

TOTALITARIANISM — GENERAL

1992 — ~~1993~~

APRIL — MAY.

# ANC, cops in talks over weapons Act

THE enforcement of the Dangerous Weapons Act came under the spotlight when a delegation representing the ANC, SACP and Cosatu met Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel on Monday.

The meeting, held in Pretoria, also the conduct of members of the SAP and Kwazulu police.

Other issues discussed by the two parties included the lack of strict enforcement by police of legislation prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons in public.

Among those present at the meeting were the Commissioner of Police, Gen-

eral Johan van der Merwe, Cosatu official Mr Jayendra Naidoo and senior ANC member, Mr Aziz Pahad.

The pending transfer of four SAP police stations to the Kwazulu police in Maputaland, Northern Natal, also came under the spotlight.

ANC official Ms Barbara Hogan, who also attended the meeting, said a follow-up meeting would be held towards the end of the month, to deal with measures to be taken concerning issues raised by the delegation.

By TSIDI THINANE

# Speeding up media's appeals

Sowetan

2/4/92

Sowetan  
Correspondent

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A QUICKER appeal system against decisions by the censors to ban publications such as magazines is to be introduced.

Provision for this was made in the Publications Amendment Bill tabled in Parliament on Tuesday by the Minister of Home Affairs. Several aspects of the 1974 Publications Act are tidied up by the Bill.

Once it becomes law, an appeal against a censors committee decision against a publication published periodically has to be noted within three days from the date the decision was made known.

The appeal has to be heard and decided upon within four days of its being lodged.

## Undesirable

This is shorter than the present time periods allowed.

In some cases, a magazine declared undesirable can still be sold while an appeal is being considered. The censors are trying to close this loophole.

Censors committees will also be able to stop some publications or objects from being sold, hired or lent through a mail order system, yet can allow the same items to be distributed by book shops, lending libraries or wholesale distributors.

The censors will acquire the power to set conditions on the packaging cover for video versions of a film.

People applying for the certification of a film will also have to submit to the censors a copy of the video version.

The Bill also allows for a more effective and flexible way of appointing the chairman and members of the Publications Appeal Board, and to transfer the powers of appointment from the State President to the Minister of Home Affairs.

# ANC burial site denied

By FRED KHUMALO

THE ANC was dealt a heavy blow on Friday when it failed to force the Umlazi town council — through an application to the Durban Supreme Court — to allow nine of its members who died in a massacre in the township last month to be buried in the local cemetery.

The organisation's legal representative, Monti Moodley, told hundreds of ANC supporters who had marched to the Supreme Court that the court had found that there was potential for an outbreak of violence should the victims be buried at the Umlazi cemetery.

However, he also announced that the organisation had received an urgent letter from township manager R.M. Mkhwebane informing the organisation that it could bury its dead at the nearby Kwamakhutha township cemetery.

Judge  
told to  
'uphold  
human  
rights'

Information and Publicity head for the ANC's southern Natal region, Dumisani Makhaye, reacted strongly to the judgment. "While it is within the power and capacity of the ANC to make sure that no member of Inkatha — not even the mayoress herself — is buried in Umlazi... but, then, we are not that kind of people. We are not irresponsible."

Umlazi mayoress Maria Xulu flatly denied the ANC permission to hold the funeral in Umlazi, citing the potential for the outbreak of violence.

Makhaye said the ANC had turned down the Kwamakhutha township offer "with the contempt it deserves", and told the crowds that arrangement had been made for the dead to be laid to rest at Chester-ville cemetery after a service at the local community hall.

ANC supporters snaked through Durban's Grey Street on Friday, carrying seven coffins, while two hearses formed part of the protest march to the court where a memorandum was handed to the Judge President of Natal calling on judges to "uphold the basic human rights of people of Natal through the courts of law".

The IFP welcomed the court ruling.

"We found it highly suspect that the ANC was insisting on burying its members in Unit 17 when they were not even killed in that section," an IFP spokesman said.

He said the town council's decision was made with the true interest of Umlazi and its residents at heart.

The nine ANC supporters who were to be buried in Chester-ville yesterday are part of the 18 people who were killed in the ugliest fighting in recent months in Uganda, a shack settlement and ANC stronghold on the outskirts of Umlazi.

The attack which took place in the early hours of March 13 was reportedly launched by hostel dwellers from Umlazi's Unit 17 where the township's ceme-



**Claim against police**

ATTORNEYS acting for the family of a Lutzville man who died in police custody last year have instituted a claim for damages of R118 000 against Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Frederick Cardinal was detained by police for allegedly resisting arrest. Cardinal, an ANC member, was found dead in his cell early on the morning of November 24. An autopsy at Tygerberg Hospital on November 26 found that he had died of extensive stomach and other injuries.

8/10/92  
814/92

# Emergency regulations may usher in interim rule

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By IKE MOTSAPI

EMERGENCY regulations may be imposed to ease the establishment of an interim government, it was learnt this week.

A final decision on whether or not to impose these laws would be decided after a four-member task force had tabled its findings to Codesa Working Group 1 on April 21, a source told *Sowetan*.

It is expected that an interim government would be installed by June this year.

"It is premature to say that Codesa will impose those laws or not," the source said.

According to the source, the task force was appointed after objections were raised over the Government's proposals that emergency regulations be imposed during the transition period leading to a new democratic South Africa.

The Government's contention, according to the source, was that violence should be contained during this period, which will lead to the first nonracial elections next year.

Delegates at Codesa Working Group 1 charged with creating a climate for free political activity felt that the decision to impose emergency laws should be taken in consultation with Codesa and the Cabinet and not the State President alone, as mooted by the Government.

Delegates this week expressed concern at the slow progress achieved since Codesa 1 and the Government's unyielding position on its proposals.

However, *Sowetan's* sources said an interim or transitional authority would definitely be installed by June this year.

The breakthrough came on Tuesday when an 11-man technical committee was appointed to draft guidelines to be adopted when a transitional government is eventually formed.

## 'Gang paid for office fire'

Pretoria Correspondent

The offices of a Wesselton lawyer with ANC links were set alight on the instructions of a senior police officer, the Goldstone commission of inquiry has heard.

The commission yesterday heard how Warrant-Officer van Zweel, instructed members of the Black Cat gang in Wesselton near Ermelo, to set the offices of lawyer, Mr Stephen Ngwenya, alight.

The incident occurred after gang members were chased out of the township in 1990.

A former member of the

gang — referred to only as Mr A — told the commission that Warrant-Officer van Zweel approached them while they were staying at the United Workers Union of South Africa offices.

Warrant-Officer van Zweel gave them money for petrol and also offered them liquor and cigarettes.

Mr A told the commission that three members of the gang volunteered to set the offices alight.

The commission also heard Black Cat members were trained by Kwa-Zulu Police to handle firearms.

STAR 9/4/92

# 'Black Cats' reign of terror

Sowetan 10/4/92

(252) (252) (327)

THE Goldstone Commission yesterday heard how members of the notorious "Black Cats" gang in Wesselton, Ermelo, went on the rampage after undergoing training in KwaZulu.

Details of the gang's activities were revealed by a former member of the gang, who is referred to as Mr B.

Mr B told the commission that the "Black Cats", backed by "a handful of graduates from the Caprivi Strip", attacked ANC members and petrol-bombed their homes and businesses in 1991.

The "Caprivi Strip graduates", who were from KwaZulu, frequently visited Wesselton.

Mr B told the commission the attacks took place after the gang underwent training in KwaZulu in the use of firearms.

The commission heard that the "Black Cats" were still carrying attacks on residents in Wesselton and that the so-called "comrades" in the area were afraid of them.

Another witness - referred to only as Mr C and a former Inkatha Freedom Party member - said in a statement read before the commission he had been trained in the Caprivi Strip in 1986.

The man, who has since joined the ANC, said he was approached by two IFP members in 1986 and asked if he was interested in joining the KwaZulu Police.

As it was always his aim to be a policeman, he indicated he was interested.

Mr C said he and other young men, who were supporters of the IFP, were flown to the Caprivi Strip where they spent few months undergoing training.

They were supplied with camouflage uniform and were given training in the use of firearms, explosives and how to stage ambushes and launch attacks in urban areas. Mr C said the men who carried out the training also wore camouflage uniform.

It was not clear which defence force units the men belonged to as they did not wear any badges or name tags.



**N**EW evidence of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's links to men who were being trained by South African security forces at secret camps was led before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation in Pretoria this week.

Two former "Black Cats" — once members of a pro-Inkatha gang still operating in the eastern Transvaal township of Wessellon, near Ermelo — faced a barrage of questions about their training and acts of terror.

Reference was often made to a *Weekly Mail* article in which "Mr A" and "Mr C" told of the gang's reign of terror and how they were encouraged, equipped and trained to carry out violence against African National Congress-linked targets by the security forces.

Giving evidence behind closed doors, Mr C said he was recruited to undergo extensive military training in the Caprivi after being recruited to join the kwaZulu police force.

He said his group had been told that they would be working for the chief minister and that Buthelezi himself had been introduced to the trainees on their return from the Caprivi.

Mr C said in his evidence this week that he was approached by two Inkatha organisers in January or February 1986. One of them, Thomson Xesibe, was at that stage a member of the kwaZulu police while the other, Mtwe Mofolo, was an Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade organiser.

"They asked me if I would be interested in joining the kwaZulu police. They told me they were looking for people whom they knew and trusted and who had worked for Inkatha. They did not tell me where I would be trained. They told me I would be trained as a policeman."

The next morning he went to the Inkatha offices in Ulundi, as instructed, where he met Xesibe and Mofolo.

The same day they were taken to Nhlungwane, which is a camp site used by Inkatha members when they have rallies.

"Xesibe told the assembled youths that we were to be trained as kwaZulu policemen. Mofolo and a Mr Sibanda would talk to us about the IFP and the importance of Inkatha as an organisation. They also talked to us about the IFP constitution."

One evening the trainees were told they would be leaving the camp the next day but were not told where they were going to.

The next day they flew out in a green coloured plane to a camp in the Caprivi. There were approximately 100 trainees under the leadership of Daluxolo Luthuli, who was known as "the Commissar" and people with problems could go to him.

"He also participated in instructing us on the use of firearms, explosives and he lectured to us on the Inkatha constitution."

Mr C added: "He would also talk about the ANC when giving lectures on the Inkatha constitution. He used to say that when he was with the ANC he was

'sold out' by members of the ANC."

"Right from the beginning we were divided into four platoons. Each platoon had its own instructor ... All our instructors wore camouflage uniforms. At no stage did any of them give us any details about their real identities or who they worked for." The uniforms had no insignias or badges.

"The main part of our training involved instruction in the use of weapons which included the AK-47, the Uzzi, the G-3 and hand weapons such as the Browning pistol and Tokarev."

When they returned from the camp they carried on with part of their training and one day were told they were going to be working for the chief minister by a Mr Swart from Pretoria.

Approximately four days later Buthelezi came to the farm with Makhele Khumalo — his former personal aide.

"We were introduced to Chief Buthelezi as a group. He said to us that he was grateful to meet us. We were allowed to go home for two weeks and instructed not to tell our families where we had been."

Mr A told the commission the Black Cats had been instructed by a senior police officer, a Warrant Officer Van Zwiol to set alight the offices of Steve Ngwenya, an ANC attorney, during August 1990.

At the time the gang was sheltering in the offices of the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) — Inkatha's trade union wing — after being chased out of the township.

Three members of the gang volunteered to do the job.

Mr A said Van Zwiol later gave them money for petrol and offered liquor and cigarettes.

He said he was not aware of any white policeman that had helped orchestrate a string of murders in the township, as mentioned in a *Weekly Mail* article in January, but that a number of acts — assaults, attacks, arson — "orchestrated by the police were not brought to court".

Gang members were taken from the Uwusa offices to Ulundi in minibuses, one of which was driven by a person Mr A only knew as "Da" or David, whom he believed to be a kwaZulu Police (KZP) member.

The gang stayed in Ulundi for approximately two months, where some Black Cats received weapons training.

Later, the gangsters were transferred to a Mkuze camp where a select group of about 22 were put through an intensive course in how to shoot with AK47s and 9mm handguns.

Mr A said he had received weapons training at Amatigulu camp later. The group returned to the township in March 1991.

Asked why he didn't inform the police about the gang's activities, Mr A alleged the police were working hand-in-hand with the gang.

He said he stopped going around with the Black Cats in January 1992 and then went to *The Weekly Mail* with information that he had about the gang.

The hearing continues on Monday.

## Buthelezi 'pleased to meet Caprivi trainees'

Two former members of a pro-Inkatha gang told the Goldstone Commission this week of their training, attacks and meeting Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. By LINDA RULASHE

# Rampage after 'KwaZulu training'

Pretoria Correspondent

The Goldstone Commission has heard how members of the notorious Black Cats gang in Wesselton near Ermelo went on the rampage after undergoing training in KwaZulu.

Details of the Black Cats' activities were revealed yesterday by a former member of the gang, referred to as Mr B.

Mr B told the commission that the Black Cats — backed by "a handful of graduates from the Caprivi Strip" — attacked ANC members and petrol bombed their homes and businesses last year.

The "Caprivi Strip gradu-

ates", who were from KwaZulu, frequently visited Wesselton.

Mr B told the commission the attacks took place after the gang underwent training in the use of firearms in KwaZulu.

The Black Cats were still carrying out attacks on residents in Wesselton and that the so-called "comrades" in the area were afraid of them.

Another witness — referred to as Mr C, a former Inkatha member — said in a statement read before the commission he trained in Caprivi in 1986.

The man, who has since joined the ANC, said he was approached by two Inkatha members in 1986 and asked if he was interested in joining the Kwa-

Zulu Police.

Mr C told the commission that together with other young men, who supported Inkatha, he was flown to the Caprivi Strip where they spent the next few months undergoing training.

They were supplied with camouflage uniforms and were given training in the use of firearms, explosives and how to stage ambushes and launch attacks in urban areas.

Mr C said the men who trained them wore camouflage and some were known to them by their nicknames. It was not clear which defence force units they belong to as they did not wear badges or name tags.

The inquiry continues.

STAR 10/4/92



## CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 10/4/92

### TERRORISM

#### White fangs

From the cell where he is serving a life sentence, mass murderer Barend Strydom, the Pretoria "Wit Wolf," is urging followers to fight the "enemies of the Boerevolk" with all available means. The message is contained in a letter, dated February 13, mailed from Pretoria Central Prison and published in the latest edition of rightwinger Robert van Tonder's *Boerestaat Nuusbrief*.

Subscribers received their copy with Strydom's call to action about 10 days before a limpet mine was detonated at the Rand Show at the weekend. In a statement to the SABC, the shadowy Wit Wolwe organisation claimed responsibility for the explosion which injured nine whites, two of them seriously.

"It is never too late," writes Strydom in urging rightwingers to become involved in the struggle of the *volk*. "The process is reversible. We can never accept this situation under which we are illegally suppressed and a communist ANC government is thrust upon us. Never but never! What you can do is much more than I can and am allowed to do from inside the prison. The enemy must be fought with all means available to us."

According to the Wit Wolwe, who apparently claimed responsibility after Saturday night's explosion, "black terror was a huge headache . . . terror by whites will make it look like a picnic."

The statement called for an end to gambling with the *Boere* heritage, and concluded: "Apartheid is dead. Long live apartheid." It was typed on a Wit Wolwe letterhead and listed a series of demands, including representation of whites by whites, a white homeland and the destruction of communism. The organisation undertook not

to use violent methods as "far as possible" and said that members would give their lives for their country and their people. The message was typed over what appeared to be a sketch of a snarling wolf.

The Boerestaat Party's Robert Van Tonder tells the *FM* that he communicated with Strydom through "an intermediary" on Sunday and, according to information that had reached him, Strydom denies any knowledge of the attack or involvement by the Wit Wolwe. "To us this looks like an orchestrated attempt by the police to justify action against rightwingers," says Van Tonder.

Correctional Services Major Wena Greyling says that, according to their records, Strydom wrote a letter to "a Mr Du Toit" on February 13; the mailing and publication of which was not a contravention of the Prisons Act.

But Clause 44 of the Act states that it is an offence to publish a photograph of a prisoner 30 days after a court has found him guilty of an offence unless written permission is obtained from the Commissioner of Prisons. "Permission has not been granted to the publication concerned (*Boerestaat Nuusbrief*) to publish a photograph of prisoner Strydom," Greyling says.

Van Tonder admits that he did not ask for permission to print Strydom's picture. He says the letter was given to him by someone but he is not prepared to name his informant. He will not comment on whether he knows "a Mr Du Toit."

Van Tonder says he often visits Strydom and that he went to see him three weeks ago. Strydom still believes in the *volksstryd*, says Van Tonder. "This is understandable. As a youngster he experienced the horror deeds that were done to his own people and this had an effect on him."

The *Beeld* newspaper said on Tuesday in an editorial that those responsible for the

bomb "were being fed by insinuations from rightwing leaders — among them even people like Prof Carel Boshoff — that a violent option to the struggle for 'Afrikaner freedom' cannot be excluded."

Rand Show MD Anton Post has announced a R20 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the explosion.

Eddie Botha

under the Department of Environment Affairs.

become a heated one on the West Coast. The owners of small boats

subsidaries and branches of the big companies often get quotas as well."

# State destroying trial documents

South 11/4 - 16/4/92.

By Sabata Ngcai

THE ANC has raised its voice over allegations that the state is destroying political trial documents, saying material "crucial to building a full record of South Africa's history" should not be lost.

The ANC released the statement after it had discovered that the state was destroying these documents.

This is in contrast to countries such as the former Soviet Union where such material is kept for pub-

lic view and posterity.

At the time of going to press, a spokesperson for the Ministry of Justice said more time was needed to comment on the controversy.

The ANC said: "Although the destruction of trial records after a period of five years is a regular procedure, we urge that the practice be halted until such time as their historical merit has been independently ascertained."

It called for a moratorium on the destruction of all trial records and for the appointment of an indepen-

dent body of historians to assess the value of such documents.

The statement said the country could not afford to lose other material "as too many valuable South African documents have already been destroyed".

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said: "An attempt by the state to destroy documents is to cover up nefarious deeds committed in the past."

The documents were highly esteemed and should not be destroyed, he said.





STAR 14/4/92

## Commission told of 'keep quiet' threat

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Own Correspondent

DURBAN — KwaZulu police recruits who underwent training in the Caprivi Strip were warned they would "catch the first bus" if they divulged details about their training, the Goldstone Commission heard.

Vitalis Vela Mncunu, a former special constable attached to the KwaZulu Police, yesterday told the commission the warning was issued by a Captain Langeni and a senior Inkatha official known to him as "Mashwabane".

Asked what was meant by the warning, Mr Mncunu said it meant that whoever divulged information about the Caprivi training would be killed.

Mr Mncunu, who is in custody after being arrested for the murder of two men in Pinetown in March this year, told the commission he was afraid of the two men, especially Captain Langeni.

He said he was recruited by the two after he was charged with the murder of another man, Itoto Dlamini, in 1987.

He was taken to Mkuze and later to the Caprivi Strip, where he underwent training.

Mr Mncunu said after his training, he was appointed as Chief D J Ndlovu's guard in the Ixopo district. His services were terminated after the shooting of the two men.

Mr Mncunu told the commission the two men had earlier asked him to kill people with whom they had problems.

# Red Cross seeks suspected SA spies

STAR 14/4/92

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LUSAKA — The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has asked the Zambian government to help it trace two unnamed Namibians believed to have been detained at Livingstone and Kabwe prisons for allegedly spying for South Africa during the liberation struggle.

Zimbabwe-based ICRC delegate Werner Koller said yesterday the government had also been requested to allow an office in Lusaka to trace other Namibians.

Mr Koller said the ICRC had been asked by the Namibian government to investigate the fate of hundreds of Na-

mibians who had gone missing during the liberation struggle.

"At least in Zambia we know of two Namibians believed to be in prisons in Kabwe and Livingstone. They were suspected spies for Pretoria while it governed South West Africa."

He said similar ven-

tures were already in swing in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola and Botswana, where the ICRC had been assured total co-operation.

The ICRC has appealed to all Namibians wishing to find missing relatives to report to the nearest Red Cross centre. — Sapa.

STAR 14/4/92

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# Buthelezi's assistant 'paid hit-squads'

W/Mail 16/4 - 23/4/92

THE former personal assistant to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — MZ Khumalo — was actively involved in paying the salaries of the 200 ex-Capriivi trainees and spiriting away those sought for murder by the South African Police.

These startling details came to light this week at the Goldstone Commission, currently hearing evidence on *The Weekly Mail's* allegations regarding Inkatha hit-squads.

In his testimony before the commission, ex-Capriivi trainee Vela Mchunu, who has been linked to a string of murders in kwaZulu/Natal, sketched a picture of on-going top-level Inkatha involvement with the trainees that con-

tradicts earlier evidence given by kwaZulu Police (KZP) Brigadier Sipho Mathe and MZ Khumalo.

However, Mathe and Khumalo's testimony to the commission confirmed that when the trainees returned from Capriivi they were not employed by the KZP but paid from a secret Inkatha account funded by military intelligence and that access to this account required the signatures of both Khumalo and Buthelezi.

Currently facing charges on two counts of murder and implicated in several other murders, Mchunu's "CV" gives credence to claims that the trainees were used for shadowy, hit-squad type purposes and were issued

**Further evidence of Inkatha involvement in hit-squad activities was revealed at the Goldstone Commission this week.**  
**By PHILIPPA GARSON**

with false identities or hidden away when the heat was on.

His story also confirms that the 200 men were absorbed into the kwaZulu police without official induction, were given false KZP identity cards, signed by Mathe and issued by Inkatha official Khumalo, and not the KZP, and paid a

monthly salary by Khumalo at the Inkatha offices in Ulundi.

Khumalo, referred to at the commission by Mchunu as "Mashobane", resigned as Buthelezi's right-hand man after the Inkathagate scandal, but he confirmed in evidence to the commission that he is still a member of Inkatha's central committee.

Mchunu is due to appear in court in June for the murder of two men near Pinetown about two months ago.

Facing at least four other murder charges, Mchunu's name came up in the trial last year of Samuel Jamile, ex-kwaZulu deputy minister of interior and central committee member now serving a life sentence for murder and

attempted murder. Mchunu allegedly committed at least one murder acting under Jamile's instruction.

Mchunu was fetched from his prison cell in Durban to give evidence before the commission this week on his training in Capriivi — known as "Israel" — in July 1986 and his and the other trainees' subsequent activities.

Numerous allegations, to the effect that the 200, after receiving training, were deployed around Natal and further afield as Inkatha hit-squad members, have been made.

Mchunu (26) told how he and the other trainees were warned that if they ever disclosed details of their training they would "catch the first bus", which meant be killed.

The alleged killer told how he had been recruited for training by local Inkatha leader Joseph Mabaso in Hammarsdale in 1986. On his return from Capriivi six months later, Mchunu said he, "along with about 12 or more (trainees), was issued with guns by Mashobane ... "to act as security guards in Hammarsdale.

There Mchunu shot dead Robert Dlamini, a brother of one of his fellow trainees, Bheki Dlamini. The murder charge and a charge of being in possession of an unlicensed firearm were withdrawn at the Camperdown magistrate's court in 1987. His kwaZulu police appointment card, issued to him and the others "by Mashobane" some time after returning from their training, was then taken away from him, and he was dismissed from the force, Mchunu testified.

At first, during the evidence led by commission advocate JJ Du Toit, Mchunu implied his relationship with Mashobane and the KZP came to an end after he was charged with Dlamini's murder.

But under cross-examination by advocates Louis Visser (SC) acting for Inkatha and David Sogot (SC) acting for *The Weekly Mail*, a far more sinister picture unfolded of how Mashobane later hid Mchunu and the other security guards after they were implicated in the murders of the three unionists in Mpophomeni in December 1986. The murders triggered extensive violence in the area.

Mchunu also told how he was later issued with a false KZP special constable card under the name of Alfred N Masango, the identical name of another Capriivi trainee who Mchunu testified was today working as a kwaZulu policeman in Ulundi. This is despite speculation in certain quarters that Masango was in fact murdered by his own colleagues.

