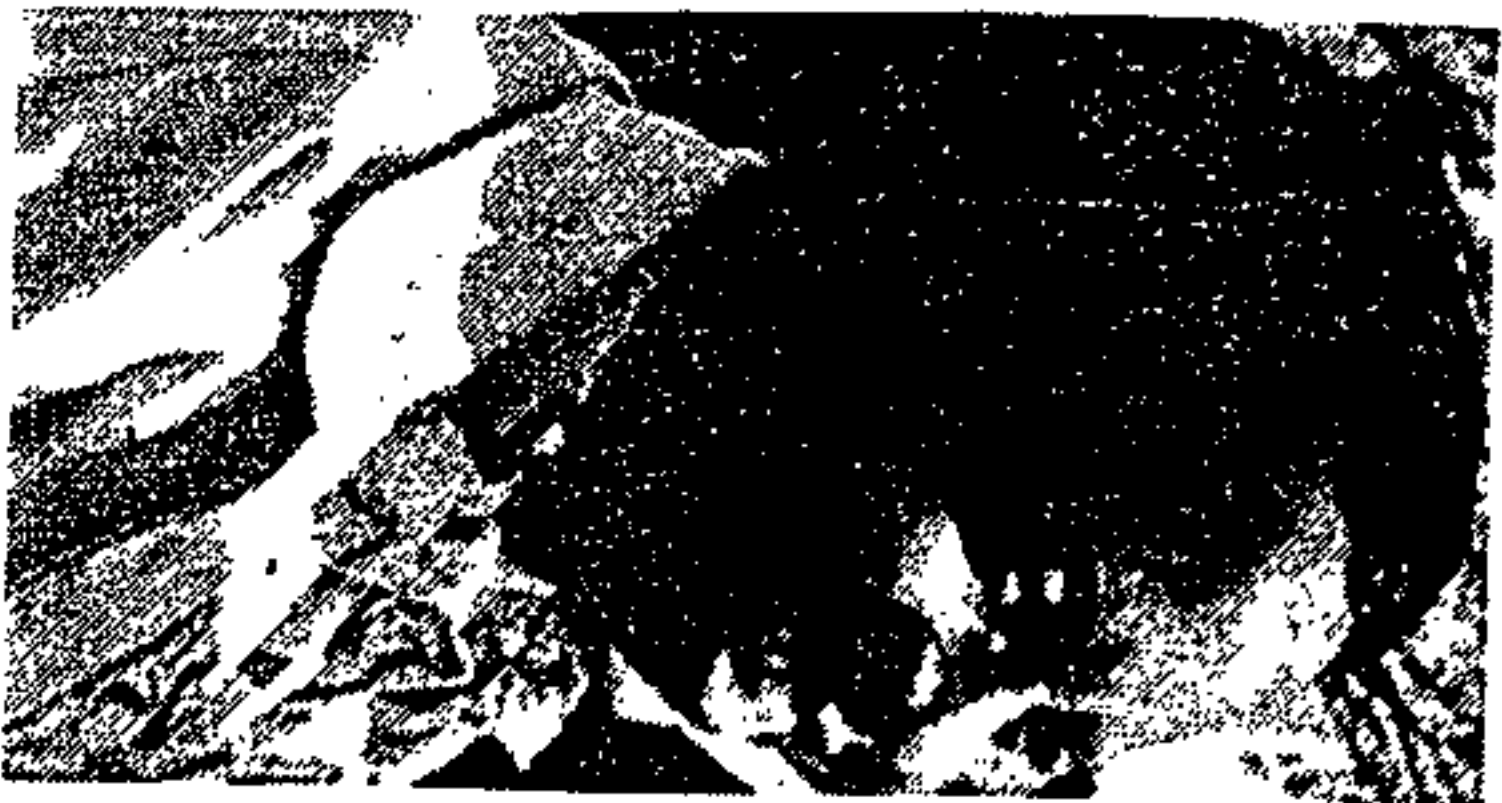
Meanwhile, Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) general secretary Sam Ntuli said the curfew restrictions were "useless".

"Our people are being killed and maimed despite the restrictions. Some gangs have found ways of getting around the restrictions by taking to the streets after 4am. We should ask, what are police doing to protect lives and property?"

Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet said curfews could not be imposed after 4am as many went to work then.

The imposition of curfews on strife-torn townships has been slated.

The ANC said their imposition had never and would never solve problems.



'NOT INTIMIDATED'
... Mr Chris Hani

MK's Hani says he won't 'run away' from SA

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

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

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

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

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

"It is my country.

"They can do whatever they like, you see.

"They will never silence me. I can assure them,"

Mr Hani said last Thursday at a reception in central Johannesburg for the second group of 112 ANC returnees, many of whom are MK commanders.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

General misled Harms 'unintentionally'

CAF 7/4/91
4/4/91

24/8 327 844

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Forensics chief Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling had not deliberately misled the Harms Commission or the court that heard his defamation claim against Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail, his counsel, Mr Fanie Cilliers, told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The court was hearing an application for leave to appeal against Mr Justice Kriegler's dismissal of the claim for articles quoting former police captain Mr Dirk Coetzee.

The judge dismissed the claim after accepting that

Mr Coetzee had collected poison from General Neethling's home. He found the general had misled the commission in saying Mr Coetzee could have gleaned details on his home from a videotape. Mr Cilliers said General Neethling had intended this as opinion, not fact.



FREE MEN ... Mr Rogerio Chamusso, Mr Mzwandile Dikana, Mr Martin Sehlapelo, Mr Mpumelelo Gaba and Mr Andries Maponya outside Cowley House in Salt River yesterday, after their release from Robben Island.

Pictures: RICHARD BELL

5 more ANC men released from Robben Island

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Staff Reporter

FIVE more ANC members were released from Robben Island yesterday, including a Mozambican who has served eight years of a 24-year term.

Mr Rogerio Chamusso, 40, who originally came to South Africa from Mozambique as a migrant labourer, was arrested in 1981 and charged with terrorism. He was jailed in 1983.

Others released were Mr Martin Sehlapelo, 25, Mr Mzwandile Dikana, 32, Mr Mpumelelo Gaba, 34, and Mr Andries Maponya, 30.

A small group of people gathered in Table Bay harbour to welcome the five, including ANC Western Cape publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel, regional ANC treasurer Mr Bulelani Ngcuka and Mrs Mary Burton of the Black Sash.

A press conference was held later yesterday at Cowley House in Salt River, at which the men were introduced to the gathering and welcomed by Mr Ngcuka.

Mr Gaba read out a statement on behalf of the men, saying they were "naturally excited at being released at last" and strengthened by the "high hopes of imminent release" of fellow Robben Island prisoners.



ELATED ... An excited well-wisher hugs Mr Mpumelelo Gaba, who spent nine years on Robben Island.

Neethling's appeal affects media focus on corruption

w/ mail 5/4-11/4/91.

LAW & THE COURTS

Carmel Rickard

THE South African Police forensic chief, Lothar Neethling, desperate to restore his name and credibility, wants the Appellate Division to take another look at the judgment dismissing his "hit squad" libel suits against *Vrye Weekblad* and *The Weekly Mail*.

But the appeal has wider implications than Neethling's honour, or the survival of the papers which faced a claim of R1,5-million and legal costs of a similar order.

Media lawyers have stressed the legal significance of the judgment by Mr Justice Kriegler. Calling it more than just a vindication of the papers' decision to publish, they believe it should be seen as a "charter" for investigative journalism, particularly reporting on government and business corruption. This in turn means not only the media but also the public, which has an interest in clean administration and honest commercial dealings, should watch the outcome of any appeal.

The decision by Mr Justice Kriegler in the Neethling case went further than the previous high water mark judgment on the media and libel.

In that earlier case, *Zillie v Johnson*, the judge for the first time acknowledged a new kind of defence available to someone charged with defamation, and that was whether the matter published was in the public interest. Previously an editor faced with a defamation case could plead that the material was true and that its publication was justified because of public benefit.

But in the *Johnson* case the judge held that under certain strictly defined circumstances, publication of defamatory matter could be justified solely on the grounds of public interest. For example if a minister said something about someone which was not true, the fact that it was said by a mini-

ster of state made the comment reportable in the public interest, even if the content was, strictly speaking, defamatory.

In the Neethling case, lawyers for the *Vrye Weekblad* argued that the publication of defamatory comments about the police forensic chief was justified on the grounds of truth: the paper had information which it believed indicated the otherwise defamatory material was true. Additionally, as a kind of legal safety net, they argued publication was justified on the grounds of public benefit.

The Weekly Mail's defence was to argue purely for public interest — as the paper reproduced the *Vrye Weekblad* allegations without having all the information available to the *Vrye Weekblad*, *The Weekly Mail* could not justify publishing on the grounds of truth.

Crucial for the media in the Kriegler decision, the judge found the *Vrye Weekblad* was justified in publishing on the grounds of truth and public benefit. He also ruled *The Weekly Mail* was justified purely on the grounds of public interest, saying the information of former police captain Dirk Coetzee was so important that it had to be published and that the question of the truth of the material was therefore not the issue.

This "opened up" the principle established in the *Johnson* case — following the Kriegler judgment the media may publish "in the public interest" not only when ministerial statements are quoted, but when the material contains important information about alleged corruption.

One media lawyer commented, "The impact of the closely reasoned judgment of Mr Justice Kriegler is to open the door for newspapers to get involved in investigative journalism about corruption."

He said the judgment was "starting to change the face of journalism in South Africa"; editors were now in a position to give much greater scope to their journalists, knowing they would have to face the wider test of justification on public interest.

During argument on whether leave to appeal should be granted, Neethling's counsel attacked the judgment on several grounds, including the weight put on Coetzee's evidence.

Crucially for the development of media law, counsel questioned whether a defence on the basis purely of public policy should be allowed and has challenged the validity not only of the Kriegler judgment on this point, but also the *Johnson* decision.

He said new defences to defamation (like pure public interest) could not be framed, and that the only good defences were those based on the traditional categories of defence for defamation — truth for public benefit, privilege and fair comment.

Granting leave to appeal would mean that Neethling will not have to pay the legal costs of the two papers until the AD has given its ruling.

But the Kriegler judgment does not lose its teeth in the meantime. Pending the AD decision, Mr Justice Kriegler's findings are law in the Transvaal and of persuasive influence elsewhere.

At the time of writing Mr Justice Kriegler had not yet given his decision on whether to grant leave to appeal.

●Fanie Cilliers SC with M Witz, instructed by Dyasons, appeared for Neethling and Minister of Justice Kobie Coetzee. Robert Levin SC with Frans Rautenbach, instructed by Bell, Dewar and Hall, appeared for the two newspapers.

Police are after the Mail again

POLICE this week informed *The Weekly Mail* that they are investigating a charge under the Police Act for the newspaper's coverage of the recent Alexander violence. (327)

A policeman who identified himself as "security branch from John Vorster Square" formally told *The Weekly Mail* that a docket had been opened in connection with a report by Gavin Evans on March 15. In the report, Evans quoted civic leader Moses Mayekiso accusing the police of partiality in the conflict.

The investigation is in terms of the notorious section 27 (b) of the Police Act which prohibits the publication of "any untrue matter in relation to any action by the force ... without having reasonable grounds for believing that the statement is true".

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber said the newspaper was not prepared to co-operate at all in this matter. "The Police Act is a throwback to the dark days of the State of Emergency. The government itself has admitted that this law needs review and we expect it to be changed soon."

Star 5/4/91

ANC to march countrywide

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By Monica Oosterbroek

Thousands of ANC supporters are expected to take part in countrywide marches on prisons tomorrow to demand the release of all political prisoners and indemnity for Ronnie Kasrils before April 20, the date set in the Pretoria Minute.

People in the PWV area will march to Pretoria Central prison, Diepkloof prison, Leeu-hof prison in the Vaal Triangle, Krugersdorp prison and Modder B

prison, near Springs.

The marchers plan to hand a memorandum to prison officers demanding the release of all political prisoners.

In other parts of the country, people will march to Nelspruit prison, the Maritzburg prison, CR Swart in Natal and Fort Glamorgan in the eastern Cape. The ANC will hold a picket in Cape Town.

An ANC spokesman said the southern Free State had refused permission for seven

marches and authorities in the northern Free State allegedly demanded R10 000 to allow people to march to Kroonstad prison.

An ANC, SACP and Cosatu statement said 1 700 political prisoners were still in jail, of whom 55 were on Death Row.

ANC spokesman Barbara Hogan said tomorrow's campaign was a peaceful way of pressuring the Government to meet its promises.

Marching

ng to Pretoria

Sowetan
7/4/91

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-march

Time's up ... marchers remind the government of the April 30 deadline on prisoners.

Violence threat halts march

By CP Reporters and Sapa

UMKHONTO weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani walked into the Pretoria Central Prison yesterday to demand the unconditional release of all his cadres before the end of this month.

More than 5 000 ANC supporters waited patiently outside the prison while Hani and Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, delivered a memorandum demanding, among other things, the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the dismissal of the cabinet ministers responsible for the security forces.

The march on Pretoria Central - which started on Church Square and brought traffic in the capital to a standstill - was one of five by ANC supporters to prisons in the PWV area to urge the government to address the remaining obstacles that have to be removed before negotiations can start.

After the march a short ceremony was held at the Mamelodi cemetery to unveil the tombstone of Solomon Mahlangu, an MK soldier executed in 1979.

Hani told the crowds that the march had delivered a powerful message to the FW de Klerk "regime" which he hoped De Klerk would heed.

Hani praised both the crowds and the police for showing disciplined behaviour.

"We have achieved an important victory by the discipline we have displayed which shows that De Klerk has no reason to keep our cadres behind bars.

"I would also like to thank the police for their behaviour and hope that they shall maintain it when we arrive at the new society as they will still be cops.

"But in the new society we shall expect them to uphold democracy," said Hani.

More than 3 500 ANC members also marched from Soweto's Lesedi Clinic to the Johannesburg Prison.

Addressing the crowd before the 14km march began, prominent ANC leader and former life-prisoner Andrew Mlangeni warned the government that unless political prisoners were released by April 30, the ANC would consider suspending talks.

"We are saying to the government that unless these demands are met, the ANC will reconsider further participation in the peace talks."

Police monitored the protest, but kept a low profile.

The march to the prison - popularly known as "Sun City" - where 20 ANC members are held, also commemorated the 1979 execution of MK soldier Solomon Mahlangu.

The march follows a day after the ANC handed De Klerk an ultimatum to meet certain demands, including the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan by May 9, or face a breakdown in the peace talks.

Umkhonto weSizwe commander Ebrahim Ebrahim told the jubilant crowd that if the government did not yield to their demands, the ANC would unleash its force on it.

Get rid of these last barriers to talks, ANC warns govt



Solidarity outside "Sun City". ■ PICS: MIKE MZILENI

On the East Rand, about 1 000 protestors marched on the Modderbee Prison where ANC officials Cyril Jantjies and Amos Masondo handed a memorandum to the prison's commanding officer, Brigadier Dawie Slabbert, who promised to forward it to the Ministry of Justice.

After singing and toying for two hours, the protestors went to Daveyton's Sinaba stadium where a memorial service was held for Solomon Mahlangu and the 18 people who were shot dead in the township on

March 24.

■ The petition also demanded the unconditional return of all exiles; the scrapping of all security laws; the dismissal of all responsible for crimes committed by hit squads; outlawing the carrying of weapons - traditional or otherwise - at public places or at rallies; the dismantling of all counter-insurgency units such as the Askaris, 32 Battalion, the CCB, Koevoet and the Z-squad, and the immediate suspension of policemen responsible for last year's Sebokeng massacre and this year's Daveyton massacre.

sations that are already on offer to Indian students. The admission of Black students is based on the principle of opening educational institutions to all race groups.

(b) A further intake into the colleges has been accepted in order to bring the first-year student capacity to full to meet the anticipated demands of the new South Africa by training as many teachers as possible.

(3) Yes.

(a) 277

(b) Junior Primary

Sciences

Physical Education (Girls)

Afrikaans (Senior Secondary)

Mathematics (Senior Secondary)

Computer Science

Typing

Industrial Arts

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign +, subsequently used in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

SACP: criminal investigation

1. 4.3. J. J. S. PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to the reply to Question No 5 on 5 March 1991, the South African Police intend conducting a criminal investigation into generally known pronouncements and actions of office-bearers of the South African Communist Party that constitute *prima facie* contraventions of section 55 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, without a member of the public lodging a complaint about them with the Police?

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B725E.INT

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, in answering this question one or two matters first have to be placed in perspective. Because the SA Communist Party leaders are not making any statements and no one is performing any acts which obviously comprise the elements set out in section 55, read together with the definition of "communism" in the Internal Security Act, Act 74 of 1982, no criminal investigation in this regard is envisaged at present.

It must be borne in mind that the essential characteristics of communism have changed, whilst the doctrine of this ideology, as embodied in South African legislation, is linked to the obsolete view of this doctrine.

Communism, as applied in the Eastern Bloc countries, is outmoded and/or has crumbled. The present modernised ideology is therefore no longer applicable to the provisions embodied in section 55 of the Act.

Even in statements by SACP leaders there is a move away from the pure form of socialism, communal ownership and despotism indicated as

an offence in the aforementioned section. Furthermore, it could hardly be argued that the SACP is still intent on establishing any doctrine, ideology or plan aimed at bringing about political, economic and industrial or social change in the RSA under the leadership of a foreign government, as which reference is made in the definition of "communism".

In order to normalise the political situation in South Africa, the ban applying to organisations such as the ANC and the SACP was lifted on 3 February 1990. In this way the aforementioned organisations were therefore legalised.

Because negotiation is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation in South Africa, the Government has decided to remove all obstacles standing in the way of negotiation. The emphasis has therefore shifted to a debate and a discussion on political and economic standpoints.

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The unconditional lifting of the ban on the SACP and other organisations has now placed everyone in a position to practise politics freely in South Africa.

Consequently, the Government has committed itself to reviewing security legislation as well and for this reason section 55 of the Act will be reviewed through to the hon the Minister of Justice. Aside from this, the Government has also committed itself in paragraph 7 of the Pretoria Minute to giving immediate consideration to the repeal of all those provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1982 which refer to communism or the promotion thereof.

The SA Police have also taken cognisance of the Government's standpoint on this matter. For this reason the focus as far as the police are concerned is shifting from offences committed on the grounds of ideological convictions, to normal crimes, that is to say the prevention of crime in all its manifestations.

The Government continues to reject the communist ideology in the strongest terms and will continue to combat it in a democratic manner.

*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, I want to discuss the third point in the hon the Deputy Minister's reply first. He placed the emphasis on

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Emergency can 'end the violence'

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE continuing violence could be stopped if the state of emergency was re-imposed, a Government source said at the weekend.

The African National Congress has dismissed the suggestion as "nonsense" and "mere twaddle".

According to the Government source, a state of emergency would have the desired effect on the ground, but would be politically unacceptable.

However, a good start would be the surrender of AK-47 rifles, the source said.

"One AK-47 rifle is worth 1 000 traditional

Should the state of emergency be brought back to try to restore peace? Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise and air your opinion to the nation. Phone him today between 4.30 and 5pm at the Rand Show where he's doing a special broadcast. The hot-line numbers are 494-2892 or 494-2893. Listen to the *Sowetan* talkback programme on Radio Metro on mediumwave 576 KhZ.

weapons," he added, referring directly to an ANC demand in Friday's ultimatum which, among other things, called for legislation to outlaw the carrying of "traditional weapons" at public gatherings and processions.

The ANC's letter to State President FW de Klerk

● To Page 2

Dismiss Malan - ANC

From Page 1

laid the responsibility for the violence at the door of the State.

The organisation said it would withdraw from negotiations if certain conditions were not met by May 9.

De Klerk responded by saying that the allegation was unfair.

He said the ANC sought political gains by creating more obstacles to negotiations while the Government was removing the last vestiges of apartheid.

In the ultimatum, the ANC also demanded:

- * The dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok;

- * That all officers in the South African Defence Force and the South African Police who "bore direct responsibility for the setting up and management of the Civil Co-operation Bureau" be dismissed;

The passage I quoted from *The Citizen*, appeared in March of this year. That was last month, and in it Slovo conformed four-square to the requirements of communism as stated in the definition in section 1 of the Act. He should go and read it, because it seems to me that he is not familiar with the laws he wishes to apply. [Interjections.] Furthermore, as regards the actions of this Government, it goes much further than simple ignorance. This hon Deputy Minister should re-read section 55 of this Act, because I want to tell hon members that it is beginning to become a very serious question as to whether the actions of this Government do not conform four-square to the definition of the crime of the promotion of communism. [Interjections.]

Just listen to what section 55 of the Act says. Anyone who performs any act of whatever nature which is calculated to further the achievement of the principal objects of communism in the Republic, is guilty of an offence. What else is it if the Government does not take action against them? [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, communism has never had a platform like the one the hon member for Roodepoort has created for it today. [Interjections.]

It is not the NP that is promoting communism; it is the hon member for Roodepoort who promoted communism here today by tabling this interpellation in the House. [Interjections.]

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! The hon the Deputy Minister may proceed.

*The DEPUTY MINISTER: The argument is twofold. We say that communism has undergone a transformation, but aside from that one cannot legalise an organisation and give it an opportunity to state its standpoint and then say that because it has stated its standpoint, one is taking action against it in terms of section 55. It would be dishonourable to do so. It is dishonourable to invite a political party or an organisation to state its standpoint so that it can be weighed against our standpoint and that of the CP and then, the moment it does so, to tell it that it has contravened a legal provision. That is why this entire Act is under review and it will be reviewed.

The problem the CP has is that if they were to come to power in this country and their policy had to be implemented, it would form a breed-

ing-ground for communism, just as apartheid was the breeding-ground of communism [Interjections.] One can fight communism in the country if people are satisfied and happy, if people have clothing and shelter and if they have a future in the country of their birth. It is these basic rights which people lay claim to that the CP is begrudging the majority of people in the country, and this is driving them towards communism. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Dukuduku forest: squatters

2. Mr R J LORIMER asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing:

(1) Whether any negotiations with squatters presently located in the Dukuduku forest near St Lucia have taken place during which offers of alternative land have been made to the squatters; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether any suggestions as to suitable land alternatives made by the Wildlife Society of South Africa have been considered; if so, with what result?

Answered

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The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING: Mr Speaker, it is Government policy that when people have to be resettled, this is done as far as possible in consultation with the people concerned. This approach has been followed in respect of the Dukuduku squatters. Frequent discussions did, in fact, take place. From these discussions it became evident that the people were anxious for a resettlement option which was based on agriculture in proximity to the forest. The Community Services Branch of the Natal Provincial Administration completed the report during August 1991 in respect of suitable alternative sites upon which to settle the squatter families.

Referring to the second question, representatives of the Wildlife Society met representatives of the NPA on 25 July 1990 to discuss the Dukuduku situation. Possible settlement options located within the broader sub-region were suggested by the Wildlife Society. Owing to strong tribal affiliations, the investigation of areas of land south of the Umfolozi River, suggested by

a society, was not pursued. Other areas north of the Umfolozi River have been considered in a report of the Natal Provincial Administration. Each hon member for Bryanston is welcome to discuss with me.

An investigation of the Natal Provincial Administration covered 13 different settlement options. A careful consideration of all relevant factors, a site between Mtubatuba and KwaMantsha, was found to be the most suitable from both a residential and agricultural perspective. I took a personal interest in the matter after having been requested to do so by Minister Setebe of the KwaZulu government.

As a consequence of the Minister's request I visited the forest on 6 August 1990 and met with a committee representing the people living in the area. Minister Setebe and officials from the Natal Provincial Administration also attended the meeting. I am also currently investigating, as a possible alternative, a portion of State-owned land in a less sensitive area of the forest. To this end I am in contact with the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry.

In addition to the above, a meeting has been arranged between the hon member for Umfolozi, Mr Volker, MEC, and the local communities involved in the Dukuduku issue. The meeting will be held on 19 April 1991 at Mtubatuba.

MR R J LORIMER: Mr Speaker, in South Africa today less than one third of one percent of the total land area is indigenous forest. The Dukuduku forest is the largest and finest example of climax coastal lowland forest left in South Africa and it is globally unique. It has been described as "the magic forest" and is regarded as a key area by ecologists.

Approximately two years ago I was contacted by a senior member of the Natal Parks Board about the squatter situation, and at their invitation I visited the area. Subsequently I had discussions with the hon the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, who then controlled the area. With the approval and encouragement of the hon the Minister, as well as legal representatives from the department itself, I concerned myself with the protracted court proceedings to evict the squatters, specifically because I wanted the media and the public to understand that this was not a removal for ideological or political reasons, but

one that would have considerable significance for conservation.

I was joined in this by the Wildlife Society which was very concerned with this threat to an irreplaceable wilderness area. The forest has some 18 Red Data Book endangered species inhabiting it, international concern has escalated and we are being watched by conservationists throughout the world.

After squatter leaders had been convicted in the Mtubatuba magistrates' court, the legal representatives of the squatters wrote to me requesting me to do my best to negotiate a solution to the problems of the squatters.

Accordingly I arranged a meeting with squatter representatives plus officials of the Natal Provincial Administration, as well as a delegation from the Wildlife Society, to discuss possible alternative land which could be made available. To my mind this meeting was a great success in that we persuaded the squatters that it was necessary for them to move. The Wildlife Society had done considerable research, as was mentioned by the hon the Deputy Minister, into possible alternative land, and they submitted this for consideration.

Subsequent to this we heard that the province had unilaterally called a meeting of squatters at Dukuduku and said that they alone would handle the situation from then onwards. They wrote a terse note to the Wildlife Society saying that their help was no longer required. The society is on record as saying that it regarded this as a slap in the face by the province of Natal.

Subsequently to this meeting I was approached by the squatter representatives who said that they did not agree with this action by the province and threatened to go to the media to request that I and the Wildlife Society should continue to be involved and consulted. I persuaded them to wait and see what the province could offer. The result, of course, was nil.

The province are apparently dragging their heels. I am glad the hon the Deputy Minister is giving this his personal attention because he and the hon member for Umfolozi are rumoured to have said, off the record, that as far as they were concerned the squatters could stay there. The result is that a unique and irreplaceable area is steadily being destroyed. [Time expired.]

Emergency 'is not the cure' ³²⁷

By MOKGADI PELA

THE State of Emergency should not be reimposed, callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback show said yesterday.

They were responding to questions by the radio station's DJ Tim Modise on whether the State of Emergency should be brought back in the light of violence which has claimed more than 600 black lives since January this year.

Saxon from Jabulani said blacks did not need the State of Emergency. He said the Government had the power to stop the violence.

The Government did not bother as it was blacks who were killing one another, he said.

By the time we go to elections, we would be finished. The Government

should put at least 10 soldiers at every station in the townships."

He added that the peace rallies being called by the Inkatha Freedom Party should rather be named "death rallies".

He said the IFP leadership should address their members at grassroots level. *Sowetan 9/4/91*

Siphiwe from Senaoane said Natal had proved that the State of Emergency did not curb the violence. He said all the Government had to do was to ban "traditional weapons".

Smangaliso Simelane



from Soweto said if the State of Emergency were to be reimposed there would be an alliance between the IFP and the police against the community.

He suggested IFP members should be disarmed.

Monti from Mofolo said bringing back the emergency would impose a news blackout which would result in a one-sided account of events.

He said black people did not need the State of Emergency.

negotiation and the importance of this instead of law enforcement.

The very fact that he is answering the question here this afternoon instead of the hon the Minister himself, is an indication to us that the hon the Minister is already beginning to move into the background in case it should become necessary for him to go in the interests of negotiation. [Interjections.]

I now come to the hon the Deputy Minister's reply with regard to the fact that no offences are being committed. It is common knowledge that transgressions of this particular section occur regularly. Surely it is common knowledge that the SACP reorganised itself last year at a large public meeting that was attended by tens of thousands of Blacks and televised Speeches promoting the objects of communism were delivered on that occasion. Furthermore, Joe Slovo was later afforded an opportunity, at the invitation of the SABC, to defend communism on a Sunday evening, during prime viewing time.

What I am going to quote now, relates to the second explanation of the hon the Deputy Minister in regard to the outdated concept of communism. As recently as March this year *The Citizen* quoted Joe Slovo as follows:

"But distortions of Communism," he added "do not dispose of the correctness of the Socialist objective"

It went on to say:

He said the ethical content of Socialism and Marxism was not very far removed from that of Christianity.

That is a defence of communism. All of these statements and actions are offences. Yet the hon the Deputy Minister said on 5 March this year, as he has done today as well, that the SA Police were not investigating any offences in regard to this section 55 crime. His reason at that stage was that no charge had been laid with the police. On that occasion he left no doubt that the SA Police would not investigate a contravention of section 55 themselves, even if it were committed in their presence.

When the hon member for Ermelo subsequently submitted a written inquiry to the Commissioner of Police, the commissioner replied in a letter on 11 March this year that he assumed that what the hon the Deputy Minister had really meant, was

that the SA Police had no information that section 55 had been contravened and that this was the actual reason as to why no investigation had been launched by the SA Police. [Interjections.]

On the one hand, this explanation in itself is astonishing in so far as it asserts that the SA Police are unaware of all the blatant contraventions, some of which I have just mentioned. On the other hand, it is an apparent contradiction of the reason this hon Deputy Minister has advanced in this House as to why no police investigation has taken place. [Time expired.]

*Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, the CP has taken the Government to task on account of its inability to take action against apartheid offenders in terms of section 55 of the Internal Security Act, such as the SA Communist Party.

It seems to me that on the face of it, and from a purely legal point of view, the CP does have a point, and it is probably their prerogative to point this out. [Interjections.] I must say, I was not impressed with the legal technicalities of the hon the Deputy Minister's reaction in this regard. What is more important, however, is that section 55 is one of the many examples on our Statute Book that represent political intolerance and that ought to be removed from our Statute Book as quickly as possible. The type of section that makes the peaceful propagation of any political stance within our country illegal, has no place on the statute books of any democratic state. [Interjections.] This is the important thing and this is what the DP insists on.

To a large extent, of course, the hon the Deputy Minister's dilemma is attributable to his colleague, the hon the Minister of Justice, who was asked as early as 6 March last year by my colleague the hon member for Johannesburg North whether he would be prepared to devote attention to certain sections of the Internal Security Act which sought to restrict the normal functioning of the unbanned organisations. Then the hon the Minister engaged in glib talk and tried to play the fool, and so on. Today it is very clear that the hon member for Johannesburg North had a very good point. [Interjections.]

I now want to predict that in due course we shall be dealing with the repeal of section 55. The hon the Minister has just asked me whether I do not have the *Government Gazette*. I now want to ask

him whether he can abolish a law of South Africa simply by giving notice in the *Government Gazette*. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, I could counter the hon member for Roodepoort's introductory remarks as to why I was dealing with this question, by way of the following statement. If his party had regarded this matter as being very important, they would not have asked him to introduce the

Bill. I am not referring to the fact that the hon member for Roodepoort is a communist, but he did not refer to the presence of a communist and then use his figures. The revisions of section 55. The fact that no member of the CP has to date gone to the police and that there is a contravention of section 55, as he would like to lay a charge, is clear proof of this. [Interjections.] The hon member also allowed today that there is no case to be made for an argument when the statements to which he referred are tested against section 55.

Reference was also made to the statements of Mr Slovo. Mr Slovo has also changed his standpoint regarding to communism since communism fell in East Europe. [Interjections.] A document was published in January 1990 on the occasion of the seventh congress of the SA Communist Party, in which Mr Slovo said the following on page 27:

Ons party se program is stewig gefundeer op 'n na-apartheidstaat wat vir alle burgers die basiese regte en vryhede sal waarborg van organisasie, spraak, denke, die pers, beweging, woonplek, gewete en godsdiens, volle vakbondregte vir alle werkers met inbegrip van die reg om te staak, en een persoon, een stem en vrye en demokratiese verkiesings. Hierdie vryhede maak die kern en wese van ons nasionale bevyding en sosialistiese oorgang merke uit en impliseer klaarbyklik politieke pluralisme.

[Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*Mr M J MENTZ: Mr Speaker, the hon the Deputy Minister is making one big mistake. After all, he knows that we have frequently lodged complaints against communism. The hon member for Bethal lodged a complaint against communism as recently as a few months ago. The problem we have, is that we lodge complaints—I myself have lodged complaints and the hon member for Roodepoort has lodged com-

plaints—and what happens then? The Government must indemnify the communists, because they are all treating the same path. [Interjections.]

That is the position we are in here. This hon Deputy Minister is playing the police in the most invidious position ever. [Interjections.] What are they doing? That hon Deputy Minister initially tried to say they had not received a complaint, and for that reason they were not prosecuting the

The sad thing about this situation is that we do not know that the Government no longer intends prosecuting communists. Because look what the Commissioner of Police said in his letter. He did not say what the hon the Deputy Minister said, namely that they were no longer going to prosecute. He said in his letter that they were continually monitoring the situation. He said they were keeping an eye on the communists. He said that all information in connection with the activities of the SA Communist Party was receiving continuous attention. So far no information had come to their attention to the effect that offences had indeed been committed, but they were still instituting prosecutions in regard to communism.

The SA Police are therefore blissfully unaware of the fact that this Government no longer intends taking action against communism. That is the invidious position in which our poor police are being placed. That is not all, however.

*An HON MEMBER: That is an unconscious Minister!

*Mr M J MENTZ: The problem is, as the hon the Deputy Minister pointed out here, that they are no longer going to prosecute, and because they are no longer going to prosecute . . .

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! The problem is that the hon member's time has expired.

*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, the hon the Deputy Minister keeps coming up with a fresh surprise in relation to his incompetence, because he read here from a document published in 1990, with reference to which he said Joe Slovo had changed his views on communism and that this view no longer conformed to the requirements of

Scaly package sent to London ANC

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A sinister package containing a snake and a lizard was received through the post by the ANC's London office yesterday.

It was the latest in a series of bizarre pranks perpetrated against the organisation here in recent months.

In other incidents, forged letters giving repatriation details were sent to the homes of 400 ANC members, and several members received invitations to attend a joint AWB-National Front

fundraising braai on Hampstead Heath next month.

Posted in South Africa, these too, are apparently a hoax.

Mr Mendi Msimang, the ANC's chief representative in Britain, said yesterday he feared an informer within the organisation might have leaked the list of exiles' home addresses.

Commenting on the forged ANC letters, he said they were designed to sow confusion, adding: "I think this is a message which says: 'We know where you are and

we can get at you at any time'."

He said the AWB/National Front letters, with joint letterheads, each also included AWB application forms, handbooks and stickers.

Yesterday, Mr Msimang said, a package posted in Guildford, south of London, arrived at the ANC office, containing a dead snake and a lizard which was "still shaking".

The police were informed and took the package away for further investigation.

Crackdown



Members of the SADF towering over the crowd at a peace rally at Mandela and Holomisa squatter camps in Kaitshong on the East Rand yesterday. Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani addressed the squatters.

Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

Government imposes 9pm to 4am curfew

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30 weeks 11/4/91

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN and
NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE Government yesterday declared Kaitshong, Vosloorus and Tokoza townships on the East Rand "unrest areas".

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adrian Vlok issued the proclamation in terms of the Public Safety Act. A curfew between 9pm and 4am has also been imposed on the three townships.

Meanwhile, peace seems to have returned to the Mandela and Holomisa squatter camps in Kaitshong

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CHRIS HANI

AFORIPABLE HOMES

AFORIPABLE HOMES

P.T.O.

ER peace accord

From Page 1

after the warring factions in the area agreed on Tuesday night to end the conflict.

Some of the residents who earlier fled the trouble-torn area were streaming back to the camps late yesterday. *Sowetan 11/4/91*

The Holomisa and Mandela camps have been the scene of fierce battles since Sunday. At least 15 people have been killed.

The declaration brings to five the number of unrest areas in the Transvaal. Soweto and Alexandra were declared unrest areas last month.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order said yesterday the declaration was an attempt to defuse the volatile situation and to restore peace.

The emergency regulations have been used by police since the scrapping of the State of Emergency last year to smother outbreaks of violence, mainly in Reef townships.

This is not the first time Katlehong, Tokoza and Vosloorus have been declared unrest areas.

The African National Congress yesterday held a rally at Mandela camp which was addressed by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

Hundreds of residents attending the rally expressed joy by clapping their hands, ululating and shouting "Viva" when they were told that the two camps had reached a peace accord.

The agreement to end the violence was reached by committees representing the two camps.

It was facilitated by the local ANC branch and the Katlehong Civic Association.

Hani told a media briefing that the ANC was worried about the escalating violence which threatened the negotiation process.

He said it was because of violence that they had sent an ultimatum to the Government.

Committees from the two camps had agreed that a commission be set up to continue monitoring the peace process.

Three Reef townships declared unrest areas

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Three Reef townships — Vosloorus, Tokoza and Katlehong — have been declared unrest areas in terms of an extraordinary Government Gazette published yesterday.

The emergency measures, effective from today, impose a 9 pm to 4 am curfew in those areas and give security forces sweeping powers to combat the violence there.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok issued the proclamation in terms of the Public Safety Act.

"Unrest area" measures have been used regularly by police since the scrapping of the national state of emergency last year last year to smother outbreaks of killing in mainly Reef townships.

Vosloos, in the Alberton magisterial district and in the south of Boksburg, Tho-

koza near Brakpan and Katlehong near Germiston have all been unrest areas before.

Security forces used the "unrest areas" declarations last year to suppress violence in Operation Iron Fist.

President de Klerk's government has shown a preference for the "unrest areas" declaration because, officials say, it allows a more pinpoint approach and greater flexibility than a blanket emergency.

Mr Vlok has in the past lifted the curfews as soon as the violence in those areas subsided.

There were no reports of violence on the East Rand yesterday.

In faction fighting over the weekend and on Monday a total of 15 people was killed in the Kathlehong area, according to police.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani visited the area yesterday.

Monica Oosterbroek reports that Mr Hani, addressing about 500 squatters

from the two camps, said whites were to blame for the recent outbreak of violence in Reef townships.

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Mr Vlok has in the past lifted the curfews as soon as the violence subsided.

He said the Government, the police and the army were spreading dissent.

The policy of apartheid was the reason squatters were living in poverty, he said. This was a reason for the violence. Mr Hani urged residents to join the ANC, which would ensure comfortable living conditions for all.

There was also a call from residents in both camps for police to take down the 3 km of razor wire, surrounding Mandela Village camp, which was put up on Tuesday.

Lothar Neethling's rise from nazi orphan to top SA police general

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By PAT DEVEREAUX
Weekend Argus
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — One-time blue-eyed boy of the Broederbond and selected nazi orphan Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling had his leave to appeal against the dismissal of his R1 million defamation case against Vrye Weekblad turned down this week.

It remains that a top police forensics expert provided poison to ex-police Captain Dirk Coetzee to murder ANC suspects and misled the court and the Harms Commission, it was heard in the Rand Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, amid calls for his dismissal as head of the police forensics department, fascinating details have emerged about his past.

General Neethling was one of 83 nazi war orphans brought to this country by the Duitse Kinderfonds (DKF), a project headed by prominent

Broederbond members many of whom were pro-nazi Ossewabrandwag and Nationalist Party members in 1948.

The original plan of the DKF was to bring out 10 000 German orphans — "out of the ashes of the crushed thousand-year Reich of Adolf Hitler".

The Smuts government would allow only 100 orphans to be brought to South Africa. In 1947 well-known businessman and nazi-sympathiser Mr Schalk Botha, the secretary of the DKF, went to Germany accompanied by Dr Vera Buhrman. Advertisements were placed in German Protestant Church newspapers for 500 orphans.

Among those recommended to the DKF team as "exceptionally intelligent children" were Lothar Paul Teitz, 13, his younger brother Siegfried, 11, and sister Edith Katharina Teitz, 9.

Believed to come from a nazi family, the three orphans were raised in

the northern German town of Waltersdorf.

In 1948 only 83 children arrived in Cape Town aboard the Winchester Castle.

Symbolic bond

The Teitz children went to separate families. Lothar was chosen by Dr J C Neethling — a member of the Ossewabrandwag interned during World War 2 as a nazi sympathiser. He had also played a key role in organising the DKF.

One of the 1948 orphans, Mr Werner van der Merwe, has written a book titled 'Vir 'n Blanke Volk: Die

verhaal van die Duitse Weeskinders van 1948. Much of the information in this article is obtained from this book.

He claims that the young Lothar Teitz (who took the name Neethling) was "almost obsessed with showing the Afrikaner children he was better" and he excelled at Pretoria's Afrikaans High School. He also won the hearts of the Afrikaners by playing rugby.

Lothar Neethling epitomised the goals of the DKV when at 24 he described himself in an interview with Die Vaderland in 1959 as a "full-blooded Afrikaner".

Reprieve for 'Wit Wolf', McBride

CONVICTED killers Robert McBride and Barend Strydom have had their death sentences commuted to life imprisonment.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee last night announced the Panel of Review of Certain Death Sentences, established in November last year before changes in the Criminal Procedures Act, had decided to commute the sentences of 17 people.

Mr Coetsee said the panel had concluded the 17 would probably not have been sentenced to death if the new criteria had applied when they were sentenced.

The commuted sentences range from 20 years to life.

ANC guerilla McBride, 28, was sentenced on three counts of murder following the car bomb blast outside a Durban beachfront restaurant, Magoos Bar, in which 69 people were injured.

Strydom, 25, a self-proclaimed Wit Wolwe member and former policeman was sentenced to death eight times in 1988 after he killed eight black pedestrians in Pretoria's Strijdom Square and for the attempted murder of 16 people in Pretoria and at a squatter camp at De Deur.

MacBride's wife, Paula, said last night: "Obviously I'm delighted, particularly as it paves the way for his release. It's great."

Mrs McBride, who is a spokeswoman for Lawyers for Human Rights, said one other member of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was among the 17.

Mrs Daphne and Mr Nic Strydom, parents of the "Wit Wolf", said from their holiday home in Cape Town last night that they were grateful for the reprieve.

The family had gone through an extremely difficult time for a long time, and Mr Strydom

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Reprieve

Senior was "very pleased" that his petition in this regard "had gone so far".

Strydom's wife, Karen, was surprised about the commuting of his death sentence to life imprisonment.

However, she said, the family still demanded his release from prison as they considered him a political prisoner.

Of the prisoners, 13 were convicted and sentenced to death for necklacing and killing councillors, municipal police and police informers. Nine are from the eastern Cape and three from Oudtshoorn.

The prisoners and their new sentences are S M T Dayimani, 20 R Farland, 25, P Diabathi, 25, G Gxekwa, 30, V P Jacobs, 25, O J Mbonane, 30, S S Masuku, 30, M Ngqandu, 25, A Zeyo, 20, M Lucas, 25, P Majinda, D Majola (life), D Madikane (life).

Those who had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment will have to spend the rest of their lives in prison unless certain exceptional circumstances applied, Mr Coetsee's statement said.

Only five of the 17 — M Lucas, Majinda, Majola, Madikane and Meyers had not requested political indemnity, but President F W de Klerk had decided not to give any further special reduction in sentences from that ruled by the nine-member panel.

The reasons for Meyers (life) and Mposulu (25 years) being convicted could not be established.

Mr Coetsee said those who felt they had a case for indemnity should follow the procedures and mechanisms established for this purpose and De Klerk would then review their cases again. — Political Staff and Sapa

To page 2

Forbes trial: Three freed

Staff Reporter

THREE men convicted in the eight-month Ashley Forbes terrorism trial in 1988 were among 41 Robben Island political prisoners released yesterday.

Mr Anwa Dramat, Mr Clement Baadjies and Mr Peter Jacobs were met by a flag-waving crowd of about 100 in the harbour.

Mr Dramat was sentenced to 12 years for his role in political violence, Mr Baadjies received 10 years for his part in attacks on a bus shelter and a policeman's home and Mr Jacobs, a political commissar, was jailed for 14 years for terrorism.



ISLAND RELEASES . . . Among the 41 Robben Island prisoners released yesterday were three Capetonians convicted in the controversial Ashley Forbes terrorism trial in 1988. Here the prisoners disembark in the harbour, above.

OLD FRIENDS . . . One of the Forbes trial trio, Mr Anwa Dramat (left), who received a 12-year sentence, gets a warm hug from a friend after his release.

WELCOME . . . Another Ashley Forbes trialist, political commissar Mr Peter Jacobs, who received 14 years for terrorism, was welcomed by ANC regional publicity chief Mr Trevor Manuel.

Pictures: BENNY GOOL



No more pangas, axes and knives

Stew 17/4/91
Political Correspondent

The police have placed a ban on the carrying of pangas, axes and bush-knives at political marches and meetings, but will continue to allow "traditional weapons" — including spears, sticks and knobkerries.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced this in Cape Town yesterday. He said: "This should be seen as firm evidence of the Government's commitment towards ending the violence."

The ANC last night wel-

comed the announcement. Spokesman Saki Macozoma said it would be evaluated by the ANC's national executive committee after May 9 in terms of its recent ultimatum to the Government threatening to call off talks if steps were not taken to end violence.

Mr Vlok also strongly rejected ANC charges of police "bias, brutality, inaction or wrongful actions", as well as claims that police ignored warnings of violence.

He released a thick dossier of correspondence between the police and ANC

officials and lawyers about 19 cases where the ANC had made such accusations.

Mr Vlok said the documents proved these accusations were groundless.

He expressed concern about the ongoing violence, but pointed out that there had been a significant drop this year.

In January there had been 545 unrest incidents compared to 878 in January last year. In February there were 525, compared to 1 371 last February and in March 676 as opposed to 2 186 last March.

Reporters hand notes to SAP

Staff Reporter

Police yesterday served search warrants on two reporters of the Sunday Star, ordering them to hand over documented information relating to a report on, and interviews with, South African Defence Force undercover agent Nico Basson.

Journalists Charles Leonard and Ivor Powell had handed over notebooks, documents and a tape "under protest", said Sunday Star deputy editor Dave Hazelhurst.

The warrants related to an article written by Mr Leonard,

based on a Supreme Court action Mr Basson brought against Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, and subsequent interviews with Mr Basson carried out by Mr Leonard and Mr Powell. *Sar 17/4/91*

The article was published on March 25.

"Both journalists handed over their notebooks under protest in answer to the search warrant," Mr Hazelhurst said.

"They both felt no principle of protecting a source, as Mr Basson had gone public in both the Supreme Court and in subsequent interviews."

ANC calls police raid on house uncivilised

By Paula Fray

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A police raid on the home of Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (CAST) vice-president Kgabisi Mosunkutu on Monday — during which his 14-year-old son was allegedly held at gunpoint — has been condemned by the ANC's PWV regional office branch.

The ANC branch media officer, Ronnie Mamoepa, said the raid and the alleged violence of the police against a group of people in Klipspruit at the weekend underlined the ANC's belief that "civilised methods of dealing with the general public by the police have to be introduced" if negotiations were to continue.

The ANC's outrage was echoed by CAST general secretary Sam Ntuli, who said his organisation was disturbed that Mr Mosunkutu continued to be harassed. It gave its full support to the ANC to take up the matter at the highest level.

Yesterday, Mr Mosunkutu said his son Mbulelo and their helper Matshepiso Kolo were alone at home when about 18 armed men, who did not identify themselves, entered the

house and began ransacking it.

Mbulelo was asked whether his parents were members of the ANC, and a gun was pointed at a photograph of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

"They went through the house with a fine comb. I found the house really upset when I came home," said Mr Mosunkutu, who is also president of the Post and Telecommunications Workers Association.

The men left without taking anything.

Police liaison officer for Soweto Lieutenant Govidsamy Mariemuthoo confirmed that a group of armed policemen had searched the house.

Lieutenant Mariemuthoo said police were at the scene on the suspicion that weapons were being hidden in the Pimville house. They had identified themselves, he added.

"At no stage did they hold people up," he said, although he confirmed that the policemen were armed.

Mr Mosunkutu and his wife, Nongaba, who is chairman of the Pimville branch of the ANC Women's League, have experienced several incidents of harassment in the past few weeks.

Ex-prisoner set for ANC work ³⁷

The Argus Correspondent

ANC 18/4/91
DURBAN. — Freed Dr Vijay Ramlakan, 33, one of the 41 political prisoners released from Robben Island yesterday, is all set to continue working for the African National Congress.

Dr Ramlakan was released after serving four of his 12 years prison term for terrorism.

Speaking from Cowley House in Cape Town, Dr Ramlakan said he was being debriefed by the ANC.

"I have spoken to Mr Chris Hani, Umkhonto We Sizwe Chief of Staff and am being briefed by the health services section of the ANC. I am waiting for a directive from the ANC before making any definite plans," he said.

ANC 'dismayed' over 'political trials'

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC expressed dismay yesterday over continuing political trials, while people were being freed under terms reached with the government in exploratory talks over the removals of obstacles to constitutional negotiations.

However, it welcomed the release on Tuesday of 41 "political prisoners" and urged Pretoria to speed up the process.

ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan told reporters at Jan Smuts Airport on arrival from Harare: "We welcome the release of any political prisoner but we still insist the process is still too slow and needs to be speeded up."

He added that it was alarming that "political trials" were still in progress, while other political prisoners were being freed.

The ANC has threatened to break off talks with the government if demands for the release of prisoners and the return of exiles by April 30 has not been met.

Dr Jordan was returning with senior officials of the PAC after their two-day alliance talks in the Zimbabwean capital.

Meanwhile, the PAC and the ANC would begin consultations with other organisations, including the Inkatha Freedom Party, in a bid to persuade them to join the coalition.

McBride's dad with 15 seeking indemnity

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's committee of judges that is to consider indemnities for political prisoners is examining the claims to freedom of 15 people — most of them Umkhonto we Sizwe members.

A source close to the committee said the cases of Derek McBride, father of reprieved ANC bomber Robert McBride, as well as MK member Gordon Webster, were being examined.

Derek McBride is serving 12 years on Robben Island for trying to spring Webster from a Maritzburg hospital. His son is among 17 death row prisoners reprieved this week.

The committee comprises Appeal Court judge Mr Justice Steyn and former members of the bench Mr Justice Leon and Mr Justice Solomon.

Another two cases are being examined. They were of Acton Dladla and Mandla Maseko, the co-accused of recently-released Umkhonto member Ebrahim Ebrahim. They were convicted in 1989 for terrorism and treason respectively arising from landmine blasts in the Eastern Transvaal in 1986.

The committee — set up earlier this year to consider "difficult" cases and make recommendations to President F W de Klerk — has not yet announced the outcome of any of the cases forwarded to it.

The partial ban on weapons may have made matters worse, argues Shaun Johnson

Politics prevails over peace

ADRIAN Vlok's partial prohibition on the carrying of dangerous weapons in "potential conflict situations" can be described as a half-step in an uncertain direction.

The Minister of Law and Order has responded, after a fashion, to the ANC's demand for measures to staunch the township bloodletting. But he has done so in a manner which seems likely to produce neither dramatic practical results nor a rebuilding of confidence.

It was not a decisive intervention, and surely stands at least an even chance of compounding rather than easing the current deadlock with the ANC over violence.

Certainly, it was not the "clear, positive signal" the ANC had in mind when it offered flexibility over its May 9 "ultimatum" deadline.

Mr Vlok's media briefing in Cape Town on Tuesday evening was in parts as equivocal as the state of the negotiations process itself. He began by expressing sincere concern about the ongoing violence: "It is hurting South Africa and all its peoples at a time when our country is on the verge of a bright future."

But he then launched into one of his most intemperate attacks on the ANC, and concluded (ap-

parently without irony) with a call for an end to "accusations and counter-accusations" which "will not bring an end to bloodshed".

Mr Vlok appealed "to all concerned to shed individual differences and to seek a joint solution to the violence". In practical terms he announced a new ban on the carrying of "axes, pangas, and bush knives ... in potential conflict situations such as marches and meetings".

While falling well short of demands from the ANC and the Democratic Party for a wholesale ban on the bearing of dangerous weapons in public, this initiative could have served as an unmistakable, if unacknowledged, response to such sentiments.

However, its potentially positive effect was all but drowned in a deluge of vituperation and documentation aimed at the ANC.

"Notwithstanding ... all the measures already taken by the Government and the SA Police to curb the killings," said Mr Vlok, "the violence continues, apparently with the ANC in every case the catalyst."

(When questioned, he qualified this assertion, saying "there are cases where they are not involved", but the implication of original sin was overwhelming.)

Spencer 18/4/91

He went on: "Information also indicates that certain activities by the ANC or its members often seem to be the trigger or cause of the violence ... It is disturbing that the ANC, instead of assisting and co-operating with the police in ending the violence, hinders the police with a constant stream of unfounded complaints, allegations and vilifications aimed at discrediting the force."

Mr Vlok appended to his six-page statement no fewer than 72 pages of documentation intended to illustrate the ANC's disingenuity in claiming to be co-operating with the SAP in its investigations into recent atrocities.

Much of it indeed suggests that senior police officers have made concerted attempts to stop township massacres, and that in some cases have been frustrated by the ANC's failure to come up with the evidence it has promised.

But this is a difficulty which is surmountable, if the necessary trust, goodwill and co-operation is established. Publicly to rub the ANC's nose in its limited efficiency (and further to imply basic bad faith) is surely precisely to ensure that the problem will burgeon.

Similarly, Mr Vlok's aggressive approach has seen to it that some of the undeniable difficulties he

faces will not be tackled in a spirit of enthusiastic co-operation with the ANC, but in one of suspicious enmity if, indeed, they can be tackled at all.

The Minister makes, for example, a valid point when he says a blanket ban on the ownership of dangerous weapons would have to include licensed firearms and (no matter how desirable this is in theory) it could cause more upheaval than ever.

He — and his policemen on the ground — also have a real problem in drawing the line between bona fide "traditional" weapons, and ersatz tools of thugery.

There are not many original assegais left in KwaZulu (the expensive African artefact emporiums of white South Africa have seen to that), and who is to say whether the new ones have been fashioned out of respect for tradition or for baser purposes?

Further, as he himself remarked, it is no easy task to disarm several thousand armed warriors who insist they are their way to a peace rally.

But the point is that Mr Vlok's critics simply do not trust his intentions and will therefore not identify with his difficulties in a rational and compromising mood. His latest initiative has com-

pounded the suspicions.

The most uncharitable interpretation which opponents place on Mr Vlok's perception of his own role is that he is viewing himself — in the colonial idiom — as a paternal official presiding over a bloody squabble between two warring tribes.

He refuses to concede the possibility that his own subjects might subjectively be involved, they argue, and apportion blame at will. Moreover, as that blame is so consistently attached to one party, it is difficult to see how Mr Vlok's own ground forces can be expected to act neutrally.

The judgmental tone he adopted this week appeared dramatically to undercut the positive, if limited, steps Mr Vlok was announcing. It was markedly in contrast with the approach favoured, for example, by the DP MP for Simon's Town, Janine Momborg.

In a mini-debate in Parliament on the subject earlier on Tuesday, he prefaced an impassioned call for the banning in public of "any weapon which can kill ... from a so-called innocent stick to a gun", with the assurance that it was not his intention to criticise any specific group or party.

"I have a high regard for the traditions of other people, but I do

believe if these traditions lead to the death of others, it should be stopped ...

"I also have a sympathy with the police, who must decide what is a traditional weapon and what is a dangerous weapon ... (but) it is Parliament's duty to stop people carrying dangerous weapons which can kill other people."

"We must stop the violence before it destroys the negotiation process."

There was important good news to be found in Mr Vlok's assessment of the current situation, in that statistics show a dramatic decline in incidents of violence this year as compared to 1990.

The current violence, while unacceptable, was receiving so much attention because of the "shocking brutality (involved) and the numbers of people killed", he said. But again, the effect of announcing a decline in unrest incidents from 2 186 in March 1990 to 676 in March 1991 was dulled by the combative rather than co-operative gist of its presentation.

Those who know Mr Vlok believe, unlike the ANC, that he is genuinely committed to halting the township carnage. They will be hard pressed to explain how this week's tub-thumping advances that cause. □

NO FAREWELL TO ARMS

IS VLOK THE RIGHT MAN TO HANDLE SUCH A SENSITIVE PORTFOLIO?



Down here in the real world, we are all wondering what can really be done about the violence. It's not putting it too strongly to say that resumption of economic growth depends greatly on the actions of the police

and security forces — which is why Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, whose head the ANC wants, is very much the man of the historical moment.

For the time being he is certainly the most important man in the Cabinet, entrusted as he is with averting the kind of chaos Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis believe we could face within a few short years unless growth creates the necessary jobs and security.

But do Vlok and the police have the political will, on the one hand, and the logistical capability on the other to do the job — and if so why are the killings continuing?

In other words, is he neglecting his duty and ought he to be fired? The ANC says Vlok doesn't take the situation seriously enough — it argues he could end the violence if he used all the powers at his disposal and says its ultimatum earlier this month was aimed primarily at showing government how strongly it feels on the issue.

Clearly it's not that simple. A rational view of the ultimatum — with its set of conditions, deadline and penalties — is also a tacit plea for help. It is an admission that the violence has developed its own momentum, is out of the hands of the ANC and Inkatha and requires unprecedented police action to be ended. At the same time scapegoats are being sought by all parties.

There are of course many reasons for the violence. Much of it can be traced back to decades of apartheid neglect that denied blacks proper education and opportunities, and condemned millions to degrading lives in township ghettos where crime and violence flourished. For its part, the ANC, through its encouragement of insurrection and a campaign to make the townships ungovernable, must also share responsibility.

But all players are culpable to some degree: the police, the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC, Azapo and other groups have all at

some stage been accused of — or been involved — in violence.

The trouble is that while rapid economic growth will break the cycle of poverty which nourishes violence, it won't happen until the violence is stopped.

Is Vlok doing enough? He insists that he and the SA Police are doing all they can to end the violence: "It is shocking to me that people are being killed. One death is one too many." Yet the situation appears to be getting worse — and this raises the question of why Vlok is failing despite all the resources at his disposal and the vast array of security laws that the SAP has enforced with such vigour in the past.

Vlok argues that the nature of the violence has changed in the past 18 months: no longer is the State the primary target. The conflict is now mainly between rival political organisations and individuals which makes it difficult to predict and combat. The minister argues that it would have been impossible for any government to prevent or deal with violence on the scale seen in SA over the past five years. "Most of the killings take place at night, and it is impossible to place a guard outside every door."

Yet he appeared to manage fairly well before President FW de Klerk's reforms changed the rules of the game. He used methods that certainly curbed unrest and reduced the number of deaths.

So: are the police being held back to pla-



Vlok ... interviewed by FM's Nigel Bruce and Chris Freimond

cate foreign opinion?

Vlok says: "No. We enforced laws and detained thousands of people over a period of six years and it helped to calm the situation. In 1985 there were 17 000 unrest-related incidents, in 1986 there were 16 000. Then we declared the State of Emergency and the emergency regulations enabled detentions. We arrested many people responsible for violence; we couldn't prove it in court, but we had enough information to know that they were responsible. I was able to remove thousands of people from the streets.

"The emergency regulations also allowed

me to restrict organisations that were inciting and mobilising in the townships. These actions calmed the situation. In 1987 there were fewer than 5 000 unrest-related incidents. In 1988 the figure started climbing and reached nearly 8 000. The following year it was nearly 9 000. Then we unbanned organisations and individuals. They were free to mobilise and organise and that's when violence started again. In 1990 there were more than 17 000 unrest incidents."

Does this mean that only the reimposition of a State of Emergency can halt the conflict? Vlok doesn't believe so. "I have the option to ask the president to declare a State of Emergency and ban organisations again — but under the present circumstances it's unthinkable."

He also feels the current situation does not warrant a new emergency — despite the level of violence.

Nevertheless, he regards the conflict as extremely grave and is taking the ANC's ultimatum seriously though he believes it unfair to blame the police and government for the violence. He says he is prepared to resign if — based on facts — he is shown to stand in the way of a peaceful future.

Dealing with the violence is extremely difficult, he says. The situation is often chaotic — and even when arrests are made, witnesses are often unwilling to testify in court because of fear of further violence.

Vlok also rejects ANC claims that police use unnecessary force in quelling riots or dispersing gatherings. The use of live ammunition is a last resort, he says, and it's not correct that water cannon and teargas are no longer being used in crowd control.

The violence is almost always unpredictable: most killings occur at night and it's almost impossible for the police to prevent them. Flooding an area with police and troops is an effective temporary method of curbing violence, but there are not enough men to cover all areas and the conflict often flares again when they are withdrawn. Even the declaration of unrest areas and imposition of curfews has only a limited effect.

Nevertheless, Vlok is confident that the SAP will be able to stop the killing and does not feel restricted by political considerations. He will take whatever actions he deems necessary regardless of the political consequences.

"It is top priority to have law and order as soon as possible and as permanently as possible. We can have more policemen — and government has already spent millions more on the SAP — but it won't help us if we can't get people to stop killing each other. This is why we favour negotiations."

The ANC's ultimatum puzzles him. "It

NEWS

'Odd couple' eludes shadow of the gallows

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE long wait in the shadow of the gallows on Death Row is over for two young men whose crimes outraged opposite poles of society, but whose lives show remarkable parallels.

Barend Strydom and Robert McBride are among the 17 people whose death sentences were commuted by Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee this week.

Strydom is white and McBride is coloured; both were 23 when they went to Pretoria Central Prison to await execution.

"Wit Wolf" Strydom gunned down 21 black people in Church Square, Pretoria, on November 15 1988. Eight of his victims died. A week previously he went on a "practice run", killing an 18-year-old woman and wounding her friend at a squatter camp near De Deur.

Strydom told the Pretoria Supreme Court during his trial he believed blacks were animals, not people.

Sentencing Barend Hendrik Strydom to death eight times on May 25 1989, Mr Justice Harms said: "You must be removed from society forever."

Robert McBride was sent to Death Row on April 13 1987 for planting a car bomb outside Magoo's Bar in Durban in 1986. Three women died and 89 people were injured.

McBride told the Maritzburg Supreme Court he despised whites because he was the butt of insults when he "tried for white" and joined a white rugby club.

Strydom was taught the doctrine of white supremacy by his father, Mr Nic Strydom, formerly regional AWB leader at Heidelberg in the Transvaal.

He saw himself in a war situation in which blacks were the "enemy". He had been taught there would be no room for blacks in a Boerestaat.

He decided to take things into his own hands. He claimed it was either himself or the "enemy".

McBride said his father was anti-white and had told him never to trust a white man.

McBride came to believe that there was a sickness in the country. He wanted to destroy this sickness and became a radical.

He had explosives training in Botswana and became a member of the ANC's special operations division.

Violent protest

He was so enraged by the declaration of the state of emergency that he decided to make a form of violent protest, he told the court.

Now Strydom and McBride have renounced violence, according to their wives.

Both men were married on Death Row.

McBride wed Miss Paula Leyden, a British businessman's daughter, in Pretoria Central Prison in May 1989, making history by becoming the first Death Row prisoner to do so.

McBride and his wife, a former schoolteacher, were allowed a 40-minute "honeymoon". It was the first time they had been in physical contact for two years.

Student teacher Miss Karin Rautenbach had known Hendri, as Strydom is known to an inner circle of friends and family, before the Pretoria shootings.

"We saw each other at AWB and Boerestaat Party meetings. So I wrote to him in jail and he invited me to visit him. We've loved each other since then."

Now in a bizarre twist, determination to stop the executions of Strydom and McBride, has brought Strydom's parents and Paula McBride closer together.

Mrs Daphne Strydom said the family initially experienced antagonism from prisoners on Death Row.

But Mrs McBride, who works on Lawyers for Human Rights' death penalty desk, helped.

Said Mrs Strydom: "Paula is the person who helped change the other families' attitudes towards us. I have a lot of respect for Paula. I told her the other day that I will help the LHR with any campaign against the death penalty. It does not matter what race or colour a person is, I will fight the death penalty."

De Klerk challenged on SA jails

Capt Tink 26/4/91

OWN Correspondent

LONDON. — President F W de Klerk was yesterday challenged to open South Africa's prisons to inspection by the international community, to substantiate his denial of a report claiming over 1 300 political prisoners are still incarcerated.

At a press conference to mark the release of the report — just seven days before the April 30 deadline set by the ANC for the release of political prisoners — Mr De Klerk was also accused of deliberately withholding details concerning the release of political prisoners.

Mr Horst Kleinschmidt, director of the International Defence and Aid Fund (Idaf) was asked to comment on an earlier claim by Mr De Klerk which disputed the figures produced by Idaf and the South African Human Rights Commission. Mr De Klerk said the figures would be proven wrong by the end of the month.

Mr Kleinschmidt said the two organisations which drew up the list had "irrefutable evidence" that 1 300 political prisoners were still being held.

He said the list was compiled by monitoring organisations and lawyers who dealt with the families of political prisoners.

But, he added: "If he pretends they don't exist, the only answer is that the prisons need to be opened so that the international community can see what is going on there. The onus is on him."

Earlier, Idaf researcher Ms Lucia Otto admitted there might be inaccuracies in the report. But, she said, it was the government which should apologise, because it "continues to mask, continues to obstruct every attempt to show who is in prison and who is a political prisoner".

"Even with those people released under the (Pretoria) agreement, the government has not issued their names or given the kind of detail (required)."

CPT 712P 24/4/91

Amnesty. Row over 327 number to be freed

Political Staff

A SERIOUS dispute about the number of political prisoners due for release in terms of the ANC's April 30 deadline, has flared.

The Human Rights Commission said yesterday 1 146 political prisoners remained in jail and called for the "throwing open of the prison gates".

But the Minister of Justice and Correctional Services, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said "slightly more than 850 applications by prisoners for release" had been received.

By the end of last week, 535 of these had been approved.

He said a significant number of the applications were "clearly from criminal elements who were chance-takers".

The HRC's Mr Max Coleman said it would not be possible to meet the deadline if the cumbersome process established to release the prisoners was adhered to.

Mr Coetsee said a committee comprising the Department of Correctional Services, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Political Prisoners Release Programme was working through a list which had been accepted by the ANC.

Any claim of there being thousands of political prisoners was devoid of any truth, he said.

IPI deplores Laurence sentence

Star 24/4/91 (327)
Political Staff (100)

The International Press Institute (IPI) has deplored the jail sentence recently imposed on The Star's journalist Patrick Laurence for refusing to divulge his source.

Laurence, a political writer, was subpoenaed under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act to disclose his source for a story on the disappearance of key State witness Gabriel Mekgwe in the "Winnie Mandela trial".

Laurence refused to divulge his source, and was sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment. He successfully applied for bail and was released pending the outcome of his appeal.

The IPI said it was watching with concern "the growing intimidation of South African journalists by political organisations".

The institute urged Pretoria and extra-parliamentary organisations to "act against this intimidation".

Nelson Mandela, in a major speech, has committed the ANC to a free press

Journalists are vital to democracy

Star 24/4/91

(327)

IN an address to the International Press Institute annual meeting in Tokyo, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela committed his organisation to the support of a "free and vigorous" press in the new South Africa.

He said: "The ANC's draft Bill of Rights and the Constitutional Principles for a Democratic South Africa, which we unveiled a week ago, are a synthesis of the best in South African human rights traditions."

"These two documents are the outcome of a debate initiated in 1986 through the ANC's constitutional guidelines."

"We deliberately set out to involve human rights lawyers, academics, authorities and ordinary laymen and women far beyond the ANC's own membership and support base."

"We avoided being prescriptive but sought to encourage participation."

"That intervention shifted the debate decisively away from a rearrangement of the apartheid system to its roots..."

"If there is indeed a narrowing of the gap that separates us from the South African Government, that is because the Government has been compelled to change in order to keep pace with the tide of opinion in our country."

"These values, which the ANC espouses and shall continue to espouse, bear an incredibly high

price."

"Hundreds have lost their lives in an attempt to make them a reality."

"Thousands of families and homes have been wrecked so that we can realise them."

"Those who joined the struggle for human freedom did so with their eyes wide open."

"They were under no illusion about the path they had chosen. We knew that it entailed sacrifice, hazards, torment and even the risk of death."

"We all chose it not for personal gain or material rewards. We took this stand because these were goals we saw as worthy and virtuous."

"We do not now nor shall we ever regret having made that choice."

"Freedom of the media and the press is among the oldest and most valued freedoms for which people the world over have fought."

"The ANC has extended its solidarity, and shall continue to support journalists, editors, writers and other media people who face persecution because they seek to exercise this right."

"As an expression of our commitment to the citizens' right to know, we have inserted this among the articles on the ANC's draft Bill of Rights."

"We place an equal emphasis on the right to disseminate such in-



Nelson Mandela... freedom of press guaranteed.

formation through the press and other media.

"We cannot claim that the institutionalisation of these rights is the road to perfection, but at least we have not placed obstacles in the way."

"We cannot over-emphasise the great store we set by a vigorous and free press in the democratic South Africa we hope to create. Ours has become, through po-

litical activity, an extremely engaged and critical constituency which will not take easily to political marginalisation."

"We regard a press that has the courage to speak its mind, without fear or favour, as essential in keeping the public vigilant and alert to any temptation on the part of government to abuse its powers."

"We would say also that a democratic government that either feared or sought to constrain media scrutiny of its policies and actions is embarked on a course that must inevitably result in the evasion of accountability to the people."

"We ask the worldwide fraternity of newsmen for no favours."

"We ask them to give due recognition of these facts and to judge as they do all others. We shall not withdraw from the cut and thrust of politics, and we have the confidence that we can engage any of our critics on the strength of our record."

"The ANC shall continue to play its role for five great freedoms in our country. We shall do this not because we wish to please anyone or because we wish to cultivate new friends."

"These are the core principles on which we have built our movement and its programme."

"We shall continue to uphold them because of their intrinsic value." □

Top legal men 'audit' seekers of indemnity

Arabs 3/4/91
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By TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE government is engaged in a case-by-case "audit" with prominent human rights lawyers in a bid to reconcile differences with the African National Congress over the number of political prisoners to be released.

Consultations are taking place as the government accelerates the freeing of prisoners and indemnity for exiles before the April 30 — Tuesday — deadline agreed to eight months ago.

Indications are that this procedure will run beyond the deadline.

Four nominated

Four people nominated by the ANC — Mr Arthur Chaskelson SC, Mr Thebale Skweyiya SC, Mr Dullah Omar and Dr Max Coleman — have been appointed by the Department of Justice to advise three judges considering indemnities. Their names were gazetted last night.

The judges are Mr Justice M T Steyn, Mr Justice R N Leon and Mr Justice R S Solomon.

Also advising the judicial panels will be Mr A C le Roux SC, Mr J S Rossouw and Mrs Jenny Friedman.

A further 124 political prisoners, 44 of them on Robben Island, are to be released, according to an announcement by Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee.

The government maintains that it is fulfilling all its obligations for the release of political prisoners and that it has, in fact, gone further than the Pretoria Minute requires.

Mr Coetsee maintains that, broadly speaking, there are about 400 political prisoners with 60 on Robben Island.

Claims that there could be 1 200 who should be released or indemnified are now being investigated. The minister has denied that there is such a large number.

He maintains about 160 ordinary criminals "took a chance" by applying for indemnity.

There were others who had been involved in acts resulting in death or serious injury who could not qualify for indemnity.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute, April 30 is the deadline for the release of prisoners but Mr Coetsee indicated today that this was more a target date and that the process would continue beyond that date.

In terms of an earlier statement by Mr Coetsee, a further category of people who could be given indemnity had now been defined.

He emphasised today that this applied to people who were in jail as well as others who had committed offences with a political motive before October 8 1990.

Arms, ammunition

This meant that people who, with a political motive, had committed high treason, offences in terms of the Internal Security Act such as the holding of illegal gatherings, offences such as the unlawful possession of arms, ammunition or explosives, trespassing, arson, malicious injury to property and public violence would get indemnity.

This would have the result that the majority of the applications for indemnity could be finalised, excluding applications relating to acts resulting in deaths or serious injuries.

Applications in the case of such serious cases were being considered individually.

411-716-1 28/1/91
Hunger strike

JOHANNESBURG. —

Authorities have denied ANC reports that 26 of its members are on a hunger strike at the Leeukop Prison near here.

ANC region media officer Mr Ronnie Mamoepe earlier said the prisoners had begun a fast on Sunday.

But in its reply to the allegations, a spokesman for the Department of Correctional Services said no hunger strike was in progress. — Sapa

Freeedom is on

CAT 7-16 327
26/4/91

Political Staff

MORE political prisoners are to be set free in the next 48 hours as the ANC's April 30 deadline for the release of all political prisoners draws near.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, is expected to announce the names of 60 who will be released.

Mr Coetsee said yesterday that another 100 and 200 would qualify for release under a new indemnity category and all but 148 indemnity applications would be finalised in the next 4 to 48 hours.

A further 1500 indemnity applications are to be finalised this week in co-operation with the ANC.

He said the International Red Cross had accepted an invitation to visit all prisons to make sure no political prisoners had "slipped by".

A general amnesty of six months to "a couple of thousand" prisoners would come into effect on May 1 for those serving sentences for specified offences.

Following the six-month amnesty announced at the end of last year, many prisoners, who did not qualify for release in terms of the Pretoria Minute and supporting agreements, will receive a 12-month remission of sentence.

The amnesty excludes people serving sentences for rape, murder, indecent assault, abduction, drugs, robbery, culpable homicide, housebreaking and theft.

The release of 659 political prisoners has already been announced.

Mr Coetsee told a press conference that the new category covered those who were convicted of offences with a political motive provided no one was killed or injured.

In total, 919 prisoners may have been freed before April 30.

A further 141, who were included on the Human Rights Commission list of political prisoners, were "clearly criminals" but they included 13 of the people who had been reprieved from death row the week before last.

A further 200 applications for release had been received recently, bringing the total to 1 050, but they included some people who would not qualify for release.

The release of between 100 and 200 prisoners, who qualified because of the new indemnity category, "will leave us with approximately 200 or less who will be dealt with on an individual basis".

However, not all of these had applied for release. If they did they would be handled with the same reconciliation and fairness.

Mr Coetsee said the government had received 5 575 applications for indemnity and release.

To page 2

Freedom

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He said 3 956 applications and 55 individual applications had already been approved.

Together with the new indemnity category, 1 500 applications would be finalised in the next 48 hours with the co-operation of the ANC.

"Only about 148 applications will still be outstanding."

Applications for in-

demnity and release would still be considered after April 30 and would include all groups, not just the ANC.

He also said the Department of Justice had started vetting all current trials involving political offences in terms of the new indemnity category but only 129 of the people involved had applied for indemnity.

The attorneys-general would review these cases and it was possible that some charges would be withdrawn.

His department had approached the Lawyers for Human Rights and the Human Rights Commission about these trials and a list of 1 520 alleged political offenders had been provided.

However, 539 of these people were on trial for offences committed after October 8 last year, 225 committed offences in neighbouring states, charges had been withdrawn against 63, 60 had been convicted, and 123 had been charged with murder.

Although the HRC had provided the names of 1 292 political prisoners still in jail, only 738 had been identified. He said 349 of these had already been released and 141 were clearly criminals.

FW 'kept
prisoners
in jail' 37

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk has refused to free Robert McBride and Barend Strydom, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.

However, Mr. Coetsee indicated that the President had left the door open for further review.

Both men, who last week had their death sentences commuted to life imprisonment, have applied for release in terms of last year's Pretoria Minute on the grounds that they were political prisoners.

ANC BOMBER TO GO FREE

327
CMT 7m B 26/4/9
Political Staff

CONVICTED ANC bomber James Mange is to be released tomorrow.

Mange stood trial in 1979 in Maritzburg and was sentenced to death, but this was later commuted to 20 years.

Also among the 60 prisoners to be freed from Robben Island tomorrow are seven members of the PAC and two members of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM).

It is significant that PAC and BCM members are being freed. In the past they have refused to apply for release and it is unlikely that they have done so this time.

Mr Vincent Diba and Mr Morgan Makubalo, both of whom were convicted in the Oscar Mpetha trial, are among those to be released.

The full list of prisoners to be released is:

The seven PAC members are: Andreas Cols — sentenced in 1966 to eight years; Michael Frans 1966, eight years; Thembinholi Khonongo 1968, eight years; Vincent Mathunjwa 1968, seven years; Ngigweni Mqotsa 1968, four years; Jimmy Saroka 1968, 18 years and Thozamile Tiyo 1968 four years.

The two BCM members are Mzukisi Madiavu 1978, 18 years and Thambi Phikwane 1968, seven years.

The 27 ANC members with date of imprisonment and sentence: Vuyalika Diba 1962, 18; Zenzile Dlamini 1967, 10; Mawazi Dlodlo 1966, 16; Mncedisi Dubese 1966, 12; Stevens Khota 1966, 16; Ntshalelo Kwezi 1969, 10; Paul Langa 1977, 25; Luthwa Lobese 1966, 7; Morgan Makubalo 1963, 15; James Mange 1979, 20; Mboniswa Maphutysa 1962, 20; Toto Masiza 1966, 13; Ntshahle Maziya 1968, 7; Welcome Mhlongo 1969, 10; Curtis Mlenza 1964, 12; Samuel Mohope 1967, 8; Theophilus Mzokwa 1967, 25; Sipho Nkosi 1966, 10; Gerald Nqeza 1978, 20; Sindi Ntshontsho 1967, 7; Timothy Nxumalo 1978, 22; Gayo Nxumalo 1966, 20; Moroa Pale 1969, 8; Mthunzi Qumza 1967, 8; Mthunzi Sithole 1968, 9; Benjamin Tse 1960, 20; Clement Zuit 1968, 7.

Star 26/4/91

Ciskei group locked up ³²⁷ over permit

Political Reporter

KIMBERLEY — The Ciskei delegation to the ANC Women's League conference here was kept behind locked gates at the Modderfontein police station for three hours yesterday.

And the driver of the delegation's minibus was arrested and charged for not being in possession of a long-distance permit to transport people. Police confirmed the driver had been charged on a traffic offence.

Delegation member Busisiwe Dinga said the traffic officer who stopped the minibus had been very aggressive and had ordered one of the women to take off her ANC cap because "that is not allowed here".

"The traffic officer said he would not arrest us again but he might inform his colleagues in Cradock to arrest us when we go back home on Sunday," she added.

She said the delegation had borrowed the taxi to attend the conference.

By CHRIS BATEMAN

AMONG the 36 political prisoners to be released from Robben Island today is Jame Daniel Mange, an ANC political commissar who planned an unsuccessful attack on the Whittlesea police station and magistrate's court complex in 1978.

Mr Mange is only the second man to be sentenced to death in South Africa for high treason, the first being nazi-trained Ossewabrandwag member Robey Leibbrandt, for blowing up power pylons and a post office during World War II.

Mr Mange's trial made history and attracted worldwide attention.

With 11 others he was convicted of high treason by Mr Justice Hefer in the Supreme Court, Maritzburg, on November 15, 1979, in a trial marked by a running confrontation between the accused and the judge.

All the accused were given a year or more extra jail sentence for contempt of court.

Leaving the country after the

ANC boss Mange freed

Comp. Tink
27/4/91
357

Soweto riots in 1976, the 12 men were among the first wave of insurgents to return and take up arms against other South Africans.

Armed with sub-machineguns and handgrenades, the group crossed into South Africa near the Swazi border in October 1978 and made their way to Soweto.

Mr Mange, the leader of the group, was subsequently arrested after being stopped by a traffic policeman in Warmbaths while driving towards Whittlesea. He was disguised as a priest and told the officer he was on his way to a funeral, the court heard.

Lawyers for the 12 said yesterday

that the other 11 men, sentenced to jail terms of between 13 and 18 years, were released between 1989 and last year.

When Mr Justice Hefer asked Mr Mange, whom he had earlier described as "a thoroughly repulsive and objectionable character", if he had anything to say in mitigation of sentence, he replied: "Yours is not to ask but to do."

● Many of the 36 released this morning fell into the new indemnity category of offences committed before October 8 last year which did not result in death or injury to people, their lawyers said. Twelve of them signed their indemnity forms only last Tuesday, they added.

'Imam' book unbanned

CP Correspondent

CIP me
28/4/91

(327)

THE Publications Appeal Board has unbanned *The Killing of the Imam*, by PAC national spokesman Barney Desai.

The book – which probes the death in detention of Imam Abdullah Haroon 22 years ago – was written in the late 70s, together with fellow PAC member Cardiff Marney.

The prominent Muslim leader died in detention in 1969. Police said he fell to his death down a stairwell at a Cape Town police station after being held for 133 days under Section Six of the now defunct Terrorism Act.

A post-mortem examination revealed massive bruising – some of it more than a week old – a broken rib and a blood clot at the base of the spine.

The inquest found "a substantial part" of the injuries leading to his death were caused by an "accidental" fall.

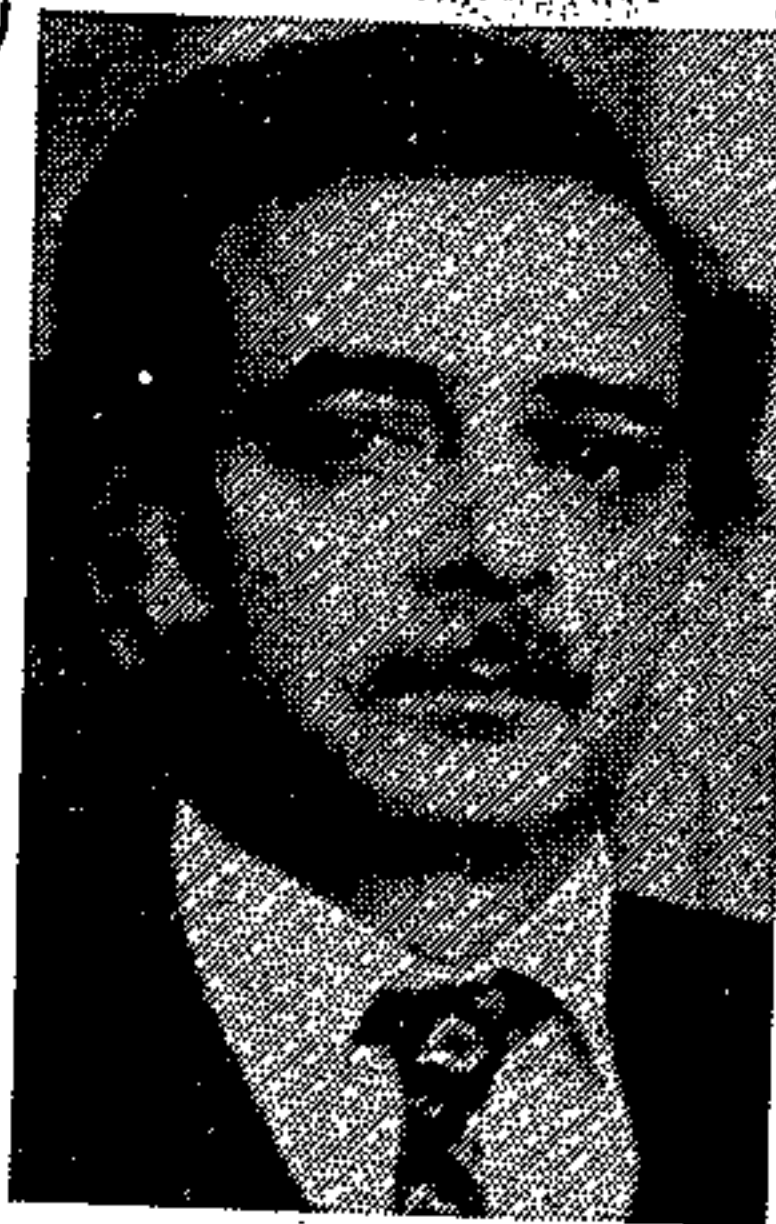
The magistrate was unable to determine how the other injuries occurred.

The Imam's widow was paid R5 000 by the Minister of Police five years later without police admitting guilt.

Desai said it was disgraceful that the book had been banned.

"I understood that they wanted to keep things quiet."

The book was banned when it was first published in 1978.



Barney Desai

'Plan to wipe out ANC men'

THE ANC yesterday released details of what it called an elaborate plan to cripple the organisation between April 30 and May 9 - the deadline it has set for the government to deal with the internecine violence or face a suspension of constitutional negotiations.

Part of this strategy, according to a statement read by the organisation's secretary-general Alfred Nzo, was the assassination of key regional and branch officials.

"Information gathered indicates there are massive plans to attack communities and assassinate prominent ANC members, especially in the PWV region. The offensive is planned for the period leading up to May 9. Among others, this is aimed at scuttling the January 29 ANC/IFP peace accord

■ To Page 2

'Plan to wipe out ANC men'

■ From Page 1
and undermining the ANC's open letter to the government," Nzo told a media conference at the Mandela home in Soweto.

By late afternoon yesterday police announced that immediate arrangements have been made for a senior police officer to contact the ANC about the alleged plan.

Captain Craig Kotze, speaking on behalf of Law and Order Minister

Adriaan Vlok, urged the ANC to provide police with all relevant information at their disposal so they could investigate and, if necessary, take preventive steps.

Nzo earlier said his organisation, after lengthy investigations, had discovered that Inkatha Youth Brigade operatives had been specifically deployed in Reef townships since the ANC's public ultimatum to the government.

"This occurs after completion of military training in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal. These bases are manned and the training done by members of Koevoet, 101 Battalion and other arms of the SADF.

"The hostels are divided into regiments, with trained IFP Youth Brigade members allocated to the various hostels to keep control and lead attacks. Both in the PWV area and Natal, a campaign of eliminating ANC members has been set in motion," Nzo alleged.

He also said the ANC was aware of a massive delivery of weapons to various places in the Witwatersrand.

To prevent the carnage before May 9, the ANC had alerted the government about the planned attacks and was in the process of briefing its structures. It had also contacted the IFP. - Sapa

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiyi, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

Political prisoners expected to go on hunger strike

Political Staff and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — Hunger strikes are likely to be launched in all prisons where African National Congress-aligned political prisoners remain incarcerated after the expiry of the April 30 deadline for releases, according to lawyers and prison visitors.

As plans for protest inside and outside prison walls firm up, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, speaking at the National Union of Mineworkers congress at the weekend, accused the government of trying to narrow its definition of a political prisoner, leaving thousands of activists still behind bars.

Sources said political prisoners still behind bars just days before the deadline were resolute that they would take action to highlight the failure of the government to adhere to the timetable set out in the Pretoria Minute.

BEGIN ON THURSDAY

At Johannesburg's Diepkloof Prison, it was learnt from reliable sources, the hunger strike is due to begin on Thursday. About a dozen male political prisoners are understood to be at Diepkloof, but the figure could be fewer by Thursday.

Returning from Ireland at the weekend, President De Klerk confidently asserted that the amnesty and indemnity programme would be completed on schedule.

● The Boerestaat Party announced yesterday that "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom and other imprisoned "Boer freedom fighters" would probably embark on an organised hunger strike from Monday until all their comrades had been released from prison.

Among the imprisoned rightwingers who could be expected to take part would be Strydom, whose eight death sentences were recently commuted to life imprisonment, and awaiting-trial prisoners Leonard Veenendaal and Henk Bredenhann. The latter two are members of the Orde Boerevolk and have already been on two previous hunger strikes.

All three men are now in Pretoria Central Prison.

Crucial week for FW

Chal Tuck 29/4/91
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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk faces one of the toughest weeks of his political career when his budget vote begins in Parliament today.

The President faces three major, interrelated challenges.

In the next few days he will be expected to find ways to:

- Defuse the looming showdown between government and an increasingly militant ANC over its threats to abandon all talks and embark instead on a nationwide programme of mass protest action.

- Rescue the floundering peace process by getting all parties to co-operate in a joint effort to curb spiralling violence and intimidation.

- Consolidate his latest efforts to roll back South Africa's international isolation and persuade overseas investors that it would be safe and profitable for them to return to South Africa.

Complicating Mr De Klerk's task is the increasingly militant stand being taken by the ANC as the April 30 deadline on the release of political prisoners

and its May 9 seven-point ultimatum to the government on ending violence loom large.

The ANC leadership — including its secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo — upped the ante at the weekend by claiming that organised forces within the state were waging a war against the organisation which included plans to assassinate prominent ANC members and mobilise anti-ANC vigilantes.

The allegations were dismissed by a Ministry of Defence spokesman but the Ministry of Law and Order said a senior police officer would contact the ANC about its latest claims.

The government last week moved to extend the definition of political prisoners and amnesty for those involved in politically related offences and Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee indicated that the vast majority of political prisoners would be free by April 30.

However, ANC legal adviser Mr Mathew Phosa said at the weekend that the organisation

From page 1

was "deeply dissatisfied" with the way the government had handled the political prisoner issue and said that thousands of prisoners would be going on hunger strike, while there would be a linked programme of mass action from the outside.

Mr De Klerk will also be expected to find ways of getting the ANC to reconsider its announcement at the weekend that it would be boycotting his proposed all-party summit on May 24-25 on ways of ending violence and intimidation.

The dilemma facing the ANC is that if it agrees to attend the summit, its threat to break off talks with the government on May 9 would become a dead letter.

Mr Nelson Mandela told diplomats earlier this month that the ANC's seven-point list of demands to the government — including the firing of two cabinet ministers — was not an ultimatum but a cry for help from the people.

However, the ANC deputy president appeared to harden his stance again at the weekend, saying that the May 9 deadline remained very firm.

"Unless the government addresses our demands before May 9 there will be no discussions on an all-party conference or a future constitution," he said.

When he addresses Parliament during his budget vote this week, Mr De Klerk could go some way to appeasing the ANC by giving details on how the government plans to ease up on security legislation — such as the Internal Security Act — which the extra-parliamentary parties have repeatedly complained hampers free political activity.

However, diplomats have indicated that if the ANC boycotts Mr De Klerk's proposed peace summit the organisation could lose support from foreign governments, even those that have most consistently backed the ANC over the years.

Mr De Klerk will be under pressure this week to find new ways to get all parties back on board in the search for peace and a negotiated settlement.

To page 2

A TOTAL of 39 political prisoners were released at the weekend.

The government freed 36 PAC, Azapo and ANC prisoners from Robben Island and three ANC prisoners from Pretoria Central.

The latter are Broederstroom treason trialists Mr Damian de Lange and Mr Iain Hugh Robertson. They were freed along with ANC bomber Ms Marion Sparg.

It is understood that the third Broederstroom trialist, Ms Susan Westcott, who married Mr De Lange in prison, will also be released. She entered the country on a British passport and the government is apparently aiming to deport her.

At Cape Town harbour a crowd welcomed the prisoners.

Meanwhile, with the deadline for the release of political prisoners only hours away, the government and the ANC are locked in disagreement over the fate of 4 000 jailed for unrest-related offences.

They are also at odds over the fate of 50 prisoners sentenced for necklace murders, and a further 150 jailed members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

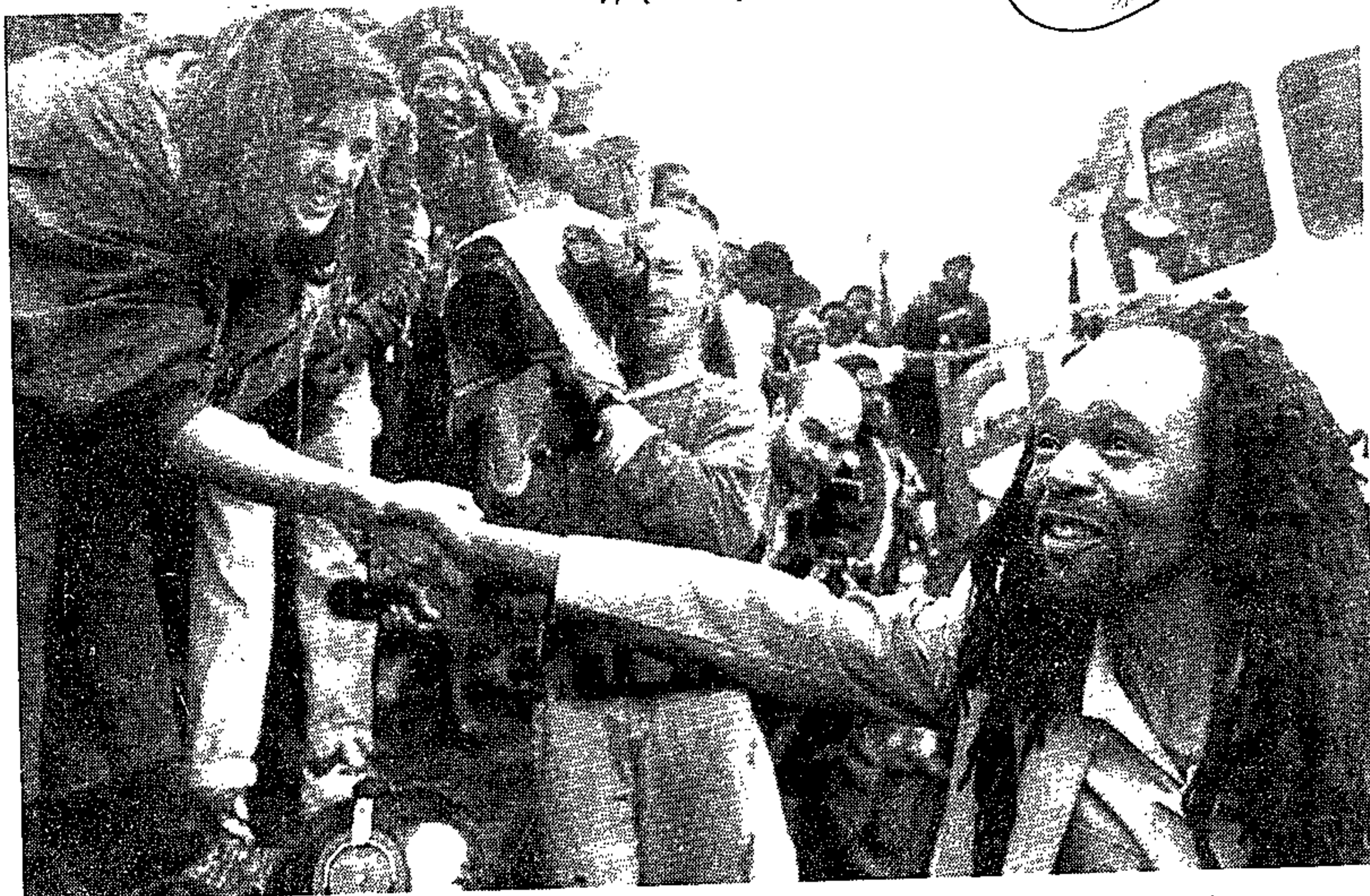
The category of 4 000 unrest-related prisoners was disclosed by a government official at a recent meeting of an audit committee made up of Justice Department, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) and Hu-

Govt frees 39 prisoners

Cape Times

29/4/91

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FREE . . . Mr James Mange — the first black man to be sentenced to death and who later won a reprieve against that sentence handed down in the Maritzburg Supreme Court in 1979 — greets a well-wisher on his release from Robben Island on Saturday.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

man Rights Commission (HRC) representatives.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said at the weekend that the ANC regarded tomorrow's deadline as a cut-off date and that it would review the situation once the date had expired.

Meanwhile, several prisoners have been informed that their cases will be reviewed by an indemnity committee early next

week.

The committee has been enlarged by the inclusion of four ANC nominees: Lawyers Mr Arthur Chaskalson, Mr T L Skweyiya and Mr A M Omar and human-rights activist Mr Max Coleman.

Three other lawyers have also been appointed to the committee. They are Mr A C le Roux, Mr J S Roussouw and Mr J Friedman. — Sapa

Ashley Forbes to be freed

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ASHLEY Forbes, the Umkhonto we Sizwe commander described as a "dedicated terrorist" by a Cape Town judge, is to be freed from Robben Island, where he is serving a 15-year sentence.

He told his wife, Ms Yasmina Pandy, one of 14 people charged with him, in a letter yesterday that island authorities had told him on Saturday "he was going home this week".

Ms Pandy, who was acquitted, visited her husband on Saturday.

"He said in the letter he was told 30 minutes after the visit that he was going home. He did not know whether it would be today or tomorrow. I think he will probably be freed tomorrow."

HUNGER STRIKE

Her husband told her on Saturday that Robben islanders had resolved that those not released by tomorrow — when the ANC's deadline for the freeing of political prisoners and return of exiles expires — would go on a hunger strike.

Forbes, a former University of the Western Cape student, was jailed for 15 years and a further 10 years, suspended for five years, by Mr Justice Williamson in the Cape Town Supreme court in December 1988 after a marathon trial lasting almost eight months.

ANC Youth to picket assembly

Political Staff

THE ANC Youth League is to picket parliament at lunchtime tomorrow in a bid to force the government to meet the movement's April 30 deadline for the release of political prisoners, return of exiles, scrapping of security laws and the stopping of all political trials.

The picket is part of a nationwide campaign to highlight the deadline and would include the "occupation of the symbolic State institutions and embassies", the league said in a statement.

Many political prisoners have been freed in the last 48 hours during which a number of exiles had returned home, the league said.

"This release and return of some has hidden the fact that many more remain imprisoned and in exile."

Epidemic kills 750

DHAKA. — The death toll in a diarrhoea disease epidemic sweeping Bangladesh has

Police seize 'death tape'

Sowetan 29/4/91
243 Political *327*
Correspondent

POLICE raided the home of the *Natal Witness* deputy editor at the weekend and confiscated a taped interview with a policeman claiming to have taken part in the murder of a prominent ANC member.

The policeman, Mr Sipho Madlala, last week walked into the Maritzburg offices of the newspaper wanting to talk about the February 25 murder of Chief Mhlambuzima Maphululo.

He said he and four others shot at Maphumulo outside his home in an operation masterminded by members of the security police and military intelligence.

Maphumulo died on the way to hospital.

Madlala last week told deputy editor Mr Martin Williams that he had been attached to the intelligence unit of the military police for 10 years and that he had decided to defect because of the Maphumulo incident.

It was this tape recording that the police took on Saturday night.

Police have not yet confirmed the incident.

"The police had a warrant though," a Maritzburg source told *Sowetan*.

Replying to the allegations by Madlala last week, Commissioner of Police General Johan Van der Merwe announced that a special investigation team was being appointed.

policeman to be available to testify in court or to go on leave or on sick leave. Ten thousand extra policemen seem to be a large number. However, if one looks at the matter in this way, there are not that many people in real terms. I would also like to point out to the hon member that the ratio of police per thousand of the population in South Africa is still one of the lowest in the world. It is about two per thousand of the population.

*We have a great deal of unrest and violence which the Police have to deal with. These things are related to each other. If unrest increases, violence increases as well. This is part of our problem. [Time expired.]

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Speaker, firstly I want to say to the hon member for Ermelo that long before he came to this House there were those of us in the then Progressive Federal Party who were raising the issue of crime, and we will continue to raise it, whether or not the hon member makes his racist jibes at us. [Interjections.]

Secondly, we will raise it with the hon the Minister. We have heard of his good intentions and plans. We want to tell him that the people are concerned, fed-up and angry. They are angry with crime, but they are also angry with the inability of the Police to protect the ordinary law-abiding citizen in the suburbs and cities.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: If the Police takes action, you ask for a commission!

Mr C W EGLIN: I once again this year asked the hon the Minister questions about crime in the Cape Peninsula. It appears that the fairest Cape in all the world is becoming the crime capital of South Africa. These are not only crimes associated with poverty and deprivation. They are crimes of violence like murder, rape, assault and, more particularly, the assault and murder of elderly people. This shows an increasing disregard for life and humanity.

It is correct that it is not solely the task of the Police to resolve the problem of increasing crime. Yet, in any civilised country the Police Force is the main body that stands between the criminal and the ordinary people in society. It is the function of the Police to stand between them. In spite of the good intentions, the public want to know whether the Police are properly staffed, equipped and trained, and whether members of the Police stand close enough to the communities

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

this year to do this again. The hon member was not telling me anything new. We know about that. *Rawsed 30(4)191*

We must tell one another as well. The South African Police's task in this country is not being made easy. There are many people who are placing obstacles in the path of the Police, which makes matters difficult for us. I am not accusing anyone; I am just saying that our task is not made easy. [Interjections.]

It is also a fact that the SA Police will do everything to prevent crime. We will do everything to investigate crime and to solve crime, but we live in a community which does not respect the lives and property of others. [Interjections.] The SA Police cannot rectify that. [Interjections.]

I want to tell hon members here today that of course we can do far more to get the communities to co-operate, but if one voice could be heard from this Chamber telling people to join the neighbourhood watch systems, it would help us a great deal.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Yes, but the CP may not join! [Interjections.]

*The MINISTER: In many cases this system is used for party politics. [Interjections.] We say no, we must not do that. The public and the Police must work together and stand together against crime. I am telling hon members that I am far more dissatisfied with the present crime rate than these hon members. We are doing our utmost with the limited manpower and means at our disposal, and I want to give hon members the assurance that we will do everything to triumph in the struggle against crime. We ask for co-operation and we ask for the help of the total South African community. [Time expired.]

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: Just before the hon the Minister rose to answer the question which I have on the Order Paper, the hon member for Newcastle, as the hon the Minister for Law and Order sat down, said in reference to the hon member for Claremont: "Hy is 'n klipgooi-instrukteur." [Interjections.]

Mr SPEAKER: Order! That is not a point of order. [Interjections.] Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Question standing over from Tuesday, 9 April 1991:

Arrest of MP for Claremont

*29. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order: *Rawsed 30(4)191*

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 7 on 12 February 1991, the reasons for the arrest by the South African Police on 3 November 1990 of the member of Parliament for Claremont, as furnished by the Western Cape Commissioner of Police and quoted in certain newspapers on 3 November 1990 (copies of which have been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply), are still the valid reasons for the arrest of this member of Parliament; if not, why not; if so, how can these reasons be reconciled with those furnished in the reply to the above-mentioned Question No 7; *(327)*
- (2) on the strength of what unrest-related incidents and circumstances that occurred and applied in the area of Khayelitsha where the member of Parliament concerned was arrested did the officer who arrested him come to the decision to arrest him;
- (3) whether the presence, in the relevant area of Khayelitsha, of the members of the ANC and the leader of the Khayelitsha Civic Association who accompanied the said member of Parliament could have contributed to public disturbance, disorderliness or public violence; if not, why not; if so, why was only the member of Parliament for Claremont arrested and removed from the area by the police officer concerned;
- (4) with reference to his reply to standing-over Question No 6 on 12 March 1991, on what date was the case docket on the arrest of this member submitted to the Attorney-General?

B691E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) A further intensive investigation into the circumstances and reasons for the arrest of the hon member in Khayelitsha on 2 November 1990 has revealed that the information regarding this arrest, and upon which the Western Cape Regional Commissioner based his premise, namely that the hon member was arrested because he was found "where he was busy addressing a growing crowd of 100 people", was based on the personal and subjective opinion of the officer in charge of the situation and ostensibly gave rise to a misinterpretation of the circumstances.
- If the answer to Question 7 on 12 February 1991 left the impression that the hon member was involved or responsible for the stone throwing which occurred on 25 October 1990 in the black residential areas, Old Cross Roads and Khayelitsha, it is not correct.
- (2) Regulation 2(3) of the Unrest Regulations of 1 November 1990, of which the applicable section is quoted here, is as follows:

"If a member of a security force is of the opinion that it is necessary for the combating or prevention of public disturbance, disorder, riot or public violence . . . , he may summarily order a person present in an unrest area . . . , and who is not normally resident therein, to leave that unrest area . . . immediately, and if that person fails to leave that unrest area . . . immediately, that member may arrest the person concerned or cause him to be arrested and may remove him from that unrest area . . . or cause him to be so removed."

On 2 November 1990 the hon member was found in Khayelitsha in the presence of a group of people who were visiting the area. The hon member was, in the opinion of the officer concerned, the central point and principal figure in the group. The officer was of the opinion that the circumstances were such that it was necessary for the prevention of public disturbance, disorder or public violence to order the hon member to immediately leave the area. The hon member ignored

the order, whereupon he was arrested and removed from the area.

In this regard I would like to point out that the decision was left entirely to the judgement of the officer in charge of the situation. He alone, having regard to the circumstances present, was in a position to make a decision at that given moment.

- (3) Yes, the presence of members of the ANC or of the Khayelitsha Civic Association could also have contributed to public disturbance, disorder or public violence. As has already been said, the officer involved was of the opinion that the hon member was the central figure at scene. In fact, ten other people were also ordered to leave the area in terms of regulation 2(3). As they obeyed the order, no further action against them was necessary.
- (4) On 6 December 1990 the case docket in respect of the arrest of the hon member was submitted to the Attorney-General who declined to institute any prosecution.

Question standing over from Tuesday, 23 April:

Summer daylight saving

*9. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Manpower:

- (a) What is the Government's policy in regard to the introduction of a programme of summer daylight saving and (b) what are the reasons for this policy?

Answered 30/4/91

B795E

†THE MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

- (a) and (b) The Department of Manpower is not directly involved in the matter of summer daylight saving as the legislation administered by this Department, for example, prescribes only maximum working hours per day or per week and not the time of commencement of such working hours.

The other Departments directly or indirectly involved are *inter alia*:

- Department of Law and Order
- Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs
- Department of National Health and Population Development

- Department of Trade and Industry and Tourism *Answered 30/4/91*
- Department of Transport

The State President has therefore decided to have the matter investigated by the President's Council.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: Just before the hon the Minister rose to answer the question which I have on the Order Paper, the hon member for Vryheid, as the hon the Minister for Law and Order sat down, said in reference to the hon member for Claremont: "Hy is 'n klipgooi-instrukteur." [Interjections.]

Mr SPEAKER: Order! That is no point of order. [Interjections.]

New questions:

Westonaria magistrate's office: repairs

*1. Mr P J PAULUS asked the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs:

- (1) Whether any repairs to, renovations of and/or additions to the magistrate's office at Westonaria are envisaged; if not, why not; if so,
- (2) whether this work will commence this year; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that it will commence; if so, when is it anticipated that the work will be completed?

B805E

†THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS AND LAND AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes. It involves renovations, the conversion of existing accommodation as well as additions.
- (2) Yes.
- (a) Falls away;
- (b) anticipated towards the end of 1991, with completion during the second half of 1992.

Occupational safety/health: investigation

*2. Mr P J PAULUS asked the Minister of Manpower: *Answered 30/4/91*

- (1) Whether an interdepartmental committee has been appointed to investigate the rationalisation of occupational safety and health;

- (2) whether this investigation has been completed; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that the investigation will be completed; if so, *Answered 30/4/91*
- (3) whether it is the intention to introduce legislation in this regard; if not, why not; if so, when? B806E

†THE MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

- (1) Yes. An interdepartmental task group under the chairmanship of the Director-General of Manpower has been appointed to investigate the matter.

- (2) No.

- (a) The investigation has not been completed because of the complex nature of the investigation as well as the fact that several departments are involved in the investigation.
- (b) As a result of the reason mentioned under (a) above, it is not at present possible to furnish an expected date of conclusion.

- (3) It is at present not possible to say whether legislation would be necessary should rationalisation take place.

MD of Transnet: Goodwill Fund

*3. Mr J CHIOLÉ asked the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises: *Answered 30/4/91*

- (1) (a) For what purpose is the Goodwill Fund or Goodwill Account of the Managing Director of Transnet usually used, and (b) what was the balance in this fund or account as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;
- (2) whether any donation was made out of this fund or account to any political party during the period 1 August up to and including 31 December 1990; if so, (a) to which political party, (b) why and (c) what was the amount of the donation?

B843E

†THE MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

The Managing Director of Transnet Limited replied as follows to the hon member's question.

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4 The Argus, Tuesday April 30 1991

Permit reprieve for Susan Westcott

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress guerrilla Ms Susan Westcott has been granted a temporary South African residence permit valid for six months after her release from Pretoria Central Prison.

The permit was granted after a Department of Home Affairs meeting yesterday.

According to her legal representative, Mr Norman Manoir, Ms Westcott will probably try to secure permanent residence in this time.

Although she is married to Mr Damian de Lange, also released at the weekend, this does not automatically entitle her to South African citizenship, said Mr Manoir. She and Mr De Lange were convicted of terrorism.

Ms Westcott's release followed a battle by her family and Mr De Lange to have a deportation order against her revoked.

Ms Westcott, who came to South Africa on a British passport, still may be deported after her permit expires.

A spokesman for Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw said Ms Westcott could apply for permanent residence and citizenship.

Ashley Forbes to be freed today

By BARRY STREEK

TWO Umkhonto we Sizwe commanders from Cape Town, Mr Liso Bright Ngqungwana and Mr Ashley Forbes, are to be released today, and another MK member, Ms Susan Westcott, was freed yesterday.

President F W de Klerk is to inform Parliament "fully" on the releases this afternoon.

These were among the latest developments as the ANC's deadline — today, April 30 — for the release of political prisoners approached.

Mr Ngqungwana, the alleged head of MK operations in the Western Cape at the time of his arrest, was serving a life sentence. He is due for release this afternoon, together with 15 other Robben Island prisoners.

Mr Forbes, who was serving a 15-year sentence, is among 10 prisoners to be released from the island this morning.

No deportation

Ms Westcott, a British citizen who married her fellow Broederstroom accused, Mr Damian de Lange, while in jail, was to have been deported, but she will no longer be ordered out of the country.

According to lawyers acting for the Robben Island prisoners, about 42 political prisoners will still be in jail after today's releases, unless more names are added to the lists.

Mr De Klerk said in Parliament yesterday that in the spirit of the Pretoria Minute and the D F Malan Summit "a great deal of good progress has been made concerning the release of prisoners and the granting of indemnity".

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ANC youth plan
Star 30/4/91
protest marches

The ANC Youth League has announced a national programme of "mass action" today, including marches on Parliament in Cape Town and the Union Buildings in Pretoria, in support of the Pretoria Minute.

The programme includes sit-ins, pickets and demonstrations at major Government institutions and the embassies of Britain, Germany, Japan, Hungary and the United States.

Youth League chairman Peter Mokaba said if the Government had not met the April 30 deadline for the release of all political prisoners, the league would recommend the ANC leadership suspend negotiations "with immediate effect". — Staff Reporter.



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H/605 2/5/91

US firm on release of prisoners

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — So long as the American government believed a single prisoner of conscience was still in jail, the position of the Bush Administration would be that the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) had not been complied with.

This was stated by the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Hank Cohen, at a hearing of the House of Representatives Sub-committee on Africa on Tuesday.

Mr Cohen was answering questions put to him by congressmen on the administration's position on sanctions against South Africa.

He said he had told the South African government that once all political prisoners had been released if he saw someone being detained for more than two weeks under security legislation South Africa would again trigger the provisions of the CAAA, which imposed sanctions until certain criteria had been met.



Mr Hank Cohen

364 political prisoners on hunger strike

JOHANNESBURG. — Up to 364 political prisoners countrywide have begun a hunger strike.

Mr Willie Hofmeyr, the Cape Town lawyer responsible for co-ordinating the prisoners' indemnity applications, said that about 25 of the 40 prisoners on Robben Island had refused to eat until they were released.

The men, who said they would only drink water, were African National Congress and Black Consciousness Movement members. Nine Pan Africanist Congress member prisoners decided not to join the protest, Mr Hofmeyr said.

Deadline expired

He could not confirm the exact number of hunger-striking prisoners, as several were exempted for old age and medical reasons.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) said yesterday the prisoners had decided to act a day after the expiry of the April 30 African National Congress deadline for the release of all political prisoners and the return of all exiles as agreed with the government.

In statements sent to LHR, some prisoners said they had embarked on hunger strikes because of the government's failure to meet the April 30 deadline.

Mr Hofmeyr said the Robben Island prisoners had handed a memorandum to authorities yesterday, asking for their immediate release.

Mr Hofmeyr said the prisoners were concerned about a statement by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee yesterday, saying most of them could not be released now because their cases had been referred to the Indemnity Committee.

"Only 11 of more than 25 cases have been referred to the committee," Mr Hofmeyr said.

LHR accused the government of being destructive and dishonest in its handling of political prisoners.

Responding to President De Klerk's accusation that the ANC was "drag-

ging its feet", LHR said it had clearly informed Mr Coetsee that government officials had been responsible for most of the problems with applications and releases.

LHR said in a statement that some prisoners had filled in applications for release more than six months ago and to date their applications had not received attention.

There were also prisoners whose cases fell within the latest unconditional category who remained in prison.

LHR said the government's insistence that those political prisoners sentenced to death should first have their sentences commuted before their applications for release could be processed, was not stipulated in the Pretoria Minute or agreed to by the joint ANC/Government Working Group.

"We are faced with a government which describes April 30 as a target date, which describes 364 applicants as criminals and which attempts to confuse the public and the media through distorted figures," LHR said.

● A spokesman for the Department of Correctional Services, Colonel L. Immelman, said it was department policy not to comment on hunger strikes. He said prisoners had been warned of the adverse effects of their protest, and would be treated in accordance with internationally accepted guidelines.

Meanwhile, one prisoner, Botswana citizen Mr Clement Bogatsu, who was charged with transporting ANC guerrillas last year, was released from Robben Island yesterday.

● Argus Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that most of the exiles in Zambia had received indemnity and travel certificates but were waiting for air transport, according to ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina.

More than 2 000 exiles remaining were expected to be flown to South Africa on chartered flights by the end of this month. — The Argus Correspondent and Sapa.

Three rightwing prisoners granted amnesty, released

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Three rightwing prisoners have been granted unconditional amnesty and released from the Pretoria Central Prison.

Those released on Tuesday were the deputy leader of the Orde Boerevolk, Henk Bredenhann, 30, of Heidelberg, Arthur Archer, 29, of Southdale and Craig Barker, 21, of Ridgeway. They had been arrested in September last year.

Mr Bredenhann was arrested with Orde Boerevolk leader Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph in September last year in connection with three explosions and stealing large quantities of arms and ammunition from the South African Air Force in Pretoria.

Mr Bredenhann's six charges of terrorism were withdrawn in the Rand Supreme Court on Tuesday.

Mr Archer and Mr Barker were arrested in connection with several explosions in Johannesburg.

Speaking from his home last night, Mr Bredenhann said he was delighted to be home with his wife, Connie.

Apart from going back to work in the family business, he intended to continue fighting for his political ideals.

His first task was to seek the release of fellow rightwingers, Leonard Veenendaal and Darryl Stopforth, who are still in jail.

"I believe the government recognises us and wants to negotiate with Boer freedom-fighters, so there is no reason for us to continue an armed struggle. But, if necessary, we will defend ourselves, our families and our land.

"We want to take part in peace talks with the government and put our future plans to F W de Klerk," he said.

However, he emphasised he would not consider negotiations with the ANC as he "owed them nothing".

Prisoners Still Not Released

CAF Tips 2/5/91

THE ANC last night appeared to be heading for a showdown with the government as the joint April 30 deadline for the release of all political prisoners expires.

Mr Nelson Mandela told 40 000 people at a May Day rally in Sebokeng yesterday that the next eight days, leading up to the May 9 ANC deadline to the government on violence, will determine whether hopes of moving quickly towards the establishment of a democratic society are to be dashed even before negotiations have begun.

He was also speaking as political prisoners throughout South Africa embarked on a hunger strike to press for their release, according to the Lawyers for Human Rights organisation. But this week the government hit back when:

● Senior government negotiator and

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer told Parliament that the ANC was delaying negotiations because of its own internal problems, and that the uncertainty bedevilling the organisation may persist until after its congress in July; and

● President F. W. de Klerk bluntly told the ANC for delays in both the release of prisoners and the approval of indemnity applications.

He pointed out that on Monday, the day before the April 30 target date, a further 351 applications for release and indemnity were received. Excluding the applications received on Tuesday, 1 823 were received in April.

"Compare this with the 725 for March 1991, and it will be realised that it is not the government which has been dragging its feet, but the applicants and their organisation which have woken up at the last moment."

Mr De Klerk said that despite repeated requests to the ANC to identify po-

litical prisoners, it was only on April 25 that they for the first time formally identified themselves, on a list provided by the Human Rights Commission.

However, many of the 1 292 people on the list were unknown, 133 were apparently in neighbouring states and only 770 were on the government's records. Mr Mandela said yesterday: "The next eight days, as we come to May 9, are very crucial ones for all South Africans."

"They will determine whether or not our hopes of moving forward quickly towards the establishment of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society in our country are to be dashed even before we have begun to negotiate."

The ANC has demanded that the government announce meaningful steps to end the carnage in townships, "by controlling and bringing an end to this violence or else admit their complicity in it".

But a massive police deployment

failed to prevent at least 15 people being killed in clashes on the Reef yesterday.

"We have not heard Mr De Klerk say he is putting an end to the violence, he is now going to release all the political prisoners and we can bring home all the exiles," Mr Mandela said.

"We are waiting for productive responses now," he stressed.

● The ANC ultimatum for the government to take effective measures to stem violence by May 9 was favourably received by young black people, but not other groups.

An opinion poll conducted by Mark-Data of the Human Sciences Research Council, found 62% support for the ultimatum among blacks aged between 18 and 49, but the majority of older blacks and other population groups surveyed rejected the move. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

● Prisoner protest — Page 4

'SA is trying to free citizens held abroad'

CML 7.2.81 2/5/91
Political Staff

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THE government was continuously taking steps to procure the release of South Africans in detention in foreign countries, including those allegedly held at an ANC camp in Uganda, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has said.

He was asked in Parliament by Mr Mahomed Cassim, Nominated Solidarity, whether the government had entered into negotiations with the ANC regarding the release of prisoners being held in foreign countries.

Mr Cassim also asked whether, during the course of these negotiations, the government had requested the ANC to assist in bringing about the release of prisoners in detention camps such as Mbarara in Uganda.

Dr Viljoen replied: "The government and government agencies are continuously taking steps to procure the release of South Africans finding themselves in detention in foreign countries.

"In the process contact is often made with a variety of organisations and foreign governments.

"The success of such efforts is almost always dependent on confidentiality. The particulars asked therefore cannot be provided.

"From this cannot be deduced that contact was at any time made, or not made, with any particular organisation in this regard."

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Prisoners in protest

POLITICAL prisoners throughout South Africa embarked on a hunger strike yesterday to press for their release, said a statement from Lawyers for Human Rights.

"Their intention is to continue such action until they are released or until they die," the statement said.

President F W de Klerk and his "deputies" were also accused of being "dishonest" on the issue of the release of political prisoners.

LHR said it had made it clear to the Minister of Justice at a recent meeting that there were "many problems with the entire process of application and release, the bulk of which have been caused by the government and its officials".

The organisation claims that in certain jails prisoners had to embark on hunger strikes before authorities would release "indemnity" application forms to them.

The statement also claimed that it took "almost three months for our organisation to gain the kind of access to prisoners we required to assist people in filling out forms".

It was also claimed that some prisoners handed in applications for indemnity at the end of last year but had not yet received a reply from the Office for

Indemnity or from Mr De Klerk.

"There are prisoners whose cases fall within the unconditional category announced last week who are still in prisons in various parts of the country", the statement said.

LHR said it had been trying to resolve the problems "through constructive discussion", but now felt the government was demonstrating "a lack of real commitment to the process of negotiations and to the quest for reconciliation".

It viewed the start of the hunger strike as serious, and said the government had "failed to honour" agreements reached with the ANC.

Most of the remaining 30 ANC prisoners on Robben Island embarked on a hunger strike from early yesterday, said lawyer Mr Willie Hofmeyr, who visited them in the afternoon.

He said yesterday that the 10 PAC prisoners on the Island had decided not to support the hunger strike. A few of the ANC people had been asked by their own colleagues not to join in for reasons of health and old age.

Among those still on the Island are Mr Mandla Shabangu and Mr David Moisi, both of Sasol Two fame. The sabotage blasts at Sasol Two caused an estimated R10 million of damage, but nobody was hurt.

Mr Hofmeyr said their co-accused, Mr Bobby Tsotsobe, had already been released although he had been convicted of involvement in the Sasol Two blast, an attack on the Booyse's police station, another on a policeman's house, and explosions on a railway line and a West Rand Administration Board office.

The hunger-striking prisoners were determined to eat their next meal at Cowley House, a prisoner demobilisation centre on the mainland.

Mr Hofmeyr said the Minister of Justice and Correctional Services, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had been incorrect in saying most of the remaining 40 "difficult case" Robben Islanders had had their cases referred to indemnity committees. Only 11 had, and the others had been given no reason for being left out.

Colonel D J Immelman of the Department of Correctional Services said yesterday that the department did not comment on hunger strikes.

"It can, however, be mentioned that in the case of hunger strikes, prisoners are warned of the adverse effects thereof, and are treated strictly in accordance with the internationally accepted guidelines pertaining to the handling of such prisoners." — Sapa and Staff Reporter



FREE AGAIN . . . Mr Ashley Forbes and his mother, Mrs Andrina Forbes, exchange smiles at Quay Five just after he came off the ferry from Robben Island. Picture: BENNY GOOL

Release all, say freed Islanders

CAP 7/15/91 327

THE release of ANC political prisoners from Robben Island on Tuesday did not indicate a change of heart on the part of the government, according to a statement issued by the prisoners.

"We demand the unconditional release of all political prisoners," the statement said.

The government did not appear to be serious about clearing the obstacles to "genuine" negotiations.

They demanded that conditions conducive to negotiations be created.

"Our release therefore amounts to nothing if our people are not yet free."

Among those released on Tuesday was Ashley Forbes, an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander sentenced in December 1988 to 15 years imprisonment.

Another long-term prisoner released on Tuesday was Joseph Malusi Ngoma who was sentenced to 25 years in August 1987.

Tuesday was the deadline set by the ANC for the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles.

ANC Western Cape regional executive member Mr Bulelani Ngcuka said on Tuesday that there were about 30 political prisoners still being held on the Island. It was difficult to say how many political prisoners were still being detained in the rest of the country.

Among those released on Tuesday were: Simon Magwaza Dladla; Ashley Forbes; Conrad Lekumbi; Obad Madonsela; Thekiso Aaron Mogaeane; Sammy Malosezi Moku-bela; Ezekiel Motaung; Joseph Malusi Ngoma; Niklo Pedro; Ntela Richard S'Khosana; V Mandozi; Sipho Hina; Bright Mxolisi Gabashe; Andile Hlawukile; Dime Matthews Kekane; Tshepo Lengwat; Allen Mathonsi; Happy Lumkile Mkhgela; Edward Mokati; Suzman Mokoena; Desmond Mzimkul Motha; Sibusiso Robert Ndlangi; Lizo Bright Ngqungwana; Thembinkosi Patrick Nkosi; Khaya Skweyiya, and Thuso Paulos Tshika. — Sapa

Detention without trial stays

Big changes in security law promised

8/10am 315/91

CAPE TOWN — The notorious Internal Security Act is to be softened and "drastically amended", but its detention without trial provision stays, President F W de Klerk announced yesterday.

The banning of people, preventative detention, and the consolidated list of names will all be scrapped from the Act.

De Klerk said that, in addition, provisions for detaining people for interrogation (Section 29) and declaring organisations illegal "will be amended drastically".

Justice and Correctional Services Minister Kobie Coetsee would submit legislation and provide details of the amendments "in the course of the next few days", De Klerk said.



● DE KLERK

He said the suppression of the right of any party to state its case democratically in an orderly manner was not acceptable to government. "That phase is irrevocably a thing of the past."

In terms of its undertaking in the Pretoria Minute to revise security legislation and "bring it in line with the dynamic situation

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BILLY PADDOCK

developing in SA", government had decided to scrap provisions of the Internal Security Act which provide for:

- ☐ Banning or preventative detention of persons;
- ☐ The maintenance of a consolidated list of names, including those of office-bearers, officials, members or active supporters of banned organisations and those convicted in terms of the legislation;
- ☐ The banning of publications;
- ☐ Restrictions on the registration of newspapers;
- ☐ Disqualification from membership of parliament and certain legal professions;
- ☐ Restrictions on the publication of the statements and writings of certain people; and
- ☐ The "misdemeanour" of furthering the aims of communism.

The ANC has argued that the Act makes it impossible for the organisation to carry out normal activities and mobilise its support base.

In calling for the maintenance of sanctions, it has claimed that while the legislation is on the statute book free political expression is not possible.

European parliamentarians have increasingly spoken of the Act as an inhibiting factor to lifting the pressure on SA. The Scandinavian and Nordic countries in particular have cited it as a reason for withholding outright support for De Klerk's reforms.

In recent US congressional hearings, ar-

□ To Page 2

Security

guments have been raised against the lifting of sanctions, especially the Gramm Amendment allowing SA access to IMF loans, because of the existence of the Act.

Diplomats in Cape Town yesterday said De Klerk's announcement was an important step in further removing obstacles to negotiations, but cautioned that it remained to be seen what the "drastic

amendments" to the rest of the Internal Security Act represented.

The preventative detention section has not been used to any great extent in SA, with security police relying far more on Section 29 to keep certain people out of circulation and also for interrogation. After the declaration of the state of emergency in 1986 the Public Safety Act was used to detain people.

□ From Page 1

37 death row release bids

CAPL 7/11/83 3/CR/327
Political Staff

THE government had received 37 applications for release from people on death row, the Department of Correctional Services disclosed last night.

It also said the ANC had been given free access to all prisoners to enable it to persuade those who qualified to apply for release.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) had also placed notices about releases in every prison.

an agreement on Wednesday, calling for the release of all political prisoners into a parked minibus which sped off.

ICRC to visit SA prisoners

FOLLOWING an invitation from the SA government, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) will visit prisons here this month to ensure that every prisoner possibly qualifying for indemnity uses the opportunity.

The Ministry of Justice and of Correctional Services said that from February 2 last year to date, 933 prisoners had been released. — Sapa

1 000 more 'political' prisoners indemnified

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 1 000 prisoners — whom the Human Rights Commission (HRC) classifies as political — are due for release in terms of the effective 12-month remission of sentence announced by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee.

The HRC said yesterday the prisoners had not yet been identified but were mostly being held on unrest-related offences.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) will visit SA prisons this month to ensure that every prisoner possibly qualifying for indemnity would use the opportunity.

right-wingers

JOHANNESBURG. — Order of Death members Fanie Goosen, 30, and Cornelius Lottering, 25, were yesterday told in Johannesburg Regional Court that they had been granted indemnity from charges of conspiracy to commit sabotage, and housebreaking and theft.

Lottering was previously sentenced to an effective 24 years' imprisonment for murder and Goosen to 13 years for causing an explosion. — Sapa

MK commanders fly in to SA

JOHANNESBURG. — The biggest group yet of ANC military commanders flew into Jan Smuts Airport yesterday from Angola, and said they were ready to assist in whatever way the ANC deemed necessary to help end continuing violence.

"If the violence continues against our people it is necessary for us as Umkhonto we Sizwe commanders to use our experience to defend them," said MK commander Mr Alfred Nkosi, 29, who led a group of 192 returnees.

"If violence cannot be solved in any other way, violence can also

be applied to stop violence." He stressed, however, that he believed it was more important for all South Africans to meet, and "to solve the problem of violence peacefully".

ANC head of repatriation, Mr Jackie Selebi, said yesterday the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) wanted a general amnesty for all exiles before it became involved in the repatriation process.

He also said uncertainty over who controlled police action against returnees was delaying the repatriation process.

"It seems like we have two governments — one headed by, De Klerk and the other being the police. Nobody appears capable of bringing the police to book," Mr Selebi said.

Meanwhile, ANC sources said yesterday exiles were flocking to Lusaka from other parts of the world, hoping to expedite their return home. The influx had created an acute accommodation crisis.

The British government has set aside R2,5 million to help in reintegrating exiles and former political prisoners into SA. — Sapa

Red nose award

SA security laws to 'change'

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday announced far-reaching changes to security legislation in South Africa — but stopped short of scrapping detention without trial.

Mr De Klerk told Parliament that the Internal Security Act would soon be stripped of "those elements which impinge on the democratic process", including the banning and preventive detention of individuals.

The provisions allowing the govern-

ment to declare organisations illegal and detain persons for questioning would be "amended drastically" but not repealed entirely.

Mr De Klerk said during his budget vote that the controversial 1982 Internal Security Act (ISA) would be purged of those provisions which had an inhibiting effect in the participation in normal political activities.

These included the scrapping of those stipulations which provided for:

- The restriction or preventive detention of persons.
- The banning of publications and restrictions on newspapers.

CHL 11/15 3/5/91 327 822

● The barring of certain people, including communists, from standing for Parliament or practising as lawyers.

● The bar on promoting communism.

Mr De Klerk said the provisions which allowed for the declaring of organisations illegal and the detention of persons for questioning would be drastically amended.

The necessary legislation would be clarified by the Minister to Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, in the "next few days".

In his address, Mr De Klerk said that the government would go ahead with the proposed all-party summit on vio-

lence whether the ANC attended or not.

The ANC latest rejection of the government's peace proposals were "unfair and removed from reality" and the search for peace would continue — with or without the ANC, he said.

The government was "positive" about the need to give non-parliamentary parties a voice in important policy decisions during the period of transition.

The multi-party conference, would be the appropriate forum to discuss the best ways to achieve this at the executive and legislative levels.

Will Island jail close?

Cap Times 3/5/91 (327) (328)

Staff Reporters

ROBBEN ISLAND is to be closed down as a jail for political prisoners — and there now appears to be a chance that the entire prison will be closed.

The Commissioner of Correctional Services, Lieutenant-General W H Willemse, said yesterday the remaining 40 political prisoners on the island — who are on a hunger strike — were to be transferred to Pollsmoor prison "in due course".

He said it would obviously be uneconomical to run a prison with a capacity for 600 for only 40 inmates. However, because of

"long-standing chronic serious overpopulation" in the maximum security section at Pollsmoor, the Robben Island prison would still be used.

He said the service planned to run the prison with the help of a conservationist and other interested parties.

He said prison would be used in the medium-term and that the situation would change.

Mr Nic Malherbe, chairman of the Future of Robben Island Committee, said yesterday that as political prisoners came off the island they were replaced by common criminals.

There was no chance of estab-

lishing a casino on the island even when all the prisoners had left it and the homelands had been re-incorporated into South Africa.

Meanwhile the remaining 40 political prisoners on the island yesterday refused to leave unless they were freed, their lawyer, Mr Willie Hofmeyr, said yesterday. Thirty-one of the 40 are on a hunger strike, he said. "They should have been released by now and they see no reason why they should be moved to another prison at this stage."

● 1 000 more 'political' prisoners indemnified — Page 2

FW LIFTS THE GAGS

An end to three
decades of
bannings

Weekly Mail Reporter (327)
BANNING and gagging orders,
South African symbols of the past
three decades, are to go in a review of
the Internal Security Act announced
by President FW de Klerk on Thurs-
day.

He announced the changes to the Act in
parliament two days after the expiry
of the deadline for the Pretoria Min-
ute, which bound the government to
revise the law that has imprisoned,
banned and gagged people for ex-
pressing their political views.

The announcement is another small
boost for freedom of the press since it
scraps provisions for the banning of
publications and restrictions on the
registration of newspapers.

However, the Publications Act still
provides for the banning of "undesir-
able" matter. WMail 315-95191

Also to be scrapped are provisions for
preventive detention. However, this
will not mean the end of the era of de-
tention without trial, as Section 29 of
the Internal Security Act, which pro-
vides for detention for interrogation
purposes, is not due to be axed; al-
though De Klerk said it would be
drastically amended.

De Klerk said amendments would also
be made to provisions in respect of
declaring organisations illegal. It was
in terms of these sections that the Af-
rican National Congress, Pan Afri-
canist Congress and South African
Communist Party were banned for
decades.

Furthering the aims of communism —
one of the longest-standing repres-
sive measures introduced by the Na-
tional Party government — is also to
go, without ceremony.

1 000 more 'political'
prisoners indemnified

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 1 000 prisoners — whom the Human Rights Commission (HRC) classifies as political — are due for release in terms of the effective 12-month remission of sentence announced by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee.

The HRC said yesterday the prisoners had not yet been identified but were mostly being held on unrest-related offences.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) will visit SA prisons this month to ensure that every prisoner possibly qualifying for indemnity would use the opportunity.

FW plans to ease more curbs soon

DETENTION without trial, the restriction and prohibition of persons or publications, as well as the ban on the furthering of communism are among several regulations that would be removed from the statute books.

In line with agreements reached between the ANC in the Pretoria Minute on August 6 last year and in a move which clears the decks substantially in preparation for negotiations, President FW de Klerk yesterday also said the Internal Security Act would be liberalised drastically.

"The suppression of the right of any party to state its case democratically in an orderly manner is not acceptable to the Government."

"That phase is irrevocably a thing of the past," De Klerk said.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

He said the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, would submit the necessary legislation within days.

Restriction

The clauses and stipulations that will be removed from the Internal Security Act are those which provide for:

- * The restriction or preventive detention of people;
- * The maintenance of a "consolidated list" of names of banned people;

* Prohibition on publications;

* Restrictions on the registration of newspapers;

* Disqualifications for membership of Parliament or for accession to certain legal professions;

* Restrictions on the writings of certain people; and

* The offence of furthering communism.

"In addition, the provisions in respect of declaring organisations illegal and detaining persons for questioning will be amended drastically," De Klerk said.

He said steps would be

taken to bolster existing legislation aimed at intimidation.

De Klerk also announced broad plans to combat the ongoing violence in black residential areas.

The SAP, supported by the SADF, would continue to deal "impartially but firmly" with the violence. Special actions would be launched from time to time.

Violence

The police force would be strengthened in manpower and equipment and communities would be included to fight the violence "with a view to which a conference is to be held on May 24 and 25", De Klerk said.

A standing commission on violence is to be established under the chairmanship of a judge or a senior jurist to investigate complaints of violence and to advise the Government.

Employment programmes would be launched. The control of dangerous weapons would be intensified and a special fund to

aid victims of violence was being established.

De Klerk also said hostels would be upgraded and converted "according to needs".

He warned, however, that violence could be combatted successfully only with the co-operation and participation of communities and their leaders.

Sowetan 3/5/91

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'Hitman' goes to ground

Weekend Argus
Correspondent

6/1-ARGUS 4/5/91 327
JOHANNESBURG. — Self-confessed "assassin" Sipho Alfred Madlala has gone to ground after dramatic claims that he was military intelligence agent number 810 of the SADF and a member of a hit squad that assassinated Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo in Maritzburg two months ago.

Meanwhile police have launched a full-scale investigation into Mr Madlala's allegations, which implicate the Maritzburg police and the SADF's military intelligence in the murder of the Chief Maphumulo, president of the Congress of Tradi-

tional Leaders of South Africa.

The investigation team probing Mr Madlala's allegations is headed by Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen who is in Natal. But he has not managed to make contact with Mr Madlala.

A warrant officer implicated in the murder plot by Mr Madlala was initially on the investigating team. This was confirmed by both a journalist and Warrant Officer Johan Marais at Maritzburg.

But Mr L J Roberts of the Attorney General's office said: "The policeman in question had now been removed from the investigating team — this happened soon

after the Natal Witness had interviewed Mr Madlala."

The official said he was not prepared to name the policeman in question.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, said police had still not made contact with Mr Madlala despite an appeal to the ANC to produce him as rapidly as possible.

He said the police believed Mr Madlala was with the ANC as a report released by the organisation indicated this.

He added police had undertaken that Mr Madlala would be questioned in the presence of an ANC lawyer.

Wedding bells for ex-Death Row man

By DENNIS CRUYMAGEN
Political Staff

WEDDING bells will be ringing at Cowley House today for Mr James Mange, the Umkhonto we Sizwe commander who cheated Death Row, and the woman he left behind when he skipped the country in 1976.

He said Wendy, who gave birth to their son Prince in March 1976, did not know when he disappeared in September of that year that he had joined the ANC.

"She didn't know I was a soldier until I landed up on Robben Island. We never really got to talk about it. I have not told her why I left."

Still, she believed that he would re-enter her life at some stage and waited for him while she raised their son, Prince.

The boy knew that his father was a prisoner of apartheid.

"There was some debate on whether he should be told why I was in prison. I told his mother to tell him — whether he would understand was up to him."

Though not at school in that watershed year in which thousands of young people in Soweto said "no" to Bantu Education and apartheid, Mr Mange is a member of the 1976 generation which left the country to take up arms.

His missions — there were a few of them — are still a closed subject, but his last one, a planned attack on the Whitesea police station and magistrate's court complex in 1976, ended in his arrest.

Charged with high treason, he and his 11 colleagues refused to take part in the trial because they did not recognise the jurisdiction of the court.

Deep inside, Mange knew that he would be sentenced to death.

He did not fear death — not after having programmed himself from the day when he decided to carry an AK 47 that he would die.

"I'd always expected the worst in our trial. It was clear from the people involved, the charge of high treason and the fact that

I was the commander of the group that I would be sentenced to death."

Was he not shocked when Mr Justice Hefer pronounced the death sentence on November 15, 1979?

"To me it was the final dawning of a process I'd expected all along. I had expected to die during a skirmish. To me death is death and it did not matter whether it came through a bullet or the noose."

He said had considered himself luckier than some of his fallen comrades. "They did not have a chance to say farewell to their families. I had."

He refused to appeal against the death sentence and found himself on Death Row on November 16.

He was isolated from the black inmates and held in the white section of Death Row. "I was about to become the second MK member after Solomon Mhlangu to be hanged. But I was not afraid to die."

His lawyers, Mr Harry Pitman and Mr Rjan Moodley, tried to persuade him to ap-

peal against the death sentence but he refused.

"Then Harry said he would ask my mother to appeal on my behalf. I said: 'Okay. I'll compromise with you. Appeal against the sentence but not the conviction.'"

"I believed I had served a just cause and was not prepared to die or beg for mercy. The appeal succeeded and his sentence was commuted to 20 years' imprisonment. He did not know about it."

"Warders called me one Wednesday — the day on which prisoners were normally told if they were going to hang or that their appeal had succeeded. I had already accepted death so this was no longer an issue for me. So when I was called, I thought 'that's it.'"

But death was not waiting for him. He was transferred to Pollsmoor prison before being shipped to Robben Island, from where he was released a week ago.

Yes, he'll miss Robben Island — after all it was my home for 11 years — and the 40 men who are still held there.

Weekend Aigus
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Alleged assassin Sipho Madlala has told his story of how Chief Mthabuzima Maphumulo, president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, was gunned down outside his Maritzburg home on February 25 this year.

"I was told on arrival at Maritzburg that I should go to the Watson Hotel where I had been booked in as a security guard working for a Durban security firm. I do not know where the other guys were booked.

"We reported to Alexandra Road police station where a se-

Alleged assassin tells how chief was shot dead

nior security policeman (name supplied) showed us a picture of Maphumulo, and asked if we knew him.

"He said we should get rid of him. The reason given was that he was a problem to the State and a bad influence in the community. We were given instructions to get him.

"He was under surveillance for a week before we were to act alone.

"On Monday we all met at

Alexandra Road for drinks about 6pm. We proceeded to his Havelock Road home roughly two hours later. As usual, we drove past the house in our white Sentra. The lights were switched off and we knew the time was not yet right."

Madlala said two of his colleagues then slipped into the garage while he and the two others remained in the car. The two in the garage said they

would scratch their heads as a signal when they saw the chief approaching.

"When he appeared (in his Mercedes Benz) the two immediately started shooting."

"We jumped out of the car and joined them, and I was shooting on the passenger door."

"We immediately sped off and went to report that the mission had been accomplished."

Island prisoners: 'We were not late'

THE remaining 28 ANC prisoners on Robben Island, who are on hunger strike in protest against their detention, have challenged a government statement that their applications for release were late.

They said in a statement, released yesterday by their lawyer, Mr Willie Hofmeyr, that 22 had submitted applications in January and the remaining six were submitted on April 19.

Requests for further information on the first 22 applications had been supplied by March 19 and they found it disturbing that

the other six applications had taken more than nine days to reach Pretoria.

They also said that while the Commissioner of Correctional Services, Lieutenant-General W H Willemse, had stated that 22 applications had been turned down, "we find it extremely worrying that only 11 of those concerned have been informed about this decision".

The ANC said yesterday that it fully supported a nationwide hunger strike by more than 160 political prisoners who are trying to pressure the government into

releasing them.

The ANC said the government had not kept its word on the release of the political prisoners and "to try to place the responsibility for the failure on the ANC is disingenuous at the least".

However, the Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Danie Schutte, said yesterday during the debate on the State President's vote that the government had honoured the fact that April 30 was a target date and not a deadline between it and the ANC.

Political Staff, Own Correspondent

Cape Times 4/5/91 327

ARCUS 6/5/91 (327)

Exiles helped by the hatch, match and dispatch man

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Afrikaner civil servants in the heart of conservative Pretoria are giving a helping hand to the former "terrorists" and "communists" they once opposed so vigorously.

Various government departments have embarked on projects to help the return and settlement of exiles.

The paths of former foes are converging as government officials help expatriates to start a new life and find accommodation, jobs and educational opportunities for their children.

Co-ordinating state activities is an affable career official, Mr Mike Bester — the sort of man who gives true meaning to the words "civil" and "servant".

Tucked away in a corner office in the a drab building, this career government official has been given one of the most sensitive tasks in the run-up to negotiations about a future democratic South Africa — that of supervising the return of an estimated 35 000 exiles.

And he is earning praise from those "on the other side" who deal with him.

Says ANC executive member responsible for repatriation Mr Jackie Selebi: "We have encoun-

tered a number of snags and stalling but none from Mr Bester and the Department of Home Affairs."

High praise indeed for a bureaucracy whose cradle-to-grave control over the lives of all South Africans has earned it the nickname the Department for Hatch-ing, Matching and Dispatching.

From his office Mr Bester co-ordinates the actions of 19 government departments involved in the repatriation process.

Coherent strategy

"Each one is responsible for particular projects but we have to ensure that we follow a coherent strategy."

Much of his time is spent in meeting representatives of political and social organisations.

"People often mistakenly believe that it is only ANC supporters who want to return," he says. "But there are also large numbers aligned to the PAC, Azapo, and the Black Consciousness Movement as well as numerous non-affiliated South Africans who wish to come back. We have to treat them all equally."

Mr Bester says a big problem is determining how many exiles there are.

"We have to rely on guesstimates. They vary between 20 000 and 40 000.

"We have to take into account that not all of them want to return. Some have settled permanently abroad, married foreigners, accepted stable jobs."

Even the ANC itself has difficulty in determining the numbers involved. Mr Selebi says the immediate concern is to provide for the return of headquarters and administrative personnel from Zambia and Tanzania — estimated at between 10 000 and 12 000.

The large numbers of students, their families and support staff at ANC training facilities will not be brought back till later and it is doubtful if the bulk of between 15 000 to 20 000 members of Umkhonto we Sizwe will return before the negotiating process has reached an "irreversible stage".

Mr Bester says the department has given "the strictest instructions to officials at all entry points to act with great circumspection. If the ANC wants me to send staff to Lusaka to help with the process, I would be glad to do so."

But repatriation is only a small part of the problem. "How do you accommodate them and reintegrate them into society?"

Tens of thousands of others have been waiting for housing for years. Exiles need jobs and training and health care and pensions, but so do most others.

Cap-Times
Monday, May 6 1991 ★

Anti-apartheid group sent R500m into SA

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — With the transfer to South Africa of the activities of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (Idaf) following its unbanning last year, details of how it secretly moved an estimated R500 million into the country have been disclosed.

Idaf, which provided legal defence funding for thousands of anti-apartheid activists, also provided the bulk of defence costs for ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and his fellow Rivonia trialists in 1963.

Last year, when Mr Mandela was released after 27 years in prison, Idaf helped him out with a contribution of R2 800.

The money was granted under Idaf's second scheme, which assisted dependants of detainees as well as released detainees and political prisoners. All political prisoners, famous or unknown, were given R100 for each year's incarceration.

Details of the complex mechanisms whereby this huge capital injection was made, were disclosed in an article by Mr Dennis Herbstein in yesterday's Observer.

The extent of Idaf's involvement in the funding of defence lawyers and attorneys is astonishing.

According to Mr Herbstein, "Idaf was probably the South African legal profession's most reliable employer, with more

Canon Collins helped mastermind funding

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Canon John Collins of St Paul's Cathedral, who helped mastermind the complex conduit whereby millions of rands were sent to assist in the defence of political trialists in South Africa, died on January 1, 1983.

Although he never achieved the cherished appointment of dean, his achievements for the International Defence and Aid Fund of Southern Africa (Idaf) more than compensated for that, according to a report published in yesterday's Observer.

According to Mr Herbstein, Canon Collins initiated the project in 1956, when 156 people appeared in the country's first major treason trial. He raised R1,25 million for their defence. All were acquitted.

than 150 attorneys and 80 advocates on its books".

However, said Mr Herbstein, "few realised where the money was coming from".

"In 1990 alone," he noted, "lawyers received R28,25 million in fees." He said it was "hard to believe that from the mid-1980s, South Africa (the government) was unaware of the enormous transfer of funds. (Idaf's) Phyllis Altman believes they did know it was Idaf, but couldn't fathom how.

A cynic might suggest that a hard-pressed minister of finance swallowed twice and turned a blind eye to a huge inflow of foreign currency".

Mr Herbstein concluded that in the absence of any real state aid, "without Idaf's (aid) the mass of men and women in political trials over the last three decades would have entered the dock naked".

For instance, he said, in 1990, Idaf transferred R35m for political defences, compared with the government's R17m in legal aid for all criminal trials.

In 1990, he said, Idaf-funded legal work affected 28 000 South Africans. This year, it was put at 20 000.

In 1985, at the start of the "unrest", Idaf funded a staggering 16 551 legal matters. These covered State of Emergency detentions, public violence cases, stays of execution, criminal appeals, inquests, appeals against Group Areas and Land Act evictions, restraining orders against police harassment and commissions of inquiry.

Apart from Mr Nelson Mandela's trial, Idaf also financed the team appearing for the family at Mr Steve Biko's inquest, and is currently funding Mrs Winnie Mandela's defence, which Mr Herbstein describes as "a source of deep controversy".

Mr Horst Kleinschmidt, current Idaf director, is quoted as estimating that R500m had been sent into South Africa over the years — largely from Scandinavia and the United Nations.

Security amendments due to be tabled today

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Detention without trial for interrogation, which at present can go on indefinitely by administrative decree, is to be limited to initial periods of no more than 14 days, and further periods only with the permission of a Supreme Court judge.

Justice Minister Koble Coetsee said last night in a statement that this and other amendments to the Internal Security Act — announced by President de Klerk last week — would be tabled in Parliament today.

He also announced that:

- The banning of political organisations is to be limited to those "which want to reach or advance political aims by means of violence".

Mr Coetsee said these banning orders could be overturned by the Supreme Court and organisations would have 90 days to apply for this.

- The Intimidation Act of 1982 is to be tightened up to overcome shortcomings concerning "more subtle" forms of intimidation and to increase penalties.

- Preventive detention without trial (section 28) would be re-

pealed and periods of detention for interrogation (section 29) would be "drastically" limited.

Detention periods would be limited to 14 days "and thereafter for such periods as a judge of the Supreme Court determines".

"Provision is also being made for access to a detainee by his legal representative in cases where application is made for the further detention of the detainee."

Mr Coetsee said that in keeping with the Government's undertaking to revise security legislation continuously, the remaining provisions of the Internal Security Act — and other security provisions — would come under the spotlight again.

He confirmed Mr de Klerk's announcement that the Internal Security Act would also be amended to repeal:

- The "consolidated list" (people who may not be quoted).
- The ban on publications or the publishing of certain persons' statements or writings.
- Restrictions on the registration of news sheets.
- Disqualification for membership of Parliament or entry to certain legal professions.
- The misdemeanour of communism.

Star 7/5/91

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Island³²⁷ hunger striker in hospital

ONE of Robben Island's 28 political prisoners on hunger strike was admitted to hospital on the sixth day of the strike yesterday.

According to ANC lawyer Mr Willie Hofmeyr, families visiting the island had reported that Chris Mofokeng had collapsed and had been hospitalised.

Mandla Shabangu, 31, was also refusing to take water and he was in a weak state.

The island prisoners and more than 300 prisoners countrywide embarked on the strike last week.

Meanwhile lawyers reported yesterday that the conditions of three other hunger strikers in other parts of the country had deteriorated markedly yesterday. —

Staff Reporter and Own Correspondent

Govt will investigate ³²⁷ ^{Star 8/5/91} curbs on press freedom

Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act and Section 27-B of the Police Act would be investigated, taking into account the principles of press freedom which were accepted and had to be maintained, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers, told Parliament yesterday.

Replying to debate on the law and order budget vote, he said an investigation would be conducted objectively in the hope that it would place police links with the media on a healthier footing. — Sapa.

● Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act empowers police to demand that a person disclose information before

a magistrate if they suspect it has a bearing on an offence. It has been invoked against journalists in attempts to compel them to reveal confidential sources.

Media lawyer Peter Reynolds says that Section 205 has not been used to facilitate the successful investigation of serious crime, but rather to pressure journalists into disclosing sources.

● Section 27-B of the Police Act makes it an offence to publish "untruths" about the police in relation to their performance as policemen, with the onus resting on the publisher to prove that he had reasonable grounds for believing that what he published was the truth.

POLITICS

Govt seeks to keep banning powers

8/5/91
GOVERNMENT has proposed that the Minister of Justice retain wide-ranging powers to ban political organisations.

Although the detention-without-trial provision for interrogation has been reduced to 14 days and may only be extended by a Supreme Court judge, detainees will still have no right of access to their families, doctors and lawyers.

Lawyers will, however, be allowed to consult detainees in connection with applications before judges relating to their continued detention or release.

Tough provisions against intimidation with fines of R40 000 and/or 10 years' imprisonment, and an extended definition of intimidation have also been proposed.

However, the Internal Security and Intimidation Bill, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday, does scrap many controversial clauses which restricted political activities.

Internal Security Act provisions for banning of publications, restriction of newspaper registration, the consolidated list of people who could not be quoted, the banning of statements and writings of certain people, the banning of individuals, preventive detention, disqualification of people from parliament or from practising as lawyers, and promoting communism, are to be scrapped.

DP law and order spokesman Tian van der Merwe said: "Generally, the Bill does represent some very significant improvements on the existing Internal Security Act, but there are a number of areas where further improvements are necessary."

The DP did not believe it was necessary

for the minister to have the power to ban organisations. It also objected to the Bill's detention provisions. It said the normal procedures should be applied, as followed with suspects in criminal cases.

The DP says the 14-day initial period is still too long; it is unacceptable that the Supreme Court should have no authority to rule initial detentions invalid; family members should be told where detainees are being held and detainees should as soon as possible have access to their own doctors, own legal representatives and family.

Reasons

A memorandum attached to the Bill said in the present law the Minister's subjective opinion was conclusive and a legal challenge to his decision to ban an organisation was limited, but the new Bill would enable the Supreme Court to determine for itself whether there was, objectively speaking, reason to believe the jurisdictional grounds to outlaw the organisation existed.

A clause also gives office bearers of the organisation the right to ask the Minister to give reasons for his banning.

Policemen with the rank of lieutenant-colonel or above will be able to order the detention of people if they have reason to believe they had committed or intended to commit sabotage or were withholding information about such an offence.

They could be detained for more than 14 days only if this was authorised by a Supreme Court judge after he had received written representations from the police and the detainee's lawyers.

Political Staff

Island prisoner in hospital after collapse

By BARRY STREEK

A ROBBER ISLAND political prisoner, Chris Mofokeng, 24, has been transferred to a mainland hospital after collapsing on Monday, his lawyer, Mr Willie Hofmeyr, said last night.

Yesterday marked the sixth day of Mofokeng's hunger strike. He is serving a 21-year sentence.

Robben Island prisoners, on hunger strike in protest against their continued imprisonment after the ANC's April 30 deadline for the release of political prisoners, said in a statement yesterday that a sizeable number of their comrades were beginning to show signs of "political weariness".

Mofokeng's position continued to deteriorate drastically: "He cannot wake up or stand on his feet without assistance, and he complains of pains all over his body."

Rapid weight loss

They also said another prisoner, Mosa Nkoata, was losing weight at the rate of four kilograms a day.

Mr Hofmeyr also said visitors reported that Mandla Shabangu, 31, was "in a very weak state ... apparently he has decided not to take water as it has caused him nausea".

Shabangu, of Johannesburg, was convicted of treason in 1981 and sentenced to death for his participation in a group of ANC guerillas responsible for the blowing up of Sasol II, and other attacks.

His death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment in 1983. However, his co-accused, Bobby Tsotsobe, who was convicted of the same offences, was released before the April 30 deadline, Mr Hofmeyr said.

Internal security: New bill tabled

CML-1008 8/5/91 327

Political Staff

THE Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Bill — which will replace the Internal Security Act — and two others designed to usher in the government's "new South Africa" were tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Further Abolition of Racially Based Measures Bill and the Universities Amendment Bill are both aimed at scrapping elements of apartheid legislation.

In terms of the new internal security bill, the controversial Section 29 of the Internal Security Act will be amended to provide for a period of detention of

not more than 14 days. After that, police will have to go to the Supreme Court for a judge's decision on how much longer a detainee can be held. The judge's decision will be final.

Provision is also made for a detainee to be examined by a district surgeon as soon as possible after his arrest and for a relative to be informed of his detention.

However, there is no provision for visits by family, lawyers or personal doctors.

Under the existing legislation a detainee can be held for six months before a police officer is required to give reasons to a board of review for continued detention.

The bill will also amend Section Four which gave the Minister of Justice the power to declare any organisation illegal if he was satisfied it was engaged in activities which endangered state security, the maintenance of law and order or promoted communism.

The Further Abolition of Racially Based Measures Bill is designed to abolish legislation which makes a distinction between races.

The Universities Amendment Bill will scrap the controversial "quota" system which prescribed how many people of various races could attend specific universities.

Stringent new unrest measures announced

Staff Reporter

Stringent new unrest measures, including a ban on all open-air meetings for 14 days and intensified security force operations, will go into effect in nine violence-wracked Witwatersrand townships from today.

Announcing the security package — known as "Operation Stabilise" — last night, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said it would be the first of "various planned measures" to combat township violence.

The townships affected by the announcement — Soweto, Alexandra, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Tembisa, Tokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus — have all already been proclaimed "unrest areas" in terms of the Public Safety Act.

However, anticipated stricter controls on Zulu "traditional" weapons were not among the measures announced by Minister Vlok.

The package includes the deployment of more SAP and SADF reinforcements, road blocks, "cordon and

search" operations, stricter enforcement of the 9 pm to 4 am curfew and a 14-day ban on open air meetings.

This last measure excludes "bona fide church and sports gatherings as well as funerals".

Permission to hold other open air gatherings can be granted by the Regional Commissioners of Police.

Mr Vlok also appealed to all leaders to urge their followers to refrain from violence "and to take firm steps to ensure this message reaches all their supporters".

Reacting to the announcement, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC had taken note of the new measures and would react "in due course".

Welcoming the measures, Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Senzo Mfayela said: "We believe the price South Africans ... are paying is so high that every responsible leader and every responsible political organisation needs to do everything in their power to end the bloodshed."

32.7

SA 'agents' ask ANC for help

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

HARARE — Five convicted South African agents have appealed to the ANC to help secure their release from prison in Zimbabwe in terms of the release of political prisoners under way in South Africa.

In a statement, they asked the ANC to give the matter immediate attention "as an act of good faith" during the process of reconciliation.

They said their alleged offences, which are the subject of appeal, were of a purely political nature in that they were allegedly undertaken against the ANC.

The men are Kevin Woods, Michael Smith and Philip Conjwayo, all sentenced to death for the murder of a man in a car-bomb explosion in 1988; Barry Bawden, serving 40 years for the bombing of ANC properties, and Denis Beahan, who was sentenced to life imprisonment for an attempt to spring the agents from jail in 1988.

They hold Zimbabwean or British citizenship.



BOARDING PARTY ... Members of the ANC's Women's League on board a Robben Island ferry last night.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

ANC women seize Island ferry for sit-in

By BRONWYN DAVIDS

FOURTEEN ANC Women's League members last night seized a Robben Island prison ferry and chained themselves to its mast and safety railings.

Thirty policemen using boltcutters took more than 30 minutes to cut the women down from the Susan Kruger, which had been draped with ANC flags. The women were arrested on a charge of trespassing, a local police spokesman said.

The protesters were demanding the immediate release of all political prisoners on hunger strike, focusing mainly on three women — Theresa Ramashamola, Phyllis Phanta and Evelyn de Bruin.

About 7.45pm the women climbed through a hole cut in the barbed wire fence of the highly restricted Table Bay compound on Quay Five and chained themselves to the boat, intending to stay there until the prisoners were released.

As the women were dragged off the ferry by police, Ms Cheryl Carolus, who was tied to the mast shouted: "This is the new South Africa, this is the peace they talk, look how they assault our mothers!"

In the mêlée, Ms Magdaline Fullard shouted that she had been hit by a policeman who would not give her his name.

Those involved in the protest were: Ms Mildred Makhasi, Ms Beattie Hofmeyr, Ms Rashieda Abdullah, Ms Mildred Lesiea, Ms Caroline Makhasi, Ms Jessie Tsane, Ms Nomade Mahote, Ms Nancy Badusa, Ms Nowetu Tolbit, Ms Winnifred Ndziba, Ms Bettie Zuzile, Ms Rhoda Joemat, Ms Fullard and Ms Carolus.

Police raid squatter camp for weapons

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Sowetan 10/5/91.

HUNDREDS of armed policemen yesterday launched a lightning raid on the Mandela Park squatter settlement in Daveyton, Benoni, in search of illegal weapons.

The dawn operation came barely hours after Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok announced in Cape Town that more policemen and troops would be deployed in violence-scarred Reef townships.

Named "Operation Stabilise", Vlok said on Wednesday night it was the first of many measures aimed at restoring law and order.

Releasing details of the raid, Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain

Eugene Opperman said the police entered Daveyton about 6.30am and sealed off the camp.

Arrests

"Hundreds of police are taking part in the operation and it will continue for some time today. Unfortunately, we will only have details of arrests and the confiscation of weapons when the police return later in the day. But we emphasise that it is a full-blown operation.

"We would also like to make it clear that the police expect the ANC to complain about the search just as Inkatha complains whenever we search their places," said Opperman. - Sapa.

KEEP
YOUR
PROMISES
DE KLERK!



DEFIANT PROTEST ... A woman signals her displeasure during yesterday's illegal march around the city, which ended in about 300 arrests outside Parliament.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Six hunger strikers to be released

By BARRY STREEK

ANOTHER seven political prisoners, including six hunger strikers on Robben Island, are to be released immediately, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.

The new releases will leave 31 political prisoners on Robben Island, 19 of whom are on hunger strike in protest against their continued detention, and "10 to 15" in Pretoria Central Prison.

Mr Coetsee also defended the government's actions over the release of the political prisoners and said its actions had been "balanced, just and fair to everyone".

Although 1 190 applications for release were currently being processed, most of them had been received after April 23.

The International Red Cross Com-

THE last remaining prisoners on Robben Island — on the ninth day of their hunger strike — are still firm in their commitment in spite of obvious physical weakness, according to a statement released through attorney Mr Willie Hofmeyr yesterday.

"Our determination becomes stronger because we know our cause and demands are just," the statement read.

mittee was also playing an important role by visiting all prisons to make sure everyone eligible knew the procedures.

Mr Coetsee spoke yesterday during the debate on his vote and replied to a question tabled by the Democratic Party's justice spokesman, Mr David Dalling.

Mr Dalling said during the debate it was common cause that hunger strikes were actually taking place in protest against the delays in finalising individual cases.

"These are ugly and unwelcome developments and the government should do all in its power to resolve the disputes."

"Delays, the placing of obstacles in the path, must be eliminated."

By yesterday morning, 1 971 applications for release had been received, of which 1 099 were received after April 23, Mr Coetsee said.

Star 11/5/79

Demos taken away

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CAPE TOWN — ANC demonstrators campaigning outside Parliament for the release of imprisoned hunger strikers were arrested and taken away in police vans yesterday.

The lunch-time protesters were packed into several large police vans and driven away amid shouts of "Viva".

In Nelspruit about 2 000 placard-bearing ANC supporters marched yesterday to demand the dismissal of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan as well as an end to violence.

Looking on quietly, rightwingers carrying whips guarded street corners.

The march went off without incident.

About 20 members of the Alexandra branch of the ANC Youth League staged a lunchtime protest in Sandton yesterday. The protesters, carrying posters calling for the return of exiles, the disarming of vigilante groups and the release of political prisoners, stood on either side of Louis Botha Avenue.

● Thirty-two ANC Women's League members who staged a sit-in at the Nelspruit police station on Wednesday, yesterday appeared briefly in the Nelspruit Magistrate's Court.

They were not asked to plead and the hearing was postponed to June 10.

● Fifteen ANC Women's League members who allegedly seized a Robben Island ferry and chained themselves to the vessel in Cape Town's harbour on Thursday night, appeared in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of trespassing. They were warned to appear in again on June 10. — Sapa.

300 held as scuffles end city protest

SCUFFLES broke out and at least one person was struck repeatedly on the head with a baton when police arrested about 300 ANC demonstrators in Parliament Street yesterday after an illegal city march and "sit-in".

The march was part of the ANC's eight-day campaign to free remaining political prisoners on hunger strike and to "speed up" the repatriation of exiles.

Among those arrested were seven former Robben Island prisoners released between January and last month, ANC/SACP leader Ms Cheryl Carolus and education activist Mr Graeme Bloch of the University of the Western Cape.

City council spokesman Mr Ted Doman said the ANC had applied for civic permission an hour before the protest. Permission was denied.

No magisterial permission was obtained for the march.

In other centres throughout the country the ANC also staged sit-ins at government buildings and prayer meetings, including a sit-in at Pretoria Magistrate's Court by 40 ANC Women's League members, among whom were its deputy president Mrs Albertina Sisulu. — Staff Reporter and Sapa

15 women in court

FIFTEEN ANC Women's League members who chained themselves to a Robben Island ferry in Cape Town harbour on Thursday night appeared briefly in Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The women, who were demanding the immediate release of all political prisoners, appeared on charges of trespassing and were warned to appear again on June 10.

● Associated Press journalist Ms Sahm Venter appeared in court yesterday on charges of assaulting a police officer and interfering with police duties during the incident.

The case was postponed to May 30 and her bail of R100 extended.

● Fourteen ANC Women's League members yesterday appeared in a Pretoria court for an illegal gathering. — Sapa

Govt likely to heed 'ban spears' plea

The Government appears likely to meet the ANC's demand for a ban within seven days on the carrying of "traditional" spears at political meetings.

This will ensure that the ANC continues constitutional talks with the Government — and will represent a substantial victory for the ANC's controversial tactic of presenting the Government with an ultimatum of seven demands for action against the township violence.

Together with other concessions made by the Government, it will enable the ANC to argue that the Government has at last moved seriously to rein in the Inkatha impis — even though some demands, such as the sacking of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, have not been met.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is believed to have put the new deadline to Mr de Klerk when they met in Pretoria on Wednesday.

Another intense round of shuttle diplomacy will probably take place over the next few days as the

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

Government tries to persuade Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept the ban on spears, and then finalises the deal with the ANC.

The Government's agreement at this week's talks to impose an immediate ban on the carrying in public of a long list of dangerous weapons — excluding spears — in the Reef unrest areas, helped to temporarily avert the ANC's threat to call off negotiations on May 9.

Agreed

It is understood that the ANC also accepted Mr de Klerk's promises to upgrade and convert township hostels and his assurances that police would act impartially in township violence.

There are suggestions that the Government also agreed that police should not use live ammunition against township demonstrators — in response to a specific demand in the ANC's ultimatum.

But despite these concessions, Mr Mandela in

● TO PAGE 2.

Spears

● FROM PAGE 1.

effect extended the deadline, threatening to pull out of talks unless the Government took action on the carrying of spears on political occasions within seven days, sources say. He believes the ANC has no objection to "cultural" weapons

such as spears and sticks being carried on truly cultural occasions such as Shaka Day.

● Sapa reports that Zulu chiefs, in a strong statement issued by Inkatha yesterday in reaction to the proposed ban on cultural weapons, vowed they would never compromise on the issue. The statement came after a meeting of Zulu chiefs and "leading dignitaries" in Ulundi.

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These are banned weapons

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Star
11/5/91
A GOVERNMENT Gazette was published yesterday banning the carrying of a long list of dangerous weapons in the unrest areas of the Reef.

27/2
PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

The ban was discussed at Wednesday's meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The list of weapons excludes spears and "ceremonial" axes, two weapons which are considered "cultural" and which the Government still tolerates.

The ANC believes that these two should be declared dangerous and forbidden — and this is likely to be the subject of urgent discussion between them and the Government.

A fine of R20 000 or a prison term of up to 10 years will be the penalty for breaking the ban.

Among the weapons declared dangerous are tools such as garden forks, spades and sickles and objects such as tubes or tyres, bricks and stones.

However, strict conditions have been laid down for genuine workers to be exempt from carrying these "weapons".

Written proof by the employer must be furnished. A member of security forces may request the person to show this proof of genuine employment and may arrest and detain for up to 12 hours anyone who fails to provide it.

The full list of dangerous weapons includes:

- firearm, including machine gun; panga; dagger; sword; knife — excluding pocket knife; axe — excluding ceremonial axe; stick shod with iron; metal rod; metal pipe; club; petrol bomb; stone; brick; crossbow; bow and arrow; pick; pick handle; garden fork; pitchfork; spade; sickle; scythe; hoe; gaff; hammer; spanner; screw-driver; chain and tube or tyre.

The ban will only apply in the proclaimed unrest areas — Tokoza, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Tembisa, Alexandra and Dobsonville.

ANC man 'abducted' ⁽²⁾

PIETERSBURG. — The ANC's northern Transvaal vice-chairman, Dr Aaron Motsoaledi, was abducted and assaulted by unknown men on Wednesday night near a Pietersburg hotel, the organisation said yesterday.

Two men apparently confronted him and jumped into his vehicle as he was about to enter a hotel.

Dr Motsoaledi has been admitted to hospital. — Sapa

Doctor harassed: Probe

JOHANNESBURG. — The police are to investigate allegations that five heavily armed policemen harassed a Johannesburg doctor in the early hours of yeesterday morning after he refused to give them confidential patient data.

Police spokesman Major Dave Bruce said the matter had been referred to the District Commissioner of Randburg, who would begin an immediate investigation to see if there was a basis for the allegation.

The information requested was from patient records and concerned people involved in a shooting incident in Alexandra on Thursday night. — Sapa

Death inspires video on spirit of Webster

Star 18/5/91
THE death of human rights academic Dr David Webster two years ago made such an impact on a 31-year-old Johannesburg journalist that he embarked on making a film about Webster and funded it out of his own pocket.

Video director and editor Mike Aldridge, whose low-budget video documentary titled "Webster Spirit" said he met David in the course of his journalistic work and was very impressed by him.

Loss

"I felt along with a lot of other people at the time of his death a very profound feeling of loss," said Aldridge.

"The original idea was to make a movie for the Weekly Mail short film competition. Webster's death was the most sig-

nificant event at the time."

He said the video, which is his first, took about a year to make with the help of many people who donated time and energy "because it was a film about David Webster".

"Filming equipment was supplied by the Inter-church Media Project and 702 Radio allowed us to film from their helicopter in the process," said Aldridge.

The video includes footage of places and people the human rights activist knew. It documents both Webster's death and a dramatic period in a changing South Africa.

Mr Aldridge said the informative video was best suited to political organisations and libraries.

PAT DEVEREAUX

Police kill suspect, companion

By Gien Elsas *Star*
West Rand Bureau 20/5/77

A terror suspect who escaped from custody in Johannesburg last year and his companion were shot and killed by Soweto policemen at a house in Phiri, Soweto, yesterday morning.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn of the Soweto police said the dead man, whose name has not yet been released as his next of kin have to be told of his death, was wanted on five charges of terrorism in Soweto.

The Soweto police received information that the man was at a house in Phiri and they went to arrest him at 4 am.

When they entered the house and shone a torch at the suspect he grabbed a hand grenade. The police shot the man and he died before the grenade could be activated.

Suddenly a second person stormed at the police in the dark and this person was also shot and killed. The lights were switched on and the police saw it was a woman.

Two hand grenades and an unlicensed pistol were found at the house.

The incident is being investigated.

SOWETAN Monday May 20, 1991

Couple shot dead in raid by police

By PHANGISILE
MTSHALI

A MAN, wanted on five counts of terrorism, and his girlfriend were shot dead yesterday in a pre-dawn police raid at a house in Phiri, Soweto.

The couple, Mr Jabulani Phadi (24) and his 22-year-old girlfriend, known as Nokuzola, were killed during a confrontation

Soweto police

liaison officer Colonel Tienie Halgryn said

they traced Phadi to a house in Soweto. Phadi produced a hand grenade and police shot and killed him.

Halgryn said the

woman was killed when she "charged" at the police.

Two hand grenades and a pistol were confiscated.

"Police woke me up at about 3.30am," the owner of the premises, who asked not to be named, said.

"They said they wanted Jabulani, who

they knew had bombs. Before I could say anything they went to his room."

Another lodger, who also asked to remain anonymous, said he heard voices shouting "Maak oop"

accompanied by loud banging on the door.

"I saw policemen when I peeped through the window," he said.

"I could hear voices from Jabulani's room. I heard the sound of a door opening followed by gunshots that lasted for between five and ten minutes. There was silence after that and the bodies were later removed from the room."

Jabulani had been lodging at the house for five months.

announcement by the Minister of Law and Order that a restriction on the holding of protest marches was envisaged, the organisers cancelled the march and the application was not taken further.

(3) and (4) ~~327~~ 327

The Police do not have such a policy. The decision on whether a march may or may not be held, is the responsibility of the relevant local authority and magistrate of the area. It is the task of the South African Police to maintain law and order during legal marches. If an illegal march takes place, it is also the task of the Police

to take the necessary steps to enforce the law.

SAP: recruits/resignations

*8. Mr W U NEL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) In respect of the latest specified 6-month period for which information is available, (a) how many recruits joined the Police Force and (b) how many members of each specified rank resigned from the Force;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1010E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) South African Police	9 146
Municipal Police	335
Police Assistants	3 740
TOTAL	13 221

(b) Lieutenant-General	Superannuation	2
Major-General	Superannuation	3
Brigadier	Medically unfit	1
	Superannuation	8
Colonel	Medically unfit	9
	Superannuation	2
Lieutenant-Colonel	Medically unfit	8
Major	Resignation	1
	Medically unfit	11
Captain	Resignation	5
	Medically unfit	4
	Superannuation	1
Lieutenant	Resignation	23
Warrant Officer	Resignation	55
	Medically unfit	65
	Transfer to another Government Department	1
Sergeant	Superannuation	34
	Resignation	181
	Medically unfit	54
	Transfer to another Government Department	2
Constable	Superannuation	29
	Medically unfit	27
	Superannuation	12
	Resignation	834
	End of National Service	623

Student

Police Assistants

TOTAL

- (2) The statistics apply in respect of the period 1 October 1990 until 27 March 1991.

The numerical strength of the South African Police increased by 10 330 during this period.

The increase can be attributed to improved salaries and allowances since 1 July 1990 and an intensified recruitment drive currently being conducted by the South African Police. The increasing of the Police's manpower is aimed at establishing a larger police presence in all communities, rendering a more efficient service and through pro-active policing, preventing the alarming incidence of crime in the RSA.

*9. Mr D H M Gibson—Constitutional Development. [Withdrawn.]

NP banquet: finance

*10. Mr J CHIOLE asked the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises:

- (1) Whether he will furnish information on whether any representatives of State enterprises, semi-State enterprises, commercialised State enterprises or privatised State enterprises or corporations, excluding senior officials of Transnet, attended a banquet which was presented by the Johannesburg region of the National Party on 3 October 1990 and to which he referred in his reply to Question No 3 on 30 April 1991; if not, why not; if so, on behalf of what enterprises or corporations did they attend the banquet;

- (2) whether the enterprises or corporations concerned financed tables at this banquet; if so, (a) what was the highest finance cost paid by one of these enterprises or corporations and (b) on behalf of what enterprise or corporation was this amount paid?

B999E

Resignation
Medically unfit
End of National Service
Discharges and resignations

77
3
15
801
2 891

THE MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

- (1) According to information at my disposal, none of the other Public Enterprises which fall under the Ministry for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises, received an invitation to the banquet presented by the Johannesburg region of the National Party, and thus it was not attended by any representative of the aforementioned public enterprises.
- (2) No.

Orange Farm settlement camp

*11. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing:

- (a) What is the estimated (i) adult and (ii) child population of the Orange Farm settlement camp and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B1011E

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

- (a) The approximate figures are
 - (i) adults : 22 440
 - (ii) children : 56 100
- (b) April 1991.

INTERPELLATION

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

Own Affairs:

White children: identification

*1. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

enormous, that, purely from the Government's point of view of correspondingly financing the fund, we have not yet been able to consider granting it. Hence the matter is under consideration and if I remember correctly—I have to try to recall a report of some time ago—the implication was that the fund would have to be financed by an additional R3 billion or more to raise it from 50% to 75%. It is extremely difficult to do so at this stage. We are in any case looking at the total structure of pension funds and the financing of such funds and the matter of widows' pensions is high on the priority list as it is a very real problem. We will want to attend to it, and in the not too distant future a decision will be taken on the matter.

Nevertheless I doubt whether it will be possible to do it in a one-sided manner. There will have to be negotiations. By "one-sided" I mean that the adjustment be made solely on the side of the employer, namely the Government. Calculations will have to be made and there will have to be negotiations with the employees to establish whether they will be prepared to make a substantial contribution on their side in order to accomplish this.

†An HON MEMBER: Just see how decent he is now!

Meyerton messenger of the court: post vacant
*5. Mr W L VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Justice:†

- (1) Whether the post of messenger of the court at Meyerton is vacant; if so, (a) why and (b) since when;
- (2) whether any applications for this post have been received; if so, how many;
- (3) whether any recommendations have been made in respect of these applications; if so, (a) by whom and (b) what were the recommendations;
- (4) whether this post has been filled temporarily; if so, when is it expected that a permanent appointment will be made?

B985E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (1) No. (a) and (b) fall away.
- (2) Yes.
Five applications were received.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

- (3) Yes.
 - (a) Recommendations were made by various persons and bodies.
 - (b) As the recommendations are confidential it is not advisable to disclose this information.
- (4) Yes. A permanent appointment was made on 17 May 1991.

Public meeting of certain political party: SAP video

*6. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether the South African Police have made a video recording of a public meeting of a certain political party, whose name has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, which was held at Welkom on 2 May 1991; if so, (a) for what purpose and (b) what is the name of the party concerned;
- (2) whether it is the policy of the Government to make video recordings of all public political meetings;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B993E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
 - (a) Because the South African Police was in possession of information that the meeting could possibly be disrupted, resulting in criminal offences such as malicious damage to property and assault, members of the Force had this aid available to record evidence on tape if an offence should be committed. Single cuts were made of occurrences during the meeting which indicated that those present could become violent and become disruptive. No offence was committed by anybody present, and the recorded material was destroyed after the meeting. The matter was discussed with the hon member for the Welkom constituency who indicated that he is satisfied with the handling of the matter.

- (b) The Conservative Party.
- (2) No, but the South African Police do make video recordings in those cases where law and order might be threatened.

(3) Yes, aids of this nature play an important role in respect of identification and submission of proof in criminal cases, and are used by the South African Police to enable them to perform their duties in terms of section 5 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act 7 of 1958). These functions are *inter alia*:

- the preservation of the internal security of the Republic;
- the maintenance of law and order;
- the investigation of any offence or alleged offence; and
- the prevention of crime.

Because the South African Police are accused timely and untimely of partiality, and even incitement to the commission of crimes, video recordings are also made during gatherings of persons, with the purpose of proving accusations of this nature to be unfounded.

†Mr A GERBER: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, namely that it was expected that the meeting could possibly be broken up, I would like to know how many policemen were present at the meeting.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I do not have that information at my disposal at the moment. If the hon the member is really interested he can have it put on the Question Paper. I will then give him the correct figure. I thought the hon member would thank me because we protected him so that he could hold his meeting in peace! [Interjections.]

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he tell us who would be of the opinion that that meeting would be broken up by violence, on the basis of which the Police applied certain protective measures? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the Minister was not there. It is the hon member for Brits who held the meeting. [Interjections.] We had information that possible disruption of his meeting

could occur. [Interjections.] Now he is angry with me because we looked after him. I cannot understand him at all. [Interjections.]

†Mr A GERBER: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, we would like to know who gave him the information and whether the CP requested that the policemen be present. [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, it is not the hon member for Overvaal who gave us the information. I would like to confirm that. We had access to information that there could possibly be problems and we took precautions so that the hon member's meeting could be peaceful.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

Certain right-wing organisation: protest march in Soweto

*7. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether a certain right-wing organisation, particulars of which have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, recently applied to hold a protest march in Soweto; if so, what (a) is the name of this organisation and (b) are the particulars of the application;
- (2) whether the application was granted; if so, for what reasons; if not, why not;
- (3) whether it is the policy of the Police that Whites may not hold protest marches in Black cities;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B994E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
 - (a) "Resistance against Communism".
 - (b) Application was made for a march on 9 May 1991 by approximately 29 000 people from the NASREC show-grounds to Diepkloof.
- (2) As a result of insufficient information in the application, the Magistrate of Johannesburg referred it back to the applicants for further particulars. As a result of an

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

star 23/5/91
**Unrest areas
ban on spears
is gazetted**

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The ban on carrying spears or assegais in unrest areas was announced by President de Klerk last night after the Cabinet's weekly meeting.

A ban in public in the unrest areas of the Reef — except at "traditional cultural gatherings" — was gazetted by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Mr de Klerk expressed the hope that the ban might persuade parties which are boycotting his peace summit to reconsider. Even if these groups did not take part, the Government would try to ensure maximum participation in follow-up actions after the conference.

There was no immediate reaction from the ANC, but it is likely it will say the ban does not go far enough.

The new regulations allow spears to be carried for traditional cultural gatherings if the organiser of the event has given written notice to the district commissioner of police at least 48 hours before the event.