Mchunu first told the commission he visited Mkuze camp (where alleged military training of Inkatha youths took place) because he was unemployed and had nothing better to do. However, he later said: "When I said initially that I was visiting Mkuze I was not there on my own. They took me there to go and hide — Mashobane and Captain Langeni ... that is where we were hiding with the people who were (implicated in the crimes) at a place called Trust Feeds. They (four SAP kitskonstabels) have also been caught."

Mchunu described how he and the others implicated in the Mpophomeni murders were first hidden in a dingy back room behind Mashobane's shop in Ulundi, where he would deliver food at night to them. Mchunu says he was later taken to Mkuze.

Mchunu told how he was issued with the new police card with a false identity and a machine gun when he became a security guard for a headman, Ndlovu, in the district of Ixopo in 1991.

Justice R Goldstone turned down a request by Inkatha's advocate Visser that none of the names which cropped up in the commission be published on the basis that this would render reporting meaningless.

The hearing continues on June 1.

## Inquiry into the soldiers' rampage

By DREW FORREST

UNRULY elements within Phola Park's defence unit may have set the spark for the 32 Battalion "riot" in the East Rand squatter camp last week.

*The Weekly Mail* last week lifted the lid on a leadership controversy in Phola Park in which members of the defence unit have played an active role. There are reports of an armed seizure of power and a subsequent reign of terror against residents.

Given the ferocity of the battalion's reaction — one person was killed and 100 hurt in an alleged hours-long orgy of shooting, beating, rape and plunder — it seems likely the soldiers were shot at by squatters, as the SADF has claimed.

Sources say the apparent hysteria of the largely Angolan battalion was atypical. "They've polished their marbles since the war in Angola," one commented. "They seem to have behaved with restraint during the recent Nancefield violence and in Natal."

Phola Park's defence unit was almost certainly responsible for the AK-47 attack on a passing minibus on February 26 in which four inmates of the nearby Thokoza hostel were killed. The four were members of Inkatha's United Workers Union employed at the Rand Water Board, but evidence put before the Goldstone Commission strongly suggests the attack was unprovoked.

A spokesman for the settlement's new leadership, Zinile Mathiso, this



Assaulted by army ... Phola Park residents show some of the injuries inflicted by 32 Battalion

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

week denied his committee had been installed by force and insisted no-one had fired on the soldiers. He declined to elaborate, saying he did not want to prejudice a planned meeting with the ousted leaders.

But *The Weekly Mail* understands that the ANC and its armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, are worried about the defence unit's lack of discipline.

The question of what 32 Battalion was doing in the area remains. The Goldstone Commission is to investigate this, but the likelihood is that it was conducting an arms sweep. Phola Park squatters all say the soldiers kicked down shack doors and demanded to know where weapons were hidden before assaulting them with pipes, rifle butts and pangas.

The raid appears to form part of an emerging pattern of SADF weapons searches in ANC-supporting black settlements. Last Friday the SADF combed the Mandela squatter camp, in Bekkersdal on the West Rand, for arms, sparking complaints of widespread abuse.

A member of the ANC's regional executive committee, Sonwabo Ngonini, said he was woken at 1am by white soldiers and two blacks in balaclavas wanting to search his house for weapons.

With them was another ANC man, Zola Jakuba, who had allegedly been forced to point out Ngonini's house. He was covered in mud — he claims he was made to roll in a ditch — and said in Xhosa: "They have already killed me". Ngonini understood this

to mean he had been badly beaten.

Ngonini said when he pointed out that only policemen with warrants were empowered to conduct a search, he was abused and threatened in Afrikaans. During the illegal search which followed, R260 belonging to his mother disappeared.

Also assaulted, Ngonini said, was branch committee member Douglas Mqina, together with numerous other shack-dwellers. When the search failed to yield results — large holes were dug in Mqina's shack floor — Mqina and Jakuba were "abducted" to the SADF base outside the township, where they were "tortured" before being released at noon the next day.

Earlier in the week, Bekkersdal's

● To PAGE 5

## Black Cat leader Ngwenya gunned down

W/Mail 16/4 - 23/4/92

By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE notorious leader of the Black Cat gang from Wesseltown and the mother of one of the Black Cats who has testified before the Goldstone Commission were killed early this week.

According to police, Black Cat leader Chris Ngwenya was gunned down at about 7.30pm on Sunday "by unknown men (who) fired shots with an AK47 rifle at him. He was hit in the head and died".

Police say the mother of "Mr A", who has testified to the commission that Black Cats were given weapons training in Inkatha's Mkuze camp, was apparently stabbed in her bed 15 minutes later. Her throat had been slit.

Proceedings at the commission were interrupted by news of the

Wesseltown violence and advocate Piet Kemp, acting for the South African Police, announced that "the events were of such concern to the SAP that they have decided to appoint an independent investigator to look into the violence".

Kemp added that the investigation was also prompted by allegations that certain members of the SAP based at the Ermelo police station were implicated in the Wesseltown violence.

Reports of the sequel of events are still garbled with the Black Cats preventing entrance to their stronghold of Wesseltown Extension where the murders took place.

A Lawyers for Human Rights employee, acting on reports that the houses of the Black Cats giving evidence to the commission were being

destroyed, visited the area with some of the witnesses on Tuesday afternoon. He and some of the witnesses were stormed by an angry band of Black Cats who rushed out of their dead leader's house, brandishing pangas and a pistol.

The LHR employee described the incident as "extremely frightening. I am just glad we're still alive". He and his companions went to the Ermelo police station to request a police escort. Police, he said, then refused to search the gang leader's house for arms, despite being requested to do so.

The LHR employee said the Black Cats jeered at local ANC activist John Mudebele and told him in the presence of the police that he would be dead by Friday night.

A terrified Mudebele, who has

received countless threats on his life, was trapped inside his house during the week with the brothers of Mr A who have fled their home. Several members of the gang reportedly encircled the house at strategic points. Despite a commitment from the police that they would guard his house, no police presence was spotted.

The SAP issued a statement saying that "precautions (were) being taken to protect the lives of all inhabitants of Wesseltown. The area is intensively patrolled by police."

Responding to reports that the lives of certain people were still being threatened, Judge Richard Goldstone asked whether protection would be offered by the SAP. Kemp responded that "that matter will also be addressed".



# Media outraged at Sisulu subpoena

By Brian Sokutu

Media groups are outraged at the issuing of a subpoena against New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu and political correspondent Enoch Sithole, forcing the newspaper to reveal its sources alleging police involvement in the western Transvaal taxi feud.

The subpoena, issued by Klerksdorp police, was served on the two journalists under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

It followed New Nation's publication of an article in February which quoted a source claiming that police were biased in the taxi feuding between two taxi organisations — the Itereleng Long Distance Taxi Association and the Jouberton Main Line Express.

Some policemen "became interested parties in the conflict" because they owned taxis, alleged the source in the New Nation report.

Mr Sisulu and Mr Sithole face a jail sentence should they refuse to identify their sources.

"The editor would not have made it available to police because this is not an ordinary crime but political violence," reacted Campaign for Open Media chairman, Raymond Louw.

He called on police to



Subpoenaed . . . New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu.

withdraw the subpoena.

In its response, the South African Union of Journalists said it was "appalled" at the police action. Said SAUJ general secretary Karen Stander: "The press is once more dragged in to do the job of policemen."

"We find this move inexplicable when the Section and its use against journalists is currently being reviewed by the Ministry of Justice, and when there have been indications that the Section will be amended," said Ms Stander.

The International Federation of Journalists has commended the refusal by the two journalists to disclose their sources, said the organisation's South African projects co-ordinator Jeanette Minnie. Forcing journalists to disclose sources severely curtailed the free flow of information, she said.

# Cops' attitude is holding up aims of Accord

Sowetan 22/4/92

THE Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression is hampered in implementing the aims of the National Peace Accord by the negative attitude of some policemen to "outsiders" assisting them.

In its March report, the IBIIR says: "One of the essential elements of the National Peace Accord is the impartiality of the police and their willingness to accept help from organisations and individuals working in various communities.

"Our experience is that we have been unable to assist members of the SAP to the best of our abilities due to their negative attitude towards 'outsiders' assisting them."

The board says police repeatedly used the media to encourage witnesses to come forward and assist with investigations, but "when attempts are made to facilitate this, we often find ourselves arrested or accused of tampering with or changing statements."

Police spokesman Captain Steve van Rooyen reserved comment on the allegations, saying he would like to see the full IBIIR report before responding to its claims.

The following examples of friction between board members and the SAP are cited in the report:

- An IBIIR researcher involved in investigating the shooting of an ANC member in Sharpeville was allegedly "accused by a member of the SAP, right in front of an Inkatha Freedom Party hostel, of being involved in the burning down of IFP houses in the area."

- During the course of the Goldstone Commission hearing on Tokoza violence, an IBIIR researcher was accused by counsel for the SAP of telling witnesses not to co-operate with the police.

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Sowetan Correspondent

The report says this researcher was persistently followed by two white men in a minibus while she was taking statements from potential witnesses.

"Whenever the researcher entered a house the kombi parked a few doors away. When the researcher left the house, the kombi then parked outside the house where the researcher had just been."

In Carletonville, where the IBIIR has assisted a police investigation of alleged torture and extra-judicial executions by the Welverdiend unrest unit, no fewer than nine people who participated in the investigation or laid a complaint against local policemen were arrested and/or charged in a court of law.

"To date two people have had their charges withdrawn following a recommendation by the Attorney-General, two were acquitted and one was discharged following the presentation of the State's case."

The IBIIR report says Carletonville residents were beginning to ask what is the price of co-operating with the investigation.

"Witnesses have been threatened and warned that they are 'not far off from the mortuary'. The board's researcher and the local ANC chairman were told that a certain suspended policeman had plans to eliminate them as they were the cause of the suspensions of members of the force."

The IBIIR concludes in relation to Carletonville that "despite the best intentions by senior police officers to investigate police irregularities, the attitude of their more junior colleagues often leaves much to be desired."



## HOUSE OF DELEGATES

## QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version

For written reply:

General Affairs:

## Films: censoring/age restrictions

26. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (1) How many (a) English, (b) Afrikaans and (c) Indian-language films were submitted to the Directorate of Publications for censoring during the latest specified period of 12 months for which figures are available;

- (2) how many films in each of the above categories (a) were rejected and (b) had age restrictions imposed on them?

D119E

## The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) 988

(b) 1

(c) 476

(2) English Afrikaans Indian

(a) 114 — —

(b) 527 — 5

Information is for the period 1 January to 31 December 1991.

## Own Affairs:

## Education expenditure: amounts spent

16. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

- (a) What amount was spent by his Department in 1991 on (i) salaries of teachers and principals, (ii) salaries of administrative staff, (iii) salaries of inspectorate and executive officials, (iv) salaries of any other specified staff, (v) capital expenditure, (vi) supplies and services, (vii) equipment and (viii) other items and (b) what percentage of the total education expenditure

diture by his Department in 1991 does each of the above amounts constitute?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

	(a)	(b)
(i)	R895 938 458	100 %
(ii)	R686 717 522	76,65%
(iii)	R22 294 263	2,48%
(iv)	R14 069 248	1,57%
(v)	R4 851 917	0,54%
(vi)	R12 825 861	1,43%
(vii)	R148 578 043	16,59%
(viii)	R6 601 605	0,74%
	Nil	—

The above are provisional figures in respect of expenditure up to 29 February 1992 of the 1991/1992 financial year. The final figures for the entire financial year will only be available after the finalization of the appropriation account. Figures are not maintained in terms of a calendar year.

The revised requirement for financial year 1991/92 was R1 005 261 000.

## Springfield/Transvaal College of Education: councils/senates

22. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether councils and/or senates have been established at the (a) Springfield and (b) Transvaal College of Education; if not, why not; if so, (i) when, (ii) what are the (aa) names and (bb) qualifications of the persons appointed to these councils and/or senates, and (iii) what procedure was followed in appointing these persons, in each case?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a) and (b): Yes.

(i) On 15 April 1988 (both Colleges).

(ii) Refer to Annexures.

(iii) Council: The appointments in terms of regulation 3(1)(b), (d) and (g) were

automatic. The appointment/s in respect of:

3(1)(a), (c), (h) and (i) were done after nominations were received from the Councils of the Colleges concerned and EXCO of the Department. Recommendations were then made by the Chief Executive Director to the Minister for approval of the appointments;

3(1)(e) were effected after the officials were identified by EXCO and their names were recommended by the Chief Executive Director to the Minister for appointment as nominated members on the Councils. The officers were chosen to represent specific divisions of the Department;

3(1)(j) was effected after the M.L. Sultan Technikon submitted its nomination/s and on the advice of EXCO, the Chief Executive Director recommended the appointment to the Minister;

## Senate

The appointments in terms of regulations 8.1(a), (c), (d), (e), (f) and (g) are self explanatory.

The appointment/s in terms of: 8.1(b) was effected after the Chief Executive Director had designated one of the Vice-Rectors to be the Vice-Chairman;

8.1(h) was effected after the Chief Executive Director had appointed two members who are in the employ of the Department.

SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE OF EDUCATION: COUNCIL MEMBERS  
APPOINTMENTS IN TERMS OF REGULATION 3(1):

(ii)	(aa)	(bb)
Name	Qualifications	
(a) Prof L E Peters (Chairman)	BA, BSc, UED, MEd	
(b) Prof P Reddy (Vice-Chairman)	MSc, UED	
(c) Dr D Bagwandeen	PhD, BEd	
(d) Prof T H Bennett	Pr Eng, BSc (Eng), MSc, PhD (London)	
Prof M Moodley	BSc(H), BEd, UED, MEd, DED	
(e) Mr J A Louw	Bachelor of Military Science	
Mr M M Moodley	BA(H), BEd	
Mr B M Moodley	BA, BEd	
Mr S T Enoch	BSc(H), BEd, NTSC, NTSD	
(f) Two vacancies exist w e f 1992-03-01 in view of the dissolution of the recognized teachers' association (TASA).		
(g) Dr T Isaac	BSc, DEd	
Mr M Mahipath	MA, BEd, UED	
(h) Mr M Mia	Matric	
Mr T Singh	BA, BEd	
(i) Mr S Zuma	BA, Dip. in Tertiary Education	
Mr J N Singh	BA(Natal), LLB(Wits)	
(j) Prof R Soni	BA(H), LLB(Natal), LLD(SA)	

# ANC official arrested over Natal arms cache

A PROMINENT African National Congress official was arrested in Empangeni, Natal, after police found a large arms cache in a building occupied by the organisation, police said yesterday.

In a statement the South African Police said the arrest on Wednesday followed a search of the building in the Northern Natal town.

The arrested ANC official was not identified. "It was necessary for the police conducting the search to make use of force in order to gain access to the premises after the owner failed to produce the key," the statement said, adding police had acted on the authority of a search warrant granted by a magistrate.

Police recovered 612 rounds of AK ammunition; one AK-47 rifle magazine fully loaded; two Stechen pistol holsters; six hand-grenade dust covers; three Stechen pistol magazines; one Stechen pistol; 124 rounds of Stechen ammunition; one AK-47 rifle cleaning kit; one AK-47 rifle carrier strap; four hand-

grenade detonators; and nine rounds of .38 special ammunition. The arrested ANC member has been charged with unlawful possession of explosives and a firearm and defeating the ends of justice. - SA Press Association

Seventeen

24/4/92

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## BAROMETER

W/week 24/4 - 29/4/92

On April 19, a person was injured when Johannesburg municipality security guards fired rubber bullets at a group of residents living in a tent after they had been evicted from their homes in Ennerdale. South African Defence Force collusion in the attack was alleged by the Ennerdale and Surrounding Civic Association.

On April 20, the African National Congress reported that a Meadowlands youth was admitted to hospital and another arrested after the SAP Internal Stability Unit raided homes in the area, "assaulting residents, looting property and shooting teargas and buckshot".

**Informal repression**  
SECURITY force action accounted for two deaths and three injuries and 29 arrests in the past week, according to the Human Rights Commission.



# The man who turned a haven into hell

Keeping the peace was never Captain Brian Mitchell's objective when he arrived at Trust

Feed. By **FRED KOCKOTT**

**T**RUST FEED was once a peaceful haven. That was before the arrival of Lieutenant Brian Mitchell in early 1988.

A residents' association, the Trust Feed Crisis Committee (TCC), had successfully resisted government plans to develop Trust Feed into a whites-only residential area. It worked closely with the regional planners and, among other things, established a clinic for the area.

It had won recognition as the representative of the community. This did not suit an Inkatha landowner in the area, Jerome Gabela, nor kwaZulu government officials. They wanted control and sought the assistance of the Joint Security Management System, a central government security network, to establish an organisation to take over Trust Feed.

Mitchell, promoted to captain, who had close ties with the security police and was centrally involved in the Joint Security Management System, was transferred to the district to take command of the local police station in New Hanover.

The court heard how Gabela was used as a pawn to establish a Landowner's Association in opposition to the TCC.

Mitchell conceded that this was a security strategy. "In other words," remarked prosecuting attorney Anthony Irons, "you set up an organisation which supports the government of the day and you oust the one which would not follow the same principles."

"That is what happened," Mitchell responded.

And so began a power struggle. The court heard how a community, ostensibly living at peace, was torn asunder by squabbles which eventually took on a political overtone. The TCC became labelled "UDF" — a front for the then outlawed African National Congress.

Mitchell told the court Gabela had lacked backbone in dealing with the "UDF" and he had decided to "jack him up and get him to be more forceful". "Can we take it you mean a little more violent?" Irons asked. "In other words he must conduct attacks to oust the UDF in the area?"

"That's what eventually happened. That's correct," said Mitchell.

The court heard that Mitchell took Gabela and two other Inkatha members from Trust Feed to a meeting with the former head of Pietermaritzburg's Riot Unit, the late Major Deon Terblanche, and kwaZulu MP David Ntombela.

At the meeting it was decided that six special policemen would be dispatched to Trust Feed to act as an "assistance force" for Gabela.

Riot Unit officers (accused numbers one and two) Captain Jacobus van den Heever and Sergeant Neville Rose made the arrangements.

The arrival of the special policemen was not recorded. They were posted in civilian clothes at the homes of three Inkatha members. Police declared Trust Feed an operational area and barred journalists from entering Trust Feed.

In a massive police operation the next day, Friday, December 2 1988, all the young men of Trust Feed were rounded up, gathered on a sports field, and 11 supporters and members of the TCC detained. Police searched the homes of people perceived to be UDF-supporting and confiscated any weapons that could be used to ward off attacks.

"So, those capable of defending the area were detained and Gabela was left to use the special constables to launch an attack. The aim was to make it easy for Inkatha to wipe out the UDF once and for all," the presiding judge, Mr Justice Wilson, said.

"Yes," Mitchell replied.

According to residents, a curfew was also declared that night and people warned to stay indoors as police would be operating in the area.

The deputy Inkatha chairman, John Nxumalo, said he went to bed that night "feeling quite happy". Before he got into bed, he noticed that the local shop belonging to the chairman of the TCC had been set alight.

The homes and properties of all but two of the 11 people detained were razed that evening. No one was killed in these attacks. Most residents had already fled. But at the Sithole home, house TF 83, a group of 19 people had gathered to hold a wake for an old man who had died of natural causes.

"People were preaching in turn," said Francisco Mathonsi.

"There was praying and singing," said Phillip Makhoba.

The service ended after midnight, and people made arrangements to sleep. The men bedded down in the first

## Five found guilty of murder

THREE years after the event, Captain Brian Mitchell and four special policemen were yesterday convicted of 11 murders and two attempted murders at a Trust Feed home.

"Mitchell not only pointed out the house but gave the signals for the attack to start," said Mr Justice Andrew Wilson.

He said it was perhaps a mistake that this house was pointed out but when Mitchell gave instructions his intention was that all the occupants be killed.

Mitchell and the special policemen were convicted of 11 counts of murder and two counts of attempted murder. Charges of attempted murder related to six survivors, who were not injured, were dropped.

The two Riot Unit "operational officers", Captain Jacobus van Heever and Sergeant Neville Rose, who arranged for the special policemen to be taken to Trust Feed, were acquitted as the state had not proved beyond reasonable doubt that they had known of the plans to kill people.

room, women and children in the second and third. In accordance with Zulu custom, the candles remained burning in respect for the deceased. It was this house that was attacked by four of the special policemen, at 3am. Mathonsi and Makhoba lived to testify.

They were not at the Sithole home when the room-to-room killings took place. They heard gunshots — lasting several minutes — but did not know exactly where the shootings were taking place.

At daylight, as they walked to the Sithole home, they saw a crazed person running away from the house, zig-zagging in a funny manner.

At first they thought he was the local lunatic. But as Mathonsi lowered his eyes from the roof of the house to the entrance, he saw a human head protruding from the front door. Half the man's head had been blown away by a shotgun blast. Inside the house, bodies lay all over the place.

As they picked their way across the floor, thick with blood, they heard a groan. Makhoba's wife, Ida, sat pressed against the wall, her forehead leaning on the face of a dead friend. She was trapped under bodies which had fallen on top of her and saved her life.

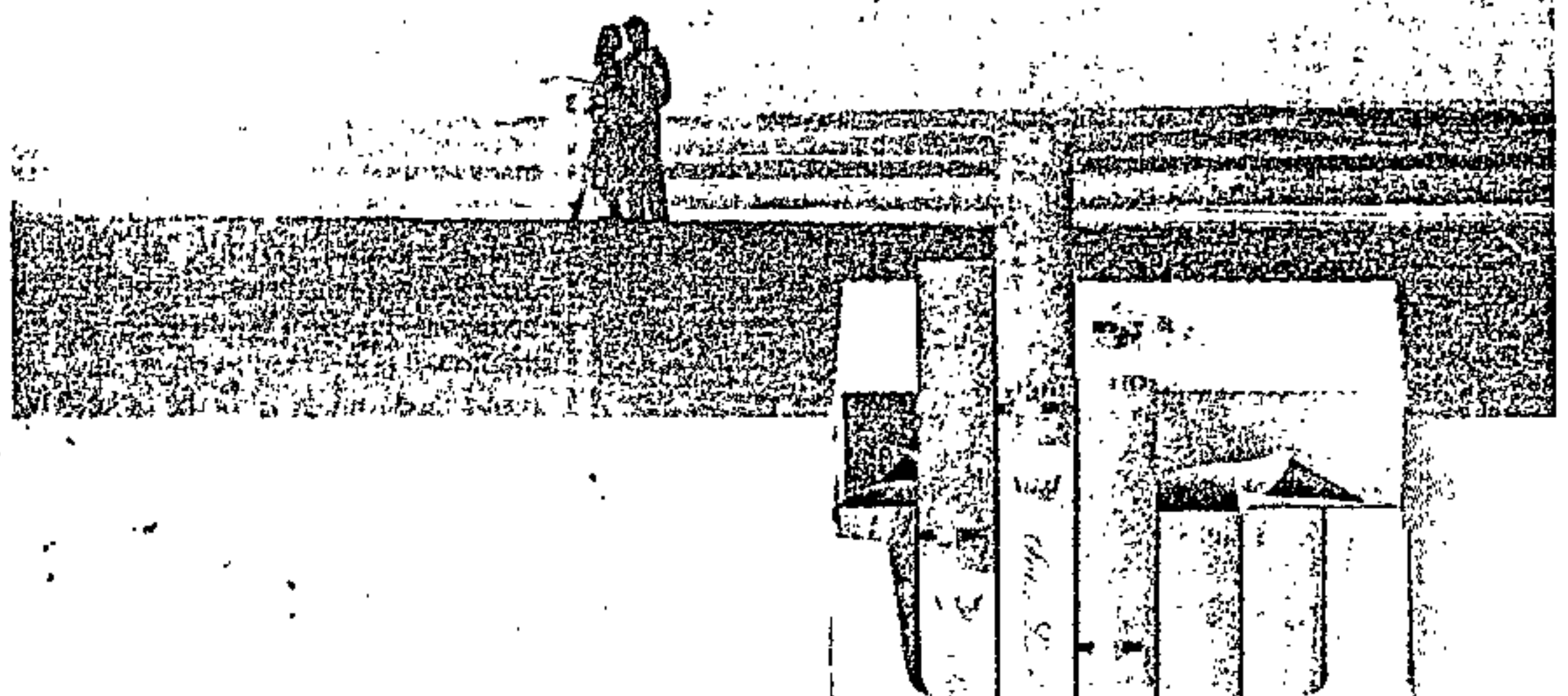
Nearby, another woman lay dead, a shotgun cartridge stuck in her nose, protruding from her nostril.