Star 24/1/91 627 X251

Police hunting alleged ex-terrorist

A warrant has been issued for the arrest of alleged former ANC terrorist Ronald Bezuidenhout after he told the Vrye Weekblad last week that he was an ex-member of a police terrorist unit at Vlakplaas.

Police have denied that Mr Bezuidenhout was ever a member of the police force.

They said he was arrested in 1989 after he had received military training from the ANC in

Angola and East Germany.

They alleged that he had then supplied them with information. Last week, Mr Bezuidenhout apparently undertook to make himself available for further questioning, but has since disappeared.

Anyone knowing Mr Bezuidenhout's whereabouts is asked to phone Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen (012) 320-1551. — Staff Reporter.

Task force inquiry may lead to charges being laid

New probe into CCB crimes



SLANG VAN ZYL



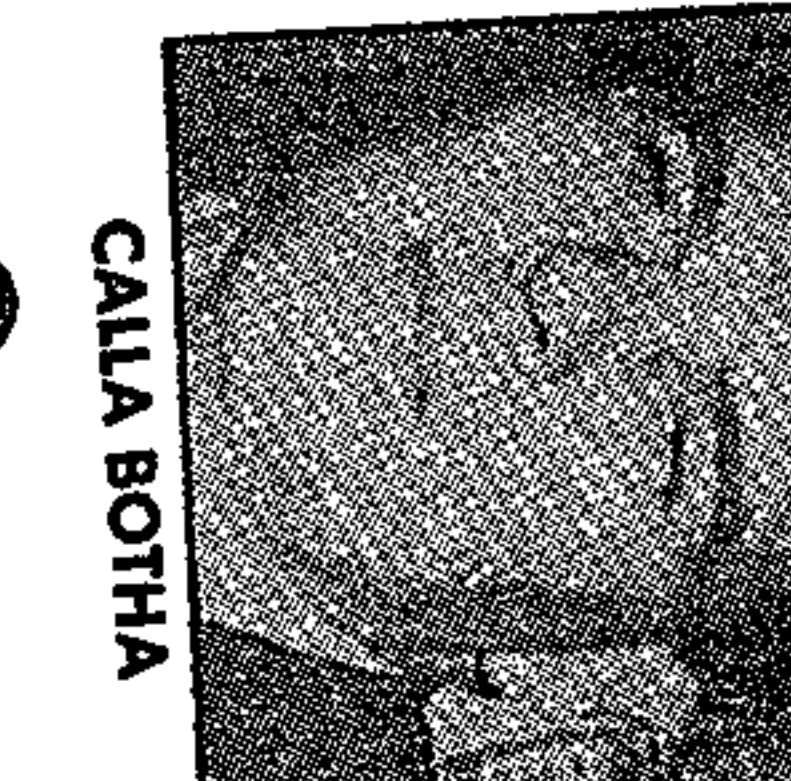
EDDIE WEBB



STAAL BURGER



FERDI BARNARD



CALLA BOTHA



DAVID WEBSTER

CCB probe

● FROM PAGE 1.

Mr Rossouw, who started his inquiry three months ago, said that because of the complexity of the investigation, he could not guarantee charges would be brought, but the matter was being treated as a priority.

He refused to speculate on how much longer the inquiry would take. "It's a big case." He also declined to discuss possible witnesses or who may end up in the dock.

But, regardless of the task force's progress — even if it succeeded in building a number of criminal cases — perpetrators could still escape scot-free if the Government decided to grant indemnities.

Brigadier Floris Mostert, assistant CID chief in charge of special units on the Witwatersrand, is one of a number of police officers assisting Mr Rossouw's team.

Brigadier Mostert is investigating the death of Dr Webster, who was shot outside his home in Troyeville, Johannesburg, in May 1989.

Attorneys-general countrywide were instructed to investigate possible criminal actions by the CCB after a series of startling allegations were made during the Harms commission of inquiry into politically motivated murders last year.

Two of the more serious CCB allegations involve incidents that occurred in the Cape — the conspiracy to murder Cape Town advocate Dullah Omar and the bomb attack on the Early Learning Centre in Athlone.

"When the investigation started it became clear that co-ordination of the effort nationally was necessary," said Mr Rossouw.

During the Harms inquiry, Eberhard Bertelsmann SC and Martin Luitingh, representing the David Webster Trust and other parties, strongly recommended that a number of CCB members stand trial.

The advocates listed six CCB-connected operatives whom they said should be prosecuted for attempted murder or conspiracy to murder arising out of actions against Mr Omar, Johannesburg journalist Gavin Evans, the Urban Foundation's Roland White and Durban attorney K E Mhlaba.

The operatives are General Webb, Colonel Verster, head of region 6 (internal operations) Staal Burger, and his agents, Slang van Zyl, Calla Botha and Ferdi Barnard.

The advocates argued that charges of sabotage, terrorism or malicious damage to property should be brought against Mr Burger, Mr van Zyl, Mr Botha and Isgak Hardien in connection with the bombing of the Athlone centre.

General Webb and Colonel Verster, the advocates argued, may have aided and abetted those allegedly involved in the bombing and could face charges of malicious damage to property.

Similar charges of sabotage, intimidation, malicious damage to property and/or attempted murder, attempted sabotage, attempted malicious damage to property and/or conspiracy to commit sabotage, murder, or malicious damage to property could be laid against Mr Burger, Mr Botha, Mr van Zyl and Mr Barnard.

The same charges could be brought against General Webb and Colonel Verster for planned attacks on a Cape furniture factory, the burning of minibuses and an attack on a bus taking students to Delmas.

A LEGAL task force headed by the Attorney-General of the Western Cape is compiling a dossier on the criminal activities of the disgraced Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), Saturday Star has learnt.

Its wide-ranging inquiries may lead to the laying of charges in connection with numerous crimes, including murder, terrorism, sabotage, attempted murder, conspiracy to murder, theft, corruption and malicious damage to property.

The investigation may also lead to charges being laid in connection with the murder of Johannesburg academic Dr David Webster.

A number of CCB commanders and agents could be prosecuted as a result of the investigation, which is placing particular emphasis on evidence of conspiracy.

Confirming that the investigation was under way, Attorney-General Niel Rossouw said his inquiries were sensitive and fraught with difficulty.

"But we have opened dockets in relation to the activities of the CCB and

our investigation is continuing."

"Rest assured, if the evidence is there, charges will follow — and it doesn't matter how high up the ladder we go."

Sources said it was almost inevitable that the investigation would sooner or later lead to a clash between the AG's office and the generals of the SA Defence Force, whose Special Forces created the CCB.

● **Advocates in CCB case have fees slashed. — Page 7.**

The CCB and, by implication the SADF, already stands accused of failing to co-operate with official inquiries.

The CCB was headed by "chairman" General Eddie Webb. Under him was "managing director" Colonel Joe Verster.

Asked whether his team was looking at the death of Dr Webster, Mr Rossouw said allegations regarding the CCB's involvement had been put before the Harms Commission and every lead would be followed. "If we get the evidence, prosecutions will follow."

● TO PAGE 2.

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Spv 25/5/91

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Exclusive report: STEVE MCQUILLIAN

Banned groups looking into seized assets

AZAPO is investigating ways to get back R2,5m seized by government following the banning of 17 black consciousness organisations in 1977.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley confirmed last week that members of the organisation's legal staff were investigating the seizure of Azapo's assets, done in terms of the Internal Security Act.

However, Azapo had not yet decided whether to ask for the money back, Moodley said.

The most prominent organisation banned at that time was the Black People's

Convention, which had cash and assets of about R1,5m, including a maternity home, a health clinic, and mobile clinics.

The SA Students' Organisation (Saso) also had a clinic, Moodley said.

He estimated Saso had assets of about R1m in today's money terms.

At the time, a regional court magistrate was appointed liquidator of the assets of all the banned organisations.

In terms of the Act the Minister of Police was empowered to designate to which

charitable or scientific organisations the funds would be paid after debts had been settled.

The Press then estimated the assets of all the banned organisations, including the Christian Institute, to be R1m.

It was also reported at the time that the Health Department would take over the BCP maternity home near King Williams' Town.

ANC-aligned organisations, including the UDF, which were restricted in 1986 were able to maintain their bank accounts, a UDF source said.

TIM COHEN

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Hundreds to march tomorrow

Sowetan 30/5/91
AFRICAN National Congress leaders will lead mass marches in Cape Town, Bloemfontein and Pretoria tomorrow to demand an interim government, the ANC Youth League said yesterday.

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Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Chris Hani will lead the marches to the Union Buildings in Pretoria, the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein and Parliament in Cape Town.

Leading musicians, artists, sportsmen and women, church and homeland leaders and thousands of supporters would also participate, although no permission for the marches had been sought.

"We will inform the Government that we will be holding the marches. The Government will have to accept that we have a right to mass action," the ANCYL's Parks Mankahlana said.

Scrap restrictive media laws, urges Soal (327)

Political Staff

A call for the revision and repeal of key legislation which placed restraints on media reporting was made yesterday by Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) during the home affairs vote in Parliament.

Referring to a comprehensive study commissioned by the Media Council to analyse legislation which placed restraints on reporting, Mr Soal said it had then

been assumed that SA would have a bill of rights in the near future.

One of the provisions of the bill would be a guarantee of free speech and a free press which would include the free flow of information.

However, Mr Soal said Jan Steyn, the new chairman of the South African Media Council, had noted that a free press was not a guarantee of freedom in our society "but without that freedom, authoritarianism is inevitable". He hoped the Minister

of Home Affairs would say what progress had been made in regard to legislation surrounding press freedom.

Mr Soal referred to, among others, the Registration of Newspaper Amendment Act No 98, which was approved by Parliament but never promulgated.

If this legislation had been implemented, it would have stripped the Media Council of its independence and effective integrity and made it a

tool of the Government.

Amendments to section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which was used recently to prosecute Patrick Lawrence of The Star for refusing to divulge a source of information, and section 27B of the Police Act, which restricts reporting on police action, also affected media freedom, he said.

Amendments proposed to section 205 should be welcomed but they did not take the matter far

enough, Mr Soal said.

Although section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act and section 27B of the Police Act were the responsibility of the Ministers of Justice and of Law and Order, Mr Soal said the Minister of Home Affairs, who was responsible for the media, should encourage a process of revision and repeal.

"Freedom of the press requires a bill of rights and the vigilance of those who cherish it," Mr Soal said.

Call for the repeal of media restraints

ARGUS 5/6/91

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Political Staff

A CALL for the revision, and repeal of key legislation which placed restraints on media reporting was made by the Democratic Party's Mr Peter Soal (Johannesburg North) during the Home Affairs vote.

Referring to a comprehensive study commissioned by the Media Council to analyse legislation which placed restraints on reporting, Mr Soal said it had been assumed that South Africa would have a Bill of Rights in the near future.

One of the provisions of the Bill would be a guarantee of free speech and a free Press, which would include the free flow of information.

"It is important that these aspects be included in the Bill of Rights as those freedoms need to be enshrined and protected," he said.

However, Mr Soal said Mr Jan Steyn, the new chairman of the South African Media Council, had noted that a free Press was not a guarantee of freedom in our society "but without that freedom, authoritarianism is inevitable".

He hoped the Minister of Home Affairs would say what progress had been made in regard to legislation surrounding Press freedom.

Mr Soal referred to the Registration of Newspaper Amendment Act No 98, which was approved by parliament but never promulgated.

"This legislation was often used as a threat against the Press when the previous State President and previous Minister of Home Affairs felt it appropriate to rattle their sabres," Mr Soal said.

If this legislation had been implemented, it would have stripped the Media Council of its independence and effective integrity and made it a tool of government.

"The legislation affecting restraints on media reporting has been a festering sore for far too long."

● The Students' Press Union (Saspu) has handed a petition with 10 000 signatures challenging the State monopoly on broadcasting to Professor Christo Viljoen, head of the government task force on broadcasting, writes Staff Reporter Linda Galloway.

The students call for public debate on the future of broadcasting and the "freeing" of the airwaves to allow campus radio stations and other "small, various and diverse" voices to be heard.

Saspu general-secretary Ms Caroline Greene said despite widespread criticism of the task force's unrepresentative composition and "clandestine operation", little had been done to ensure meaningful public debate around a "crucial constitutional issue".

"We cannot allow the task group to make recommendations to the minority government, which will then be passed as legislation," she said.

A letter from Mr Dhlakama to Mr Blanchard in November 1986 de-

mentees Arhau, who has taken to appear in court. — Sapa.

SA medical profession 'damaged' by Biko affair

By VIVIEN HORLER
Medical Reporter

THE editor of the South African Medical Journal has spoken out about the controversial role of the medical profession in the death of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko in 1977.

Dr Nic Lee wrote in an editorial this week: "Neither the Medical Association of SA, nor the Medical Journal emerged with any great credit from the episode.

"Although the memory of the events surrounding Steve Biko's death in detention may have become blurred with time, the damage they did to the credibility and reputation of the medical profession in South Africa — both nationally and internationally — is still not far from the surface of consciousness for many people."

The controversy in the medical pro-

fession resulted in a flurry of resignations from the Medical Association and a split between Masa and the newly formed National Medical and Dental Association (Namda).

Masa members regarded Namda as a radical political group and Namda saw Masa as reactionary and conservative.

Letters sent to the Medical Journal were not published.

Wrote Dr Lee: "Worst of all from the point of view of the Medical Journal was an unsigned editorial which argued that the SA Medical and Dental Council should not be criticised for its handling of the affair because it had been helpful when Masa had negotiated a new medical scheme tariff structure with the Minister of Health.

"A more unfortunate comparison would have been hard to make."

Varsity ^{apren} **'bans'** 9/6/91 **book**

By S'BU MNGADI

A CONTROVERSIAL biography of KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been "banned" at the Durban and Maritzburg campuses of the University of Natal.

The university's administrative heads this week ordered that all copies of the book, *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief With a Double Agenda*, be removed from their libraries' shelves.

At the end of April Buthelezi's lawyer sent letters to nine South African universities, warning they would be sued for damages if they did not remove the "defamatory" book.

The book, not distributed in South Africa, was written in exile by senior ANC member Jabulani Nobleman Nxumalo, otherwise known as Mzala. He died mysteriously in London in March.

Academics have reacted to the decision with shock.

Postman's letter of death leaves its ugly scars

Soweto 11/6/91 327
HE was an ANC chaplain and not part of the movement's military machinery, but that did not keep the postman from delivering a letter-bomb to his front door.

Opening that letter in Harare on April 28 last year triggered an explosion in which Anglican priest Father Michael Lapsley lost his hands and an eye.

The blast occurred days before the ANC and the Government had their historic meeting at Groote Schuur.

This week the New Zealand-born minister, who was indemnified from prosecution last month, spoke openly about losing his hands.

He arrived in South Africa in 1973. Three years later he was appointed national chaplain for South African university students.

He was expelled from South Africa in the same year.

"They never gave me any reasons, but I was speaking out on behalf of students who were being detained, tortured and killed. I was informing white South Africa about this."

Pacifist

At that time he was a pacifist and his message to black students was not to take up arms. He discouraged white students from resisting the call-up.

"Perhaps this is the reason I was expelled."

He left for Lesotho in September 1976.

"I joined the ANC in Lesotho. The illegitimate government

Political Staff

had denied me South African citizenship. In joining the ANC, I was taking out citizenship and fighting for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

"I'd been a pacifist until 1976. The turning point for me came when scores of high school pupils were killed in Soweto in that year. It brought me to the painful decision that armed struggle was morally legitimate, justified and necessary."

Struggle

"In doing this I was also joining mainstream Christianity which accepted armed struggle as a last resort in the face of tyranny."

This decision was to turn him into a target. He escaped "the Lesotho massacre" which left 42 dead in 1982 because he was out of the mountain kingdom at the time.

He left for Zimbabwe in 1983. Three years ago the Zimbabweans informed him that they had information which indicated that he was on a South African "hit list".

He was given a 24-

hour police guard which watched him for nearly three hours.

Then came February 2 1990 and the unbanning of several organisations including the ANC, PAC, UDF and South African Communist Party.

He said the Frontline states and the exiled community naively believed that the days of South African attacks were over.

"I was bombed a few days before the meeting at Groote Schuur."

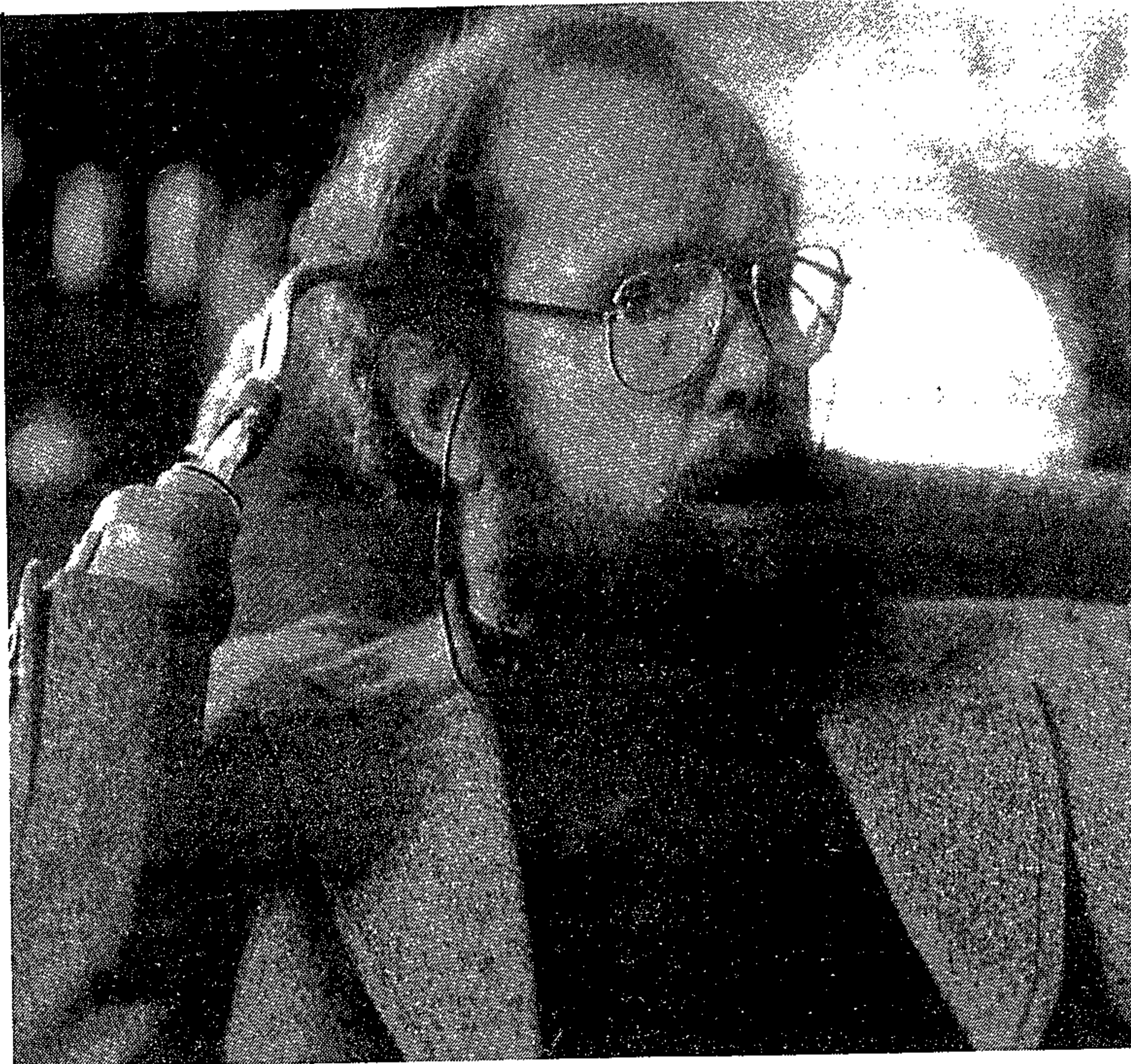
Because of the size of the letter, a manilla envelope, there was no reason to be suspicious.

"Inside were two magazines, one in English and one in Afrikaans, wrapped in plastic."

He put the Afrikaans magazine one side and opened the other one.

Explosive

"The act of opening the magazine detonated the explosive device. The explosion blew out the ceiling in three rooms and a hole in the floor. The fact that I had opened the magazine on a coffee table probably saved my life.



FATHER MICHAEL LAPSLEY: Lost his hands and an eye in a letter-bomb blast.

"I lost both hands and an eye. Both eardrums burst. I was bleeding all over and was very extensively scarred. One arm was also broken."

"One of the very extraordinary things in terms of faith is that I thought God was with me. Being bombed was part of my cruxifixion. My childhood faith and my commitment to God and the struggle enabled me to survive."

He spent a month in a military hospital in Harare before being flown to Australia where he was treated for three months in one hospital before being transferred to a rehabilitation centre.

Australian doctors

predicted that he would recover in 18 months, but he astounded them by taking only seven.

He returned to Zimbabwe last December but was unable to visit South Africa.

"I needed full indemnity for this visit." Revenge is not on his mind.

"The bombing has deepened my commitment to adjust and to form a compassionate society. I have no interest in revenge because I know my conscience won't permit me to live a full and meaningful life. I will return to continue the struggle, not to wage a vendetta."

He believes that the Civil Cooperation Bureau was behind the

bombing.

"I'm not bitter because I would have been more of a victim if I had been bitter. I believe I'm freer than they are. Those who supported apartheid in the past and those who continue to do so will not be free as human beings until they have repented."

Repent

One way of repenting would be to cooperate in setting up an international commission of inquiry into the activities of death squads inside and outside South Africa, he said.

He has become used to a life without hands. "I think there's a sense in which I will always

grieve for that I'd lost. I've fought my way back from depression and when I was as helpless as a newborn baby.

"There's a level of interdependence which I can't escape. But I have a solidarity with all disabled people and for their struggle not to be pitied."

He leaves for Zimbabwe after a month, but plans to return permanently soon.

The South Africa of today is different and yet very much like the country he'd left in 1976, he said.

"I'm excited at being back, but disappointed that after 15 years I have not returned to a free country."

Raids on ANC homes denied

Staff Reporters

SA 12/6/91

The South African Defence Force and the police have denied any knowledge of raids allegedly carried out by SADF members at ANC homes in Soweto, earlier this week. According to an Emdeni resident Siphso Dhlomo, members of the SADF arrived in the area early on Monday and started barging their way into houses of ANC members. "They apparently knock and then just enter. They don't say anything, they just start searching and turning the houses upside down," he said. Pimville resident Ben Molapo said a series of gunshots roused residents of Pimville Zone 2, Soweto from their beds at about 10 o'clock on Monday night. He claimed SADF and police members in Hippos, police vans, first offenders out of jail.

minibuses and private cars were "shooting wildly". Soweto Police Liaison officer, Lieutenant Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said the only incident in the area happened when police exchanged fire with four suspects who had robbed a taxi driver. Two men were arrested after the shootout as they attempted to run away, another two escaped, he said. SADF spokesman Major Andreas Jordaan said he had no knowledge of the alleged raids in Emdeni. Soweto police liaison officer Colonel Tienie Halgryn stressed that SADF members in Soweto were there to support the police. Policemen — and not soldiers — were responsible for activities such as the searching of homes. Colonel Halgryn denied that any such raid had taken place in Emdeni.

June 16 protests: Police chief warns organisers

ARGUS 1969

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PRETORIA. — The organisers of June 16 marches and rallies at the weekend must ensure that all the events are legal, and will be held responsible for the behaviour of participants, says Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe.

"The SA Police will take the necessary precautions and will be ready to act in the case of any disorderly conduct," he said in a statement yesterday.

It was the duty of every participant "to ensure that the

march or gathering in which he takes part is, in fact, legal".

"Organisers must note they will be held responsible for the actions of people whom they mobilise and that they cannot shirk this responsibility," the general said.

"Therefore it is absolutely vital that there be strict control over, and even selection of, people taking part."

He hoped the marches would be peaceful. — Sapa

(327)
Arms haul
Apr 16/69
at hostel

POLICE seized 17 firearms, including three AK-47 assault rifles, in a raid on a hostel in Sebokeng, near Johannesburg, yesterday.

Eight men and a woman were arrested during the operation, police revealed in an unrest report.

Three AK-47 rifles; three .38 revolvers; four 9mm pistols; one 7.62 pistol; two .22 revolvers; two Makarov pistols; one .22 rifle; and a shotgun, were confiscated in the raid.

The report said a large quantity of ammunition matching the firearms, two mine detonators, and a fuse, were also seized. — Sapa

Marches mark 1976 killings

Sweten 17/6/91
SOUTH Africa's major cities and towns on Saturday witnessed a wave of protest marches, organised jointly by the ANC, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu.

The marches were held a day before the 15th anniversary of the June 16 1976 student rebellions in which hundreds of people died in clashes with police.

Earlier this week, the ANC and its allies announced that 48 marches would be held nationwide on Saturday to demand peace, freedom and jobs.

The ANC-led alliance demanded:

- * An end to "state-sponsored violence";
- * The release of remaining political prisoners;
- * General amnesty for exiles;
- * A binding code of conduct for the security forces and political parties;
- * The setting up of a Constituent Assembly and interim government;
- * An end to "state support for vigilantes";
- * A moratorium on retrenchments; and
- * An end to privatisation and rationalisation.

Thousands of protesters converged on city and town centres and then proceeded to police stations or Government offices to present petitions containing their demands.

The petitions were addressed to State President FW de Klerk.

Leaders of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu led the marches.

Permission for a number of marches was turned down in towns under the control of the Conservative Party.

Despite reports of a heavy police presence at the marches, there were no immediate reports of clashes between police and protesters.

At John Vorster Square, SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo told a crowd: "The struggle for peace is not the struggle for peace of the graveyard, but peace for all the people of this country."

A petition was then presented to police.

Protesters, singing anti-Government songs, dispersed peacefully.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, led several thousand protesters in a march through central Pretoria. She handed in a petition at the local Manpower offices.

The petition included a demand for the resignation of Education and Training Department Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Mrs Mandela told the crowd: "The Government has gained the strength of destabilising the ANC and blamed the organisation for having lost control of the country . . . It is the Government that has lost control of the country, not our leaders, who have never had control of the country before." - Sapa.

Nine arrested in hostel raid

PRETORIA — Police arrested two men at Khayelitsha and confiscated a 6.35 Astra pistol and a 7.65 Browning pistol at the weekend.

According to the latest police unrest report, eight men and a woman were arrested and firearms seized, including AK47 assault rifles, in a raid on a hostel in Sebokeng, near Johannesburg.

This was on the eve of demonstrations to mark the police killing of hundreds of students in anti-apartheid protests 15 years ago.

They confiscated three AK47 rifles, three .38 revolvers, four 9mm pistols,

one 7.62 pistol, two .22 revolvers, two Makarov pistols, one .22 rifle, one shotgun and a large quantity of ammunition.

Two detonators and a fuse were also seized. (327) (27) ET 17/6/91

A marshal was seriously injured yesterday when he was struck by a stone, which was thrown by people taking part in a march at Galeshewe, Kimberley.

At Kutlwano in the Northern Cape, a policeman's house was gutted.

At Munsieville, Krugersdorp, a group of blacks set a private vehicle alight. — Sapa



LEADING LIGHTS ... Prominent trade unionists and SACP members were in the front line of Saturday's ANC march through Cape Town demanding "Jobs, peace and freedom now". The marchers in the front row included Mr Jay Naidoo of Cosatu, Mr John Ernstzen, Western Cape leader of the SA Municipal Workers' Union, SACP leader Ms Cheryl Carolus and unionist Mr Alan Roberts.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

40 000 attend rally to mark Soweto Day

JOHANNESBURG. — Almost 40 000 ANC, Cosatu and SA Communist Party supporters converged on the FNB stadium near Soweto yesterday for the climax of two days of countrywide demonstrations marking the 15th anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising.

The ANC, the PAC, Inkatha and other organisations staged rallies and prayer services in Soweto and other centres yesterday.

Despite the demonstrations, police reported no unrest-related deaths by late yesterday.

Speaking at the Soweto rally, Mr Nelson Mandela hailed the youth of the country for their contribution to the struggle against apartheid and called the June 16 Soweto revolt a landmark in the campaign for black political rights.

"Today we commemorate one more turning point in the history of our struggle of liberation, a day when the youth took their future in their own hands."

"By their (the youths') heroism, their courage and determination ... they had provided dramatic evidence that apartheid was doomed," the ANC leader said.

Police, faced with a mounting uprising in 1976, responded with gunfire, killing more than 600 people and provoking world condemnation.

Mr Mandela said the failed instruction in schools in Afrikaans was designed to inculcate in the minds of the black people that they were inferior and ensure "white domination forever".

About 1 000 people yesterday attended a commemoration service at Soweto's Regina Mundi Church organised by Black Consciousness organisations, including Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement.

Hundreds of Inkatha supporters toyi-toyed through Soweto streets on their way to services, while police maintained a high profile.



SOWETO RALLY ... Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie at the ANC rally at FNB Stadium in Soweto.

DP praises return to rule of law

Political Staff

Star 20/6/91

All provisions of the Internal Security Act which could possibly inhibit free and normal peaceful political activities were repealed by the Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Bill, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

Democratic Party reaction during the second-reading debate on the Bill was that Parliament was finally embracing the tenets of the rule of law and of individual freedom.

In the words of DP justice spokesman Dave Dalling, "the principle of habeas corpus has at last been restored to South African law".

The maximum period of detention without trial has been reduced to 10 days, unless a judge extends it and, for the first time, a detainee may challenge his detention in court.

Luwellyn Landers (LP Durban Suburbs) read out a list of 73 names of people who had died in detention under the security laws.

He said: "We would have liked to believe that the sacrifices of these men and one woman would have led at least to the repeal of section 29 (which provides for detention without trial) this session."

He added that, according to the Human Rights Commission, about 78 000 detain-

ees had languished in South Africa's prisons over the past 30 years.

Mr Coetsee said the Bill was merely the beginning of the process of reviewing security legislation.

"Another look will be taken at the rest of the Internal Security Act, as well as other security-related legislation, with an eye on further adjustments.

"I believe that everyone looks forward to the day when circumstances will change to such an extent that it will no longer be necessary to apply security laws," he said.

● Detainees' right of redress restored — Page 7

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FRIDAY, 21 JUNE 1991

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Management Study tour and visited the following countries:

England

- Civil Defence training college, Easingwold.
 - The Home Office, Whitehall.
 - Central Energy Generation board, London.
 - Thames Barrier, flood control.
 - Cavney Island chemical and petrochemical plants.
 - International Oil Tanker Owners Association.
 - Swindon Constabulary: Emergency control on the M3 highway (London to the West Coast).
 - Bristol Informary.
 - *Switzerland*
 - International Red Cross: Zürich.
 - Swiss Civil Defence.
 - *Austria*
 - International Atomic Energy Agency.
 - *Italy*
 - Italian Rescue organisation and civil defence mobile Columns.
- (2) No agreements were concluded or support obtained.
- (3) No.

Black schools: average period textbooks used

461. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Training:†

- (1) (a) For what average period are textbooks in Black schools under the control of his Department used and (b) in respect of what period is this information furnished;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B1203E
- The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:
- (1) (a) Because textbooks were only for the first time issued in 1987 by the Department, it has not yet been possible

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

to determine empirically the average lifespan of textbooks.

(b) Falls away.

(2) No.

SAP: official duty at political meetings

462. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) With reference to his reply to Question No 6 on 21 May 1991, how many members of the South African Police (a) were officially on duty at the public meeting held in Welkom on 2 May 1991 and (b) are sent on average to comparable political meetings that may possibly be disrupted;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B1204E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) 30 Members.
- An additional 36 members were on standby for immediate response should it have been necessary.
- (b) The numerical strength of members at political meetings varies from meeting to meeting and no rigid guidelines exist on this. The number of members at political meetings of this nature usually do not exceed 50.
- (2) No.

Kutloanong/Meloping/Thabong: remuneration of administrators

463. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing:

- Whether a remuneration package has been agreed upon in respect of the administrator of (a) Kutloanong (Odendaalsrus), (b) Meloping (Virginia) and (c) Thabong (Welkom); if so, (i) what is the total remuneration package, and (ii)(aa) from which vote and (bb) by which national, provincial or other authority is such remuneration paid, in each case? B1205E

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FRIDAY, 21 JUNE 1991

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The MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

- (a) Yes.
- (b) Yes.
- (c) Yes.

(i) Kutloanong	R1 800,00 per month
Meloping	1 500,00 per month
Thabong	2 000,00 per month
Total:	R5 300,00 per month

(ii) (aa) Kutloanong: The Kutloanong Town Council's budget vote for members' allowances.

Meloping: The Meloping Town Council's budget vote for members' allowances.

Thabong: The Thabong City Council's budget vote for members' allowances.

(bb) Kutloanong: The Administrator's remuneration package is paid by the Kutloanong Town Council.

Meloping: The Administrator's remuneration package is paid by the Meloping Town Council.

Thabong: The Administrator's remuneration package is paid by the Thabong City Council.

Virginia/Welkom/Odendaalsrus/Bethlehem: co-ordinating centres

464. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the State President:

- (1) Whether any local co-ordinating centres have been established in respect of (a) Virginia, (b) Welkom, (c) Odendaalsrus and (d) Bethlehem if not, why not; if so, (i) who are the members in each case, (ii) how are such members chosen and (iii) how often do these committees meet;
- (2) whether minutes are kept of such meetings; if not, why not; if so,
- (3) whether such minutes are available for scrutiny by members of Parliament; if not, why not; if so, in what manner are they made available? B1206E

The STATE PRESIDENT:

- (1) (a) (b) (c) (d)—Yes
- (a)(i) (b)(i) (c)(i) (d)(i)—As per annexure.

(a)(ii) (b)(ii) (c)(ii) (d)(ii)—The Local Co-ordinating Centre is composed of official functionaries and representatives of the private sector who are involved in actions of implementation to address the local needs of communities.

(a)(iii) (c)(iii) (d)(iii)—Monthly; (b) (iii)—Quarterly and according to need.

(2) Yes.

(3) No, the minutes of Local Co-ordinating Committee meetings are, as in any other organisation, a domestic matter which are not placed freely at the disposal of people who are not members of the specific institution. The involvement of Members of Parliament who have an interest in a specific area is welcomed, however, and information on the activities will be made available readily to such Members of Parliament on request.

LCC: List of Members—Bethlehem

The Town Clerk Bethlehem City Council

Die Stadsklerk Bethlehem City Council

The Regional Officer SA Police

Commanding

The District SA Police

Commandant

Mr A P Kok The Regional Librarian

Mr G J Pretorius Education and Culture

Mr C H Venter Education and Training

Mr W M van Tonder The Postmaster

Mr Olivier Kritzinger The Area Manager

Mr S A Marais Goods and Passenger Superintendent:

Mr D Helm Transnet

The District Engineer

Mr P M Fouche Department Manpower

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Are hit squads still gunning for MK cadres?

21/6 - 27/6/91

THE assassination this week of prominent Western Cape African National Congress activist "Pro" Jack swells the number of former Umkhonto weSizwe operatives gunned down in recent months and has fuelled speculation of continuing hit-squad activity.

Western Cape ANC publicity secretary Trevor Manuel said yesterday that although he had no evidence, the killing — the first of its kind in the region — seemed part of a pattern of systematic attacks on middle-level cadres.

Jack (33) died at about 10.15pm on Wednesday night when his car was struck by a hail of gunfire unleashed by three balacava-clad men apparently lying in wait for him about 200m from his Nyanga East home.

His 15-year-old nephew, Andile Jack, whom Jack was ferrying home,

Fears of renewed hit-squad activity have been raised by the assassination of several ANC activists recently, reports

GAYE DAVIS

escaped with minor shotgun injuries.

Andile said they were approaching the corner of Ennins Drive and Lansdowne Road when three men in balacavas standing under some trees shouted out Jack's Xhosa name, Mziwonke.

Jack stopped the car and started reversing towards the men who suddenly turned and opened fire with a rifle and a shotgun. He died instantly. Andile ran for help and was taken to Conradie Hospital for treatment.

Andile's version of events differs

from that given by Western Cape police liaison officer Major Gys Boonzaaier,

who said Jack's car had been forced off the road by a taxi and fired upon. The incident is being investigated by the police Special Investigations Unit led by Captain Louis van Brakel.

The day before his death, Jack spoke to a friend about concerns he had for his security, said his sister, Buyiswa Jack. "It was definitely planned," she said. "They must have been following him."

He is one of several middle-level MK cadres to die violently in recent months: ● Jackie Matjili, secretary of MK in Thokoza, shot dead on May 1.

● MK cadres Tumi Padi and Nokuzola Ncalo, both shot dead on May 17 in Soweto. Padi's father later said in an affidavit that police searching for his son warned him that when they caught

him, they would kill him.

● Mhleli Mgwayi, who was buried last Saturday after being stabbed to death in East London when he ventured out of his house to investigate a commotion in the street.

● Phannuel Molaudzi, South African Communist Party branch secretary and organiser of the ANC youth league in Chawelo, Soweto, was shot on June 7 by men who sought him out on a train.

In addition, there have been two attempts on the life of ANC legal committee member Pennell Maduna.

ANC representative Saki Macozoma said yesterday the ANC wanted to repeat its call for hit squads to be publicly disbanded in a way that their dissolution could be verified.

"If this is not done killings like this will continue," he said.



Wounded... Mziwonke Jack's nephew, Andile.

CAPE TOWN — A former Robben Island prisoner and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldier, Mziwonke "Pro" Jack, has been killed with an R-4 automatic rifle.

Colleagues of Mr Jack believe his assassination was part of a nationwide campaign to eliminate MK members.

He was shot down in Nyanga, Cape Town, on Wednesday night. Police found 16 spent R-4 cartridges near Mr Jack's bullet-riddled car.

Police confirmed yesterday that a special investigating team had been formed to investigate the murder.

They said Mr Jack (34) and his nephew, 15-year-old Andile

MK Jack's killing 'was part of campaign'

Jack, were driving in Eimms Drive, Nyanga, at about 10.15 pm on Wednesday when a taxi forced them off the road. Numerous shots were fired at the Jacks by the assassins. Andile was injured in the attack.

Andile said he pushed his uncle's bullet-riddled body off his own and ran home for help. He said they were approaching the corner of Eimms Drive and Lansdowne Road when three men wearing balaclavas opened fire on the car with an automatic rifle and a shotgun.

Andile suffered puncture marks to his body, apparently

from a gunshot.

Shepherd Mladlana, a friend of the deceased, said Mr Jack recently expressed concern about his safety.

"He was worried about his personal safety, but he was a very careful person. I suspect he recognised his killers," said Mr Mladlana.

Mr Jack was detained in 1978 and jailed for terrorism for five years. He was released in 1983 and played a leading role in township politics and education.

Mr Jack was also a close acquaintance of MK chief of staff Chris Hanu, acting as his driver

of a bodyguard when Mr Hanu visited Cape Town.

Mr Jack was to have been one of Nelson Mandela's guards on his visit to Cape Town yesterday.

An MK source, who asked not to be named, said western Cape members of MK had been receiving threatening telephone calls.

A colleague confirmed that Mr Jack was one of the movement's more senior members in the Western Cape.

"He was killed because of his membership of MK and nothing else. Our members have been killed in the Transvaal, Border,

Free State and Natal in what appears to be a campaign against us," the source said.

Adding, however, that he did not see the hand of the police in these killings.

"These were professional killers. I went to the murder scene last night and it was clear that the assassins were well-trained and deployed. This is the work of professional hit squads."

Other MK sources and ANC members speculated that Askaris — turned ANC members — could have been used to eliminate Mr Jack. — Sapa.

Officer's act spoilt the day

327

Star 22/6/91

June 16 has come and gone and we are all grateful that no serious incidents of violence were reported on this historic day. Virtually all major political parties — ANC, Inkatha and PAC commemorated the day in different ways.

The ANC in particular staged marches and held rallies in all major centres of the country. From what we saw on TV, marches were characterised by discipline, with senior leaders of the ANC playing a leading role in all of them.

The police also put up an excellent show when they displayed commendable tolerance and friendliness as they received many petitions.

This is one of the rare occasions when we are able to praise our political organisations, their leaders and the police for exemplary conduct. Under normal democratic circumstances all peaceful marches and demonstrations need to be just that — peaceful; and police need to act with greater circumspection while not abdicating their responsibility to maintain order.

The fact that we are prompted to praise what is supposed to be normal public behaviour in democratic societies is testimony to the extent of the polarisation that is present.

One incident shown on TV did, however, dampen my joy. This pertained to a march in Bloemfontein where the leader of the ANC march arrived at what appeared to be a police station, instinctively stretched his right hand in anticipation of a handshake with the police officer who was supposed to receive the petition.

To my great surprise and disgust, the officer simply stood there passively, with his arms folded, and flatly refused to shake hands. Grim-faced, he snatched the petition, turned and walked away.

Through
My Eyes

OSCAR
DHOMO



As I watched this, I could not help but ponder about the mammoth task authorities face in promoting tolerance even among senior members of the police force.

I also regretted the fact that this officer, obviously a reasonably senior member of the force, was, through his foolish and unprofessional conduct, undoing all the commendable work authorities have embarked upon in attempting to make the police more acceptable to their communities.

If I were General van der Merwe, the Commissioner of Police, the least I would demand of this officer is an explanation of his unfriendly and anti-social conduct.

One does not expect that police should love or fraternise with marchers and demonstrators, but a correct and professional disposition does go a long way towards restoring reasonable relations between the sides.

This particular officer was indeed a hopeless ambassador in that regard, and one wonders why he was even assigned the responsibility of receiving the petition in the first place.

Credit must go to the young leader of the march who, though he was visibly shaken by this snub, maintained his cool. He was not even able to read the petition before handing it over as is apparently the usual practice in such circumstances.

In spite of this unfortunate incident, one hopes that this was the beginning of the era of genuinely peaceful protest in our country.

ANC hits at fake smear pamphlets

327
Sowetan
25/6/91

SMEAR pamphlets calling for a stay-away in Natal townships on Thursday - the day ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela visits the area - have caused the organisation and Inkatha concern.

The fake pamphlets, titled "ANC/Cosatu join hands to welcome the hero", call for a stayaway to coincide with a mass rally to be addressed by Mandela in Kwazidedele in northern Natal on that day.

The pamphlets claim that the chairman of the Natal Chamber of Industries, Zululand and North Coast Division, Mr Mike Dunn, had agreed that workers could stay away from work.

The ANC yesterday denounced the pamphlets distributed in Richards Bay, Empangeni, Mtunzini and Kwambonambi.

By ISAAC MOLEDI

"The ANC denounces this leaflet as a crude forgery. We utterly repudiate it as a provocation staged by mischievous elements pursuing their own purposes," the organisation said.

The pamphlets also called for the dismantling of KwaZulu and claimed that there would be free food and transport on that day.

"Gatsha will be reduced into a political dwarf after the 27th. Inkatha will be finished," the pamphlets read.

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos yesterday called on Mandela and the ANC to instruct their members not to use any form of coercion or intimidation on workers "should they not wish to stay away".

ANC guards 'Pro' Jack's family

South 27/6-3/7/91

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BEREAVED: The family of 'Pro' Jack was this week still mystified about the killing. They are (from left), his sister Buyiswa, with her child Aluta, his mother Mrs Violet Jack holding his four-year-old daughter Sihle. His nephew Andile, (back) was injured and was witness to the shooting

THE ANC has implemented strict security measures to safeguard the family of murdered ANC activist Mziwonke "Pro" Jack.

Jack, 33, was shot dead last week by four men wearing balaclavas and overcoats about 200 metres from his home on the border of Nyanga and Crossroads. A witness to the shooting, Jack's 16-year-old nephew Andile, said the men called his uncle's name before shots rang out.

According to police, an R4 rifle was used in the attack. About 15 bullet

shells were found in the area and 11 "entry points" were found on Jack's body. Police have offered a R5 000 reward for information in connection with the shooting, but no arrests have been made. In 1988 shots were fired at Jack's home but no one was injured. In 1989 shots were fired at his car.

A funeral service for the slain activist will take place on Saturday morning at the Nyanga rugby stadium.

According to the ANC, the assassination is the latest in a spate of killings of mid-level Umkhonto we Sizwe

(MK) cadres around the country.

Jackie Matjili, the MK secretary in Thokoza, was shot dead on May 1. MK cadres Tumi Padi and Nokuzola Ncalo were shot dead in the middle of May. Mhleli Mgwai was stabbed to death in East London. Phaniel Molavdzi, a SACP branch secretary and ANC youth organiser, was shot dead earlier this month in Soweto. Also unsolved is the assassination in February this year of ANC branch secretary and human rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, who was killed by a bomb planted in a cassette player.

Activist sues Minister after police raid

South 27/6 - 3/7/91

By Zola Ntutu
From Port Elizabeth

A PORT ELIZABETH ANC activist is suing the Minister of Law and Order for damages allegedly caused during a police raid on her house.

Ms Nomvula Mazantsi, political officer for the ANC's Soweto branch, also claims that she was forced at gunpoint to sign a letter, without being allowed to read it, when the police allegedly broke into her house.

According to her affidavit, Mazantsi, her husband Maxim and their two daughters were sleeping when police kicked the door open and pointed guns at her husband.

Damages

Mazanti's lawyer, Mr Allan Rubin, said he had written a letter to the Minister of Law and Order informing him of the incident and of damages resulting from the unlawful conduct of the policemen concerned.

Kwazakhele's station commander, Lieutenant M Lloyd, said a charge had been laid and an attempted robbery docket opened.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Captain Peter van Straaten, said he had no knowledge of the incident and refused to comment further.

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'Verwoerdian' raid on home condemned (327)

By Brendan Templeton

A Yeoville resident has accused the Department of Home Affairs of conducting what she described as a "Verwoerdian-style" pre-dawn raid on her home last week in search of illegal immigrants.

Arrested

The homeowner, who does not wish to be identified, said officials climbed over a garden wall at 4.45 am and arrested a domestic worker, Setty Ndlovu (nee Khumalo) and her husband, Coleman, last

Thursday. *STC 16/91*

The department has admitted that the raid took place but said that its officials had entered by the gate and not over the wall.

"Not wishing to disturb the householders, (the officials) proceeded directly to the living quarters of the couple concerned," a department statement said.

The couple were taken to Diepkloof Prison where they were being held "pending further investigation".

It is claimed that the officials forced Mrs Ndlovu to take off her nightclothes and dress

while they stood in the same room. The department denied this.

"I would personally regard that as a form of rape," the home-owner said.

She produced Mrs Ndlovu's South African passport which clearly states she was born in South Africa. But, according to the department, "from statements and documents it was clear that (the couple) are in South Africa illegally and they were taken into custody in terms of migration legislation".

The homeowner said the Ndlovus were mar-

ried one day before their arrest.

"They wouldn't come to our house and grab us and treat us the way they treat blacks. It's disgusting the way they treat them," she said.

Expensive

"I can't understand how a South African citizen could be put in prison for being an illegal immigrant."

She expressed concern that the Ndlovus did not have a sound knowledge of the law and would not know what their rights were without expensive legal representation.

Wend Wendland comments on the re-emergence of the section 205 subpoena and its effects on press freedom

This 'port of first call' should be last resort for State

Star 3/7/91

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RECENT times have seen the return of the dreaded section 205 subpoena, issued in terms of section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act 1977.

Properly used, the subpoena is for the purpose of obtaining from a witness, under oath before a magistrate, information relating to a crime which may have been committed.

There is perhaps nothing particularly unacceptable in this, but rather in the manner in which the subpoena is used — almost always against journalists. A refusal to disclose the required information invites a jail sentence of up to five years, with no option of a fine.

In dusting off the section 205 subpoena, not seen since we embarked on a "new South Africa" in February last year, the State has, once more, attempted to force journalists to disclose confidential information; particularly the identity of people who have given information to a journalist on the strict understanding that their identities would not be disclosed. The reappearance of the section 205 subpoena is, to say the least, unwelcome.

It would seem that the State turns to the forced disclosure of confidential information by journalists, not as a last resort as should be the case, but as a port of first call.

Surely the State should look to the police for the information that it needs, and not be permitted to tap freely into confidential information held by journalists.

The forced disclosure of a journalist's confidential sources carries with it a number of pernicious dangers, as well as costs to the journalist.

First, a journalist who has once disclosed, without consent, the name of a confidential source, has breached the journalist's code of ethics and will never be trusted again, and may never write again as a working journalist — in other words, his or her credibility is gone.

The forced disclosure of sources will therefore destroy the journalist's livelihood.

Second, journalists play a valuable role in society by uncovering and publicising wrongs and malpractices in whatever sector of society or government these may

occur, and however unpopular such disclosures may be.

Such information is often confidential, and its disclosure to journalists is conditional upon it being treated and respected as such.

Forced disclosure, in violation of undertakings of confidentiality, will have a chilling effect on the chances of sources passing on information to journalists, and many serious wrongs and malpractices would remain undetected.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the forced disclosure of sources strikes at the heart of freedom of speech and democratic order.

Freedom of expression enables contending ideas to compete and society is the better-informed for it.

Freedom of expression includes not only the right to impart information, but also the right to receive it.

It follows that if the right of the press to receive information is obstructed, so too must its right to impart information be obstructed.

The forced disclosure of sources stifles the ability of the press to receive information and so inter-

feres with its right to inform society on matters of public interest. Society is the worse for it.

Freedom of expression demands both the right to impart information and the right to receive information. This is recognised in Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights and Article 19 of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Actually, for newspapers, the right to impart information goes even further — it is a duty.

Section 205 has, since its enactment, been used almost exclusively against journalists. In South Africa, a number of journalists, such as the recent example of The Star's special writer Patrick Laurence, have been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for refusing to disclose the names of their sources. Journalists in other countries — including Britain and the United States — have suffered a similar fate.

However, a handful of countries do offer their journalists a measure of protection.

In Austria, for example, the Press Law of 1982 provides that

journalists have the right to refuse to give evidence, as witnesses, in court and to answer questions relating to the identity of the authors or sources of their information.

Swedish law provides similar protection, but, uniquely, instead of granting journalists the right not to reveal their sources, imposes upon them a duty not to disclose anything they know about the authors or the sources of their information.

In the United States, the chief Supreme Court decision on the subject, the 1972 ruling in *Branzburg v Hayes*, stated that, notwithstanding First Amendment rights to freedom of expression, journalists do not have a fundamental right to avoid testifying as witnesses in criminal trials to protect their sources.

The Supreme Court, however, went on to invite the individual states to legislate on the subject. A number of states, such as California and New York, have enacted so-called "shield laws" giving journalists varying degrees of protection if they refuse to reveal the identity of a source.

While it is not suggested that, journalists should never, as a blanket rule, be obliged to disclose information, journalists should be entitled to some protection.

In March this year, after representations by bodies such as the Media Council, section 205 was amended so that the issue of a section 205 subpoena must be at the request of not merely a public prosecutor, but the Attorney-General. This amendment is, however, not yet in effect and it is unclear whether it will improve the position.

In May, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order announced that the police would re-examine section 205 in an attempt to place the police's relationship with the media on a more healthy footing. This is encouraging.

It is hoped that journalists will soon be entitled to greater protection.

Section 205, as at present formulated and applied, is a draconian measure, which has no place in a society reaching out for greater freedoms and democracy. □

● The author is a practising attorney.

Left stifling press freedom ^{Star 4/7/91} — book ³²⁷

By Brendan Templeton

Widespread grassroots censorship of journalists through left-wing intimidation is a "chilling" but unreported phenomenon in South Africa, according to the Institute of Race Relations.

The institute last night launched a book, "Mau-Mauing the Media: New Censorship for the New South Africa", which claims the Left has taken over from the Government in stifling press freedom.

The book contains transcripts of talks and discussions at an SAIRR seminar last year attended by senior black journalists and other people working in the media.

"They indicated that in recent years this 'alternative' censorship has been fierce enough to block the publication of much that happened in the country's black townships," the SAIRR said in a statement.

According to senior assistant editor of the Sowetan, Thami Mazwai: "We have a situation in which journalists are far less exposed to arrest, detention and incarceration by the Government than they used to be, but are being threatened and man-handled by political activists in the townships, in the towns and everywhere, and are being told to toe the line or else."

He added that many journalists had fought to retain their independence and credibility,

but not all had succeeded in the face of intimidation.

Accounts of intimidation by the Left included:

- A reporter threatened with necklacing by activists who accused him of belonging to a rival organisation.

- A petrol bomb thrown at the home of a fellow-journalist employed by the paper.

- The circulation of the Inkatha-owned newspaper, Ilanga, dropped by about 23 000 after shopkeepers who sold it were attacked, and people who were caught reading it were forced to eat it and sometimes threatened with death.

- A news editor who could not come to work one day because local youngsters called him to a meeting. "Here were 13-year-olds, who could hardly spell their names, questioning a journalist on the policy of his newspaper."

Warning

- Reporters receiving abusive calls at night.

- A reporter who had to evacuate his wife and children from his house after receiving a warning that he was about to be attacked.

- A threatened boycott of a newspaper after prominent activists accused it of "sowing division".

According to the book, journalists were supported when jailed by the State but blacklisted when they criticised the Left. Senior political reporter at The

Star, Kaizer Nyatumba, said censorship from the Left was worse because it was never reported.

A senior labour and political journalist, Connie Molusi, attributed the current political intolerance "to the period popularly known as the mass insurrection era spanning 1984 and 1986 when a culture of 'people's war' was born, with compulsory attendance at street committees and punishment for disobedience".

White liberals came under attack at the SAIRR conference to launch the book. Black journalists accused them of being reluctant to criticise liberation movements for fear of having their credentials questioned.

The English press was slated for being "sycophantic" towards the ANC for the past seven years.

Funding organisations also came under fire. They were accused of handing over vast sums of money to student organisations which did not have the discipline or skills to use it properly.

Mr Mazwai said: "You have some of these youngsters driving around in cars, with loads and loads of money in their pockets."

"There are countries that are particularly guilty of this ... but I believe they have done a great disservice to the struggle in this country: they have created a monster which has now become uncontrollable."

ANC CONFERENCE

'Spies to return once Govt, UNHCR agree'

Star 4/7/91

By Esmaré
van der Merwe
Political Reporter 327

DURBAN — About 120 released South African spies in ANC settlements would be returned once an agreement had been reached between the Government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the ANC's deputy head of international relations, Stanley Mabizela, told The Star yesterday.

Mr Mabizela said the agents had been trans-

ferred from ANC camps in Uganda and Angola to settlements at Mazimbu and Dakawa in Tanzania.

Money had been donated for repatriation, and the ANC was prepared to foot the bill for the return of the spies.

"The only thing holding up their return are the complications between the Government and the UNHCR," he said.

The decision to release the agents had been taken by the ANC's national leadership in March in view of the ANC-Government agreement on the release of political prisoners and

the return of exiles.

Mr Mabizela denied that ANC dissidents had been jailed and tortured but said "third-degree measures" — including torture — had been used to extract information from the agents.

"In terms of military discipline, these agents should have been lined up against a wall and shot, but president Oliver Tambo would not allow this because they were victims of apartheid.

"Many of them have been rehabilitated, including one who is currently completing his fifth year of medical studies under the auspices of the ANC," he said.

Anger over US church group's Inkatha appeal

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A Florida-based religious group is soliciting money from prominent Americans for what appears to be a campaign to support Inkatha against the ANC, and to support the Church Alliance of South Africa (Casa) against the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

The group, International Relief for South Africa (Irsa), has angered some Americans who have received a recent newsletter which appeals for funds on the basis of wild and misleading claims, and which accuses the ANC of burning churches and terrorising Christians who disagree with the SACC.

According to the newsletter, from the president of Irsa, Dr Martin Badenhorst, the ANC is mainly responsible for the violence in South Africa. "What is really behind the ANC's campaign," he says, "is a demand for the Government to be turned over to it without elections and without a new constitution that would offer

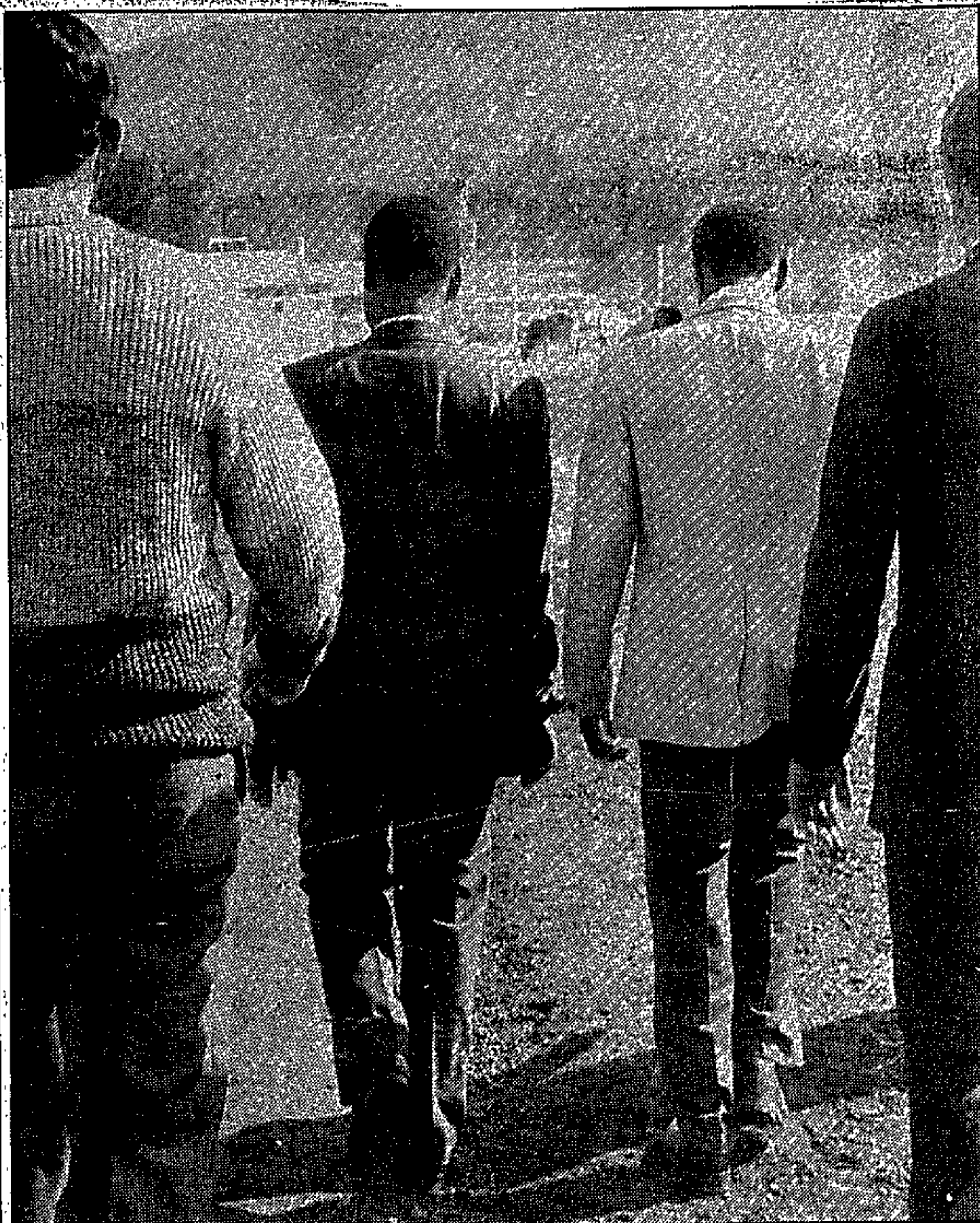
protection to minority groups in the country."

He portrays the violence as an ideological conflict between Inkatha and the ANC. "Inkatha stands for a multiparty democracy, the preservation of Christian values and norms (Chief Buthelezi is a born-again Christian who speaks openly of his faith on national TV).

Marxist

"The ANC believes in a Marxist philosophy, a one-party state for the future, a Marxist economy — nationalisation of banks, corporations and the mines, equal distribution of wealth (rewarding people regardless of productivity). It is pro abortion on request, it refuses to make any commitment on its stand on freedom of religion. The ANC is completely under the control of the South African Communist Party and this accounts for its policies."

Dr Badenhorst claims that the SACC represents 6,9 million people out of a population of 35 million, and that Casa represents more than 10 million South Africans.



Butana Almond Nofomela, handcuffed to a policeman, is taken around the Security Police premises at Vlakplaas ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE.

Inquest: Nofomela taken on tour around Vlakplaas

By MARTIN NTSOELNGOE

THE GATES of Vlakplaas, the dreaded Security Police hideout, were thrown open to outsiders for one day this week.

This happened after former inmate Butana Almond Nofomela told a Pretoria inquest magistrate that he and four other Askaris kidnapped Japie Maponya in Krugersdorp, tortured him and later one of them shot him dead.

After Nofomela's evidence, presiding magistrate KD Kruger ordered an inspection at Vlakplaas.

During the visit Nofomela pointed out a spot about five kilometres from the main building as the place where Maponya was beaten up and later shot dead.

Three Askaris who, according to Nofomela, were present when Maponya was killed, are giving evidence behind closed doors in the Pretoria inquest court.

Their defence counsel, Adv P Kemp SC, pointed out that a former client of his who had given evidence in an open court before the Harms Commission had later been murdered.

Kruger granted the application for the three policemen to testify in camera.

Maponya was allegedly kidnapped by Askaris in September 1985 in Krugersdorp.

Maponya was allegedly interrogated about the whereabouts of his elder brother, ANC member Odirile Maponya.

Nofomela told the court he was in the group that brutally assaulted Maponya until his condition became serious.

He said that after the assault Col De Kock asked him whether Maponya would recognise him. When he answered that he would, De Kock shot Maponya in the head.

Nofomela's evidence was denied by Warrant Officer Willem Albertus Nortje, who testified that during the time of Maponya's death, he and other policemen implicated by Nofomela were in Josini, in Northern Natal.

Maponya's former live-in lover, Maureen Zondi, said Maponya had told her some policemen wanted him to "go with them".

She said that after her boyfriend's disappearance, she informed his family and also unsuccessfully inquired about his whereabouts from the police and his employers.

Zondi said she knew her boyfriend's elder brother, Odirile, was a member of the ANC.

Balaclava boys a mystery to police

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban

FORMAL evidence has emerged of police units, disguised in balaclavas, carrying out mysterious "operations" in areas where they are strangers even to the local South African Police.

The admission of such activities came to light during evidence in a Natal trial, raising the eyebrows of the judge who reviewed the case.

But it is only one of several current police practices which have recently come under judicial scrutiny.

Judges have asked why police appear to believe they no longer need warrants to search premises; why trials are delayed because of problems getting police to court; why police hold up trials because of "competing jurisdiction" between the kwaZulu Police and the SAP; and why police continue to act illegally by setting "traps" — encouraging suspects to commit crimes and then arresting them.

The balaclava case involved a bottle-store owner asleep in his Mpumalanga

house when armed men "who did not speak Zulu properly" and who wore balaclavas and camouflage entered the premises.

Commenting on the fact that neither the balaclava-clad police nor the "official" police at the scene had a search warrant, the judge said there was nothing in the case to suggest that the officer involved could not have obtained a warrant.

"The reason I stress this is that it appears, certainly in Natal, that police regard (the) provisions of the Criminal Procedure Act as having been abrogated by disuse. It is time that they became aware this is not so. I cannot recollect when I last heard mention of a search warrant having been obtained before a search of premises was conducted."

He warned that if the police continued to ignore the law, public policy could well demand that the courts rule as inadmissible any evidence obtained in such a search.

On the evidence that about 10 people

wearing black balaclavas came into the house carrying firearms, the judge said they appeared to have entered the premises illegally.

SAP Constable Holder, who gave evidence in the trial — and who was himself not wearing uniform during the raid — said the people wearing balaclavas and camouflage formed part of the "South African Police Task Force" and that they were in the district only for a week "for a particular task. They disappeared after this incident before I even got their names," Holder said.

The judge commented that he would be horrified to think that members of secret or unusual SAP bodies came into any part of Natal to carry out operations without their presence being known to the normal police authorities in the area.

In reply to *Weekly Mail* questions on the judges' comments, the police public relations department in Pretoria said South African law made provision for searches to be made without a warrant.

Askari's sentence doubled

Star Africa Service

GABORONE — The Botswana Appeal Court has doubled the sentence of a South African hit-squad member, Lennox Magubane, who had appealed against his conviction and seven-year sentence for attempted murder.

Magubane, a self-confessed hired assassin and Askari (turned ANC member), was sent to Botswana two years ago to eliminate four ANC members. He was to receive a reward of about R25 000 for each victim.

He received arms and ammunition. He succeeded in wounding one man but was arrested on his second visit to Botswana.

Appeal Court president Mr Justice Amissah said: "The original sentence induced a great sense of shock when that offence, but for luck, would have been plain, cold, calculated murder without a single extenuating circumstance."

Drop charges call by Cosas

Sowetan 11/7/91

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THE Mamelodi branch of the Congress of South African Students yesterday called on the Government to withdraw charges of illegal gathering against 36 pupils who were arrested outside the DET offices two months ago.

The pupils, all from Mamelodi, were arrested on May 29 when they tried to stage a sit-in inside the DET offices in Pretoria to highlight their grievances, which included the

shortage of textbooks.

They were released with a warning the same day after being charged for gathering at the DET offices illegally.

The 36 were expected to appear in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court yesterday, according to Mr Victor Motau, publicity secretary of the Mamelodi branch of Cosas.

Motau yesterday appealed to "the Government" to withdraw the charges against the 36 and said their

actions were only to highlight their frustration following the DET's alleged reluctance to heed their demands.

In another statement released yesterday, Motau also called on students to enrol for winter schools during the holidays.

"We appeal to our colleagues to stop being idle and continue with their studies during the holidays. We have lost a number of school-days already and we cannot afford to lose more," said Motau.

Police arrest ANC activists in night raid

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Several Kagiso civic and ANC leaders were arrested by police early today.

Mrs Nomvulu Mokonyane, whose husband Mr Serge Mokonyane, was among those arrested, said five houses were raided soon after midnight. She alleged police assaulted the men during the raid.

Mr Uhuru Moilola, Kagiso ANC branch chairman, and Mr George Mahlangu, a cousin of Mrs Mokonyane were also arrested.

Mrs Mokonyane said: "We do not know where our people are. We have no access to them."

A West Rand police spokesman confirmed that three men had been arrested, two for possession of Makarov pistols and one for possession of a homemade firearm.

The men are expected to appear in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court today.

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ANC SAP probe Welverdiend police

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THE police investigation into the activities of the unrest unit at Welverdiend police station swung into action in Carletonville's Khutsong township this week. Star 13/7/91

JO-ANNE COLLINGE

workers were apparently under surveillance in the first week.

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) and the local ANC branch helped to locate witnesses. While representatives of the IBIIR were generally positive about progress, they said there were signs of interference by policemen outside the investigation team.

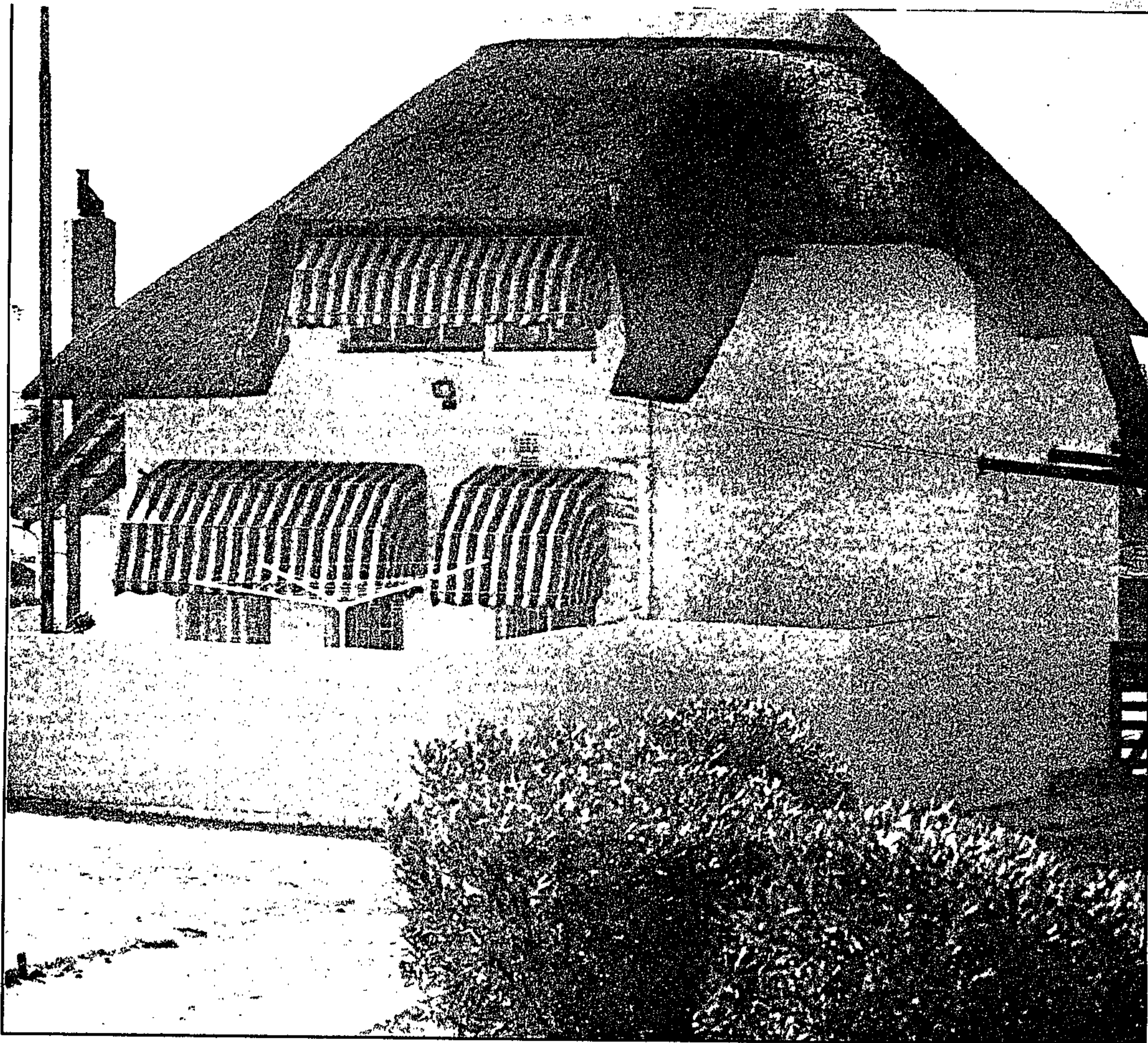
Major D J C Stear, who heads the investigation team, acknowledged: "There was a small disturbance. But it has been sorted out to the satisfaction of all parties." He confirmed a co-operative working relationship had been established.

"We are happy with the way the police investigating team is going about its work. But there are indications that the investigation may be being undermined by other sections of the South African Police," an IBIIR spokesman said.

The investigation of Welverdiend police station is a result of persistent allegations linking them to deaths in Khutsong and in custody. Witnesses have implicated police in as many as 17 deaths since early 1990. In five cases potential witnesses to alleged police atrocities have met violent deaths.

A member of IBIIR's board of management said their field

The IBIIR spokesman said that the board and the ANC also regarded it "as our responsibility to safeguard witnesses".



'DOCTOR'S' LAIR ... The modern Midrand mansion where "doctor Ngcobo" operated one of his "surgeries".

Was 'Dr Crook' a police spy?

City Press 14/7/91

CP Correspondent

WAS con-artist "doctor" Ndodemnyama DJZ Ngcobo a police spy?

This is the question asked by several people this week, after reading about the fake gynaecologist and women charmer in last Sunday's City Press.

During 1988 Ngcobo was regularly seen in the company of senior police officers at various political trials held at the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg.

During the treason trial of the "Alex five" where Moses Mayekiso appeared, the "Alex sedition trial" of Ashwell

Zwane and the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union (Sarhu) trial of 18 people, Ngcobo was allegedly introduced by police to relatives of the accused as a kind businessman who could help them financially.

He turned out to be a spy, recalls Martha Nhlapo, who is employed at Sandton Clinic.

Security Branch

Nhlapo's fiancé was one of the trialists at the time.

She told City Press that Ngcobo was always seen in the company of a Captain Pretorius, head of the Sandton Security

Branch.

"Immediately my fiancé was released on bail, I saw Ngcobo keeping watch around my flat.

"The next morning, around 6.30 am, while on my way to work, I saw him standing motionless next to our flat at the High Point building," Nhlapo added.

Later in the afternoon Ngcobo phoned the flat and offered the couple another fancy telephone receiver for no reason, she said.

"I turned down the offer because I already suspected him of being an undercover agent."

Three weeks later, the

businessman" phoned Nhlapo and warned her they were being followed and watched by police, she said.

"He told me that my fiancé's activities were a contravention of the country's security laws and he might get killed if he continued," she said.

Sunglasses

Ngcobo always wore a navy blue suit and dark sunglasses during 1988-89. He also secretly carried a two-way radio.

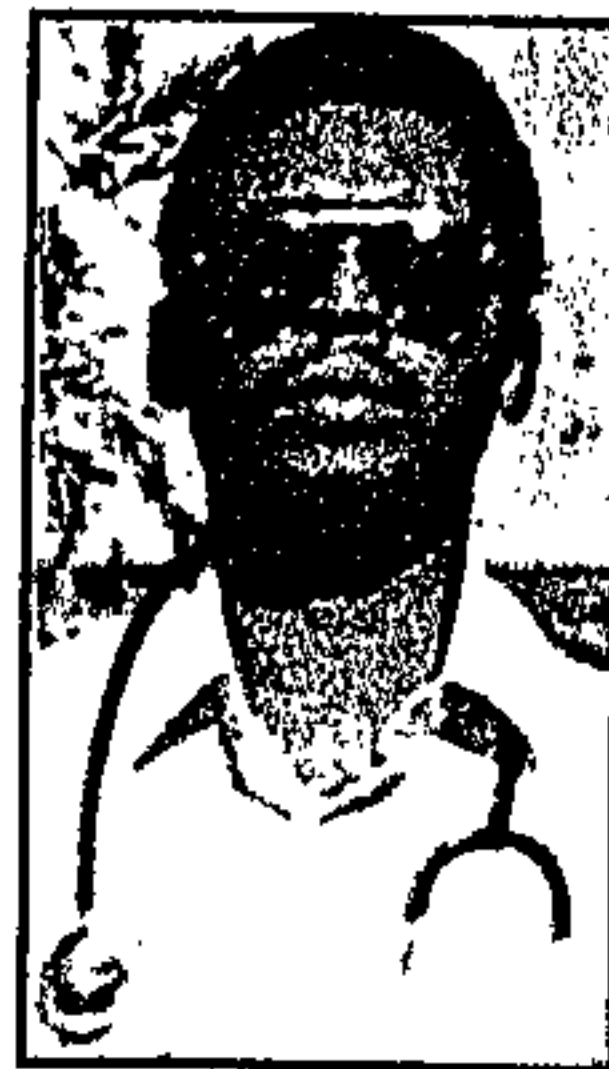
He was well known for the detailed questions he asked about activists.

One activist, who declined to be named, remembered Ngcobo's face

when he saw him in City Press.

"He was staying in one of the dingy flats in Hillbrow," the activist recalled.

He added that Ngcobo promised him a well-paid job if he could assist him to trace one Glen Nkosi, an activist who resided at High Point at the time.



'Dr' Ngcobo ... seen with security cops.

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Wife-assaulting charge dropped

The State withdrew a charge of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm against former police sergeant Ronald Bezuidenhout, alias "Agent Tokarev" from the police anti-terrorist unit at Vlakplaas, in the Springs Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Mr Bezuidenhout had previously appeared on a charge of allegedly assaulting his wife, Marilyn Bezuidenhout.

In an article published in Vrye Weekblad in May, Mr Bezuidenhout alleged he was an undercover agent for the SAP and had been trained by

the ANC in Angola and East Germany.

Yesterday's charge was withdrawn before Magistrate J Brits. The public prosecutor declined to give reasons for the withdrawal but it is believed that Mrs Bezuidenhout did not want to press charges.

Maponya son of an informer, court told

Star 16/7/91
Pretoria Correspondent

The father of Japie Maponya, missing since September 1985 and allegedly murdered by security policemen, was considered an informer by the Krugersdorp security police.

Major J P Kleynhans, formerly attached to the Krugersdorp security police and now working with the SAP's Crime Information Service, yesterday told an inquest in the Pretoria District Court into Mr Maponya's disappearance and alleged murder that Mr Maponya's father had repeatedly been an informant for the Krugersdorp security police since 1977.

Major Kleynhans said Mr Maponya had also been regarded as an informant even though he had helped the police on only one occasion, receiving R15 for "travel costs" after showing the police where he thought his brother, Oderile Maponya, was.

Oderile Maponya was an ANC terrorist who later blew himself up at the Sterland cinema complex while trying to plant a mini-bomb.

On another point, Colonel Piet Retief Gouws of the SAP's Ballistics Unit told the court he had been unable to confirm whether the South African Police possessed or used silencers.

He said the standard weapon of the SAP was a Model 22 9 mm Beretta pistol. Silencers could be attached to this pistol, but it was not standard and the weapon had to be modified.

This evidence was led with reference to Butana Almond Nofomela, who alleged in a statement in 1989 that Captain Eugene de Kock had shot Mr Maponya with a service pistol which had a silencer attached.

Nofemela yesterday asked the court to be excused from further proceedings after explaining that he had been attending the inquest as an interested party.

Magistrate K D Kruger excused Nofemela and thanked him for the part he had played in the proceedings.

When the hands of 'freedom' muzzle the press

South 18/7-24/7/91

A YOUNG REPORTER visiting a rural township in the northern Transvaal had a tyre put round his neck and was threatened with necklacing because political activists suspected he belonged to a rival political organisation.

A senior journalist had to send his family to safety after he published a report that a political organisation believed in "sowing division".

These, and other examples of a "new censorship" that has emerged in South Africa in the last decade, have been highlighted in a booklet published by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) titled "Mauling the Media - New Censorship for the New South Africa".

The booklet contains discussions at a seminar organised by the SAIRR

last year and attended by journalists and artists. Speakers frequently referred to activists and organisations who were pressurising them into writing in a certain way.

They said they were being subjected to an unofficial form of censorship by political activists.

Black journalists estimated that 60 percent of what was happening in the country did not reach the press.

They described the risks journalists took if they wrote about issues that many people believed should not be raised in public.

Mr Thami Mazwai, senior assistant editor of the Sowetan, said journalists today were far less exposed to arrest, detention and incarceration by the government than they used to be, but were being threatened and manhan-

A new and unofficial form of censorship has emerged in South Africa — one perpetrated by political activists. REHANA ROSSOUW reports:

dled by activists in the townships.

Journalists, Mazwai said, were being told to toe the line "or else".

"When you are being told to toe the line you must make your stories convey a particular meaning — in other words, you must be a propagandist.

"You must play the numbers game. If there are 20 people at a meeting, and it's not in the interests of the organisation that called the meeting for the public to be told that there were 20 people present, you have got to add a couple of noughts. If you don't, then you become an enemy of the struggle."

Mazwai said many journalists were committed to the struggle, but their professionalism compelled them to reject and ignore the pressures.

"I will take whatever risk I can to make sure that the public knows what is happening.

"But here is a new threat: Not only do I have to defy the government, I also have to present the facts in such a way that I am seen to be pushing a particular organisation. Many of us

have said we simply cannot have this."

Mazwai said journalists in Natal complained that they were experiencing difficulty in practising their profession. One night Inkatha members would visit them to complain about what they were writing and the next night ANC or UDF members would visit to make the same complaint.

He said a few years ago his newspaper, the Sowetan, was threatened with a boycott by the "people who believed in press freedom". They accused the newspaper of being anti a specific political organisation.

Mazwai said an attempt was made to necklace one of the reporters and a petrol bomb was thrown at the home of another journalist in 1984.

SA pays R5,8-m to lobbyists

Star 18/7/91

329

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — According to Justice Department records, the South African Government has paid about \$2 million (R5,8 million) in the past year to a small group of lobbyists whose principal task has been to persuade the White House and Congress to abandon sanctions.

The records, which must be filed at regular intervals in terms of the Foreign Agents Act, show that South African Government money also went to the election campaign funds of US politicians who were thought to be sympathetic to the Government and its policies.

Detailed

Eleven companies were registered as "agents" working on behalf of the South African Government, and some were paid almost \$500 000 (about R1,4 million) for their work. Detailed accounts show that expensive dinners and luncheons were paid for in some of Washington's most luxurious restaurants.

The best known South African lobbyist is John Sears, whose brilliant running of former President Ronald Reagan's election campaign won him much admiration — and influence — in Washington.

Mr Sears, whose fee is \$360 000 (about R1 million) plus expenses, also reports in his Justice Department declaration that he hosted expensive luncheons in pursuit of his South African brief.

But the big earner who did much hard legwork on sanctions was the discreet firm of Riley and

Fox, which was paid nearly \$500 000 for the year to lobby big business and Congress on sanctions.

The firm also arranged a wide variety of meetings between visiting South African politicians, businessmen and officials and movers on Capitol Hill.

According to congressional aides, however, the bulk of the work to get sanctions lifted was done by the SA embassy.

Praise

Its staff was described as dedicated and tireless, and was said to have been working "18-hour days, seven days a week" for several months on sanctions.

There was special praise, too, for the ambassador, Harry Schwarz, who has dazzled Capitol Hill with an energetic campaign aimed at making contact with a whole range of congressmen and congressional advisers who had been abandoned as lost causes by previous ambassadors.

But, in contrast with the huge expenditure to help get sanctions lifted and generally facilitate the South African Government's cause in Washington, is the perpetrator of most of Pretoria's problems here — the small upstairs office of the ANC on a noisy street in the heart of the city's most crime-ridden neighbourhood. The four-member staff has no assistance from lobbyists, operates on a shoestring budget, and takes guests to lunch at a corner eatery.

In fairness, it must be said that almost all foreign governments employ lobbyists of some sort or another in Washington. Lobbyists have, indeed, become a necessary evil.

ANC cadres key targets of assassins

By BEATHUR BAKER

19/7-25/7/91
THE African National Congress is under fire from all sides; the target of violence allegedly linked to Inkatha, the right wing and the police. According to the organisation, at least 20 activists have been killed in the past six months.

Hillview High School in Pretoria, intended for use by 700 children of exiled Umkhonto weSizwe cadres, was destroyed in a bomb blast on Sunday — shortly before its opening.

Previously a white school, it was forced to close because of a lack of pupils.

Right-wing extremists who openly declared they would resist the move to house blacks in the school have been blamed by the ANC for the explosion. All have denied

responsibility.

This is but the latest in a trail of planned assaults on ANC members.

Various methods of killing form identifiable patterns. Sophisticated explosive devices have been used.

Victims are gunned down by strategically placed marksmen or lured into an ambush. These bear the hallmarks of the officially disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Attacks in which a gunwielding group opens random fire are characteristic of killings near and around hostels. Another method is that of the balaclava-clad gunmen who fire from close range and move off, leaving intended victims and people accompanying them riddled with bullets.

In attacks at the homes of "comrades", not

only cadres are attacked — their families have also being targeted by killers.

Ernest Sotsu, Vanderbijlpark ANC/Congress of South African Trade Unions office bearer, who lives in the area of the kwaMadala hostel near Vanderbijlpark, was attending the ANC's Durban conference when assassins gunned down his wife and two children.

In the same manner 18 people were gunned down in Natal in one night while going home — six of them from the same family, all of them ANC supporters.

ANC members live in fear of who will be next. Investigations into these mysterious murders remain "ongoing".

Meanwhile, the ANC has demanded that the government disband its death squads.



Old adversaries ... But freedom of speech is under threat from the left and the right

Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

The silent war over words

w/mant 19/7-25/7/91
THE American psychoanalyst, Paul Goodman, once observed that censorship is a sign that speech is serious: "Where there is none, it is pretty certain that the official spokesmen have all the loudspeakers."

This puts South African journalists in a bind. With a multitude of parties fighting for ideological turf, to be a loudspeaker for one party puts one at risk of being censored or censured by another. To be a loudspeaker for none is not to earn respect for independence but to be treated with suspicion and hostility by all.

The Institute of Race Relations' publication, *Mau Mauing the Media*, which has been widely reported on in recent weeks, hones in on one aspect of this silent war: censorship from the left.

Five black journalists tell grim stories of what it is like to report against the grain in the townships. Three other opponents of the commissars — including singer Dawn Lindberg, the managing director of *Ilanga*, Arthur Konigkramer, and poet Lionel Abrahams — testify.

We hear of threats of necklacing and assassination, of organised campaigns to stop shops from stocking Inkatha's *Ilanga* newspaper, of daily intimidation and pressures on black journalists to conform.

It is an articulate and disturbing testimony. *Sowetan* business editor Thami Mazwai relates: "We have now reached a point where a journalist is told, 'You are either for us or against us.' It is sheer political blackmail ... here is this new threat: not only do I have to defy the government, I also have to present the facts in such a way that I am seen to be pushing a particular organisation."

The institute's director, John Kane Berman, describes why he organised the conference that the book was based upon: "We wanted to expose people, our membership, to the kind of information that is not getting into the press." The alternative cen-

The Institute of Race Relations recently highlighted censorship from the left. **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK** reminds us that everyone is guilty of **Mau Mauing press freedom**

sorship, we are told, ensures that much of what is happening on the ground is just not making it into the mainstream newspapers.

What is disconcerting, though, for an account that sets out to fight for the right of the public to know more is what is absent from this book. We are presented with testimonial accounts that are fashioned into an ideological weapon to beat the African National Congress. This leaves an unfortunately partisan impression, that someone has an axe to grind.

Whoever believes that supporters of the ANC are the only culprits in intimidating should speak to journalists on *The Weekly Mail* or *City Press* or any other publication that have been threatened or harassed by Inkatha. They should speak to one of my colleagues who arrived at my home late one recent Sunday night after being threatened by a gun-wielding Inkatha supporter at a shebeen for something he had written.

They should also speak to reporters — especially black reporters — who attempt to cover the activities of the far right.

The report is also too sanguine in referring to state actions against the press in the past tense, simply because journalists are no longer in detention and newspapers are not under threat of closure.

The fact is that in South Africa, many politicians and activists, particularly those of the second tier, are overwhelmingly immature when it comes to respecting the independence of journalists.

What the book has usefully highlighted is the existence of an activist community which has sought an ideological hegemony in that community.

It is heartening to hear the honesty of the

testimony of the black journalists. Connie Molusi says: "I think for as long as political organisations continue to fight for political hegemony, to see themselves as sole representatives of black people, the violence is not going to end."

This activist community has set itself up as "the people" and sought to interpret the grievances and the aspirations of the entire black community. They have displayed an extraordinary oversensitivity to the written word, putting journalists into Mazwai's two categories: for them or against them.

Part of the struggle has been to project a false image of total unity in the black community — and to often enforce this image with threats and intimidation if necessary.

In effect these activists have often stood in the way of the journalist and his access to the broader community. A journalist, say from a foreign paper, goes into a township and meets instant spokespeople: a youth leader, a church worker, the local ANC leadership.

They purport to interpret for the outsider what the community at large feels, yet they are merely projecting a particular mainstream political line. The reporter misses the great diversity of opinion, of feeling, of mood in that community.

Do ordinary black people — those that the activists are supposed to champion — realise that they are the losers, both in the toned-down accounts of events that reach them in their newspapers and in the curious form of stereotyping that takes place?

Or has the leadership of the ANC or Inkatha, with their frequent press-bashing, managed to prevent the development of a greater tolerance towards the press?

These are crucial questions. The battle for press freedom, just like the struggle for pluralism, will inevitably be won or lost in the townships, where the pressures to conform — and thus the dangers to freedom of speech — are so much more intense than in the white suburbs.

Two terse sentences that betray a political scandal ...

MASSA VERGADERING : INKATHA : KINGSPARK, DURBAN : 1990-03-25

1. Hierby aangeheg kwitansie vir die bedrag van R150,000-00.

A two-line memo from Natal security police headquarters, confirming payment of R150 000 to Inkatha for organising a rally

W/Mail
19/7-25/7/91

WEEKLY MAIL
SPECIAL
INVESTIGATION

Remarkable documents tell of
police payments to Inkatha

Police paid Inkatha to block ANC

THE South African Police have paid large amounts of money to help Inkatha oppose the African National Congress.

The *Weekly Mail* has also obtained copies of internal security police documents showing extensive discussions between Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and a senior Durban security policeman about ways of preventing the ANC from eroding Inkatha's support in Natal.

At least R250 000 was paid into an Inkatha bank account by the security police for the purpose of organising rallies and other anti-ANC activities shortly after the release from prison of ANC president Nelson Mandela. One rally paid for by the SAP, at King's Park, Durban on March 25 1990, was the spark for an upsurge in civic violence that has come to be known as the Maritzburg War.

According to a top-secret security police memorandum, Buthelezi was very emotional and expressed extreme gratitude for the extent of the financial assistance provided.

The documents reveal that Buthelezi was concerned about declining membership figures in Natal at the time of Mandela's release from prison and had serious misgivings about the support of some of Inkatha's key leaders, including Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose and former secretary general Oscar Dhlomo.

The *Weekly Mail* has receipts, First National Bank deposit slips, and internal security police memoranda, marked "Top Secret/Uiters Geheim", which confirm the police payments to Inkatha as well as face-to-face meetings between Buthelezi, some of his cabinet ministers,

and Major Louis Botha, senior officer in the Durban regional security police, to discuss how to deal with the ANC.

In a 10-page memorandum to the chief of security police in Pretoria, dated February 13 1990 (number S7/28/3/8/4n), Botha asks for R120 000 because it was of "cardinal importance" that arrangements were made for a massive turnout at

an Inkatha rally "to show everyone that he (Buthelezi) has a strong base".

"It is recommended that a clandestine grant of at least R120 000 be made available for this purpose," Botha wrote to his superiors. "It should also be accepted that Inkatha

does not have the financial means to arrange such a gathering on its own. The consequences of this rally failing will have far-reaching implications for Buthelezi and the RSA."

Further letters and receipts show that this payment was made in hard cash into an account in the name of Inkatha/Kgare (Kgare is the organisation's Sotho name) at First National Bank in Durban on March 15,

10 days before the rally. The account number was 221426-8006961533.

The security branch of the police has since been disbanded but it is widely believed that its officers are still deployed for covert political operations.

The *Weekly Mail* also has confirmation of a payment of R100 000 to Inkatha to organise another rally on November 5 1989. The rally was in fact held on November 19 and was addressed by King Goodwill Zwelithini.

This document, a letter from Brigadier JA Steyn, deputy regional chief of the security police in Natal, to the commanding officer of the security police in Pretoria, says that Buthelezi and his justice minister, Jeffrey Mtetwa, asked that their "thanks and great appreciation be passed on to those responsible for passing on the funds."

"Chief Minister Buthelezi was very emotional when a copy of the receipt was given to him. He could not say thank you enough and said that he had not expected it."

The *Weekly Mail*, working in conjunction with *The Guardian* of London, has run extensive checks on the documents. It has confirmed the Inkatha bank account numbers, the identities, addresses and telephone numbers of all those named in them, and the details of the Durban rallies.

There is no conclusive evidence that Buthelezi or members of Inkatha knew that the money deposited into their account came directly from the security police.

Botha is well known in Durban as a security policeman with close links to Inkatha and at the time of the documentation was often seen in Buthelezi's company. In the words of one source, "wherever Buthelezi was, Botha was".

●To PAGE 3

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WEEKLY MAIL SPECIAL INVESTIGATION: POLICE PAYMENTS TO INKATHA

Buthelezi back on the shelf

1917-2517191
Weekly Mail Reporter

THE controversial biography of Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is back on the University of Natal library shelves, but the row over whether the book is defamatory still continues.

The biography, *Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief with a Double Agenda* by Mzala, was originally taken out of the library after letters from Buthelezi's attorney saying the book was defamatory and that legal action would be taken if it was not removed.

After withdrawing it from the shelves, university officials took legal advice and announced at the weekend that the book was now being returned to the library.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Buthelezi's attorney, Jenny Friedman, said this week that she had not yet heard directly from the university about the move, and that as a matter of courtesy she would hold direct comment until receiving official confirmation.

However, she added if it was correct that the university had returned it to the shelves, she wanted to reiterate that it was defamatory and that in making it available the university was "committing a civil wrong".

In its statement announcing the book was being returned to the library shelves, the university said its position was that it had always been a matter of "public policy" that books, even if critical of public figures, should be available in a university library for "critical study by the scholarly community."

"The university has now obtained counsel's opinion which reassures it that this view is correct in law."

It is understood that a letter is being sent to Friedman on behalf of the university confirming that the book has been restored to the shelves, and explaining the basis of this decision.

The university's initial move withdrawing the book from circulation was greeted with strong criticism by officials of anti-censorship groups.

They said Buthelezi was imposing censorship through the threat of legal action, a charge strongly denied by Friedman who said her client was entitled to prevent defamatory material about himself from being circulated.

The memo in full

●From PAGE 2 (327)

18.4. Die laaste vergadering te Kings Park op 1987-11-05 (sien hierdie Streek se berig 294 met verwysing S22/29/16N oor S7/28/3/0/4N gedateer 1989-11-20) was 'n reuse sukses en gesien in die lig van die beplande massa vergaderings wat deur die ANC beplan word, het dit uiters belangrik geword dat daar weer beplan en uitgevoer word.

18.5. Dit word voorgestel dat 'n klandestiene skenking van minstens R120,000-00 gemaak word vir hierdie doel.

18.6. Geen beloftes van enige finansiële steun is gemaak nie. Dit moet ook aanvaar word dat INKATHA nie die finansies besit om so 'n projek op eie houtjie aan te pak nie. Die nagevolge van 'n mislukking van so 'n vergadering sal verreikende implikasies inhou vir BUTHELEZI en die RSA.

STREEKHOOFT : VEILIGHEIDSTAK :
NATAL LB/ddur/635/7

W/mad 19/7-25/7/91

Major L Botha
Kantoor van die Streekhof
Veiligheidstak
Privaatsak X54320 Durban 4000
031-322322 X 426
1990-02-13

Die Hoof Veiligheidstak
Privaatsak X302
Pretoria

MASSA VERGADERING: INKATHA: KINGS PARK: DURBAN: 1990-03-25

In full: The ten page memo from Major Botha

The full Afrikaans text of the memo from Major Louis Botha of the Durban security police to the head of the security police in Pretoria, concerning a major Inkatha rally in March last year

1. Telefoniese gesprek tussen kaptein KOEKEMOER (B3) en majoor L BOTHA van Natal Streek op 1990-02-12 asook hierdie Streek se faksberig nommer 118 gedateer 1990-02-08 met verwysing S22/29/12 het betrekking.
2. Oor die afgelope 2/3 weke het verskeie vertroulike gesprekke tussen hoofminister MG BUTHELEZI en majoor L BOTHA oor die INKATHA/UDF/MDM/ANC stryd plaasgevind. Tydens van hierdie gesprekke het hoofminister BUTHELEZI sy hope en vrese ten opsigte van die ANC ook uitgespreek. Hierdie Streek het dit nodig geag dat VHK ingelig moet word.
3. Dit is 'n bekende feit en verslae is reeds daaroor gelewer, dat Hoofminister BUTHELEZI 'n ondersteuner van die ANC is, dog verwerp hy sekere aspekte van die ANC beleid. Sy houding veral ten opsigte van geweld met die gepaardgaande implikasies, sy teenkantiing van die sanksies en disinvesterings veldtog en sy verwerping van sosialisme (beleid van die ANC) is drie baie belangrike aspekte wat 'n wig tussen hom (en dan INKATHA) en die ANC indrywe.
4. Tydens die gesprekke het dit baie duidelik geword dat die optredes en politieke skuiwe van die ANC 'n mate van angs by die Hoofminister laat posvat veral as daar gekyk word na die kwynende INKATHA lede tal en die implikasies wat dit vir hom inhou.
- 4.1. Die Hoofminister is tans besig met verskeie pogings om alliansies met ander groepe te vorm, dog sonder veel sukses.
- 4.2. Hier word onder andere na die PAC verwys. Nadat hy die terugkeer van Prins V SHANGE oud-PAC lid bewerkstellig het, het hy gehoop dat die Zulu faksie in die PAC hom sou ondersteun maar dit het nie gerealiseer nie. (November 1989).
- 4.3. Net so met die terugkeer van Dr W Z CHONCO (S4/2031N).
- 4.4. Hy is ook betrokke met die moontlike terugkeer van Joe MATTHEWS (S4/997) in 'n poging om sy isolasie te breek en ondersteuning te verkry.
5. Dit is ook duidelik dat ten spyte van die briewe wat hy vanaf Nelson MANDELA ontvang het waarin MANDELA erkenning aan hom vir sy (BUTHELEZI) se stryd verleen, verwerp die ANC/MDM/UDF hom nog steeds.
6. Die Hoofminister is ook baie agterdogtig oor die Xhosa oorheersing binne die Nasionale Uitvoerende Komitee (NUK) van die ANC en hulle vyandige houding teenoor hom.
- 7.1. Dit is ook duidelik dat hy baie ag-

- terdogtig is vir toenadering van die ANC want volgens hom sal dit maklik vir die ANC hieragie wees om hom (BUTHELEZI) te vernietig as hy en INKATHA by die ANC sou aansluit. Dan trek die ANC in werklikheid 'n coup op INKATHA. Hy het ook Goven MBEKI se Stockholm verklaring (sien hierdie Streek se faksberig waarna daar in para 1 verwys is) met agterdog behandel. Luidens hom is hy ook baie kwaad oor Tom SEBINA se uitlatings in Lusak. (Sien faksberig waarna daar in para 1 verwys word).
- 7.2. Hy is ook bekommerd oor die moontlike rol wat van sy ondersteuners en Kabinetslede bv
 - Dr O DLOMO - Minister van Onderwys
 - Dr F MDLALOSE - Minister van Gesondheid
 - Inkosi GUMEDE - Minister van Openbare Werke
 - Minister S SITHEBE - Minister van Binnelandse aangeleenthede,
 nou sal speel (Sien hierdie Streek se verslag S22/29/16N gedateer 1989-08-23 met opskrif "KONFLIK BINNE INKATHA AS GEVOLG VAN DIE VREDESAMESPREKINGS" asook die memorandum "STRATEGIESE PERSPEKTIEF: HOOFMINISTER BUTHELEZI EN INKATHA: IMPLIKASIES VIR HUIDIGE ONDERHANDELINGSPOLITIEK" gedateer 1989-09-22.
 - 7.3. Die Hoofminister het ook sy ernstige kommer uitgespreek oor die rol van die jeug in die huidige politiek. Die feit dat die jeug wat vandag geweld aanblaas en sy INKATHA lede aanval, more se kiesers sal wees, is vir hom 'n geweldige probleem en dra by tot sy onsekerheid.
 - 8.1. Dit het baie duidelik tydens die gesprekke navore gekom dat die Hoofminister 'n onrustige periode in die politiek belewe.
 - 8.2. As hy versoening met die ANC probeer bewerkstellig, bestaan die moontlikheid dat hy aanvaar sal word en dan van die toneel "verwyder" sal word of die ANC sal hom summier verwerp en sodoende politiek vernietig. Staen hy op die "kantlyn" van die politiek, sal hy nie later aan die "spel" kan deelneem nie wat tog tot politieke vernedering sal lei, (al dus die Hoofminister).
 - 8.3. In die interim periode word sy politieke basis verbrokkel en kan hy nie

te lank wag om 'n spesifieke rigting in te slaan nie.

8.4. KOMMENTAAR: majoor L BOTHA

8.4.1. Dit is hierdie Streek se vrees dat met die voorafgaande in gedagte, sou die Hoofminister dalk oorweeg om sy lot wel met die ANC met verreikende implikasies vir Natal en die RSA.

8.4.2. Met die vrylating van Nelson MANDELA het hierdie moontlikheid egter 'n ernigste knou opgedoen.

9. Soos alom bekend het die Hoofminister hom as jare vir onder andere die vrylating van Nelson MANDELA beywer. Hy beskou Nelson MANDELA as 'n leier en 'n Staatsman van besondere hoë gehalte. MANDELA sou vrede kon bewerkstellig en onder andere die geweld en sanksies beëindig.

10. Net voor sy TV onderhoud op 1990-02-08 te Durban waartydens hy, Minister R BOTHA en Tabo MBEKI gelyktydig opgetree het, het Hoofminister BUTHELEZI weer gemeld dat hy uitsien na Nelson MANDELA en met groot lof oor die Staats President se toespraak van 1990-02-02 gepraat. Hy het herhaaldelik gesê dat sy posisie vis-a-vis die Staats President en onderhandelings geregverdig was ten spyte van die politieke aanvalle op hom uit linkse kringe.

11. Die Hoofminister het nou planne begin beraam om 'n reeks politieke vergaderings in Natal te hou en sodoende sy politieke basis te versterk.

12. Na die vrylating van Nelson MANDELA op Sondag, 1990-02-11 het Hoofminister BUTHELEZI in 'n telefoniese gesprek met majoor BOTHA sy opgewondenheid en dankbaarheid oor die gebeure te Paarl uitgespreek. Hy het weereens die Staats President geloof vir sy politieke durf en gesê dat vrede nou binnelands bewerkstellig sal kan word.

13.1. In 'n lang gesprek van byna 'n uur en half met majoor BOTHA op 1990-02-12, het Hoofminister BUTHELEZI sy groot skok, teleurstelling en afkeur van Nelson MANDELA se openbare toespraak te Kaapstad wat hy net na sy vrylating gemaak het, uitgespreek.

13.2. In Hoofminister BUTHELEZI se eie woorde "I was shocked rigid, rendered almost speechless by the tactless unstatesmanlike speech Nelson MANDELA made".

13.3. Hier het die Hoofminister in be-

sonder na die gedeelte van die toespraak wat soos volg geleel het "continuance of the armed struggle, the tightening of sanctions and the nationalisation of the mines, banks and large firms" verwys. Luidens Hoofminister BUTHELEZI het hy Sondag-aand baie sleg geslaap en steeds erg neerslagtig voel.

13.4. Hy maak die stelling dat Nelson MANDELA vir die Staats President beledig het en dat die Konserwatiewe Party "laughed all the way to the proverbial political bank".

13.5. Wat die posisie vererger het, al dus die Hoofminister, is die verdere openbare verklarings van Nelson MANDELA waarin hy weer die ANC totaal in hulle beleid ondersteun — veral die ten opsigte van die gewapende stryd, sanksies en nasionalisering van myne, ens — drie elemente wat hy geheel en al verwerp.

14. Die Hoofminister spreek sy ernstige kommer uit oor die geweld wat landswyd na die vrylating van Nelson MANDELA uitgebreek het, en die verdere verpolitiserings wat plaasvind en gaan plaasvind as gevolg van verskeie optogte, vergaderings, samesprekings en media onderhoude wat die ANC/MDM/UDF beoog. Die persepsie word gevorm en versterk dat byna al die swartes (en baie blankes, Indiërs en Kleurlinge) die ANC/MDM/UDF ondersteun. Hierdie skewe beeld word dan na die wêreld uitgedra as feite. Hierdie skewe beeld van "ondersteuning" word dan gebruik in die buiteland om druk op die RSA (en INKATHA) tydens onderhandelinge te plaas.

15. As 'n teenvoeter vir hierdie eensydige propaganda en vergaderings is die Hoofminister tans besig om 'n massa INKATHA vergadering vir Kings Park, Durban vir 1990-03-25 te beplan. Huidig is daar nog 'n probleem om die stadium vir hierdie datum te bekom dog sal dit teen 1990-02-15 opgeklaar wees.

16. Die tema van die vergadering sal anti-geweld, anti-sanksies, pro-evolusioneer wees en 'n boodskap aan die RSA en die buiteland uitdra dat daar binne die RSA 'n groot massa is wat nie die ANC/MDM/UDF ondersteun nie — veral hul beleid. Hierdie aspek hou geweldige voordele vir beide die regering en INKATHA (BUTHELEZI) in tydens enige onderhandelinge.

17. Tydens die vergadering beoog die Hoofminister ook om die voordeel van sy onderhandelings politiek, anti-geweld, anti-sanksies verder uit te beeld en die President te loof vir sy politieke visie en optredes dusver.

18. KOMMENTAAR: majoor BOTHA
18.1. Hierdie Streek voel dat dit dringend noodsaaklik is dat ons 'n finansiële bydrae by so 'n byeenkoms moet maak. Dit is van kardinale belang dat genoeg persone by Kings Park is om die Hoofminister te ondersteun en vir almal te wys dat hy wel 'n sterk basis het.

18.2. Die nagevolge van 'n vergadering wat nie geslaagd is nie, is van selfsprekend.

18.3. Die vraag moet afgeva word of ons kan bekostig (politiek) om nie so 'n vergadering onderskraag nie.

'Chief Buthelezi was very emotional. He could not say thank you enough'

— From the memo signed by Major Botha

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It is believed that he was for some time involved with Buthelezi's personal security.

The question of police support for Inkatha was raised in parliament earlier this year by the Democratic Party's Kobus Jordaan. He asked whether any section of the intelligence service or the SAP had given financial or organisational support to groups such as Inkatha.

President FW de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok refused to answer as this would "defeat the legal protection of security information".

Botha's 10-page memorandum motivating the payment to Inkatha gives a rare insight into how the security police see Inkatha as the only organisation capable of countering the influence of the ANC. He refers to discussions with Buthelezi over a two-to-three week period and previous security police reports on "Conflict within Inkatha following peace talks" and "Strategic perspectives: Chief Minister Buthelezi and Inkatha: Implications for current negotiations politics".

Botha argues that the police should support Inkatha because Buthelezi, under pressure from some of his ministers because of falling support, would otherwise be forced to join forces with the ANC.

"During our discussion it became very clear that the actions and political manoeuvres of the ANC were a matter of concern to the chief minister, especially if one considers the shrinking Inkatha membership figures," Botha said.

He added that Buthelezi had hoped that he would win support after arranging the return to the country of Pan Africanist Congress veteran Prince Velekhaya Shange (described only as "Prins Shange") and ANC veteran Dr Wilson Chonco.

"It is also clear that he is very suspicious of overtures from the ANC which according to him would make it easy for the ANC hierarchy to destroy him if he and Inkatha joined the ANC..."

"He is also worried about the possible role of his supporters and cabinet members, namely Dr O Dlomo (sic), minister of education, Dr F Mdlalose, minister of health, Chief Gumede, minister of public works and minister S Sithebe, minister of home affairs," Botha said, also referring to another memo on "Internal conflict in Inkatha as a result of peace talks".

Dhlomo, then also Inkatha secretary general, resigned from the organisation and the kwaZulu cabinet two months later.

Botha added: "If he (Buthelezi) seeks reconciliation with the ANC, there is the possibility he will be accepted and



The man behind the Inkatha memos, Major Louis Botha, was chosen to accompany President FW De Klerk and his wife Marika on their official tour of Natal in October last year. He can be seen here behind Mrs De Klerk.
Photo: Courtesy SUNDAY TRIBUNE

then removed from the scene ... If he stands on the political sidelines, then he won't be able to take part in the game later on, which will also lead to political humiliation.

"It is the fear of this division (of the police) that, bearing the above in mind, the minister will seriously consider throwing in his lot with the ANC with far-reaching implications for Natal and the ANC. With the release of Nelson Mandela, this becomes a serious possibility," Botha reported.

Botha went on to say that Buthelezi was worried that, with the release of Mandela, the ANC would be seen as commanding the support of most blacks, and many whites, Indians and coloureds, and that this would be used overseas to put pressure on Pretoria during the negotiation period.

As a counter, he says, Buthelezi planned a mass rally at King's Park on March 25 1990 where he would speak against armed struggle and sanctions. Botha recommended that police help pay for the rally.

The rally was a failure. It poured with

rain on the day and only about 10 000 people attended, though Inkatha contested these figures. Clashes between busloads of Inkatha supporters and residents of Pietermaritzburg townships broke out before and after the rally.

The next few days saw some of the bloodiest conflict in the area, including a planned invasion of Edendale by Inkatha-supporting "impis".

These revelations are supported by recent disclosures that there is a sophisticated plan by the government to use Inkatha as a conservative counterweight to the ANC during negotiations.

Earlier this year Sipho Madlala, a self-confessed security police agent, told reporters in Natal that he had been recruited by officers in the security police and military intelligence to assassinate pro-ANC Zulu chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

Other evidence is now emerging about clandestine support from military intelligence and the police for Inkatha so that the Zulu movement can be used to undermine the ANC.

star 19/7/91

Van Tonder assassination claim dismissed

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An allegation by right-wing Boerestaat Party (BSP) leader Robert van Tonder that security police are planning to assassinate him with a car bomb has been dismissed as "ridiculous" by the Law and Order Ministry.

Captain Craig Kotze, Ministry spokesman, said that like all allegations of this kind, the police would investigate this one, "even though it sounds ridiculous".

The claim was made in a letter to Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok yesterday.

Mr van Tonder said the Boer Intelligence Service — a branch of the Boereweerstandsbeweging — had told him that the plan to assassinate him was hatched in the office of a senior security policeman.

"The information was obtained from the inner circles of the security police and for obvi-

ous reasons the name of the informant cannot be made available."

Mr van Tonder said in the letter that the BSP had previously requested the Government to fire officers "who had tortured Boer prisoners, but you condoned their actions and refused our request".

He said the Boers "are waiting to see if action will finally be taken against the thugs in your service". — Sapa.

KILLER COF

By S'BU MNGADI

YET another defector has made startling revelations about a covert SADF, Inkatha and KwaZulu police alliance which he claimed trained and armed the notorious anti-ANC "Amasinyora" gang.

The gang unleashed a reign of terror in Natal in which at least 40 people died.

In a detailed affidavit, 21-year-old Bheki Mvubu confessed to having taken part since 1987 in killing 40 people and burning down a number of ANC homes in Kwa-Mashu.

Saying he was drained by fighting and causing death and destruction, Mvubu named several members of Amasinyora who were involved in covert operations. They included policemen, SADF members and Inkatha officials.

The SADF has strongly denied the allegations and the KwaZulu Police (ZP) declined to comment.

Mvubu said the Amasinyora gang were originally common criminals until they were "taken over" by SADF member Dumisane Zondi, who told the gang he he was based at Empangeni in Zululand.

Zondi had instructed the gang in warfare methods and building homemade guns. These were to be used against ANC-supporting comrades.

He said Zondi had also supplied the gang with an SADF R1 automatic rifle which was used in the battles.

Zondi was shot and killed in mid-1989 while trying to escape from the SA police after allegedly being caught raping a woman.

He said that the gang was then told to join Inkatha, "so that we would be seen as a political organisation and not as a group of gangsters".

It was after the gang became a part of the IFP, that the group had become increasingly militarised.

Ammunition and guns were supplied directly from the KwaZulu police and Lindelani warlord and IFP area leader



Felix Ndimene

'SADF, Inkatha, police took part in gang's ANC war'

Mandla Thomas Shabalala assumed command.

"The first time we met him, Shabalala gave us three shotguns and several boxes of bullets. He praised us for fighting and said we must keep on fighting," Mvubu said.

Another Inkatha official,

**More reports
- See Page 2**

a man called Shoji of Umlazi's Z-section, had worked closely with the gang allegedly providing them with three pump-action shotguns and a pistol. He had urged the gang to recruit more criminals.

An SADF man and Inkatha member, Justice Nkwanyane, had been introduced to the gang.

Nkwanyane was often seen in the townships in the company of white SADF soldiers - driving in Buffel vehicles or small white SADF vans with tinted windows.

"He gave us one 9mm pistol, and bullets on a regular basis until the end of 1989," he added.

Nkwanyane had ordered the gang to kill Esther Africa, former mayor of KwaMashu and IFP member who had joined

the ANC. During December 1989 Africa's house was attacked, though she wasn't home. The house was partially burnt.

"I was part of this attack with other Amasinyora members," Mvubu added.

He said Mandla Buthelezi, suspended from the SA Police, was also working with the Amasinyora since it began in 1987.

"He joined us on many attacks," he said, "and he is still a member of the Amasinyora."

Shange Khethe, who was a member of the KwaZulu police stationed at KwaMashu, had also worked with the Amasinyora. He provided bullets and joined in attacks at night. Khethe was jailed for life this year after being convicted in the Durban Supreme Court of murdering comrades.

Mvubu said the gang had looted and ransacked their targeted homes before torching them.

Among the people he claimed to have killed were Khumbu Cebekhulu, a youth known as Cliff and others named Magwegwe and Jomo.

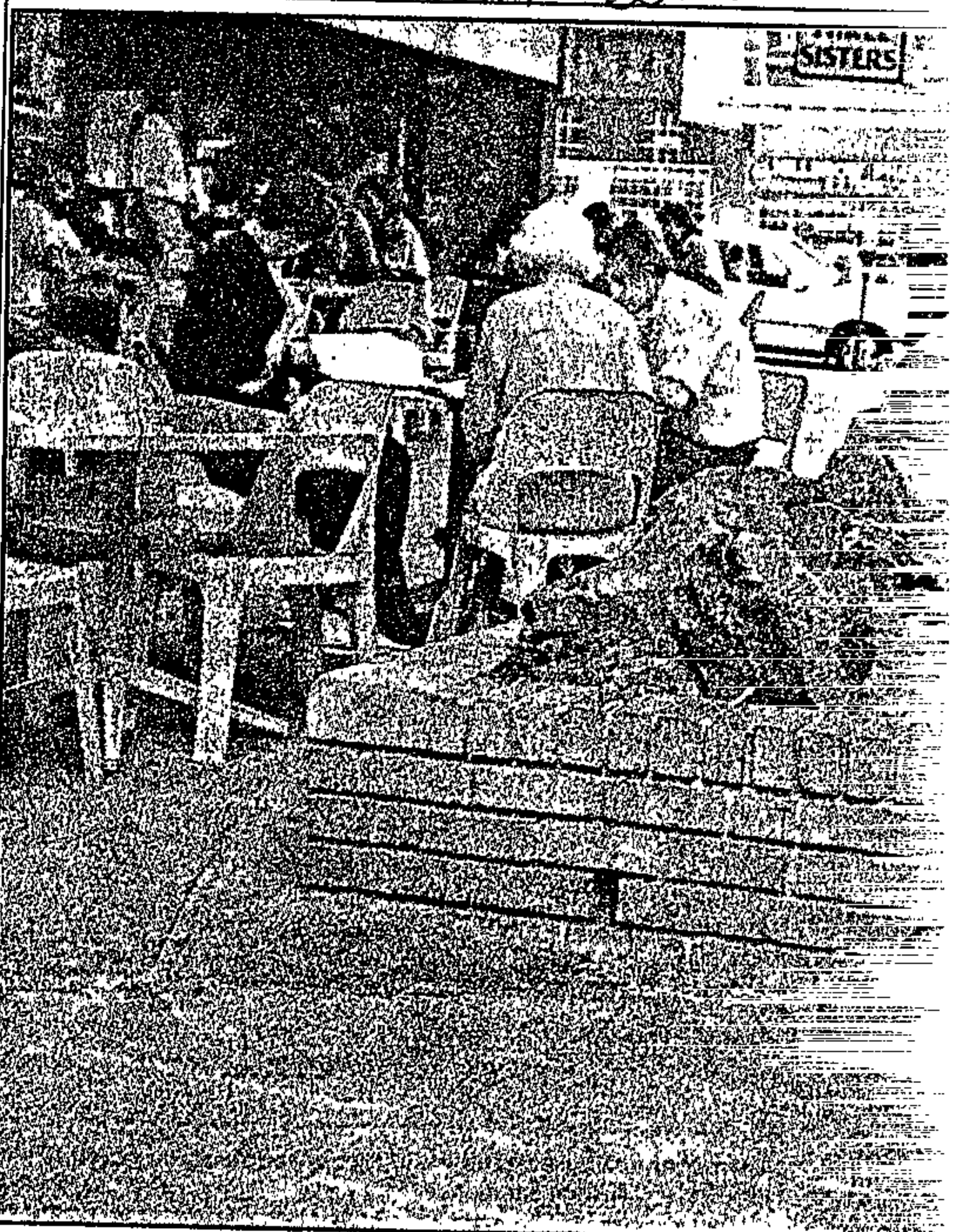
Jomo's killers - including Mvubu - were caught red-handed and arrested by the KwaZulu police but Mvubu said they were released four hours later.

Mvubu's confessions come hot on the heels of further disclosures that the SADF and police were in cahoots with Inkatha in fanning township violence. The Weekly Mail reported that the SA police were funding Inkatha to oppose the ANC.

And in a report in New Nation a former SADF operative, Sergeant Felix Isaias Ndimene, revealed that the violence that had been sweeping the country for the past two years - including train massacres - were planned and carried out by the Special Forces of the SADF.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said the Government's covert activities were aimed at destroying the ANC and were setting the two groups on a collision course.

He said that if the government continued with its double agenda of criminal operations while talking peace, it was doubtful that a complete breakdown in the negotiation process could be avoided.



'BROW BEATING ... Photographer Evans Mboweni caught the contrasts of week where tramps are so commonplace they no longer disturb diners wise enough to strategically place themselves at robots, but the pennies



White man's R1 000 child

By ELIAS MALULEKE and CYNTHIA PITSE

A WINTERVELDT mother allegedly "sold" her 11-year-old daughter to a white businessman and allowed him to have sex with the girl.

Her child, now 14, is a Std 2 pupil in Winterveld and is living with the man.

and his child lover, now aged 14, are said to have started the relationship in 1986.

Ex-Capetonian and divorced father of three, Nicholas Hart, and the girl, are living as man and wife in Mabopane's small industrial area, where Hart runs a factory.

According to locals and neighbours, the girl fell pregnant in the

SERGEANT Felix Isaias Ndimene, the former operative who this week alleged that special SADF units were behind train massacres, has sneaked out of the country. CIP res 21/7/91

Major Nico Basson, the head of Soldiers for Peace, said Ndimene was handed over to his organisation after the report in the *New Nation* and it was thought appropriate to get him out of the country.

Soldiers for Peace was launched 10 days ago "to expose the government's misuse of state resources for secret political activities".

Meanwhile, it has been announced that a high-ranking police officer, Maj-Gen Ronnie van der

Westhuizen, has been appointed to investigate allegations that train massacres had been planned and carried out by special SADF units.

Ndimene told *New Nation* this week that the SADF was responsible for the violence which has swept the country for the past two years.

The SADF has not denied Ndimene was once their member but said his allegations were outright lies.

The *New Nation* said it was in possession of the names of the core group of attackers and could reveal that they were all members of the Phalaborwa-based Five Reconnaissance Regiment (5 Recce).

Some were kidnapped from southern African countries and forced to join the SADF.

City Press received a call that there was a lot of army activity around the Phalaborwa base yesterday.

Deputy editor of *New Nation*, Gabu Tugwana, said they feared the SADF was removing all evidence.

The *Weekly Mail* this week also exposed covert activities by the SAP.

The paper alleged they had paid large sums of money to help Inkatha oppose the ANC.

ANC president Nelson Mandela warned the government that if it continued "with its double agenda of criminal operations while talking peace", it was doubtful a complete breakdown in the negotiation process could be avoided.

The Human Rights Commission yesterday said the SAP's clandestine funding of Inkatha obliged US President George Bush to reconsi-

Police probe new claims

der the grounds on which he cancelled economic sanctions against South Africa.

The *Weekly Mail* report said at least R250 000 was paid into an Inkatha bank account by the security police for the purpose of organising rallies shortly after the release of Mandela from prison.

The government admitted it funded two IFP rallies in November 1989 and in March last year, but denied the action was party political.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said the money was drawn "from funds earmarked by the government for the combating of sanctions against South Africa".

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi "emphatically" rejected the allegations. He said he had no knowledge that the money was from the security police.

Buthelezi said he would never accept money from the government to undermine the ANC.

■ Constitutional Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said at Inkatha's annual general conference in Ulundi yesterday that the payments were insignificant and were for the "limited purpose" of organising two mass rallies and to support the fight against sanctions.

VIP Reporters

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Infotormer skipos

SA

Terror-gang probe a priority

By S'BU MNGADI

21/11/91

NATAL Attorney-General Mike Imber's office is conducting a high-level investigation into allegations that the SADF, KwaZulu police and Inkatha helped the Amasinyora gang carry out a reign of terror in the townships.

The allegations were contained in the affidavit of a self-confessed Durban gangster.

A Durban attorney told City Press on Friday that Imber was giving the detailed affidavit priority attention.

The A-G received a copy of the affidavit from Durban human rights lawyers last week.

In it, 21-year-old KwaMashu gangster Bheki Myubu alleges that soldiers, KwaZulu policemen and Inkatha officials have been colluding with his gang - the Amasinyora - in a reign of terror since 1987.

City Press sent a copy of its story to the SADF's Natal Command and the KwaZulu police for comment this week.

Walter Felgate, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's speechwriter and member of the central committee, also acknowledged receiving the story for comment last Saturday.

He promised a "detailed denial" of Inkatha complicity in the activities of the Amasinyora.

But yesterday he told City Press Inkatha would not comment.

SADF spokesman Lt FM Williams commented: "The allegations about SADF involvement are most strongly denied."

ZP spokesman Lt-Col Lingie Khanyile said: "Loose allegations given by you in your letter (a full report detailing the allegations) are not helping us to address the situation and your interest in this matter would have been best shown if you had furnished us with a copy of the so-called confession."

Roy Ainslie, of the Democratic Party's Unrest Monitoring and Action Group (Umag),

said about 70 charges had been laid at KwaMashu police station since 1987 and not a single prosecution had resulted.

"Over the past three years the SAP has been given a wealth of information about the gang - including a complete list of gang members."

Ainslie this week said: "Much of this did not make sense at the time. Criminals identified, but not arrested. Witnesses available, but no court cases. Serious allegations, but no investigation."

"The only logical inference is that the Amasinyora gang is part of a strategy to destabilise black politics. There can be no other conclusion."

money from a secret budget in the Foreign Affairs Special Account, part of the Secret Services Account. This anti-sanctions budget had been widely used, it appeared, to fund campaigns all over the world.

Buthelezi hits at 'offensive' story

CHIEF BUTHELEZI'S response came soon afterwards. He denied just about everything. He denied knowledge of payments through the police to Inkatha for rallies. He denied ever having accepted money to undermine the ANC. (327)

He described the Weekly Mail article as "offensive" and he accused the ANC of having accepted government money to attend the Groote Schuur peace conference and having taken money from Russia, Cuba and the Middle East. (327)

He particularly denied Brigadier Steyn's claim that he had been grateful for money received for a rally.

Lastly, came the ANC response, delivered by Mr Mandela on his departure overseas. The revelations, he said, confirmed ANC charges that the government had been funding anti-ANC activities and it bore direct responsibility for "the murder, sometimes of entire African families, in both the PWV and Natal". (Times 21/7/91)

He again called for the sacking of Mr Vlok and General Malan.

At the press conference, meanwhile, he warned that the revelations had set the government and the ANC on a collision course. If President De Klerk could not control the security forces, said Mr Mandela, there was no point in the ANC having further discussions with the government.

But the revelations have not ended the ANC's quest for a new role in the new South Africa.

THE first inkling Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had of the impending storm was a panicky phone call in Cape Town at 8pm on Thursday night from Captain Craig Kotze, his liaison officer.

Capt Kotze, a former journalist, told Mr Vlok from Johannesburg that the Weekly Mail would carry a report the next day alleging the SA police had handed R250 000 in "gifts" to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Vlok, survivor of many damaging disclosures about his department, acted instinctively.

He telephoned the SABC and told them he was pulling Capt Kotze out of a panel discussion with Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber and Inkatha press liaison officer Suzanne Vos on links between the police and Inkatha.

The programme had been scheduled to go out live in less than an hour's time.

Mr Vlok then contacted his senior generals. Get every bit of information you can, he ordered. His men worked through the night, conferring with Mr Vlok in Cape Town by telephone and fax.

On Friday morning, now fully informed, Mr Vlok telephoned President FW de Klerk, who was on leave. The president immediately decided to return to office.

He knew a crisis when he saw one.

Payments boost Inkatha's image

THE flurry was caused by a report in Johannesburg's Weekly Mail that the South African security police paid R250 000 into an Inkatha bank account in Durban to help pay, among other things, for two party rallies. The Inkatha trade union, Uwusa, also received handouts.

The Mail published in full a 10-page memorandum from Natal security police officer Major Louis Botha to the deputy regional chief of the security police, Brigadier JA Steyn, setting out a comprehensive SAP-supported plan to boost Inkatha's image, help it engage in anti-ANC activity, fund some of its rallies and counter ANC erosion of Inkatha support.

Maj Botha reported on confidential discussions with Chief Buthelezi in which the Inkatha chief expressed concern about Xhosa domination of the ANC, spoke of his reluctance to establish rapport with the ANC in case he was swallowed up, his fears of losing popular support and even his suspicions of some of his cabinet ministers, such as Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Chief Gumede and Mr S Sithebe.

Maj Botha reported on crumbling support for Inkatha in Natal and warned there was a danger the ANC might gain the upper hand in the province. He observed that Chief Buthelezi intended holding a series of political gatherings in Natal to broaden his political base.

A huge rally was to be held at King's Park in Durban on March 25 with the themes, said Maj Botha, of "anti-violence, anti-sanctions and pro-evolution".

Maj Botha's recommendation: "This region feels it is urgent we make a financial contribution to the rally. It is of cardinal importance that enough people are at King's Park to support the Chief Minister



ADRIAAN VLOK ... confirmation



Gerrit Viljoen and Chief Buthelezi confer at yesterday's Inkatha rally

LOUIS

THE DAY THE BUBBLE BURST

By BRIAN POTTINGER, MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

and show everybody he does indeed have a strong base.

"The consequence of a meeting which does not succeed is self-evident. The question must be asked whether we can afford not to support such a rally."

Maj Botha recommended a clandestine payment of R120 000 be made to help cover the costs of the rally.

The rally went ahead as planned, but reports of the meeting indicate only 8 000 people turned out. That night, as Inkatha supporters returned home, fighting broke out in Edendale township near Maritzburg. Shots were fired, stones thrown and by early evening there was virtually civil war.

Six days later, according to conservative estimates, 50 people were dead, 150 wounded and 6 000 people homeless in the Maritzburg area in fighting between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

The Weekly Mail also produced evidence that the payment was made and records that another R100 000 was paid for a rally on November 25 1989.

A memorandum from Brigadier Steyn to his superiors in Pretoria reports that Chief Buthelezi and his justice minister, the Reverend Jeffrey Mtetwa, asked that their thanks and appreciation be conveyed to those responsible for passing on the money.

"Chief Buthelezi was very emotional when a copy of the receipt was given to him. He could not say thank you enough and said he had not expected it," the brigadier reported.

FW flies back to face the truth

AS President De Klerk made his way to the Union Buildings on Friday morning he was fully aware of the devastating implications of the Weekly Mail report — not least of all

because the allegations were all true.

It was not the first time charges of collusion between the SA police and Inkatha had been made. The ANC and civil rights groups had handed over dossiers of allegations of complicity in Inkatha attacks on ANC supporters in Natal and the Transvaal townships.

Many of the complaints had focused on alleged police support in bussing Inkatha supporters into ANC-supporting areas in the Transvaal for rallies — rallies which had all too often ended in violence.

The issue had also been raised in Parliament.

On March 5 this year, Mr Kobus Jordaan — DP member for Umhlanga and a former senior official in the Department of Constitutional Development until his security clearance was yanked by the police because he had begun confidential discussions with the ANC — asked President De Klerk whether the National Intelligence Service had ever given support to Inkatha.

Deputy Information Minister Roelf Meyer, standing in for Mr De Klerk, refused to answer. Similar questions to Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Mr Vlok went unanswered.

On April 9, Mr Jordaan returned to the attack. This time, Mr De Klerk said: "It is not government policy to render direct or indirect financial or other support to any political party or organisation, except government aid made available for a specific purpose on an equal basis, such as the payment of constituency allowances."

This answer, Mr De Klerk knew as he headed back for the crisis meeting in Pretoria, would be crucial in the government's response to the Weekly Mail story.

But Mr Jordaan had not finished. On Wednesday this week he publicly announced he would not accept a US government invitation to America because of the claim by US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen a few days earlier that the US could find no evidence of SA government bodies supporting black-on-black violence.

Of the political impact of the Weekly Mail story there could be no doubt.

The ANC would be immeasurably strengthened in its claims that the De Klerk administration was attempting to sabotage it through proxies.

Inkatha's reputation was in tatters. Not to mention the likely response of the US government, which had just lifted sanctions against the dire warnings of the sanctioners, who claimed the SA government was involved in destabilising the ANC.

Vlok confirms secret fundings

MR VLOK remained in Cape Town on Friday. He was in constant telephone and fax contact with his senior generals and the president.

The telephone line between Union Buildings and Ulundi, where Chief Buthelezi was preparing for his par-

Pik says he a

From Page 1

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Asked whether any checks were made to ensure the money was used

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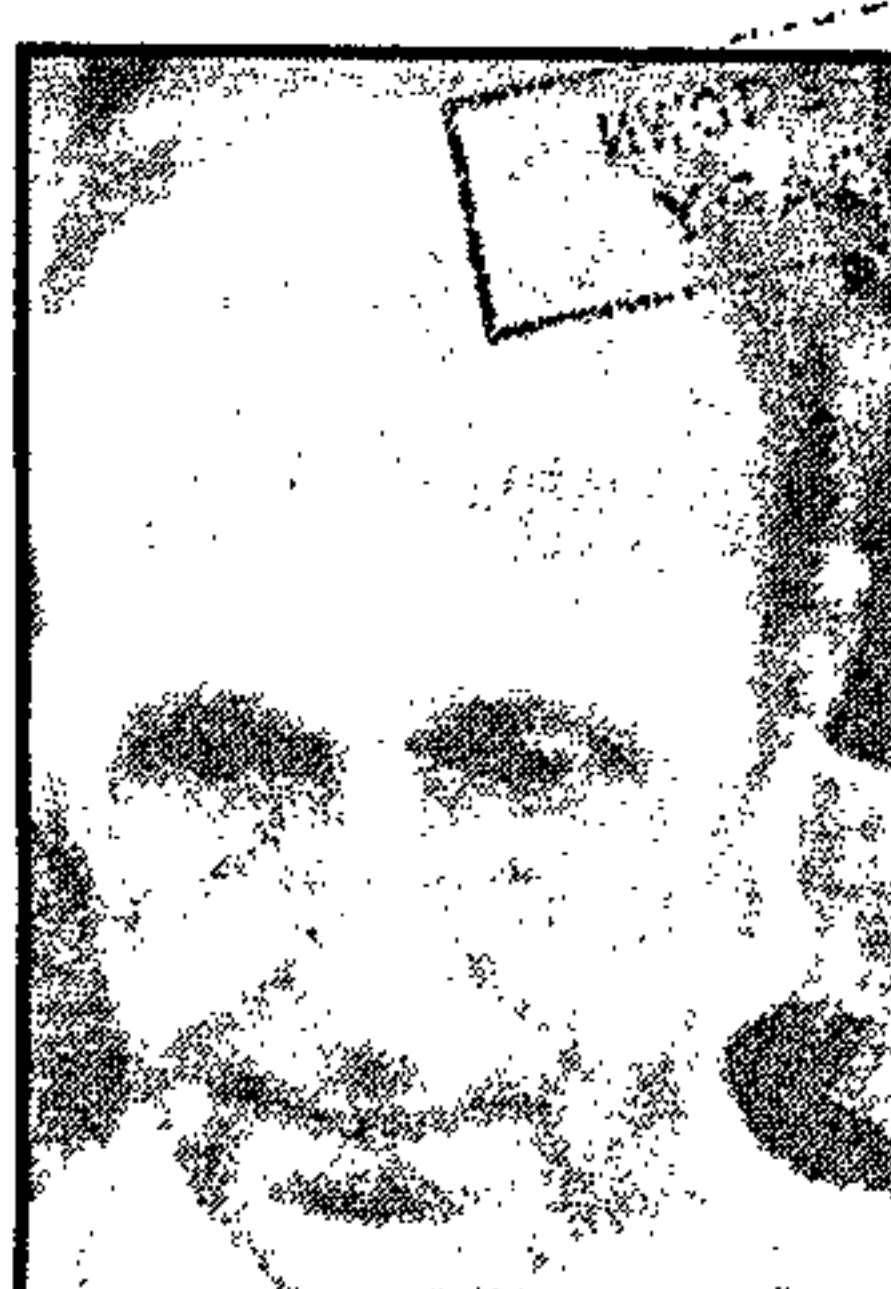
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Gerrit Viljoen and Chief Buthelezi confer at yesterday's Inkatha rally



LOUIS BOTHA ... suggested aid

THE DAY THE JBBLE BURST

S/Times 21/7/91

By BRIAN POTTINGER, MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

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Vlok confirms secret fundings

MR VLOK remained in Cape Town on Friday. He was in constant telephone and fax contact with his senior generals and the president.

The telephone line between Union Buildings and Ulundi, where Chief Buthelezi was preparing for his par-

ty's annual conference starting that day, must surely have hummed.

There was considerable confusion as the Weekly Mail article hit the streets — compounded by a report in New Nation, an ANC-sympathetic newspaper, quoting a Mozambican who claimed he was part of the SADF's 5 Recce Unit and had been involved in the slaughter of civilians on trains in the Johannesburg area as part of a special forces campaign of destabilisation.

His claims were promptly denied by the military.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos, meanwhile, said Chief Buthelezi had no knowledge of SA police payments to Inkatha and dismissed the article as a "strategic ploy" to coincide with Inkatha's annual congress.

The ANC, incredibly, was at first reluctant to comment. It was concerned, said one spokesman confidentially, that it would be seen to be sabotaging the Inkatha conference and that might hamper the crucial church peace talks scheduled for next week, at which it was hoped to bind Inkatha to a mutual code of peaceful conduct.

But there was anger in ANC ranks. Mr Nelson Mandela had just given a remarkably conciliatory interview in which he said he believed negotiations were back on track. At his birthday party on Wednesday night, he had again told well-wishers nothing would stop negotiations.

It was late on Friday afternoon before the parties were in a position to respond formally to what amount-

ed to the biggest scandal faced by the De Klerk administration.

Mr Vlok's statement came out a few minutes before 6pm. He confirmed the story, but insisted the money had come from a special fund set up to combat sanctions.

The support for the rallies, then, had been support for an anti-sanctions campaign and not for a political party as such.

Mr De Klerk's statement arrived almost simultaneously. He contented himself by observing there had been a fundamental change in the handling of secret funds. He said he had also ordered a full inquiry into covert operations of the various state departments. As a result of that, he said, numerous covert actions were cancelled.

"Some actions being continued in the broad national interest are now subject to cabinet control and, as was envisaged, are being carefully and firmly managed," he said.

It was only later that the source of the money for the Inkatha rally was discovered.

Mr Vlok had asked his colleague, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, for the money from a secret anti-sanctions budget in the Foreign Affairs Special Account, part of the Secret Services Account. This anti-sanctions budget had been widely used, it appeared, to fund campaigns all over the world.

Buthelezi hits at 'offensive' story

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At the press conference, meanwhile, he warned that the revelations had set the government and the ANC on a collision course. If President De Klerk could not control the security forces, said Mr Mandela, there was no point in the ANC having further discussions with the government.

Pik says he authorised Inkath

From Page 1

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Constitution Minister Gerrit Viljoen, opening the Inkatha annual Conference at Ulundi yesterday, said the money donated to Inkatha had been "insignificant" when seen against the background of the vast sums donated to the ANC

vealed by the Weekly Mail.

"Your guess is as good as mine," he told a reporter.

RYAN CRESSWELL reports from the Inkatha annual conference at Ulundi that shock and disbelief was the reaction of many of the 2 400 delegates

ANC President, Nelson Mandela said on Friday that if President De Klerk could not ensure that the security forces confined themselves to the maintenance of law and order, there was no point in the ANC holding further discussions with the govern-

Buthelezi offers to quit as leader

Cabinet meets as funds row imperils talks

B/day 22/7/91

ALLEGATIONS that government donated R5m to Inkatha will dominate an extraordinary three-day Cabinet meeting starting today.

An extended Cabinet, including deputy ministers and provincial administrators, will meet at an undisclosed venue today and tomorrow.

On Wednesday, Cabinet ministers will hold a regular meeting to try to formulate a strategy on the latest scandal, the first to be exposed under the leadership of President F W de Klerk.

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said yesterday he was sure the disclosures that government had funded Inkatha would form part of the discussions, but there was no agenda.

It was disclosed on Friday that government had given Inkatha R250 000 for two political rallies in the belief that these constituted anti-sanctions activities.

The allocations were made from the R380m secret services budget on the motivation of security policemen and with Foreign Affairs' approval.

ANC President Nelson Mandela said on Saturday government's admission had threatened the peace process, Sapa-Reuter reports. Speaking in Madrid at the start of a six-nation tour he said: "In light of this evidence there can be a complete breakdown in relations between the ANC and the government which might put an end altogether to the peace process."

And ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation would not enter a multi-party conference or any constitutional negotiations until government resolved issues such as violence and its support for Inkatha, LINDEN BIRNS reports.

BILLY PADDOCK
and PATRICK BULGER

However, Niehaus said five working groups set up last month and comprising ANC, Inkatha, government, church and business representatives, would continue drawing up a code of conduct for security forces, political parties and proposals for monitoring groups.

Umtshata DP MP Kobus Jordaan said yesterday he was certain Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok knew about a further R2m given to the Inkatha-affiliated United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa), which was formed in 1986 to oppose Cosatu. He had evidence that government had been funding Uwusa since 1986 and the total amount disclosed to him was R5m.

He said he had spoken to DP leader Zach de Beer and former Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo after the Vlok meeting and they had convinced him to continue his questioning. This eventually led to a denial from De Klerk that government was funding any political party or organisation in a partisan fashion.

Vlok refused to comment yesterday, beyond saying he had ordered an investigation into the R5m. He said the funding of Inkatha had happened prior to the investigation De Klerk had ordered in March last year and would not happen again.

De Klerk also refused to comment on the possible setback to negotiations that the revelations presented.

De Klerk was apparently in a rage on Friday when news of the funding was published and tried to contact Mandela.

The funding issue threw Inkatha's 16th conference into turmoil at the weekend.

□ To Page 2

Pressure mounts on De Klerk

Calls for full disclosure of slush funds

B/day 23/7/91 327

POLITICAL and investor attention yesterday focused on the Cabinet's three-day meeting and how President F W de Klerk would deal with the biggest crisis of his presidency.

Yesterday pressure was mounting for a full disclosure of the vast secret slush funds; a judicial inquiry into the scandal; the resignations of Ministers involved in giving funds to Inkatha; and the reconvening of Parliament for an emergency session.

By late last night there was still no indications from the Cabinet meeting whether any ministerial heads would roll because of the Inkatha funding row.

On Sunday Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said he was considering resigning and would discuss his position with De Klerk. He said if he was an obstacle to the negotiation process he would resign.

Some foreign diplomats said words were no longer good enough and it was time for De Klerk to act.

He now had the opportunity to break from the NP past of the P W Botha era of securocrats and the policy of total onslaught, one said. Another believed De Klerk had to act speedily and effectively to restore his personal credibility.

A third diplomat said the "hasty reaction" by the Bush administration in lifting sanctions had now caused the administration "a certain amount of embarrassment and strengthened the hands of the pro-sanctions lobby in Congress".

After an emergency meeting of its

BILLY PADDOCK

National Working Committee yesterday the ANC called for the dismissal of Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

In a statement released after the meeting, the organisation said disclosures of state sponsorship of Inkatha posed a grave threat to the peace process.

Another NWC meeting has been called for not later than July 31 to discuss the full implications and the government's response to ANC demands.

"The revelations are a clear indication the De Klerk government has been pursuing a twin-track strategy of posing as committed to peace while waging war against the democratic movement, especially the ANC."

The statement said that shocking revelations about the SADF using "foreign mercenaries to massacre SA citizens" were inextricably linked to the special multi-million rand slush fund set up by government to finance Inkatha to bolster its sagging support.

"The NWC rejects with contempt the hollow double talk offered by Minister Adriaan Vlok and his colleagues to explain away this abuse of public funds for blatantly partisan political purposes."

"We are equally alarmed by the cavalier manner in which Chief Minister Buthelezi shrugs off his responsibility concerning receipt of government funds, channelled through the Security Police to a movement

□ To Page 2

Funds

B/day 23/7/91

he leads."

The NWC said the exposé underscored the need for an interim government and said it would not be fobbed off with another version of the Harms Commission.

Revelations of government's covert funding of Inkatha coincided with renewed claims of security force partiality and dirty tricks to destabilise the ANC.

The pro-ANC newspaper New Nation claimed it had evidence of a special security force unit, Recce 5, that used people from Mozambique to carry out attacks on the Reef including many train massacres.

The SADF has denied these claims but the Inkatha scandal has now cast a shadow over all official statements, including government denials that it favours Inkatha over the ANC.

Police will meet New Nation editor

□ From Page 1

Zwelake-Sisulu today to discuss the evidence.

Following the report the DP, CP, ANC and certain church leaders also called for the resignation of Gen Malan.

De Klerk's spokesman Casper Venter said there had been no indication whether there would be a government statement on the crisis.

Diplomats said the scandal raised questions about political dirty tricks, raised fears of a state cover-up and prompted the question: "What did De Klerk know and when did he know it?"

They said if he did not know of the clandestine operations, then his control over his government must be doubtful.

● See Page 4

● Comment: Page 8

State aided reign of terror against us, claims Cosatu

By Wcaj 23/1/91

VERA VON LIERES

COSATU alleged yesterday that government had financially backed a "reign of terror" waged by the Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) against Cosatu members.

In a statement, Cosatu said disclosures of government funding to Uwusa and Inkatha proved that government had been involved before and after February 2 last year in funding and supporting efforts to undermine and destabilise the ANC and Cosatu.

The exact amount of government funding was unimportant. "What is clear is that the government has been backing and financing the reign of terror which Uwusa has been conducting against workers, particularly Cosatu members, in the factories, hostels, communities and trains." Cosatu members living in hostels in the PWV area had repeatedly told

the federation since last July that they had been forced to resign from Cosatu and the ANC and join Uwusa and Inkatha.

Uwusa members had taken over the KwaMadala hostel in the Vaal Triangle, which was being used as a base to attack non-Uwusa hostel dwellers and neighbouring communities, Cosatu said.

In PWV factories and industrial areas, Uwusa vigilantes had since the beginning of the year demanded that workers produce their membership cards.

Cosatu said Numsa last week reported that members who were voting on strike action in the metal, vehicle assembly and tyre industries, had been harassed and attacked by Uwusa.

Numsa northern Natal regional

secretary Mike Mabuyakhulu said yesterday large-scale intimidation had recently taken place in the townships of Enfeleni and Nqwelezane.

He claimed the Transport and General Workers Union had experienced a 20% drop in membership through Uwusa intimidation.

Efforts to reach Uwusa yesterday for comment were fruitless.

Cosatu also claimed that Uwusa was implicated in train attacks.

"Available evidence clearly points to collaboration by the security forces in these attacks.

The federation called for an independent judicial commission of inquiry into "government involvement in violence and destabilisation of anti-apartheid organisations".

Cosatu also demanded the public disbanding of all special counter-insurgency units and "death squads" of the SAP and SADF.

Business helped fund Inkatha

Business Day Reporter

BEACON Sweets chairman Arnold Zulman confirmed yesterday that he and other businessmen had given R100 000 to the same Inkatha rally which government sponsored to the tune of R150 000.

Zulman said he arranged for the money to be paid into the Inkatha "peace fund" through which government's money was channelled. By Wcaj 23/1/91

The money was collected from 16 or 17 businessmen, Zulman said. He added he had been a personal friend of Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi for more than 20 years.

He said a Buthelezi staff member told him he was concerned about the cost of hiring a stadium and equipment for the rally.

He was surprised to learn on his return from overseas that he was not the only sponsor.

Cash went to cultural organisation, not political party

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha yesterday defended his denial last month that government funded Inkatha.

The denial was made at a June news conference where Botha criticised Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans for giving money to the ANC.

Botha admitted at the weekend that he authorised the channelling of R250 000 of government money to Inkatha as part of an anti-sanctions campaign.

At the June conference Botha said it was "totally untrue" that government funded the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Botha said yesterday that Inkatha was "a cultural organisation, not a political

DARIUS SANAI

party" at the time government gave it R250 000 for two rallies. Even if Inkatha could have been considered a political party at the time, the money was used for entirely non-political purposes.

He said the decision to give Inkatha the money was taken in November 1989. Inkatha transformed itself from a cultural organisation into a political party in July last year.

Botha said the money was used to "defray costs of equipment and certain items at rallies which would have an anti-sanctions theme".

ANC leader Nelson Mandela was still in jail at the time the donations were approved and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been campaigning for his release, which Botha said indicated that government had not been partisan, "because there was no rivalry between the organisations".

Botha said the Auditor-General had confirmed the payments were "regular". Financial support for any internal political party would be irregular in terms of applicable legislation, he said.

DP justice spokesman Dave Dalling said yesterday that Botha's statement was a "clownish attempt to rationalise yet an-

other piece of NP immorality".

He said Botha was insulting the intelligence of South Africans when he tried to apply political morality to his actions, and to tell the public that government had not acted in a partisan way.

But he said the scandal was more serious for Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. "Vlok has allowed the security forces to become partisan, and this is inexcusable."

CP spokesman Andries Beyers dismissed Botha's statement as "a story with no credibility whatsoever".

● Comment: Page 8

Pik 327

Editor Sisulu seeks urgent probe

By Montshiwa Moroke
and Sapa

with Mr Sisulu and deputy editor Gabu Tugwana.

Copies of two newspapers were given to the police by New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu yesterday as evidence of alleged SADF involvement in civilian murders in townships and on suburban trains.

And Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, who was appointed to investigate the allegations carried in the New Nation on Friday, told The Star he was satisfied with the information at his disposal.

Mr Sisulu said police were handed copies of the New Nation and the Sunday Star.

He told them he believed that on the basis of the reports contained in the newspapers, the police should be able to start investigations immediately.

General van der Westhuizen and other police officers held talks

The newspaper sourced its information on SADF complicity to a claimed former Special Forces unit member, Sergeant Felix Isaias Ndimene, who had since been handed over to Soldiers of Peace, Mr Sisulu said.

Former Sergeant Ndimene had said in the video-recorded interview that much of the township violence and the Reef train massacres of the past year had been planned and carried out by SADF Special Forces units.

Mr Sisulu yesterday offered the SABC the video tape for screening.

Editor-in-chief of television news production J.L. Pretorius said the cassette would be collected today.

Later in the day, the police officers met Nico Basson, a former SADF officer and project leader of Soldiers of Peace.

Last month the New

Nation published allegations by Mr Basson of the existence of secret camps in which youths were trained and at which arms were stored for use in township violence.

According to the Soldiers of Peace statement, Mr Basson told General van der Westhuizen it was difficult to co-operate with the police or SADF in any investigation implicating security forces.

According to the statement, General van der Westhuizen and his team expressed their intention of bringing any criminal offences into the open.

Mr Basson accepted this and agreed to co-operate by supplying all evidence to the investigating team as soon as it became available.

He also agreed that police could interview Mr Ndimene, and that sensitive information be supplied to the police a day or two before it was published in the media.

Protest march, mass stayaway planned

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

A march on August 7, followed by a stayaway on August 19, has been planned by Cosatu, the ANC and SACP in Pretoria to protest against the latest police-funding scandal, among other issues.

The actions, announced by Cosatu's northern Transvaal region, will affect only Pretoria.

Cosatu's northern Transvaal general-secretary Donsie Khumalo said yesterday the march

would start in Brown Street, Pretoria, at 1 pm and petitions would be handed to the following concerns:

- Pretoria Central police station in protest against the secret funding of Inkatha and its trade union wing, Uwusa.
- The United States Embassy in protest against the lifting of sanctions and the implicit recognition of Bophuthatswana.
- The Department of Manpower in protest against the "transference of moneys to Bophuthatswana for Unemployment In-

surance Fund payment to unemployed workers who never receive such benefits".

- SADF offices in protest against the alleged killings of workers on trains.

The stayaway on August 19 was in protest against the Bophuthatswana government reneging on an agreement with Cosatu to allow its affiliates to operate in the territory, Mr Khumalo said.

Cosatu also demanded the release of all political prisoners held in Bophuthatswana.

LOTUS

Fuss over 'contradictions' irrelevant, says Pik

By Shaun Johnson *jar*
Political Editor 24/7/91

Foreign Minister Pik Botha has dismissed as "irrelevant" claims that he contradicted himself by first denying that the Government funded Inkatha, and subsequently confirming that he had personally authorised a grant of R250 000.

Mr Botha was responding to the storm surrounding his statement on June 13 that it was "totally and utterly untrue" that the Government gave financial support to Inkatha, and his admission at the weekend that he had personally cleared funds from the Government's secret

"anti-sanctions" fund. In a statement late yesterday, Mr Botha said the "inferences" were "irrelevant" because:

"We made no contribution to a political party. Inkatha at the time was a cultural organisation.

"Even if Inkatha could be considered a political party at that stage — November 1989 — the payment was not, repeat not, made to Inkatha to further its political objectives. It was done exclusively to defray costs of equipment and certain items at rallies which would have had an anti-sanctions theme.

"To imply that this amounted to favourite treat-

ment of one party in its opposition to other parties displays a lack of perspective. At that stage Nelson Mandela was still in detention and in March 1990 he had been released only a few weeks earlier!

"Chief Buthelezi was one of the foremost campaigners for the release of Mr Mandela and others. There was no rivalry, no violence between the members of the two organisations.

"Financial support has been given for various activities and initiatives of individuals and organisations representing a wide spectrum of political opinion who

opposed sanctions. Indeed, the vast majority of them strongly opposed the National Party's policies.

"These individuals and organisations were not bought or persuaded to oppose sanctions. They did so on account of their own convictions. It was my department's duty and responsibility to make sure that leaders and decision-makers abroad were aware of the strong opposition to sanctions.

"The Auditor-General confirmed yesterday that the payments were regular in terms of the applicable legislation."

● Will the real Pik please stand up? — Page 17

Police raid was harassment, residents claim

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South 25/9 - 31/7/91

By Beverley Garson

THORNHILL residents have laid charges of assault and harassment against the Queenstown police after a police raid on Merino Walk farm on the Ciskei border last week.

Police have confirmed that they raided the homes of Thornhill residents occupying Merino Walk, a farm owned by the SA Development Trust, in search of arms and stolen goods. Police said nothing was found in the raid, which took place last Wednesday.

A spokesperson for the community, Mr Godfrey Ngqendeshe, said the community had laid charges of harassment and four youths brought charges of assault against the Queenstown police. He said police had referred the youths to the district surgeon for medical certificates.

The police district commandant, Colonel Trevor Hayes, said he was not aware of any charges or complaints brought against the police following the raid.

"Residents of Merino Walk farm feel the raid is part of a campaign to get them off the farm", Ngqendeshe said.

US donation 'must not fuel SA power struggle'

81 Day 25/7/91

WASHINGTON — An SA consultancy hired by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to assess the needs of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party has warned foreign donors not to meddle in the organisations' power struggle.

Zille Shandler Associates, in a private report prepared for USAID in May, cautioned that "it could be highly controversial inside SA if funds allocated by the US Congress were utilised to build the support base of any party in the contest for political power".

The firm was brought in to study how the ANC and IFP might most effectively use proceeds of the \$10m Transition to Democracy Project created by Congress last year to "encourage negotiations" in SA.

USAID and the US embassy asked the consultants to recommend ways in which the ANC and IFP might spend the funds, with an upper limit of R12,9m for the ANC and R11,9m for IFP. The firm was not asked to study either party's needs in terms of their current finances.

On the basis of interviews with party officials and independent analysts, it found that both the ANC and IFP were sorely lacking in skilled personnel and organisational ability.

The ANC, in particular, was "limi-

SIMON BARBER

ted by severe human resource constraints which undermine the organisation's capacity to engage in the negotiation process" while the IFP had at least gained some experience through the Natal Indaba.

The report argued that the US should focus most of its funding to the ANC on helping the organisation establish its negotiation task force, which should receive R7,6m.

The consultants recommended a maximum IFP grant of R9,25m to move the national headquarters from Ulundi to Durban and to help establish 30 regional branches, which were necessary to help the party reach out from its Natal base.

The package has been frozen since December by congressional Republicans opposed to funding the ANC.

On the basis of the report, USAID and the State Department recently offered a compromise under which the ANC and IFP would receive "in kind" contributions worth \$4,5m and \$2,5m respectively with the remainder going to the SA Council of Churches and the US National Endowment for Democracy.

By law, agreement must be reached by September 31, or the funds will cease to be available.

State bugged our office — Idasa

GERALD REILLY (327)

PRETORIA — Idasa yesterday blamed agents of the state for planting two bugging devices in its Hatfield, Pretoria office.

The organisation's Pretoria director Ivor Jenkins said two bugging devices were found in light fittings in the main conference room used by a number of anti-apartheid organisations, including the Black Sash and the ANC.

Jenkins said it was believed they had been there for more than a year. 81 Day

He said no complaint had yet been lodged with police. An SAP spokesman said police had no knowledge of the bugs but said any complaint would be investigated. 25/7/91

Jenkins said the bugs constituted interference in the free political process and brought government's commitment to open political discussion into question.

He questioned why such clandestine activities were necessary when South Africans had been told "the security establishment had all but folded and we can all now look forward together to the new SA".

"It was this kind of double agenda which caused so many South Africans to doubt the integrity of the NP," he said.

No assurances, no documents — editor

BILLY PADDOCK

HIGH-ranking SAP members met Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber on Tuesday in an attempt to get copies of the documents the newspaper used for its reports on government's funding of Inkatha.

However, Harber did not hand these over as the policemen refused to give him assurances that they would not restrict, harrass, bring interdicts or subpoena the paper or its journalists.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze confirmed that he, Lt-Gen Louwtjie Erasmus, the Crime Investigation Services CO, a legal adviser and a Crime Intelligence Service (formerly the security police) member met Harber and the paper's legal adviser at the Law and Order Ministry offices in Pretoria.

He said the purpose of the meeting was to obtain access to documents held by the Weekly Mail "in good time so that we could give proper and informed comment" on stories the paper would publish tomorrow.

Harber said the police were desperate to see the documents. *Monday 25/7/91*

"They said they were investigating a case of theft and breach of the Protection of Information Act. But we argued the documents and this case did not fall into this category," he said.

It was reported yesterday that police believed an SAP member based in Durban had stolen the documents and had then disappeared.

Idasa discovers 'bugging' devices in Pretoria office

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

star
25/7/91

Two electronic eavesdropping devices have been found in the Pretoria offices of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa).

Ivor Jenkins, Idasa's Pretoria regional director, said the discovery of the bugs last week, "along with other evidence", indicated that agents of the State had spied on the organisation.

Mr Jenkins said members of the security police had come into Idasa's offices one night, and affidavits had been drawn up outlining the incident.

"We found the bugs on top of the fluorescent lights in the office ... There may be more, be-

cause we haven't checked all the lights."

The discovery constituted interference in the free political process "and puts the De Klerk Government's commitment to open political discussion under question", Mr Jenkins said.

"Why is it necessary to continue spying at a time when the Government wants everyone to believe the security establishment had all but folded?

"If we are to pursue the course of democracy together, we are going to need concrete examples of the good faith of the State and explanations for this kind of behaviour."

Mr Jenkins added that Idasa was planning legal action against the State.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

W/Man 2677-11891

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BANNED AND UNBANNED

TWO films, Dead End City and Genuine Risk, have been banned by the Directorate of Publications. It is no longer an offence to import, distribute or possess the following publications: The Legacy of Che Guevara — A Documentary Study (Donald C Hodges); IUEF: Annual Report 1978-79 (IUEF); United Nations Centre Against Apartheid — Notes and Documents, February 1982 (UN Department of Political and Security Council Affairs); Revolutionary Torch Vol 6, September/October 1982 (Swanu External Mission); IUEF News No 3, November 1979 (IUEF); Reality Vol 12 No 1, January 1980 (Reality); Revolutionary Torch, August 1982 (Swanu External Mission); Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, November 1982 (PAC); Annual Report of Activities and Developments, October 1981, September 1982 (Anti-Apartheid Movement); Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, November 9 1982 (PAC); International Solidarity with Political Prisoners in South Africa (PAC); Time for Sanctions Against Apartheid in South Africa is Now (UN Centre Against Apartheid); UN Centre Against Apartheid Notes and Documents, April 1980 and September 17 1982 (UN Department of Political and Security Affairs); The Black-Sash National Conference 1979 — Police Behaviour and Political Trials; Lenin en de Russische Revolutie (Donald W Mack); Namibia (Projects Committee, UCT); Bona Fide Vol 4 No 2 (Law Students' Council, UCT); Amnesty International News Release No 15/82 (International Secretariat); Namibia Today Vol 3 No 2, 1979 (Swapo Department of Information and Publicity); Crusade for Liberation (Julius Nyerere); "Left Wing" Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality (Lenin); Imperialism and the Revolution (Enver Hoxha); The Iranian Situation Poses the Question: Bourgeois Democracy or Socialist Democracy? (APDUSA); Facing the Facts (CIO Publishing); Reach Out (Tyndale House Foundation); Information 12/82 (Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic); First World Vol 1 No 2, March/April 1977 (First World Foundation); Workers World Vol 21 No 8, 1979 (World View Publishers Inc); The Soweto Students Trial, May 1979 (British Council of Churches); Albanian Telegraphic Agency News Bulletin, April 1979 — May 1979 (Albanian Telegraphic Agency); Afrika 1978 (Jorgen E Petersen); Report of the World Conference for Action Against Apartheid Vol 1 and 2, 1977 (United Nations); World Marxist Review Vol 25 No 10, October 1982 (SC Easton); Intercontinental Press Vol 17 No 47, December 1979 (Intercontinental Press); Peace Courier Vol 13, October 1982 (World Peace Council); Mayibuye No 10, 1982 (ANC); Sechaba, December 1982 (ANC); ICSA Bulletin No 21, October 1982 (International Committee Against Apartheid); Jana Shakti No 7, April — May 1979; New Perspectives Vol 9, 1979 (Information Centre of the World Peace Council); Spotlight on Southern Africa Issue, April 1979 (Spotlight sub-committee); Jana Shakti, January 1980; Anti-Apartheid News, November 1982 (Anti-Apartheid Movement); World Marxist Review Vol 25 No 10, October 1982 (SC Easton); Kontakt No 4, 1982 (Free German Youth DDR); Intercontinental Press Vol 17 No 47, December 1979 (Intercontinental Press); Peace Courier Vol 13, October 1982 (World Peace Council); Foreign Affairs Bulletin Vol 22 No 29/30 1982; Vol 22 No 31, November 1982 (GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs); Mayibuye No 10, 1982 (ANC); Sechaba, December 1979 (ANC); ICSA Bulletin No 21, October 1982 (International Committee Against Apartheid) and Jana Shakti No 7, April — May 1979.

POLITICS

Ameen Akhalwaya



An alternative to deception

W/maul 26/7-1/8/91. 327

TAKE a deep bow *The Weekly Mail*, *New Nation*, *Vrye Weekblad*, *The Indicator*, *South*, *Saamstaan*, *New African* and other independent "alternative" publications.

If I am being even more self-congratulatory than usual, it is because, like everyone else in the independent media, I'm basking in the reflected glory of last week's magnificent journalistic performances by *The Weekly Mail* and *New Nation*.

We can't help but celebrate as we observe the irony. These newspapers were born out of the 1985 ashes of the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Express* — which had won South African journalism its proudest moment by exposing the Info scandal.

The editors of all three Johannesburg-based English "alternatives" had worked as political writers for the *Rand Daily Mail*. When we launched our papers, the Nats under PW Botha were pursuing their conspiracy of deception with greater vigour by trying to shut them down.

Lacking in financial and journalistic resources, each of these papers not only survived — most of them with much thanks to the Canadians, Swedes, American foundations and churches, among others — but have lived to uncover several major political scandals.

Last week's unmasking of government-Inkatha links and alleged SADF dirty tricks followed *Vrye Weekblad's* initial exposé of death squads.

Those who'd set out to smite the messenger found that the message was greater than their arrogant might accumulated through fair means and foul, what *The Sunday Times'* Ken Owen calls "gangsterism". But they've not learned that the medium is the message.

The Nats started their conspiracy of deception after coming to power in 1948: to destroy publications critical of them, and then use monopoly radio — and later television — to further their aims.

They introduced laws to destroy anti-apartheid publications in the 1950s and curb the increasingly outspoken *Rand Daily Mail* under Laurence Gandar. When *The World* under Percy Qoboza spoke out, the Nats found it unthinkable that black people could show such ingratitude. They banned the paper.

But the *Mail* and the *Express* soldiered on. When their owners killed them, the way was opened for PW and Stoffel Botha to carry on with the conspiracy of deception. They didn't bargain for the rise of the "alternatives".

And in a situation fraught with irony last Sunday night, two independent editors, *The Weekly Mail's* Anton Harber and *Vrye Weekblad's* Max du Preez, used the Nats' most effective propaganda medium, SABC-TV, to inflict further damage on the NP cause.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi showed he is a shrewd and intelligent politician. But for him to have used his colour to question the motives of his interrogators was a cheap shot. Journalists know that their colleagues Max du Preez, Shaun Johnson and Len Maseko are committed to justice for black people.

If Buthelezi was unaware of Inkatha's being funded by the government, did he not realise that he was perhaps being manipulated by his white Nat friends — because he is black? Indeed, the Nats admit they wanted to show the world black people oppose sanctions.

What emerged from the TV debates is that in strict legal terms, the Nats may have been entitled to fund Inkatha, but their actions are morally corrupt.

Both State President FW de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok side-stepped the question of Inkatha funding when the Democratic Party first raised it in parliament. They didn't actually lie, but their actions were clearly aimed at not telling the truth.

It was the same De Klerk whose sincerity many of us victims of apartheid — including Nelson Mandela — came to accept grudgingly. But we will not trust him again until he comes genuinely clean on the dirty tricks of his party.

Even as he held out an olive branch to Mandela last year, his forces were planning to counter the ANC leader and his movement by funding an Inkatha rally. If De Klerk knew about it, it was an act of political betrayal, of using Mandela to get the world to trust the state president when he said he believed in democracy.

If De Klerk didn't know what his forces were up to, then he must sack everyone involved in the dirty tricks. De Klerk and his party too must resign and call fresh elections — but on the basis of universal, non-racial adult suffrage.

That won't happen. The NP has become so power-drunk over 43 years of oppressive rule that it believes its actions to protect itself are in fact for the good of the country.

■ NEXT WEEK: Steven Friedman's Worm's Eye

BEHIND THE SECRET FUNDS SCANDAL

Police 'plotted with student body'

AFFILIATES of the National Students Federation, a right-wing body formed to counter the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), were effectively run last year by security police, according to official documents.

NSF local officials and police met regularly to discuss strategy, tactics and programmes of action for the organisation. The officials were given agents' code numbers by the police and acted on their orders. They also plotted together.

● To form a right-wing umbrella body that would act as a counter to the Mass Democratic Movement.

● For the NSF or its affiliates to undertake humanitarian activities to improve its image.

NSF chairman Francois Rabé yesterday denied any links between the organisation and the police. "I assure you, it's not true," he said.

However, police documents show they ran what they called Project Jackal, under which fell an operation called Aristotle, in existence from December 1989 to 1990.

Secret documents detailing 'Operation Jackal' show security police interference in a right-wing students' organisation.

Weekly Mail reporter

NSF and some of its affiliates are repeatedly mentioned in the document, though there is a request from NSF for a code name to be used in order to protect it.

In the report to headquarters for this period, it is clear that NSF local officials have police code names. The police were handing out instructions, for example, to "Source N834 (formerly NG1306)".

The NSF was instructed by Durban security policemen to make contact with the Inkatha Youth Brigade with the hope of building an alliance.

"Contact between the source and the Inkatha member was good and suggested that such an alliance was inevitable." There was, however, some opposition from within the NSF to this.

"However, on advice of this office he persisted to maintain contact with

Inkatha and subsequently met them on numerous occasions."

The security police report sets out the priority of the organisation for 1990: "not a major recruitment drive, but rather one of promoting a human face."

To do this, the organisation or its affiliates would launch a community project "aimed at attempting to bring relief to the violence-stricken areas outside Durban".

"The real aim," it said, "is to gain coverage by the *Daily News* and *Natal Mercury*."

"Such a community group will serve as a good platform from which to recruit the 'do-gooders' of the campus society into their group."

They also planned together to arrange a debate with Anglo American director Clem Sumter, a person from "Groundswell" and "two persons who pursue the socialist tradition".

Members would "gain publicity as being particularly 'open-minded' persons who promote freedom of speech". It would also help NSF members, since it was generally agreed that their members "are not politically mature enough to ensure vic-

very against the experts within the ranks of the left in a debate."

The police and NSF local officials also plotted to counter the anti-conscription campaign on campuses by promoting the idea of a professional army rather than conscription.

Police handlers and their agents in the student movement planned "a workshop from 1990-03-02 to 1990-03-04 at suitable premises". The purpose was to assess the student organisation's failings and strengths and formulate initiatives and plans for the coming year.

The document adds that because of their agents' "remarkable capability and commitment... maturity and solid understanding of the free market system and libertarianism", the "operation on a local level (and indeed nationally) is enjoying success".

Rabé yesterday denied that the organisation or its branches were run by the security police. "I have no knowledge of this," he said.

He said NSF had a normal working relationship with Inkatha in Durban. "We have a very good relationship with them," he said.

Inkatha funding was 'not to destroy ANC, but to blunt sanctions weapon'



The Minister and the media ... Pik Botha fields questions from the press at yesterday's briefing on the Inkatha slush fund at the SABC's studios in Auckland Park. Picture: John Hogg

Pik insists: I'm right

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Spaf
26/1/91

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday conceded that the Government's credibility had been damaged by the secret slush fund scandal, but defiantly denied that the Government had done anything wrong.

He said he would continue to use Government funds

under his control to back anti-sanctions organisations.

"I am dead against sanctions. And I will use rallies of Inkatha, of the DP - not the AWB - to further the anti-sanctions campaign."

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Botha insisted that the clandestine funding of Inkatha and its associated trade union, Uvusa, had been part of an anti-sanctions campaign and was not intended "to destroy the ANC".

He vehemently objected to the "unfair" storm of protest

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over the taxpayers' money paid to ANC rivals, and said the ANC had received millions of rands from its backers - which had not been declared and "with which they (the ANC) burnt people with petrol and tyres".

But in a remarkable admission, Mr Botha conceded that the Government had colluded with Inkatha. Asked how he expected anti-apartheid groups to ever negotiate with the Government again in view of the Government's repeated denials that it was not in collu-

Slush fund scandal — Pages 2, 14, 15

sion with Inkatha, he said: "We never said that we were not in collusion with Inkatha. We said we were not in collusion with the violence."

Mr Botha faced about 100 foreign and local journalists during a recording yesterday afternoon of the SABC's news programme "Agenda", screened on television last night. He responded aggressively

to probing questions and failed to be specific on several issues.

He said the State President had not been aware of the covert funding of the IFP. "President de Klerk was not aware, but the system did not require him to be aware."

He said Mr de Klerk's image remained unshaken despite unfair criticism.

Mr Botha hinted that Mr de Klerk next week might announce new measures to ensure control over secret funds.

Asked whether it was a mistake to have funded ANC rivals even after the ANC's unbanishing, Mr Botha said: "The ANC was also secretly being funded... President de Klerk never said in unbanishing the ANC that he was going to capitulate and hand this whole country over and the Government administration would come to a halt."

He said the R1.5 million paid by the Government to Uvusa had "probably" come from the SAP and had started "a long time ago".

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had given notice six months ago that the funding would cease, and the last payment would be made at the end of this month.

Pressed again on which State department had paid Uvusa, Mr Botha merely said the Minister of Finance allocated funds to Ministers and departments on "sensitive matters".

Pointing out that the Government was being judged in July 1991 as if the decisions

R100-m 'to make election fair'

The Government secretly paid "well over R100 million" to parties opposing Swapo in the 1989 UN-supervised independence elections, Foreign Minister Pk Botha revealed yesterday.

He said the Namibian election would not have been fair if opposition parties had not been allowed to compete with Swapo, which had received millions.

Mr Botha made this disclosure at a news conference recorded for the SABC in Johannesburg.

He said various Government departments had allocated funds to the secret operation, but he could not divulge specific details because he had not expected to have to address the issue at the press conference.

However, he thought about

seven anti-Swapo parties had received South African State money.

"In a quiet way, in a secret way, we assisted them..."

He said each of the departments involved in the funding had been allocated "a certain task".

The party allocated to the Department of Foreign Affairs had fared badly, Mr Botha said with a smile.

The financial aid should be interpreted in the context of the Government's contribution towards Namibian independence and the "war" against Swapo before independence.

"We didn't like Swapo. We were against Swapo. We were at war at times with Swapo, and they with us," Mr Botha said.

However, the Government

had accepted Swapo's election victory and had congratulated the party on coming to power.

In Windhoek, the Namibian Minister of Information, Hidipo Hamutenya, said the disclosure confirmed what Swapo had suspected all along.

"Our complaints (about South African support to Swapo's opposition) were always contemptuously dismissed.

"Now things are unfolding..." Mr Hamutenya said.

Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), one of the parties in Namibia to receive South African money, reacted dismissively, saying "people are all suffering guilty consciences in South Africa".

"We welcome the fact that this has come out."

Mr Mudge described the funding as "water under the bridge".

"We never had a problem receiving their money. What's wrong with it?"

South Africa, he added, was not the only country to fund the DTA.

"But where did Swapo get its money? And there was lots of it."

Mr Botha said after the press conference that between R5 million and R6 million of South African taxpayers' money had been spent on Namibia's elaborate independence celebrations on March 21 last year. — Political Reporter, Star Africa Service, Pretoria Correspondent.

'Cabinet approved payments'

R100m given to Swapo's rivals ~~Sw~~ Pik

Blouay 26/7/91
AS GOVERNMENT remained determined to brazen out the Inkatha scandal, Foreign Minister Pik Botha disclosed yesterday that "well over R100m" was channelled to Swapo opponents in last year's Namibian elections from state secret funds.

During a news conference for SABC-TV's Agenda programme Botha said he would not apologise for government funding of Inkatha and its affiliate the United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa).

"If I must do it again I will do it again," he said.

He also said President F W de Klerk was looking into the legislation on secret funds and a major overhaul of the policy and management of these funds could be expected.

Botha said De Klerk had not been aware of the Inkatha funding at the time and in terms of existing legislation he was not required to be aware of it. While government's image had suffered "a dent", De Klerk's credibility and integrity were intact, even internationally.

The funding of Inkatha had occurred nearly two years ago and it was mainly the media that was baying for blood, Botha said. Government and the NP were ready to start negotiations in good faith.

Government had never said it was not in "collusion" with Inkatha. It had been, but it had never been in collusion with Inkatha in the violence, he insisted.

He said he had been in contact with ANC president Nelson Mandela on Tuesday while Mandela was in Barcelona, to discuss the prisoner releases in Bophutha-

BILLY PADDOCK

tswana and they had talked about the Inkatha affair.

"Mr Mandela said he did not want to discuss it over the phone and would deal with the issue when he returned to SA."

Botha admitted during questioning to interfering in the election process and funding opposition parties in the Namibian independence elections but denied that government wanted to subvert the process.

"Yes, the SA government did provide funds to a number of political parties in the Namibian election campaign. We did not supply even one quarter, one tenth, of what Swapo had available for its election campaign," he said.

Foreign Affairs was not in charge of the funding, Botha said. While he did not have exact figures, about seven parties were funded and the total was well over R100m.

He said he played a prominent role in this and Swapo was aware of it. "We did not like Swapo. We were against Swapo, my friend. We were at war with them at times," Botha said.

Various parties were allocated certain tasks in this whole process.

"In a quiet way, in a secret way, we assisted them not only with posters. A lot of money went into education on democracy," he said.

It had been a Cabinet decision and he had been part of the Cabinet discussion that approved the exercise.

Government had nothing to apologise for over the Inkatha scandal and it would not. Everything that could be done to com-

□ To Page 2

Swapo

Blouay 26/7/91
bat sanctions was fair but government would never countenance violence, he said.

Referring to the Inkatha scandal, he said it was unfair that government was being attacked two years after the funding had occurred. Government should not be judged in July 1991 as if it took the decisions yesterday.

Some people seemed to forget how cold the winter was and the need to survive now that summer was approaching, he said.

His responsibility was to circumvent sanctions, to minimise others and avert further sanctions which had a very negative impact on the country. He congratulated ambassador to France Marc Burger for his role in this and also paid tribute to Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden for his management of the secret funds.

Botha said he would do what he did again because he was against sanctions. He would offer money from the secret funds to

any party, except the AWB, which wanted to hold anti-sanctions rallies.

His conscience had never been bothered by the covert funding of the organisation and he had not once considered resigning over the issue.

He insisted that the current scandal could not be compared with the Information scandal of the mid-Seventies because all the funds now were properly authorised and had been checked by Auditor-General Peter Wronsley.

He said his department had cut back on the amount of funds kept in secret accounts. The reason for the total amount in secret funds increasing over the last five years was due to other departments that continued to hold funds in secret accounts when the need for this was no longer evident. They were also escalating these in line with inflation, he said.

● Comment: Page 8

□ From Page 1

Further disclosures from Weekly Mail

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok was wrong to contend that "each and every cent" of taxpayers' money had been accounted for, the Johannesburg-based Weekly Mail will disclose today. (24)

Secret police documents in the newspaper's possession showed Vlok had been so worried about the money given to the United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa), that he had asked for an internal inquiry, editor Anton Harber said last night.

"This inquiry found that Uwusa had not even kept any books, had no financial records and was unable to account for any of the funds given to them," he said.

Other disclosures in the Weekly Mail will show that:

- ☐ Five Inkatha men knew of the police funding for Inkatha and Uwusa;
 - ☐ Uwusa was a joint project launched by the police and Inkatha; and
 - ☐ The security police plotted with the conservative student organisation, the National Students' Federation (NSF), to form a right-wing umbrella body to counter the mass democratic movement (MDM) early last year.
- Meanwhile, Auditor-General Peter Wronsley said government's clandestine payment of public money to Uwusa amounted to almost R1,55m over four

years and was not irregular.

In a statement in Pretoria Wronsley said "no irregularities were found" in the transfer of R1 549 135,12 to Uwusa from the financial years 1987/8 to 1991/2.

The first approval for the funding of Uwusa from the SAP's special account was sought by the Commissioner of Police on September 1 1987 and approved by Vlok on September 18 1987, Wronsley said.

He said similar approvals were subsequently made.

He said the money was transferred to the SAP's special account from the secret services account on Finance Minister Bar-end du Plessis' approval. — Sapa.

INKATHA RALLIES

EVEN CURIUSER

Speeches at the two Inkatha rallies funded by the police, supposedly to promote an anti-sanctions message, referred only once to sanctions. The Law & Order Ministry refuses to reveal documents itemising expenditure on the rallies.

This follows Sunday night's SABC TV's *Agenda* when Minister Adriaan Vlok said the SAP had ensured that "senior Inkatha officials accounted for every cent" of taxpayers' money.

But Law & Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze refused an FM request to see the documents or names of senior Inkatha personnel who had submitted the receipts. Kotze said the documents were protected under the Official Secrets Act. Lawyers stated that police documents are not covered by the Act. Kotze still refuses access.

Only five weeks ago Foreign Minister Pik Botha, whose Foreign Affairs Special Account channelled money to Inkatha, said that giving financial support to a chosen political side in SA increases the climate of violence. His comments came after his Australian counterpart, Gareth Evans, donated R4m to the ANC and other organisations.

"I warned him that this kind of action increases the climate of violence," Botha told

a press conference. "It is not going to Inkatha. It is not going to the Pan Africanist Congress or any other party. This creates a feeling of being pushed aside. It creates emotions that create violence."

Scrutiny of the 12-page speech delivered by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini on November 19 1989 — evidently the first rally funded by the SAP — shows not a single reference to sanctions, nor any related activity. Instead the king spoke at length about the need for Zulu unity and criticised Prince Mcwayizeni Zulu (who was elected on to the ANC's National Executive Committee this month) and Chief Maphumulo (assassinated near Maritzburg earlier this year).

Greed and racism

The king also delivered an attack against the "white politics of greed and racism," the ANC and "Indian activists (who) use Indian money to subvert the morals of black children and turn them into young, killing demons."

At the second Inkatha rally, on March 25 1990, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi referred only once to sanctions in his eight-page speech.

At the end of page four he asks: "Do you not send me to the outside world and to the SA negotiating table to reject sanctions, which rob you of your jobs because your factories are closed down or have to cut back

on outputs?"

Most of the speech is an attack against the ANC, its policies and certain individuals. Buthelezi devoted a page to Patrick "Terror" Lekota (former ANC southern Natal regional chairman and now an NEC member) for "talking about my political annihilation" in a Washington newspaper.

During the height of the "war" in the Maritzburg area, Vlok and Buthelezi flew over the area in a helicopter. The role of the police and Inkatha was criticised by the Democratic Party then and again this week.

The revelations of the past week may throw a new light on other incidents. On April 28 this year 28 people died in a massacre in the Meadowlands township, under full view of a strong police and media contingent. The ANC had warned government three days before that Inkatha was planning an attack on residents after a funeral. Police made no attempt to stop the attack.

Meanwhile, the ANC has denied government and media reports that the movement has also received funding from government. Spokesman Carl Niehaus says this is an attempt to divert attention from the real issues: "Government has never given us money for rallies or similar activities. They invited the ANC down for the Groote Schuur conference and paid for us as their guests; this is normal procedure and was entirely open."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus says the ANC "wants an independent judicial inquiry into government's R380m secret account."