Two little boys also lay dead, lying next to each other, curled up in the foetal position. "There were many *doppies* (spent shotgun

● Continued on PAGE 4

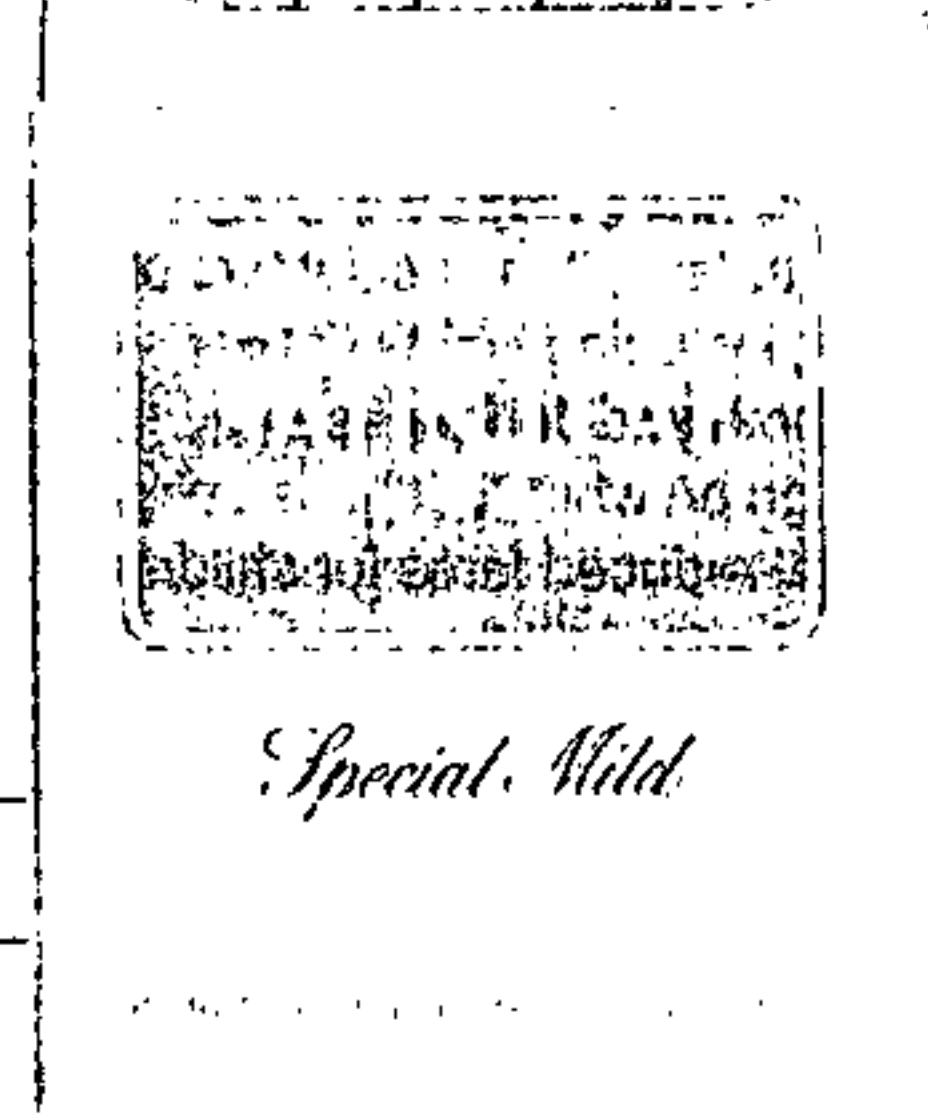
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★ The Weekly Mail will be published a day early — April 30 — next week as May 1 is a public holiday.



# He turned a haven into hell

WIMB 24/4-29/4/92.

●From PAGE 3

cartridges)," said Mathonsi. At some stage unclear to the court, such evidence implicating the police was cleared away from the scene.

A contingent of policemen met in Trust Feed that day, including the head of Natal's Criminal Investigation Department, Major General Christo Marx, and the head of Pietermaritzburg Riot Unit, Major Terblanche. Arrangements were made for the special policemen to be furtively ferried out of Trust Feed.

A police video, more appropriate for a piece of propaganda about blacks killing blacks than for documenting evidence, was also filmed. Relatives and friends of the deceased were made to carry out the bodies and lay them before a camera to allow a policeman to finger and probe the wounds while he talked into the microphone.

Medical evidence indicated that the wounds were all caused by shot-gun blasts fired from point blank range. The court learned that most victims were in fact Inkatha members ...

Why was this house attacked? Mitchell said it was a mistake. He said he had gone into Trust Feed

after midnight to see whether the special policemen had done their job and wiped out the "UDF". He said when he arrived, he was not satisfied that enough had been done. He subsequently picked up the special policemen, dropped them off in the area, instructing them to attack the UDF.

"I did not expect the specials to attack and kill groups of comrades ... When there is violence, women and children normally flee. Women and children are not enemies of the state."

Such was Mitchell's testimony. He took the rap for the killings and said it was a spur of the moment decision to use the specials. "I thought: They have been used before. Why not use them here."

However, the state prosecution argued that Mitchell was covering up, and the attack on the Sithole home was deliberate and part of a security strategy to disrupt the community.

"It was a specific target which you attacked," Irons told Mitchell. "You have said that Gabela lacked backbone, and that he needed to increase violence in the area. Would an attack on an Inkatha household at an

Inkatha wake not have fired him up and achieved your desired purpose? Would that not have pushed him into action and forced the crisis committee out of the area?

"You see those special constables attacked only one house. They went straight up and attacked a particular home. No other attacks were carried out. Were they not acting under your instructions directly?"

"I don't know why they went and attacked that house," Mitchell responded. The court was told that the day after the massacre, Gabela and Nxumalo called a meeting in which they blamed the chairman of the TCC for the attack.

Trust Feed was never the same again. From that day onwards, residents who could not produce Inkatha membership cards were not welcome. Many were too scared to enter Trust Feed, even if it were just to collect their belongings. Their homes were subsequently looted and many were destroyed.

In terms of what was set out to achieve, the operation was a success. Inkatha gained control of Trust Feed. To this day, members and supporters of the residents of the TCC have never returned to their homes.



# FW's package to curb violence

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Private armies are to be effectively banned and the law is to be changed to enable the police to arrest intimidators and perpetrators of political violence before they commit their crimes.

These were among a package of urgent legislative and other measures to combat political violence announced by President de Klerk in Parliament during debate on his budget vote last night.

He said the mere possession of certain weapons — such as automatic guns — would be outlawed.

He had appointed a Government task force to liaise with the National Peace

Committee and the Peace Secretariat to try to bring relief to communities in which under-development was a principal cause of violence.

Mr de Klerk said the Criminal Procedure Act would be amended to provide for special criminal procedures and bail systems to deal with political violence and intimidation.

## Assurance

These procedures would accelerate the processing of these cases and ensure that perpetrators of violence and intimidation were quickly removed from the community.

He said the intention was to make it easier for the police to deal with those who were on the point of committing crimes.

He gave the assurance that the rights of accused would still be honoured, but said the time for more drastic action had arrived.

Urgent legislation would be introduced to ban the organisation, training and equipping of private armies.

It would be aimed at not only leaders of, but participants in, private armies.

The mere possession of certain weapons would become a crime and there would be a presumption that such possession was coupled with common-law crimes.

Incidents of indirect intimidation would also be dealt with. The maintenance and organisation of private armies was itself a form of indirect intimidation.

The aim would be to widen the impact of the Intimidation Act.

## THE TRUST FEED TRAVESTY

TRUST Feed is a small black community near Greytown in the Natal midlands — the scene of ongoing political violence.

On the night of December 2 1988 a police curfew was in place. The local store had been set on fire and a resident injured in an earlier attack. But in tiny shack TF 83, the Sithole household was concerned only with an all-night vigil for patriarch Alfred Sithole, who had died of natural causes.

As is the Zulu custom, candles were lit in all three rooms where the 19 men, women and children were huddled on the floor with blankets pulled over them.

In the early hours of the morning there was a bang on the door and, when one of the men asked who was there, the reply came: "We are the police!"

The door was smashed open and two special constables burst in, shooting as they moved among the mourners.

Widow Mrs Sidedewu Sithole, 68, wailed: "Look, my children, there has been a death in the family ... my old husband has died!" She was shot dead.

### Running

There was loud screaming from the women and children. Mrs Ida Hadebe, 47, recalls that it was so loud, in fact, it was "even bursting through the roof".

A woman shouted forlornly: "Here I am dying with my children!"

Everyone was running around not knowing where to hide as shots were fired by the two constables inside the house and two others positioned outside the windows.

Mrs Hadebe had been sleeping under a window when she was shot, and landed on top of 25-year-old Miss Fikile Zondi, who was also wounded.

When Mrs Hadebe tried to move a gunman said: "There is another one moving" and a shot rang out, hitting her in the left leg.

"There is a head rising, strike it!" and another shot exploded, hitting another living target.

As quickly as it happened it ended and all went quiet.

One of the attackers said in Zulu: "We have struck the dogs, we have finished off the dogs" before leaving the house.

# The SITimes 26/4/92 327 massacre

Fikile Zondi then made a mistake which cost her her life. She said to Ida Hadebe, who was still slumped on top of her: "Move, they have already left."

Hearing this, one of the attackers stalked back into the house and opened fire on the two women, killing Fikile and wounding Ida three times in the shoulder. Daybreak revealed the true horror of what had happened. There were bodies all over the place, blood was everywhere and there was even a bullet wound in the stomach of the dead man to whom they had all come to pay their respects.

Two little boys, Musi Shangase, 4, and nine-year-old Nkanyene Shangase, were among the dead, who included seven women and two men. Ida was taken to hospital with another injured victim, Mrs Nongoli Zulu, 50.

Captain Brian Mitchell — the man who had not

only ordered the attack, but who fired the first shots at the targeted house — set about destroying evidence and trying to distance himself from events.

The special constables were sent home but still received pay cheques for a month, and in some cases two months, afterwards.

In court this year Captain Mitchell finally told the shocking truth: he had planned the operation to help Inkatha oust the United Democratic Front-based Trust Feed Crisis Committee (TCC).

### Testified

He said it was a "mistake" that the special constables had attacked an Inkatha household, that he had wanted them to "attack and kill the UDF", whom he regarded as "enemies of the state".

Two days before the massacre, six special constables were posted at the homes of three Inkatha

members and were in civilian clothes. Two of them, who did not take part in the attack, testified against their colleagues.

Police declared the area an "operational zone" and barred journalists from Trust Feed. The next day, the day before the massacre, police carried out a massive operation, detaining 11 supporters and members of the TCC and confiscating weapons from homes.

Mr Justice Wilson told the court that this was clearly intended to remove those who could defend the community against an attack planned by Captain Mitchell.

When the special constables gave evidence, their defence was that they were acting on orders, but the court rejected this on the basis that they would have had to be legal orders. In this instance, they were clearly not.

The trial resumes for pleas in mitigation tomorrow.



## HoR Nats in talks at Ulundi

NATIONAL Party MPs led by the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, this week met with their counterparts in Ulundi, capital of KwaZulu. 26/4/92 The Rabie delegation were received by KwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthe, his full Cabinet and Deputy Ministers. Mr Rabie said yesterday the purpose of the meeting was to explore matters of common concern like the need for co-operation on constitutional developments in South Africa. There was also agreement that co-operation and cultural exchanges should be promoted between the two Ministers of Education and Culture.

## Trade show

THE State President's wife, Mrs Marike de Klerk, will open the Cape's premier industrial exhibition, the Cape Industrial Trade Show (CITS), at 8.30am on Tuesday, June 9, at the Cape Showgrounds, Goodwood. Exhibition space is virtually fully booked, and CITS will be open from 9am to 7pm daily until Friday, June 12. It will open on Saturday from 10am to 2pm.

# Freedom of the media 'an unattainable goal'

STimes Cape Metro: 26/4/92 (327)

By EVE VOSLOO

**PEACE can only be achieved in the open marketplace of ideas, which should give both sides an opportunity to speak freely, the chairman of the South African Media Council, Professor Kobus van Rooyen, SC, said in Cape Town this week.**

Professor Van Rooyen, a former head of the Publications Appeal Board which heard appeals against the (then) rigid censorship in force in South Africa, was addressing a meeting of the Media Council in the civic centre.

He said that during the past decade, the Media Council — set up by the Newspaper Press Union and the Conference of Editors — had played an enormous role in furthering the freedom of the media and maintaining high standards of journalism.

This would have been impossible, however, "without the assistance of a lively, active press, which, throughout the most difficult of times, never lost its independence and continuously fought laws which gave arbitrary powers to government as well as laws

which criminalised acts which upheld nothing more than ideology", Prof Van Rooyen said.

Prof Van Rooyen said the Media Council recognised that absolute freedom of the media was an unattainable goal.

When however, laws granted unfettered discretion to government to ban newspapers, place people on a non-quota list, detain people without trial, prohibit or make virtually impossible reportage on public activity and in a state of emergency to close newspapers down for three months, seize films, banish journalists from unrest scenes, etc "the Media Council has made its views known to government by way of negotiation, proposals and a constant watch on arbitrary action".

"Although the laws referred to mostly had criteria referring to, for example, state security and peace and good order, it needs little argument to convince one that these wide and vague criteria are open to abuse."

Opposition to these laws by the Media Council had led to the channelling of its proposals into amending and repealing statutes, said

Prof Van Rooyen.

"We also have a promise that all the laws which inhibit a free media are being scrutinised at present. The remaining limitations must also be able to satisfy the requirements of a Bill of rights, which we most certainly will have under a new constitution."

He also said that in the past few months the Media Council had made extensive proposals to the government on the Publications Act and the Section 25 duty of journalists to reveal their sources.

"Our proposals regarding the protection of children by way of age restriction and the freedom which adults should have to choose freely to see adult films and read books they want to read. We have not asked for the freedom to distribute pornography — and we believe this accords with modern Western thought — but proposed that vague criteria be scrapped."

In the case of films the Media Council had requested that the Supreme Court should have the final say, that the criminal courts should deal with pornography, and that statutory control — if it is to remain — should accentuate age restriction.

"An informed public will then

make the choices concerning its children."

On the revelation of journalists' sources, the Media Council had requested absolute privilege as a starting point but failing that granting courts the discretion to decide when it will be contempt of court not to reveal sources.

Laws should not be a set of restricting and prohibiting rules, but rather a set of protecting and permitting rules, he said.

"Once one follows this approach, freedom of the media should be the rule which accords with the general open and free democratic air."

At the meeting a decision on a proposal by Mr J G Featherstone of the NPU that the Media Council's membership be cut from 30 to 11, that it move from Cape Town to Johannesburg, that the parties be barred from hiring lawyers and that the power of the conciliators be increased was postponed.

Mr Featherstone said that expansion of the council's functions over the years and its size had made it expensive. Because of the recession the media had to look hard at the bureaucracies it had created and the NPU was not prepared to fund anything beyond what was absolutely necessary.



**FOR MONTH-END SHOPPERS!**

**ALL GOLD TOMATO SAUCE**

## DP Youth backs De Beer

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

THE Democratic Party Youth (Western Cape) has declared its backing for DP leader Dr Zac De Beer who wants the five rebel DP MPs who defected to the ANC this week to resign from the DP. 26/4/92

And Mr Dave Gant, chairman of the National Executive Committee of the DP, said the NEC also backed the demand that the defectors should go.

The five are Mr Jan van Eck (Claremont); Mr Jannie Momberg (Simonstown); Mr Dave Dalling (Sandton); Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) and Mr Reg Haswell (Maritzburg South).

A spokesman for the DP Youth said yesterday it had taken a stand on the issue at a meeting held on Tuesday. "We wish to stress that the executive unanimously agrees with steps taken by Dr De Beer on the issue and re-iterates the commitment of the youth to the DP as an independent party with liberal democratic principles."



## ANC man faces arms charge (327)

THE ANC's Northern Natal regional administrator, Bongani Msomi, who was arrested this week for unlawful possession of a firearm and explosives, appeared briefly in the Empangeni Magistrate's Court on Friday.

Msomi was arrested after police searched a house in Empangeni rented by the ANC for staff members. *Ciphen 26/4/92*

Police said they found a pistol, hand-grenade, detonators and ammunition.



# Neo-Nazis deface Webster's grave

## With Nazi symbol

NEO-NAZIS recently daubed the initials "SS" across the grave of David Webster, victim of one of South Africa's most notorious political murders.

Three years on, the unsolved killing of the prominent anti-apartheid academic is still cause for rejoicing among white rightists who revere Hitler's SS Nazi commandos.

But hopes of uncovering the truth about the killing and others like it have grown this year as white and black leaders thrash out a framework for a new democratic South Africa, police, lawyers and ANC officials said in interviews.

The murder of the white university lecturer still sends a shiver of outrage through human rights activists who suspect a now-disbanded secret army unit was responsible.

Masked men gunned down 44-year-old Webster in front of his girlfriend Maggie Friedman outside

their home in the Johannesburg suburb of Troyeville on May 1, 1989.

Just days before, the Zambian-born Witwatersrand University social anthropology lecturer and Friedman had completed a study of rightwing death squads and sent it to publishers.

In a bitter irony noted by their colleagues, that study concluded: "It is very rare that such assassinations are solved."

At Webster's funeral, hundreds of blacks from trade unions and civic bodies sang freedom songs and paraded down leafy streets to pray at the service in a white suburban cemetery.

"There was an incredible brazenness and arrogance in the killing," said a lawyer close to the case.

"There was a clear message. It was on May 1 - international Workers' Day - it was in broad daylight and was just after they wrote the study.

"It really is a case that has been utterly buffeted by

politics - the reforms which happened a few months later changed everything and that kind of state-linked assassination became less possible."

Matthew Phosa of the ANC's Legal Department said: "If the killers tell us what they did, in return for amnesty from prosecution, it ensures such things will never happen again."

An amnesty could be agreed in talks between the ANC and the Government on changes to security force units suspected of dozens of unsolved murders of democracy activists, he said.

The mechanism could be similar to one which has allowed ANC guerrillas suspected of crimes to return from exile, he added.

Tomorrow academics and human rights activists will gather at Witwatersrand University to open a new student residence, the David Webster Hall.

"The constant remembrance of the assassination is of the utmost importance because he was one of many

people who have died in mysterious circumstances," said Sheena Duncan of the Independent Board for Inquiry into Informal Repression.

"It is extremely important to discover and disclose the sinister forces linked to the security forces which have been, and perhaps still are, operating in this society."

Even if an amnesty is agreed few expect a quick solution because the killing may be linked to the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB), a shadowy army unit that gave evasive and contradictory evidence at an inconclusive 1990 inquiry into death squads.

The inquiry's failure is a source of lasting anger among black activists who recall with bitterness President FW de Klerk's pledge to "cut to the bone" to probe political killings.

The unit, an army special forces project begun in the turbulent mid-1980s, showed strong opposition to De Klerk's political re-

forms and told the probe its job was to "maximally disrupt the enemies of the state" at home and abroad. It has destroyed files on its work inside South Africa.

"Investigators come up against this sudden wall. Documents disappear," said Duncan, a veteran anti-apartheid campaigner. "It's extremely hard to



DAVID WEBSTER . . . gunned down.

catch the end of the string that will unravel this secret complex of operators."

Shortly after Webster's killing, police arrested and interrogated several CCB members but they were released within weeks for lack of evidence.

Brigadier Floris Mostert, who heads the police investigation, said he had no new

leads but added the truth could yet come out if the killers fell out with one another.

"After many years we may unexpectedly stumble upon something," Mostert said. "Criminals keeping a secret eventually fall out. Then they talk. It's just human nature." - Sapa-Reuter



## 'Disaster area'

*Donner 28/4/92*  
A DELEGATION from violence-torn Alexandra township met the Minister of Law and Order yesterday to discuss the plight of 10 000 displaced families.

The delegation also discussed the possibility of declaring affected places disaster areas.

Speaking after their meeting with Mr Hernus Kriel at police headquarters in Pretoria, Mr Paul Mashatile, a spokesman for the 12-man delegation, said 60 people had died in the township since March 7.

The delegation comprised members of the ANC, the SACP, Cosas, the ANC Youth League and Sadtu.

"We told the Minister that we would like the Government to declare areas affected by violence disaster areas," said Mashatile.

These areas were between First and Sixth avenues (London and Roosevelt) in "Beirut".



Soudan  
 28/4/92  
 (327)

**THE ANC yesterday agreed to the imposition of the state of emergency and detention-without-trial laws while the interim government is in place.**

In a document submitted to Codesa Working Group 1, the ANC however said the state of emergency should only be declared on the advice of a multiparty interim executive authority, cabinet and interim council.

The ANC said it accepted that provision should be made for "the justifiability of the proclamation of a state of emergency or unrest area and any regulation issued in terms thereof."

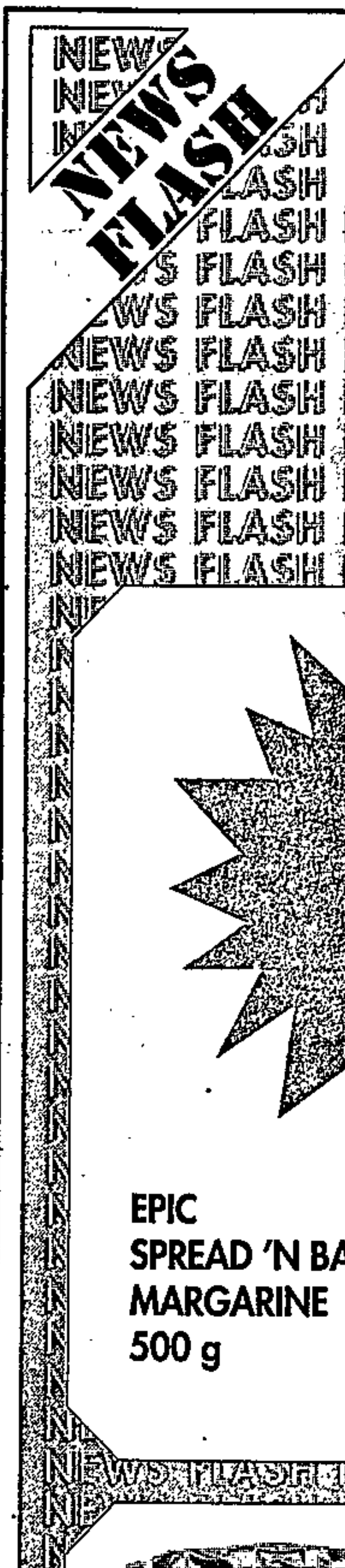
The ANC said it was however opposed to the power allowing for a state of emergency to be proclaimed retrospectively.

Other issues that the ANC was opposed to included the right to life, the right to legal personality, the and the right to a legal remedy.

Reacting to the move, many delegates at Codesa described the development as a major concession.

The ANC said the following procedures should be taken into account during the state of emergency:

- \* Detainees must be informed of the reasons for their detention;
- \* An adult family member or friend of the detainee should be notified of the detention as soon as possible;
- \* The right to communicate with and or consult a lawyer of the detainee should be guaranteed;
- \* Detainees should be allowed visits by their families at all times;
- \* The names of detainees, dates and place of their detention as well as the laws under which they are held should be published in the Government Gazette promptly;
- \* Detainees should be entitled to be treated with humanity and respect; and
- \* The right of detainees to have a detention reviewed within 30 days of their detention should be guaranteed.



Police spokesman said yesterday of the 10 people who died in test incidents on Sunday were killed by police who returned fire after being attacked in three incidents.

authorities have asked SA's Foreign Affairs department ensure that Katina P captain Trifon Kalatzaikis and five crewmen be returned to Mozambique to assist with an official commission of inquiry into the incident.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs could not be reached for comment.

## Alliances 'may strengthen teachers'

NEW alignments among teachers' associations that cut across racial and ideological lines might strengthen the position of teachers in future, the SA Institute of Race Relations said in a publication released yesterday.

Monica Bot, author of The Politics of Teacher Unity, said in the SAIRR publication important developments over the past few years had been the formation of the SA Democratic Teachers' Union and the National Professional Teachers' Organisa-

tion, and the government's acceptance of a single education system.

She said the willingness on the part of teachers' associations to co-operate and form alliances was crucial, because it involved associations which until recently operated along racial lines.

Another advantage of such co-operation was that "teachers will have to compromise on certain differences and to accept the inevitability of others, which will lead to moderation", Bot said. — Sapa.

## Mitchell 'indoctrinated'

MARITZBURG — Indoctrination of former SA Police captain Brian Mitchell during his police training regarding the dangers of communism was cited yesterday as a motivating factor in the 1988 Trust Feed murders.

This emerged from a report by a senior criminolo-

gist from Unisa, Irma Labuschagne, who gave evidence in mitigation of sentence on Mitchell's behalf before Judge Andrew Wilson and two assessors yesterday.

Labuschagne said at the time Mitchell joined the

SAP in 1976, recruits were confronted with the "total onslaught" ideology.

"This perception (whether right or wrong) was ingrained in young and susceptible minds. Communists were the enemy — to be fought by any means."

The hearing continues today.

The Katina P released more than 9 000 tons of oil as it sank off the Mozambique coast on Sunday. It was photographed going down by Capt Peter Rimmer, master of Pentow Marine supertug John Ross, which had been towing the oil tanker.

# FW to hear Alexandra aid plea

Monday 28/4/92 327

WILSON ZWANE

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel agreed at yesterday's meeting with Alexandra community representatives to refer a request for part of the township to be declared a disaster area to President F W de Klerk.

The Alexandra Civic Organisation and local branches of the SA Communist Party, the ANC and the Congress of SA Students asked Kriel to declare a section of the Alexandra township, known as "Beirut", a disaster area.

At least 60 people have been killed and 585 injured since fighting broke out between residents and Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers.

Delegation spokesman Paul Mashatile said thousands of residents had been displaced by violence and

their houses looted. "We are asking government to assist these people materially," Mashatile said Kriel, who indicated he would visit Alexandra soon, promised to refer the request to De Klerk.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze would not comment on the meeting.

Meanwhile Sapa reports the nine community leaders staging a sit-in at Spoornet's Johannesburg offices have agreed that the Witwatersrand Commissioner of Police can represent Kriel in talks on Reef train violence.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the deadlock between the protesters and Law and Order and Trans-

port was broken when acceptance was reached on Gen Gerrit Erasmus's representation at the talks.

Mamoepa said Law and Order had told them Erasmus would have the necessary powers to make decisions on measures to be taken to curb the train violence.

They had decided to accept the proposal and a meeting would be arranged to discuss the violence. Officials of Spoornet and the SA Railways Commuters' Corporation would also attend the talks.

A police spokesman said yesterday four of the 10 people who died in unrest incidents on Sunday were killed by police who returned fire after being attacked in three incidents.

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**DECEMBER 5 1988:** Newspapers report that 11 people, including six women and two children, were gunned down in a house in Trust Feed near New Hanover over the weekend.

The attack happens at the height of violence which had swept the area since November 1988. The victims were at a prayer vigil when they were brutally gunned down. They are identified as four-year-old Muzi Shangase, Nkanyeni Shangase (9) Mrs Zetho Shangase (29) Mrs Dudu Shangase (36) Mrs Mahadebe Ntuli (40) Mrs Sikile Zondi (25) Mrs Marielha Xaba (45) Mrs Sara Njoka (66) Mr Alfred Zitha (44) Mrs Sdedewu Sithole (60) and Mr Mseleni Ntuli (60).

Police refuse to allow media access to Trust Feed.

**Power**

**December 7:** Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo (who was gunned down in 1989) tells mourners at the funeral of the Trust Feed 11 that the South African Police have the power to end the violence in the area.

Police bar journalists from the funeral after a foreign television crew is chased out of the area by a group of vigilantes.

**December 9:** An Inkatha lawyer claims the victims were members of Inkatha.

# The plot that led to the Trust Feed massacre

50 wetem 29/4/92

**October 23 1989:** An inquest magistrate rules that police might have been involved in the massacre and once again refers the papers to the Attorney-General, who initially declined to prosecute.

New Hanover magistrate Mr A Freese said there was circumstantial evidence placing suspicion on Special Constable David Khambule and Special Sergeant Dumisani Ndwalana and "possible complicity" on the part of Lieutenant Brian Mitchell, the former station commander of New Hanover.

**August 3 1991:** The two former SAP special constables charged with the murder of the Trust Feed 11 tell the New Hanover Magistrate's Court that the station commander at New Hanover, a Lieutenant Mitchell, had instructed them to attack a house where "terror-

**The Trust Feed trial, documenting one of the most brutal slayings in Natal's five-year history of violence, has reached its climax in the Maritzburg Supreme Court. For the first time evidence was led to show police complicity in the violence and attempts to establish, even by violence, a rival organisation to the existing United Democratic Front-aligned Trust Feed Crisis Committee. Last Thursday, Mr Justice Andrew Wilson declared that former New Hanover station commander Captain Brian Mitchell and four special constables were guilty of 11 counts of murder and two of attempted murder. The trial lasted 80 working days and cost the taxpayer more than R2 million. Mr Justice Wilson took four days to deliver judgment. Mitigation and sentence is to follow. Sowetan Correspondent VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU looks back on the case that took four years to solve.**

ists" were hiding. The court was told that after the incident the special constables were told to disappear and they then joined the KwaZulu Police. A newspaper reports that a white SAP captain is arrested in connection with the massacre.

**September 14:** Seven former policemen are indicted to the Supreme Court to stand trial on 11 counts of murder and eight of attempted murder in a case in which the State alleges assassinated riot unit commander Major Deon Terblanche was also implicated.

Appearing briefly in the New Hanover Magistrate's Court on September 13 were Lieutenant Jacobus van den Heever, Mitchell, Sergeant Neville Alexander Rose, Ndwalane, Kehl

members of Inkatha in which it was agreed that members of the police would carry out the envisaged attack.

Thereafter Terblanche or some other SAP member instructed Lieutenant Van den Heever, who was the officer in command of certain special policemen, to arrange for special members of the police force to carry out the attack.

**Attack**

It is alleged that Van den Heever, who was the officer in command of certain special policemen, was to arrange for special members of the police force to carry out the attack.

It is alleged that he in turn instructed Rose, who was a section sergeant, to find six special policemen for the operation and on November 30 instructed Ndwalane to select five

special constables to assist him in "doing duties" at Trust Feed. (Terblanche was shot dead by one of his staff, Constable Roy Ngcobo in March 1990. Ngcobo was later shot dead by a member of the Maritzburg Murder and Robbery Unit).

**October 15:** World attention is focused on the Maritzburg Supreme Court when seven policemen - including two captains - go on trial for the 1988 murder of 11 people at Trust Feed before Mr Justice Andrew Wilson and two assessors.

**October 16:** All seven accused plead not guilty. The AG remains adamant - Captain Brian Mitchell will not be granted bail despite his offer to be placed under virtual house arrest.

**October 17:** The four special constables claim they took part in the attack under the command of Mitchell and felt obliged to carry out his instructions.

**October 18:** Inkatha leader Jerome Gabela testifies, claiming that Mitchell threatened to kill him if he talked about the "accident". Gabela said that all the people killed had been Inkatha supporters and since Mitchell had offered to help Inkatha, he went to speak to him about the incident.

Gabela said in 1988 he

# Talks over Cebekhulu continue

STAR  
Crime Staff 28/4/92

Top-level discussions between the SAP and Zambian authorities over Winnie Mandela's co-accused, Katiza Cebekhulu, are continuing, but an extradition bid is not likely in the short term, police said yesterday.

"At this stage we merely want to talk to him.

"We want to see what Mr Cebekhulu can tell us," said police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel

Reg Crewe.

(327) (326)  
If the negotiations are successful, Soweto Murder and Robbery detectives are likely to interview Mr Cebekhulu in Zambia, where he has been jailed "for his own safety".

Colonel Crewe said he understood that Mr Cebekhulu was still in protective custody.

Reports last week that the negotiations were centred on an attempt by the SAP to secure Mr Cebekhulu's extradition were denied by Zambian

Home Affairs Deputy Minister Lieutenant-Colonel Chanda Sosala.

Mr Cebekhulu, a co-accused with Mrs Mandela in their kidnap and assault trial, skipped bail and fled South Africa in February 1991.

Earlier this month the Azanian People's Organisation claimed to have a witness who could corroborate allegations made by Mr Cebekhulu that Mrs Mandela was involved in the death of Soweto "People's Doctor" Abu-Baker Asvat.



# Cops accused of a cover-up at Trust Feed

• From page 17

asked Mitchell for help in solving political problems between landowners and tenants in the area. Mitchell, he said, had said that it would not help to arrest anyone because the police would simply release them and it was better for them to be killed.

Gabela, a state witness who has been indemnified from prosecution, said he understood the constables were going to launch an attack on the home of the Mbongwa (a key member of the UDF-aligned Trust Feed Crisis Committee) family.

**October 21:** Gabela gives details of the political conflict in the Trust Feed area at the time of the killing, confirming that the community was broadly divided into the Inkatha-aligned Landowners Association and the UDF-leaning Trust Feed Crisis Committee.

He said that he had asked Mitchell for help in getting firearm licenses for defence against attacks by the UDF and the TFCC.

**October 22:** Mr Justice Wilson remarks more than once that he had the impression that Gabela was attempting to minimise his own role when testifying against the seven policemen.

**October 28:** A former SAP special constable alleges that four of his colleagues, now on trial for murder, told him that they had fired shots into a house pointed out to them by Mitchell.

State witness Mr Selby Mkhize said that he was one of six special constables taken to the Trust Feed area and asked to do guard duty at a home on December 3. That night he heard gunshots.

Mkhize said that he was advised to hide by Sergeant Neville Rose. He said they were picked up from the area the following day by Captain van den Heever and Rose and ordered to hide their firearms and lie down on the seats and, when they were dropped off at their homes, leave their firearms in the vehicle.

**November 8:** An SAP reservist, Constable Stuart van Wyk, tells the court that Mitchell was drunk hours before the massacre, that he did not appear shocked at the discovery of the bodies and that he threw shotgun cartridges out of a police van window just before the bodies were discovered.

## Armed men

He said Mitchell went to Gabela's house for a meeting where they met two armed men described as special constables. At a burning shop two armed men disappeared.

Mitchell disappeared and Van Wyk and a Constable Burton stayed at the blaze. About 15 minutes later the two constables heard three powerful gunshots followed by a series of muffled ones. When they asked Mitchell if he had seen the smoke or heard the gunshots, he said they were imagining things. Van Wyk testified.

**November 20:** Mr Justice Wilson calls for an investigation of possible "gross abuse of power" under the state of emergency by certain policemen in 1988.

**November 22:** Two survivors of the massacre describe their terrifying ordeal when gunmen opened fire on the house.

Victim Mrs Ida Hadebe, who was on crutches, said she heard the attackers enter the house and move from room to room shooting the occupants. She had covered herself with a blanket.

At about 3am she heard a knock at the door. People inside asked who was there. She said the response was "we are the police", followed by another knock and then the sound of gunshots. Another survivor, Mrs Nomagoli Zulu, said that her husband and sister died in the attack.

**November 26:** Shocking video footage of the bodies blasted by shotguns in the massacre are shown in court and prompts Mr Justice Wilson to express his horror at the way dead men, women and children were exposed to the public.

A police unit video recording depicted the victim's blood-spattered bodies, first lying sprawled across the floor of the house and then being carried outside in blankets and put on the grass outside where their exposed wounds were filmed.

The judge apologised to family and relatives at the "heartless way" the victims had been taken out in full public view.

**November 27:** Chief pathologist for Natal and university professor Jan Botha testifies that the wounds on the bodies of the 11 dead showed that most of the shotgun rounds had been fired at distances ranging from one to three metres from the victims. Most had been killed outright, but some had remained alive for some time before they died, he said.

**January 24 1992:** An SAP investigating officer who said in court that he left no stone unturned in his investigation of the Trust Feed massacre is questioned closely about the irregularity of the investigation he conducted.

## Same morning

Captain Patrick Watruss, who arrived at the house on the same morning of the attack, said he found no substantial evidence in the house which could be linked to the shootings. Mr Justice Wilson remarked that it was evident there was a cover-up in regard to the evidence found in the house of the killing.

**January 30:** General Christo Marx and Major Joseph van Zyl, an investigating officer in the Trust Feed murders, halt proceedings when they are advised by the SAP not to continue with their evidence for fear of incriminating themselves.

**February 4:** SAP captain Frank Dutton tells the court that he kept records of his daily investigations because he suspected a cover-up in the case. Dutton is appointed investigation officer after Van Zyl was taken off the case. He also said that Van den Heever was visibly shocked when he learned of the arrest of the special constables who allegedly carried out the attacks on the house.

**February 17:** Van den Heever denies that he accompanied Rose to Trust Feed to pick up the special constables after the December 3 attack.

**February 27:** Mitchell says he has turned to God and has decided to tell the truth. He takes the rap for having given instructions to special constables to attack the UDF.

He told the court of a plan by the police and local Inkatha members to establish, even by violence, a rival organisation to the Crisis Committee. However Mitchell says he ordered the special constables to find UDF members and that he did not desire the death of women and children.

**March 2:** Mitchell changes his plea to guilty of culpable homicide.

## Firing blindly

**March 3:** Special constable Kehla Ngubane said he and other special policemen had been firing blindly into a darkened house at the time of the attack, even though most of the victims were accurately shot in the chest or head.

**March 31:** Attorney-General Mr Mike Imber announces that the Commissioner of the SAP will institute a departmental inquiry into the initial police investigations into the Trust Feed massacre. Justice Wilson describes the special constables as "deliberately scheming witnesses".

**April 2:** The trial is estimated as having cost the taxpayer more than R2 million.

**April 23:** Justice Wilson delivers his verdict. Mitchell and the four special constables are found guilty on 11 counts of murder and two of attempted murder. Rose and Van den Heever are found not guilty.



# Fees rise at hospitals

Sowetan 29/4/92

Sowetan Correspondent

THE TPA's increased hospital tariffs which come into effect on May 1 could affect the poor - but a revised ambulance tariff system could bring relief to some patients.

MEC for Health Services Mr Fanie Ferreira said in Pretoria yesterday that the revised ambulance tariff system was not a general increase.

"In some cases the new system will result in an increase and others a decrease of tariffs," he said.

Ferreira said patients classified under hospital (H1) and who did not enjoy cover from medical schemes would pay less for ambulance transport over 50km (R10 instead of R15 a trip).

Patients classified as H2 and H3 would pay R3 and R5 more respectively for the

same distance.

Hospital tariffs had not been adjusted for outpatients in community hospitals, and minor adjustments had been made for academic and regional hospitals for H2 and H3 patients.

In community hospitals tariffs for patients from H1 to private were raised to between R19 an admission and R184 a day, and in academic and regional hospitals they were raised to between R24 an admission and R234 a day.

Fees for services such as theatre, intensive care, high care, maternity cases and community and primary health care for the various categories were increased by up to 50 percent.

# Inquest into Webster's death

Sowetan 29/4/92

THE Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand Local Division will request that a Supreme Court judge be appointed to hold an inquest into Dr David Webster's death.

Webster was killed on May 1 1989 at his home in Troyeville, Johannesburg. His death was widely blamed by anti-apartheid forces on "hit squads".

In a statement yesterday, the office of the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand said a legal task force was created a year ago to investigate the case.

The statement said: "Regrettably, during its year-long investigations, the legal task force was unable to uncover any further relevant and admissible facts.

"Thus, the position is that we clearly have an unlawful act but no accused, the various investigations having failed to obtain evidence identifying the perpetrator(s)." - Sapa

No study





Silent grief . . . David Webster's girlfriend Maggie Friedman and veteran anti-apartheid activist Helen Joseph at Wits yesterday evening. Picture: Jacob Rykliff

# Inquest to probe Webster murder

STAR 29/4/92

By Shirley Woodgate

327

On the eve of the third anniversary of the assassination of anti-apartheid activist David Webster outside his Johannesburg home, an inquest has been announced into the circumstances surrounding his death.

And last night a University of the Witwatersrand residence was named after the inspired academic, who was gunned down in a street in Troyeville on May 1 1989.

Yesterday the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand said he would ask for a Supreme Court judge to conduct the inquest after a legal task force, created a year ago to further investigate the case, had failed to uncover any relevant and admissible facts.

Speaking after the official opening of the David Webster Residence on the Wits campus, Dr Webster's girlfriend Maggie Friedman said that in the changed political climate, this might be the last chance to reveal the facts to a fresh inquest — which would have more chance of uncovering the truth than the restricted Harms Commission.

The keynote speaker, David Webster Trust trustee Glen Moss, flatly blamed the killing on individuals associated with one of the State's destabilisation units.

Claiming the police had made less headway in identifying those responsible for the killing than had Dr Webster's friends and a few journalists, Mr Moss hinted that "perhaps these apparatuses of the State charged with investigating his death did not wish to find out".

He said the legacy of the State's "awesome violence", both actual and threatened, which had characterised the period when Dr Webster had been killed, was now being reaped.



# College shuts as students reject ban

By BULELWA PAYI: Grahamstown

THE Cape College of Education in Fort Beaufort has been closed after students refused to sign a list of conditions outlawing political activity on campus.

According to South African Students' Congress (Sasco) spokesman Archie Ralo, students were told by the rector last Friday that the college would be closed for a week to allow them to "reconsider" their decision not to sign the document.

He said if students still refused to sign, the campus would be closed until May 18 and students would have to re-register.

Ralo said the conditions banned stu-

dents from taking part in any protest action on campus and taking up issues like the exclusion of students.

The rector's decision to close the college followed four months of negotiations between the Students' Representative Council, Sasco and the administration around the exclusion of 27 students.

Negotiations broke down in March, but after a two-day class boycott, the administration agreed to allow 14 students back and to negotiate about the other 13.

After the vacation, students were told the 13 wouldn't be allowed back, and when there were moves to resume

the boycott, the administration threatened to close the college.

Ralo said: "We then decided to return to classes. But before we did the rector said we would have to sign a list of conditions."

The students refused to accept the conditions. Community organisations and the chamber of commerce were asked to intervene, and held a meeting with the rector last Thursday.

A member of the delegation, the Reverend Simon Kotsele, said the rector had agreed not to suspend classes, pending a further meeting.

The rector was unavailable for comment. — Ana





## Baby shot in Phola Park raid

LLOLUVO STUKTEZI claims her baby, Thomboqolo, was shot by police during a clash between security forces and Phola Park residents on Tuesday. *Wimail 30/4 - 7/5/92*

She said policemen barged into her shack demanding to know where her husband was and shouting, "where are the men, show us where the men are". She said after this a shot went off, and a bullet passed through Thomboqolo's arm.

A spokesman for the residents — only willing to identify himself as "Doctor" — said armed policemen drove into the camp shortly after midday, going around questioning residents about "specific males".

"Soon after they stopped alongside a group of men seated outside one shack, the shooting started. We do not know what happened, but people just fled in all directions." According to "Doctor", residents did not return fire, and sporadic shooting continued until nearly 3pm, when the police left, taking nine men with them. "Doctor" said three people were wounded and one killed during the raid.

Police liaison officer Captain Ida van Zweel said on Tuesday nine people were taken for questioning by police "conducting investigations in the area" in connection with crime and the killing of a policeman.

One young man was shot in a shoulder, she said.

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

## We're just a bit heavy handed, says captain

*Wimail 30/4 - 7/5/92*  
THE definition of assault took on new meaning yesterday during the Goldstone Commission investigation into the alleged misconduct in Phola Park of members of 32 Battalion three weeks ago.

Responding to allegations of assault, Captain Mark Hermanson said his troops were just being "heavy handed" on the night of April 8 when Phola Park residents were allegedly raped and assaulted. One person died and several were injured. Damage was also done to property.

Hermanson, "who was not on the ground" at the time of the battalion's clampdown, said he believed his troops had only slapped, punched and dragged residents around — which to him was not assault. He believed assault to mean something like kicking a person with a booted foot.

Despite the incident, which resulted in several injured residents being admitted to Ntshongwen Hospital, Hermanson supported the action of his troops.

"There might have been good reasons for that," he said. The reasons, he explained, could include a person resisting arrest and trying to escape.

"I am happy with my soldiers' behaviour," he said.

According to evidence given by the captain, his men were acting on a tip given to him by an unnamed informant who said a gun was hidden in one of the huts in Phola Park.

The captain initially looked confused when asked to establish the exact time and circumstances surrounding a series of gunshots from the camp, which then prompted soldiers to return fire.

Despite not being able to identify where the shots were coming from, the soldiers had indiscriminately shot back in the dark. Hermanson said the soldiers had been acting within the law by exercising their right to defend themselves.

"You did then authorise those actions, did you not," asked counsel for the victims, Stephen Joseph SC. "Yes, I did," said Hermanson.

"Is it not wrong to fire on a criminal away in a crowd?"

Hermanson admitted it was.

Joseph then retorted that, on April 8, Hermanson probably knew that if they

*The captain of 32 Battalion says his soldiers were just being 'heavy handed' in their raid on Phola Park three weeks ago.*

By LINDA RULASHE and  
RAYMOND NXUMALO

had missed the man firing those shots, there was a great chance that they would have hit a hut instead.

Asked why he didn't withdraw his troops and wait on the perimeter of the camp until morning before investigating, Hermanson said: "We couldn't withdraw as the troops were being fired on and there was no protection for my men."

Joseph replied: "But you felt safe enough to enter houses and ask residents questions?"

According to the captain's evidence, the first round of shots from the camp was heard around 9pm. Twenty-five soldiers were sent into the camp on foot, accompanied by a Buffel.

Earlier, Hermanson had told the commission sub-committee that most of his troops spoke Portuguese and the Phola Park residents spoke Xhosa.

"Why do you think most of the residents spoke Xhosa?" asked Joseph.

"I had read in the newspaper that they are Xhosa-speaking," was the reply.

Joseph then asked how the soldiers could then communicate with the residents, who were not informed of their rights when their huts were broken into.

Hermanson replied he believed that some of the residents were English and Afrikaans speaking.

Joseph asked how the captain had expected the residents — whom Joseph described as "some of the most unfortunate people of our country" — to be proficient in three languages.

Hermanson was asked repeatedly about the authenticity of a statement submitted to the commission. The statement did not have crucial details about the 200 rounds of ammunition that were fired that night; and did not deal with Hermanson's admission that the soldiers had acted in a heavy-handed manner.

He explained that his legal advisers had chosen not to include those aspects in the statement.

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### Interim results for the six months to 29 February 1992

Six months ended February	1992 Unaudited	1991 Unaudited	Percent change
Attributable income R million	306	416	(26)
Earnings per share cents	43,3	58,8	(26)
Dividends per share cents	14,3	13,3	8
Net assets per share cents			
- Based on Gencor market value			
- at end of February	1 019	993	
- at 22 April 1992	965		
- Based on Gencor underlying assets			
- at end of February	1 299	1 178	
- at 22 April 1992	1 236		

Gencor Beherend Beperk is an investment holding company with a 54,8 percent interest in Gencor Limited. Shareholders are referred to Gencor's interim results which are also published today.

#### Interim dividend

An interim dividend in respect of the year ending 31 August 1992 of 14,3 cents per ordinary share was declared on 20 January 1992, payable on 29 May 1992 to shareholders registered on 31 January 1992.

An interim report giving more detailed information will be mailed to shareholders. Copies may also be obtained from the Secretary at the address given below.

On behalf of the board  
M H Daling  
B P Gilbertson

Gencor Beherend Beperk  
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6 Holland Street  
Johannesburg 2001  
(P.O. Box 61820  
Marshalltown, 2107)

23 April 1992



# Webster inquest raises hopes that truth

STAR 30/4/92

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A GUNSHOT shattered the quiet Sunday morning in Troyeville, Johannesburg, on May 1 1989 when David Webster, returning from a shopping expedition, was shot dead by unknown gunmen who were lying in wait in a white car.

He was killed only days after completing a report on assassinations and abductions by "South African Contras", which was to be presented to the United Nations.

On Tuesday this week the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand said he would ask that a judge be appointed to conduct an inquest into Dr Webster's death after a legal task force, created a year ago to fur-

ther investigate the case, had failed to uncover any relevant and admissible facts.