After an emergency meeting on Monday, the ANC's "cabinet," the National Working Committee, insisted on the resignations of Vlok and Defence Minister, Magnus Malan. The ANC also demanded guarantees to "all public-spirited civil servants and other State employees who come forward to tell the truth about covert operations, that they will be immune from prosecution and receive protection," and added that "all police officers and SADF personnel identified by past commissions as culpable for perpetrating violence be put on trial."

The committee criticises the "hasty lifting of sanctions" and says that "those who accepted the bona fides of the De Klerk government as an agency for political change should seriously reconsider their position."

It adds: "The conduct of government demonstrates that the covert operations, State murder squads, secret funds to corrupt and buy support, and other dirty tricks that became infamous in the days of (PM John) Vorster and (President P W) Botha remain features of government's arsenal to this day."

The ANC will convene its NEC on Wednesday to discuss the row and government's response.

Charlene Smith

'Spy for us or you'

PE man takes

the lid off

Askari

327

C/Pren 28/7/91

recruitment

SECURITY police in Port Elizabeth allegedly still trying to recruit former exiles and Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) soldiers to its Askari division.

Kwazakhele resident Mbuyiselo Mkontwana said police came to his home in the early hours of Wednesday morning and took him to the Louis le Grange Square Police Station, where he was questioned on the "notorious fifth floor".

Mkontwana was questioned about MK soldiers who were still in exile and asked to identify MK soldiers from photographs.

A Lieutenant GJ Lotz also showed him a photograph of a border crossing and asked me if I recognised the place.

Lotz later asked me if I wanted to work for them as I was unemployed. He said I could be paid a lot of money if I helped them.

"I flatly refused."

Mkontwana said Lotz also warned him that his (Mkontwana's) best friend may also be the police's best friend.

This was the second police attempt to recruit Mkontwana.

He said last year he was arrested while crossing the Swaziland border into South Africa, and taken to Durban's CR Swart Square where he was also interrogated about MK activities.

He said he was threatened with death if he did not co-operate and told that his body would be dumped in Swaziland.

He alleged he was later blindfolded and taken to a farm outside Durban where he met other Askaris.

"The men were masked so I could not see their faces," he said.

"They told me to work with them and then gave me R100."

A lawyer at the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) said they would be issuing a letter of demand for damages for the unlawful detention of Mkontwana.

In a statement on Friday police confirmed the arrest, saying Mkontwana was questioned about leaving the country illegally.

"He in fact produced his indemnity form and was consequently released without being detained," the statement said.

Mkontwana's report followed that of former exile, Limba Langbooi, now hiding, who said he too was taken to the sixth floor of Louis le Grange Square, shown a window and allegedly told he would be thrown out if he did not co-operate.

In January a pregnant returnee, Pamela Ntumeni, was taken in for questioning and allegedly also asked to spy for the police. — PEN



STREET JUSTICE ... An alleged taxi thief lies dead with his mock gun — a cooldrink can — visible at his hip. The driver used

■ Pic: ...

Gomomo new Cosatu boss

JOHN Gomomo from the eastern Cape was yesterday elected as Cosatu's new president at the union body's fourth national congress at Nasrec outside Johannesburg.

He takes over the reins from Elijah Barayi.

Gomomo, 43, is from Uitenhage and is employed by Volkswagen.

He is a former president of the National Automobile Workers Union of SA, a Cosatu affiliate, and chief shop steward at the Volkswagen plant. He also serves in the executive of SACP internal leadership.

Jay Naidoo was re-elected as general-secretary and Sam Shiloa assistant general secretary of Cosatu.

Other elected officials are Chris Dlamini first president, Godfrey Oliphant, second vice president, and Ronald Mofokeng, the treasurer.

Cosatu, for the first time, conducted a secret ballot for the position of presidency. Chris Dlamini was the other candidate.

Shiloa, who is employed by a private security guard company, succeeds Sidney Mafumadi who is now a NEC member of the ANC.

Sapa reports that Cosatu appealed yesterday to ordinary Inkatha members to bind their leaders to democratic change following the "Inkathagate" scandal.

"Inkatha, like any political organisation, has the right to exist," said a declaration on "Inkathagate" adopted by the conference.

"However, Inkatha cannot claim a special place for itself. It has to take its place alongside other parties, and win support through normal democratic practices, not through covert assistance or coercion," Cosatu said.

Sources at the congress said the declaration addressing Inkatha had initially been resisted by delegates from the floor. However, when the appeal was made to ordinary In-

katha members and not the leadership, the clause was accepted.

The declaration was issued in the wake of evidence that the South African government secretly funded Inkatha and its trade union wing, the United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa).

The Security Police, according to Cosatu, set up Uwusa in 1986 with the sole purpose of trying to destroy Cosatu.

Taxpayers' money was used to set up Uwusa, which had "brought only division, intimidation and violence to workers in the mines, factories, and shops", said the Cosatu declaration.

Calling for an end to covert security force operations, Cosatu demanded a full disclosure of government funds to Inkatha and Uwusa.

It has also requested details on the expenditure of funds — reportedly at least R1,5-million to Uwusa — and who accounted for the money.



TAKING OVER ... Cosatu's new strongman, John Gomomo

A MASSIVE LAUNCH AND THEN UWUSA FADED AWAY

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT
By Ryan Cresswell

THE United Workers' Union of South Africa — closely linked to Inkatha and given at least R1.5-million by the government — was launched at a huge rally amid a fanfare of publicity, but then it kept a remarkably low profile for years.

In December 1985, former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo said Inkatha was considering forming a union to challenge the newly formed umbrella organisation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

He said from the outset that Cosatu — the biggest union federation in South Africa — had been openly hostile to Inkatha.

Inkatha then launched an advertising campaign to gather support for Uwusa. In April 1986 a pamphlet claiming that if ANC leader Nelson Mandela were released he would attend the union's launch was distributed in Durban townships.

Even before the launch, Cosatu and Uwusa began a heated war of words that later turned into a battle costing the lives of supporters on both sides.

On May 1 1986 — Workers' Day — an estimated 70 000 people attended Uwusa's launch at King's Park Stadium in Durban. Cosatu held a rival rally

The crowd roared: "No".

The new union's first president was former schoolteacher and compound manager Mr P Ndlovu. Its first general secretary was Mr Simon Conco, outspoken former KwaZulu Legislative Assembly chief whip and former president of the National African Chamber of Commerce.

Another president, Mr Jabulani Dlamini, was expelled from the union at a special meeting in Ujundi in 1989. At the same meeting a decision to expel general secretary Dumisani Dladla was reversed.

Mr Dladla is still the general secretary and the current president is Mr AB Mtshali.

Officials of Uwusa are known for their three-piece suits and smart cars. Shortly after the May Day launch, Uwusa claimed 82 000 members,

began to extol the virtues of a free-market economy and claimed Cosatu had been hijacked by leaders with socialist ideologies.

Cosatu counteracted with claims that the new union had been formed to divide the "workers' struggle" and support big business.

□ □ □ S.T. 25/7/91

Clashes broke out between supporters of the two organisations within weeks of the rally. Several people were killed at Madadeni in northern Natal and a number of Cosatu members went into hiding.

Later in 1986, members of Uwusa obtained a temporary court interdict in Durban preventing members of the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union from interfering with them. Uwusa's Newcastle office was later

fire-bombed.

In 1987 the National Union of Mineworkers alleged that at least 12 of its members were killed in fights with Uwusa trade unionists on the East Rand.

An interim interdict ordering members of Uwusa at the Coronation mine in Vryheid not to assault, threaten or intimidate members of the NUM was obtained and later extended.

In September 1988 the 370-member Natal Municipal Transport Employees' Association joined Uwusa as its first affiliate.

The union established its headquarters in Empangeni in northern Natal and set up offices in many other centres in South Africa.

However, Uwusa kept an unusually low profile for a trade union until Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok

admitted last week it was funded by government slush money.

Mr Vlok has meanwhile said every cent the police gave to Uwusa was accounted for.

Mr Vlok was responding to an accusation by the Weekly Mail newspaper, which branded him a liar because an investigation had shown Uwusa's finances were in a mess.

The Law and Order Minister said police funds channelled to Uwusa were used for specific purposes, such as office accommodation, vehicle leasing, fuel costs, telephone rentals, salaries and rallies.

All these expenses were accounted for by the SAP, he said.

However, Uwusa's broader financial affairs were not regulated by acceptable accounting procedures.

Because of this, the SAP had requested an in-depth investigation into the financial affairs of the union.

The investigation's finding was that Uwusa could not be supported without exorbitant expenditure.

The police were not prepared to support Uwusa financially and decided to scale down and terminate funding by July 31 this year, Mr Vlok said.

Average life of 800 years . . . but will this diseased baobab tree in the northern Transvaal last that long? The bark has turned almost completely black.

Police raided us PAC

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Police raided houses of Pan Africanist Congress members in Kagiso on Friday, the organisation has alleged.

It said homes raided included that of PAC national executive council member Mike Matsobane.

PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday that Mr Matsobane's home was raided by about 20 armed police at about 2 am on Friday. He added that Mr

Matsobane's home had been attacked twice last year with hand grenades, "but so far nobody has been arrested".

About 10 other houses of PAC members in Kagiso were allegedly raided on Friday. Telephone lines to other PAC members had been cut, Mr Alexander said. He urged police to stop harassing PAC leaders.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said he knew nothing about the raids.

Massacre account awaited

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Police are still waiting for former SADF member Sergeant Felix Ndimene to give his account of how soldiers were used to murder train commuters — as a police investigation into alleged SADF involvement hangs on his testimony.

Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, coordinating a police investigation into the allega-

tions, said yesterday there was no other evidence pointing to SADF collusion in the train massacres which have left 60 dead since September. ²²⁷ 30/7/91

"Mr Ndimene was supposed to have come forward today, but Soldiers for Peace is keeping him away from us. As far as his newspaper statements are concerned, they appear to involve his overhearing conversations."

Arms cache uncovered

B10000
3117191

SOWETO police discovered a recently buried cache of new East Bloc weapons on Monday.

SAP Soweto spokesman Col Jac de Vries said yesterday five "shiny new" mini limpet mines, five RGD5 hand grenades with detonators, SPM limpet mine detonators and two fully loaded AK-47 magazines were found.

He said the arms were all expertly vacuum-packed in silver foil bearing the name of a Manchester packaging company and bearing a Windhoek telephone number. The number could not be reached yesterday.

De Vries said the cache was discovered after police doing a routine inspection of open ground east of Soweto's Pimville golf course saw people acting suspiciously and found a recently disturbed area of ground. The cache was not more than a week old.

The arms were found wrapped in the silver foil inside a plastic handbag. De Vries said police had no idea how the arms had entered the country, but suspected the British packaging might have been used as a decoy.

Wits students march on
Hillbrow police station

ABOUT 300 Wits Univer-

Hillbrow police station yesterday after a mass meeting at which speakers questioned government's ability and integrity to rule SA through the transition to democracy. *Andrew*

An open letter demanding an apology from former Law and Order Minister Aadraan Vlok for allegedly funding and training the "right wing" National Student Federation was handed to acting station commander Capt Charles Annandale, who promised to hand it to the relevant authorities.

JONATHAN REES

Cabinet and the establishment of a multi-party interim government.

Weekly Mail editor An-ton Harber told the meet-ing he was disappointed at indications that Vlok would not sue the newspaper for alleging he had lied over the Inkatha funding scandal. 2/1/91

Harber, who received a standing ovation at the meeting, said the newspaper would have liked to test Vlok's credibility in court.

Harber said the government was following a double strategy, which entailed sabotaging the fairness of the process and destabilising its opponents while propping up others groups to oppose its opponents.

☐ The National Student Federation this week denied receiving government funding.



Don No A271184207 ("Focus")

Attachment

Picture: CATHERINE ROSE

Black Sash in placard protest

Members of the Transvaal region of the Black Sash today braved the early morning chill and occasional abuse from passing motorists to protest against what the organisation described as the "irresponsible, corrupt and untrustworthy behaviour of the Government". (327)

Pickers gathered at several places along Jan Smuts Avenue, wielding placards which included "Apartheid caused sanctions" and "Info, CCB, Inkathagate ... What Next?"

A spokeswoman said: "We are not convinced that everything is out in the open." — Staff Reporter.

TOTALITARIANISM - GENERAL

1991

AUG. — DEC.

Star 11/8/91

Two held over killing of Cape ANC activist

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Police have arrested two men — both members of the Western Cape Black Taxis Association — in connection with the assassination of ANC activist and Khayelitsha community leader Michael Mapongwana.

A man was arrested on Friday in Bellville, according to western Cape CID chief Brigadier George Potgieter. A second man was arrested yesterday in New Crossroads.

Mr Mapongwana (40), chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association, was shot dead on July 8 after gunmen opened fire on the taxi in which he was travelling.

His murder closely followed that of ANC activist Mziwonke "Pro" Jack on June 19.

Brigadier Potgieter said the first suspect was being questioned on Mr Mapongwana's killing but had not been charged.

He said police were investigating whether three attacks on policemen in Nyanga were linked to Mr Jack's slaying.

Cartridges found at the scene of Mr Jack's death matched those found at the scene of the attacks on the policemen.

Two arrested for death of ANC man

POLICE have arrested two men on suspicion of being involved in the assassination of prominent ANC activist and Khayelitsha community leader Michael Mapongwana.

Both men are members of the Western Cape Black Taxi Association.

A 39-year-old man was arrested on July 26 in Modderdam Road, Bellville, Brigadier George Potgieter, head of CID in the Western Cape, said at a Press conference yesterday.

As a result of the breakthrough, a second man, aged 31, was arrested early yesterday in a house in New Crossroads. He was hiding in a cup-



MAPONGWANA
board. *Sowetan 1/8/91*
Mapongwana (40), chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association, was shot dead in Lansdowne Road, Philippi, at midday on July 8.

Gunmen opened fire on the red Valiant taxi in which he was travelling opposite the landmark

Johannesburg Trading Store near Brown's Farm squatter camp.

He was dragged from the car by three assailants and shot in the back and the head at close range.

His assassination closely followed the killing of ANC activist Mr Mziwonke "Pro" Jack in Lansdowne Road on June

19. *(327) (327)*
Rewards of R10 000 were offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers and a special investigation team.

Potgieter said although the suspects were not linked to the killing of Jack, more arrests were expected.

The second suspect would appear in a Cape Town court tomorrow on three charges of murder.

Brigadier Potgieter said the first suspect was being questioned on Mapongwana's killing but had not yet been charged.

More than 25 000 people attended Mapongwana's funeral at the Khayelitsha football stadium on July 20.

Mourners included ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, Dr Allan Boesak and his wife Elna, SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Cape Town Mayor Mr Gordon Oliver.

Are our courts in the dark?

IN the South African Government, the one hand doesn't know what the other is doing, or so it seems. *Sowetan* 11/8/91

Between trying to prosecute alleged terrorists and trying to indemnify them, there was bound to be a crossing of wires. It is very simple, Pres-

Political Correspondent

ident FW de Klerk indemnifies and the courts prosecute.

A Press release received yesterday from the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein said four PAC men - Mr Mabatu, Enoch Zulu, Mr Siya-

bulela Ndoda Gcanga, Mr Vincent Alson Mathunjwa and Mr Sesiba Paul Moholo - had received leave to appeal against their 1988 convictions.

However, it appears the courts, or the prisons, had not done their paper work because the men were released weeks ago after being indemnified

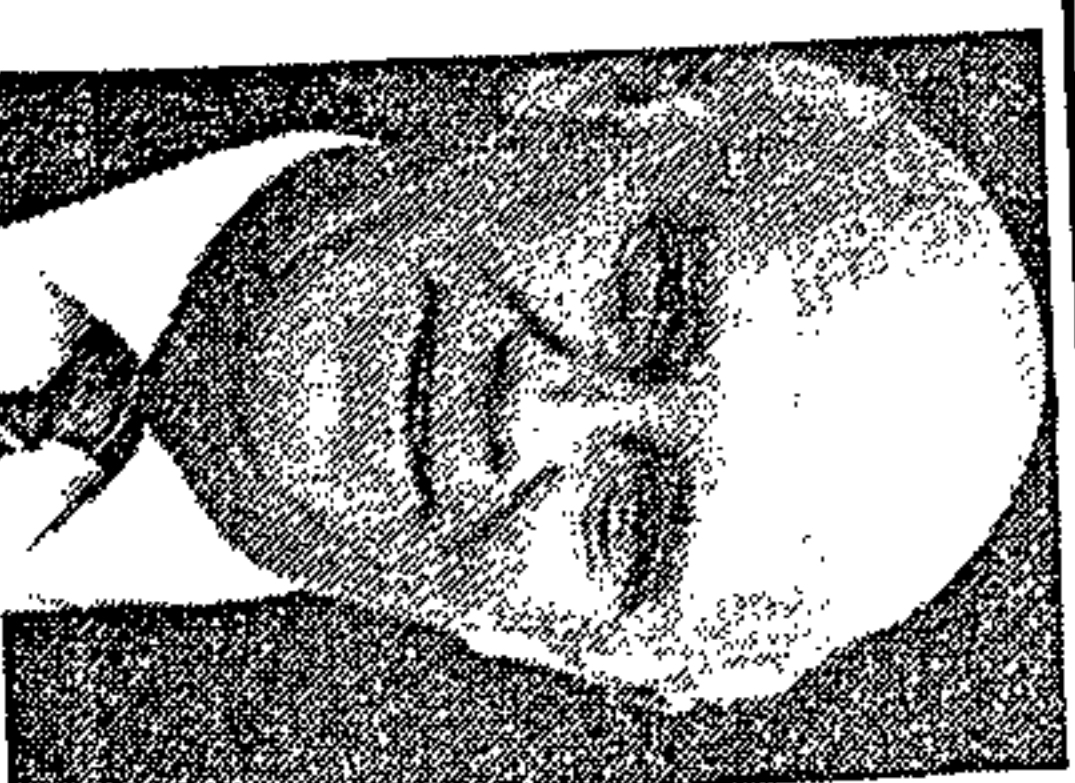
by De Klerk. Zulu, Gcanga and Moholo were released on July 4 and Mathunjwa was released in April.

The Ministry of Justice yesterday did not see the humour in this confusion.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice

said it was the prisoners' right to pursue their cases for as far as they chose to.

The four had lodged their applications for leave to appeal against their sentences, after the Appeal Court set aside the conviction and sentence of Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim who had been abducted from Swaziland.



DE KLERK

Police arrest 60 protesters

Sowetan 11/8/91

POLICE arrested about 60 people, including Foundation for Peace and Justice director Dr Allan Boesak, in two city centre demonstrations against Government funding of Inkatha.

Boesak, who recently joined the ANC, said he went to Loop Street on Tuesday to try to stop students from protesting after another demonstration, outside Tuynhuys, had been called off.

ANC lawyer Mr Willie Hofmeyr called off the Tuynhuys picket after nine protesters were arrested. He said although city council permission had been granted, the chief magistrate had not given permission.

Permission would be sought for a new demonstration tomorrow, he said.



ALLAN BOESAK

Several Democratic Party members were also present.

At the second demonstration police took Boesak and about 50 other people into custody.

Police liaison officer Captain Attie Laubscher said protesters would be charged with taking part in an illegal demonstration.

Boesak was released more than five hours after his arrest on condition that he appears in court on August 29 and after initially refusing to be fingerprinted. He said he had been wrongfully arrested, and submitted to fingerprinting only "under protest". - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Mineworkers score a major victory

Sowetan 11/8/91

By IKE MOTSAPI

THE National Union of Mineworkers and the Chamber of Mines signed a historic wage agreement in Johannesburg yesterday.

Included in the package are comprehensive and innovative agreements covering conditions of service, upgraded recreational facilities, fringe benefits, death and funeral benefit schemes and free movement and operations by NUM members on the chamber's mines.

The agreement was signed by NUM president Mr James Moutlasi, secretary general Mr Marel Golding, the chamber's president, Mr Naas Steenkamp and vice-chairman Mr Bobby Godsell.

The agreement was reached after two months of intensive discussions between NUM and the chamber.

We back press freedom, reject intimidation - ANC

The ANC yesterday reaffirmed its commitment to media freedom during a seven-hour meeting with black editors, senior journalists, and television and radio producers.

In a joint statement after the meeting, the two parties said the talks had dealt with, among other things, the intimidation of black journalists by political activists.

"The ANC stressed that, in keeping with its policy of tolerance of differences of opinion, it condemned intimidation of journalists and/or

members of the community.

"Both sides were satisfied with the outcome of the meeting and have agreed to meet more often to discuss matters of mutual concern."

The statement said the meeting was the first that several black editors had planned with major political organisations in the country.

Among participants at yesterday's meeting was ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu.

Future talks are envisaged with the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha. — Sapa.

Fears over missing union man

CONCERN is mounting over the whereabouts of trade unionist and political activist Mr Lawrence Mufamadi, who disappeared during Cosatu's national congress last week.

Mufamadi (34) was last seen at the Downtown Holiday Inn in Johannesburg on July 24 where he was staying with a delegation of the National Union of Mineworkers for the duration of the congress.

His brother, former assistant general secretary of Cosatu Mr Sydney Mufamadi, said he had searched in vain for him at hospitals, police stations and mortuaries.

Sydney is now a member of the ANC's national working committee and in the interim leadership of the SA Communist Party.

He said a housekeeper at the hotel told him yesterday that Lawrence's bags were still in his room when the delegation checked out on Sunday. One bag contained his clothes and the other had Cosatu congress documents.

"Some of Lawrence's

By THEMBA MOLEFE

comrades said they saw him at the hotel the night he disappeared.

"We are quite apprehensive because he went missing while attending a Cosatu congress and we can only hope that he is not going to be an additional person to the list of activists who have disappeared without trace," said Sydney Mufamadi.

He said any information could be relayed to his cousin Mr Masala Tshikalange at (011) 988-7565 at all hours or his sister-in-law Mrs Nomsa Mufamadi at (011) 836-2031 during office hours.

The missing man is employed as a security guard at Anglo American headquarters and is also a member of the Meadowlands Civic Association and the ANC.



LAWRENCE MUFAMADI

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Sowetan
2/8/91

The WM's slush fund exposé: The story behind the story

It began with a phone call. "Go to your fax machine. I'm sending you some documents."

The call came from the office of *The Guardian* in London. The minute *Weekly Mail* reporters saw the documents, it was clear they were sensational and, if authentic, would cause a major political outcry.

The Weekly Mail had for some weeks had a team of reporters working on the "Third Force" story. This newspaper, and a number of others, had published bits and pieces of evidence of a security force hand in recent violence, suggestions that there was an organised force behind Renamo-style attacks on trains and even of an illicit relationship between the security forces and Inkatha.

The information, however, was circumstantial and fragmented. There was not enough to nail anyone. None of it crossed the borders of "deniability".

Until the brief telephone conversation on Wednesday a fortnight ago.

Immediately we discussed with our *Guardian* colleagues how to verify the papers and put together a team of reporters to do the legwork.

Neither *The Weekly Mail* nor *The Guardian* knew enough about the source to rely solely on his word, so over the next 24 hours reporters in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town pursued every detail of the allegations in the documents.

They ascertained that the policemen mentioned were where the documents said they should be. A reporter who phoned one of the numbers, was greeted with, "Hello, security branch." When it was pointed out that the security branch was supposed to have been dismantled months ago, the police said: "Ag, I'm always forgetting. I mean CCI." Never mind, it was the right policeman in the right place.

To check the bank accounts, reporters had to deposit money. Inkatha got R50 from *The Weekly Mail* — the only way we could get the bank to check the existence and name of the account.

The reporters confirmed that meetings had happened when the documents said they were supposed to, that Major Louis Botha was in close contact with Inkatha at the relevant time and that the telex numbers in the papers were actually police numbers.

Every detail was checked, and, remarkably, every single one backed up the story. By Thursday morning, it was clear that the documents were genuine. We agreed with *The Guardian* that both papers would run

It was a story that rocked the nation. **ANTON HARBER** describes how it unfolded — and why *The Weekly Mail* handled it the way it did

the story simultaneously on their front pages the following day.

There was one major problem. Normal practice would have been to put the information to both the police and Inkatha for comment. Both organisations, however, have a history of trying to prevent *The Weekly Mail* from publishing sensitive information about them. The police closed the paper down for one month in 1988 and have twice seized all copies from the streets. They have used restriction orders, detentions and threats to try and stop this kind of reporting.

In 1986 Inkatha flew an entire team of cabinet ministers, attorneys and advocates from Durban to try and get an interdict to stop *The Weekly Mail* from publishing a Cosatu report that made grave allegations against them (ironically, accusations now made much more credible by last week's revelations). We had made the mistake of asking Inkatha for comment — and they had abused our goodwill to try and stop our paper from hitting the streets.

That couldn't be allowed to happen this time. There was an overwhelming public interest in getting the information into print.

A compromise was found. *The Guardian* would put the story to the police and Inkatha for comment and pass their statements on to *The Weekly Mail*.

In the end, neither the police nor Inkatha responded in time for publication, though both were given the opportunity.

Fears about the police reaction were borne out after the SABC-TV's *Agenda* programme on Thursday night, tipped off about our story from an interview on Radio 702; decided to rejig their programme to allow a debate on the issue between *Weekly Mail*, the police and Inkatha.

Police spokesman Captain Craig Kotze took one look at an early copy of the paper and asked to use a telephone in the studio. Within five minutes, the producer came through and told us her decision to run on our story had been overridden.

Kotze, it turned out, had phoned Vlok who phoned the SABC's Christo Kritzinger. Kritzinger made a snap decision to drop the programme on the basis that the police had not been given fair warning.

By that time both the police and Inkatha were in a tizz. They clearly wanted to know what evidence *Weekly Mail* had before they started confirming or denying, because policemen worked through the

night checking our story.

The next day was a tense one. Without pressure from the rest of the media, would the government try to brush the story aside? We waited to see whether other press would pick up the story. *The Star* on Friday treated the story as a minor issue, leading on "Mom forgives killer child"; only Radio 702 and the foreign media seemed to take it seriously.

We waited all day for a response from the government. At 5pm reporters were told Kotze was in the state president's office and a statement was imminent. When it came, we cheered: the government admitted it all, only contesting the reasons for giving money to Inkatha.

Besides the public encounter with Law and Order Minister Vlok on Sunday night's *Agenda*, there was a second, less public meeting last week. Kotze, two senior policemen and a lawyer met *The Weekly Mail* to ask to see its documentation.

In return, the newspaper asked for guarantees that neither the newspaper nor its staff would be harassed or persecuted in any way and that the police provide further information on the matters raised in the documents.

Police declined. So did *The Weekly Mail*. This, however, did not stop Kotze saying on Friday, after we had published our second round of allegations, that we had broken an "agreement".

There was no such agreement — only an undertaking on our behalf that we would follow the normal journalistic practice of putting everything relevant to Kotze for comment. We had done this on Thursday, keeping a running supply of documents, articles and other material on the fax to Kotze and Inkatha most of the day. In the end, neither responded to the details of the story.

Another wait ensued. This time we had called Vlok a liar — and we knew that he either had to sue or he was in serious trouble.

There was no response on Friday and for most of Saturday. Eventually, in the afternoon, he issued a statement — simply a denial that he had lied. When Vlok went on television that night, it was clear that the SABC had not recovered from his previous appearance. This time there was no debate — just simple questions from a tame SABC reporter.

Now *The Weekly Mail* has to deal with all the other fallout — a flood of letters, telegrams and phone calls, some abusive, some complimentary, but enough tip-offs to keep a team of journalists following up the story.

Webster's ex-wife wins rates rebate

By FERIAL HAFFAJEE

THE Johannesburg City Council has given a one percent rates rebate to Glenda Webster, former wife of murdered human-rights activist David Webster. This is the percentage of their rates, she says, that they paid towards the council's spy ring, which has been implicated in his murder.

The rebate comes after a year-long campaign to have her rates reduced.

"One night last year, after the Hiemstra Commission disclosed that the city council had spied on David, I decided, 'bloody hell! I can't just sit here and make out a cheque for rates on this property as if nothing had happened to its owner'," she said. "I was not certain that there was no link between the spying and the death of David."

She decided to stop paying rates, and a friend later persuaded her to make her objections public. She wrote a letter to a newspaper and enclosed her rates payment, saying it should be "given to someone who needs it".

Councillor Ian Davidson wrote to her, assuring her that the council's security department had been disbanded.

"Still not entirely satisfied, she decided to pay her rates but deduct her "contribution" to the spy ring.

She explained her action in a letter to the council: "It would be nice if we could vote with our money. Why should we pay for those actions which are iniquitous?"

"I don't mind paying for the art gallery, the libraries, the parks and all the other things that contribute to the well-being of all the people of Johannes-

burg. The security department falls outside this area and I believe that to support it would be to support that which is evil."

She calculated the contribution she and David had made to the spy ring as R4,17 — the proportion of her rates that would have gone to the security department. Her calculation was based on the revelation during the Hiemstra Commission that the council had spent R1,8-million on the spying operations — one percent of its budget.

In another letter, Davidson noted that her problem was "a very sensitive one", but said her objection was "in

One percent solution ... Glenda Webster is still not satisfied with the city council's assurances

Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

general not acceptable from a principle point of view". He said he had "urged the treasury department to come to some accommodation in this regard".

The city council credited Webster's July assessment with the amount of R4,71 — though it refused to acknowledge the amount as a "refund", calling it an "interest reversal".

Despite this small victory, Glenda Webster is not satisfied. "Mystery still surrounds David's death. The Hiemstra Commission swept all the dirt under the carpet and President FW de Klerk is doing the same thing now," she says.



Censors battle to clear ban backlog

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ARGUS 3/8/91

CAPE TOWN. — In the first seven months of this year South Africa's censors have reviewed some 1 000 publications previously banned in the heyday of apartheid.

Virtually all of these bannings have been lifted, thanks to the relatively liberal political climate that has developed under President De Klerk's government.

In 1990 only 260 publications, of which about 250 were unbanned, were reviewed by publications committees, the bodies that decide whether works are "acceptable" or not.

But Jacobsen's Index of Undesirable Publications, South Africa's "Bible" of banned books, lists an estimated 35 000 publications as having been ruled undesirable for one reason or other since the mid-1950's.

This means that even at a rate of 2 000 reviews a year, it would take the committees well over a decade to work right through the list.

However, according to Director of Publications Dr Braam Coetzee, the task of untangling a legacy of four decades of political censorship is not one that can be rushed.

He said in an interview in his Cape Town office this week that the alternative that some people suggested — a blanket unbanning — was not possible under the law at present. Nor was it necessarily desirable.

"The Publications Act prescribes a fixed procedure for reviews," he said.

"Unbannings could not be done at the stroke of a pen unless a decree was passed by parliament, and this would be counter-productive because publications were found undesirable on account of their contents. So one has to look at each and every one to make sure their contents are no longer undesirable."

Initially, after the speech on February 2 last year in which President De Klerk announced the unbanning of the

ANC and other organisations, the process of review had been very slow, he said.

"We issued a press statement saying that if anyone knew of a work they felt should be unbanned, they should submit it for consideration. But hardly anybody responded."

Now the Directorate itself had taken the initiative in submitting material to the publications committees.

"We go through the lists looking for publications that stand a good chance of being unbanned."

"Quite a large number of these publications were originally found to be undesirable because of the basic fact that they promoted or served the interests of banned organisations such as the ANC."

"Naturally, the moment the organisations were unbanned, we could take a new look at them. The bulk of the reviews fall into this category."

"We follow an approach similar to the new political approach in this country — much more openness, frankness, negotiation and discussion."

This had the result that classic works on communism and socialism — such as the writings of Lenin and Mao Tse Tung — were no longer regarded as undesirable.

Dr Coetzee also said that of the 35 000 items listed in Jacobsen's, many had been deemed undesirable on grounds of obscenity or being harmful to public morals. Of the remainder, only about 2 000 publications were important enough to merit review on political grounds.

"Other material is dated, for example the ANC publication *Sechaba* which was a monthly publication. Most issues of *Sechaba* would still be on the banned list, but 98 percent of them would no longer be relevant."

"They are dated, so why bother with them? We don't want to burden the whole process of review by looking at these publications." — Sapa.

Concern as unionist vanishes without trace

Star 3/8/91.

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THE disappearance of trade unionist and political activist Lawrence Mufamadi in Johannesburg a week ago is causing grave concern among anti-apartheid organisations.

The 34-year-old Meadowlands father of two, an African National Congress member and a National Union of Mineworkers delegate at last week's Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) national congress, went missing on July 27.

His sister-in-law, Nomsa Mufamadi, said he failed to return to the Johannesburg hotel at which he was staying for the duration of the congress, after accompanying a friend to a taxi rank.

"We're apprehensive about this as many activists have gone missing without trace," she said.

Reacting to the disappearance, human rights commissioner Max Coleman said: "This is one in the

BRIAN SOKUTU

long list of disappearances of anti-apartheid activists. We hope it is not going to be another one of those unsolved mysteries."

A Cosatu spokesman said the trade union federation was investigating the disappearance and appealed to the public for information.

A spokesman for Anglo American Corporation, where Mr Mufamadi has worked as a security guard at the company's Johannesburg headquarters for the past nine years, said there was concern over the disappearance, and the company's security management team had been helping in the search.

Anyone with information should contact Dan Fick, the divisional security manager at: (011) 638-5185.

Outrage at police's probe into newspaper

ANTI-CENSORSHIP

Groups yesterday slammed the police investigation of The Weekly Mail newspaper which exposed the slush funds scandal that rocked the Government.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday confirmed that the police had initiated an investigation against the newspaper and that it faced possible charges under the Protection of Information Act.

He said that in terms of the law, the police had to conduct an investigation into the leakage and publication of information from top secret documents as they believed the reports were based on allegedly stolen Security Police documents.

However, the paper's news editor, Arthur Goldstick, said last night the police had not yet contacted the newspaper in connection with the investigation.

The SA Union of Journalists demanded the police halt its investigation of the paper.

"It is the duty of the media to expose corruption wherever it might be found," SAUJ president Sven Lunsche said.

"The role of the police in the Inkathagate scandal has been amply highlighted and for the SA Police to investigate The Weekly Mail and its source is simply vindictive."

The SAUJ also condemned the threat of using Section 205 to force the newspaper to disclose its source.

Campaign for Open Media chairman Raymond Louw said: "This is a classic case of trying to kill the messenger."

"It is outrageous that the police should be interested in using Section 205 to try and identify the person who supplied this vital information of enormous interest to the nation."

"Yet they show no such zeal in following up the enormous number of allegations of police and military misconduct in destabilising a political movement like the ANC in this country."

The Anti-Censorship Action Group said: "Instead of harassing The Weekly Mail the police should put their own house in order."

gold
Consistent

His wedding



Sydney Mufamadi's brother Lawrence has gone missing.

Fears over missing unionist

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4/8/91

By SEKOLA SELLO

FEARS are growing among trade unionists and ANC members that the notorious Askaris may be on the loose following the disappearance of Lawrence Mufamadi at the end of Cosatu's national congress last week.

Political activists and his family fear that Mufamadi, 34, who disappeared in Central Johannesburg last week, may have been kidnapped by anti-ANC elements.

Mufamadi disappeared after accompanying a friend, Amon Ngolele, to a taxi rank.

Both were in the NUM delegation attending Cosatu's national congress.

Mufamadi's brother Sydney said: "I have no doubt that Askaris are always hanging around ANC headquarters. It is also conceivable they are responsible for the kidnapping of my brother."

Lawrence Mufamadi, a father of two from Meadowlands in Soweto, is employed as a security guard at Anglo American headquarters. He is also a member of the Meadowlands Civic Association.

The family, which has already searched for Lawrence in hospitals, police stations and mortuaries, has appealed to anyone with information to contact Masala Tshikalange at (011) 988-7565, or Nomsa Mufamadi at (011) 836-2031 during working hours.

Demo over subpoena

CP Correspondent

HISTORY was made on Thursday when more than 70 Durban and Pietermaritzburg journalists took to the streets and staged placard demonstrations in protest against Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act.

Under the act, journalists can be required to reveal confidential sources of information.

Placards at the protest read: "Section 205 gags depress", "Society needs a free press" and "Stop gagging the press".

The protests followed the serving of a Section 205 subpoena on a *Daily News* political reporter, Nicola Cunningham-Brown.

She appeared in the

Pietermaritzburg Magistrate's Court on Thursday to answer questions concerning her sources in an article about alleged AWB operations in the troubled Richmond area in the Natal Midlands.

The case was postponed. *CP Press 4/8/91*

In the article, which appeared in the *Daily News* of July 26, Cunningham-Brown reported that AWB training camps had been set up near Richmond.

At the camps, operatives are trained in the use of firearms and explosives. They allegedly practised their skills in raids on Ndoleni, Magota and N'koben townships in which at least two people had died, the report said.

The article said the AWB attackers wore camouflaged uniforms in an attempt to mislead township residents into thinking they were SAP members.

Meanwhile, the Durban Supreme Court dismissed with costs a R20 000 defamation claim by advocate Gideon Sheltema against the *Sunday Tribune* last week.

Sheltema was defence counsel for the KwaZulu Deputy Minister of the Interior, Samuel Jamile, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in June this year.

The claim arose from a report headed "Judge slams handing over of privileged statements".

Editor: intimidation of media must stop

By Shirley Woodgate

Star 6/8/91
declarations in practice."

South African political leaders' commitment to free speech remained open to question until they took steps to end intimidation of reporters, the Editor-in-Chief of The Star, Richard Steyn, said yesterday.

Delivering the keynote address at the annual meeting of the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society, Mr Steyn highlighted instances of media intimidation, blaming all the major black political organisations "and some white parties".

He said: "The leaders know of these incidents, yet do nothing.

"Liberation movement leaders sound off in public about their support for freedom of association and free media, but their supporters often make a mockery of their

Saying there was scant understanding, even at the highest levels, of the role of a critical and inquiring press, he said pressure, both subtle and unsubtle, continued to be exerted on journalists to take sides in the political struggle.

"This intolerance of the irritating intrusions and occasional excesses of newspapers in a free society suggests that the fight for freedom of expression did not end on February 2 last year, but will have to fought for again in the future."

Focusing on problems within the profession, Mr Steyn called for the scrapping of divisions of the apartheid society which still existed in South African journalism.

● A protection, not a panacea — Page 12

The media have a critical role to play in a changing South Africa, says **Richard Steyn**

A protection, not a panacea

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WE live in a society steeped not only in violence, but in secrecy — as events over the past fortnight have demonstrated once again. Secret projects and dirty tricks have flourished in a culture of non-accountability. A huge body of legislation on the Statute Book has restricted the free flow of information and inhibited open discussion for as long as many of us can remember.

Matters have improved to some extent in the last year or so, but old habits die hard. Civil servants regard themselves as responsible more to the Government than to the public. Their instinctive reaction to media inquiries is: "What the hell has it got to do with you?"

The extra-parliamentary political movements are little better. They deal even more harshly with critics or with journalists who write stories portraying them in a bad light.

The ANC, which claims to be a government-in-waiting, has learnt quickly that the easiest way to explain away embarrassment is to heap blame indiscriminately upon the media.

To complicate matters further, since February 2 last year we are experiencing an unprecedented openness, a freedom of expression that we are not used to and are uncomfortable with... When newspapers report, as they must, on the activities of previously

banned organisations, they are accused of being propagandists. Publicity is often equated with support for one or other cause.

Leaders of the "liberation" movement sound off in public about their support for freedom of association and free media, but their supporters often make a mockery of those pious declarations in practice. At grassroots there is precious little tolerance.

A recent publication of the Institute of Race Relations, entitled "Man Muzzling the Media — New Censorship for the New South Africa", has drawn attention to a new breed of censor in SA, the young township activists who resort to naked intimidation and violence in their efforts to cow the press and prevent unfavourable publicity for their organisations.

Examples are legion — from a photographer hacked to death in Crossroads in 1988 to reporters being manhandled at demonstrations and funerals, to political journalists being threatened with death for critical comments about policy, to the mother of Stompie Sepele being prevented from speaking to the press after the Winnie Mandela trial.

All the major black political organisations — and some white parties — are to blame. They know of these incidents, yet do nothing to punish the miscreants or make an example of them. Until leaders take firm mea-

sures to put an end to intimidation of reporters, their commitment to free speech must remain open to question.

Even at the highest levels, there is scant understanding of the role of a critical and inquiring press. Pressure, both subtle and unsubtle, continues to be exerted upon journalists to take sides in the political struggle on the basis of "If you are not for us, you must be against us."

What therefore is the role of journalism in the new SA?

The title, and insufficient, answer is — much the same as in the old. Traditionally, the role of newspapers has been to inform, educate, entertain and act as a watchdog over the excesses of officialdom and other powerful interests. (The watchdog role of the press has once again been vividly demonstrated by the Inkatha funding revelations of the past few weeks).

Everyone seems to agree that the press has great influence for good or ill in the new society, and that a heavy responsibility rests upon us. But to whom are we responsible? Not surely to politicians seeking to thrust their policies down our throats, nor to those who are loudest in their criticism of journalists.

Our responsibilities — it seems to me — are these:

1. To convey information and ideas to people, and put choices

before them that will make them free.

2. To act as a channel of communication between government and people, and people and government, thereby promoting good and fair government.

To fulfil these responsibilities, we journalists must dig out and publish information that is accurate; we must publish it as dispassionately and objectively as possible; we must interpret it as fairly as the human shortcomings and sometimes unconscious bias of editors permit.

We must give reasonable opportunities for reply to those whom we attack or criticise. We must keep free of any affiliations that might compromise us in the eyes of the public. And we must keep at bay powerful commercial interests who seek to control and influence the way in which news and comment is presented.

Our educative role is particularly important in a country in which literacy levels are frighteningly low and where 30 percent of children enrolled in schools have no books in their homes.

So much for the orthodox functions of the newspaper in a democratic society. Does South Africa's current situation impose any additional responsibilities upon the press at this crucial juncture in the country's history? I think that it does.

Perhaps most important of all

is our duty to ensure that "the market-place of ideas", to borrow a phrase from John Grogan of Rhodes, remains open. We have to insist that the mistakes of the past are not repeated, either by the present Government or by its opponents.

Suppressing opinion, driving dissenters underground and muzzling the media simply remove the problem temporarily from sight. They do not produce lasting solutions.

In order to make sensible decisions and govern properly, governments need to find out facts quickly and respond to them. And free and open media are best placed to provide those facts.

Journalists should always be in the frontline in upholding the right to free speech and defending the rights of others including their political opponents, to speak freely. We have not always set a good example in this regard. We are also sadly divided among ourselves.

South African journalism still betrays many of the divisions of the apartheid society... Whatever good reasons existed for these divisions in the past, they will, I hope, fall away in the future. We ought, however, to be doing much more to get our act together and hasten the process.

Freedom of the press depends, in the end, on whether or not we have the support of the public. If

we are to retain that support, we have to be worthy of it. Not that we will be liked by the public, nor should we expect to be.

Who likes people who persist in reporting more bad news than good? Who are sceptical of conventional wisdom? Who ask awkward questions and rock the boat? Who do things in a hurry and get facts wrong? Who refuse — in the words of a former White House correspondent in the US — to be a bulletin board of the ordinary, pleasant and non-controversial?

Press freedom is a protection, not a panacea.

Newspapers, I believe, should refrain from contributing to the polarisation syndrome. If we lead our readers to believe that negotiations are a zero-sum game in which one side will win all at the expense of the other, we are reducing the chances of differences being settled peacefully around the conference table.

Finally, we journalists must continue to remind people, without preaching or sounding holier-than-thou, that a free press, with all its shortcomings, is not only a sine qua non for democracy — you cannot have one without the other — but the final guarantee of their security.

Richard Steyn is Editor-in-Chief of The Star. This is a shortened version of his address last night to the annual meeting of the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society. □

Ex-SADF man told to produce 'killer'

MR NICO Basson, a former SADF member who exposed alleged misconduct involving the army, has been subpoenaed to produce Mr Felix Ndimene, who allegedly operated under military orders.

The subpoena - under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act - requires Basson to provide a Johannesburg magistrate with "material

or relevant information as to alleged crimes of murder and attempted murder alleged to have been committed by Ndimene or others whom the latter said were responsible for the recent train massacres".

Ndimene "confessed" two weeks ago to having been part of a "special forces unit" under the South African Defence Force that received mili-

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

tary training at Five Reconnaissance Regiment (5 Recce) in Phalaborwa.

He had received specific instructions to continue "the war" against the ANC and PAC even after both organisations had been unbanned.

In his "confession" Ndimene sketched sordid details of SADF opera-

tions in Namibia, interventions in Angola and harassment of Mass Democratic Movement members in Johannesburg.

Basson, a major in the Citizen Force, is part of a group of military people who call themselves Soldiers for Peace.

Basson made startling allegations earlier this year about security force collusion with Inkatha in the township violence.

At the time police said that charges under the Protection of Information Act were being investigated against him.

He said in June that the SADF strategy included funding and providing weapons for Inkatha.

This formed part of a comprehensive "dirty tricks" strategy to ensure De Klerk's National Party retained power.

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'I'll never say where Ndimene is hiding'

Star 7/6/91
By Jovial Rantao

Nico Basson, a former SADF major who has been subpoenaed to produce Felix Ndimene, the man who alleged that an SADF unit was behind train attacks on the Reef, says he would rather go to jail than disclose Mr Ndimene's whereabouts.

Mr Basson yesterday said he would take the stand in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court and declare he was not prepared to honour the subpoena — under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act — to produce Mr Ndimene and provide the court with information about crimes alleged to have been committed by Mr Ndimene and others.

The subpoena, Mr Basson said, was in violation of guarantees made by President de Klerk, who had promised that people such as Mr Ndimene would be granted indemnity if they applied.

"What the police are doing is intimidating people such as Felix, myself and those who would like to come forward and reveal what they know about secret operations of the army and the police," he said.

"We are however prepared to follow other channels, such as the Commission on Intimidation, as soon as it is set up. The only proviso would be that political organisations have to be happy with the commission," Mr Basson added.

The ANC has criticised the subpoena and called on the State to withdraw it.

Mr Ndimene "confessed" two weeks ago to having been part of a "special forces unit" that received military training at Five Reconnaissance Regiment in Phalaborwa.

It is said that he had received specific instructions to continue "the war" against the ANC and the PAC after both organisations had been unbanned.

In his confession, Mr Ndimene made claims regarding SADF operations in Namibia, interventions in Angola and harassment of Mass Democratic Movement members.

The SADF strongly denied the allegations.

Earlier this year, Mr Basson made startling allegations about security police collusion with the Inkatha Freedom Party in township violence.

Restraints lifted on conflict areas

Political Correspondent ³²¹ ~~267~~

As political violence begins to subside on the Reef, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has lifted special unrest restrictions imposed earlier on major conflict areas on the West and East Rand.

In a special Government Gazette published yesterday, Mr Vlok withdrew notices which had declared the townships of Bekkersdal, Kagiso, Munsieville, the Swanieville squatter settlement and Tembisa as "unrest areas" under the Public Safety Act. ^{Star 8/8/91}

The withdrawal of notices applied immediately, he said.

His spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said the decision had been taken because of a drop in political unrest.

Several other townships in the PWV area, including Greater Soweto, would however still remain unrest areas.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

UNBANNED. W/Mail 9/8-15/8/91 (327)

FOUR works by Mao Tse Tung, including *Guerrilla Warfare*, which he co-wrote with Che Guevara, are among 59 publications unbanned by the Directorate of Publications last Friday.

On Correcting Mistaken Ideas on the Party, On Policy and Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership are the other three.

Others by prominent African politicians are: *Destructive Engagement — Southern Africa at War*, by former Tanzanian president Julius K Nyerere, *Sagrada Esperanca*, by former Angolan president, the late Dr Agostinho Neto, and *Frelimo Militant*, by Zimbabwean clergyman the Rev Ndabáningi Sithole.

The Mozambican newspaper, *Noticias Independência de Mocambique*, of June 25 1975, is also to be unbanned, along with *Black Women in South Africa and the Case of Winnie Mandela*, by Community Access Graphics Allston in the USA.

During the past week, 49 publications or objects (45 on re-submission) were found not undesirable and 28 films were submitted, of which 14 were approved conditionally and nine unconditionally.

DAVID BERESFORD talks to former hit-squad commander Dirk Coetzee about the mystery of the 'Third Force'

A man who should know talks about 'dirty tricks'

FROM a succession of safe houses in Lusaka and London, self-confessed killer Captain Dirk Coetzee has been impatiently watching the Inkatha funding scandal unfold, occasionally firing off impassioned letters to President FW de Klerk, begging to be allowed home to help as an informer, or investigator.

The Inkatha scandal comes as little surprise to the captain who says it "falls into one piece, like a puzzle", with the hit squads and the broader question of a "third force" working to derail the peace process in South Africa.

He insists that the third force is a loose alliance between the dirty tricks departments of the military and the police, involving personnel and equipment from South Africa's frontline wars, notably in Rhodesia, Mozambique, and Namibia. He says the strategy, based on that used by the security forces against Swapo, is one of undermining the African National Congress and boosting its political opponents in order to cheat it at least of overall political control of the country.

Coetzee offers a wealth of detail about key personalities in the security establishment and their movements, as well as his personal experience in the force. He points out, for example, that Koevoet, the notorious police counter-insurgency unit in Namibia, was started by a Brigadier "Lang" Hans Dreyer who had been a regional security branch commander in the Inkatha heartland of Natal.

Dreyer had created Koevoet with a core of Zulus from Natal, whom he later supplemented with Owambo tribesmen recruited in Namibia itself.

The entire operation, Coetzee says, fell directly under the authority of security headquarters in Pretoria. One of the senior officers in Koevoet, a Lieutenant Eugene de Kock, was later to become Coetzee's successor as commander of the security branch farm, Vlakplaas, near Pretoria, which was used as a base by police assassination squads.

"When they disbanded Koevoet (at the time of independence)," according to Coetzee, "De Kock went to Namibia with some of his men from Vlakplaas and came back with truck-loads of Russian arms from Koevoet-captured arms caches: unregistered weapons, landmines, SKSs (assault rifles), AK-47s, and bullets by the million. They also brought the core of Koevoet and housed them in a tent village near Rustenburg (in the Western Transvaal)."

It is these men, using those arms, who the captain believes are responsible for much of the township violence, including



Dirk Coetzee

Photo: Rapport

'When they disbanded Koevoet, they went to Namibia and came back with truck-loads of captured Russian arms, unregistered weapons and bullets by the million ...'

the random massacres that have been threatening negotiations between the ANC and the government. The military, he suspects, is also using in a similar role soldiers trained to fight with Renamo in the Mozambique conflict.

He recalls how when he visited a farm run by the army outside Phalaborwa in the Northern Transvaal, to get some supplies for Vlakplaas, he found it was a training camp for the Mozambique civil war.

"They had 170 Renamo guys at that stage," he says. "Now that President De Klerk has given his oath that South Africa will not attack Frelimo anymore, or permit raids into Mozambique, what do they do with all those trained Renamo guys? What does Vlakplaas do with all those renegade Ovambos? What do they do with all those arms caches?"

Coetzee emphasises that to understand the third force and the role of the security branch in South Africa, you have to appreciate what he describes as "the security culture"; this finds expression, for example, in the dominance of former security branchmen in the police force as a whole.

The present police commissioner, General Johan Van der Merwe, he points out, was previously head of the security branch, as were most of his predecessors

and most of the heads of the Criminal Investigation Department.

Brigadier Jack Buchner, commissioner of police in Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's homeland of kwaZulu, is another security branch veteran, according to Coetzee. He remembers the brigadier as liaison officer between Ian Smith's security forces and the South African police during the Rhodesian war.

After Rhodesia's independence Buchner joined Coetzee in "Section C" of security headquarters in Pretoria, the unit responsible for conducting the war against the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress "terrorists". There, the captain says, Buchner played a key liaison role with military intelligence in planning South African raids into neighbouring states.

How high would a security force conspiracy to control the political direction of the country reach into the De Klerk administration?

Coetzee insists that the Inkatha payments would have been approved at cabinet level, almost certainly by De Klerk himself. He says the security branch runs a "security fund" to pay agents and finance covert operations, but such expenditure would amount at most to R20 000 a month. Single payments of up to R150 000, such as those made to Inkatha, would have required the approval of the head of the security branch, Basie Smit.

"Basie would not authorise a thing like that without the personal permission of the Commissioner of Police, General Van der Merwe," the captain says. "And I can promise you that in the present political circumstances, Van der Merwe would not have the guts to have authorised it on his own; he has only one guy to go to, and that is the minister."

As for the township violence, Coetzee is less certain about cabinet responsibility, although he is convinced that the strategy would have been agreed at the top.

"They did not unban the ANC without deciding that they would be able to steer the course: the outcome of the eventual elections, as in Namibia," he says. They would not necessarily be party to the "dirty work" on the ground — "they would not say, OK, we'll slaughter people on the trains with AK-47s" — but they were prisoners of the generals where carrying out the strategy was concerned.

"The security clique, the security culture, controls not only the South African Police force, they also control the South African cabinet," he says. "The ministers have to depend on their generals. What does Hermanus Kriel (the new Minister of Law and Order with responsibility for police) know? He has never been in a charge of office in his life, except perhaps to lay a complaint. He has to rely on this clique, this rotten clique." — The Guardian

W/mail
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Cop link with assassins

By S'BU MNGADI

A SENIOR Natal Midlands policewoman has accused Mooi River police of direct involvement in the assassination of a local ANC leader and the violence that has torn the local Bruntville township apart.

W/O Nomusa Majola of Mooi River Police Station this week claimed that a few days before Derrick Majola's death in April, she was interrogated by Mooi River police, who told her he was going to die.

The *Natal Witness* yesterday reported that it had acquired taped telephone conversations with the Mooi River Police Station, plus an affidavit and legal documents indicating police involvement in the upsurge of violence in the area.

Bruntville Civic Association secretary Ewald Malinga told *Natal Witness* that a former senior police officer at Mooi River police station warned him that Majola's death was imminent.

Malinga said the conflict in Bruntville began over alleged misappropriation of funds and police collusion with Inkatha supporters, who are predominantly hostel dwellers.

He said 15 people died and 18 houses were burnt down within 24 hours following an Inkatha meeting in the township in November last year.

Shortly afterwards, police met an ANC delegation to discuss the violence. A second delegation headed by deputy Law and Order minister Johan Scheepers visited the area in June.

A letter to Scheepers by ANC lawyers outlined several allegations against a local policeman and requested that he be "suspended pending the outcome of the inquiries into the matters in which he is involved".

Natal police spokesman Maj Coert Marais said that "as a result of intensive investigations", three people were arrested in connection with Majola's assassination. He said the investigation had not revealed any police involvement.

Political comment and newshills by K Sibya, headlines and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

Editor ⁽³²⁾ to give ^{11/8/91} evidence

CITY Press Editor Khulu Sibiya has been subpoenaed to give evidence in the inquest into the death of slain human rights leader Chief Mhlabanzima Maphumulo, who was gunned down in front of his home on February 25.

Sibiya was told he might be called to give evidence at the inquest in Pietermaritzburg starting on Thursday. City Press Natal bureau reporter S'bu Mngadi was also subpoenaed.

City Press published a story quoting a self-confessed agent of the military police as confessing to the murder and implicating the security forces.

day reported to be in serious but stable conditions.

A spokesman for Kalie de Haas Hospital in

was having in was attacked. He sustained fractures of the skull.

Mr Bantana Phandle (45), Mr Tyekezi Mayaka (38) and Mr Gogogo

right arm.

Phandle, who was shot in the stomach and left arm, said: "I heard gun sounds and the next thing our bakkie rolling over."

Revolt on way says AWB

AFRIKANER Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday said the Government was "heading for big trouble" by "misusing" the police for political purposes as it had on Friday night at Ventersdorp. *Gowen*
12/8/91

said the AWB was preparing a revolution.

Reacting to ANC president Nelson Mandela's call for stricter Government action against the far right movement, Terre'Blanche said if the ANC wanted to take the country by force, "we'll meet him and level him with the gravel."

At a Press conference in Pretoria the

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Hit-squad claim rejected

own Correspondent ^{star} 14/8/91

DURBAN — Allegations that Inkatha trained a paramilitary force for "hit squad" duty against the ANC and its allies were last night rejected by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a statement, he said the 150 young Zulu men referred to by President de Klerk on July 30 were selected by the KwaZulu police force for training in VIP protection and in the protection of KwaZulu government buildings and property.

He said he thought the 150 young men were to be trained by a private security company. However, the SADF last week admitted to training the men at

Caprivi in Namibia

The IFP leader also rejected reports that a training base located at Mkuze in Zululand was used for housing or planning hit-squad strikes.

The Mkuze base was used to house the 150 young men because the police barracks in Ulundi were full, he said.

Reports of shooting at the base could have resulted from game poaching by the men, Chief Buthelezi added.

He said a dramatic intensification of the ANC's revolutionary activity in 1985, and the fact that Inkatha had received information that the ANC was planning to assassinate him, had led to the decision to train the bodyguards.

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021 740 1710

Alex is declared an unrest area

WILSON ZWANE

ALEXANDRA, where at least 24 people have died in the past few days, has been re-declared an unrest area and has had a 9pm-4am curfew imposed with immediate effect. 8/Dec 15/8/91.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in a statement yesterday reinforcements were being deployed and he appealed to law-abiding residents to co-operate with police.

Alexandra was deproclaimed an unrest area less than two weeks ago.

Meanwhile, at a media briefing in the township yesterday, an ANC official claimed the violence started after an Inkatha member threatened to attack non-Inkatha supporters.

ANC Alexandra branch official Paul Mashatile said his organisation held the police and Inkatha responsible for the vio-

lence which left at least "28 dead and more than 70 injured" since Friday.

Police spokesman Capt Henriette Bester said 24 people had been killed and 53 injured. (327)

Mashatile said last week's refuse-clearing operation by Inkatha supporters sparked the violence.

"After the clean-up campaign a certain warlord from Denver Hostel (Johannesburg) threatened to send armed units to Alexandra to attack those who were opposed to Inkatha," Mashatile said.

Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) official Mzwanele Mayekiso said a "low-intensity war" was being waged by Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers.

□ To Page 2

Alexandra

8/Dec 15/8/91

Although the township was quiet in the day, bands of people attacked residents near the hostels at night, said Mayekiso.

Inkatha West Rand official Humphrey Ndlovu dismissed as "white lies" the allegation that an Inkatha member had threatened to attack non-Inkatha residents.

Ndlovu said the violence was sparked by the killing of two Inkatha members by ANC supporters. "Inkatha members, though committed to the party's policy of non-violence, will not hesitate to defend themselves when attacked," he said.

He also denied the allegation that his organisation colluded with white gunmen.

(327)

□ From Page 1

Mashatile said a group of white men wearing balaclavas attacked the East Bank squatter settlement where they killed 11 people.

Bester said nobody had come forward to make a statement on the alleged involvement of white gunmen in the violence.

ANC Youth League Alexandra branch official Keith Madonsela said statements had not been made to the police because the "people have no confidence in them (the police)".

However, witnesses would make statements to the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression in due course.

Noformela has aged, says former prisoner

South 15/8 - 21/8/91

By Chris Gutuza



SELF-CONFESSED police hit squad member Almond Noformela aged noticeably through the pressure of nearly being hanged, according to recently released prisoner Mr Gideon Madlongolwane.

Madlongolwane, 64, who like his wife Evalina de Bruin, spent 18 months on Death Row for allegedly killing a municipal policeman in Pabalelo, Upington, shared a cell with Noformela until he was released after a successful appeal.

"I knew Noformela when they came to take him away to be hanged," said Madlongolwane this week. "When he came back, after the hanging was stopped at the 11th hour, he was bent over."

The experience of waiting in a solitary cell for six days ahead of the scheduled execution had "turned him into an old man".

Noformela, who had been awaiting execution for the murder of a farmer, was reprieved at the last minute because of his revelations about Vlakplaas police hit squads.

Madlongolwane said he would never forget the quiet, bent man who returned to the cell they had shared after he had been saved from the gallows.

Colleagues

"He had grown old. His skin was tight over his face, now, and he had lost a lot of weight," Madlongolwane said.

He said Noformela had been visited often by police colleagues of his in the last days before he was due to be hanged.

"The day before he was due, two

policemen came — one white, one black. They had told him, he said to me later, that the force could do nothing for him anymore.

"He told fellow death row inmate Robert MacBride (sentenced to death for the Magoos Bar bombing in Durban) that he wanted to reveal all he knew about the hit squads. MacBride contacted his wife, who contacted an attorney."

The director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Brian Curtin, got in touch with the prison authorities, and within days Noformela's confessions on police atrocities and murders inside and outside the borders of the country, became world news.

Madlongolwane said he had seen many inmates condemned to die being taken to the solitary cell ahead of their scheduled hanging — a cell that the prisoners called "die pot".

Victim speaks of AWPB terror

South 15/8 - 21/8/91

A VICTIM of last week's "white-on-white" violence in Ventersdorp this week described his terrifying experience as he was first shot at then dragged from a bakkie by a rightwing mob.

Mr Tyekeza Mayaka, interviewed at Klerksdorp Hospital where he is recovering from his injuries, said he was in a bakkie carrying the body of his cousin for burial in the Transkei, when they drove into a fusillade.

Mayaka, a platinum mineworker married with four children, told of his horror as he saw the coffin being riddled with bullets.

"We were driving through Ventersdorp when we saw a bus being surrounded by white men carrying guns. They were shouting and swearing at the people in the bus.

"Then we heard gunshots. They were shooting at the bus which then

of toilet humour. Hand washing has become a new form of therapy.

sped off. They then turned on us. First to be shot was the driver. More shots followed and we were dragged out of the car and beaten up," he said.

He said the bakkie was overturned. "Then, to my horror, I watched them pump bullets into the coffin. We were supposed to have buried my cousin last Saturday," Mayaka said.

He did not know what had happened to the body or whether his relatives were aware of the incident, he said.

Two other occupants of the vehicle, Mr Toto Qgothongo and Bathala Phandla, are in a serious condition at Klerksdorp Hospital.

Qgothongo, the driver of the bakkie, sustained multiple gunshot wounds on his arms and chest.

Mayaka sustained two gunshot wounds to the chest and on the right arm. Phandla was shot in the stomach and left arm.

Mr Adriaan Vlok's, office
for claims totalling about
R2 345 813.

A case of theft was
being investigated against
them and another investi-

and son who shot him
fully and wrongfully by
policemen unknown to
her.

Soweto policeman arrested

A SOWETO policeman was arrested
yesterday in connection with the killing
of a man during a search.

Constable LS Moeaila of the
uniformed branch at Kliptown police sta-
tion will appear in court "within days"
on a charge of murder, said Soweto po-
lice liaison officer Colonel Jac de Vries.

De Vries said the incident took place
after Moeaila and two other policemen
had stopped and searched five men in

Sowetan 15/8/91
Tshiawelo, Soweto at 11pm on August
10.

De Vries said that, after the men had
been searched, a shot was fired killing
Mr Nhlanhla Peter Ragwasha (35) of
Phiri, Soweto. (327)

The incident was not reported by the
policemen concerned, De Vries said.

De Vries said Moeaila had been
suspended from all duties and was being
held in detention. - Sapa.

Widow sues Vlok for R2-m

Soweto 15/8/91

A SOWETO widow whose husband and son were shot dead by two policemen at Jabulani Police Station in December last year is suing the Minister of Law and Order for R2,3 million.

Mrs Letta Ngidi is claiming R1 007 015 for loss of support and funeral expenses and an additional R1 338 808 for their four minor children.

A Johannesburg attorney representing Mrs Ngidi, Mr Gasewabone Kotsi, confirmed yesterday that papers had been served on the Minister's, Mr Adrian Vlok's, office for claims totalling about R2 345 813.

By SONTI MASEKO

Mr Piet Nkosiabantu Ngidi, who was a businessman owning a butchery and fast food outlets in Soweto, was fatally shot inside Jabulani Police Station together with his son, John Ngidi (19) and the son's friend, Makhosonke Maduna.

Shooting

The police version of the shooting given then was that the three were found inside the Jabulani car pound with stolen property after they had entered the pound by opening a hole in the fence.

A case of theft was being investigated against them and another investi-

gation into the shootings had been launched by a special unit in Kliptown.

However, the family said that Mr Ngidi had been requested by the police to report at the police station.

Post-mortem reports said Mr Ngidi had died from multiple gunshot wounds and his son and Maduna from gunshot wounds to the head and body.

No inquest has been held to determine the cause of the deaths.

Mrs Ngidi claimed in papers that on December 16 last year her husband and son were shot unlawfully and wrongfully by policemen unknown to her.

Peter Gastrow looks at the problem of private armies

Diversity must make way for a unified police force

Star 15/8/91

(254) (327)

BANNING private armies by law or curbing them through one-sided executive action looks like an attractive option. The consequences of such steps are, however, likely to exacerbate the deep divisions within the country, drive armed groups underground and start off a new cycle of repression and violence.

An approach with more lasting consequences for peace and stability would be a negotiated agreement to dissolve all private armies, militias, defence committees and homeland police forces, and to incorporate their members into a broad South African police force which is subject to all-party civilian supervision.

Such an approach will be laborious and very difficult, but it is the only effective way of defusing the growing threat to peace by the multitude of private militias in the country.

In Lebanon the existence and growth of private militias were a major cause of the long civil war which wreaked such destruction. It took 16 years of conflict to exhaust private militias before they agreed to hand over weapons and disband at the beginning of this year. A fragile attempt at nation-building has now started again.

South Africa, which has arguably deeper divisions and a greater potential for conflict than Lebanon, ought therefore to urgently address the phenomenon of private armies and partial police forces operating in the country.

Seven legal police forces operate in South Africa if the six self-governing states are taken into account. Almost a dozen private armies, commandos and defence organisations are attached to political groups across the spectrum.

This is a recipe for conflict. Existing private armies trigger off the creation of opposing groupings

by other political organisations. They then provide justification to each other for their very existence.

If the ANC establishes defence committees, why should the CP, Inkatha or the AWB not do the same? The CP has recently called for its own "home guard" to "quell fires before the police become involved". The KwaZulu police have frequently acted with a clear bias towards Inkatha and arms are being issued to headmen.

Umkhonto we Sizwe carries on recruitment and training and is busy establishing defence committees. Right-wing groups have their commandos and the PAC carries on an armed struggle through APLA (African People's Liberation Army).

Most of these forces act outside the law, they are accountable only to their political heads, and are not subject to the same scrutiny and public accountability as the SAP. They are therefore more likely to take the law into their own hands.

These forces constitute a major obstacle towards greater unity in South Africa. Nation building and private police forces, defence committees and armies are a contradiction in terms. Not only do private militias accentuate differences, they are dependent on them and have an interest in maintaining them.

What should be done? It is certainly not sufficient to insist that private armies disband to enable the SAP, as at present constituted, to be the sole law enforcement agency.

While it is a legal force, the SAP has a history of partial action against the ANC, PAC and other opponents of apartheid. It is still mainly white interest oriented and crimes of violence in black areas

do not receive the same priority as they do in white areas.

The SAP is at present accountable to a minority government and large sections of our population do not regard it as their police force. One large South African police force is required — but it needs a different composition and greater all-party civilian control during the period of transition. This cannot be achieved by decree. It has to be the outcome of negotiations.

It is therefore imperative that the forthcoming all-party conference addresses this issue. The objective should be an agreement between all parties:

- That all private militias, armies and homeland police be dissolved.
- That their members be incorporated into a broad national South African police force which is subject to an agreed code of conduct and to greater all-party supervision at all levels.
- That under the supervision of the new integrated SAP, more people from local communities be drawn into a policing role in their areas.

If the AWB or other groups with para-military forces refuse to take part in negotiations aimed at finding peaceful solutions, then they would exclude themselves from arrangements which the majority of our population support. In that case they will have placed themselves outside the law and firm action against them is then more likely to be effective.

The decision by the ANC to suspend the armed struggle was a major step in the peace process. All parties now need to make compromises to create only one unified police force.

● Peter Gastrow, MP, is the Democratic Party spokesman on Law and Order. □

Vlok declares Alex unrest area again

By Abel Mushi
and Peter Fabricius

Strife-torn Alexandra has once again been declared an unrest area. A 9 pm to 4 am curfew was imposed last night and police reinforcements have been sent in.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced last night he had decided to declare the township an unrest area under the Public Safety Act because of the renewed violence which has left at least 28 people dead and more than 70 injured in the past two weeks.

The declaration would take effect immediately and had been gazetted yesterday.

"I earnestly appeal to law-abiding citizens to work together with the police so that the senseless violence can soon be ended," he said.

Police spokesman Captain Henriette Bester said the township was quiet yesterday afternoon. She confirmed that police and defence force reinforcements had been moved in.

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ANC-aligned organisations in Alexandra yesterday blamed the Inkatha Freedom Party and the SA Police for orchestrating the new round of violence.

At a media briefing held under the auspices of the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO), the organisations accused the IFP — which was not invited to attend — of resorting to coercive methods to bolster its image following the Inkathagate scandal.

The resurgence of violence in Alexandra, according to a joint statement from the organisations, occurred after the clean-up campaign by the IFP two weeks ago, which was preceded by the lifting of the declaration of the township as an unrest area.

According to the statement, the police were seen offloading a group of people wearing IFP T-shirts and red headbands at a squatter settlement near the Alexandra hostel.

ACO executive member Mzwanele Mayekiso said witnesses had told the ACO that a group of balaclava-clad white men, driving in a Casspir and a

minibus without registration plates, had attacked squatters at the TB settlement near East Bank on Sunday night.

Eleven people died that night, Mr Mayekiso said.

According to the police, at least 24 people have been killed and more than 53 injured during the past four days.

The SAP yesterday rejected allegations by the ACO that policemen had colluded with the IFP in attacking Alexandra residents.

At no stage did the police assist any IFP member in any attack, Lieutenant Bester said.

She also rejected allegations that the police had escorted or IFP members.

Captain Bester said the police had taken note of the allegation that white people wearing balaclavas were carrying out attacks in Alexandra, and had appealed to anyone with information and proof to come forward and assist the police in their investigations.

IFP spokesmen were not available for comment yesterday.

SECURITY

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Policing the force

FM
16/8/91

Durban police are investigating allegations of assaults on ANC members, three of whom have laid charges against the police.

Thinzi Dlodla, ANC branch chairman for Congo, an ANC-dominated village in the Durban township of Inanda, has again laid assault charges against police. This follows an incident in which a group of about 30 people watched him being beaten up outside his home, allegedly by members of the SA Police, KwaZulu Police and SA Defence Force on July 28 (*Current Affairs* August 2). Dlodla and another ANC official, Samuel Lembede, had laid charges earlier after claiming in a statement that they were assaulted on the night of July 18.

Dlodla was released from police custody on bail of R600 this week, after being charged with stealing a firearm. He is also looking at pursuing a civil case against the police. He was arrested after the alleged assault on July 28.

According to Democratic Party regional director Roy Ainslie, the police charge is in connection with an SADF rifle that went missing around the time of the assault. Ainslie says the DP's unrest monitoring group has received complaints about more than 15 alleged police assaults on ANC members in the area over the past month. He believes there is an attempt to destabilise the ANC-controlled township.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze told the *FM* last week that such behaviour by members of the force would be unacceptable and if these allegations are proved action will be taken.

Meanwhile, Natal police have arrested colleague Captain Brian Mitchell in connection with the murder of 11 people, including children, at a funeral vigil near New Hanover, Natal, in 1988. Mitchell appeared in court in Maritzburg late last week, but was not asked to plead. He is being held in custody, with another court appearance set down for August 16.

His arrest follows the earlier appearance of two special constables, David Khambule and Dumisani Ndwane, in the New Hanover magistrate's court, who said they had been ordered by Mitchell to kill people in a hut who were "terrorists." Both constables have pleaded not guilty to 11 charges of murder and their case has been postponed to August 16, pending a decision by the Natal attorney-general. ■

Cosatu Witbank march goes on

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Due Jan 16/89

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in Witbank has decided to go ahead with a protest march on Saturday, even though the town council has refused permission.

Cosatu spokesman Mr Meshack Masumpa said workers would go ahead with the march, irrespective of whether permission was granted.

The town clerk, Mr JH Pretorius, said the council had refused permission for the march because there was little time allowed for consultations and the planning of alternative routes for the march.

Protect

Pretorius expressed optimism that future problems about protest marches would be sorted out at the newly created forum representing community organisations, the Afrikaanse Sakekamer, the local chamber of commerce and the Town Council.

The marchers will present demands on high electricity tariffs and the formation of one town council with a single tax base for Witbank. - Sapa

BANNING REVIEWS (324)

SOUTH AFRICA'S censors have reviewed some 1 000 publications previously banned as politically undesirable. Virtually all these bannings have been lifted.

Jacobsen's Index of Undesirable Publications lists an estimated 35 000 publications as having been ruled undesirable since the mid-1950s.

Director of Publications Dr Braam Coetzee said that most of these had been deemed undesirable on grounds of obscenity or being harmful to public morals.

Top spies returned by ANC

THABO LSHILO
and ESTHER WAUGH

THIRTY-TWO of the "most notorious" alleged South African Government spies, hired assassins, agents provocateurs and secret agents released from ANC prisons would arrive in the country today, the organisation said yesterday.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the prisoners were from "various places of detention".

They had all been released in terms of an ANC decision taken in February to release agents sent to infiltrate the movement by May 31.

● TO PAGE 2.

Spies

● FROM PAGE 1.

They are due to arrive on Flight SA 185 from at 9.30 pm.

Ms Marcus emphasised the prisoners were all SA Government agents sent to destabilise the ANC and were not dissidents from the movement.

"None of them were arrested because they had differences with the ANC."

Some of those released since the undertaking was made had so far rejoined the ANC or taken up scholarships overseas.

Ms Marcus said the delay in sending the latest group home had been due to a lack of resources.

Repression ³²⁷ is 'still rife'

^{81 Times 18/91}
REPRESSION has changed its form, but not disappeared, said Dr Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission at the commission's annual general meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

Dr Coleman said the HRC's national report identified several elements which it claimed had replaced formal violations of human rights. Vigilantes continued to be the dominant destabilising influence in black residential areas.

ANC captives row

Stills 18/8/91

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By EDYTH BULBRING

THIRTY-TWO suspected state agents held by the ANC in detention camps flew into Jan Smuts airport last night — and into a row over who was to care for them.

The ANC said in a statement on Friday that they would be the responsibility of the International Committee of the Red Cross. But Red Cross mission director Tony Pfanner said

yesterday he had informed the ANC that the 32 were the responsibility of the UN High Commission for Refugees.

By last night, however, the Red Cross had reluctantly agreed after discussions with the ANC to care for them until the UNHCR operation could swing into action. Yesterday the ANC

released the names of its prisoners and details of some of them.

One of them took part in planting a car-bomb at Harare's Avondale shopping centre in May 1986 which maimed anti-apartheid activist Jeremy Brickhill, the ANC said.

Another was alleged to have identified ANC homes in Lesotho to the SADF. During an SADF raid in December 1982, 42 people, including women and

children, were killed.

A third gave short-primed grenades to ANC members which exploded immediately the pins were pulled.

Meanwhile, UNHCR involvement in the repatriation of about 40 000 SA exiles was settled in Geneva on Thursday after 501 days of exhausting negotiations with the government and compromises on both sides.

Deviation

Political exiles wanting to return home will not have to give an account of their political "crimes" when seeking indemnity, officials involved in the process said yesterday.

This is a deviation from the existing indemnity process agreed to between the government and the ANC for political prisoners and exiles.

This concession on the part of the government fulfils the UNHCR's mandate that it will not be party to a process of self-incrimination.

The other area which had prolonged negotiations was the question of the UNHCR's free and unhindered access to returned exiles inside the country.

The government could not give the UNHCR a cast-iron guarantee of this in the case of the independent homelands, but assured the UNHCR that it would use its good offices to ensure that returning exiles would not be interfered with by the homeland leaders.

● The "forgotten five" of

Harare's grim Chikurubi maximum security prison remained firmly locked up in their cells this weekend as Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe showed no signs of relenting towards former Rhodesian servicemen who threw in their lot with Pretoria.

Mr Mugabe has so far ignored repeated pleas by ANC envoys to free the five and create a climate for the release of convicted ANC bombers in SA, including Robert McBride.

In 22-hours-a-day solitary confinement in Chikurubi's 4 + 1.5-metre windowless condemned cells are former Central Intelligence Organisation double agent Kevin Woods, 39, ex-Rhodesian army engineer Michael Smith, 38, and retired Transkei-born Rhodesian police sergeant Phillip Conjwayo, 56.

Raid

They were sentenced to hang for the January 1988 car bombing of an ANC "safe house" in Bulawayo.

Serving life sentences are Barry Bawden, 38, who aided the May 1987 SADF raid on the ANC in Harare, and former Special Air Service paratrooper Denis "Sammy" Beahan, 41, who was captured during the abortive June 1988 bid to free SA agents from Chikurubi.

BAN ON WEAPONS

THE draft peace accord reached this week prohibits the carrying of dangerous weapons at any political or cultural gatherings. (327)

However, it is understood that Inaktha is balking at this proposal and it could be subject to revision prior to the convening of a peace summit on September 14. *Times 18/8/91*

The draft accord stipulates that the bearing or use of any dangerous weapons shall be prohibited at any political, cultural or other gathering.

Bona fide cultural events in areas not affected by violence are exempt from this prohibition.

The accord stipulates that any gathering addressed by a representative of a political organisation shall be deemed not to be a bona fide cultural event. *Times 18/8/91*

Organisations convening bona fide cultural events will have to inform Regional Dispute Resolution Committees or the National Peace Committees of their intention to stage such an event.

Exile vows to challenge ANC

327
358
19/8/91
Soweto

ONE of the 32 alleged State agents who were held in detention by the ANC yesterday vowed to challenge the organisation to produce evidence proving he was a State agent.

Jose Ribeiro-de Souza (29) who, with 17 others, was last night in the care of the International Committee of the Red Cross in a Johannesburg Hotel said although he had been recruited by the South African security forces when he was in prison, he had never worked for them.

Ribeiro-de Souza, who hoped to rejoin his family

at Eersterus, Pretoria, before the end of the week, was one of many suspected agents and infiltrators released by the ANC on Friday in terms of its resolution in February.

Ribeiro-de Souza and 31 others, described by the ANC as being "among the most notorious", arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday into the temporary care of the ICRC.

The ANC had provided them with air tickets and passports.

The former University

of Western Cape student, who joined the ANC in 1981 and received military training inside the country, left South Africa in 1983 to further his studies at the University of Columbia in the United States.

On his return in 1985 he was stationed at ANC headquarters in Lusaka until he was sent to South Africa on a mission in April 1986. Two months later he was arrested in Pretoria.

"While I was in detention, South African security forces offered to release me if I worked for them. They told me I would face a minimum of 20 years for being a Umkhonto we Sizwe member and having operated as an MK cadre.

"I agreed to work for them and was released in August of the same year," he said.

He said he soon fled from South Africa and rejoined the ANC in Lusaka, where he informed Chris Hani, then MK commissar, about his experience in the country. He said Mr Hani assured him he could be used as a double agent.

Spotlight on jailed spies

Political Staff

THE return of 32 South African Government spies after their release by the African National Congress has put the spotlight on the fate of at least six other SA agents still held in a Zimbabwean prison.

Among them are SADF operatives alleged to have been involved in an attempt to assassinate former ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo in September 1987.

The ANC's announcement on Friday that it had released all people held or

imprisoned by the organisation raised questions about the fate of the prisoners in Zimbabwe.

Officials in Pretoria, Harare and the ANC were tightlipped on Saturday about this thorny issue.

A Foreign Affairs Department spokesman in Pretoria said no information was available and suggested the ANC and the International Red Cross may throw more light on the matter.

Sources say there are indications there may be more releases before the end of this year.

A negotiated release of the prisoners in Zimbabwe is believed to be possible - especially in the light of the release in November last year of convicted South African spy Odile Harington.

Harington (30) was jailed in Harare on November 27 1987 for spying on the ANC.

She was freed and flown home last Novem-

ber following years of effort - orthodox and unorthodox - by South African officials to win her release.

Five alleged agents for South Africa, who appeared in a court in Zimbabwe, were named as Kevin Woods, Barry and Guy Bawden, Michael Smith and Philip Conjwayo. All five were arrested following a bomb explosion in January 1988 outside an African National Congress house in

Bulawayo in which a man was killed.

Woods, Smith and Conjwayo are under sentence of death.

A sixth man, Rory Macguire, was found guilty of failing to report the presence of South African commandos and of aiding their operations inside Zimbabwe.

Another agent, Denis Beahan, was sentenced to life imprisonment for his part in an aborted 1988 attempt to spring the agents from jail.

Ignore bogus calls - civic

*Sowetan
19/8/91*

327

THE Vaal Civic Association and Cosatu's western Transvaal region yesterday distanced themselves from pamphlets calling for a weeklong stayaway in the Vaal Triangle.

Thousands of pamphlets have mysteriously appeared in the Sharpeville,

Boipatong, Bophelong, Evaton and Sebokeng townships calling for the stayaway to begin today.

However, VCA spokesman Paul Sithole categorically denied his organisation's involvement in such protest action.

"We strongly distance ourselves from such action. We have no knowl-

edge whatsoever of such action. It is clear this is the work of agent provocateurs," said Sithole.

Cosatu also rejected the call.

"We are perturbed by this turn of sinister slandering."

"We call on all the people of the Vaal to ig-

nore this dirty piece of deceit. We will make investigations into this anonymous pamphlet," said the regional secretary, Ben Nhlapo.

The ANC's Sebokeng branch also condemned the pamphlet and a spokesman said yesterday members were not aware of any planned stayaway action. - Sapa.

ANC tortured me, says man who denies spying for Govt

Star 19/8/91

One of the 32 alleged State agents brought back to South Africa at the weekend has said he was tortured while being held prisoner by the ANC.

Jose Ribeiro-de Souza (29) — who, with 31 others, is now in the care of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Johannesburg hotels — told The Star that although he had agreed to work for South African security forces after being captured, he had never done so.

He and his fellow ANC prisoners were flown back to South Africa at the weekend by the ANC.

They were described by the ANC as being among the most notorious agents to have infiltrated the organisation.



Jose Ribeiro-de Souza ... tells of beatings.

Mr Ribeiro-de Souza said that while in ANC detention he had been tortured.

He said he was taken by ANC personnel to a house in Lusaka, known as "RC" or "Rehabilitation Centre", and locked up naked in a cement-floored room for three days.

A man known as Jomo had tortured him by beating him with police batons, particularly on his feet — "I still have problems with my left foot" — and on knees, elbows, and ankle joints.

He also said he was handcuffed and told to crouch while a branch was stuck between his legs and arms. Then, he said, he was suspended between two tables and beaten.

"At one stage I woke up and I found I was hanging upside down. My head felt like it was going to burst. I must have been hanging like that for several hours."

The former University of Western Cape student, who joined the ANC in 1981 and received military training inside the country, left South Africa in 1983 to further his studies in the

United States.

On his return in 1985 he was stationed at ANC headquarters in Lusaka until he was sent to South Africa on a mission in April 1986. Two months later he was arrested in Pretoria.

He said security forces had offered to free him if he worked for them. He said he agreed.

He told The Star he fled from South Africa and rejoined the ANC in Lusaka, where he informed Chris Hani, then MK commissar, about his experience in the country. He said Mr Hani assured him he could be used as a double agent.

Mr Ribeiro-de Souza said the ANC arrested him a few days later and accused him of being a National Intelligence Service officer and an Central Intelligence Agency agent — Political Staff-Sapa.

Return all our assets - Azapo

Sowetan 20/8/91 (327)

Political Staff
LAWYERS for Azapo are considering bringing an action against the Government for the return of nearly R1 million worth of assets seized when anti-apartheid bodies were banned and during police raids.

Mr Strini Moodley, Azapo's publicity secretary, said: "We are investigating a claim against the State for the confiscation of all our resources. There is a possibility that we can recover these from the Government.

"We want to get all our property back because it is ours," Moodley said.

Besides seeking the return of their own property, Azapo's lawyers are considering whether or not the organisation can bring a court action to



STRINI MOODLEY

seek the return of assets the State seized from the Black Peoples Convention, the South African Student Organisation, the Black Community Project "and all the other organisations that were banned in 1977 that belonged to the Black Consciousness Movement".

Moodley put the value of the seized assets at

R1 million, comprising vehicles, clinics, fittings, furniture and documents.

Azapo did not know what the State did with the confiscated property.

Under the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act, the State appointed a liquidator to liquidate banned organisations. Any balances remaining after its debts had been paid were distributed to charitable or scientific organisations designated by the Minister of Justice.

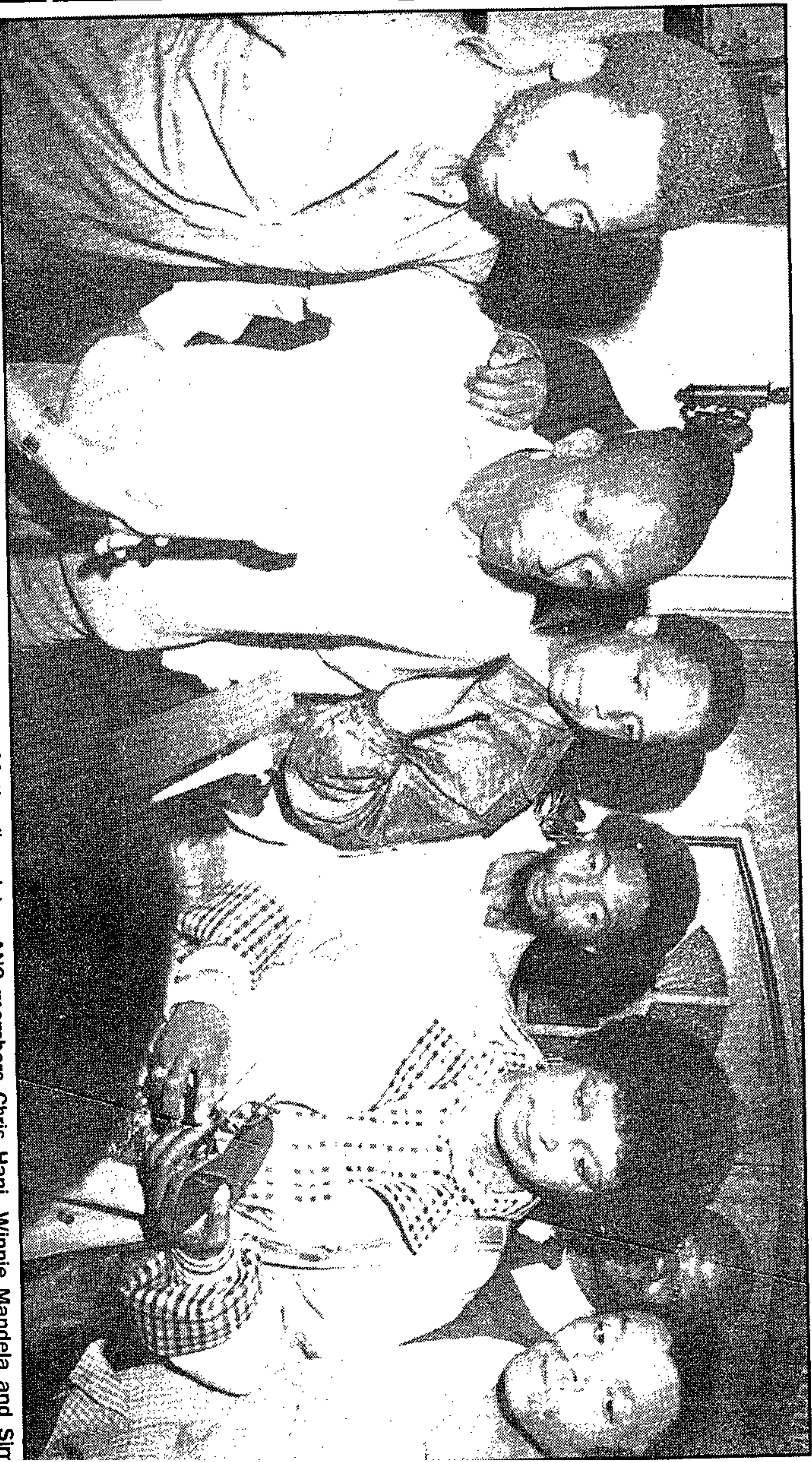
Banned

The 1982 Internal Security Act made provision for any balance remaining to be paid into the State Revenue Account.

Mrs Helen Suzman, then the Progressive Party MP for Houghton, asked in Parliament in February

1979 what had happened to the assets of organisations banned on October 19 1977.

The Minister of Justice said the balances remaining for the unlawful organisations were: Association for the Education and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa, R2 083,77; Black Community Programmes Ltd R13 442,34; Black Parents Association R55 056,32; Black Peoples Convention R15 931,38; Black Women's Federation R7 600,40; National Youth Organisation R27,87; South African Student's Movement R125,63; South African Student's Organisation R14 102,79; Union of Black Journalists R1 656,70; and Zimele Trust Fund R64 627,88.



Making up . . . alleged State agents Alfeus Keke Kheswa (left) and Mpho Motjua and top ANC members Chris Hani, Winnie Mandela and Sir
Picture: Jacob Ryk

ANC talks to 'tortured agents'

By Brian Sokutu

327

844

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Star 20/8/91

An ANC delegation yesterday met to effect a "reconciliation" with 20 alleged State agents who earlier claimed they had been tortured in ANC prison camps in Zambia and Angola.

The delegation, led by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, and including welfare department head Winnie Mandela, legal department chief Zola Skweyiya, and executive committee member Simphiwe Nyanda, also agreed to arrange further discussions to deal with any complaints the returnees still had against the ANC.

After the meeting at a Johannesburg hotel, the parties issued a joint statement in which they agreed not to talk to the press and to explore ways of resolving their differences.

The 20 returnees were part

of a group of 32 prisoners flown back to South Africa at the weekend after years of imprisonment in ANC detention camps.

They had earlier claimed to have been tortured by the ANC after being suspected of having infiltrated the movement.

In an earlier interview with The Star, Patric Dlongwana (32), a former organiser of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), who spent more than five years in ANC camps in Lusaka, said he would never take part in politics again following his torture while in captivity.

"I'm feeling unsafe even now after my release. I would like to go abroad, but I must see my family first. I don't know whether they are alive or dead," said Mr Dlongwana, who left South Africa in 1986.

He said he was arrested in Lusaka immediately after his arrival and accused of being a spy for the Government.

At a "rehabilitation centre" in Zambia, Mr Dlongwana claimed to have been tortured, beaten and told by ANC security officers to admit to being a spy.

He said he was also accused of being involved in the December 1982 raid in Maseru in which many ANC members died, and in the disappearance of three Pebco leaders, Sipho Hashe, Gqawuli Godolozzi and Champion Galela.

Strike

"Because of pressure, I admitted to the charges, which included working for the security police and the National Intelligence Agency."

He said he also spent time at Quatro, "a concentration camp" in Angola, where he went on a hunger strike.

"I demanded to be released or die, and they promised to release me. I'm still very sick and suffering from kidney trouble."

Mr Dlongwana said the only time those held had been "relied" was in Uganda, where they were given "good food" and allowed newspapers and radios.

Alteus Keke Kheswa (26), of Maritzburg, said he left the country in 1987 and was detained and tortured at an ANC camp in Zambia after being accused of being an enemy agent.

He said he and a colleague from Soweto had wanted to further their studies abroad and were not ready to join the military wing.

"Life was tough but we've survived it all," he said.

After the meeting Mrs Mandela said the talks with the former prisoners, whom she described as "former members of the organisation" and "comrades", had been "frank, open and cordial".

She said no statements would be issued to the press because they were likely to be misinterpreted.

"The group, which has just returned, is only interested in being integrated into a normal South African society," Mrs Mandela said.

She said another joint statement would be released after the groups had held final discussions.

● The National Co-ordination Committee for Repatriation said it welcomed an agreement between the Government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees which had led to a general amnesty of South African exiles.

"We're however concerned that the terms of the agreement are still formulated within the framework of South Africa's indemnity arrangements with its inherent limitations," NCCR spokesman the Rev Frank Chikane said.

He said the NCCR was committed to helping all returnees and had met the 32 alleged State agents at Jan Smuts Airport and arranged accommodation for 12 of them.

Breaking the silence

Alleged ANC spies ignore pact and talk

IN 1985 Patrick Hlongwane voluntarily left South Africa to "go and clarify" to the ANC in Lusaka that he had been wrongfully branded a South African Government agent by fellow activists in his hometown of Port Elizabeth.

For the next six years, until he returned home last Saturday, Hlongwane (32) would spend his life as a prisoner in rehabilitation centres of the organisation ANC in Tanzania, Lusaka and Angola.

Similarly, had Mpho Motjuoadi, now aged 27, not "volunteered" to tell the ANC security on his arrival in Lusaka in 1986 that he had been recruited - but did not yield - by a South African security agent in Maseru, he would not have been tortured and thrown into ANC cells.

The two men were among 32 former ANC prisoners who arrived in the country via Kenya from Uganda last Saturday.

One newspaper headline said about their return: "ANC releases most notorious spies."

Twenty of them refused to go into the care of the ANC but preferred the International Red Cross Society's offer of aid and shelter. Hlongwane and Motjuoadi are among this group.

Escape

Three days after their arrival a meeting between them and the ANC's Winnie Mandela and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, a moratorium on "accusative statements" was agreed upon and no further Press statements were to be issued.

A week later, the group has decided to break the agreement.

Hlongwane said: "The ANC has not kept its side of the bargain. On Monday night, one of us, Bongani Mlangeni, was accosted by ANC security people in the city.

They pressed a Makarov pistol to his neck and accused him of being a paid South African agent and took his money. He managed to escape when a vehicle suddenly appeared and distracted his assailants.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

"We now know that before the world knows what happened to us in those camps, ANC security will have got to us. We would be dead", said Hlongwane.

Motjuoadi said someone posing as a journalist telephoned his hotel room and threatened to shoot him.

Bitter

"Only the ANC and its security knows us by name and sight and the method used to surround Bongani the night he was attacked is that used by ANC guerillas," said Hlongwane.

The men are obviously bitter with the ANC and lament the years they said they spent suffering for what they did not do.

Motjuoadi said: "They still have not and cannot prove that I was a spy or an enemy of the people."

"Had I not volunteered to the ANC security in Lusaka that I was recruited - I even gave

them the name of the security agent - I would not have suffered.

"I am going back to my home in Mamelodi because I am not afraid. I was never a spy."

Hlongwane said he was a Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation/UDF activist in 1983 when he was among several people arrested and charged after a sustained consumer boycott. He was acquitted and the others were convicted. That's when his problems began; he was accused of working with the police. It was for this reason that he went to the ANC to "clarify them".

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said as far as the organisation was concerned, there was nothing more to say. The men were free to go home as the matter had been discussed with the group.

He said as far as the ANC knew the 32 was under the care of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and not the Red Cross.

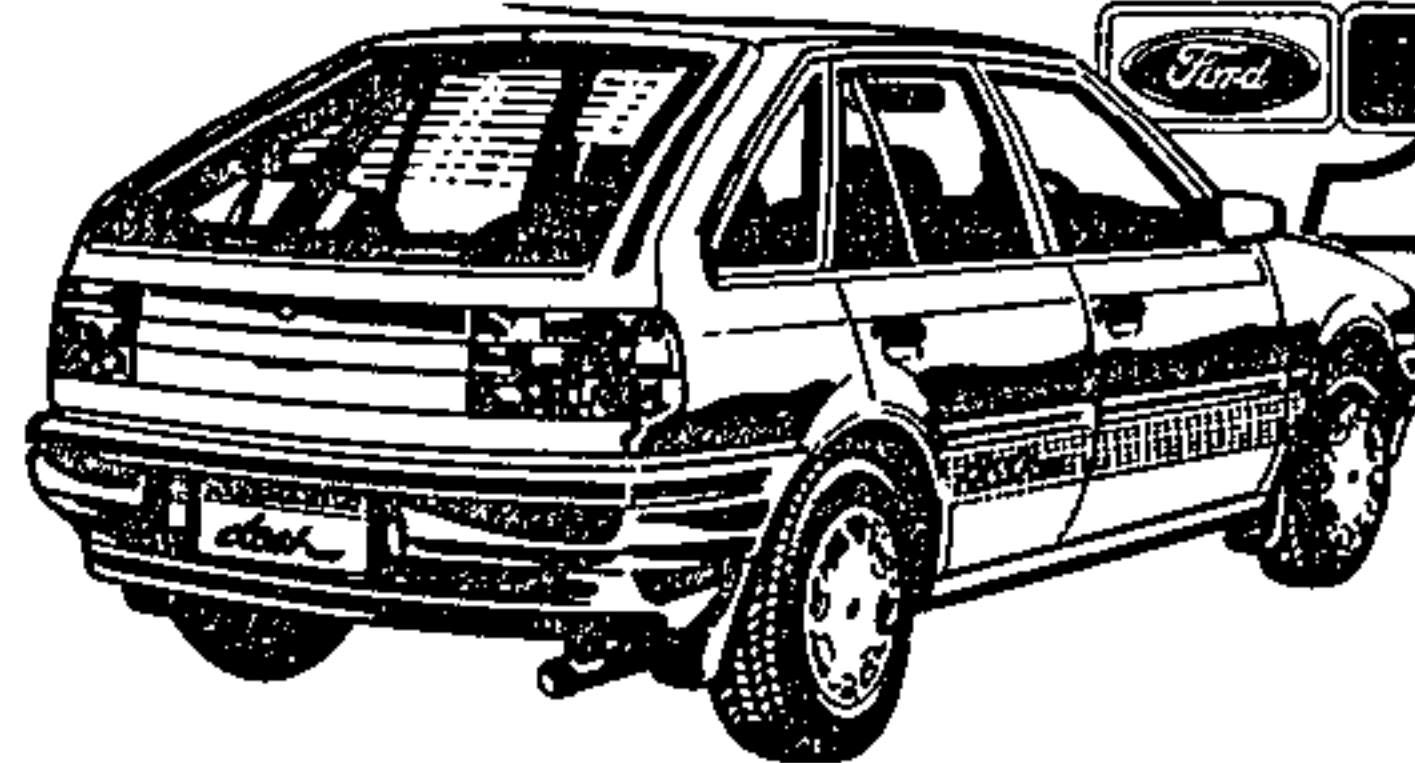


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OB backs claim by 2 hunger strikers of SADF, NIS link

CLAIMS by two of the three Orde Boerevolk hunger strikers in Pretoria that they were State agents when they exploded a bomb in Durban have been backed up by the OB.

In an exclusive interview with Saturday Star, OB chief of staff Leonard Veenendal said the three men were assisted in their actions by a security policeman, whose name he provided.

Hunger-strikers Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz were respectively members of the National Intelligence Service and Military Intelligence, he said.

"This was constantly kept as confidential information and the OB never intended using this information to discredit the Government.

"But the seriousness of the guys' conditions and their wish to make this public (made it necessary). You can describe it as a dying man's wish," Mr Veenendal said.

Mr Martin is on his 48th day without food and Mr Maritz his 41st. Both are re-

**BRENDAN TEMPLETON
and HELEN GRANGE**

tional Intelligence Service spokesmen denied the two hunger strikers had ever worked for them.

Mr Veenendal said Mr Maritz, Mr Martin, Dr van Schalkwyk, the policeman and another man, whom he named, made up a five-man OB cell led by Mr Maritz.

Mr Martin and Mr Maritz were highly skilled computer operators, running their own computer consultancy firm, he said. Their skills came in very useful when gathering information, he added. The function of the cell was to provide intelligence and logistical support to the OB.

Mr Veenendal claimed the men had discovered the ANC's Operation Vula, which was being co-ordinated from the Durban-based computer firm.

"These cells were highly advanced and all the cells in the system were computer-linked. What they did know was that this whole com-

man had been trained as an explosives expert, as was reported in the newspaper.

Asked whether the OB had been a cell connected to undercover activities on behalf of the State, Mr Veenendal said: "That is absolutely not true."

Mr Maritz said Military Intelligence used rightwingers on a regular basis for the execution of operations. He told Vrye Weekblad that this made it easier for the authorities to "distance themselves if they are caught".

A highly placed OB source said the information had been leaked at an unfortunate time and may work against the hunger strikers' prospects for indemnity.

The hunger strikers' lawyer, Wim Cornelius, denied reports in Vrye Weekblad that he had "desperately" tried to contact State President de Klerk in connection with his clients.

Mr Cornelius said he had been invited by Mr de Klerk to consult with him on their conditions, but had declined because it would have compromised his position in a sub judice case, he said.

He also denied a report in the right-wing newspaper Die Patriot that he had documentary evidence which proved Mr Maritz and Mr Martin had been State agents. "I deny any knowledge of any documentation and I reiterate that the subject is sub judice," he said.

Mr Veenendal said attempts to meet with Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee had met with no success. He warned that violent retribution could follow the deaths of any of the hunger strikers.

"The Orde Boerevolk has suspended military action but we will not be able to guarantee our members' behaviour. OB cells are still very much intact and armed, just like Umkhonto we Sizwe," he said.

Odd man in a trio waiting for death — Page 10

portedly near-comatose. Dr Lood van Schalkwyk has fasted for 34 days and suffered three heart attacks during the fast.

Mr Veenendal said the men embarked on a water strike for three days last week, but he had subsequently ordered them to start drinking again.

"It's going to make a hell of a stink if this goes to trial, and I wonder if the Government doesn't just want them to die," he said.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze rejected any security police involvement in the bombing. He said the policeman had never worked for the security branch — he was a constable "not a warrant officer, as was reported" and had acted as a probationary detective.

Captain Kotze confirmed that charges were being investigated against the constable in connection with the Natal blast. SADF and Na-

puter system was run from Durban, and there was a certain technician who they positively identified as an ANC operative. They even had a photostat of a security police file on him.

"I then told him to double check his facts, to do deeper investigation, and that the first step was to put the Durban security police on to these doings," he said.

When the police failed to act against the firm, the cell decided to take matters into their own hands and sent a booby-trapped computer to Durban via a transport company, Fastlane Freight.

The parcel was opened by the man they had targeted for death, technician Nicholas James Cruse (23), who was killed in the blast.

Captain Kotze denied reports which appeared in Vrye Weekblad yesterday claiming the police constable had been granted indemnity as a state witness. "That is up to the courts to decide," he said.

He also denied that the

BOMBERS WERE STATE AGENTS

NR 1

Peace boost as Inkatha ^{STimes} accepts ban ^{25/8/91} on weapons

By EDYTH BULBRING

A LAST-MINUTE breakthrough on the question of dangerous weapons at political rallies has removed a major stumbling block in the way of national peace talks.

The Inkatha Freedom Party agreed at a meeting of the national peace initiative on Wednesday to accept proposals for the control of dangerous weapons at rallies.

The issue has been one of the most sensitive handled by the multi-party peace initiative.

Participants said yesterday Inkatha's agreement to the ban would have been unthinkable a week ago.

An earlier draft accord — published in the Sunday Times last week — had down detailed conditions for the carrying of weapons.

However, the draft accord accepted at the weekend endorses the principle of control over carrying dangerous weapons, but leaves the details for further negotiation.

The accord proposes a code of conduct for the security forces and political parties and a network of monitoring and liaising bodies to ensure compliance.

Minor changes to the existing draft include: the ANC, NP and Inkatha will not necessarily be represented on all the peace structures and the arbitrator of the National Peace Committee will not have binding powers over the signatories.

The accord will be put before a national peace conference scheduled for September 14.

'Spies' say ANC must apologise

By CHARLES MOGALE

FIVE years ago, Mpho Motjuoadi left South Africa to study for a university degree and to train as an ANC guerrilla. **C/Pren 25/8/91 (32)**

Last Sunday night he flew back into the country without the degree – or any military training. He came back a bitter, angry man, after spending five years in ANC jails accused of being a South African government agent.

"I am ready to die, if anybody wants to kill me, but I am not going to sit back and keep quiet about how the ANC took away five years of my life, accusing me of something I have not done," Motjuoadi said this week.

When City Press spoke to him, the effects of five years of captivity were glaringly obvious. He was nervous, spoke in a barely audible whisper and when he tried to smile, occasionally, he could only grimace.

His story starts in August 1985 when he enrolled at the University of Lesotho for a BA degree.

He was stopped at the Maseru bridge border post by SAP security men who interrogated him for hours and asked him to spy for them.

"I had to agree, because I was being threatened. But in my heart I knew I would never work as an agent against my own people.

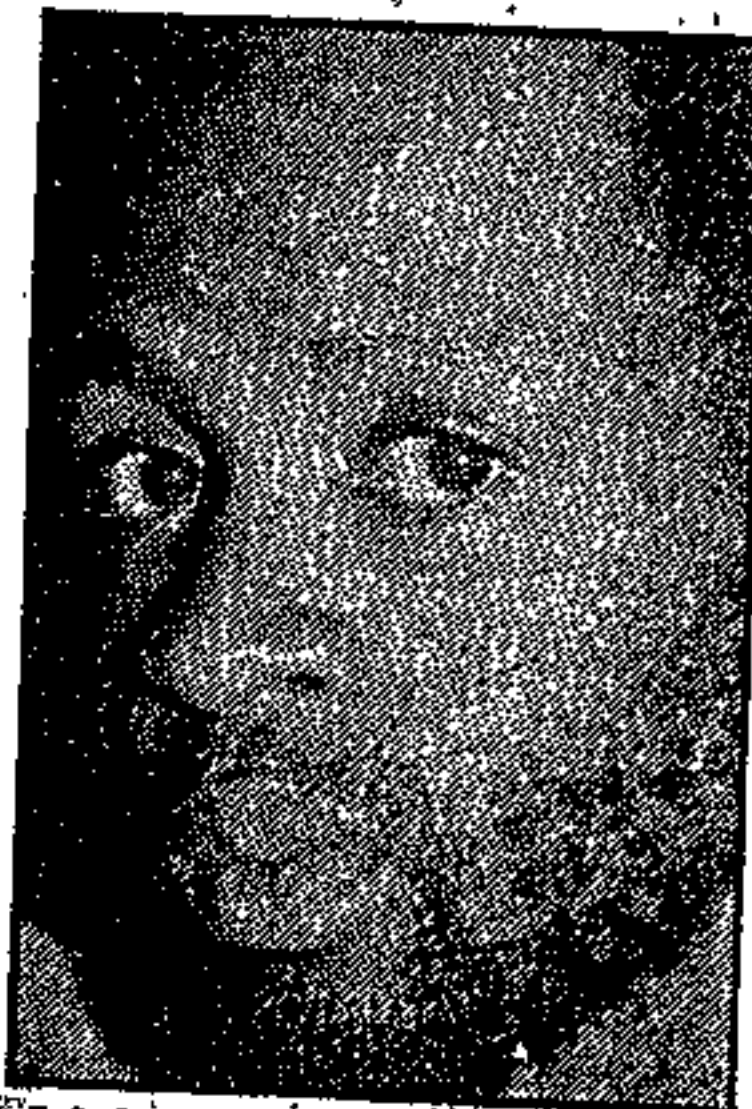
"I was only 21 and could not have been expected to tell those interrogators to go jump," Motjuoadi said.

He returned home for Christmas and because he feared security branch reprisals if he did not keep his promise to spy, he arranged to leave the country "for good".

In January he went back to Lesotho where he joined the ANC officially and flew out to Lusaka.

"I told them the whole story." But nobody believed him.

What followed was a



ALPHEUS KHESWA
... Court threat.

tale of torture and imprisonment in jails in Zambia, Angola and Uganda.

Motjuoadi is one of four former prisoners who broke an ANC moratorium not to speak on prison conditions.

Another former ANC prisoner, Alpheus "Keke" Kheswa, called for an independent inquiry into ANC detention camps.

"They have to withdraw their derogatory references to us," he said.

"We are innocent. And if they refuse to apologise to us we will have to take them to court."

Patrick Dlongwana, who spent more than five years of a 14-year sentence for his alleged role in the SADF raid on Maseru in 1982, was almost in tears when he told reporters this week: "I am not a spy, and I never was.

"I want nothing to do with the ANC and if they do not retract their reference to us as enemy agents, we will meet at the International Court of Justice."

Writer sticks to crash report

CP Press 25/8/91

CP Correspondent

A DURBAN journalist who faces a fine of R10 000 or five years in jail for publishing an "untrue" story about police action at a bus crash in Inanda, Natal, insists her report was accurate.

Christine Scott says she is considering legal action against the police because they told the South African Press Association (Sapa) that she had invented the quotes in her story.

Last year, the police tried unsuccessfully to get the *Natal Witness* to apologise for running her report on the crash, in which 29 people died.

In her article, Scott claimed the dying bus driver told residents of the nearby Shembe Church complex that the attackers were SAP special constables.

"Other members of the Shembe church said they heard large numbers of women and men from Mshayazafe - said to be an Inkatha territory - cheering and taunting: 'Umlatha' (you are ashes) after the bus and a minibus were shot at and crashed just before dawn," the report said.

THE talk in SA today is about peace and an end to covert political activity. In this new era, the inside story of a "highlight" of the secret war between the ANC and the SA state can now be told — the unmasking of former police spy Craig Williamson.

Williamson's spying career, according to interviews with ANC sources and with Williamson himself, was ended by a series of comical errors of understanding and judgment — by everyone other than Williamson.

Williamson, it will be recalled, returned to SA in January 1980 from Geneva with his handler, then security police chief Brig Johan Coetzee, in a blaze of publicity. He had been employed there for just over three years by the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF), which was an important funder of the ANC and anti-apartheid groups inside SA.

Williamson began his spying career at something of a disadvantage. When he arrived at Wits University in the early '70s, it was impossible for him to hide the fact that he had completed his national service in the SAP. His strategy was to be quite open about this.

The result was that attitudes towards him were ambivalent. In the absence of firm evidence, Williamson was cautiously accepted by most, although not all, of his colleagues on the Wits SRC and then the Nusas executive.

The IUEF's role as a funder of Nusas gave Williamson — a former Nusas treasurer — an "in" to the organisation when, in late 1976, he was instructed to become more ambitious in his activities and "fled" the country.

By the time he left Geneva with Coetzee — who eventually became police commissioner — Williamson had been appointed to the post of deputy to the IUEF director Lars-Gunnar Erikson.

In Geneva, Williamson had adopted the same open approach to his "temporary" career in the SAP as he had at Wits. He could hardly have done otherwise.

According to the ANC, Williamson quickly moved to befriend personalities in the organisation. He did this through his sociable manner and also by supplying intelligence, including information about some double-dealing on the part of IUEF.

The IUEF had promised the ANC it would no longer channel funds to the rival black consciousness movement and other such groups. However, it continued funding some of them, and Williamson passed this information on to the ANC.

He eventually applied for membership of the ANC — a step which put the organisation in an extremely embarrassing position. This was because the official ANC attitude towards Williamson was as ambivalent as that of his Nusas colleagues. The difference was that since the ANC ran covert military and political operations, the stakes were a lot higher. At the same time, there was no evidence that Williamson was actually a spy, and there can be no more terrible thing, in such circumstances, than to treat an ally as a traitor.

So, the story goes, while the ANC did not ever formally grant Williamson membership, it also took great care not to "insult" him by allowing him to become aware of the suspicions.

ANC investigations into Williamson, including inquiries among his acquaintances in SA, were fruitless.

Spy's cover was blown in a curious comedy of errors

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ALAN FINE

8 Day 26/8/91



□ WILLIAMSON



□ COETZEE



□ MBEKI



□ MAHARAJ

The man who — quite unconsciously — set in motion the train of events which led to the aborting of Williamson's spying career was ANC NEC member Mac Maharaj.

Some time in 1979 Williamson handed to Maharaj, who was passing through Europe, a copy of the IUEF's SA funding proposals for the following year. He was to deliver them to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

Since the ANC was the IUEF's primary SA contact, the ANC was traditionally given the right to comment on the IUEF's SA budget. Maharaj put the envelope in his pocket, and promptly forgot all about it. The proposals never reached Lusaka.

The Swedish government, the most important funder of the IUEF

and a long-time ally of the ANC, was particularly interested in the ANC's views. Indeed, it required ANC comment before it would hand over the funds to the IUEF.

There followed a period of confusion, with the Swedes getting impatient at the ANC's lack of cooperation, and the ANC repeatedly saying it had not received the necessary documentation.

Eventually, this forced a meeting between Thabo Mbeki and a Swedish diplomat based in Lusaka. Given his central role in this chain of events, the discussion naturally turned to Williamson. Mbeki — in his usual diplomatic manner — explained the ANC's view that Williamson was a friend of the organisation although one about whom there were certain reservations.

The Swedish diplomat misconstrued what Mbeki had told him, and wrote to his foreign service superiors saying bluntly that the ANC did not trust Williamson. This, the ANC says, was a misrepresentation of Mbeki's words (although, from its point of view, a fortunate one).

The Swedish officials in Stockholm promptly showed the letter to Erikson, Williamson's superior and friend. Erikson, whose loyalty towards his employee could not be faulted, passed it on to Williamson.

Erikson's act prompted two developments. Firstly, Williamson embarrassed certain ANC acquaintances by confronting them and demanding an explanation of how they could think of him this way, in the light of all the funding assistance and covert intelligence he had given them.

But more importantly, according to the ANC, Williamson notified Coetzee, who immediately flew to Europe to try and salvage the situation.

Coetzee's first stop was a meeting with Erikson. Prior to that, it seems, Erikson was still uncertain about the accusations against Williamson. Coetzee's arrival confirmed them.

Coetzee apparently tried to convince Erikson to co-operate. Coetzee argued that he (Erikson), a Swedish social democrat, was as anti-communist as was the SA government, and he should therefore allow Williamson to continue his spying activities on what he called the communist-dominated ANC.

According to Williamson, when Coetzee approached Erikson his intention was not to convince him to allow Williamson to remain in IUEF service, but to let him withdraw quietly.

Williamson confirms that Coetzee did try to convince Erikson that there was a certain commonality of anti-communist interest — if not between the IUEF and the SA government, then at least between the IUEF and certain (unnamed) Western intelligence agencies which used the IUEF in the Cold War struggle.

The point was that, if Williamson's true allegiances were made public, the IUEF would not survive, which would put Erikson out of a job. But Erikson, Williamson confirmed, refused to co-operate.

There are also suggestions — whose details are unclear — that Coetzee then attempted to blackmail Erikson into co-operating. But Erikson again refused.

Williamson and his handler then had no choice but to pull out of Europe as Erikson went public, and that was the end of Williamson's undercover career.

The final error, possibly, was Coetzee's. Had he not arrived in Geneva and confirmed Williamson's loyalties, the uncertain ANC might have simply given Williamson a mumbled apology for the "misunderstanding" and allowed him to continue.

Williamson says the Swedish problem might have been resolved. He showed Business Day a letter from Mbeki to him, dated October 5, 1979, in which Mbeki assured Williamson that the ANC did not believe he was a spy. However, this does not contradict the ANC's explanation that while suspicions existed no one wanted to accuse Williamson without proof.

Williamson's and the ANC's version of these events are in accord in all significant respects. However, Williamson says there were two other events which occurred at the same time — of which the ANC was unaware — which made his withdrawal from Europe necessary.

The first involved a senior Zimbabwe African National Union official — he later became a junior cabinet minister — who took a dislike to Williamson for the latter's "pro-Zapu" stance and began spreading rumours that Williamson was a spy. Williamson's apparent predilection for Joshua Nkomo's Zapu stemmed from the ANC/Zapu alliance in pre-independence Zimbabwe.

But the most serious problem, Williamson said, was that a former National Intelligence Service (NIS) operative, Arthur McGiven, who had been a colleague of Williamson's on the Wits SRC, was threatening to "tell all". "All" would certainly have included the unmasking of Williamson.

Tip-off on meeting led to Biko's arrest

Biko 26/8/91

481 327

CRAIG Williamson tipped off his superiors in SA about a planned meeting between black consciousness leader Steve Biko and ANC president Oliver Tambo 15 years ago. It was this tip-off, the ANC believes, which led to Biko's detention and subsequent death.

In about August 1976, an ANC source recalls, after years of failed attempts, the ANC managed to convince Biko — then head of the Black People's Convention (BPC) — that a meeting with president Oliver Tambo was appropriate.

Plans were made for Biko to fly secretly by private plane from King William's Town to Gaborone where Tambo was due as a guest at a trade fair. It was thought advisable for the meeting to occur during one of Tambo's routine trips. A special journey by Tambo to a neighbouring country, the ANC feared, would attract the attention of SA security.

But Biko was prevented from making the trip. On the day he was to fly to Botswana the security police placed blanket, open, surveillance on him, making it impossible for him to reach the airport undetected.

The reason the police were so well-informed of Biko's plans was that, because the IUEF was the BPC's main funder, Biko and the ANC had conducted their planning for the meeting through Williamson at the IUEF. The operation, the ANC believes, gave police the impression Biko was an ANC operative.

Concluded the ANC source: "We had our people in the

BPC. But Biko was never one of them. The police — because of the incident in 1976 — had the wrong impression. So when they detained him (a year later) they tortured him to death for information he never had."

Williamson's version of the Biko story is a little different. He and the SA government knew it was the ANC's desire to bring the black consciousness organisations into an alliance. "We were worried about the ANC and the black consciousness movement getting together."

It was important to government to prevent this, hence the massive police operation to prevent the Biko/Tambo meeting in August 1976.



□ BIKO

Williamson acknowledges he played a part in it. However, he denies the planning for the meeting, conducted through him, led him or the security police to suspect Biko was an ANC operative.

"We knew he was not ANC. I don't know what they (the security police who detained Biko) wanted from him. But the fact that he died in detention does not mean they were trying to get him to admit to ANC membership," Williamson concludes.

BOOKS

SAP suspends five unrest unit officers

Biday 27/8/91.

JONATHON REES

THE SAP has suspended a further five policemen following investigations into alleged torture, murder and other irregularities at the Welverdiend unrest unit near Carletonville in the western Transvaal.

Ten policemen, all of them constables, have so far been suspended. Chief investigating officer Col Dirk Stear said yesterday no-one had yet been charged and the investigation was still under way.

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) said yesterday the five policemen suspended on Friday had been among those identified by complainants at an identity parade last week.

A second identity parade is scheduled for next week.

The Welverdiend unit — based in a building dubbed the "House of Horrors" near Carletonville's Khutsong township — has been disbanded.

The IBIIR said the unit had been connected to at least 17 violent deaths in Khutsong between January last year and May 1991.

The IBIIR said Shadrack Motoung, who died in May this year, was last seen alive in police custody at Khutsong Police Station. Witnesses said he was shot dead within an hour after police removed him from the police station.

William Makajae also died in police cus-

tody in May. The IBIIR said on the eve of his death he told his girlfriend that four policemen, whom he named, planned to kill him. A policeman also told her that Makajae would not be seen again.

Makajae was later killed by police while allegedly trying to escape, the IBIIR said.

Scores of Khutsong youths have allegedly received "shock treatment" at Welverdiend and a number of youths have died in what police have described as "unrest action".

Peace

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An IBIIR spokesman said the police investigation, launched last month, had been aided by a new peace prevailing in Khutsong.

She said rival gangs believed police had allegedly been fuelling gang warfare and had decided to co-operate and work for peace in the township.

She said the investigation had, however, been hampered by victims who had used false names and by poor or non-existent police records at Welverdiend.

The spokesman commended Stear for his objective role as head of the investigation team and said it seemed he was committed to solving the numerous allegations of torture and murder against the unit.

Plight of right-wingers draws fire from ANC

THE ANC was deeply concerned about the possible deaths of Orde Boerevolk hunger strikers Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz, it said yesterday.

Since it was within the power of government to resolve the whole issue of political prisoners, their deaths would be tragic and totally unnecessary, the ANC said.

Government should long ago have had discussions with them.

"The government's behaviour is even more disturbing because Martin and Maritz were apparently members of the NIS and Military Intelligence," the ANC said.

To allow persons who had

actually operated for government to deteriorate to the point they were likely to die showed "the most appalling cynicism".

In Pretoria, AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph welcomed the concern expressed by the ANC.

Rudolph said President F W de Klerk was "taking politically foolish decisions"

by not releasing Martin, Maritz and Lood van Schalkwyk. "It is, however, heartening to note that the ANC views (them) as political prisoners," he said.

Orde Boerevolk leader Nic Strydom said the men were in a critical condition when he visited them at Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital on Sunday. — Sapa.

Doctor

A BRAKPAN doctor told Supreme Court yesterday a Matthys Kruger, informed round of golf that a mutual tested positive for AIDS.

Dr Christiaan van Heerde evidence in a R50 000 damages brought against Kruger by businessman Barry McGeary.

McGeary claims Kruger doctor/patient confidentiality his condition. Kruger is oppos

Devastated

Kruger initially denied disclosure, but yesterday admitted that of a legal duty to information to another medical and truth and public interest.

McGeary alleges Kruger and another colleague about during a round of golf the himself learnt he was HIV April 11 last year.

McGeary, who told the co

SAP 'gave us shocks after probe began'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Four youths from the township of Khutsong have alleged that torture continued at the western Transvaal police station of Welverdiend after the launch of an official inquiry into activities there, a spokesman for the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression confirmed yesterday.

The IBIIR spokesman said the youths had made formal complaints to the police at Carletonville last week.

They provided the police with sworn statements alleging that they were subjected to electric shock torture at Welverdiend after their arrest on July 23 — just days before authorities closed the station and suspended five policemen.

On Friday the police division of public relations in Pretoria announced the suspension of a further five policemen.

The latest suspensions followed a massive identity parade on Wednesday, during which approximately 60 witnesses from Khutsong came forward to identify those policemen they believed had been responsible for irregular activities, including murder, assault and torture.

The identity parade was organised after weeks of information-gathering by a police investigation team from Klerksdorp. The IBIIR and the local ANC branch assisted by identifying potential witnesses.

Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen of the SAP's Pretoria liaison office was unable to comment on the charges of continued torture during July.



Alleged police spy Morris Mondau, right, is questioned in front of journalists by ANC legal advisor Penuel Maduna after being discovered with a two-way radio inside the building housing the ANC's PWV regional offices yesterday.

Picture: JONATHON REES

Man claims SAP recruited him to spy on ANC official

JONATHON REES

THE ANC yesterday presented to the media a man who said he had been recruited by police to spy on its PWV regional secretary-general Barbara Hogan for R250 a week.

Morris Mondau said he was recruited on Monday last week by a policeman who identified himself as "Van Wyk".

Hogan told journalists Mondau had earlier yesterday identified Lt Chris Wilken — one of three policemen in the PWV area appointed in terms of the Pretoria Minute to liaise with the ANC on violence — as being Van Wyk.

Hogan said Mondau had concealed a two-way radio with a lapel microphone, apparently for him to communicate with police.

Mondau, who said he was unemployed and previously worked as a teacher in

Gazankulu, said he was given a photograph of Hogan and shown where she lived.

Police denied his claims and said the issue was whether the ANC had held him against his will. A police spokesman said the SAP did not interfere with legitimate political activity.

Mondau told journalists he had been treated well and was not kept against his will.

Hogan said the ANC was considering bringing charges, but the organisation's national executive committee would first discuss the matter.

Hogan, who is also involved in the local ANC-SAP liaison committee, said there could be no trust if the SAP continued to monitor the organisation as if it was illegal.

Atteridgeville to get a new administrator

WILSON ZWANE

FORMER Pretoria City Council director of manpower Martiens Nel will become Atteridgeville's administrator on Monday.

Nel succeeds Ernie Jacobson whose tenure as administrator of the Pretoria township ended last month.

Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) spokesman Gert De Jager said Nel — who was appointed to his new position by Transvaal administrator Danie Hough about two weeks ago — had appropriate experience.

Nel was briefed yesterday about the rent and services crisis in Atteridgeville by officials from the TPA, Pretoria City Council, Atteridgeville Town Council and the Pretoria Regional Services Council.

Police probe claims over spying on ANC

THE ANC yesterday produced a man said to have been caught outside their offices and confessed to have been briefed to follow and monitor PWV regional secretary Ms Barbara Hogan.

Mr Morris Mdawe, who claimed to be a former teacher in Gazankulu, said he met a certain Mr van Wyk at a hotel last week and was shown photographs of Hogan. He was taken to her

house and told to follow and watch every movement she made. Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said police had taken note of the allegations and would investigate the incident.

Hogan said police denied any knowledge of Mdawe and the two-way radio he was caught carrying outside the ANC's PWV regional office. Mdawe said he saw his

handler yesterday morning wearing a green shirt and grey trousers. The man was a Lieutenant Wilkens who had accompanied a Colonel van Wyk and Captain van Huyssteen after Hogan had phoned Van Wyk. Mdawe pointed out Wilkens as the man he knew. In another spy revelation, ANC legal department official Mr Pennel

Maduna said a man had approached ANC head office staff yesterday and told them he had been detained and released with a brief to follow ANC national executive committee members. - Sapa.

Sowetan

29/8/91

3.2.11

ANC gives details on 2 'police spies'

Star 29/8/91
By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

ANC officials have furnished ANC president Nelson Mandela with details of alleged police spies watching senior members of the organisation, and have requested Mr Mandela to take up the matter with President de Klerk.

ANC legal expert Penuel Maduna told The Star yesterday that this "dangerous situation" had become untenable and should be brought to the highest Government attention.

ANC officials yesterday gave details of two alleged spies — one who had been caught by ANC security personnel, the other who had approached the ANC and said he had been told

to follow ANC national executive committee members.

Mr Maduna said ANC officials had held a meeting with John Vorster Square police officials, one of them a Colonel van Wyk, after a man had been caught at the ANC's Johannesburg regional office.

When apprehended, the man had a two-way radio in his possession.

Handler

The man, former Gazankulu schoolteacher Morris Mdawe, said part of his brief from his handler, a Mr van Wyk, had been to monitor the activities of PWV regional secretary Barbara Hogan. He said he had been paid R250.

Mr Maduna said details were still being collected on the second man, who had approached

the ANC yesterday.

Mr Maduna said Colonel van Wyk had denied any knowledge of Mr Mdawe and had said the two-way radio was not a police radio.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said the police would investigate the incident.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the whole matter was being investigated.

"We deny categorically that the SA Police was spying on the ANC as an organisation. The SAP does not interfere in any way with legitimate political activity. It should be borne in mind, however, that individual ANC members who might be involved in criminal activities of any kind are not above the law," he said.

Police bugger put his foot in it

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Despite claims that the security police network has been disbanded, activist Pravin Gordhan followed a trail from a bug in his home straight to police headquarters in Durban.
By **BRENDA GOLDBLATT**

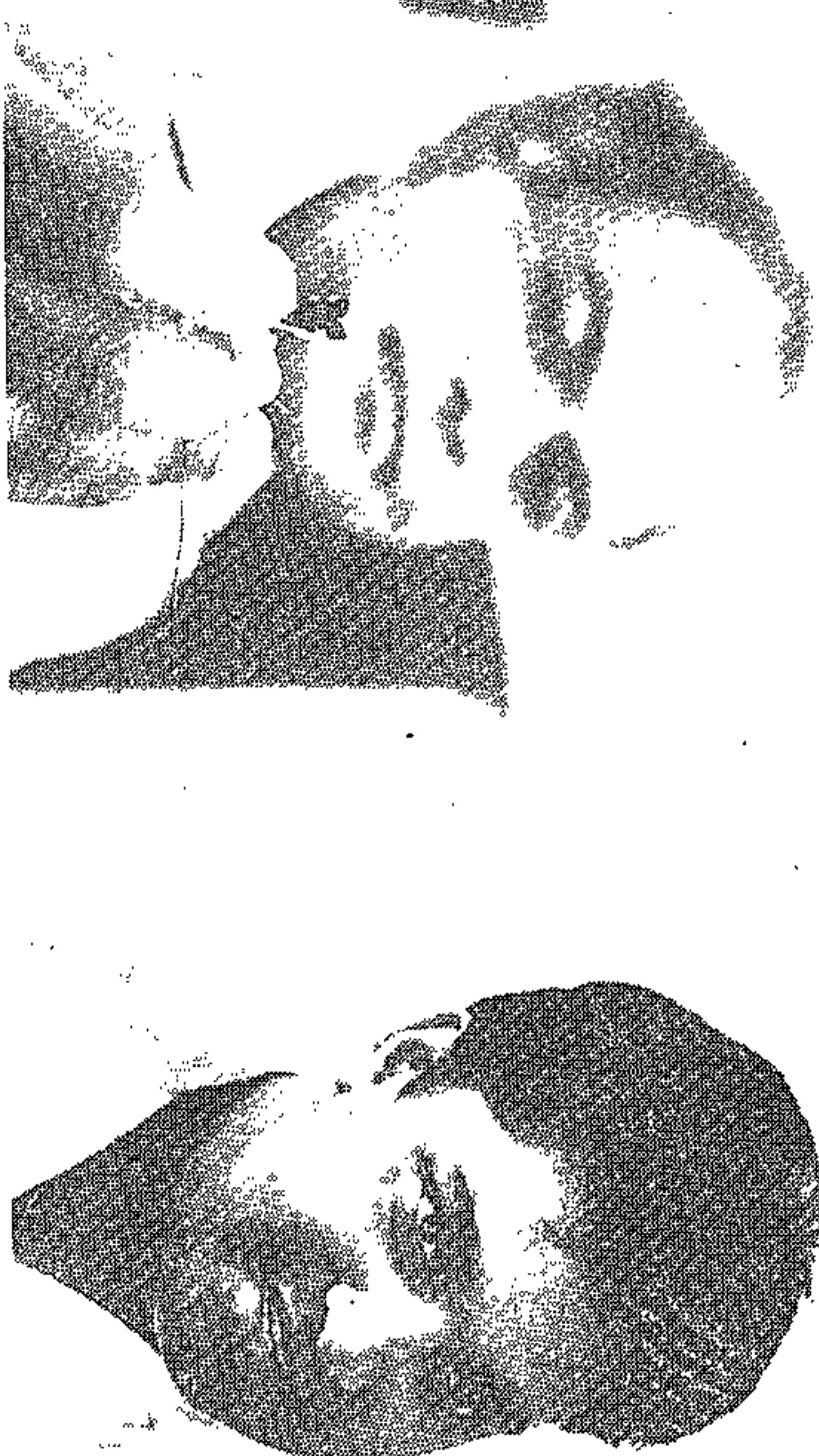
THE discovery of several bugs in the Durban duplex of African National Congress activist Pravin Gordhan, one of the key operatives involved in the ANC's controversial Operation Vula, has confirmed that the security police, supposedly disbanded earlier this year, are still around and monitoring anti-apartheid organisations.

A hole in the ceiling and a peculiar neighbour led Gordhan to one Sergeant Dennis Narain, who works for the Criminal Combating Investigation Service of the police.

The CCIS was formed earlier this year when the security police was disbanded and merged with the CID. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has repeatedly claimed that the unit acts in an impartial and non-political way.

Gordhan became aware that he was being bugged when he realised the hole in his bedroom ceiling was made by a boot. He knew his neighbour was the only person who had access to the ceiling and decided to investigate.

First he found two holes in the ceiling plus a plug socket that had been tampered with to hold a bugging device. Bugs placed in these holes gave the lis-



Pravin Gordhan (left) holds the bug planted by Sergeant Dennis Narain (right)

Photos: RAFA MAYER

tenter complete access to anything said in the two bedrooms and the lounge.

Then Gordhan found that "Dan"—a young man who had rented the townhouse in June this year—had fled, leaving a trail of evidence: a makeshift ladder, a drill bit, a disposable glove and a small bugging device.

He also left a couple of telephone numbers, which Gordhan—who decided to bug the bugger—used to track him down to the home he shares with his family in Chatsworth.

"Dan", named as Dennis Narain on his police ID, is a sergeant in the South African Police. He refused to disclose

which unit he works for, claiming that this was secret.

But Colonel I Boshoff, regional head of the CCIS, confirmed that Narain works in his department. Boshoff refused, however, to disclose the nature of his sergeant's work.

Gordhan, who said that he decided to expose the bugging operation as a warning to other activists, said that such operations undermined the government's commitment to reform.

"Freedom of association implies a fundamental right to privacy. If they are committed to dismantling apartheid they must dismantle it."

Gordhan says his secret activities stopped when the ANC gave up the armed struggle in August last year. "While the ANC disbanded the underground, the regime has built up its covert forces."

He said the bugging of his home concerned him because it gave the security forces knowledge of his movements. He said they had no motive to put him under such intense surveillance unless they had some action in mind. "They have a lot of latitude. If they could place these bugging devices they could also place remote control explosives. There are all sorts of possibilities."

ER family disputes police claim of man's cell death

AN East Rand man has died in police custody less than four weeks after two others died under mysterious circumstances at a Vaal Triangle prison.

The man died at Springs Police Station on Saturday night. Police could yesterday not reveal his identity and the circumstances that led to his death.

They said warders found the dead man on the night of August 24 during a visit to the cells. He was picked up by the police in a

Sowetan 30/8/91
By KENOSI MODISANE

"drunken state at a taxi rank and taken into custody to sober up".

His death follows four weeks after two Sebokeng men, Mr Columbus Maqoma (37) and Mr Peter Masilo (40), had died in separate incidents at different police stations on July 23.

Maqoma and Masilo were reported to have died within hours of each other.

Maqoma had allegedly col-

lapsed after complaining about pains in his chest and short breath. He was taken to hospital where he was certified dead on arrival.

However, his family disputed the police version of the circumstances leading to his death.

Masilo was reported to have collapsed and died inside the

charge office at Sharpville Police Station.

Police claimed he had assaulted a policeman in the charge office. He was forcefully restrained and later collapsed.

He was arrested after police had been called to investigate a disturbance in the township, the police said.

His family, however, said he was picked up by the Vaal Murder and Robbery Squad in a pre-dawn raid on his home.

Clean-up or cover-up?

Widespread suspicions of a police cover up surround this week's demand by the attorney general of Natal that a top police general be withdrawn from a probe into the Trust Feeds massacre. The general has denied being deployed to whitewash police involvement in political crimes, but many questions remain, reports

GAYE DAVIS



Hit-squad confession ... Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo (left), killed outside his home in Pietermaritzburg in February. Siphso Madlala (right) claims he was a member of the hit squad responsible

Photographs: RAFA MAYET

An extraordinary row between one of the country's top police officers and the attorney general of Natal has raised new doubts about police impartiality in investigating political killings.

The furore erupted this week with reports that Lieutenant General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, controversial chief of countrywide investigations into political crimes, had been pulled off the probe into a grisly Natal massacre amid a backdrop of suspicion that evidence may have been tampered with.

The controversy centres on the trial of six policemen, including two senior white officers, charged with 11 counts of murder arising out of a massacre at Trust Feeds township, near New Hanover, in 1988.

Natal Attorney General Mike Imber's demand for Van der Westhuizen to be withdrawn from the case, apparently based on a belief that the general was attempting a cover-up, led to a top-level meeting of police generals. Among those present were Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe, Imber, CID chief Lieutenant General Basie Smit and Van der Westhuizen himself.

In an interview with *The Weekly Mail*, the general denied that he was a "fixer" being deployed to whitewash police involvement in political crimes.

But in Natal there is widespread suspicion that Imber wanted the general called off the case because he believed evidence of police involvement in the massacre was being covered up.

The AG has denied reports that Van der Westhuizen was about to be arrested because of complaints from his office about the general's behaviour. But Imber did not dispute that he had demanded that Van der Westhuizen be withdrawn or that he had evidence of a police cover up.

"I am not prepared to comment in detail on these allegations, as such com-

ments may prove prejudicial to the ongoing investigations," Imber said in a statement this week.

"I wish to state emphatically, however, that there is no truth whatsoever in the allegation that Lt-Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen is about to be arrested, or indeed that any grounds for his arrest exist."

But serious questions still surround the role played by the general in the investigations into the Trust Feeds massacre and other political killings:

- Why did Imber want Van der Westhuizen withdrawn from the case? Statements from the police and the AG's office have failed to clarify this question.

- Is the controversial General, whose career has seen him at the helm of a number of politically sensitive investigations, being deployed as a police trouble-shooter entrusted with playing down police involvement?

When he was chief investigating officer in the Harms inquiry into political killings, lawyers said in court papers that he had failed to provide "evidence of any significance adverse to the SAP" — yet the lawyers said they were able to obtain such information without much effort.

During the marathon KTC trial, Van der Westhuizen — who was CID chief in the Western Cape when *witdoek* vigilantes razed shacks in the Old Crossroads and KTC squatter camps — testified that he'd seen no need to investigate allegations of police complicity in the attacks because no formal complaints had been laid.

Yet at the time video footage was broadcast by the BBC which showed

white men fighting on the side of the *witdoeke*.

This week Van der Westhuizen told *The Weekly Mail* he saw his duty as being to place the "true facts" before the country's attorneys-general.

To suggest that, having ordered the arrest of the accused in the Trust Feeds trial, he would now set about tampering with evidence was "foolish", he said. "Only a bloody fool would think that."

He decried being labelled a "fixer", deployed to camouflage possible police involvement in the crimes under investigation.

"I am proud to be a policeman. If a policeman does wrong, he must go. I don't want bad cops in the force."

Van der Westhuizen said he was considering legal action against the newspapers which published reports that his arrest was imminent.

Six women and two children were among those gunned down at Trust Feeds during a funeral vigil in December 1988. At a subsequent inquest, it was found that circumstantial evidence linked two special policemen to the killings.

Finally brought to court at the beginning of this month, the men admitted being the gunmen and said other special constables were involved.

But they claimed the orders for the attack had come from senior, white officers who had afterwards told them to "disappear". They had then joined Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's *kwaZulu* police force.

This week, four special constables already arrested were joined in the dock by former New Hanover police station

commander Captain Brian Mitchell and riot squad member Captain JP van den Heever — the most senior police officers ever charged with a political crime. The two men pleaded not guilty. All six have been suspended pending the outcome of their trial.

Expected to get properly underway in the Natal Supreme Court in October, it is hoped the trial will shed light on the true circumstances of the Trust Feeds massacre.

But the ramifications of the trial extend far beyond the courtroom and hold potentially explosive implications for a police force baulking to maintain a semblance of credibility amid a welter of allegations that it is unable to investigate itself.

According to Democratic Party MP for Greytown Pierre Cronje members of the Trust Feeds community sent frantic appeals for help to police authorities and then State President PW Botha, anticipating the violence in their area. Yet nothing was done — and all those so far charged are members of the SAP.

"The whole pack of cards is going to come down with this case," said Cronje. "Mitchell is unlikely to take the rap without telling all. If there was police complicity in these killings then it is going to come out soon."

These developments came in the same week that former police agent, Siphso Madlala, was subpoenaed to testify in the inquest into the death of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo. He has already confessed to killing the Contraleader and claims he did this on order from the security police.

Spy lets cat out of the bag



RED HANDED ... ANC legal adviser Penuel Maduna, left, with police spy Morris Mdawe shortly after he was unmasked while trailing an ANC official. **Picture: ANDRIES MCINEKA**

By **MONWABISI NOMADOLO**

SELF-CONFESSED police informer Morris Mdawe came close to tears as he faced the media with a walkie-talkie in his right hand this week.

He was caught red-handed while spying on a senior ANC member, the organisation said.

Mdawe, who said he was not assaulted by the ANC, later told City Press during a short exclusive interview before his release that he "regretted" his actions and apologised to the ANC.

Senior ANC officials were under constant surveillance by alleged police spies, the organisation said on Wednesday after Mdawe was unmasked at ANC offices in Essenby House, Jéppe Street.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze emphatically denied police were spying on the legal political activities of a legitimate organisation.

Kotze said police were consider-

ing the matter as "serious" and were investigating. However, he added police were obliged to investigate "illegal" activities.

Mdawe, originally from Gazankulu, told an ANC-organised press conference that he was assigned by a Van Wyk to spy on the movements of the ANC's PWV secretary-general, Barbara Hogan, who lives in Yeoville. Van Wyk paid him R250, he said.

A crackling two-way-radio hidden under a jersey in a lift to the 10th Floor led to Mdawe being held briefly by ANC personnel, Hogan told reporters.

She was aware at the time that her movements were being monitored.

Mdawe, a former schoolteacher who came to Johannesburg looking for a job, said he was recruited by Van Wyk on Monday last week while drinking in the Monte Carlo hotel where he lived - and instructed to monitor Hogan's activities.

He was given Hogan's picture, but on failing to identify her, was secretly taken to her house by his handler.

Hogan said she had told Yeoville police people were watching her house.

Mdawe detailed to her all her movements the previous day to prove that he was following her.

The ANC's legal adviser, Penuel Maduna, said ANC President Nelson Mandela had been briefed and would take up the matter with President FW de Klerk.

Earlier Hogan said she was followed by another man carrying a gun while on her way to the ANC's Shell House head office.

When she noticed him he signalled for a white Opel Monza (registration NVK 637 T) with two men inside and he was picked up and driven off, she said.

Maduna added that a Toyota Corolla (registration PRK 135 T) had kept him under surveillance.

I was told to kill UDF activist, inquest told

MARITZBURG — Self-confessed Military Intelligence (MI) agent Sipho Madlala yesterday told the inquest into the death of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo in Maritzburg that he had not killed anyone before his involvement in hit squads in 1986.

Chief Maphumulo was shot dead at his home on February 25.

Mr Madlala said he had resigned from MI in 1986 after being ordered to assassinate a UDF activist.

He said he was instructed by a Warrant-Officer Wolfgang Warber of the security police to kill UDF recruitment officer Thami Mseleku.

Mr Madlala had watched Mr Mseleku for a few months in 1986, waiting for him to be alone so that he could carry out the order. But the chance never came and the activist was detained.

After Mr Mseleku's release, Mr Madlala returned to Durban where he told his MI boss, a Sergeant Groblaar, that he wanted to resign, but he said the sergeant would not allow this.

But he did resign in 1987 and was later that year approached by two security policemen, a Sergeant du Plessis and Keith Brown, who said they wanted him to spy on the chairman of the SA Railway and Har-

bours Workers Union.

Mr Madlala said he took up the job and reported to Sergeant Groblaar, who would pay him R750 a month and pass on his report to the security police.

Mr Madlala implied that he did not have direct contact with the security police.

But the lawyer representing the police, Kobus Booyens, pressed Mr Madlala to admit he was a police informer and not a member of MI.

Mr Booyens produced various documents to prove Mr Madlala was paid by the security police.

Earlier, Mr Madlala told how Warrant-Officer Warber had instructed him to infiltrate the ANC after the death of Chief Maphumulo.

Mr Madlala should approach the ANC and tell them he was the assassin responsible for the chief's death. It was hoped the ANC would believe he was a defector.

Mr Madlala testified that Warrant-Officer Warber then instructed him to go to the media and say the ANC had abducted him.

This was intended to discredit the ANC and remove the blame for the murder from the State security forces.

But he had approached two reporters and decided to tell the truth. — Sapa.

ANC to press FW for reprieve

We were state agents, trio tells Mandela

B/day 3/9/91 (327)

ANC president Nelson Mandela is expected to urge President F W de Klerk today to grant indemnity to three right-wing hunger strikers who yesterday told him state intelligence units had instructed them to commit acts of terror.

After meeting the prisoners briefly in Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital, Mandela said he had told them the ANC would do everything in its power to have them indemnified.

He said the three had told him they had important information implicating themselves - and others in Military Intelligence (MI) and the National Intelligence Service (NIS) operations.

MI and the NIS had apparently instructed them to commit "some of their heinous crimes", Mandela said. Orde Boerevolk chief of staff Leonard Veenendaal confirmed yesterday that Henry Martin had been a member of MI and that Adrian Maritz had worked for the NIS.



● CORNELIUS

JONATHAN REES

Mandela said the ANC was gravely concerned about their plight.

Orde Boerevolk members Martin, 49, Maritz, 43, and Lood van Schalkwyk, 53, are awaiting trial on charges of murder and attempted murder and have vowed to starve to death if not indemnified.

Mandela said the hunger strikers had recognised him and been excited by his visit. Their lawyer Wim Cornelius said that after struggling to wake Martin from a stupor, the prisoner had held Mandela's hand throughout their conversation, clasped his jacket to pull him closer and told him he was a gentleman.

Cornelius described the visit as the most humanitarian gesture he had seen.

Mandela said state involvement in right-wing acts had to be exposed, adding that the hunger strikers had "very valuable information".

The Justice Department said last night the men would not have to be indemnified for them to give evidence before the proposed Commission on Public Violence. They could ask to give evidence to the commission if their information was not connected with their court case. Such evidence could not be used against them.

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

Nats plan strategy to keep reins

324

THE Government has developed a "New Total Strategy" to hold on to power while ensuring the re-integration of South Africa into the international community, the Human Rights Commission claimed yesterday.

The document was released to the media at a briefing in Johannesburg by HRC commissioner Dr Max Coleman.

The HRC claimed the Government was using a twin-track programme of community repression and negotiations. This approach was developed out of the ashes of the "Total

Onslaught" philosophy of the 1980s.

According to the report, the "new approach" was evidenced in the statistics of violence, monitored by the HRC from July 1990 to June 1991.

Vigilantes

The HRC, which claims to be an independent body but has close links with the ANC and Cosatu, said the statistics showed there was collusion between the security forces and so-called vigilantes in the destabilisation of township communities.

A total of 3 180 people were killed in the 12-month period. Of these, 238 deaths were the result

of security force action, while 2 640 were vigilante related.

A further 30 deaths were the result of "hit squad" action, 24 deaths were at the hands of the rightwing, while 258 were of an uncertain nature.

The HRC noted that security force deaths had showed a steady decline on a month-on-month basis during the 12 months monitored, but arrests had shown a steady increase.

The security forces were also alleged by the HRC to have not acted in violent situations when they should have, and to have assisted attackers in some cases. - Sapa

HRC claims govt has new total strategy

GOVERNMENT had developed a "new total strategy" to hold onto power while ensuring that SA was reintegrated into the international community, the Human Rights Commission claimed yesterday.

The commission launched a special report on community repression which alleges that township violence is like a tap which can be turned on or off at will.

Commissioner Max Coleman said in Johannesburg the violence enveloping townships had taken on the character of an orchestrated onslaught which the commission believed was a new total strategy which had replaced the repression enforced under the state of emergency. *610am 5/9/91*

The commission identified the four main sources of repression as the security forces, vigilantes, hit-squads and the right wing.

The report claimed there was compelling evidence that the state had embarked

DAVE LOURENS

on a deliberate strategy of orchestrated destabilisation, with the ultimate objective of defeating a weakened and divided liberation movement at the polls by an alliance of moderate forces. *(324)*

The report, which examines the period from July 1990 to June 1991, attributed 3 180 deaths and 6 855 injuries to the four groups. *(324)*

Vigilante action was allegedly responsible for 2 640 deaths, security force action for 238 deaths, hit-squads for 30 and right-wing acts for 24.

The causes of a further 248 deaths were listed as uncertain.

The commission noted that deaths which could be attributed to the security forces had shown a steady decline during the 12 months, but arrests had shown a steady increase.

Returnee claims SAP harassment

By Stan Hlophe

6/9/91

A returned exile claims he and his family are being harassed by the police and that his Benoni home has been placed under 24-hour surveillance by secret agents.

Eric Mphahlele Makhubela, a father of five, returned to South Africa with his family in January after being in exile for 12 years.

Mr Makhubela (59) left the country on an exit permit in 1978 because of police harassment. He was granted political asylum in Mozambique, where he lived until 1983, and then left for Zimbabwe.

Yesterday, he showed The Star copies of an affidavit he made to the police saying that on April 16, April 23 and June 5 he was driving along Mitchell Street in Pretoria and was followed by a police van — registration number BFR457B — which overtook him.

"I was ordered to stop and get out of the vehicle, then forced into the back of the police van, which was driven a short distance, and later taken back to my vehicle."

Shoved

"I was shoved and pushed and called a communist and other unprintable names. I can definitely identify the policemen involved at any given identity parade," he stated.

Mr Makhubela said that after making an affidavit he was told that it would take at least three months to complete investigations.

He added that the police actions were not in line with the indemnity granted by the Government to returnees.

"I never committed any criminal offence nor was I brought to any court of law, yet I am being followed like a criminal."

"I fear for the future if police can still act in a surreptitious way like this instead of working towards reconciliation."

"I need a clear explanation from the police why are they putting me under surveillance. I think I am 'clean', and that has been proved by being granted a passport," Mr Makhubela said.

Major Willie Vlotman, of the police directorate in Pretoria, urged Mr Makhubela to contact him to sort out the matter "once and for all."

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PRIEST IN CHARGE

WHO killed Thami Zulu?

This is a question that will haunt the African National Congress for years to come.

Zulu, a senior Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, died mysteriously in Lusaka in December 1989, five days after being released after 17 months in ANC detention where he was held on suspicion of spying for Pretoria.

The coroner found his death was due to tuberculosis, but according to a laboratory analyst's report which *Weekly Mail* has obtained, he died of poisoning.

Traces of a deadly organophosphorous pesticide, diazinon, were found in his blood specimens after he died. This intensifies the puzzle that already surrounds the circumstances of his death.

Thami Zulu's real name was Muzi-wakhe Ngwenya and he came from a well-to-do family in Soweto. Born in 1954, he went to high school at Salesians and then Waterford in Swaziland and, in 1975, slipped away from university in Botswana to sign up as a soldier with the ANC.

TZ, as he was known, was one of the foremost members of the 1976 generation. He was a highly regarded cadre who rose to the rank of MK commander of the Natal region in 1984, a position for which he was hand-picked by Chris Hani from the camps of Angola.

A tribute prepared for his funeral by Hani said that under Zulu's command, Durban became the most bombed city in South Africa.

He died a lonely death in Lusaka in November 1989.

An ANC official told TZ's family that he died of pneumonia. Rumour within the movement was that the cause was Aids. Some said he died, like other suspected agents, at the hands of ANC security.

At the time of his death, he had severe military tuberculosis — which had been untreated during his detention — and, according to medical experts, would probably have died within weeks anyway.

According to renowned pathologist Jonathan Gluckman, the poison that was found in his blood is so deadly that it was probably ingested shortly before his death — indicating that the fatal dose would have been administered after his release.

So who killed Thami Zulu?

A three-man internal commission of enquiry chaired by Albie Sachs into the circumstances surrounding TZ's death found no evidence that he had been an agent for Pretoria.

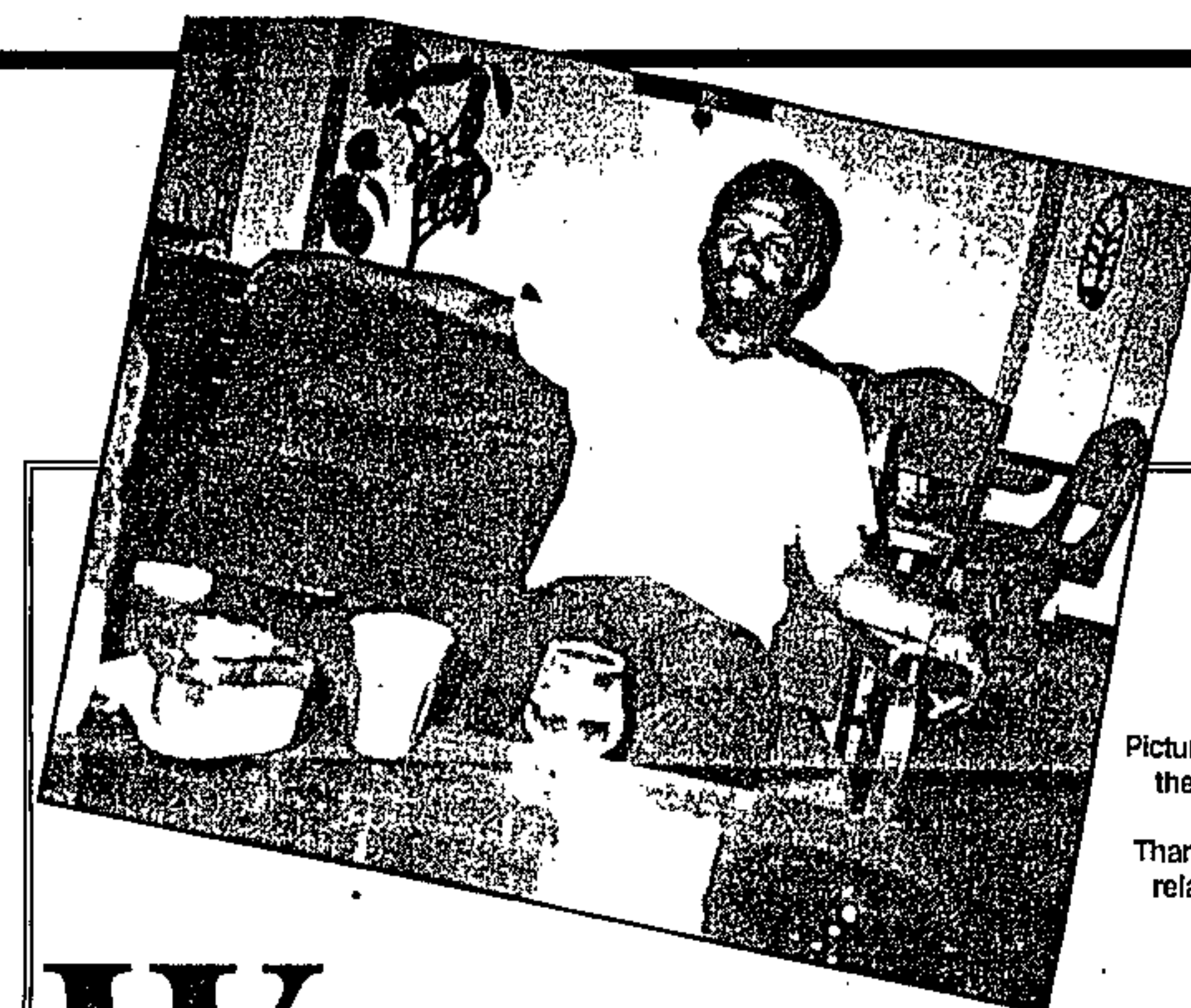
Though the ANC suspected for a long time that there was a top-level spy in the Natal command, the incident that led to TZ's arrest provides reason why there was so much paranoia within the movement over infiltration by Pretoria.

According to MK sources, TZ was ordered by headquarters to step up operations in preparation for the pending local government elections.

In June 1988, there were two separate crossings of ANC guerrillas, including three women, from Swaziland. But the courier leading them in was an askari, police were forewarned and the notorious hit squad commander Captain Eugene de Kock was despatched to intercept them.

Marthinus Grobler, a former police constable on duty at the Piet Retief police station on those two nights, recalled in an interview with the *Guardian* last year how De Kock arrived at the charge office on the evening of the first incident with other security branch men, to collect firearms.

"I asked them what they were going to do and they said special duties." At



Picture from the family album: Thami Zulu relaxes at home

Who killed Thami Zulu?

A highly regarded MK commander is detained by the ANC after his Natal guerrilla operation is smashed by security police. He spends 17 months in detention, although most of his comrades consider him innocent. He is weak and very ill on his release, and dies five days later. A coroner discovers that he has been poisoned. Who killed him, and why? **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK** follows the mysterious last days in the life of commander Thami Zulu



Zulu, centre, relaxes with friends at a party

about midnight they returned with the bodies and asked Grobler to help unload them from the police van.

"The security branch people just grabbed them by the leg and dragged them out of the van," he said. "Afterwards we had to get rid of the blood with hose pipes ... we were taking the clothes off and the one black girl was wearing a light blue blouse and you could see the burn marks on it; she had been shot at point blank range."

Grobler said that an askari, an ex-ANC member, had collected the people from the border and brought them to a certain point. When the askari got out of the car to urinate, police moved in.

"One sergeant told me what had happened. He said that when they went closer to the vehicle, this woman opened the door and partly fell out and was screaming: 'Nkosi, don't shoot'. And he opened fire, shooting at point blank range."

The same performance was repeated with a second group four days later.

An inquest into the killings is still sitting.

TZ and his wife Thabiso were on their way to London a few days later when, on their way through Lusaka,

he was told to wait and his wife had to continue the trip without him.

On her return she found that he was being held under house arrest. She was told it was a "routine" enquiry.

Concerned at these developments, TZ's parents travelled up to Lusaka where they met ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, security head Joe Nhlanhla, and intelligence chief Jacob Zuma.

They were told that TZ had not done anything wrong and would soon be released.

In December 1988 his parents were able to see him in the Pamodzi Hotel in Lusaka where he was "healthy and strong and in their (ANC) custody".

However, in July 1989, they learnt that TZ had been transferred from house arrest to solitary confinement. His father travelled to Lusaka again and spent 18 days trying in vain to see him. He was not to hear from them again until November when he was phoned by the ANC to be told that his son had died of "pneumonia".

MK leaders, meanwhile, also expressed concern at the detention. According to one commander, the department of security had powers to investigate people in the army without

consulting MK.

Chris Hani apparently raised the issue of TZ's detention at the level of the ANC's National Executive Committee.

"TZ's detention was not discussed with us," the commander said. "Our response was one of bitterness and led to a straining of relations between the army and security."

"Security was very powerful — it had the powers of life and death."

"The death of TZ is an indictment of the methods we used against suspects, ignoring his track record and the views of those who worked with him closely."

The Sachs report found that TZ was not beaten while in detention — and this was confirmed by those who saw him during his last days — though he did tell his wife on the phone that in the cell in which the ANC kept him he was only allowed out for 10 minutes a day to clean out his nightsoil bucket.

He was released in November 1989, in a clearly debilitated state. The post-mortem report, after his death five days later, revealed that he had severe military tuberculosis of the lung, spleen and kidneys.

The question as to why he was held so long without any real proof has never been answered. Clearly, there was a top-level spy in the ANC's Natal operations.

However, a military source said: "TZ should never have been detained, even if suspected. There were ways in which a strong check could have been made, without detention."

One of TZ's deputies — known variously as comrade Cyril, Fear or Ralph — had been detained on suspicion of spying earlier in the year and had died in detention, allegedly committing suicide.

Military sources say they have never seen any confession by Fear and that

the circumstances of his detention were never properly explained.

A suggestion has been made that there was rivalry between TZ and intelligence chief Zuma over control of Natal operations. The journal *Southscan* reported that Zulu "won the post (as head of Natal command) in the teeth of opposition from Zuma, who favoured a Natal-born candidate".

But the key to TZ's death lies not so much in the period of detention but in the five days between his release and his death.

The person who administered the poison would have had to have access to him during this time.

TZ was released on a Saturday into the care of a doctor friend called Ralph who, on the very next day, suffered a burst ulcer, and had to be taken to hospital for an operation.

When he came to after the operation, Ralph phoned Hani from the hospital and told him to see to TZ. Hani and MK commander Joe Modise had to vault over a high fence to get to TZ whom they found in a very sick state. After that, two MK cadres were sent to look after him.

"At the time of his release he was very sick," said an ANC official who saw TZ within a day of his death. "His visible symptoms were serious diarrhoea and vomiting." By all accounts, Hani was the one who showed the most diligence in trying to care for TZ in those few days.

"(On the Tuesday Hani went back to the house and found Thami ill," said a close family member, "Thami didn't want to go to a doctor because he said the intelligence guys were going to finish him off."

"He wanted to go to Zimbabwe. He tried to organise a passport. A doctor saw him on Wednesday night. On Thursday he started gasping and was rushed to hospital. Hani and Modise battled to save him."

What of the possibility of Pretoria's involvement in the death? One MK commander said the poisoning bore the hallmarks of South African agents.

An entire camp of 700 ANC cadres in Southern Angola was poisoned in the late Seventies and saved only by Cuban doctors.

If Pretoria was involved, the chilling prospect is that its dirty work would have had to be administered by ANC people.

"Pretoria had the opportunity to send its own agents into high levels of the army — what would have prevented it from infiltrating our security?" said the commander. "The screening of people was very cursory and superficial."

The life in exile took its toll on Thami Zulu, it is clear from the coroner's report. It is very unlikely that TZ, sick and abandoned by the movement that he had given his life to, could have died by his own hand.

Despite being one of the most senior commanders of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Thami Zulu was given a lonely burial in Swaziland. A rally called in his honour in Lusaka was cancelled, even though people gathered at the stadium, because it was feared that it could lead to a riot.

The ANC only paid for the body to be moved from the government hospital to a funeral parlour in Zambia. The family had to foot the bill to move the body to Swaziland where he was buried with few ANC comrades in attendance.

A statement from Chris Hani was read out at the funeral eulogising TZ, saying "we shall never forget your theoretical and practical contributions to our armed struggle".

After 17 months in ANC custody and after an exhaustive commission of enquiry failed to find him guilty of spying for Pretoria, Thami Zulu today still lies buried in an unmarked grave in Swaziland.

ANC and CP back hunger strikers' claims

W/ Mail 6/9 - 12/9/91
By GAVIN EVANS

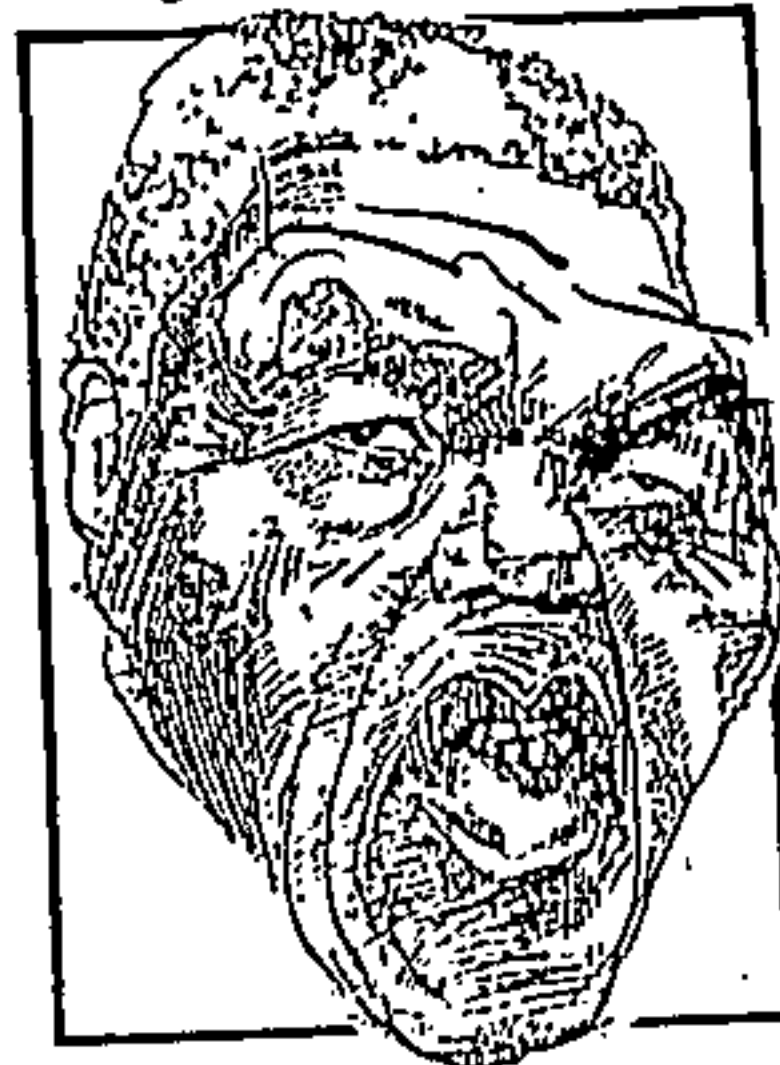
THE African National Congress and the Conservative Party are adding their weight to claims by the three right-wing hunger strikers that they were agents of South Africa's security forces.

Orde Boerevolk members Henry Martin, Adrian Maritz and Dr Lood van Schalkwyk have claimed indemnity on the basis that at the time of their alleged crimes they were agents of military intelligence and the National Intelligence Service.

ANC president Nelson Mandela visited the trio at HF Verwoerd Hospital last Friday in order to hear evidence of their links to the state. Afterwards he reiterated the ANC's call for their indemnity, saying he believed the three had "valuable information about national intelligence and security forces in acts of terrorism".

On Tuesday the CP said in a statement it had "irrefutably established" that a member of the security forces had been involved with the political activities of the three men.

CP justice and correctional services spokesman Chris de Jager said this person was not being charged, but would be used as a state



Nelson Mandela

witness in the trio's trial. He said the CP was not sure whether the security force member had acted in his official capacity.

A friend of Martin's this week told *The Weekly Mail* that the right winger had connections with South Africa's security forces since the early

1970s. "Henry was involved in army dog training for the Portuguese in Angola, but left before the MPLA came to power there. "He was later a senior security adviser for King Mabhuza in Swaziland. Soon after coming to South Africa he was involved with a security company and had no problems getting a National Key Points security clearance," he said.

Fellow right winger Horst Klenz, who is wanted in Namibia for his part in a political murder, said last month that he was an "unwitting agent" of the South African Defence Force's Civil Co-operation Bureau, which used him for its purposes in Namibia.

Martin, Maritz and Van Schalkwyk have claimed the government is refusing to concede to their demands because it would rather they died than that they revealed their state links.

However, there appears to be little motive for this claim. If the government wished to avoid damaging disclosures, the easiest route to take would be to indemnify the trio.

Furthermore, there now appears to be an agreement the three will end their hunger strike and give evidence of their claims to a judicial commission of inquiry.

Police 'take note' as SADF hitman names his bosses

By RYAN CRESSWELL

A SELF-CONFESSED hitman and informer, giving evidence at an inquest, this week named several members of the security police and SADF as his commanders.

Sipho Madladla, 28, claims he was a member of a SADF hit-squad with security police connections who killed several people and carried out a number of attacks in Natal.

Mr Madladla, who disappeared after giving a dramatic newspaper interview in April, was escorted by ANC officials and police into the Maritzburg Supreme Court on Thursday and Friday. He was wearing a bulletproof vest under his shirt.

Giving evidence into the death of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, who was shot earlier this year outside his Maritzburg home, Mr Madladla told the court that he and other men in the SADF had operated from the military police offices in Stanger Street in Durban for more than four years.

Those he named in evidence were a Staff Sergeant Grobbelaar of the military police, and security police warrant officers Wolfgang Warber and Peter Scott.

Police spokesman Major Coert Marais said the

police were "taking note" of the inquest. A spokesman for the SADF said: "We are aware of this inquest."

Mr Madladla said he was paid R9 800 extra by the army for taking part in a number of attacks.

He said he started working as an informer for the military police as a teenager in 1977, but was later employed full time and received training in the use of R4 rifles, .38 revolvers, 9mm pistols and hand grenades.

In April, Mr Madladla confessed in a tape-recorded interview with the Natal Witness that he and four others shot Chief Maphumulo during an operation planned by Maritzburg police security branch officers and members of the military police from Natal Command.

He told Mr Justice NS Page and two assessors that he and a Mr Van Rooyen, a Mr Sabasaba, a Mr Gumede and a man whose name he did not know were shown photographs of Chief Maphumulo and told to "get rid of him because he was a danger to the government and a bad influence on the general public".

Sowetan 11/9/91

Shooting leads to arrests in Seshego

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

327

PIETERSBURG police said yesterday they have arrested four Seshego youths and recovered a pistol and commercial explosives.

Police spokesman for the Far Northern Transvaal Captain Cas Jones said the arrests followed a shooting at Westernburg township near the town on Saturday night.

Two of the arrested youths are members of the Azanian Youth Organisation and the Azanian Students Movement. They are Mr Jappie Kwadi and Mr John Chepape.

A large police contingent surrounded Chepape's home on Sunday morning, watched by a crowd, and dug up weapons in the yard, eye-witnesses said.

Jones said investigations are continuing.

CP Correspondent

AN inaudible tape recording and unclear transcriptions of Sipho Madlala's confession led to the adjournment of the Maritzburg Supreme Court inquest into the death of chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

Judge MS Page adjourned the inquest to tomorrow to allow counsel for both parties to sort out the problem.

Counsel for Madlala, Colleen Thomas, told the judge that, after listening to a recorded interview between Madlala and *Natal Witness* reporter Lakela Kaunda, she found that the transcriptions were not correctly translated from Zulu to English and the tape was itself not clearly audible.

Madlala earlier told the inquest the confession he made to newspapers about his involvement in the actual shooting of Maphumulo were part of a plot to infiltrate the ANC.

Maphumulo was gunned down on February 25 this year at his

Madlala tapes not audible

CP Press 15/9/91
Havelock Road home in Maritzburg.

Counsel for the SAP, Kobus Booyens, this week continued to produce documentary proof that Madlala was a security police informer and not a Military Intelligence agent.

Madlala has, however, dismissed this and accused police of forging certain documents and his handwriting.

He said W/O Wolfgang Waber of the security police and a Sgt Grobler of MI were good at forging.

Booyens also put it to Madlala that some of the dates on which he claimed to have conducted certain missions conflicted with police records.

One such incident was an attack on a University

of Zululand lecturer's home, which Madlala said happened in 1988.

Booyens said that according to records, the incident occurred in April last year. Madlala said this was a second attack and he just heard about it.

He maintained he was present during the first attack in 1988.

Booyens also said Nato Mkhize, whom Madlala claimed to have shot in 1987, had denied having sustained any gunshot wounds. He said he only had scratches from an attack by Inkatha vigilantes.

Madlala answered: "Is it not correct that this was drawn up by the SAP? Whatever they may do I still stand by one thing - that I know who killed chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo."

(327)
**SAP find 7
AK-47s in
hostel raid**

Staff Reporter

16/9/91
Police uncovered seven AK-47 rifles and 104 rounds of ammunition while searching a hostel in Vosloorus on the East Rand on Saturday.

Police spokesman Major Dave Bruce said the AK-47s were fully loaded in a bag "as if they were going to be transported and used". A .32 pistol was also found in the vicinity.

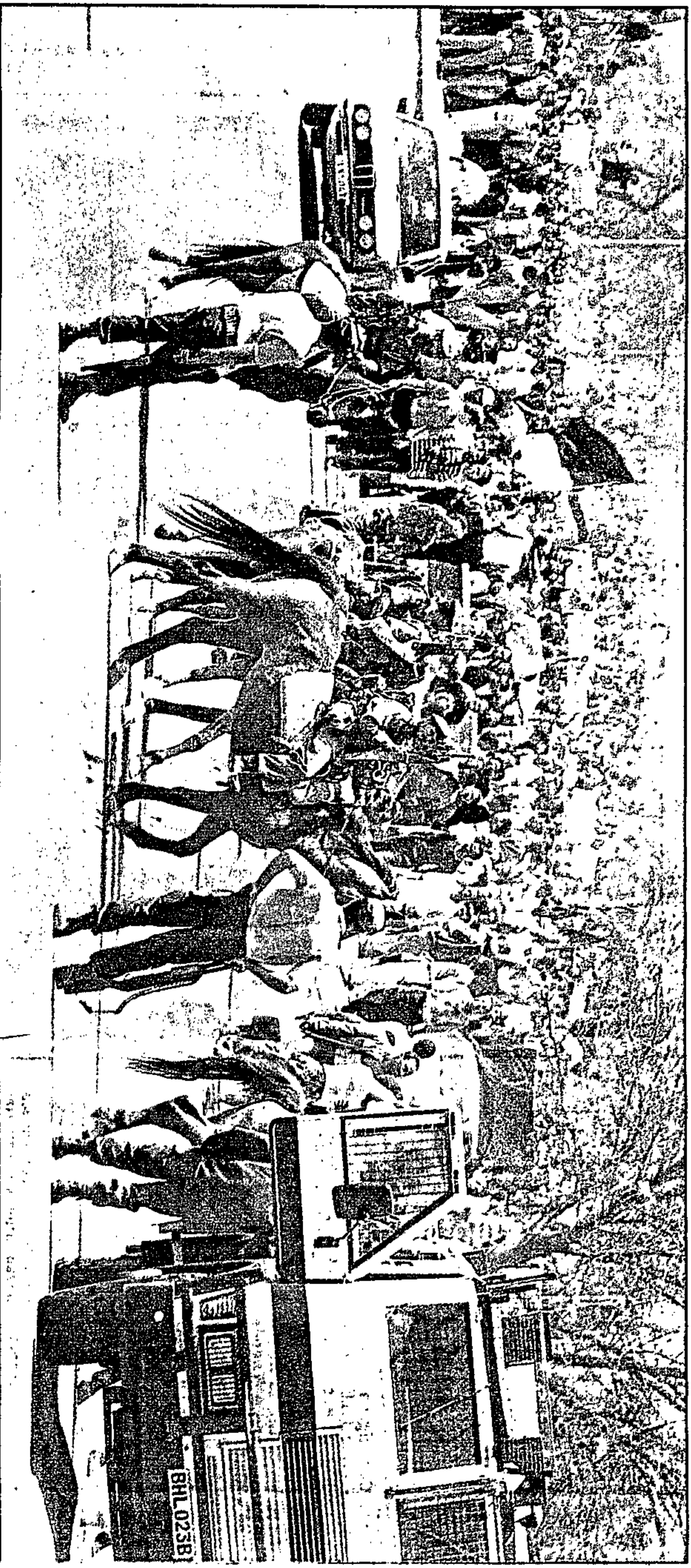
Major Bruce said initial police reports indicated that six people had been killed in political violence on the Witwatersrand since Friday.

The mutilated body of an unidentified man was found in Phola Park on the East Rand yesterday.

In Daveyton outside Benoni on Saturday, five men were injured when a hand grenade exploded on the roof of a private home; a man was shot and stabbed to death; one person was killed and another injured when they were fired on by a group of people.

An Inkatha Freedom Party supporter was killed and three injured outside the Selby Hostel, Johannesburg, on Saturday.

Also on Saturday, a man was killed and another injured when they were fired on from a hostel in Alexandra. Earlier, police found the burnt body of a man.



Face to face . . . police and SADF troops watch Soweto marchers protesting against murder and mayhem.

Picture: Stephen Davimes

Thousands march in protest over slayings

By Stan Hlophe

Thousands of Soweto residents marched yesterday in protest against last week's killings.

The march, organised by the Ministers United for Christian Co-Responsibility (Muccor), was led by MK chief of staff Chris Hani, Azapo's projects co-ordinator Lybon Mabasa, Winnie Mandela, ANC's Women's League president Getrude Shope and Muccor's Father Emmanuel Lafont.

Police in armoured vehicles

Star 1-717171

and SADF men on horseback monitored the procession.

The march started from Ipelegeng community centre, went via Soweto City Council headquarters and ended at the Moroka police station.

Marchers, mainly from White City, Mshenguville and Motolo — where the latest wave of violence left at least 60 people dead — carried ANC and SACP banners and placards.

After the march Mr Hani told the cheering crowd that peace would prevail only when the

present "illegitimate" Government was removed from power. Mr Mabasa said most people were tired of dying and crying, and wanted peace.

A memorandum was handed to town clerk Elizabeth Sithole and Soweto police liaison officer Colonel Jac de Vries. Mshenguville Crisis Committee chairman Floyd Mashele insisted a response was expected within seven days.

Part of the memorandum read: "In the light of the ongoing violence, the community

of Soweto has taken the decision that this counter-revolutionary violence unleashed upon our people by forces against democracy must come to an end.

"The purpose of our march is to highlight the plight of the families of those who have been killed and the more than 500 who have been forcefully displaced from Mshenguville by Inkatha vigilantes after the launch of their branch."

A mass funeral for violence victims will be held at Regina Mundi at 10 am on Thursday.

SAP 'running a press-gang'

Soweto 19/9/91. (scribble) 327 (scribble)

AN ANC member has claimed that he was living in hiding after being assaulted by police who tried to recruit him as an agent.

Mr Tommy Nhlapho of Meadowlands, Soweto has filed two complaints with the ANC.

He alleged that police wanted him to help identify other returned exiles and offered to pay him for information about the returnees' activities.

The ANC's information and legal departments have supported Nhlapho's

By SONTI MASEKO

claims.

Organisation spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said reports from regions countrywide were being received from members alleging that they were being picked up or kidnapped and offered money to identify other returning exiles and what they were doing.

"It is a widespread thing and it is reaching a point where people abroad are not willing to come back after receiving such reports," she said.

Spokesman for Soweto police Captain Joseph Ngobeni said Nhlapho's allegations were being viewed seriously.

"I would urge him to come forward and make a sworn statement. He can make a statement to his lawyer but we need it to investigate his allegations thoroughly," Ngobeni said.

Nhlapho went into exile in August 1984 and came back into the country in April this year. He said he was picked up at dawn on August 19 by seven police-

men, four whites and three blacks in private clothes.

He said he was taken into a minibus and a rubber tube was repeatedly pulled over his face to suffocate him. At one stage he lost consciousness, he said.



TOMMY NHLAPHO

ANC's Gwala 'topped police hit list'

Own Correspondent

MAFIZBURG — The inquest into the death of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo was told yesterday of the existence of an alleged police "hit list" of people to be killed, topped by ANC Midlands leader and national executive committee member Harry Gwala. *B. W. 1-11-91*

This was the evidence of key witness Sipho Madlala, who has claimed that security and military police were responsible for the assassination of the chief on February 25.

Madlala said the two-page "hit list" was in the possession of policeman Pete Scott at Halfway House, Mafitzburg.

Scott, who was implicated by Madlala during his testimony, was initially involved in the investigation into the death of Chief Maphumulo.

Under cross-examination by Kobus Booyens SC for the police, Madlala said Gwala's name was first on the list, followed by trade unionist Alfred Ndlovu. There were "many" names, he said.

Madlala said he subsequently read in a newspaper that one person whose name was recorded was killed at Mooi River with his family.

Madlala said the list bore the heading "Hit List" and alleged he had seen similar lists on other occasions at police headquarters in Stanger Street, Durban.

He claimed a member of the Durban Murder and Robbery Unit, a Capt Engelbrecht, was a CCB member and that his position with the Murder and Robbery Unit was a "cover". He came to know this from his superior in the military, a Sgt Grobler, he said. Madlala claimed he had been involved in "raids" with CCB members in Lamontville, Umlazi and Richmond. The hearing continues.



CP man's appeal fails

THE appeal by the national secretary of the Conservative Party against his 14-day prison sentence has failed in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Andries Beyers refused to disclose the identity of his source for a report claiming State Intelligence kidnapped a witness in the "Winnie Mandela trial".

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst yesterday said the reasons offered by Beyers for not revealing his source were insufficient. *Sowetan* 24/9/91

Beyers was appealing against the finding of a Pretoria magistrate, who sentenced him to 14 days' imprisonment for not disclosing the source for the report "State abducts witness" which appeared in the February 15 issue of the CP mouthpiece *Die Patriot*.

Although Beyers testified and disclosed all the information he said he had, he refused to give any information which could lead to the identification of the source.

Mr Justice Roos was also on the Bench.

Van Dijkhorst said Beyers' first reason for not disclosing his source because he had given his source his word, was insufficient.

So too was the second that, as it was the duty of the official Opposition to make known allegations of alleged malpractices by the Government, their sources would dry up should they disclose their identities.

He said it was strange that, although Beyers could have made the information known in private before a magistrate, he chose to testify in open court. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Witness tells inquest about secret explosives training

MARIZBURG — Inquest witness Sipho Madlala, who claims to have been a member of a secret military police hit squad, alleged yesterday that his unit had received clandestine training in the use of an explosive chemical at La Mercy beach.

Giving evidence at the inquest into the death of Table Mountain chief Mhlambuzima Maphumulo before Mr Justice Page and two assessors, Madlala said he and his colleagues had trained secretly in the use of R4 rifles, as well as 9mm and .38 firearms at a place in Hammarsdale.

It was suggested to him by advocate Christo van Schalkwyk, for the SADF, that the shooting range he referred to at Hammarsdale was that of the Umkomaas Commando which was unsuitable or dangerous for the use of high

velocity firearms such as the R4.

Madlala replied that his superior in the SADF, a Sgt Grobler, should be questioned about that.

Madlala said he could not recall what types of 9mm or .38 firearms he had used in training.

He said in his opinion his unit did not use the official military training areas because Grobler did not want others to be aware of the unit.

He told the court that he and other members of his unit, the four he alleges were involved in the assassination of Maphumulo, were trained in the use of an explosive chemical known as M75 at a plantation at La Mercy beach at night.

He testified previously that he had used the M75

chemical during a hit squad attack on the home of a Zululand University lecturer at Esikhaweni near Empangeni in 1989.

Madlala protested yesterday when he was questioned about the rank insignia and uniform worn by members of the military police, saying he was not a member of the uniform branch although he was based at the military police offices in Stanger Street, Durban.

Van Schalkwyk said there would be evidence that Grobler was not a member of the SADF prior to 1984, and suggested to Madlala that he was mistaken in his version that he worked with Grobler in 1983.

Madlala denied this and alleged it was part of a scheme by the SADF to discredit him.

Own Correspondent

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B/Dan 24/9/91

B/Dan

Boerestaat leader supports Beyers

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Boerestaat Party (BP) leader Robert van Tonder yesterday pledged support for CP chief secretary Andries Beyers, whom the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday ordered jailed for 14 days.

The Supreme Court, following an appeal by Mr Beyers in March, ordered Mr Beyers to serve 14 days in jail for refusing to identify a source who claimed National Intelligence had kidnapped a key witness in the Winnie Mandela kidnap and assault trial.

The claim was made in a story headlined "State abducts witness" on the front page of the CP's mouthpiece, Die Patriot, on February 15.

Mr Beyers agreed to testify and disclose all the information he said he had, but refused to give any informa-

tion which could lead to the identification of the source.

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst and Mr Justice Roos dismissed Mr Beyers' appeal against his conviction and sentence, saying his reason for refusing to identify his source was not sufficient.

The CP chief secretary, who was released on bail of R500 pending appeal, had said he could not identify the source because he had given his word not to do so and feared identification could harm sources of information.

Uproar

Ordering Mr Beyers to report to prison within a week to begin his sentence, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said that to merely claim a crime had been committed without allowing police to follow up the information was unacceptable and not in the interest of the public.

When The Star asked to talk to Mr Beyers at the CP office in Pretoria yesterday,

it was told he was not in and would be away "for the next three weeks".

BP leader Mr van Tonder warned that if the Government went ahead and jailed Mr Beyers it would cause an uproar.

He said it seemed that the Government was scared of having things said about the National Intelligence Service, and therefore wanted to silence Mr Beyers.

"We fully back Mr Beyers and call on the Government to back off," he said.

The leader of the Orde Boerevolk, Nic Strydom, said he hoped in future the laws of the country would be changed to protect sources, especially if the information they had given was for publication. If this did not happen, Mr Strydom said, "then people will not be likely to come forward with information".

CP MP for Overvaal Koos van der Merwe said the party would issue a statement on the Supreme Court's decision.

I was a killer, ~~259/91~~ claims Madlala 327

MR SIPHO Madlala told the Maritzburg Supreme Court on Monday he had undertaken a number of drug and theft raids for the SADF and had killed on orders from his superiors.

He said he participated in the murder of Chief Mhlabonzima Maphumulo at his Havelock Road home on January 25 this year.

Under cross-examination by State advocate Christo van Schalkwyk during the inquiry into the chief's death, Madlala also said he had received death threats from his superiors after resigning as a "hit squad" member. *Sowetan 25/9/91*

He continued to assert that he had been a paid assassin, employed by the South African Defence Force in the late 1980s. *25/9/91*

Madlala said he had been employed by private companies, including CNA, Lodge Security and Panorama Shoes, while working "under cover" for the defence force.

He was unable to give dates for his employment periods. - Sapa

Key figures in probe arrested

By Jo-Anne Collinge

25/9/91
Carletonville police yesterday arrested a local ANC leader and a human rights activist who have been central in locating witnesses for the official investigation into the activities of the police unrest unit at Welverdiend.

Sally Sealey of the Johannesburg-based Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) and the ANC's Dan Ndzeke appeared briefly in court late yesterday and were granted bail of R500 each.

They will be charged with in-

timidating a police officer, a western Transvaal police spokesman said. Ms Sealey will also face charges of criminal injuria.

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Frustrate

"We are extremely concerned by the arrests. Ms Sealey has been assisting police with an important investigation and we trust this is not an attempt to frustrate the investigation," a spokesman for the IBIIR said.

As a result of the Welverdiend inquiry 11 policemen have been suspended and the police

station closed down. The inquiry was instituted in July in response to allegations that police were involved in the violent deaths of at least 17 youths from the township of Khutsong during 1990/91.

Some Khutsong residents who have given evidence to the commission have been arrested and charged with various offences since providing testimony. And 20-year-old Enos Mhlongo has filed a formal complaint with the police, alleging that one of the suspended policeman shot him outside a shebeen late last month.

Witnesses charged in Khutsong probe

(321) PATRICK BULGER

FIVE witnesses who gave testimony that led to 11 policemen being suspended following 22 deaths at a western Transvaal township are facing criminal charges.

The witnesses to alleged police killings in Khutsong township and nearby Welverdiend police station have co-operated with lawyers and police attached to the investigations office of Maj-Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen.

The deaths occurred last year and earlier this year. *8 Dec 26/9/91*

This week Sally Sealey of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, who helped locate witnesses, was herself arrested and charged with assault and crimen injuria. She, and local ANC leader Dan Ndzeke, were later released on bail of R500 each.

Their arrest followed that of five witnesses who have been charged with illegal possession of firearms and robbery.

Sealey said that witness William Fantein was charged with illegal possession of a firearm in January this year and released on free bail. Witnesses Enos Mafhangu and Samuel Nyuta were charged with robbery at the end of last month. Late last month Thomas Monene and Thomas Mavundla were charged with illegal possession of firearms and ammunition.

The Welverdiend docket is due to be handed over to the Attorney-General tomorrow.

Natal is chosen for tourist boom project

6 Dec 26/9/91

LONDON — Natal has been chosen to pioneer the potentially huge and lucrative package tourist trade to SA, which starts in November.

SA's Ambassador in London, Kent Durr, yesterday welcomed the high quality packages from the UK as a historic step towards SA becoming one of the world's prime tourist destinations by as early as 1993.

As a further benefit from political reform, major international hotel groups had anticipated a spectacular tourist boom and were already planning to invest in SA.

He said that by 1993 the "great boom" in SA tourism, in co-operation with neighbouring countries, would have attracted all the world's main airlines to the area.

The Natal packages, first of a series of planned countrywide "SA Delight Holidays" run by experienced UK operators, are expected to take 5 000 people to Durban and Natal beauty spots between November and April 1992.

The first season of a new breed of adventure package tourists, who will pay from £599 each for a basic two-week holiday with Monarch Airlines, flying in new Boeing 757s, will spend

at least a further R25m in Natal.

IAN HOBBS

Durr, who was involved as a former Cabinet minister in the planning for the venture, told an embassy launch reception that "SA Delight Holidays" had spectacular potential that would create many jobs and benefits for all South Africans. He hoped to see the initial tours to Natal spread quickly to take in the full beauty and spectacle of SA.

He promised that the carefully controlled, very high quality packages would never turn into the "tourism pollution" that has wrecked Spain's Costa Brava.

SA Delight Holidays MD David Bennet, who spent two years planning the venture, said Durban and Natal had been chosen for the launch because they alone had the hotel capacity and experience to handle SA's first major foreign package tours.

A special tour being offered will take steam train buffs on a 10-day old-fashioned journey around SA. Accommodation is limited and most places are already sold, after news leaked out to steam fans.

Police 'funded anti-Cosatu bureau'

PATRICK BULGER

SECURITY police sponsored a covert labour relations consultancy "aimed at influencing labour relations to the detriment of Cosatu and the ANC", the latest issue of the Financial Mail says.

The report names Rand Afrikaans University labour relations academic Professor Kobus Slabbert as the kingpin of an operation under the cover of the Liaison Bureau for Labour Relations Services.

The bureau was set up in March 1989 and was "similar to those which gave financial underpinning to Inkatha rallies and Uwusa". The FM says it has documents showing that Durban-based security policeman Maj Derick Botha, who supplied R1,5m to Inkatha's trade union arm Uwusa, was involved in setting it up.

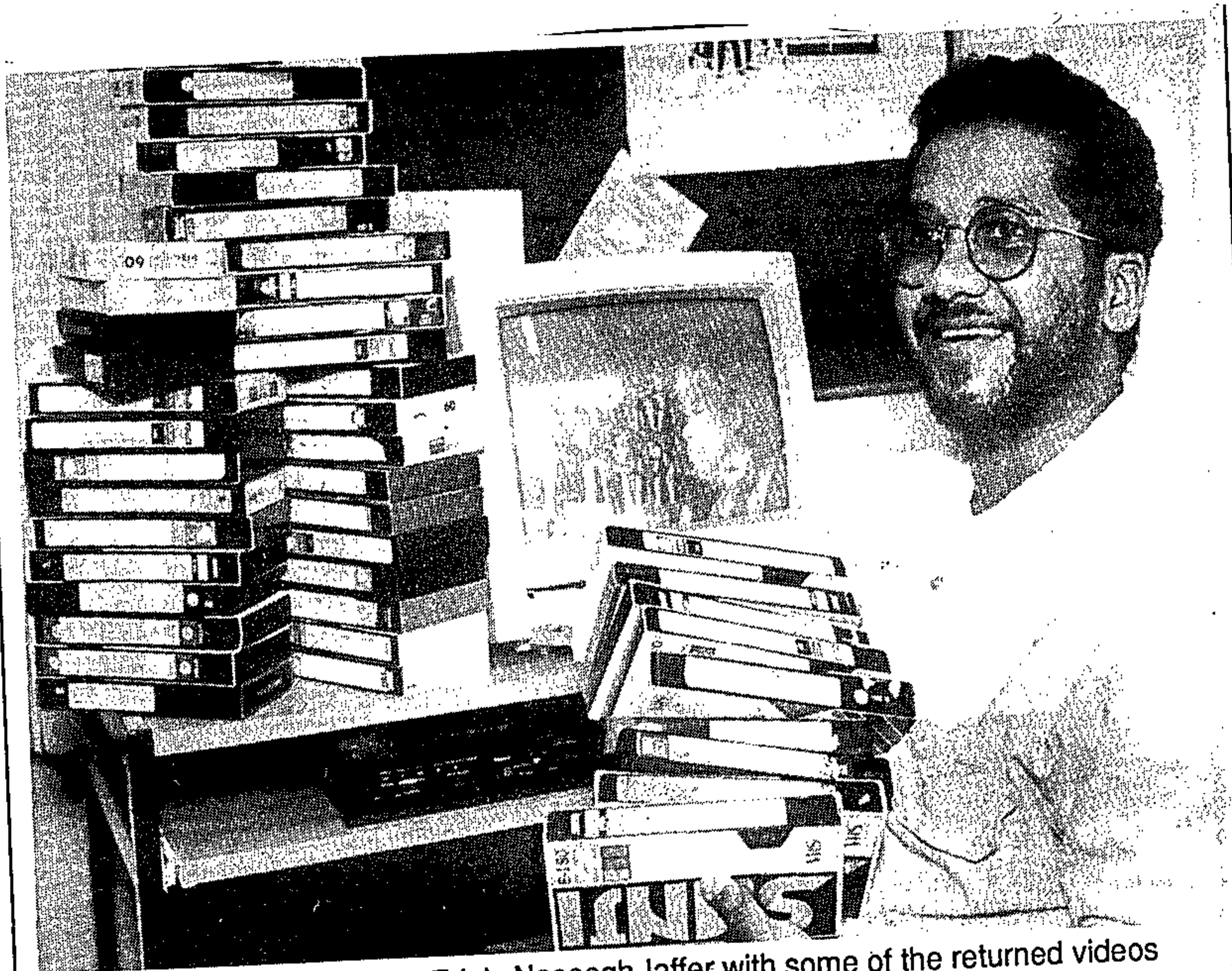
Information was collected on Cosatu, Nactu and the ANC-SACP alliance. In par-

ticular, farmers and housewives were priorities in a counter campaign, because farm and domestic workers were seen as targets for "radical organisations". Security police provided payments of up to R50 000 a month for the bureau's activities.

The FM says that shortly after the bureau was formed, Slabbert wrote to Botha suggesting a private company be formed to act as a "reference source" or database for the Liaison Bureau.

The company, Liaison Human Resources Management Services, had among its directors Slabbert, Vanderbijlpark attorney Hugo Pienaar and an Absa banking group executive Petrus Claasen.

The SAP did not respond to a request for comment on the report yesterday.



RELEASED VIDEOS: Erip's Naseegh Jaffer with some of the returned videos

Latest releases from SAP

South 26/9 - 2/10/91.

TAKE a movie or two (one of them banned), a couple of "subversive" documentaries, an Anthony Quinn classic, a pop video of Tracy Chapman, Anita Baker and Sting at the Wembley Stadium Mandela concert, and a feature on the 1980s battle by Lavender Hill residents for washing lines.

What do these have in common? Nothing, it would seem, except that they all spent three years in security

police custody while waiting for the new South Africa to come around.

The 150 videos which were seized by police three years ago were unexpectedly returned to the Education Research and Information Project (Erip) at the University of the Western Cape.

"We have gone through some of the cassettes and at this stage it doesn't look like any of the videos have been tampered with," said Erip's Ms Joy

Welff.

The cassettes were seized during an early morning raid on UWC at the height of countrywide protests against the 1988 October municipal elections.

That was not the first time Erip videos have been targetted by the police. The security police, in a previous incident, raided Erip's offices and confiscated between 50 and 100 videos. All these were erased before they were returned, said Welff.

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Prof becomes head censor

PRETORIA — Orange Free State University law professor D.W. Morkel has been appointed chairman of the Publication Appeal Board for a period of five years, starting on November 1.

Home Affairs Minister Mr. Gene Louw announced the appointment — to fill the vacancy created by Mr Louis Pienaar's resignation to join the cabinet — on Wednesday (327).

Prof Morkel spent four years as a cultural counsellor at the South African embassy in Bonn.

He also chairs the Implementation Committee of the Small Claims Court in Bloemfontein.

— Sapa

Kriel confirms secret funding

B/Dwy 27/9/91

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LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday admitted police covertly funded a labour relations bureau headed by a prominent Rand Afrikaans University academic.

Kriel said the former Security Branch began its involvement in 1989 and ended it in July 1991 "with the exception of still to be finalised individual contractual obligations".

The Liaison Bureau for Labour Relations Services cc, headed by Prof Kobus Slabbert, was exposed in the latest issue of the Financial Mail.

Kriel said details of the activities of the bureau had been submitted to the Advice Committee on Special Secret Projects announced by President F W de Klerk after disclosures of secret government funding of Inkatha earlier this year.

"The former Security Branch attempted through the Liaison Bureau for Labour Relations Services cc to counter labour unrest and promote sound labour relations," he said.

"It must be borne in mind that during 1989 widespread labour unrest occurred which led to disruption and substantial economic losses. Intimidation was rife and relations between workers and employers steadily deteriorated.

"The SA Police are of the opinion that the activities of the bureau made a valuable contribution towards improving relations between employers

PATRICK BULGER

and workers."

Meanwhile, associates of Prof Slabbert moved yesterday to dissociate themselves from him.

Labour relations consultant Anton Bruwer, a director of one of Slabbert's companies — Liaison Human Resources Management Services — yesterday resigned.

"I resigned as director of the company immediately upon becoming aware of the allegations and formally distance myself from the company and its alleged connections."

A former director, Absa group banking executive Petrus Claassen, said he was not aware Slabbert was running a company on behalf of the security police.

"I feel used. I did not have the slightest idea there was a police connection," Claassen said.

The report in the Financial Mail said Slabbert set up his labour consultancy with the help of the Security Police to "depoliticise" labour relations. He was in regular contact with Maj Derrick Botha and received up to R50 000 a month to sponsor the bureau's activities.

Slabbert was not available for comment yesterday and police would not respond to requests for comment.

The FM reported that the bureau was "similar to those which gave financial underpinning to Inkatha rallies and Uwusa".

REVENUE

1661

Hijacking surge

'Dirty tricks' revelation angers ANC, Cosatu

Police admit slush project

By Esmael van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Star 21/9/91
Law and Order Minister
Hennus Kriel yesterday
confirmed that the secu-
rity police had funded a
Johannesburg-based la-
bour relations firm —
which involved prominent
Afrikaner academics —
to "counter labour unrest
and promote sound la-
bour relations".

Mr Kriel said "this invol-
vement" with Liaison Bu-
reau for Labour Relations
Services CC had started in
1989 and had been terminat-
ed in July this year "with the
exception of still-to-be-fina-
lised individual contractual
obligations".

The Financial Mail (FM)
this week revealed that secu-
rity policeman Major Der-
rick Botha, who had handled
the R1.5 million slush fund
payment to Inkatha's trade
union, Uvusa, was the con-
nection between the Security
Branch and Liaison Bureau,
headed by Rand Afrikaans
University labour relations
academic Professor Kobus
Slabbert.

The FM said the firm had
been set up and funded by
the security police to influ-
ence labour relations to the
detriment of the ANC and its
aligned trade union federa-
tion, Cosatu.

Interference

The ANC and Cosatu yester-
day responded angrily to
Mr Kriel's acknowledgment
of the State's undercover inter-
ference in labour relations and
politics and expressing
doubts about President de
Klerk's assurance that all se-
cret funding projects had
been halted.

In a statement, Mr Kriel
said "at no stage whatso-
ever..."



On fire... Professor John Cartwright, dean of the faculty of arts at Cape Town University, runs from a burning barricade after trying to extinguish it yesterday. Students set up barricades and disrupted lectures in a show of solidarity with striking workers at the university. ● See Page 3
Picture: Associated Press

and promote sound labour relations"

Mr Kriel said "this involvement" with Liaison Bureau for Labour Relations Services CC had started in 1989 and had been terminated in July this year "with the exception of still-to-be-finalised individual contractual obligations"

The Financial Mail (FM) this week revealed that security policeman Major Derrick Botha, who had handled the R1,5 million slush fund payment to Inkatha's trade union, Uwusa, was the connection between the Security Branch and Liaison Bureau, headed by Rand Afrikaans University labour relations academic Professor Kobus Slabbert.

The FM said the firm had been set up and funded by the security police to influence labour relations to the detriment of the ANC and its aligned trade union federation, Cosatu.

Interference

The ANC and Cosatu yesterday responded angrily to Mr Kriel's acknowledgement, condemning the State's undercover interference in labour relations and politics and expressing doubts about President de Klerk's assurance that all secret funding projects had been halted.

In a statement, Mr Kriel said "at no stage whatsoever" were the activities of Liaison Bureau, a close corporation involved in training employers in "reasonable" labour relations, aimed at disrupting the normal activities of unions.

The aim was to promote healthy interaction between employees and employers at a time when widespread labour unrest had led to work disruptions and substantial economic losses.

The "valuable contribution" of the firm towards improving labour relations had been borne out by "the great interest shown by employers in the advice offered by the bureau".

Mr Kriel said details of the project had been submitted to the Advice Committee on Special Secret Projects appointed by Mr de Klerk last month.

He added that the Security Branch had not been involved in the activities of

Right to publish defended

Star 27/9/91

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By Susan Smuts

The Star yesterday defended its right to publish investigative defamatory allegations, but was ordered not to publish evidence led in an application for an urgent interdict against it.

Trucking and cartage contractor Riaan Coetzee brought the interdict in the Rand Supreme Court to stop Star Line publishing defamatory allegations against him. The Star's lawyer, Denis Kuny, SC, said the media had the right to publish defamatory comments.

The media had the right to risk paying damages if it could not justify any defamatory comments it made, he argued.

"The press has a particular function in a democratic society to serve the public interest. Freedom of expression is recognised and enforced by our law as an integral part of democratic government."

Restraining

Mr Justice S J Mynhardt granted an order restraining The Star from publishing any allegations made about Mr Coetzee which might emerge during the court proceedings. The Star may publish judgment.

Applying for an order to restrain other newspapers publishing details, Mr Coetzee's lawyer, Bruce Berman, SC, said: "By reporting the proceedings, newspapers can repeat the def-

amation. No newspaper should be able to publish the arguments."

Newspapers were obliged to report court proceedings fairly, but even if this were done it would effectively spread the defamation, Mr Berman said. The prejudice to the newspapers would "be limited" as it would either fall away or be upheld when judgment was given, he said.

Remedied

Mr Kuny said courts should be slow to grant final interdicts restraining publication of an article which was in the public interest. The media was entitled to make the truth known and to make fair comment on it. If it unjustly defamed someone, that could be remedied by further court action, he argued.

When a court had to decide whether a story could be published, it should steer as close to the preservation of liberty as possible. This was because freedom of speech was a "hard-won and precious asset, yet easily lost".

The freedom of the press was essential to free speech, since it was only by reaching a large number of people that such freedoms could be utilised for society's benefit, he argued.

The interdict was brought against Argus Newspapers Limited, Allied Publishing Company Limited and Star Line reporter June Bearzi.

The hearing continues today.



Packing for prison . . . Martie Beyers helps her husband pack his suitcase before he goes to jail.

Picture: Mark Wolhuter

CP seeks parole as Beyers enters jail

Political Staff

The Conservative Party has formally requested parole for its chief secretary, Andries Beyers, who yesterday started serving a 14-day sentence for refusing to reveal a source for an allegation against the National Intelligence Service.

In a formal request to Minister of Correctional Services Adriaan Vlok, the CP asked for Mr Beyers to be granted parole or to have two-thirds of his sentence suspended and to be allowed to serve the term at the Victor Verster Prison where he could enjoy the same privileges as ANC leader Nelson Mandela had.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg charged that the Government's goodwill was directed only at the ANC and not at Afrikaner nationalists.

Proud

"The Government must explain why it gave orders for Mr Beyers to be subpoenaed to reveal his source while a journalist from a left-wing newspaper who revealed secret information about police funding of Inkatha was not subpoenaed to reveal his source."

Dr Hartzenberg said Mr Vlok had not yet responded.

Speaking to about 60 people outside Pretoria Central where Mr Beyers reported to serve his sentence, Dr Hartzenberg said the CP was proud of him and the example he was setting.

After a farewell to his tearful wife, Martie, and five sons, Mr Beyers entered prison wearing a red carnation and carrying a Bible given to him by Frank le Roux, chief whip of the CP's parliamentary caucus.

SLUSH FUNDS

Dangerous liaisons

FM 27/9/91

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How a Security Police operation acquired academic respectability

The covert use of government slush funds by some security policemen to achieve political ends has not stopped — despite government assurances to the contrary.

The *FM* has documents which indicate that Major F P R (Derrick) Botha, the security policeman who supplied R1,5m in secret funds for Inkatha's union, Uwusa, is involved with a prominent Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) academic in a project aimed at influencing labour relations to the detriment of Cosatu and the ANC.

The project is similar to those which gave financial underpinning to Inkatha rallies and Uwusa. According to a letter to the Security Police controller of the operation, its object was to "promote peace on the labour front and economic growth by means of depoliticising actions."

It used apparently neutral figures to intervene in the labour arena.

At the head of the project is Prof Kobus Slabbert, a senior labour relations academic at RAU. Since 1989 he has been the kingpin of an operation behind the cover of the Liaison Bureau for Labour Relations Services CC. Within Liaison Bureau, Major Botha is the main connection to the security forces. (The Uwusa project was known as Projek Omega: Operasie Alpha, and Botha was its controller.)

All Liaison Bureau personnel signed an oath of secrecy on a prescribed SAP form prohibiting them — in terms of the Protection of Information Act (1982) — from divulging documents or information related to the project.

The document pledges in part that the Act "is not only applicable during my term of office, but also after my services with the SA Police have been terminated." But the personnel were not members of the SAP and, in the opinion of the *FM*'s legal advisers, the secrecy oath is not necessarily binding on them.

According to files lodged with the Registrar of Companies in Pretoria, Liaison Bureau (CK 89/09596/23) was

formed on March 9 1989 to act as "labour advisers and consultants." The members of the close corporation were Slabbert; a Richard Tanner (ID no 511005 555 7088) of Hollard Place, 323 Jacob Mare Street, Pretoria; and Leon Lotter (ID no 470306 5040 003) of 1 Kiepersol Gardens, Farmers Folly, Lynnwood, Pretoria.

At one stage Marius Botha, a brother of Major Botha, held 20% of the shares in Liaison Bureau. A close associate of Slabbert, Vanderbijlpark attorney Hugo Pienaar of the firm Du Plessis Pienaar & Swart, joined Liaison Bureau later as a member. Marius Botha, Tanner, Lotter and Pienaar have since resigned.

Another close associate of Slabbert is Prof Johann Coetzee, a senior lecturer in business management at Potchefstroom University, who is also on the board of Liaison Bureau.

Several well-known businessmen, academics and TV personality Ruda Landman were used to lend credibility to these activities. Landman, of M-Net's *Carte Blanche* programme, wrote a foreword to a book on domestic servants and labour relations written by Slabbert, Pienaar and Coetzee and published by Liaison Bureau.

After Liaison Bureau was formed Slabbert, in a personal memorandum to Major Botha dated October 23 1989, requested that a private company be formed which could be used by Liaison Bureau as what was termed a *verwysingsbron* — literally translated, a reference source, but also in Slabbert's words "'n oorhoofse maatskappy" (umbrella company) through which "Liaison Bureau could expand its influence . . . without forfeiting its credibility."

This company — called Liaison Human Resources Management Services — operates as a business and employs various people from the private sector.

Its directors are Slabbert; Pienaar; Coetzee; Koos van Niekerk (a well-known publisher of legal and academic books); former Volkskas labour expert Petrus

Claassen, now a group executive with the new banking group Absa; Anton Bruwer, a labour consultant; and Prof Naas Raubenheimer of RAU's management psychology department. Eskom official Gert Drey has since resigned from the board, but was a director at the inception.

Slabbert and Pienaar were involved in an earlier project devised to "negotiate and implement an insurance package in favour of Uwusa." Both were members of a close corporation, Union Ninety Nine Brokers, registered on April 25 1988. A former Lifegro employee, Retief Leonard, was the third member of the CC. The registered address of Union Ninety Nine Brokers was given as PO Box 639, Vanderbijlpark — the initial postal address for Liaison Bureau.

In September 1988 Union Ninety Nine's name was changed to Industria Brokers — which later used the name of Industria Consulting Enterprises, a name registered in 1987. Pienaar and Slabbert were also members of Industria Consulting Enterprises. Others were Tjaart van der Walt of Pretoria University's Sociology department; Theodore Venter of Potchefstroom's Political Science Department; an André Fourie of Helderkruijn; and Jacobus Stephanus Gericke of Potchefstroom.

In May 1989 Leonard threatened Industria Consulting with legal action, alleging that he had been promised sole rights in negotiating an insurance package for Uwusa on behalf of Industria Consulting. On June 19 1989 Slabbert sent a letter from Leonard and a memo to Major Botha in Pretoria. Earlier, on June 13, Slabbert had sent to Botha a summons against Industria for outstanding rent, as well as petrol statements from himself and Pienaar. A copy of this letter was given to another security policeman, Piet Badenhorst, who had been seconded by Botha to Liaison Bureau's offices in Curatio Building in Auckland Park.

Prior to this, however, according to the minutes of a February 3 meeting attended by Slabbert, Pienaar and Major Botha, it was decided that Pienaar would draw up employment contracts between members of the close corporation and the "investors" (*beleggers*). This is a code phrase for the Security Police.

Among the documents in the *FM*'s possession are copies of unsigned draft agreements between Slabbert, Pienaar and senior Security Police officers. One is an (unsigned) *pro forma* agreement between "Prof J A Slabbert (on the one hand) and Mr J D Pretorius (ID no 571226 5005 00 4) and Mr A Oosthuizen (ID no 490520 5036 00 3)." This stipulates that Slabbert would have 51% of the shares in yet another company, Liaison



Slabbert



Van Niekerk

Hulpbronbestuursdienste (Edms) Beperk. The agreement further states that "the parties confirm that 10% of the said 51% shareholding to be ceded to . . . Mr Pretorius and Mr Oosthuizen."

The FM understands Oosthuizen is a serving member of the Security Police, while Pretorius has retired from the SAP.

In another agreement, signed only by Pienaar on April 21 1989, the SAP is described as "the employer" (represented by Brig G N Erasmus); Pienaar is described as "the employee." The agreement states that the SAP has decided to employ Pienaar and that his role would be to co-ordinate all legal aspects and assist clients in labour negotiations, telephone inquiries, and Industrial Court litigation.

A similar agreement between the SAP (represented by Erasmus) and Slabbert was drawn up at about the same time. In this case Slabbert was expected to fulfil duties relating to the "creation of a data base, influencing employers, depoliticisation of trade unions, recruiting and generating of funds and the creation and maintenance of an infrastructure."

The FM interprets "infrastructure" to refer to Liaison Bureau activities.

The agreements provide that Slabbert and Pienaar would admit publicly only that they were employed respectively by RAU and attorneys Du Plessis Pienaar & Swart. The projects would be evaluated before or on January 31 1990 and could be renewed for a further year. According to a rental agreement between Liaison Bureau and Volkskas Properties the lease by Liaison Bureau of the offices in the Curatio building expires only in March 1992.

As part of the organisational structure of the envisaged project it was proposed that a number of close corporations be registered. These included: DPS (Pienaar and his partners in Du Plessis Pienaar & Swart); Liaison, in which "two partners will represent the investors"; a publishing concern and an envisaged CC to provide services and advice to trade unions.

At the February 3 1989 meeting Major Botha was asked to finalise a lease with Volkskas for three years. Botha also gave permission for furniture to be purchased and promised that he would collect and pass on information relating to agriculture. (In various progress reports Slabbert discusses potential labour problems in agriculture; and after his appointment to Liaison (Pty), Koos van Niekerk's main task was to address agricultural organisations and farmers on these problems.)

Pienaar undertook to register the close corporations. The minutes state that: "Derrick Botha was already busy sorting out co-opted (*gekoopteerde*) trade unions. Thereafter a strategic plan for the total trade union

spectrum will be worked out and finalised in co-operation with Dr Slabbert."

From minutes of other meetings it is clear that Botha was responsible for all decisions on policy and financial matters. On April 14 he gave Liaison Bureau permission for several thousand brochures, letterheads, business cards and complimentary pamphlets to be printed. He gave the go-ahead for a student to be appointed at R6 per hour to establish a data base.

On February 22 yet another meeting dealt with the formation of the CCs — and at this meeting Brig Erasmus and Oosthuizen were present with Botha, Pienaar and Slabbert. Botha confirmed to the meeting that an advance of R50 000 a month would be paid into Liaison Bureau's bank account. The amount would be replenished — also on a

In his progress report for August and September 1989, Slabbert stated that the political actions (*verpolitiseringsaksies*) by radical organisations like Cosatu and Nactu were aimed at "discrediting the State . . . 'sabotage' of the negotiations process . . . and destabilisation and erosion of the SA economy." He said he had established close co-operation with RAU's Prof Raubenheimer, and "this alliance (*verbinten*) will be of great value in future for Liaison's depoliticising role in the PWV area."

On November 10 1989 Slabbert wrote a letter to Botha under the heading "*Sekuriteit Liaison*" ("Liaison security") in which he dealt with various problems — among them the presence of Badenhorst at the Liaison offices.

He wrote: "I have to put it on record that

Mr Badenhorst's continuous input is invaluable for the success of our whole operation. As has been proposed we should, however, put together (*saamstel*) a watertight alibi for his presence." Such alibis should also be established for Liaison sources who contributed information on trade unions.

A month later, Botha replied in a handwritten letter on government-issued stationery, agreeing in principle with Slabbert's proposals. Botha said that Badenhorst's motor vehicle would be replaced — "He will be almost full-time at Liaison and must be introduced as a researcher/student."

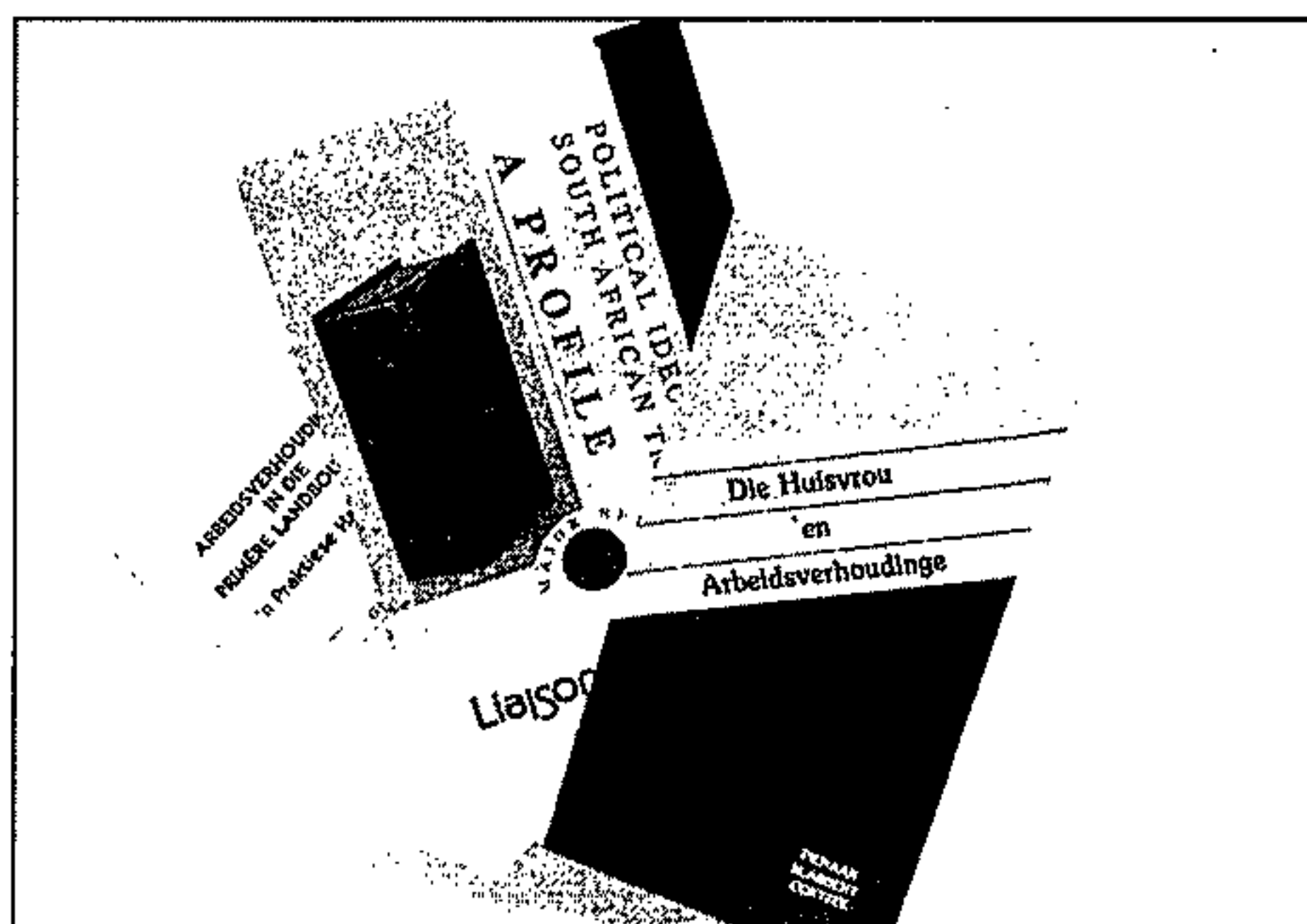
Botha also referred to two researchers, Gerhard Marais and

André de Villiers (a former RAU SRC chairman), who are still employed by Liaison (Pty) Ltd: "All inquiries should be handled via Mr Badenhorst if a situation should arise where their knowledge of campus politics is necessary."

In a progress report, dealing with the period between October 1989 and year-end, Slabbert said that initiatives taken under the leadership of newly elected President F W de Klerk had resulted in "certain perceptions and expectations among the SA population which could have a determining influence on the SA labour terrain." Because of this it was decided to shift the emphasis of the Liaison project in certain ways. For example, it was decided to establish a course for post-graduates at RAU who wanted to specialise in labour relations.

In 1990, Slabbert took stock of De Klerk's unbanning of the ANC and release of political prisoners in his first progress report. The RAU course in "Radical labour politics" had been developed and successfully implemented at the university.

He added: "Various strategic information sessions regarding the impact of the changing political climate on the SA labour terrain have also been launched via RAU." And various outside experts had been used in the Liaison project, saving the "investors" an astronomical amount monthly. *Eddie Botha*



Liaison pamphlets . . . peddling undercover influence

monthly basis.

Slabbert explained his role as co-ordinator to this meeting and said only he would liaise with the "investors" — and vice versa. "No decisions, actions or agreements which involve Liaison Bureau may take place without Dr Slabbert's permission," the minutes state. A cheque account (no 2840 191 799) was opened for Liaison Bureau at Volkskas Auckland Park — with Slabbert and Pienaar empowered to sign cheques. The minutes further state that the employment contracts between Slabbert, Pienaar and the "investors" were ready to be signed.

Slabbert and Major Botha frequently corresponded on matters relating to Liaison Bureau. On June 6 1989 Slabbert reported to Botha that the CC's database included daily incidents on the labour front and profiles of trade unions and "radical organisations." "Research for the creation of databases regarding Cosatu, Nactu, ANC/SACP alliance and Sactu have already been completed . . ." he reported.

Farm workers and domestic servants had become prime targets in the radical onslaught, he wrote. Therefore it was decided to consider a counteroffensive aimed at farmers and housewives a matter of high priority. Slabbert also told Botha that Prof Coetzee had undertaken to make his list of clients available to Liaison.

Papo's death 'not suicide'

wimam 27/9 - 3/10/91
By HUBERT MATLOU (327) (251)

POLICE were quick this week to accept suicide as the cause of death of a township activist — despite evidence that he had been murdered.

African National Congress Youth League and South African Communist Party activist Papo John Manyakalle (21) was found in his home's outside toilet with a bullet wound in the left ear last Friday morning. He was last seen alive on his way back from a friend's place on the evening of September 19 after watching the television series, *Miami Vice*.

He was found the following morning by his family, squatted on the toilet floor, motionless and cold. Alongside him lay a pistol, placed next to his radio.

Earlier that week, at least two other ANCYL and SACP activists spotted vehicles with strangers monitoring and pointing out their homes.

According to Manyakalle's father, Isaac, a police van and a private car were parked next to his house until very late on the evening of September 19. When the family finally went to sleep, the two vehicles were still parked there.

When the body was discovered, Diepkloof police station detectives were summoned to the scene. Upon their arrival they immediately suggested it was suicide. When Isaac Manyakalle objected to this, an argument ensued with a white policeman who asked how he knew it wasn't suicide.

However, the nature of the wound does not suggest that Manyakalle might have killed himself.

First, the wound is in the left ear but Manyakalle was right-handed.

Second, if he had really used the left hand to pull the trigger, he would not have been able to replace the gun on his right side, neatly next to the radio.

Third, there was not a drop of blood either on the walls or on the floor. Fourth, the seated position in which the deceased was found indicate it was not the spot where he was killed.

Finally, the family would have heard the sound of the shot being fired.

"There is no way my son could have killed himself," said Manyakalle. "He was supposed to continue his studies next year, after spending almost a year at home due to lack of finance. And I have recently secured financial assistance from my insurance."

Wimail
REPRESSION 27/9-30/9
THE HRC's weekly update notes that nine townships on the Reef are still declared unrest areas with a 9pm to 5am curfew in force. They are: Thokoza, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Tembisa, Soweto, Dobsonville, Meadowlands, Diepkloof and Alexandra. (327)

APARTHEID BAROMETER

VIGILANTE ACTION

UNKNOWN assassins allegedly killed 26 government opponents between September last year and June this year, according to a Human Rights Commission report entitled *The New Total Strategy — 12 Months of Community Repression, July 1990 to June 1991*. *W/mail 27/9-3/10/91*

There were also 32 attempted assassinations of left-wingers, 14 recorded death threats and six abductions. Most of those killed were African National Congress members, but Pan Africanist Congress members and trade unionists featured prominently.

The report says South African security forces were responsible for 232 deaths between July 1990 and June this year — an average of 20 deaths a month.

Since the Goldstone Commission in March 1990, 2 640 people have died as a result of "vigilante action", which it

says represents 83 percent of all politically related deaths during that period.

In the latest HRC weekly report, 17 deaths and 16 injuries are attributed to new "vigilante actions". Eleven people died and 14 were injured in the PWV area while in Natal six deaths and two injuries were recorded.

REPRESSION

W/mail 27/9-3/10/91
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DEATH ROW

THE weekly report also says there are presently 335 people awaiting execution, 17 of whom the HRC considers to be political prisoners. *203*

W/mail 27/9-3/10/91

Judge upholds right for The Star to publish

THE Star's right to publish investigative defamatory allegations was upheld by a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday.

Mr Justice S J Mynhardt gave judgment in a case where Riaan Coetzee sought an urgent interdict to stop The Star from publishing allegations about his trucking and cartage business practice.

Denis Kuny SC argued that The Star's allegations that Mr Coetzee's

Star 1/11/76
SUSAN SMUTS

business methods were dishonest and fraudulent were true and it was in the public interest to publish them. Mr Coetzee's lawyer, Bruce Berman, argued the allegations were defamatory.

The judge said, although there was a dispute over facts, the court accepted that The Star had provided a defence for most of its allegations and that the interdict could not be made final. (A

temporary interdict was granted on September 4.)

Although a defence had not been provided for the remainder of the allegations, it did not follow that the article should be stopped, he said. A similar article had been published in some editions of The Star which went to the country areas, the judge noted. This mitigated against a final interdict being granted.

Mr Justice Mynhardt referred the matter to trial and reserved the ques-

tion of costs.

"There is a sharp difference of facts in the affidavits relied on by the applicants and those by the respondents. I cannot exclude the possibility that Mr Coetzee and his witnesses will be believed."

On Thursday the judge granted an order preventing The Star from publishing any of the allegations which arose during court proceedings. Other newspapers, however, were not affected by the ruling.

Cops set up my gang, says leader

By SOPHIE TEMA

A TUMAHOLE gangster, Diphashe Ntoaseng, this week told the ANC that policemen offered him and gangleader Noksie Sekete money and guns.

The cops also asked them to kill ANC activists and civic association officials.

Diphashe Ntoaseng said the offer was made when he and Sekete were in the cells at Parys Police Station. Among the activists listed by the police were ANC executive member Ace Magashule, Tumahole Civic Association chairman Adam Mosipidi and TCA secretary Vuyo Dabi.

Ntoaseng said a policeman he knew as "Koos", told him and Sekete to form a gangster group to harass comrades in the township.

He said Koos cited Kroonstad's "Three Million" gang as an example of what was wanted. Noksie was released and formed the "Four Boys, Bad Boys" gang of which he is the leader.

He said Koos promised they would each receive R500 and would be given firearms.

"Koos promised that all our needs would be catered for if we did exactly what we were told.

"We agreed because we wanted to get out of jail and did not want to be tortured," he said.

Col Huystek, a liaison officer in Pretoria, told City Press he had received complaints from Tumahole about alleged police atrocities and would visit the area tomorrow to investigate.

Although Sekete denied the claims made by Ntoaseng, he confirmed that Koos had approached him as he was regarded as the "boss" while he was in prison.

He confessed his involvement in several robberies and attempted murders.

At a recent residents' meeting in the township it was claimed that Sekete had been seen driving around the township in police vehicles.

Claims were also made that several people had been attacked and robbed in the township by his gang.

Also being investigated is a case in which local resident Benedict Nakedi, charged with assaulting a member of the gang who attacked him in a street in Tumahole, has been refused bail. Yet Tsietsi Mokgethi, a member of the gang facing a charge of murder, was allowed bail and released.

Madlala: 'no talk of hit list'

CP Correspondent

LAKALE Kaunda, the *Natal Witness* reporter who was first to interview self-confessed military intelligence agent Sipho Madlala, this week denied Madlala told her about a security police hit list.

Kaunda said the only name of a person supposed to be killed, and mentioned by Madlala, was that of trade unionist Alfred Ndlovu.

Kaunda was giving evidence at the Pietermaritz-

burg Supreme Court inquest into the death of former head of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, who was gunned down on February 25. *CP Press 29/9/91*

Madlala - who confessed to being part of a plot to murder Maphumulo - told the court he had seen a two-page hit list at the Halfway House police station in the possession of Det WO Piet Scott.

He said he told Kaunda about this but had asked her not to publish it.

Madlala said Ndlovu's name was second on the list behind that of local ANC leader Harry Gwala.

Kaunda also pointed out that some parts of the transcription of their recorded interview were incorrect and the tape itself was inaudible.

Madlala had earlier refused to answer questions related to contents of the tape as he believed it had

been edited. He also said he had made the interview as part of a security branch plot to infiltrate the ANC. (327)

City Press reporter S'bu Mngadi told the court about his meetings with Madlala. The inquest was adjourned to October 21. Meanwhile, the house of an interpreter at the inquest, Themba Qwelane, was set alight last week. It could not be established if the attack was connected with the inquest.

Biko asked me to lead revolt, says Buthelezi



BUTHELEZI

INKATHA president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Friday the late Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko had asked him to lead the masses into revolution.

Buthelezi said he refused, thus preventing the downfall of the South African Government.

"Had I formed constitu-

encies, then taken them and marched with them to assist revolutionaries, no South African government could have remained intact," he said in Bloemfontein.

Buthelezi asked his audience whether they realised the historical importance of his alleged refusal to lead the black masses towards

revolution.

He claimed he was approached by Biko shortly before the Black Consciousness leader died in police detention in 1977.

"Biko sent a message to me saying if I rose up to lead them, he and all other black leaders would follow me. At that time there would easily have been a place for me in the ANC leadership.

"I was under enormous pressure to respond and abandon what I was doing in favour of what the Black Consciousness and ANC leaders were doing."

Buthelezi said he had opted instead for "being right and refusing to join the politics of confrontation and violence".

"I said 'no'. Inkatha said 'no'. The KwaZulu government said 'no'. Millions of Zulu people said 'no' plus millions of non-Zulu people.

"I knew there was a society to lead which was beyond the euphoria of politics and the clamour for protest, action and destabilisation."

Buthelezi also claimed an attempt was made to kill him in 1978 "apart from other plots to assassinate me". - Sapa.

Zambia out to lure SA tourists

ZAMBIA intends to open an office in Johannesburg to promote tourism among South Africans.

Managing director of the Zambia National Tourism Board Mr Jack Shisholeka said South Africa had tourist potential to be tapped.

"We should exploit this market potential with aggressive promotions. Many South Africans would like to come to Zambia but they know very little about what we have in this country."

Visas

South Africa had an ideal potential market for Zambia which needed "to be tapped for visitors" especially now that the Zambian Government had relaxed visa requirements.

Shisholeka could not say when the office would open. "It will be very soon. We want to boost tourism among South Africans". - South African Press Association.

5 000 in protest

ABOUT 5 000 African National Congress members marched on the Pietersburg police station at the weekend to present a memorandum demanding the release of former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Jacob Mpasapholo and 12 other demands.

The document called for improved working conditions, State-subsidised public transport, removal of South African Defence Force units from townships and villages plus access to the SABC.

The hour-long march was led by ANC veteran John Phala and started at Cosatu's local offices in the town. Marchers sang freedom songs.

Zulu chiefs plug accord

FIVE Zulu chiefs at the weekend urged hundreds of hostel residents to observe the National Peace Accord.

The chiefs addressed separate meetings at Jeppe Hostel at the invitation of Ubumbano Lwase Nkandla, an organisation formed in 1975 by headmen in Natal to promote local development.

"The blood that has been spilled is enough, and must not be spilled again," Mr Limakho Hendrick Mdladla told one gathering.

"We want our people to respect the peace accord that was signed between the Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress and other organisations," Chief ME Dhlomo, a leader of the Khabela clan in KwaZulu, told another.

More than 10 000 people have been killed in political fighting in the past seven years.

Mdladla, organiser of the meetings, said that Ubumbano was charged with development in the Nkandla area, near Eshowe in northern Natal.

The chiefs, he said, had addressed the gatherings as part of an effort to unite migrant workers from the Nkandla area. - Sapa.

'Vigilantes, hit squads killed Ntuli'

By Louise Burgers ^{star} 30/9/91

The death of Civic Association of Southern Transvaal (CAST) general-secretary Sam Ntuli, who died in a hail of gunfire yesterday, has been blamed on vigilantes or hit squads.

Police said Mr Ntuli (31) was driving down Khumalo Street in Tokoza at about 11 am when the occupants of a car travelling in the opposite direction fired about 12 shots at his car, killing him instantly.

A police spokesman said

the motive for the killing was unknown, and no details were available on the number of assailants or the registration number of the car.

Mr Ntuli's death comes on the eve of important talks between CAST and the business sector over threatened bond repayment boycotts.

CAST president Moses Mayekiso said Mr Ntuli was assassinated by "forces acting against democracy".

"Sam was instrumental in fighting for the rights of the worker and had been involved in negotiations with

the Government on living conditions," he said.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa called for an urgent and thorough investigation into the murder.

"The ANC condemns in strongest terms possible the brutal and tragic assassination of Sam Ntuli. South Africa is poorer because of this cruel loss of a courageous son of our soil," he said.

Mr Mayekiso said CAST had called for the post-mortem on Mr Ntuli to be carried out by a private pathologist.

Court upholds right to publish claims

By Susan Smuts

The Star's right to publish investigative defamatory allegations was upheld by a Rand Supreme Court judge on Friday.

Mr Justice S J Mynhardt gave judgment in a case in which Riaan Coetzee sought an urgent interdict to prevent The Star from publishing allegations about his trucking and cartage business practice.

Public interest

Denis Kuny, SC, argued that The Star's allegations that Mr Coetzee's business methods were dishonest and fraudulent were true and it was in the public interest to publish them.

Mr Coetzee's lawyer, Bruce Berman, argued that the allegations were defamatory.

The judge said that although there was a dis-

pute over facts, the court accepted that The Star had provided a defence for most of its allegations, and that the interdict could not be made final. (A temporary interdict was granted on September 4.)

Although a defence had not been provided for the rest of the allegations, it did not follow that the article should be stopped, he said.

A similar article had been published in some editions of The Star which went to country areas, the judge noted. This militated against a final interdict being granted.

Mr Justice Mynhardt added: "There is a sharp difference of facts in the affidavits relied on by the applicants and those by the respondents. I cannot exclude the possibility that Mr Coetzee and his witnesses will be believed."

State is blamed for killing

By SONTI MASEKO

THE ANC yesterday blamed "hands of elements linked to the State" for the assassination of Civics Association of Southern Transvaal general secretary Sam Ntuli, who was gunned down in Tokoza on Sunday. *Sowetan*

ANC head of information Dr Pallo Jordan said from the style of Ntuli's killing it was evident it was carried out by professional hitmen. 11/0/91

"There are forces determined to sabotage the Peace Accord."

The ANC is the latest to back accusations by Cast that a "hit squad" linked to the Government is responsible for Ntuli's murder.

Thokoza arrests are a smokescreen, says Cast

POLICE yesterday arrested and questioned 14 people — some of whom the ANC said were its members — in connection with the September 8 massacre of 23 people in the East Rand township of Thokoza.

One person is still being held and will be charged with murder, police spokesman Capt Henriette Bester said. The others were released.

The ANC Youth League's Thokoza branch said in a statement it was indignant at the arrest of 11 of its members.

Bester said the people referred to in the Youth League statement were the same people police had arrested.

The Youth League condemned the arrests, coming as soon as they did after the slaying of Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) general secretary Sam Ntuli at the weekend.

"We find it strange that when we are expecting the SAP, SADF and the whole security system to be following the lead on the death of Comrade Sam, members of this organisation are arrested."

THEO RAWANA reports that Cast yesterday alleged that the arrests were an attempt to draw attention away from Ntuli's killers. Ntuli was gunned down in Thokoza on Sunday.

Cast spokesman Mohammed Dangor told a news conference the 14 people arrested in Thokoza were civic association

PATRICK BULGER

and ANC members who had worked closely with Ntuli.

"Indications are that the people who did this are linked to government, and arresting people who worked closely with Ntuli is an attempt to draw attention away from the culprits," Dangor said.

Ntuli was engaged in talks with Inkatha Freedom Party members in Thokoza and he had already written a draft accord which was designed to bring peace to the troubled area, Dangor added.

Cast said in a statement the killers should be brought to trial, and the murder and harassment of civic leaders should be stopped.

LINDEN BIRNS reports that Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze last night rejected Cast allegations that yesterday's arrests, or the release of information about the arrests, was an attempt to divert attention away from the Ntuli murder.

"I can only say that the investigations and arrests are proof of our commitment to solving each and every crime and to the national peace accord," he said.

Reacting to the allegations that Ntuli's killers were linked to government, Kotze said that if Cast had any information on who murdered Ntuli it should pass it to the police for investigation.

● Comment: Page 8

Ntuli killing: police given information

PATRICK BULGER

POLICE yesterday questioned a number of people who came forward with information on the killing of Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) general secretary Sam Ntuli, who was shot in Thokoza on Sunday.

Police said no arrests had been made in connection with the assassination.

Ntuli's death brings to at least 27 the number of government opponents who have died at the hands of experienced killers, whom the Human Rights Commission (HRC) last week alleged were professional hit squads in the pay of government.

A police spokesman yesterday dismissed the HRC's claims. He said all allegations were investigated but as yet no information had been received to back up claims of hit squads.

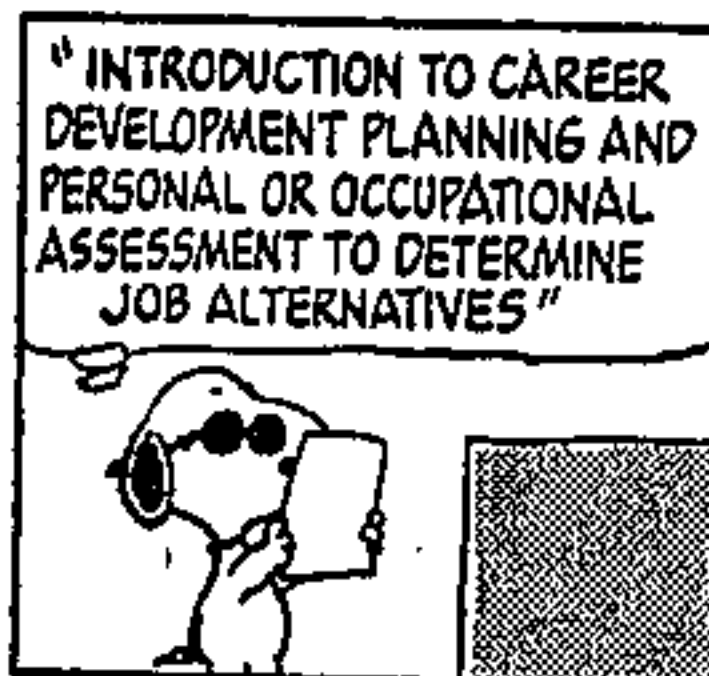
Yesterday the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) — of which Ntuli was an organiser until earlier this year — said two of its organisers, Richard Ntuli and Mongezi Maputhi were being followed on a regular basis by unidentified men.

Numsa said it would urgently put the case before the Standing Commission on Violence.

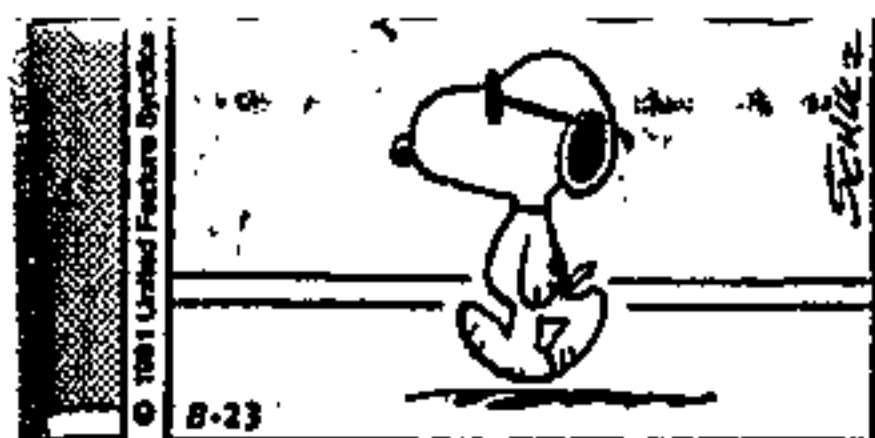
THEO RAWANA reports ANC information director Pallo Jordan said the assassins were bent on sabotaging the peace accord.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



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THE RAWANA reports
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sins were bent on sabotag-
ing the peace accord.

RAU probes academic's security police operation

(327)

PATRICK BULGER

RAND Afrikaans University (RAU) has begun investigat-
ing a senior academic whose labour relations consult-
ancy has been exposed as a security police operation.

The investigation into RAU human psychology profes-
sor Kobus Slabbert follows an admission by Law and
Order Minister Hernus Kriel that Slabbert's Bureau for
Labour Relations Services was funded by the security
police from 1989 until July 31 this year.

RAU principal Cas Crouse said through a spokesman
yesterday that Slabbert would be investigated. He would
provide no other details. Slabbert was not available for
comment yesterday and has yet to make any statement
on the issue. *3B Day 1/10/91*

Kriel said last week the former security branch funded
Slabbert's bureau in the interests of promoting labour
peace. He said the funding had now stopped although
"still-to-be-honoured contractual obligations" needed to
be fulfilled. He praised the bureau's work.

Meanwhile the Advisory Committee appointed by
President F W de Klerk to examine all aspects of secret-
ly funded state projects was expected to complete its
work by mid-November, the commission's chairman
Prof Ellison Kahn said yesterday.

Kahn said he was precluded by the Protection of
Information Act from providing details. He said, howev-
er, that draft legislation aimed at tightening financial
control of secret projects was well advanced.

He said the committee would disband on completing
its task.

327

Seven ANC supporters assassinated, claims HRC

Stev 11/10/91

DURBAN — Seven ANC supporters were shot dead in Folweni, near Durban, on Sunday in what appeared to be systematic and targeted attacks, according to the Human Rights Commission.

The HRC yesterday condemned the alleged killing of seven people in three related incidents. All the victims were shot in the back of the head, read the HRC statement.

The HRC further expressed concern that the attacks had not received much media attention.

In the first attack on Sunday, the Rev Bhekeni Mntambo, his son and an employee were shot dead at their home in Mphusheni, Folweni.

The statement added that three others — a Mr Ngwenya, a Mr Mtshali and Siyabonga Mohloni — were killed in similar fashion that evening.

Nhlanhla Makhanya (14) was shot dead in front of his mother the same evening, the statement alleged.

"All the people killed were ANC supporters and were shot at close range in the back of their heads. People living in the area alleged that the perpetrators were wearing camouflage uniforms at the time of the incidents.

"This leads the HRC to believe that these attacks were well-planned, deliberate executions."

Four other ANC supporters were killed in Mgwaveni, north of Durban, during the same period, the statement added.

The HRC said it was concerned with the escalation of the number of politically motivated attacks reported over the past few weeks. — Sapa.

Refugees ⁽¹²⁶⁾ ⁽³²⁴⁾ urged to call Red Cross ⁽²⁶⁵⁾

Star 1/10/91
By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Nearly 500 beds have been offered to Zairean refugees by South Africans.

But the South African Red Cross Society said yesterday that few of the 491 beds offered were necessary because most of the refugees still in the country were staying with relatives or friends.

Some had only stopped overnight, then flown home to France or Belgium.

The Red Cross is still dealing with about 59 requests by worried friends or relatives trying to trace people in South Africa. Some have been found in Europe.

Red Cross spokesman Neil MacCauley said: "It would assist us if people who have come in from Zaire would contact our operations room and give us contact numbers and addresses."

"We will not release this information to anyone without first obtaining permission from the person concerned. But we need it for co-ordination of our records and information coming in from different sources."

The telephone number is (011) 873-3938.

A number of refugees have inquired from embassy and other sources about the safety of returning to Zaire.

Webster murder probe shifts to Cape

8/10/91
2/10/91
THE investigation into the killing of Wits University academic David Webster has been moved from the jurisdiction of Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau to the Cape attorney-general's office.

Deputy Cape Attorney-General Hendrik Klem said yesterday the investigation had reached a "delicate" stage. He would not say whether the investigation was linked to a broader inquiry into the SADF's now-defunct Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

However, it is understood that evidence unearthed in connection with the bombing of the Early Learning Centre in Athlone,

PATRICK BULGER

Cape Town, and the nailing of a foetus to the door of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu's home had shifted the focus of the investigation to the Cape. (327)

A prominent left-wing academic, Webster was shot outside his Troyeville, Johannesburg, home in May 1989.

Police originally arrested a number of CCB members in connection with the killing. They were detained in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, but later said they had been employed by the CCB and were involved in covert operations.

SAP, labour unit 'still in contact'

THE kingpin behind a security police-funded labour relations group maintained contact with his controller after the late Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said his department had ended the contact, the Financial Mail reports today.

According to the article, Rand Afrikaans University academic and kingpin behind the Liaison Bureau for Labour Relations Services, Prof Kobus Slabbert, sent the bureau's latest "concept newsletter" to security policeman Maj Derick Botha on September 4.

Kriel said last week the cut-off date for his department's involvement in the secret project was July 31 — "with the exception of still-to-be finalised individual contracts".

The article alleges that all the bureau's staff were paid by the SAP's security branch, mainly in cash. Slabbert was allegedly paid R5 000 a month tax free, the article said.

The bureau was apparently launched with a R50 000 payment, supplemented at monthly intervals authorised by Botha.

Botha was named earlier this year as having supplied R1,5m in secret funds to

LINDEN BIRNS

Inkatha's union, Uwusa.

According to the FM — which claims to have a copy of Slabbert's letter to Botha — Botha had replied to Slabbert, complimenting him on his "good exposition" of matters on the theme of affirmative action.

In another document written in August this year, Slabbert outlined the bureau's goals for the next year, saying he was devising a business strategy for the secret project, and new letterheads. He said he was planning a "think tank" with fellow RAU professor Naas Raubenheimer and Absa executive Petrus Claassen.

The FM reported Claassen was paid R40 000 by the bureau while Raubenheimer was paid R20 000. At a meeting in September last year it was agreed that Claassen should be paid R21 000 for a "Spoornet contract", the FM reported.

The article claims that at least R250 000 of the slush funds came from Lowaldi Enterprises — an organisation with a Pretoria bank account — and that according to a deposit slip, an F P R Botha (Botha's initials) paid more than R53 000 to the bureau on April 10 this year.

Flitestar to pay travel agents more

LINDEN BIRNS

TRAVEL agents selling tickets on SA's newest airline Flitestar will get 1% more commission than they receive for selling seats on SAA domestic flights.

Flitestar will enter the market with fares identical to SAA's current domestic tariffs.

However, travel agents will receive 8% commission on Flitestar tickets, compared with the 7% they get for SAA tickets.

In a statement yesterday Flitestar MD Jan Blake announced off-peak incentive discount fares ranging from 15% on business class tickets, 20% weekend discounts, 30% senior citizens discounts, a 25% youth fare for people between 12 and 21 years old and 20% spouse discounts.

He described the new commission structure as a breakthrough, as travel agents had asked for a revision of the structure "for years".

SAA spokesman Leon Els said the airline "took note" of Flitestar's revised commission structure. He could not say whether SAA would match or better it.

Flitestar's first service will be between Johannesburg and Cape Town. Services from Johannesburg to Durban and Port Elizabeth will begin on October 30 and a service between Cape Town and Durban in mid-January 1992.

Settlement 'will not cost UCT extra'

TANIA LEVY

PARENTS of students will not have to fork out extra money to cover the 17% across-the-board wage increase which ended a week-long strike by UCT general workers.

Vice-chancellor Stuart Saunders said yesterday the university would not have to find any more money than it had budgeted to

cover its original wage offer in July.

All that had happened was that the offer had been repackaged so that it was more acceptable to the Transport and General Workers' Union. The total cost would be the same.

In July UCT offered a 13,5% wage increase and

100% contribution to workers' medical aid subscriptions.

This week's 17% across-the-board increase was made possible by diverting a part of employees' pensionable earnings into non-pensionable allowances.

Workers will also have to contribute a portion of their medical aid rates.

Blacks 'distrust secret-funds body'

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The all-white membership of the recently appointed State President's advisory committee on secret funding would not engender the necessary trust from black South Africans, church leaders told President de Klerk yesterday.

Addressing the media after a lengthy meeting with Mr de Klerk in Pretoria's Union Buildings, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the committee ought to have been consisted of people approved by the churches, trade unions and political organisations in order to build confidence among people on the

ground.

"Mr de Klerk was hurt that people would question his integrity and he wanted us to know that he meant what he said (in halting covert operations), but it is not enough just to be told that things have changed," said Archbishop Tutu.

The level of trust among people had eroded considerably in the wake of the Inkatha funding scandal, he added.

Archbishop Tutu said people were "still being assassinated and disappearing" and that no one would fail to suspect Government involvement in covert operations unless there was confidence in those handling the matter.

SA Council of Churches secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane added that his organisation would have doubts in calling for the end of sanctions when investments may be going into covert funds.

However, the SACC was "prepared to do anything within reason to assist in the formation of the new South Africa".

Archbishop Tutu announced that church leaders would be meeting with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel in the near future to discuss the entire question of violence.

The meeting with President de Klerk had been open-hearted and friendly, he added.

Slain Ntuli's burial on Monday

Sowetan 3/10/9
A MEMORIAL service for assassinated civic leader Sam Ntuli takes place in Tokoza on Sunday followed by the funeral on Monday, the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal said yesterday.

Cast said the service would be held at the Tokoza auditorium and there would be speakers from the SACP, ANC and Cosatu.

The memorial service would start at 2pm and the funeral, at Tokoza Stadium the next day, at 9am.

Cast vice-president Kgabisi Mosunkutu said at a Press conference yesterday that police wanted to treat Ntuli's assassination as "a murder-and-robbery case".



SAM NTULI

Speakers at the conference said the aim of the police was to draw attention away from "hit squads".

They claimed that the police, in their investigations, were taking the line that Ntuli's murder was not politically motivated.

The speakers also objected to the police offer of a R20 000 reward for information that could lead to the arrest and conviction of the killers.

Much larger rewards had been offered in the past when the victim had been white, they charged. - Sapa.

NEWS IN BRIEF

South 3/10 - 8/10/91

Hit squad killing? (284)

TWO days before he was slain, Mr Sam Ntuli, general secretary of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal, publicly applauded the role of self-defence units (SDUs) deployed in the Vaal Triangle. (327)

He said they were playing a major role in the defence of communities.

Last Sunday, two days later, a car pulled up alongside Ntuli while he was driving in his home area, Thokoza. According to the police, 12 shots were fired at him from an AK-47 rifle. He died instantly.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela accused "state-imported hit squads from Namibia" for Ntuli's death.

South 3/10 - 8/10/91

Civics furious over try at spying

South 2/10-8/10/91
By Rehana Rossouw

STAFF of the National Civics Interim Committee are convinced that security forces are attempting to spy on them after a worker was approached to provide information for a shadowy research organisation.

Last month, Ms Cathy Aranes, an administrative worker at the organisation's national office at Community House in Salt River, was offered money by two people if she photographed minutes of its meetings.

Aranes believed she was targeted by people listening in on her telephone conversations, but a sweep of her office on Wednesday failed to locate a listening device or transmitter.

She is the second member of the civic organisation to be asked to pass on information in recent months.

The approach came days after Aranes had used the office phone to discuss finding another job with an employment agency.

She later received a telephone call from a woman calling herself Arma Marie Laubscher, who said she had obtained her telephone number from the employment agency.

Laubscher asked if Aranes would be interested in an office administration job and Aranes arranged to meet her later to discuss it.

"She arrived in a blue Opel Kadett with a man who introduced himself as Carel," Aranes said.

"We went to a restaurant to discuss the job offer over coffee, but even before we got there I was suspicious.

"They asked me about my job and what it entailed, but then they began talking about Cast (Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal)."

At the restaurant "Carel" said they were part of a group researching what people on the ground felt about organisations. He said Aranes could help them by photocopying minutes of civic meetings and giving it to them.

They were particularly interested in arguments and problems members had with each other.

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Naughty titles may soon be coming to a video shop near you after the appointment of a chief censor from the Free State who firmly believes in freedom of speech.

Free State University law faculty dean Professor Dan Morkel, who becomes chairman of the Publications Appeal Board on November 1, said yesterday that he believed "certain material that was previously unavailable might find its way on to shelves in the new

New censor's plans for SA

South Africa".

"There was a tendency to be too strict in the past," Professor Morkel said. "I will work from the premise that freedom of speech is a basic human right, and will be intent on upholding this."

But he warned that South Af-

ricans would continue to be protected from the hard-core "video-nasty" industry.

"Liberalism might have its merits, but one must not go overboard," he said.

Professor Morkel said censorship was a reflection of what was acceptable to society

and in a changing society new limits would become applicable.

He said he endorsed the British system whereby films and books passed by the censors as "restricted" could be sold only in "adult" shops.

The British system is widely considered to be middle-of-the-road. Soft-core pornography and action films are permitted, but hard-core pornography and graphically violent films, freely available in most of Europe, are banned.

Cast probes Ntuli murder

THE Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) yesterday criticised police investigations into the assassination of its general secretary Sam Ntuli, and said it had begun its own probe into the murder.

Police said, however, that their investigation was hampered by a lack of co-operation from residents of Thokoza, where Ntuli was gunned down on Sunday.

Investigating officer Lt Rudi van Olt said witnesses were reluctant to come forward with information, and conflicting reports had been received.

Police had no hard facts to work on, but were taking statements and continuing with the investigation.

In another development, the Thokoza ANC Youth League said yesterday that Ntuli had been warned on Saturday that elements of the East Rand community wanted him dead.

Local Youth League chairman Mbonjeni Radebe said the warning had come from residents "with links to other structures" in the township. He added that the

JONATHON REES

car used by the killers had been seen in Thokoza before. (327)

The killing was part of an organised attempt to destroy progressive organisations, Radebe said. (122)

Cast vice-chairman Kgabisi Mosunkutu said the organisation was following various leads in its investigation and would later compare notes with the police.

He said the community would not withhold information from police and had pledged to assist their investigations.

Cast president Moses Mayekiso said police should stop making excuses and get on with their investigation.

Cast, meanwhile, has called on communities to maximise their personal security.

Government, the organisation said, should publicly disband its counter-insurgency units and death squads.

A memorial service will be held for Ntuli in the Thokoza auditorium on Sunday.

3/10/91
S/O ag

...and he blamed media
yesterday.
...of integrity, he said.

Secret project 'terminated'

8/10/91
LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel is sticking to his earlier statement that a security police-funded labour relations project to undermine Cosatu had been terminated.

But "there are contractual obligations with regard to this particular terminated project", Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday.

He was responding to a report in the Financial Mail, which said the kingpin behind the Liaison Bureau for Labour Relations, Rand Afrikaans University academic Prof Kobus Slabbert, had sent the bureau's latest "concept letter" to his handler, security police Maj Derick Botha on September 4.

Kriel said last week the cut-off date for his department's involvement in the secret project was July 31 "with the exception of still-to-be finalised individual contracts".

Kotze said it was not in the least surprising that contact between the bureau and the SAP would continue due to these contractual obligations.

"Such contact in no way negates Minister Kriel's earlier statement and he again gives assurance that such projects have been terminated."

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BILLY PADDOCK

He said this project had been submitted to the Ellison Kahn Commission, set up by President F W de Klerk to investigate funding of secret state projects, before the Financial Mail exposed the funding.

After the Inkatha and Uvusa funding scandal, De Klerk told a televised news conference that all funding of a party political nature had been stopped and would not continue. He also gave a list of projects that fell within this category and had been terminated.

However, he did not mention the Liaison Bureau project, its termination or it being submitted to the Kahn Commission despite the security police, according to the FM, having paid more than R374 000 into the bureau's bank account between March 30 and September 28 1989. This figure did not include the R5 000 a month tax-free wage paid to Slabbert or numerous other payments, the FM said.

RAU principal Prof Cas Crouse yesterday refused to comment on the issue and said the university's investigation into Slabbert's activities was still in progress.

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Governments prefer the power to nobble their critics, says Mr Justice Pierre Olivier

How free will SA's media be?

Star 3/10/91

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All governments everywhere, whatever their make-up, share a certain antagonism towards the press. Notwithstanding their avowals that they are committed to openness and honesty, party and government officials — and politicians — will usually seek to prevent thorough airing and debate of issues that are uncomfortable or embarrassing or which are critical of their actions.

We have seen it in our country in the past and no doubt we will see it again in the future.

We should not ignore the fact that there are many of our citizens who still insist that the importance of a free press is overridden by nation-building, stability and economic development.

We should not ignore the fact that politicians who think they will come into power, will profess to protect freedom of speech and of the press, but in the end they will keep the back door open.

Many governments and political parties speak piously about freedom of speech and the press, but they place so many restrictions on it that, in practice, it becomes useless.

In this context there are, in the free world, two large systems of

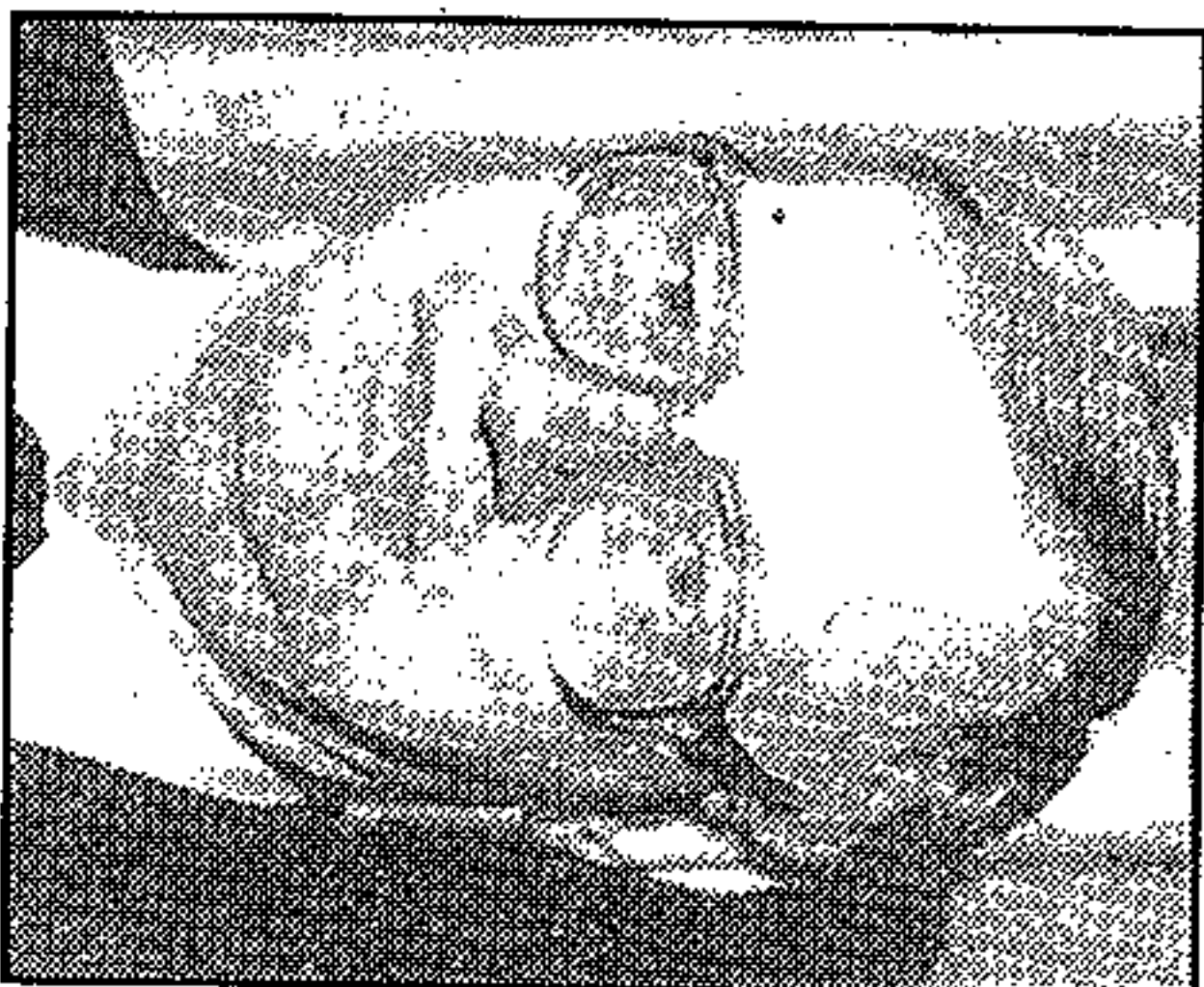
restrictions on human rights: the pattern of democratic yet parliamentary sovereignty, and the pattern of a justiciable bill of rights. The difference is simply this: under the parliamentary sovereignty-system, parliament is the uppermost authority which can, at will and through legislation, place restrictions on the common law and natural freedoms and rights — also on freedom of speech and the press.

Under the second system there is a constitutional Bill of Rights which sets out the boundaries of restrictions on speech and press freedom, and which leaves the interpretation and enforcement thereof to the courts.

The former system is, as far as the protection of basic human rights is concerned, unsuccessful and not to be trusted. This sombre picture is confirmed in two countries which have, till now, clung to parliamentary sovereignty — namely the United Kingdom and the Republic of South Africa.

Many people, even informed journalists, think that the other approach, namely that of a constitutionally enforceable bill of rights, is the ideal.

This system is better, but then the issue of restrictions by means



Mr Justice Olivier ... press reaction disappointing.

of normal laws and suspension in time of a state of emergency and war would have to be addressed very carefully.

It seems as if all the important political role players in our country, for example the National Party, the ANC, Inkatha, the Democratic Party, the Labour Party, Solidarity, have accepted the idea of a bill of rights as part of a new constitution. That is encouraging.

What is disturbing, is the omission by most of these bodies to

place on the table, clearly and frankly, their specific proposals, particularly with regard to the restrictions on and suspension of the fundamental rights that they advocate.

These are the relevant terrains: how much room is left in the bill of rights for restrictions which parliament places on the fundamental rights by means of specific laws (so that, in effect, the laws are watered down)?

How easy is it made to announce a state of emergency and then to suspend fundamental rights (as has previously happened in a number of our neighbouring countries and this country itself)?

One main player, the ANC, has already put its proposal on the table but it is, firstly, defective and, secondly, unacceptable for press freedom.

It is defective because nothing has yet been said about suspension; it is unacceptable because the restrictions clause is so wide that it gives a future government the power to restrict press freedom over a wide area.

The most obvious traps are:

- It limits the right to information necessary for individuals to make effective use of their rights as citizens or consumers and is clearly a

perpetuation of the totalitarian approach that the state will decide what citizens need to know.

- Reference is made to the right to reply, which must be respected by the press, but nowhere is it stated what the basis of this right is, what its ambit is, nor how it is to be exercised and respected.

- The real problem is the criterion that a limitation will be constitutional if it is such "as might be deemed necessary in an open and democratic society".

This method of defining the parameters of limitation is outdated and, in practice, of no use at all. It can even be dangerous and may reduce human rights to the status of a mere instrument of democracy.

In all fairness, it must be said that the SA Law Commission followed a similar approach in its preliminary work on group and human rights in March 1989. However, there were so many objections against it that we quickly abandoned that way of thinking.

What is disturbing is that the ANC did not take cognisance of the objections.

It is obvious, therefore, that in the debate about a new constitution, to be based on a human rights chapter, we — that is, all of us as

citizens, jurists and journalists — must be extraordinarily careful to protect our rights properly.

What we must look at is not so much the list of acknowledged rights, but the clauses which deal with the restriction of those rights and their suspension during states of emergency.

We must look at the concepts of all other parties just as critically as we have looked at the ANC's concept bill, and they must be challenged to formulate, explain and debate their proposals with regard to restrictions and suspensions.

Now is the time for the press, as watchdog for democracy and justice, to protect its own rights by means of taking a much more active and informed stance than it has up to now.

I am disappointed by the little critical attention that the newspapers gave to the proposals of both the ANC and the SA Law Commission. No one, other than you, is going to play watchdog over the freedom of speech and the press in the new constitution.

- This is an edited version of a speech delivered by Mr Justice Olivier, a member of the SA Law Commission, at the annual congress of the National Press Union held in the Ciskei. □

Ntuli 'killed by hit squads'

■ The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa said this week it was convinced the killing of civic leader and former Numsa organiser Sam Ntuli was the work of the government's special forces. (32)

Ntuli had been a full-time organiser at Numsa until early this year when he left the union to become general secretary of the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal. Ntuli was shot dead at the weekend by unknown gunmen. (3) (M) 9/10 - 10/10/91

Numsa also alleges that two other union organisers, Richard Ntuli and Mongezi Maputhi, are being followed regularly by unidentified men.

Ntuli's ⁽³²⁷⁾ service ^{Southern} today 4/10/91

MRS WINNIE Mandela and Mr Popo Molefe, an executive member of the African National Congress, will be among the speakers at a memorial service for slain civic activist Mr Sam Ntuli in Johannesburg today.

Ntuli, general secretary of the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal, was gunned down in Tokoza on Sunday.

Church

The service will be held at the Johannesburg Central Methodist Church at noon.

Representatives of other liberation movements would also attend the service, the organisers said. - Sapa.

Mxenge case abandoned

W/maul 4/10 - 10/10/91

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By CASSANDRA MOODLEY: Durban
JUSTICE will not be done in the Griffiths Mxenge murder: The Natal attorney general has ruled there will be no prosecutions in connection with the death of the Umlazi lawyer.

Attorney General Mike Imber informed attorney Bheki Shezi and partners late last week of his decision not to prosecute but did not furnish an explanation. Shezi expressed his dismay, adding he was considering instituting a private prosecution. The brutal Mxenge murder shocked the nation more than a decade ago when his slain body was found at the Umlazi Cycle Stadium.

His death remained a mystery until two years ago, when a death row pris-

oner, former Security Branch member Butana Nofemela, exposed the branch's involvement.

Meanwhile, a civil suit case, in which Mxenge's family is claiming damages from the minister of law and order in the Durban Supreme Court, has been adjourned to April 15 1992, while former Security Branch member Dirk Coetzee applies to the government for indemnity from prosecution.

Coetzee will be one of the key witnesses in the suit if the application is granted. He also confessed his involvement in Mxenge's killing before he fled the country.

The Mxenge family has also subpoenaed Nofemela to give evidence in the civil suit.

ATTACKS ON PEOPLE LINKED TO MAPHUMULO CONTINUE

By VICKY QUINLAN: Durban

THE inquest underway to determine who killed former Contraleza president Chief Mhlabuzima Maphumulo has not prevented attacks on several other people connected with the chief or the inquest — in circumstances which point to professionals being responsible.

Maphumulo was shot dead outside his home in the centre of Pietermaritzburg on February 25 this year. ~~Week 4/10 - 10/10/91~~

Less than a month after Maphumulo was killed, his brother-in-law, Fano Zuma, survived an attack as he was walking home after being interrogated by police. His house is in the same road as that of Maphumulo.

Zuma said at the time that police picked him up outside the African National Congress offices in Pietermaritzburg and questioned him about Maphumulo's alleged involvement in a gun-smuggling ring. On the way home, he said, he was shot at by occupants of a blue car and a white minibus, and he was followed for some distance by the people in the minibus. He said he could not identify the occupants of either vehicle because it was too dark.

In a separate incident, Maphumulo's close friend, Jabulani Hudla, was shot dead the night before the inquest into Maphumulo's death began in the Natal Supreme Court.

Hudla was at home in Imbali when bullets were

fired through the kitchen window. Shocked residents said the "professionalism of the job" pointed to the work of experts.

Last week, in a dramatic turn during the inquest itself, a South African Police constable came forward in an affidavit with claims that he and other police officers were involved in attacks on Maphumulo's Table Mountain, Natal, home and car prior to his assassination.

Although the inquest had been adjourned for two weeks, Mr Justice Page agreed to hear an application from the policeman, Lucky Mlambo, to be put in protective custody.

Mlambo said he had been shot at some days before by people he suspected were police, and his life would be in danger if he attempted to testify at the inquest. He appeared in court with his arm dressed in a bandage and sling and said the injury was a result of the attack.

Mlambo is the second person to claim police involvement in attacks on Maphumulo.

The judge said that there was an "inherent possibility" that Mlambo's life was in danger from several sources, namely the police he seeks to implicate, the people he has assaulted, and people opposed to the police.

Mlambo is now in Westville Prison, where he will stay until he testifies.

The key witness at the inquest so far, Sipho Madlala, has claimed he was part of a SA De-

fence Force hit squad which, in conjunction with members of the SAP security branch, worked to assassinate Maphumulo.

Madlala agreed to give evidence at the inquest only after stringent security measures were arranged for him. He appeared in court flanked by ANC and SAP bodyguards and wore a bullet-proof vest throughout his lengthy testimony.

He named the people who shot Maphumulo as a Sabasaba, a Gurnede, and a Van Rooyen. He also identified the man in charge of the SADF hit squad as Grobler.

Although the SADF denied Madlala was ever a member of any unit, Madlala last week correctly pointed out two of the men he had implicated.

At an unusual identity parade held in the supreme court, which included 14 SADF personnel dressed in civilian clothes, Madlala unhesitatingly picked out Grobler and Sabasaba.

Madlala also claimed the hit squad was involved in several other "operations", namely an attack on an Umlazi family in which Madlala claims he shot dead an Imbali teacher, Nalo Mkhize, in the presence of a security policeman named Warber. The ANC says, however, Mkhize is not dead but is in exile.

The SADF has denied all allegations made by Madlala about the existence of a hit squad and the alleged operations in which Madlala claims he was involved.

Number of death squad hits rises to 33 in three months

W/Man 4/10 - 10/10/91

By GAVIN EVANS and GAYE DAVIS

THIRTY-THREE people have been killed by death squads in the past three months, compared with 28 for the previous year.

This is according to figures released by the Human Rights Commission which notes that Sunday's assassination of the Thokoza civic and African National Congress leader, Sam Ntuli, was the 61st since June 1990.

In most of these cases there have been no arrests and the victims have been members of the African National Congress or Pan Africanist Congress, unionists and civic activists.

Attacks in recent months include:

●September 22: In three separate incidents Reverend Bhekeni Mntambo and six other ANC members or supporters were shot in the back of the head at close range in Folweni, Natal. Residents say the assassins were wearing camouflage uniforms.

●Earlier that week ANC Mbhayi vice-chairman Joseph Thwala was shot dead at his girlfriend's house. According to the woman, the men said

they were policemen. He was shot when he opened the door.

●August 14: The wife and three children of prominent ANC activist Solomon Tshuki were killed in Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

●July 8: Khayelitsha civic leader Michael Mapongwana was gunned down in Cape Town. Two men, both members of the Western Cape Black Taxi Association, have been arrested.

●July 4: The wife, daughter and granddaughter of the Boiphatong ANC education officer, Reverend Ernest Sotsu, were killed in an AK-47 attack on his home while he was at the ANC national conference in Durban.

●June 19: Cape Town ANC and Idasa leader Mwiwonke "Pro" Jac was gunned down at his home.

●Last month a state witness in the murder trial arising from the death of former Civil Co-operation Bureau operative and gangster Edward "Peaches" Gordon was shot.

Igsaam Adriaanse was to testify on November 9 in the trial of the three men accused of Gordon's murder.

(327)

W/Man 4/10/16/10/9/1
Numsa is calling for a full investigation into Sam Ntuli's death and will place the case before the Standing Commission on Violence. (324)

SAP attitude angers Ntuli lawyers

Star 5/10/91
'Probe won't succeed unless murder seen as political assassination'

THE findings of an independent investigation into the murder of community leader Sam Ntuli are unlikely to be made available to the police.

This comes after SAP investigating officers insisted they could not regard the killing as politically motivated.

The independent investigation is being conducted by members of the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal, Co-satu, the ANC, the SACP, and legal representatives for CAST and Mr Ntuli's family.

The lawyers are furious with the police for approaching the murder as just another crime. "The results of our investigation will be passed on to the appropriate authorities and the correct forum," said CAST's legal representative, David Disson.

Asked whether the "appropriate authority" was the police, he replied "not necessarily".

It was possible the information would be handed straight to the committee on violence that was promised in the National Peace Accord. Mr Ntuli

ABBEY MAKOE and BROWN WYN WILKINSON

general-secretary of CAST, a member of the ANC and a key negotiator for the National Union of Metalworkers — was shot dead in Tokozia on Sunday.

This week, police said they did not consider the killing politically motivated. Investigating officer Lieutenant Rudi van Oist told the Saturday Star last night: "This is not a political assassination. Not at all."

When asked why he felt that way, Lieutenant van Oist said he could not say over the telephone.

Unwilling

On Tuesday, police investigators went to the area where Mr Ntuli was killed. Instead of detaining people for questioning, they left telephone numbers at houses, asking for anyone with information to contact them.

By late yesterday, only one person had contacted police, "but had refused to disclose their identity".

When it was put to him that the police had the right to detain people for questioning for 48 hours, he replied: "Why do you ask so many questions?"

Do you want to take over the police investigation?"

When the Saturday Star approached Mr Disson, he said the attitude of police — that Mr Ntuli's murder was not political — was probably the reason why witnesses, of whom there were many, were not willing to come forward to police.

"No police investigation will be successful if it is not based on the assumption that it was a political assassination," Mr Disson insisted. "There is no domestic motive. The political dynamic in Tokozia is well known."

Meanwhile, an investigation by the Saturday Star has revealed that:

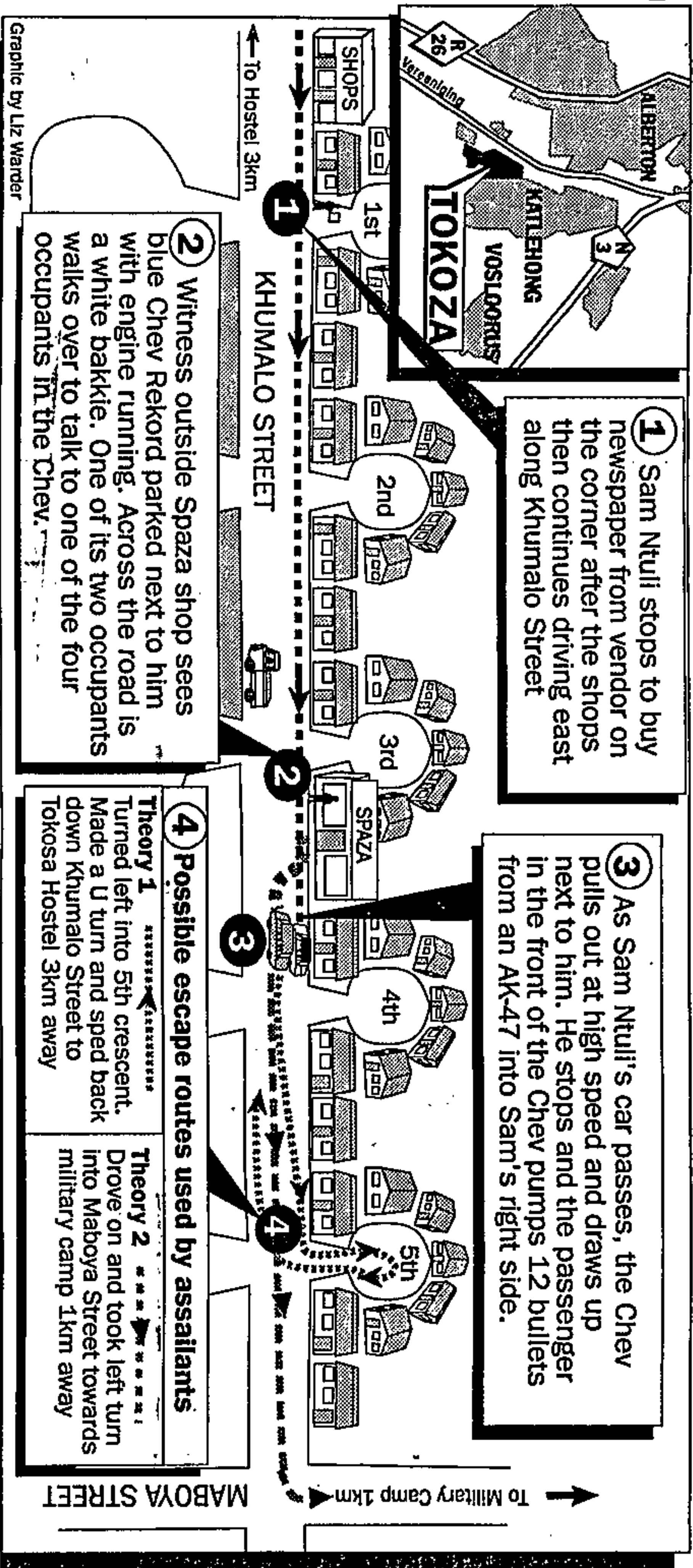
● Mr Ntuli's killers drank beer in the lounge of his home as he took a bath, minutes before the killing. His father, James, said they had asked him for a drink.

● Mr Ntuli left the house and his companions followed him in two cars — a bakkie and a private car.

● Had it not been that a newspaper vendor operated in a busy area next to shops, Mr Ntuli would probably have been killed when he bought a paper.

● Mr Ntuli's assassins overtook his car in their two vehicles and blocked the road, parking ahead of him on each side of

Graphic by Liz Warden



Khumalo Street, near Fourth Crescent.

Mr Ntuli's car was fired from an AK-47 assault rifle. But Mr Disson said he had been told by police that the weapon could have been an R-1 or an AK-47.

A Saturday Star source, who has been interviewed by police, said he saw a bluish car, which he described as a Chev Rekord, park next to him with the engine running.

He said the driver of a white bakkie crossed the street and spoke to the driver of the Rekord before returning to his bakkie.

There were four men inside the blue car and two inside the bakkie. The source said he saw Mr Ntuli's car coming towards him.

"It passed. Suddenly, the blue car sped off at high speed."

"Something like a long machine-gun, showed out of the window. The shots went off."

Activists on the East Rand say Mr Ntuli's assassination was the culmination of tension that had gripped the township since the September 8 massacre of 23 Inkatha supporters.

Many of the activists, who asked not to be named, believe Mr Ntuli could have been on a hit-list. They believe other killings would follow and have gone into hiding.

A memorial service for Mr Ntuli will be held at the Tokozia Auditorium tomorrow at 2 pm.

'My husband often feared for his life,' — pregnant widow

AS murdered civic leader Sam Ntuli's widow grieved for her slain husband this weekend, she waited for the birth of their second child.

Leah Ntuli, 27, is nine months' pregnant. She was staying with her parents in Tsakane on the East Rand in preparation for the birth when she received news of her husband's assassination last Sunday.

Mr Ntuli, general secretary of the Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal and chairman of the Thokoza Civic Association, was gunned down in a hail of AK-47 bullets, not far from the scene of the recent Thokoza massacre.

SHRAPNEL

The last time Mrs Ntuli saw her 31-year-old husband was the Thursday before when he visited her in Tsakane. Already the proud parents of a lively three-year-old son, Jabu, the couple, who were married four years ago, were counting the days to the birth of their second baby.

Instead, this week a shattered Mrs Ntuli mourned with her husband's family at her father-in-law's home in Mazibuko Street in Thokoza.

One front room of the tiny house had walls pocked with shrapnel and a shattered television set in one corner — evidence of a previous attempt on Mr Ntuli's life in February this year.

Five people, including Mr Ntuli's nine-year-old niece Mbali, were injured in the February attack when three unknown men hurled two hand-grenades at the house. Mr Ntuli was out at the time.

In March he had a second narrow escape when a group of hostel dwellers went searching for him. When they could not find him they dragged out two women in Mshayazafe hostel, killing one and critically injuring the other.

"My husband often used to worry that his life was in danger," said Mrs Ntuli.

"He did not mention his fear to me because he did not want to frighten me, but I used to overhear him talking to his friends."

Because his wife was away, Mr Ntuli spent Friday and Saturday sleeping at his family's home.

On Saturday, Cast president Mr Moses Mayekiso met Mr Ntuli and other officials to prepare for talks with financial institutions.

"He was a warm and diligent man who worked 24 hours a day," said Mr Mayekiso. "His death is a blow to the trade union, civic and political movements."

The same day, Mr Ntuli met local Inkatha officials to set a date to talk about implementing the peace accord in Thokoza.

"He hoped that peace could be restored," said Mr Mbongeni Radebe, of the Thokoza ANC Youth League, who saw him afterwards.

On Sunday morning Mr Ntuli was washing in the bedroom when four strangers, who said they were from Katlehong, arrived at the house looking for beers.



IN MOURNING ... Leah Ntuli with son Jabu Picture: JOE SEFALE

Report: CHARIS PERKINS • Pictures: JOE SEFALE

His father, Mr James Ntuli, gave the men two beers.

"As Sam left, they suddenly stood up and went outside leaving the unfinished beer on the table," he said. "They pointed at him and then disappeared in a blue Cressida."

"I was worried and called the neighbours but we did not have time to take down the car's registration number."

Twenty minutes later, about 11.30am, 62-year-old Mr Ntuli learnt that his eldest son was dead. Witnesses said they saw the assassins in a blue Cressida open fire on Mr Ntuli with AK-47 rifles.

A police spokesman said 12 shots were fired from a blue Ascona. The police have offered a R20 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the assassins.

TARGET

Mr Ntuli's younger brother, 26-year-old Mr Fundile Ntuli, said he had always feared for Sam's life. "He told me he was afraid to move around. It seemed to me only a matter of time before he would be killed."

Mr Mayekiso said Mr Ntuli's "tireless anti-apartheid work" had made him an obvious target. "He was hated by the security police, by local councillors and by Inkatha," he said.

He predicted large stayaways on the East Rand on Monday, the day scheduled for the funeral. "People are touched and angered about his death," he said.

R500 bail

for IBIIR

ANC pair

By **DAN DHLAMINI**

A CARLETONVILLE branch leader of the ANC and a member of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) were this week both released on R500 bail.

The ANC's Dan Ndzeke and IBIIR's Sally Sealy, who have both been working closely with a police team probing alleged police atrocities which led to the suspension of 11 Welverdiend policemen, have been charged with intimidating a police officer.

The State alleges that the two intimidated Constable Ephraim "Fente" Rampete on September 24 at the Carletonville Magistrate's Court.

They have both pleaded not guilty and will again appear on October 29 for trial in the Regional Court. If convicted, the two face a fine of up to R20 000 or 10 years' imprisonment.

One of their bail conditions is that they should not come within 500 metres of the court building and the Carletonville police station, except on their day of trial.

For the past three months Ndzeke and Sealy have been working with a police team led by Major General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, which investigated allegations of atrocities committed by members of the Welverdiend-based riot police.

Speakers defiant at memorial event

From Page 1

ering at the Thokoza Auditorium that "we have to take over from what comrade Ntuli did before his death."

He said: "Comrade Ntuli was a leader who was prepared to forego his life. *Sowetan 7/10/91*

"Like all people fighting for the liberation of blacks, comrade Ntuli was aware that his life was at stake. He however put his life on the line by continuing to fight for justice for all. He fought for peace but was killed by the apartheid regime. (327)

"We want to assure the Government that blacks will not be deterred by its actions of killing or harassing people who are opposed to it."

Duma also appealed for unity and "the support of all people to make the formation of a Patriotic Front a success."

"The days leading to a meeting where the ANC, Azapo, the PAC and other relevant organisations will plan the formation of a Patriotic Front are crucial."

"We are aware that certain elements are not happy about this," he added.

Police were out in full force but kept a low profile.

Ntuli will be buried today.

The funeral service will start at 10am at the Thokoza Stadium and the cortege will proceed to the graveyard at 2pm for the burial.

He is survived by his parents, three brothers, three sisters, his expectant wife Leah and son Jabu.

THE funeral today of civic leader Mr Sam Ntuli is a reminder that assassins are prowling our land and hoping to sabotage our liberation efforts.

What are the lessons to be learnt from this and other similar killings?

Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 5pm and 6pm today and share your opinion with the nation on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the programme on medium wave 576KHz.



Mourners bid a sad farewell at a memorial service for slain civic leader Sam Ntuli at Tokoza yesterday. Pic: VELI NHLAPO

Mourners vow to struggle on

By IKE MOTSAPI *Sowetan 7/10/91*

A CROSS-SECTION of black organisations vowed yesterday to continue to fight for the liberation of the "oppressed" in spite of "concerted efforts of the State" to eliminate people fighting for democracy.

Speakers from the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Cosatu, Numsa, Cast, SACP, ANC Women's

League and youth organisations told mourners at the memorial service of the slain Mr Sam Ntuli that the "fight against apartheid" had to be intensified. (327)

In an emotion-charged speech, Mr Lungile Duma of Azapo told a packed gath-

To page 2

SA prepares to embrace the low lights of Western civilisation

B/Dam 9/10/91

(327)

DARIUS SANAI

PORNOGRAPHY was one of the many delights of Western civilisation denied South Africans during the apartheid era. Cities here were spared the pinkish top shelves with their vivid magazine covers, the saliva-bathed sections of video stores with their ridiculous cassette titles, the "porno ghettos" that so many European and American towns now boast, lined with dildo shops, private booths and the like.

But now things are changing. The new chief censor, Prof Dan Morkel of Free State University, predicted last week that censorship laws would be loosened to an extent so that the individual would have more choice over what he or she wanted to buy, hire or see.

Morkel would not give details, although he emphasised that he would not advocate going to extremes. But his comments and the newfound belief of most SA politicians in the freedom of expression — behind which most pornographers in the West can take shelter — suggest that we will soon be able to buy at least some of the explicit publications so far denied to us.

Morkel said that he intended to recognise the right of free speech, and would do nothing to restrict it. He qualified his comments by adding that we should not "throw out the baby with the bathwater".

Most Western countries curtail freedom of speech when it interferes with other rights — through anti-obscenity laws and laws forbidding the incitement of racial violence, for example.

Wits law lecturer Joe Campanella says it is significant that Morkel talked about the

freedom of speech. "Past appointees to the Publications Appeal Board have not even mentioned it," he says.

Pornography is a wide-ranging term, covering everything from suggestive calendars and mainstream films like *9½ Weeks* to snuff movies where genuine rapes and murders are filmed.

Campanella is researching the advisability of having anti-pornography laws enshrined in a bill of rights as part of anti-sexism legislation.

He says the most realistic approach for prospective framers of a constitution for SA would be to allow soft- and even hard-core pornography (the sexual act is obscured or simulated in the first case, but performed explicitly in the second) but to ban any pornography that involves children or violence. This is similar to US anti-obscenity laws.

If implemented, such laws could come as a shock to many South Africans. Almost every video, from soft-core stripteases to the cream of the hard-core industry, featuring ludicrous camera angles and erect members, would become available in SA.

Campanella says the mainstream film industry in SA is already virtually exempt from the current obscenity laws, and cinemas are allowed to show shots that would be banned in small independent girlie magazines like *Stag* and *Bunny Girl*.

The implications of this are clear: the unbanning of pornography would have little effect on most people, because the filmgoing public in SA already sees what its counterparts in other Western countries do. But the

independent specialist pornography industry would flourish.

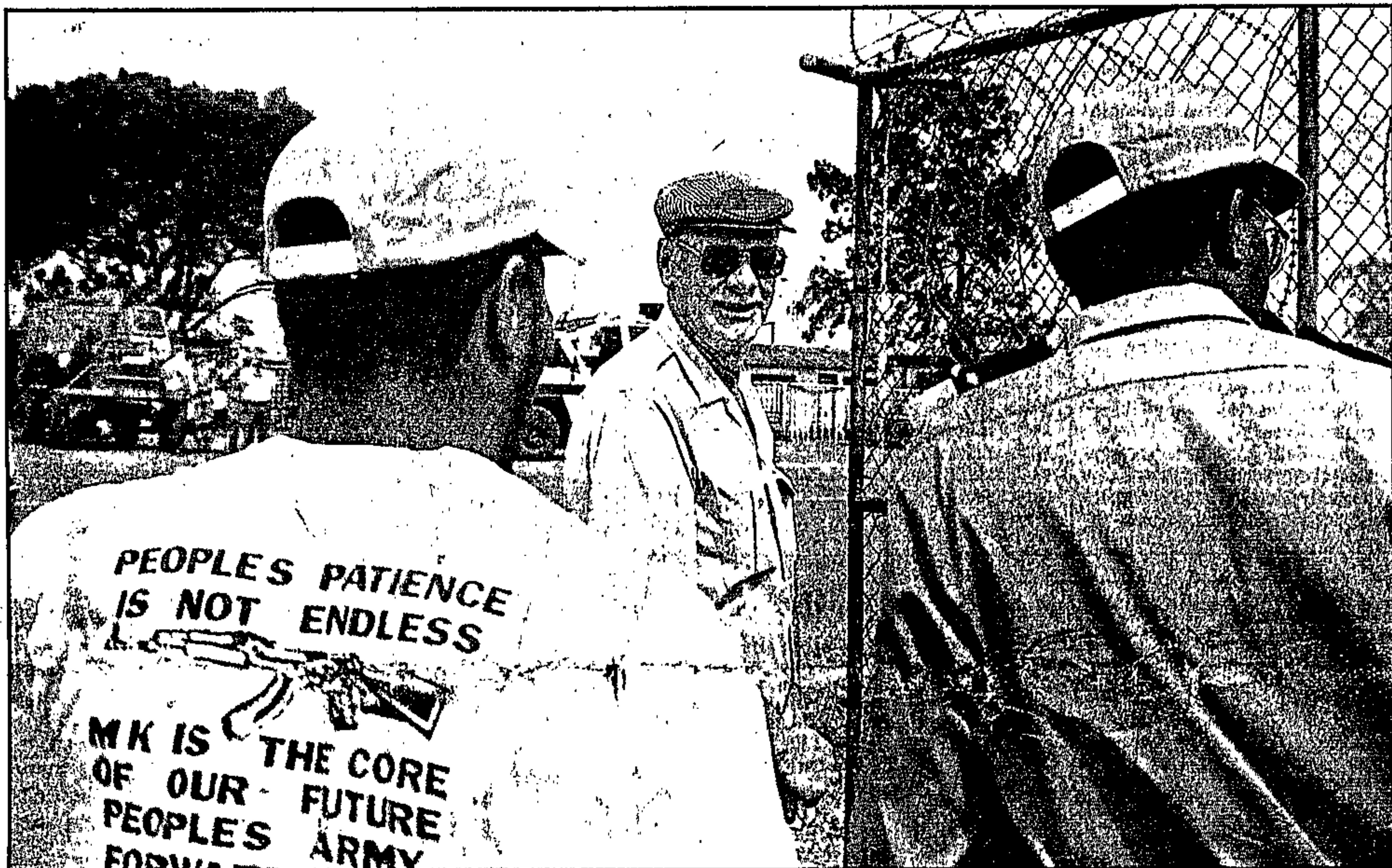
The legalisation of pornography inevitably sows the seeds for the forming of sections of cities where sex shops are rife and the underworld emerges. Sex emporiums are not always located in red-light districts — in Paris and Washington DC you can watch *Come Play with Me IV* in a private video booth a stone's throw from Notre Dame or the White House.

But inevitably the two become entwined, as the experience of many middle-sized towns in Europe and America indicates. The most famous examples, in Amsterdam's sprawling red-light district, Hamburg's Reeperbahn and New York's 42nd Street (now being reformed), combine brothels, sex cinemas, video booths, gadget shops, drug dealers and seedy (but undeniably popular) bars.

In London and other British cities, where hard-core pornography is illegal, these districts are denied the financial stimulation and whiff of legality that the sex cinemas and booths bring. Soho, the world's most famous "dirty" district, is clean and boring compared with what is found in major cities across the northern seas.

Both Morkel and Campanella agree that the freedom to publish beyond the limits of what is currently permissible in SA is vital for a liberal democracy, notwithstanding the tastelessness of the publications and productions that may emerge.

And those calling for the continued banning of all types of pornography would do well to look at the three main ideologies that accord with their views — Soviet communism, Calvinist apartheid and Islamic fundamentalism.



No entry . . . ANC marshals turn away an unidentified policeman who tried to attend the memorial service for slain community leader Sam Ntuli in Tokoza yesterday. (Below) Thwarted, the policeman later rejoins a colleague. Picture: Alf Kumalo

Emotional farewell (327) for Ntuli

By Peter Davies

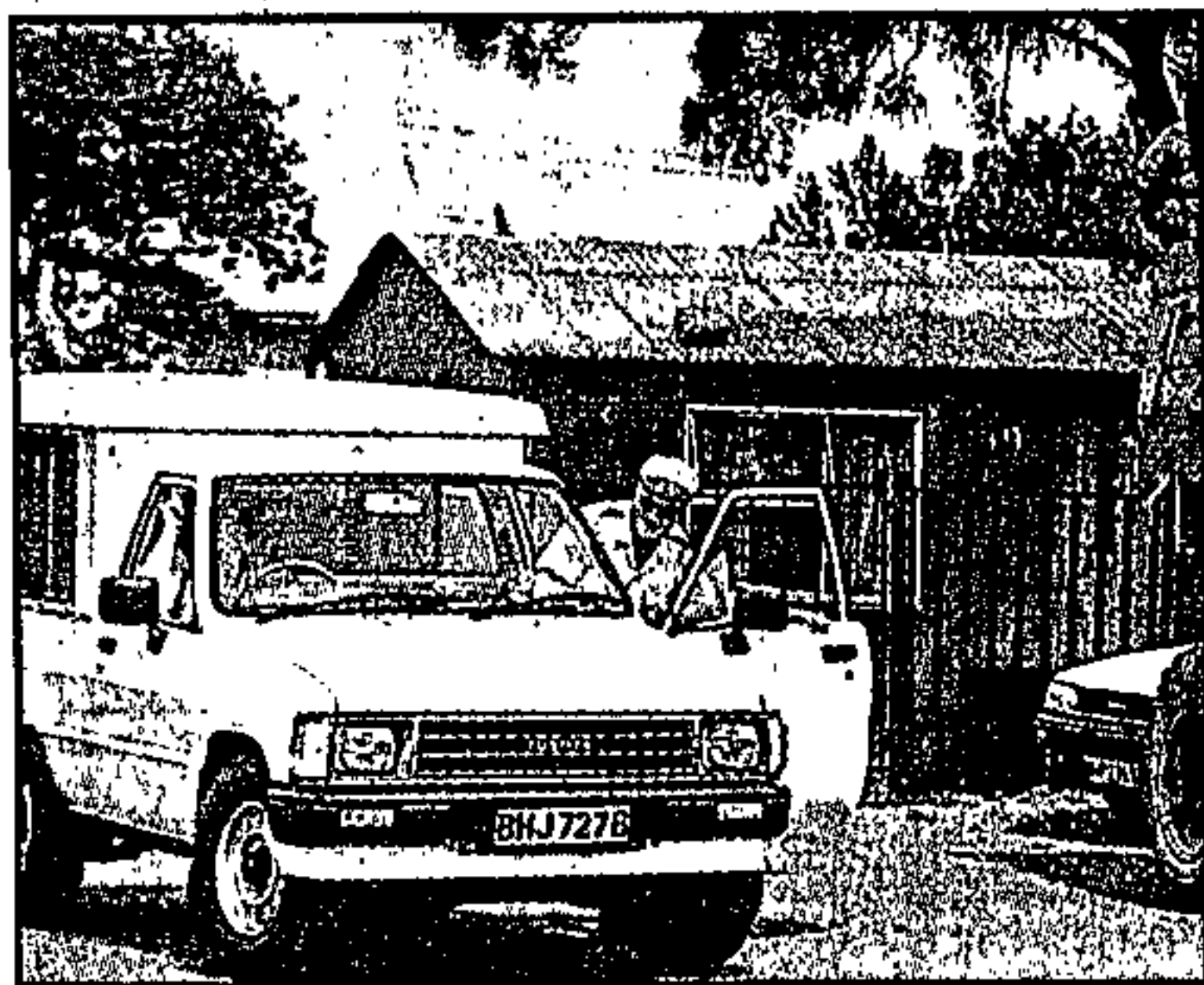
More than 1 000 people gathered at the Tokoza auditorium yesterday afternoon to pay tribute to slain general secretary of the Civic Association of the Transvaal (CAST) Sam Ntuli.

He died after being shot in Tokoza last Sunday.

Security for the memorial service was tight. Four armoured police vehicles were placed at the entrance to the auditorium, and police also videotaped mourners.

Cars entering the adjacent parking area were searched by marshals and mourners entering the auditorium were frisked.

Among the speakers at the



emotion-charged service was Gerry Cooney, DP councillor for Randburg, who praised Mr Ntuli's devotion to his community.

Azapo spokesman Lungelo Mbalane paid tribute to Mr Ntuli as a "man who was prepared to lay down his most valuable asset — his life — for his people".

Speakers from CAST, Co-

satu and the National Union of Mine Workers also addressed the crowded auditorium which was awash with chanting mourners in yellow T-shirts proclaiming "Sam Ntuli — Struggled for Peace, Murdered by Apartheid".

Mr Ntuli's funeral takes place today at 10 am at the "Terror Lekota Stadium", Tokoza.

"When an invitation reads, "Dress formal" I am sure whether it means I must wear evening dress or a lounge suit is acceptable."



60 fail to hit squads lately

8/10/91 80 copies 8/10/91

(327)

police are known to have done before.

By this stage, however, Mandela and other ANC leaders had personally intervened with the authorities on Mabote's behalf and at 2.30pm on Tuesday he was released.

Given the assassination of Ntuli by unknown gunmen some 16 hours before Mabote's capture, he is se-

The Independent

riously thinking of moving out of Tokoza for a while - a proposition he did not even consider in the old PW Botha days when a state of emergency was in place, when he was in and out of detention and the ANC was illegal.

He and other fellow activists were therefore not particularly impressed to read in newspapers yesterday that De Klerk had, for the very first time, publicly apologised for the sins of apartheid, informing a Japanese newspaper that he was "very, very sorry" and "glad that period has

passed". In the secret police farm outside Tokoza, that period seems to remain very much alive. Some three kilometres down a dirt track, hidden amid a lone clump of trees in the wide open veld, sits a farm building occupied by men in camouflage uniform outside, which stands a row of police armoured cassettes.

Tortured at a secret police farm in Tokoza

"Then they put brake fluid inside my anus, because that is the only place you can let out air if your nose and mouth are covered.

"Then they repeated the questions and they kicked and punched me all over my body. This continued for about three hours."

Mabote said he was taken back to the farm, where he was again interrogated and beaten. On several occasions his captors told him they would dump him inside one of Tokoza's Inkatha-controlled hostels that night - something the

MORE people have been assassinated since President FW de Klerk unbanned the African National Congress, released Mr Nelson Mandela and ushered in "the New South Africa" last year than during the previous 10 years.

Between 1980 and 1990, about 40 activists were killed by hit squads inside South Africa.

According to the Human Rights Commission last week, more than 60 have been assassinated in the last 18 months.

At the funeral yesterday of the most recent victim - Mr Sam Ntuli - in this bloodiest of all townships, Mandela and other black leaders pointed the finger yet again at sinister elements within the security forces bent on blocking black rule.

Yet again, if they can be troubled, De Klerk or one of his ministers will come back and say yes, Ok, but bring us the proof.

What the ANC might usefully do is ask Israel Mabote, a local youth leader, to tell them what happened to him last week, who did it and where. They would hear this:

"Between 3am and 4am on Monday 12 cops in camouflage uniform - some black, some white - came to my home and arrested me. I could see that five of them wore Inkatha Freedom Party T-shirts under their uniforms. They took me to a farm about 10km away and interrogated me.

"They accused me of killing Sam Ntuli. They accused me of killing Inkatha people at the massacre in Tokoza on September 8. They said I had an AK-47 and explosives.

"They said I was a member of MK. But they had no proof because it was all untrue and so they said that, if I did not admit to all this, I would be made to feel pain."

"They took me to an old mine about half an hour's drive away. They stood around me and repeated their questions.

"When I denied everything again they tied my hand behind my back, tripped me and tied my legs. They got a rubber tyre tube and wrapped it tightly around my face so I could not breathe

Police beat me, claims ex-Robben Islander

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

After surviving a total of 16 years' jail on Robben Island and several years in police detention, PAC member Dlevalile (John) Ganya was left hard of hearing after a policeman allegedly beat him up in his own home last month.

Mr Ganya (56) was sentenced to 11 years on Robben Island in the 1979 Bethal treason trial for furthering the aims of the PAC. He was released in March last year.

He also spent five years on Robben Island during the 1960s.

Mr Ganya, a pensioner, claimed to have been severely beaten in detention before the Bethal trial. "I had bad internal injuries and have been on medication ever since," he said.

His recent troubles began when policemen arrived at his

Chiawelo, Soweto, home on September 22. They were looking for his nephew, Sipho, who is about 11 years old.

"When I asked them what they wanted him for, one of them said Sipho had killed someone. Then he said he was only joking, but they wanted to talk to him about a gun," said Mr Ganya.

Sipho had gone to the shops, so Mr Ganya told the police he would take him to the police station the following day.

"We went to Protea police station the next day and they asked Sipho about the gun."

Sipho told the police he had found two bullets on his way to school and some of his friends, who had a gun, asked him for them. After refusing several times, Sipho eventually handed the bullets over. The friends left, but when they fired their

gun, the police arrived.

Although the friends told the police that Sipho was not involved, he was still somehow connected to the weapon.

"But once we talked to the police, everything was sorted out," Mr Ganya said.

He asked the police for a letter confirming he had taken Sipho to the station.

The next night Mr Ganya heard "a terrible noise, like fighting outside. Then the police ran into my house like dogs chasing a rabbit".

"One of them started to insult me. He was shouting at me and telling me he was looking for my nephew. I tried to talk to him. I showed him the letter from Protea police station, but he carried on shouting at me."

"There was another policeman there who listened to me. I explained that I had taken Sipho

to the police station and the police had talked to him.

"But the other one kept shouting at me. Then he hit me. He hit me three times on the side of my head and kicked my legs."

Then Mr Ganya asked for a pen and wrote down the policemen's names and vehicle registration. The police left.

Mr Ganya was examined by a doctor after the assault and was found to have a perforated eardrum and a cut on his shin. He laid a charge against the policeman who allegedly assaulted him.

Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn confirmed that the charge had been laid at the Moroka police station and said it was being probed. Once the police investigation was over, he said, the matter would be handed over to the Attorney-General.

Cops forced gran to dance naked - claim (327)

Sowetan 7/10/91
A 65-YEAR-OLD Soweto pensioner yesterday described how she was made to "dance naked" in her house while young policemen watched her excitedly.

Mrs Stephina Molelekwa of Meadowlands claimed a number of policemen, most of them white, and aged between 18 and 20, raided her home in the early hours of the morning, after breaking her door.

Scared "to death", she jumped off her bed naked, thinking it was thugs who

By JOE MDHLELA

had broken into her house.

"I was surprised to be confronted by white people dressed in SAP uniform. They seemed to enjoy themselves watching me. They laughed and passed mocking comments among themselves. They also said a number of derogatory words in Afrikaans," she said.

She said they ransacked the house, turning everything upside down.

"Apart from the fact

that I was angry, I felt humiliated. It was embarrassing for children in their teens to see my naked body," Molelekwa said.

Her 70-year-old husband David was also woken up.

He too did not have time to put on his clothes, and was ridiculed by the policemen, she said.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn confirmed Molelekwa had laid a complaint. Police were investigating, he said.

Molelekwa said she still did not know the motive for the raid.

Soldiers tortured us, claim six men

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY: Durban

SIX north-eastern Zululand residents have formally accused members of the South African Defence Force of torturing and brutally assaulting them over an eight-day period last month.

The victims allege in affidavits, now in the possession of the Legal Resources Centre, that soldiers placed plastic bags over their heads, beat and kicked them and gave them electric shocks, including to their genitals. They say the soldiers demanded guns but produced no search warrant.

The charges are so serious that the South African Police in kwaNgwanase and the military police in Jozini have launched an investigation into the allegations, says End Conscription Campaign worker Hayden Osborn.

Durban SAP liaison officer Captain Hamilton Ngidi confirmed that police were investigating eight cases of common assault and three cases of "very serious" assault.

LRC attorney Howard Varney says the SAP is investigating criminal charges, but the LRC is considering bringing a civil suit against the SADF.

At an identification parade last Thursday, at the kwaNgwanase police station, two victims and a witness identified four soldiers from the 121 Battalion base at Ndumu. One victim, Tusha Manzini, alleges that one of his attackers is an SADF captain.

In his statement Manzini says he and other victims had asked soldiers at the Ndumu camp why they had been victimised. He was surprised to see that the soldier in charge was "one of the white soldiers who had been involved in the assault and was called captain".

The "captain" refused to take part in the identification parade, according to Osborn.

Another victim, Zondiwe Mthembu, also describes one of his attackers as "a white soldier with three yellow markings on each of his shoulders".

Mthembu says he recognised the vehicle that drove up to his house on September 14 as a Buffel.

He alleges that five soldiers were involved in torturing him. They began by "placing a black plastic rubbish bag over my face and then wrapped a piece of rubber tube around my head, making it impossible for me to breathe".

Mthembu then describes how the soldier with the "three yellow markings on his shoulders put wires on to my hands, tying them around my fingers. I saw him turning a handle on a machine that looked like a telephone".

Electric shocks, he alleges, were applied six times to his hands and three times to his toes. He says he lost consciousness eight times during the eight hours he was allegedly tortured.

A third victim, Elliot Mthembu, also claims he was given shock treatment

seven or eight times. "At one stage I woke up and the wires were attached to my penis."

During his brief moments of consciousness he alleges he heard laughing. "I do not remember who it was or when it was but I remember thinking who could be laughing at this?"

Manzini claims "the soldiers repeatedly struck me on my body with four-pound hammers, used the plastic bag treatment and squeezed my testicles".

According to Osborn, "the most seriously assaulted victim is wandering around in a confused state suffering from brain damage or serious amnesia. No statement has ever been recorded from this victim."

Members of the ECC are worried that the "military police have been assigned half the SAP's caseload in the matter". They argue that the military police should assist in such a case but not have outright jurisdiction.

"Since the victims are civilians, they should see justice running its course in a civilian court and not behind closed doors, as court martials are heard," says Hayden.

Staff Sergeant Taylor, of the Military Police in Jozini, declined to comment on whether his unit was investigating the matter. Commandant Marais, of the SADF in Jozini, also declined to comment. The office of the Natal Commandant was closed yesterday.

Another labour organisation has been infiltrated by the security police. At the same time that security police Major Derick Botha, with the co-operation of Rand Afrikaans University professor Kobus Slabbert, controlled the Auckland Park-based Liaison Bureau with slush funds, Botha's colleagues set up a Cape Town operation (*Leaders* September 27).

A memorandum, marked "top secret" and dated September 11 1989 (the *FM* has a copy), deals with the launch of a Cape Town labour organisation, Management Services Coordination Employers (Manco). The memorandum was sent by the Western Cape branch of the security police to their Pretoria headquarters.

According to the document, "an employers' forum" was formed on August 30 of that year after Cape Town security policemen had various discussions with company directors and managers in the area. It further states that "a five-member committee, under the chairmanship of the Cape Employers' Association's former chairman Frank Lighton, was elected by 35 representatives."

During the meeting, Lighton, according to the memo, informed those present that the forum did not replace existing employer's organisations. Its aim was to inform members on labour law, union strategies, actions during labour unrest and legal aspects, including industrial court decisions, and to

assist smaller firms.

A Captain Brink of the western Cape Security Police commented to his superiors that it was clear from the meeting that more firms were interested in joining the forum. "Members of this office (the Security Police) — without getting involved personally — will maintain the necessary contact with committee members and will receive a report-back of the most important decisions," wrote Brink.

He added: "In order to dodge undesirable elements, as well as newspapers, the matter is regarded as confidential at this stage."

Various handwritten notes are visible on the memo. One written comment on the document states that the forum will improve the security police influence in the western Cape. At the bottom of the page the name "Maj Botha" is handwritten.

In a follow-up memo, dated September 19 1989, also stamped "top secret" with the certifying signature of one P J J du Preez, a meeting of the elected committee on September 6 1989 is discussed. The memo states that 15 new members joined the forum at a meeting held on September 13 and that possible stayaway actions were discussed as well as the possible consumer boycott expected later that month.

Again Captain Brink reported to his superiors in Pretoria. He said that contact between the Cape security police and various companies had increased.

The name "Maj Botha" again appeared at the bottom of the document. As was earlier reported, Major Derick Botha, the controller of Liaison Bureau, had also been involved with the R1,5m funding of the Inkatha union, Uwusa.

The *FM* called Major Botha to inquire whether he and the Botha mentioned on the security police memo were the same person. "I am not interested in talking to you," he said before slamming the receiver down. The *FM* has also not received any response from an earlier request to interview Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel about his department's involvement in labour organisations.

Manco's Frank Lighton, however, expressed his "astonishment" when told by the *FM* of the two memoranda. Describing himself as an honorary administrator, Lighton said that he had never before heard of Botha. He knows a Captain Brink, said Lighton, but he could not recall that Brink had been present at the inaugural meeting of Manco.

"We have never been involved with the security police," he said. "I cannot speak about secret documents."

Meanwhile, the Commission for Administration, which has been investigating and negotiating labour legislation for civil servants, has cancelled a contract with Liaison Bureau and terminated the services of Vanderbijlpark attorney Hugo Pienaar, a former member of the close corporation. (See *Not guilty*).

Pienaar, a partner of law firm Du Plessis Pienaar & Swart, had been a member of a committee representing the commission

Said commission chairman Danie du Toit: "We did not know about Mr Pienaar and Liaison Bureau's involvement with the security police," he said. "If we had known, we would not have contracted him."

Pienaar told the *FM* on Monday that the first contact with the security police had been made by Kobus Slabbert and that he (Pienaar) initially had no knowledge of it. Thereafter, he attended a meeting with the Security Police at Slabbert's request to advise them on legal matters. Liaison Bureau CC was formed afterwards, said Pienaar. He was involved only to conduct legal work for Liaison Bureau and the company which was later formed. It must be stressed, however, that the company Liaison Human Resources had never been involved with the State and that it only aimed at assisting clients.

"The partners of Du Plessis Pienaar & Swart were at all times informed about the company's clients, but from the nature of the sensitivity of the close corporation's (Liaison Bureau) client (the security police), were not fully informed as far as that client was concerned."

Pienaar added that he had been informed about the cancellation of the contract between Liaison Bureau and the Commission for Administration, but was awaiting instructions from his client (Liaison Bureau).

Eddie Botha

Mxenge kin to prosecute

By LULAMA LUTI

WHILE the Natal Attorney-General has decided to close his book on the killing in 1981 of Durban civil rights lawyer Griffiths Mxenge, the case is far from over.

Following this week's ruling by A-G IC Imber not to prosecute anybody in connection with the killing, the family of the slain United Democratic Front patron has instructed its lawyer, Bheka Shezi, to institute proceedings for a private prosecution.

Shezi said: "I have written to the A-G for a certificate stating formally that he has declined to prosecute and as soon as I have received it we'll continue with the case."

A former ANC member and Robben Island prisoner, Mxenge was found with 45 stab wounds and a slit throat near Umlazi stadium on November 19, 1981.

Four years later, in August 1985, his wife Victoria, also a civil rights lawyer, was shot and axed to death by unknown men in the driveway of her Umlazi home.

No arrests have been made in connection with the killings.

Shezi told City Press:

GRIFFITHS MXENGE
... case far from over.

Following his refusal on February 1988 to hold a formal inquest into the death of Victoria, magistrate FM Vorster referred the case to him (Imber) for his decision and until now there has not been any response.

However, Shezi believes the Mxenge family has a strong case and still has a chance of seeing justice done, especially in the light of admissions by Death Row prisoner Almond Nofomela and former CCB leader Dirk Coetzee.

"In a civil court action brought by the Mxenge children for loss of support, against the Minister of Law and Order, we had subpoenaed Dirk Coetzee to testify.

"And in an affidavit he made in London, Coetzee said he was prepared to come to South Africa and testify in the case provided he was granted indemnity against prosecution," he said.

The case has been postponed to April 15 next year and Coetzee's application for indemnity is being considered by the Minister of Justice.

■ In a statement of support for the Mxenges, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers condemned Imber's decision and said it effectively allowed those who gave the instructions for the killing of Mxenge to escape investigation and prosecution.



There is no third force police

Brendan Seery

IN the wake of this week's bloody killings on the East Rand and renewed accusations of security force involvement in a "third force", the police have vehemently denied that such a force exists.

And, promising that the police would conduct a "full and open investigation" into all acts of violence, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze revealed that crack police detective teams, commanded by Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, would spearhead the probes.

The units, which will carry out the investigations in terms of the Peace Accord agreement, are already "on the ground" and carrying out their work, but have not yet been officially constituted, said

Captain Kotze.

Among the incidents the investigation team will look at, will be the attack this week on train commuters in Wadeville, Germiston, in which passengers overpowered two members of a gang of gunmen who shot dead three people and wounded 12 others.

The alleged gunmen were severely beaten by train passengers and then taken to the Natalspruit Hospital at Katlehong. Newspaper reports in Johannesburg quoted hospital staff as saying the wounded gunmen had claimed they were paid to carry out the attack by "the Boers".

Shortly after their admission to the hospital, they were taken away under police escort to another hospital, with police saying they had

Star 13/10/91 (327) moved the men to protect their lives.

Democratic Party spokesman on Law and Order Tony Leon issued a statement warning the police that they should ensure that the alleged attackers were brought to trial.

He said that should the two men disappear or escape there would be "irresistible evidence" of collusion between the police and the "third force".

Captain Kotze said: "The State would obviously want to be the first to know if such a force existed. And all the intelligence machinery of the country — which is highly-regarded worldwide — has looked into this and found there is absolutely no evidence that there is such a force operating in a co-ordinated way with a specific aim in mind."

ANC youth leader killed in Soweto

A DIEPKLOOF executive member of the ANC Youth League was shot dead by police in Soweto yesterday.

He was Vuyani Mabaxa (21) of Zone 6, Diepkloof.

According to Mr Floyd Mashele, secretary of the branch, Mabaxa was confronted and shot by police

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

for "no apparent reason" while on his way home about 8am.

However, Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn denied the allegations and said Mabaxa was killed after he shot at police.

Halgryn said three Flying Squad policemen were patrolling in Zone 6, Diepkloof, when they saw a man with something wrapped in newspaper.

"When the police stopped, the man ran away. They followed him on foot for about a kilometre and then he stopped and fired at least 10 rounds at them. They returned fire.

Suicide

"Mabaxa was hit in the chest and killed. Police found a Russian-made machine pistol and 35 rounds of ammunition in his possession," Halgryn said.

Mashele said Mabaxa's death had angered the community.

He said Mabaxa is the second member of the

ANC branch in Diepkloof to die in the past two weeks.

Papo Manyakalle, the interim chairman of the Diepkloof ANC branch was found dead in the toilet of his home with a firearm beside him. Police said he committed suicide.

Mashele said a witness to the incident had told him Mabaxa had started running after he was confronted and threatened by police.

Police chased him for about 500m and then shot him twice.

"We have information that he was shot by a black policeman who was in the company of two colleagues.

"Tests will be carried out and the post-mortem will show that he fired shots," Halgryn said.



Mrs Elishah Mabaxa, the mother of Vuyani Mabaxa, being comforted by relatives after hearing of her son's death.



Still on the beat

Southern 14/10/91

329

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

No

action

against

cops

THE two policemen implicated in the violence that erupted after the funeral of political activist Mr Sam Ntuli in Tokoza last week are still on the beat, police said yesterday.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe said yesterday that although the two policemen had been identified and had also admitted they had

been present in Tokoza on the day of Ntuli's funeral, they had denied allegations in the *Sunday Star* yesterday.

"We still deny these allegations until such time proper investigations reveal otherwise," Malherbe said.

The *Sunday Star* yesterday carried a front page report in which a victim

10 Pages

P.T.O.

Police took part in killings - claim

327

of the Tokoza funeral massacre pointed to a photograph of two police officers who he claims had fired at mourners from a moving car.

In a sworn statement the victim said he was shot in the buttocks and stomach by one of the policemen. His statement implicates two East Rand police officers attached to the Crime Information Services in the killing, in which 20 people died and more than 24 were injured.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman confirmed that the men identified in a photograph by the victim as his attackers are officers attached to the CIS.

Shown the same photographs, Opperman said: "The men are from the Crime Information Service. It was a police car. It was with the Casspirs and other police vehicles in the vicinity the whole day.

"The car is brand new and the number plates have been ordered. That is why it did not have number plates."

Somerset 14/10/91
Police liaison officer Captain Peter van Deventer said he was aware that the car had been in Tokoza.

He said police vehicles not normally issued with registration plates would display a temporary SAP number plate.

In an affidavit sworn in his hospital bed, the wounded man said he ran into Skosana Section to escape the shooting.

"As I was running I noticed a white four-door vehicle in which two black men were seated, one of whom was driving, the other sitting directly behind the driver," his affidavit says.

"The vehicle was moving and both men were shooting at the crowd with automatic weapons. I saw no number plates on the vehicle."

He said he hid in a ditch with another man but when he heard gunfire

coming closer he tried to run away.

"As I stood up, I saw a man carrying an automatic weapon jumping over a nearby fence and running towards me. While in the ditch, I had seen the white vehicle drive past a few metres away from where I was.

"I was able to see the two occupants clearly. The man who jumped over the fence and ran towards me I clearly recognised as having been the passenger sitting behind the driver in the white vehicle.

"As I saw the man running towards me I turned and fled. I was shot in the buttocks and fell face down to the ground.

"I tried to pull myself up but was unable to do so and fell on to my back."

He said he passed out and when he awoke he was being helped to a vehicle.

BILLY PADDOCK

De Klerk 'helpless against violence'

do nothing about it.

No one in government could explain to the ANC the inaction of the police in townships, especially during the night when most of the residents were at home.

There was a crisis of policing when the police did not do their work.

No one had been able to explain the inaction of the police at Swanieville, when squatters were attacked.

"The police can only say to us: 'We found it quite appropriate to escort these people, with their spears dripping blood of the people they had murdered, back into the hostel'.

"No one can explain to us why the police are failing to capture the people that murder in the townships and on the trains, yet ordinary unarmed civilians can capture at least two."

It was crucial that at the multi-party talks the parties should decide who governed the country in the interim and how, "because we are not going to get out of the crisis we are in if we pin our hopes on the De Klerk government".

The ANC was not being irresponsible in calling upon government to accede to an interim government.

THE violence engulfing SA was a direct result of apartheid and the continued existence of a minority government, and would persist until an interim government was in place, ANC legal and constitutional member Penuell Maduna said yesterday.

Speaking at the Witwatersrand branch of Lawyers for Human Rights, he said the CCB might have been disbanded according to President F W de Klerk, "but there is ample proof that the CCB, or the CCB as something else, is still active".

This kind of violence worried the ANC and it believed De Klerk could

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Police deny ³²⁴ killing activist ²⁵¹

Sowetan 16/10/91

THE police yesterday strongly objected to suggestions by the ANC that SAP members were implicated in the death of an organisation leader in the Eastern Transvaal.

About two weeks ago, the ANC charged that a member of its Eastern Transvaal branch, Mr Joe Nkuna, was gunned down by people who "acknowledged they were members

of the South African Police".

But in a statement yesterday, the police rejected the allegation.

"The SAP is investigating the attack on Nkuna. To date, however, there is not one shred of evidence to implicate the SA Police or even suggest that a member could have been involved," said the police statement.

The police said the ANC

assumption was based on an alleged telephone call to a local ANC office by a member of the force to inquire whether Nkuna was shot.

This call was a matter of routine following an attempt by vehicle thieves to shoot Nkuna, police said.

"A phone call was made to the ANC offices to establish whether there was any truth in the rumour. This was a routine call and can-

not, by any stretch of the imagination, be regarded as sinister or indicative of the police's intention to harm Nkuna," the statement pointed out. - Sapa

Cop is charged over killing

A POLICEMAN goes on trial next week following the killing of a young activist last year during the home-coming of former ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo to Alexandra.

Matlou Alex Tlabela is charged with culpable homicide in connection with the death of Meshack Kunene. *Sowetan*

The trial is scheduled for Wednesday and Thursday in the Randburg Regional Court. *16/10/91*

Kunene (21), who was a pupil at Alexandra High School and a member of the South African Youth Congress, was shot outside Alexandra Stadium where a mass meeting was held to welcome Nzo. - Sowetan Correspondent.

Sentence to be passed on Jay Naidoo today

Sowetan 16/10/91

TOP trade unionists Jay Naidoo, Sydney Mafumade and Moses Mayekiso were convicted in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of kidnapping and assault.

Sentence will be passed today.

Magistrate O Rautenbach said that the State had proved beyond reasonable doubt that Congress of South African Trade Unions general secretary

Sowetan Correspondent

Naidoo (26), the federation's assistant general secretary Mafumade (32) and National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa general secretary Mayekiso (32) were guilty of abducting and assaulting policeman Monge Maleka on August 28 last year.

Co-accused Baba

Schalk (30) was acquitted on both charges.

Rautenbach rejected the defence's claim that the unionists were justified in removing Maleka from the street and holding him in Cosatu offices at National Acceptance House in Rissik Street Johannesburg for five-and-a-half hours.

Naidoo had told the court that Cosatu had been the object of continual harassment since 1985.

The Star

70c (incl)

WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 16 1991

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Staff Reporters

Proposals to combat violence by curbing the carrying and use of firearms were published yesterday.

Proposed amendments to the Arms and Ammunition Act, published for comment in yesterday's Government Gazette, effectively make it more difficult to possess and use firearms legally.

A significant effect of the draft Bill will be that gun owners who are not defined

Govt crackdown on firearms set out in draft Bill

Star 16/10/91

as collectors will not readily be issued with licences for a second firearm of the same type.

"For example, if you own a pistol and apply for a licence on the grounds of self-defence, and then apply for a licence for another pistol, you will have to give sufficient reasons why you need it," a police spokesman said.

"If you've got a number of firearms, the Commissioner of Police can declare you a collector, and then you might be compelled to take stringent safety measures such as installing a special safe."

Owners declared collectors by the Commissioner would have 60 days to appeal to the Minister of Law and

Order.

In the proposals, definitions of arms and ammunition — over which stringent rules apply — have been widened to include teargas cartridges, gas rifles of 4,5 mm or larger, gas pistols, air rifles of 4,5 mm or larger, and machineguns.

If passed by Parliament, the Arms and Ammunition

Amendment Act would oblige gunsmiths to carry an official identity document issued by the State, and a prescribed fee would have to be paid for permission to possess a firearm for a prescribed period of time.

Authorisation for possession could also be withdrawn at any time by the Commissioner of Police.

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Prior written consent would have to be issued by a licensed firearm owner for anyone else to be in possession of his or her firearm.

Anyone carrying a firearm would have to carry a licence at all times.

Stricter rules would apply to negligence and the loss of a firearm.

Interdicts remain a powerful weapon for individuals to suppress a report in advance, says Gilbert Marcus

SA media must still publish much at its peril

peril

A MID the plethora of government-enacted laws which inhibit or restrict altogether what may be published in South Africa, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that the common law of defamation also holds great perils for the media.

All major democracies recognise that individual reputation is a prized asset which can be gravely impaired by an unwarranted defamatory attack. Where individual reputation is concerned, the press publishes at its peril. When it comes to ordinary individuals who do not hold positions of prominence in public life, most agree that this is as it should be. After all, the press is a powerful medium with the capacity to ruin a person's reputation.

But newspapers of quality are not generally in the business of deliberately setting out to ruin reputations. The press has a much more vital role in a democratic society — it is to keep the public

informed on matters which affect their daily lives and to serve as a watch-dog of corruption and lawlessness. The role of the press in exposing the existence of the CCB hit-squads and the spy network in the Johannesburg City Council are two of the more illustrious examples of the vital role the press can play.

Exposure of corruption in high places is not the only function of the press. On a less elevated plane, the tribulations of ordinary people at the hands of unscrupulous employers or unconscionable exploitation in the commercial sphere are also matters upon which the public have a right to be informed.

Recently there have been a number of attempts to gag the press in *advance* of publication. The object is to prevent publication altogether of matter which is considered to be defamatory. The examples are varied.

Vito Palazollo sought to silence the press from exposing his past criminal activities; Louis Shill, managing director of Sage Limited, successfully prevented the Financial Mail from revealing confidential information relating to the boardroom dispute between Sage and Allied, and Riaan Coetzee briefly prevented The Star from exposing the manner in which he allegedly conducted his business operations.

In all cases resort was made of the procedure by way of interdict, the ultimate purpose of which was to stop the press from doing what it considered to be its public duty.

In all cases, the potential victims claimed that publication of the matter in question would ruin their individual reputations or cause irreparable harm to their businesses. They claimed that these catastrophic consequences could only be prevented by an interdict.

These examples present dilem-

mas for the law. Should the claims of press freedom take precedence over the right of an individual to prevent in advance attacks upon his or her reputation? The answer is probably that neither the individual nor the press have unfettered rights.

But in deciding where to draw the line, the claims of the press in exposing illegality, corruption or high-handed conduct of those in positions of influence and power, deserve priority. The cases of Mr Palazollo and Mr Coetzee are illustrative. Had they succeeded in gagging the press in advance of publication, the public would have felt justifiably aggrieved at not being informed of their activities. The stories might simply never have seen the light of day.

The South African law of interdicts in cases of defamation is considered by some critics to be out of step with developments elsewhere. In America, where freedom of expression probably

enjoys the greatest protection, the spectre of any prior restraint on the press is generally regarded as anathema. There, the Supreme Court has ruled that "debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust and wide open".

Public officials (a term which includes bureaucrats, politicians and judges) cannot even recover damages for defamation unless they are able to prove that the statement was made with actual malice, that is with knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard for whether it was false or not.

In England, it is much more difficult to obtain an injunction against the press than it is in South Africa. There the press need only undertake to prove that the defamatory matter which it intends to publish is substantially true and in the public interest.

In South Africa, by contrast, in order to defeat an interdict, the press is required to "set up" a de-

fence. It is not sufficient for the press merely to say that it does have a defence which it can establish should the matter proceed to trial. Quite how far the press is expected to go in setting up a defence is not clear. Our highest court has yet to pronounce on the issue.

It is suggested, however, that the English approach has much to commend itself. Once the press undertakes to prove that the matter it proposes to publish is true and in the public interest, it should be free to proceed. If thereafter it cannot justify the defamatory imputation, it will have to pay a price in damages.

That the price may be high permits of no doubt. But that is a risk which the press undertakes in order to fulfil its public duties. In the process, mistakes are inevitable. That is the price that society must pay for a vibrant and independent press. □

Policemen admit to attack

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Four former SAP special policemen, facing 19 charges of murder and attempted murder committed at Trust Feed near New Hanover in 1988, admitted in the Supreme Court yesterday that they took part in an attack on a house in the area but said they were acting on the orders of their superior and co-accused — former station commander at New Hanover Capt Brian Mitchell.

The policemen — Kehla Ngubane, 21, Thabo Sikhosana, 29, Dumisani Ndwalane, 27, and David Khambule, 26, — as well as Mitchell, 34, Capt Jacobus van den Heever, 36, and Sgt Neville Rose, 35, pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice Wilson and two assessors to the charges.

Ndwalane and Khambule alleged that in the early hours of December 3, 1988, Mitchell pointed out the house which was to be attacked and stated it was occupied by "terrorists".

In his statement, Khambule said Mitchell instructed him and the other special policemen to surround the house.

"Shortly thereafter shots were fired at the house," he said. After the attack they

were ordered to return to their posts.

In his statement Mitchell denied having been present at the scene of the attack and that he planned or directed it.

Van den Heever, who at the time was in charge of a squad of special policemen at Hammarsdale, denied that he was aware at any stage that the four special policemen were to be sent to Trust Feed to carry out any unlawful attack or that he had made arrangements to obtain or send special policemen to the area to carry out an unlawful attack.

Van den Heever said as officer in charge of special policemen at Hammarsdale he fell under the command of the late Maj Deon Terblanche who was head of the Riot Unit in Maritzburg.

Van den Heever said he took part in a police operation in the Trust Feed area during December 2, 1988.

The following day Terblanche informed him that a group of Inkatha members had been killed in a house at Trust Feed and he had accompanied his superior to the scene.

The hearing continues today.

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Calling for the right to speak

A PRESS seminar will be held at Vista University in Soweto on Saturday as part of the Sowetan's "nation building" programme.

Sowetan Editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste says politicians, trade unionists and newsmen will speak on freedom of speech in a changing South Africa.

The date - October 19 - marks the day three publications and several organisations were banned by the Government in 1977.

Unions

The event will be held at the university's conference centre starting at 11am.

SAUJ, Nactu, the United Workers' Union and Mwasu will represent trade unions.

The ANC, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha will put their viewpoints across while delegates from Vrye Weekblad, City Press, South, Indicator, The Star and Weekly Mail will also participate.

Witness tells of massacre 'mistake'

EVIDENCE yesterday in the Trust Feed massacre trial detailed how an alleged conspiracy between certain South African Police and Inkatha members to attack a United Democratic Front family unexpectedly ended in 11 Inkatha members being slain.

This was chief state witness Jerome Gebela's testimony in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court, where seven police officers face 11 murder charges and eight attempted murder charges relating to an attack on December 3 1988 on a house in Trust Feed near New Hanover.

Gebela, Trust Feed Inkatha chairman in 1988, also claims that he accompanied SAP Captain Brian Mitchell to Inkatha headquarters a few days before the massacre. Inkatha Elandskop

An Inkatha leader told the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court this week how policemen allegedly planned and executed the massacre of 11 people in Trust Feed in 1988, reports

CASSANDRA MOODLEY

leader David Ntombela was allegedly present during the visit to the headquarters.

According to Gebela, the late head of the Pietermaritzburg Riot Unit, Captain Deon Terblanche, was also present that day.

Gebela related that two days after the massacre he and his vice-chairman Johan Nxumalo visited Mitchell (who is accused of planning,

directing and executing the attack) and allegedly asked him why Inkatha people were killed when Mitchell said he would "assist us".

Mitchell's answer was: "A mistake occurred, so you shouldn't talk about what happened. If you do, I will kill you."

Gebela had visited Mitchell because days before the massacre Mitchell had told him it was useless to arrest those implicated in violence — "They should be killed".

The state also alleges that Mitchell and Terblanche conspired with one or more Inkatha members to stage the attack. Gebela traced the events leading to the meeting at Inkatha headquarters.

Shortly before the Trust Feed attack there was friction between the landowners association

and the UDF-associated Tenant's Crisis Committee. Violence erupted and, according to Gebela, on one particular day: "People alleged that they were bombed in the homestead of crisis committee member Fastus Mbongwe. They attacked Mbongwe's homestead with knobkerries and threw missiles."

When Gebela arrived at the homestead he found the police had detonated the bomb. Mitchell asked him what could be done to restore peace.

Mitchell then said: "If I arrest them they will be released. It will be much better if they could be killed." Apparently, Mitchell told Gebela to discuss this with his colleagues and to come back to him.

Gebela saw Mitchell again when he, Nxumalo and another Inkatha member went to the New Hanover Police Station to report another death in Trust Feed. They discussed the "escalating violence" and Mitchell then drove them to Marawa House.

"As we were proceeding to Marawa House, Mitchell drove as if he knew the area," Gebela said. He claimed that at Marawa House Mitchell left him and the others at the reception and went inside an office and talked. After leaving the Inkatha offices, Mitchell told Gebela he would bring six policemen and Gebela should arrange accommodation.

On November 30 1988, at nightfall, Mitchell dropped six policemen at Gebela's house. According to Gebela, they were dressed in civilian clothes but carried firearms.

When Gebela suggested that some officers be taken to Nxumalo's house, Mitchell apparently objected because: "Nxumalo's house was too close to the place which was to be attacked — Mbongwe's house. He was afraid they would be identified."

When the judge, Mr Justice Andrew Wilson, pressed Gebela to say if he was aware of the impending attack, his response was: "He (Mitchell) said their was nothing he could do to help us. The only thing he could do was have the Mbongwe people killed."

Gebela described events of that fateful night. Apparently, at dusk police circled the area, ordering people to stay indoors. Much later Mitchell arrived, asking for the special policemen. A while later, Gebela was "awakened by sounds of gunshots".

That same morning Gebela discovered the Sithole house had been attacked and that "Inkatha people had died".

The other accused include Captain Jacobus van den Heever, Sergeant Neville Rose, and former special policemen Kehla Ngubani, Thabo Sikhosana, Dumisani Ndwane and David Khambule.

The state alleges that Ngubani, Sikhosana, Ndwane and Khambule participated in the attack, while Van den Heever and Rose were aware of the reason for taking the special policemen to Trust Feed and actively associated themselves with the mission.

The seven accused have pleaded not guilty to all 19 charges. Ngubani, Sikhosana, Ndwane and Khambule have however admitted in their plea statements to being part of the Trust Feed attack on December 13. They claim they were merely obeying Mitchell's orders.

Ndwane and Khambule say Mitchell pointed out the house to be attacked as "a house occupied by terrorists".

POLITICS

Ameen Akhalwaya



From press ban to media charter

W/MON 18/10 - 24/10/91

TOMORROW is the anniversary of "Black Wednesday", October 19 1977, when the National Party government went on another rampage, banning black consciousness organisations and Beyers Naude, and locking up a whole lot of people. (324)

Unofficially, October 19 is "press freedom day". That's because the then justice and police minister, Jimmy Kruger, also banned a Christian publication, *Pro Veritate*, *The World* and *Weekend World*, and the Union of Black Journalists. He locked up two of *The World's* senior men, editor Percy Qoboza and Aggrey Klaaste.

Now, as part of their campaign for media freedom, black editors of newspapers, magazines and radio and television stations have been holding a series of meetings with major political organisations.

Happily, so far the African National Congress, Azanian People's Organisation and Pan Africanist Congress have endorsed media freedom and condemned the intimidation of journalists.

But there is an interesting side issue to the indabas. Nearly 20 years after the launch of the UBJ, black journalists are finally being promoted to senior positions on white-owned media.

Their progress is not nearly fast enough, but at least a belated start has been made. Their rise in status is reflected in other ways.

When old colleagues met up again at the indabas, we recalled the days of the UBJ when, dressed in worn clothes, we'd hold our meetings in a tiny room, with a rickety table and broken chairs, in Orlando's modest DOCC Centre.

When the Writers' Association of South Africa (Wasa), headed by Zwelakhe Sisulu, was launched in succession to the UBJ, its first annual meeting was at the equally modest President Hotel in Jacobs, Durban.

Some of the members subsequently lost their lives or were forced into exile, but in the intervening years, having survived bannings, detentions and threats, most of The President Hotel's men have come a long way from the DOCC.

Wearing neatly-pressed jackets, pin-stripe suits and ties in the best getting-down-to-business tradition, they now hold indabas in posh hotels.

Though they are still concerned about threats they face daily from all quarters, they can look back with pride as their cause outlived the bully-boy tactics of the Nats, and then also of organisations whose fight for democracy they had championed.

Last week, when the *Sowetan* newspaper's "nation building" banquet was broadcast "live" on TV2/3, much-detained and banned journalists such as Klaaste, Joe Thlooe and Thami Mazwai were feted.

The scene called to mind a conversation I had with a senior white colleague during the darkest days of former State President PW Botha's States of Emergency and threats from extra-parliamentary activists.

I told him how depressing, difficult and demoralising it was becoming for black journalists to continue operating honestly.

"Don't worry," he said, "let all these Johnny-come-lately activists have their say. Just hang in there. In politics, the cream will always rise to the top in the end."

He has been proved right as veteran journalists, committed to liberation from apartheid, re-surface to contribute to the vital debate on democracy and democratic structures. They have to look ahead, and as with every sector of our society, have to rise to the challenge of giving substance to the theory of media freedom to which most major political organisations now subscribe.

But no country subscribes to absolute media freedom. When South Africa begins to develop into a democratic society, it will have to work out its own parameters of media freedom, freedom of speech and expression.

One way of doing that would be through an expanded Bill of Rights -- by including a "media charter".

Such a charter makes good sense. After all, labour federations are asking for a workers' charter, educators want a teachers' charter and the ANC's Albie Sachs has proposed something similar for religious groups.

The media charter should not only spell out the rights of journalists and the print and electronic media, but also the public's accessibility to media. It's a challenge worth taking up to give meaning to "press freedom day" in a real democracy.

●Ameen Akhalwaya is editor of *The Indicator*

■ NEXT WEEK: Steven Friedman's Worm's Eye

World attention on Trust Feed massacre trial

Star 19/10/91.

SUE SEGAR

DURBAN — The trial of seven policemen, including two SAP captains, in the Maritzburg Supreme Court this week in connection with the Trust Feed massacre has drawn world attention, as it is expected to make revelations on the role of the police in the Natal violence.

Captain Brian Victor Mitchell (34), Captain Jacobus Pieter van den Heever (36), Sergeant Neville Alexander Rose (35) and special policemen Kehla Ngubane (21), Thabo Sikhosana (29), Dumisani Ndwalane (27) and David Khambule (26) have pleaded not guilty to 11 murder and eight attempted murder charges.

The policemen are alleged to have shot dead Mselani Ntuli, Dudu Shangase, Zethu Shangase, Nkonyeni Shangase, Muzi Shangase, Filda Ntuli, Fikile Zondi, Maritz Xaba, Sara Nyoka, Alfred Zitha and Sisedewu Sithole on Dec 3 1988.

The State has alleged in its indictment that Captain Mitchell was involved in the planning of the attack, and that he led the attack at the request of an Inkatha leader in the area, Jerome Gabela.

It is alleged that the then head of the Maritzburg Riot Unit, Captain Deon Terblanche, knew of the planned attack and gave permission for police to assist Mr Gabela to kill opposition members.

This week, the four special police claimed in statements that they took part in the attack under the command of Captain Mitchell, then station commander at New Hanover. All four said they felt obliged to carry out his instructions.

Two of them said Captain

Mitchell had pointed out the house to them, and said it was occupied by terrorists. But Captain Mitchell has denied planning or directing the attack and has denied being present at the scene.

This week, during the evidence-in-chief of key witness, Trust Feed Inkatha leader Mr Gabela, it emerged that the victims of the massacre were in fact Inkatha supporters.

Mr Gabela told the court that Captain Mitchell had offered to help when violence broke out between landowners and tenants in Trust Feed. He said that two days before the massacre, Captain Mitchell arrived at his house with six policemen, two of whom were staying at Mr Gabela's home.

Mr Gabela said that two days after the massacre, he went to see Captain Mitchell at the New Hanover police station. He asked him why Inkatha supporters had been killed. "He responded by saying an accident had occurred there. He said I should never talk about what happened because 'if you do, I will kill you and police will arrest you'."

On the day before the Trust Feed killings, a police vehicle drove through the area. Through a loud-hailer, the community was told to stay indoors that evening, as police would be "working" there, Mr Gabela said. In the early hours of December 3, he was woken by the sound of gunshots. He later heard people had been shot.

The hearing continues on Monday.

Poem shows activist's death fears

By THEMBA KHUMALO

SENSING his life was in danger, ANC Diepkloof youth leader Vuyani "Mpinga" Mabaxa penned a poem, *Just In Case I Die*, in which he wrote "I know I cannot survive forever, I know many of my fellow combatants will survive forever, Do not ask me why I know". The poem ended with farewell messages for Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo.

The killing of Mabaxa last Sunday by police angered hundreds of local students who took to the streets and left behind a trail of destruction as they sought to avenge the death of their comrade.

Mabaxa was buried at Avalon Cemetery yesterday in one of the biggest political funerals Diepkloof has ever seen. He was an executive member of the local ANCYL, SACP and national organiser of the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union.

Police claims

The rampage, which started on Monday, came after students from five local schools heard about Mabaxa's death. Delivery vans were burnt and police and council houses attacked.

In one incident the home of Jacob Mathala, a Diepmeadow councillor and former mayor, was set alight and his daughter, Eva, who was sleeping inside, was rushed to hospital suffering serious burns.

In another incident police surrounded Fons Luminous High School and arrested 50 pupils after they allegedly burnt a truck. The pupils appeared in court the next day charged with public violence.

At a press conference Floyd Mashele, a senior ANC official, accused the police of deliberately killing Mabaxa. He dismissed as a "lie" the police claim that the deceased had shot at them with a Russian-made pistol during a chase near his home.

Mashele said: "We have witnesses who saw the police chasing comrade Mabaxa and according to them at no stage did Mabaxa fire at them. We have no doubt that the pistol found next to his body was planted by the police to justify their cowardly action."

Mashele was among the first ANC leaders to arrive at the scene, minutes after the shooting.

He promised the ANC would launch its own investigation.

At the press conference Mashele noted that Mabaxa's killing happened barely three weeks after the burial of Papo Manyakalle, an activist who died under mysterious circumstances at his Diepkloof home.

Fingers point, but who's to blame for the killings?

POLITICAL groups are locked in a bitter quarrel over claims that a Government-backed "third force" is behind a wave of massacres in which hundreds have died.

The ANC and allied opposition groups allege that mounting violence in black townships is the work of the police and army. But the ANC has yet to provide conclusive evidence, and the Government vehemently denies that the security forces are involved.

Shootings

Since the Government and leading black groups signed a peace treaty on September 14, more than 100 blacks have been killed. Three mass shootings have accounted for more than a third of these deaths.

The ANC also says it suspects a police role in a spate of attacks by black gunmen who kill blacks on trains and buses and flee without a trace.

Township fighting, which often pits ANC supporters against Inkatha, has claimed 11 000 lives since 1984. The ANC — mindful that the Government secretly

funnelled money to Inkatha police request — contends the Government backs Inkatha in the fighting.

"I did not imagine the Government would willingly sacrifice the lives of thousands of South Africans through allowing the police and army to instigate township violence," ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has said.

Failure

Evidence of police involvement was "overwhelming and such evidence is accumulating," he said.

The ANC says the apparent skill of the gunmen indicates trained military elements are involved.

It points to the failure of the security forces to catch the attackers as proof of collusion.

Other observers say the causes of the violence are varied and complex, part of a spiral of lawlessness pushing black townships toward anarchy.

Evidence

"No hard evidence of a State-backed 'third force' has been produced. If such evidence did exist, it would long since have been published," said Mr

Still in the dark

21/10/91

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of poverty and despair, rapidly blow up into full-scale wars," *The Sunday Times* said last month.

Before President F.W. de Klerk came to power in 1989, security forces were involved in a "dirty war" against the ANC, which was then outlawed. De Klerk has conceded past excesses by security forces, but says they are now impartial.

Risk

ANC leaders maintain the Government wants to demoralise and weaken blacks with violence so whites can retain substantial power in the political system that will replace apartheid.

De Klerk has repeated all major apartheid laws, and despite the violence both the Government and the ANC both say they want to begin talks this year on a constitution to give blacks political rights.

Although a conspiracy as claimed by the ANC probably would reach the highest levels of Government, the ANC has not explained why De Klerk would risk sabotaging negotiations on which his political future may rest. South African news



The violence carries on - so does the finger-pointing.

John Kane-Berman, head of the Institute of Race Relations, an independent think-tank.

Some police may be involved or indifferent to township violence, but they are just one factor, other observers maintain.

"The causes for these mini-wars are often hard to establish — skirmishes between political factions, revenge attacks involving hostel dwellers and residents, ethnic and family rows and even personal disputes, which, in conditions

Policy

Critics say the ANC policy of making the country ungovernable in the 1970s and 1980s is responsible for much of the violence. The policy produced a generation of politicised young blacks who are now bitter, disillusioned and prone to violence.

"Violence in South Africa is not simply the work of wildcat individuals and groups, but also a whirlwind sown by revolutionary strategies," Kane-Berman said. — *Sapa-AP*.

Law 'must safeguard free Press'

(327) By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

FREEDOM of speech should be entrenched in the constitution of a democratic South Africa to safeguard a free Press, according to panelists at a *Sowetan* seminar at the weekend.

Panelists drawn from political parties, liberation movements, unions and newspapers expressed their commitment to a free Press and suggested ways to achieve it.

Mr Sven Lunsche, president of the South African Union of Journalists, said: "A greater understanding of Press freedom will undoubtedly be achieved if freedom of speech is entrenched in a constitution under a bill of rights."

Panelists also said there was a need to review the Media Council to make it more representative of and open to all sectors of the public.

How to break the monopoly of the media by the "Big Four" - Argus, Times Media Limited, Perskor and Nasionale Pers - was also debated at length by both panelists and the audience.

Mr Barney Desai of the PAC suggested that a limit on the number of newspapers owned by a single company was necessary.

He also called for Government subsidies for small newspapers.

But subsidies were rejected by some newspaper people who felt South Africa could not afford them.

Mr Strini Moodley, spokesman for the Azapo and a journalist, wanted to know whether, by upholding freedom of speech, South Africans were going to allow the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging "to preach its racist policies openly".

● See pictures on page 10

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"The violence could be turned off at times when it would damage the government; when F W de Klerk left for Europe in October 1990, the violence diminished dramatically. The same happened when Parliament opened in January 1991."

Our Durban Correspondent reports the SAP and Inkatha both rejected the report.

Help for alienated youth

B10 am 25/10/91
WILSON ZWANE

THE church-sponsored Joint Enrichment Project is to launch a programme aimed at addressing problems of the "alienated or marginalised" black youth.

Project director Sheila Sisulu said yesterday there was no doubt about the urgency, complexity and magnitude of the problems faced by "marginalised" youth.

"Marginalised youth form the focus of the major structural problems caused by apartheid and under-development... permanent unemployment, a collapsing education system, deteriorating family life, violence and political uncertainty," Sisulu said.

She said Joint Enrichment Project was working on a project to reintegrate "marginalised" youth into mainstream social life. The programme would be launched early next year after consultations with "relevant bodies and regions to facilitate a youth forum in which existing youth structures can work together towards addressing the... problems of marginalised youth".

"It will include national research into youth issues, a skills training project and programmes towards education and social reconstruction," Sisulu said.

The project is a venture of the SA Council of Churches and the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference.

By Charles Schulz



Ex-policeman's story challenged

MARITZBURG — Testimony by a former policeman was challenged in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday during evidence in the inquest into the killing of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

Details about witness Lucky Mntambo's career in the police force as well as his version of attacks on Maphumulo's house and car were disputed when he was cross-examined by the lawyer acting for the SA Police.

Mntambo, 22, denied he was ever a KwaZulu Police member.

He said he was trained in the Cape for three months and then returned to Maritzburg where he joined the Security Branch as a special constable. (327)

He said he was eventually told by a Lt Pieterse that he was a permanent member of the SAP.

In his earlier evidence, Mntambo claimed he was part of a police hit squad which attacked what they thought was Maphumulo's car in the Table Mountain area between April and July 1990. He also said he shot one of the occupants three times.

Yesterday counsel for the police, Kobus Booyens, said there was in fact an attack on Maphumulo's car on June 10 last year in which two people died.

Booyens said information in an affidavit from the driver, Dede Cyprian Hlope, who survived the attack, differed from details given by Mntambo.

Asked to comment on this, Mntambo said this was a different attack and not the one in which he had participated. — Sapa.

BOILING TOWNSHIPS: A FUNERAL WHERE THE TALK IS OF ARMED RESISTANCE ...

WAR CRY: Diepkloof activists are spoiling for a fight after the police killing of a youth activist. By DREW FORREST

DO not be afraid little flock; it has pleased your Father to give you the kingdom ...

The text — displayed inside St Margaret's Catholic Church in Diepkloof — is jarringly out of sorts with the occasion. White-hot anger, rather than fear, is the prevailing mood. And while the "flock" has its eyes fixed on the kingdom, it clearly expects it to grow from the barrel of an AK-47.

Packed inside the church are several hundred Diepkloof youth militants who have come to bury Yuyani Mabaxa, a key African National Congress Youth League leader shot dead by police a week earlier in controversial circumstances.

Witnesses claim Mabaxa, also a full-time unionist and South African Communist Party member, was gunned down in cold blood during a headlong flight from police pursuers. Police respond that they merely returned his fire.

Three weeks earlier, Mabaxa's close friend and fellow Youth League Pappo Manyakalle was shot dead in what police hold was a suicide. Other local activists have been threatened and visited at home by mysterious armed men.

The service has all the ritual trappings of a political funeral at the height of the Emergency. A youthful guard of honour, in ANC colours with fists continuously raised, surrounds the coffin. At the front of the church droops a huge SACP banner, together with flags of the ANC, the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union and the Congress of South African Students.

But the rhetoric from the string of heavyweight speakers is far more bellicose than would have been possible under Emergency conditions. And running through it is a thread of implied discontent with the ANC national leadership, represented at the service by deputy-president Walter Sisulu.

The immediate target is the police.

The terrible rage that bubbles in Soweto



Youths' anger ... The young lions must bite

Photo: DREW FORREST

and particularly the security branch at Protea police station, described in a speech by Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal vice-president Kgabisel Mosunkutu as "uniformed vigilantes that cause chaos".

But just below the surface simmers acute frustration with the ANC role in the national peace initiative and the dropping of the armed struggle. Days before the funeral, the Wits region of the Youth League and five other organisations reacted to

Mabaxa's death in a statement urging ANC leaders to "review the suspension of the armed struggle" and questioning "the relevance of the peace accord, and whether the accord should continue or not".

Significantly, the relevant paragraph is deleted from a later version of the statement. Inside the church, there are repeated calls for the avenging of Mabaxa's death and for his killers to be brought to book — "If the police want war,

they will get war," warns postal unionist Floyd Mashole. Comrades are exhorted to turn the rhetoric of defence committees into reality; Mosunkutu urges "a gun in every street".

"We will not bury you alone!" trumpets a leaflet circulated among the mourners, which also announces that Diepkloof militants are to seek contact with Umkhonto weSizwe. One speaker warns darkly that although Mabaxa was deputy leader

of the area defence committee, the (unnamed) commander is still at large and active.

The keynote was struck in an impassioned address by Youth League secretary-general Rapu Molekane, who, stressing that "victory was in sight", called on activists "to prepare their communities for the battles ahead".

"It is long that the young lions have been roaring," he said. "Now they must begin to bite."

The mood was sustained during the subsequent procession to the Avalon cemetery, during which shots were repeatedly fired into the air — despite a heavy police escort.

The killing of Mabaxa was custom-made to undermine any peace process in Soweto, where there were already signs of a low-intensity war between activists and the police.

But it also underscores the limitations, and mounting irrelevance of the national peace agreement. To Diepkloof activists who see themselves as sitting ducks in a systematic terror campaign, the pact evidently means very little.

Certain implementation mechanisms of the accord are in place, more or less on schedule. But as a recent edition of the journal *Southscan* points out, these largely concern long-term projects or the enforcement of the code of conduct for political parties, "increasingly a secondary element of the violence".

The current pattern is of assassinations and random terror by faceless killers, in which police have repeatedly been accused of acquiescing or taking a direct role.

The code of conduct for police — which in terms of the accord has to be signed by every member of the force — remains little more than a pious declaration of intent.

A police spokesman admitted last week that it had still to be printed, let alone distributed to South Africa's 115 000 policemen for their individual endorsement.

Struggle continues for former exile

W/Week 25/10 - 31/10/91

NAT SERACHE has been on the move ever since his return from exile in June. Finding accommodation is a major problem for most returning exiles — but Nat's nomadic existence has more to do with fears for his life and those of the people around him than the chronic housing shortage.

A former *Rand Daily Mail* journalist, he experienced two attempts on his life after fleeing to exile in Botswana in 1977.

The first was in 1980, when a car with South African registration plates which witnesses said was driven by a white man, rammed the van he was travelling in, forcing him into a ditch.

The second, in 1985, was more determined: the house in which he was sleeping was reduced to rubble by an explosion heard kilometres away. Sixteen neighbouring houses, a shopping complex and a school were damaged, but Serache and his housemate escaped — injured, but alive.

A former Civil Co-operation Bureau agent later admitted planting the bomb when he gave evidence before the Harms Commission of Inquiry. He said he thought that Serache had died.

On leaving hospital, Serache realised the threat he had become to his neighbours. "I saw the extent of the damage and thought how many lives it could have cost. I didn't feel my presence in Botswana did any good for the people around me," he

His life is no less threatened in South Africa than it was during his days in exile. Nat Serache — and many others — have no one to turn to, reports GAYE DAVIS.

recalled this week.

Vigilance was a part of life, he added, citing the instance of a car which was on the way to collect him for work one day when it narrowly avoided travelling over a mine. Fortunately, the driver had taken the precaution of travelling another route.

"One had to be concerned about one's security on a daily basis. But on joining the struggle, you knew to expect this."

For Serache and countless others like him, being back in South Africa means being more vigilant than ever.

Two weeks ago Serache went home with African National Congress official Gill Marcus, who had told him her Hillbrow flat was being watched by unidentified men. They split up before approaching the building, which was when Serache spotted first a waiting yellow combi, then a man concealed in the shadows signalling to its occupants.

"When I realised this person had seen me, I instinctively ran towards him. He pulled out a pistol from under his jacket and cocked it. I stopped and pretended to reach for a gun myself. This made him hesi-

tate, giving me time to jump off the stairs and head down a dark alley between the buildings.

"About 100 yards inside the alleyway, I saw four men coming into it. They were arguing about something, about whether or not to shoot me... but I was running for dear life."

Serache duly made a statement to the police, but he believes this has achieved little more than "putting my name up front".

Some time after this incident, he was followed to the house where he was staying. It was time to move again.

"I'm a nomad, with no fixed abode," he said. "It's more out of concern for my neighbours than my own security."

Serache said he feels less safe back home than he did in exile, where certain ANC members were issued with handguns for their own protection: "Outside, one could take precautions — here one cannot."

He believes that a hit-list exists, "partly because I have no reason to believe there isn't one and partly because of the pattern of attacks we are seeing. The victims are mainly middle-level to senior cadres, not only of the ANC but other organisations as well."

For Serache and other activists, the phrase "the struggle continues" is no empty slogan.

In a dossier compiled for delegates at the recent Commonwealth

summit, the ANC noted that Khatheho civic leader Sam Ntuli's recent murder was the 61st assassination of an ANC or community activist since June last year.

"Serious investigation under the auspices of the commission established in terms of the peace accord should begin immediately to determine the circumstances, causes and extent of this clear policy of eliminating political activists," the dossier stated.

"It is increasingly clear that this government is talking peace while waging war against the people. This strategy is disastrous and likely to dash all hopes for peace."

Commented the ANC's media liaison officer, Saki Macozoma: "The impact on people's ability to function is serious. It would be stupid of me to get into a bus or a taxi, though I'm lucky to have a car."

"In my opinion, there has been a qualitative change in the violence: away from random killings and towards targeted assassinations."

"People don't understand the level of intimidation or the oppression it gives rise to. It's particularly a matter of concern for those of us with high profiles, whose names appear in the press."

"It's impossible for the ANC to safeguard everyone — we have limited resources — and the people we are dealing with appear to have superior organisational capacity and training, in some instances."

'Campaign' to kill ANC activists

W/Week 25/10 - 31/10/91

AMONG the 61 people said by the African National Congress to have been assassinated since June 1990 are civic leaders, unionists, ANC activists and community leaders.

A common denominator appears to be their effectiveness within their communities, which gives rise to the ANC's conviction that a campaign to eliminate activists is under way.

The ANC's eastern Transvaal regional secretary, Joe Nkuna, was attacked by assailants on October 3. Publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu said the attack came a week after the office received a hoax call "from a known member of the police", saying Nkuna had been shot.

According to the ANC, those who have died since June 1990 include: Jeff Wabena, national organiser of the South African Domestic Workers' Union, who was shot by a gunman in East London; Mziwonke "Pro" Jack, an ANC activist in the western Cape, who was shot in June; Joseph Thwala, vice-chairman of the ANC's Mbhayi branch, shot on September 19; Christopher Nangalembé, Youth League organiser found strangled in Sebokeng in January; and Sam Ntuli, general secretary of the Civic Association of Southern Transvaal, gunned down in Thokoza on September 29.

Hit-squad inquiry: policeman identified

MARITZBURG — A police warrant officer implicated as a hit-squad operative was yesterday correctly pointed out by his accuser during an identity parade in the Supreme Court.

Inquest witness Constable Lucky Mntambo pointed out a W/O Warber as one of the people he claimed had taken part in police hit-squad activities. He was testifying during the inquest of assassinated Table Mountain, Natal, chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

Earlier, however, he mista-

kenly pointed out a man whom he said was Captain Pieterse, a policeman whom he also implicated as a hit-squad member.

Four men took part in the formal identity parade and Constable Mntambo correctly identified the first two as men from the Criminal Investigation Department at Alexandra Road police station.

He correctly named the third man as W/O Warber. He said he did not know the fourth man.

He again claimed he had been assaulted by District Commis-

sioner of Police, Brigadier Chris Jonker, and police liaison officer Pieter Kitching when he had gone to report that policemen were involved.

Constable Mntambo also claimed he was assaulted by an SAP general when he was detained.

Documents purporting to show that Constable Mntambo was in a Cape Town police training college during September 1989 were produced by counsel for the police, Kobus Booyens, SC.

Constable Mntambo said the dates on the test papers had been written by someone else; he was at college in 1988.

Mr Booyens then put it to Constable Mntambo that the July 1989 attack on Chief Maphumulo — in which Constable Mntambo said he and other police officers had taken part — had never happened.

Constable Mntambo argued that it had.

The inquest continues on Monday. — Sapa.

Pickers honour Ahmed Timol

ANC and South Africa Communist Party members picketed outside John Vorster Square at the weekend on the 20th anniversary of Ahmed Timol's death in detention.

The picketers handed over a letter addressed to State President FW de Klerk and Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel asking them to reopen inquiries into all deaths in detention since 1963.

ANC National Executive Committee members Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Aziz Pahad and Mr Steve Tshwete also laid wreaths at the entrance to the police station.

Addressing about 100 picketers on Saturday, NEC member Mr Ronnie Kasrils said it was not pos-

sible for the police in this country to "cleanse their hands of the cancer of torture and death".

Timol, a 30-year-old Roodepoort schoolteacher, died in a fall from the 10th floor of John Vorster Square four days after his arrest.

"Unless the causes of

these deaths are fully investigated and the perpetrators brought to justice, this country is not going to successfully deal with the ongoing violence," the letter to the State President

stated.

The latest victims were Mr Solly Mogashoa of the SADTU and Bop hunger-striker Mr Babusang Monnana on October 14. - *Sapa*

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Sowetan

28/10/91

ANC leader shot dead in car theft

DEPUTY chairman of the ANC's Soweto branch Mr Basil Zuma was shot dead at the weekend by three gunmen apparently following his car in Pimville.

Zuma (30) of Orlando East was also secretary of both the Orlando East branches of the ANC and the civic association.

Zuma's, fiancée Ms Tonko Tibe and friend Mr Thato Matjila had gone to Pimville to pick up friends with whom they were supposed to go to the movies.

A witness said Zuma had just parked his car

By ISAAC MOLEDI

outside a Pimville house when a car pulled up alongside. Three men in the car demanded keys to Zuma's Toyota Conquest, but he refused to hand them over.

The men fired shots at Zuma, hitting him in the chest.

Zuma's fiancée fled to a nearby house while the gunmen hurled the injured ANC official onto

● To page 2

ANC leader shot

From page 1

the ground before speeding away in his vehicle.

Mr Andrew Peterson and wife Pauline said they had all planned to go to a movie on the night of the incident.

An Orlando east ANC official, Mr Rubi Mathang, said Zuma was among the marchers who picketed the Protea police station on Saturday to protest against

deaths in detention. The incident has been reported to the police.

ANC PWV media officer Mr Ronnie Mamoepe said his organisation was conducting its own investigation as it could not discount the possibility of political assassination.