The shot that killed Dr Webster (44), an anti-apartheid campaigner and senior University of the Witwatersrand lecturer, was fired from a heavy-calibre weapon shortly after he and friend Maggie Friedman returned home at 10.20 am.

Ms Friedman said: "David was letting the dogs out of the back of the car when another car drove past. I thought it had backfired. Then I saw David staggering."

Shock and outrage followed his death, with liberal politicians and organisations blaming shadowy hit squads and

"terrorists acting under Government protection".

Ms Friedman said Dr Webster's main involvement over the years had been assisting detainees and fighting detention without trial.

The Webster Trust, established after the murder, raised R150 000 towards a reward for information. It was never claimed.

Shortly before his death, Dr Webster wrote: "Assassinations are used as one of the methods of controlling Government opposition when all other methods, such as detention or intimidation, have failed. It is a very rare event indeed when such assassinations are ever solved."



Tomorrow it will be three years to the day that activist academic Dr David Webster was assassinated — yet in spite of many leads, no one has been charged for his murder. LOUISE BURGERS reports.

Commenting on the inquest, Ms Friedman said on Tuesday that in the changed political climate, this might be the last chance to reveal the facts to a fresh inquest — which would have more chance of uncovering the truth than the restricted Harms Commission.

David Webster Trust trustee Glen Moss on Tuesday blamed the killing on individuals asso-

ciated with one of the State's destabilisation units.

In May 1989, mass murderer Barend Strydom claimed his Wit Wolwe had killed Dr Webster. Police said they were investigating. But police admitted at the end of 1989 that investigations into the murder had reached a "cul-de-sac".

In the past two years, however, police hit squads, the cov-

ert Civil Co-operation Bureau, right-wing terror organisations, Johannesburg City Council spies and Military Intelligence have all been blamed for Dr Webster's murder.

In November 1989 police investigated whether Irishman Donald Acheson, held in Namibia in connection with the death of Swapo official Anton Lubowski, was linked to Dr Webster's death.

Then police detained former police sergeant Ferdie Barnard in terms of the Internal Security Act after statements by Mr Acheson.

At the end of 1989 Military Intelligence was linked to Dr

Webster's murder after Mr Barnard claimed to be under its control. Another member of Military Intelligence, Calla Botha, was also detained, followed by former policeman, "Slang" van Zyl.

Then five rightwingers were held after being found in possession of a hit list. All were freed due to lack of evidence.

The Harms Commission concluded that there was no evidence that the CCB had anything to do with the murder.

Allegations surfaced in 1990 that former Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit commander "Staal" Burger was the leader of a cell in a secret SADF organisation suspected of being

involved in the murders of Mr Lubowski and Dr Webster.

In February 1990 The Star handed the police the names of a five-man hit-team it believed had assassinated Dr Webster.

The Johannesburg City Council spied on Dr Webster six months before his death, according to secret documents released to The Star. And a witness told the Hiemstra Commission that a special unit made up of Military Intelligence and Johannesburg City Council security officers was responsible for the assassination.

Family and friends of the slain academic hope that the inquest will at last bring the truth to light. □

South 2/5-7/5/92

### Editor stands firm

NEW NATION editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu says he stands firm in his refusal to disclose information to the state, in spite of the subpoena served on him two weeks ago. (327)

Sisulu and journalist Mr Enoch Sithole were subpoenaed under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act to disclose their sources for an article published in New Nation. The article alleges police involvement in a taxi feud in the Western Transvaal.



"It is now up to us to give the police a statement, or to appear in the Magistrate's Court," Sisulu said.

"The question of police violence is one of the most important facing us at the moment, so I would feel uncomfortable about giving information to the police.

"We would be happy to co-operate with the Goldstone Commission."



# COPS WITH NO CONSCIENCE

By FRED KHUMALO

WHILE survivors of the Trust-feed massacre jiggled for joy in the streets of Maritzburg after a white police commander was sentenced to death for mass murder, journalists were reporting some of the most searing comments ever made about SAP members by a South African Supreme Court judge.

Not only did Judge Andrew Wilson reject most of the mitigatory evidence offered for the killer Captain, 34 year-old Brian Mitchell, he went so far as to demand a total shake-up in the SAP.

He wanted an inquiry conducted by people independent of the SAP – perhaps a judge like himself – because, the police in this case had come across as unreliable witnesses.

The judge had seen top officers – a major and a brigadier – refuse to answer in the witness box “for fear of incriminating themselves”; he had seen police documents prove to be unreliable and he’d heard Mitchell fiddle with the truth – even after a professed deepening of his Christian beliefs while an awaiting-trial prisoner.

Judge Wilson had heard about internal investigations that seemed to float up the hierarchy and evaporate and he’d heard about how the notorious unit had actively fostered violence – especially against those who opposed the government.

One would have been forgiven, listening to Judge Wilson, for believing that Mitchell was merely a symbol of deeper rot in the SAP.

Songs of jubilation rent the air outside the court immediately after Judge Wilson imposed 11 death sentences on Mitchell.

In addition to the death sentences – one for each murder – Judge Wilson imposed an effective three years’ imprisonment on each of two counts of attempted murder.

Mitchell’s co-accused – “special” constables Cyprian Ngubane, 21, Thabo Petrus Sikhosana, 29, David Marshall Khambule, 26, and “special” sergeant Roy Ndwalane, 27 – were each sentenced 12 years in respect of each of the 11 counts of murder and three years

The people  
jig for joy  
but a judge  
wants to  
know more

*CPren 3/5/92*

for each of the two counts of attempted murder.

However, their sentences will run concurrently, meaning an effective imprisonment of 15 years each.

After sentencing, some members of the Trust Feed community launched into an impromptu celebration outside the court, singing freedom songs and chanting slogans.

Among them was Nomagoli Zulu, a lucky survivor of the massacre on December 3 1988 in the rural settlement tucked away in the Natal midlands. The settlement is close to the small town of New Hanover and Mitchell was its station commander.

Zulu, now crippled, uses crutches to get up and about.

Describing Mitchell’s sentence as “appropriate”, Zulu added that the sentences on the “specials” were “a bit lenient considering the fact that they were the ones who actually pulled the triggers”.

Phillip Shange, a member of the UDF-inclined Trust Feed Crisis Committee which was the target of the SAP operation, said: “We expect more dirt to emerge should there be further investigations into police behaviour.”

To this day, many people who fled Trust Feed at the time of the massacre have not returned home as they still fear attacks from Inkatha and the police.

“We have become squatters in other people’s areas because of the police,” said Lucy Khanyile. “We demand more investigations into police behaviour by bodies independent of police influence, so that

our safety is guaranteed. At the moment we can’t go back.”

Passing sentence Judge Wilson said it was difficult to imagine a killing that contained as many aggravating factors as this case.

He said he and the two assessors had not been impressed by the evidence of criminologist Irma Louise Labuschagne who testified in mitigation of Mitchell’s sentence.

Judge Wilson said Labuschagne omitted the fact that Mitchell planned and led the attack.

The judge said Labuschagne’s suggestion that Mitchell faced violence on a daily basis and was therefore vulnerable was grossly exaggerated.

He said it was not necessarily true that Mitchell was a total victim of “Total onslaught” propaganda prevalent at the time.

Judge Wilson said he was confident that there had been a cover-up by members of the police after the massacre and he ordered an inquiry into:

■ The conduct of the first massacre investigating team headed by Capt Patrick Wattrus;

■ Why Brigadier Christo Marx and Major Joseph van Zyl declined in the witness box to answer questions they believed might incriminate them;

■ Why the Commissioner of Police had seen fit to employ legal counsel for them;

■ Whether it is desirable for members of the police to involve themselves in the Joint Management Committees whose task was, according to Mitchell, to destroy organisations opposed to the government and to install those which supported government;

■ Why the police sided with – even murdered for – political organisations favouring the government (in this case Inkatha); and

■ Whether similar anti-UDF operations had been committed by the SAP’s Riot Unit.

Judge Wilson said a police departmental inquiry into a cover-up as promised by the Commissioner of Police would not be enough.

He said: “It (the inquiry) should be conducted by independent people... someone who can summons before him members of the police.”

# Sebokeng ANC homes attacked

By STAN MHLONGO

THE homes of two Vaal ANC members were shattered by bomb explosions this week, leaving one person dead, two injured and forcing a family to abandon their house.

At the Sebokeng Zone 13 home of ANC Youth League president Ntswaki Smith, her 52-

year-old mother Alina was killed and her sisters, Nankie, 19, and Winnie, 2, were injured by the grenade blast.

At the home of Elias Molapisi, a few kilometres away in Sebokeng Zone 11, the bombers struck after midnight, turning the day into another Black Wednesday.

They blasted windows

with gunfire before hurling a grenade into the house.

Nobody was injured, but the frightened Molapisi family vacated the house early the next day.

Smith vehemently rejected the police version that her mother was "killed by a grenade explosion which erupted un-

der the pillow on which she was sleeping".

She also questioned the priorities of the police in conducting a thorough search of the house and paying scant attention to the body of her dead mother and her sisters who lay injured. She also wanted to know why her two brothers, Jordan and Dick, were arrested with

police making disturbing allegations that dagga was found in their possession.

Vaal police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer confirmed both grenade blasts.

He said the motives for the grenade attacks were unknown and police were investigating.



# WEBSTER: NEWSPAPER

NEW evidence of CCB involvement in the assassination of activist Dr David Webster has come to light on the eve of a judicial inquest into his death three years ago.

Two white academics with Military Intelligence links visited the Kosi Bay area of northern Natal — where Dr Webster was researching the culture of the Thembe-Tonga people — shortly after he was shot dead in front of his Troyeville, Johannesburg, home on May 1 1989.

The academics — one of them from Potchefstroom University — claimed they were members of a research team and questioned field workers extensively about Dr Webster's activities in the region, which borders Mozambique.

The men were later questioned by the investigating officer in the Webster murder, who spent "several weeks" in the area investigating their presence.

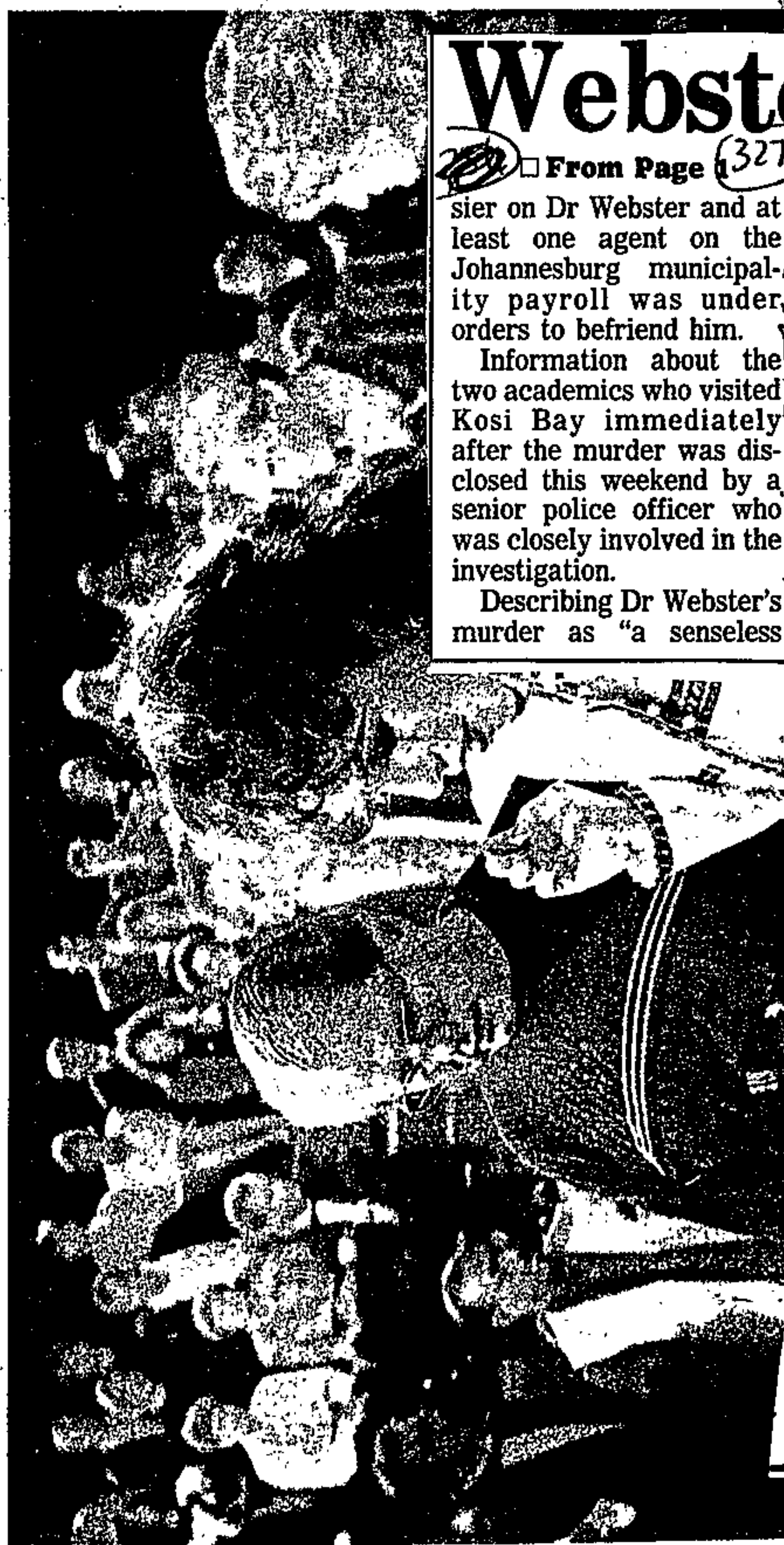
Evidence about the men, and the questions they asked, may be presented to the inquest ordered this week by the Witwatersrand attorney-general, a senior police source told the Sunday Times.

## Suspicion

Although detectives have established conclusively that the academics have links with Military Intelligence — which in turn had close ties to the SADF's shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau — they could not find evidence that the men were directly involved in Dr Webster's murder.

The presence of the two "researchers" and the questions they asked in the area aroused the suspicions of a man who had worked as an assistant to Dr Webster.

Dr Webster lived in a grass and tin hut while working at Kosi Bay, and police believe the academics were trying to find the hut to search it for any documents he



## Webster link

From Page 327  
sister on Dr Webster and at least one agent on the Johannesburg municipal payroll was under orders to befriend him. Information about the two academics who visited Kosi Bay immediately after the murder was disclosed this weekend by a senior police officer who was closely involved in the investigation. Describing Dr Webster's murder as "a senseless

act", he said every lead had indicated that the anthropologist was a target of the CCB, or CCB agents acting independently.

"But the assassination was so well planned that no admissible evidence has yet been found," he said.

"We have not been able to establish whether or not the CCB ordered Dr Webster killed, but there is ample evidence that CCB agents were involved in political murders during that period, and that they had a virtual licence to kill.

"Remember, less than 10 percent of the CCB's activities have been exposed by commissions of inquiry and through the media. Even though the CCB has officially disbanded, there is no way of knowing for sure whether agents are still operating under cover."

The police officer believes Dr Webster's involvement in the End Conscription Campaign was a key factor in his death.

Last November, the Weekly Mail reported that Dr Webster had been spied on for several months before his death by game rangers employed by an intelligence unit which did covert work for the Kwa-zulu government.

By DE WET POTGIETER

might have left behind. At the time of his death, Dr Webster was involved in an investigation of clandestine SADF support being channelled to Renamo rebels in Mozambique.

He is believed to have passed on information about his investigation to a friend in Mozambique's ruling Frelimo party, and it has been suggested that this could have triggered his murder.

The inquest will also hear evidence that Dr Webster's assassin was less than a metre from him when he was shot from a car.

Forensic tests and an autopsy have shown that the murder weapon — a shotgun — was so close to Dr Webster's chest that fragments of the cardboard cartridge were embedded in his chest along with the pellets.

Dr Webster, an active member of the End Conscription Campaign, was under surveillance for several months before his death by CCB agents in the Johannesburg city council spy ring exposed by the Hemstra Commission.

The Harms Commission of Inquiry into alleged police and SADF hit squads found no proof that the CCB was behind his murder, but concluded that it "might" have been involved.

The council spy ring kept a dos-

□ To Page 2



# Win Ogres Unreal New Dreams

STAR 4/5/92.



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**W**ITH South Africa now on course for an all-party interim government by the middle of the year, the two greatest threats to achieving the next goal — democratic elections based on a universal franchise — are violence and intimidation. Unless both can be brought under control there can be no hope of holding free elections.

Violence and intimidation are closely linked, but while the former is most frequently spoken about, intimidation is no less of a danger to the country's first-ever democratic elections.

Intimidation is rampant in all sections of the community — now, mainly in the black townships, but also increasingly within the white community as the right-wing forces seek to impose their will, especially in the rural areas.

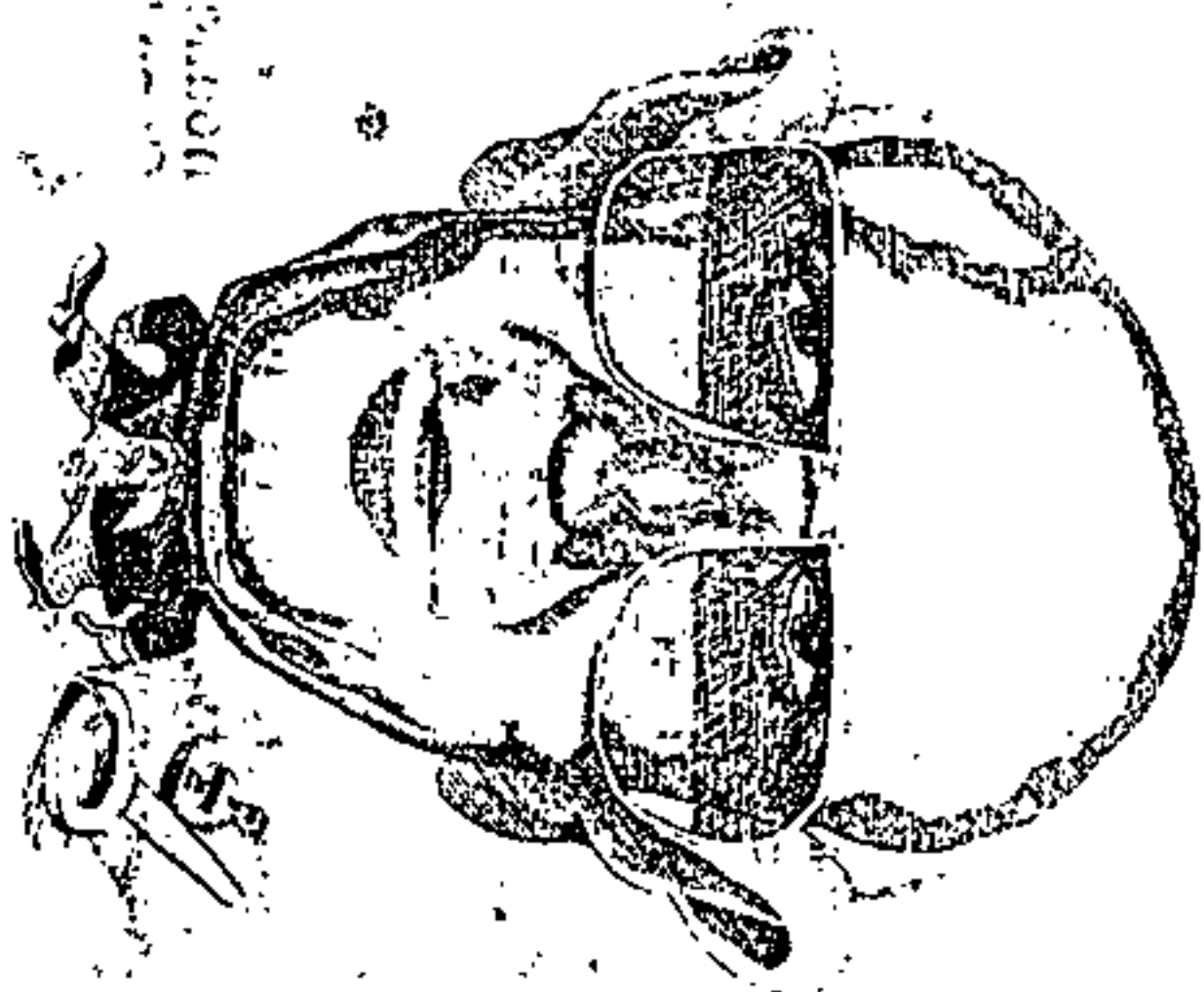
Intimidation is not confined only to the political parties, it is widely practised over a whole range of activities. Like in some black

schools by militant radicals, against township councillors serving in present local authorities; between competing civic groups seeking to establish their authority in townships and squatter camps; between workers when it comes to a question of strike action or competition for membership; on university campuses between rival students; frequently by the police and, notably, in some of the homelands.

It may be easier, in the end, to cope with political violence than with the less controllable forms of intimidation — especially now that it is becoming embedded in daily behaviour.

However, no real progress can be made to counteract intimidation — especially at a time of elections — before political violence has been severely curbed.

One of the difficulties about ending violence is that there is no single cause or explanation for its high incidence. President de Klerk continues to repeat tirelessly that violence is the result of conflict between the predominantly black



F W de Klerk ... should know better.

political parties and over black ethnic conflicts. This is a gross oversimplification. He should, by now, know better.

The reality is that the long years of apartheid have left the country with what can properly be described only as "a culture of violence".

Many even regard De Klerk's commitment to change as the

cause of violent crime. This is unfair, but it is widely believed.

One of the great unsolved mysteries, with no arrests so far, is who is behind the vicious killings on commuter trains. There has been a steady increase of attacks on rail passengers since 1990, rising to 74 people being stabbed or thrown out of moving trains last March alone.

Such indiscriminate killings appear to have no rational explanation; nor is there any explanation why the police have failed to bring to trial any of the assailants. It is only natural, therefore, that suspicion should be voiced about police collusion.

But what motives can there be, other than to promote destabilisation? One recent rumour is that a transport mafia is behind these gruesome attacks to drive passengers off trains, in favour of using private transport.

However, the enormity of the problem of violence is to be found in the flood of arms in the country. There are now 3274335 licensed owners of guns — almost entirely in the hands of whites,

the attitudes of police towards black people.

It is a beginning: so is the decision to recruit another 75 000 policemen and to modernise their methods. But important as these changes are, they do not begin to measure up to the size and urgency of the problem of violence.

Is there an answer to this grave problem?

The only immediate answer is that the proposed Interim Government will be entrusted with the function of joint control over the security forces. It is only when the major political leaders are made jointly responsible for the operations and behaviour of the police and security forces that a level of trust can be established and measures agreed to put down violence. There is no other obvious solution.

an average of one gun for almost every white person. Last year, alone, 11 577 weapons were stolen. In addition there is the problem of easy access to illegal arms on a flourishing black market, where a modern automatic weapon like the AK-47 can be easily bought. These have been brought into the country from neighbouring countries. A recent development has been the hiring out of automatic weapons for R50 a night.

The crucial question, then, is how at least the political violence can be stopped. Nelson Mandela recently proposed that the United Nations or some other independent agency should be brought in to supervise the security forces. This rather sounds like a counsel of despair since it is impossible to believe that the Government is likely to accept foreign control over its security forces.

The Government has made some important changes in restructuring the police force, establishing a code of conduct, and treating a new attitude among the police. Many senior officers are now visibly engaged in changing the attitudes of police towards black people.

However, even if it becomes possible to stem the level of political violence, the problem of criminal violence will remain — possibly for decades — until black unemployment can be brought down, the seven million or so squatters are properly housed and living standards raised. □



# Court says ANC can't hold meetings in Bop

*Sowetan 6/5/92*

THE Mmabatho Supreme Court has issued an order restraining the African National Congress from holding meetings in the homeland.

The order, issued last Thursday by Mr Justice JAM Khumalo concurring with Mr Justice HN Hendler, followed an urgent application by the

By ALINAH DUBE

ANC.

The organisation was seeking an order to compel Bophuthatswana Minister of Law and Order, President Lucas Mangope, to grant them permission to hold meetings in the homeland.

ANC official Mr Thabo Mbeki launched the application after the ANC was refused permission to hold meetings in the Odi district.