"Of late, activists, particularly those from the ANC, have been targets of assassinations and harassment," he said.

**IN THE HEART OF THE WHORE:
THE STORY OF APARTHEID'S
DEATH SQUADS**, by Jacques Pauw
(Southern Book Publishers, R64,99)

JACQUES PAUW has written a comprehensive, thoroughly researched account of murder, intimidation and disruption at the hands of those struggling to defend apartheid against what they perceived to be a "total onslaught".

For those who watched the unfolding drama of state complicity in the assassination and disappearance of anti-apartheid activists, both at home and abroad, this book is an important collation of the volumes of information which were perhaps difficult to follow in the media.

As an investigative journalist, Pauw has arguably been more closely involved with the subject than anyone outside the security forces, and he writes clearly and simply as he reveals a chilling tale of

Chilling account of death squad saga

apartheid's death squads.

The true story may never be told, he concedes. But in the Heart of the Whore, the result of a two-year investigation, goes further than any other work in its revelations of crime, corruption and indifference to human life among elements of the police, the military and their agents.

Other books about the darkest side of apartheid are bound to follow. Crucial details might be revealed only by the death squad operatives themselves if they break ranks, confess, and document their stories.

But Pauw's book explores in as much detail as possible the evil empire that formed part of apartheid's defence mechanism — using his own interviews with surviving targets of death squads and their operatives, commissions of inquiry, court re-

ports, academic research, newspaper files and the work of groups like the Human Rights Commission and the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression.

It remains unclear how high in government complicity went. Pauw makes no accusations, but says: "The language used by powerful people was sometimes revealing."

He says former Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok spoke in 1987 of the need to "eliminate" and "annihilate" those whom he termed revolutionaries. And he quotes former Defence Minister Magnus Malan as saying in 1988: "Wherever the ANC is, we will eliminate it."

Later that year Malan admitted that SA sometimes used "unconventional methods" to achieve its policy objectives. Pauw disputes claims by

Vlok and Malan that they were unaware of the clandestine activities of their surrogates, and makes no bones about "securocrat" P W Botha's involvement in the "total strategy" to counter the "total onslaught".

The book explores the secret and bizarre world of the death squads. It explains when and why they were created, who ran them, what methods were employed and who the victims and some of the perpetrators were.

The motivation and methods of the CCB, and its sordid story of abuse of state funds and "monumental incompetence" are told in some detail.

It tells, who died, how they died, and in some cases, who killed them. Pauw reveals an insight into the psyche of a racist authority pre- pared, he believes, to go to any

lengths to defend white supremacy. The book sets out to explain how the authorities attempted to cover up the issue, and how, despite all official efforts, the truth began to emerge.

Pauw explores in some detail the confusion surrounding the murders of Anton Lubowski and David Webster, and presents evidence pointing to state complicity in scores of unsolved murders.

In two annexes are documented the political assassinations, mostly unsolved, and disappearances of anti-apartheid activists. A collection of photographs shows some of the central figures — including named killers.

This is an important book and a compelling read for anyone interested in the shameful misdeeds of those lured into the underworld of apartheid's defence.

JONATHON REES

Assassins prowled in the heart of the

BOOK OF THE WEEK
In the Heart of the Whore: The story of apartheid's death squads by Jacques Pauw (Southern)
 Reviewed by PATRICK LAURENCE

JACQUES PAUW, who played a pivotal role in newspaper reports exposing the existence of the police "counter-insurgency units" or "death squads" at Vlakplaas, has now meticulously chronicled the role of assassins in defence of apartheid.

His book opens dramatically with descriptions of three assassinations: those of two captured ANC prisoners, Vuyani Mavuso and Peter Dlamini in late 1981, the pro-ANC lawyer, Griffiths Mxenge in November 1981, and, four years later, of Mxenge's wife, Victoria.

It sets the scene for an introduction to the man who shocked South Africa when he admitted, in an interview with Pauw in November 1989, to co-responsibility for the murders of Mavuso and Dlamini (they were executed at the same time — Mavuso for re-

calcitrance and Dlamini for timidity) and of Griffiths Mxenge.

The man is, of course, Dirk Coetzee, commander of a Vlakplaas death squad, as a policeman Coetzee resided, in his own metaphorical image, "in the heart of the whore".

Pauw's book contains many new details, some small, some big and nearly all fascinating.

One aspect which emerges is the close co-operation between Vrye Weekblad and the ANC in the period immediately before and after Vrye Weekblad's publication of the sensational interview with Coetzee.

Pauw records that the ANC was consulted before publication and that its co-operation was critical to Coetzee's decision to grant the interview. Without the ANC's guarantee that it would do its best to protect Coetzee, it is doubtful

whether the ex-policeman would have gone ahead.

The ANC, Pauw discloses, provided R20 000 to make possible Coetzee's escape and sanctuary abroad. "The ANC's chief of intelligence, Jacob Zuma, took personal charge of the project," he reports.

Another interesting disclosure concerns the decision of Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez to include Coetzee's allegation that he was supplied with poison to kill some of his victims by Lothar Neethling, the police forensic expert and South Africa third ranking police officer.

Vrye Weekblad's lawyer, Lauren Jacobson, advised the

newspaper to exclude the allegations against Neethling. Pauw recalls that du Preez decided the issue by tossing a coin.

The allegations, we now know, were included on the advice of the coin. The decision led, Pauw recounts, to Neethling's R1 million defamation case against Vrye Weekblad.

But, as Pauw shows, what initially looked like being a disastrous decision for Vrye Weekblad turned out to be to its advantage and, arguably, to South Africa's. Mr Justice Johan Krieger found that, on the balance of probabilities, Neethling had supplied poison to Coetzee and that Coetzee, unlike Neethling, was basically a

truthful witnesses.

The implications were, and are, immense: the rejection of Coetzee's testimony by the Harms Commission was itself refuted by Mr Justice Krieger's finding and the issue of death squads, and the police role in the them, was thereby again placed on the agenda.

Pauw provides a succinct summary of the evidence which helped swing the case in Vrye Weekblad's favour, including Coetzee's police notebook — which contained one of Neethling's highly confidential telephone numbers — and his remarkably accurate description of Neethling's house.

As Pauw concludes, the notebook helped establish Coetzee's avowal that Neethling had given him the telephone number at the time of the poisonings and that he had visited Neethling at his home, despite denials on both counts by

Neethling.

Pauw describes the courtroom drama graphically.

"We know that Coetzee spoke the truth and we had a right and duty to publish, but could we possibly win against a person as powerful as Lothar Neethling? ... In the end, after more than 20 days in court, Krieger delivered his 240 page judgment, destroying Neethling's and reinstating Coetzee's credibility."

Pauw's book includes an excellent account of the activities of Leslie Lesia, a former military agent. It is strengthened by a good selection of photographs, including one from the files of the dreaded Civil Co-operation Bureau, and an appendix listing the victims of assassination since 1974.

It should be prescribed reading for South Africans of all political persuasions. □

Whore

Conduct of warders queried by judge

29/10/91
DURBAN — The judge presiding over the inquest into the shooting to death of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, Mr Justice Page, said yesterday he was not satisfied with explanations given by Westville prison officials for allowing police access to inquest witness Const Lucky Mntambo while he was being held in protective custody.

The judge said he had referred the matter to the attorney-general for his decision and also instructed the docket be sent to the director-general of correctional services to take whatever departmental disciplinary steps he might deem fit.

Mr Justice Page said after considering written statements he was not satisfied that the conduct of the prison officials concerned in admitting police to Mntambo while he was in protective custody was merely the result of "negligence or stupidity". It was arguable that they at least foresaw the possibility that their conduct could amount to contempt of court, he said.

The judge ordered an investigation after being told on October 23 by Mntambo's advocate that his client was approached in prison by members of the SAP who attempted to obtain a statement from him and that a scuffle had broken out.

B/day
Own Correspondent

Mntambo was granted protective custody on September 27 after claiming he feared for his life because he had implicated police in alleged "hit squad" activities. He has recently been released from protective custody at his own request.

Under cross-examination by Kobus Booyens SC for the police yesterday, Mntambo insisted his arm was broken in September when he dived into a ditch in Hesketh Drive while fleeing from SAP members who allegedly fired shots at him.

Booyens said according to medical records at Edendale Hospital Mntambo did not sustain any fracture.

Mntambo also disputed allegations yesterday that he had never been attached to the SAP security branch but had joined the SAP on two occasions.

It was suggested he was discharged once as a result of frequent absences from work, and was again discharged in December last year as a result of allegations that he was involved in a "variety of crimes".

Booyens also quoted passages from affidavits of various security policemen implicated by Mntambo, denying involvement in attacks detailed by him.

The hearing continues today.

Bid for dismissal in Allied trial

13/10/91
ALLIED Bank, one of its senior managers and an Austrian businessman yesterday applied for a dismissal of charges relating to an allegedly fraudulent R5,5m finrand transaction.

The bank as a corporate entity, a senior manager, Ulrich Leitich, 49, and businessman Rainer Moringer, 48, have pleaded not guilty in the Rand Supreme Court to one count of fraud and an alternative charge of contravening exchange control regulations.

They have applied for a discharge on both counts on the grounds that the state, which has closed its case, had not proved the charges against them.

It is alleged that Mor-

13/10/91
SUSAN RUSSELL
inger obtained Reserve Bank permission for a R5,5m finrand investment in his companies, Ciskei Air Transport Investment Corporation and Ciskei Aircraft Industries, by misrepresenting that the investment was to be made by an Austrian company, Agroprojekt.

The state alleges there was in fact no foreign investor and that Allied provided the \$1,67m for the purchase of finrands in contravention of exchange control regulations.

Applying for an acquittal, counsel for Leitich submitted that the state had failed to prove there was no

foreign investor or that Allied itself was the de facto investor.

Allied never intended to be the investor, the court was told. It was also argued that the state had not proved any fraudulent misconduct or non-disclosure on Leitich's part and that he too should be acquitted on both counts.

The state will continue argument today in opposition to the application.

Mr Justice Zulman said because Moringer conducted his own defence, he would allow the businessman an opportunity to make submissions on points with particular reference to himself raised by the state.

'Captain pointed out house'

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — A former SAP special constable who was among six sent to trial of Mitchell, Capt Jacobus van den Heever, Sgt Trust Feed for "guard duties" in December 1988, has alleged that four colleagues special policemen Kehla now on trial for murder Ngubane, Thabo Sikhosana, told him they had fired Dumisani Ndwalande and shots into a house pointed David Khambule. They were out by New Hanover station commander Capt Brian an Mitchell, who said it was attempting to murder eight others at a funeral vigil. occupied by terrorists.

Selby Bhekisisa Mkhize was testifying at the Maritzburg Supreme Court

Mkhize said after the deaths Van den Heever and Rose had taken him and the others to their homes.

Martin, Maritz lose bail

PRETORIA *8/10/91 29/10/91* — Former right-wing hunger strikers Henry Martin and Adriaan Maritz yesterday provisionally estreated their bail in the Pretoria Supreme Court after failing to meet their bail conditions.

Warrants for their arrest were issued on Friday when they failed to report to police in terms of their bail conditions.

Mr Acting Justice W J Human granted an application by the State that their bail of R5 000 each be provisionally estreated, but refused an application to estreat Lood van Schalkwyk's bail as the third former hunger striker was unfit to appear in court.

The trial of the three men on charges of murder, attempted murder and malicious damage to property was postponed to January 27. — Sapa.

Police captain is lying, witness tells court

A WITNESS claimed yesterday that police were trying to cover up their alleged hit squad activities by supplying documents and statements purporting to disprove his evidence.

Mr Lucky Mntambo was being cross-examined in the Maritzburg Supreme Court at the inquest into the death of Chief M h l a b u n z i m a Maphumulo, who was shot dead in the city on February 25.

When counsel for the South African Police, Mr Kobus Booyens, SC, produced an affidavit from Captain Daniel Meyer of

Riot Unit 8, in which Mntambo's allegations of a police hit squad attack on Maphumulo's home in 1989 are refuted, Mntambo said this was simply a vain attempt to cover up police hit squad activities.

Meyer also outlined Mntambo's career with the SAP and said Mntambo was not employed by them at the time he claimed he had attacked Maphumulo's house in Table Mountain, Maritzburg.

"The captain is lying," Mntambo responded. "This is an attempt to cover up the hit squads."

The hearing continues today. - Sapa.

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Some faint
29/10/91

to give details of what might offer, saying: "I do re-empt what I may be told."

Mandela, in Johannesburg on May 22.

during a protest in May this year

Policeman
says he was
told to hide
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30/10/91
Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Former SAP special constable Selby Mkhize, posted at Trust Feed, New Hanover, at the time of the December 1988 killing of 11 people, told the Supreme Court yesterday he had received an anonymous phone call in connection with the incident earlier this year, warning him to hide. Mkhize, now a member of the KwaZulu police, reported the matter. Mkhize said he had believed he and five colleagues were being posted to Trust Feed to perform guard duties. One morning four colleagues — Kehla Ngu-bane, Thabo Sikhosana, Dumisani Ndwane, and David Khambele — told him and Const B Makhathini New Hanover station commander Capt Brian Mitchell had pointed out a house "occupied by terrorists". They surrounded and shot at the building. The trial continues today.

Schools face huge increase in pupils

8/Day 30/10/91

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The mounting problem of funding education to cater for an explosion in pupil numbers between now and the year 2000 was stressed by Education and Culture Minister Piet Marais yesterday.

He told the Cape Education Council in Cape Town that pupil numbers were rising at the unprecedented rate of 300 000 a year and that by the century's end there would be an additional 4-million pupils.

This would impose impossible additional demands on education financing. The situation was further aggravated by SA's current low economic growth rate and extremely weak productivity.

Marais said it had to be realised a new education system could not be established overnight, given this background. Government would be unable to spend much more than the present 20% of budget already allocated to education.

"The fact is that the more than 10-million pupils and students cannot be funded on the same basis as they are funded by my department," he said.

Marais said a National Education Department survey on the realities of education found per capita state expenditure for school and college education in the Department of Educa-

tion and Culture was R3 572 in 1989. However it was only R927 in the black Department of Education and Training.

It was also found the teacher-pupil ratio in white schools was 1:17,6. The ratio in the Department of Education and Training, however, was 1:36,3.

"It is unthinkable that such inequalities should continue indefinitely," he said.

Financial realities would force government to consider raising parent and community contributions and the channeling of more pupils to technical and career education. Also the curtailment of compulsory education to the projected level of Std 5 and the real increase in pupil density would have to be closely looked at.

On open schools Marais said by the year's end about 700 schools would have voted for one of the additional models and would have the right to determine their own admission policy. While about 80% of the country's total population indicated they were followers of one or other religion, and this formed a communal basis for a new system, provision would have to be made for the great diversity of people and cultures in SA. There was no place for discrimination on grounds of race or colour.

The situation was very tens

Most South Africans and families of mis-

IDT see

CP says Govt is spying

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Star 31/10/77
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party claims to have exposed a second Government spy in its ranks.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said another member of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) had admitted to the CP that he worked for the NIS with orders to spy on the party and other rightist organisations. The person was recruited to the NIS while occupying various posts for the CP in a rural constituency.

Dr Hartzenberg did not identify the alleged spy, but said if President de Klerk asked he would reveal the name to him.

Mr de Klerk had not issued a statement in response to these allegations at the time of going to press.

Dr Hartzenberg said the CP had also been warned that the NIS was tapping all phone calls of prominent CP officials, even at their homes. He said the party was also warned there was tapping apparatus in every CP head office country-wide and that all meetings were monitored.

A NIS spokesman said the intelligence organisation did not spy on political parties.

Nearly 60 ANC, IFP activists assassinated

Political Reporter

Almost 60 ANC and IFP activists and leaders have been assassinated by unknown gunmen this year.

An estimated 25 IFP leaders — branch chairmen, vice-chairmen and secretaries or organisers where branches had not yet been formed — had been assassinated since the signing of the ANC/IFP peace accord on January 29, the head of the Inkatha Institute's Violence Study Unit, Kim Hodgson, said yesterday.

About 30 ANC activists including office bearers and youth and community leaders, had been killed by professional hit squads since January, according to Human Rights Commission figures.

The IFP blamed the ANC for most of the killings while the ANC suggested that a Government-related "third force" was responsible.

Mr Hodgson said seven IFP leaders had died in 17 assassination attempts in Natal in August only, while three leaders had

been murdered since the signing of the National Peace Accord on September 14.

He said there was no doubt that the ANC had been involved in most of these killings, either in attacks co-ordinated by ANC leaders or in attacks by ANC-supporting vigilantes.

"Unknown" gunmen, which could involve a "third force" had been responsible for some assassinations.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation totally rejected allegations that ANC

leaders orchestrated attacks on political opponents.

"The majority of our members are committed to our undertaking to conduct our politics peacefully and allow others to do the same. We have repeatedly said that we condemn any elements which don't adhere to that policy and we expect the state to take action against anyone who undermines peace."

The IFP had stopped recruiting members in "areas where the ANC is dominant".

APRIL 1990 TEST

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

Rightwing fugitive asked ANC for aid

JUST before he jumped bail this week, right-wing murder accused Adrian Maritz tried to persuade the African National Congress to spirit him out of the country in exchange for information he claimed could bring down the government.

In an interview shortly before he and fellow accused Henry Martin disappeared, Maritz told *The Weekly Mail* he had access to information which would make the Inkatha scandal "look like a non-event" — and that he was hoping to sell the ANC on the idea that they arrange safe passage for him in exchange.

The ANC, however, refused to take the bait. There were meetings with Maritz, but he insisted on first being flown out of the country before handing over any information, an ANC source said this week.

Aiding Maritz and Martin's escape was "out of the question" for the organisation. Instead, the ANC tried unsuccessfully to persuade President FW de Klerk to grant the men amnesty, so they could release the information they claimed to have — especially concerning their claims that they were National Intelligence Service operatives acting under orders.

Whether Maritz's attempt to do a deal with the ANC was a desperate last pitch or whether he is genuinely in possession of potentially explosive information is unclear.

In the tiny flat he occupied with his wife Karen and step-daughter Toni (13), Maritz showed *The Weekly Mail* a variety of documents, including

Claiming he had enough information to make Inkathagate "look like a non-event", right-wing murder accused Adrian Maritz attempted to enlist the aid of the African National Congress in fleeing the country. **GAYE DAVIS** spoke to him before he jumped bail.

what he claimed were telexed "shopping lists" for illegal arms deals he was involved in and a contract purporting to cover the sale of a number of Northrop F5E fighter planes to the Republic of Taiwan.

He claimed he could solve the political murders of Anton Lubowski, David Webster and Fabian Ribeiro.

He claimed he could provide hard evidence surrounding the provision of arms and ammunition for Inkatha groups in the Transvaal: specifically, he said he could supply documentary proof of the handover about two months ago of three truckloads of AK47s, pistols and ammunition to "an Inkatha group" at a warehouse in Selby Road, Booysens, and of the delivery in October 1988 of 10 000 R4s to Inkatha. He claimed he could supply the names and ranks of security force officers involved in the transaction.

Maritz also claimed the South African government was still providing Mozambique's rebel group, Renamo, with logistical and military support: that arms were flown via Swaziland to an island off Mozambique, from where they were ferried to the mainland by high-powered speedboat. He said he could provide the registration number of the aircraft involved.

Maritz did make a statement to police while in custody, which he claims is false.

He believed their trial — to have started on Monday, but now postponed to January 27 — would have been conducted in camera, and that its outcome was a fait accompli. "We have already been sentenced," he said.

Maritz and Martin last reported to police in terms of their bail conditions last Tuesday and Wednesday and were next heard of when Maritz's wife Karen, who holds a British passport, telephoned a Sunday newspaper claiming the men were safe in the United Kingdom.

Police are now searching country-wide for the two fugitives, indicating they might not have left the country.

Perhaps they have found the help they sought: Maritz boasted about the right-wing's penetration of the country's security forces, saying: "Trying to root the right-wing out of the SAP and the SADF is like trying to take salt out of stew."

Fearful his Pretoria flat would be raided by security police, Maritz said he had deposited his most sensitive documents with Pretoria advocate Freddie Klein — the man appointed to defend him pro deo in his murder trial.

He claimed Klein's office had subsequently been broken into and his case file tampered with, but that the documents had not been discovered. This week Klein would neither confirm nor deny the incident.

Maritz told how his computer, confiscated by security police when he was first arrested in November last year, was allegedly deliberately damaged while in the hands of the police.

Both Maritz and Martin are skilled computer-systems analysts. The company they ran as partners installed computer networks for a range of companies, government agencies and anti-apartheid organisations.

He maintained that he was recruited by NIS in 1985 and was initially involved in information gathering — using his knowledge of computers — as well as arms deals, in which he claimed to later specialise.

Towards the end of 1989, he was given "a firm brief involving Maputo — not guns, but computers". (It is known that he installed computers at Maputo's Eduardo Mondlane University.)

"I had to get into systems, find out what their computers knew about ours, spread disinformation and get names and addresses," he said. He carried out this task from Swaziland.

At the end of 1990 his brief changed — he was now to take part in a campaign to destabilise "black groups". This involved drawing up pamphlets geared to foment friction between the ANC and Inkatha which were then distributed by police in Reef townships.

Maritz claimed that Martin acted as an NIS mole in the Durban computer company, PC Plus, where Nick Cruse was killed by a parcel bomb on October 20 last year.

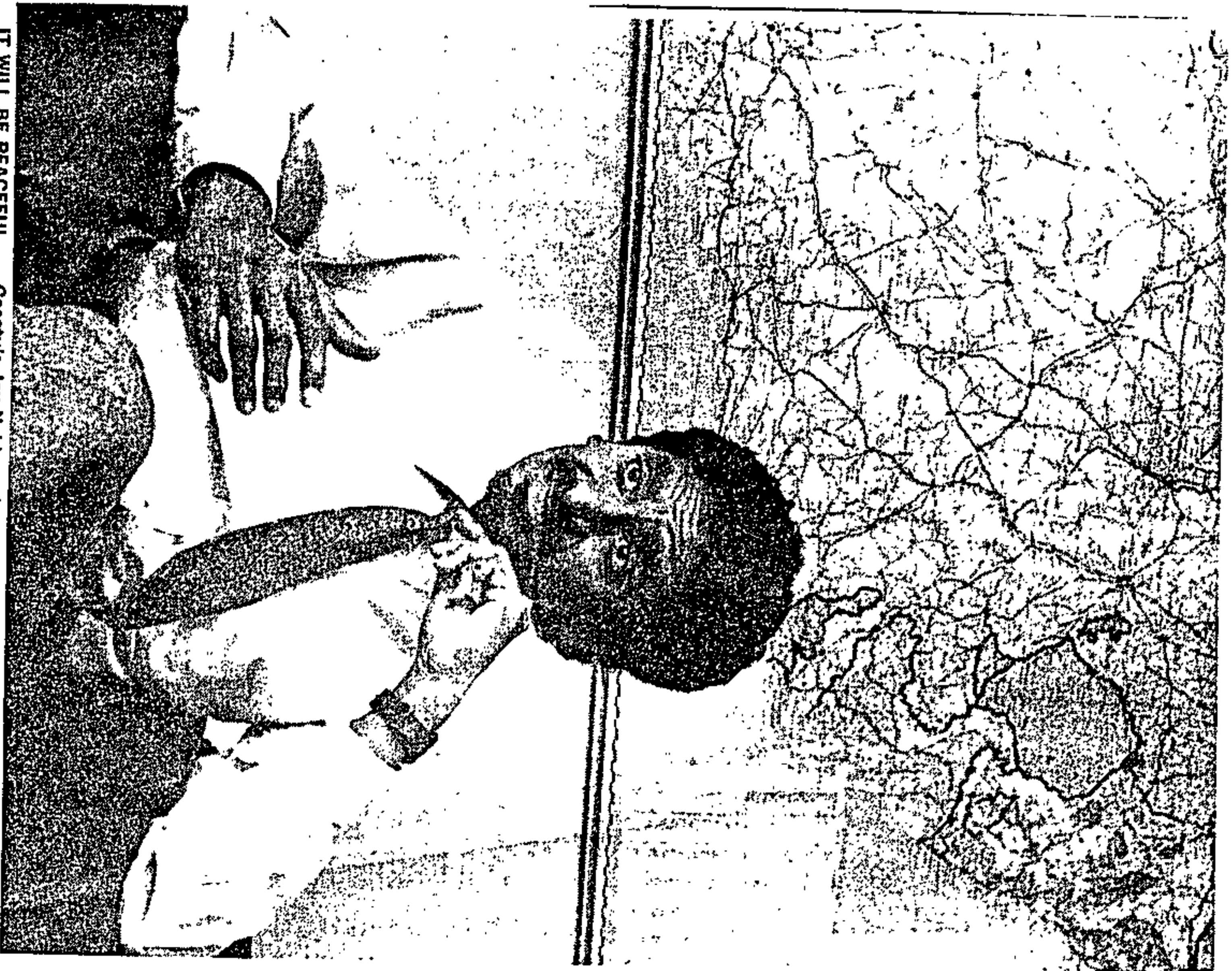
Initially, Martin and Maritz thought their arrest, along with co-accused Lood van Schalkwyk — whom Maritz referred to deprecatingly as "just a mule" — was just "a token, to draw the fire at first. Then when we didn't get indemnity we realised we were going to be buried because we knew too much".

He showed a sworn statement he made at the Akasia police station saying he feared he would be forced to make a false confession and that if so he would use a false signature to distinguish it. An example of the false signature he planned to use appears on the affidavit, alongside his usual signature.

Keep the kids out of it, Kriel tells Cosatu

SATURDAY 3/11/91

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IT WILL BE PEACEFUL... Cosatu's Jay Naidoo who says liaison committees have been set up

DON'T BLAME THE POLICE... Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel, who has warned the ANC not to use children to front marches

LAW and Order Minister Hennis Kriel has accused Cosatu of planning to use children in the frontline of some demonstrations during the two-day stayaway.

Mr Kriel said the police had information that children would be placed at the forefront of illegal marches and accused Cosatu of using children to "get sympathy if they are hurt in clashes with police".

He said: "We give fair warning that children should not be used in this manner. If clashes occur they could get hurt, and if this happens the police should not be blamed."

Furious Cosatu secretary general Jay Naidoo said yesterday the minister's charges were an "insult to our integrity". "Our marches will be peaceful

and on a completely voluntary basis," he said. "We had discussions with (deputy law and order minister) Johan Scheepers and senior police officers to set up a co-ordinated strategy to avoid and defuse any violence."

"In this context, headline and provocative statements by Mr Kriel are especially unhelpful. They leave the clear impression that there is a canal of securitocrats in the government determined to attempt to lay the blame at the door of the democratic movement," said Mr Naidoo.

The two sides agreed to set up liaison committees on national and regional levels to ease communication about incidents on Monday and Tuesday, Mr Naidoo said.

Tomorrow's Cosatu-initiated stayaway — expected to be the biggest in South Africa's history — could cost as much as R2.5-billion if all sectors of the economy grind to a halt.

Mr Kriel warned that police would take a hard line on illegal marches and gatherings during the strike.

He said police had been told their own safety was their priority, but they should not hesitate to act against illegal marches, rallies and intimidators.

Mr Kriel said the first objective of the police would be to stop illegal marches and rallies. "Only a few applications for mass gatherings have been received and all others will be considered illegal."

involved and the action cannot be stopped, we will film it with a view to prosecution afterwards," said Mr Kriel.

Police had also been ordered to act against people taking part in sit-ins at government buildings.

"We have information that several of these are planned and I have given instructions that such people should be arrested immediately. There will be no negotiation on this," said Mr Kriel.

All available police will be on duty in the next 48 hours and additional police will be on duty at government buildings.

abreast of the situation and we will not hesitate to act against intimidators," he said.

SA Institute executive director John Kane-Berman said on Wednesday Soweto residents had been threatened with death if they went to work tomorrow or on Tuesday.

Mr Kane-Berman said he had reports that vehicles fitted with loudspeakers were travelling around Soweto broadcasting the message that people would be "baked to death" and have their houses burned down if they did not take part in the strike.

Cosatu blamed "agents provocateurs" and challenged the police to arrest them.

severe way since they will be acting against the very organisations they claim to support."

A Soweto resident said two men travelling in a car escorted by the police had moved around the suburb of Chawelo this week telling people through a loudspeaker in Zulu and Sotho that they should go to work.

The woman, who did not want to be named, said the men threatened that "strikers will be dealt with".

In a letter to employers on the West Rand this week, the Inkatha Freedom Party offered "scab labour" in the form of "well-disciplined and hard-working people".

VAT, despite last-minute calls from President F.W. de Klerk, cabinet members and business leaders to call off the strike.

Organised by Cosatu and its smaller rival, Nactu, the stayaway enjoys the support of the ANC, the SA Communist Party, the Pan-Africanist Congress, Azapo and black business groups.

Rallies and marches have been planned in all major centres.

Mr Naidoo said the stayaway was about more than VAT.

Most employers will apply a "work, no pay" policy against strikers, but some — including the Go Fields mining company — have threatened disciplinary action.

Cosatu has said it would blacklist companies that acted against strikers.

"Lists of companies embark on disciplinary action will be distributed locally and internationally to facilitate solidarity action against them."

It is also demanding the Government enter into negotiations long-term VAT structures and discuss concessions to small businesses, a sliding scale on VAT a the establishment of an economic forum, made up of representatives from government, employers and trade unions, with the power to restructure the socio-economic system.

Car rolls as ANC leader swerves to avoid gunmen

Staff Reporter (327) (18)

ANC PWV regional chairman Mosima "Tokyo" Sexwale yesterday described his "miraculous" escape from gunmen who attempted to assassinate him on the Heidelberg road on Sunday.

Mr Sexwale, an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, told a Johannesburg press conference that his car overturned and rolled a number of times when he tried to avoid being shot.

He said he was driving on the Heidelberg road to an ANC PWV regional negotiations meeting when a white car with three occupants — one coloured and two whites — followed him and then pulled alongside.

One of the men produced "a double barrel gun" and aimed it at him, he said.

Mr Sexwale said he swerved to the right when he realised he was about to be shot. There was a car on his right, so he swerved back to the left, and the car overturned.

The matter was reported to police at John Vorster Square, and a docket had been referred to Boksburg police.

Police film young bystander being whipped to join illegal protest march

West Rand Bureau

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Star 6/11/91

Police yesterday filmed a man whipping a bystander in an apparent effort to get him to join an illegal march in Spooktown, near Bekkersdal, in Westonaria.

About 200 protesters marched through the Spooktown squatter camp.

A shirtless man, believed to be one of the organisers, whipped a young man who stood and watched.

Several young children formed part of the protesting

group, under the leadership of the ANC's Patrick Modingwe.

Mr Modingwe asked the crowd to disperse after police told him the march was illegal. The ANC official complained of police harassment.

Anyone who was intimidated by the protesters during this march is asked to contact Warrant Officer Wessie van der Westhuizen at (011) 762-5592.

● A crowd of people marched on a new shopping mall in Kagi-so yesterday because the shops had electricity while many houses in the area did not.

ANC's 'Tokyo' tells of brush with death

Sowetan 6/11/91

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11/18

Political Staff

ANC PWV regional chairman Mosima "Tokyo" Sexwale has described his "miraculous" escape from gunmen who attempted to assassinate him on the Heidelberg road on Sunday.

Sexwale, a commander of the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe who was released from prison last year, told a Johannesburg Press conference on Monday his car overturned and rolled a number of times when he tried to avoid being shot at by would-be assassins.

Negotiations

He said he was driving on the Heidelberg road to an ANC PWV regional negotiations meeting on Sunday afternoon when a white car with three occupants - one coloured and two whites - followed him and then pulled alongside his car.

One of the men produced "a double-barrel gun" and aimed it at him, he said.

Sexwale, who said he

His car rolled as killers moved in

had "a miraculous escape" and sustained minor injuries, told the Press conference he attempted to apply brakes and swerved to the right when he realised he was being shot at. There was a car on his right and so he swerved to the left again,

and overturned.

He said the car he was driving was "a complete wreck".

The three men in the white car, whose registration number he could not take down, drove away.

Sexwale said he reported

the matter to police at John Vorster Square.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said Sexwale's attempted assassination could not be separated from the recent assassination of activist Sam Ntuli and similar assassination attempts on ANC members Barbara Hogan, Gill Marcus and Nat Serache.

Mamoepa said the ANC condemned "the callous and dastardly attempt".

Blacks will have a say in spending DET budget

S/Times 10/11/91

EDUCATION and Training Minister Sam de Beer, in a dramatic departure from practice, plans to give black South Africans a say in the spending of the department's next budget.

He also hopes to establish an educational accord, similar to the peace accord, which would bind all parties to certain principles and responsibilities.

In the first step, businessmen, community leaders and government officials meet this week to draw up proposals for overcoming the problems plaguing education in Soweto.

Input

Mr De Beer said in an interview this week that his budgetary guidelines would be finalised at the end of this month.

The government then planned to take what he called a "delivery package" — dealing with issues such as the number of schools to be built and teachers to be employed — to all interested educational bodies for their input.

"This is the first time that we are trying to estab-

By MIKE ROBERTSON and CHARLENE SMITH

lish a delivery process and I think the more inputs we can get from our education boards, the different management structures and others who have a vested interest in education, the better," Mr De Beer said.

The move is in keeping with pledges by President FW de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen to allow people not represented in Parliament an opportunity to have a say in legislative and administrative actions of the State.

Mr De Beer said he would like to submit the "delivery package" to an education working group, on which all interested parties were represented.

The aim of the education working group would be to define crucial issues which needed to be addressed to overcome shortcomings in the present dispensation.

Mr De Beer said he hoped an education accord would come out of the process of consulting interested parties. The DET could, for instance, bind itself to the negotiated delivery package but in return would be looking for com-

mitments from parents, teachers and pupils.

"When we realise that we are in partnership then we have come a long way."

Mr de Beer said increasing community involvement in the running of schools was a priority.

A first important step towards building broader participation in education will take place this week.

Businessmen, government officials and the Soweto Education Co-ordinating Committee meet to discuss the formation of a joint committee to seek practical ways to eliminate obstacles hampering black education.

Logjam

Their suggestions are expected to be fed into Mr De Beer's hoped for educational working group.

This week a steering committee of businessmen and educationists got together to discuss strategies to beat the textbook logjam and to find ways of transforming technical education — presently on a downslide — in Soweto.

Thousands of black students, including matrics,

are still without textbooks — despite the DET having spent R62-million on textbooks and assurances by school principals that they had received the books. Matric examinations began two weeks ago.

At present the only technical teachers training diploma offered in Soweto is being phased out at Molapo Teachers' Training College and will not be offered as a course next year.

Last year there were 200 students in the four technical teachers' training colleges nationwide, 49 at Molapo. The DET says the demand for these teachers has been declining since 1989 and many find it difficult to get jobs.

The DET is negotiating with the Soweto Council, staff and community to review Molapo's usage, and to possibly turn it into a technical college.

Reluctant

Given the skilled worker shortage, the private sector has decided to become involved in seeking ways to transform and improve technical training and ensure facilities are not in danger of closing.

Business and the SECC are reluctant to discuss proposals before meeting with Dr Bernhard Louw, director-general of the DET on Wednesday.

Seven major companies — Southern Life, Barlow Rand, Glass SA, the Urban Foundation, Malbak, Ove Arup and the JCI — are involved in the sub-committee working on alternatives with the Government and the SECC.

In the broader private sector initiative, 16 major companies are involved.

One of the initiatives that could be put forward to the Government, and one that is now under discussion at a local level with regard to George Tabor and Molapo colleges, is that the community as-

Police slammed for anti-strike pamphlets

South 7/11-13/11/91

ANC SPOKESPERSON Mr Willie Hofmeyer condemned the South African Police for dropping anti-stayaway pamphlets in Langa on Sunday night.

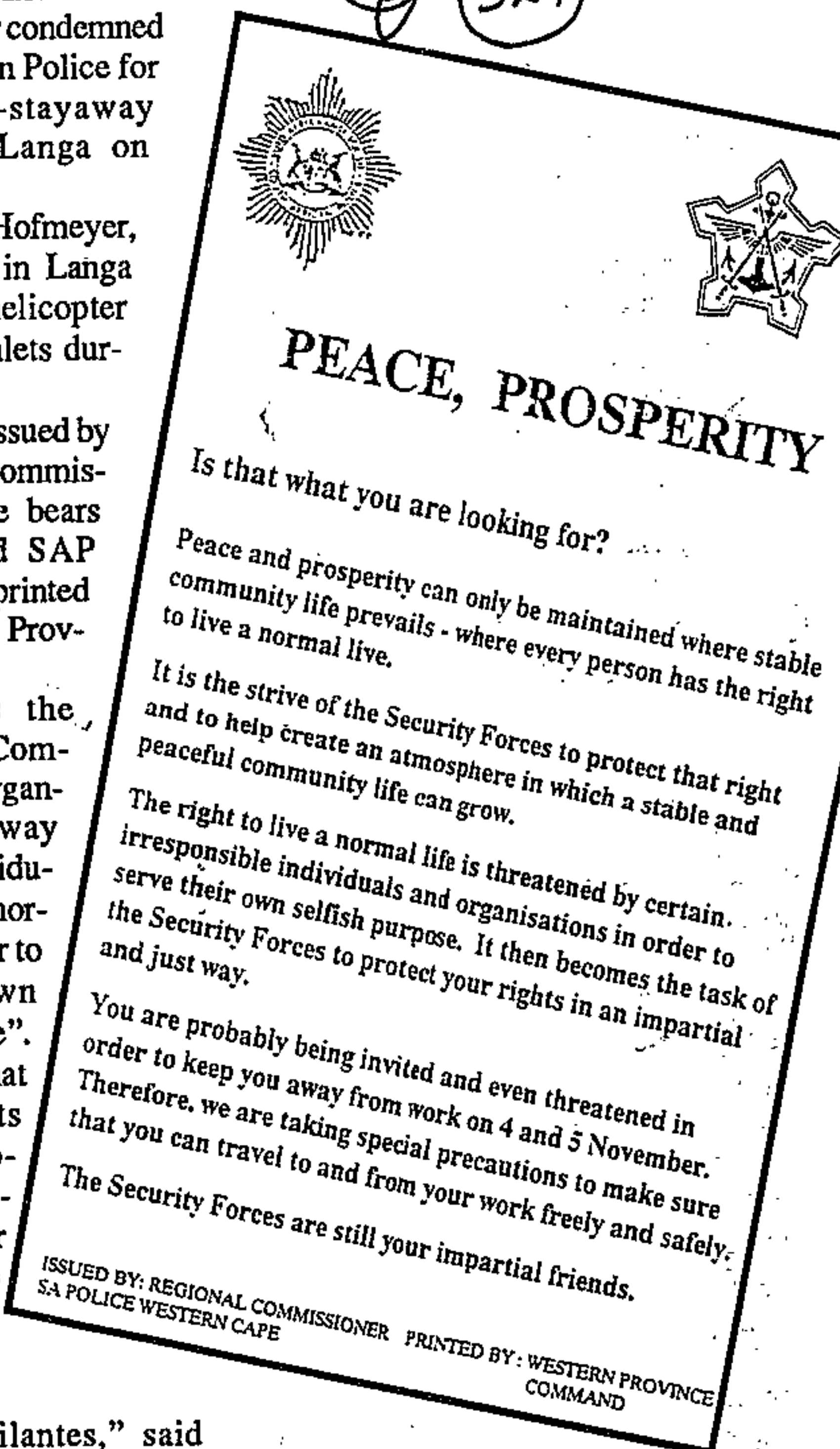
According to Hofmeyer, ANC members in Langa saw a police helicopter dropping pamphlets during the night.

The pamphlet issued by the Regional Commissioner of Police bears the SADF and SAP logos and was printed at the Western Province Command.

It insinuates the VAT Action Committee which organised the stayaway threatened individual's right to a normal life "in order to serve their own selfish purpose". "It is strange that such pamphlets are never produced by the police when our communities are really threatened by violent attacks by taxi drivers or vigilantes," said Hofmeyer.

"When the ANC and other organisations call for peaceful and non-violent mass action we are accused of being irresponsible and selfish. It is time that the SAP and SADF become neutral forces in our

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country instead of continually trying to bolster the support of the government."

The SAP and SADF were unavailable for comment.



Ex-ANC hijacker back in SA

Staff Reporter (327)

Richard Bradley Stacey, who was sentenced to 14 years' jail by a Tanzanian court for attempting to hijack a plane carrying ANC members, arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday afternoon.

At the time of the attempted hijacking Mr Stacey was among ANC combatants being transferred from Angola to Tanzania as part of the ceasefire agreement in 1989 to end all third-party involvement in the Angolan civil war.

Mr Stacey and another man, armed with explosives, attempted to take control of the aircraft but were overpowered by Soviet guards aboard the Aeroflot flight.

The ANC later claimed Mr Stacey (29) was a South African spy and there were reports that the men intended to divert the aircraft to Johannesburg.

He denied the claims, saying his action had been due to widespread disillusionment among ANC cadres, "especially with the ill-advised adventure against Unita which cost about 80 South African lives".

He had served 2½ years of his sentence and was released on humanitarian grounds.

Mr Stacey, from Durban, fled South Africa on March 21 1986 after taking part in an arson attack that damaged a number of offices at the University of Natal.

Good to be back . . . Richard Stacey (29) was welcomed home by his aunt yesterday.

Picture: Joao Silva

Game rangers used to track Webster

8/11-14/11/91

GAME rangers employed by an intelligence unit which does covert work for the kwaZulu government spied on David Webster a few months before the human rights academic was gunned down at his Johannesburg home more than two years ago.

A highly trained team of spies employed by kwaZulu's Department of Nature Conservation monitored Webster's activities while he was doing research in the Kosi Bay area of northern kwaZulu prior to his murder.

This information comes directly from highly placed sources within the kwaZulu Bureau for Natural

Resources (KBNR). The surveillance team included an officer trained by the South African Defence Force's elite Reconnaissance Commandos and men who received military and intelligence training in the Rhodesian special forces.

There is no evidence that kwaZulu officials were involved in Webster's assassination. The KBNR sources say Webster's activities were secretly monitored by the intelligence unit as it was feared the academic would stoke up local opposition to removals that took place in the region.

The game guards who spied on Webster reported directly to Nick

Assassinated anthropologist David Webster's movements were secretly monitored by kwaZulu game rangers while he was doing research on the Mozambican border.

By EDDIE KOCH

Steele, director of the KBNR, who has close ties with Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of the Zulu homeland.

Western Cape attorney general Neil Rossouw, who is leading an inquiry into the suspected involvement of South African army officers in the assassination of Webster, is in possession of the report.

The AG's team, which is planning to prosecute members of the army's disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau for various attacks on anti-apartheid activists in the Western Cape, has extended its probe to include Webster's death and has a number of new leads about the murder.

Officials from the AG's office are remaining tight-lipped about their inquiry but it is known they do not suspect the kwaZulu spies had any direct links to Webster's killers. They will, however, probe the reports about the spies' activities to establish if they can provide any clues as to why the academic was murdered.

Asked to comment on the information, Steele said: "It is not bureau policy to comment publicly on conservation, security or staff matters for obvious reasons."

He said the work of his department was "solely directed towards safeguarding the natural resources of the region, including conserving protected and endangered animals and plant species".

He added: "It is also engaged at all times in ensuring the safety of local communities who harvest natural resources, tourists who visit its areas, and its staff whose job it is to administer conservation in the region."

According to the sources, KBNR runs a covert intelligence gathering unit, known as "special services", whose task it is to monitor the flow of illicit ivory, rhino horn and weapons from Mozambique across the frontier with northern Natal.

This elite unit also monitors the activities of local organisations opposed to removals and the erection of game fences.

Head of the unit is a man called Rusty Bye, a former policeman with 25 years of experience in Rhodesia's British South Africa Police.

Pat Devy, also known as "Captain Devil", fought in the Rhodesian special forces and now heads a unit in the KBNR's intelligence unit which provides paramilitary training to game guards for the kwaZulu government at a centre called Babanango.

Des Archer, a former member of the Rhodesian Light Infantry, is another member of the special service run by kwaZulu's conservation authorities.

The Tembe Elephant Park on the border of kwaZulu and Mozambique falls under the command of Ed

Ostrowsky, a former Vietnam veteran who fought as a mercenary on the side of the Rhodesians in Zimbabwe's liberation war.

Game guards are also trained by the SADF's 121 or "Zulu" battalion at various training camps located inside the Ndumu Game Reserve and the Tembe Elephant Park, both on Mozambique's southern border with South Africa.

At the time of his death, Webster, an anthropologist employed at the University of the Witwatersrand, was conducting post-doctoral research on the culture of the Thembe-Tonga people who live in the Kosi Bay region of kwaZulu.

Webster, who had been involved in frequent confrontations with police officials because of his work for various human rights groups, had a series of verbal clashes with conservation officials and refused to move from the grass-and-tin hut which he used as a residence and research site on the eastern shores of the Kosi Bay estuary.

In the months prior to his death, Webster was also involved in an investigation of evidence that clandestine SADF support was being channelled to Renamo rebels in Mozambique. He is reported to have passed on information to a friend in Mozambique's ruling party, Frelimo, and it is thought that this may be one reason why he was assassinated.

The Western Cape AG's office is, however, taking more seriously suggestions that Webster was killed because he was possibly an underground member of the African National Congress (banned at the time) and a leading figure in the End Conscription Campaign.

Although there is no evidence that kwaZulu's spies are linked to Webster's murder it is probable that they passed on intelligence about his work to the SADF Department of Military Intelligence and this information would have been available to members of the CCB.

'Pass' raids alive in Pietersburg

Sowetan 12/11/91

327

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POLICE in Pietersburg have been arresting black people for failing to produce identity documents despite the repeal of the influx control laws.

And the local station commander, Captain J Kruger, said it was legal in terms of the law but said he had ordered that the practice be stopped.

The latest incident happened last Wednesday when, according to one of the victims, more than 50 black people were arrested and kept in the police station for more than three hours.

A clerk at Pietersburg Hospital, Mr Hosea Mawasha (22), said he was approached by police while walking from work on Wednesday. They searched him and demanded to see his identity document.

"When I told them I did not have my ID with me they put me in a police van where I found many other people who had been arrested for the same so-called offence," he said.

He said they were taken to the police station where they were charged.

"We were about to be sent to the cells when I asked one of the policemen whether it was still legal to arrest people

By MATHATHA TSEDU

for not carrying identity documents.

"They then called the station commander, who told us we were being 'warned for the last time' and that we would be locked up if we were found without identity documents again," Mawasha said.

Kruger said about 20 people were arrested on Wednesday and not 50 as claimed. He said the arrests were legal in terms of the Act on Identification which he said applied to all races.

He said none of the arrested people had been locked up and that it would "never happen again for as long as I am station commander here. There is no place for this kind of thing in the new South Africa," he added.

An attorney approached for comment said the arrests were surprising as the repeal of the influx control laws decriminalised failure to carry an identity document.

Locals have said police usually raided parks and other centres in town where blacks congregated and demanded identity documents. They arrested those without them.

While Kruger said whites were also sometimes arrested under the same law, our sources said this was only done to black people.

Restrictions in Alex lifted

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Business Day Reporter

2/18

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday lifted unrest area restrictions on the magisterial district of Randburg, which includes Alexandra township, after police said violence in the area had declined significantly.

The announcement of the withdrawal was carried by a special Government Gazette yesterday. 8/0ay

A police spokesman said restrictions still remained in force in eight other townships on the Reef — Soweto, Dobsonville, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Kathlehong, Vosloorus, Thembisa and Thokoza. 13/11/71.

More die in quiet war on activists

W/M and 8/11 - 14/11/91

THE quiet war against the African National Congress, which has seen an average of one activist a week murdered by hit squads over the past 18 months, continued this week with two bloody killings.

At the same time, attacks on Inkatha activists have increased dramatically.

Since the assassination of ANC-aligned civic leader Sam Ntuli in Thokoza a month ago, three more activists have been shot by mystery assailants in Thokoza and one in Alexandra.

None of the killers has been apprehended.

On Wednesday, the ANC produced a witness to the killing of activist Phumzile Mbatha in Thokoza the previous day.

The witness, whose name has been withheld, was walking with Mbatha and another companion across the veld near Mkhithizwe Primary School when Mbatha was shot.

An uncanny suspicion that they were being followed prompted Mbatha to look over her shoulder.

"At about 6pm three of us were on our way to a friend. As we crossed the veld Phumzile told me to check if someone was following us so I bent down pretending to tie my shoelace. A man approached and I recognised him as one of two strange men I had noticed earlier standing near our house. As I got up he was standing right next to Phumzile."

According to the witness, the man asked Mbatha for her name and

Assassinations of African National Congress activists continue unabated, with the police seemingly unable to bring the culprits to justice.

But, reports **BEATHUR BAKER**, Inkatha members are now also increasingly under fire

address. Before she could finish her sentence he pulled out a gun at fired three shots at Mbatha, who tried to stagger away. The gunman followed and fired two more shots as she fell.

The attacker turned the gun on a third person, but when the witness picked up two bricks to defend them, the gunman ran to a nearby hardware store, where, it is alleged, he met a companion.

Three policemen arrived at the scene shortly before 7pm and found Mbatha still alive. But, according to the witness, "on hearing several gunshots go off nearby they cocked their guns and left us there."

At 9pm another group of policemen arrived, but Mbatha was long dead by then. The witness had returned to his house to call an ambulance in the meantime and noticed a second stranger standing not far from the fence of his home. When asked why he did not attempt to approach the man, the youth replied "the man was standing watching with his hand inside his jacket as if he had a gun". By the time the second group of police arrived and crowds had gathered around the scene, the man had disappeared.

Bail may be forfeited

BY STAN MHLONGO

ONE of the accused in the Sebokeng tavern massacre — where five patrons were killed and 10 others wounded by AK47-toting gunmen in July — has been ordered to appear at the Sebokeng Magistrate's Court on November 12 or risk forfeiting bail and being arrested.

This follows the failure of Daki Choncho to join his co-accused, Thabo Mofokeng, before magistrate J van Staden on October 29 on five counts of murder and 10 of attempted murder.

The trial is a sequel to the attack by two gunmen who burst into Erika's Tavern in Sebokeng Zone 7

and opened fire on patrons at about 9pm. Mofokeng was the first to be arrested and initially appeared alone in court on August 24.

After Choncho's arrest in September he was granted bail of R1 500, which he subsequently paid and was released.

Mofokeng, as accused number one, was granted bail of R3 000, and told the court he would manage to pay that amount. But he failed to raise the money and has spent two months in jail.

The magistrate postponed the trial until November 28, when he will decide whether to send the case to a higher court.

The witness describes the assassin as a tall, fair man who was definitely not from the area.

"We find it disturbing that on arrival at the scene of the crime, the police van left this courageous woman in pain, unattended in a pool of blood," an ANC spokesman said.

The police responded on Wednesday: "The SAP to date has not been able to confirm that the body which was found last night is that of Nophumzile Mbatha, as nobody to date has identified the body on the scene and/or the Germiston Mortuary."

On Wednesday morning, yet another ANC activist was killed, this time in Alexandra. Jama Makhosi, a well-known member of the local branch,

was shot outside the Alexandra ANC offices.

The gunman is alleged to have fled to the nearby Mdala Hostel in Alex after killing Makhosi and Fihlokwakhe Nxumalo — who has been identified as a relative of Simon Nxumalo, chairman of the Alexandra branch of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

According to ANC publicity secretary for Alexandra Obed Bapela, Makhosi and Nxumalo did not know each other, and he speculated that Nxumalo had been caught in the line of fire.

The ANC believe that the killings indicate "a pattern of orchestrated attacks by unknown death squads who continue to elude the police".

The police, in turn, accused the

ANC of not passing on information it had which could assist in solving the murders.

"Despite media reports which allege very clearly that the ANC possesses information which could assist investigations, the ANC has not contacted the police to date," said Colonel Franz Malherbe, regional chief of police public relations for the Witwatersrand.

"We find it very strange that these abovementioned organisations now see it fit, only after their own members have been gunned down, to release these distorted facts to the media."

Meanwhile, the IFP has also come increasingly under fire.

Youth Brigade Leader Ndlovu Gwala (32) was shot dead at Mbalenhe, near Secunda, on Monday, according to IFP West Rand secretary Humphrey Ndlovu. He said AK47 and 9mm cartridges had been found at the scene after the shooting.

According to Kim Hodgson of the IFP violence study unit, another four Inkatha members were killed in Natal at the weekend.

●An organiser for the IFP in Natal, Nfunzelwa Ngcobo, was killed on Saturday when a group of people opened fire on his house.

●Gonnan Makhurubu was stabbed to death in Ngwelezane, outside Empangeni.

●In Greytown's Nhlakakhe town-ship, Patrick Mkhize and another unidentified IFP member were killed in a grenade attack in Gileland Hostel in Umlazi.

Numsa head 'a security police spy' (327)

stew 15/11/91
National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa president Maxwell Xulu has been suspended because of "overwhelming" evidence he had been providing information to the security police, Numsa said yesterday.

Mr Xulu said he was surprised to hear of his suspension and added that he had not received official notification of it.

Speaking during a brief telephone interview on Capital Radio yesterday, he did not directly deny or confirm the allegations that he had been supplying union information to the police.

The Numsa statement said: "It is with deep regret, to both Cosatu and Numsa, that Numsa has been compelled to take this step. While we cannot condone Mr Xulu's behaviour, we do not seek revenge against him for the damage his betrayal has caused our organisation."

Numsa's central committee resolved at the weekend to suspend Mr Xulu as union president and as a Numsa member.

"A public announcement to this effect was delayed in order to give an opportunity for

Numsa members to be informed through normal union channels.

"We are angered by the State's manipulation of people of integrity in the furtherance of its own dirty agenda."

Captain Burger van Rooyen, of the police public relations directorate in Pretoria, would not confirm or deny Mr Xulu's alleged links to the security branch. He said it was not police policy to disclose the identity of informants.

In the radio interview, Mr Xulu said: "I'm sur-

prised because I understood they (Numsa) were going to set up a commission of inquiry into my inventory, my financial background and my financial ability at the moment to establish if I have got any outside income.

"I was told that I could not be given access to see whatever statement the organisation has got."

Mr Xulu, a senior shop steward at a Durban manufacturing company, was in a closed meeting with union members yesterday. — Sapa.

Demos near Parliament to be banned next year

Sowetan 15/11/91

(324)

PROTESTS near Parliament are to be banned from next year, but present restrictions on marches and demonstrations elsewhere in Cape Town's city centre would be lifted.

The new Gatherings and

Demonstrations Amendment Bill - supported by all parties in Parliament - will replace controversial legislation which created a storm of protest when it was introduced in 1973.

The 18-year-old law, being scrapped next year, forces political organisations to seek magisterial

approval for any demonstration or march in a large area of the city centre, which includes the politically symbolic Grand Parade and the Cape Town City Hall.

The newly defined area is restricted to the immediate precincts of Parliament, Tuynhuys and the Presi-

dent's Council.

While there will be a total ban on demonstrations in this smaller area, no magisterial permission will be required for marches or protests elsewhere in the city centre.

The Bill has been welcomed as a move to bring South Africa into line with internationally accepted measures to protect national legislatures.

The memorandum to the Bill says the change follows various protests and gatherings during the 1991 session of Parliament which "posed the threat of the integrity and sover-

eignty of Parliament being impaired".

It says: "The proposed smaller defined area only covers the immediate vicinity of Parliament, as contrasted with the presently defined area, which includes a considerable portion of Cape Town's central business district.

"If the defined area is reduced in size, more effective policing will be possible and the potential for confrontation between the South African Police and the public will be diminished."

Exempted from the prohibition in the smaller restricted area will be "any bona fide divine service, any funeral ceremony or funeral procession, any official function or procession, or any gathering of persons to view any official or funeral ceremony".

This would cover religious events at the Groote Kerk, St George's Cathedral and St Mary's Cathedral, which all fall within the restricted area.

The Great Synagogue and the Methodist Metropolitan Church - which fall within the present restricted area - will not be affected by the new law. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Numsa suspends president 'for spying'

THE National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) said yesterday it had suspended its president Maxwell Xulu after 'overwhelming evidence' that he had provided information to the security police.

And in a letter sent to President F W de Klerk yesterday, Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso said the union — the largest in SA with more than 250 000 members — recently received information pointing to security police infiltration of the union "at a very high level".

Security policemen allegedly involved were a W/O Brown and W/O Twala.

Numsa demanded to know why government had infiltrated and spied on it, and why it had "seen fit to pervert union office bearers". It asked whether security forces had been involved in "numerous" attacks on Numsa offices and members.

Xulu was Cosatu treasurer from 1985 to 1987 and a central executive committee

member of the federation by virtue of his position as Numsa president.

In a statement with Cosatu, the union said Numsa's central committee resolved — "with deep regret" — last weekend to suspend Xulu as president and Numsa member after overwhelming evidence that he had for some years provided information to the security police.

The organisation's democratic and open nature ensured informers could do only limited damage, Numsa said.

Sapa reports Xulu last night denied supplying information to police and said he was surprised and "highly disturbed" by his suspension. He had refused to resign, saying he required evidence to back the allegations.

Police yesterday declined to comment on the reports.

VERA VON LIERES

(Ms D. Brey)

Top union chief named as police spy

W/ Mail 15/11-21/11-91

THE president of the National Union of Metalworkers has been suspended following allegations that he spied for the police for seven years.

Maxwell Xulu, suspended from his post as Numsa president at the weekend, also served two terms as the national treasurer of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. This means that he had access to the innermost councils of Cosatu and to highly sensitive information on the federation's finances.

Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso told *The Weekly Mail* yesterday that investigations into the Xulu affair were continuing "as other Numsa or Cosatu people may be involved".

The blowing of Xulu's cover, which may have been the work of African National Congress intelligence operatives, brings to an end the highest-level police infiltration of the labour movement yet uncovered.

Xulu had been suspended as Numsa president "after overwhelming evidence that he had for some years been providing information to the security police", said a joint Cosatu/Numsa statement yesterday.

The statement strongly condemned the use of police informers on "legal, public organisations" and called on the government to halt the practice and come clean on other under-cover agents. It also urged spies within the union movement to give themselves up either to their union or Cosatu.

South Africa's largest trade union has been rocked by 'overwhelming evidence' that its most senior office-bearer is a long-serving police spy.

By DREW FORREST

Xulu, a shop steward at Smiths Industries in Durban, played a central role in the rise of the 270 000-member Numsa. The president of Numsa's predecessor, Mawu, he was a long-standing member of the giant metal union's central committee and national executive committee. He was also founder treasurer of Cosatu, remaining in the post until 1989.

The London-based African news journal, *Southscan*, reports union sources saying Xulu had been a member of the police force for at least seven years. It adds that the Numsa central committee suspended him after hearing evidence which included the name of Xulu's police handler — a Warrant Officer Brown in the A2 section of the security police.

Southscan speculates the issue may have come to a head after Xulu's nomination as a Cosatu representative to regional peace accord structures in Natal. It is understood Xulu has demanded a hearing before a tribunal to which evidence against him would be presented.

Doubts about Xulu's bona fides have been voiced in the past within Cosatu, and may have been influential in convincing him not to stand for a third term as the federation's treasurer. Yet despite the suspicions, he was elected Numsa president at the union's congress this year.

Mayekiso said evidence of Xulu's security force links was presented to the union about a month ago, but only the central committee had the power to act on it. He declined to identify the source of the information.

Xulu would remain suspended until the next Numsa congress or a special congress called by members addressed the issue. Until then, Mercedes Benz shop-steward Mthuthuzeli Tom would serve as acting president.

Approached on the Xulu allegations, Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said the department would not identify "people supplying us with information. Like any police force in the world we will investigate criminal or illegal actions," he said. "We will not spy on legitimate, legal trade union activities."

hancat

Chief Magistrate may lose power to permit demos

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

THE government plans to strip the Chief Magistrate of Cape Town of the power to give permission for gatherings and demonstrations near Parliament — and all such actions could become illegal next year.

It would appear that the government is taking precautions to prevent a repetition of last session's confrontation between police and protesters close to Parliament by introducing proposed legislation to be put before Parliament early next year.

The "Gatherings and Demonstrations Amendment Bill" also seeks to strip the Chief Magistrate of Cape Town of the power to give permission for a gathering or demonstration within the new, considerably smaller, defined area which the legislation will cover.

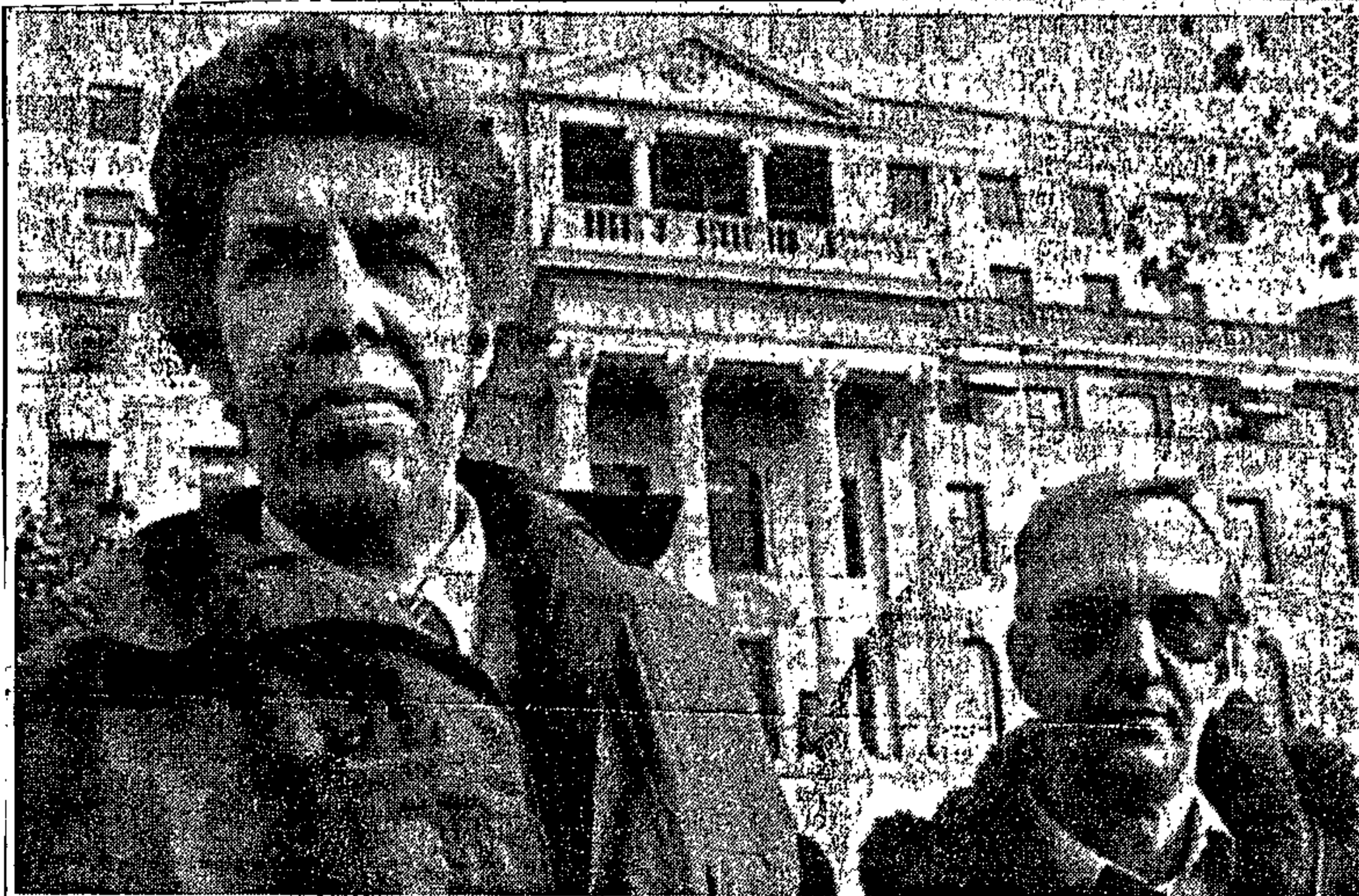
The proposed Bill, introduced by Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, will amend the existing Gatherings and Demonstrations Act, 1973.

Several protest actions and gatherings took place in the vicinity of Parliament during the 1991 Parliamentary session. The government felt these actions and gatherings "posed the threat of the integrity and sovereignty of Parliament being impaired" according to a memorandum attached to the Bill.

The proposed smaller defined area only covers the immediate vicinity of Parliament, as contrasted with the presently defined area which includes a considerable portion of Cape Town's business district.

The government feels that if the area is reduced in size, more effective policing will be possible and confrontation between the police and the public decreased.

Fugitive pair ready to tell all to ANC in London



HIDING IN BRITAIN: Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz emerge to pose outside South Africa House in London

FUGITIVE right-wingers Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz have surfaced in Britain — prepared to tell the ANC of alleged security force involvement in the violence convulsing South Africa.

Using stolen passports, they fled to Britain last month after jumping bail on the eve of their trial for murder. (327) (244)

Maritz, 44, who is in hiding in the British Midlands with his wife, Karen, and her 13-year-old daughter, Toni, hopes he can persuade the British government to grant him political asylum.

Martin, 50, pins his hopes on being British and on the absence of an extradition treaty between Britain and South Africa.

The men claim their activities were part of a campaign orchestrated by the security forces to fan the flames of township violence.

In an exclusive interview this week, they admitted planting two bombs in bins close to the taxi rank in Pretoria's Bloed-

By **ANDREW HOGG** of the London Sunday Times

One of the bombs exploded during rush hour, injuring blacks.

But they denied placing another bomb in a computer which killed a white ANC supporter in Durban, claiming a security policeman was responsible.

Both men claimed they had worked in the SA Defence Force's shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau, which the Harms Commission of Inquiry found had been involved in the mur-

der and attempted murder of several anti-apartheid activists.

If true, their claims prove that the CCB was still in operation after June last year, when it was said to have been disbanded.

Martin and Maritz also claim they can prove that

Despite a 1984 undertaking to the Mozambican government that supplies to Renamo would cease, South African arms were channelled to the resis-

tance movement as recently as last year.

● Three truckloads of AK-47 rifles were handed over by the security forces to Inkatha two months after in a Johannesburg suburb.

● Ten thousand R-rifles were handed over to Inkatha by an SADF major in 1988.

● The pre-independence attacks on two Untag offices in Namibia were carried out on the orders of the South African government.

Maritz claimed he started working for the security

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

Right-wingers ready to tell all

□ From Page 1

services in 1984, through his friendship with a Commandant Lourens "Andy" Anderson, who he later discovered worked for military intelligence.

"He asked me if I would like some serious work. It turned out to be arms trading and involved setting up channels and moving arms via South Africa and Israel. A lot originated in the US, a lot from South Africa, and I suspected a lot were stolen," Maritz said.

"In 1987 I was told to lay off the arms deals. Then, in February 1989, a man phoned and said he wanted to discuss a computer deal. When I met him, he introduced himself as Mr Sting.

"I recognised him as someone from military intelligence. It was nothing about computers. He asked me to work for the CCB, saying it was a government group trying, as he

put it, to 'save the country'."

Martin claimed he was recruited after a company he ran from Swaziland received a contract to install computers for Mozambique's Frelimo government. His work came to the attention of the National Intelligence Service, which asked him to provide information about government officials, which he agreed to do for a monthly fee of R2 000.

His activities, however, apparently conflicted with military intelligence, which eventually forced him to pull out of Mozambique. Then, early last year, he was contacted by "Mr Sting", who asked him to join a "destabilisation process". Martin agreed. He had joined the CCB.

He and Maritz, his former business partner, were put to work writing, printing and distributing leaflets intended to incite vio-

lence. One called for the killing of Winnie Mandela because she was "sleeping with white cops" while another said "blacks could cure AIDS by having sexual intercourse with Indian women".

Maritz was also instructed to join a number of far-right groups to recruit new members, including the white supremacist Church of the Creator, and the World Apartheid Movement. Later on, the men claim, an order came through from Mr Sting: "Bomb the taxi rank."

The men claim they joined the Orde Boerevolk only as a ruse to try to obtain political indemnity while in prison.

Maritz produced a number of "shopping lists" and telexes which seemed to confirm his involvement in the arms trade, but, as both men pointed out, the CCB rarely put its orders on paper.

A spokesman for the ANC's London office said yesterday he had received a call on Friday morning from a man who did not give his name, but suggested he would be prepared to exchange information of interest to the ANC for the organisation's protection. The man had been advised to contact the ANC's chief representative in London, but he had not yet done so.

WEATHER

TRANSVAAL: Partly cloudy and warm. Isolated thundershowers are expected in the east in the early morning becoming scattered in the extreme east and north. Isolated thundershowers will spread to western and southern Transvaal later in the day.

OFS: Fine and warm but partly cloudy in the north-east with isolated thundershowers.

NATAL: Partly cloudy and cool over the interior with isolated thundershowers spreading southwards. It will be humid along the coast but will become cooler with light rain.

Cape: It will be partly cloudy and

Hani warns of clampdown on reds

By EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN

SOUTH AFRICAN communists were warned by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani yesterday to "prepare for the worst" — including a possible state of emergency, detentions and the "hounding of activists" in the run-up to a democratic SA.

And he urged all those involved in the struggle for liberation to "use our weapons" to push for the start of the multi-party conference.

One weapon could include "mass

action" if the conference was stalled.

The recent stayaway was proof of the power which could be commanded by the alliance and trade unions.

Mr Hani was speaking at the opening of an SACP Western Cape Branch regional conference in Cape Town.

Accusing the NP of delaying the proposed multi-party conference, Mr Hani said: "We have shaken the

regime with our cohesion." The "ruling class", he said, must not be allowed to set the pace of reform.

Mr Hani, who is also a member of the ANC's national executive committee, launched a scathing attack on Inkatha, which he said had only two or three percent support.

He also reiterated the SACP's commitment to the SACP/ANC alliance.

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The ANC is asking British intelligence to help investigate claims by the white extremist escapers Mr Adrian Maritz and Mr Henry Martin that they carried out terrorist-style bomb attacks for the South African security services.

Within hours of learning that Mr Maritz and Mr Martin were in Britain, the ANC, in co-operation with British intelligence, moved renegade South African policeman Mr Dirk Coetzee to a new secret address, believed to be on the outskirts of London.

Mr Coetzee fled into ANC custody in Zambia in 1989 after his self-confessed activities with police "death squads" were revealed.

Mr Mandla Langa, the ANC's deputy chief representative in Britain, indicated that the ANC was suspicious about the ease with which Mr Maritz and Mr Martin escaped, although they should have been under close and constant scrutiny.

"We have good reason to believe that Coetzee is in danger from his old friends. We would most certainly not risk bringing him together with Martin and Maritz without taking elaborate security precautions which would obviously include consulting British authorities," he said.

In a message through a third party, Mr Coetzee said: "There is very high security around me at the moment. I cannot say more than that."

Mr Langa said the latest fugitives were being regarded with "extreme suspicion" and considered them an "unattractive pair" apparently intent on saving their own skins.

ANC asks UK to probe escapers

ET 18/11/91

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OUT OF HIDING ... Henry Martin (left) and Adrian Maritz outside South Africa House in London last week.

Picture: SUNDAY TIMES

However, the ANC and the British government had a duty to investigate everything they said.

"Whether or not we regard people like this with distaste, they are making grave claims supporting other evidence of state terrorism to destabilise the negotiating process and neighbouring countries."

There was "no question" of their being introduced at this stage to Mr Coetzee.

Mr Coetzee, who has been living in safe houses in England for the past year, is the ANC's prime witness to allegations that senior security services officers he dealt with, some also allegedly known to Mr Maritz and Mr Martin, controlled

"third force terrorism".

The pair say they can prove that they planted two bombs at a black taxi rank in Pretoria last year on the orders of the Civil Co-operation Bureau, and that the security services have continued to supply automatic weapons to Inkatha and to MNR terrorists in Mozambique.

Mr Maritz, 44, who is South African and Mr Martin, 50, a Briton, say they jumped bail last month because they had been made scapegoats to cover up the alleged security service operations and claimed that their lives were in danger.

They say they fled to Britain using stolen passports, contacted the ANC shortly after their arrival to offer full co-operation — and are now hiding out at a safe house in a city in England's Midlands awaiting developments.

So far they have made only telephone contact with the ANC but it is understood that they have been extensively interrogated by British Special Branch officers.

The pair spent a year in prison, charged with murdering an ANC official by planting a bomb in a computer in Durban, and with the attempted murder and wounding 15 black people by planting two bombs at a taxi rank in Pretoria in August last year, before being granted bail after going on hunger strike.

Mr Maritz, whose wife Karen and 13-year-old daughter are with him, is asking the ANC to support him in an application for political asylum and immunity from deportation. As a Briton, Mr Martin is immune from deportation.

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From page 1

ANC wants probe

An SADF spokesman reiterated that the pair never had any links with Military Intelligence or the disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau. Guy Oliver reports the ANC as saying that the fugitive pair attempted to bargain with the ANC for safe passage out of South Africa in exchange for information on alleged security force destabilisation.

ANC UKhonto wesizwe chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani said yesterday that his organisation had been asked by the two murder suspects for "help" to escape the country. They had offered information on alleged hit squad activities in exchange. However, the ANC had not acceded, as we do not need to bargain. He said the ANC had suggested to President F W de Klerk that he grant amnesty for all who fear arrest for disclosing classified information related to CCB-style operations.

Mr De Klerk had not responded to the request, he said.

He said that "depending on the nature of the allegations", Mr De Klerk should "set up a real impartial commission".

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andrews Theunicht, declined to comment on the issue yesterday.

However, Orde Boerevolk leader Mr Nic Strydom yesterday said he knew Mr Maritz was involved in national and military intelligence operations before joining his organisation. He said many of his organisation's members had been involved in similar activities.

ET 18/11/91

Right-wingers have yet to give security info to ANC

327
B/day 18/11/91
LINDEN BIRNS

RIGHT-wing former hunger strikers Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz, who recently jumped bail and fled to the UK, have yet to approach the ANC with information about alleged security forces' involvement in political violence.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday that while the two men were on hunger strike in August and September, they had indicated that they had "a lot of information" that might be of interest to the ANC.

Marcus said the two men should have been allowed to tell all they knew in return for immunity from prosecution. It was in the public's interest that they should have been allowed to speak, she said.

The ANC would probably not attempt to contact the two men.

"They know where to find us. It's up to them to contact us," she said.

According to a report in yesterday's London Sunday Times, the two fugitives claimed to have proof that SA was supplying arms to Renamo last year, despite the 1984 Nkomati Accord under which SA promised to cut arms supplies to the movement.

They also claimed to have proof that security forces had given Inkatha three truckloads of AK-47s and 10 000 R4 assault rifles.

"While we cannot comment on those specific allegations, the current nature of violence indicates that this type of activity must be going on," said Marcus.

She said the ANC had been aware of allegations that weapons were being handed over to Inkatha sup-

porters in townships.

Maritz also claimed he was a Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) member, and had been instructed to join right-wing movements to recruit more people to join the CCB as agents.

Orde Boerevolk leader Nic Strydom said yesterday he knew Maritz was involved in national and military intelligence operations before joining his organisation. He said many OB members had been involved in similar activities.

"They told me everything they knew while they were on (hunger) strike and discussed going to the ANC, but I tried to discourage that because I felt it would cheapen them."

Strydom said he expected the two men to contact him but did not think they would do so directly as he believed security police were watching him.

Court reserves judgment in Nofemela plea

327 19/11/91

BLOEMFONTEIN — Judgment was reserved yesterday by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein in an application by Butana Almond Nofemela, the former security policeman who on the eve of his execution revealed details of a police hit squad at Vlakplaas.

The application is for the case in which he was convicted and sentenced to death for a murder — unrelated to his police work — to be referred back to the trial court to enable evidence to be led in mitigation.

Nofemela and Johnny Abraham Mohane were convicted by Mr Acting Justice W J Human in the Supreme Court on September 18 1987 of the murder of Johannes Hendrik Lourens in the Brits district on September 11 1986.

Both were sentenced to death and lost appeals to the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein on May 22 1989. Mohane succeeded in a petition to the State President for clemency and his death sentence was commuted.

Nofemela persisted in his denials that he had killed Mr Lourens. He later said he had done this because he had been told by former police colleagues that he would

be found not guilty if he denied involvement.

He decided to reveal the activities of the Vlakplaas unit after he had been told by colleagues that he would have to "take the pain".

It was only when he gave evidence before the Harms Commission that he admitted that he had killed Mr Lourens.

Nofemela's case again came before the Appeal Court yesterday, after it had been found by the Review Panel, constituted in terms of section 19 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1990, that the trial court would probably have imposed the death sentence even if section 277 of the Criminal Procedure Act of 1977, as amended by section 4 of the 1990 Act, had been in operation at the time sentence was passed.

D A Kuny, SC, with De Wet Marais, for Nofemela, submitted that the case exposed a fundamental weakness and an unsatisfactory and unworkable feature of the Review Panel procedures. There was nothing at all on the record of the trial to enable the trial court or the Appeal Court to deal with the question of extenuation, they claimed.

Mr Kuny submitted that, since the case was to be reconsidered, Nofe-

mela should be given the opportunity to apply his mind to the new considerations of mitigation rather than extenuation.

It was argued that the further evidence would give insight into Nofemela's personality and the fact that he had become conditioned to the use of violence. It could not have been given at the time of his trial in view of his total denial of involvement in Mr Lourens's murder.

E C J Wait, for the State, opposed the application. She said the evidence would probably not be accepted as true in that there were serious problems with Nofemela's credibility.

Miss Wait submitted that even if the further evidence were accepted as true, it could not reasonably lead to another sentence. On the contrary, the acceptance that Nofemela was involved in about nine other murders and abductions laid a stronger base that the death sentence was the only proper sentence.

Miss Wait further submitted that it was improbable that Nofemela could be rehabilitated.

The application was heard by Mr Justice Hefer, Mr Justice Nienaber and Mr Justice Preiss. — Sapa.

Star 19/11/91 (327)
Police seek 2 over cache

Soweto police are looking for two men they believe can help them with their investigation after the discovery of an arms cache in the township last week.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn, liaison officer for the Soweto police, said the arms cache was found at a house on November 10 and consisted of, among other things, 10 mini-limpet mines, 30 rounds of ammunition, an AK-47 rifle, 19 VZD 3 m detonators, 108 mechanical detonators and 20

MUV2 detonators.

One of the men the police want to speak to is Mkopane Moses Clifford Motikoe, who was last seen in Bekkersdal. He is thin and tall and his identity number is 660908-542-1081.

Another is Sizo Alexandra Mkhabela, who is 1,59 m tall and sturdily built. His identity number is 640612-533-2083.

Anyone who has seen the men is asked to contact Sergeant P Morrow on (011) 980-8140 at all hours. — West Rand Bureau.

Activist attacked again

Southern 20/11/91
AFRICAN National Congress activist Nomvula Mokonyane (28) has escaped a fourth attempt on her life - this time by knife-wielding assailants who have promised to strike anytime.

Mokonyane, of the ANC PWV region leadership, said yesterday two youths confronted her as she was going home on Friday, trailed her to the taxi rank and grabbed her on arrival in Kagiso, Krugersdorp.

She said the driver of the taxi foiled the bid and the assailants calmly walked away, hurling threats to kill her anytime. Six other passengers were in the taxi at the time.

Mokonyane said her assailants were members of the ANC Youth League known to her.

The ANC Committee on Violence has taken up the matter and Essop Pahad, a high-ranking SA Communist Party official, said he had approached the authorities in a bid to highlight Mokonyane's case.

Explosive device

The incident was one of a series of attempts on Mokonyane's life.

In previous attacks, an explosive device blew up in her home and the attackers fired shots at her. - Sapa.

(327)

Secret base in taxi war uncovered

South 21/11 - 27/11/91

By Mbuyiselo Mtsheketshe

A SECRET base between Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain houses members of one of the feuding taxi associations that allegedly collaborate with the security forces.

The discovery of the base from where attacks are planned follows claims from residents that police are involved in the taxi conflict.

SOUTH established that entry into the base can only be achieved through secret signs and signals.

A gravel road lined by bushes leads to the main base and if drivers do not give the required signals to guards along the road there is every likelihood that the driver will be shot.

A group of former members of the taxi association occupying the base, which is known as Kuwait, were allegedly assaulted at their homes last week and forced to go to the base.

One of the group, who asked to remain anonymous, spoke of conditions at the base.

Assaulted

"When we were assaulted on Friday we were told that anyone who revealed any information about the base will be shot.

"The base is situated near Khayelitsha cemetery with a group of armed men surrounding the area day and night. When we reached the base we were separated into two groups.

"We were told that our job was to destroy the ANC and the opposing taxi association.

"About 9pm a group of whites who I believe could be security force members wearing private clothes with no name tags visited the area.

"They were carrying some food for us to eat. We held a meeting that night where we discussed the strategies to attack the hostel dwellers who were believed to be ANC members at Nvanga near the taxi rank

but we were disturbed by patrolling SADF members.

"We exchanged shots with the SADF and the police who were patrolling when they tried to chase us away from the area.

"They released us late on Sunday and warned us not to talk to anyone about the base."

Further investigation revealed that 10 youths from Crossroads were trained at the base last month.

Recruitment

During their recruitment they were told they would be trained to kill, according to a source.

"The youth were told that their job was to assassinate Mr Jeffery Nongwe and to destroy the ANC in Crossroads. The youth were paid a salary of R800 a month," the informant said.

Two months ago a man known as Ntangana was allegedly kidnapped and taken to the base where he was assaulted.

He was said to be an ANC member. He told them that he knew nothing about the ANC and its operations as he was a migrant worker from Ciskei. He was released the following day, another source said.

Mr Gladstone Ntamo, a member of the Taxi Crisis Coordinating Committee said the involvement of the SADF in the area would be a short-term solution. He said perceptions that the SADF can help quell the violence are wrong.

"In some instances the police came to houses and carried out searches. Immediately after they left the house, people from one of the taxi associations came to attack.

"It seems the police are disarming us in order to create targets for this taxi association," he claimed.

Responding to the claims police liaison officer Captain Hendrik Opperman said all the allegations about police involvement in the taxi violence would be referred to the Special Investigating Unit for investigation as a matter of urgency.

He called on all the people with evidence about police involvement to contact his office so that such individuals can be brought to book.

Historians see red over destruction of 'PW tapes'

By Peter Davies

Historians have condemned the destruction of the tapes recording former State President P W Botha's historic first meeting with Nelson Mandela.

Professor Peter Delius of Wits University's history department said he was shocked to hear the State was destroying material which should be in the archives.

"The tapes are part of the historical record, and an important one at that. I'm sure any historian of any perspective would be astonished at this destruction."

Mr Botha first met Mr Mandela, who was still in prison, in July 1989. Recently, Mr Botha asked for the tapes to help him write his memoirs, but was told the National Intelligence Service had destroyed them.

Vernon Woods, a sports and

political chronicler for over 50 years, said he was "strongly against the destruction of any evidence".

"The destruction of those tapes was a shocking thing."

Dr Louis Grundlingh, professor of history at Rand Afrikaans University, is livid that such a significant slice of South African history was destroyed.

"I'm very upset ... we also need to take note of contemporary history. It makes you wonder what will happen to information in the archives of the South African Police — which have been under lock and key since 1910. Perhaps these files will also be destroyed before a new government comes to power."

"If we had previously had access to such documentation, a whole new picture of this country's history may have emerged."

Police raids yield arsenal

327



Sowetan

22/11/91

POLICE have seized 5 714 illegal firearms over the past 10 months.

The SAP public relations division said yesterday 1 207 AK-47 rifles were among the arsenal.

In many cases illegal arms had been recovered by police acting on information received from members of the public.

Police said information about the seizures had been released in response to criticism that the SAP was trying to

curb possession of firearms by law-abiding citizens, but doing nothing about illegal arms smuggled into the country.

They said these criticisms had been made since the publication of the draft Bill on the Arms and Ammunition Act, published in the Government Gazette about six weeks ago.

The SAP acknowledged, however, that there was still a large number of illegal firearms in circulation throughout the country. - Sapa.

707056001661



Cast activists on 'death list'

By SOPHIE TEMA

THE names of several civic activists are said to be on death lists circulating in the townships.

Names of executive members of civic associations and other political organisations are believed to have been compiled by hit-squads living in some local hostels.

The Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) said this week that death threats have been received by several of its members.

Cast alleged its president Moses Mayekiso, deputy president Kgabisi Mosunkutu, and head of the housing department, Mahommed Dangor, received a number of telephone death threats soon after civic leader Sam

Ntuli was assassinated.

Cast Education Officer Nomvula Mokonyane last week escaped an assassination attempt at a Kagiso taxi rank — the fourth so far.

Three armed men had threatened to kill her "at any time".

Speaking at a press conference in Johannesburg this week, Mokonyane said the men, who were known to her, trailed and confronted her at the rank, grabbing her clothes.

But the bid was foiled when a taxi-driver intervened.

She said her assailants hurled threats and named other civic association members who they vowed to "get even" with.

Later that day five con-

spicuous-looking men in a car were seen skulking around the Mokonyane home. One of the characters was seen peering through binoculars and taking photographs.

In a statement Cast further claimed the Tembisa home of East Rand Civic Association chairperson Ali Tleane was the target of an attack on Monday last week by members of the SADF.

Tleane escaped uninjured but the house was severely damaged.

Other civic members who are alleged to have received death threats are Ike Genu, Ben Ntsimane and Thiza Moiloa.

Cast deputy president Kgabisi Mosunkutu said the incidents had been re-

ported to the ANC's Committee on Violence. This was after they were reported to the police who had not responded positively.

Cast slammed the police for doing nothing to investigate the incidents.

The association claimed that hostels in Tokoza, Vosloorus and Dobsonville had been turned into bases for hit-squads.

Cast called for:

■ The State to stop using criminals for murdering township residents.

■ Colonel Tienie Halgryn, Jack de Vries, Eugene Opperman and Frans Malherbe to resign.

■ Black policemen and the community to monitor violence in the townships.

PW appeals to SA's new Ombudsman

STAR 25/11/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Two new developments have ensured that the PW Botha/Nelson Mandela tapes row will continue raging this week.

Former president Botha revealed that he had asked newly appointed Ombudsman Mr Justice Piet van der Walt to investigate the National Intelligence Service's destruction of the tape recording of his meeting with the then-jailed Mr Mandela in July 1989.

Mr Botha said he had sent Mr Justice van der Walt the partial minutes that NIS director-general Dr Niel Barnard took of the Mandela meeting and also the transcript of the stormy interview Mr Botha had with Dr Barnard a few weeks ago about the destruction of the tapes.

Director of Archives J H Snyman — who last week said he was investigating the legality of the NIS's action in destroying archival material — appears to have dropped the inquiry.

The transcript of the tape recording of his meeting with Dr Barnard reveals a furious Mr Botha tearing into the intelligence chief and accusing him of "stabbing me in the back".

Mr Botha also tells Dr Barnard that his minutes of the Mandela meeting do not sufficiently stress the strong stand Mr Botha took against violence and the case of the Afrikaner.

He gets Dr Barnard to admit that he insisted that Mr Mandela should renounce violence.

He also accuses the NIS of spying on his family by tapping his telephone — which Dr Barnard denies and claims there is a specific instruction that his phones should not be tapped.

Mr Botha ends the conversation by saying: "You have kept your secrets, I have kept mine. I am far from finished."

Dr Barnard's notes of the Mandela meeting reveal that Mr Botha had already decided in July 1989 to release Walter Sisulu, now ANC deputy president. But Mr Botha expected Mr Sisulu not to start a propaganda campaign.

According to the notes, Mr Mandela agreed that the ANC would renounce violence if the Government took certain steps to normalise politics such as unbanning the ANC and lifting the state of emergency.

Meanwhile, the position surrounding an investigation by the director of archives of the destruction of the Mandela tapes is now unclear.

Late last week when The Star inquired about the progress of the investigation, Dr Snyman refused to comment and said the matter was in the hands of the NIS.

Under the Archives Act it is an offence to destroy official documents unless the director of archives gives permission — or if the destruction is authorised by another law.

NIS has claimed that the destruction of the tapes was covered by the Protection of Information Act and Bureau for State Security Act — but this has been queried by Democratic Party legal expert Nic Olivier.

Spymaster's iron mask cracks

STAR 26/11/91

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UNTIL THE publication of the transcripts of his recent conversation with former President P W Botha, National Intelligence Service chief Dr Niel Barnard was regarded as a tough, steely eyed and unsmiling security agent who was scared of no one.

That view is now being reconsidered. The picture that the tapes present — of a contrite schoolboy, meekly submitting to a tirade from a tyrannical headmaster — has given South Africa cause to reassess his image.

Why did this wunderkind of the security establishment allow himself to be hector so mercilessly by Mr Botha? Was it Mr Botha's dominating personality? Or did he have a brief from the present administration to swallow his pride and suffer the abuse to placate Mr Botha?

The precise answer will probably never be known. But, as many other powerful political figures have discovered, Mr

Botha is a fearsome combatant. Additionally, Dr Barnard was probably also suffering from feelings of loyalty-induced guilt, which would have made it difficult for him to respond as he probably should have responded — by telling Mr Botha to go to hell.

For — as Mr Botha bluntly told him in their one-sided interview — he owes his extraordinarily powerful position in the establishment entirely to Mr Botha.

Fathoming this man is, to some degree, guesswork. Dr Barnard is, quite intentionally, an enigmatic figure. From the time of his controversial appointment in 1979, he has never granted a press interview.

Professor Lukas Daniel Barnard, then 31-year-old *enfant terrible* of the University of the Orange Free State's political science faculty, caused a minor sensation when Mr Botha appointed him to the most powerful security post in SA.

South Africa's "man of steel" in intelligence circles, Dr Niel Barnard, was reduced to an apologetic supplicant by former President P W Botha in their recent exchange. Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS asks why he suffered in silence.

It was a controversial choice because of his youth and the fact that he was an academic who had never held any position in the public service — let alone the security establishment — and was therefore leap-frogging over the heads of a host of better-qualified security officers.

But if Dr Barnard deliberately remained secretive in his public utterances, he was unusually revealing in his academic writings. They help to explain why Mr Botha chose him above all others to be SA's spymaster. In large part Dr Barnard's philosophy dovetailed as an academic justification for Mr Botha's often ad hoc and instinctive choice of policy.

In Dr Barnard, Mr Botha

clearly believed he had found someone naturally in harmony with his own notions of a total strategy.

In fact Dr Barnard had written specifically on this theme in a paper entitled "The Total Onslaught against South Africa". And Mr Botha was looking for a kindred spirit to purge the NIS — and the security establishment — of the pervasive influence of John Vorster's secretocrats.

For someone so secretive in public, Dr Barnard was almost luridly eloquent in the privacy of his study, revealing himself as an unabashed advocate of force used in the pursuit of "Christian righteousness". His writings are liberally scattered

with allusions to "the sword of God" and he unashamedly favours what he calls the "swaardmaganskste" — the "swordpower sanction".

This emerges most clearly in one essay in which he argues that "in world politics fragmenented by sin, the sword must always be applied justifiably for the punishment of evil. 'The attitude that the Christian State may never take up the sword and must suffer for justice is dangerous cowardice...'

"The government receives the sword from the hand of God to guarantee inter-state stability and provide justice in a crooked and twisted generation."

Like Mr Botha, he was ardently anti-communist — and like him, too, was convinced that the West had lost its will to defeat communism.

Like Mr Botha, he expressed the greatest contempt for any appeasement of international opinion.

In his paper "International Terror and Urban Terrorism" he said: "To always set one's sails to the wind of ridiculous world opinion with its pathetic double ethical pretensions is to pawn constitutional sovereignty to the terrorists."

In the public record there is a large gap between the time he wrote these thoughts, in the 1970s, and the present.

There are a few sketchy speculations about his relative position in the hierarchy of influence in the security establishment. One suggestion is that he was tipped to succeed then Commander Development Minister Chris Heunis, but little more.

And yet, in the space of those years, like other secretocrats previously wedded to the idea of the total onslaught, he has apparently traversed a wide terrain to the diametrically opposed strategy of today.

In the protracted negotiations which led to the Government

accepting independence for Namibia, Dr Barnard played a prominent role. In fact the NIS is now regarded in some Government quarters as a co-author of the new approach — and there is widespread speculation that it made some of the first tentative contacts with the ANC.

The explanation for these apparent contradictions will probably remain for the moment as mysterious as President de Klerk's own conversion.

But perhaps Mr de Klerk knew the answer to the riddle when he addressed the NIS on its 21st birthday and praised it as the one security agency which provided objective security information that was not biased in any policy direction.

For all his early obsession with total onslaught theory, the mysterious Dr Barnard seems to have taken a hard look at the realities of South African politics and realised there was no other way than reconciliation. □

(32-1)

Blast death

probe closes

STAR 26 (11/1)

No further investigations into the death of Godfrey Mlangeni would be made, the Witwatersrand Local Division of the Attorney-General's office said yesterday.

Mr Mlangeni, a candidate attorney, died at his home on February 15 when an explosive device built into the earphones of a cassette player was activated as he switched it on.

The player was originally posted to former police captain Dirk Coetzee, who gave evidence on hit squads to the Harms Commission.

The Attorney-General's office said despite an intensive probe, no evidence could be found to identify those responsible. — Sapa.

Missing ANC youth found in police morgue

By PAUL STOBER

ON September 20, Floors Titus, a 21-year-old member of the African National Congress Youth League in Bronville, disappeared. Six weeks later a friend found his body in the police morgue in Kroonstad, 50km from his home.

Despite Titus' identity document being on the body, the police had made no attempt to contact the family.

Chairman of the ANC branch in Bronville, Lionel Dukes, inspected the body. He said: "Titus looked as if he had been tortured with a baton. He was beaten so badly that one of his eyes was hanging out. He had a gunshot wound in the right temple." The state pathologist said the cause of death was a gunshot to the temple.

At the time of Titus' disappearance, members of the ANC reported that a number of houses in the area had been firebombed. In one case, the house of the civic chairman, David Theys, was allegedly bombed by an Inkatha member, Simon Monareng.

Monareng was caught by the police in a car allegedly rented by a Bronville councillor, Phillip van Wyk.

According to Dukes, "the car contained an arsenal which included a rocket launcher". Monareng was charged with "damage to property" and released on R200 bail.

Dukes said there were no direct links between the attacks and Titus' death.

● In the latest attack on ANC activists on the Witwatersrand, the chairman of the Benoni branch of the ANC, Diza Putini, and his family, were wounded during an attempt on his life last Wednesday night.

Two men allegedly knocked on the front door of Putini's house in Wattville and then sprayed the house with bullets through a window.

Putini's wife and son have been admitted to the Boksburg Benoni Hospital in "a fairly serious condition", according to the branch deputy chairman.

12 DEC 1991

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PRETORIA, 29 NOVEMBER 1991

No. 13649

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

No. 2913 29 November 1991

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 14 (4) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is, en het die beslissing van 'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet dat die publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) ongewens is nie, ter syde gestel. Die Raad het verder bepaal dat die verbod op besit kragtens artikel 9 (3) van die Wet van krag bly.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P91/07/31	<i>Protocols of The Learned Elders of Zion</i>	Victor E. Marsden	(b) + (c) + (d) + (e)

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

No. 2913 29 November 1991

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board has decided under section 14 (4) of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, and has set aside the decision by the Committee referred to in section 4 of the Act that the publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2). The Board further ruled that the prohibition on possession imposed under section 9 (3) of the Act remains in force.

No. 2914 29 November 1991

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE VOORWAARDES

'n Komitee van Publikasies bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan 'n voorwaarde dat die publikasie slegs in boekwinkels en uitleenbiblioteke en deur groothandel-boekverspreiders versprei mag word:

No. 2914 29 November 1991

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS CONDITIONS

A Committee of Publications referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has in accordance with section 11 of the Act decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to a condition that the publication may only be distributed in bookshops and lending libraries and by wholesale book distributors:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P91/11/106	<i>The Secret Diary of of Laura Palmer—Twin Peaks</i>	Penguin Books Ltd, London.

No. 2915 29 November 1991		No. 2915 29 November 1991	
PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE		PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS	
VOORWAARDES		CONDITIONS	
<p>'n Komitee van Publikasies bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan 'n voorwaarde dat die publikasie nie vir doeleindes van verspreiding in die openbaar uitgestal mag word nie:</p>		<p>A Committee of Publications referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has in accordance with section 11 of the Act decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to a condition that the publication may not be displayed in public for purposes of distribution.</p>	
Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	
P91/11/187	<i>Stern Heft</i> Nr 42, 10 Oktober 1991	Gruner & Jahr AG & Co., Hamburg.	

No. 2916 29 November 1991		No. 2916 29 November 1991	
PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE		PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS	
VOORWAARDES		CONDITIONS	
<p>'n Komitee van Publikasies het kragtens artikel 15 (2) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan 'n voorwaarde dat die publikasie nie wetens verkoop, verhuur of deur uitleenbiblioteke geleen mag word aan persone onder 18 jaar nie:</p>		<p>A Committee of Publications has decided under section 15 (2) of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to a condition that the publication may not knowingly be sold, hired or lent out by lending libraries to persons under the age of 18 years:</p>	
Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/09/366	<i>The Fan Club</i>	Irving Wallace	SK./G.G. 4529, GK./G.N. 2311, ged./dd 1974-12-06. SK./G.G. 4337, GK./G.N. 1235, ged./dd 1974-07-19.

No. 2917 29 November 1991		No. 2917 29 November 1991	
PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE		PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS	
VOORWAARDES		CONDITIONS	
<p>'n Komitee van Publikasies het kragtens artikel 15 (2) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan 'n voorwaarde dat die publikasie slegs in boekwinkels en uitleenbiblioteke en deur groothandel-boekverspreiders versprei mag word:</p>		<p>A Committee of Publications has decided under section 15 (2) of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to a condition that the publication may only be distributed in bookshops and lending libraries and by wholesale book distributors:</p>	
Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/09/461	<i>Time of Desecration</i>	Alberto Moravia	SK./G.G. 7265, GK./G.N. 2153, ged./dd 1980-10-17.

No. 2918 29 November 1991		No. 2918 29 November 1991	
PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE		PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS	
ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE		UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS	
<p>'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 of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:</p>		<p>A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 11 (2) of the Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:</p>	

LYS/LIST P91/41

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P91/11/107	Men Loving Men — A gay sex guide & consciousness book	Mitch Walker	(a)
P91/11/189	It News/Nuus —Quarterly Newsletter of the Computer Society of South Africa November 1991	It News, Steenberg	(b)
P91/11/191	The Gunsmith No 104 — Buckskin's Trail	J. R. Roberts	(a)
P91/11/192	Beau Brummel — World's Greatest 3 Hour Nude Extravaganza (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	Nie vermeld/Not stated	(a)
P91/11/193	Beau Brummel's Exciting Nude World (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	Nie vermeld/Not stated	(a)

No. 2919

29 November 1991

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:

No. 2919

29 November 1991

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. These undermentioned entries in respect of the publications are hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/09/274	Blind Date	Jerzy Kosinski	SK./G.G. 6043, GK./G.N. 1200, ged./dd 1978-06-09.
P91/09/391	Letting Go	Philip Roth	SK./G.G. 981, GK./G.N. 2098, ged./dd 1964-12-18.
P91/10/213	Kairos Vol 9, No 8, September 1977	SA Council of Churches, Braamfontein	SK./G.G. 5794, GK./G.N. 2287, ged./dd 1977-11-04.
P91/10/214	Kontakt No 4, 1977	Central Council of the Free German Youth, Berlin	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2171, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/10/215	Soviet Military Review No 6, June 1977	Soviet Military Review, Moscow	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2171, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/10/216	New Perspectives Vol 7, 4/1977	Information Centre of the World Peace Council, Finland	SK./G.G. 5752, GK./G.N. 2016, ged./dd 1977-09-30.
P91/10/217	International Socialism No 98, May 1977, No 99, June 1977, No 100, July 1977	Socialist Worker Printers and Publishers Ltd, London	SK./G.G. 5767, GK./G.N. 2110, ged./dd 1977-10-14.
P91/10/218	Asizuthula Vol 1, No 1, September 1977	Writers' Association of South Africa....	SK./G.G. 5752, GK./G.N. 2016, ged./dd 1977-09-30.
P91/10/219	Africa in Struggle Vol 1, No 2	Africa in Struggle, London	SK./G.G. 5752, GK./G.N. 2016, ged./dd 1977-09-30.
P91/10/221	Soviet Land 1917-1977	Novosti Press Agency Publishing House	SK./G.G. 5761, GK./G.N. 2058, ged./dd 1977-10-07.
P91/10/222	Who are the Real Terrorists?	International University Exchange Fund	SK./G.G. 5785, GK./G.N. 2222, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/10/223	Rhodesia: The Propaganda War	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, Rhodesia	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2171, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/10/224	The New Terrorists	International University Exchange Fund	SK./G.G. 5785, GK./G.N. 2222, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/10/225	Donga Februarie 1977	Donga, Parktown	SK./G.G. 5761, GK./G.N. 2058, ged./dd 1977-10-07.
P91/10/226	Leninism: Science and Art of Revolutionary Creativity	Yu Andropov	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2171, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/10/227	The Developing Countries from the Standpoint of Marxist Political Economy	Juri Popov	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2171, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/10/228	Statement at a Press Conference on March 31, 1977	A. A. Gromyko	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2171, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/10/229	Soviet Family and the Law	Yuri Korolyov	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2171, ged./dd 1977-10-21.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/10/230	<i>Cultural Life</i>	Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2171, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/11/142	<i>Herman Toivo ja Toivo: Speech From the Dock</i>	Projects Comm SRC Press University of Cape Town	SK./G.G. 8032, GK./G.N. 344, ged./dd 1982-02-19.
P91/11/143	<i>Kritisches Christentum</i> Nr 54, Jan 1982	Aktion Kritisches Christentum, Wien...	SK./G.G. 8052, GK./G.N. 412, ged./dd 1982-02-26.
P91/11/145	<i>World Federation of Democratic Youth—Circular Letter</i> —4th January 1982	World Federation of the Democratic Youth, Budapest	SK./G.G. 8023, GK./G.N. 274, ged./dd 1982-02-12.
P91/11/146	<i>Amandla</i> July–December 1981	New Zealand Anti-Apartheid Movement, Wellington	SK./G.G. 5887, GK./G.N. 343, ged./dd 1978-02-24.
P91/11/148	<i>Amnesty International: Bericht Über die Folter</i>	Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, Frankfurt am Main	SK./G.G. 8023, GK./G.N. 274, ged./dd 1982-02-12.
P91/11/149	<i>Hon Dat: Ein Südvietnamesisches Dorf im Befreiungskampf</i>	Anh Duc	SK./G.G. 8023, GK./G.N. 274, ged./dd 1982-02-12.
P91/11/150	<i>African Red Family</i> —Vol Two, No 4	Hamibantu Publications, London	SK./G.G. 8017, GK./G.N. 234, ged./dd 1982-02-05.
P91/11/151	<i>Albanian Telegraphic Agency</i> —News Bulletin Nr 357, 15th Year Wednesday December 23, 1981	Albanian Telegraphic Agency, Tirana.	SK./G.G. 8017, GK./G.N. 234, ged./dd 1982-02-05.
P91/11/152	<i>Über Gewerkschaften</i>	Ernst Thälmann	SK./G.G. 8052, GK./G.N. 412, ged./dd 1982-02-26.
P91/11/153	<i>Sozialismus and Ethik</i>	Howard Selsam	SK./G.G. 8052, GK./G.N. 412, ged./dd 1982-02-26.
P91/11/154	<i>Gegen die Schrittweise Faschisierung von Staat und Gesellschaft</i> (Nachdruck von Artikeln aus die Arbeiterkampf—Jahrgang 2, 1972)	J Reents-Verlag, Hamburg	SK./G.G. 8052, GK./G.N. 412, ged./dd 1982-02-26.
P91/11/157	<i>New Africa News</i> No 33, January–February 1982	New Africa News Collective, Victoria (Australia)	SK./G.G. 8017, GK./G.N. 234, ged./dd 1982-02-05.
P91/11/158	<i>Arbeitereinheit Siegt Über Militaristen</i>	Dietz Verlag GmbH, Berlin	SK./G.G. 8017, GK./G.N. 234, ged./dd 1982-02-05.
P91/11/159	<i>General Francos Leidenswege, V Wie Vietnam</i> —2 Stücke	Armand Gatti	SK./G.G. 8017, GK./G.N. 234, ged./dd 1982-02-05.
P91/11/161	<i>The Pyramid of Nations</i>	Hosea Jaffe	SK./G.G. 8010, GK./G.N. 199, ged./dd 1982-01-29.
P91/11/162	<i>Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on the Occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Formation of the African National Congress</i> —January 8, 1982	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 8052, GK./G.N. 412, ged./dd 1982-02-26.
P91/11/163	<i>Kim il Sung</i> —Selected Works—Vol 1 & Vol V	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang	SK./G.G. 3874, GK./G.N. 701, ged./dd 1973-04-27.
P91/11/164	<i>Selbstverteidigung!</i>	Huey P. Newton	SK./G.G. 8023, GK./G.N. 274, ged./dd 1982-02-12.
P91/11/166	<i>The Communist International 1919–1943: Documents Vol 3, 1929–1943</i>	Frank Cass and Company Ltd, London	SK./G.G. 8138, GK./G.N. 719, ged./dd 1982-04-02.
P91/11/167	<i>The Communist International 1919–1943: Documents Vol 2, 1923–1928</i>	Frank Cass and Company Ltd, London	SK./G.G. 8138, GK./G.N. 719, ged./dd 1982-04-02.
P91/11/168	<i>The Communist International 1919–1943: Documents Vol 1, 1919–1922</i>	Frank Cass and Company Ltd, London	SK./G.G. 8138, GK./G.N. 719, ged./dd 1982-04-02.
P91/11/171	<i>Ukusa</i> Vol 1, No 31, 13–31 January 1982	Ukusa Investments, Durban	SK./G.G. 8052, GK./G.N. 412, ged./dd 1982-02-26.
P91/11/172	<i>Namibia: A Guide to Action</i>	Namibia Support Committee, London	SK./G.G. 8052, GK./G.N. 412, ged./dd 1982-02-26.
P91/11/173	<i>Class Struggle</i> Winter 1976–1977, No 6	October League, Chicago	SK./G.G. 8010, GK./G.N. 199, ged./dd 1982-01-29.
P91/11/176	<i>Die Kampf der Völker Afrikas Gegen Kolonialismus, Imperialismus und Neokolonialismus</i>	Rote Hilfe Westberlin, Berlin	SK./G.G. 8017, GK./G.N. 234, ged./dd 1982-02-05.
P91/11/179	<i>African Youth</i> Vol 1, Nos 5/6, August/September 1976	African Youth Movement, New York...	SK./G.G. 8000, GK./G.N. 149, ged./dd 1982-01-22.
P91/11/180	<i>Bericht Über die Tätigkeit des 3 Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands/Marxisten-Leninisten</i>	Verlag Roter Morgen Dortmund, West Germany	SK./G.G. 8000, GK./G.N. 149, ged./dd 1982-01-22.
P91/11/181	<i>African Youth</i> Vol 1, Nos 9/10, December 1976	African Youth Movement, New York...	SK./G.G. 8010, GK./G.N. 199, ged./dd 1982-01-29.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/11/182	<i>Amanee</i> Vol 7/1977, No 3 & 4.....	National Union of Ghanaian Students (Europe)	SK./G.G. 8000, GK./G.N. 149, ged./dd 1982-01-22.
P91/11/184	<i>The Zed Pan Afrika Handbook</i> 1982	Henry Freedman and Robert Molteno	SK./G.G. 8010, GK./G.N. 199, ged./dd 1982-01-29.
P91/11/195	<i>Young Voice</i> No 7, 15/5/77	Young Church of Social Change.....	SK./G.G. 5695, GK./G.N. 1504, ged./dd 1977-08-05.
P91/11/196	<i>The World Council of Churches and Bank Loans to Apartheid</i>	World Council of Churches, Geneva...	SK./G.G. 5709, GK./G.N. 1589, ged./dd 1977-08-12.
P91/11/197	<i>The Last Year of Malcolm X</i>	George Breitman	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2171, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/11/198	<i>Amandia</i> Januari – Mei 1977.....	Boycot Outspan Aktie Komitee Zuideljk Afrika en Werkgroep, Kairos	SK./G.G. 5767, GK./G.N. 2110, ged./dd 1977-10-14.
P91/11/199	<i>Swapo</i> Nos 11 & 12.....	LSM Information Centre, USA	SK./G.G. 5761, GK./G.N. 2058, ged./dd 1977-10-07.
P91/11/201	<i>Z</i> – Vol 2, No 5.....	SSD University of Cape Town, Rondebosch	SK./G.G. 5772, GK./G.N. 2116, ged./dd 1977-10-12; SK./G.G. 5799, GK./G.G. 2350, ged./dd 1977-11-11.
P91/11/202	<i>Vorster, Callaghan and How They are Stealing the Wealth of Namibia</i>	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2171, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/11/203	<i>Pro Veritate</i> Vol 16, No 4, August 1977...	Pro Veritate (Pty) Ltd, Braamfontein ...	SK./G.G. 5789, GK./G.N. 2237, ged./dd 1977-10-28.
P91/11/206	<i>Namibia: Some Light on the Struggle for National Liberation</i>	Onesmus Akuenje and Hidipo Hamutenya	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2171, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/11/207	<i>Revolution and Class Struggle</i>	Robin Blackburn	SK./G.G. 5752, GK./G.N. 2016, ged./dd 1977-09-30.
P91/11/208	<i>SANA Bulletin</i> May 1977/2 June 1977/3.	Sana, Geneva	SK./G.G. 5745, GK./G.N. 1952, ged./dd 1977-09-23.
P91/11/209	<i>Apartheid</i> Vol 1, No 2, July 1977	International University Exchange Fund, Switzerland	SK./G.G. 5745, GK./G.N. 1952, ged./dd 1977-09-23.
P91/11/210	<i>International Socialism</i> 45.....	Printer Cornhill, Dorchester	SK./G.G. 5745, GK./G.N. 1952, ged./dd 1977-09-23.
P91/11/211	<i>Greater Glory Awaiting</i>	B L Leshoai	SK./G.G. 5739, GK./G.N. 1983, ged./dd 1977-09-16.
P91/11/212	<i>Chrisis in Zimbabwe</i> 2nd Edition, April 1976	Socialist Worker Africa Group, London	SK./G.G. 5739, GK./G.N. 1903, ged./dd 1977-09-16.

No. 2920

29 November 1991

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 publikasies nie langer binne die bedoeling van artikel 9 (3) van die Wet verbied is nie. Die ondergenoemde inskrywings ten opsigte van die publikasies word hierby geskrap:

No. 2920

29 November 1991

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 publications are no longer prohibited within the meaning of section 9 (3) of the Act. The undermentioned entries in respect of the publications are hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/10/215	<i>Soviet Military Review</i> No 6, June 1977	Soviet Military Review, Moscow	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.
P91/10/216	<i>New Perspectives</i> Vol 7, 4/1977.....	Information Centre of the World Peace Council, Finland	SK./G.G. 5803, GK./G.N. 2383, ged./dd 1977-11-18.
P91/10/219	<i>Africa in Struggle</i> Vol 1, No 2.....	Africa in Struggle, London	SK./G.G. 5803, GK./G.N. 2383, ged./dd 1977-11-18.
P91/10/222	<i>Who are the Real Terrorists?</i>	International University Exchange Fund	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.
P91/10/223	<i>Rhodesia: The Propaganda War</i>	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, Rhodesia	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/10/224	The New Terrorists	International University Exchange Fund	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.
P91/10/226	Leninism: Science and Art of Revolutionary Creativity	Yu Andropov.....	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.
P91/10/230	Cultural Life	Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow	SK./G.G. 5878, GK./G.N. 257, ged./dd 1978-02-10.
P91/11/142	Herman Toivo ja Toivo: Speech From the Dock	Projects Comm SRC Press University of Cape Town	SK./G.G. 8163, GK./G.N. 725, ged./dd 1982-04-16.
P91/11/145	World Federation of Democratic Youth —Circular Letter—4th January 1982	World Federation of the Democratic Youth, Budapest	SK./G.G. 8163, GK./G.N. 725, ged./dd 1982-04-16.
P91/11/146	Amandla July—December 1981.....	New Zealand Anti-Apartheid Movement, Wellington	SK./G.G. 8163, GK./G.N. 725, ged./dd 1982-04-16.
P91/11/147	Vow—Voice of Women —Special Conference Issue 1981	ANC (SA) Women's Section.....	SK./G.G. 8163, GK./G.N. 725, ged./dd 1982-04-16.
P91/11/150	African Red Family —Vol Two, No 4.....	Hamibantu Publications, London.....	SK./G.G. 8163, GK./G.N. 725, ged./dd 1982-04-16.
P91/11/152	Über Gewerkschaften	Ernst Thälmann.....	SK./G.G. 8225, GK./G.N. 1098, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/11/154	Gegen die Schrittweise Faschisierung von Staat und Gesellschaft (Nachdruck von Artikeln auf die Arbeiterkampf—Jahrgang 2, 1972)	J. Reents-Verlag, Hamburg.....	SK./G.G. 8225, GK./G.N. 1098, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/11/156	Resister Bulletin No 17, Dec 1981—Jan 1982	Cosawr (UK), London.....	SK./G.G. 8163, GK./G.N. 725, ged./dd 1982-04-16.
P91/11/160A.....	Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa No 37, Nov—Dec 1981	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8125, GK./G.N. 589, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
B.....	International Defence and Aid Fund—Briefing Paper on Southern Africa No 3, November 1981		
P91/11/162	Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on the Occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Formation of the African National Congress January 8, 1982	Nie vermeld/Not stated.....	SK./G.G. 8225, GK./G.N. 1098, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/11/164	Selbstverteidigung!	Huey P. Newton	SK./G.G. 8163, GK./G.N. 725, ged./dd 1982-04-08.
P91/11/165	Freies Leben No 156	Rudolf Hofmann-Verlag, Frankfurt	SK./G.G. 8225, GK./G.N. 1098, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/11/169	Workers' Unity Issue No 29, January 1982	South African Congress of Trade Unions, London	SK./G.G. 8225, GK./G.N. 1098, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/11/170	Sechaba December 1981	African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka	SK./G.G. 8225, GK./G.N. 1098, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/11/172	Namibia: A Guide to Action	Namibia Support Committee, London.	SK./G.G. 8225, GK./G.N. 1098, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/11/174	The African Communist No 60, First Quarter 1975	Inkululeko Publications, London.....	SK./G.G. 8125, GK./G.N. 589, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/11/175	The African Communist No. 69, Second Quarter 1977	Inkululeko Publications, London	SK./G.G. 8125, GK./G.N. 589, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/11/177	International Mobilisation Vol 2, No 4, Dec 1981	World Peace Council in Cooperation with the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, Helsinki	SK./G.G. 8163, GK./G.N. 725, ged./dd 1982-04-16.
P91/11/178	Anti-Apartheid News December 1981	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.....	SK./G.G. 8125, GK./G.N. 589, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/11/180	Bericht Über die Tätigkeit des 3 Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands/Marxisten-Leninisten	Verlag Roter Morgen Dortmund, West Germany	SK./G.G. 8125, GK./G.N. 589, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/11/183	Solidarity No 7, Third October 1981	Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, London	SK./G.G. 8163, GK./G.N. 725, ged./dd 1982-04-16.
P91/11/184	The Zed Pan Africa Handbook 1982	Henry Freedman and Robert Molteno	SK./G.G. 8125, GK./G.N. 589, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/11/194	Sobre la Coexistencia Pacifica	V. I. Lenin	SK./G.G. 5732, GK./G.N. 1814, ged./dd 1977-09-09.
P91/11/198	Amandla Januari—Mei 1977	Boycot Outspan Aktie Komitee Zuideljk Afrika en Werkgroep, Kairos	SK./G.G. 5810, GK./G.N. 2430, ged./dd 1977-11-25.
P91/11/199	SWAPO Nos 11 & 12.....	LSM Information Centre, USA.....	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/11/201	Z — Vol 2, No 5.....	SSD University of Cape Town, Rondebosch	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.
P91/11/202	<i>Vorster, Callaghan and How They are Stealing the Wealth of Namibia</i>	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.....	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.
P91/11/206	<i>Namibia: Some Light on the Struggle for National Liberation</i>	Onesmus Akuenje and Hidipo Hamu- tenya	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.
P91/11/208	<i>Sana Bulletin</i> May 1977/2 June 1977/3	Sana, Geneva	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.
P91/11/209	<i>Apartheid</i> Vol 1, No 2, July 1977.....	International University Exchange Fund, Switzerland	SK./G.G. 5789, GK./G.N. 2238, ged./dd 1977-10-28.
P91/11/211	<i>Greater Glory Awaiting</i>	B. L. Leshoai.....	SK./G.G. 5789, GK./G.N. 2238, ged./dd 1977-10-28.
P91/11/212	<i>Crisis in Zimbabwe</i> 2nd Edition, April 1976	Socialist Worker Africa Group, London	SK./G.G. 5810, GK./G.N. 2430, ged./dd 1977-11-25.

No. 2921

29 November 1991

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 publikasies nie ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet nie, terwyl elke ander uitgawe van hierdie publikasies kragtens artikel 9 (1) van die Wet ongewens verklaar is.

Die Direkoraat van Publikasies verleen gevolglik vrystelling van bepalinge van artikel 9 (1) ten opsigte van hierdie besondere uitgawe van die publikasies.

No. 2921

29 November 1991

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

EXEMPTION FROM SECTION 9 (1)

A Committee referred 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 issue of the publications is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2), while every other issue is still undesirable in terms of section 9 (1) of the Act.

With regard to this particular issue the Directorate of Publications hereby grants exemption from section 9 (1).

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P91/10/220	<i>Soviet Union</i> No 6 (327), 1977	Eastern News Distributors Inc., New York.
P91/11/144	<i>Southern Africa</i> Vol XIV, No 5, Sept/Oct 1981	Southern Africa Committee, New York.
P91/11/146	<i>Amandla</i> July–December 1981	New Zealand Anti-Apartheid Movement, Wellington.
P91/11/147	<i>Vow—Voice of Women</i> —Special Conference Issue 1981	ANC (SA) Women's Section.
P91/11/150	<i>African Red Family</i> Vol Two, No 4	Hamibantu Publications, London.
P91/11/155	<i>TCLSAC Reports</i> Nov–Dec 1981	Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, Toronto.
P91/11/156	<i>Resister Bulletin</i> No 17, Dec 1981–Jan 1982	COSAWR (UK), London.
P91/11/160A.....	<i>Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa</i> No 37, Nov–Dec 1981	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London.
B.....	<i>International Defence and Aid Fund — Briefing Paper on Southern Africa</i> No 3, November 1981	
P91/11/165	<i>Freies Leben</i> No 156	Rudolf Hofmann-Verlag, Frankfurt.
P91/11/169	<i>Workers' Unity</i> Issue No 29, January 1982	South African Congress of Trade Unions, London.
P91/11/170	<i>Sechaba</i> December 1981	African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka.
P91/11/174	<i>The African Communist</i> No 60, First Quarter, 1975	Inkululeko Publications, London.
P91/11/175	<i>The African Communist</i> No 69, Second Quarter 1977	Inkululeko Publications, London.
P91/11/177	<i>International Mobilisation</i> Vol 2 No 4 Dec 1981	World Peace Council in Co-operation with the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, Helsinki.
P91/11/178	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> December 1981	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.
P91/11/183	<i>Solidarity</i> No 7, Third Quarter 1981	Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, London.
P91/11/201	Z — Vol 2, No 5	SSD University of Cape Town, Rondebosch.
P91/11/205	<i>Southern Africa</i> Vol X No 5, June/July 1977	Southern Africa Committee, New York.

No. 2922 29 November 1991		No. 2922 29 November 1991	
AFGEKEURDE ROLPRENTE		REJECTED FILMS	
<p>'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 21 (1) van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde rolprente ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:</p>		<p>A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 21 (1) of the Act that the undermentioned films are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:</p>	
Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Voorlegger Submitter	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
R91/11/119.....	<i>Educating Julie</i>	Direktoraat van Publikasies/Directorate of Publications	(a)
R91/11/120.....	<i>Naked City</i>	Direktoraat van Publikasies/Directorate of Publications	(a)
R91/11/76.....	<i>Playboy Magazine Video 35th Anniversary Playmate Fawna Maclaren</i>	Direktoraat van Publikasies/Directorate of Publications	(a)
R91/12/18.....	<i>Skinny Dipping</i>	Direktoraat van Publikasies/Directorate of Publications	(a)

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What rights do we want in the 'New' South Africa?

Exposing the myth of free speech in a free market

With monopolies controlling the media in South Africa, can the two proposed Bills of Rights adequately ensure freedom of speech? By MARK GEVISSER

w/Mark 29/11 - 5/12/91
IN the old days, if you had something to say, you set up your soap-box in the village square and said it. And if you wanted to hear what someone else had to say, then you positioned yourself beneath the soapbox and listened. Simple.

But the days of soap-box oratory are long gone: now that we live in a web of electronic communication, with satellites and frequencies and multi-million rand printing presses defining what we know and how we know it, the basic imperative, that "everyone has the right to freedom of speech" has become as quaint and as archaic as Speakers' Corner: a well-meant, but quite ineffectual symbol.

In South Africa, there seems to be consensus that freedom of speech should be constitutionally entrenched; that constraints on publishing — like the Publications Act — and on reporting (the Police Act) should be scrapped.

With the history of censorship in our country, this is exciting news: a freedom of speech clause in a Bill of Rights would make censorship unconstitutional, and people would be allowed to say what they like, as long as their free speech didn't in any way encroach on the freedom or well-being of others.

"But," asks Michael Markowitz of the Film and Allied Workers' Organisation, "what good is it if we guarantee people the right to speak but don't give them access to the technology that will allow them to be heard?"

Even if a state gives everyone the right to speak, it can still make sure that only a few get heard by giving some airspace or broadcasting licences and turning down others.

And even though advocates of an unrestrained free market hold free speech as one of their most cherished values, the principles of a free market make sure that only a few get heard — the few who can afford broadcasting technology or printing presses.

In the two draft Bills of Rights circulating South Africa at present — that of the African National Congress and that of the government-appointed Law Commission, freedom



of speech is covered.

The ANC says "there shall be freedom of thought, speech, expression and opinion, including a free press which shall respect the right to reply", and the Law Commission says "everyone has the right to freedom of speech and to other forms of expression and to obtain and disseminate information".

A third draft Bill of Rights, that proposed by the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba, says: "Everyone shall be entitled to freedom of expression, which includes the freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas."

With the phrases "freedom to obtain and disseminate information" and "freedom to seek, receive and impart information" the Law Commission and the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba do allude to rights of access. But Markowitz feels that if freedom of speech is to be more than a noble ideal, then the language in the constitution should be more specific, as it is in the American and European Conventions on Human Rights.

The language Fawo has proposed, based on these conventions, is the following: "The right of expression shall not be restricted by indirect methods or means such as the abuse of government or private controls over

newsprint, radio, TV broadcasting and frequencies, or by any other means."

Such a clause would render the SABC unconstitutional. The newspaper monopoly could also be found to be unconstitutional; as could a printing company or a paper supplier that has a monopoly.

If a radio broadcaster was denied a licence or if a political party was denied fair airtime, they could take the matter to a constitutional court.

Perhaps the language of the Law Commission covers this. But, given the fact that the media is controlled almost exclusively by the government and a couple of corporations and, given the fact that the recently-published Task Group on Broadcasting gives the SABC and M-Net the right to broadcast into a new dispensation for at least seven years without having to reapply for a license, there is a strong argument for explicit constitutional checks to be written in to a Bill of Rights.

When a new constitution is negotiated, the parties sitting round the table could all blithely nod in agreement about freedom of speech and then move on to more thorny issues.

Or they could acknowledge that there cannot even be free and fair elections until there is guaranteed equal access.

ANC's plan for the press

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

AN ANC media charter, which the organisation hopes will form part a future constitution and bill of rights, is being considered by the ANC's national executive committee.

According to the draft charter, everyone would have the right to freely publish, broadcast and disseminate information and opinion. People would also have the right of free access to information and opinion.

All legislation and institutions restricting the free flow of information or imposing censorship over the media would be forbidden.

But the citizen's right to privacy and any other freedoms entrenched in the bill of rights would not be violated on account of the free

flow of information, the charter states.

A declaration of media freedoms on its own is not enough, the draft charter says. It must be underpinned by an equitable distribution of media resources, enforcement mechanisms and developmental programmes.

Therefore, steps would be taken to ensure that all communities had access to skills like reading and

writing and the technical means for the receipt and dissemination of information, including electricity and telecommunications.

Diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities would be assured and affirmative action would be taken to provide financial, technical and other resources to deprived sectors of society, the charter states.

W Tvl civic leader 'abducted by police'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Ipelegeng Civic Association chairman Jerry Maine has not been seen since he was abducted from his home in the Schweizer-Reneke township early on Saturday morning by men purporting to be policemen, says ANC western Transvaal spokesman Ike Moroe.

According to an ANC press release, the missing man's mother, Sophie Maine, was awakened by a loud bang at about 1 am and found a car parked outside her house. She saw a figure who resembled her son being carried to the car.

"She shouted at the people in the car and asked them to identify themselves," the statement read. Two men replied: "We are police."

After they drove off, Mrs Maine went to her son's room situated behind the house. The door had been broken down and he was gone. She then summoned neighbours to help search for the car but it had disappeared without trace. The matter was later re-

ported to the police.

Asked to comment on the fact that the kidnappers had purported to be police and on progress in the Maine investigation, the western Transvaal police liaison office had not responded at the time of going to press.

Mr Maine (26) was one of several Ipelegeng activists who recently received a letter containing death threats.

ANC branch chairman Boyce Mpempe was among the recipients of the threatening letter. On Christmas Day last year he was abducted from his home, driven off in a minibus and threatened with death by his kidnappers. He escaped by jumping from the moving vehicle.

Three policemen have been charged with the abduction and assault of Mr Mpempe and the case is due to be heard later this week.

The ANC's Mr Moroe said the organisation "was inclined to believe that the police have a direct hand in (the disappearance of Mr Maine) or are grossly disinterested in solving it".

an election-monitoring group will oversee the procedure.

JOE SLOVO

Amnesty members arrive to probe SA political killings

FOUR members of the Amnesty International yesterday began a two-week investigation into political killings and allegations of security force complicity.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the team said Amnesty International had expressed concern that in some cases, members of the security forces appeared to be directly implicated in the killings.

"In other cases the police and other authorities appear to have failed to take appropriate action to bring those responsible to account."

The organisation had noted there had been positive developments in the human rights situation in South Africa since February 1990.

"However, Amnesty International is gravely concerned at the deterioration in other areas of human rights."

Political and human rights activists and others had died as a result of assassinations, large-scale armed attacks on whole communities, attacks on black communities, funeral mourners and others, assault and torture of prisoners in police custody, the police misuse of lethal force against demonstrators.

They said they would also be looking at the effectiveness of structures created under the National Peace Accord, including the implementation of a code of conduct for the police.

The delegation is led by Mr Stephan Owe, Ombudsman for British Columbia in Canada. Other delegates are former director of the Dutch Police Academy Dr Piet van Reenen, Mary Reyner of the United Kingdom and Mr Joseph Gitari of Kenya. - *Sapa*

REPORT

NEWS

Spy-catcher takes over the hot seat

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

"I HAVE a proud track record and can boast that through my initiatives various cadres of the ANC, PAC and the Wit Kommando were brought to trial, found guilty and sentenced to lengthy terms in jail ..."

These are the words of Major-General Johannes Hendrik Gloy (53), the man who has taken over the helm of police investigations into politically related crime following the retirement of Lieutenant-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen.

In 1983, working closely with the National Intelligence Service (NIS), Gloy personally arrested Dieter Gerhardt, the commanding officer of the South African Navy's Simonstown dockyard who was later convicted of spying for the Russian military.

It was not his first success at spy-catching. Three years earlier, in what he describes as "the cherry on the cake" during his career as an investigating officer with the security branch, he arrested a suspected East German spy known as Eric Svenson. Within 48 hours, Svenson had admitted he was in fact a KGB officer, Major Alexsei Mikhailowtz Kozlov.

Gloy is also proud of the fact that he was "congratulated by the *New York Times*" in 1981 for his part in the recapture of convicted United States super-spy Christopher Boyce, who had escaped from prison.

According to his "personal sketch", Gloy has enjoyed every moment of his career. Born and educated in Springs, he joined the SAP in 1955, working at various stations, mostly on the Reef, before being commissioned in 1965 and transferred to "The Greys" security branch in Johannesburg.

After border duty at Katima Mulilo, Eastern Caprivi, during 1967 he was second in command of a unit of the South African Security Branch in what was then Rhodesia, "actively involved in the combating and eradication of terrorists and terrorism" — a period he describes as "an outstanding chapter in my career".

Gloy said he "enjoyed my career as a uniformed member on the beat, a detective tracing a hardened criminal and as a professional security branch operative fighting terrorists and the perpetrators of subversive crime".

Quiet death of the Walkman-bomb case

W/Mas 6/12 - 12/12/91

"NEARLY Y fainted when the presenter said that the docket into his death had been closed," says the softly spoken young woman.

In the deathly quiet boardroom at Ipelegeng Centre in Soweto, she pauses before adding "I could not believe it ... I was shocked".

The willowy, elegantly dressed young woman is Seipati Mlangeni. She is the widow of Bheki Mlangeni, the young human-rights lawyer who was killed when a booby-trapped Walkman player exploded in his ear in February this year.

Last week the attorney-general of the Witwatersrand announced there would be no prosecution arising from police investigations into his death and the docket was quietly closed.

Nobody bothered to inform Mlangeni — she heard it on the early news on TV2 last Monday night. "They did not even tell my attorney," she says disbelievingly.

But this indiscretion was only the climax to an investigation which she alleges was shoddy from the beginning.

Mlangeni was killed in February by a bomb intended for Dirk Coetzee — the policeman who blew the whistle on the Civil Co-operation Bureau hit-squads — and which was addressed to him. But the deathly package never reached its destination: by some quirk of fate, it landed in Mlangeni's hands because he was named as the sender on the little brown paper-wrapped packet.

A stranger phoned him at the offices

One of the cases referred to Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen was that of human-rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni — killed by a parcel bomb early this year. Last week the case was closed without the perpetrators being identified. **FERRAL HAFFAJEE** spoke to his widow

of Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom — the firm of attorneys he worked at — and told him the parcel was at the post office. He fetched the parcel, took it home and tried to play the cassette. He never lived to hear it.

Soon after his death, the police came round to investigate, says his widow. They asked many questions and demanded the clothes he was wearing when he died. "We did not give them to the police," she says. "Traditionally they were ours and he was wearing the trousers we got married in." She says he was buried in his wedding suit after she had the trousers dry-cleaned.

By May this year, when she had heard nothing about the investigation into her husband's death, she went to Protea police station to find out what was happening.

"They told me that they were leaving no stone unturned in their investigations. They promised to keep us informed," she says angrily.

But the police never did and neither did the attorney-general. The next she heard of the investigation was on SABC news last week, and the news



Seipati Mlangeni Photo: GUY ADAMS

was cold comfort because all it told her was that the docket into her husband's death had been closed.

She believes the docket was closed because "the police were closely involved ... they know who did this. The people who did this were professionals."

"I will not despair till the perpetrators are prosecuted because Bheki fought for human rights. All that will make Bheki rest in peace is an independent investigation into his death."

She and Bheki met in 1984 and were married in December last year, just two months before he was killed. They have a five-year-old son called Mandla. Mlangeni says she still cannot bring herself to answer her little boy's queries about where his daddy is and both she and Mandla go for counselling to help them deal with his

death.

Determined to get on with her life, Mlangeni is planning to go to university next year to study education. Mandla's education is also planned for by an educational trust opened for him by the firm of attorneys at which his father worked.

David Klatzow, a forensic expert hired by Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom to investigate Bheki Mlangeni's death, refused to sign the SAP forensic report into Mlangeni's death. Like the widow, he charged in media reports that the police had been "pathetic and unprofessional" during the investigation.

Klatzow also said that the police were themselves suspects, that the bomb had been disturbed before he could examine it and that he had been denied access to "police personnel and property" integral to his investigation.

A representative of the Justice Ministry said that an inquest into Mlangeni's death would definitely be instituted but that a date could not be specified.

In response to queries about why the docket into Mlangeni's death had been closed, the attorney-general's office said: "Notwithstanding an exhaustive investigation, which involved various bodies including the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, no evidence could be found to identify the perpetrators."

"In the event, the attorney-general, Witwatersrand local division advocate Von Lieres, has no option but to refuse to prosecute."

8 6 JAN 1992

REPUBLIEK
VAN
SUID-AFRIKAREPUBLIC
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Vol. 318

PRETORIA, 6 DESEMBER 1991

No. 13661

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE
SAKEDEPARTMENT OF HOME
AFFAIRS

No. 3022 6 Desember 1991

No. 3022 6 December 1991

PUBLIKASIE OF VOORWERP

PUBLICATION OR OBJECT

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is tersyde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing word hierby geskrap:

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a Committee referred to in section 4 of the Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/11/231	<i>Penthouse</i> Vol 1, No 10, December 1991 (Southern African Edition)	Essay Media (Pty) Ltd, Sandton	SK./G.G. 13641, GK./G.N. 2837, ged./dd 1991-11-22.

No. 3023 6 Desember 1991

No. 3023 6 December 1991

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE
VERBOD OP BESIT VAN ONGEWENSTE
PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPEPUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS
PROHIBITION ON POSSESSION OF UNDESIRABLE
PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), wat kragtens artikel 11 (2) van die Wet beslis het dat die ondergenoemde publikasies ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet, het kragtens artikel 9 (3) van die Wet die besit van genoemde publikasies verbied. Genoemde verbod is kragtens artikel 9 (5) van die Wet deur die Appèlraad oor Publikasies bekragtig.

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), which has decided under section 11 (2) of the Act that the undermentioned publications are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, has under section 9 (3) of the Act, prohibited the possession of the said publications. The said prohibition was confirmed by the Publications Appeal Board under section 9 (5) of the Act.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P91/10/289	<i>Drawing The Line: Lesbian Sexual Politics on the Wall</i>	Press Gang Publishers, Vancouver	(a)
P91/11/100	<i>Penthouse</i> August 1986	Penthouse International Ltd, New York	(a)
P91/10/191	<i>Australian Penthouse Variations</i> No 26	Viva International Ltd	(a)
P91/10/192	<i>Australian Hottalk</i> No 23	Forum International Ltd	(a)
P91/10/193	<i>Australian Penthouse Variations</i> No 20	Viva International Ltd	(a)

No. 3024

6 Desember 1991

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:

No. 3024

6 December 1991

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. These undermentioned entries in respect of the publications are hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/09/287	Sexus	Henry Miller	SK./G.G. 4681, GK./G.N. 849, ged./dd 1975-04-25. GK./G.N. 64, ged./dd 1960-01-05.
P91/09/290	Black Spring	Henry Miller	GK./G.N. 1929, ged./dd 1958-12-09.
P91/09/382	Acts of Love	Elia Kazan	SK./G.G. 6286, GK./G.N. 131, ged./dd 1979-01-26.
P91/09/386	Dreaming of Babylon	Richard Brautigan	SK./G.G. 6043, GK./G.N. 1200, ged./dd 1978-06-09.
P91/11/127	Namibia Bulletin No 1/77, April 1977	United Nations, New York	SK./G.G. 5724, GK./G.N. 1941, ged./dd 1977-09-02.
P91/11/126	Justice In SA Injustice In SA 31 July 1977	Students for Social Democracy University of Cape Town	SK./G.G. 5714, GK./G.N. 1617, ged./dd 1977-08-12.
P91/11/234	An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory	Ernest Mandel	SK./G.N. 4537, GK./G.N. 2352, ged./dd 1974-12-13.
P91/11/235	An Autobiography	Angela Davis	SK./G.G. 5810, GK./G.N. 2428, ged./dd 1977-11-25.
P91/11/236	Road to Liberation	LSM Information Center, Oakland, USA	SK./G.G. 5799, GK./G.N. 2346, ged./dd 1977-11-11.
P91/11/237	Zuidelijk Afrika Nieuws No 84	Anti-Apartheid Beweging, Nederland	SK./G.G. 5785, GK./G.N. 2222, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/11/238	Policy and Programme of the PAC of Azania	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (SA), Dar es Salaam	SK./G.G. 5794, GK./G.N. 2287, ged./dd 1977-11-04.
P91/11/239	Katutura October 1977	Katutura, Joubert Park	SK./G.G. 5785, GK./G.N. 2222, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/11/240	Varsity Issue No 6, July 1978	SRC University of Cape Town, Rondebosch	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1731, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P91/11/241	Juche: The Banner of Independence	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Korea	SK./G.G. 6144, GK./G.N. 1773, ged./dd 1978-09-01.
P91/11/242	Provisional Records: Sixty-Fourth Session No 19, Monday, 19 June 1978	International Labour Conference	SK./G.G. 6144, GK./G.N. 1773, ged./dd 1978-09-01.
P91/11/243	Information 7/1978	The Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin	SK./G.G. 6144, GK./G.N. 1774, ged./dd 1978-09-01.
P91/11/245	Socialist Affairs Vol 27, No 6, November/December 1977	Socialist International, London	SK./G.G. 6144, GK./G.N. 1773, ged./dd 1978-09-01.
P91/11/246	International Anti-Apartheid Year 21 March 1978-20 March 1979	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1731, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P91/11/247	Documents and Information No 15/1978	Women's International Democratic Federation, Berlin	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1731, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P91/11/248	Romanian News No 17, Tuesday, July 11, 1978	Romanian News, Bucharest	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1731, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P91/11/251	Kolbe Student Vol 1, No 3, July 1978	Catholic Students Society University of Cape Town	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1731, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P91/11/252	Rhodes Friday 30 September 1977, Vol 31, No 8	SRC, Rhodes University, Grahamstown	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2171, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/11/253	Varsity Vol 41, No 1, 4 March 1982	SRC, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch	SK./G.G. 8118, GK./G.N. 587, ged./dd 1982-03-19.
P91/11/254	Manual on Detention	Media Projects, SRC, University of Cape Town	SK./G.G. 8118, GK./G.N. 587, ged./dd 1982-03-19.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/11/255	<i>Social Review</i> Issue 17, Feb/March 1982	Social Research Agency, Mowbray	SK./G.G. 8118, GK./G.N. 587, ged./dd 1982-03-19.
P91/11/256	<i>Culturele Actie Voor Vrijheid</i>	Paulo Freire	SK./G.G. 8118, GK./G.N. 587, ged./dd 1982-03-19.
P91/11/262	<i>The Political Role of Public Libraries</i> ...	Joss O'Kelly	SK./G.G. 8126, GK./G.N. 661, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/11/264	<i>Unity in Action</i> —A History of the African National Congress 1912–1982	African National (SA), London	SK./G.G. 8126, GK./G.N. 661, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/11/265	<i>New Africa News</i> No 34, March–April 1982	New Africa News Collective, Victoria (Australia)	SK./G.G. 8126, GK./G.N. 661, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/11/266	<i>ICSA Bulletin</i> Issue No 17, February 1982	International Committee against Apartheid Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8126, GK./G.N. 661, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/11/267	<i>Hakika</i> Vol 3, No 4, December 1981	Southern Africa Liberation Centre, Sydney	SK./G.G. 8120, GK./G.N. 661, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/11/270	<i>170 Detained, Why?</i>	Detainees Support Committee	SK./G.G. 8118, GK./G.N. 587, ged./dd 1982-03-19; SK./G.G. 8163, GK./G.N. 754 ged./dd 1982-04-16.
P91/11/271	<i>1906–1961: The Roots of Armed Struggle</i> —Important dates and events in the history of resistance	SSD, Projects Comm, Wages Comm, Women's Movement, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch	SK./G.G. 8126, GK./G.N. 661, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/11/272	<i>Undesirable Alien</i>	Regis Debray	SK./G.G. 6189, GK./G.N. 2098, ged./dd 1978-10-20.
P91/11/273	<i>African Labour News</i> : Vol 27–28, April 1978, Vol 29–30, June 1978	ICFTU African Information Service, Brussels	SK./G.G. 6162, GK./G.N. 1929, ged./dd 1978-09-22.
P91/11/274	<i>Südafrika: Materialien und Dokumente</i>	Henkel GmbH, Stuttgart	SK./G.G. 6144, GK./G.N. 1773, ged./dd 1978-09-01.
P91/11/275	<i>Towards an East European Marxism</i>	Marc Rakovski	SK./G.G. 6144, GK./G.N. 1773, ged./dd 1978-09-01.
P91/11/276	<i>Study Encounter—SE/38</i> Vol IX, No 1, 1973	World Council of Churches, Geneva	SK./G.G. 6144, GK./G.N. 1773, ged./dd 1978-09-01.
P91/11/277	<i>Work in Progress</i> No 5, June 1978	University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg	SK./G.G. 6188, GK./G.N. 1978, ged./dd 1978-09-29.
P91/11/278	<i>News: Monthly Illustrated from the German Democratic Republic</i> 8/1978	GDR Africa Friendship Society/International Friendship League of the GDR, Berlin	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1731, ged./dd 1978-08-15.
P91/11/279	<i>Documents and Information</i> No 16/1978	The Women's International Democratic Federation, Berlin	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1731, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P91/11/280	<i>Peace News</i> No 2074, Friday, 14 July 1978	Peace News Ltd, London	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1731, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P91/11/282	<i>The Democratic Journalist</i> 6, '78	International Organization of Journalists, Czechoslovakia	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1731, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P91/11/283	<i>Jeunesse Ouvriere</i> No 368, Juillet–Aout 1978	Jeunesse Ouvriere, Paris Cedex 13	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1731, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P91/11/286	<i>Ismun Newsletter</i> No 12, March 1978	International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations, Switzerland	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1731, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P91/11/289	<i>50 Years of World Revolution</i>	Ernest Mandel	SK./G.G. 4645, GK./G.N. 654, ged./dd 1975-04-04.
P91/11/290	<i>On Vietnam and World Revolution</i>	Che Guevara	SK./G.G. 3399, GK./G.N. 336, ged./dd 1972-03-03.
P91/11/291	<i>The Pedagogy of the Oppressed: The Oppression of Pedagogy</i> (IDAC Document No 8)	Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich	SK./G.G. 6153, GK./G.N. 1869, ged./dd 1978-09-15.
P91/11/293	<i>Christianity and Crisis</i> Vol 41, No 20, Dec 14, 1981	John C. Bennett	SK./G.G. 8167, GK./G.N. 791, ged./dd 1982-04-16.
P91/11/294	<i>Azania Struggle</i> Vol 2, No 3, December 1981	Support Committee for the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (SA), Wellington	SK./G.G. 8138, GK./G.N. 719, ged./dd 1982-04-02.
P91/11/295	<i>We Pay Tribute to the Martyrs of the Struggle</i>	AZAPO (Western Cape)	SK./G.G. 8183, GK./G.N. 719, ged./dd 1982-04-02.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skyrwer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/11/297	<i>Capital & Class</i> No 15, Autumn 1981	Studies in Political Economy, Canada	SK./G.G. 8138, GK./G.N. 719, ged./dd 1982-04-02.
P91/11/299	<i>Southern Africa</i> January 1982	Southern Africa Committee, New York	SK./G.G. 8167, GK./G.N. 791, ged./dd 1982-04-16.
P91/11/301	<i>Briefing Paper</i> No 4, March 1982	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8168, GK./G.N. 794, ged./dd 1982-04-16.
P91/11/302	<i>South Africa: Politics, Power and the People</i>	SSD, University of Cape Town	SK./G.G. 8101, GK./G.N. 534, ged./dd 1982-03-12.
P91/11/303	<i>Histosoc Review</i> 1981	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 8101, GK./G.N. 534, ged./dd 1982-03-12.
P91/11/304	<i>Isandlwana Revolutionary Effort of Azania "A Message of Solidarity with the Angolan Government, the Masses and the Namibian Refugees</i>	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 8101, GK./G.N. 534, ged./dd 1982-03-12.
P91/11/305	<i>IOJ Newsletter</i> No 2, January 1982	IOJ—International Organization of Journalists, Czechoslovakia	SK./G.G. 8101, GK./G.N. 534, ged./dd 1982-03-12.
P91/11/306	<i>Challenge</i> Vol 2, No 1	The Black Students Society Univer- sity of the Witwatersrand, Johan- nesburg	SK./G.G. 8101, GK./G.N. 534, ged./dd 1982-03-12.
P91/11/307	<i>Non-Violence Forum</i> Vol 1, No 3, The Nyanga Story	Wits Alternative Service Group Uni- versity of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg	SK./G.G. 9101, GK./G.N. 534, ged./dd 1982-03-12. SK./G.G. 8126, GK./G.N. 661, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/11/308	<i>Facts and Reports</i> Vol 11, No Y, Dec 81, Vol 11, No Z, Dec 81, Vol 12, No C, Jan 82	The Holland Committee on Southern Africa (Angola Comite), Amster- dam	SK./G.G. 8101, GK./G.N. 534, ged./dd 1982-03-12.
P91/11/309	<i>Critical Health</i> No 6, November 1981	Students' Representative Council for NUSAS, Johannesburg	SK./G.G. 8118, GK./G.N. 587, ged./dd 1982-03-19.

No. 3025

6 Desember 1991

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 publikasies nie langer binne die bedoeling van artikel 9 (3) van die Wet verbied is nie. Die ondergenoemde inskrywings ten opsigte van die publikasies word hierby geskrap:

No. 3025

6 December 1991

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 publications is no longer prohibited within the meaning of section 9 (3) of the Act. The undermentioned entries in respect of the publications are hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skyrwer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/11/126	<i>Justice in SA Injustice in SA</i> 31 July 1977	Students for Social Democracy University of Cape Town	SK./G.G. 5732, GK./G.N. 1814, ged./dd 1977-09-09.
P91/11/234	<i>An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory</i>	Ernest Mandel	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2172, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/11/235	<i>An Autobiography</i>	Angela Davis	SK./G.G. 5855, GK./G.N. 110, ged./dd 1978-01-13.
P91/11/236	<i>Road to Liberation</i>	LSM Information Center, Oakland USA	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.
P91/11/237	<i>Zuidelijk Afrika Nieuws</i> No 84	Anti-Apartheid Beweging, Nederland	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.
P91/11/238	<i>Policy and Programme of the PAC of Azania</i>	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (SA), Dar es Salaam	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.
P91/11/239	<i>Katutura</i> October 1977	Katutura, Joubert Park	SK./G.G. 5842, GK./G.N. 2661, ged./dd 1977-12-30.
P91/11/241	<i>Juche—The Banner of Independence</i>	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Korea	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/11/243	<i>Information</i> 7/1978	The Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/11/244	<i>Southern Africa</i> Vol XI, No 4, May 1978	Southern Africa Committee, New York	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/11/245	Socialist Affairs Vol 27, No 6, November/December 1977	Socialist International, London	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/11/246	International Anti-Apartheid Year 21 March 1978–20 March 1979	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 6181, GK./G.N. 2066, ged./dd 1978-10-13.
P91/11/247	Documents and Information No 15/1978	Women's International Democratic Federation, Berlin	SK./G.G. 6181, GK./G.N. 2066, ged./dd 1978-10-13.
P91/11/248	Romanian News No 17 Tuesday July 11, 1978	Romanian News, Bucharest	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/11/249	Lumea No 18, June 30–July 6, 1978	Lumea, Bucharest	SK./G.G. 6181, GK./G.N. 2066, ged./dd 1978-10-13.
P91/11/254	Manual on Detention	Media Projects SRC University of Cape	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/258	Anti-Apartheid News January/February 1982	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/259	Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa No 38, Jan–Feb 1982	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/260	Informationsdienst Südliches Afrika Nr 1/2, Februar 1982	Informationsstelle Südliches Afrika e.V. (ISSA), Bonn	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/263	Sechaba January 1982	African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/264	Unity in Action —A history of the African National Congress 1912–1982	African National Congress (SA), London	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/266	ICSA Bulletin Issue No 17, February 1982	International Committee against Apartheid Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/267	Hakika Vol 3, No 4, December 1981	Southern Africa Liberation Centre, Sydney	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/268	Mayibuye No 1, 1982	African National Congress	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/269	Inqaba ya Basebenzi , No 5, January 1982	Cambridge, Heath Press Ltd, London.	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/270	170 Detained, Why?	Detainees Support Committee	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/271	1906–1961: The Roots of Armed Struggle —Important dates and events in the history of resistance	SSD Projects Comm, Wages Comm, Women's Movement, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/274	Südafrika: Materialien und Dokumente	Henkel GmbH, Stuttgart	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/11/278	News : Monthly illustrated from the German Democratic Republic 8/1978	GDR Africa Friendship Society/International Friendship League of the GDR, Berlin	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/11/281	Anti-Apartheid News July–August 1978	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/11/282	The Democratic Journalist 6, 78	International Organization of Journalists, Czechoslovakia	SK./G.G. 6181, GK./G.N. 2066, ged./dd 1978-10-13.
P91/11/284	Mayibuye Vol 1, No 3, 15 July 1978	African National Congress Information & Publicity Department Headquarters, Lusaka	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/11/285	Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa No 17, July 1978	The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 6181, GK./G.N. 2066, ged./dd 1977-10-13.
P91/11/286	Ismun Newsletter No 12, March 1978	International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations, Switzerland	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/11/389	50 Years of World Revolution	Ernest Mandel	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2172, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/11/290	On Vietnam and World Revolution	Che Guevara	SK./G.G. 5778, GK./G.N. 2172, ged./dd 1977-10-21.
P91/11/292	Azania News Vol 18, No 1, January 1982	The Department of Publicity and Information Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Tanzania	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/11/294	Azania Struggle Vol 2, No 3, December 1981	Support Committee for the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (SA), Wellington	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/11/295	We Pay Tribute to the Martyrs of the Struggle	Azapo (Western Cape)	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/11/296	TCLSAC Reports Jan–Feb 1982	Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, Toronto	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/11/297	<i>Capital & Class</i> No 15, Autumn 1981	Studies in Political Economy, Canada	SK./G.G. 8603, GK./G.N. 577, ged./dd 1983-03-18.
P91/11/298	<i>Mayibuye</i> No 12, 1981	African National Congress	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/11/299	<i>Southern Africa</i> January 1982	Southern Africa Committee, New York	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/11/300	<i>Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa</i> No 39, Mar Apr 1982	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/11/301	<i>Briefing Paper</i> No 4, March 1982	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/11/303	<i>Histosoc Review</i> 1981	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 8225, GK./G.N. 1098, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/11/304	<i>Isandlwana Revolutionary Effort of Azania "A Message of Solidarity with the Angolan Government, the Masses and the Namibian Refugees</i>	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 8225, GK./G.N. 1098, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/11/305	<i>IOJ Newsletter</i> No 2, January 1982	IOJ—International Organization of Journalists, Czechoslovakia	SK./G.G. 8225, GK./G.N. 1098, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/11/308	<i>Facts and Reports</i> Vol 11, No Y, Dec 81, Vol 11, No Z, Dec 81, Vol 12, No C, Jan 82	The Holland Committee on Southern Africa (Angola Comite), Amster- dam	SK./G.G. 8225, GK./G.N. 1098, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/10/310	<i>Namibia Today</i> Vol 5, No 8/9, 1981	SWAPO, Luanda	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/11/257	<i>Resister Bulletin</i> No 18, Feb–Mar 1982.	Committee on South African War Resistance, London	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.

No. 3026

6 Desember 1991

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 publikasies nie ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet nie, terwyl elke ander uitgawe van hierdie publikasies kragtens artikel 9 (1) van die Wet ongewens verklaar is.

Die Direktooraat van Publikasies verleen gevolglik vrystelling van bepalinge van artikel 9 (1) ten opsigte van hierdie besondere uitgawes van die publikasies.

No. 3026

6 December 1991

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

EXEMPTION FROM SECTION 9 (1)

A Committee referred 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 issued of the publications are not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2), while every other issue is still undesirable in terms of section 9 (1) of the Act.

With regard to these particular issues the Directorate of Publications hereby grants exemption from section 9 (1).

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P91/11/244	<i>Southern Africa</i> Vol XI, No 4, May 1978	Southern Africa Committee, New York.
P91/11/246	<i>International Anti-Apartheid Year</i> 21 March 1978–20 March 1979	Nie vermeld/Not stated.
P91/11/248	<i>Romanian News</i> No 17, Tuesday, July 11, 1978	Romanian News, Bucharest.
P91/11/249	<i>Lumea</i> No 18, June 30 – July 6, 1978	Lumea, Bucharest.
P91/11/250	<i>Tempo</i> No 405, 9 de Julho de 1978/2 de Julho de 1978, No 404	Portugal, Lisboa.
P91/11/257	<i>Resister Bulletin</i> No 18, Feb–Mar 1982	Committee on South African War Resistance, London.
P91/11/258	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> January/February 1982	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.
P91/11/259	<i>Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa</i> No 38, Jan–Feb 1982	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London.
P91/11/260	<i>Informationsdienst Südliches Afrika</i> Nr 1/2, Februar 1982	Informationsstelle Südliches Afrika e.V. (ISSA), Bonn.
P91/11/263	<i>Sechaba</i> January 1982	African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka.
P91/11/268	<i>Mayibuye</i> No 1 1982	African National Congress.
P91/11/269	<i>Inoaba ya Basebenzi</i> No 5 January 1982	Cambridge Heath Press Ltd, London.
P91/11/281	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> July – August 1978	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.
P91/11/284	<i>Mayibuye</i> Vol 1 No 3 15 July 1978	African National Congress Information & Publicity Department Headquarters, Lusaka.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P91/11/285	<i>Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa</i> No 17 July 1978	The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London.
P91/11/292	<i>Azania News</i> Vol 18 No 1 January 1982	The Department of Publicity and Information Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Tanzania.
P91/11/296	<i>TCLSAC Reports</i> Jan-Feb 1982	Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, Toronto.
P91/11/298	<i>Mayibuye</i> No 12, 1981	African National Congress.
P91/11/300	<i>Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa</i> No 39, Mar - Apr 1982	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London.
P91/11/301	<i>Briefing Paper</i> No 4, March 1982	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London.
P91/11/310	<i>Namibia Today</i> Vol 5, No 8/9 1981	SWAPO, Luanda.
P91/11/334	<i>Tempo</i> 16 de Julho de 1978, Nr 406	Tempográfica República Popular de Mocambique.

No. 3027

6 Desember 1991

AFGEKEURDE ROLPRENTE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 21 (1) van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde rolprente ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Voorlegger Submitter	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
R91/11/100	<i>Best Chest in the U.S.</i>	Daru Films (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk.	(a)
R91/11/118	<i>Blondes Brunettes and Redheads</i>	Daru Films (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk.	(a)
R91/11/115	<i>Boys Night Out</i>	Daru Films (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk.	(a)
R91/11/96	<i>Centrefold Confidential</i>	Daru Films (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk.	(a)
R91/11/95	<i>Centrefold Screen Test</i>	Daru Films (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk.	(a)
R91/11/111	<i>Centrefold Screen Test 2</i>	Daru Films (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk.	(a)
R91/11/92	<i>Foxy Wet T-Shirt Girls</i>	Daru Films (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk.	(a)
R91/11/113	<i>The Girls of Hollywood</i>	Daru Films (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk.	(a)
R91/11/117	<i>Private Collection</i>	Daru Films (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk.	(a)
R91/11/112	<i>Special Delivery</i>	Daru Films (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk.	(a)
R91/11/114	<i>Starlets Exposed 2</i>	Daru Films (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk.	(a)
R91/11/116	<i>Starlets Screen Test</i>	Daru Films (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk.	(a)

No. 3031

6 Desember 1991

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIE

'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 ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

No. 3031

6 December 1991

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATION

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 11 (2) of the Act that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

LYS/LIST P91/41

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P91/12/71	<i>Scope</i> Vol 26, No 23, December 13, 1991	Scope, Moberi	(a)

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Move on Elna Boesak documentary hailed

By Carina le Grange
and Sapa

(327)
The South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ) yesterday welcomed the SABC's decision to rescreen the uncut version of the controversial documentary on academic medicine produced by Elna Boesak.

Mrs Boesak was found guilty on Wednesday by a two-man SABC disciplinary panel of breaking the staff code after she

complained to the press that the documentary had been edited in such a way as to protect Minister of Health Dr Rina Venter. Of the original 25-minute version, only five minutes were eventually shown.

Mrs Boesak has received a final written warning from the panel. She has given notice of appeal.

The SAUJ said, however, it was a pity that the SABC had not at the

STAR 6/12/91
same time see fit to screen the programme as a way of resolving the dispute between themselves and Mrs Boesak "without having to resort to heavy-handed discipline". The union hailed the decision to rescreen as a vindication of Mrs Boesak's stand and as a victory for the free flow of information.

Among the facts around the "Elna Boesak affair" was that an edited five-minute version

was finally shown and that Dr Venter was given almost unlimited time to respond to it, he said.

"Considering that Dr Venter is under attack from the Medical Association of South Africa, which is demanding her resignation, it is appropriate that the public be given the opportunity to view the entire documentary."

● Ditch amendments to Act — Page 6

Abducted Ipelegeng man is alive

By SOPHIE TEMA

32/11

JERRY Maine, a graduate and Ipelegeng High School teacher who was abducted from his home last weekend, is alive in Johannesburg.

Jerry, who was feared dead, was abducted from his Ipelegeng home, near Schweizer-Reneke, last Saturday morning.

Jerry's abduction was preceded by death threat letters that were received by him and other activists in Ipelegeng a month ago.

In the latest letter Jerry was told that he was targeted together with two other community leaders for having led rent boycotts, causing residents to be without water and electricity. Death threats and attacks on

activists have led residents and political leaders in the area to believe an intensive war is being waged against activists in the western Transvaal by a third force. *Clare 21/12/91*

Jerry is the second activist abducted from the township in 12 months.

On Friday a Johannesburg weekly newspaper published an account given by two of Jerry's would-be assassins who did not have the nerve to carry out an execution order allegedly given to them by police. They were paraded at a press conference wearing hoods.

His mother, Sophie Maine, chairman of the Ipelegeng ANC Women's League, said a white policeman who came to her

house to investigate the matter told her that Jerry had a lot of enemies in the townships.

"He actually called one of them by name and explained that he was a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party," she said. (The man who was named is known to the family and is an executive member of the Ipelegeng Town Council.)

Last year Boyce Mpenpe, chairman of the local ANC branch, was abducted from his home on Christmas Day, but managed to escape from his abductors by jumping through the window of a moving vehicle between Wolmaransstad and Klerksdorp.

In an interview with City Press, Jerry's mother said her

son was forced into a car after his bedroom door had been forced open.

"I was woken by a loud bang at about 1 am and when I peeped through the window I saw a car parked about 15 metres from the house."

"I saw a profile of a person who looked like Jerry being carried and pushed into the car."

"One man was sitting behind the steering-wheel while two others forced him into the car."

"I shouted at them and asked them who they were. One of them answered in Zulu (Si'nga maphoisai) - 'We are police'. The other person answered in English, 'We are police'."

"Before I could reach the car they sped off with Jerry in the car."



MASKED KILLERS ... These hooded would-be assassins received their orders from police.

06 JAN 1992

324

REPUBLIEK
VAN
SUID-AFRIKA



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Vol. 318

PRETORIA, 8 DESEMBER 1991
DECEMBER

No. 13680

GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING

MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

No. R. 3040

8 Desember 1991

VERLENGING VAN VERKLARING VAN GEBIEDE TOT ONRUSGEBIEDE

1. Kragtens artikel 5A (2) van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, No. 3 van 1953, en met die goedkeuring van die Staatspresident, verleng ek, Hermanus Jacobus Kriel, Minister van Wet en Orde, hierby—

(a) die verklaring waarby die gebiede vermeld in die Bylae by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 2242 van 9 September 1991 by sodanige Goewermentskennisgewing tot onrusgebiede verklaar is, vir 'n tydperk van drie maande; en

(b) die verklaring waarby die gebiede vermeld in die Bylae by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 529 van 11 Maart 1991 by sodanige Goewermentskennisgewing tot onrusgebiede verklaar is, en welke verklaring op 10 Junie 1991 by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1371 en op 9 September 1991 by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 2241 verleng is, vir 'n verdere tydperk van drie maande.

2. Regulasie 2A van die Regulasies, afgekondig by Goewermentskennisgewings Nos. R. 530 van 11 Maart 1991 en R. 2243 van 9 September 1991, word hierby herroep.

H. J. KRIEL,
Minister van Wet en Orde.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

No. R. 3040

8 December 1991

EXTENSION OF DECLARATION OF AREAS TO BE UNREST AREAS

1. Under Section 5A (2) of the Public Safety Act, No. 3 of 1953, and with the approval of the State President, I, Hermanus Jacobus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, hereby extend—

(a) the declaration whereby the areas mentioned in the Schedule to Government Notice No. R. 2242 of 9 September 1991, were by such Government Notice declared to be unrest areas, for a period of three months; and

(b) the declaration whereby the areas mentioned in the Schedule to Government Notice No. R. 529 of 11 March 1991, were by such Government Notice declared to be unrest areas, and which declaration was extended on 10 June 1991 by Government Notice No. R. 1371 and on 9 September 1991 by Government Notice No. R. 2241, for a further period of three months.

2. Regulation 2A of the Regulations published by Government Notices Nos. R. 530 of 11 March 1991 and R. 2243 of 9 September 1991, is hereby repealed.

H. J. KRIEL,
Minister of Law and Order.

**INHOUD**

No.		Bladsy No.	Koerant No.
	GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING		
	Wet en Orde, Ministerie van		
	<i>Goewermentskennisgewing</i>		
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R. 3040	Public Safety Act (3/1953): Extension of declaration of areas to be unrest areas	1	13680

By ELIAS MALULEKE

A FURORE has erupted over the police protection enjoyed by an alleged National Intelligence Service and Central Intelligence Agency spy, 29-year-old Joaquim Jose Ribeiro de Sousa.

It is claimed that De Sousa, a resident of Eersterus in Pretoria, has been placed in safe custody. He allegedly infiltrated the then banned ANC and spied for the CIA and NIS before he was unmasked and held in ANC detention cells.

It is also believed De Sousa has links with alleged police hit squads after a list with names of prominent people and a huge quantity of bullets were found in his car this week. The names include that of Winnie Mandela and local Eersterus residents with ANC links.

De Sousa was placed in police care this week following a brief appearance in court on a charge of murdering Eersterus socialite and Pretoria City Football Club co-director, Warren Hartze, 27.

De Sousa is alleged to have pumped nine bullets into Hartze during a matric dance function at the Eersterus Civic Centre last Saturday morning.

Hartze was a popular businessman and younger brother of former soccer star Bernard "Dancing shoes" Hartze.

The outcry comes after a Pretoria magistrate this



Joaquim de Sousa



Warren Hartze

Cops protect alleged killer

week ruled that De Sousa be held at the Pretoria Moot Police Station until his next court appearance later this month.

Members of the Hartze family want to know why De Sousa was placed in a police station for an ordinary murder charge and not treated like other offenders who are remanded to Pretoria Central Prison.

This incident, according to a report in *Vrye Weekblad*, took place barely three weeks after De Sousa allegedly shot his wife in the head. She suffered brain damage. De Sousa also allegedly shot at his daughter, but missed.

He was charged with attempted murder and released on R300 bail.

It is alleged that, on the evening that Hartze was murdered, De Sousa arrived at the civic centre in the company of his brother

Matthew, friend Trevor Swarts, and an unknown man.

Witnesses say while Hartze and his friend, Sebastian Holworthy, confronted De Sousa, the latter drew a 9mm pistol and shot at Hartze. After he had shot Hartze once, he straddled him and kept on shooting until the magazine was empty.

De Sousa hit headlines in August when he returned to South Africa with 31 other alleged South African Government agents who were in ANC detention cells in exile.

He claimed he had been tortured by senior ANC officials while in detention for five years.

He also denied ANC claims that he was a spy, saying he had been beaten and tortured into making false confessions about his alleged spying.

It has been established

that on the night of the alleged murder of Hartze, De Sousa was using a car belonging to a former white policeman from Sunnyside. The policeman resigned in 1988 and is now a reservist.

Hartze family members claim they obtained further evidence of De Sousa's police links after they apprehended Swart on Tuesday.

Warren's brother Abdul claims Swart said De Sousa was involved with the police and enjoying police protection.

Abdul said Swart was taken to the Silverton Police Station where Swart phoned De Sousa.

It is alleged De Sousa gave Swart instructions to drive his car to the detective branch offices.

"I went to the detective branch offices and De Sousa arrived with three plainclothes cops and I was ordered out of the office," Abdul said.

He said De Sousa and the cops were talking freely and he was not handcuffed.

Hartze's grief-stricken mother, Patricia, said her son's murder was senseless and shocking.

His death is the third shooting incident to claim the life of her sons.

Her husband, Richie, also died in a mysterious "drowning" incident.

Police spokesman Major A Vogel said police could not comment on the allegations as the matter was sub judice.

"We must wait until the matter has been handled by the court before we can comment on De Sousa's alleged spy activities," he said.

Hate speech: to ban

or not to ban?

South-Style 12/12 - 18/12/91

IF A GROUP of racists decided to buy a radio station and broadcast racial slurs, should there be laws prohibiting them? This once-academic question could become reality when the imminent deregulation of radio broadcasting grants free expression on the airwaves to anyone who can afford it.

Legislation against inciting discrimination is a debate gaining momentum in academic and political circles. The concept of "hate speech" has appeared as a buzz-word that refers to advocating national, racial or religious hatred and involves incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence.

Earlier this year Mr Joe Slovo, then secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, reportedly said in a debate that freedom of speech would not be absolute under an African National Congress government. Racial slurs and derogatory references should be forbidden by law, Slovo suggested. The late Dr Francis Meli, then editor of ANC publication Sechaba, said last year the ANC supported a free and independent press, but would discourage a press which propagated racism. Progressive organisations, including the ANC, the Film and Allied

With the deregulation of radio broadcasting, debates are emerging over free expression as opposed to the suppression of racist ideas.

KAREN WILLIAMS reports:

32*1

Workers' Organisation (FAWO) and even the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) have steered clear of taking any definite policy decisions on the matter.

Mr Willie Currie of FAWO said he was totally against censorship. Measures against "hate speech" should not affect ownership of media, he said, but

such provisions should rather fall under common law. What this means is publications could be taken to court over allegations of incitement or defamation.

Ms Gillian Caldwell, an American intern at the Legal Resources Centre, agreed with the idea of instituting civil claims for injuria. She added it was

difficult defining "hate speech" specifically and therefore it would be equally difficult to legislate against it. The First Amendment to the Constitution regulated "hate speech" in the United States, she said.

Lawyer Ms Bridgette Mabandla raised the concern that banning the expression of racist ideas might drive racism underground.

Mabandla disagreed "hate speech" had to be outlawed but felt instead a culture of tolerance had to be promoted through education and the media.

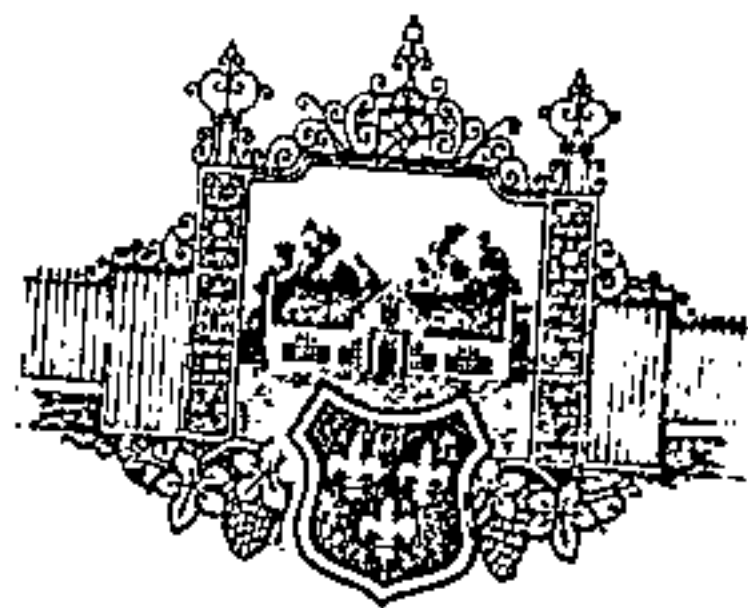
"You have to guard against limiting freedom of expression and freedom of speech," she said. "You can't legislate against things that need to be corrected socially."

Mr Don Pinnock of the Journalism Department at Rhodes University, agreed legislation would be ineffective unless there was a culture of tolerance.

"We need to build a culture and social awareness which understands these things are unacceptable. You could legislate against discriminatory language but you cannot legislate against things like nuances which could have discriminatory implications." □

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Call for rally ban rejected

Wilson Zwane

A CALL by The Sowetan newspaper for a ban on political rallies has been rejected by a number of organisations.

The newspaper argued this week that rallies should not be tolerated in what was an emergency situation because of the loss of life associated with them.

The call was made after 17 people were killed and at least 13 injured after an Inkatha rally in Soweto on Sunday. ^{31 day 12/12/91}

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the call for a ban on political rallies, until township violence had been contained, would militate against free political expression.

She said people attending rallies should be disarmed.

Inkatha central committee member Musa Myeni said attacks on Inkatha supporters made the carrying of traditional weapons more necessary than ever.

Azapo described the call as naive.

Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin said imposing a ban on rallies would be addressing a symptom and not the causes of violence.

06 JAN 1992

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Vol. 318

PRETORIA, 13 DESEMBER 1991
DECEMBER 1991

No. 13677

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

No. 3116 13 Desember 1991

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'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 of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

No. 3116 13 December 1991

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 11 (2) of the Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

LYS/LIST P91/42

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasies of voorwerpe Publications or objects	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P91/11/311	<i>The Safer Sex Photobook</i>	Wieland Speck and Harry Cane	(a)
P91/11/315	<i>Stern</i> Nr 43 17 Oktober 1991	Gruner + Jahr A.G. & Co, Hamburg	(a)
P91/11/316	<i>Supergirl '92</i> (Kalender/Calendar)	Colman's Engines (South Africa) (Pty) Ltd	(a)
P91/11/317	<i>1992 Calendar—Explicit Sexy Adults Only</i>	Nie vermeld/Not stated	(a)
P91/11/318	<i>Spectacular Nude Studies</i> (Foto's/Photos)	Shot Publishing (Pty) Ltd, Jeppestown	(a)
P91/11/319	<i>Slade—Days of '76</i>	Link Pennington	(a)
P91/12/69	<i>Sex Positions Candidly Illustrated</i> (6×9+11=)	Nie vermeld/Not stated	(a)
P91/12/73	<i>Bachelor Boy</i> No 8	Nie vermeld/Not stated	(a)
P91/12/74	<i>Nude Follies de Paris</i> No 23	Nie vermeld/Not stated	(a)
P91/12/75	<i>Candyfloss Girls Set</i> No 3	Nie vermeld/Not stated	(a)
P91/12/76	<i>Stag's Doe Collection</i> No 15	Nie vermeld/Not stated	(a)

No. 3117

13 Desember 1991

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:

No. 3117

13 December 1991

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:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/11/35	<i>Apartheid</i> Vol 1, No 1, April 1977	International University Exchange Fund, Switzerland	SK./G.G. 5681, GK./G.N. 1417, ged./dd 1977-07-22.
P91/11/44	<i>Lenin: Speech to the Petrograd Soviet</i>	Gregory Zinoviev	SK./G.G. 8138, GK./G.N. 719, ged./dd 1982-04-02.
P91/11/233	<i>Russia in Revolution</i>	Graham Bearman and Peter Lee	SK./G.G. 6229, GK./G.N. 2380, ged./dd 1978-12-01.
P91/11/340	<i>Dokumentation</i> 11/12 November 1978	Anti-Apartheid Movement, Bonn	SK./G.G. 4554, GK./G.N. 18, ged./dd 1975-01-03.
P91/11/342	<i>Solidarity</i> Vol 1, No 3	Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa, London	SK./G.G. 6952, GK./G.N. 810, ged./dd 1980-04-11.
P91/11/343	<i>Forward—Special Bulletin of the Sayrco</i>	South African Youth Revolutionary Council	SK./G.G. 6952, GK./G.N. 810, ged./dd 1980-04-11.
P91/11/344	<i>Die Federasie: Vroue-Organisasie van Suid-Afrika</i>	United Women's Organisation and Social Research Agency, Mowbray	SK./G.G. 8185, GK./G.N. 904, ged./dd 1982-04-30.
P91/11/345	<i>COSAWR Fact Paper</i> No 1, April 1982 ...	Committee on South African War Resistance, Nederland	SK./G.G. 8198, GK./G.N. 952, ged./dd 1982-05-07.
P91/11/347	<i>Seminar: The Politics of Power</i>	Wages Comm., Projects Comm., SSD, Women's Movement, University of Cape Town	SK./G.G. 8198, GK./G.N. 952, ged./dd 1982-05-07.
P91/11/348	<i>Ayivive!</i> No 5	African National Congress	SK./G.G. 8185, GK./G.N. 904, ged./dd 1982-04-03.
P91/11/349	<i>Rosa Luxemburg</i>	Tony Cliff	SK./G.G. 8185, GK./G.N. 904, ged./dd 1982-04-30.
P91/12/02	<i>Korean Youth and Students</i> No 4 (137), 1975	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 8185, GK./G.N. 904, ged./dd 1982-04-30.
P91/12/08	<i>Strategy for Conquest: Communist Documents on Guerilla Warfare</i>	Jay Mallin	SK./G.G. 8138, GK./G.N. 719, ged./dd 1982-04-02.
P91/12/09	<i>Act Against Apartheid and its Foreign Accomplices</i>	World Federation of Trade Unions	SK./G.G. 8126, GK./G.N. 661, ged./dd 1982-03-26.
P91/12/10	<i>The Forge</i> Vol 7, No 4, April 9, 1982	The Forge Reg'd Montreal	SK./G.G. 8153, GK./G.N. 746, ged./dd 1982-04-08.
P91/12/12	<i>The Federation of South African Women</i>	United Women's Organisation and Social Research Agency, Mowbray	SK./G.G. 8205, GK./G.N. 1001, ged./dd 1982-05-14.
P91/12/13	<i>The New Worker</i> No. 222, 5 March 1982	New Worker, London	SK./G.G. 8198, GK./G.N. 952, ged./dd 1982-05-07.
P91/12/14	<i>WRI Newsletter</i> No 186, February 1982	War Resisters' International, London	SK./G.G. 8198, GK./G.N. 952, ged./dd 1982-05-07.
P91/12/15	<i>The Significance of Sharpeville Uprising</i>	David Dube	SK./G.G. 8198, GK./G.N. 952, ged./dd 1982-05-07.
P91/12/17	<i>Migration Today</i> No 25	World Council of Churches, Geneva	SK./G.G. 8185, 904, ged./dd 1982-04-30.
P91/12/18	<i>Foreign Affairs Bulletin</i> Vol 20, No 6, February 21, 1980	Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin	SK./G.G. 6952, GK./G.N. 810, ged./dd 1980-04-11.
P91/12/20	<i>Albanian Telegraphic Agency News Bulletin</i> No 42, Monday, February 11, 1980 No 43, Tuesday, February 12, 1980 No 55, Sunday, February 24, 1980 No 56, Monday, February 25, 1980 No 57, Tuesday, February 26, 1980	Albanian Telegraphic Agency Tirana	SK./G.G. 6952, GK./G.N. 810, ged./dd 1980-04-11.
			SK./G.G. 6916, GK./G.N. 687, ged./dd 1980-03-28.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/12/23	<i>"Nie Vryheid op 'n Skinkbord nie"</i> — <i>John Hennie Ferus 1940-81 'n</i> geskiedenis	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 8205, GK./G.N. 1001, ged./dd 1982-05-14.
P91/12/24	<i>Historien om Simon Och Jane</i> (Afrika- gruppens Skriftserie No 6)	Afrikagrupperna i Sverige, Stockholm	SK./G.G. 8231, GK./G.N. 1127, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/12/25	<i>Scholar's Eye</i> No 1 April 1982	EDCOM SRC Press, Rondebosch	SK./G.G. 8246, GK./G.N. 1178, ged./dd 1982-06-11.
P91/12/26	<i>Island in Chains</i>	Penguin Books Ltd, England	SK./G.G. 8223, GK./G.N. 1089, ged./dd 1982-05-28.
P91/12/27	<i>ISCA Bulletin</i> Issue No 16, December 1981	International Committee against Apartheid Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8205, GK./G.N. 1001, ged./dd 1982-05-14.
P91/12/28	<i>ISCA Bulletin</i> Issue No. 15, November 1981	International Committee against Apartheid Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8205, GK./G.N. 1001, ged./dd 1982-05-14.
P91/12/29	<i>International Workers Days—1st May</i>	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 8205, GK./G.N. 1001, ged./dd 1982-05-14.
P91/12/30	<i>Südafrika: Schwarzer Widerstand—</i> <i>Weisse Herrschaft</i>	Bärbel en Wolfgang von Wartenberg	SK./G.G. 6216, GK./G.N. 2294, ged./dd 1978-11-17.
P91/12/31	<i>A Wreath for the Springboks</i>	Jason Calder	SK./G.G. 6235, GK./G.N. 2436, ged./dd 1978-12-08.
P91/12/34	<i>Azania: I Temba Letu</i> Vol 2, No 3	I Temba Group, Mainz	SK./G.G. 6216, GK./G.N. 2294, ged./dd 1978-11-17.
P91/12/35	<i>Huan-Ying: Workers' China</i>	Janet Goldwasser and Stuart Dowty...	SK./G.G. 6235, GK./G.N. 2436, ged./dd 1978-12-08.
P91/12/36	<i>Courrier de la Paix</i> Vol 9, Octobre 1978	World Peace Council, Helsinki.....	SK./G.G. 6229, GK./G.N. 2380, ged./dd 1978-12-01.
P91/12/38	<i>Crossroads</i> 9/78.....	Cathsoc University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg	SK./G.G. 6223, GK./G.N. 2329, ged./dd 1978-11-24.
P91/12/39	<i>"We will not Move" — The Struggle</i> <i>for Crossroads</i>	Nusas, Rondebosch.....	SK./G.G. 6223, GK./G.N. 2329, ged./dd 1978-11-24.
P91/12/40	<i>In Defence of the October Revolution..</i>	Leon Trotsky.....	SK./G.G. 6216, GK./G.N. 2294, ged./dd 1978-11-17.
P91/12/41	<i>Culture and Socialism and Manifesto</i> <i>— Towards a Free Revolutionary Art</i>	New Park Publications Ltd, London	SK./G.G. 6216, GK./G.N. 2294, ged./dd 1978-11-17.
P91/12/42	<i>The Position of the Republic and the</i> <i>Tasks of Young Workers</i>	Leon Trotsky.....	SK./G.G. 6216, GK./G.N. 2294, ged./dd 1978-11-17.
P91/12/43	<i>Class Nature of the Soviet State: The</i> <i>Workers' State and the Question of</i> <i>Thermidor and Bonapartism</i>	Leon Trotsky.....	SK./G.G. 6216, GK./G.N. 2294, ged./dd 1978-11-17.
P91/12/45	<i>Partij Kiezen Voor Zuidelijk Afrika:</i> Deel 1: 1945-1973, Deel 2: De Regering — Den Uyl, Deel 3: De Politieke Partijen	Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (Angola Comité), Amsterdam	SK./G.G. 6216, GK./G.N. 2294, ged./dd 1978-11-17.
P91/12/46	<i>Es Lebe die Afrikanische Revolution!..</i>	Verlag Arbeiterkampf, Hamburg	SK./G.G. 6216, GK./G.N. 2294, ged./dd 1978-11-17.
P91/12/50	<i>Nux</i> No 9, September 1978	SRC University of Natal, Pietermaritz- burg	SK./G.G. 6189, GK./G.N. 2098, ged./dd 1978-10-20.
P91/12/51	<i>The Anatomy of a Revolt</i>	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 6198, GK./G.N. 2192, ged./dd 1978-11-03.
P91/12/52	<i>Banned and Detained in South Africa..</i>	International Fellowship of Reconci- liation, Holland	SK./G.G. 6189, GK./G.N. 2146, ged./dd 1978-10-20.
P91/12/53	<i>Impi — A Collection of Recent Poetry..</i>	Nusas, Rondebosch.....	SK./G.G. 6198, GK./G.N. 2192, ged./dd 1978-11-03.
P91/12/54	<i>National Student</i> No 3, August 1978	Nusas, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch	SK./G.G. 6153, GK./G.N. 1869, ged./dd 1978-09-15.
P91/12/55	<i>Buying Time in South Africa</i> No 21	Counter Information Services, London	SK./G.G. 6162, GK./G.N. 1929, ged./dd 1978-09-22.
P91/12/56	<i>Nordic Statements on Apartheid</i> <i>Supplement 1978</i>	The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, New York	SK./G.G. 6175, GK./G.N. 2025, ged./dd 1978-10-06.
P91/12/57	<i>The Great Evasion</i>	William Appleman Williams	SK./G.G. 6189, GK./G.N. 2098, ged./dd 1978-10-20.
P91/12/58	<i>Crossroads in Crisis: Refugees in</i> <i>Their Own Land</i>	International University Exchange Fund, Geneva	SK./G.G. 6153, GK./G.N. 1869, ged./dd 1978-09-15.
P91/12/59	<i>SWAPO of Namibia — Information and</i> <i>Comments</i> No 3, July 1978	Swapo of Namibia, Sweden	SK./G.G. 6167, GK./G.N. 1964, ged./dd 1978-09-21.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/12/61	<i>Foreign Investment and the Reproduction of Racial Capitalism in South Africa</i> — (Discussion series No 2)	Martin Legassick and David Hemson .	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1731, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P91/12/63	<i>Peace and Freedom</i> Vol 3, No 1, January 1976	S A English Language Newspapers (Pty) Ltd	SK./G.G. 5236, GK./G.N. 1324, ged./dd 1976-07-30.
P91/12/64	<i>WFTU in the Struggle Against Apartheid the Violent Life</i>	World Federation of Trade Unions, Czechoslovakia	SK./G.G. 6153, GK./G.N. 1869, ged./dd 1978-09-15.
P91/12/66	<i>Achtergrond</i> Nr 25, 23 Juni 1978.....	Sjaloom, Odijk	SK./G.G. 6144, GK./G.N. 1773, ged./dd 1978-09-01.
P91/12/67	<i>Achtergrond</i> Nr 24, 16 Juni 1978.....	Sjaloom, Odijk	SK./G.G. 6144, GK./G.N. 1773, ged./dd 1978-09-01.

No. 3118

13 Desember 1991

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 publikasies nie langer binne die bedoeling van artikel 9 (3) van die Wet verbied is nie. Die ondergenoemde inskrywings ten opsigte van die publikasies word hierby geskrap:

No. 3118

13 December 1991

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 publications are no longer prohibited within the meaning of section 9 (3) of the Act. The undermentioned entries in respect of the publications are hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/11/35	<i>Apartheid</i> Vol 1, No 1, April 1977	International University Exchange Fund, Switzerland	SK./G.G. 5732, GK./G.N. 1814, ged./dd 1977-09-09.
P91/11/44	<i>Lenin: Speech to the Petrograd Soviet</i>	Gregory Zinoviev	SK./G.G. 6273, GK./G.N. 100, ged./dd 1979-01-19.
P91/11/339	<i>Review of International Affairs</i> Vol XXXI, No 716	Jugoslovenska Stvarnost, Yugoslavia	SK./G.G. 7063, GK./G.N. 1222, ged./dd 1980-06-06.
P91/11/340	<i>Documentation</i> 11/12 November 1978 ..	Anti-Apartheid Movement, Bonn.....	SK./G.G. 7063, GK./G.N. 1222, ged./dd 1980-06-06.
P91/11/342	<i>Solidarity</i> Vol 1, No 3	Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa, London	SK./G.G. 7063, GK./G.N. 1222, ged./dd 1980-06-06.
P91/11/343	<i>Forward — Special Bulletin of the Saycro</i>	South African Youth Revolutionary Council	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/11/346	<i>Sechaba</i> February 1982	African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/11/348	<i>Ayivive!</i> No 5	African National Congress.....	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/12/04	<i>Inqaba Ya Basebenzi</i> No 3, July 1981	Cambridge Heath Press Ltd (TU), London	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/12/09	<i>Act Against Apartheid and its Foreign Accomplices</i>	World Federation of Trade Unions.....	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/12/10	<i>The Forge</i> Vol 7, No 4, April 9, 1982.....	The Forge Reg'd, Montreal	SK./G.G. 8584, GK./G.N. 578, ged./dd 1983-03-11.
P91/12/11	<i>Sechaba</i> March 1982	African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka	SK./G.G. 8311, GK./G.N. 1549, ged./dd 1982-07-23.
P91/12/13	<i>The New Worker</i> No 222, 5 March 1982 .	New Worker, London.....	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/12/15	<i>The Significance of Sharpeville Uprising</i>	David Dube	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/12/18	<i>Foreign Affairs Bulletin</i> Vol 20, No 6, February 21, 1980	Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin	SK./G.G. 7063, GK./G.N. 1222, ged./dd 1980-06-06.
P91/12/19	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> March 1980.....	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.....	SK./G.G. 7063, GK./G.N. 1222, ged./dd 1980-06-06.
P91/12/21	<i>Sechaba</i> January 1980	African National Congress of South Africa, Tanzania	SK./G.G. 7063, GK./G.N. 1222, ged./dd 1980-06-06.
P91/12/22	<i>Kontakt</i> 1/1980	Kontakt DDR, Berlin	SK./G.G. 7063, GK./G.N. 1222, ged./dd 1980-06-06.
P91/12/23	<i>"Nie Vryheid op 'n Skinkbord nie"</i> — John Hennie Fergus 1950—81, 'n Geskiedenis	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 8311, GK./G.N. 1549, ged./dd 1982-07-23.
P91/12/26	<i>Island in Chains</i>	Penguin Books Ltd, England	SK./G.G. 8441, GK./G.N. 2431, ged./dd 1982-11-12.
P91/12/27	<i>ICSA Bulletin</i> Issue No 16, December 1981	International Committee against Apartheid Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8311, GK./G.N. 1549, ged./dd 1982-07-23.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/12/28	<i>ICSA Bulletin</i> issue No 15, November 1981	International Committee against Apartheid Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8311, GK./G.N. 1549, ged./dd 1982-07-23.
P91/12/29	<i>International Workers Day</i> —1st May	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 8311, GK./G.N. 1549, ged./dd 1982-07-23.
P91/12/32	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> September 1978 ..	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London	SK./G.K. 6258, GK./G.N. 2622, ged./dd 1978-12-29.
P91/12/33	<i>Sechaba</i> Third Quarter 1978, Vol 12	African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka	SK./G.G. 6273, GK./G.N. 100, ged./dd 1979-01-19.
P91/12/34	<i>Azania: I Temba Letu</i> Vol 2, No 3	I Temba Group, Mainz	SK./G.G. 6258, GK./G.N. 2622, ged./dd 1978-12-29.
P91/12/36	<i>Courrier de la Paix</i> Vol 9, October 1978 ..	World Peace Council, Helsinki	SK./G.G. 6348, GK./G.N. 523, ged./dd 1979-03-16.
P91/12/37	<i>Mayibuye</i> Vol 1, No 7, 3rd October 1978.	African National Congress Information & Publicity Department Headquarters, Lusaka	SK./G.G. 6273, GK./G.N. 100, ged./dd 1979-01-19.
P91/12/40	<i>In Defence of the October Revolution</i>	Leon Trotsky	SK./G.G. 6258, GK./G.N. 2622, ged./dd 1978-12-29.
P91/12/41	<i>Culture and Socialism and Manifesto—Towards a Free Revolutionary Art</i>	New Park Publications Ltd, London	SK./G.G. 6241, GK./G.N. 2516, ged./dd 1978-12-15.
P91/12/42	<i>The Position of the Republic and the Tasks of Young Workers</i>	Leon Trotsky	SK./G.G. 6241, GK./G.N. 2516, ged./dd 1978-12-15.
P91/12/43	<i>Class Nature of the Soviet State: The Workers' State and the Question of Thermidor and Bonapartism</i>	Leon Trotsky	SK./G.G. 6258, GK./G.N. 2622, ged./dd 1978-12-29.
P91/12/46	<i>Es Lebe die Afrikanische Revolution!</i>	Verlag Arbeiterkampf, Hamburg	SK./G.G. 6273, GK./G.N. 100, ged./dd 1979-01-19.
P91/12/47	<i>Workers' Unity</i> Issue No 11, September 1978	South African Congress of Trade Unions, London	SK./G.G. 6241, GK./G.N. 2516, ged./dd 1978-12-15.
P91/12/48	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> October 1978	Anti-apartheid Movement, London	SK./G.G. 6241, GK./G.N. 2516, ged./dd 1978-12-15.
P91/12/49	<i>Mayibuye</i> Vol 1, No 6, 31st August 1978	African National Congress Information & Publicity Department Headquarters, Lusaka	SK./G.G. 6241, GK./G.N. 2516, ged./dd 1978-12-15.
P91/12/51	<i>The Anatomy of a Revolt</i>	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 6241, GK./G.N. 2516, ged./dd 1978-12-15.
P91/12/55	<i>Buying Time in South Africa</i> No 21	Counter Information Services, London	SK./G.G. 6223, GK./G.N. 2331, ged./dd 1978-11-24.
P91/12/60	<i>Workers' Unity</i> Issue No 10, July 1978	South African Congress of Trade Unions, London	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/12/62	<i>Lumea</i> No 19, July 7-13, 1978/No 20, July 14-20, 1978	Lumea Bucharest	SK./G.G. 6223, GK./G.N. 2331, ged./dd 1978-11-24.
P91/12/64	<i>WFTU in the Struggle Against Apartheid the Violent Life</i>	World Federation of Trade Unions, Czechoslovakia	SK./G.G. 6223, GK./G.N. 2331, ged./dd 1978-11-24.
P91/12/65	<i>Lumea</i> No 21, July 21-27 1978	Lumea, Bucharest	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/12/66	<i>Achtergrond</i> Nr 25, 23 Juni 1978	Sjaloom, Odijk	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2166, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/12/68	<i>Jana Shakti</i> No 5, July-August 1978	Nie vermeld/Not stated	SK./G.G. 6223, GK./G.N. 2331, ged./dd 1978-11-24.
P91/12/07	<i>WFDY News</i> No 1-2, 1982	WFDY, Budapest	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.

No. 3119

13 Desember 1991

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

TERSYDESTELLING VAN VOORWAARDE OP PUBLIKASIE

'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 voorwaarde op die ondergenoemde publikasie opgehef word. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

No. 3119

13 December 1991

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

SETTING ASIDE OF CONDITION ON PUBLICATION

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 condition on the undermentioned publication is set aside. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/11/261	<i>Rich and Poor in New Zealand</i>	David Bedggood	SK./G.G. 11732, GK./G.N. 460, ged./dd 1989-03-10.

No. 3120

13 Desember 1991

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 nie, terwyl elke ander uitgawe van hierdie publikasies kragtens artikel 9 (1) van die Wet ongewens verklaar is.

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies verleen gevolglik vrystelling van bepalinge van artikel 9 (1) ten opsigte van hierdie besondere uitgawes van die publikasies.

No. 3120

13 December 1991

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS
EXEMPTION FROM SECTION 9 (1)

A Committee referred 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 issues of the publication are not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2), while every other issue is still undesirable in terms of section 9 (1) of the Act.

With regard to these particular issues the Directorate of Publications hereby grants exemption from section 9 (1).

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P91/11/339	<i>Review of International Affairs</i> Vol XXXI, No 716	Jugoslovenska Stvarnost, Yugoslavia.
P91/11/341	<i>Tempo</i> No 490, 2 de Marco de 1980	Tempográfica República Popular de Mocambique.
P91/11/346	<i>Sechaba</i> February 1982	African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka.
P91/12/01	<i>Inkululeko Freedom</i>	South African Communist Party.
P91/12/03	<i>The Pyongyang Times</i> No 28 (667) Saturday July 9, 1977	Pyongyang Times.
P91/12/04	<i>Inqaba ya Basebenzi</i> No 3, July 1981	Cambridge Heath Press Ltd (TU), London.
P91/12/05	<i>The Pyongyang Times</i> No 31, Saturday July 30, 1977	Pyongyang Times.
P91/12/06	<i>Korea Today</i> No 4, 1976	Democratic Republic of Korea.
P91/12/07	<i>WFDY News</i> No 1-2, 1982	WFDY, Budapest.
P91/12/11	<i>Sechaba</i> March 1982	African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka.
P91/12/16	<i>Mayibuye</i> No 2, 1982	African National Congress.
P91/12/18	<i>Foreign Affairs Bulletin</i> Vol 20, No 6, February 21, 1980	Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin.
P91/12/19	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> March 1980	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.
P91/12/21	<i>Sechaba</i> January 1980	African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka.
P91/12/22	<i>Kontakt</i> 1/1980	Kontakt DDR, Berlin.
P91/12/32	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> September 1978	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.
P91/12/33	<i>Sechaba</i> Third Quarter 1978, Vol 12	African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka.
P91/12/34	<i>Azania: I Temba Letu</i> Vol 2, No 3	I Temba Group, Mainz.
P91/12/36	<i>Courrier de la Paix</i> Vol 9, Octobre 1978	World Peace Council, Helsinki.
P91/12/37	<i>Mayibuye</i> Vol 1, No 7, 3rd October 1978	African National Congress Information & Publicity Department Headquarters, Lusaka.
P91/12/47	<i>Workers' Unity</i> Issue No 11, September 1978	South African Congress of Trade Unions, London.
P91/12/48	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> October 1978	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.
P91/12/49	<i>Mayibuye</i> Vol 1, No 6, 31st August 1978	African National Congress Information & Publicity Department Headquarters, Lusaka.
P91/12/60	<i>Workers' Unity</i> Issue No 10, July 1978	South African Congress of Trade Unions, London.
P91/12/62	<i>Lumea</i> No 19, July 7-13, 1978/No 20, July 14-20, 1978	Lumea, Bucharest.
P91/12/65	<i>Lumea</i> No 21, July 21-27, 1978	Lumea, Bucharest.
P91/12/68	<i>Jana Shakti</i> No 5, July-August 1978	Nie vermeld/Not stated.

No. 3121

13 Desember 1991

AFGEKEURDE ROLPRENTE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 21 (1) van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde rolprente ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

No. 3121

13 December 1991

REJECTED FILMS

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 21 (1) of the Act that the undermentioned films are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Voorlegger Submitter	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
R91/12/23	<i>Last Tango in Paris</i> (Videoverspreiding/Video distribution)	Nu Metro Video	(a)
R91/12/70	<i>Quiet days in Clichy</i>	Ster-Kinekor (Pty) Ltd/(Edms.) Bpk	(a)

BELANGRIKE AANKONDIGING

Sluitingstye VOOR VAKANSIEDAE vir

WETLIKE KENNISGEWINGS
GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWINGS **1991**

Die sluitingstyd is stiptelik 15:00 op die volgende dae:

- ▶ **21 Maart**, Donderdag, vir die uitgawe van Donderdag **28 Maart**
- ▶ **27 Maart**, Woensdag, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **5 April**
- ▶ **25 April**, Donderdag, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **3 Mei**
- ▶ **2 Mei**, Donderdag, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **10 Mei**
- ▶ **23 Mei**, Donderdag, vir die uitgawe van Donderdag **30 Mei**
- ▶ **3 Oktober**, Donderdag, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **11 Oktober**
- ▶ **12 Desember**, Donderdag, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **20 Desember**
- ▶ **17 Desember**, Dinsdag, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **27 Desember**
- ▶ **19 Desember**, Donderdag, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **3 Januarie**

Laat kennisgewings sal in die daaropvolgende uitgawe geplaas word. Indien 'n laat kennisgewing wel, onder spesiale omstandighede, aanvaar word, sal 'n dubbeltarief gehef word

Wanneer 'n APARTE Staatskoerant verlang word moet die kopie drie kalenderweke voor publikasie ingedien word

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

Closing times PRIOR TO PUBLIC HOLIDAYS for

LEGAL NOTICES
GOVERNMENT NOTICES **1991**

The closing time is 15:00 sharp on the following days:

- ▶ **21 March**, Thursday, for the issue of Thursday **28 March**
- ▶ **27 March**, Wednesday, for the issue of Friday **5 April**
- ▶ **25 April**, Thursday, for the issue of Friday **3 May**
- ▶ **2 May**, Thursday, for the issue of Friday **10 May**
- ▶ **23 May**, Thursday, for the issue of Thursday **30 May**
- ▶ **3 October**, Thursday, for the issue of Friday **11 October**
- ▶ **12 December**, Thursday, for the issue of Friday **20 December**
- ▶ **17 December**, Tuesday, for the issue of Friday **27 December**
- ▶ **19 December**, Thursday, for the issue of Friday **3 January**

Late notices will be published in the subsequent issue. If, under special circumstances, a late notice is being accepted, a double tariff will be charged

The copy for a SEPARATE Government Gazette must be handed in not later than three calendar weeks before date of publication

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Rallies planned as MK turns 30

STAR 13/12/91

By Esmaré
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

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The ANC has organised 13 rallies countrywide and one in Uganda to celebrate the 30th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) on Monday.

Details of the celebrations were announced by MK's top leadership — including chief of staff Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils, Tokyo Sexwale and Rashid Patel — at a press conference at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg yesterday.

In a statement, MK said it would be the first time in its history that people could take part in "the public rallies and peaceful manifestations of their army".

The anniversary would focus attention on the State's continued military aggression against people by highlighting the ongoing violence and "crimes committed by the notorious death squads", as well as the ANC army's role in the negotiation process and the strengthening of "self-protection units".

Mr Hani declined to give details of MK's soldier numbers or the number of self-defence units which had been set up with MK assistance.

MK said it continued to recruit, train and de-



Chris Hani . . . won't reveal number of cadres.

velop cadres for a future nonracial army. It would not disarm or disband its force before achieving its goal of a nonracial, democratic, united and non-sexist South Africa.

Inviting all democrats to join in the celebrations, MK noted it was neither a private army or the army of a political party, but a people's army of national liberation.

The main rally will be held at Orlando Stadium in Soweto on Monday, addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, MK commander Joe Modise and ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo.

Additional policemen and troops are being moved into Soweto to watch over the rally.

The district commissioner of police for the Soweto region, Major-General Kobus Malan, yesterday asked for the co-operation of all participants in the rally to avoid violence.

"The SA Police has, with big additional costs, acquired reinforcements from outside Soweto, as well as from the SA Army, to do everything in the security force's capabilities so that violence will be avoided," General Malan said.

He added that the security forces did not want to "put a damper or restrictions" on the rally, but requested the organisers and participants to behave within the parameters of South Africa's laws, "and not create a situation for conflict and violence".

On the same day, Winnie Mandela and Mr Kasrils will speak in Port Elizabeth and Chris Hani in the western Cape. The venues of other rallies on Monday include Durban, Welkom, Nelspruit, Middelburg (Tvl), Turfloop University in the northern Transvaal, Thabazimbi, Pretoria and Kimberley.

Tomorrow Mr Hani and Mrs Mandela will address a rally at Umtata in Transkei and on Sunday MK soldiers who have died in the struggle against apartheid will be commemorated at a rally in Kagiso.

Front newspaper for South Africa in Botswana closes

Sowetan
GABORONE - A Botswana-based newspaper which was exposed recently as a front for the South African Government was closed at the weekend and all its equipment spirited out of the country in three huge trucks.

Newslink Africa, together with its printing arm, Magnum Press, was closed on Saturday morning. Its expensive printing presses and furniture were transported to South Africa in huge trucks.

15/12/91
But the trucks were stopped at the Tlokweng border post by Botswana immigration officials at the instruction of the commissioner of labour. They were only allowed to leave after all employees had been paid.

Newslink was exposed recently by a former SADF officer, Major Nico Basson, as an ambitious project by South African military intelligence to influence Southern African countries.

All the editorial decisions were

327
taken in Pretoria by the SA Troop Information Unit, of the SADF.

Basson said: "Newslink is a front paper for the South African Government with the aim of destabilising Botswana."

Newslink, a weekly, used to sell at 50 thebe (about 37c), but after its South African connection was exposed, it was given away free of charge.- *Sowetan Africa News Service*.

SA closes paper in Gaborone

STAR 18/12/91
GABORONE — A Botswana-based newspaper which was recently exposed as a front for the South African Government was closed at the weekend and all its equipment transported to South Africa in three huge trucks.

Newslink Africa, together with its printing arm, Magnum Press, was closed on Saturday

morning.

But the trucks were stopped at the Tlokweng border post by Botswana immigration officials and only permitted to pass after all employees had been paid.

Newslink was recently exposed as a project of South African military intelligence to influence southern African countries. — Star Africa Service. (32M)

REPUBLIEK
VAN
SUID-AFRIKA



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OF
SOUTH AFRICA

06 JAN 1992 **Staatskoerant**
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Vol. 318

PRETORIA, 20 DESEMBER 1991
DECEMBER

No. 13687

GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWINGS

**DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE
SAKE**

No. 3182 20 Desember 1991

**PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE
VOORWAARDES**

'n Komitee van Publikasies bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan die voorwaardes—

dat die publikasie nie wetens verkoop, verhuur of deur uitleenbiblioteke geleen mag word aan persone onder die ouderom van 18 jaar nie;

dat die publikasie slegs in boekwinkels en uitleenbiblioteke en deur groothandel-boekverspreiders versprei mag word.

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

**DEPARTMENT OF HOME
AFFAIRS**

No. 3182 20 December 1991

**PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS
CONDITIONS**

A Committee of Publications referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has in accordance with section 11 of the Act decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to the conditions—

that the publication may not knowingly be sold, hired or lent out by lending libraries to persons under the age of 18 years;

that the publication may only be distributed in bookshops and lending libraries and by wholesale book distributors.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P91/11/18.....	<i>Sex in the afternoon</i>	June Flaum Singer.

No. 3183 20 Desember 1991

**PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE
VOORWAARDES**

'n Komitee van Publikasies bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan 'n voorwaarde dat die publikasie nie vir doeleindes van verspreiding in die openbaar uitgestal mag word nie:

No. 3183 20 December 1991

**PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS
CONDITIONS**

A Committee of Publications referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has in accordance with section 11 of the Act decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to a condition that the publication may not be displayed in public for purposes of distribution:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P91/11/312.....	<i>Armonegy</i>	Fabio Santagiuliana.

No. 3184

20 Desember 1991

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

VOORWAARDES

'n Komitee van Publikasies bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan die voorwaardes—

dat die publikasie nie wetens verkoop, verhuur of deur uitleenbiblioteke geleen mag word aan persone onder die ouderdom van 18 jaar nie;

dat die publikasie nie vir doeleindes van verspreiding in die openbaar uitgestal mag word nie;

dat die publikasie slegs in boekwinkels en uitleenbiblioteke en deur groothandel-boekverspreiders versprei mag word.

No. 3184

20 December 1991

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

CONDITIONS

A Committee of Publications referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has in accordance with section 11 of the Act decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to conditions—

that the publication may not knowingly be sold, hired or lent out by lending libraries to persons under the age of 18 years;

that the publication may not be displayed in public for purposes of distribution;

that the publication may only be distributed in bookshops and lending libraries and by wholesale book distributors.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P91/11/313	<i>En Avant!</i>	Stephan Lupino.

No. 3185

20 Desember 1991

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

VOORWAARDES

'n Komitee van Publikasies bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan die voorwaardes—

dat die publikasie nie wetens verkoop, verhuur of deur uitleenbiblioteke geleen mag word aan persone onder die ouderdom van 18 jaar nie;

dat die publikasie slegs in 'n geseëde plastiekomhulsel vir die doeleindes van verspreiding uitgestal en versprei mag word.

No. 3185

20 December 1991

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

CONDITIONS

A Committee of Publications referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has in accordance with section 11 of the Act decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to conditions—

that the publication may not knowingly be sold, hired or lent out by lending libraries to persons under the age of 18 years;

that the publication for purposes of distribution may only be displayed and distributed in a sealed plastic wrapping.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P91/11/314	<i>Know Your Number</i>	Richard Selby.

No. 3186

20 Desember 1991

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

VOORWAARDES

'n Komitee van Publikasies bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan die voorwaardes—

dat die publikasie slegs in 'n geseëde plastiekomhulsel vir die doeleindes van verspreiding uitgestal en versprei mag word;

dat die publikasie slegs in boekwinkels en uitleenbiblioteke en deur groothandel-boekverspreiders versprei mag word.

No. 3186

20 December 1991

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

CONDITIONS

A Committee of Publications referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has in accordance with section 11 of the Act decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to the conditions—

that the publication for purposes of distribution may only be displayed and distributed in a sealed plastic wrapping;

that the publication may only be distributed in bookshops and lending libraries and by wholesale book distributors.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P91/12/70.....	<i>Miloslav Stibor</i>	Miroslav Hornicek & Ludvik Baran.

No. 3187

20 Desember 1991

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:

No. 3187

20 December 1991

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. These undermentioned entries in respect of the publications are hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skyrwer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P90/07/05	<i>Revolution in Angola</i>	Merlin Press Ltd, London	SK./G.G. 9703, GK./G.N. 963, ged./dd 1985-04-19.
P91/09/291	<i>The Ewings</i>	J. O'Hara	SK./G.G. 3621, GK./G.N. 1309, ged./dd 1972-07-28.
P91/09/343	<i>Andy Warhol</i>	Peter Gidal	SK./G.G. 3254, GK./G.N. 1618, ged./dd 1971-09-17.
P91/11/200	<i>Namibia</i> Vol 1 No 1 1977	SWAPO Department of Information and Publicity, London	SK./G.G. 5767, GK./G.N. 2110, ged./dd 1977-10-14.
P91/11/326	<i>Looking for Mr Goodbar</i>	Judith Rossner	SK./G.G. 4988, GK./G.N. 297, ged./dd 1976-02-20.
P91/12/81	<i>WSCF Africa Newsletter</i> No 1, September 1980	Africa Office of the World Student Christian Federation, Nairobi	SK./G.G. 8231, GK./G.N. 1127, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/12/82	<i>ANC Weekly News Briefing</i> Vol 6, No 18, April 21st, 1982	ANC, London	SK./G.G. 8223, GK./G.N. 1089, ged./dd 1982-05-28.
P91/12/83	<i>Beyond the Skin</i>	Chris Searle	SK./G.G. 8276, GK./G.N. 1295, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/12/84	<i>The Material and Technological Foundation for the Construction of Socialism in the GDR</i>	Panorama DDR, Berlin	SK./G.G. 8269, GK./G.N. 1423, ged./dd 1982-07-02.
P91/12/85	<i>Government by the People—Democracy under Socialism</i>	Panorama DDR, Berlin	SK./G.G. 8276, GK./G.N. 1295, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/12/86	<i>Challenge</i> Vol 2, No 4	Black Students Society University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg	SK./G.G. 8276, GK./G.N. 1295, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/12/87	<i>Namibia Youth</i> Jan/Feb 1982	SWAPO Youth League, Luanda	SK./G.G. 8267, GK./G.N. 1226, ged./dd 1982-06-18.
P91/12/88	<i>The Vanguard</i> June–Dec 1981	CASSAS National University of Lesotho, Lesotho	SK./G.G. 8172, GK./G.N. 860, ged./dd 1982-04-23.
P91/12/89	<i>Sight</i> April 1982	ACS SRC University of Cape Town	SK./G.G. 8231, GK./G.N. 1127, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/12/90	<i>The Benevolent Sun</i> Vol 1 Mt Paekdu-San Tells	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang	SK./G.G. 8231, GK./G.N. 1127, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/12/91	<i>From the Democratic Land Reform to Socialist Agriculture in the DDR</i>	Panorama DDR, London	SK./G.G. 6189, GK./G.N. 2098, ged./dd 1978-10-20.
P91/12/92	<i>Socialist Life and Its Values: Aspects of Advanced Socialist Society in the GDR</i>	Panorama DDR, Berlin	SK./G.G. 6194, GK./G.N. 2165, ged./dd 1978-10-27.
P91/12/93	<i>Security and Cooperation in Europe—Negotiations not Confrontation!</i>	Information Centre of the World Peace Council, Finland	SK./G.G. 8231, GK./G.N. 1127, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/12/94	<i>Through the Cross</i> Vol 1, No 4, September 1978	Through the Cross University of Natal, Durban	SK./G.G. 6205, GK./G.N. 2238, ged./dd 1978-11-10.
P91/12/97	<i>Frontline on Health</i> No 3	Health Care Trust, Mowbray	SK./G.G. 8276, GK./G.N. 1295, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/12/99	<i>Education with Production</i> Vol 1, No 1, December 1981	Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Sweden	SK./G.G. 8246, GK./G.N. 1178, ged./dd 1982-06-11.
P91/12/101	<i>Revolutionary Worker</i> No 182 (Vol 4, No 30) November 26, 1982	RCP Publications, Chicago	SK./G.G. 8616, GK./G.N. 633, ged./dd 1983-03-25.
P91/12/105	<i>Revolutionary Worker</i> No 181 (Vol 4, No 29) November 19, 1982	RCP Publications, Chicago	SK./G.G. 8616, GK./G.N. 633, ged./dd 1983-03-25.
P91/12/110	<i>IUS Latin American Bulletin</i> No 9, September 1982	The International Union of Students, Czechoslovakia	SK./G.G. 8526, GK./G.N. 157, ged./dd 1983-01-21.
P91/12/111	<i>Awabhubhe Ama-Bantustans!/Dea to the Bantustans!</i>	African National Congress	SK./G.G. 8534, GK./G.N. 228, ged./dd 1983-01-28.
P91/12/112	<i>Report on Namibia</i> (This is a simplified version)	The South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Pretoria	SK./G.G. 8518, GK./G.N. 107, ged./dd 1983-01-21. SK./G.G. 8526, GK./G.N. 158, ged./dd 1983-01-21.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/12/113	<i>Journal of African Marxists</i> —Issue 2, August 1982	Zed Press, London	SK./G.G. 8526, GK./G.N. 157, ged./dd 1983-01-21.
P91/12/115	<i>History of the USSR: The Era of Socialism</i>	Progress Publishers, Moscow	SK./G.G. 8534, GK./G.N. 228, ged./dd 1983-01-28.
P91/12/116	<i>The Soviet Union: Proposes</i>	Vladlen Kuznetsov	SK./G.G. 8539, GK./G.N. 278, ged./dd 1983-02-04.
P91/12/117	<i>UFAHAMU</i> Vol XI, No 3, Spring 1982	UFAHAMU. African Studies Center University of California, California	SK./G.G. 8534, GK./G.N. 228, ged./dd 1983-01-28.
P91/12/118	<i>Zuid-Afrika: De Toekomst Begon Gisteren</i>	Karel Roskam	SK./G.G. 8539, GK./G.N. 278, ged./dd 1983-02-04.
P91/12/119	<i>Facts and Reports</i> Vol 12, No Y/Z, Dec 24, 1982	Holland Committee on Southern Africa, Amsterdam	SK./G.G. 8534, GK./G.N. 228, ged./dd 1983-01-28.
P91/12/120	<i>South Africa's Impending Socialist Revolution</i>	Inqaba Ya Basebenzi, London	SK./G.G. 8223, GK./G.N. 1089, ged./dd 1982-05-28.
P91/12/122	<i>The Clarion Call</i> Vol 1, No 2, 13th November 1982	Students of the National University of Lesotho—Southern Africa	SK./G.G. 8534, GK./G.N. 228, ged./dd 1983-01-28.
P91/12/128	<i>Novosti Press Agency</i> '82 Yearbook USSR	Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow	SK./G.G. 8539, GK./G.N. 278, ged./dd 1983-02-04.
P91/12/132	<i>Challenge</i> Vol 2, No 2	Black Students Society University of the Witwatersrand	SK./G.G. 8172, GK./G.N. 860, ged./dd 1982-04-23.
P91/12/133	<i>Kim Il Sung: New Year Address</i>	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang	SK./G.G. 8223, GK./G.N. 1089, ged./dd 1982-05-28.
P91/12/135	<i>Defiance Campaign</i> 1952–1982 30th Anniversary	UDW—SRC	SK./G.G. 8231, GK./G.N. 1127, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/12/137	<i>De Bazuin</i> —Jaargang 65, No 6, 5 Februari 1982	Stichting De Bazuin, Nijmegen	SK./G.G. 8185, GK./G.N. 904, ged./dd 1982-04-30.
P91/12/138	<i>United Nations Centre Against Apartheid</i> 27/79 October 1979	Department of Political and Security Council Affairs	SK./G.G. 8231, GK./G.N. 1127, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/12/139	<i>United Nations Centre Against Apartheid</i> 16/81 April 1982	Department of Political Security Council Affairs	SK./G.G. 8231, GK./G.N. 1127, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/12/140	<i>Dome</i> No 1, March 1982	SRC University of Natal, Durban	SK./G.G. 8172, GK./G.N. 860, ged./dd 1982-04-23.
P91/12/143	<i>ANC Weekly News Briefing</i> Vol 7, No 1, January 1983	ANC, London	SK./G.G. 8539, GK./G.N. 278, ged./dd 1983-02-04.
P91/12/144	<i>RBI Information</i>	Radio Berlin International, Berlin	SK./G.G. 8539, GK./G.N. 278, ged./dd 1983-02-04.
P91/12/148	<i>Information</i> 1/83	The Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin	SK./G.G. 8539, GK./G.N. 278, ged./dd 1983-02-04.
P91/12/149	<i>ANC Weekly News Briefing</i> Vol 6, No 52, December 12th, 1982	ANC, London	SK./G.G. 8539, GK./G.N. 278, ged./dd 1983-02-04.
P91/12/159	<i>ICSA Bulletin</i> No 18, April 1982	International Committee against Apartheid Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8231, GK./G.N. 1126, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/12/160	<i>Azania Vrij</i> —8e Jaargang, No 2, 1982 ...	Azania Komitee, Rotterdam	SK./G.G. 8231, GK./G.N. 1127, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/12/161	<i>Turflux</i> April 1982	The Publications Committee	SK./G.G. 8223, GK./G.N. 1089, ged./dd 1982-05-28.
P91/12/163	<i>Unity in Action</i> No 1, 1982	ANC	SK./G.G. 8231, GK./G.N. 1127, ged./dd 1982-06-04.
P91/12/164	<i>"Apartheid—You Shall be Crushed"</i>	African National Congress (SA), Lusaka	SK./G.G. 8223, GK./G.N. 1089, ged./dd 1982-05-28.
P91/12/165	<i>Kim Il Sung: The Working Class Should become the Pivotal Force in the Struggle for Modelling the Whole of Society on the Juche Idea</i>	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang	SK./G.G. 8223, GK./G.N. 1089, ged./dd 1982-05-28.
P91/12/166	<i>Kim Il Sung: The Youth Should be Dependable Heirs to the Revolutionary Cause of Juche</i>	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang	SK./G.G. 8223, GK./G.N. 1089, ged./dd 1982-05-28.

No. 3188

20 Desember 1991

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 publikasies nie ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet nie, terwyl elke ander uitgawe van hierdie publikasies kragtens artikel 9 (1) van die Wet ongewens verklaar is.

Die Direkoraat van Publikasies verleen gevolglik vrystelling van bepalings van artikel 9 (1) ten opsigte van hierdie besondere uitgawe van die publikasie.

No. 3188

20 December 1991

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

EXEMPTION FROM SECTION 9 (1)

A Committee referred 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 issues of the publications are not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2), while every other issue is still undesirable in terms of section 9 (1) of the Act.

With regard to this particular issue the Directorate of Publications hereby grants exemption from section 9 (1).

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P91/12/95	<i>Amandla</i> Zesde Jaargang No 4, April 1982	Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika, Amsterdam.
P91/12/96	<i>Mayibuye</i> No 4, 1982	African National Congress.
P91/12/98	<i>Information Bulletin</i> Vol 20, No 1 (449), 1982	International Publishers, Czechoslovakia.
P91/12/100	<i>Dawn</i> Vol 6, No 8 & 9, August/Sept 1982	Umkhonto we Sizwe.
P91/12/101	<i>Revolutionary Worker</i> No 182 (Vol 4, No 30), November 26, 1982	RCP Publications, Chicago.
P91/12/102	<i>Dawn</i> Vol 6, No 6 & 7, June/July 1982	Umkhonto we Sizwe.
P91/12/103	<i>Dawn</i> Vol 6, No 5, May 1982	Umkhonto we Sizwe.
P91/12/104	<i>Resister Bulletin</i> No 23, Dec-Jan 1983	COSAWR (UK) London.
P91/12/105	<i>Revolutionary Worker</i> No 181 (Vol 4, No 29), November 19, 1982	RCP Publications, Chicago.
P91/12/106	<i>Revolutionary Worker</i> No 180 (Vol 4, No 28), November 12, 1982	RCP Publications, Chicago.
P91/12/108	<i>ICSA Bulletin</i> No 22, December 1982	International Committee Against Apartheid, London.
P91/12/109	<i>The Combatant</i> Vol 4, No 1, August 1982	People's Liberation Army of Namibia.
P91/12/113	<i>Journal of African Marxists</i> No 2, August 1982	Zed Press, London.
P91/12/114	<i>Information Bulletin</i> Vol 20, No 21, 1982	Peace and Socialism International Publishers, Czechoslovakia.
P91/12/121	<i>Inqaba ya Bazebenzi</i> , No 8, November 1982	Inqaba ya Bazebenzi, London.
P91/12/123	<i>Romanian News</i> Fifth Year, No 51 (248), December 15, 1982	Romanian News, Bucharest.
P91/12/124	<i>Revolutionary Worker</i> No 183 (Vol 4, No 31), December 3, 1982	RCP Publications, Chicago.
P91/12/125	<i>Revolutionary Worker</i> No 184 (Vol 4, No 32) December 10, 1982	RCP Publications, Chicago.
P91/12/126	<i>Revolutionary Worker</i> No 185 (Vol 4, No 33) December 17, 1982	RCP Publications, Chicago.
P91/12/127	<i>Flashes from the Trade Unions</i> No 47 December 16, 1982	The World Federation of Trade Unions, Czechoslova- kia.
P91/12/129	<i>Lumea</i> No 51, December 17, 1982	Lumea, Bucharest.
P91/12/130	<i>Kontakt</i> No 6, 1982	Free German Youth DDR, Berlin.
P91/12/131	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> 1981-1982	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.
P91/12/136	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> May 1982	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.
P91/12/141	<i>Workers' Unity</i> Issue No 33, November 1982	South Africa Congress of Trade Unions, London.
P91/12/142	<i>TCLSAC Reports</i> Nov-Dec 1982	Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, Toronto.
P91/12/145	<i>Foreign Affairs Bulletin</i> Vol 22, No 34, 6 December 1982	Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin.
P91/12/146	<i>Peace Courier</i> Vol 13, November 1982	World Peace Council, Helsinki.
P91/12/147	<i>Southern Africa</i> Vol XVI No 5 December 1982	The Southern Africa Committee, New York.
P91/12/150	<i>People's Canada Daily News</i> Vol 12 No 274 December 1982	CPC (M-L).
P91/12/157	<i>Resister Bulletin</i> No 19 April-May 1982	COSAWR (UK), London.
P91/12/158	<i>VOW</i> — Voice of Women 1st Quarter 1982	ANC (SA).
P91/12/162	<i>Mayibuye</i> No 3, 1982	African National Congress.

No. 3189	20 Desember 1991	No. 3189	20 December 1991
PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE TERSYDESTELLING VAN VERBOD OP BESIT		PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS SETTING ASIDE OF PROHIBITION ON POSSESSION	
'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 publikasies nie langer binne die bedoeling van artikel 9 (3) van die Wet verbied is nie. Die ondergenoemde inskrywings ten opsigte van die publikasies word hierby geskrap:		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 publications are no longer prohibited within the meaning of section 9 (3) of the Act. The undermentioned entries in respect of the publications are hereby deleted:	
Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/12/82	ANC Weekly News Briefing Vol 6, No 18, April 21st, 1982	ANC, London.....	SK./G.G. 8311, GK./G.N. 1549, ged./dd 1982-07-23.
P91/12/83	Beyond the Skin	Chris Searle	SK./G.G. 9134, GK./G.N. 560, ged./dd 1984-03-23.
P91/12/87	Namibia Youth Jan/Feb 1982	SWAPO Youth League, Luanda.....	SK./G.G. 8350, GK./G.N. 1831, ged./dd 1982-08-27.
P91/12/93	Security and Cooperation in Europe—Negotiations not Confrontation!	Information Centre of the World Peace Council, Finland	SK./G.G. 8435, GK./G.N. 2388, ged./dd 1982-11-05.
P91/12/94	Through the Cross Vol 1, No 4, September 1978	Through the Cross University of Natal, Durban	SK./G.G. 6258, GK./G.N. 2622, ged./dd 1978-12-29.
P91/12/95	Amandla Zesde Jaargang No 4, April 1982	Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika, Amsterdam..	SK./G.G. 8350, GK./G.N. 1831, ged./dd 1982-08-27.
P91/12/96	Mayibuye No 4, 1982	African National Congress.....	SK./G.G. 8350, GK./G.N. 1831, ged./dd 1982-08-27.
P91/12/98	Information Bulletin Vol 20, No 1 (449), 1982	International Publishers, Czechoslovakia	SK./G.G. 8350, GK./G.N. 1831, ged./dd 1982-08-27.
P91/12/100	Dawn Vol 6 No 8 & 9, August/Sept 1982..	Umkhonto we Sizwe.....	SK./G.G. 8633, GK./G.N. 698, ged./dd 1983-03-31.
P91/12/101	Revolutionary Worker No 182 (Vol 4, No 30) November 26, 1982	RCP Publications, Chicago	SK./G.G. 8633, GK./G.N. 698, ged./dd 1983-08-31.
P91/12/102	Dawn Vol 6, No 6 & 7, June/July 1982	Umkhonto we Sizwe.....	SK./G.G. 8633, GK./G.N. 698, ged./dd 1983-03-31.
P91/12/103	Dawn Vol 6, No 5, May 1982.....	Umkhonto we Sizwe.....	SK./G.G. 8633, GK./G.N. 698, ged./dd 1983-03-31.
P91/12/104	Resister Bulletin No 23, Dec–Jan 1983 ..	COSAWR (UK), London	SK./G.G. 8666, GK./G.N. 833, ged./dd 1983-04-22.
P91/12/105	Revolutionary Worker No 181 (Vol 4, No 29), November 19, 1982	RCP Publications, Chicago	SK./G.G. 8633, GK./G.N. 698, ged./dd 1983-03-31.
P91/12/106	Revolutionary Worker No 180 (Vol 4, No 28), November 12, 1982	RCP Publications, Chicago	SK./G.G. 8633, GK./G.N. 698, ged./dd 1983-03-31.
P91/12/108	ICSA Bulletin No 22, December 1982.....	International Committee against Apartheid, London	SK./G.G. 8633, GK./G.N. 698, ged./dd 1983-03-31.
P91/12/109	The Combatant Vol 4, No 1, August 1982	People's Liberation Army of Namibia..	SK./G.G. 8666, GK./G.N. 833, ged./dd 1983-04-22.
P91/12/110	IUS Latin American Bulletin No 9, September 1982	The International Union of Students, Czechoslovakia	SK./G.G. 8633, GK./G.N. 698, ged./dd 1983-03-31.
P91/12/111	Awabhubhe Ama-Bantustans/Death to the Bantustans!	African National Congress.....	SK./G.G. 8666, GK./G.N. 833, ged./dd 1983-04-22.
P91/12/113	Journal of African Marxists — Issue 2, August 1982	Zed Press, London	SK./G.G. 8633, GK./G.N. 698, ged./dd 1983-03-31.
P91/12/114	Information Bulletin Vol 20, No 21, 1982	Peace and Socialism International Publishers, Czechoslovakia	SK./G.G. 8633, GK./G.N. 698, ged./dd 1983-03-31.
P91/12/116	The Soviet Union: Proposes	Vladlen Kuznetsov.....	SK./G.G. 8693, GK./G.N. 933, ged./dd 1983-05-06.
P91/12/120	South Africa's Impending Socialist Revolution	Inqaba Ya Basebenzi, London.....	SK./G.G. 8506, GK./G.N. 21, ged./dd 1983-01-07.
P91/12/121	Inqaba ya Basebenzi No 8, November 1982	Inqaba Ya Basebenzi, London.....	SK./G.G. 8666, GK./G.N. 833, ged./dd 1983-04-22.
P91/12/122	The Clarion Call Vol 1, No 2, 13th November 1982	Students of the National University of Lesotho — Southern Africa	SK./G.G. 8666, GK./G.N. 833, ged./dd 1983-04-22.
P91/12/129	Lumea No 51, December 17, 1982.....	Lumea, Bucharest.....	SK./G.G. 8666, GK./G.N. 833, ged./dd 1983-04-22.
P91/12/130	Kontakt No 6, 1982	Free German Youth DDR, Berlin	SK./G.G. 8693, GK./G.N. 933, ged./dd 1983-05-06.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P91/12/131	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> 1981-1982.....	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.....	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/12/133	<i>Kim Il Sung: New Year Address</i>	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang	SK./G.G. 8311, GK./G.N. 1549, ged./dd 1982-07-23.
P91/12/135	<i>Defiance Campaign</i> 1952-1982 30th Anniversary	UDW - SRC.....	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/12/136	<i>Anti-Apartheid News</i> May 1982.....	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London.....	SK./G.G. 8311, GK./G.N. 1549, ged./dd 1982-07-23.
P91/12/137	<i>De Bazuin</i> - Jaargang 65, No 6, 5 Februari 1982	Stichting De Bazuin, Nijmegen.....	SK./G.G. 8270, GK./G.N. 1229, ged./dd 1982-06-25.
P91/12/138	<i>United Nations Against Apartheid</i> 27/79 October 1979	Department of Political and Security Council Affairs	SK./G.G. 8441, GK./G.N. 2431, ged./dd 1982-11-12.
P91/12/139	<i>United Nations Centre Against Apart- heid</i> 16/81 April 1982	Department of Political and Security Council Affairs	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/12/140	<i>Dome</i> No 1, March 1982.....	SRC University of Natal, Durban.....	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20. SK./G.G. 8747, GK./G.N. 1215, ged./dd 1983-06-10.
P91/12/141	<i>Workers' Unity</i> Issue No 33, November 1982	South African Congress of Trade Unions, London	SK./G.G. 8693, GK./G.N. 933, ged./dd 1983-05-06.
P91/12/142	<i>TCLSAC Reports</i> Nov/Dec 1982.....	Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, Toronto	SK./G.G. 8693, GK./G.N. 933, ged./dd 1983-05-06.
P91/12/143	<i>ANC Weekly News Briefing</i> Vol 7, No 1, January 1983	ANC, London.....	SK./G.G. 8693, GK./G.N. 933, ged./dd 1983-05-06.
P91/12/145	<i>Foreign Affairs Bulletin</i> Vol 22, No 34, 6 December 1982	Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin	SK./G.G. 8693, GK./G.N. 933, ged./dd 1983-05-06.
P91/12/146	<i>Peace Courier</i> Vol 13, November 1982...	World Peace Council, Helsinki.....	SK./G.G. 8693, GK./G.N. 933, ged./dd 1983-05-06.
P91/12/147	<i>Southern Africa</i> Vol XVI, No 5, December 1982	The Southern Africa Committee, New York	SK./G.G. 8693, GK./G.N. 933, ged./dd 1983-05-06.
P91/12/149	<i>ANC Weekly News Briefing</i> Vol 6, No 52, December 12th, 1982	ANC, London.....	SK./G.G. 8693, GK./G.N. 933, ged./dd 1983-05-06.
P91/12/157	<i>Resister Bulletin</i> No. 19, April-May 1982	COSAWR (UK), London.....	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/12/158	<i>VOW</i> -Voice of Women 1st Quarter 1982	ANC (SA)	SK./G.G. 8311, GK./G.N. 1549, ged./dd 1982-07-23.
P91/12/159	<i>ICSA Bulletin</i> No 18, April 1982.....	International Committee against Apartheid Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/12/162	<i>Mayibuye</i> No 3, 1982.....	African National Congress.....	SK./G.G. 8311, GK./G.N. 1549, ged./dd 1982-07-23.
P91/12/163	<i>Unity in Action</i> No 1, 1982.....	ANC	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/12/164	<i>"Apartheid - You Shall be Crushed"</i>	African National Congress (SA) Lusaka	SK./G.G. 8344, GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1982-08-20.
P91/12/165	<i>Kim Il Sung: The Working Class should become the Pivotal Force in the Struggle for Modelling the Whole of Society on the Juche Idea</i>	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang	SK./G.G. 8311, GK./G.N. 1549, ged./dd 1982-07-23.
P91/12/166	<i>Kim Il Sung: The Youth should be Dependable Heirs to the Revolutio- nary Cause of Juche</i>	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang	SK./G.G. 8311, GK./G.N. 1549, ged./dd 1982-07-23.

No. 3190

20 Desember 1991

AFGEKEURDE ROLPRENTE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 21 (1) van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde rolprente ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Voorlegger Submitter	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
R91/12/59	<i>Deadly Avenger, The</i>	Ster-Kinekor Video (Edms.) Bpk./ (Pty) Ltd.....	(a) + (b)
R91/12/99	<i>Eternal First</i>	Sandon Associates.....	(a)
R91/12/61	<i>Onfatsoenlijke Vrouw, De</i> (The Indecent Woman) (Video Verspreiding/Distribution)	Ster-Kinekor Video (Edms.) Bpk./ (Pty) Ltd.....	(a)

No. 3190

20 December 1991

REJECTED FILMS

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 21 (1) of the Act that the undermentioned films are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

INHOUD

No.

Bladsy Koerant
No. No.**GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS****Binnelandse Sake, Departement van***Goewermentskennisgewings*

3182	Wet op Publikasies (42/1974): Publikasies of voorwerpe: Voorwaardes.....	1	13687
3183	do.: do.: do.	1	13687
3184	do.: do.: do.	2	13687
3185	do.: do.: do.	2	13687
3186	do.: do.: do.	2	13687
3187	do.: do.: Tersydestelling van verklaring dat publikasies ongewens is	3	13687
3188	do.: do.: Vrystelling van artikel 9 (1)	5	13687
3189	do.: do.: Tersydestelling van verbod op besit.....	6	13687
3190	do.: Afgekeurde rolprente	7	13687

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3187	do.: do.: Setting aside of declaration that publications are undesirable	3	13687
3188	do.: do.: Exemption from section 9 (1).....	5	13687
3189	do.: do.: Setting aside of prohibition on possession.....	6	13687
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'Policemen's conspiracy'

3/10 day 20/12/91
AN ALLEGED conspiracy by two policemen to abduct and murder a civic association leader has been referred to the Transvaal attorney-general by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation. (23) 327

Earlier this month the New Nation newspaper furnished sworn statements to the commission implicating two members of the SAP at Schweizer-Reneke.

In a statement yesterday inquiry chairman Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission received tape recordings made by an informant of the New Nation which were alleged to contain conversations with the two policemen.

The commission examined the police and the New Nation informant. — Sapa.

Numsa man in spy wrangle

By THEMBA KHUMALO

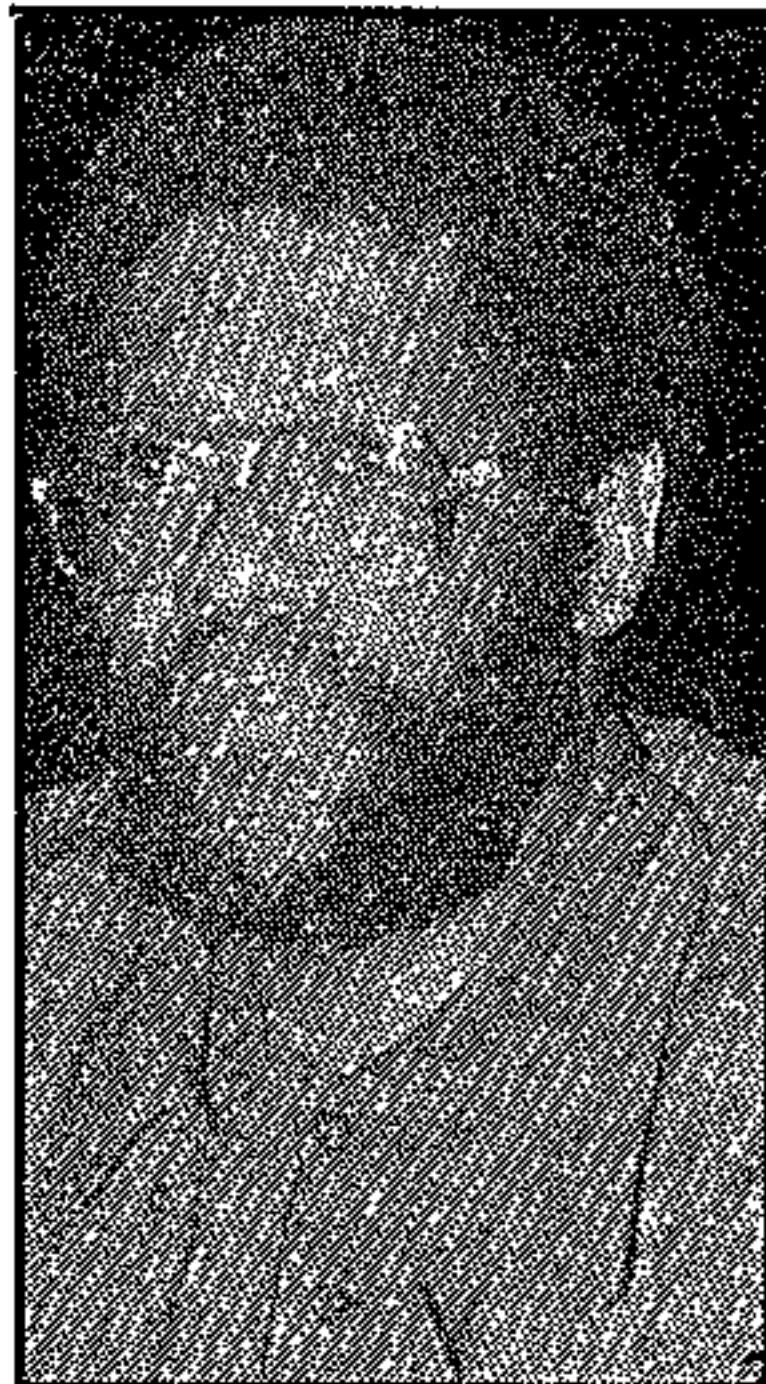
NATIONAL Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) general secretary Moses Mayekiso is caught up in a wrangle with the government over alleged spying on his trade union by the police.

In a letter to President FW de Klerk this week Mayekiso alleged that the President was ignoring his requests that a senior police officer in the security branch either be suspended or have disciplinary action taken against him for spying on Numsa.

The officer, according to Mayekiso, was also linked to the continued funding of the IFP after De Klerk had publicly stated this year that there would not be any more such funding.

The State President's office referred Mayekiso's letter to the Ministry of Law and Order for investigation.

Spokesman for the Law and Order Minister, Capt Craig Kotze, told



COMPLAINED ...
Moses Mayekiso.

City Press Mayekiso's letter was replied to by the Minister on November 26. A second reply was faxed to Numsa's offices this week after Mayekiso complained he did not receive the first letter.

Kotze said: "If Mayekiso has problems with the administration of his office he shouldn't blame the police for not receiving our letters."

Mayekiso then said he had received the reply but was not satisfied with its contents.

He said: "We obviously want the State President to handle the matter himself. We feel he is sidestepping the issue by referring it to the Minister of Law and Order. How can he refer our letter to the very department we are blaming for spying. It's totally unfair."

The request that the police officer involved in the spying on Numsa be suspended comes a month after the union suspended its president, Maxwell Xulu, whom they accused of supplying sensitive union information to the police.

Xulu has vehemently denied the allegations.

He has blamed his suspension on a "network" opposed to his presidency and intent on dominating Numsa.

His suspension remains effective until Numsa's annual congress in July.

City Press 2/12/91

(324)

the president in his statement directly by the news
tions. Schoeman.

Nactu official's house is raided

THE home of the general secretary of the Nactu, Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, was allegedly raided by police who said they were looking for arms.

Ngcukana, who was not home at the time, said the men identified themselves as police.

More than 10 white men travelling in several cars entered the house last week and woke up everybody about 1am and took his cousin, Mr Sandisile Dukashe, to the Mountain Side Garage where they allegedly assaulted him.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said: "In every instance where there is doubt as to the identity of people professing to be police, the family should immediately report the matter to the nearest police station."

Govt and Inkatha make progress over weapons issue

TIM COHEN

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was likely to announce a breakthrough on the issue of carrying traditional weapons at political meetings when he opened Parliament next month, it was predicted yesterday.

At the same time, government would be pressing hard for an agreement with the ANC on the "neutral" registration of arms caches brought into SA by members of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These are two of three issues outstanding from the national peace accord agreement which remain to be resolved. The third is a code of conduct for the SA Defence Force, which has not yet been finally approved.

Government was expected, after the signing of the peace accord, to conduct separate consultations with Inkatha and the ANC to determine whether the ban on weapons envisaged in the accord should include "cultural" weapons.

The peace accord states that dangerous weapons may not be carried or displayed by members of the general public attending any political gathering, procession or meeting.

Inkatha leaders have denied that this ban affects the carrying of traditional weapons and have drawn a distinction between

political and cultural gatherings. De Klerk said a proclamation would be issued once the issue had been resolved in bilateral talks with Inkatha.

Signatories to the accord agreed that government would introduce a proclamation banning weapons from political gatherings.

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said yesterday several meetings between his party and government on the cultural weapons issue had taken place and progress had been made.

Felgate said Inkatha and government had produced a draft proclamation on traditional weapons and he was convinced

agreement could be reached on the final wording. He declined to comment on the contents of the proclamation.

A government source said yesterday the parties were close to resolving the issue and De Klerk was expected to use the opening of Parliament to make the proclamation known.

Government intends negotiating the disbanding of private armies but will face stiff opposition from the ANC, which says it will not consider the neutral registration of arms caches until an interim government is in place.

☐ To Page 2

Weapons

It was this issue that sparked a fierce exchange between ANC president Nelson Mandela and De Klerk at Codesa at the weekend, although Mandela did, in an off-the-cuff part of his speech, confirm that the issue would continue to be discussed.

Although signatories to the peace accord pledged themselves not to form private armies, the ANC has been adamant that it will not disband Umkhonto, which it regards as a liberation army.

The carrying of dangerous "cultural weapons" has effectively been banned in Natal by the recent judgment by Mr Justice Diddcott, and human rights lawyers have challenged government to extend the ruling nationwide.

The issue of Umkhonto weapons will be further negotiated at one of the working groups set up by Codesa and a report is expected to be submitted in March.

☐ From Page 1

Friday December 27, 1991

3

Police grab three PAC army men, arms cache

Staff Reporters

Police have arrested three Tanzanian-trained members of an alleged hit squad of the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), Minister of Law and Order, Hendrik Kriel, announced yesterday.

The men are being held in connection with attacks on the Batho police station and on municipal police in Man-gaung outside Bloemfontein on October 14.

Mr Kriel said the arrests followed the detention of an APLA member in Zastron on December 18.

The other two APLA members were arrested in Phahameng, near Bloemfontein, the next day.

Police also seized an arms cache comprising two AK-47 assault rifles, four full Skorpion magazines, a Skorpion machine pistol, three full Skorpion magazines, four Chinese stick grenades, two M26 grenades and an M75 grenade.

Telephoned

● A man claiming to represent the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress on Tuesday said the organisation was responsible for the murder of Constable Mafatshe Z Machate (26) and the wounding of Constable M D Hadebe (38) in Zola, Soweto, on Monday night.

Constable Hadebe is in serious condition in Baragwanath Hospital.

A man calling himself Karl Zimbiri telephoned the SA Press Association, saying the Azanian People's Liberation Army had attacked a police vehicle in Zola.

APLA has claimed responsibility for the killing of a number of other policemen.

Constable Machate, whose home is in Elandfontein (Matibidi), near Bushbuckridge, was the last of five children, his uncle, Antonio Machate, said yesterday. Mr Machate had gone to Bushbuckridge to inform the dead policeman's mother, Christina Machate (56) of her son's death.

A senior policeman had informed him of the death late on Monday night, he said.

Constable Machate, who was described as soft-spoken person, was unmarried and lived alone in Kagiso.

BID TO RECRUIT CITY CADRE FUELS SUSPICIONS ABOUT GOVT AGENTS

MK men 'bought to spy on ANC'

S/Times (Cm) 29/12/91

32M

By KURT SWART

THE ANC has accused government agencies of trying to recruit trained members of its military wing, umKonto weSizwe (MK), to spy on it and to give other men military training in the Western Cape.

The accusation follows the alleged attempt by three white men to recruit MK member Mr Benjamin Mhlakaza in a Cape Town hotel last Thursday to spy on the ANC.

Mr Mhlakaza reported the incident to members of the ANC's Western Cape regional executive who confronted one of the alleged recruiters at the hotel the next day.

The police and the Crime Intelligence Service said this week they had no knowledge of the alleged incident, but that the allegations of military training were being taken seriously.

"We appeal to the ANC to provide us with information so that the matter can be investigated," a police spokesman said.

"We don't understand why the ANC did not use the agreed channels to report this incident to us."

Mr Mhlakaza, who returned from exile in April, said he had met three white men for a job interview at the Capetonian Hotel last Thursday.

Like many returned exiles, Mr Mhlakaza is unem-



BENJAMIN MHLAKAZA
Offered money to spy

ployed and in financial straits.

He said he had been under the impression that he was to be offered "ordinary" employment.

The three men, who introduced themselves as Chris Williams, Johnny and Anderson, had detailed knowledge of Mr Mhlakaza, including his MK alias and the MK camps in which he had been trained.

"They said they were members of the government. I was scared. I took them to be policemen. They knew so much about me," he said.

"They asked me whether there were MK camps in Tanzania. They wanted the

names of MK members in the Western Cape. I told them I didn't know any.

"They said they were prepared to give me R1 500 cash immediately. I was scared and accepted.

"The interview was from 10am to 4pm. They were very friendly at first, but became more and more threatening.

"Near the end they asked me if I would be willing to train men in military techniques. I told them I wasn't physically fit enough.

"They then said they would give me an easier job and asked me to spy on the ANC, the SA Communist Party and MK, who they said were responsible for the violence. They said we had to stop the bloodshed in the townships.

"They gave me the name 'Augustus' and said I would have a controller. When they gave me the money I signed my pseudonym in a small, hard-covered book.

"I am loyal to the ANC and I contacted MK when I got back to the townships."

According to the ANC, Mr Mhlakaza reported the incident to MK leaders Mr Mxolisi Petane and Mr Lizo Bright Ngqungwana, who told the ANC regional executive.

Members of the MK staff said they were aware of similar attempts at recruitment. The training, they believed, was linked to the spate of random night attacks, during the taxi war, on township residents by armed, balaclava-clad men.

The day after the interview, Mr Mhlakaza returned to the hotel with ANC Western Cape assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr and ANC regional executive member Mr Vincent Diba.

Mr Hofmeyr said that when they arrived at the hotel, Mr Mhlakaza identified one of the men he had met the day before.

"We approached him and introduced ourselves and he said he was Chris Williams," Mr Hofmeyr said.

"He initially confirmed that Mr Mhlakaza had been offered employment by the government, but when we questioned him he denied that he was connected with the police, the National Intelligence Service or Military Intelligence.

"The ANC is outraged at the continuing attempts by the security forces to infiltrate and spy on our legitimate activities.

"It has become increasingly clear that the disbanding of the security police, which was announced with great fanfare, amounted to no more than a change of

To page 3

December 1991 3

MK soldier asked to spy

From page 1 (32M)

name to what is now the Crime Intelligence Service.

"We are extremely concerned that these men appeared to be looking for people for military training. Such actions can do nothing to promote peace and can only fuel the suspicion that the government is promoting violence."

A brigadier at the Crime Intelligence Service headquarters in Pretoria, who asked not to be named, said: "If it is correct that military training is involved, then it is indeed a serious matter and we would very much like to contact Mr Williams."

He said police had problems with MK members' being involved in illegal activities. S/Times (Cm)

"MK members have been involved in crime and in political violence, like attacks on Inkatha, and they are using AK-47s, Makarovs and Tokarevs. 29/12/91

"We are not interested in the ANC's legitimate activities, but in those of ordinary MK members.

"We are applying the law and arresting them."

The brigadier said the CIS would investigate the incident if given a statement by the Western Cape ANC. He said police would not discount any theory about the alleged recruiting incident, including the possibility that members of right-wing organisations might be involved.

TOTALITARIANISM — GENERAL

1992

JANUARY — MARCH.

LABOUR

By DREW FORREST

THE National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) has claimed a systematic terror campaign against its officials, following a string of recent shootings and threats on the Reef.

In one case, a death threat was made by an anonymous caller claiming to be from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Numsa said Springs organiser

'Terror' campaign against Numsa officials

Jeffrey Khubeka narrowly escaped death in mid-December when three men in a grey Toyota, one of them white, shot at his car on the Dunottar-Duduza road.

His car was hit several times, as was another passing vehicle whose owner had been hospitalised.

Numsa lists other recent incidents, suggesting a "systematic attempt to intimidate its officials".

● Springs official Pepsi Mahlangu was shot dead in kwaThema in July.

● In November Springs organiser Andries Malaudzi was warned by an

organisation calling itself the "ASO" that he faced death if he did not resign from the union. His car was subsequently broken into and damaged.

● In September a nameless caller warned that the AWB would "get" Springs organiser Makgao Mlotshwa. The call was taken by the

office administrator, Sibongile Skosana, whom the caller named and also threatened to kill.

Numsa said Johannes Mosia, chairman of its Western Transvaal region, was under threat from "elements associated with the KwaMadala Hostel" — a disused hostel occupied by Inkatha supporters at Iscor's Vanderbijlpark works — and had not been sleeping at home for weeks.

UDF the target of bloody feud

Weekly Mail Reporter

A VIOLENT feud with African National Congress-aligned organisations is the only consistent feature in the blood-soaked history of Ama-Afrika.

The self-styled Africanist group was founded by the Rev Ebenezer Maqina, who was expelled from the Azanian People's Organisation in 1986. Maqina was notorious for his virulent opposition to the now-defunct United Democratic Front.

Shortly after its launch, Ama-Afrika was attacking UDF activists as it fought, said Maqina, "for democracy in Port Elizabeth — the home of the ANC and the South African Communist Party".

There are many reports of violence in which Ama-Afrika was involved, especially in 1987, and monitoring groups collected a number of affidavits.

In September 1987, for example, four members of the UDF-aligned Uitenhage Women's Congress were "beaten to a pulp" by 15 armed men alleged to be Ama-Afrika supporters. In a statement, the four said they had been abducted by the men and taken to Ama-Afrika's headquarters. There they were repeatedly assaulted.

The women were released after the vigilantes called municipal police to arrest them. Six policemen arrived and, said the women, assaulted them, first at Ama-Afrika's headquarters and then at a single-men's hostel. Finally an ambulance was called to collect them.

The women were examined by Dr Gavin Blackburn, who found they had been severely assaulted with blunt and sharp instruments and had sustained bruising and lacerations all over their bodies.

At the time, an Ama-Afrika spokesman, Joseph Maliwa, said he had no knowledge of the attack as he had been out of town.

The next month, a former Ama-Afrika member, Monwabisi Qoqo, told journalists he had been forced to join the vigilante group and take part in attacks on the residents of Tyoksville, a shantytown near Uitenhage. Qoqo admitted to participating in attacks which left five UDF supporters dead and at least one resident lying beaten in the streets.

"The night while we were looking for comrades, he said. "They just milled around while we continued with our raid."

In November 1987, Maqina was reported to be chairing a sub-committee of the Port Elizabeth Joint Management Committee. The JMCs were shadowy security force structures designed to win the hearts and minds of communities and neutralise anti-apartheid activists.

While holding this position, he approached the government for accreditation of Ama-Afrika, asking that it be given what remained of R3-million the government had set aside for families of detainees.

The following week, five people were killed in Uitenhage's townships, three of whom were closely linked to Ama-Afrika. Although the UDF was blamed for the killings, there were signs that the murders were a result of a split in Ama-Afrika.

Over the next 18 months violence between Ama-Afrika and UDF affiliates in the townships around Port Elizabeth died down, although the feud continued to simmer.

In April 1989, fighting flared up again when UDF affiliates accused the Pan Africanist Student's Organisation, the students' wing of Ama-Afrika, of intimidating students into joining Paso. By then, the current Ama-Afrika leaders had distanced themselves from Maqina.

THE Weekly Mail has acquired extensive details, including documentary proof, of the South African Defence Force's involvement in promoting organisations that have been implicated in township violence.

The newspaper has tracked down a senior official from a Military Intelligence front operation who has told of the vast SADF network that is involved in this activity across the country.

Dr Ben Conradie has documents that show how the SADF used front companies to create, train, support, assist and advise organisations that they believed would foster "black-on-black" conflict to undermine the African National Congress. These included Ama-Afrika National Front in Port Elizabeth and two groups in Somerset East and Cookhouse, the "Memesis" and the "Kekanas".

The documents prove that the front companies — most of which pretended to be educational organisations — have been funded by the SADF using secret state money. This contradicts the state president's claim that there was no further funding of political organisations other than the funding he had admitted to.

How SADF helped

Wim van der Westhuizen 3/11-9/11/92
According to Conradie, the SADF front companies operate on the belief that if they could promote conflict between black resistance organisations, "they will destroy each other".

"We were meant to be an educational company, doing such things as leadership skills training. But many of the people they brought to us were only interested in military training so that they could go out and kill ANC people," he said.

The SADF created a network of companies under the umbrella of Adult Education Consultants (AEC) in Pretoria, run by Dr Louis Pasques. Conradie, who ran a front company called Eduguide CC, was one of six regional directors. The others, all doing similar work through front companies, were in the Western Cape, the Northern Cape, the Northern Transvaal, the Witwatersrand and Natal.

Most of these companies are still active,

A senior employee tells how the military used front companies, either religious or educational, to train vigilante groups opposed to the ANC and UDF in the belief that they would destroy each other.

By ANTON HARBER and GAYE DAVIS

though some have changed their names. Under pressure from President FW de Klerk's cut-backs on secret funding, they appear to have been "privatised", hiding their links with the SADF and doing more legitimate educational work to cover their tracks.

The link between these companies and

MI is made clear, however, by Conradie. One document has Lieutenant-General Rudolf "Witkop" Badenhorst, then head of MI, signing on behalf of both MI and AEC. Badenhorst has communicated extensively on the matter with Conradie.

Conradie was involved in an operation called "Project Henry", which created and supported Ama-Afrika in Port Elizabeth. Ama-Afrika has been directly implicated in bloody conflict in the area and was repeatedly accused during the State of Emergency of working with the police to attack United Democratic Front members and their properties.

An Ama-Afrika leader, Reverend Ebenezer Maqina, was given money, food, transport, office equipment and training by Conradie and others operating on behalf of the SADF.

Conradie has documents showing R64 645,11 paid to Maqina in one four-

train the

Wim van der Westhuizen 3/11-9/11/92
month period from May 15 1986 to September 24 1986. Conradie personally handled at least R24 000 of this, including large amounts paid in cash to Maqina and never accounted for with receipts or invoices.

According to a document headed "AdEd Consultants, 27 October 1986, Oordragbetalings, Projek Henry", money was also paid to Avis for the hire of vehicles, to Williams Hunt for the purchase of a vehicle in Maqina's name and to various companies for car repairs, office equipment and the hire of a tent for a meeting place.

During this period, the SADF delivered a weekly truckload of food — "tons and tons of basic provisions" — to Conradie's house in suburban Port Elizabeth. This was organised by Commandant Botha Marais, then of the Eastern Province Command.

Proof of the link
Badenhorst signed both the SADF and Conradie hired him to take the food to him where he handed it ship support. When Conradie

Army's vigilante links

Wim van der Westhuizen 3/11-9/11/92
● From PAGE 3

military training, Conradie said. "They kept asking me for arms, saying that if only they had weapons they could finish off the UDF in their area."

A report from AEC's head of research, Dr JL van der Westhuizen, to Pasques in September 1986 reported that Memesi had agreed to accept help and would send 30 to 40 of his supporters on "a course" to be held at the Zuurberg Inn in Addo from October 13 to 16.

"From Somerset East we can spread our influence to Kookhuis, Bedford, Adelaide and Tarkastad, and eventually come to Cradock," he reported.

MI saw the Eastern Cape as a key area that would decide the fate of the "revolution" throughout the country. In the words of one Project Henry report, "If we win the Eastern Cape, we will win. If we lose the Eastern Cape, we will lose."

Conradie was involved in many training seminars and camps for a wide variety of organisations, including a Department of Education and Training

soccer training camp for teachers, at which AEC's Van der Westhuizen gave political and ideological lectures.

He has lectured Sasol and Armscor management, giving essentially the same message about the "total onslaught" on South Africa.

Conradie did extensive work for the SADF's Eastern Cape Command.

His evidence corroborates Weekly Mail reports of SADF front companies giving support and training to Inkatha members. It involves the same organisations and the same methods. Inkatha has not denied its relationship with MI.

Asked to comment, Major CF de Klerk of the SADF Directorate of Public Relations said the "SADF was not prepared to comment in any way on allegations and speculation about covert actions". He pointed out that the state president had made a "full statement" about covert projects in July this year and the SADF had also submitted details of all its covert projects to the special committee set up by the president to deal with the matter.

led train the township thugs

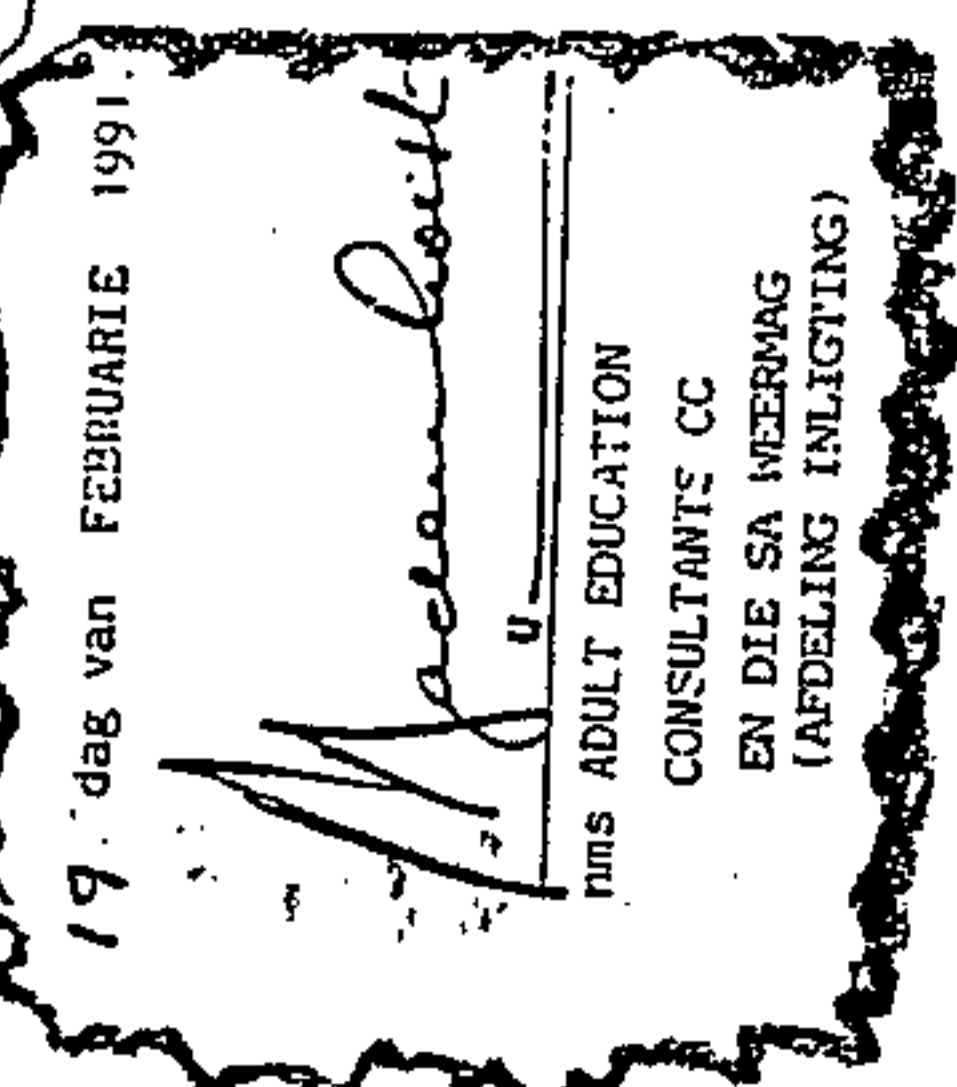
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Proof of the link ... General 'Witkop'
 Badenhorst signs a document for
 both the SADF and a front company
 Conradie hired vehicles for Maqina to
 take the food to his offices in North End,
 where he handed it out to bolster his town-
 ship support.

When Conradie queried the legality of

Army's vigilante links
 3271 274 311-91142

From PAGE 3 (254)

this use of SADF material, he was told
 other vehicles with false number plates
 would be used in future. Thereafter,
 according to Conradie, the food was deliv-
 ered in army bakkies with the EP
 Command badge, but bearing different
 number plates.

Maqina showed Conradie homemade
 weapons he had in his possession and
 asked him to organise military training for
 his youths.

A document written by Pasques and
 sent to General Staff 2 (presumably in the
 SADF) and Dr Das Habst of the Ministry
 of Defence in June 1986 outlines Project
 Henry. It calls for the creation of a "cultur-
 al front organisation in the Eastern Cape"
 and justifies it on the grounds that "the
 UDF is in a disorganised phase and can
 now be overcome."

"An umbrella organisation, Ama-
 Afrika National Front, is in a planning

stage ... and it must be managed on a full-
 time basis ... this Ama-Afrika National
 Front is planned to be the mother organi-
 sation of this cultural front organisation."

The letter refers to a youth organisation
 being set up to oppose the UDF and says
 these actions are being run by Dr JL van
 der Westhuizen, an AEC employee who
 was then running the MI operation in the
 area, and his wife.

The reason for supporting Maqina,
 Conradie believes, was "to create conflict
 between Azapo/Pan Africanist Congress
 and ANC/UDF in the area".

Towards the end of 1986, Maqina asked
 Conradie for money to organise a national
 launch of Ama-Afrika on December 16 at
 Greenpoint Stadium. The budget included
 payment for air tickets to Kimberley and
 Ulundi, "to bring moderate people togeth-
 er".

There were queries, however, over the

budget, which was very crudely drawn up,
 and the choice of December 16 for the
 launch. Conradie said he was also "fed up
 and worried" at this point, particularly
 because of his distrust of Maqina.

Pasques told Conradie to break off his
 relations with Maqina and destroy all
 Project Henry books and documents.

Conradie was also involved in support
 for the controversial former mayor — and
 ardent anti-ANC campaigner — of Port
 Elizabeth's Ibhayi township, Thamsanqa
 Linda. He personally bought and deliv-
 ered a car to Linda.

Four months later, when Linda was "not
 playing the game", Conradie went to
 recover the car. He found in the boot a
 shotgun and 25 rounds, which he returned
 to Linda.

Conradie was instructed to influence
 groups in Somerset East "to fight against
 ANC and UDF members". He developed
 a relationship with a group he knew as
 "the Memesis" in Somerset East, named
 after their leader, a Joel Memesi. He did
 the same with a group in Cookhouse
 which he called the "Kekanas", after a Mr
 Kekana.

TO PAGE 5

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 ing seminars and camps for a wide vari-
 ety of organisations, including a

Dirty tricks network still flourishes countrywide

By ANTON HARBEN

THE extensive network of front organisations set up by the South African Defence Force to carry out its dirty tricks operations in townships during the State of Emergency in the mid-1980s is still in existence.

The SADF has used private companies or close corporations for this work, all of them registered in the names of private individuals in order to hide the link with the military. This may also help them elude the scrutiny of the special committee set up by President FW de Klerk to look at secret government spending.

This use of private companies mirrors the approach of the SADF's Civil Co-Operation Bureau.

However, *The Weekly Mail* has gradually pieced together an elaborate picture of the large, country-wide network and its modus operandi. Most of these organisations are still in place, with the same individuals — all of whom have extensive military connections — running them.

Some of them, faced with funding cutbacks, are going international — offering an extraordinary range of services to the heads of states of neighbouring countries, including management training, adventure courses and the building of schools.

At the centre of the picture is Dr Louis Pasques, an educationist who was awarded the Star of Africa in 1987 for "services to state security" and who appears to have risen to a position of enormous power under the rule of President PW Botha. He was seconded to Botha's office in the presidency in 1985.

In 1986, Pasques quietly set up Adult Education Consultants (AEC) which became a major conduit for millions of rands of secret state funding. It was in fact a front for the SADF's Department of Military Intelligence and was to spawn a host of other front organisations across the country.

The close corporations dotted around the country were started up at the end of 1986 or early 1987 when regional managers of AEC were advised to start their own companies "so that no-one can link you to AEC because we are being funded by certain sponsors", according to Dr Ben Conradie, one of the regional managers.

Thus Kallie de Bruyn set up Go High CC in Cape Town, Jos Shadina set up Joset in Kimberley, Nic Haarhoff set up Betapers in Louis Trichardt, Dr J Eloff set up Good News Marketing Service in Pretoria, Dr JL van der Westhuizen set up Laborel in Johannesburg, Guy Boardman set up Creed Consultants in Natal and Conradie set up Eduguide in Port Elizabeth.

Most of these consultancies have done some legitimate work to hide the covert work for the SADF. Their modus operandi was to invoice and charge for this work, but not charge "friends" of the SADF whom they were instructed to assist.

The organisations run by Pasques fall into two types: Christian organisations, that hide their political motivation behind allegedly charitable and religious work; and consultancies that use the facade of seminars, lectures and training work to give assistance of all kinds to a range of organisations.

In both cases, the basic motivation is the same: to oppose the African National Congress and other left-wing bodies by promoting so-called "moderate groups", sometimes no more than violent groups of thugs and vigilantes. The specific strategy was to take advantage of the gap left by the organisations that had been crippled by the State of Emergency to promote organisations more acceptable to the state.

Confessions of a former intelligence front-man

DR BEN CONRADIE spoke to *The Weekly Mail* about his military intelligence work, "because they have put me in a very difficult position".

Conradie feels he was deceived when he was hired. "I am not a soldier. I am an academic," he said.

"I am an educationalist who wants to offer what knowledge and skills I have to make the people of South Africa properly informed about the process of change and the building of a new South Africa. I also want to contribute, through my educational work, to better labour relations," he said.

He tells of his distaste when he tried to offer the people he was instructed to deal with in the Eastern Cape educational services and training, when all the majority of them wanted was weapons and military training.

"I also was not a disciple of the total onslaught theory. I wanted to educate people, but this was not their intention. They just wanted to destroy their enemies, and they wanted me to help identify them and destroy them," he said.

Conradie feels that the South African Defence Force has ruined his career. "I am 55 years old and I cannot get a new job because I can't explain why they (Adult Education, the SADF front that employed him) fired me. Firstly, they never told me why they fired me. Secondly, they told me that the information about what I was doing was confidential for security reasons. So I cannot explain to anyone."

"I have tried, believe me. I have sent off 37 job applications and every single one wants to know how my company was funded and why I was fired. It is very hard."

"They (the SADF) also owe me a substantial amount of money. According to the auditors it is R296 000."

Conradie has corresponded on this matter with President FW de Klerk, National Intelligence Service head Neil Barnard, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, and Lt Gen R Badenhorst, the former head of Military Intelligence.

Conradie decided to answer questions about his work after a long wrangle with the SADF that goes back to March 1988. "For three and a half years, I have gone through this process to try and reach agreement with them. But it was impossible."

Conradie is an educationalist and an agriculturalist, with a PhD on the philosophy of education from Vista University. He is a former principal of the Harry Oppenheimer Agricultural High School in Lebowa and was a senior lecturer in education at Vista University in Port Elizabeth when he was recruited by Dr Louis Pasques, who ran the SADF front network.

Their approach was to seek out community leaders who were prepared to work with them, often with the help of the local SADF commando chief. This person would then be offered assistance, training and other resources.

All these organisations had generous budgets — Eduguide alone drew well over R700 000 — and in many cases there appears to have been little financial control. Some of the salaries were extremely high and tens of thousands of rands in cash was sometimes carted around in boxes and handed over with little accounting, invoices or receipts.

There appears to have been an understanding that plenty of money was available. At one stage, when an official queried this, he was told: "Don't worry, Pasques is on the State Security Council and he can organise the funds."

However, at some point the lack of accounting became a problem for Pasques and control of the money was taken over by Topman Bestuurdienste Bpk in Pretoria.

The Christian organisations linked to Pasques fell under the South African Christian Cultural Organisation (Sacco) which spent as much as R12-

million in three years, largely spreading National Party propaganda in coloured communities and a few African communities around the country.

Sacco had 16 regional affiliates around the country which were receiving budgets of at least R24 000 a month.

A former Sacco official who left because he was disillusioned with the organisation's activities said that in the beginning the emphasis was on "the total onslaught on the country". Pedro Saal, former executive secretary of the Sacco-affiliated North-Western Cape Christian Cultural Organisation, said: "We were warned that the ANC and the United Democratic Front were out to destroy the country. There were also lectures on the dangers of communism."

Later, however, the emphasis switched to convincing people to support the NP and to vote for it "when the time came".

The lectures, seminars and workshops were provided by the other arm of Pasques' operation: the consultancies which, under the guise of education and training, provided "total onslaught" lectures. They were also funded by the SADF and in turn



Dr Ben Conradie

acted as a conduit for support and assistance to a number of other organisations, such as Inkatha and Ama-Afrika.

These consultancies included Dynamic Teaching in Port Elizabeth and East London; Topman Bestuurdienste Bpk; MMD Makelaars in Pretoria; and Spektrum Personeel Konsultante of Pretoria.

Pasques is also associated with two other organisations with dubious-sounding names: the South African Board of Trustees, which channelled the money to him, and the Central Co-ordinating Control Body which "provided some finance and hired some staff".

Some consultancies run secret training camps located in nature reserves. These are at Mkuze in kwaZulu, where 200 Inkatha members were given paramilitary training; at Rosendal near Ficksburg; at Louis Trichardt and at Stutterheim, where training has been given to troops of Ciskei's military governor, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The Mkuze camp was fitted out with SADF equipment.

The Pasques network co-operates closely with the SADF's Comops division. Pasques has admitted to doing "all the Comops work"; Conradie did the same for Comops in the Eastern Cape Command.

Before Namibia's independence, Pasques did extensive work there for Comops. His consultancy also ran a camp, called Diyundu, in the Caprivi Strip that was used for meetings of his affiliates and sister consultancies.

Another key player alongside Pasques is Dr JL van der Westhuizen, formerly his Eastern Cape representative, later his research manager and now running Soja-Enterprises in Johannesburg. Van der Westhuizen has a doctorate in political science.

Other members of AEC were Gert Grobler, formerly of the SADF, Jaap Koen, former SADF major, Drickus Botha and Hans Schulz.

Most of these consultancies, their camps and their personnel are still operating. Pasques is now running two other operations, which appear to be an attempt to market his skills through the sub-continent: Pasques Development Enterprises (PDE) and Inter Africa Commodities (Pty) Ltd (IAC). PDE offers "a large number of experts in many fields who are able to offer development programmes countrywide". According to a letter Pasques has sent to heads of state in Angola, Zambia, Zaire and Zimbabwe, it offers training in "nation building, adventure courses, promoting good relations, community developers, motivation courses, local authorities, skills associated with managements, the organising of seminars, communication and negotiation".

Pasques' other organisation, IAC, offers "development projects such as housing, schools, classrooms, pre-primary complexes at primary schools, industrial buildings, etc". It also offers "training projects, job-creation projects, upgrading of facilities, communication".

Most of the other consultancies spawned by Pasques remain in place, though they appear to be doing more legitimate educational, overt work and some have changed their names. Eduguide still operates in PE, as does Dynamic Teaching, Betapers in Louis Trichardt and Creed Consultants in Pinetown; Go High has changed its name to Montage and is now run by Hans Laas; Joset in Kimberley is now called Dia/Plus; Van der Westhuizen, who previously ran Laborel in Johannesburg, now runs Soja-Enterprises. Another newly-formed consultancy is Equip in Pretoria, managed by Andre Kuhn, previously of AEC.

Insiders have suggested to *The Weekly Mail* that these remain strongholds of support for former president FW Botha and his military clique and they maintain links both with the military and in the townships.

How army sponsored township violence

Unfairly treated...
Dr Ben Conradie speaks out

*An angry
SADF
'link man'
exposes the
military's
years-long
covert role
in violence*

DISILLUSIONED

A senior official from a Military Intelligence front operation has broken ranks to provide extensive details of the South African Defence Force's role in sponsoring township violence.

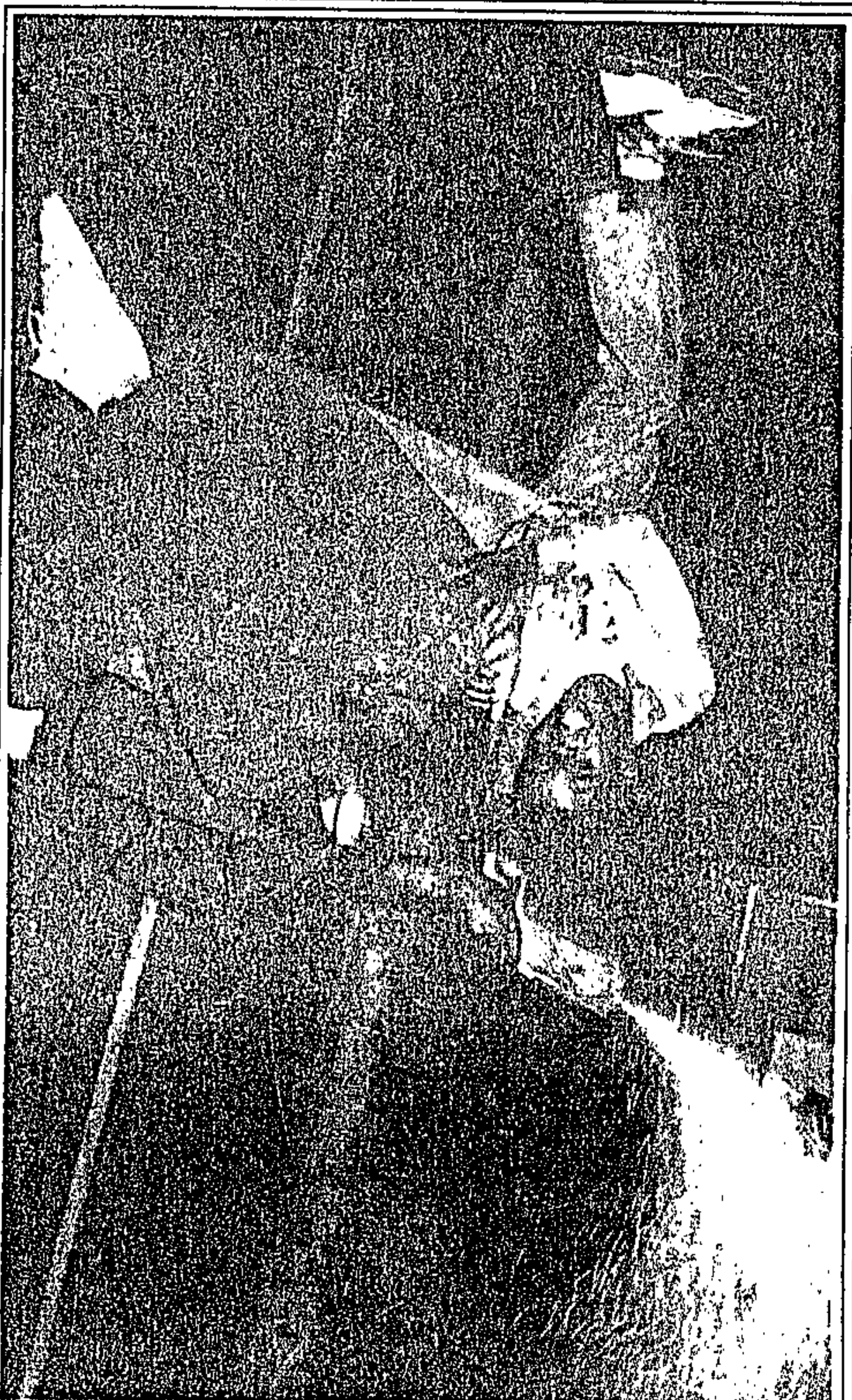


Educationist Dr Ben Conradie, a former school principal, was recruited to direct a covert operation called "Project Henry" which supplied money and training to a vigilante group opposed to the United Democratic Front.

Conradie has details about a variety of Military Intelligence front companies, most of which pretend to be either educational or religious groups.

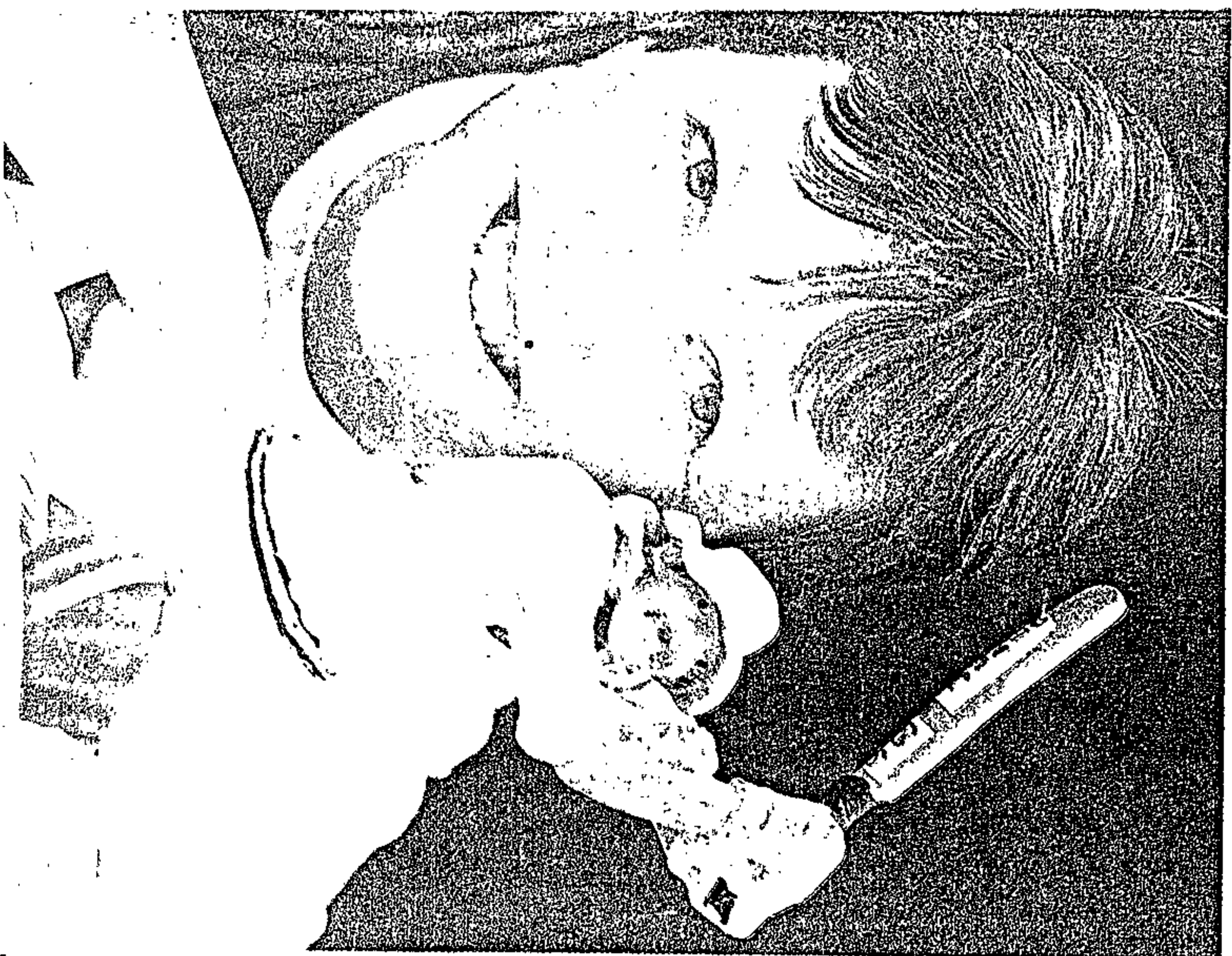
These companies have created, trained and supported various organisations which foster "black-on-black" conflict in order to undermine the African National Congress.

Full details: **PAGES 2 and 3**



Johannesburg's traditional frenzied New Year's street party moved from Hillbrow to Yeoville's Rockey Street, where, for a change, the emphasis was on noisy good fun rather than drunken violence Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

The escort girl, the spy and



Funning wife Sue goes in to bat for axed captain Clive

By GWEN GILL

MY old man is no old man! That's what Sue Rice, the woman who should know more than any selector about the physical and mental well-being of dumped South Africa Test captain Clive, has to say to critics who've called her husband "old" and "past it".

"He's as fit as the fittest 25-year-old. He can still wear trousers he bought 20 years ago," said the skipper's wife who is as shocked as the thousands who've signed petitions to get her man into the World Cup squad.

Outspoken Sue, 39, is funning. The day that she and husband Clive have longed for — South Africa's return to international cricket — has dawned.

But, apart from a few brief hours of glory during the rushed Indian three-game series, it's twilight for the 42-year-old all-rounder, as well as his long-time teammates Jimmy Cook and Peter Kirsten.

□ □ □

"They're saying Clive, Cook and Kirsten are too old. Let me tell you my husband is young at heart, young in body and young in attitude," said Sue, who played Premier League hockey for Old Johannesburg at the age of 38 last year and swins the Midmar Mile annually, with daughter Jackie, 10.

And she's not the only one with strong opinions on the matter.

In an hour at the Rice's large family home overlooking Huddle Park Golf Course, Johannesburg, this week, the phone rang six times as the fans and the faithful called to give support.

"Not even the death of my parents shocked me more than Clive being dropped," said Sue. "Lindsay Cook, who has lost her father, said the same."

The phone rings again. It's a devastated supporter from Uitenhage saying it's a crying shame Clive has been dropped. "It's quiet now. But we've had calls from

Barry Richards, who was in a state of shock, and Tony Greig... from fans everywhere. Everyone is as flabbergasted as we are.

"And I know the Cooks have had hundreds of calls from England."

"The English team must be thrilled that Jimmy, who topped the batting averages there last year, has been dropped."

"He knows about all the current overseas Test players."

"I keep thinking it's a bad dream and I'll wake up to find it's just been a nightmare."

It's the phone again. "How can we support our B-team in Australia," asks another shaken member of the Clive Rice fan club.

"No matter what the selectors say, the public are right behind him. He's lost nothing but his hair since I met him when I was 17."

"He's got phenomenal energy. He's never abused his body with booze, cigarettes or late nights. I defy anyone, even his young team-mates, to be fitter than him."

□ □ □

"He's got mental fitness too — the ability to take the pressure."

"If ever there was pressure it was on the Indian tour in November when the whole world watched."

Sue's phone beeps again. This time it's yesterday's man himself, calling from Cape Town where he's leading Transvaal against Western Province.

"The Sunday Times is here," Sue tells him. "They want to know if you're really an old man."

"I promise I wasn't too personal about your physical performance..."

THE riddle of the escort agency woman, the CCB man and the Uzi machine gun is being investigated by police.

The woman, Carol Ann Burton, 30, appeared in court in connection with illegal possession of the weapon, which was allegedly found in her flat by police.

Her boyfriend, Christopher Human, 30, claimed the Uzi had been left there by former Civil Co-operation Bureau agent Ferdi Barnard, a key figure in the Harms Commission.

It was also claimed in court that Barnard tried to recruit the couple as spies. Willemstrand Attorney-General Mr Klaus von Lieres and Wilkau said this week that an investigation of theft of the Uzi from the police was under way.

However, it was too early to say whether prosecutions would result.

Miss Burton and Mr Human appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court last month charged with unlawful possession of the Uzi and ammunition.

They were not asked to plead.

Miss Burton was granted bail of R2 500.

However, the state opposed Mr Human's bail application.

Unhappy

Giving evidence during the application for bail, Mr Human told the court that Mr Barnard had tried to recruit him and Miss Burton to spy on certain people and organisations.

This was despite the fact that the CCB has apparently been disbanded.

Mr Human said Mr Barnard still worked for Military Intelligence although the claim was previously denied by the South African Defence Force.

Mr Human was released on bail of R2 500.

The couple are due to appear in court again on January 13 when a trial date is due to be set.

Interviewed in their attractively furnished Berea flat, Miss Burton and Mr Human said they had spent an unhappy Christmas and New Year because of the pending court case.

the Uzi

By CATHY STAGG

They said they were concerned about the high legal costs of defending themselves.

Miss Burton said she had known Ferdi Barnard for several months as a business associate.

Mr Barnard could not be contacted for comment this week.

During the Harms Commission inquiry, Mr Barnard testified that the four affidavits he gave the police about the CCB contained varying degrees of truth and untruths.

He claimed he wrote all the affidavits under pressure and had said: "Give me some paper and I'll testify that I shot Webster and Lubowski."

He was referring to assassinated left-wing figures David Webster and Anton Lubowski. Mr Barnard subsequently denied

the commission he had been charged with and found guilty of murder and theft. The murder charges followed the deaths of drug runners, he said. He spent three years in jail until December 1987. In April 1988 he joined the CCB which was set up to fight "the enemies of South Africa".

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THE SADF has sponsored many religious and educational front organisations which fostered "black-on-black" conflict, the Weekly Mail reported this week in an expose of Military Intelligence.

Source of the expose is Dr. Ben Conradie, a former Vista University lecturer who was recruited to direct a covert operation in the Eastern Cape which supplied money and training to a violent vigilante group, Ama-Afrika, to oppose the United Democratic Front.

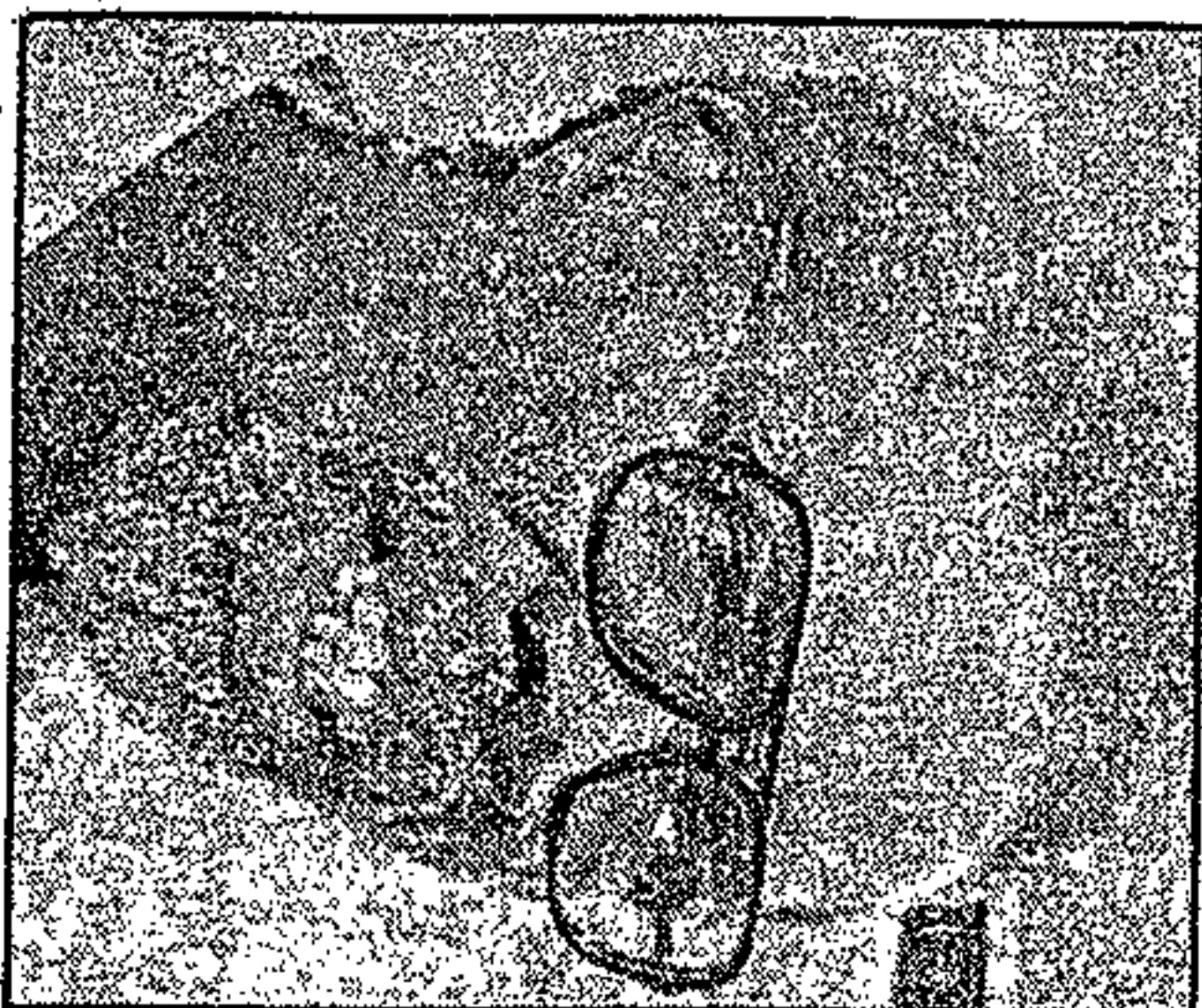
Ama-Afrika had been directly implicated in bloody conflict in the area and was repeatedly accused during the State of Emergency of working with the police to attack UDF members and their properties.

Ama-Afrika leader Rev Ebenezer Magina was given money, food, transport, office equipment and training by Conradie and others operating on behalf of the SADF.

Conradie had documents showing that in a four-month period in 1986 Magina was paid nearly R65 000.

During this time the SADF delivered a weekly truckload of food to Conradie's house in Port Elizabeth. Conradie then hired vehicles to transport the food to Magina's offices in North End, where he handed it out to bolster

his support in the townships. A document written by Dr Louis Pasques, who played a prominent role in forming the front organisations, called for the creation of "cultural front organisations in the Eastern



Rev Ebenezer Magina.

Cape", justifying it on the grounds that "the UDF is in a disorganised phase and can now be overcome".

"An umbrella organisation, Ama-Afrika National Front is in a planning stage... and it must be managed on a full-time basis... this Ama-Afrika National Front is planned to be the mother organisation of this cultural front," wrote Pasques, who received an award from the government for his contribution to "state security".

Conradie was instructed to influence groups in Eastern Cape towns like Somerset East and Cookhouse "to fight against the ANC and UDF members". He said some of these groups "kept asking me for arms, saying that if only they had weapons they could finish off the UDF in the area".

Conradie said some consultations started by MI ran secret training camps in nature reserves. These are at Mkhuze in KwaZulu, where 200 Inkatha members were given paramilitary training, at Rosendal near Ficksburg, at Louis Trichardt and at Stutterheim, where training was given to troops of Ciskei's military governor, Brig Oupa Gqozo.

Ama-Afrika - expelled from

Latest expose of MI 'dirty tricks' funding

Azapo in 1986 - was involved in many attacks on UDF and MDM members in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage in 1986 and 1987.

The SADF was not prepared to comment on Friday on media allegations that it backed organisations that instigated "black-on-black violence", SABC radio news reported.

The SADF said in a statement that it had previously spelt out clearly its policy on secret projects.

It also referred to a statement by President FW de Klerk on the matter, and to a committee he appointed to advise him on aspects of special projects.

The SADF further referred to a statement from the Ministry of Finance in July last year, which said it had never been the government's intention to divulge full details of special secret projects. - Sapa

From SADF

WITIN LOVE

3271

Leaked document could split Bond, says Treurnicht

Staff Reporter

STAT 6/1/92
The National Intelligence Service (NIS) had "nothing to say" yesterday about a Sunday Times report claiming a covert group within the Afrikaner Broederbond was attempting to divide and discredit right-wing political groups.

The report said a secret Broederbond document had been leaked, revealing that the NIS could be used against right-wing politicians if they could not be forced to the negotiation table.

The document, headed "Executive Council decisions emanating from mini-Bond meetings held during the year 1991", also stated that certain members of the Broederbond — presumably right-wing sympathisers — should be kept in the dark about strategic decisions on constitutional talks.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the leaked document could split the Broederbond.

He said some CP members of the Broederbond "will be put in a sensitive position" as a result of the leakage of the document.

"There will be a number of the CP members who will not agree with such strategies, but some will be in a difficult position as to whether they will resign from the Broederbond," he said.

Dr Treurnicht reiterated that the CP had no intention of joining the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Reacting to the report, Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said the Broederbond could not do more than it had already done in its "smear campaigns against the right wing over the years".

"The organisation is itself discredited. The Broederbond among right-wing organisations is despised and most right-wing leaders have left the organisation," he said.

Mr van Tonder said the Broederbond was a "super employment organisation" which promoted members for State appointments rather than espouse a political ideology.

He added there was no chance of the right wing being drawn into negotiations unless the concept of a Boer nation were accepted.

Leaked 'divide and discredit' document not ours, says Broederbond

Political Reporter and Sapa

Afrikaner Broederbond chairman Professor Pieter de Lange has denied the existence of a document which, it was alleged in the Sunday press, revealed an attempt to divide and discredit right-wing political groups through the National Intelligence Service.

He said in a statement released yesterday that the gullibility with which the existence of the document had been accepted without confirming its authenticity was inexplicable.

"The AB and its executive council is not in a position to employ the State's intelligence services or any other State or semi-State institution to further its aims, as is insinuated in the report."

Professor de Lange also denied the existence of a covert group within the Broederbond. He said one of the most important goals of the Broederbond was to promote the advancement of unanimity between all Afrikaners and it would therefore be absurd for the group to act in a way which would work against this goal.

The HSRG has denied this, saying it is an independent research organisation which had never done research for any secret organisation.

It said the document referred to was the official public newsletter of the HSRG's Centre for Conflict Analysis, which was published quarterly.



16 JAN 1992

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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Vol. 319

PRETORIA, 7 JANUARIE 1992
JANUARY

No. 13596

GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING

MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

No. R. 245 7 Januarie 1992

INTREKKING VAN KENNISGEWING KRAGTENS
DIE WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 5A van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, No. 3 van 1953, trek ek, Hermanus Jacobus Kriel, Minister van Wet en Orde, hierby Goewermenskennisgewing No. R. 2848 van 23 November 1991, waarby die landdrostdistrik van Krugersdorp, insluitende die gebied bekend as Munsieville, tot onrusgebied verklaar is, met ingang van 7 Januarie 1992 in.

H. J. KRIEL,
Minister van Wet en Orde.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

No. R. 245 7 January 1992

WITHDRAWAL OF NOTICE UNDER THE PUBLIC
SAFETY ACT, 1953

Under the powers vested in me by section 5A of the Public Safety Act, No. 3 of 1953, I, Hermanus Jacobus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, hereby withdraw, with effect from 7 January 1992, Government Notice No. R. 2848 of 23 November 1991, whereby the Magisterial District of Krugersdorp, including the area known as Munsieville, was declared to be an unrest area.

H. J. KRIEL,
Minister of Law and Order.

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R. 245	Wet op Openbare Veiligheid (3/1953): In- trekking van Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 2848 van 23 November 1991	1 13596	R. 245	Public Safety Act (3/1953): Withdrawal of Government Notice No. R. 2848 of 23 November 1991	1 13596

SAP raids home of union boss

By Shareen Singh

Police raided the Jabulani home of National Council of Trade Unions general secretary, Cunningham Ngcukana yesterday morning and allegedly threatened him at gunpoint.

Mr Ngcukana said several policemen knocked on his door at 2 am and refused to show identification.

"When I let five of them in, they pointed a machine pistol and other guns at me."

Mr Ngcukana said they had referred names they found in his correspondence to a hooded black man standing outside the house with four others.

Sapa reports that a Soweto police spokesman said Mr Ngcukana's house had been searched "in the course of an investigation".

"If Mr Ngcukana is not satisfied with the conduct of the men, he is free to lay a complaint and the matter will be investigated."

Freedom of media essential — Mandela

BLOEMFONTEIN — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday issued a powerful call for freedom of the media, saying an informed public was essential to the democratic process.

Saying openness in the negotiation process was an important prerequisite for the involvement of the public, the ANC leader committed his organisation to ensuring the country was kept abreast of events.

"An informed public is better able to make an informed choice and itself take part in the debates about society's

future."

His organisation had issued a draft media charter for discussion and amendment by the public, and other organisations should also strive for a "democratic media".

"We believe that all the parties engaged in negotiations ought to ensure accurate briefings to their constituencies.

"On its part, the ANC will strive at all times to ensure that our members and the public as a whole are informed about and contribute to this crucial national debate," Mr Mandela said. — Sapa.

Police raided me says unionist

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Soweto
9/1/92
By MZIMASI
NGUDLE

ABOUT 14 policemen allegedly raided and ransacked the house of National Council of Trade Unions general secretary Mr Cunningham Ngcukana yesterday.

Ngcukana said yesterday that the police arrived at his home in Jabulani, Soweto, about 2am.

He claimed they searched the house without a search warrant, threatened him and damaged his property during the search.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni confirmed that Ngcukana's house was searched "following information received in the normal course of crime investigation".

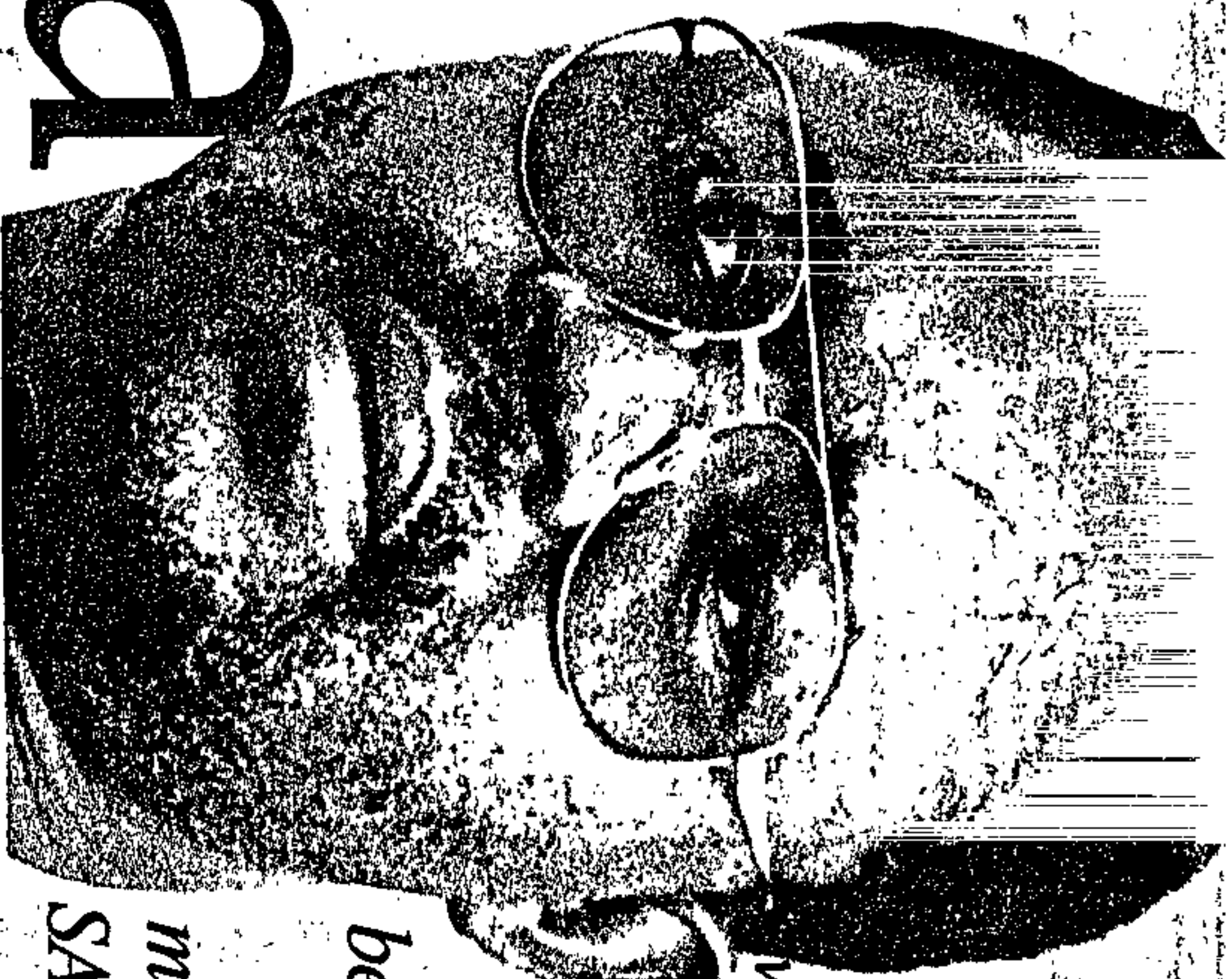
He said Ngcukana was free to lay a complaint if he was not satisfied about the conduct of the police and the matter would be investigated.

Ngcukana said he was awoken by footsteps in his yard and when he peeped through the window saw policemen "taking positions around the house".

He claimed they broke the back door. Five policemen entered the house while others stood guard outside.

A former senior official breaks ranks to reveal for the first time the inner workings of the Umdlindle headquarters

Inside Inkatha



"I joined Inkatha because I wanted to work for the freedom of the black man. I left because I felt I was no more than an SADF agent"

W/Mail 10/11 - 16/11/92

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Bongeni Khumalo, once the powerful boss of Inkatha's Youth Brigade and an Inkatha Central Committee member, quit the organisation because he believed that it had become a vehicle for instigating violence against fellow blacks.

He was a highly regarded member, introduced to Inkatha members at rallies by Mangosuthu Buthelezi himself. Khumalo is the most senior Inkatha official to break ranks and reveal the inside manoeuvrings in the

Umdlindle organisation.

In today's Weekly Mail, he makes five key points:
 1. Transvaal Inkatha leaders, including Themba Khoza, received training from Military Intelligence shortly before Inkatha's bloody push on to the Reef which sparked the violence of 1990.

2. A kwazulu police officer, trained in guerrilla warfare and privy to Inkatha Central Committee meetings,

On a Saturday in August 1990, as the people of Wesselson are burying three of their dead, gunmen open fire on the funeral procession. The mourners, most of them African National Congress sympathisers, drop the coffins and flee in panic. The hitmen brazenly open the coffins and pump a number of rounds into the corpses before they make off.

The macabre incident, which accompanied a wave of violence that has swept

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"An Inkatha Youth Brigade official told me personally that he and other members of the unit were involved in the funeral attack in Wesselson and he explained how after a heavy round of shooting they opened the coffins and shot at the corpses," says Khumalo. Khumalo says he was also informed that three members of the hit squad — whose activities in the Ermelo township helped spread civil strife between Inkatha

Continued overleaf

led a gruesome attack on an ANC funeral in Wesselson. He was released, and the AK-47s used in the attack were returned to Umdlindle (see article on this page).
 3. Inkatha's top leadership received systematic secret instruction from Military Intelligence over two years in a bid to strengthen the organisation against the ANC. Inkatha leaders were ordered to attend by Buthelezi, on pain of dismissal.

4. The Defence Force and Inkatha collaborated in numerous anti-Mass Democratic Movement pamphlet blitzes in Natal townships, with the knowledge of Inkatha chiefs. Pamphlets were drawn up and printed by the SADF, then collected and distributed by Inkatha members.

5. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi must have been aware of the massive and long-standing support given by both the South African Police and the SADF to Inkatha. Even less senior officials knew of these contacts.

See PAGE 2 and PAGES 16 & 17

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One man's story of why he joined ... and why he left

I JOINED Inkatha because I wanted to work for the freedom of the black man. I left it because I felt I was no more than an SADF agent.

"I started by believing Inkatha's claims to be working for a democratic society by peaceful means. The deeper my involvement, the more I realised I was a vehicle for instigating conflict among blacks, for undermining legitimate organisations and maintaining the status quo."

THE words are those of Mbongeni Khumalo, once the powerful leader of Inkatha's Youth Brigade and an Inkatha Central Committee member over a three-year period.

Khumalo's decision to go public was sparked by a recent attack on him by Inkatha's Natal mouthpiece, *Ilanga*, in which he was branded an African National Congress agent paid to leak damaging information about Inkatha to *The Weekly Mail*. He strongly denies the allegations, and plans legal action against *Ilanga*.

Ousted from Inkatha in 1979, he says for raising questions about its policies, he was personally lured back to the fold by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and installed as assistant national organiser of the Youth Brigade in 1987.

At Inkatha rallies, Buthelezi proudly introduced him from the stage as an important catch for the organisation, he says. This was despite the fact that the Inkatha leader was well aware Khumalo had previous convictions for minor criminal offences.

In 1989, when the Youth Brigade national organiser, Ntwe Mafole, was jailed for arson, he took over as acting national organiser. From being an observer at Central Committee meetings, he became a fully-fledged member.

By the time of his resignation in March last year, his disillusionment was total, he says.

Khumalo is the most senior Inkatha official to break ranks in recent years.

At 33, a married man with a house in Ulundi, he does not strike one as a typical activist. But Inkatha clearly valued his administrative and organisational skills — in a short time, he had won a significant following among the youth.

Articulate, with an immaculate command of English and an encyclopaedic memory for detail, he trained himself in political analysis through correspondence courses and was extensively used as a political instructor in Inkatha's youth wing. As acting national organiser he was the Youth Brigade spokesman, and gave numerous press briefings and conferences on youth affairs.

In hours of interviews with *The Weekly Mail*, he provided a fascinating insight into the dynamics of the controversy-dogged organisation and its leaders.

INSIDE INKATHA

Wimsey 10/11-16/1/92
A disillusioned former central committee member tells of visits to army bases to pick up anti-ANC pamphlets, resentment among senior members at interference from whites ... and a seemingly endless stream of unexplained funds for an organisation which could barely pay its office bearers

DREW FORREST and EDDIE KOCH talk to MBONGENI KHUMALO

He believes that without Buthelezi's drive and political cunning, and the massive and long-term assistance of the South African Police and Military Intelligence, Inkatha would long ago have withered on the vine.

He is also convinced that Buthelezi is well aware of the nature and extent of security force support for the movement he controls, and that men close to the Inkatha leader — notably his personal secretary MZ Khumalo — are "closely linked" to Military Intelligence.

MZ, described by Khumalo as "a very dedicated man; he works a 24-hour day for his master", took the rap during last year's Inkatha funding scandal and resigned his position. Khumalo understands MZ still covertly works for Inkatha and draws a salary.

His introduction to the seamier side of Inkatha came shortly after his recruitment, when he observed "mysterious, clean-cut guys" collecting salaries from Inkatha offices in Ulundi — apparently for doing nothing.

These, he would later learn, were the 200 Inkatha members trained by the SADF in the Caprivi Strip and in Israel in 1986. Two years later, when he gave them political training at aMatikulu, he noted that they were both highly disciplined and politically sophisticated.

Pooh-poohing President FW de Klerk's claim that the Caprivi training was for "security and VIP protection", he says the men were essentially schooled in assassination techniques and guerrilla warfare.

"They were divided into four units on completing their training: offensive, defensive, contra-

mobilisation and aides," he says. "Regular members of the kwaZulu Police Force (KZP) were the natural candidates for bodyguard work. The trainees were loyal Inkatha members chosen from all Inkatha areas, to ensure that the organisation's interests came first."

He also points to the intense secrecy surrounding the training — a policy of which Buthelezi must have been aware. The whereabouts of the Namibian camp was carefully concealed from the trainees, who were warned that they faced death if they divulged details of their training, he says.

In 1989, after passing through an Inkatha youth camp in aMatikulu and a secret camp at Mkuze, in northern Natal, the 200 were absorbed into the KZP — which Khumalo describes as "the military wing of Inkatha".

Violent crimes committed by the Namibian graduates subsequently make it clear, he says, that Inkatha hitmen are still about their grisly work. *The Weekly Mail* last year provided names of hit squad trainees currently being sought by police for murder and other crimes.

Some had joined the reaction unit at kwaMakutha; these were explicitly mentioned by the KZP's Sergeant Mthembu in a supreme court action last year. Fearing that he was earmarked for assassination, Mthembu applied for an order preventing his transfer to kwaMakutha, where he said hit teams were active.

Khumalo says the cream of the Caprivi 200 were retained at Ulundi where, out of uniform, they "loitered around, waiting for the call."

"Hit squads exist to ensure there is no political opposition to Inkatha and its leaders. If anyone emerges as an opponent, they are rubbed out," he comments.

In 1989, Khumalo was brought into direct and extensive contact with two other mysterious

organisations, the Pretoria-based Adult Education Consultants (AEC) and the Durban-based Creed Consultants.

He was asked to co-ordinate a series of leadership courses for Inkatha leaders at the secret Mkuze camp, beginning early in 1989 and ending in late 1990, conducted by whites from AEC and Creed. With a heavy bias against the ANC and its allies, this training set out to upgrade Inkatha and convert it into a major national force which could pose a political challenge to the ANC.

"Creed's managing director, Guy Boardman, was fond of telling the trainees that if Inkatha didn't pull up its socks, it would be no more than a line in the history books," Khumalo says.

Wimsey 10/11-16/1/92
He soon learnt that all aspects of the training, including the establishment of the Mkuze camp's infrastructure at a cost of some R600 000, the purchase of vehicles valued at about R350 000, and the feeding and transportation of course participants over a two-year period, were paid for by Creed.

"Inkatha had a huge overdraft at the time — there was no way it could have paid for such an expensive project."

Also based at Mkuze for a four-month period were the 200 Caprivi graduates. Creed paid their salaries — a minimum of R900 a month — and MZ Khumalo personally supervised the collection of wages from Creed on a monthly basis.

On seeing Creed's Boardman at the Mkuze camp, some of the Caprivi graduates had immediately recognised him from Namibia, where they said he had been involved in training them.

"It became abundantly clear to me that the army was involved in setting up this camp because the beds in the barracks and the stove in

Mysterious 'clean-cut' guys were collecting money from the Ulundi office — apparently for doing nothing

MILITARY Intelligence (MI) gave systematic secret training to Inkatha's top decision-makers over a two-year period in a bid to shore up the organisation in its political battle with the ANC.

According to Mbongeni Khumalo, the former chief of Inkatha's Youth Brigade and the co-ordinator of the training, two MI front organisations provided leadership and political education courses for members of Inkatha's top executive body, the central committee, and kwaZulu cabinet ministers. kwaZulu MPs, youth activists and even school inspectors were also trained.

The training was heavily weighted against the ANC and its allies, Khumalo says. Participants were told that if Inkatha "failed to pull up its socks, it would be no more than a line in the history books".

He also revealed that the Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had instructed central committee members to attend the courses on pain of dismissal.

kwaZulu cabinet ministers who had attended courses

included MM September, minister of welfare and pensions; Chief Nxumalo, deputy minister of finance; and VB Ndlovu, deputy minister of works, he said.

Millions of rands were poured into the training, conducted by two MI fronts, Durban-based Creed Consultants and Pretoria-based Adult Education Consultants, at a secret camp at Mkuze in northern Natal between early 1989 and late 1990. It was discontinued after reports of the camp began to surface in the press.

The Weekly Mail has already reported that the Mkuze camp was used as a temporary base for 200 Inkatha members trained in guerrilla warfare and assassination techniques by the SADF in Namibia and in Israel.

But according to Khumalo, its principal purpose was to provide leadership, organisational and political training for Inkatha.

Wimsey 10/11-16/1/92
Courses were offered "seven days a week" by whites, some from Creed and some from Adult Education Consultants. Among the Creed trainers were managing director Guy Boardman, Greg Dawson and Mike Davis.

Creed had carried out extensive research into Inkatha's strengths and weaknesses before initiating the training, Khumalo said. During the courses, trainers laid repeated emphasis on Inkatha's loss of support in the townships, particularly among the youth; its lack of a media strategy and poor media profile; its inadequate resources and the central committee's lack of commitment to the Inkatha cause.

Inkatha leaders were encouraged to appear on television and to initiate development projects in order to win popular support. "Negative references were constantly made to the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement," Khumalo

said. "The courses were biased. Their aim was to undermine the ANC."

Khumalo bluntly said that the Creed Consultants and Creed's independent *Weekly Mail* recent editions. Khumalo used at Mkuze were marked as such.

He relates how the members, nearly all of whom objected to the OCB. Only after the closest aide, MZ

The costs of the training have been borne



suspension of state support for Inkatha. He scoffs at police claims that the gathering was a non-party political affair, aimed at countering crime.

Spearheading the police involvement in the rallies was Major Louis Botha, whose relationship with Buthelezi was "closer than close", Khumalo says. Botha openly boasted that he controlled Buthelezi's bodyguard and visited Ulundi two or three times a week.

The SAP also produced a propaganda video for Inkatha's use, which pinned the blame for the Pietermaritzburg violence on the ANC and which was shown to a full meeting of the Inkatha Central Committee, attended by Buthelezi. Commentary throughout the film was provided by a police officer named Major Conradie, making its SAP origins crystal-clear, Khumalo says.

Khumalo also reveals that throughout 1989, in collaboration with Inkatha, the SADF's Natal Command had drafted and distributed tens of thousands of leaflets in Natal townships vilifying the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

MZ Khumalo was deeply involved in the joint pamphleteering operation, attending strategy meetings with SADF personnel and receiving leaflets drafted by the military on his personal fax machine for approval. The Defence Force paid for the printing of the pamphlets, Mbongeni Khumalo says.

"I was personally present when some of these faxes from Natal Command arrived on MZ's fax machine and it left me with no doubt that he had close links with the military," he says.

This is the first direct evidence to back the widely held belief that MZ Khumalo, Buthelezi's right-hand man, acted as Inkatha's chief liaison with Pretoria's security forces.

Mbongeni Khumalo has an in-depth knowledge of Military Intelligence's role in providing this form of propaganda back-up to Inkatha, as he had been present at numerous pamphlet drops, carried out by a self-confessed SADF member called Izwelihle Zulu at midnight in such areas as Inanda, Ndwedwe, kwaMakutha and Umlazi.

On one occasion, he personally witnessed Zulu enter the Natal command and emerge with leaflets for distribution.

The pamphlet drops took place at midnight, and strategic public places such as taxi ranks and shopping centres were targeted. The two would return during the day to check how many pamphlets had been picked up.

Khumalo says the pamphlets were intended as a response to MDM initiatives such as stayaways and school boycotts, and vilified such organisations as the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Some were unmarked, others were marked as coming from Inkatha.

Khumalo produced written reports on the operations for MZ, which would "definitely" have been forwarded to Buthelezi, he says.

His allegations have been put to the SADF, which refused to comment.

Khumalo lists two other issues suggesting further security force links with Inkatha. He asks how the Central Committee came to possess the sensitive internal ANC documents it frequently analysed and debated.

He also says the military bought two 2.8-litre Toyota Cressidas for Buthelezi's bodyguards — all former Caprivi trainees — and that the vehicles are currently parked at Buthelezi's private residence at Nkonjeni.

Khumalo has no doubt that Buthelezi knew of all the various forms of assistance given Inkatha by the security forces.

"Nothing happens in Inkatha without his knowledge and approval.

"He once told us that he would make use of the devil if it would promote the organisation. As far as I'm concerned, that's exactly what he has done."

The Reverend knew about the money, but not who gave it

Last week's front page revealed that the Eastern Cape group Ama-Afrika received military aid. Ama-Afrika has confirmed this, but denies knowing the source, reports SHADLEY NASH

THE former leader of Ama-Afrika, the Reverend Ebenezer Maqina, has admitted receiving funding from Military Intelligence front Adult Education Consultants (AEC), but denied knowledge of its link to the South African Defence Force.

Maqina admitted having received funding and other support from AEC for five months in 1987, but said he had "broken with" AEC after reading a report that the group was running indoctrination seminars in the northern Transvaal.

Ironically, Maqina was then offered support by Dr Ben Conradie, who was running Eduguide CC, effectively the regional office of AEC.

Maqina, the founder of Ama-Afrika and still today the director of the Black Crisis Centre, said he turned down the offer as Conradie expected to run his projects.

He said besides Conradie, he dealt with Dr Louis Pasques, the head of AEC, and Dr J.L. Van der Westhuizen, an AEC employee. Maqina denied he knew they were linked to MI.

"At no stage did AEC or Conradie hint to us that they had links with the SADF," he said this week.

Maqina's group was widely held responsible for the bloody violence involving the United Democratic Front in Uitenhage during 1986 and 1987. But Maqina this week painted himself as a peace broker between the warring factions. "I served as a broker in getting the UDF regional leadership and Azapo together in my home," he said.

His statement comes in the wake of Conradie's disclosures, published in *The Weekly Mail* last week, that Ama-Afrika had received funding and assistance from Eduguide.

He said he would be going to court over the claims "to clear this".

Maqina said he had had dealings with AEC after being introduced to Van der Westhuizen by "a lawyer friend".

The reason for this contact, he said, was to secure funds for a "Save the Children Campaign". The campaign involved a series of seminars to inform people of the effects of violence on children.

"After we handed in our budget proposal I was then interviewed by (as I knew him) Pastor Louis Pasques as he wanted to make sure we were in need and were running worthwhile projects.

"Our projects included: seminars, an advice centre and a relief centre."

However, he added that these projects "were already in operation through the assistance of some farmers, commercial giants like Tastic Rice, Metro and individuals".

He said the financial support from AEC, which lasted for five months before "we broke with them" in October 1987, was in the form of "remuneration for the staff, a vehicle and a budget for seminars".

The total amount he received in cash, mainly to cover salaries, was R10 900, he said, while there was other support such as the use of a vehicle and seminar expenses.

"This was not Maqina money, but the campaign's money."

He said Ama-Afrika broke off its links with AEC as a result of a report in *City Press* suggesting that AEC was running seminars in the northern Transvaal to "indoctrinate people".

He said his first contact with Dr Ben Conradie, whom he met late in 1986, was through a Pastor Badenhorst, of the Full Gospel Church, who was then chairman of the East Cape Sports Foundation.

Badenhorst, who is now believed to be in the United States, arranged that food parcels received from the Department of National Health and Population Development be stored at Conradie's Summerstrand home.

"Because we had no storage room, Pastor Badenhorst requested Dr Conradie's garage in Summerstrand. This is how we met him."

He said after he had broken ties with AEC, Conradie approached him and "informed us about his organisation", but "we never accepted his offer as he expected to run our programmes".

Maqina said he could not remember the name of the organisation Conradie said he represented, but added that there were conditions attached to the offer.

These conditions were that Ama-Afrika should not be associated with "liberation movements", that Conradie's group would "draw up agendas for our seminars and lectures", and "provide us with other programmes to conduct", although Conradie did not say what these "other programmes" would be.

Maqina also denied that he had requested military training, as suggested in *The Weekly Mail* report.

"If he did offer us training, then he will have to come out all the way and state places and the number of people involved." — Pen

The SADF drafted and printed pamphlets for Inkatha, which were picked up from Natal Command

Ebenezer Maqina, which would be able to tap overseas funding sources closed to Inkatha because of its tainted image.

Pasques said R11-million was available for such a project, and sidestepped questions about the source of the funding, Khumalo says. "It is interesting that Buthelezi asked no questions about where this huge sum was to come from. His only concern was that he might lose control of the new organisation."

Khumalo concluded that both AEC and Creed were SADF fronts. There is overwhelming independent evidence for this, much of it published in recent editions of *The Weekly Mail*.

Security force support for Inkatha was not limited to leadership and military training. Khumalo helped stage Inkatha's now-notorious King's Park rally in November 1989, and knew of the R250 000 provided by the SAP for its organisation.

He also made most of the logistical arrangements for an Inkatha rally at Mzumbi last year, which police also funded — long after the alleged

Inkatha. Khumalo says the establishment cost of the Mzumbi camp — including accommodation, a canteen, ablution facilities and a lecture room — were R700 000. Running and maintenance costs were born by Creed, which also purchased four Toyota minibuses, a Toyota Hilux, a 2.5-ton Toyota Dyna and VW Jetta, collectively worth R350 000, for the project.

Meals for a single three-day course, generally attended by about 40 people, would have cost close to R5 000. This suggests that food alone may have cost R500 000 a year.

Transport was provided for participants, and there is also the small matter of payment for the training. Khumalo says Creed billed Inkatha for the training in order to maintain the fiction that it was an independent consultancy, but that the cheques were never banked.

As an indication of what MI front operatives were paid, disgruntled former MI man Dr Ben Conradie has told *The Weekly Mail* that he was offered a university professor's salary with a 25 percent weighting to work for AEC.

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POPPING open the champagne corks at their 80th birthday bash in Bloemfontein this week, the African National Congress could reflect with some satisfaction at the amazing course of events in South Africa.

With democracy looking — at last — like it is just around the corner and the government having committed itself to a Declaration of Intent of non-racial democratic constitutional principles and political equality for all, a major part of the struggle has been won already.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, delivering the National Executive Committee's annual anniversary statement at a rally in Bloemfontein, pointed out that for the first time ever, "representatives of the oppressed people and the apartheid regime have together committed themselves to jointly explore the creation of democratic institutions in South Africa".

The success of the opening round of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) was not the only cause for celebration by the world's oldest liberation movement.

The latest opinion poll figures published this week by Research Surveys show Mandela's political popularity — with 70 percent among blacks — remains far ahead of those of his nearest rivals, President FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Only seven percent supported Inkatha Freedom Party president Buthelezi and Mandela's support among Zulus was greater than Buthelezi's, standing at 47 percent among blacks in Natal.

Small wonder that the ANC's anniversary statement exuded an air of statesmanlike self-confidence.

But if the ANC could put its feet up for a day and enjoy its birthday party, the road ahead is still likely to be bumpy. Mandela clearly demarcated the battle lines in the forthcoming constitutional battle.

For a start, he firmly rejected what he called De Klerk's "convoluted" proposals to hold an election to bring blacks into a transitional parliament and government.

He also rejected the president's promise to the whites that they would be able to block democratic constitutional changes if they voted no in a referendum.

"To have a referendum in which

Lively octogenarian fires its first salvo

The oldest liberation movement in the world celebrates its 80th birthday — and draws the battle lines on the transition to majority rule. **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports**

the only voice that will count is that of whites is to perpetuate the criminal system of apartheid," Mandela said. "To hold an election for a transitional parliament and government is to deliberately complicate and delay what should otherwise be a simple and manageable transition."

In his opening speech to Codesa last month, De Klerk proposed that an interim parliament and government be elected for the transition phase while the new constitution is negotiated. When he opens parliament on January 24, he is expected to spell out these proposals in greater detail.

However, Mandela made it plain that the proposals would meet fierce resistance from the ANC.

"The regime's proposal for a referendum and an election before an interim government is in place begs the question. It is to state the obvious that there cannot be any democratic elections in our country while the apartheid regime is in place."

Mandela believed that while the government had been forced to recognise its own illegitimacy by conceding that an interim government rule the country during the transition, it had merely retreated to new lines of defence.

"Behind the regime's proposals lies a more sinister scheme: an attempt to legitimise an undemocratic constitution, parliament and regime and pro-



The king of jive ... ANC president Nelson Mandela joins in the festivities at the ANC's 80th birthday in Bloemfontein on Wednesday. Photo: AP

long the transition by 10 years and more," said Mandela, signalling the ANC's willingness to combat yet another National Party idea. The lengthy transition is believed to be a particular favourite of Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

The ANC also spelt out clearly for the first time its proposals for an interim government. Instead of wanting to share the reins of responsibility in all aspects of government, Mandela said

the ANC would demand that the interim government have sovereign control over at least the armed forces and police, state media, electoral processes, budget and finance. In addition, the ANC will be demanding joint forums to take decisions on and supervise the management of socio-economic issues during the transition.

Another contentious area is that of affirmative action to empower "those sections of our society disadvantaged by the system of white domination"

— a notion that agitates many whites. These are the battle lines. At least in theory, the ANC's position — particularly its strong reiteration of the demand for a constituent assembly — makes nonsense of the Pan Africanist Congress' early withdrawal from Codesa.

The PAC denounced the ANC for allegedly colluding with the government and reneging on the Patriotic Front, but the ANC's statement this week displayed no deviation from the Patriotic Front line.

"The solemn pledge from the Patriotic Front conference was to pursue the objective of transfer of power with all deliberate speed," said Mandela, who was careful not to attack the PAC by name. "Those who approach the Front with the seriousness it deserves cannot therefore be embarrassed, as some seem to be, by the advances South Africa is making in this direction."

Mandela was silent on the question of where compromise is to be offered. His recently quoted statements that he was prepared to consider a bloc of parliamentary seats for whites seemed not to have won the favour of the rest of the NEC.

As the ANC official position stands, there is certainly nothing to entice whites into accepting Codesa and its outcome. Mandela warned of further disruptions from rightwing whites to delay the negotiations, saying that he expected resistance from the white ruling bloc to intensify.

"We should expect more showmanship, attempts at disruption, counter-revolutionary violence and systematic propaganda against the liberation movement."

Then again, this is the first salvo, the ANC's opening position. De Klerk will announce his on January 24 and from there the struggle moves into the Codesa working groups.

What did come across in the NEC statement was an extraordinary optimism that the transition could be accomplished within a reasonably short period. "The ANC will strive for an interim government in the first half of this year, and elections for the constituent assembly to held by December," said Mandela.

"Therefore, South Africa could, for the first time in its history, have a democratic government within the immediate future."

LETTERS

When will M-Net start airing relevant sports?

■THE continued silence by the SABC in relation to the television coverage of the African Nations' Cup '92 which kicks off in Dakar, Senegal, on Jan 12, is a cause for serious disquiet.

It not only confirms the Eurocentric nature of the SABC and the continued deliberate disregard of what we ought to see on our televisions but also highlights the inability of mass viewers from getting their dues from Auckland Park. The conclusion that the SABC is a soulless corporation is thus inescapable, bearing in mind the following:

●The fact that more than 12 European countries have signed up to show the matches live confirms that even by its implied "European standards" the SABC is still a bastard of a laggard.

●Almost all African countries will have substantial coverage of the games.

●The fact that the Confederation of African Football has firmly asserted its disapproval of the South African Football Association's scouting for European teams to play here in favour of African teams to come here adds further impetus to the necessity of the SABC covering the games.

●By and large one can't help detecting racial innuendos in the considerations pervading the choice of sports we are shown. For example, why should the predominately white sports like rugby, golf, cricket and

tennis get all the live coverage whenever they happen to be when the potentially more relevant Nations' Cup is not shown?

Surely, our leaders in the SAFA and elsewhere should be able to persuade the powers that be to pull this one off. Or is this sort of stuff reserved only for people the calibre of Abdul Bhamjee? — M Sihali, Leandra

■IT seems obvious to many of us that your paper goes out of its way to be an African National Congress mouthpiece. You claim to want to expose the truth, etc, but your reporting on the Inkatha Freedom Party seems very biased.

Why all the fuss about the so called "training camp" in Mkuze, Zululand? If the ANC is allowed to have Umkhonto weSizwe and training camps then so too is the IFP and any other party or organisation. Why don't you spend as much time and

energy on digging up dirt on MK as you have tried so hard to do with the IFP and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi? — Charles Cadman, Eshowe

●Our paper criticises the ANC where necessary and as strongly as we do the IFP. Secret paramilitary camps are of public interest, particularly when they are funded by our tax money, regardless of who may be trained there. — The Editors

■CHARLOTTE BAUER'S column on "Television, Highlights and Lowlights", continues to be obsessed with one or two stale lowlights from "the week that was", and offers little or no insights into the "week to come" apart from the weekend's "highlights" which are described in terms designed to make even me want to turn off.

Her opinion on M-Net, expressed in your issue of December 13 to 18, was

so puerile that it deserves no response from our station. Your readers will, I believe, recognise that she must have dropped her decoder or bumped her head very badly on the day on which that masterpiece was written.

May I make a few suggestions? Commentary on the past week's viewing is worth a paragraph or two. But more insights into the week ahead are what we'd like to read about. In the same way that your excellent guide to entertainment provides short, accurate, comprehensive and insightful descriptions of the cinema circuit, theatre, music, events, arts and so on, why not take your TV "Highlights" through from Friday up to Thursday the following week?

Tell your readers what they've got to look forward to. Is there anything in store on Revue Plus? Camera 7? What about other offerings on "that better station", SABC-TV? Let's get Bauer to buck up. — Ken Bailie, M-Net

■THE Topsport Blues again ... is there but one cricketer that doesn't sport a gold chain around the neck? Will we ever see a golfer with even a slightly spiky haircut? One answer is to turn off that TV sound and listen to Joy Division's Shadowplay. — Fanle de Villiers, Johannesburg

■IF there is fault to be found with your newspaper, one might mention your enduring dissenting attitude towards the Afrikaner and his 'peculiar' customs.

If we have to believe the current popular media about decisions being made at the various Peace Conferences, Codesas and the like, then the prevailing viewpoint of *The Weekly Mail* (and the rest of the 'free' press in this country) is an anachronism in the "new" South Africa. 'Blame it on the Boers' and 'Afrikaner bashing' and other traditional liberal fox hunts, have certainly no place amongst contemporary civilised human democrats.

In all fairness, one almost feels that here was the only place where the noted Anglo-Saxon superiority could not succeed in the long run; the RSA being the only former British colony where contrary beliefs could still deliver an opinionated message.

After all, your recent leader (December 13) states that "it is not *The Weekly Mail* which is trying to annihilate its opponents". — J von Grubsner, Hadison Park.

BUSINESS

Is the rand slip-sliding away?

Bad news for consumers and importers but good news for exporters — that's the effect of double-digit inflation and a shrinking rand, reports REG RUMNEY

THE value of the rand will once more slide this year against other major currencies.

Greasing the slide is South Africa's double-digit inflation rate. This stood at 15,5 percent in November, around 10 percent above the inflation rates of South Africa's major trading partners.

Inflation in the European Community countries rose in November to 4,8 percent compared to November 1990. The October figure was 4,4 percent.

Inflation over the same period in the United States stood at 3,0 percent and in Japan 3,5 percent, according to Eurostat. Year-on-year inflation dropped in Britain, down to 4,3 percent from 9,7 percent in October.

Late last year the then-chairman of one of the country's biggest conglomerates, Gencor, noted in the annual report: "Gencor has the worst of all



Chris Stals



Derek Keys

possible worlds: weak markets and a currency which generally maintains its external value while depreciating internally at 15 percent per annum. Thankfully, this cannot be a stable situation but it may be some time before economic logic reasserts itself."

Since then Derek Keys has had to relinquish the chairmanship of Gencor to become Trade and Industry Minister.

Sanlam's latest economic bulletin notes that in the last part of last year the rand stayed relatively stable, weakening against the British pound, the Deutschmark and the yen, but appreciating against the dollar.

"In order to limit inflation, it is the policy of the SA Reserve Bank to keep the real effective exchange rate of the rand (ie the trade-weighted exchange rate adjusted for the differences between South Africa's inflation rate and the average of those of its most important trading partners) more or less stable."

This implies the rand will devalue, but not by more than the differences in inflation in South Africa and an average rate of inflation in those countries South Africa trades with.

Sanlam believes the effective value of the rand, on a weighted basis, will drop by about six percent this year.

"As a weakening of this extent will be less than the relevant differences in inflation, it will mean that there will be a limited appreciation in the real effective rand during the next year."

This turn of events is linked, in Sanlam's view, to the following developments on the international currency markets:

- A firming of the US dollar against the mark and the yen.
- A moderate weakening of the pound within the "exchange rate mechanism" after the British general election, expected in July 1992.
- So Sanlam expects the rand will:
 - Weaken against the dollar by about 10 percent.
 - Drop by about 6 percent against the yen.
 - Depreciate by about 4 percent against the mark.
 - Remain stable against the pound.

Sanlam's report already looks out of date, although it was only written before the year end. As it happens the pound has already appreciated against the rand sharply, and the dollar has weakened against the rand.

Standard Bank treasury division GM Chris Kenny points out the rand is already trading at historical lows against major currencies like the yen and mark — despite the present weakness of the dollar against the rand.

Should the dollar appreciate the rand may weaken even further against the other major currencies.

Kenny believes the rand could depreciate by 10 percent against major currencies during the year.

However, First National Bank group treasurer Ken Russell believes that while the rand will eventually reflect the inflation differential, it will not go into free fall this year.

Reserve Bank governor Chris Stals, he points out, has made it one of his tasks to maintain the stability of the external value of the rand. So the Bank would "manage" a gradual deterioration of the rand.

A lower rand would be a relief for South African commodity exporters such as Gencor.

The gold mines, for instance, at an exchange rate of \$1 = R2,74 get only R959 for an ounce of gold, as opposed to R1 060 in the middle of last year.

Russell reminds that Stals has said the mines should be assisted by fiscal policy, not, as in the past, by devaluation of the rand.

At the same time as making exports cheaper a lower rand makes imports more expensive. This will hurt consumers, of course, but not only them. To boost exports capital intensive machinery has to be imported. So what benefits the commodity exporters, eg gold, to a certain extent hurts the exporters of value added goods. Also, a depreciation in the currency boosts inflation, so it is to be avoided.

Enough of an improvement in domestic inflation will, of course, reverse the necessity for devaluation. But nobody is expecting South African inflation to drop to the levels of our main trading partners — not for quite a while, anyway.

ANC gets in foreign experts

By REG RUMNEY
THE African National Congress has drawn in some top overseas economists to help develop economic strategy. *W/Mail 10/11-16/11/92*

Present at a three-day Macro-Economic Research Group (Merg) seminar over the weekend were professors Lance Taylor, based at MIT in the US, and Lawrence Harris, from the UK, as well as academics from India and Turkey. They were among 50 economists present, according to the ANC's Department of Economic Policy (DEP).

The Merg — formed last year — began its work with a three-day seminar on macro-economic policy at the weekend.

One of the projects launched at the seminar is the creation of a macro-economic model. This allows economic planners to see the effects of certain decisions on the critical balances in the economy.

Other projects launched at the seminar were fiscal policy; financial policy and the balance of payments; labour-market policies and affirmative action; mining and industrial development; regional policy and international trade; and the role of the state in the economy.

The seminar, says the DEP, focused on the process of identifying the research projects and the economists who can work on them.

"It also firmly committed the Merg to training a new generation of economists in policy analysis, to capacity building and to publishing its output."

The DEP says the purpose of the Merg seminar was to initiate and plan its policy-oriented research over the next 18 months.

"The apartheid economy is at present severely and chronically unbalanced in many respects. Overall, the absence of macro-economic balance is shown by mass unemployment and worsening poverty together with high inflation and a chronically weak balance of payments. The work of Merg has an overriding concern with how to achieve macro-economic balance while transforming the economy."

Zimbabwean prices rocket as government retools economy

W/Mail 10/11-16/11/92
THE new year has hit Zimbabweans hard as they face drastically higher prices and static wages because of the government's economic restructuring programme.

Soft drink prices and hospital fees went up this week, adding to the list of increased costs such as school fees, exam fees, electricity, sugar, canned goods, meat and clothing.

"This is going to be a tough year," said housewife Dorothy Mushumba. "It costs more to eat, to go to school and to go to the hospital. I don't know how we're going to get by."

The World Bank designed Zimbabwe's economic structural adjustment programme so that the government must spend less on social services and channel those funds into productive investment.

That means Robert Mugabe's government must restrict one of its most popular achievements since independence, extending health services to all.

As a result, fees at Parirenyatwa Hospital, Harare's main government hospital, went up by an average of 200 percent this week.

World Bank-designed economic medicine is proving a bitter pill for Zimbabwean city dwellers to swallow, reports ANDREW MELDRUM

The economic restructuring has also whittled away the extension of education to the majority, another of the Mugabe government's popular achievements.

As of January 1 the government began charging fees for the previously free primary education and has substantially increased fees for secondary schools. The government is encouraging people to stay in the rural areas by keeping rural primary schools free of charge and holding rural secondary school fees to one-half the cost of urban schools.

City dwellers are also bearing the brunt of increased food prices as the government removes subsidies which kept food prices down.

"Let the people in town pay for what they consume," said Minister of State for Finance Tichaendepi Masaya at a

recent seminar.

While the average Zimbabwean consumer is already feeling the pinch from the economic restructuring, the government has yet to take its own bitter medicine. The government is under growing pressure to cut its operating costs by reducing the size of the cabinet and the civil service.

Both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have pledged big loans to support Zimbabwe's restructuring effort, but both are holding back actual payment until the government agrees to significantly cut back the size of its payroll.

As a result of recent negotiations at World Bank and IMF headquarters in Washington, Zimbabwe will have to cut an estimated 7 000 jobs from the civil service of 89 000, according to economic experts. It will be politically difficult for Mugabe to make those cuts, as the civil service has largely operated as a way to reward political supporters. But diplomats and economists agree that such cuts are absolutely necessary to keep Zimbabwe's economic recovery on track.

WOMEN'S HEALTH PROJECT

Co-ordinator - Women's health handbook

The Women's Health Project at the Centre for Health Policy, requires the services of a person to co-ordinate the women's health handbook. The handbook will carry information on, as well as interviews with the individual women and groups about women's health issues.

Writing skills and English-as-a-second-language skills would be an advantage.

Salary and benefits are negotiable within the University scales.

Applications, with CV's and the names and addresses of two referees should be submitted to: Ms Pamela Gruss, Personnel Office, University of the Witwatersrand, Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg or fax (011) 339-2223 by 7 February, 1992.

Quote ref WM 758.



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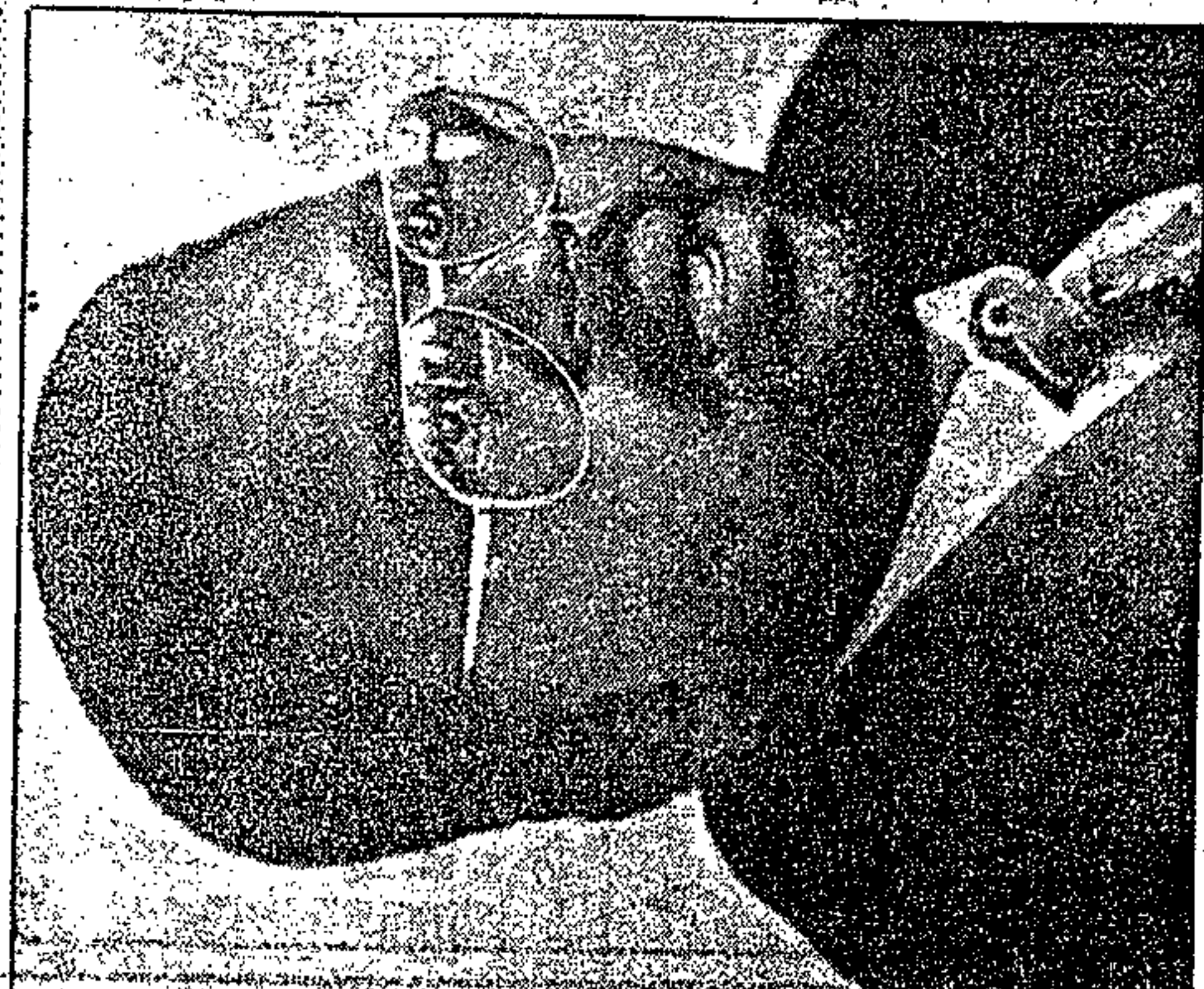
W.M. 758

ADVERTISING SALES

The Weekly Mail has a vacancy in its advertising sales department for a top-level sales exec with proven experience in dealing with blue chip companies and ad agencies at senior level. A minimum of five years solid sales experience is required.

We'll offer you a superb client base with excellent potential for growth and a remuneration package commensurate with your track record.

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BONGIWE KHUMALO ... More allegations against the IFP.

Top Inkatha man reveals MI

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is controlled by the security forces and has 200 highly trained hit squad members based at various KwaZulu police stations, a former senior party official claimed on Friday.

Mbongeni Khumalo, who was a member of the organisation's central committee, made the claims at a press conference in Johannesburg.

Khumalo, 33, also told the conference that Inkatha was fast losing support and was now confined to some pockets of Natal and KwaZulu only.

He also confirmed several allegations made by *The Weekly Mail* concerning the involvement of Military Intelligence (MI) in training Inkatha's top members.

including KwaZulu Members of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers, youth activists and school inspectors. They were taken on leadership and political education courses.

Inkatha, claims Khumalo, also assisted SADF operatives in many efforts to undermine the now-defunct United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement.

Some Inkatha members helped by distributing pamphlets critical of the UDF, MDM and Cosatu.

Khumalo said Inkatha had no political programme or agenda of its own and that the security forces had "greatly infiltrated" it to the point where they effectively controlled it.

The former acting chairman of Inkatha's Youth Brigade said Buthelezi was aware of the organisation's links with the security forces.

"Buthelezi runs Inkatha like his own personal household," he said. According to *The Weekly Mail*, the 200 Inkatha hit squad members were trained by the SADF in the Caprivi Strip and in Israel in 1986.

Inkatha has repeatedly denied that these men have been trained for hit squad purposes, saying they were trained to provide security for KwaZulu VIPs.

In its report, the newspaper said seven of these 200 men had been linked to hit squad activities.

Among the claims endorsed by Khumalo are that Buthelezi was fully aware of the source and amount (R250 000) paid by the police for an Inkatha anti-sanctions rally at King's Park Stadium in 1989.

Last year, Buthelezi denied that he was aware this rally was funded by the police and his personal as-

sistant, MZ Khumalo, subsequently took the rap for "not informing his leader".

An Inkatha Youth Brigade official had said they were responsible for attacking mortuaries at a funeral in Wessington, in the eastern Transvaal.

During the attack, the mourners, mostly ANC sympathisers, were forced to flee and the three coffins were opened and corpses sprayed with bullets.

Khumalo, who lives in Ulundi with his family, says he now regrets having joined Inkatha, which he initially thought was a liberation movement. He says he is prepared for any consequences as a result of his allegations.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Buthelezi has dismissed allegations of collaboration between his party and the Defence Force and

connections

accused the editor and staff of *The Weekly Mail* of being "loyal sycophants" and propagandists of the ANC.

Buthelezi, who accompanied the Zulu king to a meeting with President FW de Klerk on Friday, was asked at a news conference after the discussions to comment on Khumalo's allegations.

Buthelezi said Khumalo "is bitter because he tried to get a job in my department, the department of the Chief Minister, but was not successful".

Buthelezi described allegations that IFP personnel had received training from the SADF as "a blatant lie".

However, he acknowledged that "some young people" received training in VIP protection after disclosures of an alleged ANC plot to assassinate him (Buthelezi).

"These people were later re-integrated into the KwaZulu Police," he told reporters.

Buthelezi said allegations of complicity between Inkatha and the security forces were deliberately put out before major events to discredit him and the IFP.

De Klerk said he did not know anything about the latest disclosures.

He said he had dealt fully with secret funding and operations at his post-Inkathagate news conference in July last year and said legislation relating to the restructuring of secret funding would be introduced.

"Many of these issues relate to a different time and different circumstances, when we had to fight terrorism. But we have now adapted to the new circumstances and we have nothing to hide," said De Klerk.

IFP rejects Khumalo's claims in Weekly Mail

There were "glaring mistakes" and "untruths" in allegations about the Inkatha Freedom Party made by former senior Inkatha official Mbongani Khumalo, who allegedly had a criminal record, the IFP has said.

His allegations, in a Weekly Mail interview last week, included claims that the IFP was a front for the South African Defence Force and had collaborated in attacks on the ANC.

Mr Khumalo said he had resigned as Inkatha Youth Brigade leader and terminated his membership of the Inkatha central committee because he believed the organisation was a vehicle for instigating violence against fellow blacks.

Reacting to these and other allegations, the IFP denied that the organisation had ever been given R11 million by anyone.

It also denied that Mr Khu-

malo had been the former chief of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, claiming Musa Zondi had been leader of the brigade for many years, including the period in question.

"Regarding the 'consultancy services' (Adult Education Consultants and CREED) referred to by Mr Khumalo, these services were offered but the IFP refused to avail themselves of these for lack of money.

"Mr Khumalo was dissatisfied with the low salary the IFP was paying him and applied for a position in the KwaZulu government's department of the chief minister.

"It was then discovered that Mr Khumalo had a criminal record, which made it impossible for the KwaZulu government to consider his application," said the IFP.

ANC guidelines for media reform

B1 Day 14/11/92

TIM COHEN

THE ANC yesterday released its draft media charter, which calls for no political censorship but insists on affirmative action to ensure an "equitable distribution of media resources".

The document, the result of a seminar held in November, calls for a constitutionally guaranteed free flow of information subject to rights of privacy, and the scrapping of all censorship laws.

The document also slates the SABC and calls for a reconstitution of its board by Codesa. It criticises the print media, government's Communication Service (formerly the Bureau for Information) and the film industry.

The draft charter, released to initiate debate, says it would be wrong to advocate the establishment of bodies which would determine what society should and should not read, hear or watch.

But a simple declaration on media freedom was not enough. "It has to be underpinned by an equitable distribution of media resources, development programmes and a deliberate effort to engender the

culture of open debate," the preamble to the charter says.

The charter calls for the prohibition of all institutional and legislative measures which restrict the free flow of information or impose censorship.

While guaranteeing the right freely to publish information and opinion, the charter calls for the "democratisation of the media".

"Diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities shall be ensured," the charter says.

The media should take account of the diversity of communities in respect of geography, language and interests, and affirmative action should be implemented to provide financial, technical and other resources to deprived sectors of society.

The charter also proposes that journalists be protected by law from having to disclose their sources of information, and insists that media institutions "shall pro-

□ To Page 2

Media charter

From Page 1

vide facilities for the training and upgrading of media workers".

In a resolution on the control and regulation of broadcasting in the interim period, the seminar noted that the NP had a "privileged relationship" with the SABC because government appointed the corporation's board members.

"The SABC has acted as the propaganda arm of the NP government to promote apartheid" and had not fulfilled its role as a public broadcaster, the resolution said.

Therefore, the seminar resolved there should be no restructuring of the broadcasting sector of government or the TVBC administrations' broadcasting until the control and regulation of broadcasting was decided by Codesa.

Codesa should appoint an interim broadcasting consultative committee to control and regulate broadcasting in the interim period. This body should appoint a representative board for the SABC and establish guidelines to ensure impartiality. The new board should "revise current staffing and management of the SABC".

The state information services, such as the Communications Service and the Human Sciences Research Council, which

gather and collate information "used by the NP", should be placed under the control of an interim government.

The seminar expressed its concern that government and the dominant elements of the print media would continue to distort the flow of information to influence the negotiating and electoral processes.

The seminar therefore directed the ANC to investigate the viability of establishing a daily newspaper.

Times Media Limited MD Steve Mulholland said in response the ANC should be commended for its commitment to freedom of the media, although he found some of the ANC recommendations Utopian and unrealistic.

For example, did the recommendation that all should have the right to free access to information and opinion mean that newspapers should be given away free?

While it was true that the ownership of the media in SA was "somewhat unbalanced", to address this through a process of compulsion would risk violating the very freedoms the ANC sought to protect.

The "distortions" needed to be dealt with, but to use coercive measures to "democratise" the media would be a contradiction in terms, he said.

EVER SINCE the ANC's unbanning, the organisation has been pressed to come out with a clear picture of how it would like to see the media operating in a future South Africa. Behind the question has lain an unspoken fear: that despite assurances to the contrary, the ANC would, like so many other liberation movements before it, renege on its commitment to press freedom if it tasted power.

This week the ANC released its long-awaited media proposals. They are in the nature of offering reassurances to most people. There is something for just about everybody, and the broadness of many clauses means that whether one is delighted or frightened will depend largely on one's own interpretation of the organisation's bottom-line intentions.

Nevertheless, the proposals mark a significant moment, one at which the organisation has begun to commit itself to policy standpoints, rather than undefined statements of principle.

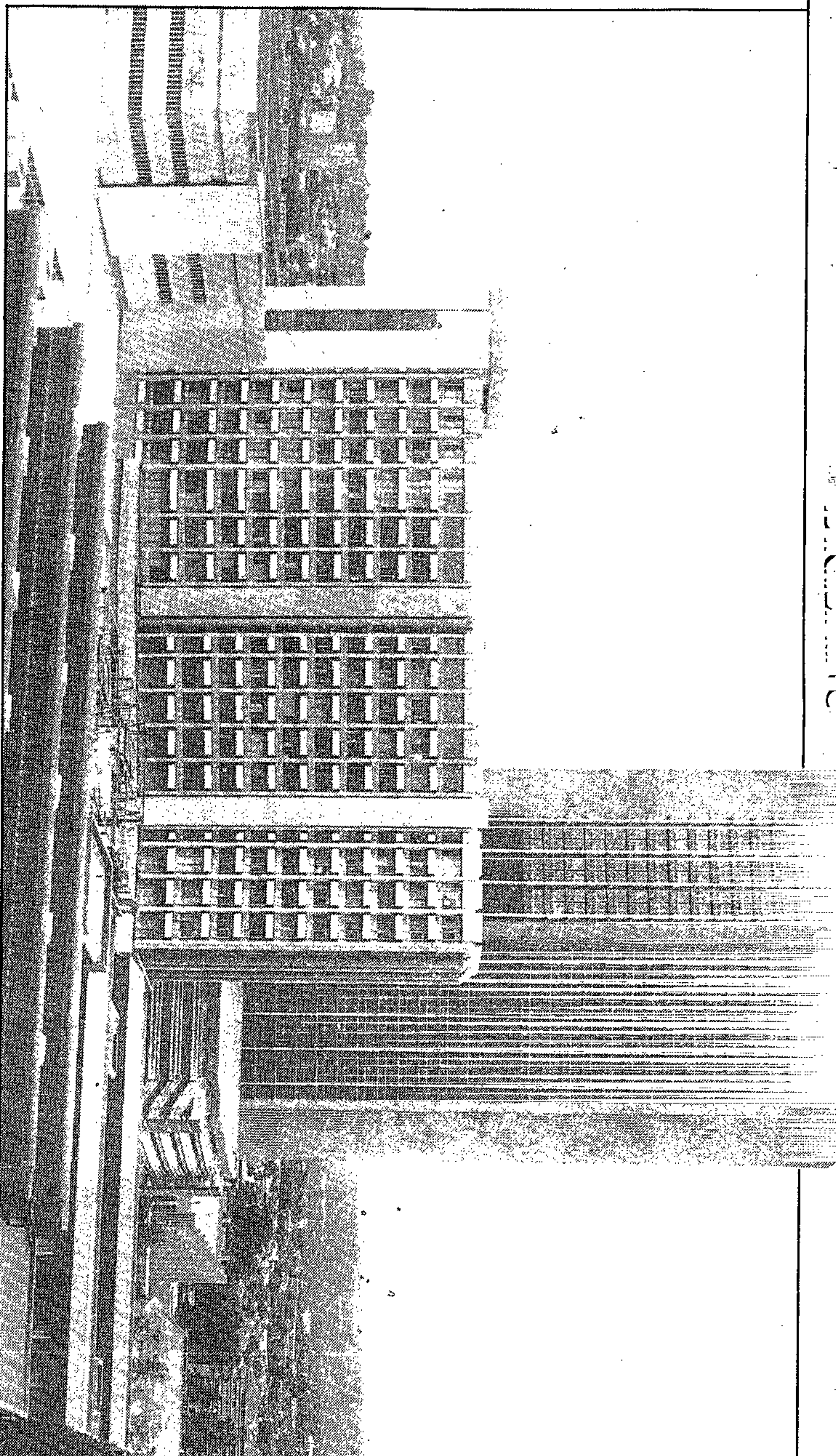
The ANC document, the product of extensive discussions at a department of information and publicity seminar held late last year, deals with both the transition period which lies immediately ahead, and the future. It comprises a draft media charter, an explanatory preface, and several resolutions dealing with specific media-related issues.

Its contents have been approved by the ANC's national working committee, and require only rubber-stamping from the larger national executive committee before acquiring the status of policy.

The preface to the charter clearly signals that the issue of the media is now set to become prominent: "Transition entails movement from a closed society into one based on the free flow of information... The outcome of negotiations depends on the assertion of these rights... way ahead of the advent of democracy."

The ANC has struck its political neck out on two issues of fundamental importance: it has

The ANC has tabled its vision of how the media should change in the period of transition — and what it should look like in the new South Africa.
Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON makes a preliminary assessment of the proposals.



Message for bosses in Auckland Park... the ANC has proposed that all measures that restrict the free flow of information shall be prohibited.
Picture: Sean Woods

"homeland" broadcasting systems must be frustrated. Codesa must appoint a commission of inquiry into the regulation of broadcasting during the transition, and this commission must report within three months. Codesa must set up an interim broadcasting consultative committee to appoint a new SABC board for the interim period, and to establish guidelines for impartiality. An independent broadcast monitoring group should monitor performance in this regard.

The State-run information services, such as the SA Communications Service (formerly the Bureau for Information), should similarly be placed under the control of appropriate interim structures.

Concerning the print media, the ANC expresses concern about "the democratic movement's lack of access" but it does not propose overt controlling measures for existing newspapers — rather, the ANC should establish a daily newspaper as soon as possible. However, it that "the Government and the dominant elements of the print media will continue to distort the flow of information" and urges an investigation into "transitional monitoring and regulating of the media". This latter proposal is not expanded upon, save that "independent monitoring structures" are advocated.

The proposals also deal at some length with the need for skills training among the disadvantaged, as well as the "encouragement and empowerment of the broadest range of people to participate in the process of developing policy for (these) media".

These proposals are sure to be tabled in the working groups now preparing for Codesa's second plenary meeting. Observers will have to take careful note of how much support the ANC can muster among the 19 delegations — and whether the Government is likely to accede to the majority's view. If it does, the face of broadcasting at least will change dramatically within the course of 1992. □

ANC media blueprint

Star 15/1/92

444 2423

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of disputes.

enunciated its demands on what should be done to change the balance of media power in the transition period and it has made promises about what will come thereafter, should the organisation find itself in the Union Buildings.

At the outset, the ANC commits itself to the basic principle of "maximum openness", and says it would be "erroneous" to set up censorship bodies. Rather, the ordinary laws of the land should be invoked in the event

This is qualified, however, by the observation that in the "old" South Africa, the free flow of information has been undermined by "legislation, the structure of ownership of media resources, skills, language policy and social deprivation". These factors require, in the ANC's view, "a measure" of adjustment and affirmative action to ensure that the free society starts its life on a more equitable basis.

begin to be expressed about the precise intentions involved: existing media owners say it is one thing for the State to broaden the range of media and access to it ("measures shall be taken to ensure that all communities have access to the technical means"), and entirely another if this means restricting or even prohibiting media already operating ("diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities shall be ensured").

However, subject to the limitations of the constitution, the ANC makes a clear promise: "All institutional and legislative measures that restrict the free flow of information or impose censorship over the media... shall be prohibited."

than many Western countries in promising journalists protection by law from having to reveal their sources. The ANC's draft charter lives up to its pledge to "create a society in which the free flow of information and open debate are guaranteed" — although this is contingent upon an interpretation whereby the organisation is seen as advocating an expansion of existing media resources, rather than a restructuring of control of what is al-

ready operating. As manifestos go, it provides encouragement for proponents of maximum media freedom. It also obliges who believe the current media scenario is grossly skewed. The second section of the ANC document deals with the more immediate issue of what needs to change on the road to the new society: the SABC must fall under multiparty control, under the auspices of Codesa, and any moves to privatise it or

EVER since the ANC's unbanning, the organisation has been pressed to come out with a clear picture of how it would like to see the media operating in a future South Africa.

This week the ANC released its long-awaited media proposals.

They are in the nature of offering reassurances to most people. There is something for just about everybody, and the broadness of many clauses means that whether one is delighted or frightened will depend largely on one's own interpretation of the organisation's bottomline intentions.

Nevertheless, the proposals mark a significant moment - one at which the organisation has begun to commit itself to firm policy standpoints, rather than undefined statements of principle.

Issues

The ANC document comprises a draft media charter, an explanatory preface, and several resolutions dealing with specific media-related issues. Its contents have been approved by the ANC's National Working Committee, and require only rubber-stamping from the larger National Executive Committee before acquiring the status of policy.

The preface to the charter clearly signals that the issue of media is now set to become prominent in the substantive bargaining period heralded by Codesa: "Transition entails movement from a closed society into one based on the free flow of information... crucial questions about our society's future are on the agenda of debate and negotiations."

Demands

And further: "The outcome of negotiations depends on the assertion of these rights... way ahead of the advent of democracy."

The ANC has therefore stuck its political neck out on two issues of fundamental importance. It has enunciated its demands on what should be done to change the balance of media power in the transition period (in other words, from now until elections), and it has made promises about what will come thereafter, should the organisation find itself in the Union

ANC's vision for the media

Sowetan 15/1/92

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The ANC has placed on the table its vision of how the media should change in the current period of transition - and what it should look like in the new South Africa. Sowetan Correspondent SHAUN JOHNSON makes a preliminary assessment of the new proposals.