The court however found that the ANC, as a liberation movement, did not have to register as a party, as required by the homeland's legislation.

According to papers before court, the ANC's application to hold meetings was turned down as a result of a "highly inflammatory and provocative" statement by its executive member, Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing, at Medunsa on March 15.

A statement by Mbeki on SABC-TV1 channel that his organisation planned to take action in Ciskei and that "Bophuthatswana was next" was cited before court.

In papers before court, Bophuthatswana State Affairs Minister Mr Rowan Cronje said: "These statements by the persons concerned are viewed with surprise and concern by the government of this country, particularly in view of the undertakings by Mr Nelson Mandela that it was no longer the policy or intention of the ANC to attempt to destabilise or undermine Bophuthatswana."

## Union alleges Sasol links to covert activity

DIRK HARTFORD

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THE Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) has alleged that Sasol employed trained Inkatha hit squad operatives and maintained links with companies connected to the CCB to undermine and destabilise the activities of progressive unions and organisations in Secunda.

CWIU acting general secretary Muzi Buthelezi said questions on these allegations had been raised with Sasol recently. Sasol had either denied or evaded the questions, he said.

Buthelezi said CWIU believed that "covert things are still happening" at Sasol training camps and it wanted the Goldstone commission to investigate. He said Sasol had dismissed CWIU's request to let the commission investigate the allegations and inspect Sasol's training camps.

Sasol said yesterday it had "no information at this stage which we believe is relevant to the Goldstone commission".

Buthelezi also said Sasol had rejected CWIU's request to publicly debate its allegations with the union on radio or TV.

CWIU alleged that Sasol employed former KwaZulu Police member Bheki-themba Xesibe, who was reportedly trained in Israel and who commanded a base in Secunda for "hit men". Sasol denied ever employing Xesibe.

But Xesibe, in an affidavit prepared for submission to the Goldstone commission, said he was employed at (Sasol-owned) Secunda Collieries in 1989 and at Sasol Collieries from February 1990 to September 1990.

He said he accompanied a group of eight "Caprivi trainees" to Secunda, where CWIU claimed they were deployed to undermine progressive organisations. Xesibe said his task was "to look after them and see to it that they behaved properly".

□ To Page 2

## Sasol

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From Page 1

About 200 Inkatha members who underwent SADF training specifically for hit squad activities in the Caprivi Strip in 1987 are known as "Caprivi trainees". Some have admitted in affidavits that Caprivi trainees were involved in killings and other criminal activities.

Mbongeni Khumalo (an ex-deputy national organiser of the Inkatha Youth Brigade who has given extensive evidence of Inkatha hit-squad activities to the Goldstone commission), reportedly told the commission Xesibe was assigned to Secunda, at Sasol's request, in 1989 to "discourage strikes and restore stability and law and order".

Buthelezi said the SA Chemical Workers' Union was involved in a "bitter" strike at Sasol at the time.

Sasol was given the names of the eight trainees yesterday afternoon, but said it was unable to confirm whether they were or had been Sasol employees "at such short notice". Sasol said it could provide an answer by late today.

Buthelezi claimed that Sasol used the legal firm of DPS & Partners where Hans Pienaar, who was reportedly involved with a CCB labour-related front company, was

a partner. Sasol said yesterday it was aware Pienaar had worked for a CCB front organisation called Liaison, but not whether he was a CCB member.

Buthelezi alleged that Sasol used the services of Matthysen Bus Company, which reportedly acted as a front for a CCB cell under the command of former policeman and CCB operative Staal Burger. Sasol said it was "not aware of any link between the Matthysen Bus Company and the CCB". It said it had used the company for the past three years.

CWIU claimed it had evidence that Sasol had been approached by the Inkatha-linked United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) for funding.

Sasol said that "as far as can be ascertained, neither Inkatha nor Uwusa have officially approached Sasol for funding".

However, CWIU has given Business Day a letter on an Uwusa letterhead addressed to the manager (a Mr du Toit) of Sasol 2 requesting money to open an Uwusa office in Secunda. The letter, dated October 12 1988, was signed by Uwusa regional organiser Wilfred Majozi and requested assistance for furniture, rent, salaries and transport.



# SA Police withdraw (327) subpoenas

By Philip Zoio

6/5/92

Police yesterday provisionally withdrew subpoenas issued against New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu and reporter Enoch Sithole, who were to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Sisulu and Sithole had been subpoenaed by Klerksdorp police to reveal the source of allegations that police had been involved in the western Transvaal taxi feud.

Sisulu yesterday said the newspaper would not deal with the police but had submitted statements to the Goldstone Commission.

The statements were the basis of a series of articles published in the New Nation in February, in which a source claimed the police were biased in confrontations between two taxi organisations.

## AK 47 rifles

\*11. Mr J CHOLÉ asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many AK 47 rifles were confiscated by the South African Police in 1991;

(2) whether any estimate was recently made of the number of AK 47 rifles in South Africa at present; if not, why not; if so, what is this estimate;

(3) whether the South African Police is being informed of steps that have been taken by the ANC, in terms of the D F Malan Accord reached between the Government and the ANC, in respect of illegal arms and arms supplies; if not, why not; if so, what steps have already been taken by the ANC in this regard?

B576E

## The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) 948.

(2) No.

It is impossible to estimate how many AK 47 rifles are unlawfully in South Africa at present. However, every possible attempt is being made to trace and prosecute offenders. Rewards of up to R6 000,00 have been offered for information received from the public which could lead to the arrest of persons in possession of illegal AK 47 rifles.

(3) Yes.

The South African Police is part of the Working Group which functions in terms of the D F Malan Accord.

Accept for a single case in which a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC submitted a consignment of 6 new Makarov pistols and 64 rounds of 9 mm ammunition together with 5 applications for licences at John Vorster Square charge office, Johannesburg on 16 March 1992, the ANC has not taken any other steps in terms of the accord to declare and/or hand in any illegal firearms.

## INTERPELLATION

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

## Own Affairs:

## OFS: joint local committees

\*1. Adv C H PIENAR asked the Minister of Agricultural Development:

(1) How many joint local committees are functioning in the Orange Free State at present;

(2) whether there are any magisterial districts in that province in which such committees are not yet functioning; if so, why is that the case?

B594E.INT

\*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Chairman, the answer is that there are already 61 joint local committees in the Free State. The second answer is no, not as far as we are aware, because there is no reason for such a committee not yet to have been formed.

With reference to that the head of the department issued an instruction on 14 February 1992 that magistrates be notified in writing to convert the present Agricultural Credit Committees to joint local committees by co-opting representatives of the commercial banks, the Land Bank, agricultural co-operatives and organised agriculture to the ranks of Agricultural Credit Committees. Co-opting financial role-players in the handling of a client's application is thus optional.

A task group under the chairmanship of Mr H F van Zyl, chairman of the Agricultural Credit Board, members of the Agricultural Credit Board, organised agriculture, the regional directors of the Department of Agricultural Development and representatives of clearing banks and the Land Bank was formed to train the committees concerned. Fifteen of the 17 briefing meetings planned have already been held country-wide, with an average attendance of 70 to 80 persons per meeting.

In the Orange Free State and the Northern Cape meetings were held in Kroonstad, Glen and Kimberley. The magistrates, members of Agricultural Credit Committees, agricultural co-operatives, commercial banks, the Land Bank,

organised agriculture and regional staff of the department attended these meetings.

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Hon members must not talk so loudly. The hon the Deputy Minister may proceed.

\*The DEPUTY MINISTER: Further follow-up sessions of the individual committees are planned to commence shortly. The Agricultural Credit Board has undertaken, whenever local committees request assistance, to give assistance and guidance, especially with the initial meetings. The case of Petrusburg is an example of this, where members of the Agricultural Credit Board have in six cases already been present when these applicants' cases were dealt with.

In the case of Brandfort there are at present 22 applications from farmers to be attended to and the Agricultural Credit Board has agreed to attend a meeting of this joint local committee on 11 May. In cases where there are a fair number of applications with the magistrate concerned, the Agricultural Credit Board will give the necessary assistance.

Very favourable comment has in the meantime been received flowing from the training sessions that have been presented, and in numerous magisterial districts we are already getting feedback to the effect that the system is running smoothly. Financial role-players highly commend the fact that they now have a say in these committees. Of course, it will take a while for this new system to become fully established. [Time expired.]

\*Adv C H PIENAR: Mr Chairman, the hon the Deputy Minister is very deftly trying to create the impression here that these matters are running smoothly. He mentioned Petrusburg as an example of how well things are working. The situation in Petrusburg was the cause leading to the formation of these committees. That is where the pilot model was launched and put into operation as early as last year.

The hon the Deputy Minister also very deftly says that these committees exist. However, the question is how many are functioning. There is a very big difference between existing and functioning. The hon the Deputy Minister of Defence sitting over there, exists as Deputy Minister of Defence, but he does not function as Deputy Minister. That is the difference. [Interjections.]

The hon the Minister of Agricultural Development has already admitted that agriculture is a strategic industry. We did have to force it out of him, but he eventually conceded this. His department, however, does absolutely nothing on earth to protect this strategic industry. [Interjections.]

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

\*Adv C H PIENAR: We are faced with the situation in which food imports have such an effect on the macro-economy that the hon the Minister of Finance retired from politics in a state of great exhaustion. It seems to me that the hon the Minister of Agriculture will be the next candidate to become exhausted. These letters about which the hon the Deputy Minister spoke so admirably, were sent out after the hon the Minister of Justice had made a call to ask what this matter entailed because the magistrates had to act as chairmen of these committees.

When on a previous occasion, say 2½ months ago, we asked questions about it in an interpellation, he telephoned to find out which bodies the magistrates now had to be chairmen of! That was after the hon the Minister of Agriculture had said as long ago as November last year that these joint local committees were going to be formed and that they must rescue the farmers.

From the meetings of which the hon the Deputy Minister has just spoken, we discover that the same norms which applied to the earlier agricultural credit, now also apply there. They are treating water! They are propelling themselves on the way to nowhere. The criterion that applies there, is the security which the farmer can offer, in other words his solvency. The farmers have no solvency!

As far as credibility is concerned, they speak of the jockey who must ride the horse. After all, the hon the Minister of Agriculture says that the farmers' debt is caused by their buying horses. Apparently he has a jockey syndrome in connection with that.

They also mention the size of the operation. It is the same old story. There is nothing new in it whatsoever.

The hon the Minister of Agriculture was at a meeting of farmers in Kroonstad, at which I proposed to him that funds from the strategic oil reserves, which are being used for rudimentary

COA - 1




Daisy de Melker; Douglas Bailor and Jack the Ripper and Winston Churchill and Rudolf Hess. [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, with respect, I think the joke which the hon member tried to make about a very serious matter, does not belong here at all. [Interjections.] I did not try to link together these people with other prisoners who were regarded as political prisoners. These people committed crimes. In terms of the provisions of the Corrective Services Act the Minister of Correctional Services is, however, empowered to take action. He exercised his powers with the necessary responsibility.

There were also political prisoners who qualified in terms of rules which were laid down and which were agreed upon with the ANC. Those people were released. [Interjections.]

*Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.*

#### Release of person from Zambian prison

\*5. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:  327

- (1) Whether he has taken any steps to secure the release from a Zambian prison of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, to give evidence in a criminal case involving Mrs Winnie Mandela; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant particulars;
- (2) what is the name of the person in question;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B569E

#### The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) No, not for the purpose mentioned by the hon member in his question. As in the case of any South African citizen who is detained in a foreign country, my Department has made enquiries into the well-being of the person.
- (2) Mr Katize Cebekhulu.
- (3) No, not at the present time.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

#### Reopening of criminal case against Winnie Mandela

\*6. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Justice:

- (1) Whether, with reference to recent statements in the media by two persons whose names have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, he intends to invoke the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Act, No 51 of 1977, to reopen the criminal case against Mrs Winnie Mandela; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;
- (2) whether, with reference to the trial of Mrs Winnie Mandela, attempts have been made to take statements from certain persons whose names have also been furnished to the Minister's Department; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;
- (3) whether he will furnish the names of the persons referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) of this question; if not, why not; if so, what are their names? B570E

#### The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (1) and (2) In view of the pending appeal, the matter is *sub judice*. The requested information can therefore not be furnished. In addition the South African Police is investigating certain allegations and the required information may affect the outcome of the investigation.
- (3) A list of the names of the persons who may be involved or may become involved has not been finally established and the furnishing of such a comprehensive list may in any event infringe upon the *sub judice* rule.


#### Number of applications for SA citizenship

\*7. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Home Affairs: 

How many persons (a) applied for and (b) obtained South African citizenship during the period 20 February to 17 March 1992? B572E


#### The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (a) and (b)
- Altogether 24 487 naturalizations were ap-

proved. It has however not been possible to verify to date whether all applications lodged within the relevant period were finalized timely. It is quite likely that applications submitted during the two or three days prior to 17 March 1992 were not finalized timely. Presently only accurate statistics of approvals are readily available. If the hon member, however, insists on statistics of the number of applications submitted during the period in question, a survey will have to be made at all the offices of the Department. I can merely add that no applications that complied with requirements were turned down. 

#### Constitutional future of Doornkop


\*8. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:†

- (1) Whether the Government intends taking any steps in respect of the constitutional future of Doornkop, in the district of Roodepoort; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?  B573E

#### The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:


- (1) (a) and (b)
- Yes. The Cabinet has already granted permission for the purchase of Doornkop agricultural holdings No 239 IO. A decision on the constitutional future and use of the land will be determined in due course.
- (2) No.

#### South African Rail Commuter Corporation: personnel transfers


\*9. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Transport:† 

- (1) Whether a former chairman and managing director of the South African Rail Commuter Corporation Limited were recently transferred from these posts; if not, what are the relevant details; if so, why;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B574E

#### The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) Yes. It was done in the light of investigations into events surrounding investments done with the Cape Investment Bank which has since been liquidated and important changes in the field of urban transport. I suffice with the media statement issued on 7 April 1992, my contribution to the interpellation which took place in the House of Assembly on 29 April in which case this matter was debated, and the discussion on the Transport vote on the same date. 
- (2) No.

#### Black schools: amount needed to replace textbooks

\*10. Mr J CHOLÉ asked the Minister of Education and Training:† 

- (1) What total amount is needed to replace textbooks that were not returned in Black schools at the end of 1991 and 1990, respectively;
- (2) whether there are any Black schools where in 1991 fewer than 25% of the textbooks that had to be returned were in fact returned; if so, (a) which schools and (b) what steps are envisaged in this regard? B575E

#### The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

- (1) The information is not available.
- The Department supplied textbooks and prescribed books to the value of R60 140 094.00 and R66 731 270.00 for the school years 1991 and 1992, respectively. The books were supplied to provide for the increase in the number of pupils and the replacement of worn-out and lost books.
- (2) No, (a) and (b) fall away.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



# Cops raid Phola Park squatters

*Sowetan*  
8/5/92

*(Sowetan)*  
327

By ABBEY MAKOE and Sapa

**POLICE** raided Phola Park squatter camp in the East Rand yesterday and residents alleged they broke down doors and damaged furniture in the shacks.

Residents had to flee when the police arrived at the camp and some said they fled when they saw the large police contingent and heard gunfire.

They told *Sowetan* that police forced their way into their locked shacks early in the morning. They alleged police selectively raided the shacks, turning over furniture and searching without saying a word.

Police could last night not be reached for comment on the allegations.

But earlier Witwatersrand police spokesman Warrant-Officer Andy Pieke said the action was "a normal crime prevention exercise undertaken by police from time to time".

He refused to provide details "at this stage".

And a spokeswoman for Peace Action - a group monitoring violence in townships - said frantic residents had contacted the organisation complaining of what they called an imminent attack by security forces.

She said no reports of shooting or other incidents of violence had been received but residents were "very

tense".

Mr Nelson Ndodana (46) was among the group which fled the camp. He said when he returned about 30 minutes later he found the door of his shack wide open, although he had locked before fleeing.

At another shack Mr William Makhosi said it was opened forcefully. He claimed his furniture was damaged and the windscreen of his minibus smashed, allegedly by the raiding police.

Mr Douglas Bobi said he hid in one room of his two-room shack, used as a spaza shop and four white policemen, after kicking his door wide open, pointed guns at him. "They asked no questions. None of them uttered a word. They searched all over my house and one scrutinised my ID book he found inside a drawer," Bobi said.

He said he watched helplessly as his furniture was damaged and was too frightened to ask the policemen any questions for fear of being assaulted.

African National Congress PWV region spokesman Mr Wally Mhlophe said women had been ordered out of the area and that people were "scattering in all directions".



**CRY OF ANGUISH ...** Nine-month-old Lebogang Lerutle cries hysterically shortly after police raided her mother's shack at Phola Park squatter camp in the East Rand yesterday.



Pic: MBUZENI ZULU



#### CODESA BRIEFS

W/MC/ 8/8-14/8/92 (327)  
■ BY Tuesday, there was still no agreement in working group one, which deals with the creation of a climate for free political activity, between the government and the ANC on the inclusion of Umkhonto weSizwe in the defence force. But Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel indicated progress was possible on this issue, as well as that of arms caches and political prisoners, in bilateral meetings between the ANC and the government.

# SADF killed Goniwe

New Nation

By EDDIE KOCH

GENERAL CP van der Westhuizen, Chief of Staff Intelligence and one of the most powerful officers in the South African Defence Force today, allegedly ordered the assassination of Matthew Goniwe and two other anti-apartheid activists from the eastern Cape in 1985.

This is according to a military document published in today's edition of the *New Nation*. It alleges that the general sent a message to the State Security Council on June 7 1985 which proposes that Goniwe and two colleagues be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency".

Goniwe's body, along with those of three fellow activists, was found on the side of a road in the eastern Cape on June 29 — three weeks after the message was sent.

The document is marked "Extremely Secret" and bears the official stamp of the SADF's communications centre in the eastern Cape. Details in the document are also corroborated by evidence handed to *The Weekly Mail* by a Military Intelligence agent during an investigation into front companies run by the SADF.

SADF public relations division representative Colonel John Rolt said he could not confirm or deny the report until he had seen a copy of the document and had established whether it was genuine.

The document is addressed from the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre to the Secretariat of the State Security Council and records a telephone discussion involving Van der Westhuizen (then a brigadier) and a General van Rensburg. It says:

"Names as follows: Matthew Goniwe; Mbulelo Goniwe (brother or nephew of the above; Fort Calata.

"It is proposed that the above-mentioned persons are permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency.

"Widespread reaction can be expected, locally as well as nationally, because of the importance of these persons, especially the former, for the enemy."

The document is drafted in signal message form by one L du Plessis from the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre and summarises a discussion between Van der Westhuizen, then chief of the army's Eastern Province Command, and Van Rensburg from the State Security Council (SSC).

This confirms information supplied to *The Weekly Mail* by former Military Intelligence agent Ben Conradie who ran a series of front companies set up to undermine left-wing organisations in the eastern Cape at the time.

Conradie was reluctant to give details when asked about the murder of Goniwe but told *Weekly Mail* reporters that the man who would know about the assassination was Lieutenant Lourens du Plessis, former head of the SADF's Comops division in Port Elizabeth.

The assassination of Goniwe and his colleagues preceded a massive clampdown by the state and the first State of Emergency was declared in 1985 on the day of their funeral — indicating that the generals' warnings to expect widespread protests was taken seriously by the SSC.

The SSC co-ordinated the work of a regional network of Joint Management Centres made up of security police and military officers dedicated to counter-insurgency work and the undermining of anti-apartheid organisations.



# 'Comrades are being gunned down' — ANC

By PAUL STOBER

AFRICAN National Congress activists in the Vaal triangle are convinced many of their comrades are being ruthlessly murdered by men determined to weaken the organisation in a region where it is exceptionally well organised. In April alone, at least seven members of the ANC in the Vaal region were killed by unknown gunmen.

ANC officials use the military term "low intensity conflict" to describe what is happening in the Vaal triangle. A buzzword in state security circles in the late 1980s, this involves the identification and elimination of key members of organisations active in communities.

When *The Weekly Mail* went into the Vaal township of Sebokeng this week to speak to key members of the ANC, few could be found. In one house the family of a well-known activist was getting ready to move for the night. "They have been warned that their house is going to be attacked," explained the ANC member who accompanied us around the township.

Within the hour, the house was locked up and was as eerily quiet as the home next door, which had been attacked by a group of men armed

## EVIDENCE OF DEATH CAMPAIGN

Incidents in the past few months which the ANC says demonstrate the "campaign to eliminate the organisation from the Vaal townships" include:

●May 5: The Vaal Council of Churches released a list of 19 ANC returnees who had reported consistent harassment and surveillance by police.

●April 29: ANC member Samuel Mthombeni was shot by unidentified men in Sebokeng.

●April 26: MK member Mzwakhe Nhlapo died in a skirmish with police. Unconfirmed reports said he was attacked by members of Inkatha but had succeeded in fighting them off. The Inkatha members then apparently called in the police, who shot and killed him.

with hand grenades early the previous morning. Four other bombed-out homes with shattered windows and burnt rooms had been abandoned in the same street, Sebe Street in Sebokeng's Zone 7.

The mother of the family we visited was moving because of threats levelled at her son, a member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK),

who has recently returned to South Africa. She could not afford to take these threats lightly as entire families have been wiped out in the indiscriminate attacks on houses harbouring ANC activists.

Her son had not slept at home for the past three nights — he has joined an increasing number of ANC members in the area who are back on the run,

never spending too much time in one place and careful about who knows of their whereabouts.

"With darkness comes fear," said our guide, describing the mood in the township which has witnessed numerous assassinations, kidnappings and assaults since April 1990.

While ANC activists are clearly emerging as the main targets of this "low intensity conflict", it is not entirely clear who is behind it.

Witnesses have, on different occasions, identified the attackers as Inkatha members, policemen and hit-squad members. ANC officials in the region are convinced that all three are to some extent working in cahoots, but they regard the hit squads as the main threat to members of the organisation. "These people have cars and walkie-talkies and are well-financed," explained one official.

The recruitment of members of the ANC as informants for the police and hit squads is also presenting an increasing danger for the organisation.

"The police are raiding houses that have been pointed out to them," said an ANC official in Sebokeng. "Well-known comrades have also been seen with the hit squads."

## Evidence of a death campaign

●From PAGE 3

●April 11: Jongie Mamba, a member of a community defence unit, was killed in the kwaMasiza Hostel by gunmen firing from a white combi.

●April 5: Sharpeville MK member Sam Ntepe was injured while trying to escape from police. Ntepe was hiding from a hit man who, according to the ANC, had been offered R5 000 to kill him. Ntepe's house had been attacked twice by gunmen armed with AK47s and R1 rifles.

●March 22: A fieldworker for the Vaal Council of Churches and member of the ANC and South African Communist Party, Saul Tsotseti, was killed in a hand grenade blast after he was confronted by three young men. One of the

three was also killed.

●March 15: Chief's Place Tavern in Sharpeville, known to be frequented by ANC members, was attacked. Two women were killed and several others were injured.

●March 10: Shortly before Elliot Motsitsi (20) was to sign an affidavit about the shooting of Montoedi Molebatsi, he was shot dead. In his affidavit, Motsitsi said Constable Skuta Marumo had shot Molebatsi although there had been "no sign of conflict" between the two.

●March 1: ANC activist Montoedi Molebatsi was shot by a policeman. ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the attack was part of a police campaign to eliminate ANC activists in Sharpeville. "Information reaching us indicates that someone who the

police had attempted to recruit as an informer was shown 15 photographs of Sharpeville ANC members. Molebatsi's was among these," he said. Police said the constable had fired in self-defence after Molebatsi threatened him with a grenade.

●January 24: Ephraim Lefiedi, an MK member and brother of Khuba Lefiedi, died in a skirmish with police.

●December 14 1991: Five people were killed and four injured in an attack on a party in the home of an ANC supporter in Sebokeng's Zone 8. According to the police, an unidentified gunman opened fire with an AK47 on the crowd in the house of Amos Twala, killing three men instantly. A woman and another man died later in hospital.



## THE WEEKLY MAIL EXPOSES A MYSTERIOUS

## The police plotters and the

w/m aul 8/5-14/5/92

**T**HE Weekly Mail has uncovered a top-secret South African Police base linked to the planning of assassinations in the Vaal area.

In breach of the law and the SAP's own rules, the operation used falsely-registered page numbers, fictitious company names and false registration plates as a cover for its activities.

The discovery, one outcome of an intensive six-week investigation, comes against the backdrop of a silent war against leaders and activists of the African National Congress and its allies in the Vaal, involving assassinations, attacks on houses, kidnappings and various forms of harassment. (See accompanying story)

The trail to the "safe house" began with a sworn statement by Sebokeng ANC member Daniel Kolisang in January this year. Kolisang says that with his head covered, he was taken to the house, where a white man called "Brian" offered him weapons training and money to carry out petrol bomb attacks against ANC and South African Communist Party leaders and activists.

The Weekly Mail has since established that numerous people were conducted to and from the house in the same way. An affidavit by another man describes a substantially similar "visit" to a house in the Vaal area, where he too was promised training to carry out attacks. Details will be provided in our next edition.

One of his targets, Kolisang says, was ANC member and South African Council of Churches fieldworker Saul Tsotetsi, who was killed in a grenade blast in March. (See accompanying story). It has been established that the investigating officer in the Tsotetsi case, Warrant-Officer Thys Nolte, worked at the "safe house" early this year.

Our exposé, brought to the attention of police this week, has sparked a kerfuffle at the highest levels of the SAP

## The police reply

**POLICE** are dealing with *The Weekly Mail's* exposé of a secret police operation in the Vaal "at the highest level", involving the ministry, the commissioner and a general.

When police were approached about the information earlier this week, it caused a flurry of activity. None of the individuals involved would talk to the press, and at least one of the policemen involved slept away from his home for a night to avoid meeting *Weekly Mail* reporters.

Another, who had agreed to meet a reporter, cancelled the meeting yesterday, saying that he had been called to Pretoria to discuss the matter "with a general" and that it was being dealt with at the highest level.

None of the policemen involved approached by *The Weekly Mail* this week denied knowledge of the operation or the "safe" house when it was put to them. Most referred queries to "official channels".

When the matter was put for comment to Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, he said the police would refer the matter to the Goldstone inquiry into violence and intimidation.

He also accused *The Weekly Mail* of working with the African National Congress' military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, on the story and offering bribes of R50 000 to policemen to talk.



Special investigation by  
**DREW FORREST**

Photographs by  
**KEVIN CARTER**

hierarchy.

It follows assurances by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet, in an interview with ABC news this week, that covert political operations by the SAP had ceased. "In the past, there were the so-called covert political investigations. Those have ceased totally, but totally," he said. Stressing that the police "had to comply with the law", he also told ABC the police would not conceal their activities by using falsely registered page and telephone numbers.

Through reliable sourcing and patient detective work, we have tracked the "safe house" to an unnumbered plot in Riet Street, Rosashof, near Vanderbijlpark. A large, single-storey dwelling standing between houses on plots 176 and 183, it is understood to be on plot 177.

Although a number of operatives have moved in recent months, we are also in a position to name all the policemen based at the house at the time Kolisang was taken there. Heading the operation was Captain AG du Plessis, a former security policeman working for the Criminal Investigation Services (CIS), who, according to a credit bureau report, is based at Vereeniging police station.

Other staff were Lieutenant AJ van der Gryp, a Lieutenant Snyman, Warrant-Officer Thys Nolte, Sergeant AG Steenkamp, Sergeant George Frederik Supra, Sergeant Jacques van Wyk, Warrant-Officer Joseph Moagi, Sergeant JKR Seago, Constable Johannes Majoe, Constable PJ Zimba and Constable Johannes Mkwane.

The *Weekly Mail* investigation strongly suggests that the security police continue to act much as they always have, despite their disbanding and absorption into the CIS amid much fanfare last year.

The Rosashof safe house is concealed behind a blanket of intense secrecy. Five policemen known to have worked there were confronted at their homes this week and either denied, or refused to confirm or deny, its existence.

The reaction of these policemen — in one instance extreme aggression and in all cases a flat refusal to answer key questions — is also suggestive. After we "doorstepped" Steenkamp's Vereeniging flat on Wednesday and found only his wife in, he took flight and is known to have slept elsewhere.

A paging service paid for by one of the officers, Supra, is registered to M Jawa of Prosec Consultants at 26 Wilge Street, Vanderbijlpark. A company search has revealed that the company is fictitious, while its "address" is that of a Bester family, who say they have never heard of Jawa or Prosec.

Prosec Consultants crops up in another context: a car associated with the secret operation, with the registration number RBS 916T, has been traced to PO Box 2867 Vereeniging.



Accused ... At left, Warrant Officer Thys Nolte, with a weapon he claimed to have captured from an MK cadre; above: Captain AG du Plessis, who was in charge of the secret base

By DREW FORREST

THE tables were turned on five Vaal security policemen this week — "doorstepped" at their homes by *The Weekly Mail*, their repeated, anxious demand was: "Where did you get my address?"

Quizzed on the connection with a secret police base near Vanderbijlpark, they reacted with fury or an adamant refusal to answer questions. They took particular exception to what one described as the "stealing" of photographs.

Travelling first to the Sebokeng homes of Sergeant JKR Seago (alias "Oupa") and Constable Johannes Mkwane (alias "Mike"), we took with us Daniel Kolisang, the Sebokeng activist who says the two policemen drove him to the "safe house", where he was offered money to carry out attacks.

The post box is held by Prosec Consultants, of 14 Houtkop Street, Vereeniging — the address, *The Weekly Mail* has established, of a safe house previously used by the Vereeniging police.

The *Weekly Mail* has learnt that it was standard practice to conduct township "contacts" to and from 177 Rosashof with their heads covered.

A vehicle search has shown that a car used by one of the policemen, with the registration number NWM081T, is officially registered to Richard Pearce Associates, a bona fide Johannesburg air-conditioning company.

Kolisang's detailed statement, made to lawyers in January this year, matches in every particular the version of events he gave *The Weekly Mail* two months later. Insofar as we have been able to verify its claims, it has proved almost wholly reliable.

In his statement, Kolisang says he was befriended by a man called "Oupa" who claimed to work for "Delta Insurance". On a promise of employment, "Oupa" and another man calling himself "Mike" asked Kolisang to lie on the back seat of a car with his head covered, and drove him on January 2 to an undisclosed

## 'Doorstepped' cops

Mkwane, who was aggressively unco-operative and initially pretended to be a teacher, insisted he did not know Kolisang — even when the latter, sprung on him, said: "This is Mike."

He also claimed to know nothing of a secret base. But questioned on the links between the safe house and violence, his mask slipped: "You tell me what happened when we met at that house!" he demanded of Kolisang.

Seago's reaction was more plaintive — he repeatedly complained we were being "unfair" and refused to allow Kolisang into the house where he rents a room.

Everyone in the neighbourhood

destination.

*The Weekly Mail* has established that "Oupa" is Sergeant JKR Seago, now living at 73 Zone 10 Sebokeng. "Mike's" real name is Constable Johannes Mkwane, living at 190 Zone 10, Sebokeng. When confronted by *The Weekly Mail*, Mkwane initially claimed he was a teacher.

At the house, Kolisang says, he was questioned in the presence of "Oupa" and "Mike" by a white man in plain clothes calling himself "Brian". *The Weekly Mail* has established that Steenkamp, who lives at 22 Casaria Flats, Vereeniging, was based at the safe house and used the code-name "Brian".

Kolisang says "Brian" began the interview by stating that he knew he (Kolisang) was an ANC Youth League and South African Communist Party member and that he was looking for a job.

Kolisang says he was then closely questioned about executive members of the ANC and SACP in the Vaal, and about members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, who had recently returned from exile.

Kolisang says he was asked to befriend a certain "Speech", whom he named as an MK member, David

knew he was a policeman, he said. Later his (by now thoroughly alarmed) landlord said he (Seago) had posed as an insurance agent.

Seago said he knew nothing of a secret house. He said he knew Kolisang as only his "handler": the former had provided information over a two-year period about "the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, weapons caches and attacks on policemen", he claimed.

The next night was the turn of the white security policemen — and it became surprisingly clear from their reactions that their two black colleagues had not reported their

Tshehla Moisan, responsible "for killing people in Johannesburg" and implicated in sabotaging Sasol. When Kolisang replied that he did not know "Speech", he was asked to befriend his girlfriend, a certain "Matshidiso" who was secretary of the ANC's Sebokeng branch.

According to Kolisang, he was asked to establish the precise address of a number of MK members, including "Speech", Hlaphi Molatu and a certain "Ntjanyana", as well as of the ANC's assistant PWV secretary Bavumile Vilakazi and Evaton SACP executive members Gideon Sithole, Martin Nkonkoto and "Comrade Phyllis". He was also asked about Saul Tsotetsi.

Also of interest to "Brian" were the marshals at the funeral vigil of a woman named "Baby", an alleged MK cadre who died suddenly and mysteriously in December last year. According to Kolisang, Brian said "Baby" had been poisoned. (See accompanying story)

Kolisang says "Brian" then offered him R5 000 to carry out petrol bomb attacks on the houses of Tsotetsi, Vilakazi, Sithole, Nkonkoto, "Comrade Phyllis", "Speech",

●To PAGE 6 P.T.O.



# COVERT OPERATION secret base

8/5/14/5/92  
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Angry reaction ... Top, Sergeant JKR Seago, alias 'Oupa', and, below, Constable Johannes Nkwane, alias 'Mike'



Above, Sergeant George Supra, and right, Daniel Kolisang, who says he was offered money by the police to carry out petrol-bomb attacks



## react with fury, anxiety

encounters with *The Weekly Mail*.

Captain Andries du Plessis, who in January was in charge of the safe house, refused to allow us into his home at 66 Senator Rood Avenue, Duncanville, insisting on conducting the interview through his front-door security grille.

He was composed, reasonably civil — and utterly uncommunicative, saying only that he was a former security policeman who now worked for the Criminal Investigation (CIS), and that he did not want to be interviewed. On the "safe house", he was non-committal, referring us to a media liaison.

at George Supra, to whom

we have traced the page number given to Kolisang at the safe house, was a different proposition. Told we were from *The Weekly Mail*, he ordered us off his property, at 71 Beethoven Street, Vanderbijlpark, and threatened us with a trespass charge.

When a photograph was taken of him, he furiously started towards our photographer, but checked himself.

Later, in a lengthy wrangle in the street, he conceded he worked for the CIS and was based at the Vereeniging police station — a piece of information he initially refused to give.

Supra did not deny the page num-

ber given to Kolisang was his, and suggested that Prosec Consultants — the fictitious company to which the service is registered — was his private business. "What a policeman does with his own time is his affair," he said.

By this stage, we could sense invisible telephones shrilling throughout the Vaal: at our next port of call, 17 Flufftail Street, Falcon Ridge, Lieutenant Arthur van der Grys said he knew we were from *The Weekly Mail* before we had volunteered the information.

The fact that he was specifically warned of our impending visit rather undermines his claim to know nothing of the safe house — "That happens only in books," he said from

behind his security grille — and to be "an ordinary detective".

The man at the centre of the drama, Sergeant AG Steenkamp, whom Kolisang says interviewed him at the safe house, was not at home when we called, although his wife was.

When we returned two hours later the flat was in darkness. According to the security guard at the flats, the Steenkamp family slept elsewhere that night.



From PAGE 2

"Ntjanyana" and Molatu. It was stressed to him, he says, that it was essential to kill "Speech".

He was allegedly given details of the type of petrol bombs required — using a "lappie", rather than being sealed and shaken — and when he said he did not know how to make these, he was told the bombs would be supplied. He was also told, he says, he would be provided with "clothing for protection".

Kolisang says he was asked to sign a form stating his name, ID number, the R5 000 payment and his code name, "Patrick Khumalo".

He was also offered, he claims, firearms training at the hands of a certain Mike Kolokoto, attached to the De Deur police station. This would be conducted at a location near Rust-der-Vaal, which "Brian" suggested was a shooting range.

Kolisang says he was taken to the house on one further occasion, where a date and rendezvous was set for the attacks — the night of January 17. He was given a page number with which to contact "Mike": (01)331-3561 or (016) 312861, code 4427.

He did not make the planned rendezvous, instead reporting his experience to the ANC.

The following aspects of Kolisang's story check out, leading *The Weekly Mail* to believe his account is true:

●The page number he was given has been

traced, via the false company and address, to Supra, who works for the CIS and whom *The Weekly Mail* knows was based at 177 Rosashof.

An ordinary township resident with Std 9 education, Kolisang would not have been able to discover who pays the page account — such information is confidential and can only be accessed by special investigative techniques.

●Steenkamp, who was based at 177 Rosashof, has admitted to the *Weekly Mail* that his code-name was "Brian".

●Kolisang said "Mike" drove a powder-blue Toyota Corolla, a claim confirmed by other sources. After Kolisang reported to the ANC — a development quickly discovered by the police — the car was moved to another operational area, sources say.

●Kolisang says that despite having his head covered, he could determine that the "safe house" had a double garage on its left side and green roof. Plot 177 Rosashof has such a garage and green guttering. On his way there, he overheard one of the policemen say he was going "to the place of the peaches" — the house has a large peach orchard. These details were given by Kolisang before he was shown the house by *The Weekly Mail*.

●Several of the activists mentioned by "Brian" were unknown to Kolisang before their meeting, including "Speech" and "Ntjanyana".

*The Weekly Mail* has established that these are the code names of Vaal MK members recently back from exile.

"Speech's" real name is Moise (not "Moisane", as in Kolisang's affidavit) and *The Weekly Mail* has met and knows the name, address and telephone number of "Ntjanyana." "Speech's" girlfriend is indeed the Sebokeng secretary of the ANC.

●*The Weekly Mail* has established that Mike Kolokoto, whom "Brian" said would provide firearms training, is a sergeant in the Sebokeng municipal police living in Debonair Park, next to the De Deur police station.

Kolokoto, whose Sebokeng house was burnt down in 1990, is said to have close links with the security police. He is also said to be "thick as thieves" with the Inkatha-linked occupants of a house rented by the kwaZulu government next door to his, at 4 Alida Street.

Among these occupants is a certain "Ndamara" Chonco, convicted last year in the Vereeniging Magistrate's Court of the possession of unlicensed firearms, and linked by activists to numerous attacks in the area.

Kolokoto — who this week strongly denied giving weapons training to anyone — was not known to Kolisang before the latter's encounter with "Brian".



SADF KILLED

Goniwe

New Nation

By EDDIE ROCH

GENERAL CP van der Westhuizen, Chief of Staff Intelligence and one of the most powerful officers in the South African Defence Force today, allegedly ordered the assassination of Matthew Goniwe and two other anti-apartheid activists from the eastern Cape in 1985.

This is according to a military document published in today's edition of the *New Nation*. It alleges that the general sent a message to the State Security Council on June 7 1985 which proposes that Goniwe and two colleagues be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency".

Goniwe's body, along with those of three fellow activists, was found on the side of a road in the eastern Cape on June 29 — three weeks after the message was sent.

The document is marked "Extremely Secret" and bears the official stamp of the SADF's communications centre in the eastern Cape. Details in the document are also corroborated by evidence handed to *The Weekly Mail* by a Military Intelligence agent during an investigation into front companies run by the SADF.

SADF public relations division representative Colonel John Rolt said he could not confirm or deny the report until he had seen a copy of the document and had established whether it was genuine.

The document is addressed from the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre to the Secretariat of the State Security Council and records a telephone discussion involving Van der Westhuizen (then a brigadier) and a General van Rensburg. It says:

"Names as follows: Matthew Goniwe; Mbulelo Goniwe (brother or nephew of the above; Fort Calata.

"It is proposed that the above-mentioned persons are permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency.

"Widespread reaction can be expected, locally as well as nationally, because of the importance of these persons, especially the former, for the enemy."

The document is drafted in signal message form by one L du Plessis from the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre and summarises a discussion between Van der Westhuizen, then chief of the army's Eastern Province Command, and Van Rensburg from the State Security Council (SSC).

This confirms information supplied to *The Weekly Mail* by former Military Intelligence agent Ben Conradie who ran a series of front companies set up to undermine left-wing organisations in the eastern Cape at the time.

Conradie was reluctant to give details when asked about the murder of Goniwe but told *Weekly Mail* reporters that the man who would know about the assassination was Lieutenant Lourens du Plessis, former head of the SADF's Comops division in Port Elizabeth.

The assassination of Goniwe and his colleagues preceded a massive clampdown by the state and the first State of Emergency was declared in 1985 on the day of their funeral — indicating that the generals' warnings to expect widespread protests was taken seriously by the SSC.

The SSC co-ordinated the work of a regional network of Joint Management Centres made up of security police and military officers dedicated to counter-insurgency work and the undermining of anti-apartheid organisations.



# Goniwe probe called

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FROM PAGE 1

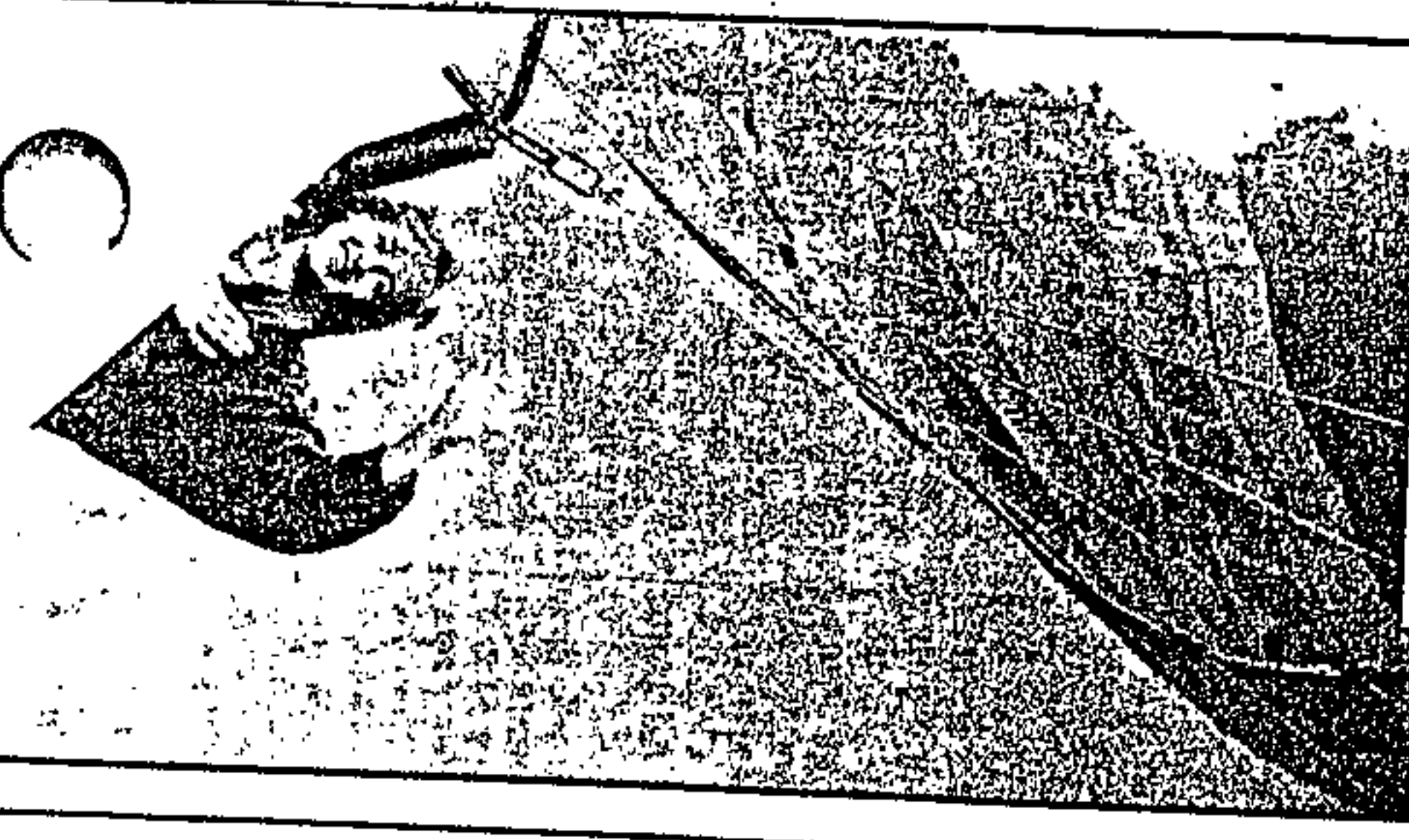
Political leaders under whose ministerial authority these officers operated" Goniwe was a Cra-dock teacher and regional organiser of the UDF at the time. He and three political colleagues, Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Si-mcelo Mhlawuli, disappeared after they left Port Elizabeth for Cra-dock in June 1985, two weeks after the message was transmitted. Their burnt-out car was found behind a bush off the Addo road the next day. Five days later their charred bodies were found in a clearing between St George's Strand and Bluewater Bay. An inquest held in February 1989 found that their deaths were caused by a person or persons unknown. The alleged military signal, a copy of which Holomisa sent to De Klerk, said wide local and national reaction could be expected to the proposed action against Goniwe and his fellow-activists because of their importance to "the enemy".

STAR 915792

The reaction could include "interdicts, such as recently with the disappearance of Godolozzi, Hashe and Galela (Pebco officials); reaction of leftist politicians such as Molly Blackburn, protest, as in the case of Oscar Mpethe, in sympathy". Military experts said last night that the alleged signal had been written on the standard military form and appeared to be authentic. However, they said the form could have been available to large numbers of military personnel. According to the form, the signal was sent by L du Plessis, the senior staff officer at Eastern Province Command.

Military sources confirmed last night that an officer named L du Plessis, now retired, had been the senior staff officer, intelligence, at Eastern Province Command in 1985. They also confirmed that Van der Westhuizen, who was in charge of Eastern Province Command in 1985, was now head of the SADF's Military Intelligence.

The alleged signal was numbered 191 and it should be possible to establish from the log what signal had been sent under that number. Security sources expressed extreme scepticism about the alleged signal and said the security forces would hardly have committed such orders to writing.



## FW orders urgent

### Inquest into slaying

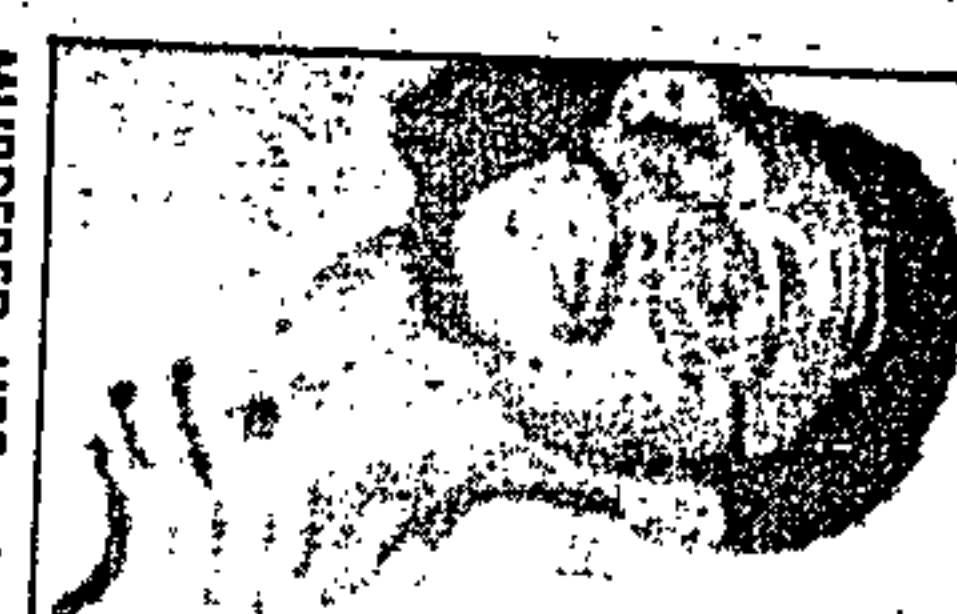
STAR 915792

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk last night ordered a new judicial probe into shock allegations that senior military officers ordered the 1985 assassinations of Matthew Goniwe and three other United Democratic Front activists. De Klerk announced that the inquest into the deaths would be reopened and would be conducted by Eastern Cape Judge President N W Zietsman.