'All people shall have the right of access to information held or collected by the State'

Buildings

At the outset, the ANC commits itself to the basic principle of "maximum openness", and says it would be "erroneous" to set up censorship bodies. Rather, the ordinary laws of the land should be invoked in the event of disputes over the performance of the media.

This is qualified, however, by the observation that in the "old" South Africa, the free flow of information has been undermined by "legislation, the structure of ownership of media resources, skills, language policy and social deprivation". These factors re-

quire, in the ANC's view, "a measure" of adjustment and affirmative action to ensure that the free society starts its life on a more equitable basis - that the old inequalities are not simply replicated.

Promise

However, subject to the limitations of the constitution - a principle common in Western democracies - the ANC makes a clear promise of maximum freedom: "All institutional and legislative measures which restrict the free flow of information or which impose censorship over the media... shall be prohibited".

In addition, "all people shall have the right of access to information held or collected by the State and other social institutions...".

The charter provides for the retention of a state broadcasting service, on condition that it is "independent of the ruling party and governed by structures representative of all sectors of society". It goes further than many Western countries in promising journalists protection by law from having to reveal their sources. In addition, "an ombudsperson shall be appointed to receive and act on complaints... and such an appointment shall take place through a democratic process".

Pledge

In theoretical sum, the ANC's draft charter lives up to its pledge to "create a society in which the free flow of information and open debate are guaranteed" - although this is contingent upon an interpretation whereby the organisation is seen as advocating an expansion of existing media resources, rather than a restructuring of control of what is already operating.

Skewed

As manifestos go - they are necessarily vague and subject to retrospective re-interpretation - it provides encouragement for proponents of maximum media freedom. It also obliquely promises redress to those who believe the current media scenario is grossly skewed. The charter is therefore politically flexible - and this no doubt formed part of the ANC's intention in drafting it.

So much for the media in the new South Africa.

The second section of the ANC document deals with the more immediate issue of what needs to change on

the road to the new society. Here its demands are clear: the SABC must fall under multiparty control, organised under the auspices of Codesa, and any moves unilaterally to privatise it or "homeland" broadcasting systems must be frustrated.

Codesa must appoint a commission of inquiry into the re-regulation of broadcasting during the transition, and this commission must report within three months. Codesa must set up

an "Interim Broadcasting Consultative Committee" to appoint a new SABC board for the interim period, and to establish guidelines for impartiality in political coverage.

An "Independent Broadcast Monitoring Group" should monitor performance in this regard.

The state-run information services, such as the South African Communications Service (formerly the Bureau for Informa-

tion) and the Human Sciences Research Council should similarly be placed under the control of appropriate interim structures.

Concerning the print media, the ANC expresses concern about "the democratic movement's lack of access", but does not propose overt controlling measures for existing newspapers - rather, the ANC should establish a daily newspaper as soon as possible.

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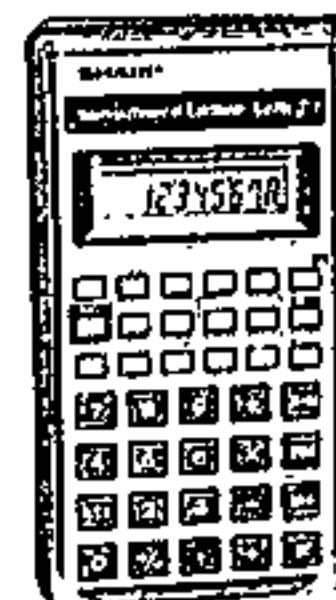
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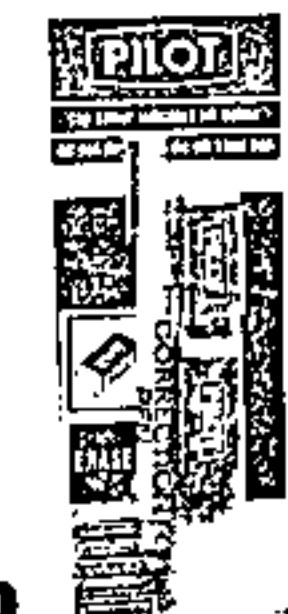
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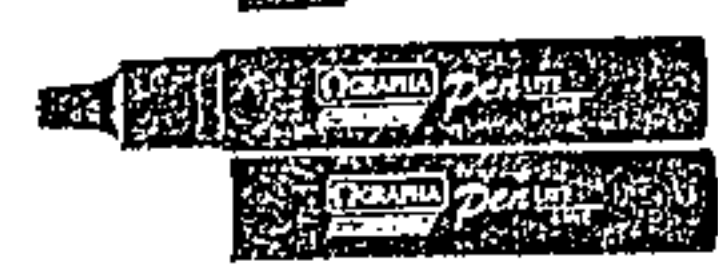
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UNIVERSITY

EXECUTIVE EDUCATION, the fastest-growing management college in Southern Africa, is the Southern African study centre for NEWPORT

Probe launched on violence by SADF 'front groups'

Sowetan 15/1/92

327

ALLEGATIONS that SADF-funded "front organisations" are still fuelling township violence are to be investigated urgently, Mr Justice RJ Goldstone announced yesterday.

Justice Goldstone, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, said in a statement:

"Having regard to the allegations that the 'front organisations' are currently in operation and sponsoring violence, the commission has resolved to investigate them immediately."

The announcement comes after a series of allegations in the *Weekly Mail* newspaper, which prompted both Minister of Defence Roelf Meyer and the ANC to request the commission to investigate.

The latest allegations were published on

January 3.

The *Weekly Mail* said it had acquired "extensive details, including documentary proof, of the SADF's involvement in promoting organisations that have been implicated in township violence".

It was further claimed that the documents showed the SADF used front companies to create, train, support, assist and advise such organisations to foster "black-on-black violence".

Weekly Mail assistant editor Eddie Koch said yesterday the news of the urgent inquiry was "a major breakthrough for us".

The "front organisations" identified allegedly included Ama-Afrika National Front in Port Elizabeth and two others in Somerset East and Cookhouse, the "Memesis" and the "Kekanas". - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Security cops snooped on 314 000 lives

W/Mail 17/11 - 23/11/92

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

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

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

Full details: PAGE 2

BY GAVIN EVANS

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

An addendum accompanying the Security Branch document leaked to *The Weekly Mail* provides a tree diagram of the structure of the branch and 93 of the officers staffing the key positions within it.

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

Long arms of Security Branch

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

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

isations.

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

A far smaller section, headed by

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

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

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

Group F, comprising the Security

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

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

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

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

Lifting the veil that

●MI has gone so far as to give

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

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

Civil Co-operation Bureau, for example, and it would be naive to believe they did not have a contingency plan for dealing with the majority rule in South Africa that they had so long opposed.

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

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

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

To run the operation, they set up Dr Louis Pasques in the parent company, Adult Education Consultants. Pasques had been working in the state president's office and had a key role in devel-

The use of front companies allowed the government the military's "hearts and minds" campaign in Namibia and at home.

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

at "shrouds 'third force'

Wed 17/11 - 23/11/92

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

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

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

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

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

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

training and salaries from MI over a long period.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Big Brother watches all of you

W/Mail 17/11-23/11/92

A top secret document leaked to The

Weekly Mail reveals thousands of

individuals and organisations were

monitored by the Security Branch

GAVIN EVANS reports

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

UITERS GEHEIM

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE



SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

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NAVIGASIE	Lt-genl S J J Smit
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VEILIGHEIDSTAK
SECURITY BRANCH
HOOFKANTOOR
HEAD OFFICE
PRETORIA
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A. ALLE HOOFKANTOORAFDELINGS
B. Die Streekkommissarisse
Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie
REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rightwinger paid to kill renegade guerilla - paper

ANC-AWB in 'hit' link

Political Staff

STH 17/11/92

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Two African National Congress intelligence officers paid a signed-up member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging R10 000 to eliminate a "turned" ANC guerilla, it is alleged.

These claims, plus a full expose, appear in Vrye Weekblad today.

The newspaper alleges that although the "contract" on Glory "September" Si-debe was never carried out, the AWB member was taken into custody a week ago and may be charged with con-

spiracy to commit murder.

The two ANC agents, identified only by their Umkhonto we Sizwe names, "Ricky" and "Mao", have apparently eluded the police. September — an Askari or guerilla turned-police man — has also disappeared.

It is claimed that he re-

signed from the SAP about a year ago and, recently, requested to rejoin the ANC.

According to Vrye Weekblad, its reporter Jacques Pauw facilitated the initial contact between the ANC and the AWB man in October, after the latter had told the paper he had concluded arms deals on behalf of vari-

ous right-wing groups.

He was prepared to make evidence of this available, if he was guaranteed an escape route from the country.

After being contacted by Vrye Weekblad, a senior member of the ANC undertook to help the man leave the country if he revealed the arms deals.

It reports: "On the same day that he (the ANC agent) approved the project, (the AWB man) met Ricky and Mao in room 2517 of the Johannesburg Sun hotel.

"Various meetings followed, but instead of gathering information about the rightist arms story, the two ANC intelligence officers

began to supply (the AWB man) with cash and to give him other instructions.

"As early as the middle of October (the AWB man) told a Vrye Weekblad reporter that he had been asked to kill September."

Vrye Weekblad obtained a tape recording of Ricky telling the AWB man that the ANC had paid him R10 000 to assassinate September. The tape is said to be in the hands of the police.

According to Vrye Weekblad, a senior ANC intelligence officer had paid the AWB man R12 000 to conduct the arms investigation. The senior ANC intelligence officer was later in-

formed by the newspaper that there was a possibility his men were changing the AWB man's "brief" and that an assassination attempt might be being planned.

Vrye Weekblad reports speculation that during his highly successful period in the SAP, September might have got to know the identities of police agents still operating within the ANC.

The newspaper states that "it is unknown at this stage where the two intelligence officers got the money to pay (the AWB man). But we understand that this money did not come from ANC intelligence funds."

Vrye Weekblad also

claims the AWB man supplied dramatic details last year of weapons "buying trips" he undertook in Mozambique for senior members of the Conservative Party, the AWB and other rightwing groups.

The man, who says he was once a member of the SADF, alleged he purchased "Russian weapons" via Renamo and brought them back into South Africa.

The Conservative Party has denied the allegations. The police have confirmed they are investigating the man's "guns-for-the-right" allegations but said no positive evidence had been discovered.

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If you want free speech, keep the state out of it

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THE only sure way to protect freedom of expression — that is, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of intellectual inquiry — is to adopt a constitution that forbids the government, the political parties, and all other thugs to encroach on that freedom.

Like the authors of the ANC's preposterous draft charter on the media, the founding fathers of the United States understood that democracy is impossible without free speech; unlike the ANC, they faced up honestly to the problem.

If the ANC is serious about freedom of expression, or about democracy, it could do no better than adopt as its own the first amendment to the American constitution, which says plainly: "Congress shall make no law ... abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble...."

However, as the proposed charter makes clear, the ANC is much less concerned about freedom of expression than about its control and manipulation. Its charter pays a bit of lip service to free expression, allowing all the professional guardians of press freedom to applaud obsequiously, but then devotes itself to the serious business of bringing the media under what it calls "democratic" control.

The basis for control is being laid, quite deliberately and systematically, by the repeated assertion of myths. Among these is the repeated, assertion of monopoly control of the press.

That assertion is untrue. The only evidence adduced is that the dominant shareholders of the two main English newspaper groups are the mining houses, and that there are various industry agreements to co-operate in printing and distribution.

In fact, the newspaper market is changing by the day. New publications sprout like daisies, and some of them —

the Weekly Mail, Vrye Weekblad, Leadership — survive or prosper. The Sowetan (which the ANC does not like because its senior staff come from the Black Consciousness tradition) has displaced the Star as the country's biggest daily. The Citizen and Business Day, one conservative and the other liberal, have displaced the failed Rand Daily Mail. Freesheets multiply like rabbits.

The assertion of monopoly ownership carries a pernicious implication that South African editors, like communist editors, are simply the running dogs of their owners, mere propagandists. There is not a shred of evidence for this canard — in fact, South African editors have extraordinary independence — though it is put forward these days even by former editors who, if they have evidence of the corruption they imply, do not produce it.

The charge slanders men like Joel Mervis of the Sunday Times, Aggrey Klaaste of the Sowetan, and Khulu Sibiyi of City Press, Richard Steyn of the Star, and in fact any editor who has never lost his post (a category from which I am fortunately excluded by my own past misfortunes).

THAT access to information has been hampered, and sometimes denied, is true, but the damage was done by the totalitarian laws and propagandistic policies of the Nationalist government. As the government moves to dismantle those laws and policies, and to grant to the broadcasters the independence which they have so long lacked, the ANC perceives not liberation but threat, and the self-appointed guardians of the press fall strangely silent.

The ANC charter, plainly written in the expectation of becoming the government, assigns a variety of rights and duties to the state, to society, and to "media institutions". It condemns what it regards as the "privatisation" of the

SABC, which would put television broadcasting beyond the reach of government, and in fact says that "control and regulation of broadcasting should be recognised as a priority".

The ANC complains of lack of access to newspapers and magazines which, in typical journalism-school jargon, it calls print media, and wails that there is no newspaper published from what it calls "a democratic perspective".

This is just not true, even if one accepts the ANC's quaint definition of "democratic".

ITS own views, and its "democratic perspective", appear presumably in its own newspaper, Mayibuye; in Umsebenzi, the SACP newspaper; in Work in Progress, an excellent independent socialist periodical; in South and New Nation; and in a range of pamphlets, tracts and trade union publications.

The ANC's problem is not that it lacks access to the market, or to printing facilities, or to a distribution network — its own supporters, if they cared, could sell the product — but that, in a free market, it fails. The publications which it tries to foist on the public are stupefyingly boring, amateurish, and pedantic.

Freedom of expression encompasses not only the freedom of the individual to write or say what he pleases, but also the freedom to choose what he will hear or read. In a free market, newspaper readers pass judgment daily or weekly on the news and views offered to them; some publications survive, others perish, all are constantly evolving under the harsh judgment of their readers.

The American founding fathers understood this; the ANC understands it too, but it dreads nothing so much as an uncoerced public verdict on itself.

KEN OWEN

in foot

Magazine's view shoots press freedom

327

STAR 22/1/92

"The most important advantage of a concentration of ownership is that the fewer the owners, the more interested they are in the business and the more determined they generally become in ensuring that it is successful."

THAT astonishing approbation for monopolism, contained in a leading article on newspaper ownership in the Financial Mail last week, surely deserves an award for novelty.

Even in a general sense it cuts across the free-market principles that journal propagates so vigorously. Applied to the press, it is downright absurd.

It is universally recognised that monopoly or even near-monopoly control of the media distorts democracy. That is why the United States, which regards the media as so fundamental to its democratic system that press freedom is entrenched in the Constitution, also has a law prohibiting a concentration of media ownership in any part of the country.

It is good that the publication of

the ANC's media charter last week has prompted a debate on the state of the country's press and broadcasting services as we enter the delicate phase of national transition. But it is depressing that the debate should have started on such a malevolent note from a major publication.

The tone and content of the FM's leading article are so dismissive of the legitimate concerns many people have about the state of the media, and so offensive to those who express them, that they can only reinforce the worst thoughts of those who feel they are victims of media bias and perhaps provoke them into ill-considered action.

As an example, the article lashes out at one of these concerned critics, former Cape Times editor Anthony Heard.

To disagree with Mr Heard's arguments is one thing, but to insult his professional integrity and disparage his 16-year editorship of the Cape Times is totally uncalled for.

Mr Heard has had a distinguished career: Cape editor of the FM, and the youngest person yet appointed to a major editorship in



Allister Sparks

South Africa. His decision in 1985 to publish an interview with ANC president Oliver Tambo, at a time when the man and the organisation were still banned and unquotable, revealed a degree of courage and political foresight that has been acclaimed internationally.

What is more, he is right — there is a problem with the media set-up in South Africa. Fortunately some senior people in the industry are aware of this. Solving it will not be easy, but at least we can begin by acknowledging the fact and then hopefully debating it in a more responsible way.

The problem can be highlighted by analogy. When Robert Mugabe came to power in Zimbabwe, he found his country's entire press was controlled by a white South African company. The situation was so obviously unacceptable to him that he nationalised the press, with disastrous results for media

freedom in that country.

A similar situation now faces South Africa. An incoming black government will be confronted by a broadcasting service nurtured for half a century in the culture of apartheid, and a newspaper industry one half of which is controlled by interests tied to the National Party and the other half by a single white mining company.

Again I suggest that this concentration of ownership within the white establishment will be so manifestly unacceptable that it will amount to a provocation to the incoming government to intervene.

If the people who control our press really care about the survival of press freedom — and thus of democracy — in the new South Africa, then I suggest they should begin now to consider ways of divesting themselves of some of their monopolistic control.

Even before that moment, as we reached the stage where an election has to be held for an interim parliament or constituent assembly, it will clearly be wrong if the media is so heavily weighted against newly legalised black parties whose message was si-

lenced for 30 years. No election can be free and fair in such circumstances.

It is no good arguing, as some do, that a number of new little newspapers have been started up recently offering an "alternative" viewpoint. Despite technological advances the economics of the industry are forbidding, and the dominance of the established papers — established during the years of white supremacy and black retardation — is overwhelming and permanent.

The argument that monopolistic ownership does not prevent editorial diversity, because editors are independent, is likewise naïve. Newspaper owners exercise their influence not by forcing their editors to propagandise their views but by the people they choose to appoint as editors. They don't choose men and women who differ too sharply from their own political outlook. The fact that there are so many ex-editors in South Africa, who all have views to the left of their erstwhile employers, testifies to this.

To suggest they were removed from their editorial chairs for "economic" reasons, which is the offi-

cial story, is sophistry. They were removed because they had, and their newspapers reflected, a perspective on the country which the owners felt jarred with mainstream white opinion. (In the case of the English editors, particularly business opinion.)

This is not to decry the professional ability or personal integrity of any of the country's present editors. But they are not a sufficiently diversified lot — and that is the problem.

For democracy to function properly there must be a full, free and continuous public debate on all contemporary issues. The media, print and broadcasting, provide the communication system through which this debate can take place.

To the extent that any significant sector of public opinion is inadequately reflected by the media, because of banning orders or because there are no papers or broadcasting stations reflecting that sector's perspective on events, the public debate is attenuated and the democracy stunted.

In South Africa this gap is glaringly apparent. There must be restructuring to rectify it. □

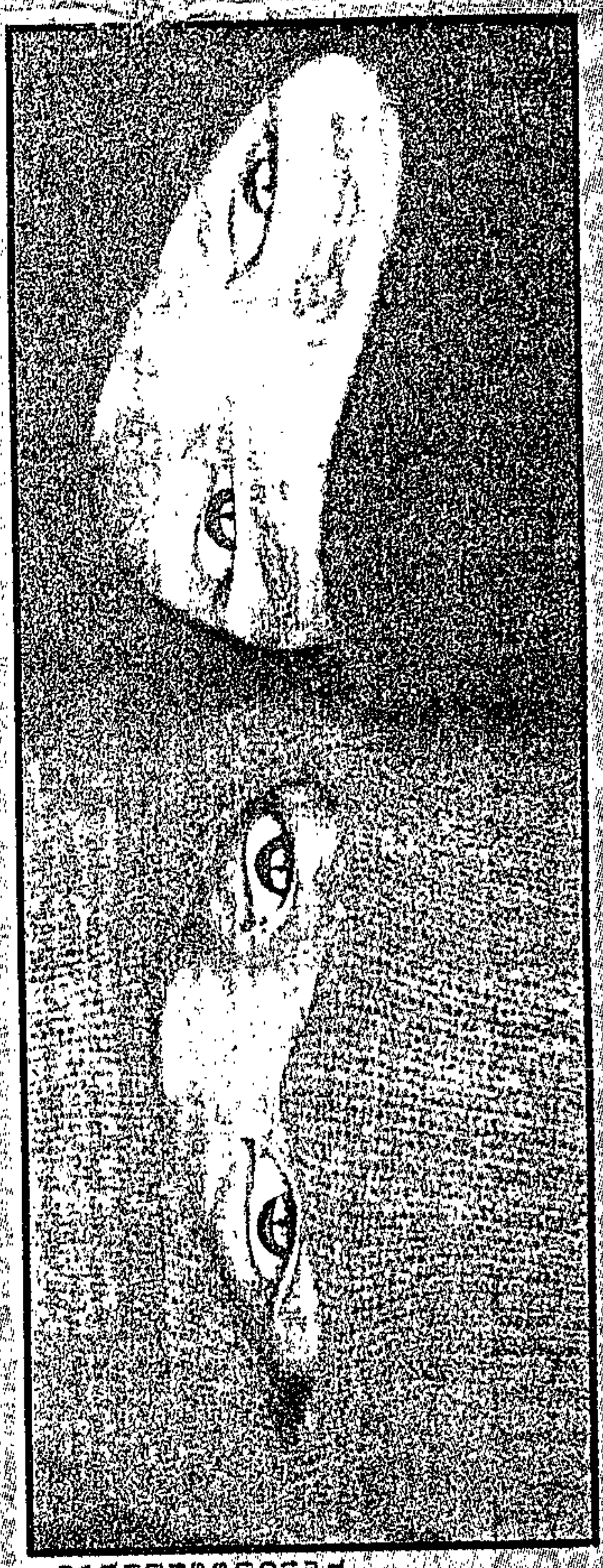
CENSORSHIP

ALL future editions of Eros Nude Collection No 13; Candyfloss Girls set No 1; Nude Follies de Paris No 22 and Bachelor Boy No 7 are "no longer undesirable", the Directorate of Publications announced. (327)

Of 58 publications submitted for examination, nine were declared "not undesirable" while 49 publications, among them The Political Economy of South Africa (producer not stated) and three editions of the ANC Weekly News Briefing (ANC London), were declared "not undesirable" on review.

W/Mand 24/11-30/11/92

THE IRON ROBE



Two members of the 'Black Cat' gang lit the lid on the scandal of security force involvement in fanning township violence. Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

THE SQUAD MEN SPEAK

13/11/92 24/11-30/11/92

HEY call their gang the "Black Cats". But these men are better known by another name ... the "hit squads".

They carry out violent attacks on township targets, often in collaboration with the security forces.

The two men in our photograph were recruited from their township street gang by Inkatha and sent to a secret base for training by Military Intelligence experts.

Returned to their homes, they used force and intimidation to

build up an Inkatha presence in their Eastern Transvaal township. The violence their gang has been involved in continues to this day.

The story these men have told *The Weekly Mail*, corroborated by other sources in the course of a month's long investigation, finally pins down the mystery of township killings:

- There is indeed a "Third Force".
- It is masterminded by the SADF, aided by the kwazulu police.
- Its aim is to undermine the ANC and establish power bases for Inkatha.

13/11/92 24/11-30/11/92

account of the Third Force

251-10-10 (327)

WMed 24/11-30/11/92.



Hitmen ... 'Lucas' and 'Themba', young gangsters who tell us how they were recruited to the 'Third Force'

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

affidavit made at the time.

On August 5 David Sibanyoni was shot dead. One week later, on August 11, a gruesome gun attack took place on the funeral procession of ANC mourners carrying Sibanyoni's coffin. In his disclosures to *The Weekly Mail*, Khumalo described how a colleague had told him how members of

a team of Inkatha hit-men, trained by the Department of Military Intelligence (DMI), had gone to the Wesselson funeral and ambushed the procession, opening fire on mourners and spraying bullets into the coffin. An Inkatha supporter, "Doctor" Hlatshwayo, was to be buried the same day as Sibanyoni.

Lucas, who was with the team of hit-men — the "eight KZPs" — on that day, tells the inside story: "Eight KZPs came from Ullundi in two cars. They were not wearing uniform. They came to the Uwusa offices the day before the funeral. Three of them were called Mandlanduna, Zweli and Nhlanhla. They taught us

Inkatha songs ... and told us they were going to shoot at the ANC funeral while we must stay at Doctor's house."

(According to Khumalo, Mandlanduna is a professional assassin trained by DMI at their base in Caprivi. He, in turn, trained the Black Cats at Mkuze.)

"The next day, August 11, we came from the Uwusa offices and went to Doctor's house. We were singing. We stood outside the house. We saw the KZPs take positions on each side of the road to wait for the ANC funeral procession," said Lucas.

"Mchobokazi had an AK-47 and Jwi had a 9mm handgun. They joined the KZPs who had 9mms and pump guns and other guns like AK-47s, but shorter. When the funeral procession came past they started shooting. We were watching. The one carrying the flag fell near the coffin. The coffin was dropped.

"The one who fell, Jabulani Sibanyoni, was not dead. The one KZP, (identified as Nhlanhla Khawula) ran forward and shot him in the head. He opened the coffin and shot the dead body many times," he said.

That evening SADF troops arrested about 30 people, including the eight KZPs, and confiscated their weapons. "A couple of days later they were all released and came to Chris' house. Chris told me that after the SADF left, Van Zwiel and Botha released them. ... Chris told me the police did not take statements."

Khumalo told *The Weekly Mail* that after the kwaZulu hitmen were released, their confiscated weapons were also returned to Ullundi. Lucas has disclosed how members

of his gang, after suffering a defeat in a battle with "comrades", left the location in October 1990 for Ullundi, later to receive military training at the Mkuze military camp, which was run by a front for DMI.

Lucas was close friend of gang leader Chris Ngenya.

"Chris told me their trainer was Mandlanduna. He trained them in the use of weaponry and lots of physical exercises to keep fit.

The Weekly Mail's evidence is to be presented to the Goldstone Commission into violence. See also editorial, PAGE 16

"A soldier called 'Sugar' went to Wesselson to 'man the fort' while the others were away. He is now a resident warrior who leads the gang. I saw his KZP identity card. His real name is Lucky Hlongwane," said Lucas.

According to Khumalo, Hlongwane is one of the Inkatha hit-men trained in the Caprivi Strip. His name has been linked to several attacks on Wesselson residents last year, including the fatal shooting of shebeen owner Zini Shongwe, the hand grenade attack on her home on August 20 1990 and the gunning down of a male nurse, Andries Maphosa, on November 5 last year.

Wesselson Extension, the newer part of the location now commanded by the Black Cats, became their headquarters. "Welcome to Ullundi" graffiti is plastered on walls and sign-posts. "When they came back (from Mkuze) they attacked people wearing ANC T-shirts and caps and took their clothes away. They would walk in groups harassing people and bragging about how they are Inkatha."

In August last year at the funeral of "Jwi" Zwane, five township residents were gunned down and killed by a busload of Inkatha members who came from Soweto.

For the first time, an insiders account

win end 24/11-30/11/92

32.1

A PAIR of Black Cat vigilantes, members of a notorious gang that operates in the eastern Transvaal township of Wessels, describe how white police officers used the gang to bomb the office of a human rights lawyer, and helped orchestrate a string of murders, assaults and arson attacks.

And the very police officer responsible for some of these attacks, a Warrant Officer Van Zwiol, was appointed to investigate complaints against the Black Cats, say the dissident gangsters. They claim Van Zwiol helped to ensure few of them were charged for their crimes.

The gang members decided to speak to the press because they had been threatened by other Black Cat members for voicing criticism of the gang's activities and its close alliance with Inkatha. They are now in hiding in fear of their lives and their names have been changed to protect them. The gang is still operating in the township.

"The Black Cats are harassing people today. They say they don't want African National Congress comrades in the township. At Christmas time they killed two people. One of them was an ANC member. A few weeks before that they killed a man called December because he was a member of the ANC," says Themba, one of the defectors.

Other evidence supplied by the Black Cats confirm earlier *Weekly Mail* reports, based on testimony from high-ranking Inkatha defector Mbongeni Khumalo, that members of the South African Police in Ermelo released professional hitmen from Ulundi in August 1990 after they had been arrested for shooting up an ANC funeral and killing two of the mourners.

The two Black Cats tell how their gang was initially formed to counter a

Two young gangsters give an horrific account of how they were encouraged, equipped and trained to carry out violence against ANC-linked targets by the security forces. Their account provides a crucial missing piece in the jigsaw puzzle of what caused the violence which has

A Weekly Mail investigation by EDDIE KOCH and PHILIPPA GARRISON

pro-ANC civic organisation in the area.

After suffering several defeats at the hands of the "comrades", 32 Black Cats were taken to Ulundi and then Mkuze camp, where they underwent military training. They returned with instructions to establish themselves as an Inkatha force in the area.

The younger of the two defectors, Themba, went for training. Lucas, in prison at the time after being convicted for possessing a homemade gun, missed the opportunity to be trained as a hit-man.

Both corroborate claims of police complicity in "black-on-black" violence in Wessels and Inkatha's alleged "forced recruitment drive" in the Transvaal which began about two years ago.

The defectors also confirm allegations made by Khumalo, former head of Inkatha's Youth Brigade and member of the organisation's central committee.

And although the two Black Cats told their stories separately to *The Weekly Mail*, there is a startling consistency in their accounts.

businessmen in July 1990.

"Van Zwiol gave them a 9mm handgun and later rewarded them with vodka and cigarettes," says Lucas. He describes how the gangsters were urged by local town councillors, police and Inkatha to attack members of the Wessels Action Committee (WAC).

WAC became the enemy of the councillors after galvanising the community to boycott rents at the end of 1989 as a protest against alleged corruption being practised by the councillors.

The Black Cats were formed in early 1990, ostensibly to combat crime perpetrated by another gang in Wessels, the Ninjas.

"But the main reason why the Black Cats were formed was to make conflict in the community. Although we claimed to be an anti-crime campaign we ended up committing the same crimes we were supposed to prevent," says Lucas.

Instead of handing the weapons they confiscated over to the police, they stockpiled them at the home of their leader, Chris Ngwenya, where they spent most of their time strategising. A man called Sabata Zwane, known as "Jwi", also led the gang in several attacks.

In July 1990 the Black Cats fled to

the municipal offices after being attacked by "comrades". There, together with two municipal policemen known only as Glen and Jomo, they discussed how to attack members of WAC.

"(Noah) Mchobokazi (then a sports organiser at the council) was there. He gave us a 9mm gun and axes ... Mchobokazi was the one telling us what we must do. He told us who we must attack (and that) we must divide into two groups."

Lucas alleges that two policemen, a Captain Botha and Van Zwiol were in constant contact with Mchobokazi, a known Inkatha member who visited the gang members several times at Ulundi and Mkuze.

He recounts how on the night of July 22 and into the next morning the Black Cats — named after the black whips they brandish — ran amok in the location, breaking doors and windows of civic leaders and known ANC supporters, and attacking several people with pangas, knives and axes. At least eight were admitted to hospital.

The Weekly Mail is in possession of affidavits made to lawyers by victims and witnesses at the time. Lawyers' attempts to get a restraining order on the activities of the gang proved futile. No arrests were made and the violence escalated.

After the attacks the members stayed for several days at the council offices where they were given money to buy food from Mchobokazi.

They then fled to the Ermelo offices of the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa), Inkatha's trade union wing, where Mchobokazi handed over money to the local Inkatha strongman, Isaac Hlatwayo, for their membership fees.

(There, ongoing dealings allegedly took place with the police. Van Zwiol would either visit them at the Uwusa offices or call the leadership to the police station.)

"We were staying in one office but the office was divided into two sections. Mchobokazi was there when Van Zwiol, Botha and one other came to speak to him ... they spoke secretly so we could not hear. They took three of us, Patrick, China and "Jwi" (who was killed in an AK-47 attack last year). They gave them each a 9mm handgun. We saw the guns."

Lucas alleges that the police came to fetch them in a grey private car. That night, on July 25 1990, Ngwenya's office was petrol bombed. Ngwenya reported the incident and a docket was opened, with Van Zwiol appointed as the investigating officer.

The three gangsters returned the same evening, say the Black Cats, with provisions given to them by the two policemen for their services.

Lucas tells how Mchobokazi brought limpet mines to the Uwusa offices and how the two policemen fetched the same three gangsters several days later. As they departed they told the remaining Black Cats not to worry if they heard loud noises in the night.

On the night of August 6 explosives were thrown into Ngwenya's offices and the home and shop of two civic members were bombed with limpet mines. Ngwenya confirmed this in an

Hitmen ... 'Lucas' an

affidavit made at the time. On August 5 David shot dead. One week later, a gruesome gun attack on the funeral procession carrying Sibh. In his disclosures, *Mail*, Khumalo described league had told him he

STAR 24/1/92

No illegal demos

Police say they will take necessary action against people holding illegal demonstrations outside the Supreme Courts in Johannesburg and Pretoria today. This statement follows threats by numerous organisations to protest against the opening of Parliament. A person found guilty of contravening the law could be fined R1 000 and/or a year in jail.

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Sunday Profile

DR NIEL BARNARD, 42, the reticent chief spy in one of South Africa's politically darkest eras, came to power at the age of 31 with views that closely paralleled those of his mentor, President PW Botha.

Both were ardent Afrikaner nationalists and Christians who believed Afrikanerdom was struggling against threatening waves of barbarism — primarily communism.

Dr Barnard was this week appointed head of Constitutional Development Services, which is to become a fully fledged department aiding the negotiation process — a process which includes, ironically, communists.

It is unclear precisely what Dr Barnard's new position will involve. Typically, he is not saying.

Dr Barnard keeps to himself, is a family man and is deeply loyal to colleagues. The recent fallout with his mentor, Mr Botha, is said to have upset and troubled him, but apart from those vague snippets it is difficult to paint a clear picture of the man who is largely obscured by his official role.

He is known for his almost photographic recall of faces and names. In conversation he is intense, even passionate, about his responsibilities, with little time for humour.

Visiting a medieval torture chamber in an Austrian castle during an official visit to Europe, he was asked by a journalist if he was looking for tips for future use. His response was a frozen glare.

He exercises daily, which accounts for his trim figure, and is an avid Free State rugby supporter. A newspaper cartoon in his office depicts the OFS har-

A ploughshare for the spy boss who wielded a sword

Sunday Times 26/1/92

mering the Blou Baile.

His loyalty to his department is legendary. One of the hardest things, he once confided to colleagues, was being unable to publicly defend the service when it landed in controversy — which, in recent years, has happened often.

His plain, common to most spy chiefs, was that it was only when things went wrong that the service came to public attention — and not the many times when things went right.

How did a 31-year-old academic end up in one of the country's most influential positions?

Dr Barnard was a lecturer in international relations and head of the political science department at the University of the Free State when his doctoral thesis, and its views on a total strategy for SA, came to the attention of newly-elected Prime Minister PW Botha in 1979.

Dr Barnard, who also studied nuclear strategy in the United States, was in favour of SA developing nuclear weapons. He wrote that "without a base of strength, modern diplomacy is doomed". He also said that theories that a Christian state

should not use "the sword" were "fatalistic pacifism".

It is through a study of his writings that one best gets the measure of the man.

In an essay, "Theoretical Reconnaissance in International Relations", he wrote: "In world politics fragmented by sin, the sword must always be applied justifiably for the punishment of evil. The attitude that the Christian may never take up the sword and must suffer for justice is dangerous cowardice."

"The government receives the sword from the hand of God to guarantee inter-state stability and provide justice in a crooked and twisted generation."

On the basis then of a first-class mind, a severe Christianity, a puritanical militancy and absolutely no connection with any single faction within the National Party, he was appointed in November 1979 by Mr Botha to take over as head of the then Department of National Security from the omnipotent and formidable Hendrik van den Bergh, confi-

dant of Prime Minister John Vorster.

Under his stewardship, the NIS took on many roles, including intelligence gathering from abroad and evaluating domestic intelligence.

In recent times it has also been involved in special investigations into allegations of security force involvement in, for example, continuing support for Renamo in Mozambique and in fanning domestic violence.

But, crucially, Dr Barnard has in recent years emerged at the heart of regional and domestic negotiations. He was active in the Angolan cease-fire talks and the subsequent Namibian settlement.

His department was responsible for making the initial contacts with the ANC in the late 80s in preliminary peace talks. And he was present at the historic first meeting between President Botha and prisoner Nelson Mandela in 1989.

He has travelled prodigiously. He accompanied President De Klerk to Kenya and on the way back let slip that he had probably been to that country and elsewhere in Africa more than anyone else in the govern-



NIEL BARNARD . . . his views found favour with PW Botha

ment. He knows his way around Vienna, the Cold War's spy capital, like a native.

But his exploits are unlikely ever to be revealed. Secrecy is the currency of the spy and no less so for Dr Barnard.

In 11 years in the public ser-

vice he has given a press conference only once, after his appointment to NIS in 1980, when he said the NIS would tell politicians not what they wanted to hear, but the truth.

Charlene Smith

Government's media clamps on the way out

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE government is poised to remove chunks of the myriad laws restricting the media — and topping the list is the Publications Control Act which might be scrapped in its entirety.

The Act is expected to be replaced by lesser controls on what South Africans may see, hear or read.

The government is also considering exempting journalists from the provisions of controversial Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which gives a mandatory sentence for refusal to reveal sources.

Secrecy

Other laws under review include section 4a of the Petroleum Products Act 12 of 1977 and sections in some of the laws and regulations imposing secrecy in various sectors including the nuclear industry, bilateral trade, foreign finance and strategic stockpiles.

The government is also considering proposals to establish an Independent Broadcast Authority. There is widespread speculation that the hierarchy at Auckland Park will be restructured soon.

A Department of Home Affairs spokesman said the department had been studying ways of reducing or removing press restrictions for some months.

It is expected that the government could follow Media Council proposals that "any proposed statutory limitation of freedom of speech and of the press should be subject to a judicial process".

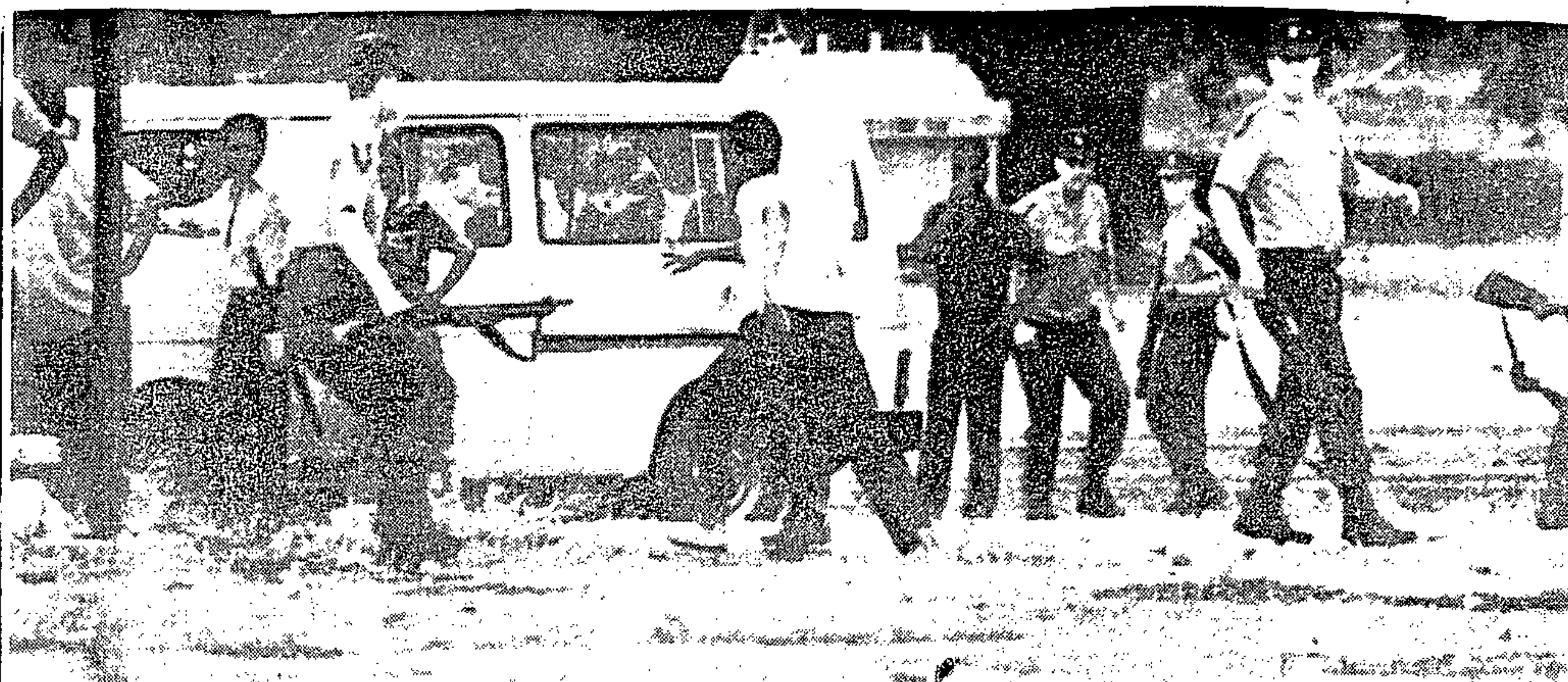
Some media lawyers express reservations about this, saying that British judges, for example, rule

against journalists more often than not. However, it is believed that submission to judicial process is a lesser evil than statutory media restrictions.

A future Bill of Rights and Constitution is also expected to protect press freedom.

In its draft media charter, the ANC has already said it will grant "absolute privilege" to journalists not to reveal sources of information, which Media Council chairman, Professor Kobus van Rooyen says is of "special significance and would have our support".

The government is also expected to bow to long-standing pressure from extra-parliamentary groups and others to scrap all, or most of, the provisions of the Internal Security Act (74 of 1982).



DODGING DEMONSTRATOR . . . a youth tries to elude police during a confrontation in Phalaborwa yesterday

Picture: ROB HADLEY

Police use batons on chanting protesters

By DE WET POTGIETER

POLICE repeatedly baton-charged chanting protesters in Phalaborwa yesterday while armed members of the AWB's Wenkommando cruised the streets.

In another incident, a busload of chanting, placard-waving SACP supporters intent on protesting in the city centre were chased at high speed through the town by heavily armed police and traffic officials, after slipping past roadblocks sealing off the CBD.

Ignoring orders to stop, the bus turned around and headed out of town. Passengers tried to disembark but police forced them back on board and escorted them out of Phalaborwa.

Manned

The protests were sparked by a confrontation on Tuesday between AWB members and about 2000 residents of the Lulekani and Namakgale townships. Sjambok-wielding AWB members threatened to "clean up" a taxi rank in the town centre.

Yesterday policemen armed with R4 rifles and shotguns manned all the entrances to Phalaborwa, while SADF soldiers and Gazankulu policemen manned a roadblock outside Lulekani.

Now it's feared that a crippling three-month consumer boycott called off this week could be resumed.

FW knows about 'third force' - ANC

Swefan 28/11/92
THE African National Congress claims it has evidence to prove that President FW de Klerk knows about a "third force" operating in the country.

Addressing journalists at a breakfast briefing in Cape Town yesterday, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said "reams and reams" of evidence were being compiled to substantiate this allegation.

Ramaphosa said De Klerk ran a "very efficient and professional" intelligence service which briefed him "on a daily basis".

He said there was, therefore, no reason for him not to know about attempts to derail the negotiation process.

Ramaphosa also said there was evidence from media reports that the South African Defence Force was colluding with the South African Police in the current violence.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer dismissed the claim that he and De Klerk knew of a "third force" operating to discredit the negotiation process.

However, Meyer tacitly admitted there was a possibility that the "negotia-

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By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

tion process could be derailed".

He said the country did not face any foreign or external military threat.

However, the SADF still had a role to play in maintaining stability and security.

"Efforts to destabilise and bring forward insecurity are obviously there - be it of a criminal nature or of a political nature.

"I believe that the defence force, like all other State apparatus, has a responsibility to ensure that we maintain the level of stability," he said.

Ramaphosa said that in the ANC's view, the SADF had to be disbanded completely.

Responding to this, Meyer said the concept and form of a future SADF would have to be determined through the negotiation process and that it was too early to say how it should be shaped.

For the time being white conscription would continue, he said.

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By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

HEAR
STOP
PRE
HEAR

Askaris tried to kill Azanla cadre - claim

327
28/1/92
Soweto
28/1/92
201

ALLEGED askaris tried to kill Azanian National Liberation Army cadre Mr George Biya, who was released from custody in Bophuthatswana after a long hunger strike.

These claims are contained in the January issue of *Letsetse*, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania publication.

Biya allegedly received a call at his Soweto home around midnight on December 26 from a man inquiring about his whereabouts.

Sensing that this could be people wanting to attack him, he asked friends to take him away for the night. When they left, they realised that they were being followed.

By MATHATHA TSEDU

The Azanla member said at one end of the street they were blocked by a man who had a dog in his car. They squeezed past his car and raced away. Then they noticed that one of the tyres had been punctured.

It alleged newspapers were informed of the incident immediately but had ignored it.

Biya was serving 13 years in Bophuthatswana when he, together with other political prisoners, embarked on a hunger strike that lasted more than 50 days.

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—POLITICS—

ANC has 'reams' of third force evidence

8/Day 28/1/92 (327) (41) (27)

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — The ANC was collating extensive evidence of alleged third force activities in township violence for submission to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, the organisation's secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Speaking to foreign and political correspondents at a breakfast, he said "reams of documentation are being prepared from the Weekly Mail and other sources".

President F W de Klerk, he said, must have known of this third force activity because he had such an efficient National Intelligence Service that, at all stages, could investigate every facet of SA society.

The issue of third force involvement in political violence has been the subject of repeated rows between government and the ANC and De Klerk has repeatedly called on the ANC to provide evidence.

At a parliamentary briefing later, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer again denied that there was any evidence of a third force operating within the SADF.

Despite the fact that members of the

third force had spoken out on their activities, and this being linked to military intelligence, he said he had satisfied himself that there was absolutely no such activity in his department.

However, he had requested Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to investigate the Weekly Mail allegations anyway to satisfy the critics. He did not say he had conducted a formal investigation into the allegations to satisfy himself.

Meyer said De Klerk had no knowledge of any third force operations either because, if he had, he would have informed the Defence Minister.

Ramaphosa said De Klerk bore final responsibility for the third force. "We have every reason to believe Mr De Klerk has been aware of the third force and has not done anything to stop it."

He accused De Klerk and his government of following a "twin track policy" of trying to marginalise the ANC while negotiating with it.

(327)
**Govt action on
arms ban urged**

STAR 29/1/92
The Government had to give some indication that it was taking the banning of dangerous weapons at political meetings seriously, DP MP for Durban Central Peter Gastrow said yesterday.

The National Peace Accord outlawed dangerous weapons at political gatherings and bound the Government to issuing the necessary proclamations to implement this provision, he said during debate on the State President's speech to Parliament.

The Government could not make the proclamations without negotiation and consultation, but it had been some months since the Accord was signed.

"We need some indication that the Government is taking this seriously." — Sapa.

New march planned on Phalaborwa

Sowetan 29/1/92
(327)

By MATHATHA TSEDU *(MTH)*

TENSION has eased in Phalaborwa following the Saturday incidents in which 109 people were arrested for attempting a march on the town. *(327)*

And with the old taxi rank that had unusable toilets still barred, local black leaders said yesterday a march was being planned for next week Saturday after which a decision on renewing the boycott will be taken.

One of the boycott committee members, Mr Eric Ngobeni, said a meeting at Lulekani township on Sunday had decided that the leadership look at ways of forcing the "conservative boers in the town to toe the line".

Barbed wire *(MTH)*

(327) Matters came to a head last week when the town council unilaterally closed a taxi rank and told people to use a new one that had no toilets. This angered the residents, who decided on a march in the town and the forceful use of the closed rank which was surrounded by barbed wire.

It was during the attempted march that police rounded up 109 people - 25 of them under age - and charged them with disturbing the peace. They were fined R30 each.

Ngobeni said options open to the community included a stayaway and renewing the boycott which was lifted last week after running for four months. Ngobeni however disputed reports in a newspaper yesterday saying the boycott had been reimposed.

"We have applied for a permit to march in the town to protest against several things. The outcome of the march and whether it takes place at all, will determine the next course of action. But for now, we are waiting for the magistrate to indicate whether the permit is granted," Ngobeni said.

The town is controlled by the Conservative Party and the local AWB members have been infuriated not only by the boycott, but also by the move into formerly white areas of several blacks employed by the Phalaborwa Mining Company.

Two of the people who have moved into town have been attacked and their properties damaged.

PAC leader's offices damaged

Scwelen 30/11/92 327

THE Pretoria law office of deputy president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, was seriously damaged by unknown devices yesterday morning.

The ceilings were extensively damaged and electrical fittings ripped from the walls.

Moseneke said he discovered the damage when he opened the office about 7am.

"Although the doors were all locked when I left the previous day, I found the back door open. I do not know if any documents are missing," he said.

The incident occurred a few hours after Moseneke explained on the television programme *Agenda* on Tuesday night why the PAC rejected Codesa.

Northern Transvaal Police liaison officer Colonel Frank Alton said police were investigating the matter.

"Although we are still investigating, I doubt if it

By MONK NKOMO

was an explosive because the sound would have been heard from afar."

Moseneke declined to say who he suspected.

"Recently there has been a pattern of violence perpetrated against organisations and people opposed to Codesa.

"If this action is in-

tended to intimidate me or the PAC, those responsible can forget it.

"We are fighting a legitimate struggle for freedom. We will fight until we achieve our goals which include the replacement of the white, racist, minority regime with a democratically elected government acceptable to the majority of the people."



MOSENEKE

By Thoraya Pandey (321)

Muslims outraged after police 'violate' mosque

Souths 20/11 - 5/2/92

MUSLIM theologians are incensed by the "flagrant violation" of the Aljaamia Udhmania mosque in Bonteheuvel last Thursday when more than 40 armed policemen entered in search of arms and ammunition.

"The actions of the police show blatant disrespect for Islam and its place of worship," said Moulana Ebrahim Kasper, of the Aljaamia mosque.

"Four white policemen arrived at my home around 3pm and ordered

me to accompany them to the mosque. They showed me a search warrant and refused to tell me why they believed we had guns on the premises," said Kasper.

"The mosque was surrounded by 15 police cars, four trucks and two police cars," said Kasper.

"I was at a loss for words and hid my face in shame when members of my congregation looked at me as the police led me inside the mosque."

Kasper said he insisted the police

remove their shoes and treat the mosque with respect.

"At first they hesitated but after insisting and telling them they will have to face the consequences, they agreed," he said.

"They searched the place from top to bottom for more than 20 minutes and obviously found no guns."

Kasper said he was infuriated when the policemen "just left abruptly", refusing to give him any further information.

"This is just not good enough," Mohamed said people entrusted by the congregation to care for the mosque were responsible members of the congregation and deserved to be treated with dignity and respect.

Sheikh Abubaker Najaar, spokesperson for the Islamic Council of South Africa, said: "No mosque in South Africa has ever been used for such underhand reasons."

At the time of going to press, police spokesperson Captain Attie Laubscher was unable to establish whether the police visited the mosque.

STAR 30/11/92
**Editors call
for press
freedom**

CAPE TOWN — The Conference of Editors yesterday decided to submit a resolution on freedom of expression to Codesa with a recommendation that it form part of the absolutely entrenched basic rights in the new constitution.

The editors recommended press freedom be entrenched in a new constitution even though there might be provision for freedom of speech in a Bill of Rights.

The editors decided that the Law Commission's proposed Article 12 of their Bill of Rights concerning freedom of speech did not explicitly refer to press freedom.

Therefore the editors preferred specific entrenchment of press freedom as in the German constitution.

The clause the editors adopted was: "Everyone has the right freely to express and disseminate his opinion in words, writing and images and to inform himself."

"Press freedom and the freedom of reporting by broadcasting and film are guaranteed while diversity of information and opinion in the media shall be protected. Censorship shall not take place."

Media legislation expert Peter Reynolds comments on two restrictive laws

SA needs to eliminate unnecessary press gags

STAR 21/1/92

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THE Police Amendment Act, published in Parliament last week, provides for the repeal of Section 27B of the Police Act of 1958, one of the most inhibiting restrictions on freedom of the press South Africa has yet seen.

Section 27B has long been a part of the myriad of laws which surround and inhibit the free and proper flow of information.

Although I am aware of only one reported conviction under this draconian piece of legislation, it is on the statute books and, generally speaking, responsible members of the press consider themselves bound by it. Accordingly, many claims of police misdemeanours and questionable activities have not been reported. The passing of

section 27B will not be mourned.

However, section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act remains.

Section 205, or rather its implementation by the State against journalists, has for years been a matter of considerable concern. A number of lawyers have been involved in many cases in which this section of the Criminal Procedure Act has been invoked against journalists, who have been subpoenaed in an endeavour to force them to disclose confidential information concerning the identity of their sources against the threat of imprisonment without the option of a fine.

I am pleased to say that, on a number of occasions, because of the maturity of certain senior

members of the Department of Justice, good sense has prevailed, with the problem being resolved without the journalist having either to disclose confidences or go to jail. However, the last such matter in which my firm was involved was the case of The Star's Patrick Laurence. He was subpoenaed to disclose information of a confidential source which the police claimed could assist them to investigate the alleged kidnap of a witness in the recent Winnie Mandela trial.

Laurence went into the witness box to say why he would not disclose the information — that it would be a breach of his journalistic code of ethics. He was convicted and sentenced to jail with-

out the option of a fine. He gave notice of appeal, but bail was refused. Only an urgent application, brought at night before a judge in the Supreme Court, secured his midnight release from a prison cell. His appeal was lodged, but the State has failed to take any further action.

The implementation of this law, like so many other laws, restricts the free flow of information and imposes what I consider unnecessary restrictions on the freedom of the press and, most importantly, the public's right to know.

We need to clean up laws which unnecessarily gag the press, otherwise we can expect a future government to take over where the present one leaves off. □

Patrick Laurence reports on a scandal which continues to haunt the ANC

Strange death of Thami Zulu

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STAR 21/1/92

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DANIE Odendaal, the man at the centre of an alleged plot to murder a renegade ANC fighter, has put his finger on one of the most controversial and potentially explosive issues in recent ANC history: the death in 1989 of guerilla commander Thami Zulu.

Mr Zulu, who headed the ANC's Natal Military Command in the 1980s, died mysteriously five days after being released from detention by the ANC's feared security department or Mbokodo ("the stone that crushes").

His death — and his detention in Zambia, where he was allegedly beaten up and half-starved by his interrogators — so disturbed ANC leaders outside Mbokodo that an internal inquiry was ordered. The findings of the inquiry, on which ANC lawyer Albie Sachs served, were never made public.

What is known is that a medical analysis of specimens from Mr Zulu's blood and stomach showed they contained, to quote the report, "diazon, an organo phosphorous pesticide." The same poison had been sprinkled on clothes belonging to Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South Afri-

can Council of Churches, a few months earlier. Mr Chikane, who fell gravely and mysteriously ill while abroad, was absorbing traces of the poison through his clothes until the pesticide was discovered on them.

ANC-aligned forces said at the time that Mr Chikane had been targeted for assassination. In pro-ANC circles, agents of the security forces were suspected.

Many of the facts surrounding Mr Zulu's death were unearthed by The Guardian and published in the London-based newspaper in September. They have been given a new relevancy by Mr Odendaal's allegations that two ANC men, identified by their nom de guerres as "Ricky" and "Mao," paid him to kill an ANC defector who once served under Mr Zulu.

The defector is Glory Lephosa Sedibe or, as he was known in the ANC army Umkhonto we Sizwe, "Comrade September." He served as the ANC's intelligence chief for the Transvaal under the overall command of Mr Zulu.

Mr Sedibe was abducted by South African police agents from a Swaziland prison in August 1986. His security police captors in-

duced him to defect and Mr Sedibe joined the SAP.

In their book "Comrades Against Apartheid" Stephen Ellis and Tsepo Sechaba state: "Sedibe gave the security police information enabling them virtually to wipe out Umkhonto we Sizwe in Swaziland."

Their successes included the capture of ANC operative Grace Gele in December 1986, the kidnapping of a few days later of Ismael Ebrahim, chairman of the ANC's political and military council for Swaziland, and the ambush and gunning down of two top ANC military commanders, Cassius Make and Paul Dikeledi.

The security police successes led ANC intelligence chiefs to suspect their Swaziland network was riddled with spies. One of the suspected men was a senior cadre known as Comrade Cyril. He was arrested by Mbokodo in 1988, interrogated and pressed to confess to being a security police agent.

According to Ellis and Sechaba, Comrade Cyril died in detention "either from poison, as some say, or as a result of being severely beaten." Mbokodo, convinced it was on the point of a major break-

through, moved higher up the hierarchy.

Mr Zulu, who had been the commander of Mr Sedibe and Comrade Cyril, was detained. Not even his reputation as the Umkhonto commander who had turned Natal into a major theatre of guerilla war and made Durban the "bomb capital" of South Africa, saved him. He was detained for more than a year, part of which was spent in solitary confinement, before being released as a desperately sick man. There was some solace for his family at his funeral, however.

Joe Modise and Chris Hani, commander and chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe respectively, publicly dissociated themselves from Mbokodo's suspicions that he had been a spy.

Questions remain about Mr Zulu's death. Who killed him and why? Was he merely the victim of Mbokodo bullies, paranoid about enemy spies? Was he the victim of a security force agent who persecuted Mbokodo and used its zealotry against the ANC? Had Mr Zulu himself begun to suspect Mbokodo might have been penetrated by a police spy?

These questions have been emphasised by Mr Odendaal's statement to the Sunday Star that there was a connection between his assignment to kill Mr Sedibe and Mr Zulu's death. Mr Odendaal did not elaborate on the nature of the connection.

The ANC has confirmed that Mr Sedibe did approach it last August, when he made overtures about rejoining its ranks. What is not clear is whether Mr Sedibe, who declared that he had left the police, was operating on his own.

The possibility cannot be excluded that he was acting on the orders of his police handlers. The ANC is now a lawful organisation but there are still policemen who view it in adversarial terms.

What is certain is that Mr Sedibe's return to the ANC would be a controversial and disturbing process. If, as Mbokodo once seemed to think, security forces spies have successfully infiltrated the ANC's upper echelons, the return of Mr Sedibe would be dangerous for them. Having been privy to police operations, Mr Sedibe might have learnt the identity of some of their agents.

Mr Odendaal's allegations have to be treated prudently. On his

own admission, made in an interview with Sunday Star, his motivation is financial: he trades information for money.

At one level the Odendaal saga — first disclosed in Vrye Weekblad — seems to belong to a John Le Carre novel. At another level it cannot be dismissed completely.

The ANC operatives, Ricky (real name Revell Nkondo) and Mao, do exist. Police are said to possess a tape-recording of their alleged attempt to recruit Mr Odendaal as a hired assassin.

The ANC has not denied that it paid Mr Odendaal a large sum of money. But, it insisted, its motive in seeing him was for information about alleged gun-running operation by right-wingers.

The ANC has unequivocally denied that it is involved in a conspiracy to murder Mr Sedibe. At the same time, it felt constrained to add: "In spite of our scepticism, a thorough investigation has been launched to uncover all the facts."

It has promised to release the results of the investigation to the public (and not treat it as an internal inquiry like the one into Mr Zulu's death). □

Hearts and minds' cost millions

By DREW FORREST

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THE South African Defence Force's top-secret battle for hearts and minds has cost the South African taxpayer more than R150-million — and millions more will be spent before funding is cut off in 1994.

This is confirmed by an inspection of budgets and confidential project reports which have come into the possession of *The Weekly Mail*.

They show how Military Intelligence-spawned Adult Education Consultants (AEC) grew into a monster whose tentacles spread into every corner of South African society between 1986 and this year, when it was disbanded.

Sources confirm that AEC has already spent in excess of R150-million and that funding for the various regional fronts formerly under its umbrella will continue until 1994, at an additional cost of up to R20-million to the taxpayer.

The nakedly political objectives of the "education" and "training" offered by AEC, and its octopus-like growth into all communities, emerges clearly from its internal documents.

But *The Weekly Mail* has also uncovered links between its activities and violence. Training and funding was offered to "moderate" groups subsequently involved in attacks on political opponents. In at least one instance — at the Hippo camp in Namibia, where in 1986 AEC trained over 80 Inkatha "political communicators" — contra-mobilisation training was provided in conjunction with SADF instruction in warfare.

AEC's 1988/9 budget sets aside R7-million for the Pretoria head office, R1,2-million for the establishment of training centres and R3,5-million for front organisation-run projects in the eastern Cape, western Cape, Transvaal, northern Transvaal, Natal and northern Cape. At that stage, 103 posts were envisaged.

Training camps already existed in Goedeheop and Crausekloof, and further camps were planned in South West Africa, the eastern Cape, western Cape, northern Cape, Natal and Transvaal.

Heavy emphasis is placed on the coloured community — R1,6-million is earmarked for the "mobilisation and counter-mobilisation (of coloureds) for national security objectives".

Urban students are to be deflected from "people's education" and professional groups mobilised to support the free market system and the government. In addition, members of the coloured Labour Party were given 15 training courses in 1987 to equip it to fight three by-elections.

Another key target group is Xhosas — the eastern Cape was seen as strategically vital — with R480 000 being earmarked to mobilise them as an ethnic group against the "ANC/SA Communist Party alliance" and to neutralise the latter's influence.

Xhosa students are to be organised into a stu-

Die projekbegrotings is gebaseer op bestaande projekte in S.W.A. en die R.S.A., asook op die bevolkingsgroepprioriteitslys.

SAMEVATTING

Bedryfsbegroting	R 7 490 900
Terreine	R 1 241 800
Projekte: R.S.A.	R 3 539 600
S.W.A.	R 4 184 600
TOTAAL:	R16 456 900

Documents reflect AEC's budget for 1988/89

Xhosas (R480 000)

Missie

Om die Xhosa as bevolkingsgroep te kontramobiliseer en te mobiliseer om daartoe te lei dat die ANC/SAKP alliansie se invloed onder die bevolkingsgroep geneutraliseer word.

Xhosa-studente

Doelstelling

Xhosa and coloureds in the eastern Cape were seen as key target groups

dent body which is not affiliated to the National Union of South African Students (Nusas). In line with "successes" in Venda and South West Africa, a traditional Xhosa authority structure is to be set up to make Xhosas more "culture-conscious" (*kultuurbewus*).

In addition, AEC targets the leaders of various homelands: R350 000 is to be spent on Venda leaders, R296 000 on Zulu leaders and R240 000 on leaders of Bophuthatswana.

The Weekly Mail has already provided details of the systematic leadership and political training given by AEC, heavily biased against the ANC and its allies, to Inkatha's top echelons.

In Venda, AEC trained Venda cabinet ministers, headmen and school principals at a secret facility at Goedeheop, near Louis Trichardt. Participants told the *Sowetan* they had been lectured on "the evils of communism".

Also provided for in the 1988/9 budget is R4-million for contra-mobilisation in Namibia, broken down into projects for the Owambo, Kavango, Herero, Nama, Damara, whites and others.

White youth movements and students are also targeted, and a Cape Town-based Christian publishing company, Goeie Nuus Bemaking, is allocated R225 000 to "conscientise members of cultural front organisations".

AEC's total projected spending grew from

about R11-million in 1986/7 to R16,5-million in 1988/9. Sources estimate there was a 10 percent escalation each year thereafter until 1991/2, when the network began to wind down.

This accounts for close to R100-million, but does not include overspending or special projects. From internal documents, *The Weekly Mail* knows that AEC expected to exceed its 1987/88 budget by R1,2-million. Special projects known to *The Weekly Mail* include:

● Project "Mike Wildtuin", in terms of which AEC set out in 1986 to roll back a Swapo drive to win over headmen, at a projected cost of R121 000. The "Mike" referred to may be Mike Davis, since active in Durban front organisation Creed Consultants.

● A project, with a budget of R323 000, in terms of which 30 hand-picked Owambo matriculants would be trained as "communicators and influencers" in such subjects as "the onslaught" and communism. Training was conducted partly in South Africa, and R21 000 is set aside for the provision of weaponry and weapons training for this group.

In addition, 1988 saw the formation of SADF-controlled Central Capital Control Services to oversee the financing of projects. With offices, sophisticated computer equipment and a large staff, the CCCS cost at least R15-million to set up and run in that year alone, sources estimate.

BLACK CAT boss Chris Ngwenya, leader of a criminal group that terrorises members of the African National Congress in the Transvaal township of Wesselson, has ordered the assassination of two dissident colleagues who spoke out last week about the gang's links with Inkatha.

Ngwenya ordered his men to "eliminate" the pair just days before they are due to give evidence at Justice Richard Goldstone's commission of inquiry into the violence that now sweeps the country, according to a third member of the gang who defected this week.

The three former gangsters have provided detailed evidence about how a band of Black Cats was recruited by Inkatha and given paramilitary training at a camp run by a front company for the South African Defence Force in preparation for attacks on members of the ANC who live in the township near Ermelo.

A team of lawyers, led by David Sogot SC, will have the three Black Cat defectors with them when they fly to Cape Town next week to present evidence and witnesses to the commission about the gang's violent activities in Wesselson and their links with Inkatha and a front company run by Military Intelligence.

The Weekly Mail has informed Justice Goldstone about the threats to potential witnesses at his commission's hearing next week and sent an urgent message to Police Minister Hermus Kriel asking him to ensure the safety of the witnesses.

Kriel's office replied by saying that requests for residents of Wesselson to be protected from the gang have been sent to the regional police

The Black Cat order goes out: Kill them

Black Cat gangsters are under order to find and kill two dissidents due to testify before the Goldstone commission next week. By EDDIE KOCH and PHILLIPA GARSON

commissioner in the eastern Transvaal. According to evidence supplied by the defectors, the pro-Inkatha gang works closely with white policemen based in Ermelo and appears to have been protected by the very SAP officers investigating a string of crimes and killings in which they have been involved.

The third defector, who wishes to remain anonymous, this week said a hit squad assembled by the Black Cats was sent to Johannesburg this week in order to find and kill *The Weekly Mail's* informants.

Meanwhile, frightened civic members in Wesselson report that since the Black Cat dissidents went public with their story, there have been numerous instances of intimidation and

death threats from the gang, which is attempting to prevent others from coming forward.

Gang leaders reportedly held a meeting late last Saturday night with the policemen from Ermelo police station implicated in the vigilante onslaught against township residents.

In the early hours of Sunday morning, a Wesselson resident, Morris Mthembu, was shot by unknown people in a white Nissan Skyline. And residents report that a white Jetta with kwaZulu registration plates has been patrolling the township.

According to one informant, the occupants of the car — two men from Umlund, a hit-squad member known as "Sugar" who has been linked to several deaths in the township and a local Black Cat gangster known as "Papa" — are on a mission to assassinate three key civic members.

Police public relations headquarters have responded to *Weekly Mail* reports of the gang's collaboration with SAP members in Ermelo by saying the incidents are being investigated by "the Special Investigating Unit headed by Major-General Gloy and are at an advanced stage".

Major-General Leon Mellet, spokesman for

the minister of law and order, said this week that allegations of police complicity in the intimidation of witnesses were serious.

"You are requested to make such evidence available to the Goldstone Commission or alternatively to the regional commissioner, to investigate. Should it prove to be true, the necessary action would most certainly be taken," he said.

Justice Goldstone's hearing, which will probe *Weekly Mail* reports of extensive links between the SADF's Department of Military Intelligence and a roving team of paramilitary hitmen from Inkatha who appear to have the support of some SAP members, begins in Cape Town on Tuesday next week.

Two teams of lawyers will address the commission and present it with military documents and at least six witnesses, including defectors from the Black Cats, former MI front operators and former Inkatha leader Mbongeni Khumalo.

The Weekly Mail's legal team is led by David Sogot SC, assisted by Paul Kennedy and instructed by David Dison. The ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have instructed a team from Cheadle, Thompson and Hayson to represent them.

●The Inkatha Freedom Party this week submitted a 25-page "dossier of death" to the Goldstone commission, outlining "a campaign to assassinate IFP officials, particularly in areas of Natal". It gave details of the killing of 78 IFP officials and supporters and the injuring of another 75 since last September. ANC members were blamed for most of the incidents.

Violence • Intimidation • Third force

FIVE top jurists will meet in Cape Town on Tuesday to probe allegations that the SADF's "third force" is still operating.

The fact that all five members of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry will be present is in itself significant.

The commission under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Goldstone was set up in October last year to investigate public violence and intimidation — what causes it, who is involved and what can be done to prevent it.

The commission only sits with all its members in matters of national importance. Usually, it sets up a regional or local committee, chaired by a commission member, and draws on the services of other lawyers.

This is the second time all five commissioners have been summoned to an inquiry. The previous occasion was to investigate a claim in December that two policemen had conspired to murder.

The commission's members are: chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, vice-chairman Mr Niel Rossouw, SC, and Miss Lilian Baqwe, Mr Solly Sithole and Mr Gert Steyn.

Currently there are five Goldstone committees investigating political violence and intimidation.

Their other work has been put on hold so that the commission members can be in Cape Town this week to hear evidence regarding allegations, published in the Weekly Mail on January 3, that SADF front organisations had trained township killers.

In the past three months, Mr Justice Goldstone, of the Appellate Division, has traversed the country to

The probe



JUDGE GOLDSTONE
A hectic schedule

continues

By CATHY STAGG

hear evidence in various inquiries. Two weeks ago he was in Mooi River. Now he is in Cape Town.

And on February 17, in addition to supervising the commission's tasks, he will be in Bloemfontein to take his place on the bench for the start of the Appeal Court's sittings.

Although there is a marked difference between the work of the commission and normal court proceedings, the two are complementary.

This was illustrated by the way the commission handled an allegation, published in the New Nation on

December 10, that two policemen based at Schweizer-Reneke were part of a conspiracy to abduct and murder the chairman of the Ipelegeng Civic Association.

By December 19, the full five-man commission had met in private, accepted a tape recording as evidence, examined the policemen and the New Nation's informant.

Because it appeared that a crime had been committed, it referred the matter to the attorney-general of the Transvaal for further investigation.

An important spin-off of the Goldstone Commission has been that the presence of independent, impartial lawyers seems to promote

negotiation.

In the Thokoza inquiry, hostel dwellers who had never seen conditions in a squatter camp — and squatters who would never have ventured into a hostel — saw each other's living conditions as they accompanied commission members on an inspection.

In gathering evidence, the commission also brings sides together. This was seen in Thokoza, Welkom and Mooi River, where people who had regarded each other with utmost suspicion have begun to communicate. Peace, admittedly fragile in places, is being restored by the commission's persistent probing of the causes of localised strife.

However, so far, most of the commission's witnesses have been found by lawyers acting for a particular interest group.

Members said they would welcome evidence of eye-witnesses not aligned to any particular group.

Although most hearings have been in public, evidence can be given in private.

The commission can only appoint committees chaired by one of its five members. And those five people have a phenomenal workload.

Apart from sitting much longer than normal Supreme Court hours, they also have to keep up to date with their colleagues' work by reading transcripts of evidence heard elsewhere in the country. And they also take part in probes into violence on a national level.

Workload

The workload problem was referred to in the commission's first interim report, issued on Friday.

Mr Justice Goldstone said there were other incidents of violence which ought to be probed.

However, there was simply not enough manpower to do so.

In the report, he made two suggestions. Firstly that committees need not be chaired by members of the commission and, secondly, that it should be possible to have committees of less than three people.

THOKOZA TOWNSHIP

THIS probe into violence in the East Rand township last September was the first to be appointed. Because Thokoza is seen as a microcosm of what is happening in other areas around the country, evidence will include the opinion of expert witnesses on how socio-political conditions affect violence.

Mr Solly Sithole, an advocate who practised at the Pretoria bar and was previously a law teacher at the University of the North, chairs the inquiry.

He is assisted by another commission member, Miss Lilian Baqwe, an attorney from Newcastle, Natal whose previous experience includes running a Legal Resources law clinic in Johannesburg.

They have been joined by former SA Perm MD, Bob Tucker, who returned to his previous career as an attorney to make a contribution to South Africa's "critical interim phase".

Massacre

The hearing began with an inspection in loco on November 18. Then the committee began hearing evidence at the Sinodale Centre in Pretoria, because some people had said they were afraid to be seen giving evidence in

THE WELKOM MINES

VIOLENCE at President Steyn Mine, which began on November 3 last year, led to the second committee.

Its terms of reference were approved by the National Union of Mineworkers, the owners of the mine, Freegold, and the SAP. These included the investigation of violence, the hostel system and the national stayaway called by Cosatu, Nactu and other organisations in November.

The chairman is commission member Mr Gert Steyn, a former Regional Court magistrate and the Port Elizabeth-based Presi-

dent of the Eastern Cape Regional Court.

He sat with Johannesburg advocate Mr Dan Bregman, SC, who has acted as a mediator in mine disputes, and an attorney, Mr Ray Zondo, a labour lawyer from Durban.

Evidence was completed on Friday, when the inquiry was postponed so that the chairman could attend the commission's sitting in Cape Town. Legal argument will be presented on February 19.

The committee will draw up a report for the Goldstone Commission, which

may make changes to the report before it goes to the State President.

A peace committee has been established on the mine comprising the different sections of the workforce, management, the police and SADF.

In the violence, 86 people died and fears were expressed that when Xhosa and Sotho workers returned to share the same hostels, further clashes might occur. But the "surprisingly positive" attitude when the peace committee was formed dispelled these fears.

DEMONSTRATIONS

THE third committee was established on January 14. Its aim is to investigate how

on January 14. An informed source said it was likely an

Massacre

The hearing began with an inspection in loco on November 18. Then the committee began hearing evidence at the Sinodale Centre in Pretoria, because some people had said they were afraid to be seen giving evidence in Thokoza.

The committee heard that hostel dwellers held a march on September 8 and were fired upon by gunmen. This became known as the Inkatha massacre.

On September 29, civic association chairman Sam Ntuli was shot dead from a vehicle in a Mafia-style killing. After his funeral, on October 7, more people were shot as they left his house after the ceremonial washing of hands.

So far 31 witnesses, from the ANC, Civic Association of South Africa, East Rand Hostel Dwellers' Association, SAP and SADF have testified.

Their evidence has been transcribed and runs to more than 13 000 pages.

But Mr Sithole is also interested to hear from eye-witnesses who are not affiliated to any particular group.

Witnesses can telephone 012-320460 to arrange to meet Mr Sithole.

Complete anonymity can be guaranteed if necessary.

TRAIN AND TAXI VIOLENCE

ANOTHER national inquiry is being held into violence on trains and the "taxi wars".

It is chaired by Mr Niel Rossouw, SC, vice-chairman of the commission, assisted by another commission member, Mr Steyn, with advocate BM Ngoepe of the Pretoria bar, and Cape Town attorney and former president of the Association of Law Societies, Mr LS van Zyl.

Witnesses who want to give evidence can make an appointment to see Mr Rossouw by phoning 021-235508.

SADF FRONT GROUPS

THE Weekly Mail published allegations on January 3 that the SADF was funding "front organisations" which sponsored violence in black townships.

The next day Judge Goldstone asked one of the co-editors, Mr Anton Harber, to supply evidence.

On January 13 the Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, and the ANC, both asked the commission to probe the allegations.

When the commission chairman issued a press release on January 14, the Weekly Mail's submissions were still awaited.

The hearing begins on Tuesday at the Sinodale Centre in Cape Town.

Port Elizabeth-based President's Commission, which fears.

DEMONSTRATIONS

THE third committee was established on December 6. Its aim is to investigate how mass demonstrations should be organised and policed.

It is chaired by Judge Goldstone himself, assisted by commission member Mr Niel Rossouw, who was Cape Town's attorney-general and the dean of UCT's law faculty, Professor D Van Zyl Smit.

The committee is still sitting. Under this umbrella came the Mooi River/Bruntville inquiry. Violence erupted there on December 3 and 4 after a mass march.

The committee began hearing evidence

on January 14.

An informed source said it was likely an interim report on the Mooi River evidence would be sent to the State President.

At the end of the Mooi River inquiry, the judge, with the help of the National Peace Accord secretariat, brought together the IFP, ANC, unions, industry and business leaders, the town council, Natal Provincial Administration, church leaders, farmers, a representative of the the SAP and SADF and a deputy attorney-general.

A dispute resolution committee was set up and people re-pledged themselves to observing the peace accord.

BOMBAY



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Funeral for ANC cadres

By DAN DHLAMINI (327)

UMKHONTO weSizwe will not suspend the armed struggle against policemen implicated in the killing of cadres. MK's Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday.

He was addressing an emotion-charged funeral service of a returned exile and an ANC activist allegedly killed by police in Sharpeville on January 24. *CPM 2/2/92*

Ephraim Lefedi and Thabo Mosebi were buried in Sharpeville.

Policeman 'paid himself'

A former ANC exile has laid a charge of theft against a policeman who allegedly "paid himself" for wasted time by stealing R200 from a bundle of UN grant money the exile was carrying.

Tshifhiwa Nwovhe, Johannesburg administrator for the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA was among a group of exiles flown into the country last year by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. *STAR 312492*

He told The Star yesterday that he was arrested after police found a radio, a television set and a video machine at the Bree Street flat he shares with his cousin last Tuesday. No charge was laid and later the policeman allegedly took R200 of the R710 Mr Nwovhe had on him.

Mr Nwovhe said the policeman had said he had taken the money for "time wasted" as he could have been with his wife." *(327)*

STAR 4/2/92

Lengwati death: police open docket

Staff Reporter (327)

Police have opened a murder docket on the death of Tshepo Lengwati (24) of Diepkloof, Soweto, who was gunned down while accompanying police at Sharpeville last Tuesday.

Mr Lengwati, an ANC member and former Robben Island prisoner, was a suspect in the killing of a Vanderbijlpark policeman, Constable Sakkie Janse van Rensburg on December 30.

Captain Piet van Deventer, police liaison for the Vaal Triangle, said they were investigating.

SAP's 'shield against nasty journalism' to be repealed

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Parliament has signalled that it will repeal a section of the Police Act which restricts coverage of police action.

The legislation, section 27B of the Police Act, prohibits the publication of any "untrue matter" about the police or police action.

It carries a fine of R10 000 or five years' jail, or both.

Prosecutions

Speaking yesterday in the second-reading debate on the Police Amendment Bill, Deputy Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers said the section had led to few court cases but much adverse criticism.

This was despite the fact that the section was seldom enforced, and where court cases resulted from prosecution, the accused were, in most cases, found not guilty.

Only 15 cases had been investigated in terms of section 27B and there had been only three prosecutions, Mr Scheepers said.

"The negative reaction these cases drew was therefore far more damaging than the original contraventions of section 27B. This section was therefore counter-productive and it was in the interests of the South African Police that it be removed," he said.

Mr Scheepers said he had always been convinced that the police did not need this section for its own protection.

It had resulted only in friction between the police and the media, "to no practical purpose and to the distinct disadvantage of the South African Police", he said.

Mr Scheepers said that since the police had taken a further step in improving relations with the media, it was hoped the media "will recognise this commitment to the free flow of information by more balanced and objective reporting".

Although the police did not object to constructive criticism, Mr Scheepers requested the media to refrain from "unreasonable, unjustified, groundless and destructive criticism for the sake of criticism".

Peter Gastrow (DP Durban Central) welcomed the lifting of the section and congratulated Mr Scheepers for realising that the police did not need "a shield against nasty journalism".

The problem with the section was not that it had soured relations between the police and the media, but that it had had serious consequences for all South Africans as they had been prevented from learning the true state of affairs in the country, Mr Gastrow said.

The section had prevented the media from publishing the truth about police action, especially in the 1980s, he added.

Intimidation

It was also no use to say the application of section 27B had resulted in only 15 investigations and three prosecutions, as it had meant a threat, danger and intimidation to every editor and journalist.

"The section intimidated the entire South African press and, as a result, the population was kept in the dark," Mr Gastrow said.

The CP opposed the Police Amendment Bill.

CP in new claims of NIS spying

STAR 5/2/92
Political Staff

The Conservative Party has intensified its charges of the Government spying on it, claiming that three National Intelligence Service agents had been caught.

Claims of political espionage emerged anew in the House of Assembly yesterday as senior Conservative MPs charged that they knew of a former MP being on the NIS payroll.

"It's worse than Watergate!" interjected Frank le Roux of Brakpan, the CP's Chief Whip.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the CP, said these agents received about R6 000 a month. They also received subsistence and transport allowances and were compensated for services rendered.

One of them had received R3 000 for producing the minutes of a CP constituency council meeting and a membership list.

"Did they return that stuff when they got it and saw it was pure politics? What do they do with those tapes when they realise it is politics? Do they turn it off and listen no further?" he asked.

Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) challenged the Minister responsible for NIS, Kobie Coetsee, to say whether the service still employed MPs, full-time or part-time.

He flatly rejected Mr Coetsee's denials that the Government was spying on the CP or Conservative MPs during sessions of Parliament.

But Mr Coetsee said in question time that security attention was given to any instance or individual aiming to destabilise South Africa or posing a security risk to the State.

The NIS had to give attention to any person busying himself with violence, sowing unrest, or war talk and threats of violence. Nobody was immune if he became involved in any of these activities.

"Here in South Africa the Government spies on its political opponents," Mr Langley said.

"This Government bugs and we know it. Certain Ministers of this Government ferret through files in the possession of their departments. We know it," he said. "It is thuggery."

Mr Langley appealed to the press not to allow this issue to be smothered.

Mr Coetsee said in November President de Klerk had made it very clear that NIS would not concentrate on a typical political activity.

He invited MPs with any substantive allegations to discuss them with him. If MPs had charges, they should hasten to the Ombudsman.

Tony Leon (DP Houghton) acknowledged the need for internal security, but said the limits of security had to be carefully defined to avoid each and every State action being justified and hidden by a reference to security.

"The NIS seems to have often by-passed this line and the extremely vague and general definition of national security in the 1972 Act which established it," he said.

Government's justifications for spying on the CP were threadbare. They were rendered even less convincing by an appalling legacy of "super snooping" through a myriad agencies.

It remained unclear whether NIS crossed the line between the national interest and the party interests of the NP, Mr Leon said.



MR JUSTICE GOLDSTONE... will chair inquiry

'No evidence of recent SADF funding'

CAPE TOWN — There was no evidence of current or recent funding by the SADF of front organisations involved in violence or intimidation, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

Mr Justice Goldstone was commenting on the contents of a joint memorandum submitted to the Goldstone commission of inquiry into public violence and intimidation by the Weekly Mail, ANC, Cosatu, SACP, Media Defence Trust and Lawyers for Human Rights. There were no witnesses to lead this evidence, Mr Justice Goldstone said.

"However, the memorandum does contain allegations concerning serious violence and intimidation committed recently by persons trained in camps set up by organisations which were formerly funded by the SADF.

"The commission considers that these allegations should be investigated by a committee of inquiry as a matter of urgency," he said.

The commission has appointed a committee to be chaired by Mr Justice Gold-

LINDA ENSOR

stone which will begin hearing evidence today on the Weekly Mail allegations about front organisations sponsoring violence in black townships.

The first witness will be former Inkatha central committee member Mbongeni Khumalo. He will be followed by two Black Cats gang members, who have alleged they were hired to perpetrate violence.

Mr Justice Goldstone has ordered that the Black Cats remain anonymous in the interests of their personal safety.

Weekly Mail legal representative David Soggot SC submitted that while there was no specific evidence implicating the SADF in current funding of front organisations, there was general evidence in the memorandum which allowed the inference that this was still an ongoing process.

"Military Intelligence, which has set out on a strategic policy of fostering violence in black townships as part of a process of contra-mobilisation, is still bent on that strategy and there is nothing to suggest that the original plan has come to an end. "It is our case that such a strategic plan

on a national scale was devised," Soggot said.

In an interview, Weekly Mail editor Anton Harper welcomed the terms of reference of the commission but said that Mr Justice Goldstone was "plainly and simply wrong" about the lack of evidence of current SADF funding.

He said there was evidence which would emerge in the course of the inquiry and he expressed concern that the judge may have prejudged the issue. Funding of the front organisations was scheduled to continue to February 1994.

The SADF's legal representative, Carel Rabie, said the SADF denied responsibility for furthering violence in this situation and welcomed the commission's inquiry.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the committee would hear evidence on:

□ The whereabouts and relevant activities of about 200 persons allegedly trained at a base named "Hippo" in the Caprivi Strip during 1986 and thereafter at the Mkuze Camp in KwaZulu.

The joint memorandum brings up: □ That 200 Inkatha men were trained in

warfare and anti-ANC/UDF propaganda at these camps.

□ The training and activities of a group in Wesselson, Ermelo, known as the Black Cats who are alleged in the memorandum to have been recruited for training by some of the Caprivi trainees and to have been responsible for numerous anti-ANC assassinations and attacks.

□ The organisations, if any, to which these two groups of people belong and who controls them.

□ The present and recent operations of eight named firms, to the extent that they might be involved in recent or current public violence and intimidation.

The memorandum alleges that a number of front organisations, acting on behalf of military intelligence and some with Inkatha links, were involved in the training and instruction of the trainees. It claims that about R15m in secret funds was channelled through them for these purposes.

□ The role, if any, of the SADF in funding or assisting persons or organisations who had been found to have been involved with violence or intimidation.

NIS sponsored attacks on Katllehong teachers PAC

THE PAC yesterday accused the National Intelligence Service of sponsoring recent attacks on teachers at Katlehong schools and of burning a Kathorus College of Education lecturer.

An NIS spokesman denied the allegations which, he said, were aimed at damaging the image of the NIS.

At a news conference yesterday, PAC student organisation Paso said those responsible for the attacks were a dissident PAC formation, the Revolutionary Watchdogs. No registered member of the PAC nor Paso was involved in the attacks.

Paso publicity secretary Eugene Motati said its investigations had established that the majority of Revolutionary Watchdogs members were "on the state's payroll".

He said the NIS had embarked on a programme of "dividing the liberation movements by using elements who pose as radicals while they are criminals."

KATHRYN STRACHAN

"These elements are engaged in a fixed programme of discrediting the PAC by making the PAC appear as a group of thugs and criminals."

In response to questions on whether the Paso Katlehong branch had been involved in the attacks in the light of their praise of the attacks, Paso general secretary Lawrence Ngandela said news reports on the Paso Katlehong branch were not accurate.

Ngandela later said they had decided to "dismantle the structure" of the Katlehong branch as it had been the base of the Revolutionary Watchdogs.

□ Sapa reports Soweto pupils went on the rampage yesterday morning causing nearly R21 000 damage to three houses.

Soweto police liaison officer Colonel Tienie Halgryn said pupils from Hlengiwe Secondary School threw stones and petrol bombs at three houses near the school.

ANC, PAC discuss forming youth forum

THE ANC Youth League (Ancyl) held discussions with the PAC youth wing Azanyu yesterday as part of its effort to form a broad youth forum.

Ancyl information secretary Pasi Mankahlana said yesterday the meeting agreed on the need for such a forum. Although there were differences about who should participate in such a forum, discussions would continue, he said.

The Ancyl favoured a youth forum cut-

TIM COHEN

ting across political and ideological divides. But other groups had proposed a youth front or a youth parliament, he said.

Azapo's youth wing Azayo was scheduled to take part in yesterday's discussion but members did not attend the meeting.

The Ancyl had canvassed the idea of a youth forum with, among others, the Jewish Federation of Youth Organisations and the NP youth wing.

CAPE TOWN — A National Intelligence Service (NIS) agent had been paid R3 000 for providing the NIS with the minutes of a CP meeting, CP deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg said yesterday.

He was speaking during an interpellation in which Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) asked the Minister responsible for the NIS, Kobie Coetsee, whether government was spying on his party or on CP MPs.

Hartzenberg said the CP

'Spy paid for CP minutes'
had exposed three NIS agents who admitted to spying on his party.

These agents earned R6 000 a month, a travel and subsistence allowance and a further fee "for services rendered".

Langley asked the Minister whether the NIS still employed MPs, saying his party knew of a former MP who was in the service of the NIS.

at pay 5/2/92
CP minutes
He alleged that government was spying on its political opponents, using the information the NIS gathered against them.

"Such behaviour is thug-gery. It is actions such as this which contribute to the uprising."

Langley called on the Press "not to help cover up the government's misdeeds".

Coetsee said government

was not spying on the CP or on CP MPs during parliamentary sessions.

The NIS gave attention to any individual or organisation who threatened the security of the state or engaged in violence, irrespective of his or her party-political affiliation.

He asked MPs to discuss complaints about the NIS with him or to approach the Office of the Ombudsman with allegations of irregularities involving state funds. — Sapa.

Inkatha trained by SADF - claim

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Former Inkatha Freedom Party member Mr Bongani Khumalo arriving at the second day hearing of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

ABOUT 200 hand-picked Inkatha members were flown in an SA Defence Force aircraft to the Caprivi strip for military training, the Goldstone Commission was told yesterday.

This was contained in evidence by former Inkatha member Mr Mbongeni Khumalo at a public sitting of the commission in Cape Town.

His evidence was read into the record by an advocate, Mr JJ du Toit.

Khumalo said the Inkatha members were trained at a base named Hippo by SADF personnel members and a Mr Guy Boardman.

They were instructed in the handling of weapons, urban guerilla warfare, unarmed combat, winning the support of local

populations, identifying ANC or UDF members and persuading residents to be hostile and aggressive towards ANC members.

The training and instruction of the group was arranged and organised by Creed Consultants CC, of which Boardman allegedly was a member.

Trainees

Khumalo said trainees were paid from a secret account held at a Durban bank.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his personal assistant, Mr MZ Khumalo, had signing powers.

Mr Chris Ngwenya, head of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, became directly involved in organising and carrying out acts of violence with members of the Black Cats and became leader of the group.

ANC fears mount over hit squads

By Sabata Ngcai

South 6/2 - 12/2/92

ANC officials have blasted the police for "disinterest and lack of co-operation", saying that they failed to respond adequately to complaints that the security police were taking photographs outside the homes of two senior Western Cape officials.

Fears are mounting that the surveillance and intimidation of ANC office bearers could be a prelude to hit squad activity in the Western Cape.

This follows allegations by the ANC that security policemen were recently seen watching the homes of two regional executive committee (REC) members, Mr Tony Yengeni

and Mr Mxolisi Pelane.

Last Friday, the ANC claimed, balacava-clad men knocked at the door of REC member, Mr Vincent Diba, and demanded to be let in.

Diba was not home, and after being alerted by his brother about the incident, attempted to contact the regional commissioner of police, General Nick Acker.

He was told Acker's office "was too busy to return his call", the ANC claimed.

Yengeni and Pelane saw the occupants of the car outside their homes on January 15 and took its registration number.

When Yengeni reported the matter to the Gugulethu police station, the vehicle

was allegedly identified as belonging to the security police.

The Criminal Investigations Service (formerly the security police) denied any surveillance of the homes of the ANC members.

"The lack of co-operation by the police shows clearly their disinterest in solving issues that are potentially very dangerous and sensitive," said ANC spokesperson Mr Mziwonke Jacobs.

"The situation has become so impossible that the ANC will submit the details to the Joint Forum, a body that monitors police activities, to be dealt with there."

Jacobs said the ANC believed the police were "misleading them" on the activities of the policemen in the car.

"We have eyewitnesses who saw the police taking photographs of the houses. If the SAP are denying that photographs were taken, then they are lying."

"For what purpose was the information collected other than for use by hit squads?"

"The ANC repeats its warning to the SAP and the hit squads linked to it that they would be held responsible should anything happen to our regional executive members," Jacobs said.

Police spokesperson Captain Denise Brand said anyone with such complaints should "follow the channels which were established in accordance with the Groote Schuur Minute".

SADF deployed Inkatha 'troops' to kill ~~the~~ hearing told

THE deployment in the Maritzburg area of 200 defence force-trained Inkatha members resulted in unprecedented levels of violence, brutal murder and the disruption of education and transport.

Mr Mbongeni Khumalo, former personal assistant to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told the Goldstone Commission inquiring into public violence and intimidation this week that 200 hand-picked Inkatha members were given military training by the SADF in the Caprivi Strip.

They were taught, among other things, how to kill selected people, demolish houses, kidnap, collect intelligence and the use of psychological methods.

Replying to a question by Mr David Soggot, representing the ANC, Cosatu, and the SA Communist Party, he said the men were deployed in Maritzburg in 1987.

Referring to interference in an ANC funeral in Wesselton, he said he had been told that eight people armed with AK-47 rifles had been involved.

"They shot at the man carrying an ANC flag in front of the coffin. The people ran away."

The men opened the coffin, firing into it, and the man carrying the flag was fired on at close range.

The men were arrested by the SADF and their rifles confiscated. But they were handed to the police, who released them after the intervention of Mr MZ Khumalo.

Their guns were returned to the KwaZulu police.

Replying to a question about a secret Inkatha bank account at the Smith Street, Durban branch of First National Bank, he said the signatories were Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr MZ Khumalo.

"No one else had access to the account ... not the secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhloomo or his successor, Dr Frank Mdlalose."

Khumalo said he had visited an Inkatha training camp at Nhlazantshe, near Vryheid in 1990 and early last year.

The staff collected information and their findings given to Buthelezi.

"The information was given to Mr MZ Khumalo to be used for purposes of hit squads." - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

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Cosatu condemns alleged spying on trade unions

STAR 7/2/92 327

By Shareen Singh

Allegations of spying activities on trade unions by a security company published in a labour journal have been strongly condemned by Cosatu and one of its affiliates — which was allegedly most spied on.

The latest issue of the South African Labour Bulletin alleged that Lodge Security Services placed agents at certain companies particularly in the commercial catering sector, to collect information on union activities for managements.

Cosatu spokesman Bangumsi Sifingo said the use of spies by managements was "extremely short-sighted, leading to deeper mistrust which exacerbated the conflict between labour and capital."

The SA Commercial

Catering and Allied Workers Union said it viewed the allegations in a serious light and would fully investigate it.

"The modus operandi was for Lodge to write to a company offering its services."

One such letter sent to the Four Seasons Hotel, read: "The objective of an undercover investigation is to bring to the attention of the management, the attitude of the staff and their feelings about various management decisions, shop steward and union activities. This enables management to make the right decisions before negotiating with the unions."

Reports from agents who spied on union activities at Pick 'n Pay branches in Natal detailed discussions by workers at meetings.

The agents were clearly "shop-stewards", the journal said.

Lodge Security Services managing director Edel Ashman said agents were used for pilfering and collected other information at the request of companies.

Pick 'n Pay's industrial relations manager Frans van der Walt reportedly said undercover agents were used to break theft rings and sometimes reported on shopfloor activities. Agents were not sent to union meeting but could have ended up there.

● Sapa reports that a newly appointed staff member of Idasa was approached by the National Intelligence Service to spy on the organisation for them, Idasa executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday.

Arms cache seized in ⁽³²⁷⁾ raid on farm

Own Correspondent

7/2/92

DURBAN — The police made one of their biggest finds of military weapons this week when they raided a farm in the Volksrust district, near the Transvaal-Natal border.

Two brothers were arrested after police used tracker dogs to search the area.

Some of the explosives were found hidden in mountains and some buried in a cache against a dam wall.

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed that police had arrested brothers H C Geldenhuys (22) and H P Geldenhuys (33), who later appeared in the Volksrust Magistrate's Court. The trial was postponed until February 26 and they were released on R500 bail.

The explosives found were: 2 291 9 mm cartridges, 1 018 rounds of 7,62 mm cartridges, 868 rounds for .303 rifles, three shotgun rounds, 5 093 rounds for R-5 rifles, 19 trip flares, 38 tear-smoke grenades, 42 illumination flares and various other explosives.

Police are investigating. No further details were available.

Open media can be a powerful tool, argues Anthony Sampson

The facts about real democracy

STAR 7/2/92

(327)

WHY can't the media in South Africa reflect more closely and vigorously the fast-changing political changes which the country is facing? An occasional visitor like myself cannot hope to understand the complex explanations; but he may sometimes see the wood more clearly than the trees.

And many others are worried by the gap between the public awareness of politics, and the drastic changes being discussed in Codesa, or elsewhere at the top.

The "mainstream" press includes much intelligent reporting and analysis, but in my view it does not convey the wider context of the new politics, or the aspirations or anger of the townships. It is still preoccupied with white politics and events, and content to leave township reporting to the black press or alternative press.

This can seriously endanger the political future, on both sides. It fails to give sufficient voice to black South Africa, to connect up the grassroots with the democratic process. And more importantly, it fails to educate white opinion.

If whites are not being prepared for the possibility of a black majority government they may well face a devastating shock after the elections, just as white Rhodesians were appalled by Robert Mugabe's victory.

Since the initial bombshell of February 1990, when Mr de Klerk legalised the ANC, only a few media stories, as seen from abroad, have suggested a major change in the power balance. One was the Inkathagate scandal which compelled Mr de Klerk to demote two Ministers. Another was Mr Mandela's confrontation with Mr de Klerk, which remarkably was carried live by SABC.

Black and white viewers alike were amazed to see a black leader openly and fiercely criticising a State President. But that amazement was itself a reminder of how little the media had prepared them for the facts of democracy.

The explosion of free speech can be an awesome power, particularly after long constraints.

I saw it last November in Kenya, when after years of inhibition the three main newspapers suddenly felt able to challenge President Moi, and competed to expose the corruption of his Ministers.

I was able to watch a similar explosion of media energy in February 1990, when the ANC was first legalised. Newspapers suddenly discovered a long-lost adventurousness, and black politics overflowed into the white world.

How does a press become insulated? It must surely have something to do with a structure of semi-monopoly which protects it from the need to adapt. Many South African journalists have complained about the almost uniquely concentrated ownership of their media. Any medium which enjoys a semi-monopoly is likely to lose touch with its audience, and to lose credibility.

In South Africa the most pressing political need is surely to extend the range of all the media, to make them represent a much broader public — both to inform them, and to reflect all their confusion, anger and worries.

The SABC, the most spectacular monopoly, should be divided in such a way as to ensure far more coverage both of opposition politics and of news from the black majority in the townships.

The major newspaper groups would also have to be broken up. This might well require an infusion of foreign capital. But even such competition would be much healthier than a purely local semi-monopoly, and would help to make the media more responsive to political change.

● Anthony Sampson is a former editor of Drum magazine. This is an edited version of a talk he delivered at the weekend conference of the Campaign for an Open Media in Cape Town. □

Huge weapons cache found by police on farm

Sowetan 7/2/92
A POLICE raid on a farm near Volksrust yielded one of the biggest caches of military weapons to date.

Using tracker dogs, members of the SAP combed the area just across the Transvaal-Natal border, on Wednesday and found explosives hidden in the mountains and buried next to a dam wall.

Two brothers, Mr HC Geldenhuys (22) and Mr HP Geldenhuys (33), were arrested and later appeared in the Volksrust Magistrate's Court. The case was postponed until February 26. They were released on R500 bail.

Sowetan Correspondent

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the arrests.

The explosives found were: 2 291 9mm cartridges, 1 018 rounds of 7,62mm cartridges, 868 rounds for .303 rifles, three shotgun rounds, 5 093 rounds for R5 rifles, 19 trip flares, 38 tear smoke grenades, 42 illumination flares and various other explosives.

Police are investigating.

Companies 'spying on unions'

AN INTERNATIONAL security firm is being used by company managements to spy on unions, a labour affairs publication has alleged. *B100ay 7/2/92*

The SA Labour Bulletin says in its latest issue it has documents proving that Lodge Security Services has passed on information on union activities to firms it is contracted to.

SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (Saccawu) assistant general secretary Kaiser Thibedi yesterday said "severe action" would be taken against companies which used Lodge in this way — if the allegations are proved authentic.

He said "these underhand methods are likely to undermine the economic forum. We are already suspicious about the bosses' intentions in such forums".

The bulletin claimed "a web of agents employed by Lodge Security Services collected information on union activities" in Natal in 1990. The Bulletin said its sources believed this was still going on.

The companies using Lodge services, as far as the bulletin was aware, were Pick 'n Pay, Dunlop and Cabana Beach Hotel.

Pick 'n Pay's Frans van der Walt said it could not "prescribe to agents what they should write about or not" and if an agent wrote there was a strike looming "it would be a warning sign for us and we would try

DIRK HARTFORD

and act on it". He said undercover agents were employed to prevent pilfering but it was possible an agent "could end up at a union general meeting". He added that the company would be very circumspect about how to use information.

Lodge Security Services MD Edel Ashman said they passed on whatever their agents reported to their clients. Ashman was "not aware" of any reports on union activities currently.

The bulletin quotes from a letter sent by the then investigations manager for Lodge in Durban, Warwick Freislich, which said the objective of an undercover investigation was "to bring to the attention of management... shop steward and union activities. This enables management to act quickly and make right decisions before negotiating with shop stewards and the unions". This letter was addressed to Tommy Smit at the Four Seasons Hotel.

The bulletin article is based on reports in its possession from agents operating at a range of Pick 'n Pay stores in Natal. The bulletin said "it's clear from the reports that some of the agents are shop stewards" as not only general union meetings, but shop steward and Cosatu regional executive meetings are reported on.

ononderbroke vir langer as ses maande vertoon word nie."

P. G. PRETORIUS,

Stadsklerk.

Munisipale Kantoor
Maraistraat
Schoemansville
Posbus 976
HARTBEESPOORT
0216

**DEPARTEMENT VAN PLAASLIKE BESTUUR,
BEHUISING EN WERKE**

No. R. 394

7 Februarie 1992

STADSRAAD VAN HARTBEESPOORT

**AANNAME VAN STANDAARDVERORDENINGE
BETREFFENDE OPENBARE GERIEWE**

Die Stadsklerk van Hartbeespoort publiseer hierby, ingevolge artikel 101 van die Ordonnansie op Plaaslike Bestuur, 1939 (Ordonnansie No. 17 van 1939), dat die Stadsraad van Hartbeespoort die Standaardverordeninge betreffende Openbare Geriewe afgekondig by Offisiële Kennisgewing No. 60 gedateer 14 September 1990, ingevolge artikel 96*bis* (2) van genoemde Ordonnansie, sonder wysiging aangeneem het as Verordeninge wat deur genoemde Stadsraad opgestel is.

J. A. SCHEEPERS,

Waarnemende Stadsklerk.

Munisipale Kantore
Posbus 976
HARTBEESPOORT
0216.

**DEPARTEMENT VAN PLAASLIKE BESTUUR,
BEHUISING EN WERKE**

No. R. 395

7 Februarie 1992

STADSRAAD VAN ORKNEY

**AANNAME VAN VERORDENINGE
BETREFFENDE PLAKKATE**

Die Stadsklerk van Orkney publiseer hierby, ingevolge artikel 101 van die Ordonnansie op Plaaslike Bestuur, 1939 (Ordonnansie No. 17 van 1939), die Verordeninge hierna uiteengesit.

Woordomsrywings

1. In hierdie Verordeninge, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

"gelde" die tarief van gelde soos van tyd tot tyd deur die Raad by spesiale besluit, ingevolge artikel 80B van die Ordonnansie op Plaaslike Bestuur, 1939, bepaal;

"plakkaat" enige kennisgewing, advertensie, aankondiging, toestel of ander materiaal of voorwerp waarop skrif, letters, syfers of illustrasies aangebring is met die doel om direk of indirek reklame te maak vir, inligting te verskaf oor of die publiek aan te lok na enige plek, openbare vertoning, vergadering of ander gebeurtenis wat op 'n bepaalde tyd en plek sal plaasvind, en sluit 'n banier in;

these signs shall not be displayed for longer than six months at a time."

P. G. PRETORIUS,

Town Clerk.

Municipal Offices
Mara's Street
Schoemansville
P.O. Box 976
HARTBEESPOORT
0216

**DEPARTMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT,
HOUSING AND WORKS**

No. R. 394

7 February 1992

TOWN COUNCIL OF HARTBEESPOORT

**ADOPTION OF STANDARD PUBLIC
AMENITIES BY-LAWS**

The Town Clerk of Hartbeespoort hereby, in terms of section 101 of the Local Government Ordinance, 1939 (Ordinance No. 17 of 1939), publishes that the Town Council of Hartbeespoort has adopted without amendment in terms of section 96*bis* (2) of the said Ordinance the Standard Public Amenities By-laws, promulgated under Official Notice No. 60 dated 14 September 1990, as By-laws made by the said Town Council.

J. A. SCHEEPERS,

Acting Town Clerk.

Municipal Offices
P.O. Box 976
HARTBEESPOORT
0216.

**DEPARTMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT,
HOUSING AND WORKS**

No. R. 395

7 February 1992

TOWN COUNCIL OF ORKNEY

**ADOPTION OF BY-LAWS
RELATING TO POSTERS** (321)

The Town Clerk of Orkney hereby, in terms of section 101 of the Local Government Ordinance, 1939 (Ordinance No. 17 of 1939), publishes the By-laws set forth hereinafter.

Definitions

1. In these By-laws, unless the context otherwise indicates—

"charges" means, the tariff of charges as determined from time to time by the Council by special resolution, in terms of section 80B of the Local Government Ordinance, 1939;

"Council" means, the Town Council of Orkney this Council's management Committee acting under the powers delegated to it in terms of section 58 of the Local Government Ordinance (Administration and Elections), 1960 (Ordinance 40 of 1960), and any officer of the Council to whom the Committee has been empowered by the Council in terms of subsection (3) of the said section to delegate, and has in fact delegated the powers, functions and duties vesting in the Council in relation to these by-laws;

"Raad" die Stadsraad van Orkney die Raad se Bestuurskomitee wat handel kragtens die bevoegdhede wat ingevolge die bepalinge van artikel 58 van die Ordonnansie op Plaaslike Bestuur (Administrasie en Verkiesings), 1960 (Ordonnansie No. 40 van 1960), aan hom gedelegeer is, en enige beampte aan wie die Komitee ingevolge die bepalinge van subartikel (3) van genoemde artikel, op gesag van die Raad, die bevoegdhede, funksies en pligte wat ten opsigte van hierdie verordeninge by die Raad berus, kan deleger, en dit inderdaad gedelegeer het;

"straat" enige openbare straat, laan, sygaardjie, publieke oop ruimte of park binne die Munisipaliteit van Orkney.

2. Niemand mag in of in sig van 'n straat of ander openbare plek binne die gebied wat deur die Raad van tyd tot tyd omskryf word, 'n plakkaat of ander advertensie (die uitdrukking omvat in hierdie artikel enige advertensie-toestel) vertoon, laat vertoon, toelaat of duld dat dit vertoon word nie met die doel om 'n vergadering, byeenkoms of geleentheid vir sport-, opvoedkundige, liefdadigheids-, politieke of ander doeleindes, of om iemand se kandidaatskap of nominasie vir of ander belang by, 'n Parlements-, Transvaalse Provinsiale Raads- of 'n Raadsverkiezing te adverteer nie.

3. Niemand mag in of in sig van 'n straat of 'n ander openbare plek buite die gebied soos deur die Raad van tyd tot tyd omskryf word en binne die munisipaliteit 'n plakkaat of ander advertensie, soos dit in artikel 2 beskryf word, vertoon of laat vertoon, toelaat of duld dat dit vertoon word nie, tensy hy eers die skriftelike toestemming van die Raad, wat deur die ingenieur onderteken moet word, verkry het: Met dien verstande dat geen toestemming verleen word om 'n plakkaat of ander soortgelyke advertensie te vertoon wat betrekking het op 'n handelsonderneming of -bedrywigheid of op enige bedrywigheid wat na die mening van die ingenieur allereers of hoofsaaklik van 'n kommersiële aard is nie.

4. Enige persoon wat uit hoofde van 'n toestemming wat ingevolge artikel 3 verleen is, in 'n straat of ander openbare plek 'n plakkaat of 'n ander advertensie vertoon, laat vertoon of duld dat dit vertoon word, moet aan die volgende vereistes voldoen of sorg dat dit nagekom word:

(a) Die plakkaat of ander advertensie moet, op so 'n wyse aan 'n netjiese en sterk bord van hout of 'n ander geskikte materiaal wat deur die ingenieur goedgekeur moet word, bevestig word, dat dit nie vanweë wind of reën heeltemal of gedeeltelik los sal raak nie, en nóg die bord of ander materiaal, nóg die plakkaat of advertensie self mag groter as 900 mm by 600 mm wees.

(b) 'n Bord of materiaal soos ingevolge subartikel (a) voorgeskryf, mag nie geplaas word op of teen of bevestig word aan, of andersins gestut word deur, enige transformator, geleidings- of telegraafpaal, verkeerslig of -teken of ander bouwerk of voorwerp wat deur die Raad, die Provinsiale Raad of die Regering van die Republiek opgerig is nie of, tensy dit met 'n tou of 'n sterk lyn geskied, aan 'n boom wat in 'n straat, park of ander openbare plek staan, bevestig word nie.

(c) Behoudens enige bepaling wat in subartikel (b) vervat is, moet 'n bord of materiaal soos voorgeskryf ingevolge subartikel (a), met draad van uiters 4 mm en ten minste 3 mm in deursnee styf aan 'n sterk en stewige stut vasgeheg word.

"poster" means, any notice, advertisement, announcement, device or other material or object on which writing, print, figures of illustrations have been affixed with the purpose to promote directly or to give information to the public or to attract or invite the public to any place, public display, meeting or other event which will take place on a certain date, place and time and includes a banner;

"street" means any public street, lane, sidewalk, public open space or park within the Municipality of Orkney.

2. No person shall in or in view of any street or other public place within the area defined by the Council from time to time, display or cause, permit or suffer to be displayed any poster or other advertisement (which expression in this section includes any advertising device) with a view to advertise any meeting, function or event of a sporting, educational, charitable, political or any other character or the candidature or nomination of any person for, or other interest of any person in, an election to Parliament, the Transvaal Provincial Council or the Council.

3. No person shall in or in view of any street or other public place outside the area as defined by the Council from time to time and within the municipality, display or cause, permit or suffer to be displayed any poster or other advertisement as described in section 2 unless he has first obtained the permission of the Council, to be given in writing under the hand of the engineer: Provided that no permission shall be given for the display of any poster or other similar advertisement having reference to any commercial undertaking or activity or to any activity which in the opinion of the engineer is primarily or mainly of a commercial character.

4. Any person who, in the exercise of a permission granted in terms of section 3, displays or causes or suffers to be displayed in a street or other public place a poster or other advertisement, shall comply with or cause to be complied with the following requirements:

(a) The poster or other advertisement shall be attached, in such a manner that it will not become wholly or partially dislodged by wind or rain, to a neat and strong board made of wood or other suitable material which must be approved by the engineer, and neither such board or such material nor the poster or the advertisement itself shall measure more than 900 mm by 600 mm.

(b) A board or material as prescribed in terms of subsection (a) shall not be placed on or against or attached to or otherwise supported by any transformer box, electricity or telegraph pole, traffic light or sign or other structure or object erected by the Council, the Provincial Council of the Government of the Republic or, save by means of cord or strong string, be attached to any tree growing in a street, park or other public place.

(c) Without prejudice to any provision contained in subsection (b), a board or material as prescribed in terms of subsection (a), shall be firmly fastened to a strong and stable support by means of wire not exceeding 4 mm and not less than 3 mm in diameter.

(d) Geen bord of materiaal, mag op so 'n plek geplaas of op so 'n wyse gevestig word dat dit na die Raad se mening moontlik 'n gevaar vir voertuigverkeer of voetgangers in 'n straat of op 'n ander openbare plek, inhou ne.

(e) Geen plakkaat of ander advertensie met betrekking tot 'n vergadering, byeenkoms of geleentheid, uitgesonderd 'n verkiesing, mag langer as 14 dae voor die dag waarop dit 'n aanvang neem en langer as drie dae ná die dag waarop dit geëindig het, vertoon word nie.

(f) Enige persoon wat enige plakkaat of ander advertensie vertoon, laat vertoon of toelaat of duld dat dit vertoon word, moet eers 'n skriftelike verklaring aan die Raad verstrek waarin hy meld in watter straat of in sig van watter straat en watter straatkruising, naaste aan die plek is, waar elke sodanige plakkaat of ander advertensie vertoon sal word.

5. (a) Daar moet aan die vereistes wat in die volgende subartikels van hierdie artikel voorgeskryf word, voldoen word, ten opsigte van plakkate of ander advertensies wat op 'n Parlements-, Provinsiale Raads- of munisipale verkiesing betrekking het: Met dien verstande dat niks wat in hierdie artikel vervat is, betrekking het op 'n plakkaat of ander advertensie betreffende sodanige verkiesing nie, wat—

(i) heeltemal binne 'n vaste perseel aangebring is, dit wil sê wat op 'n ander plek op so 'n perseel aangebring is as op 'n buitemuur of aan die buitekant van 'n heining wat kennelik die grens van die perseel uitmaak;

(ii) vertoon word in of op 'n private motorvoertuig wat in 'n straat of op 'n ander openbare plek geparkeer is of bestuur word in die loop van die normale gebruik van sodanige voertuig;

(iii) vertoon word by 'n verkiesingskandidaat se komiteekamers wat duidelik as sodanige aangedui moet wees; of

(iv) bevestig is aan 'n skutting wat vir die vertoon van advertensies gelisensieer is.

(b) Ten opsigte van elke kandidaat mag daar uiters 100 plakkate of ander advertensies op enige enkele tydperk in enige munisipale wyk, en uiters 200 in enige parlementêre kiesafdeling, vertoon word.

(c) Geen plakkaat of ander advertensie mag langer as 'n tydperk wat strek van die begin van die nominasiedag tot die einde van die vierde dag ná middernag van die verkiesingsdag vertoon word nie.

(d) Advertensies kan in die vorm van baniere wat uiters 1 m by 4 m groot is, vertoon word en daar kan uiters drie sodanige baniere in elke munisipale wyk en vyf in elke parlementêre kiesafdeling wees.

6. Hoogstens 40 plakkate of ander advertensies mag met betrekking tot enige vergadering, byeenkoms of geleentheid, uitgesonderd 'n verkiesing, op dieselfde tyd vertoon word.

7. Tensy daar ingevolge artikel 3 vergunning daartoe verleen is al dan nie, mag geen plakkaat of ander advertensie in 'n straat of op 'n ander openbare plek geplaas word nie, tensy die toepaslike bedrag wat in Bylae 2 hierby voorgeskryf is, by wyse van 'n deposito aan die Raad betaal is.

(d) No board or material shall be placed on such a place or in such a manner as is likely, in the opinion of the Council, to constitute a danger to vehicular traffic or pedestrians in any street or other public place.

(e) No poster or other advertisement relating to a meeting, function or event, other than an election, shall be displayed for longer than 14 days before the day on which it begins and longer than three days after the day on which it ends. (327) ~~(327)~~ ~~(327)~~

(f) Any person who displays or causes, permits or suffers to be displayed any poster or other advertisement, shall first furnish the Council with a statement, in writing, mentioning the street in or in view of which and the intersection nearest to which every such poster or other advertisement will be displayed.

5. (a) The requirements as prescribed in the succeeding subsections of this section shall be complied with in respect of posters or other advertisements relating to a Parliamentary, Provincial or municipal election: Provided that nothing in this section contained shall apply to a poster or other advertisement relating to such an election which—

(i) is located entirely inside fixed premises, that is to say, is displayed elsewhere on such premises than on an exterior wall or on the outside of any fence forming the apparent boundary of the premises;

(ii) is displayed in or on a private motor vehicle parked or being driven in a street or other public place in the course of the normal use of such vehicle;

(iii) is displayed at the committee rooms, clearly marked as such, of a candidate in an election; or

(iv) is affixed to a hoarding licensed for the display of advertisements.

(b) In respect of each candidate not more than 100 posters or other advertisements shall be exhibited at any one time in any municipal ward and not more than 200 shall be exhibited in any parliamentary constituency.

(c) No poster or other advertisement shall be displayed for longer than the period extending from the beginning of the day of nomination to the end of the fourth day after midnight of the day of the election.

(d) Advertisements may be displayed in the form of banners not exceeding 1 m by 4 m on size or three in number of such banners in each municipal ward and five in each parliamentary constituency.

6. Not more than 40 posters or other advertisements shall be displayed at any one time in relation to any meeting, function or event, other than an election.

7. Except, whether or not by virtue of permission given in terms of section 3, no poster or other advertisement shall be placed in a street or other public place, unless the appropriate sum as prescribed in Schedule 2 hereto has been paid to the Council by way of deposit.

8. Elke deposito wat ingevolge artikel 7 betaal is, word, behoudens die bepalinge van artikel 9, terugbetaal wanneer al die plakke of ander advertensies waarop die deposito betrekking het, tot bevrediging van die Raad verwyder is, en nie voor dié tyd nie.

9. Enige persoon wat, nadat hy 'n advertensie vertoon of laat vertoon het, versuim om dit te verwyder of te laat verwyder binne die tydperke wat ingevolge artikel 4 (e) of artikel 5 (c) voorgeskryf is, begaan 'n misdryf en benewens enige boete wat hy ingevolge artikel 10 (a) moet betaal, verbeur hy ook die deposito met betrekking tot die advertensies wat ingevolge artikel 7 betaal is of 'n deel van dié deposito wat die Raad in verhouding tot die getal plakke of advertensies wat nie verwyder is nie, kan bepaal.

10. (a) Enige persoon wat in of in sig van 'n straat of 'n ander openbare plek 'n plakkaat of ander advertensie vertoon of laat vertoon of duld dat dit vertoon word sonder dat hy ingevolge artikel 3 vergunning daartoe verkry het, en iemand wat, nadat hy die betrokke vergunning verkry het, ten opsigte van 'n plakkaat of advertensie versuim om te voldoen aan die bepalinge van hierdie artikel of wat andersins enige bepaling daarvan oortree, begaan 'n misdryf en is by skuldigbevinding strafbaar met 'n boete van hoogstens R100.

(b) Indien iemand ingevolge hierdie artikel aangekla word van 'n misdryf met betrekking tot 'n plakkaat of ander advertensie, rus die bewyslys op hom en moet hy bewys dat hy nie die plakkaat of advertensie vertoon of laat vertoon of toegelaat of geduld het dat dit vertoon word nie.

(c) Enige persoon wat 'n plakkaat of ander advertensie in of in sig van 'n straat of ander openbare plek vertoon, laat vertoon of toelaat of duld dat dit daar vertoon word en enigiemand anders, uitgesonderd 'n polisiebeampte of enige ander persoon wie se plig dit is om hierdie verordeninge toe te pas, wat deur die persoon wat vir die vertoning van die plakkaat of ander advertensie verantwoordelik is, gemagtig is om dit te verwyder, word as die vertoner daarvan beskou terwyl dit soos hierbo uiteengesit, vertoon word.

(d) Enige persoon wat, hetsy alleen of saam met iemand anders verantwoordelik is vir die reëling van, of wat in beheer staan van, 'n vergadering, byeenkoms of geleentheid waarop 'n plakkaat of ander advertensie betrekking het, word tot tyd en wyl die teendeel bewys is, beskou as die persoon wat elke plakkaat wat vertoon word en wat op daardie vergadering, byeenkoms of geleentheid betrekking het, vertoon het of laat vertoon, of toegelaat of geduld het dat dit vertoon word.

(e) Dit word geag dat die eienaar en die okkupant van die grond of 'n perseel waarop 'n plakkaat of ander advertensie strydig met hierdie artikel vertoon word, 'n misdryf begaan het tensy hy in enigeen van dié gevalle bewys dat hy nie van die vertoning van die plakkaat of ander advertensie geweet het nie, of dat hy nie deur 'n redelike mate van waaksaamheid aan die dag te lê, daarvan kon geweet het of dit kon verhinder het nie.

(f) Die Raad kan, sonder om enigiemand daarvan kennis te gee, self enige advertensie verwyder en vernietig wat sonder sy vergunning ingevolge artikel 3 of wat in stryd met enige bepaling van hierdie artikel vertoon word, of wat nie verwyder is binne die tydperk wat ingevolge artikel 4 (e) of artikel 5 (c) voorgeskryf is nie, of wat in enige opsig strydig is met die bepalinge van

8. Every deposit paid in terms of section 7 shall, subject to the provisions of section 9, refunded when and not before all the posters or other advertisements to which the deposit relates, have been removed to the satisfaction of the Council. (327) ~~327~~ ~~328~~

9. Any person who, having displayed or caused to be displayed any advertisement, fails to remove it or cause it to be removed within the periods prescribed in terms of section 4 (e) or section 5 (c) shall be guilty of an offence and shall, in addition to any penalty imposed upon him in terms of section 10 (a), forfeit the deposit relating to it made in terms of section 7 or such proportionate part of that deposit as that the Council shall assess having regard to the number of posters or advertisements not removed.

10. (a) Any person who displays or causes or suffers to be displayed any poster or other advertisement in or in view of any street or other public place without having obtained permission to do so in terms of section 3 and any person who, having obtained permission as aforesaid, fails in respect of a poster or advertisement to comply with any provision of this section or who otherwise contravenes any provision thereof, shall be guilty of an offence and liable, on conviction, to a fine not exceeding R100.

(b) If any person is charged with an offence under this section relating to any poster or advertisement, the onus shall rest on him of proving that he neither displayed the poster or other advertisement nor caused, permitted or suffered it to be displayed.

(c) Any person who displays or causes, permits or suffers to be displayed in or in view of any street or other public place any poster or other advertisement and any person other than a police officer or other person charged with the enforcement of these by-laws, who is authorized by the person responsible for the display of the poster or other advertisement to remove it, shall be deemed to be the displayer thereof so long as it is displayed as aforesaid.

(d) Any person who is either alone or jointly with any other person responsible for organizing, or in control of, any meeting, function or event to which a poster or other advertisement relates shall, until the contrary be proved, be deemed to have displayed or to have caused, permitted or suffered to be displayed every poster which is displayed relating to that meeting, function or event.

(e) The owner and the occupier of land or premises on which any poster or other advertisement is displayed in contravention of this section, shall be deemed to be guilty of an offence unless in either case he proves that he did not know of or could not by the exercise of reasonable diligence have known of or prevented such display.

(f) The Council shall be entitled without giving notice to anyone, itself to remove and destroy any advertisement displayed without its permission having been obtained in terms of section 3 or in contravention of any provision of this section or which has not been removed within the period specified in terms of section 4 (e) or section 5 (c), or which constitutes in any

hierdie artikel, en die persoon wat enige sodanige advertensie vertoon het of dit laat vertoon word, is verplig om aan die Raad die koste van genoemde verwydering en vernietiging wat deur die Raad bepaal en van die gestorte deposito afgetrek moet word, te vergoed, en is boonop skuldig aan 'n misdryf.

P. J. SMITH,
Stadsklerk.

Burgersentrum
Privaatsak X8
ORKNEY
2620.

DEPARTEMENT VAN PLAASLIKE BESTUUR, BEHUISING EN WERKE

No. R. 396

7 Februarie 1992

MUNISIPALITEIT VAN ORKNEY

VERORDENINGE BETREFFENDE VASTE AFVAL EN SANITEIT

Die Stadsklerk van Orkney publiseer hierby, ingevolge artikel 101 van die Ordonnansie op Plaaslike Bestuur, 1939 (Ordonnansie No. 17 van 1939), die Verordeninge hierna uiteengesit.

HOOFSTUK I

Woordomsrywings

1. In hierdie Verordeninge, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

“**aanstootlike afval**” afval wat toksies, gevaarlik, nadelig of skadelik is of wat die omgewing kan besoedel of wat ontstaan as gevolg van 'n vervaardigingsproses of die voorafbehandeling vir wegdoendoeleindes van myn- of bedryfsvloeiaval, wat ingevolge die Raad se Rioleringsverordeninge nie in 'n perseelriool of straatriool gestort mag word nie;

“**besigheidsafval**” afval wat op enige perseel ontstaan wat met gemak en sonder beskadiging van die houer daarin verwyder kan word, met inbegrip van tuinafval maar uitgesonderd bouersafval, lywige afval, huisafval of aanstootlike afval;

“**bouersafval**” afval wat slegs weens slopings-, uitgrawings- of boubedrywigheide op 'n perseel ontstaan;

“**eienaar**” 'n eienaar soos omskryf in die Ordonnansie op Plaaslike Bestuur, 1939: Met dien verstande dat die “eienaar” van 'n perseel wat gehou word ingevolge die Deeltitelregister wat ingevolge artikel 5 van die Wet op Deeltitels, 1971, geopen is, die regspersoon is wat by die Wet omskryf word;

“**gelde**” die tarief van gelde soos van tyd tot tyd deur die Raad, by spesiale besluit, ingevolge artikel 80B van die Ordonnansie op Plaaslike Bestuur, 1939, vasgestel;

“**houer**” 'n vullishouer soos deur die Raad bepaal en goedgekeur en wat deur die Raad gratis of teen 'n vasgestelde tarief of teen heersende pryse of 'n huurtarief, voorsien kan word;

“**huisafval**” afval wat normaalweg op die persele van private woonhuise wat uitsluitlik vir woondoeleindes gebruik word, ontstaan en wat met gemak en sonder die beskadiging van die houer, daarin verwyder kan word, en wat tuinafval insluit;

respect a contravention of the provisions of this section, and the person who displayed any such advertisement or caused, permitted or suffered it to be displayed shall be liable to refund to the Council the cost to be assessed and deducted by the council from the deposit made, of the said removal and destruction, and in addition shall be guilty of an offence.

P. J. SMITH,
Town Clerk.

Civic Centre
Private Bag X8
ORKNEY
2620.

DEPARTMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, HOUSING AND WORKS

No. R. 396

7 February 1992

MUNICIPALITY OF ORKNEY

BY-LAWS RELATING TO SOLID WASTE AND SANITARY

The Town Clerk of Orkney hereby, in terms of section 101 of the Local Government Ordinance, 1939 (Ordinance No. 17 of 1939), publishes the By-laws set forth hereinafter.

CHAPTER I Definitions

1. In these By-laws, unless the context otherwise indicates—

“**builders refuse**” means refuse generated only by demolition, excavation or building activities on premises;

“**bulky refuse**” means refuse generated on any premises but which cannot by virtue of its mass, shape, size or quantity readily be removed by means of and without damaging the container, excluding objectionable refuse;

“**business refuse**” means refuse generated on any premises and which can readily be removed by means of and without damaging containers, including garden refuse but excluding builders refuse, bulky refuse, domestic refuse or objectionable refuse;

“**charges**” means the tariff of charges as determined from time to time by the Council by special resolution, in terms of section 80B of the Local Government Ordinance, 1939;

“**container**” means a refuse container as prescribed and approved by the Council and which may be supplied by the Council free of charge, or at a prescribed tariff or at ruling prices or at a hiring charge;

“**Council**” means the Town Council of Orkney, the Council's Management Committee acting under the powers delegated to it in terms of section 58 of the Local Government (Administrations and Elections) Ordinance, 1960, and any officer to whom that Committee has been empowered by the Council in terms of subsection (3) of the said section to delegate and has in fact delegated, the powers, functions and duties vesting in the Council in relation to these By-laws;

SA's 'lost' history is recovered

Decades of vital history omitted from official records are being restored in an ambitious project that is not only of importance to researchers, but is a poignant evocation of our past.

By GAYE DAVIS

FOR years Freda Levson tried to interest publishers in her late husband Leon's vast collection of photographs documenting African life in South Africa during the 1940s. But his thousands of negatives remained unseen in boxes under her bed in London.

South Africans will soon get a chance to see for the first time some of Levson's evocative images: the University of the Western Cape's newly established Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture is working on an exhibition featuring work by Levson and other "lost" photographers.

It's just one project among many planned by the centre in a bid to bring back history officially denied for decades. Only recently named, the centre is better known as the "struggle museum" UWC announced it would establish after acquiring the entire photographic, film, video and publications collection of the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund (Idaf).

Levson's photographs form part of that collection, built up over the many years Idaf functioned as the nerve centre of the international solidarity movement. So do those of Eli Weinberg, a listed communist who spent much of his life under house arrest or in prison, but who nevertheless recorded key events in the history of the African National Congress before going into exile in 1976. Most of his negatives, left behind when he fled, were lost or destroyed; those salvaged have been seen only abroad.

The last of the Idaf crates — filled with some 100 000 photographs, 1 000 films and videos, equipment and countless books — have now been unpacked, comprising a resource not



Photographing the photographer ... A slice of life from Sophiatown recorded by Leon Levson

only vast but immensely valuable to researchers. A unique computer cataloguing system means anyone seeking material on forced removals, for instance, will immediately be able to see listed every piece of footage and every photograph in the archive.

But the Idaf collection is not all there is. Daily an assortment of boxes, crates and envelopes arrives at the centre, containing material ranging from an activist's treasured collection of "struggle" T-shirts to minutes of the Robben Island Recreation Committee.

"There's so much to be done. We've been working 20-hour days, raising funds, collecting and collating material. Now for the first time we can say we've got a physical presence, this is what we've got so far," said historian Dr Andre Odendaal, the centre's co-ordinator.

Who, apart from his fellow prisoners, knew that the late Pan Africanist Congress leader Jeff Masemola was a deft woodworker? One of his creations was a trophy Robben Island prisoners' soccer teams would compete for and which now forms part of the archive.

There's a telegram Mao tse Tung

sent to Bill Andrews, acknowledged as the grand old man of the South African Communist Party who died in 1952, wishing him well on the occasion of his birthday, and a framed front page of *The World's* last edition, which escaped confiscation by the security police the day the newspaper was banned in 1977.

This is the stuff of which not only memories but also history is made — and it has come from all over South Africa and abroad.

Some of it, like Ahmed Kathrada's 8 000 pages recording every letter he wrote and received during 25 years in jail or the archives of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee and other anti-apartheid organisations, is of prime historical importance, a researcher's paradise. Other material is intensely personal, relevant for its poignancy and evocation of a time past and never adequately recorded.

Sometimes that relevance has to be explained, like the white cap donated by a former Robben Islander. "We only understood its significance when we found prisoners made these caps to set themselves apart, expressing an

individuality otherwise denied them," said Odendaal.

Despite the wealth of ANC material and Idaf's historic links with the organisation, the centre is intended to be non-sectarian and the PAC has already expressed its support. It was established to balance a badly skewed past: "We're not going to make the same mistake," said Odendaal. Hence the name Mayibuye (let it return), a slogan common to most liberation bodies.

"We're collecting all artefacts, papers and other material related to the struggle. We're not turning up our noses at anything. We're hoping to share any duplications with other institutions. There's a lot of enthusiasm," said Odendaal.

Just an idea five years ago, the centre's task is enormous. Three former Idaf staffers, all returned exiles, are in charge of the film, audio and photographic archives. Eventually, artefacts will be on permanent display, but a proper museum depends on space and funds. Said Odendaal: "Our immediate priority is collating all the documents and papers. We're taking things step by step."

The centre has copyright to about 20 titles, many banned and never freely available in South Africa. In May, the UWC Mayibuye History Series will be launched, featuring re-prints of these and some new publications, including ANC national executive member Ronnie Kasrili's autobiography, written while he was on the run in the wake of the security crackdown on Operation Vula. It's tentatively titled "Armed and Dangerous", which is how he was described on an SABC broadcast.

"The most important thing about this archive, beyond the political importance, is to recover the history of the ordinary person," said Odendaal. "Until a year or so ago, people couldn't see or read any of this. A blank of 30 years needs to be filled."

To this end, the centre will be engaging in a variety of projects involving communities, institutions and organisations. It will also approach the government to arrange the retrieval of material confiscated by security police or used in evidence in trials. "There should be a mountain of it somewhere," said Odendaal.

Ex-SA diplomat in think-tank

W/Mail 11/2-13/2/92 (224) (327)

By DREW FORREST
A MIDRAND-based political consultant, paid R7,5-million by the South African government to campaign against Swapo, has been named as Pretoria's pointman in a European centre-right economic think tank.

Former South African diplomat Sean Cleary, now managing director of Strategic Concepts at Midrand, has been named by *The Guardian* as a key figure in the International Association for Co-operation and Development (Acoda), an organisation founded by centre-right European politicians, ostensibly to promote "balanced" economic development in southern Africa.

The Weekly Mail has also learnt that Cleary was associated with the government's internal "hearts and minds" campaign, addressing a broad staff meeting of Adult Education Consultants, a department of military intelligence-spawned "contra-mobilisation" outfit, in Pretoria, as well as sharing a platform with AEC's boss at a seminar for officers of the army's Communications Operations (Comops).

Cleary, once employed by the Department of Foreign Affairs and later director of the administrator general's office in Windhoek in the early 1980s, received R7,5-million from Pretoria to promote Namibia's South African-backed transitional government.

The Guardian says he helped found a lobbying company in London called Strategic Network International (SNI), which vigorously campaigned to discredit Swapo. Using the same offices in Westminster, SNI had become Acoda's representatives in London.



Sean Cleary

Photo: R BOTHA, Business Day

It adds that the same pattern has been repeated in Acoda's offices in Johannesburg, Windhoek, Bonn and Paris. Acoda's Paris office is shared by Interaction International, which renegade military intelligence officer Nico Basson claims is controlled by the SADF and South African Foreign Affairs Ministry to promote Unita in Angola. Cleary is known to have strong ties with Unita boss Jonas Savimbi.

Backed by a number of respected British politicians and academics, including Tory MP John Biffen and former European Parliament president Lord Plumb of Coleshill, Acoda has sponsored trips to southern Africa for European MPs, arranging seminars and hosting dinners.

It is seen by some MPs as part of Pretoria's broader push to win the lion's share of investment and aid for South Africa in the post-apartheid era.

This week *The Weekly Mail* learned that Cleary was a key speaker a five-

day seminar for all AEC members at the Espada Hotel in Pretoria in January 1988. AEC's mission was to mobilise against the ANC and its allies, and the seminar was designed to give staffers in front organisations additional information for use in their "training".

Former AEC chief Dr Louis Pasques denied any direct contact between AEC and Cleary, but admitted he had shared a platform with the latter at the Saldanha military college in 1988, at a training course for Comops officers.

Confirming that he had addressed the AEC seminar, on "South Africa: a First World within a rising Third World", for a fee of R300, Cleary said the course was one of scores he gave to corporate, parastatal and academic audiences between 1986 and 1991.

He knew Pasques from Namibia, and was aware of his SADF contacts, but did not know he was employed by military intelligence.

Cleary denied being a "key figure" in Acoda, saying his company was the latter's honorary representative in South Africa. Neither Acoda nor any member of its international advisory board received money from the companies with which he was associated, "nor were the companies paid by Acoda for the honorary services they rendered".

Cleary was also involved in last year's national peace process, apparently as chairman of the working group on a code of conduct for political parties. "He was nominally a business representative," said a business source this week. "But he was not part of the regular business crowd. Our impression was that he was keeping an eye on things for the government."

Goldstone hears of secret account

A SECRET account held by Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and kept hidden from his most senior officials, was used by the South African Defence Force's department of military intelligence (DMI) to finance trained killers, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence was told this week.

It was an Inkatha account, but it was concealed from two successive secretary generals, Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Dr Frank Mdlalose. Former Inkatha official Mbongeni Khumalo described to the commission how the cheque book for the account was kept by Buthelezi's personal assistant, MZ Khumalo, in a special bag with the words "After signing by Chief Buthelezi, please return to MZ Khumalo".

Nobody but Buthelezi and MZ Khumalo had access to the account; Mbongeni Khumalo only knew about it because, as a trusted official, he had often been asked to carry the bag between the two men.

MZ Khumalo last year resigned from Inkatha after being implicated by *The Weekly Mail* in covert government funding of the organisation. Mbongeni Khumalo, a former acting national organiser of the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade, resigned last year because of disillusionment with its links with the military.

The commission is sitting to hear evidence flowing from *The Weekly Mail*'s reports that military intelligence (DMI) front companies were promoting violence.

The secret account — the same one used to channel security police covert funding for Inkatha rallies exposed in *The Weekly Mail* last year — could turn out to be the key to unlocking the extensive relationship between security forces and Inkatha.

Mbongeni Khumalo said the military paid money into the account for the wages of 200 Inkatha personnel whom they had trained. Several of the trainees became assassins.

Creed Consultants, a DMI front company in Durban, used the account to pay the men R900 each, a total of R180 000 a month.

President FW de Klerk has confirmed the military involvement in the training of the 200-strong elite Inkatha unit, but said it was intended to guard VIPs and government buildings.

But the former Inkatha Youth Brigade leader, who was personally involved in training of the unit and was a link-man with the military sponsor,

Evidence placed before the

Goldstone commission this week

about a secret Inkatha account

could be the key to unlocking the

extensive relationship between

security forces and Inkatha.

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

them and made such reports." He added that he now feared being killed by the gang.

"Mr A" said he knew that 200 Inkatha youths from the Pietermaritzburg area were trained in the use of pump-action shotguns and 9mm handguns and that these people received the same training he had been through at Mkuze.

He said he was personally present when a Warrant Officer Van Zwell of Ermelo had instructed a group of Black Cats to attack the offices of human-rights lawyer Steve Ngenya. The office was then burnt down.

sors, this week named members of the unit involved in killings of African National Congress supporters. He also cited occasions when agents for DMI called Inkatha to pass on warnings that the men were in danger or under threat of arrest.

These men then hid at the Mkuze camp, one of three covert bases described by Mbongeni Khumalo this week as places where Inkatha and DMI or its front companies worked together.

Khumalo, speaking calmly and confidently, gave further details of many of the allegations he had made in *The Weekly Mail*. Lawyers for Inkatha, the police and the SADF reserved their right to cross-examine him.

On Thursday, the commission heard evidence from a member of the Black Cat gang in Ermelo — scene of much violence in the past two years — about reports in *The Weekly Mail* of DMI training of Black Cat members who were also Inkatha members.

Named "Mr A" to protect his identity, he explained how Black Cat members were recruited by Inkatha and, after staying at the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) office in Ermelo, were taken to Ulundi and then the Mkuze training camp. "In the camp, we used beds with RSA painted on the bunks, received physical training, drilling, lectures in politics and such skills as how to abduct people or rescue our friends if attacked by the enemy," he said.

The Black Cats are still led by Chris Ngwenya, now Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman in Ermelo. Of the 32 Black Cats who went for training at Mkuze in 1990, about 25 are still active in Ermelo together with various others that they recruited, "Mr A" said.

Asked why he didn't report their activities to police, he said: "The police would simply inform the Black Cats and say I had been to

Buthelezi knew about secret SADF training

Under cross-examination by Advocate David Sogott SC, Mathe said that Buthelezi, as minister of police, knew about it.

Mathe also said that the recruits did not have files with the kwaZulu Police, even though President FW de Klerk himself has said that they were legitimately absorbed into the homeland police force after their special training.

Mathe said a list of their names, ages and place of origin had been misplaced.

He promised the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, that he would supply the list and a firearm register at the beginning of next week.

At the beginning of the week, Justice Richard Goldstone, sitting with his full commission of five people, announced that the terms of reference for the hearings would be widened. While there was no direct evidence of current funding of violent activities by the SADF or its front organisations, he set up an inquiry into these fronts and the 200 Mkuze trainees. The hearings continue.

● *The Weekly Mail* is represented at the commission by Paul Kennedy, instructed by David Disson. They also represent Lawyers for Human Rights and the Media Defence Trust. David Sogott SC is instructed by Norman Manóim and Peter Harris on behalf of the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party.

KWAZULU Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had known about a project to train 150 "loyal young Zulus" to protect him, the homeland's deputy commissioner of police told the Goldstone Commission in Cape Town this week.

Brigadier Sipho Moses Mathe told the commission the men were recruited to protect KwaZulu VIPs. They were trained in Namibia by the SADF.

Although it was his idea, initially he did not know who funded the group, but he had done his own investigating and discovered it was Military Intelligence.

"It was initially referred to as a private company. It was not," he told the commission which is inquiring into public violence and intimidation.

Buthelezi

knew about

training of

150 loyal

Zulus, says

his deputy

They were paid in cash by Chief Buthelezi's former personal assistant MZ Khumalo.

The men were absorbed into the KwaZulu police in 1989.

No files were kept on the men and a list with their names had been misplaced, he told the commission.

Few people knew of the group's existence and the brigadier, a member of the KwaZulu central committee until last year, did not inform his colleagues.

However, Chief Buthelezi was aware of their existence.

He said he had selected 150 "loyal young Zulus" in April 1986, who were trained by a security company in Namibia - who turned out to be the SADF.

But under cross-examination, he said this statement had been a "slip" and conceded that his statement that he had selected the men was also incorrect.

Two members of the Black Cats which operated in Wessleton near Ermelo, who arrived at the commission wearing balaclavas, told how their group had subjected the township to a reign of terror.

One of them, identified as Mr A, said an Uwusa official, Isaac Hlatwayo, promised the Black Cats help in their fight against the Wessleton Action Committee if they joined Inkatha.

He said: "Most of the Black Cats (32 of us) were then taken by Inkatha to Zululand to be trained."

■ In an interim Goldstone Commission report tabled in parliament this week, the commission says policy on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public should be determined and made public as a matter of urgency.

Spears, sticks

The report, on violence at Mooi River on December 3 and 4 last year, said both the police and public appeared to be confused over the carrying of weapons for cultural purposes.

"The commission finds it quite unacceptable that men in the Mooi River/Bruntville area walk the streets, and indeed attended the hearings (of the commission) in the town hall, carrying spears and sticks.

"The law obliges the police to confiscate such weapons and prefer criminal charges against such persons. That should be made clear."

It said the evidence suggesting that members of the SA Police in the area favoured Inkatha Freedom Party supporters was a matter of concern and if correct would aggravate negative attitudes towards the police by many members of the community.

"Urgent and effective steps should be taken to educate and explain to all members the absolute necessity of unbiased policing."

CF Correspondent

(327)

Army 'poor'

clp/rev 9/2/92

False plates

The practice of conducting raids without warrants, in plainclothes and in a vehicle with false number plates, should be prohibited forthwith.

The police should make every endeavour to bring the perpetrators of the violence committed at Mooi River - in which 19 people died - to justice and the Attorney-General be requested to assist.

It was in no way suggested that the security forces were to blame for the violence at Mooi River. The blame for that fell squarely on those who were participants in attack and counter-attack, irrespective of which party they supported, said the commission.

The attacks by IFP supporters that led to the death of 19 residents of Bruntville township near Mooi River in December last year came after a year of violence initiated by supporters of both the IFP and the ANC, the commission said.

The police were already giving urgent attention to several of the issues raised by the Goldstone Commission's report on violence at Mooi River, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said this week.

By Anthony Ndlovu

THE BLACK Sash this week condemned the proposed banning of demonstrations and gatherings outside parliament saying the building "is not an ivory tower to be kept away from the people's needs".

A bill being debated in parliament is intended to abolish all gatherings and demonstrations outside parliament within a defined area, and to remove the power of the chief magistrate of Cape Town to give permission for such events.

The organisation's spokesperson, Ms Mary Burton, argued that parlia-

Black Sash condemns bid to ban parliament demonstration

South 13/2 - 19/2/92

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ment "belongs to the people and exists for the people", and added that it was a legitimate exercise for people to demonstrate outside parliament.

If it is passed, the bill will change the title of the existing Gatherings and Demonstrations Act of 1973 to the "Gatherings and Demonstrations in the Vicinity of Parliament Act," and re-define more narrowly the area in which

all open-air gatherings and demonstrations are forbidden.

"Parliament is of supremely symbolic importance to the citizens whose lives are affected by the decisions made there, it is appropriate that on occasion citizens may feel strongly that their physical presence outside the walls of parliament is the most effective way in which to demon-

strate their concern over legislation being debated there," Burton said.

She said other provisions of the law were quite adequate to deal with any disturbance of the peace or damage to property, and the chief magistrate was capable of deciding whether permission should be withheld.

"We have protested in the past against legislation which curtails the freedom of people to hold gatherings and demonstrations and we raise our voice once more to oppose the removal of the last possibility of holding them in the vicinity of parliament," Burton added.

'Hit squad wants to kill Mayekiso'

A HIT squad was trying to assassinate Moses Mayekiso, Cosatu said yesterday.

Cosatu said Mayekiso — a Numsa, Cast, ANC and SACP leader — had been shadowed for the past three months by groups of up to six people who, according to Cosatu's intelligence, had "stepped up" attempts to kill him. *6/10/92*

Cosatu said: "It's the government which created these sinister killers and it is to the government that these killers are ultimately accountable." *14/2/92*

Cosatu warned that any attempt on the lives of Cosatu leaders would "spark off conflict between the state and Cosatu on an unprecedented level".

Cosatu yesterday demanded an immedi-

~~FILED~~ DIRK HARTFORD

ate independent investigation into all activities of military intelligence personell, who were "orchestrating this violence".

A source in Cosatu said that in Mayekiso's latest encounter with the sinister grouping, who were in a black Opel Kadett near Mayekiso's home, they were seen to have a photograph of Mayekiso.

Cosatu said Mayekiso was under constant guard. His name was on a hit list that had been circulating since the assassination of Sam Ntuli last year and he had received countless threatening phone calls.

The police had been informed and had promised to "fully investigate" the issue.

Police carry out pre-dawn raid

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE Sharpeville homes of two ANC members were raided by police yesterday morning. *Soweto 14/2/92*

The houses belong to Mr Ndusi Mokoena, a member of the local ANC Youth League and Mr Aaron Gumbi, a returned exile.

Although no one was arrested, family members claim police damaged furniture and doors and stole money, soft drinks, a R70 wall watch and a dinner set.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman confirmed the raids that took

place at about 3.30am. (327)

He said: "Police had followed routine. They knocked and identified themselves as the law requires. Because there was no response from inside the houses, they had no option but to forcefully gain entry."

He dismissed claims by the ANC that they were being targeted for harassment.

An ANC member in the area, Mr Lucky Phahlane, said the pre-dawn raids were carried out by police using nine vehicles.

Cosatu warns Nats on the safety of Mayekiso

(327)

Sowetan
14/2/92

THE Congress of SA Trade Unions yesterday warned of "major conflict" between itself and the Government if the authorities failed to prevent the assassination of leading trade unionist and civic leader Mr Moses Mayekiso.

The warning was issued at a Press conference convened by the National Union of Metalworkers of SA, of which Mayekiso is general secretary. Numsa said it had "concrete evidence" that plans were afoot to assassinate Mayekiso.

Numsa spokesman Mr Alfred Woodington said the union had been aware since late last year of a hit list which named Mayekiso as was one of the targets.

"Since the brutal slaying of (civic leader Mr Sam Ntuli) threatening calls have been received to the effect that Mayekiso would be next.

"We have stepped up security on Mayekiso and his family and the constant surveillance of his surroundings has revealed a sinister group of men who constantly follow him," said Woodington.

New twist in murder row

'Witnesses' accuse IFP trio after killing of ANC man

Star 15/2/92

THABO LESHLO, Political Staff



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Mr Macozoma said: "The anti-ANC sentiment in the Inkatha Institute reaches pathological levels at times, and finds outlets in this kind of propaganda."

Mr Ngwenya was killed in the parking lot of a Maritzburg hotel after meeting a group of visiting American businessmen at the hotel.

Mr Hadebe alleged that he and four other high-ranking members of the ANC/SACP alliance in the area were on the hit list of a death squad operating in the area.

He named other people on the hit list as Natal Midlands ANC/SACP leader Harry Gwala, ANC regional secretary Siso Nkabinde, SACP deputy secretary Casius Lubisi, and Chief Zbuse Mlaba of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa.

Earlier this week, the IFP said evidence seemed to suggest that the ANC was involved in the recent killings and attempts on the lives of its leaders in the area.

Mr Hadebe said both witnesses were prepared to testify in court.

One of them, a woman, feared for her life after having seen the alleged killers in the vicinity of her home in Imbali, he said.

IFP central committee member Senzo Mfayela strongly denied that Inkatha was involved in Mr Ngwenya's murder.

The claim was, he said, viewed in an extremely serious light.

"We find it significant that it has taken six days for these so-called witnesses to come forward," he said. "We also find it interesting that

these witnesses were produced by the ANC after the IFP, acting on reliable information from a faction of the ANC, hinted at the possibility of a faction within the Natal Midlands branch of the ANC as being responsible for the murder."

The witnesses' claim comes after Kim Hodgson of the Inkatha Institute's violence monitoring unit said this week that there was a good chance that Mr Ngwenya was murdered by the ANC.

The allegation has been rejected "with contempt" by ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma.

THE row between the ANC and the IFP over the murder of ANC Natal Midlands official and peace negotiator S'kumbuzo Ngwenya continues — with two alleged witnesses of the killing implicating the son of a top Inkatha man.

The witnesses made the allegation at a news conference called by the ANC in Maritzburg this week.

According to ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe, the witnesses implicated three IFP members.

One of the three men accused — whose names were given to Saturday Star — is said to be the son of a top Imbali IFP official.

Mr Hadebe said two other people had remained in the car, a white XR6 Ford Sierra, used in the "hit", and could not be identified clearly by the witnesses.

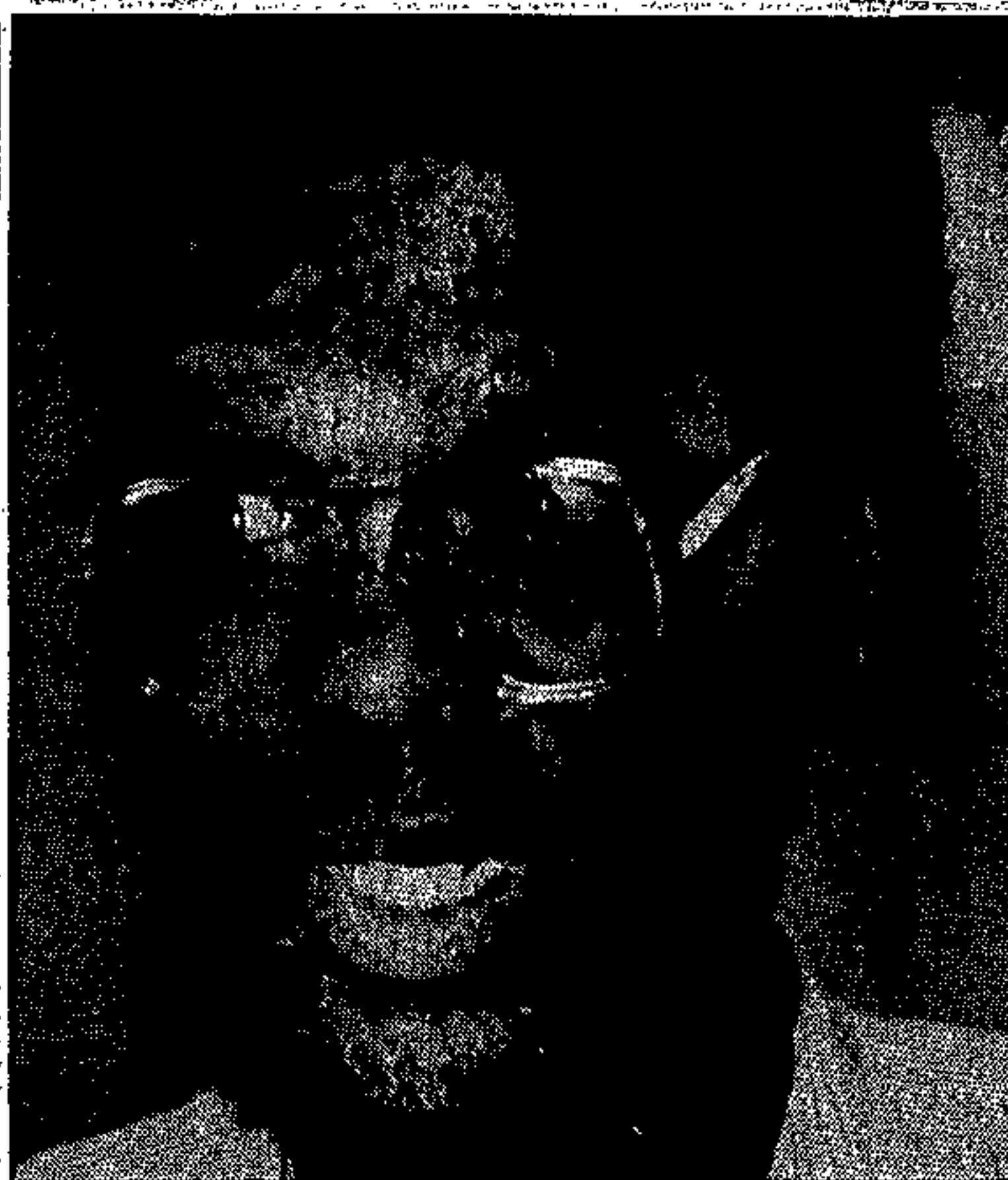
E Cape unionists allege kidnap

POLICE are investigating the alleged abduction of two trade unionists in East London this week by armed white men claiming to be policemen. (321)

National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union local organisers Mike Nyembezi and Humphrey Maxegwana said they had laid a complaint with police. C/pen 16/2/92

The unionists said they were accosted by armed men who identified themselves as police.

They were abducted and interrogated about ANC activities. They were later released.



HIT LIST . . . Moses Mayekiso fears for his life and those of his children. ■ Pici EVANS MBOWENI

I want to carry a gun, says unionist

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**

GENERAL secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), Moses Mayekiso, wants to apply for a licensed firearm following the discovery of a hit list on which his name features prominently.

A statement issued by Numsa this week said security for the veteran unionist and his family had been stepped up after a black Opel Kadett was spotted cruising near his flat in Johannesburg.

Mayekiso said the renewed threat on his life forced him to apply for a personal firearm. He feared for the life of his children, he said.

"Attempts have been stepped up to assassinate Mayekiso," said a Numsa statement.

"He has also been threatened by anonymous callers who said he would follow the late comrade Sam Ntuli."

Mayekiso said he now lived in a flat in town with his family. He had left Alex for security reasons.

"This is not the first attempt on my life. I was once placed on the hit list of the Joint Monitoring Commission in the turbulent days of PW Botha. It's a miracle the mission was not carried out," Mayekiso said.

Although the reasons for renewed attempts on his life are not clear, Numsa blames "shadowy death squads who are being allowed to operate unhindered by certain State agencies".

"We demand an immediate, independent and public investigation of all activities of Military Intelligence who we believe are orchestrating violence."

"Cosatu warns that any attempts on the lives of its leaders will spark conflict between the State and the union," the statement said.

Rifle salute honours slain Sabelo

By S'BU MNGADI

SHOTS from an automatic rifle were fired to salute slain Inkatha strongman Winnington Sabelo at his Umlazi funeral service yesterday.

Soldiers and policemen surged forward, but did not intervene, when they heard three rapid shots coming from the direction of heavily armed impis as Sabelo's coffin was leaving Umlazi's King Zwelithini Goodwill Stadium for burial at Umbumbulu on the South Coast.

The service had been held behind a wall of policemen, soldiers and heavily armed Inkatha impis. (327)

Members of the KwaZulu Police, SAP and the SADF had taken up positions inside and near the stadium before about 1 000 mourners paid their last respects to the slain leader.

Sabelo, a KwaZulu MP and member of Inkatha's Central Committee, was assassinated in his Umlazi "shop" last weekend.

Reading a speech on behalf of Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose accused the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe of having assassinated Sabelo.

While committing the IFP to peace and the National Peace Accord, Buthelezi said the IFP would not stand by and watch its members being killed. C/PRN 16/2/92

Local residents watched the proceedings from nearby hillocks, many bracing themselves for bloody violence after the funeral.

The previous day the Umlazi local dispute resolution committee appealed for Umlazi residents to act peacefully during Sabelo's funeral.

Askari's arms plan misfires

By MOSS MAMAILA

C/pen
16/2/92

AN Askari posing as an arms dealer tried to sell weapons to returned MK exile Mashudu Mphaphulu, but was met by an ANC "reception committee" when he turned up for a meeting.

He was handed over to Venda police.

Venda police spokesman Lt Benno de Klerk confirmed that the Askari, "Richard", was attached to an SAP special unit concentrating on arms smuggling from Zimbabwe.

Mphaphuli, who returned to South Africa last year after 10 years in exile,

said: "I suspected he was working for the police because he was driving an expensive car with fake numberplates.

"I later found out from documents in his car that his real name was Phillip Selepe, and he was attached to the SAP Mechanical Training centre in Benoni."

Mphaphuli said "Richard" was the third special operative who had been assigned to catch him for arms smuggling and he often feared for his life.

Lt de Klerk said that if the SAP wanted to investigate in Venda, they had to first communicate with the local police, but this had not been done.

Hundreds³²⁷ at Ngwenya funeral

HUNDREDS of ANC supporters attended an emotional memorial service on Thursday for S'Khumbuzo Ngwenya, who was assassinated in Maritzburg last Saturday. *C/pren 16/2/92*

The Rev Bheki Mngomezulu, who described Ngwenya as a tireless worker for peace, said his death must mark the birth of a high level of vigilance and a re-dedication to the cause of peace.

Peter Kerchhoff, who was with Ngwenya until minutes before his death, gave the stunned audience a detailed account of the events that led up to the shooting.

"My acquaintance with him always reminded me of the injustices that have wracked this land but his death is the greatest injustice," Kerchhoff said.

He also condemned police spokesmen for relying on second-hand information and denying a statement issued by 15 visiting Americans that the conduct of police at the scene of the shooting was unprofessional.

Ngwenya was buried at the Mountain Rise cemetery yesterday. — Sapa

'Venda cops aided Askari'

Sowetan 17/2/92
THE African National Congress has accused the Venda police of releasing an alleged Askari member who was handed to them after he allegedly tried to abduct a former exile.

ANC sub-regional sec-

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

retary in Venda, Mr Eddy Managa, said the alleged Askari had introduced himself as "Richard" when he

went to former Radio Freedom announcer Mr Mashudu Mphaphuli at Makwarela township, Sibasa.

Askaris are former ANC guerillas allegedly on the government's payroll.

(327)
Mphaphuli, however, suspected Richard of being a police spy after the alleged Askari had said he was selling guns, diamonds and dagga.

He was later able to ascertain that "Richard's" vehicle was registered in the name of the police.

Mphaphuli told *Sowetan* that the man had insisted that they go to various places together where he would show him the guns he was selling.

He said: "I could see that the idea was to abduct me."

After consultations with other ANC members, a trap was laid for "Richard" on January 29.

"He denied being an Askari and pleaded with us to let him go," Mphaphuli said. We later called the police who took him away".

Managa said police later released him after he had made a call to Louis Trichardt and spoke to a senior police officer who travelled to Thohoyandou to release him.

According to Managa police commissioner General J Genis confirmed to the ANC that the man was a member of the SAP.

ANC colleague Etienne Dorfling were dropped in October. Dorfling was sacked by the SABC in September. Jor-

sponsible for securing rights to sports broadcasts and for administration, planning, and financial control of Topsport.

ANC violated peace accord **SAP**

AFTER raiding an ANC house in Johannesburg yesterday, police accused the ANC of violating the national peace accord.

A police statement on an investigation into the existence of ANC hit squads said the house in Bezuidenhout Valley, used by the ANC's intelligence unit, was searched after allegations that ANC members had paid a Danie Odendaal to

infiltrate the AWB and assassinate an ex-policeman.

The ANC said the house was raided by 30 policemen who broke doors and windows to gain entry. One of its intelligence officers, Yunis Mia, was made to lie face down on a bed with a gun pressed against his head, the ANC alleged. Documents were seized.

The raid followed claims that two ANC operatives paid Odendaal R10 000 to assassinate "turned" ANC member Glory "September" Sidebe. Police said the allegations were made under oath, compelling them to act.

Their statement said despite repeated requests to the ANC for help in terms of the national peace accord, and promises of assistance, none was given.

"Police were left with no other option but to go ahead and investigate the serious allegations without the assistance of the ANC."

The ANC rejected the accusation that it had violated the peace accord, and described the raid as "intimidatory surveillance".

Political comment in this issue by Jim Jones. Newsbills by Cecile Reynierse. Headlines and subediting by Denyse Armour. All of Times Media Ltd, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg.

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port for the
as follows:

Cops raid house of 'unhelpful' ANC

Sowetan 18/2/92
POLICE searching for information on an alleged ANC assassination plot, yesterday raided a house "used by the ANC's intelligence unit" in Bezuidenhout Valley, Johannesburg.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said a search warrant had been issued by a magistrate in connection with allegations - made under oath - "that the ANC had paid Mr Danie Odendaal to infiltrate the AWB and assassinate an ex-policeman".

The allegations were published in the Afrikaans weekly *Vrye Weekblad* on

January 17 this year. Outlining the alleged plot, *Vrye Weekblad* claimed that two ANC operatives paid Odendaal (25) R10 000 to eliminate "turned" ANC guerilla Glory "September" Sidebe.

In the wake of the article, the ANC promised to investigate the allegations which were described as "a bolt from the blue".

Opperman said the police had asked the ANC many times since January 13 to help them in their investigations of the alleged plot.

Despite numerous

promises, no assistance was forthcoming from the ANC, leaving the police "no other option" but to investigate without the help of the ANC.

Brigadier Piet du Toit, regional chief of Crime Investigation Services on the Witwatersrand alleged in a statement that the ANC had failed to comply with a National Peace Accord provision calling on signatories to help police investigations into violence.

Opperman refused to disclose whether any evidence was removed from the 8th Avenue home

which police believed was "either used or owned" by the ANC. He confirmed, however, that no one had been arrested and said a detailed statement would be issued later.

When *Sowetan's* sister newspaper *The Star* visited the house this morning a woman on the premises said the owners were not at home.

Approached for comment, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said he was not aware of the search and would comment only after speaking to the SAP. *Sowetan Correspondent*

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ANC strongly condemns police search of house

STAR 18/2/92
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By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

The ANC has strongly objected to the police search of a house used by its intelligence officers in Bezuidenhout Valley, Johannesburg, yesterday and has accused the SAP of "shamelessly and cynically" using the National Peace Accord (NPA) to conduct a "dirty war" against it.

According to Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman, the police were searching for information on recent allegations that two officials of the ANC's intelligence unit had paid AWB member Danie Odendaal R10 000 to murder Glory "September" Sedibe, a "turned" Umkhonto we Sizwe guerilla.

Captain Opperman said a search warrant had been issued by a magistrate in connection with allegations — made under oath.

He said the search came after the ANC had, on numerous occasions since January 13, failed to help them

in their investigations.

He said the ANC had violated the NPA by its failure to provide assistance and co-operation to the police in their investigations into violence.

In its reaction, the ANC's department of information and publicity said the search had been intended to obtain ANC documents, deflect attention from "police related and approved hit squads" and to "neutralise" the two members at the house.

The statement alleged that the police had kicked and broken doors during the 6 am raid.

The statement also said that police had allegedly held one of the occupants face down, with a gun held to his head.

It said the house had been subjected to surveillance "long before the Glory Sedibe issue surfaced".

The hard-hitting statement added: "The ANC rejects the accusation that it has violated the Peace Accord."

David Webster's grave violated

The grave of David Webster, former Wits lecturer and anti-apartheid activist shot dead outside his home in 1989, was vandalised at the weekend. *STAR 18/2/92*

Police confirmed they were investigating a criminal case after the matter was reported yesterday by a friend of Mr Webster.

The tombstone had been painted black and the letters "JSSK" had been painted on the grave. Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said he had no idea what the letters were supposed to stand for.

"The SAP would like to express its disgust at the extremely distasteful and unwarranted viola-

tion of the grave and police will do everything possible to bring those responsible to justice," Captain Opperman said.

Anyone with information is asked to contact Captain Hugo van Zyl of the Crime Investigation Unit at the General Johann Coetzee Police Station on (011) 477-7012. — Crime Staff.

NIS 'behind Mandela's release'



Sowetan
19/2/92

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

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

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

In the second article published yesterday, Barnard explains the apparent

anomaly that while the NIS was conducting secret talks with the exiled ANC, the service nevertheless voiced strong objections to academics, businessmen and opposition politicians doing so.

"Our view was that as long as we fail to tackle the internal political problem, we will not solve the country's long-term problem," Barnard said at the time.

Starting in May 1988 Barnard and his colleagues had numerous discussions with Mandela in prison.

Barnard revealed that Mandela repeatedly asked to see President PW Botha and that the latter "struggled with the question of whether to accede to the request".

The NIS met ANC leaders in exile somewhere in Europe. Two more such secret meetings followed.

"We made such progress at these talks that the Groote Schuur meeting was already projected. - Sapa.

deteriorate in future, legal steps can still be taken.

(2) Messrs Thor Chemicals SA (Pty) Ltd.

Mercury-containing substances imported

*23. Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of Trade and Industry:

Whether a certain company, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, imported any mercury-containing substances in 1991; if so, (a) under which import codes and (b) what is the name of the company in question?

B137E

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY:

Although two import permits have been issued in favour of the company concerned, the Department of Trade and Industry cannot confirm whether the permits were utilised.

(a) Import code 2620.90

(b) Thor Chemicals (Pty) Ltd

New questions:

AK 47 rifles seized/surrendered

*1. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many AK 47 rifles have been (i) seized in the course of police action and (ii) voluntarily surrendered to the South African Police for reward since 1 January 1990 and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

(321)

B120E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) (i) 1 075

(ii) 241

(b) 1 January 1991 until 24 January 1992.

Right-wing organizations: members guilty of acts of terrorism

*2. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether any members of right-wing organizations were convicted of committing acts of terrorism during the period 1 January 1991 up

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

to the latest specified date in 1992 for which figures are available; if so, (a) how many, (b) of which organizations did they claim to be members and (c) of which acts of terrorism were they convicted?

B122-3E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

No.

(a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

Working group on education

*3. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether he, any members of his Department and/or any other Ministers were involved in a working group on education which sat between March and July 1991; if so, (a) which persons were involved and (b) what were the dates of the meetings of the working group;

(2) whether the group devised a draft report on its activities; if not, why not; if so,

(3) whether any party, group or individual repudiated the report in any way after it had been drafted; if so, what are the relevant details;

(4) whether a final report was accepted?

B138E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) Yes.

(a) Persons involved:

Dr C J van der Merwe: Minister of Education and Training
Adv L A Pienaar: Minister of National Education and Environment Affairs

Mr P G Marais:

Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid.

Dr J B Z Louw:

Director-General, Department of Education and Training
Director-General, Department of National Education

Dr J G Garbers:

Head, ANC Education Desk

Mr J Samuel:

Courtesy

Prof N C Manganyi: Vice-Chancellor, University of the North

Dr N J McGurk: SA Association of Independent Schools

Mr S M Ramokgopa: AZAPO

Mr I Rensburg: General Secretary, National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC).

(b) 9 March 1991

28 March 1991

20 April 1991

17 and 18 May 1991

14 June 1991

17 July 1991

(2) Yes.

(3) No.

(4) No. The report was however accepted by the working group. The working group originated after a meeting between the State President and a delegation lead by Mr Mandela on 25 February 1991 regarding education matters. At a follow-up meeting on 19 August 1991 the contents of the report were noted.

Recognition of two teacher bodies

*4. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether he has recognised, for the purposes of negotiation in education, two teacher bodies, the names of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if not, why not; if so, (a)(i) when and (ii) under what conditions were they so recognised and (b) what number of teachers does each represent;

(2) what are the names of these two bodies;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B139E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) No, because the applications are still being considered.

(a) (i) Falls away.

(ii) Falls away.

(b) Final, verified membership numbers of the two bodies are not yet available.

(2) The names of the bodies are:

(i) South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU); and

(ii) National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa (NAP-TOSA).

(3) No.

Financial institutions: deposit insurance

*5. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) Whether, in the light of the recent failure of certain financial institutions, the Government is considering (a) the introduction of deposit insurance for financial institutions in South Africa and (b) giving assistance to investors in a certain financial institution, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (i) what conditions are being contemplated in regard to such insurance and (ii) what assistance to such investors is being contemplated; if not, why not, in each case;

(2) whether it is the intention to give such assistance in the future; if so, what assistance;

(3) what is the name of the financial institution referred to in paragraph (1) above?

B144E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) (a) No; Notwithstanding the cost burden which would be placed on the industry, deposit insurance would lead to an undermining of management efficiency and risk management in financial institutions;

(b) No; Investors voluntarily contracted with the institution concerned to invest their investments as agent and according to the agent's discretion. The Government or regulatory authorities cannot be held responsible for the business decisions of investors, given the fact that the aforementioned investors without coercion and by agreement granted a

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Webster's grave is vandalised

Soufan 19/2/92

VANDALS have painted the tombstone of the late anti-apartheid activist Dr David Webster black and have scrawled undecipherable letters on his grave.

Witwatersrand police have vowed to hunt down the culprits.

Webster was a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand who was assassinated in 1988 by an unknown gunman.

His girlfriend, Miss Maggie Friedman, reported the matter on Monday morning, Captain Eugene Opperman said.

"The tombstone was painted black. The letters JSSK were also painted on the grave," the statement said.

Police said they were unable to unravel the meaning of the words written on the grave.

The killer(s) of Webster, who at the time of his death had just completed a report into the alleged assassination of anti-apartheid activists by State-sponsored agents, are still at large.

The unclaimed reward for information for the capture of the murderer(s) runs into thousands of rands. - Sapa.

Vlok says parole works

CAPE TOWN — A large percentage of the prisoners released on parole in 1990 and 1991 had been reintegrated into society, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday. *B12m 20/2/92*

In an interpellation in the House of Delegates, he said 16,75% of the 53 748 prisoners released on parole in 1990 had not adhered to their parole conditions, been arrested in connection with another crime, or were wanted in connection with other crimes.

In 1991 this figure was 11,84% of the 47 349 prisoners released.

The authorities could not resort to policies of no remission of sentence because of criticism that a few misbehaved. — Sapa.

Weapons ban to be selective

CAPE TOWN — Government would soon ban the carrying of dangerous weapons at political gatherings, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers said in a mini-debate in Parliament yesterday. *B12m 20/2/92*

The banning had been discussed in detail with the ANC and Inkatha, and as soon as a proclamation had been published police would arrest any person carrying these weapons at political gatherings, he said.

The ban would apply only to political gatherings as opposed to all public places because of the difficulties police would have in determining the intent with which the weapons were being carried.

Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) wanted to know how police were going to interpret whether a funeral was a political gathering or a religious function.

Scheepers was responding to Tony Leon (DP Houghton), who called on Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to "stop dithering" and ban the carrying in public of cultural and traditional weapons.

Leon said police had to apply the Dangerous Weapons Act of 1968 very strictly,

especially where it placed the onus on the person carrying the dangerous weapon to prove that he had no intention of using it for violent purposes.

It was necessary to interpret the law narrowly, especially in view of the Goldstone Commission's report on violence at Mooi River.

Leon quoted the report as saying carrying weapons for aggressive purposes could not be tolerated "if normal and peaceful conditions are to prevail".

Leon said: "As recently as Saturday night, the nation was treated on TV to the ugly and unacceptable face of politics in SA when hundreds of IFP supporters were seen at Umlazi flourishing, unhindered and untotched, all manner of dangerous weapons." The footage was shot at a funeral.

Unless the SAP stringently enforced the Dangerous Weapons Act, allegations of a "third force" and that the state was playing a part in the violence would persist.

BILLY PADDOCK

Trade unionists abducted by 'police'

327

South 20/2-26/2/92

By Claire Keeton

POLICE are investigating the alleged abduction at gunpoint of two trade unionists in East London last week by white men claiming to be policemen.

Local organisers for the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu), Mr Mike Nyembezi and Mr Humphrey Maxegwana, said they laid a complaint with the police, who said they were investigating a case of illegal pointing of a firearm.

The unionists said they were walking in Southernwood around midday last Wednesday when they heard voices saying in an Afrikaans accent: "Drop your bags, we are the police."

They saw men with shotguns behind them who told them to lie down. They were body searched and their bags were rifled.

Their captors took them to separate cars and drove away.

"I had to sit between two men. They told me to bend forward and blindfolded me, putting a balaclava over my head," said Nyembezi.

He said they drove for around half an hour and he was taken to a shelter, which seemed to be in the bush from the sounds he could hear.

Still blindfolded, Nyembezi said he was interrogated at length about Umkhonto weSizwe infiltrating the union, the threat of communism and even his opinion of Codesa.

After more than an hour, he was taken back to town and released.

Maxegwana said he was taken by two men, also armed with shotguns and pistols, to a side street where they searched his bag again and questioned him.

He gave them his name and phone numbers and asked them to identify themselves. They gave two names and a phone number which has proved false.

The men asked him the names of Umkhonto weSizwe members.

"I told them if they want the information they had better contact the East London or Ciskei security police," said Maxegwana.

He said they asked him how much money he earned and whether he was satisfied with his wages.

Maxegwana said he told them he was not interested in being recruited by them, in spite of repeated offers.

"I can't see people being asked to be informers at gunpoint," said Bor-

Christo Louw.

The national vice-president of Nehawu, Mr Mike Basopu, said the incident was an attempt to intimidate people.

"It is harassment against the unions and liberation movement, and is against the national peace accord," he said. — ELNEWS



'Hit squads' tail Mayekiso

By FÉRIAL HAFFAJÉE

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday threatened industrial action which will make previous mass action look like a "Sunday school picnic" if alleged hit-squad intimidation aimed at its leaders does not stop.

The federation claims that union and civic leader Moses Mayekiso has been the subject of sustained surveillance over the past three months. Cosatu revealed yesterday that Mayekiso has been plagued by threatening telephone calls and constantly followed by a black Opel Kadett. The federation is also in possession of a "hit list" with Mayekiso's name on it.

Cosatu's intelligence department has investigated the action against Mayekiso and found that "a sinister group of men always follows him around," said Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo. He said an identikit of the would-be assassins could be put together of the men in the Kadett.

Police were briefed shortly before a media conference yesterday. By late afternoon they were still locked in discussions with union leadership on the issue and were not available for comment.

Photo: GUY ADAMS

Two bodies found (327) near Orlando Station

POLICE discovered bodies of two men along the railway tracks near Soweto's Orlando station last night.

Captain Joseph Ngobeni, spokesman for Soweto police, said the bodies, which were found about 6.50pm, had multiple stab wounds. *Sowetan 20/2/92*

In another incident, several people were injured during a police raid at Nancefield Hostel.

Ngobeni also confirmed the raid but did not disclose the motive because "our men were still busy working there".

Several people phoned *Sowetan* last night to notify us of the raid. One of the callers, a white man who refused to be identified, said police had fired teargas and rubber bullets into the hostel for "no apparent reason."

Ngobeni could not comment on the allegations.

ANC man shot dead

Soweto 20/2/92

From page 1

found a handgrenade in Metsing's possession.

His parents said, however, that a white policeman, who was among those who searched their house shortly after the shooting, boasted of having shot and killed their son.

The family challenged the police to point out the house which Metsing "and his accomplice" allegedly attacked.

They said Metsing was shot dead about 15 minutes after he left his home in Tsagae Street.

His mother, Mrs Josephine Metsing, said: "A person who refused to identify himself phoned us and said Molefe had been wounded near the dam.

"It is strange that police knew my son had been shot almost at the same time we came to know. They (the police) were at Baragwanath Hospital immediately my husband and I arrived there.

"Other policemen came to our house and demanded we produce the guns Molefe had allegedly hidden. They were at the house long before we arrived from hospital," she added.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said the report he received was that Metsing had been shot dead by his friend during an attack on a house.

He did not elaborate.

Meanwhile, the ANC reported yesterday that an Mzimhlophe branch member of the organisation was shot and killed by police last Saturday.

A statement released by the organisation's PWV region said Mr Johannes Ngaka Mokopane was shot by a policeman near Mzimhlophe station.

ANC

man

killed



METSING

AN ANC activist was shot dead and his body found next to a dam in Rockville, Soweto on Tuesday night.

The killing of Mr Molefe Metsing (24) has sparked a controversy between the police and members of his family, who gave conflicting accounts on his death.

Metsing was one of several political prisoners who went on hunger strike for 29 days last

By KENOSI MODISANE

year. He and the other members were released a day after ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela visited them at Baragwanath Hospital.

Police yesterday said Metsing was shot and killed by an accomplice during an attack on a house in Rockville, where a 58-year-old woman was wounded.

Police also claimed to have

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Law on weapons soon

Sowetan 20/2/92

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Political Correspondent

THE Government will soon announce a proclamation that would prohibit the carrying of dangerous weapons to political gatherings, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Johan Scheepers, said yesterday.

He was responding to questions by the Democratic Party's Mr Tony Leon, who attacked the Government and police for their laxity over the issue of carrying dangerous weapons in public.

Leon said in Parliament yesterday that the police were "ambiguous, omissive, slow, inactive and uncertain" over the question of dangerous weapons.

"At worst, it is something approaching a conspiracy - an official attitude of compliance - ensuring that one section, the Zulu section of our population, arm themselves with spears, pangas, assegais, knobkerries, sticks

and ceremonial axes and the like.

"The consequences for areas in the Natal Midlands, for commuters on the Witwatersrand and for fomenting violence are now well known," Leon said.

"These violent times surely demand that the Government narrowly interpret such a section to create a strict liability that the carrier of a weapon be rendered liable for prosecution unless he can prove that carrying it was in innocence.

"Yet dozens of bodies later, the police appear to interpret this section to mean they have a discretion to decide whether or not an offence is being committed," Leon said.

Management spy rings in unions

AGENTS employed by Lodge Security Services were instructed to collect information on trade union activities, the latest edition of Labour Bulletin alleges.

The journal possesses original transcripts of reports written by agents to their employers, Lodge.

Although the documents all date from 1990, sources believe spying is continuing.

Lodge operates by offering its services to companies by letter. One such letter in the Labour Bulletin's possession was written by Mr Warwick Freislich, then investigations manager for Lodge in Durban, to Mr Tommy Smit at the Four Seasons Hotel. (Freislich now runs his own debt-collecting agency, Shamricks, in Durban).

Freislich writes: "The objective of an undercover investigation is to bring to the attention of the management feelings about various management decisions, shop steward and union activities."

"This enables management to act quickly and make right decisions before negotiating with shop stewards and the unions."

Another letter, dated May 4, 1990, was addressed to Mr Brian Spurr of Natal Newspapers.

The letter refers to a discussion the day before about the theft of motor vehicles and makes recommendations for its prevention.

The letter goes on to point out that "in addition to information pertinent to this investigation, the undercover agent also gathers a vast amount of information concerning trade union activities, labour relations and attitudes concerning staff and management."

"We have found an ever-increasing demand for information on labour relations and, to this end, many of our investigators are committed full-time to industrial relations investigations and in this field we can provide a comprehensive management service informing management of staff and union activities and attitudes, thus ensuring that management is kept up to date at all times with worker attitudes to disputes, wage demands and

Last year former president of the National Union of Metalworkers, Mr Maxwell Xulu, was accused of spying for the security police. The Labour Bulletin has uncovered evidence of widespread spying on trade unions during 1990. THORAYA PANDY reports:



TRUST BETRAYED? Numsa president Maxwell Xulu, a trusted trade unionist, was accused of spying for the police

other labour relations issues."

This letter was written by Mr John van Stan, then Natal regional manager of Lodge Security Services.

This was the same Van Stan who told a Johannesburg alternative weekly newspaper that agents were not involved in surveillance of union activities, only in monitoring pilferage.

Once a firm accepts Lodge's services, Lodge infiltrates agents into the

"Minnie said the points they had on the agenda were answered by Mr Gordon Houli, about the back pay. Then Minnie said the comrades told Houli they wanted their back pay of March 21 and if he does not want to give (it to) them he will see what will happen."

Labour Bulletin has in its possession reports from agents at seven Pick 'n Pay branches.

Some reports are simply entitled "Pick 'n Pay general meetings". One, dated April 8, 1990, details the problems faced by the union over negotiations conducted at the time. The report details the positions of the regions and Cosatu's opposition to casual labour. It also discusses plans for a stayaway on Monday, April 9.

The investigation reveals that some of the agents are shopstewards.

An original transcript of a Pick 'n Pay shopstewards meeting dated April 30 is also in the possession of Labour Bulletin.

The agent was present as she/he was able to describe the agenda adopted and present discussions in detail. The sensitivity of the meeting is obvious from some of the items on the agenda. Reports written by Lodge to various managements, such as a Mr Middlebrook at Dunlop Tyres, outline the crucial issues uncovered by the agents. These reports were prepared by Freislich.

A May 9 report details a work stoppage on Monday, April 23. The work stoppage was over the dismissal of a worker and the staff were also unhappy about the company doctor. The report reveals there was a direct link between the agent and someone at Dunlop management.

There is a trend for a number of ex-SAP members to join private security companies (Freislich is a former member of the SAP).

With the reduction of the state's security apparatus, SAP members have had to find new employment.

They have knowledge and probably access to the latest surveillance techniques. They also have a particular "mind-set", committed to the undermining of unions rather than the creation of an environment conducive to

collective bargaining, Labour Bulletin says.

During the eighties it was the government's security apparatus that monitored activities of the union movement and passed it on to employers.

With the coming of majority rule and the even closer possibility of an interim government, employers will not be able to rely on the state to monitor union activities.

"Some employers seem to be preparing for this by turning to private security companies, the publication argues."

"Already some security companies like Lodge have assembled a network of agents in the Natal region. It is important that unions confront employers involved with security companies and force a withdrawal of agents."

"Beyond this, unions need to add a clause into their recognition agreement prohibiting spying and infiltration."

"Failure to end the infiltration of spies dressed up as shopstewards will seriously undermine trade union negotiating strength."

Lodge Security Services managing director, Mr Ediel Ashman, said: "We are an international company specialising in controlling loss and theft within the retail trade and are not interested in labour relations."

When some of the reports and letters were read to him, he conceded some clients wanted to know why staff are unhappy.

"We don't encourage staff to phone us and tell us their problems. Some are, however, not willing to speak to us."

He said agents give verbatim daily reports and these are handed to the client who can do what he wants with them. "We never tried to bring unions down."

Mr Frans van der Walt, general manager for group industrial relations at Pick 'n Pay, categorically denies the franchise has ever requested or used information on trade unions gained through spying.

"We used Lodge undercover services to investigate pilfering."

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REPRESSION

The HRC reports that 32 people were killed, 58 injured and 210 arrested in political violence countrywide during the period February 12 to February 18 this year. Vigilante-related actions in the PWV and Natal areas claimed 25 lives and left

(327)

BAROMETER

4/1/92 21/2-27/2/92
28 people injured. Natal accounted for 19 deaths and 25 injuries, most of which resulted from an ANC-Inkatha clash in the Natal North Coast township of Esikhwini, the HRC reports. (327)
Security force action in Natal, Western Cape and PWV areas accounted for 18 injuries and 210 arrests.

Natal accounted for 12 injuries and 201 arrests, and the PWV followed with nine arrests resulting from action taken against South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union members.

Laws that encourage violence

Sunday Times 23/2/92

DAVID PITMAN sees mischief in the State's stand on dangerous weapons

DEPUTY Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers this week gave notice of a new regulation to control the possession of dangerous weapons at political meetings.

Lawyers for Human Rights believes it will not prevent the violence plaguing South Africa. Moreover, one must doubt whether it is intended to do so.

Let us begin with an incident. On January 18 this year 20 black men armed with an assortment of dangerous weapons were allowed by six policemen to board a train at Mayfair station.

Half an hour before, a person had been killed and three others injured in an attack on the same line. An hour later another person was killed on another Soweto line.

An SAP spokesman, asked for an explanation, said the police would have acted if there had been any threat to a member of the public.

What, in fact, is the legal position?

Section 2 (1) of the Dangerous Weapons Act 71 of 1968 states: "Any person who is in possession of any dangerous weapon... shall be guilty of an offence, unless he is able to prove that he at no time had any intention of using such weapon... for any unlawful purpose..."

Even a layman can see that the police understanding of these provisions is incoherent and indefensible. The proviso "unless he is

able to prove that he at no time had any intention of using such weapon for any unlawful purpose..." clearly means that when an accused is charged with a contravention in a court of law, he must prove to the court his innocent purpose in possessing such a weapon. However, mere possession will permit his lawful arrest and disarmament.

Are the police being coherent? If one traces the origin to the attitude, the disquieting suspicion arises that the intention of the police has been that certain people should be armed with dangerous weapons.

As Tony Leon of the Democratic Party said in Parliament this week: "The police action in the past suggests at least a benign neglect by the state. At worst, it behaves something approaching a conspiracy, an official attitude of compliance ensuring one section — always the Zulu section — of our population arm themselves."

During the height of the conflict in Natal in 1990, lawyers acting for communities in that province implored the commissioner and the Minister (Mr. Vlok) to disarm persons who carried spears, assegais, pangas or knobkerries in public.

The police response was

that the Dangerous Weapons Act did not empower them to do this. It was pointed out that if the police were in need of legislation to assist them, then the Natal Code, which had been in force in that province since 1891, made it an offence to possess these weapons in these circumstances.

Within a week, President F.W. de Klerk amended the code, making the bearing of these weapons in public lawful! The ruling was later set aside by the Supreme Court, but President De Klerk has appealed against this decision.

A flurry of regulations, promulgated under the Dangerous Weapons Act and under the Public Safety Act, have followed.

All are based on the premise that section 2 (1) of the Dangerous Weapons Act does not empower the police to arrest and disarm persons bearing dangerous weapons in public. All have the effect of making it lawful to carry such weapons in public generally, for the regulations identify only specific conduct which, if accompanied by the bearing of weapons, will constitute criminal conduct.

Just one example: a regulation of August 24 1990 makes it an offence to be in possession of a dangerous weapon, if one

is in a group gathered with the intent of attacking another person. It is also only applicable in an unrest area.

The legal implication is that this conduct is lawful in non-unrest areas. But the police do not need a regulation to prohibit this conduct. The common law has prohibited it from time immemorial, even in non-unrest areas.

Mr Scheepers now says a new regulation will be promulgated. It will prohibit the possession of assegais, spears and battle axes at political meetings. It is evident that knobkerries, pangas, "ceremonial axes" and iron bars will not be prohibited. The further legal implication is that possession of assegais etc. is not prohibited outside these meetings. It also raises the question of what constitutes a political meeting.

Judge Goldstone has charged the police with being confused about the law's provisions. This last regulation will certainly not assist in clearing up any confusion.

One explanation, deeply disturbing to those who cherish law and legal regulation, is that the state has created a situation which, for reasons that should be explained to the public, is in accordance with their intentions.

● Mr Pitman is chairman of the Witwatersrand Region of Lawyers for Human Rights.

Police to use seized photos

City Press 23/2/92
ON January 17 City Press photographer Siphiwe Mhlambi was arrested while on duty in Johannesburg and his cameras and films were confiscated by police.

Mhlambi was arrested while taking pictures of police arresting two men at Ellis Park station.

City Press tried to secure his release from Jeppe Police Station for seven hours, and was only able to do so on condition that the films stay behind at the station. City Press had dealings with a Col Els, among others.

Mhlambi appeared in court on Monday, January 21, charged with "interfering with the police officer in the course of his duties". At this time an undertaking was given to City Press by the police that the films were on their way back to the newspaper.

On January 28 City Press's lawyers wrote to the Commissioner of Police, saying: "It is not understood why the films were not returned either to the possession of our client or to Mr Mhlambi at the time of his release.

"At the time of writing these films have still not been returned to our client's possession despite assurances by the police on January 20, 1992, that they have been sent back to City Press."

On February 18 lawyers again wrote to the Commissioner, saying nearly a month had elapsed since the newspaper was told the films had been sent back.

This week Col Els phoned our lawyers, saying there was a misunderstanding and that no undertaking should have been given by the police to return the film. He said the films would be used in evidence and that he would have to get the permission of the prosecutor to return the films.

NEW chapter in the life of Winnie's co-accused: is he being harboured by

Invisible man moves

the West?

By LEN KALANE
PRE 23/2/92
(327)

KATIZA Cebekhulu, probably South Africa's most wanted man, has reportedly gone missing again - this time from his cell at Kamwala Prison in Lusaka, Zambia.

Cebekhulu, one of the four bail-jumpers in the Winnie Mandela trial, slipped out of South Africa shortly before the start of the "Stompie Moeketsi" trial in February last year.

He was supposed to be the co-accused alongside Winnie Mandela.

Last month it was reported that Cebekhulu had been moved from Kamwala to Lusaka Central Prison as it was thought he would be better protected from assassination.

Just before the trial on February 4, he was seen with wounds on his head and an injured right arm.

He then disappeared, to be traced later in the Zambian capital.

He was later quoted as saying ANC officials were responsible for his abduction.

This week the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) called for his return, saying they needed his help in the commission of inquiry into the death of its leader, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

It is thought Cebekhulu could help with important information regarding Asvat's mysterious death.

Asvat was gunned down in his Soweto surgery on January 27, 1989, by two men pretending to be patients. The motive was said to be robbery but to this day Azapo still be-

lieves the killing was political.

Azapo said Cebekhulu had also made serious allegations, claiming he knew those responsible for Asvat's death.

The independent weekly newspaper *The Weekly Post* reported on Friday that the Danish government, which had offered Cebekhulu refuge, denied knowledge of his whereabouts, according to Sapa.

The newspaper quoted Danish ambassador Mark Jensen as saying the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in Lusaka had requested his government grant Cebekhulu's asylum in Copenhagen, but had been turned down for security reasons.

The Weekly Post reported that Cebekhulu vanished from Kabwata prison without the knowledge of the immigration department - which was responsible for his detention.

Immigrations spokesman Paul Mulu was quoted as saying: "I strongly believe he is not there (at Kabwata) and I do not know anything about the latest developments."

Home Affairs Minister Newstead Zimba was equally in the dark: "I don't know anything about that matter."

A UNHCR official contacted for comment referred all queries to the immigration department, saying: "Refugees under detention are not our responsibility."

One strong theory was that he might have been secretly smuggled to a Western country.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibya, headlines and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

on

7 escape petrol bomb attack

A MOTHER and her six children escaped a fiery death at Makwarela township in Sibasa, Venda, on Friday when a petrol bomb thrown at their wooden shack exploded and ignited.

A shaken Mrs Rosinah Ramathavha (40), who is a neighbour of returned ANC guerilla Mr Mashudu Mphaphuli, said yesterday

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

she could not understand why anyone should want to harm her.

Last month Mphaphuli survived an alleged abduction attempt by askaris.

Ramathavha said she was awoken at 2.55am by

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ject. "When I opened my eyes, I saw a fire outside and the explosion when the bottle lid went off.

"I could hear a car engine running outside and I screamed and called Mphaphuli.

"I could not go out for fear that the people may be standing there waiting to

I screamed," she said.

Sowetan revealed last week that Mphaphuli had been approached by a policeman posing as an arms dealer.

After the man was apprehended and questioned by ANC members, he was handed to the Venda police who later released him, saying he was a member of the South African Police

attached to a special unit.

Mphaphuli, who returned to the country last August, said he was convinced the attackers were part of an Askari group which had missed his shack and bombed the wrong one.

It could not be established yesterday whether any arrests have been made.

Greedy traitor's despicable deeds

STAR 25/2/92

(327)

Nine years after the secret trial and conviction of a Russian spy unearthed in the SA Navy, police reveal the fascinating details of Dieter Gerhardt's operation.

POLICE have lifted the lid on 20 years of espionage by former South African Navy commander Dieter Gerhardt, who was convicted of treason during a secret trial in Cape Town in 1983.

An article in the police magazine Servamus says his spying methods and modus operandi were "faultless and would make James Bond green with envy".

"It says the super-spy excelled at being secretive and refused to expand his two-person network."

Gerhardt "fell into the laps of the Russians" when he walked into the Russian Embassy in London and offered to spy against South Africa "without paying an eyelid".

He had joined the South African Navy after leaving school in Standard 9 and was sent to

the Royal Navy in London in 1956 for training as a cadet.

At first the Russians refused to accept him, but after 10 months of surveillance and selection to determine his bonafides, he was drawn into the sophisticated Russian spy network.

The article says Gerhardt's prime motive was financial gain.

"It was his sincere desire to continue to give his first wife Jeanette, who came from a wealthy (English) aristocratic family, only the best," the article says.

Ironically, the marriage collapsed when the couple returned to South Africa with their three children. Jeanette could not adapt, and left, taking the children.

Communication was a major problem when Gerhardt re-

turned to South Africa in 1960, and cameras became "the backbone" of his activities.

Three countries were used in his operations: the country in which the agent was stationed, the country in which the handler was stationed and a neutral country where the agent and the courier could meet.

Initially Gerhardt used South Africa as the second country and placed information in "dead letter drops" or "dead letter boxes" in Newlands and Fish Hoek.

A third country was used from 1968 when his handler suspected Gerhardt was being watched. Gerhardt had to find a courier and the problem was solved when he met Ruth Johr-

on a skiing holiday in Switzerland.

They married in 1968 and Ruth took three batches of between three and five films out of South Africa.

Information written on self-carbonising paper was photographed on film with 200 frames per film, sent to Gerhardt by the Russians.

"As a precautionary measure, the first part of the film was in colour and the second in black and white. If the film landed in the wrong hands and was treated as a colour film, the information on the black and white section would be destroyed," Servamus says.

The Russians sent Gerhardt Morse code messages twice a

month and he had to memorise a code to decipher them. He was also sent treated writing paper, and secret messages were written on the backs of ordinary letters.

Gerhardt did not manufacture microdots to store information but had a microdot reader to read incoming microdot messages.

However, he manufactured microfilm.

At the time of his arrest he was commanding officer of the dockyard at Simon's Town.

"His arrest was the result of the good relationship existing between worldwide information services. The suspicion that there was an anti-South African spy in a very senior post led to

swift action by the police."

Gerhardt was on his way back from a university, through which he had access to the Russians, and was arrested on arrival on January 20 1983. His wife was arrested in Simon's Town soon afterwards.

Major-General H J Gloy began the investigation. He was joined by Major-General Herman Stadler, now head of police public relations.

"They uncovered a huge espionage network 'which had done a great deal of damage to SA', the article says.

The report describes Gerhardt as an "egotistical and work-oriented person who, for his own profit stabbed his country in the back".

"This is a despicable deed of which the four walls of his cell will remind him every day of his life."

Gerhardt was convicted of treason in December 1983 and sentenced to life imprisonment by Mr Justice G G A Munik. Last year he applied in the Pretoria Supreme Court for his release on the grounds of being a political prisoner.

Minister of Justice Koble Coetsee said the application had no justification as he had spied for a foreign country for personal financial gain.

Gerhardt, who became an ANC member in prison, established and maintained a secret communications network with the Soviet Union, compiling reports on South Africa, relations with other countries, the oil and arms embargoes, and the economic situation.

Some of the information was passed on to the Argentine during the Falklands War. — Own Correspondent □



Ruth Gerhardt... used as a courier.

hon the Minister's resignation because of incompetence. [Interjections.] I want to associate myself with those organisations and ask today on behalf of workers in mines and works that the hon the Minister become a housewife instead seeing that she—and the hon the Deputy Minister too—is completely incapable of doing her work properly. [Interjections.] That role will suit her better than looking after the health of miners. [Interjections.]

Up to the present no draft Bill to payments by the Compensation Commissioner has been sent to organisations for their comment. I feel that this is a step in the wrong direction. It must be debated and information collected on it. [Interjections.] That is not the point; the point is that these workers who contracted a disease ... [Time expired.]

*Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, I want to remind the hon the Minister of a statement she made in the debate last year. I do not have time to quote it now, but she made a promise to the miners of South Africa and she has broken her promise. [Interjections.] This happens now at a time when we hear about Ministers who, besides their salaries of R8 700 per month, receive allowances because they live in their own houses, plus the water and electricity account and service fees, and about a single meeting of Codesa which cost taxpayers more than R3 million. This state of affairs simply cries to high heaven. [Interjections.]

Now that thousands of miners have been dismissed as a direct result of the policy of a hopeless government, now that White miners have been driven from their residential areas and impoverished and now that they are being negotiated out of their fatherland and freedom, this Government comes along and by means of a referendum asks for a blank cheque to proceed with this mess. [Interjections.] They are asking South Africa for this. It is asking too much of the White miners of South Africa. [Interjections.]

Take the example of a miner suffering from the second stage of pneumoconiosis. He receives a lump sum of R50 410. If he invests that amount at the prevailing rate, he receives a monthly amount of between R500 and R600. I should like to know how one could describe such a person as someone capable of living decently in these times. It is a disgrace that this Government is

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treating White miners in this way! [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH: Mr Speaker, it is quite clear that hon members of the CP think a woman's place is only in the kitchen. [Interjections.]

It is important that, when any fund is adjusted, one ascertains whether the fund can provide for the adjustments. The second investigation specifically examined what the effect would be if the additional payments made by mines and the State were to fall away. [Interjections.] We had to examine every possibility which would ensure the future of this fund. It is not merely a question of adjustment and looking after the interests of one part. I consider it of importance that hon members should know ... [Interjections.] They are trying to make out a case here that we are insensitive toward miners, and that is untrue. [Interjections.] No, I am a miner's daughter, and I know what I am talking about. [Interjections.]

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! Hon members must not get so excited.

*The MINISTER: The hon members are trying to act here as if they were the champions of the miners. [Interjections.] This is not the point. I bear the responsibility of ensuring that this fund will be able to make provision for the adjustments that have to be made. [Interjections.] What will those hon members say if we effect an adjustment, and there is no money in the fund in five years' time?

No, we should do our work thoroughly, and we are in the process of preparing a fitting Bill in a responsible way. We shall give Parliament the opportunity of expressing its judgment on the principle of parity which we intend introducing in this Act. Then hon members will have the opportunity to judge the way in which we have made the adjustment. That is fair and just.

*Mr J H HOON: You broke your promises.

*The MINISTER: No promises were broken. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Assassination in Pietermaritzburg: arrests

2. Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether any arrests have been made in connection with the assassination in Pietermaritzburg on or about 8 February 1992 of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;
- (2) whether, in the light of recent political assassinations in Natal, the Police are taking any steps to prevent further incidents of this nature; if so, what steps?

(327)

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The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, this interpellation has two parts. I want to deal with the first part first. Statements from various witnesses were obtained. Alleged suspects were also approached and thoroughly interrogated and warning statements were obtained from them. As a result of contradictions in different witnesses' statements, no prima facie case could be formulated against any of the alleged suspects at that stage. The investigation is being continued. The office of the Attorney-General of Natal is being kept informed of the progress of the investigation.

As regards the second part, the SA Police always endeavours to prevent any criminal act, whether it has a political motivation or an ordinary criminal motivation. Depending on circumstances, additional members from other regions and units are sent to problem areas to stabilise the situation. If possible, the SA Police prevents people from forming groups in an attempt to restrain the possible incitement of emotions. Attempts are made to diffuse unrest through joint discussions with militant factions. High-density operations are undertaken, such as road-blocks, the cordoning-off of areas, searches of homes and hostels, intensified foot patrols and intensified night patrols.

Specific incidents can only be prevented if the police receive information beforehand regarding the planning of such incidents. Should the police have information regarding planned attacks against prominent people, they will react.

I believe that the SA Police must play a prominent role in the restoration of law and order in the Natal-KwaZulu region, but it is also the duty of the leaders of Inkatha and the ANC to settle their political differences. I believe that these

political groupings should meet, and I think they should meet now. It is long overdue. I believe that they should accept the peaceful, democratic way to settle their differences and not resort to violence. In my opinion, assassinations will only cease once this agreement is reached and implemented at grassroots level.

Mr R F HASWELL: Mr Speaker, 12 months ago I raised the matter of the assassination, also in Pietermaritzburg, of Nkosi Maphumulo. Despite allegations and an inquest no arrests have as been made.

Today I speak of another peacemaker who has been gunned down in my city. Skhumbuzo Ngyenya went through hell during the past decade. Along with 130 other students he was forced to leave the University of Zululand in 1984. He was almost hacked to death in Imbali in July 1985. No arrests were made. In February 1986 he was abducted in Imbali's main street by Inkatha members who then beat him to a pulp. He was smuggled into Edendale Hospital for treatment, and then he was charged with having stoned buses. The assault charges that he laid came to nothing. In May 1986 his house was burnt down, and he and his mother barely managed to escape. In June 1986 he was detained for a period of 12 months. In November 1987 he was a key figure in the UDF-Inkatha peace talks which were initiated by the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, but no sooner had the talks commenced, than once again he was detained. This time it was for one week—just sufficient time to derail the talks. In February 1988 he was once again detained, and was only released after leading a 30-day hunger strike.

Since the unbanning of the ANC he has played a leading role in the rehabilitation of community life in Imbali. It just so happens that as this project, "Peace in The Township", and a dispute resolution committee were gaining momentum—all of them things which the hon the Minister has asked for, and which I fully support—and just as this person was going to play a leading role in the local dispute resolution committee as one of its leading members, he was coincidentally gunned down. (327)

I believe the record speaks for itself. This man was never even charged, let alone convicted, of any crime. Why? No White political or commu-

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nity figure has ever had to endure such blatant and persistent abuse of life and property. Why?

S'khumbuzo was not a victim of the so-called Black-on-Black violence. He simply stood up against the system, and the system, which includes all of us, killed him. [Interjections.] Now, to crown everything—despite affidavits and what the hon the Minister describes as in-depth investigations, and despite the fact that it was widely recorded that the witnesses had identified the killers—no arrests have been made.

S'khumbuzo suffered virtually every injustice that racist, evil South Africa could inflict. Is it too much to expect justice to be seen to be done regarding his murder? [Time expired.]

*Mr M J MENTZ: Mr Speaker, for the umpteenth time now the hon member is asking nearly identical questions with regard to political murders in Natal. That hon member knows in advance what the reply to his question is going to be.

One asks oneself why these questions are put repeatedly. If one knows what the reply will be, it is absurd to ask this type of question. [Interjections.] The obvious deduction is that there are ulterior motives. These are to try to place the SA Police in a poor light so that those hon members and their ANC brothers can discredit the image of the SA Police. [Interjections.] That is the true reason for these kind of questions, otherwise they are nonsensical questions. [Interjections.]

The SA Police are not capable of preventing all these different kinds of murders. It is just not possible; on the contrary, it is predictable that murders of this kind will increase as the situation in South Africa worsens.

We should rather find out what the underlying causes are for murders of this kind. They are what must be removed. The underlying causes are the political power struggle which is arising among these people as a result of this Government's reform policy. [Interjections.] That is the cause. Listen to what the Bureau for Information says in its own publication, the *South African Profile*:

The reform process has been accompanied by dangerously rising expectations and by an increase in violence, particularly in Natal.

That is what their own documents say. What does Gen Stadler of the SAP say? He says that

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the increase in unrest is a by-product of the Government's reform plan. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, the hon member for Ermelo had me spellbound when he started off so well by identifying the SAP's problems, but then immediately changed to a political point by saying that this power struggle was the result of reform. [Interjections.]

I want to ask hon members between whom the power struggle was before 2 February. That power struggle was between the entire Black population and this Government as it is present here today, as well as those hon members. After 2 February the power struggle developed between Black and Black, and the Government and apartheid are no longer the object of any power struggle in this country.

If those hon members come to power—may the Lord save us from that—we shall have an onslaught on the State all over again. [Interjections.] There will be a unification of Black people in this country, because they can identify a mutual enemy, namely the White people with apartheid.

Are hon members unable to understand it, or do they not want to understand it? [Interjections.] I hear that the hon members who were opposed to a referendum, were opposed to it because they do not know how to make a cross. [Interjections.] If I listen to those kinds of arguments here, then I have understanding for our hon State President. [Interjections.]

I want to tell the hon member for Pietermaritzburg South that he can . . .

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! No, the hon the Minister may continue. He still has time left. [Interjections.]

*Mr W U NEL: Mr Speaker, the hon member for Ermelo reproaches us time and again for ostensibly denigrating the SA Police. We repeatedly advocate that they be strengthened so that they can be successful because without success it is not possible for them to improve their image, especially among the Blacks.

†The assassination of high-profile political figures always arouses much emotion. Imagine for a moment if a senior member of this House were to be assassinated. Surely no stone would be left unturned to find and apprehend the perpetrators

of such an act. Equally, no stone must be left unturned in finding, not only the murderers of S'khumbuzo Ngenya, but also those of a host of other senior Black political figures who have been mowed down, and continue to be mowed down, with regular monotony in our Black communities and whose killers are still on the loose.

We accept the difficulties in these circumstances, but until the success rate has improved, the credibility of the SAP simply will not be restored. Criticism now actually emanates from all quarters. I would like to quote an allegation of racial bias, from *The Natal Witness* of yesterday, which comes from a spokesman, not of the ANC, but of the IFP:

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the SAP is giving much higher priority to cases involving attacks on members of the White community. However, when prominent Black persons are murdered, the investigation is comparatively low-key.

I repeat, this is an allegation of the IFP and not the ANC. Something must be done to rectify this position, and this will not be achieved unless we have some success. I again quote from yesterday's newspaper:

The Ngenya file was originally opened by the Pietermaritzburg Riot Investigation Unit; then it was passed to the Murder and Robbery Unit. Now it is again back in the hands of the Riot Investigation Unit.

How can progress be made if this file is treated like a pingpong ball? [Time expired.]

Mr R F HASWELL: Mr Speaker, the Natal Midlands has been ripped apart by violence, and law and order has become an empty phrase. The Trust Feed and other trials currently being heard in Pietermaritzburg are a shocking indictment of certain—I wish to emphasise "certain"—police action. Unless justice is seen to be done, the scar may well become permanent. The hon the Minister can alter all of this by insisting on full-scale and round-the-clock investigations, and in so doing, since it is very much on his mind, encourage a Yes-vote in the referendum in that region. It is up to the hon the Minister, while he is still the Minister.

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, allow me to tell the hon member for Pietermaritzburg South immediately that unfor-

tunately it is the easiest thing in the world to choose from hundreds of examples in order to make a point in Parliament. We are not in favour of, nor do we approve of people being murdered; on the contrary, we feel just as strongly that this must come to an end in our country. We sympathise with the people who have to suffer as a result of it.

However, to say, as the hon member for Mooi River did, that because the deceased was Black we are not doing our best to track down the murderers, is an insinuation which is unworthy of him. [Interjections.] That is precisely what he insinuated. The hon member said that if it had been a White member of Parliament who had been shot, they would have gone to far more trouble than in the case of a Black man. Surely that is an insinuation. [Interjections.] What is he complaining about then? First he tells me that I am wrong, but when I give him the correct facts, he says it is true. [Interjections.] It is simply not true because we have to investigate crimes of this kind in the various communities.

Those hon members ought to know that it is far more difficult to undertake such investigations in the Natal situation, where there is unrest and strife at the moment. The hon member ought to know that. He should be able to understand that.

The police work overtime on a daily basis to see whether we can find the murderers of people. With regard to this insinuation that the SA Police Force only investigates the White cases and not the deaths of Black people, I want to tell the hon member for Claremont one more time . . .

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! Unfortunately the hon the Minister's time has now expired, including the credit which I gave him.

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Sale of stockpiled crude oil: departments involved
*1. Mr P J PAULUS asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs:†

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Media laws on parties to probed

Sowetan 26/2/92

CODESA decided yesterday to investigate whether any laws prevented organisations in the country from having access to the media.

The African National Congress and the Government differed sharply at Codesa last week on whether the SABC was independent.

The investigation is part of Codesa's working group one, which has been mandated to investigate free political activity.

The announcement was made yesterday at the World Trade Centre, outside Johannesburg.

"The discussions... resulted in agreement that members of the sub-group would investigate if there are any statutory provisions in South Africa - including the TBVC states - which prevent any political party or any other agency from establishing or continuing its own means of mass communication and from exercising Press freedom and enjoying access to established print media," the statement said.

The next meeting of working group one would also hear a report from the Government and ANC on

progress made in their bilateral meeting on Monday night regarding political prisoners and exiles.

Earlier, the Campaign for Open Media called for more openness towards the Press by Codesa.

Meanwhile, KwaNdebele's Intando Yesizwe Party has recommended that the possibility of adapting the existing economic development regions of South Africa into political regions.

The party was commenting on the balance between central, regional and local government.

The IYP said it was in favour of dividing a country into regions to ensure the existence of effective administration and a meaningful exercise of democratic rights at regional level.

The division of the country should be done within the parameters of the principle of a united democratic nonracial and non-sexist society, with the sovereignty vested in the national or central government.

The regional government should have powers over regional matters. - Sapa

AFTER more than 40 years of being censored, constrained and badgered by the NP government and others, the country's media finds itself in a relatively free condition. Editors and journalists are able to pursue challenging thoughts about restructuring constitutional and other media laws so that a government will not again be able to censor, interfere and impede the free flow of news, information and commentary.

These ideas extend to the structure and practices of the industry and the craft. The emphasis is steadily moving to break up monopolies such as the SABC and the major newspaper groups so as to create greater diversity of publication and of opinion, more competition and ultimately greater freedom. In addition, editors and journalists themselves are seeking to improve on the quality and professionalism of their work, their ethical standards and their responsibilities to readers.

The problem is being tackled in two phases: an urgent approach to achieve open, free and fair reporting and expression of opinion in the media during the crucial transition period that SA has embarked upon and which, hopefully, will lead to the establishment of a nonracial, democratic government; and a longer-term approach which will lay down

Cutting media's shackles

By Dewy 27/2/92

(327)

RAYMOND LOUW

concepts and guidelines for increasing diversity and freedom of expression, maximum news coverage, greater access to official and other information while protecting privacy and the rights of the individual.

The Campaign for Open Media and the Anti-Censorship Action Group, the journalist trade unions and various other bodies with an interest in the media have undertaken the task of achieving the interim goals. A well-attended conference at the University of the Western Cape came up with a range of constitutional and legislative proposals which have been submitted to Codesa for action. In addition, the conference also proposed measures dealing with the conduct of the media and methods of monitoring performance during the transition.

Into this turmoil has stepped K Prescott Low, president-elect of the world publishers' body, the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers. Low is a sincere and well-meaning newspaper publisher from Quincy, near Boston, Massachusetts, who is genuinely concerned about the freedom of the Press. Under

der the heading "Media codes destructive" (Business Day, February 19), he declared his fears that media codes and monitoring could lead to state control.

His views amounted to an attack on the Campaign for Open Media plan to facilitate the drawing up of a code of practice.

Low has little knowledge of media affairs here and it was unfortunate that Business Day failed to enlighten him. He is clearly unaware that a stringent code of conduct already applies to the Press in SA and that it is the basis for the punitive powers vested in the SA Media Council. He is also unaware that journalist trade unions have opposed that code for 30 years and have refused to take up a seat on the Media Council.

The Media Council code is used by the public to bring complaints against the Press. A finding by the council that a paper has offended against that code can result in a fine of a maximum of R10 000 being im-

posed. In addition, the paper can be forced to publish the finding and any censure by the council chairman.

The journalist unions' objections have been ignored by the Newspaper Press Union, the newspaper publishers' body, and by the Conference of Editors. The journalists claim rightly that the Media Council and the code were introduced to appease government and not to improve Press conduct. Adherence to the code is "voluntary" — but if newspapers had not set up the Media Council they would have fallen under the Publications Control Act or become subject to a statutory council which government frequently threatened to establish.

A further cause for complaint is that the council has no jurisdiction over the SABC, which simply refused to subscribe to it. No alternative punishments were meted out to it.

The decision on codes of practice at the Cape media conference was not that the Campaign for Open Media should write the code but that it should facilitate a meeting of editors, journalists, publishers and broadcasters to enable them to draw

up a consolidated code broadly acceptable to them all.

Several other codes exist — one formulated by the SA Union of Journalists and others by The Star and the SABC. The conference hoped that these would be amalgamated into a single broad code to which everyone could subscribe. It is unlikely that that code would be linked to a fine or other punitive punishment. The question of how the code would be enforced — through a media council or an ombudsman, or whatever — was left to that meeting to decide.

Low also expressed fears about conference proposals to monitor the media during the transition and the possibilities of government interference in media freedom. Suffice to say that monitoring of the transition process is inevitable.

Foreign governments which imposed sanctions will demand it. The conduct of the media is a vital element in the process of democratic change. So monitoring will take place, but the Campaign for Open Media is proposing that it take the form of a "media watch", which will be conducted by experienced journalists and editors, some from overseas, and will result in their published comments on what they find. It happened in Zimbabwe and Namibia and is hardly to be feared.

LETTERS

Ex-Inkatha man's life 'threatened'

PRETORIA — Former Inkatha Youth Brigade assistant organiser Mbongeni Khumalo's life had been threatened by members of the organisation since his decision to make certain revelations about its activities to the Weekly Mail, a committee of the Goldstone commission of inquiry into public violence and intimidation heard yesterday. (H) (327)

Khumalo told the committee sitting in Pretoria that since he had given the information to the Weekly Mail and testified before the Goldstone Commission, he feared he would be killed. B/Dan

The committee of the commission is investigating allegations of SADF funding of front organisations sponsoring violence. 27/2/92

Khumalo said the reason for his resignation from Inkatha in February 1989

was that he had observed contradictions in the organisation that suggested it was not promoting peace. He had observed "extensive leaks" between the SADF military intelligence and Inkatha and the fostering of violence by Inkatha.

Asked by counsel for Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, Louis Visser, why he had not brought his "disillusionment" with the organisation to its attention before resigning, he said it was not possible to do so and "still live".

Visser put it to Khumalo that what he had told the Weekly Mail and his evidence before the commission amounted to "gossip stories and inferences".

He said Khumalo had denied in an application for employment to the KwaZulu government that he had any criminal convictions, whereas he had several. — Sapa.

Police⁵⁷⁴¹² captain^{27/12/92} admits⁽²⁷⁾ ordering⁽²⁷⁾ killings⁽³²⁷⁾

PIETERMARITZBURG

South African Police Captain Brian Mitchell admitted in the Supreme Court yesterday he had ordered special constables to kill United Democratic Front members in Trust Feed in December 1988.

Captain Mitchell, who was testifying in his own defence, said his instruction had meant to convey to them that they were to attack groups of UDF members, and not to break into a house and attack women and children.

Although he had not specified exactly where the UDF members would be, he said he thought the special policemen would have got information as to which were UDF areas in Trust Feed from the local Inkatha leader, Jerome Gabela, with whom they were staying. He denied he had ever pointed out any house for the special policemen to attack.

He told the court that on the morning of December 3 1988, when he saw who they had in fact shot, he was shocked.

Revolutionary

The attack allegedly resulted in the death of 11 people attending a funeral vigil. Captain Mitchell, two other policemen and four special constables are facing eleven charges of murder and eight of attempted murder as a result of the massacre.

Describing the politics of the area in which he was embroiled, Captain Mitchell said he saw himself as a soldier fighting in a civil war and he was on the side of the government. He also sympathised with Inkatha because they never made areas ungovernable and he did not perceive them to be part of the "revolutionary onslaught".

When the judge asked him if, as station commander at New Hanover, he considered it proper to use special policemen to kill UDF members, Captain Mitchell said he felt he was a soldier at the time of a civil war.

Asked if special policemen were trained to carry out the orders of a senior officer, he replied: "Not unlawful orders." — Sapa.

Weapons and firearms to be banned at rallies

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A prohibition on the possession of dangerous weapons and firearms at political gatherings is expected to be published in the Government Gazette today.

This follows months of discussions between the Government, the ANC and the IFP, and stems from agreements made in the National Peace Accord.

A political gathering will not include any traditional cultural gathering or any ceremonial gathering.

The prohibition of dangerous weapons and firearms and replicas will apply to any person attending or participating in any political gathering, in or on any public place.

This does not apply to any person in the service of the State who is on duty at the political gathering.

It also does not apply to a

security guard or a bona fide bodyguard rendering a security service at the political gathering.

By agreement, a dangerous weapon is one made to inflict bodily injury, or any object which could inflict bodily injury in an assault.

However, if the person in possession of a dangerous weapon was able to prove they did not intend to use the object unlawfully, they would not be guilty of an offence.

Intimidate

They would also not be guilty of an offence if they did not intend to use the object to intimidate people.

A political gathering has been defined as any gathering, concourse or procession which has been organised, convened or held with the intention to discuss, attack, criticise, promote or propagate the principles or policy of a political party or organisation.

Win a week's stay in a country retrea

Former top Buthelezi aide to testify today

PRETORIA — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former personal assistant M Z Khumalo will testify for the first time before a committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation today.

The evidence of Khumalo, who resigned from the Inkatha Freedom Party following the exposures in July last year of SA Police funding of Inkatha rallies and other irregularities, may prove central to the committee's findings.

Khumalo's name has been raised by at least two witnesses to the committee which is investigating alleged SADF funding of front companies fostering violence.

He has been linked in evidence before the commission to a group of 200 IFP members allegedly trained by the SADF in a military camp in the Caprivi Strip, as well as to Inkatha hit squads.

Meanwhile, former Inkatha Youth Brigade assistant organiser Mbongeni Khumalo said during cross-examination yesterday that except for Buthelezi, M Z

Khumalo remained the most powerful political figure in KwaZulu.

"The resignation of Khumalo in July was not a resignation in total.

"He retains a working relationship with and an influence over Inkatha."

He said he suspected that Khumalo still received a salary from Inkatha.

On the issue of the 200 Caprivi trainees who allegedly also spent time at three other camps, Mkuze, Amatigule and Nhlazantshe, Khumalo admitted to the counsel for the IFP and the KwaZulu government, Louis Visser, that he had no "personal experience" of the training of hit squads at these camps.

He said he had been present at a meeting with M Z Khumalo where he had told group leaders of the trainees that they would be going to Mkuze for some form of military training.

He maintained that the Nhlazantshe camp near Vryheid was "started and sponsored" by the SADF.

Proceedings will continue today. — Sapa.



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Vol. 320

PRETORIA, 28 FEBRUARIE
FEBRUARY 1992

No. 13801

GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING**MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE**

No. 719 28 Februarie 1992

WET OP GEVAARLIKE WAPENS, 1968

VERBOD OP DIE BESIT VAN GEVAARLIKE
WAPENS EN VUURWAPENS

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2 (2) en artikel 2 (3) van die Wet op Gevaarlike Wapens, 1968 (Wet No. 71 van 1968), vaardig ek, Johannes Hendrikus Lodewyk Scheepers, Adjunkminister van Wet en Orde, handelende namens en in opdrag van die Minister van Wet en Orde, hierby die verbod uit in die Bylae hiervan uiteengesit.

J. H. L. SCHEEPERS,
Adjunkminister van Wet en Orde.

BYLAE**Woordomsrywings**

1. (1) In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk—

“gevaarlike wapen” beteken—

(a) enige voorwerp wat ontwerp of vervaardig is met die oogmerk om ’n liggaamlike letsel toe te dien; of

(b) enige voorwerp wat nie ontwerp of vervaardig is met die oogmerk om ’n liggaamlike letsel toe te dien nie, maar wat ’n liggaamlike letsel sal toedien indien dit gebruik sou word om ’n aanranding te pleeg, tensy ’n persoon in besit van sodanige voorwerp kan bewys dat met betrekking tot die omringende omstandighede hy te gener tyd die bedoeling gehad het om sodanige voorwerp vir enige onregmatige doel te gebruik nie of dat hy te gener tyd die bedoeling gehad het om sodanige voorwerp te gebruik om enige ander persoon of persone te intimideer nie;

“openbare plek” beteken enige plek waartoe ’n lid van die publiek ’n reg van toegang het, of waartoe so ’n lid gewoonlik toegelaat word;

182—A

GOVERNMENT NOTICE**MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER**

No. 719 28 February 1992

DANGEROUS WEAPONS ACT, 1968

PROHIBITION ON THE POSSESSION OF DANGEROUS
WEAPONS AND FIREARMS

Under the powers vested in me by section 2 (2) and section 2 (3) of the Dangerous Weapons Act, 1968 (Act No. 71 of 1968), I, Johannes Hendrikus Lodewyk Scheepers, Deputy Minister of Law and Order, acting on behalf of and on assignment by the Minister of Law and Order, hereby issue the prohibition contained in the Schedule hereto.

J. H. L. SCHEEPERS,
Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

SCHEDULE**Definitions**

1. (1) In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates—

“dangerous weapon” means—

(a) any object which has been designed or manufactured with the object of inflicting a bodily injury; or

(b) any object which has not been designed or manufactured with the object of inflicting a bodily injury, but which may inflict a bodily injury if it were used to commit an assault, unless a person in possession of such an object is able to prove that with respect to the surrounding circumstances he at no time had any intention of using such object for any unlawful purpose or that he at no time had any intention of using such object to intimidate any other person or persons;

“public place” means any place to which a member of the public has a right to entry, or to which such member is usually admitted;

13801—1

“politieke byeenkoms” beteken, behoudens die bepalings van subparagraaf (2), enige politieke byeenkoms, toeloop of optog wat gereël, belê of gehou word met die hoofdoel om die beginsels of beleid van ’n politieke party of organisasie, hetsy sodanige party of organisasie ingevolge enige wet geregistreer is al dan nie, te bespreek, aan te val, te kritiseer, te bevorder of te propageer.

(2) Ondanks die bepalings van subparagraaf (1) word die omskrywing van “politieke byeenkoms” nie uitgelê as sou dit enige tradisionele kulturele byeenkoms of enige seremoniële byeenkoms insluit nie.

Verbod

2. Behoudens die bepalings van paragraaf 3 mag geen persoon wat enige politieke byeenkoms in of op enige openbare plek bywoon of daaraan deelneem, te eniger tyd terwyl hy sodanige byeenkoms bywoon of daaraan deelneem, in besit wees van ’n gevaarlike wapen of ’n vuurwapen of ’n replika daarvan nie.

Vrystellings

3. Die verbod is nie van toepassing nie op ’n persoon—

(a) wat in diens van die Staat is en wat by ’n politieke byeenkoms in of op ’n openbare plek teenwoordig is in die uitvoering van sy amptelike pligte; of

(b) wat ’n sekuriteitswag of ’n *bona fide*-lyfwag is en wat ’n sekuriteitsdiens lewer by ’n politieke byeenkoms in of op ’n openbare plek.

“political gathering” means, subject to the provisions of subparagraph (2), any political gathering, course or procession which has been organized, convened or held with the prime intention to discuss, attack, criticize, promote, or propagate the principles or policy of a political party or organization, whether or not such party or organization is registered in terms of any law.

(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of subparagraph (1), the definition of “political gathering” shall not be construed as including any traditional cultural gathering or any ceremonial gathering.

Prohibition

2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3 no person attending or participating in any political gathering in or on any public place may at any time while he attends such gathering or participates therein be in possession of any dangerous weapon or any firearm or a replica thereof.

Exemptions

3. The prohibition shall not apply to a person—

(a) who is in the service of the State and who is present at a political gathering in or on a public place in the execution of his official duties; or

(b) who is a security guard or a *bona fide* bodyguard and who is rendering a security service at a political gathering in or on a public place.

INHOUD

No.	Bladsy No.	Koerant No.
GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING		
Ministerie van Wet en Orde		
<i>Goewermenskennisgewing</i>		
719 Wet op Gevaarlike Wapens (71/1968): Verbod op die besit van gevaarlike wapens en vuurwapens	1	13801

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Massacre policeman turns to God

By VICKY QUINLAN: Durban

A SOUTH African Police captain facing charges of murder and attempted murder following an attack on a house in Trust Feed, yesterday told a stunned Natal Supreme Court gallery he had become a Christian while in prison and now planned to become a minister.

Prior to this revelation, Captain Brian Mitchell had admitted he had ordered special constables to kill United Democratic Front "comrades" in Trust Feed in December 1988. This resulted in an attack on a house in the area, in which 11 people died.

As a Christian, he said, it was important now for him to tell the truth. Mitchell is one of seven policemen charged with 11 counts of murder and eight of attempted murder for the attack.

He said his instructions to the special constables had meant to convey to them that they were to attack groups of UDF members, and not to break into a house and attack women and children.

Although he had not specified exactly where the UDF members would be, he said he thought the special policemen would have got information as to which were UDF areas in Trust Feed

from the local Inkatha leader, Jerome Gabela, with whom they were staying. He denied he had ever pointed out any house for the special policemen to attack.

He told the court that on the morning of December 3 1988 when he saw who they had attacked he was shocked.

Evidence was also heard about talks which took place at the Inkatha offices in Pietermaritzburg involving the head of the Riot Unit, Captain Deon Terblanche, Gabela and other Trust Feed Inkatha officials and Pietermaritzburg Inkatha leader David Ntombela.

Mitchell said his impression was that Gabela was told by Ntombela and Terblanche to launch an attack on the UDF in Trust Feed and he would be backed by special constables.

Mitchell admitted he had gone to the Trust Feed area on the night of December 3 to see what had happened regarding this attack so that in the morning he would know "what to expect" and be prepared to cover up if necessary.

Describing the politics in the area in which he was embroiled, Mitchell said he saw himself as a soldier fighting in a

civil war and he was on the side of the government. He also sympathised with Inkatha because it never made areas ungovernable and he did not perceive it to be part of the "revolutionary onslaught".

However, Mitchell said he perceived Gabela to be weak and, towards the end of November 1988, it was clear the UDF was "getting the upper hand" in Trust Feed.

On November 30 1988, six special constables were brought to New Hanover by a friend of Terblanche, Constable Willem de Wet, who told Mitchell these particular special policemen hated the UDF. De Wet and Mitchell then took them to Trust Feed.

He said on the night of the attack, he, Constable Jason Parton and reserve constable Stuart van Wyk had drunk a lot together.

Mitchell had suspected there would be trouble in Trust Feed following the arrest of 11 UDF men during that day. He conceded under cross-examination that these arrests, effected during a round-up of all men aged between 16 and 35 at a local sports field, were to render the UDF "sitting ducks" for the impending Inkatha attack.

Spotlight on kwaZulu cops

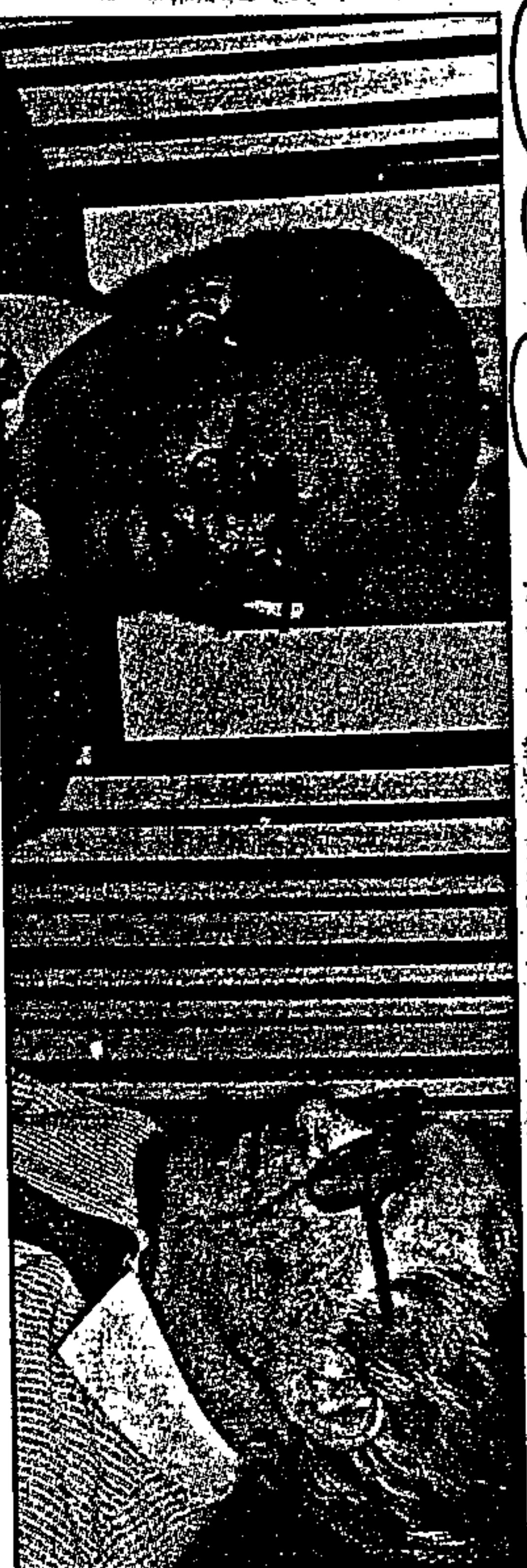
BY BEATHUR BAKER

W (mail) 28/2-5/3/92

THE kwaZulu Police were under the spotlight this week at the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence, with evidence of a wide range of irregularities in their methods.

Tensions between the homeland police force, the SA Police and the SA Defence Force became apparent at the inquiry as the latter two tried to distance themselves from Inkatha and kwaZulu activity.

At the inquiry into *The Weekly Mail's* revelations of extensive links between the SADF, Inkatha and township violence, it emerged that:



Star witness: The *Weekly Mail's* source, Mbongeni Khumalo, talks to advocate David Sogott SC at the Goldstone hearings. Photo: GUY ADAMS

Commission hears of KZP irregularities

W (mail) 28/2-5/3/92

W (mail) 28/2-5/3/92

W (mail) 28/2-5/3/92

From PAGE 1

●The KZP operated outside the homeland without notifying the South African Police that they were in their territory.

●KZP guns were handled irregularly by the assistant secretary of the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA).

●The legislative assembly keeps its own arms cache of up to 30 guns for the use of KLA members and their bodyguards.

●Brigadier Sipho Mathe of the KZP was personally involved in the secret instruction of 200 Inkatha recruits who are accused of forming hit squads.

●Mathe was unable to give a full list of the alleged hit-squad recruits or information about their current where-

abouts, despite being given more than two weeks to do so. Mathe had previously said that 113 of the recruits were issued with police ID cards, but this week changed this to say there were only 28 of them.

●These recruits were given KZP ID cards even though they were not fully-fledged policemen.

Asked for details of the recruits, Mathe said: "I tried but failed to get those particulars."

Judge RJ Goldstone was scathing about Mathe: "You have given a number of answers which are not consistent. I am now asking you just to answer." David Sogott SC, for *The Weekly Mail*, added: "If the postmaster in Ulundi were asked (to do) these operations, he would probably do it better. Mathe could not explain to the com-

mission why the youths had not as yet been incorporated into the KZP, despite the fact that there was a need for more policemen.

It also became apparent that kwaZulu officials draw little distinction between their official activities and their party-political activities on behalf of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

MZ Khumalo, former personal assistant to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, emerged as the man who took personal command of the 200 recruits. It was alleged that he is still active in Inkatha, despite having claimed to have resigned his position after the revelation of links between Inkatha and security forces.

Giving evidence about violence in Ermelo, Captain Andre Marais of the SAP revealed that in a raid on the local offices of the United Workers' Union

of South Africa (Uwusa), the Inkatha-linked trade union, the following were found:

●A 9mm parabelum, number NR 200190

●Two 9mm parabelum magazines

●Ten rounds of 9mm ammunition

●One .38 Taurus revolver, number NR 104549

●Fourteen rounds of .38 ammunition

●One KZP reservist identity card.

The Weekly Mail's main source of allegations of extensive links between Inkatha and South African Defence Force front companies, Mbongeni Khumalo, was extensively cross-examined this week. However, the Inkatha attack was directed at him personally and at his honesty, rather than the substance of his allegations. Most of *The Weekly Mail's* allega-

tions went unchallenged. Mbongeni Khumalo testified about threats on his life since he spoke out about Inkatha.

The first was a 20-minute phone call from MZ Khumalo which turned nasty when, according to Mbongeni Khumalo, he refused to pledge his allegiance to the organisation. "He said that if I was responsible for the lie (Inkathagate), I would be killed."

After the appearance of a second story in *The Weekly Mail* in July 1991, Mbongeni Khumalo said he woke up one night to discover what looked like a government issue vehicle without registration plates parked not far from his house. Unfamiliar people surrounded his house.

He said the third incident occurred when he was on his way to Soweto and was accosted by MZ Khumalo.

Inkatha rejects weapons ban

STAR 29/2/92

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party last night rejected "with contempt" the Proclamation on Dangerous Weapons issued earlier by the Government. (327)

In a statement, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the Kwa-Zulu authorities had at no time in its discussions with the South African Government agreed to the terms of the proclamation.

He accused the Government of currying favour with the people plotting its downfall and said a ban would be impossible to enforce.

"We feel it is physically impossible for anybody at whatever level to prevent the Zulu people from carrying their cultural accoutrements, inasmuch as it would be impossible for anybody to stop a white man from wearing a tie," he said.

He said the Government's decision was unilateral and would lead to more violence.

"We would understand it if the South African Government made a proclamation against illegal firearms such as AK-47 rifles, RPG rockets, hand grenades and all hidden arms caches." — Sapa.

Inkatha ignores ban

By S'BU MNGADI 11/3/92

MORE than 3 000 Inkatha supporters marched through the Durban city centre yesterday armed with sharpened sticks, spears and other dangerous weapons.

This was in direct defiance of the proclamation on dangerous weapons issued on Friday by the SA government.

A request by Lieut-Col Johannes van Wyk to Lindelani Inkatha leader Thomas Mandla Shabalala, to ask the marchers to leave dangerous weapons behind at Curries Fountain stadium under police protection, was greeted with open disapproval by the heavily armed amabutho.

The marchers defiantly told police they would carry their weapons - declaration or no declaration.

After negotiating with Inkatha leaders for about 15 minutes, the

police finally gave in and allowed the crowd to snake through the busy city centre to the steps of the Durban City Hall, where Shabalala presented a memo to Van Wyk protesting against militant talk uttered by ANC leaders, the assassination of Inkatha leaders, the ANC armed struggle and Umkhonto weSizwe.

At the front of the procession was a hearse followed by Shabalala who carried a cross and other Inkatha leaders who raised mock coffins above their heads.

On the way to the City Hall, Inkatha supporters taunted and harassed passersby who ran helter skelter on being approached by the heavily armed procession.

Earlier Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose warned the police not to try to stop the marchers from carrying "cultural accoutrements".

It would be like trying to stop a white man from wearing a tie, said Mdlalose.

His warning came on the day the government gazetted regulations prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons in public places and at political meetings.

Natal's Joint Working Committee of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu yesterday urgently requested the State President, Ministers of Law and Order and Defence, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the National Peace Secretariat to ensure that Inkatha supporters on the march were unarmed.

In a letter to President de Klerk the alliance joint working committee argued that "the march is a political event and not a cultural or traditional one, and as such, the carrying of dangerous weapons of any kind should not be permitted".

Students hurl cans at singer

By S'BU MNGADI

RAP artist Taps claims he was abused by white students during a music festival at Natal University this week.

The Summer Rock Festival, at the Students Union, was the highlight of the orientation week.

Malawian-born Taps, whose real name is Tapuwa Bandawe, said he had been performing for about five minutes when the predominantly white audience began throwing empty beer cans onstage.

Orientation committee chairwoman Melanie Havenga said only three empty cans were thrown and none hit Taps.

KwaZulu sold prime land to IFP

By S'BU MNGADI

THE KwaZulu government sold 28 ha of prime land just outside Durban - estimated to be worth R56-million - to an Inkatha-owned company for R124 000 in 1990.

The land, which lies between Kwa-Mashu and Phoenix, was purchased by KwaZulu Legislative Assembly chief whip Johnny Mhlungu on behalf of Khulani Holdings and Properties.

Mhlungu is also a senior member of the Inkatha Central Committee and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's right-hand man.

The IFP is the company's major shareholder. However, Mhlungu pointed out this week that "1 000 other shareholders belong to various political organisations".

The deal emerged from documents before the Durban City Council's Town Planning Appeals Committee which is considering objections by

Khulani Holdings and Properties, of which Mhlungu is chief executive officer, to a proposal by Tongaat-Hulett Properties to establish a regional shopping centre on a site opposite its land.

According to documents before the committee, Khulani Holdings and Properties paid R124 487 for the land in April 1990. The KwaZulu government then gave the company the rights to build a regional shopping centre.

The normal price of property with commercial rights in the Durban area is R2-million a hectare.

Mhlungu said Khulani Holdings and Properties bought the land at prices determined by the South African government under Proclamation 2624 dated December 29, 1978.

Acting secretary of KwaZulu's Department of Interior, a Mr Badenhorst, made a firm "No comment".

"You can just report the acting secretary of the department refused to comment, taxpayer's money or not."

'Buthelezi knew about SADF funding'

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi knew of SADF salary payments to 200 Inkatha members trained in the Caprivi Strip in 1986, his former personal assistant said this week.

The one-time aide, Mr MZ Khumalo, resigned from Inkatha in July last year after the exposure of security police funding to the organisation, and made his statement on Friday to a committee of the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria. The committee is investigating alleged SADF funding of front companies fostering violence.

Mr Khumalo returned to the public eye for the first time this week after having disappeared from the political scene when he accepted the blame for taking a R250 000 handout during the Inkathagate scandal.

S TIMES
Scandal 11/3/92

His name had been raised by at least two witnesses as being the key figure in the second Inkatha funding scandal and in connection with alleged Inkatha hit-squads.

Stockily built Mr Khumalo, dressed in a navy-blue suit and striped tie, appeared confident as state prosecutor JJ du Toit read his statement on to the record.

But his composure crumbled when Mr David Soggott, counsel for the Weekly Mail, ANC and SACP, launched a machine-gun style cross-examination.

Mr Soggott: You said to the president (Dr Buthelezi): I'm going to put this proposal (to bridge finance

By CHARLES LEONARD

while the trainees get incorporated into the Kwa-zulu police) to the SADF?

Mr Khumalo: Yes.

Mr Soggott: Did he agree with that?

Mr Khumalo: Yes.

Mr Soggott: Are you sure of that answer?

"Yes, Mr Chairman," Mr Khumalo answered through the commission chairman, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

Mr Soggott then went into details of how the SADF sponsored the Kwa-zulu government to the tune of millions of rands for the military training and salaries of the group of about 200 Inkatha youths trained at the Hippo camp in Caprivi.

Handkerchief

"You have a very short memory," Mr Soggott accused Mr Khumalo at one point.

"You begged the SADF to give you money and told the president (Dr Buthelezi) and he approved."

A denial from Mr Khumalo was questioned by Mr Justice Goldstone, who referred to his earlier notes



MZ KHUMALO

Disappeared from the scene of the cross-examination and said: "I made a note of what you said. MB (Mangosuthu Buthelezi) agreed to getting money from the SADF."

"I never told him it was

the SADF," said Mr Khumalo. "I knew he would have nothing to do with money from them."

Mr Khumalo, who said he was still close to the Inkatha president, admitted the SADF had paid for the six months' training the group underwent in 1986 and had continued to pay the salaries of the trainees for three years after that.

"Initially I was under the impression that a private security company would be responsible for the training," he said. "At a later stage, I became aware that the SADF was responsible."

He said the intention had been that the group would

be specially trained for incorporation into the Kwa-zulu police, where they would be used for the protection of VIPs in the Kwa-zulu government and Inkatha. Due to a lack of funds the majority of the group had not been incorporated until July 1989.

Initiated

The SADF also provided "bridging finance" for a further nine months, until March 1990, during the "incorporation" period.

Mr Khumalo said he had known until the end of 1987 that the real sponsor of the project was the SADF, and that he thought it had been initiated by a security

firm, Swart Security Services, and a company called Richards Appointments.

Mr Justice Goldstone questioned Mr Khumalo's ignorance regarding the identity of the sponsor.

"Your lack of inquisitiveness boggles the imagination," he said.

Regarding the real aim of the project, Mr Soggott said to the witness: "I put it to you that at no stage was it the intention to co-opt the trainees into the Kwa-zulu police. The idea was the creation of hit-squads to further Inkatha politically."

Mr Khumalo denied this. The hearing continues tomorrow.

Law is unenforceable — Inkatha

ANC pledge to abide by weapons ban

GOVERNMENT and the ANC yesterday committed themselves to implementing the provisions of Friday's proclamation banning dangerous weapons at political gatherings, despite Inkatha's assertion that it was unenforceable.

This follows reports that both ANC and Inkatha members violated the legislation at separate meetings on Saturday while police attempted to enforce the ban.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday any ANC supporters who carried weapons at political gatherings would be contravening ANC policy and would be subject to disciplinary action.

While stopping short of calling on Inkatha members to defy the ban, Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said in a statement at the weekend that trying to prevent Zulus carrying weapons would be like trying to stop people wearing ties.

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said government ignored Inkatha's objections to the terms of the proclamation and promulgated it without Inkatha's support despite intensive discussions. He said it was "absolutely unacceptable" that traditional weapons should be politicised in the way they had and denied that the carrying of traditional weapons at political gatherings resulted in violence.

Sapa-AFP reports that about 3 500 Inkatha supporters refused to be searched by police before embarking on a protest march through Durban on Saturday. After appeals by Inkatha leaders, most of the protesters wrapped their spears in news-

TIM COHEN and
DARIUS SANAI

papers but others displayed them openly in defiance of the ban.

In Soweto on Saturday, hundreds of ANC supporters voiced disapproval as police forced them to abandon spears and battle-axes during a march in Pimville.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday police would enforce the legislation. He denied that police did not disarm Inkatha supporters in Durban.

The proclamation prohibits the possession of dangerous weapons at political gatherings. A political gathering is defined as any gathering or procession organised with the intention of discussing, attacking, criticising or propagating the principles or policy of a political organisation.

A dangerous weapon is anything made to inflict bodily injury, or any object which could inflict bodily injury in an assault.

The issuing of the proclamation followed lengthy discussions between government, the ANC and Inkatha during which attempts were made to reach consensus.

The discussions started before the signing of the national peace accord but agreement could not be achieved. At the peace accord meeting in September, it was decided to try to resolve the issue after the accord had been signed.

Felgate said research showed that violence in SA was not the result of people carrying cultural weapons. He described the attempt to ban the bearing of cultural

□ To Page 2

Weapons

weapons as part of an "ANC vendetta" which followed the publication of an ultimatum to government in which the ANC demanded, among others, a ban on the public carrying of dangerous weapons.

"The proclamation will have no effect on the level of violence in SA," he said.

Inkatha had seen every word of the proclamation, and rejected it as a whole, Felgate said.

□ Our political staff reports from Cape Town that Mr Justice Goldstone has written to President F W de Klerk criticising

the conduct of more than 160 Inkatha supporters who attended their public violence trial in Mooi River carrying dangerous weapons. All the accused at the February 14 trial were on remand.

The letter, attached to the Goldstone Commission's second report on Mooi River violence, says: "Such conduct, in the view of the commission, reflects upon the dignity and credibility of the courts and is conduct which the law should not tolerate."

● Comment: Page 12

Court told of plot to kill UDF members

Gowetan 213/92
THE Supreme Court in Maritzburg on Friday heard of a plan by the police and members of Inkatha to establish a rival organisation at Trust Feed to oppose the existing Crisis Committee.

Under cross-examination by Mr Anthony Irons, for the State, Captain Brian Mitchell agreed with him that the aim of the organisation was to allow the State to have some control of the Trust Feed area.

Mitchell and six other policemen face 19 charges of murder and attempted murder. The charges relate to the death of 11 men, women and children who were shot while holding a wake at Trust Feed on the night

of December 2/3, 1988.

The prosecution alleges that after being approached by Inkatha leader Mr Jerome Gabela in November 1988, Mitchell and the late Riot Unit head, Major Deon Terblanche, and some Inkatha members held discussions during which it was agreed that police would carry out an attack to kill members of the United Democratic Front.

The Crisis Committee to which Gabela and other Inkatha members were opposed, worked closely with the local Development Board. ~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~ 327 ~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~

The Development Board did not suit Gabela and the KwaZulu government.

'SADF cash went on camp in KwaZulu'

STAR 3/3/92

The SA Defence Force, through a front company, Richard's Appointments, spent between R200 000 and R300 000 on renovations to a camp at Makuze in KwaZulu to accommodate a unit trained in the Caprivi Strip, the former personal assistant to Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, M Z Khumalo, said yesterday.

Giving evidence in Pretoria to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation on allegations of SADF funding of Inkatha hit squads, Mr Khumalo said the renovations had been carried out to accommodate a group of people who had been given training to become bodyguards.

It was thought that the men could stay at the Makuze camp and, while there, undergo a course in political education. They would then go into the community and teach others.

There was no budget for the renovations and the money was spent progressively, he said.

Richard's Appointments also footed the bill for four vehicles

after some of the group from Caprivi had gone to Pretoria for a further course.

He said this group, about 30 of them, arrived back at Ulundi at about the same time as the main Caprivi group.

The vehicles arrived at about the same time, but Mr Khumalo could not say whether they were driven from Pretoria by the group who were trained there.

Mr Khumalo also said he met Dr Louis Pasques, head of an organisation called Adult Education Consultants (AEC), who wanted to discuss the formation of a multiparty democratic group. Dr Pasques was introduced to Mr Khumalo by Guy Boardman, of Creed Consultants, another alleged SADF front.

Mr Khumalo said he had not heard Dr Pasques offer Inkatha R11 million. There was also no mention of any connections between AEC and Creed.

Mr Khumalo's cross-examination by David Soggot, SC, — for the ANC, Weekly Mail, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party — was due to continue yesterday afternoon. — Sapa.

Death squad murders soared last year — report

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Assassination squads were "rampant" last year, eliminating no fewer than 60 political activists — three times the number killed in the previous year, says the Human Rights Commission.

In its annual Human Rights Update — 1992, a mainly statistical summary, the HRC reveals continually high levels of "informal repression" — that is, action taken by various groups without statutory authorisation to thwart political expression.

In contrast, "formal repression", which is exercised by the State with the authority of law, is shown to have fallen considerably.

However, the HRC insists that the incidence of certain categories of formal repression is still unacceptable. For instance:

- It records 100 deaths resulting from security force action in 1991 and 700 injuries. The 1990 figures were 300 deaths and 3 000 injuries. "While the deaths and injuries inflicted by the security forces are still at an unacceptable level and

are to be deplored, nevertheless it is clear that the censure of their methods by various commissions of inquiry has had its effect," the HRC comments.

- Close to 9 300 arrests arising from political action are recorded by the HRC, the majority resulting from mass protests being viewed as illegal gatherings.

- There were 298 prisoners on Death Row at the end of last year, according to the HRC count. In all, 85 people were sentenced to death during the year, only one for a political offence.

While 53 political prisoners were released from Death Row during 1991, 13 persons regarded by the HRC as political offenders remained in the death cells.

- Apart from Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, detentions dropped sharply in 1991. Bophuthatswana accounted for 262 and Ciskei for 704 of the total number of 1 093 detentions recorded by the HRC in Greater South Africa in 1991.

Outside of the TBVC states, legislative reform saw the period of security detentions significantly curtailed.

- The HRC recorded no deaths in security-law detention but noted 10

deaths of prisoners held under the common law "in politically related circumstances".

- The HRC's count of the number of political trials completed in 1991 remains high, at 575. But the organisation observes that sentencing has become perceptibly lighter. It adds that "convictions for minor crimes continue as the police use the courts to carry out political harassment".

In the area of informal repression, hit squad assassinations of carefully targeted political figures have shown the most dramatic increase. But the overall toll is still a mere fraction of the 2 000 deaths "judged to be related to vigilante-created situations".

The HRC uses the term "vigilantes" to refer to forces which arose from attempts by various homeland administrations and black local authorities to defend their vested interests. Both the deaths inflicted by such forces and losses which they sustain in counter-attacks are included in the toll.

The HRC also notes that so-called "right-wing actions" caused far fewer deaths than vigilante formations last year — 21, with 178 injuries.

I had no first hand info

Sowetan 4/3/92

- ex-IFP man

A FORMER Inkatha Freedom Party national youth organiser Mr Mbongeni Khumalo yesterday admitted he had no first-hand knowledge of hit squad training or activities by IFP members.

Testifying before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry in Pretoria, Khumalo said he had heard about the training from members of a group who had spent six months in the Caprivi Strip to become bodyguards.

Activity

Under cross-examination by Mr Louis Visser, SC, for the IFP, Khumalo said he had never seen the men trained in any skill that would define them as hit squad members nor had he seen any activity that could

SAPA

be linked to a hit squad.

He heard about the training of 200 people for special guard duties when he gave group lectures in political education.

Earlier yesterday, Mr MZ Khumalo, former personal assistant of IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who resigned in the wake of allegations of SA Police funding, told the committee he knew one of the Caprivi trainees had been involved in the killing of a student.

He said he did not know the victim was a member of the Pan Africanist Congress.

He said another trainee, Mr Vela Ntuli, who disappeared in 1986, had been implicated in the death of a Congress of South African Trade Unions worker at

BSR near Maritzburg.

Another trainee, Mr Daluxolo Lithuli, was in the employ of the IFP, Khumalo said.

His salary came from Richard's Appointments, an alleged front for the SADF, up to 1989.

Khumalo denied he had sent five of the trainees and three cooks to break a strike.

"Bizarre"

He told Mr David Soggot, SC, for the Weekly Mail, that he thought it "bizarre" that he would do so.

He had sent the men as he wanted them to be employed. He said they were prepared to work on the mines.

Only one was still employed in Secunda.

The hearing continues today.

Farm raid yields no evidence

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26/9

Sowetan 5/3/92

THE Goldstone Commission into Violence and Intimidation has conducted a nine-hour helicopter-borne raid on a hit squad training camp at a farm in the Transvaal, but came up empty-handed.

Mr Justice Goldstone ordered the investigation after an attorney acting for the African National Congress told the commission that an informant had identified the farm near Heidelberg where he and other men trained as members of a hit squad.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Justice Goldstone said he had submitted an urgent report on the investigation to President FW de Klerk last Saturday.

The information was, however, false.

In its report the commission said it accepted the *bona fides* of the ANC and its attorneys in providing the information to the commission.

"These events again demonstrate the danger of relying upon unchecked reports concerning public violence and intimidation and it is hoped that the public and the media will take due notice of this danger," the report said.

The informant alleged that he and others were involved in the murder of train commuters on the Witwatersrand. He also gave the ANC the address of the farm, the owner's name, the names of white and black instructors, the number of vehicles used on the farm and the nature of the 30 trainees'

quarters.

The ANC's attorney told the commission neither he nor the ANC had reason to doubt the accuracy of the information but had no means of verifying it.

The commission had received the information last Thursday afternoon and by that evening it was decided that the farm should be raided. Two members of the staff of the

commission, Mr JJ du Toit and Lieutenant-Colonel H Heslinga, requested assistance from the police as the informant had told the ANC that the farm was guarded by armed men.

Du Toit briefed a large unit of the police on the precise nature of the operation at 4am last Saturday.

"They moved to the farm with the support of some 52 policemen and nine police helicopters. They had the support of a medical doctor and paramedics and a paramedic helicopter," the report said.

Du Toit was accompanied by two attorneys acting for the ANC and two ANC officials.

"The information given to the ANC was false. The informant was brought to the area of the farm and led Du Toit and the police to two other farms. Again his allegations were proved to have no factual basis. After some nine hours the operation ended," the report said. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.



GOLDSTONE

Hit squad informant proves no hit with police or startled farmer

A HEIDELBERG farmer had a rude awakening on Saturday when scores of policemen and 10 helicopters descended on his property early in the morning.

The police had been told the farm might be a secret training camp for members of a hit squad specialising in attacks on train commuters. But their information proved to be wrong.

The raid followed a tip-off given to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into public violence and intimidation by an informant to the ANC, who claimed he had been trained in terror techniques at the farm.

The informant furnished the ANC with precise details of the farm, its owner, the names of black and white instructors, the number of vehicles based at the farm, the nature of the sleeping accommodation for 30 trainees, and other information.

The ANC's attorney passed on the details to the Goldstone Commission. While the ANC had no reason to doubt the accuracy of the information, it could not verify it.

On Thursday night the Goldstone Commission decided the information and seriousness of the allegations warranted use of the commission's search and seizure

powers, and a raid was ordered.

Because the informant had said the farm was under armed guard, the commission requested SAP assistance.

The following morning Lt-Col Henk Heslinga was given a general briefing of the operation, but was not given any details regarding the location of the farm or the nature of the activities alleged to be taking place there.

At 4am on Saturday, the large SAP unit was given a detailed briefing. Under the

8/Day 5/3/92
LINDEN BIRNS

control of Gen J J de Swardt, a force of 52 policemen, 10 helicopters, a doctor and paramedics then swooped on the farm — which turned out to be just that ... a farm.

The ANC's informant led the police to two other farms, but again his allegations were shown to be false.

After nine hours the operation was called off.

SAP spokesman Capt Burger van Rooyen said last night the informant had not been held for questioning, but could be questioned soon.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said

last night the informant was not an ANC member, but was probably involved in a plot to discredit the organisation, which he said was the subject of a major disinformation campaign.

In a statement yesterday the Goldstone Commission said it accepted the bona fides of the ANC and its attorneys in providing information to the commission.

It hoped the incident had demonstrated the commission's resolve and ability to use its powers to inquire into public violence and intimidation.

Trust Feed cop seeks plea change

By VICKY QUINLAN

TRUST FEED murder accused Captain Brian Mitchell changed his plea in the Natal Supreme Court this week to one of guilty to 11 counts of culpable homicide and not guilty to eight counts of attempted murder. (327)

His plea change, which was not accepted by the prosecution, came after he admitted he had ordered special policemen to kill United Democratic Front supporters in the Trust Feed area. He denied he had participated in any attack himself or that he had intended the policemen to attack a house or kill women and children. W/Wend 6/3-12/3/92

Mitchell was, however, accused of firing at least two shots into the house during the December 1988 attack. The allegation came from accused special constable Kehla Ngubane, who has begun testifying in his own defence.

Ngubane said he, Mitchell and special constable Dumisani Ndwane had been standing outside a window of the house with their shotguns pointed through the window. Mitchell had fired the first two shots using Ndwane's shotgun after which the two special policemen shot blindly at the occupants.

It was put to him that most of the dead were accurately shot in the chest or head and it was impossible to shoot that accurately while shooting blind. Ngubane, however, insisted he had not been able to see what he was shooting.

He insisted he had not heard any screams from the 18 occupants once the shooting had started and said he heard other shots but could not tell if they came from inside or outside the house.

Ngubane was reminded of evidence already heard from a survivor of the attack — that the occupants had screamed so loudly they could be heard outside — but Ngubane reiterated he had heard nothing.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

w/mant 6/3-12/3/92

REPRESSION (327)

THIRTY-FOUR people were killed, 49 injured and 64 arrested in political violence during the period February 26 to March 4, according to the Human Rights Commission (HRC) weekly report.

The number of people killed and injured have dropped significantly since last week's high of 60 killed and 107 injured. However, the HRC notes that arrests have almost doubled from 34 last week to 64 this week.

VIGILANTE-RELATED ACTION

THE HRC attributes 28 deaths and 26 injuries to vigilante-related actions. Six train attacks claimed six lives and 18 people injured in the PWV area.

The other incidents occurred in the Natal regions.

SECURITY FORCE ACTION

THERE has been an increase from last week's one recorded death and nine injuries to three people reported killed, 19 injured and 64 arrested by security forces.

Two of these deaths occurred in the East Rand townships of Thokoza and Sharpeville.

The other was recorded in Inanda, near Durban, where police raided a house and killed an Azanian People's

w/mant 6/3-12/3/92

Liberation Army cadre.

HIT SQUADS (327)

THE assassination of the Estcourt African National Congress branch chairman on February 29 brings the total number of people killed by hit squads to 21 since the beginning of the year.

HUNGER STRIKER

UMKHONTO we Sizwe operative Petrus Mothupi has been on hunger strike for the past nine weeks at Odi hospital, according to the HRC.

His weight is reported to have dropped from 68kg to 43.5kg. He is serving a 15-year sentence, 10 for attempted murder and five under the Bophuthatswana Internal Security Act.

Meanwhile, Christopher Makgale suspended his hunger strike on February 27 after 79 days. This followed a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

IMMIGRANTS

The net gain of migrant professional, semi-professional and technical occupations was 1013 from January to November last year, according to the Central Statistical Services.

There were 834 new immigrants in 1990.

w/mant 6/3-12/3/92

Child was killed in police attack on house, says ANC

B/Dan 6/3/92
A CHILD was killed yesterday morning when police fired on a house in the Vaal Triangle township of Sharpeville, the ANC has alleged.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the attack was part of a police campaign to eliminate ANC activists in the township.

Mamoepa said on Sunday ANC activist Montoedi Molebatsi was shot by a policeman after he had been to his niece's birthday party. "Information reaching our office indicates that someone whom the police had attempted to recruit as an informer, was shown 15 photographs of ANC Sharpeville members. Molebatsi's photograph was among these."

He said a Sharpeville station commander told marching students and local ANC Women's League members on Tuesday police had declared war on Sharpeville residents. The marchers were demanding the arrest of Const Skuta Marumo, who allegedly shot Molebatsi, Mamoepa said.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Capt Piet van Deventer could not be reached yesterday afternoon as he was in discussions with an ANC delegation about the Molebatsi shooting.

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WILSON ZWANE

□ Meanwhile, Sapa reports that SA Institute of Race Relations head John Kane-Berman told a meeting in Johannesburg of the SA Institute of Management that violence could continue in the post-Codesa period if people and parties believed their voices were not being heard.

Kane-Berman said violence was central to the quest for political power and government, through years of repression and bannings, had taught its extra-parliamentary opposition that violence was the only strategy to which it responded.

Over the years this had included actions such as strikes and stayaways and the killing of black town councillors labelled as collaborators.

Warning that a culture of violence was developing, he said a recent survey by the institute showed one-third of the people in SA had been intimidated or had experienced coercion at some time in their lives.

"We have reached the point where the threat of violence and coercion has become an accepted strategy in certain circles."

Commission to probe AIDS law

KATHRYN STRACHAN

JUSTICE Minister Kobie Coetsee yesterday announced that the SA Law Commission would investigate all aspects of the law regarding AIDS. *B/Dan 6/3/92*

In a statement the Justice Ministry said there was a lot of uncertainty and difference of opinion about legal and ethical aspects of AIDS which made the investigation necessary.

Issues included the rights of people suffering from AIDS, the rights of health services staff, the role of AIDS testing, employment, abortion and rape, and security of information.

"If necessary the commission would hold public sessions."

Coetsee also said the SA Law Commission would be extended for a new term, ending on October 31, 1994. The commission had proved itself to be one of the most successful law reform bodies in the world, he said.

Mr Justice of Appeal H J O van Heerden has again been appointed commission chairman by President F W de Klerk.

STAR 7/13/92
Weapons handed in

Rightwingers handed 60 weapons to police after they arrived armed at a political meeting in Pretoria's Church Square in contravention with a new law. Northern Transvaal police spokesman Colonel Frank Alten said most of the weapons handed in at a meeting of the CP, HNP and AWB on Saturday were pistols and revolvers. Armed members of the AWB's Ystergarde (Iron Guard), as bona fide security services, were exempt from the ban. 327

(Referendum briefs edited by S. Johnson, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

● Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by R S Steyn, content approved by R Anderson, and political cartoons by D Fedler, and D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Township toll mounts

STAR 10/3/92

● From Page 1

four more doctors in order to cope.

Spokesman Dr Tim Wilson said the injury toll increased by 18 at 4 pm yesterday when three people with bullet wounds and 15 others with stab wounds, were admitted.

Police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweel said victims often did not report their injuries to police but went straight to hospital.

Five people were injured in attacks on East Rand train commuters from a moving train yesterday morning.

Two people were injured at Lindela station outside Katlehong and a further three at Germiston Station.

Captain van Zweel said a Tembisa woman, Gladys Nzimba, was shot dead by unknown persons in Umthambeka section while on her way home at about 12.30 pm.

On Sunday morning three people, including a policeman, were killed in a pre-dawn raid in Siluma View in Katlehong on the East Rand.

Residents claimed the killing of Constable James Rikhotso (25), Joseph Magope, and Victor Masia was in revenge for the killing of an ANC defence unit leader in the township in January, allegedly by police.

Steven Mbasu and Maria Ledwaba were seriously injured in the attack.

On Saturday Phofedi Gilbert Thobejane and Maria Shibane were shot and killed by unknown gunmen while attending the funeral of an ANC member in Tembisa.

The death toll in political violence in Natal since Saturday climbed to 17 yesterday, police said.

Worst hit were Malukazi near Durban and Mpumalanga between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, where seven and six people died respectively.



Anonymous victim . . . passers-by try to identify the body of a man, with his eyes gouged out, who was found near Katlehong's Shongweni Section yesterday. Picture: Alf Kumalo

Weapon ban urged as township toll mounts

Staff Reporters
and Sapa

STAR

10/3/92

The Human Rights Commission last night called for a blanket ban on the carrying of all weapons after a bloody weekend of political violence in which more than 34 people were butchered.

The HRC charged that a recently proclaimed Act banning the carrying of weapons in public was at best a half-measure.

The ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons did not extend to all public meetings, a loophole described by the commission as "an invitation to disaster".

Alexandra and Katlehong continued to be major flashpoints yesterday, while a woman was gunned down in Tembisa, outside Kempton Park where two people were killed on Saturday.

Another seven people were killed in Alexandra yesterday in two separate attacks from a hostel, bringing the death toll in the strife-torn township since Saturday to 14.

At least 15 others have been wounded in the spate of attacks which started with the ambushing of an Inkatha Freedom Party funeral procession on Saturday.

Police said at 8.30 am yesterday a mob of about 30 men appeared out of a hostel near the corner of First Avenue and Ruth Street and "shot wildly" at another group, killing two and wounding another two.

Later, a man was stabbed and another fatally shot in the stomach and back. Yesterday afternoon four more people were killed when snipers fired shots at passersby from the windows of a hostel in Alexandra, police said.

By last night Alexandra Clinic had treated 156 people with stab and bullet wounds since the outbreak of violence and had to call in

London newsman outraged about police statement

STAR 10/3/92

By Michael Sparks

A British journalist in Johannesburg reacted strongly to statements by the police that he had made allegations of harassment simply as a publicity stunt.

John Carlin, correspondent for the Independent newspaper of London said he could not believe it when police said they had given their full co-operation to a documentary team.

"They were hugely unco-operative," he said.

The documentary made by Mr Carlin and two BBC journalists looks at links between the Security Police, the Defence Force and political violence and is due to be screened this evening in Britain.

"The way they have reacted to what we have done sometimes makes me wonder whether we haven't stumbled across something without knowing about it," he said.

Mr Carlin described some of the things he said happened while working on the project:

- His office was broken into and a computer diary with names and phone numbers taken.
- A white man went to his home to fix his video

machine, but he does not keep one at home.

- Two people claiming to be computer technicians arrived at his home, but since his computer was not there they did not gain access.

- At least four telephone calls were made asking Mr Carlin to pick up a parcel. He points out one of the aspects the journalists were investigating was the use of parcel bombs. The parcel was never collected.

- Numerous threatening telephone calls.

- John Drury of the BBC, who also worked on the documentary was stopped by customs in London where four bags of cannabis and a dozen mandrax tablets were found in his suitcase. But London customs had received an anonymous tip-off about precisely what would be in Mr Drury's suitcase.

Mr Carlin said, "I want to believe the Government is on my side on this. I believe (President) FW (de Klerk) is battling with these people behind the scenes."

The British Embassy has expressed "serious concern" to the Government and an official inquiry is under way.

Secret force behind the slaughter

STAR 11/3/92

ANYONE who has watched television news with any consistency over the past two years and has been an armchair witness to the horrific scenes of blacks slaughtering blacks in South Africa's townships could be forgiven for reacting with despair at the barbarism of it all, and concluding that it might be best, after all, if the whites carried on running the country.

Undoubtedly an evil spirit does lurk in the hearts of many of those involved in the killings. However, there is also a pattern, a political rationale behind the political violence which, since those heady days when Nelson Mandela was released and peace appeared so tantalisingly to beckon, has claimed more than 2 700 township lives. A four-month investigation I carried out with a BBC team for the "Assignment" documentary series shows it is entirely misguided to view black South Africans as more responsible for violence than whites.

Our programme, entitled "War on Peace", provides evidence that the intelligence sectors of the South African security forces have pursued a strategy over the past two decades deliberately designed to turn blacks violently against blacks.

This strategy is the secret of a State machine all of whose functions have been subordinated to keeping "the communists" of the ANC at bay. While Government policy under F W de Klerk has changed dramatically, the machine is still ticking over and could career dangerously out of control.

In the 1970s, with the ANC largely dominant inside the country, the threat to white South Africa was perceived to lie in the neighbouring coun-

tries, where left-wing governments helped the ANC's external military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The beauty of the system South Africa devised is that it got foreign, black insurgents to go to war for it, minimising political damage abroad and at home.

Dependent on South African money, training, supplies, weapons and logistics, Unita — like the Contras in Nicaragua — caused devastation in Angola, Renamo in Mozambique.

On a smaller scale, the "black-on-black" secret came to be applied successfully inside South Africa in the shape of a clandestine security police unit known as the Askaris. The mas-

termind here was an officer called Jac Buchner. He interrogated more than 250 captured ANC guerrillas, "turned" about 100 of them and created out of them the Askaris, whose main job was to supply intelligence on ANC military activities.

As General Buchner told us with a smirk: "We have a lot to be thankful for in South Africa, for the black community and the black soldiers, the black policemen who were loyal to the Government of South Africa and brought out the information we needed."

While he insists he has no blood on his hands, what he cannot dispute is that the information his Askaris obtained

was turned ferociously on ANC members inside and outside the country. South African commandos carried out raids on houses where ANC members lived in neighbouring countries, invariably killing women and children in the process, and a hit-squad in the Askari set-up intercepted and killed ANC members as they entered the country.

The man who headed this specialist unit was Eugene de Kock.

The successes of the likes of General Buchner and Lieutenant-Colonel de Kock, ANC leaders admit, obliged the ANC in the mid-1980s to focus its attention more on internal "mass ac-

tion" than on guerrilla war. It was then that the SADF hit on its most brilliant stratagem: To use the Zulu Inkatha movement as it had used Unita and Renamo to do its dirty work.

The military intelligence link has been spelled out by a former SADF major, Nico Basson, and a former Inkatha Central Committee member, Mphongosi Khumalo, who said he left the organisation last year because he no longer wished to function as an SADF agent. The security police, who work closely with the military, were exposed as Inkatha funders through the Inkathagate scandal in July. Inkathagate did not, however, explicitly point to the police con-

nection in the Zulu-on-Zulu war in which Inkatha has been engaged in Natal against ANC supporters since 1986.

More than 4 000 have died, most between 1987 and 1989, when General Buchner ran the security police in the Maritzburg.

According to a report recently compiled by human rights lawyers, the KwaZulu police — often described as Inkatha's military wing — have been implicated in the killings of 104 non-Inkatha people, most of them in the past two years.

Pointing again to the close collaboration of the South African police and military, Mr Khumalo told the Weekly Mail in January that military intelligence front-companies had trained Inkatha youths, training that extended to the deployment of hit-squads. The figure Mr Khumalo identified as the

most dangerous hit-man was Dambuho Luthuli, a captured ANC guerrilla who passed through the hands of General Buchner.

Security policemen to whom we talked for the programme but who refused to appear on camera for fear of their lives have confirmed to us in several conversations in recent weeks that today 2½ years into Mr de Klerk's "new South Africa reforms", dirty-tricks collusion with Inkatha, the ANC as the target, continues unabated.

One officer told us he knew that the political violence obeyed the dictates of "a central cog" in Pretoria.

We learnt three weeks ago that the security police had launched an internal inquiry to try to weed out the officers who had leaked information for our programme. — The Independent News Service. □

South Africa's security forces killing-machine, the secret force that lies behind the alarming black-on-black slaughter in the townships, is still ticking over and could career dangerously out of control, claims JOHN CARLIN of The Independent.

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Fury over arms search

THE SA Police and angry mobs of armed men faced off in two separate incidents yesterday as a new ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons went into effect. (S) 327

Three thousand Inkatha supporters in Durban refused to be searched before marching through the city. After appeals from their leaders most of the men wrapped their weapons in blankets, but others openly paraded sticks, spears and knob-kierries. (S) 328

Hundreds of ANC supporters also voiced their disapproval as police forced them to leave behind spears and battle axes during a march against alleged police brutality in Pinville, Soweto.

No injuries were reported during the confrontations. S/Time's 11/3/92

House of Assembly, Cape Town.

SA policeman accused in BBC interview

61224 11/3/92 (327)
LONDON — Fugitive former hunger striker Adrian Maritz and a British army deserter claimed last night that SA security police planted the Durban parcel bomb that killed ANC sympathiser Nic Cruse in October 1990.

Interviewed on the BBC "Assignment" documentary, they corroborated each other's versions.

Maritz, held with Henry

CHRIS BATEMAN

Martin for the Cruse murder, fled SA with him on false passports while on bail. They live in Britain.

The army deserter, whose face was kept hidden at his own request, named W/O Steyl Abrie as the SA security policeman who addressed and delivered the parcel bomb to a Johannesburg post office.

In reaction, police

spokesman Col Johan Mostert said last night that if the two men had not skipped bail their allegations against Abrie — at the time a State witness in their case — could have been tested in open court.

"Instead of coming back to SA and letting the judicial process take its course, these people are sitting in the UK and making all sorts of allegations".

Key witness to killing of ANC activist murdered

By Montshiwa Moroke

A key witness to the killing of Sharpeville ANC activist Montoedi Molebatsi, who was allegedly shot on March 1 by a special constable, was murdered on Monday night, an ANC spokesman said yesterday.

The body of Nkopoli Doctor Motsitsi, also an ANC activist, was discovered with shotgun wounds at about 5.30 am outside his grandmother's home in Sharpeville.

Mr Motsitsi's death brings to four the number of ANC activists killed in the township since March 1, according to the ANC.

ANC PWV spokesman, Ronnie Mamoepa, said a note had been found on Mr Motsitsi's body with the words "Impimpi,

mdlwembe, sellout" (all of which mean 'sellout'), and signed "from Skuta".

Before his death Mr Motsitsi had completed an affidavit which implicated Special Constable Skuta Marumo in the killing of Mr Molebatsi. The affidavit was due to be signed by him yesterday.

Mr Mamoepa said: "We demand an explanation from the Wits regional commissioner as to why the police are dragging their feet in suspending and (arresting) Special Constable Skuta Marumo."

Police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said the police had called on the ANC in vain for evidence it had claimed it had of the constable's part in the killing.

SAP deny allegations about fatal bombing

Crime Staff

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forces deserter.

The SA Police yesterday denied withholding evidence about a parcel bomb that killed ANC-sympathiser Nic Cruse in Durban in 1990.

Police headquarters in Pretoria also denied that police were protecting suspended policeman Steyl Abrie, who was implicated in the bombing by a British armed

Johannesburg-based journalist John Carlin said in The Independent in London that the serviceman implicated the policeman in a BBC2 TV documentary interview.

Mr Carlin said the story was corroborated in an interview with rightwinger Adrian Maritz. Mr Maritz was charged for the Durban bombing together with

Henry Martin and Dr Lood van Schalkwyk. After a 60-day hunger strike last year, Mr Maritz and Mr Martin fled to England.

Dr van Schalkwyk is due to stand trial in April.

The SAP statement read: "The SA Police perse was never involved in the bombing referred to and will not protect any-

body from prosecution."

Steyl Abrie was not a warrant officer in the Security Branch of the SAP, as Mr Maritz and the British serviceman had claimed. The police said he was not attached to the Crime Intelligence Service (formerly the Security Branch).

Police added that Constable Abrie was to be a defence witness in Dr van Schalkwyk's trial.

Army 'assault ANC official'

Sowetan 13/3/92

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THE African National Congress yesterday alleged that one of its officials in the Eastern Transvaal had been kidnapped and assaulted by the SADF's Northern Transvaal Command.

The SADF has denied the charge.

In its reaction, the SADF confirmed that Mr Jacques Modipane and another person were arrested on Wednesday. It said the army was unaware of any charges of assault against its members.

The ANC said Modipane was "forcibly removed" from a meeting in Boelang, near Acornhoek, on Wednesday.

The organisation said it was later reliably informed that Modipane had to be taken to a doctor after he had been severely assaulted by the soldiers.

In reply, the SADF said Modipane was arrested by soldiers "in the execution of their normal duties", and had been handed over to the Lebowa police at Acornhoek.

"The army is at this stage not aware of any charges of assault against its members. The matter is, however, being thoroughly investigated.

"As far as can be determined at this stage, the soldiers acted in good faith, within the limits of their authority and after being requested to do so by the headman in the area."

It was not army policy to "condone, conceal or justify any allegedly irregular actions committed by its members," added the SADF.

The ANC demanded Modipane's immediate and unconditional release, and added that the Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, should account for the action.

Sapa.

Faceless violence that breaks the peace accord

W/Mail 13/3-19/3/92

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By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE "third force" or "faceless violence" factor has been operative in fuelling the latest upsurge of violence it appears — given the hit-squad-type activity stepped up in the days running up to the referendum.

To what extent does the National Peace Accord (NPA) cope with the phenomenon of unexplained violence?

It doesn't, says Etienne Marais of the Idasa-supported Policing Research Project. "With the approaching referendum and polarisation of white politics, there is even more motivation for 'third force' elements, yet the NPA doesn't deal with this.

"It only addresses above-board parties and does not have the mechanisms to deal with *agent provocateur* activity, other than police investigations."

While the NPA details a police code of conduct and makes provision for the setting up of special police investigating units at regional level, the usual complaints about "police investigating police" abound.

Liaison between police and the local dispute resolution committees (LDRCs) is also supposed to take place, but many representatives on these committees complain that the very police about whom allegations are made are doing the investigating.

Two other police watchdog mechanisms were set up by the NPA, namely the Police Board, an advisory body dealing with complaints against the police, and the appointment of police reporting officers — individuals with a legal background, whose sole job is to look into allegations against the police.

Neither has yet started operating. Nominations for the Police Board, on which 11 police officers and 11 civilians will sit, have just been sent to the Justice Ministry.

General Bob Beukes, in charge of implementing the NPA on the police side, was not available for comment at the time of going to press. But according to one well-placed source, sophisticated, well-informed security police are being seconded to the investigation units.

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression has compiled a list of at least 20 individuals who have either been gunned down, intimidated or their property destroyed, shortly after their visible involvement in peace initiatives. And members of LDRCs admit they feel even more threatened serving on peace bodies than they did when in the past they wore only one hat.

For Dume Nkosi, secretary-general of the African National Congress' Tokoza branch: "Political violence and crime sleeps under one blanket. It's easy for anyone to employ criminals to carry out acts of violence for political motives. The desire is for our people to be governed by fear, to become inactive, and so not participate in the peace process."

But Independent Mediation Services of South Africa (Imssa) director Charles Nupen casts a hopeful light: "We have been unable to contain and address incidents of unexplained violence (by means of the NPA) and I doubt whether peace structures themselves can do this. At best though, they can prevent violence from escalating as a result of these particular incidents."

Amnesty uncovers Inkatha hit-squad link

By DREW FOREST

A FURTHER link between the 200 Inkatha men given hit-squad training by the South African Defence Force in the Caprivi Strip and current violence has been uncovered.

The link is a certain Constable Geina Mkhize, who appears on the list of Caprivi trainees supplied by the Inkatha Freedom Party to the Goldstone Commission as "Brain Geina Mkhize".

Allegedly attached to the kwaZulu Police Station in Esikhawini, near Empangeni in northern Natal,

Mkhize has been identified as implicated in a mob attack on a local workers' hostel known as an African National Congress stronghold.

Last year *The Weekly Mail* gave the names of five Inkatha men trained in the Caprivi in 1986 who were being sought by the South African Police in connection with violent crimes. At least one other has been named as a professional assassin.

The source of the latest report is the internationally respected human rights watchdog Amnesty International, which has been in touch with monitors and trade unionists in the

strife-torn Esikhawini area.

At least three people were killed last month when, according to the ANC, IFP attackers stormed an ANC house at dawn with automatic rifles. The Alusaf and railway hostels in the township, organised by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, have been repeatedly targeted.

The ANC's Bongani Msomi says there are fears that an Inkatha death squad is active in the township.

Mkhize, according to Amnesty, was seen firing a weapon in the middle of an Inkatha impi during an attack on one of the hostels on

December 8 last year.

The 200 Caprivi graduates were absorbed into the KZP, allegedly after being issued false police IDs, and Mkhize was apparently attached to the criminal investigation department of the Esikhawini police station. The Amnesty source said unionists had later met the station commander, a certain Mzimela, and had asked him to investigate Mkhize's activities — but without result.

An SAP man also present at the meeting allegedly confirmed that Mkhize had been present at the scene of the December 8 attack.

'Police killing' witness

murdered.

ANC says it regrets lack of precaution

There are two bodies and there are affidavits, but "not enough evidence". Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN investigates.

HAD he lived, a young Sharpeville man named Doctor Elliot Motsitsi might have been able to answer disturbing questions about the fatal shooting of a young man that has raised temperatures in the Vaal Triangle township.

Motsitsi never got a chance to sign the affidavit he made to lawyers concerning the shooting last week of Andries Montoedi Molebatsi by a policeman, Constable Skuta Marumo.

Motsitsi, a 20-year-old pupil, was found dead outside the gate of his grandmother's home in Sharpeville early on Tuesday, just hours before he was expected to sign his testimony. According to relatives, he had been shot in his head and hands.

Police said Marumo fired at Molebatsi in self-defence after three men, two armed with hand-grenades, threatened him.

Motsitsi was one of three witnesses who stepped forward to testify about the killing of Molebatsi.

In an affidavit given to police last week, a second witness said Molebatsi was unarmed when he approached Marumo.

In his affidavit, Motsitsi said he and another friend had accompanied Molebatsi home in the late afternoon after a birthday party. "On our way to Andries's home we met a certain person, whom I believe to be a policeman as he is always with police. He is known as 'Skuta'. He asked Andries to wait for him.

"Skuta insisted on conversing with Andries alone. We then left a distance between them and us. I was unable to hear what they were discussing.

'Follow deceased'

"Skuta took out his gun. I saw a bullet falling from the gun. Andries picked up the bullet and returned it to him. There was no sign of conflict. I then saw Andries leaving the company of Skuta. When he was a short distance away, Skuta shot at Andries and he fell. Immediately thereafter, Skuta pointed a gun at us and fired three shots in our direction. Fortunately, none of the bullets struck us. Skuta stated to us that he vowed that we were going to follow the deceased. I took this to mean that he was going to kill us."

Lawyers acting for the African National Congress and the Vaal Council of Churches have written to the police to express their "regret" that no action was taken to suspend Marumo after the first shooting.

Their letter said that a request had been made at a meeting between police, the ANC and local organisations "to ensure the safety of witnesses to the killing of Andries Molebatsi. Our clients are shocked and dismayed that one of the key witnesses to the killing has been killed."

The ANC and the VCC have repeated their call for Marumo's suspension. The issue was also raised this week at a meeting in Johannesburg between senior police officers and an ANC delegation which included its president, Nelson Mandela.

The meeting was held to discuss security and other arrangements for next Saturday's ANC rally to commemorate the 1961 Sharpeville massacre.

Vaal police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer said investigations into both shootings were continuing, but no arrests had been made.

A number of affidavits — including one which was "not complete" — had been received concerning the first killing.

Van Deventer said: "There is not enough evidence for us to suspend or arrest Marumo."



RED NOSES CHASE THE BLUES AWAY: And it's fun all the way with comedians, jugglers, special TV

TODAY scores of people will pledge their support for underprivileged children on the new Telkom toll-free numbers.

Fun events on M-Net's K-TV and at Cresta Centre in Randburg will offer entertainment for all.

K-TV promises guest appearances by Lawrence

Dube, Alyce Chavanduka and Sue Kelly-Christie, while Eddie Eckstein, Mel Miller, Dennis McLean and Casper de Vries will run the Red Nose Round-up.

Every hour, one "pledger" will receive a free holi-

day at a leading SA time-share resort. In Open Time between 5 pm and 7 pm, two major prize-winners will be announced. They will get a trip for four to Disney World in Orlando, Florida.

STAFF REPORTER

Anyone who phones in a pledge could be in line — the number is 080 1111-466 (northern Transvaal) or 080 0038-111 (national).

Cresta Centre program
06h00: Biggest container popcorn.
09h00-11h00: SAP band.
11h00-11h30: SAP gym play.
11h30-12h00: Perfo. dogs.
12h00-12h30: Fire-eating.

Councillors vote with feet

A long-brewing controversy over "secret agendas" of the Sandton Council management committee sparked a walkout from the council this week.

At the induction of the new management committee on Thursday night, three councillors walked out.

The reason for the demonstration? It was done in protest against the appointment of the chairman, Willem Hefer, and his deputy, Mike Melunsky.

The councillors who walked out were Jo Marais, Melanie Stewart and Rick Ehlers.

The action came after

Anna Cox, who resigned in protest, said that Sandton had a "gang" dominating the town.

"The whole town has been left incommunicado because this bunch has clogged the communication pipeline," he said.

Hefer dismissed the walkout as a storm in a teacup.

He said it was "nothing — just a few people who chickened out".

The new mayor, Bruce Burns, has adopted "goodwill" as his theme for the year.

His aims are to make the residents of Sandton aware of the interdependence of people in the new South Africa.

Power

"There is a lust for power in the chamber," said Marais.

"The management committee has too many hidden agendas and these are not brought out into the open," she said.

Rick Ehlers, who also

Welsh pub owner bars politics

CHEPSTOW — A Welsh publican declared his premises an "election-free zone" yesterday and said anyone mentioning politics would suffer the medieval punishment of being locked in stocks.

The publican, Paul Fletcher, has banned customers at his Chepstow pub from talking about the British national

election, which the Conservative government this week set for April 9.

The penalty for mentioning the dreaded election word is public humiliation in antique stocks outside the pub.

Fletcher (39) said Britons were getting fed up with electioneering. "Pubs aren't the place for politics," he added. — Sapa-Reuter.

PHILIPS
party
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2 townships declared unrest areas

STAR 14/3/92
ALEXANDRA and Sharpeville townships near Johannesburg were declared unrest areas with immediate effect under emergency regulations published in the Government Gazette yesterday.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said a curfew had been introduced from 10 pm to 4 am every day until further notice. Only people with permission and valid

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reasons would be allowed to enter or leave the townships during this period.

Opperman warned mourners and others attending funerals in these townships today that the police would "under no circumstances whatsoever" allow them to carry "weapons of any kind" during the ceremonies, and that no marches to the cemeteries would be allowed. — Sapa.

End of the road for hitman

By S'BU MNGADI

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A HITMAN has been arrested after being on the run for more than six years, during which time he attempted to fake his death.

Constable Vela Mchunu, one of the elite 200-strong Inkathampis trained by the SA Defence Force in Namibia in 1986, was arrested in Mpumalanga near Hammarsdale last Friday in connection with two murders.

When arrested he allegedly produced an identity document which identified him as "Alfred Masango".

However, police said subsequent investigations established he was Constable Vela Mchunu, wanted since 1985 by the SAP in connection with a series

of murders and other crimes.

Natal Midlands SAP spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said "Alfred Masango" appeared in the Camperdown Magistrate's Court on Monday in connection with the killing of Sipho Mkhize and Richard Duma, both of Hammarsdale, on February 28 this year. He was not asked to plead and he was remanded until March 16.

According to police sources, a skeleton of a man was found in April 1990 near Wartburg in the Natal midlands with a KZP document of Mchunu near it.

A pathologist studied the remains and discovered that the man was much younger than Mchunu - suggesting his death had been faked.

clpnen 15/3/92

GOVERNMENT agents had supplied the Conservative Party with stolen secret ANC and SACP documents on Codesa, CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said at the weekend.

Speaking at a referendum meeting in Wellington in the Cape, he said participants in Codesa spied on one another and stole one another's documents. He was in possession of documents stolen from the ANC and SACP by "FW de Klerk's agents".

The documents said the SACP was the intellectual leader of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

"They say negotiations are a part of the struggle, that they will seize power at the negotiating table.

"They will not talk about socialism now because it has been discredited, but when they come into government, it will be full-on com-

State agents 'pass' ANC secrets to CP

Sowetan 16/3/92

munism as formulated by Marx and Engels."

Hartzenberg also said that if the CP came to power, it would tell black leaders that it had a mandate to free its people, and that it would do precisely that. It would tell them, and other groups, that they could carry on with Codesa, but the new government would not pay the costs.

It would be then that one would discover what an impoverished party the lawless ANC was, he said.

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Replying to a question from the floor, he said he could not accept that his party colleague, Dr Willie Snyman, MP for Pietersburg, had said Western Cape farmers would be left in the lurch if a CP government came to power.

The party was prepared to work with every farmer and producer to defeat sanctions, but not at the cost of the freedom of the white nation.

If SACP chief Chris Hani came to power, he would nationalise half of all the farming land. People said a "no" vote would mean fruit

sanctions and wine farmers would not be able to export any more.

"But a 'yes' vote will ensure you have nothing to export," he said.

The CP's "chief No-agent" at Wellington, Mr Nico Smit, told the meeting that as a member of the KWV co-op, he felt threatened by a pamphlet with a message from the KWV chairman urging him to vote "yes".

"We have firsthand evidence that you called for a 'yes' vote."

Even if there was a "yes" majority, there would still be Afrikaners and rightwingers. And if there was a "no" vote "we will sort you out just like Vlokke (former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok) was sorted out".

"The ANC sorted out Vlokke. The true Afrikaner will sort you out... You will be sent to plant trees like General (Magnus) Malan, but in Siberia, not Knysna." - *Sapa*.

Report by Ben Maclellan, Press Gallery, Parliament.

Protest marches over Budget

Sowetan 18/3/92

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MAJOR protest marches have been planned throughout the country to coincide with the tabling of the Budget in Parliament today.

In Cape Town the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party are to march on Parliament.

ANC veterans Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Pallo Jordan will lead a similar march to John Vorster Square in Johannesburg.

And in the Northern Transvaal, Cosatu is expecting about 20 000 of their members to take part in a march on the Union Buildings this morning.

Cosatu's regional secretary, Mr Joseph Selau, said the march would start from Brown Street, Pretoria to the Union Buildings at 11am.

Northern Transvaal police spokesman Colonel Frank Alton said yesterday that Pretoria's chief magistrate and the city council had given permission for the march.

Withdrew

The Nactu yesterday withdrew from the ANC/SACP/Cosatu campaign.

Nactu said in a statement yesterday the alliance's unilateral action was based on demands not canvassed with Nactu's Witwatersrand region and that attempts by the region to reach an agreement with the alliance on demands had failed.

Sowetan Reporters

However, Nactu said it hoped the working relationship on other issues would continue.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis is expected to announce an austere Budget within minutes of the announcement of the result of yesterday's referendum.

Early speculation that the Budget would be postponed in the event of a "no" vote in the referendum was squashed this week by Du Plessis' office, which said preparations for the Budget to be tabled today were going ahead "as usual".

Speculation

Speculation was fanned by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, who said that in terms of President FW de Klerk's promise — that he would resign if the "no" vote won the referendum — the country would go headlong into a general election, and which meant that the tabling of the Budget would have to be delayed.

The ANC-led protest march will nevertheless proceed, according to organisers. The march has been explained as a call for a negotiated Budget and an end to unilateral (Government) financial planning.

Questions standing over from Wednesday, 11 March 1992:

Hospitals/clinics: theft of medicines

*1. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Health Services and Welfare:

- (1) Whether any instances of theft of medicines from hospitals and clinics under the control of her Department occurred during the course of 1991; if so, (a) from which hospitals and clinics and (b) what is the value of the medicines stolen;
- (2) whether her Department is investigating these thefts; if not, why not; if so, with what result;
- (3) whether she will make a statement on the matter?

B314E

THE MINISTER OF HEALTH SERVICES AND WELFARE:

- (1) Yes.
 - (a) Parowmed Pharmacy in Parow Day Hospital.
 - (b) R1 680,00.
- (2) Yes, the theft was reported to the South African Police on 24 July 1991, reference number MR331/07/1991. No arrest has been made yet and no stock has been recovered.
- (3) No.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rule of Parliament.

New Question:

*1. Mr R M BURROWS—Health Services and Welfare. [Question standing over.]

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Certain security firm

106. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether a certain security firm, the name of which has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, has at any stage been

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

under investigation by the Police; if so, for what reasons;

- (2) whether this firm has at any stage been reported to the South African Police; if so, (a) by whom and (b) for what reasons;
- (3) whether the managing director of this firm, whose name has also been furnished to the South African Police, has a criminal record; if so, what are the details;
- (4) whether the said managing director (a) has any criminal case pending, and/or (b) has had any restraining orders issued, against him; if so, what are the details in each case;
- (5) whether he will disclose the name of the (a) security firm and (b) managing director in question; if not, why not; if so, what are their names?

B266E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes, information was received that the firm was in possession of unlicensed firearms.
- (2) Yes.
 - (a) A previous employee of the firm.
 - (b) Because the firm was in possession of unlicensed firearms.
- (3) No.
- (4) (a) Yes.
(b) No.
- (5) No, the decision of the Senior State Prosecutor is not yet known.

Crime prevention unit: Sandton

113. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many arrests in respect of each specified offence were effected in 1991 by the special crime prevention unit stationed in Sandton?

B277E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Crime	Arrests
Murder	4
Armed robbery	70
Attempted armed robbery	3
Housebreaking with intent to steal and theft	494

Crime	Arrests
Attempted housebreaking	33
Possession of suspected stolen property	70
Possession of housebreaking implements	11
Theft	2
Robbery of vehicles	62
Theft of vehicles	31
Possession of unlicensed firearms	3

Norwood police station: establishment

116. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he will furnish the (a) total allocated and (b) actual strength of each rank in the current establishment of the Norwood police station situate in the Johannesburg North police district; if not, why not; if so, (i) what are the relevant details, (ii) how many temporary members are there on the current establishment of this police station and (iii) in respect of what date is this information furnished;
- (2) whether any steps have been and/or are to be taken specifically to increase the strength of this police station; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when?

B280E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) and (b)

No, it is not in the interest of the members at the relevant police station, and policing in general, to furnish information of this nature. I am, however, prepared to inform the honourable member personally and confidentially in this regard.

- (2) (a) and (b)

An additional 15 members have been appointed at Norwood since 15 May 1991. The expansion of the establishment of the South African Police, which has already been announced, will be utilized in order to expand the establishment of Norwood during the next placement from the training colleges.

Hillbrow police station

130. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) What is the estimated population served by the Hillbrow police station over the latest specified period of five years for which information is available;
- (2) whether he will furnish details on the staff and vehicle complement at the Hillbrow police station; if not, why not; if so, (a) what was the (i) staff and (ii) vehicle complement at this police station as at the latest specified date for which information is available, (b) (i) how many of these policemen were (aa) White, (bb) Coloured, (cc) Indian and (dd) Black and (ii) what were their ranks in each case and (c) how many policemen are on foot patrol in Hillbrow (i) by day and (ii) at night;
- (3) whether it is envisaged to increase the complement of policemen at the Hillbrow police station in 1992; if so, what percentage increase is envisaged?

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Dec '87 Dec '88 Dec '89 Dec '90 Dec '91
136 974 138 482 140 026 141 608 143 227
- Statistics are kept only in respect of the month of December.

- (2) (a), (b) and (c)

No, it is not in the interest of the Force in general and the members at the relevant police station, to furnish information of this nature. I am, however, prepared to inform the honourable member personally and confidentially in this regard.

- (3)

An increase of personnel at police stations is subject to investigations by the Division: Efficiency Services of the South African Police. Such investigations are at present in an advanced stage, but figures and percentages are not yet available. The recently announced expansion of the Force will not only supplement Hillbrow's strength, but will also ensure greater visible policing in the entire Witwatersrand area.

Murder: 16 persons

131. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

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Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 27 on 27 March 1990 and Question No 55 on 15 March 1991, any persons have been detained, arrested, charged and/or convicted in connection with the alleged murders of 16 persons, whose names have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) what are the names of the persons (i) detained, (ii) arrested, (iii) charged and/or (iv) convicted in connection with each of these alleged murders and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

327
The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: B332E

No, nobody has yet been charged or convicted for the alleged murders, because no evidence could be obtained to connect anybody with the cases.

(a), (i), (ii) and (iv) Fall away.

(b) 9 March 1992.

Note:

As a result of Mr Dirk Coetzee's confession regarding the murder on Griffiths Mxenge, a warrant for his arrest was issued. The warrant of arrest was cancelled on 1 October 1991 by the Attorney-General of Natal. Alfred Nofomela, who was condemned to death, also alleged that he was involved in the murder of Griffiths Mxenge. The Attorney-General of Natal intended to institute charges against Nofomela, but the charge has been preliminary withdrawn. Nofomela also appeared before the Harms Commission in connection with his and Dirk Coetzee's allegations. The ruling of the Judge is common knowledge.

Prostitution

135. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) How many women were arrested for prostitution during the course of 1991;
- (2) whether these women were tested for sexually transmitted diseases; if not, why not; if so, how many of them were found to be HIV-positive?

B339E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) 2 061

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

- (2) No, the South African Police has no authority to subject women to such tests.

Investigation: Ibhayi Town Council/Municipal Police Force

142. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, with reference to the reply to Question No 17 on 14 May 1991, the investigation into the affairs of the (a) Ibhayi Town Council and (b) Ibhayi Municipal Police Force has been completed; if not, (i) why not and (ii) when is it anticipated that it will be completed; if so, what are the findings;

- (2) whether any interim reports have been received; if so, what are the relevant details;

- (3) whether (a) any charges have been laid as a result of the above investigation and (b) any of those charged have appeared in court; if so, (i) (aa) what charges and (bb) against whom have they been laid and (ii) what are the names of those who have appeared in court;

- (4) whether any of these persons have been convicted; if not, why not; if so, what are their names?

B355E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1), (2), (3) and (4)

Because of the number of cases involved and the various stages of the investigation, it is not possible to answer the question point by point but rather as a whole.

The investigation of the following cases has already been completed:

New Brighton CR(A) 28/8/90—fraud
New Brighton CR(A) 29/8/90—fraud
New Brighton CR(A) 38/8/90—corruption
New Brighton CR(A) 32/7/91—fraud
New Brighton CR(A) 32/8/91—fraud
New Brighton CR(A) 32/9/91—fraud
New Brighton CR(A) 28/2/92—extortion
New Brighton CR(A) 30/8/90—fraud
New Brighton CR(A) 31/8/90—fraud
New Brighton CR(A) 32/6/91—fraud
Louis le Grange Square CR(A) 49/1/91—fraud

(In my reply to Question No 17 on 14 May 1991 the case reference was given as Louis le Grange Square CR(A) 479/1/91.)

The investigation of the cases *Algoa Park* CR(A) 5/9/88, *New Brighton* CR(A) 34/8/90 and *New Brighton* CR(A) 35/8/90—fraud—has been completed. The Attorney-General declined to prosecute.

Regarding the cases *New Brighton* CR(A) 27/9/88—corruption against the Town Council and *New Brighton* CR(A) 36/8/90—corruption against an employee of the Town Council, the investigation has not been completed.

—The reason why the investigation has not been completed, is because the accounting records of the Town Council of Ibhayi is being audited by an auditing firm at present. Their final report has not been submitted. According to the auditing firm it will still be a considerable time before the audit is completed, as the books of Ibhayi were not kept up to date.

—It is not possible to determine when the investigation of the two cases will be completed.

The investigation of the following cases has not been finalized:

New Brighton CR(A) 324/2/92—fraud—goods obtained with false Town Council order forms.

New Brighton CR(A) 438/2/92—fraud—tender documents forged.

In order not to delay the police investigation, the relevant auditing firm has already submitted two interim reports which show alleged fraud and corruption, and the investigation is nearly completed.

In the cases *New Brighton* CR(A) 28/8/90, 29/8/90, 38/8/90, 32/7/91, 32/8/91, 32/9/91 and 28/2/92 *supra* the accused have been charged.

—They have already appeared in court. However, the allegations against them were provisionally withdrawn on instructions from the Attorney-General.

—The cases *New Brighton* CR(A) 30/8/90, 31/8/90, 32/6/91 and *Louis le Grange Square* CR(A) 49/1/91 *supra* is with the

Attorney-General at present for his decision.

In the following cases the accused have already been found guilty and sentenced:

New Brighton CR(A) 32/8/90—the State versus *Philda N Msimango*—fraud.

New Brighton CR(A) 33/8/90—the State versus *Mxolix F Sosi*—fraud.

In the case *Louis le Grange Square* CR(A) 522/9/90 *Jacobus Johannes Nieman* was charged with corruption. He was acquitted as the State could not prove corruption to the satisfaction of the court.

Ore-berth, Port Elizabeth

143. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister for Public Enterprises:

- (1) (a) What is the capital investment of South African parastatal bodies in the ore-berth in Port Elizabeth Harbour and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

- (2) (a) what is the life-span of the mechanized system currently in use at this ore-berth, (b) when is it due for refitting and (c) how much will this refitting cost?

B356E

The MINISTER FOR PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

The Managing Director of TRANSNET LIMITED has furnished the following information in reply to the hon member's question:

- (1) (a) R21,9 million.

- (b) As on 11 February 1992.

- (2) (a) The remaining economic life-span is approximately 15 years.

- (b) Refitting/maintenance is done on a continuous basis.

- (c) Approximately R3 million is budgeted under operating expenditure for refitting/maintenance per year.

Port Elizabeth Airport

144. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister for Public Enterprises:

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

the deceased is Mr Malatudi Lebatha alias Lawai.

- (2) (a), (b) and (c)

No, Mr K Findlay and Mrs F Findlay were summonsed and appeared in the Vereeniging court on 11 March 1992 on a charge of murder. The case was remanded until 10 April 1992.

Repealing of legislation into the Press

*7. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (1) Whether, with reference to each of the 11 Acts particulars of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, it is the Government's intention to repeal legislation which detracts from the free flow of information and restricts the Press from reporting; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B294E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) and (2)

Of the 11 Acts referred to by the hon member, the Department of Home Affairs administers only the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act 45 of 1979). Since section 143 of the Electoral Act, which is at issue here, has it in view to prevent unjustifiable influencing of voters, it is not this Department's intention to repeal it at this stage.

However, in view of more recent developments, such as, *inter alia* discussions at Codesa, renewed discussions regarding the respective acts are now the proper course which will be formulated in more concrete form in due course and hopefully progress could be reported in course of time.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, I want to say that I originally formulated this question to be addressed to the hon the State President, but it was obviously felt that this hon Minister had great influence with his colleagues in the Cabinet, and that he would be able to influence them to have these pieces of legislation repealed. May I ask if he would please undertake to talk to his col-

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

leagues in the Cabinet who are responsible for the 11 pieces of legislation that I outlined in my question with a view to having them repealed as soon as possible in order that there may be a free flow of information before we get to the situation at Codesa in which that is required?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the hon member will have concluded from my reply that discussions were in fact taking place in this regard. Naturally I cannot give any undertaking on behalf of my colleagues as to whether they will repeal the legislation of not, but this is the process and I think my reply has been very clear in this regard.

Pretoria Regional Services Council: personal loans

*8. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

Whether the Pretoria Regional Services Council has granted any personal loans of money to any person or body in the year ending 31 March 1992; if so, (a) to whom or what body, (b) how much money was lent to this person or body, (c) at what rate of interest was it lent and (d) when does the loan have to be paid back?

B295E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

No.

- (a)-(d) Fall away.

Proposed structure: single education authority

*9. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether a proposed structure for a single education authority, together with non-racial, geographic departments of education, has been devised by or for his Department; if not, why not; if so, (a) (i) by whom and (ii) when was this structure devised and (b) to whom has it been propagated;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B299E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

- (1) No. In the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) developed by the Committee of

Heads of Education Departments (CHED), and not by the Department of National Education, broad proposals in this regard were made. Comments on these broad proposals have been sought nationally and final recommendations on a future educational structure could be submitted by the CHED, as part of the ERS, to the Education Ministers. Devising an acceptable future education structure is, however, a process which is closely linked to future constitutional structures at present being negotiated.

- (a) (i) Falls away.
- (ii) Falls away.

- (b) Falls away.

- (2) No.

Archival material: restrictions

*10. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether any restrictions are imposed on the public scrutiny of archival material derived from South African State Departments; if so, (a) what are these restrictions and (b) by whom were they imposed;
- (2) whether the Government proposes to relax the current restrictions on the scrutiny of State archival material; if not, why not; if so, to what extent;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B300E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

- (1) Yes.

- (a) The making available of archives from Government departments to members of the public for research purposes is controlled by section 9 of the Archives Act (Act 6 of 1962). According to this section a so-called "closed period" of about 30-years is maintained as a general principle and documents dating from the period before 1961 are at present available. Individual applications to consult documents in archives depots which

still fall in the closed period are considered on merit.

- (b) The Archives Act, 1962 (Act 6 of 1962).

- (2) No. The present arrangements are in accordance with international standards and no problems are experienced with these in practice.

- (3) No.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

Valkenberg Hospital: security staff

*11. Miss M SMUTS asked the Minister of National Health:

- (1) Whether, at the time of the escape of a number of psychiatric patients from the maximum security unit at the Valkenberg Hospital during February 1992, there were any security staff in the employ of this hospital; if so, where were they at the time; if not, why not;
- (2) whether security staff have been introduced since; if so, (a) what staff and (b) for how long;
- (3) whether any further steps are being contemplated in respect of improving security; if not, why not; if so, what steps?

B301E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (1) No, the hospital does not have posts for security personnel on its establishment;

- (2) yes,

- (a) security personnel of the Department of Corrective Services and
- (b) from 17 February 1992 till 1 March 1992.

- (3) yes,

- (i) the obtaining of quotations from private security companies with a view to the implementation of a security service from 2 March 1992;
- (ii) the limiting of patients to 65 for which the maximum security unit makes provision;
- (iii) the filling of vacant nursing posts;

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

There was no need to hide, claims Trust Feed accused

Own Correspondent

TRUST Feed trial accused, former special sergeant Dumisani Ndwane, yesterday told the Maritzburg Supreme Court he saw no need to go into hiding after the killings as he and his companions had "done nothing wrong" in attacking terrorists who were the enemies of government.

He told Judge Wilson and two assessors that when he read an article in Ilanga newspaper concerning the deaths of people at Trust Feed soon after the incident, he did not connect it to the attack in which he and three other special constables took part because the article did not refer to "terrorists".

It was suggested to him during cross-examination by defence advocate Francois van Zyl (for Capt Jacobus van den Heever) that his saying he (Ndwane) was told by former Maritzburg Riot Unit head Maj Deon Terblanche and New

Hanover station commander Capt Brian Mitchell that they were to attack terrorists was untrue.

Ndwane denied this.

The seven policemen and former special policemen — Van den Heever, Sgt Neville Rose, Mitchell, Kehla Ngubane, Thabo Sikhosana, Ndwane and David Khambule — are charged with the murders of 11 men, women and children at a funeral vigil in House 83, Trust Feed, during December 1988.

Ndwane denied yesterday that there was candlelight in the house at the time of the attack.

He also denied that some of the gunmen had entered the house and fired shots inside; that he knew exactly who he was shooting at; and that the victims were not terrorists.

He has testified that he

shot into the house — which was in darkness — through a window.

Van Zyl suggested to Ndwane that "the only way" the victims could have been shot "so accurately" was if there had been enough light for the attackers to see where and what they were shooting.

Ndwane said yesterday that he did not recall hearing any sounds coming from the house before, during or after the shooting.

Referring to medical evidence that several victims would have taken some time to die after the injuries were inflicted, the judge said he found this to be "incredible".

Ndwane was challenged during cross-examination on a number of differences between his latest testimony and his statement to a magistrate when he made his first court appearance.

The hearing continues.

Nactu up in arms over peace accord

8/Day 18/3/92

DIRK HARTFORD

THE National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) intends taking legal action against employers who force workers to accept the peace accord and businesses' political positions, says Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana.

The 250 000-strong labour federation also intended taking legal action against police after its president, James Mndaweni, was arrested on Monday and questioned on his alleged involvement with the activities of the PAC and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Nactu's PWV region pulled out of the anti-VAT alliance campaign yester-

day, claiming the alliance's "unilateral action was based on demands not canvassed with Nactu". (327)

However, Nactu said it would continue to co-operate with the alliance on other issues.

Nactu said Mndaweni's arrest was part of a campaign by police and employers to force it to sign the peace accord.

A number of companies organised by Nactu affiliates were forcing workers to sign the peace accord and accept the "current political process". This undermined Nactu's position, Ngcukana said.

Marshals lose control at Cape Town rally

Monday 19/13/92

MARSHALS temporarily lost control of thousands of people taking part in an ANC-led march yesterday as the group approached the Roeland Street entrance to Parliament.

Sapa reports that a group of about 150 singing and chanting youths surged ahead of the front ranks and ran past policemen towards the entrance to Parliament, reports Sapa. Some of the group taunted policemen and waved placards in their faces.

Police reinforcements and a riot control vehicle with a water cannon were brought to the scene. Policemen with shotguns took up position.

A tense standoff ensued outside the entrance to the H F Verwoerd Building which houses the offices of most government offices and ministers. Chanting and singing supporters demanded to be let in, but were held back by a cordon of policemen. After about 20 minutes marshals shouting "move, move" managed to get the crowd moving and the tail end of the march proceeded slowly back towards the Grand Parade.

SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani said the "people's Budget" march to Parliament marked the beginning of "an intensive campaign to force the government to redress the problems of our people".

He told the rally: "We have assembled in our thousands to begin an offensive against this government

which represents rich people.

"We will continue coming out in our thousands until all our demands are met."

The principle demands of the peoples' budget include the scrapping of VAT on all food and medical services, decent housing, proper health services, adequate pensions and a drought relief programme.

Cosatu president John Gomomo called on supporters to "eradicate this minority government and replace it with a nonracial, democratic government".

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that in Johannesburg, an estimated 7 000 people from the ANC, SACP and Cosatu marched to John Vorster Square to show their opposition to the Budget and to call for a stronger police presence to stop the violence sweeping the Reef.

In an open letter to President F W de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, handed in at John Vorster Square, the alliance focused on the recent violence. Since the Peace Accord was signed six months ago, it said, the police had done nothing to quell the violence.

A large crowd took part in a march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to hand over a memorandum protesting against the "arbitrary" Budget, among other things.

In Natal, Cosatu staged three mass pickets in Durban, Kokstad and Matatiele.

protest budget

80 mltan 19/3/92

THOUSANDS of people staged marches in centres throughout the country yesterday to protest against the "apartheid" national Budget.

The protests were organised by the African National Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the SA Communist Party.

In Cape Town, about 10 000 people gathered on the Grand Parade.

Protesters carried placards with slogans which read: "Stop the Bosses' Budget Now!" and "Bury the Poverty Budget Now!"

Leading the march there were Cosatu leader Mr Jay Naidoo, ANC executives Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Dr Allan Boesak and SACP chief Mr Chris Hani.

Traffic came to a virtual standstill in Johannesburg as thousands of people marched through the city centre to John Vorster Square police headquarters to present a

memorandum.

The Johannesburg march was led by ANC stalwarts Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Pallo Jordan.

In Pretoria thousands of ANC supporters marched on the Union Buildings to register their protest over the Budget. Marchers, comprising mostly members of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu Alliance, left from Brown Street and marched through the city at midday.

He said it was unrepresentative of the majority of people in the country and served to maintain the privileges of a minority at the expense of the majority.

The area around Parliament was almost impassable as the large crowd in the area blocked all entrances and made it impossible for people to enter or leave the building.

The Pretoria marchers were led by lawyer Mr Mathole Motshekga, Dr Abe Nkomo, Mr John Nkadameng and Mr Moses Mayekiso.

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REPUBLIEK
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SUID-AFRIKA



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MARCH

No. 13883

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

No. 929

19 Maart 1992

WET OP GEVAARLIKE WAPENS, 1968

VERBOD OP DIE BESIT VAN GEVAARLIKE
WAPENS EN VUURWAPENS

Ek, Hermanus Jacobus Kriel, Minister van Wet en Orde, handelende kragtens artikel 2 (2) en 2 (3) van die Wet op Gevaarlike Wapens, 1968 (Wet No. 71 van 1968), verbied hierby enige persoon, uitgesluit 'n persoon vermeld in paragraaf 3 van die Bylae, om te eniger tyd by of in die aldus vermelde plek in besit van 'n voorwerp wat tot 'n klas, tipe, soort of kategorie voorwerp behoort wat in paragraaf 2 van die Bylae vermeld word en wat na my oordeel 'n gevaarlike wapen soos bedoel in artikel 1 van genoemde Wet is, of enige vuurwapen of 'n replika daarvan, te wees.

H. J. KRIEL,

Minister van Wet en Orde.

BYLAE

Woordomsrywings

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

“gevaarlike wapen” enige voorwerp in paragraaf 2 bedoel;

“Kommissaris” die Kommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie en ook enige streek- of distrikkommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie;

“polisiebeampte” enige lid van die Mag soos omskryf in artikel 1 van die Polisiewet, 1958 (Wet No. 7 van 1958);

“veiligheidsmag”—

(a) die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie bedoel in die omskrywing van “die Mag” in artikel 1 van die Polisiewet, 1958 (Wet No. 7 van 1958), insluitende lede van 'n polisie-eenheid soos bedoel in artikel 17C van genoemde Wet;

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

No. 929

327 200 200 19 March 1992

DANGEROUS WEAPONS ACT, 1968

PROHIBITION ON THE POSSESSION OF
DANGEROUS WEAPONS AND FIREARMS

I, Hermanus Jacobus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, acting under section 2 (2) and 2 (3) of the Dangerous Weapons Act, 1968 (Act No. 71 of 1968), hereby prohibit any person, excluding any person specified in paragraph 3 of the Schedule, from being in possession at any time at or in the specified place, of any object belonging to a class, type, kind or category of object specified in paragraph 2 of the Schedule and which is in my opinion a dangerous weapon as referred to in section 1 of the said Act, or any firearm or a replica thereof.

H. J. KRIEL,

Minister of Law and Order.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates—

“Commissioner” means the Commissioner of the South African Police and also any regional or district commissioner of the South African Police;

“dangerous weapon” means any object referred to in paragraph 2;

“police official” means any member of the Force as defined in section 1 (1) of the Police Act, 1958 (Act No. 7 of 1958);

“security force” means—

(a) the South African Police referred to in the definition of “the Force” in section 1 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act No. 7 of 1958), including members of a police unit as referred to in section 17C of the said Act;

(b) die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag bedoel in artikel 5 van die Verdedigingswet, 1957 (Wet No. 44 van 1957); of

(c) die Gevangenisdiens ingestel by artikel 2 van die Wet op Gevangenis, 1959 (Wet No. 8 van 1959),

en ook enige deel van 'n mag bedoel in paragrafe (a) tot (c) of enige samestelling van twee of meer van sodanige magte of van dele van sodanige magte; en

“**vermelde plek**” enige gebou, struktuur, saal, kamer, kantoor, gemak, grond, stasie, perron, treinspoor of grondoppervlakte wat die eiendom is van, of geokkupeer of gebruik word deur, of onder die beheer is van, die Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorpendelkorporasie Beperk.

Gevaarlike wapens

2. Vir die doeleindes van die verbod is die volgende voorwerpe gevaarlike wapens:

spies;
assegai;
knopkierie;
panga;
dolk;
swaard;
'n mes met 'n lem langer as 10 sentimeter;
strydbyl;
byl;
met lood-, yster of ander metaalbeswaarde stok;
'n steel met draad, kettings of ander swaar materiaal daaraan geheg;
skerppuntige stok of yster;
ysterstaaf;
metaalpyp;
knuppel;
petrolbom;
klip;
baksteen;
kruisboog;
pyl-en-boog;
pik;
piksteel;
tuinvurk;
hooivurk;
graaf;
sekel;
sens;
skoffelpik;
gaffel;
hamer;
moersleutel;
skroewedraaier;
ketting;
vuisyster;
koevoet; en
band of binneband.

(b) the South African Defence Force referred to in section 5 of the Defence Act, 1957 (Act No. 44 of 1957); or

(c) the Prison Service established by section 2 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act No. 8 of 1959),

and also any part of a force referred to in paragraphs (a) to (c) or any combination of two or more of such forces or of parts of such forces; and

“**specified place**” means any building, structure, hall, room, office, convenience, land, station, platform, railway or soil surface which is the property of, or is occupied or used by, or is under the control of, the South African Rail Commuter Corporation Limited.

Dangerous weapons

2. For the purposes of the prohibition the following objects are dangerous weapons:

spear;
assegai;
knobkierie;
panga;
dagger;
sword;
any knife with a blade longer than 10 centimetres;
battle axe;
axe;
a lead, iron or other metal loaded stick;
a handle with wire, chain or other heavy substance attached to it;
sharp-pointed stick or metal object;
metal rod;
metal pipe;
club or baton;
petrol bomb;
stone;
brick;
cross-bow;
bow and arrow;
pick;
pick handle;
garden fork;
pitch fork;
spade;
sickle;
scythe;
hoe;
gaff;
hammer;
spanner;
screwdriver;
chain;
knuckleduster;
crowbar; and
tyre or tube.

Voorwaardes, beperkings, voorskrifte of vrystellings

3. (1) Die verbod op die besit van gevaarlike wapens en vuurwapens is nie van toepassing nie op—

- (a) 'n persoon wat 'n lid is van 'n veiligheidsmag by die uitoefening van enige bevoegdheid of die uitvoering van enige plig in sy hoedanigheid as 'n lid van so 'n veiligheidsmag;
- (b) 'n persoon wat 'n werknemer is en wat sodanige gevaarlike wapen of vuurwapen in sy besit het vir die doeleindes van die verrigting van sy werksaamhede as so 'n werknemer: Met dien verstande dat sodanige persoon ook in besit van 'n skriftelike bewys onderteken en uitgereik deur sy werkgever moet wees, waarin die volgende vermeld word:
 - (i) Volle naam en adres van die persoon aan wie die skriftelike bewys uitgereik is;
 - (ii) volle naam, besigheidsadres en telefoonnommer van sy werkgever;
 - (iii) volle naam, adres, hoedanigheid en telefoonnommer van die persoon wat die skriftelike bewys uitgereik het;
 - (iv) die aard van die werknemer se werksaamhede tesame met 'n uiteensetting van werk- en reistye en 'n opgawe van redes waarom dit vir die doeleindes van die verrigting van die werknemer se dienspligte nodig is dat hy in besit van die voorwerp of voorwerpe moet wees; en
 - (v) voldoende besonderhede waaraan die wapen uitgeken kan word:

Met dien verstande voorts dat die vrystelling bedoel in paragraaf (b) slegs van toepassing is gedurende die werk- en reistye deur die werkgever in die skriftelike bewys uiteengesit;

- (c) 'n persoon aan wie die Kommissaris vooraf skriftelike toestemming verleen het, of, in 'n geval waar aansoek daarom gedoen word deur 'n verteenwoordiger van 'n klas, groep of kategorie persone waartoe so 'n persoon behoort, aan welke verteenwoordiger die Kommissaris vooraf skriftelike toestemming vir enige aldus verteenwoordigde persoon verleen het om op 'n vermelde tyd of gedurende 'n vermelde tydperk, in of by die vermelde plek, in besit te mag wees van 'n gevaarlike wapen in paragraaf 2 van die Bylae vermeld of enige vuurwapen of replika daarvan, vir 'n vermelde doel.

(2) (a) Geen persoon mag 'n skriftelike bewys beoog in subparagraaf (1) (b) aan enige ander persoon uitreik waarin opsetlik 'n valse verklaring gemaak of valse besonderhede vervat is nie.

(b) Enige sodanige bewys, of 'n bewys waarin 'n onjuiste verklaring gemaak of onjuiste besonderhede verskaf word, is nietig.

(3) 'n Lid van die veiligheidsmag kan by die toepassing van hierdie verbod, 'n persoon versoek om die skriftelike bewys bedoel in subparagraaf (1) (b) te toon.

Conditions, restrictions, directions and exemptions

3. (1) The prohibition of the possession of dangerous weapons and firearms shall not apply to—

- (a) a member of a security force in the exercise of any power or the performance of any duty in his capacity as a member of such a security force;
- (b) a person who is an employee and that possesses such dangerous weapon or firearm for the purposes of the performance of his functions as such an employee: Provided that such person is also in possession of written proof signed and issued by his employer, wherein the following is stated:
 - (i) The full name and address of the person to whom the written proof has been issued;
 - (ii) the full name, business address and telephone number of the employer;
 - (iii) the full name, address, capacity and telephone number of the person who issued the written proof;
 - (iv) the nature of the task of the employee, together with an exposition of the working and travel times, and an exposition of the relevant object or objects and the reasons why it is necessary for the performance of the duties of the employee that he should be in possession of the object or objects; and
 - (v) sufficient particulars on which to identify the firearm:

Provided further that the exemption as referred to in paragraph (b) shall only apply during the working and travel times as set out by the employer in the written proof;

- (c) a person to whom the Commissioner has previously given written permission, or, in a case where application is made therefor by a representative of a class, group or category of persons to which the person belongs, to which representative the Commissioner has previously given written permission for any person so represented, to be in possession of a dangerous weapon specified in paragraph 2 of the Schedule or any firearm or replica thereof at a specified time or during a specified period, in or on the specified place, for a specified purpose;

(2) (a) No person shall issue any written proof contemplated in subparagraph (1) (b) to any other person wherein a false declaration is deliberately made or false particulars are furnished.

(b) Any such proof, or a proof wherein an inaccurate declaration is made or inaccurate particulars are furnished, shall be void.

(3) A member of a security force may, for the purpose of this prohibition, request a person to display the written proof as referred to in subparagraph (1) (b).

(4) Indien 'n lid van die veiligheidsmag van oordeel is dat 'n skriftelike bewys bedoel in subparagraaf (1) (b) vals of onjuis is of nie aan die draer daarvan uitgereik is nie, kan die lid die persoon deur wie sodanige bewys voorgelê word sonder 'n lasbrief in hegtenis neem of laat neem en hom vir 'n tydperk van hoogstens 12 ure aanhou ten einde die geldigheid daarvan te bepaal.

(5) Die Kommissaris kan—

- (a) skriftelik enige polisiebeampte persoonlik;
- (b) op enige wyse wat hy vir daardie doel dienstig ag, polisiebeamptes wat tot 'n vermelde klas, groep of kategorie behoort, in die algemeen,

magtig om namens hom die bevoegdheid uit te oefen wat by subparagraaf (1) (c) aan die Kommissaris verleen word, maar die Kommissaris word nie aldus ontdoen van daardie bevoegdheid nie, en kan te eniger tyd enigiets wat deur 'n polisiebeampte kragtens die magtiging gedoen is, wysig of intrek.

(6) Die Kommissaris kan die administratiewe reëlins tref wat hy goed vind ten einde effektiewe beheer uit te oefen oor die uitvoering van die magtigings in subparagraaf (5) beoog.

Inwerkingtreding

4. Die bepalinge vervat in hierdie Bylae tree in werking na die verstryking van 'n tydperk van drie dae na die datum van afkondiging van hierdie kennisgewing in die *Staatskoerant*.

(4) If a member of a security force is of the opinion that a written proof as referred to in subparagraph (1) (b) is false or untrue or has not been issued to the carrier thereof, the member may arrest or cause to be arrested the person who submits such proof, without a warrant and detain him for a period not exceeding 12 hours, in order to ascertain the validity of the proof.

(5) The Commissioner may—

- (a) in writing authorise any police official personally;
- (b) in any manner which he for that purpose deems expedient, authorise police officials belonging to a specified class, group or category, in general,

to exercise on his behalf the power which is by subparagraph (1) (c) granted to the Commissioner, but the Commissioner shall not thereby be divested of that power, and may at any time amend or withdraw anything done by a police official under the authorisation.

(6) The Commissioner may make such administrative arrangements as he may deem fit in order to exercise effective control over the carrying out of the authorisations contemplated in subparagraph (5).

Coming into operation

4. The provisions contained in this Schedule shall come into operation after the expiry of a period of three days after the date of promulgation of this notice in the *Gazette*.

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Between 1986 and 1990 student numbers had increased, but since last year the figures had fallen.

University of Cape Town first-year figures were also down — by 4.4%.

out that the number of black students had almost doubled. "There are programmes here that black students prefer, and we offer a lot of African languages," he said.

Mwasa calls off wage strike at SABC

THE Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) yesterday called off a wage strike by 1 300 black SABC employees, shortly before pay negotiations were due to begin.

The strike by black labourers, journalists, producers, artists, camera-men and studio crews was called on Tuesday to support a demand for a

R1 500 a month across-the-board annual increase after management offered 7%.

An SABC media spokesman confirmed that striking employees had returned to work.

Talks between Mwasa and SABC labour relations officer Christo Pretorius began yesterday. — Sapa.

Ban lifted on writings by Buthelezi

WRITINGS by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi have been unbanned 16 years after they were published.

According to a recent Government Gazette, the first issue of the first volume of the magazine Inkatha, written by Buthelezi, is no longer undesirable.

The gazette lists the author of the publication, which was produced in 1976, as one "Mntwana Mangosuthu Buthelezi". Inkatha leaders have been un-

able to shed light on the publication's content or say why it had been banned.

The gazette also unbanned the ANC's In Defence of the African Image and Heritage.

The unbanned list includes a feast of Marxist memorabilia, including titles from the former Soviet Union such as The Problems of Building Socialism and the old classic, The ABC of Communism by

Nikolay Bukharin.

Black consciousness leaders Steve Biko and Barney Pityana's writings in the SA Student Organisation's newsletter of 1973 and the selected speeches of Malcolm X are now also (officially) undesirable.

A pamphlet by the Natal Indian Congress, the only ethnic organisation among the ranks of the ANC-aligned Where Are We Going? has also been unbanned.

Despite all the glastnost Frank Mayville's The Joys of Oral Sex and Erin Caine's Amazons were both declared undesirable, as was a Brief History of the Revolutionary Activities of Comrade Kim Il Sung, once required reading in Khmer Rouge re-education camps.

*"Give a man a fish
and he profits but a single dish:
Teach him the art of rod and reel
and he'll never lack a meal."*

Police ban all weapons at rail stations

Crime Staff *STAR 20/3/92*

Police yesterday announced a blanket ban on all dangerous weapons at stations and on all railway property.

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel also announced that toll-free telephone numbers had been made available so that commuters could report crimes without any cost.

He said the ban would be published in the Government Gazette on Monday.

Three men were killed and at least 16 others were injured on trains in Johannesburg and Soweto yesterday. Seven people were injured in an attack between Braamfontein and Johannesburg stations.

A man was hacked to death and his body dumped at Longdale station. Another man was shot and thrown from a train at Langlaagte station.

The body of a man was found at Leeuhof station, Vereeniging.

Eight more people were injured in four other attacks on trains in Johannesburg.

At Phumolong station, Soweto, a man was found stabbed in the head. He was admitted to Baragwanath Hospital.

Toll-free numbers will also be displayed on stickers at all Metro stations. In Johannesburg the number is 0801-11-141.

● Two men were shot dead and a woman was gang-raped when eight armed men wearing balaclavas burst into a Khayelitsha home early today.

● Meadowlands was the scene of more violence yesterday.

A 24-year-old man was taken to hospital after being stabbed and set alight. At about 6.30 pm a photographer saw a man who had been shot in the face but survived. Earlier in the day six people were injured when a grenade was thrown into a queue of people at a taxi rank in Meadowlands.

Early today, an assegai-wielding man was shot when he allegedly attacked a policeman in Soweto. He is under guard in hospital.

● In Alexandra, police found a body of a man with bullet wounds yesterday. Local political organisations have called for a stayaway and a march next Thursday in protest against the violence.

Cops ban carrying of lethal weapons

Sowetan 26/3/92

327

POLICE yesterday announced a blanket ban on carrying of all dangerous weapons at stations and on trains.

In an unprecedented move, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel also announced that toll-free phone numbers had been made available so that commuters could report crimes without any cost to themselves.

He said the prohibition "on the possession of all firearms and dangerous weapons on the premises of the Rail Commuter Corporation" would be published in the *Government Gazette* on Monday.

He said the police would do everything in their power to enforce this prohibition.

The announcement came as violence on suburban trains continues.

Yesterday a man was killed and at least 13 others injured in train violence in Johannesburg.

In one of the incidents, seven people were injured during a scuffle between Xhosa and Zulu-speaking commuters between Braamfontein and Johannesburg stations about 8am yesterday.

Police said witnesses claimed that the men had boarded a train at Longdale Station.

The Zulus allegedly demanded to search the Xhosas for weapons.

A scuffle broke out and police said a Zulu man pulled out a gun and fired at the Xhosas.

"In the mayhem that followed, men and a woman jumped from the train," a police spokesman said.

In a separate attack, a man was hacked to death and his body dumped at Longdale Station. Three were injured near George Goch stations.

THE six-year manhunt for Vela Mchunu, alleged Inkatha hit-man and product of South African Defence Force military training in Namibia, is finally at an end.

On the South African Police wanted list since 1986, Mchunu was arrested in Mpumalanga, near Hammarsdale, two weeks ago. With another kwaZulu policeman and alleged hit-man, Sibongeseni Nzama, he appeared in the Campertown Magistrate's Court last week in connection with the murder of Hammarsdale taximen Sipho Mkhize and Richard Duma. They were not asked to plead and the case was postponed.

According to reports in the Natal

Arrest ends six-year manhunt

20/3 - 26/3/92

press, the kwaZulu Police hierarchy is "extremely worried" by his arrest and the possibility that his trial will lay bare the mechanics of KZP-sponsored hit-squad activities.

Tight security was enforced during the two men's court appearance — members of the public were body-searched and Mchunu wore a bullet-proof vest under his shirt. Asked to explain the measures, Captain J Bienieke, in charge of SAP special investigations, said he wanted to ensure "nothing untoward took place".

On his arrest, Mchunu allegedly produced a KZP appointment card

member has finally been

arrested after being on the

police wanted list for six

years. By DREW FORREST

identifying him as "Alfred Masango", and he appeared under this alias in court. Bienieke declined to comment on "Masango's" true identity.

A notorious figure in Natal, Mchunu is also a suspect in the unsolved murders of three BTR-Samcol workers at

Marathon strike by the Metal and Allied Workers' Union at the British-owned company.

He is almost certainly the "Vela" named in the 1990 murder trial of kwaZulu minister Chief Samuel Jamile. According to the court record, Jamile instructed "Vela" to kill

Clermont businessman Zazi Khuzwayo. Described as a kwaZulu policeman, he also accompanied Jamile in the attack in which Joseph Khumalo was killed on the night of April 5 1987.

Mchunu appears on the list of

SADF military trainees supplied by Inkatha Freedom Party high-up MZ Khumalo to the Goldstone Commission, which is currently investigating *Weekly Mail* disclosures of SADF links with political violence.

Two hundred Inkatha men were trained at the SADF's Hippo camp in the Caprivi in 1986, later being absorbed into the KZP.

In an affidavit by another Caprivi trainee, inspected by *The Weekly Mail*, Mchunu is also mentioned as a member of an "offensive unit" set up in the wake of the Namibian training.

Interestingly, the name "Alfred Masango" also appears on MZ Khumalo's list, along with that of Mchunu.

Weapons banned on trains and at stations

8/Decy 20/3/92

WILSON ZWANE

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has prohibited the carrying of "dangerous weapons" on trains and at railway stations.

The announcement came amid a spate of attacks on Reef trains and stations yesterday and on Wednesday, and after repeated calls from various organisations for such a ban.

Police spokesman Capt Burger van Rooyen said in a statement yesterday the prohibition would be published in the Government Gazette on Monday and be enforced immediately.

In terms of the prohibition it was an offence to "take any firearm or dangerous weapon on to the premises of the SA Rail Commuter Corporation, except when permission has been obtained", he said.

"The SAP will do everything within its power to enforce the prohibition... and an appeal is made to every person who makes use of the trains to co-operate with the police," he said.

Meanwhile yesterday, six people were injured when they were tossed from a train between Johannesburg and Braamfontein stations, police said.

In another incident, three men were seriously injured when they jumped out of a moving train to escape attackers.

At Jeppe Station, a man was attacked and thrown off a moving train. He sustained head injuries.

A body was found at Longdale Station near Soweto, and a man was injured on a train at George Goch Station by a group of people.

Police spokesman Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn said six people were injured — one seriously — when a handgrenade exploded at Meadowlands taxi rank, Soweto, early yesterday.

It could not be established whether the grenade was flung from a moving vehicle.

Halgryn said police were investigating the incident.

Sapa reports that a man was killed and four others were wounded when they were attacked yesterday at Mzimhlope by a group of men armed with pangas.

At Meadowlands, police found the body of a man who had apparently burned to death. The body of a man who was shot was found in Zola. A man was arrested at Merape station after a handgrenade was found in his possession.

The body of a man who had been shot was found in Alexandra, police said. An ANC Alexandra official said the man was killed in the township's 5th Avenue.

Organisations in Alexandra, including the ANC, Azapo, PAC, church and civic bodies, have called for a stayaway and a march next week to protest against violence which has raged in the township since March 7.

The ANC official said the residents would march to the town council's offices and police station, where they would hand over a memorandum demanding closure of the Madala Hostel and increased policing in the township.

Alexandra residents were continuing to evacuate their homes and seek refuge at the council's offices and at the local community centre.

The ANC official said about 1 000 people had left their homes since the violence began. "The people are being forced out by Inkatha supporters at Madala Hostel," he said.

Inkatha Alexandra chairman Simon Nxumalo could not be reached for comment yesterday evening, but has said that although his organisation was committed to peace, unruly elements were looting residents' property.

SACP MAN KILLED

Soweto
23/3/92

327

AN OFFICIAL of the South African Communist Party who is also a member of the ANC was killed with two other people in a handgrenade explosion in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle yesterday.

Conflicting reports on the death of SACP official Mr Saul Tsotetsi and two other men, Mr Alfred Yika and Mr Elias Motlounge, emerged yesterday.

Police yesterday described the three men's deaths as "suicide".

However, SACP officials said Tsotetsi died

By KENOSI MODISANE

while being attacked by a group of five men.

Police spokesman Colonel Dave Bruce said yesterday said: "A handgrenade exploded in Tsotetsi's hands, killing him, Motlounge and Yika instantly.

"Two other men, Enoch Khaiye and John Nhlapo, were injured in the explosion. They were both taken to hospital."

The ages of the men could not be established yesterday.

Officials of the SACP, however, disputed the police version of the incident.

● To page 2

SACP man killed

● From page 1

An SACP spokesman said yesterday the grenade exploded when Yika, Motlounge and the two injured men attacked Tsotetsi.

SACP education officer in the Vaal Mr Oupa Modikoane said: "Tsotetsi was being attacked by a group of five men, who included the two who died and those who were injured." *Soweto 23/3/92*

Modikoane said a fifth man escaped. He said the two dead men and those injured were not known to the SACP. Meanwhile, Soweto police said yesterday three people, including an 11-year-old child, were shot dead in separate incidents in the township at the weekend.

Spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the child and another man were shot in separate incidents by a mob passing in the streets in Zondi on Saturday evening.

The body of a man who had been shot was found at Meadowlands Hostel. Two other men were shot and wounded near Dube Hostel.

On the East Rand, the body of a man was found in Daveyton and another in Tokoza and in Alexandra a man was shot and killed by two gunmen.

Eleven people were injured in all, including one man who was found with serious burns in Daveyton. Three men were arrested in connection with this incident.

A woman was seriously injured when she was thrown from a train on the East Rand and another was hurt when she was hurled off a train near Alberton. In Johannesburg five black men were injured in clashes during in the city on Saturday. Most had hack or stab wounds, police said.

● See picture on page 3

Sharpeville recalls massacre of 1960

Overton 23/3/92
AFRICAN National Congress national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo on Saturday received the "freedom of Vereeniging" from about 10 000 ANC supporters gathered to commemorate the killing of 69 people by police in 1960.

Supporters were earlier bused in from areas in the PWV region and by noon a festive spirit had taken hold of the township, giving it a short respite from the violence sweeping Reef townships.

A bandstand was erected at Miami Beach - a dam on the outskirts of the township - and as people continued to pour into the area, musicians entertained the crowd.

Groups of ANC and SACP supporters were continually marching to the police station about 2km away, where, with clenched fists, they sang freedom songs as they moved past the scene of the 1960 shootings.

Police kept a low profile and no incidents were reported.

Apart from Tambo, several high-ranking ANC office-bearers attended the commemoration service, which later in the afternoon had developed into a political rally.

Speakers included the ANC vice-president Mr Walter Sisulu, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, his Cosatu counterpart Mr Jay Naidoo and SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani.

In his acceptance speech, Tambo said

bestowing the "freedom of Vereeniging" on him was an honour.

Speaking in a frail voice, Tambo said the 1960 incident had brought about a legacy to fight apartheid and oppression - "It inflamed the hearts of South African throughout the country".

However it was "sad that many comrades still fall victim to those who spread death and destruction".

A plaque bestowing the "freedom of Vereeniging" on him was handed to him by a victim of the 1960 shooting, Mrs Louisa Ntho.

Sisulu also referred in his address to the role that the Sharpeville shootings had played in the struggle for freedom.

"Sharpeville triggered the conscience of the people, it precipitated international attention on apartheid and oppression and it propelled the national liberation struggle to where it is today."

He also said the real struggle had now begun in earnest. No other forum was better suited for negotiation than Codesa and he appealed to those who have not yet joined it to do so immediately.

Commenting on the referendum result, Sisulu said there was no reason anymore why an interim government should not be in place by the end of June and a legitimately elected constituent assembly by the end of 1992. *Sapa*

Probe was 'tardy'

Sowetan 23/3/92

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THE criticism still stood that a police investigation into the 1991 Swanesville squatter camp massacre in which 28 people died was tardy, Mr Dave Dalling (DP Sandton), said in Parliament.

"You cannot have police investigating police," he said in an interpellation debate.

Apathy

This was especially so in the case of a body which had been accused of apathy when investigating its own members.

Last year the Minister of Law and Order had asked him to withdraw questions on the matter, because of the delicate state of the investigation.

He later received a letter from the State President which said there had been no evidence of police involvement, or apathy and negligence.

The initial criticism had not referred to claims of police involvement in the attack, said Dalling.

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Johan Scheepers, said in reply to a question by Mr Jan van Eck (DP Claremont) that an investigation by senior officers had found no evi-

dence of police involvement in the attack.

Van Eck said a group of 800 men had attacked the camp, killing 28 and injuring another 30, despite the area being declared an unrest area hours before, and police being deployed in massive numbers.

He said two armoured vehicles had been seen escorting the group from the area back to a hostel after the attack.

Scheepers said the investigation had been referred to the Attorney-General. — *Sapa*.

ANC stayaway call in Nelspruit

*Sowetan
24/3/92
327*

THE ANC and Cosatu in the Eastern Transvaal have called for a stayaway tomorrow when Andries Sithole, who was killed in a bomb attack, is buried.

Sithole, of Pienaar Trust, worked as a gardener for Mr Con Booyens, the headmaster of Hoërskool Nelspruit. He died when Booyens' home was bombed on March 16.

African National Congress spokesman Mr

Jackson Mthembu said the work stayaway was the first protest action against violence, terrorism and racism in the Eastern Transvaal.

"The ANC strongly condemns the emergent bomb attacks on citizens' homes and public institutions."

Mthembu said the ANC was convinced that the bomb attack on Booyens' house was the work of "rightwing terrorists".

"The ANC in the Eastern

Transvaal calls on the rightwing ... to stop their terrorist actions and join negotiations for a peaceful South Africa," he said.

Police have offered a reward of R20 000 for information which could lead to the arrest and conviction of people responsible for the bomb attacks on Booyens' house and that of rector of the Lowveld Agricultural College, Mr Fourie Kritzinger. - Sapa.

Commission asked to probe death

327

Sowetan 24/3/92

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Goldstone Commission has been asked to interview one of the survivors of the grenade blast in which a member of both the SACP and the ANC was killed.

Mr Saul Tsotetsi family attorney, Ms Caroline Heaton Nichols, said her firm had requested this intervention because police had refused them direct access to Mr John Nhlapo, whom they regarded as a vital witness.

Tsotetsi and two other men, Mr Elias Motlouni and Mr Alfred Yika, were killed in the blast near Tsotetsi's Sebokeng house in the early hours of Sunday morning.

Mr Enoch Khaiye and Nhlapo were injured and admitted to hospital.

The PWV branches of the ANC and SACP, and Cosatu's Western Transvaal region, yesterday said they regarded the death as an assassination.

"Saul's death brings to seven the number of anti-apartheid activists killed in a space of three weeks in the Vaal complex.

"A clear pattern of orchestrated attacks by unknown death squads who continue to elude the police continues to emerge," they said.

Evidence gathered from various sources pointed to a five-person attack on Tsotetsi as he approached his home, the statement said.

Police have accused the ANC of interfering with a potential witness, Mr Dan Dlamini. The ANC has charged that the police have arrested at least one witness.

Both parties deny the actions they are accused of.

Police spokesman Colonel Dave Bruce said an ANC probe was not welcome.

"There is only one police force and only that force is entitled to investigate this case," he said.

But if the Goldstone Commission were to intervene "we would welcome it," Bruce said.

Cosatu trio lose court appeal bid

So we can
24/3/92

THREE Cosatu officials convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court last year of kidnapping yesterday lost an application to have their convictions set aside.

Mr Justice RT van Schalkwyk, assisted by Mr Justice JC Labuschagne, confirmed the findings against Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo, assistant general secretary Mr Moses Mayekiso, and senior officer Mr Sydney Mufamadi on charges of kidnapping.

But he set aside their convictions on charges of assault on the basis that the two offences arose from the same incident.

The judge also threw out a counter-application

By SONTI MASEKO

by the State for the court to set aside sentences of R2 000 for each of the men for kidnapping and replace them with more severe sentences.

Ms A van der Walt, for the State, said kidnapping was a serious offence and that a prison term would be a more appropriate sentence.

Naidoo, Mayekiso and Mufamadi were convicted of kidnapping a policeman, Sergeant Monge Maleka, on August 28 1990.

Maleka was found spying outside the National Acceptance House in Johannesburg, which houses the offices of Cosatu and the SA Communist Party.

They appealed on the grounds that they did not have knowledge of the "wrongfulness of their conduct".

However, Justice Van Schalkwyk said their application had to be viewed against their educational background and their intellect.

He said it was clear from Naidoo's evidence that he was an intelligent and articulate person.

He said the trio's submission, that they did not have a wrongful state of mind at the time of the kidnap, could not be sustained.

Rejecting the application for a more severe sentence, the judge said the appellants perceived themselves to have been under siege at the time the crime

was committed and that there was a conflict between Cosatu, its affiliates and the security police.

He said the sentences were appropriate. He said the parading of Maleka at a Press conference was an audacious act.

The judge added the appellants knew that they took the chance by holding the conference knowing that it was not likely to get them in any greater difficulty with the law than they were already in.

At the end of the judgment, Trengrove gave notice that he would apply for leave to appeal at the Appellate Division.

Youth leader arrested

POLICE yesterday arrested ANC Youth League secretary-general Mr Rapi Molekane during a pre-dawn raid on his Soweto home. *Soweto 25/3/92 (327)*

Mrs Patience Molekane said yesterday that about 13 heavily armed policemen swooped on their Pimville home at 12.45am and picked up her husband after searching for "weapons".

Police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn confirmed the arrest of the 31-year-old activist.

ANC condemns arrest of official

POLICE raided the home of ANC Youth League secretary-general Rapu Molekane in the early hours yesterday and arrested him on charges of illegal possession of arms, an ANC spokesman said. (327)

The ANC condemned the arrest, saying such arrests could jeopardise the negotiation process.

In Codesa, the existence of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, remains a thorny issue.

Police spokesman Col Tienie Halgryn said police searched Molekane's Pimville home and seized a firearm and a hangrenade.

After ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma condemned the arrest, the youth league accused authorities of "harrassing our people".

"The ANC Youth League demands that the regime immediately stop harassing our people and instead be part of the facilitating of the establishing of an interim government under which all outstanding matters of this nature should be finalised," a statement said. B10ay 25/3/92

Molekane's wife Patience claimed that at least 13 heavily armed police swooped on their home.

She said she opened the door after she heard it being kicked. "They said they were looking for weapons. They started opening the ceiling, took everything out of the wardrobes, climbed on top of the beds with shoes on, opened freezers, the pots and so on. They searched the bathroom thoroughly. After three minutes they said they found a grenade."

Molekane's attorney said a bail application would be made today. — Sapa.

Miners return to work after unrest

PRODUCTION at Impala Platinum's Bafokeng North mine resumed yesterday after weekend violence left 14 miners dead and resulted in 8 000 workers not reporting for work on Monday.

Last night, management was consulting employee representatives to establish the cause of three days of fighting between NUM supporters and non-supporters.

The majority of employees reported for the early morning shift yesterday, but 700 Sotho workers, who had requested to return to Lesotho because they felt threatened by the violence, had not yet returned.

Meanwhile a third man was arrested yesterday for his alleged part in a Johannesburg train attack last week which left 10 people injured.

The arrest of the 25-year-old man followed a breakthrough by Park Station police on Monday when two Zulu-speaking hostel dwellers were arrested on a train near Jeppe.

Police also took a 48-year-old man into custody for questioning.

THEO RAWANA reports that PAC national campaigns committee chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya said yesterday the PAC had called for a boycott of trains and a national stayaway.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg, Madzunya said his organisation would invite the Organisation of African Unity, the UN and the

STEPHANE BOTHMA

EC to set up a commission to investigate the "faceless forces which sowed division among the dispossessed, voteless masses".

The PAC would consult all community organisations, churches, labour federations, business and political organisations. The campaign would start soon, Madzunya said.

Sapa reports that a gunman wounded two Uwusa members on Monday in attack at a hostel complex in Thokoza on the East Rand.

Inkatha Institute spokesman Ed Tillet identified the victims as Jerry Malepe and Phillip Ngcobo.

In a separate incident at an adjoining hostel, another man was wounded in the face after being shot at.

Sapa reports that the Goldstone commission of inquiry is to sit in Pretoria on Friday to investigate allegations by Inkatha that ANC structures were planning a terror campaign against the organisation.

"None of the alleged information has been furnished to the commission. As far as I have been able to establish, it has also not been furnished to the SA Police," said commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone.

□ Sapa also reports that Codesa delegates yesterday held talks with national peace accord chairman John Hall "with a view to taking resolutions on the question of violence".

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
BUSINESS LEADERSHIP UNIVERSITY OF
SOUTH AFRICA

LEADERSHIP IN PRACTICE

ANC condemns arrest of official

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Molekane's attorney said a bail application would be made today. — Sapa.

GRAD
BUSIN

LEADE

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

Four die in roadblock shootout with police

NELSPRUIT — Four men allegedly in possession of AK-47 rifles and ammunition died during a shootout with police after speeding through a roadblock early yesterday morning.

Another vehicle, which had been travelling with them, man-

aged to escape.

After receiving information that a group of men had travelled to Komatipoort to procure AK-47 rifles for a planned bank robbery, police set up roadblocks.

At about 3 am, police at a

roadblock on the White River/Nelspruit road near KaNyamazane waved down a minibus and another car.

According to police, the second car sped away but the minibus stopped about 100 m away.

The passengers inside imme-

diately started shooting at the police, who fired back.

The minibus burst into flames. One of the men, engulfed in flames, escaped through a window and seconds later two loud explosions rocked the minibus. This was

followed by regular bursts of exploding ammunition, according to police.

The other men were unable to escape and died in the fire. Police later found two AK-47 rifles in the burnt-out vehicle. None of the dead has been identified.

Police detain 6 in wake of ANC youth leader's arrest

STAN 27/3/92
Staff Reporters

Police arrested six men for being in possession of two AK-47 rifles and a P38 9 mm pistol on the outskirts of Meadowlands, Soweto, on Wednesday night during follow-up operations after the arrest of ANC Youth League (ANCYL) general-secretary Rapu Molekane on Tuesday.

In a statement issued yesterday, Soweto regional commissioner of police Major-General Kobus Malan said the men were arrested and their weapons confiscated near the Meadowlands hostel.

They are to appear in court.

"The South African Police have every reason to believe that a bloodbath was avoided through these timely arrests," he said.

Mr Molekane (31) was arrested during a police raid on his Jabavu house early on Tuesday morning. He was allegedly in

possession of a firearm and a hand grenade.

He was released on bail of R5 000 yesterday and is due to appear in court on April 15.

● Reacting to allegations by the ANCYL this week that Mr Molekane's arrest was part of a campaign of police harassment, Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said yesterday: "It appears that the youth league is trying to imply that the police have acted in bad faith and that the priority should be to negotiate with organisations such as the youth league rather than to arrest its leaders."

He said there was no agreement between the Government and any organisation which allowed any person to illegally possess firearms or hand grenades. All signatories of the National Peace Accord had agreed they were subject to existing laws, he added.

Coetzee 'will not be prosecuted'

B (Dew) 27/3/92

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — Criminal proceedings would not be brought against self-confessed "death squad" operative Capt Dirk Coetzee, the SA Justice Department announced yesterday.

The department said Coetzee's legal representative was informed last week the police did not intend instituting legal proceedings against him.

The department was reacting to statements made by Coetzee that he would not return to SA to testify in a court action regarding the murder of ANC lawyer Griffiths Mxenge without indemnity.

The department said Coetzee did not require temporary indemnity to return to SA to give evidence in court.

"We are consequently at a loss to understand Coetzee's reticence to return to SA unless other reasons exist to explain this," the department said.

The family of Mxenge has been forced to abandon an application to fly the renegade Coetzee to Durban to appear as a star witness against government.

Coetzee and the Mxenge family's lawyers yesterday accused President F W de Klerk and the Justice Ministry of obstruct-

ing the action.

The Mxenge family, which is suing the Justice Ministry for compensation, claims government is ultimately responsible for ordering Mxenge's murder near Durban in 1981, when he was hacked to death by Coetzee's "death squad" of four black policemen.

The civil action was due to open in Natal on April 16, but was postponed yesterday because of De Klerk's failure to respond to an application for temporary immunity from prosecution for Coetzee.

Louis Skweyiya SC, acting for the family, said the immunity order, and guarantees for Coetzee's security, required De Klerk's approval and his office indicated six months ago this would be given.

"Six months later and we are still waiting," said Skweyiya. "Without his evidence there can be no action for compensation."

He said he had had to write to Justice seeking a postponement to arrange for Coetzee to give his evidence to a judicial commission in London. He regarded this situation as "far from ideal".

Are spies here to stay?

Soult 28/3-21/4/92

(327)

Is it acceptable to have spies in a democracy? With all the freedoms implicit in the concept, will it also be everyone's democratic right to spy on someone else? **Quentin Wilson**, probes:

IN THE CUT-THROAT business of party "politics", it seems intelligence services are, and always will be, an integral and legitimate weapon for state control.

At the moment, the National Intelligence Service (NIS) the Security Branch (SB) and Military Intelligence (MI) are the main elements of South Africa's intelligence community.

The SB has merged with the Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB) of the South African Police to become the Criminal Investigation Service. Its brief, however, has to all intents and purposes remained the same.

The Department of Foreign Affairs, the SA Correctional Services, the National Co-ordinating Mechanism, Escom, the National Parks Board, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and the Human Sciences Research Council all provide intelligence which is co-ordinated by the National Intelligence Interpretation Branch of the State Security Council.

Glimpses into the murky world of state security and intelligence have been given by former agents like Dirk Coetzee and Nico Basson. From the agencies themselves, however, comes a cleaner image.

"We in the NIS have no doubt in our minds that, given our complex, diverse and highly volatile community, the NIS must position itself to identify and monitor points of tension within society," a NIS spokesperson said.

"The strategic intelligence approach should enable us to inform the government of the day as to the causes of such tension, its



EX-HIT SQUAD CHIEF: Dirk Coetzee lifted the lid on the sordid side of South Africa's secret police

Photo: Rashid Lombard

further development, the malevolent exploitation thereof, as well as of factors to consider when deciding on a policy to address it.

"That is what we are striving to do. That is how we approach our job," he said.

The ANC, in its mouthpiece Maybuye, due out this week also argues that there is a need for intelligence services even in non-analogous settings.

"With current world trends of resolving conflicts peacefully, its functions should be taken over

by multi-party structures.

Redefining its priorities for transition, this restructured intelligence service should "be made accountable to interim government structures and involve intelligence elements other than the South African government, such as that of the ANC," the article said.

It also demands that the CIS, formerly the notorious Security Branch, should disband over an agreed period and its personnel be transferred to other SAP sections.

"All agents and informers spying on legal organisations should terminate these activities. Detention without trial, infiltration, surveillance and other such activities should end. "Special units such as the Askaris should be disbanded and training facilities like Vlakplaat closed down. Police found guilty in court of criminal acts should be subject to disciplinary action.

"A watchdog body that includes members of the public should oversee the process," it said.

The ANC's position at the negotiating table would also include the pruning of Military Intelligence's bloated bureaucracy.

"MI should be limited to co-ordinating the various tactical intelligence components of the Defence Force such as Naval, Army and Air Force Intelligence."

Introducing an intelligence culture which upholds basic human freedoms would need a number of control mechanisms that could pull intelligence services into line.

In this regard, intelligence activity should be subjected to regulations and limitations specified in human rights legislation.

While a multi-party body should monitor the observation of these parameters, the ANC wants four other systems to be further investigated:

- An ombudsperson system: The ombudsperson would have access to all information and documentation. People who feel they have been prejudiced by security or intelligence activities would lodge complaints with a security ombudsperson who looks into them.



EX-SADF SPY: Nico Basson

- A review system: this would involve a public committee that checks all information gathered and assesses its truthfulness.

- Financial control: Auditing authorities would have unhindered access to financial records so they can report to the public satisfactorily. This would prohibit using secret accounts to spend public funds.

- An intelligence code of conduct: this code should expressly forbid those practices for which current intelligence agencies have become infamous such as assassinations, abductions and torture.

Whatever systems they finally agree upon, there will be a number of obstacles that will have to be dealt with.

For one thing, some parties will be reluctant to discuss intelligence matters as part of the negotiation process because of their sensitivity. A more longstanding problem will be the political leanings of intelligence personnel. In the past, state intelligence agencies have clearly all defended apartheid.

How easy will it be for them to break away from defining the enemy as the ANC and their sympathising organisations?

By Sabata Ngcai

AN ACTIVIST AND former political prisoner who was actively engaged in gathering information about hit-squad activity in the Vaal region died violently in controversial circumstances this weekend.

Political organisations vehemently denied claims by police that ANC-SACP member Mr Saul Tsotetsi committed suicide. He was attacked and killed when in the ensuing struggle a hand grenade was hurled at him by his assailants," said an ANC-SACP statement.

Tsotetsi was a member of the SACP Regional Executive Committee in the PWV region.

He was also an additional member of the ANC Evaton branch

Death of activist sparks anger

South 28/3-2/4/92

executive committee and a full-time employee of the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

A statement by the ANC-SACP PWV region said Tsotetsi had been with two officials of the local SACP at his home after the Sharpeville day rally until 2am on Sunday.

At 2am he accompanied the two officials and on his return he was accosted by five men. "In the ensuing struggle a hand-grenade was hurled at him by his assailants, which killed him instantly.

"Two of the assailants were also killed in the incident.

"We dispute the police version

that Tsotetsi committed suicide.

"Throughout his days of imprisonment and as an organiser of the ANC and SACP, he showed no suicidal tendencies.

"Not only is the police version factually incorrect, it is malicious."

Tsotetsi's death followed a series of hit-squad attacks in the country.

According to the Human Rights Commission (HRC) in the PWV region, 41 incidents of violence were reported in Soweto, Alexandra, East Rand, Vaal, West Rand and Johannesburg.

"Most of the incidents took the form of attacks against individuals.

The hit-squads had attacked people in Natal, Transvaal and Bophuthatswana."

In reaction to the death of Tsotetsi, the ANC-SACP PWV region and Cosatu Vaal region said in a joint statement: "We have received with shock the news of the assassination of one of our distinguished activists.

"We note that his assassination comes in the wake of a successful ANC March 21 rally held in Sharpeville over the weekend.

"To us the murder of Tsotetsi cannot be differentiated from all other assassinations of ANC

activists in the Vaal in particular and the PWV region in general.

"A clear pattern of orchestrated attacks by unknown death squads who continue to elude the police continues to emerge.

The SACC expressed "deep grief and anger at the murder" of one of its staff members.

In a statement, the SACC said: "During the past year Tsotetsi has been instrumental in uncovering perpetrators of violence in the Vaal.

"He was instrumental in securing testimony from a resident of Kwamada hostel, with whom Judge Goldstone himself is to meet this week.

"We do not consider it incidental that Tsotetsi was killed on the eve of delivery of this key testimony."

Vlok gets Act together

CIPRESS 29/3/92
THE section of the Correctional Services Act dealing with the publishing of incorrect information about prisons or prisoners is to be scrapped, the Minister of Correctional Services, Adriaan Vlok, says.

Vlok said at a press briefing on Robben Island the legislation put the onus on the publisher of the story to prove that reasonable steps are taken to verify information. (327)

Contravention of Section 44(1) f provided for a fine of up to R8 000 or a maximum prison sentence of two years. - Sapa

Cadre fears for his life

By SOPHIE TEMA

C/PRESS 29/3/92
SHARPEVILLE Umkhonto we-Sizwe cadre Sam Ntepe is hiding from a hitman who, the ANC claim, has been given R5 000 to kill him.

Ntepe's house has been attacked twice by mystery gunmen with AK-47 and R-1 rifles.

This week executive members of the ANC met Vaal police liaison officer, Piet van Deventer, to discuss violence in the townships and the attacks on Ntepe's house.

Van Deventer said some cases in which police misconduct had been alleged were being investigated.

He said the ANC asked for the immediate arrest of a policeman who shot Montoedi Molebatsi, a Sharpeville ANC member. He added there was not enough evidence to justify an arrest.

The ANC said that during the discussions it became clear that some matters affecting the residents were not reported to Van Deventer by his fellow officers.

Speaking to City Press at his hide-out, Ntepe said he had tried unsuccessful-

fully to get the Sharpeville station commander, J Seaba, to set up a peace pact with local youths.

"I offered to speak to the youths in the hope that Seaba would do the same, but I have been ignored.

"Now I am being harassed because the police claim that I instigated the youngsters to intimidate white policemen in the township.

"I went into hiding because I know that there will be an attempt on my life.

"I am now prepared to bypass Seaba and speak to his superiors because we want peace and stability in our townships," he said.

■ This week the ANC found several shells in Tshosane Morobi's tavern in which 17-year-old student Alice Mabuye and another woman, Mphoko Chabedi, were killed.

On Wednesday night VaalWeekblad journalist Peter Mabuye and his five-year-old daughter escaped unhurt when six men opened fire on his car near Evaton.

Several bullets hit the bakkie, and the windscreen was shattered. Mabuye said he recognised one of the gunmen.

Self-confessed police hitman Dirk Coetzee 'won't be prosecuted'

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Sowetan 30/3/92

Sowetan Correspondent

Mr Dirk Coetzee, self-confessed former police hitman would not be prosecuted if he returned to South Africa, the Department of Justice said on Friday.

"Mr Dirk Coetzee's legal representative was informed on March 20 that the South African Police do not intend taking any steps in respect of the institution of criminal proceedings against Coetzee.

"His client, therefore, does not require temporary indemnity to return to South Africa in order to give evidence in a court of law.

"We are consequently at a loss to understand Coetzee's reticence to return to South Africa, unless other reasons exist to explain this," a Department of Justice spokesman said.

Coetzee, former commander of a Vlakplaas death squad with the rank of captain, has agreed to give evidence in a civil case brought by the family of slain Durban lawyer Griffiths Mxenge.

He told the Harms Commission in London of his involvement in the Mxenge murder, and two others.

Coetzee has said the only guarantee he would accept was an indemnity signed by President FW de Klerk.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said:

"In his circumstances it is reasonable to want something more substantial than a statement by the Department of Justice."

Gigs in the park are banned

Sowetan 31/3/92
By ALINAH DUBE

FESTIVALS and all other open-air and cultural activities have been banned with immediate effect from Moretele Park in Mamelodi.

The decision by the Mamelodi Council to impose a ban on festivities at the park, which has hosted celebrities such as Hugh Masekela, was announced at a council meeting yesterday.

In a report tabled at the meeting, the council's director for community services, Mr JJ Pienaar, said the decision was taken as a result of damage to the park during music festivals and the fact that the venue was not available to the general public during such occasions.

The council resolved that an alternative site be identified for all open-air, social and cultural activities.