#### Swift

He said the Government viewed the matter in an extremely serious light and that the eastern Cape attorney-general and senior police officers were already investigating the case "on the basis of extreme urgency".

De Klerk's swift move came after a Transkei military leader General Bantu Holomisa on Thursday sent him a copy of an alleged signal from the then eastern Province SADF chief, Brigadier C P van der Westhuizen, to a General



MURDERED: UDF activist Matthew Goniwe.

PETER FABRICIUS Political Correspondent

van Rensburg in the security Council. The signal, dated June 7 1985, proposed that Matthew Goniwe, Mbhele Goniwe and Fort Calata should be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency".

Two weeks later, Matthew Goniwe and three other members of the UDF-affiliated Cra-dock Residents Association were found dead in the eastern Cape. Holomisa demanded that the persons involved be brought to justice and that De Klerk insist that all the members of the State Security Council in 1985 publicly account for the disappearance of the

activists. In a statement last night De Klerk said: "The Government has no knowledge whatsoever of the alleged actions and at no stage was this case or similar cases discussed or considered by the Cabinet or the State Security Council. Any insinuation that the Cabinet or the State Security Council planned or approved murder or any other crime at any stage is devoid of all truth."

Foreign Minister Pk Botha, who was a member of the State Security Council in 1985, also rejected the implication that the council was aware of or gave orders for murder. De Klerk's announcement followed Democratic Party calls in Parliament yesterday for a judicial inquiry and an urgent special debate.

#### Crimes

The ANC said in a statement that the report carried in the New Nation "finally provides concrete confirmation of the worst fears of many democratic activists".

The ANC said there was now "compelling evidence indicating high crimes, of extreme gravity, on the part of members of the SAP and other security forces". The ANC said "a large measure of responsibility also devolve on the



# RIDDLE OF DEAD WITNESSES

At least eight people who allegedly witnessed police killings and brutality have died violently in the past two years — some of them at the hands of the police.

## 321 248 517164 10/5/92 Fight who testified to police brutality killed

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

The allegation comes during the SAP's worst credibility crisis in recent years, amid reports that a top-secret police base was linked to assassinations on the Reef and an accusation by a Supreme Court judge that the force had carried out a number of well-planned murders. Police said they could not comment on the killings "until next Friday".

The victims include a woman who refused an offer of R7 000 to drop a damages claim against the Minister of Law and Order.

Mrs Boyiswa Mokopani, of Meadowlands, Soweto, had brought a damages claim of R250 000 against the minister following the police shooting of her husband on February 8 this year.

She was awaiting the outcome when, on February 26, she was approached by men in an unmarked car in a Soweto street. They offered her R7 000 in R50 notes if

she would agree to drop the case. She refused and, disturbed by the encounter, reported it to her lawyer.

Four weeks later, on March 22, Mrs Mokopani was found dead in her home. She had been shot through the window of her house.

In another case "Doctor" Elliot Mokosi, 20, claimed he saw a policeman shoot and kill his friend in Sharpeville.

Mr Mokosi was due to sign the statement on April 10, but that morning his body was found on his grandmother's doorstep. He had been shot through the head and hands.

In the Carletonville area no fewer than four young men who allegedly witnessed police brutality and killings were themselves killed by police. Another man was apparently killed because he was mistaken for one of them. The victims were:

● Kokhosi Molele, who was killed in early April 1991, allegedly by a policeman known as "Mojjo". Johannesburg socialist Miss Sally Seely, of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repres-

sion, who researches violence, said she believed the policeman had mistaken Mr Molele for another activist — William Makage.

● William Makage, 17, of B22, Klunzong, Carletonville, who died in police custody on May 10 1991. Police say Mr Makage was shot dead when he attempted to escape from custody after being taken to the township so he could point out a gun.

However, Mr Makage's girlfriend, Miss Mlongi Mogale, said he told her 48 hours before his death that he had heard policemen at Welverdiend station arguing over who should kill him. Miss Mogale said he knew he was going to die and asked that his clothing be given to his friends.

Mr Makage's lawyers said he had told them earlier that he feared for his life after several people who had testified against the police were "suddenly mysteriously killed".

● Richard "Pictureman" Dodo, 17, who was allegedly shot by a policeman known as "Venter" Rampete on October 17.

According to an eyewitness, Mr John Monaran, 23, police chased Mr Dodo. Mr Monaran said "Venter" told a policeman known as "Passie" to let Mr Dodo go. Mr Monaran said Mr Dodo walked a few steps then "Passie" shot him in the back. He added that "Venter" then said "he's not dead" and he too shot Mr Dodo.

Mr Dodo and Mr Makage had said they witnessed the beating in police detention of Eugene Mbulawa, 15, who died in hospital on July 13 last year. Police claimed a fel-

low detainee had pushed him against a steel cupboard.

Mr Makage, who provided details of the alleged brutal torture in an affidavit, claimed a policeman had said to Eugene: "I am going to hit you until you are half dead."

Mac Muthupi, who was killed on March 4 1990, Police said he died when they opened fire on a crowd who had thrown a petrol bomb at a police vehicle.

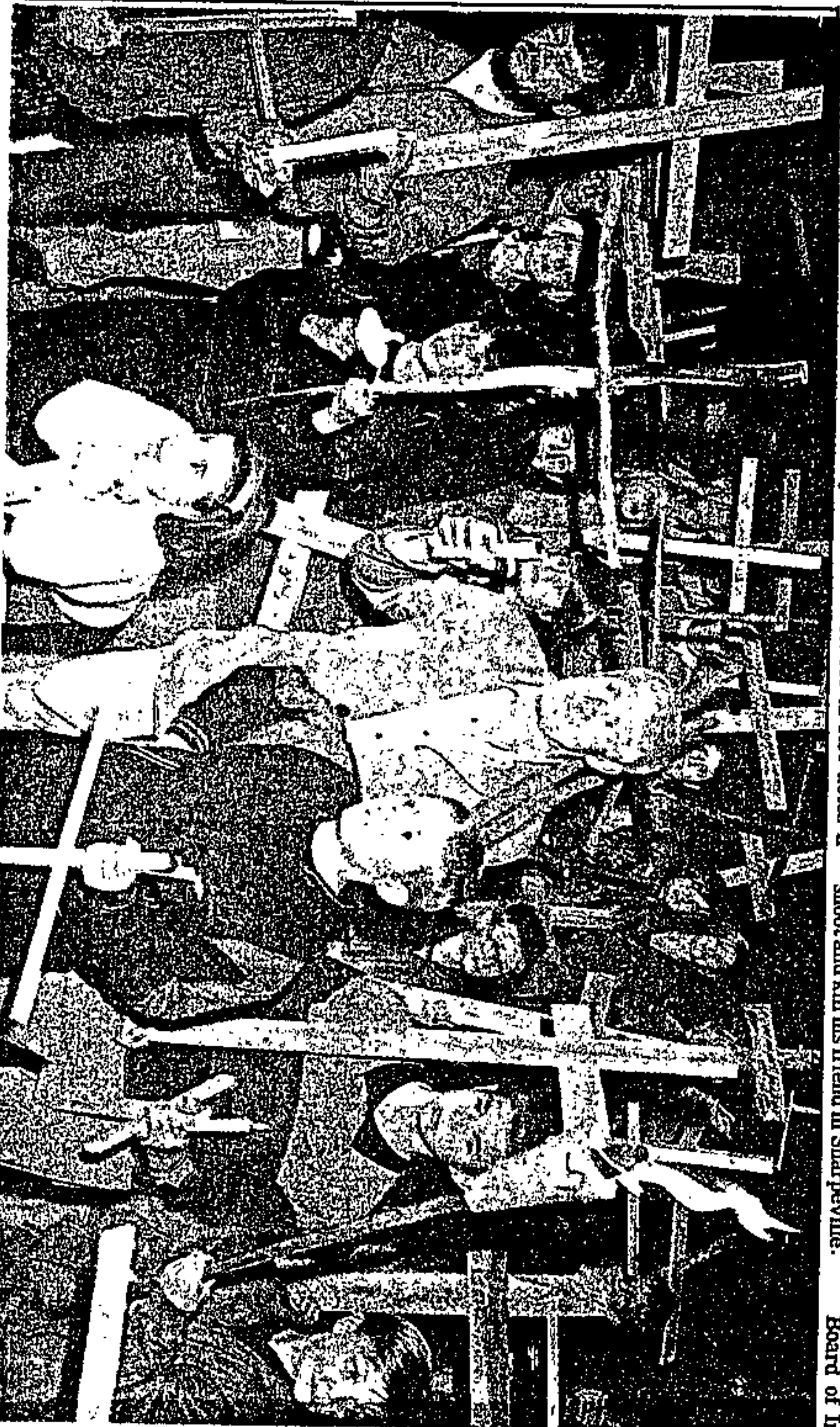
But a witness to the incident, Mr Abram Felenz, went, 18, said police opened

fire on youths fleeing from a shack which the police had surrounded with the aim of "trapping us inside".

● Simon Tshabalala, who was killed on March 7 1990. Police said he was killed when they opened fire on 100 youths who had ambushed a police patrol.

Mr Muthupi and Mr Tshabalala had allegedly witnessed the torture of Nixon Phiri, 16, who died during police interrogation at Welverdiend police station on January 16 1990.

Lawyers for the Phiri family are still battling to have the inquest into the youth's death re-opened after an informal inquest was held without their



FIERY PROTEST... a crowd demonstrates against a planned Buddhist temple near Bronkhorstspuit. Picture: NEVILLE PETERSEN

## Victims' law firm link

TWO of those killed were clients of the Johannesburg law firm Nicholls, Campbell, Koopersamy and Pillay.

"The common thread in these deaths is that those who died were witnesses willing to come forward in an attempt to prevent violence by the community and by members of the police," said a lawyer with the firm. "There seems to have been an attempt to silence them."

Dr Max Coleman, a commissioner of the Human Rights Commission, said it was clear that people who killed to

achieve political ends would "certainly not shy away from killing potential witnesses to their crimes".

"What is particularly disturbing is the apparent collusion between security forces and vigilantes in some instances," Dr Coleman said. "This is an extreme form of intimidation" served to dash the early hopes of members of the community that new structures set up in terms of the Peace Accord and the Goldstone Commission could expose crimes outside of police procedures.

### Massacre

Convicted murderer Captain Brian Mitchell's commanding officer, Major Deon Terblanche — who had allegedly approved the attack on the wake which became known as the Trust Feed massacre — was shot on March 14 1990.

Constable Roy Ncobo, 27, admitted to having killed him and also made a statement to his lawyers detailing alleged acts of brutality by the Maritzburg riot squad unit.

Constable Ncobo was killed two days later while allegedly attempting to escape from the custody of his colleagues as he was being taken to identify clothing. The policeman who shot him was found to have acted in self-defence.

## Chiavelli faces R18m debts

By PETER MALHERBE

ITALIAN businessman Marino Chiavelli must repay debts of at least R18-million with a local bank following the withdrawal of a foreign bid to have him sequestered and his companies liquidated.

Earlier this year, Mr Chiavelli put up his Cape mansion, Villa Chianan, and his London properties as security for debts with the Bank of Lisbon in Johannesburg.

In terms of an agreement signed in January this year, the bank would have been entitled to sell Villa Chianan and the London properties if the

debt was not paid by March 31. However, these actions were suspended while the court applications from a Swiss-based company, Orcon-sul, were contested in court.

In a surprise move, Orcon-sul withdrew its claims on Friday. The securities held by the Bank of Lisbon do not include Summer Place, which has been bonded to Nedbank for R5-million. It is not known what action the



AM quoting one of many letters I receive from friends

here and abroad about the way they see the situation in our country.

In her letter this week, Judith Merrian of San Francisco, California, wrote to me:

"What a joy it was to read on the front page of the March 19, 1992 issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle* that President de Klerk won a mandate to end apartheid.

"It brought tears to my eyes, and my heart was overwhelmed with deep gratitude for the peacemakers of SA who supported De Klerk's reforms.

"It's a shame that people are still being killed almost daily in the townships. Where do the weapons come from that are being used in these attacks that maim and kill innocent men, women and children?

"Peace and blessings to the people of SA". That ended the letter.

You may wonder why I reproduced this letter because you've heard such stories before.

☐ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

# Racists have

## no escape

CPress 10/5/92



CPress 10/5/92

The point is that there are people out there who really care and share our grief. Their hearts and minds are with us.

Last year I read an interesting article in the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* about tons of firearms that have been flowing from US arms companies to SA, in violation of US trade sanctions and the arms embargo set up in 1986 to help end apartheid.

The article claimed, authoritatively, that 10 US arms dealers and transporters channelled at least 40 tons of shotguns, rifles, handguns and ammunition to SA.

The arrival of these arms coincided with the widespread outbreak of

violence early in 1990 after ANC president Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

Said the authors of the article: "The timing of these events suggests the firearms may be fuelling the explosion of black-against-black violence that's weakening the anti-apartheid movement at a critical time."

This brings me back to the role of the security police during the state of emergency, and right now.

Many highly respected personalities like Matthew Goniwe, Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge, Dr Fabian Robeiro, Dr David Webster - the list is endless - died under mysterious

circumstances and their killers were never found.

What about those activists who simply vanished without trace? Were we expected to say "in a struggle there must be casualties"?

If this was the case, why are Nazis still being rounded up all over the world today, more than 40 years after they murdered millions of Jews?

Is it because we are black and our lives are cheap?

When somebody suggested there should be something similar to the Nuremberg Trials in SA against those who killed and maimed our people in the name of apartheid,

there was an outcry.

When we at City Press first questioned the authorities about the mysterious killings of Goniwe and others, the then Law and Order Minister, the late Louis le Grange, threatened to close us down.

The chickens are now coming home to roost. No amount of the law of omega (I have seen nothing, heard nothing and said nothing) will help them escape this one.

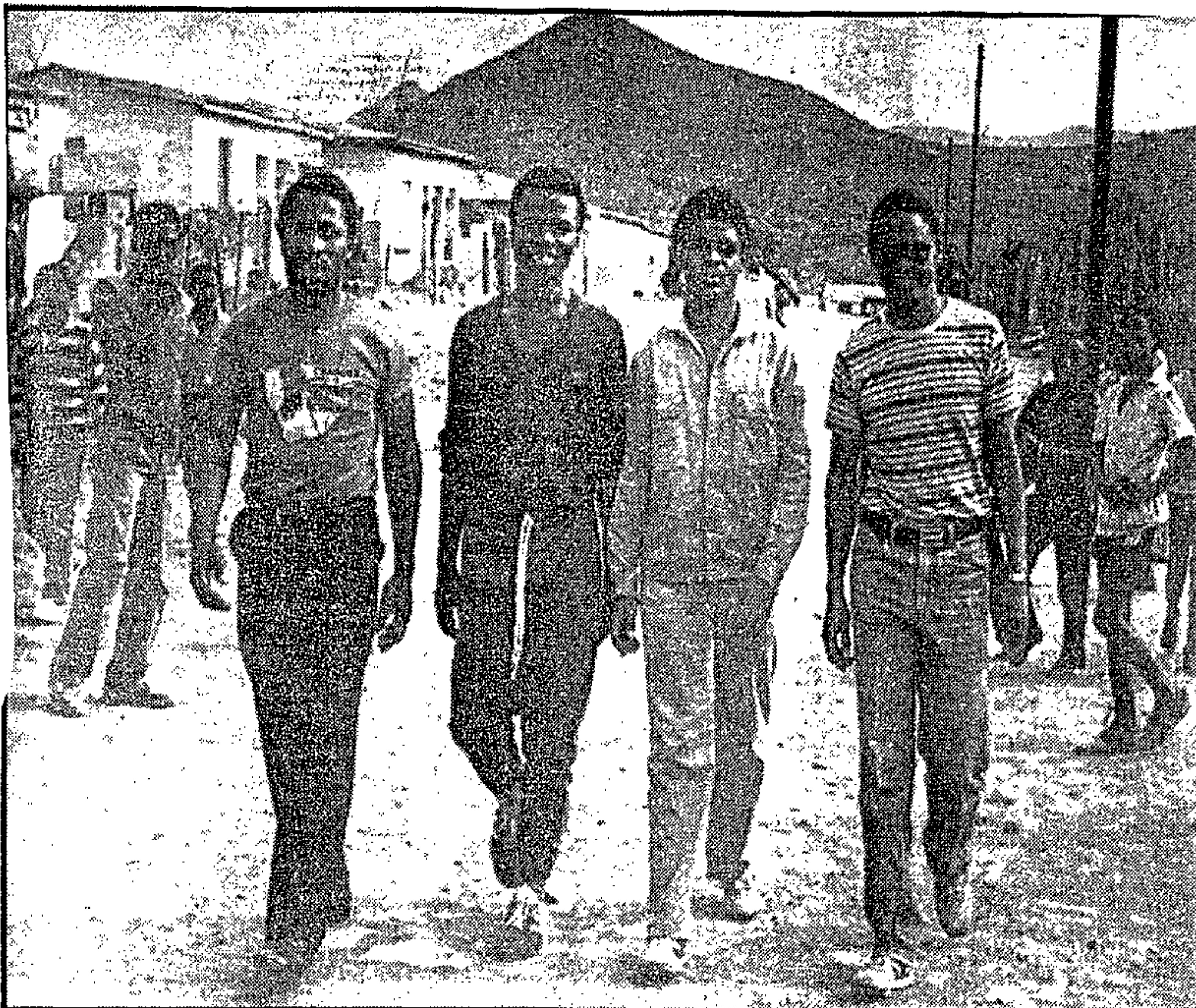
The truth is Goniwe and hundreds of others were murdered by those who hated their guts for standing up to apartheid.

Those who enjoyed the fruits of apartheid want us to forget the past. It is easy for them to say so - they were not on the receiving end as we were.

Many more revelations of State violence against the people are still to come. These facts were suppressed during PW Botha's reign of terror against anti-apartheid activists.

My advice to those who were involved in implementing apartheid is to quit now.





**FREEDOM BEFORE DEATH:** Matthew Goniwe, right, Fort Calata, second right, and Mbulelo Goniwe, left, celebrate their release from detention in 1984. With them here is school head boy Madoda Jacobs

# Goniwe's gruesome murder

By BILL KRIGE

THE deaths of Matthew Goniwe, 38, a mild-mannered school principal with a steely resolve, and three colleagues were brutal moments which bore the hallmarks of assassination.

Allegations that senior military officers ordered the killings spurred President FW de Klerk on Friday to order that the inquest be reopened and conducted by Eastern Cape Judge President NW Zietsman.

The information regarding the allegations was provided by Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa who claims the State Security Council knew of the alleged killings.

President De Klerk is now facing demands that the ministers who served on the council at the time — including Foreign Minister Pik Botha,

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Minister of State Affairs Gerrit Viljoen and then Defence Minister Magnus Malan — should resign. The first three are key members of the NP's negotiating team at Codesa.

But Mr De Klerk said the government had no knowledge of the alleged assassinations.

"Any insinuation that the cabinet or the State Security Council planned or approved murder or any other crime at any stage is devoid of all truth."

Forensic evidence presented at an inquest in Port Elizabeth in 1988 showed all the men were alive some time after Mr Goniwe's car was

stopped on the national road just outside the city on the night of June 27 1985.

Mr Goniwe's burnt-out car was found first. Then the bodies of Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlauli were discovered in thick coastal bush on the city outskirts.

Mr Mhlauli's right hand had been severed. He and Mr Mkhonto had been stabbed and petrol had been poured on their faces before they were set alight.

Two days later the press in Port Elizabeth was invited to join a police search for Mr Goniwe and fellow schoolteacher, Mr Fort Calata, 28.

Within an hour their bodies had been found far apart in the thick bush. Both had been burnt.





**TRAGIC LOSS ....** The late eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe with his family.

# Goniwe order: who knew?

By SEKOLA SELLO 327

WHAT, if anything, did former State President PW Botha and current head of State FW de Klerk know about plans to kill prominent eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe and three others?

This question is being raised in political circles following disclosures by *New Nation* newspaper that the State Security Council ordered the killing of Cradock Residents' Association leaders Goniwe and Fort Calata.

ANC chief of information Pallo Jordan this week said the astounding disclosures made by *New Nation*, were "taxing credulity" that De Klerk was not told - even by "a solitary member of the security forces" about the killings.

On Friday De Klerk denied any knowledge of the killings

and stated that "any insinuation that the Cabinet or the State Security Council planned or approved murder or any other crime at any stage is devoid of all truth".

The damning document in possession of the Johannesburg weekly newspaper states that on June 7, 1985, a command signalled from one branch of the security forces to another proposed the elimination of Goniwe and Calata.

This document was passed to New Nation by Major Gen Holomisa who said he received it anonymously through the post.

The order was signed by Brigadier CP van der Westhuizen, the then head of the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre. This information was transmitted to the State Security Council.

The SSC - essentially a council of war whose role was to

counter guerrilla offensives and to undermine organisations opposed to government policy -

was made up of security police chiefs, military officers and prominent cabinet ministers - including the State President, and ministers of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Justice and Constitutional Development.

The *New Nation* claims that at least one SSC meeting, attended by PW Botha, De Klerk and Pk Botha, was convened shortly before the June 7 "death warrant" message was sent off.

In spite of De Klerk's denials, government opponents are asking a number of pointed questions. These include:

■ Did the council indeed discuss the "elimination" of these highly effective opponents?

■ Were PW Botha, De Klerk and Pk Botha part of the meeting?

■ If Van der Westhuizen ordered the killings, who in the SSC sanctioned such actions.

Van der Westhuizen is current Chief of Staff of Military Intelligence.

Goniwe, Calata, Sparrow Mkofo and Sicele Mhlawuli, all prominent members of Cradock and the United Democratic Front, were found dead two weeks after the transmission of the June 7 message.

The four were returning home after a meeting in Port Elizabeth. Their mutilated bodies were found four days later in thick bush near the Blue Water Bay in PE. Their deaths came soon after three Port Elizabeth civic leaders - Sipho Hashe, Champion Galela and Qaqawuli Godolozzi - vanished, seemingly forever.

■ See Page 10



# State credibility on the line

Spurefen 11/5/92  
By JOE MDHLELA

LATEST allegations that the Government was involved in the assassination of three activists have given the De Klerk government's credibility a big knock.

In an article published last week, the *New Nation*, claimed that the order to have Cradock Residents Association members Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata and Mbulolo Goniwe executed was made by General CP van der Westhuizen of the South African Defence Force's intelligence unit.

The decision was made by the State Security Council in 1985, in a meeting attended by Mr FW de Klerk, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the former State President, Mr PW Botha, the paper claimed.

"The man who signed their death warrant is General CP van der Westhuizen," the newspaper claimed. It published a hand-written document in which the order (to have the three killed) was given.

The document was addressed from the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre to the secretariat of the SCC in Pretoria, the newspaper said.

In the article, the *New Nation* said it could not get De Klerk's response to the exposé.

Two weeks after the message was transmitted, Goniwe, Calata, Sparrow Mkontlo and Sicelo Mhlauhi, were found slain, their bodies strewn on the roadside in the Eastern Cape.

The four had to be eliminated because of their "importance".

The document, which was marked "extremely secret" (uiers geheim), was for the personal attention of General Van Rensburg/Brigadier van der Westhuizen.

It reads in part: "... it is proposed that the above-mentioned persons are permanently removed from society, as a matter of urgency. ... widespread reaction can be expected, locally as well as nationally, because of the importance of these persons."

The newspaper interpreted the phrase "permanently removed from society", as calling for their killing.

Both De Klerk and Botha denied the Government's involvement or approval of the assassination of the four activists.

Said Pik Botha in a television interview on Friday evening: "I know nothing of this allegation. I completely deny any Government's involvement



MATTHEW GONIWE

in it."

The South African Press Association quoted De Klerk as saying: "At no stage was this or similar cases discussed or considered by the Cabinet or the State Security Council.

"Any insinuation that the Cabinet or the State

Cape has already instructed the re-opening of the inquest into the deaths of the deceased. Judge President NW Zietsman will preside at the inquest," De Klerk told Sapa at the weekend.

Colonel John Rolt of the SADF said the military regretted the fact that *New Nation* did not see it fit to provide defence force with the document it is basing its allegations on.

"Despite the fact that the Defence Force has not been given an opportunity to study the document, the matter will be investigated as a matter of urgency," Rolt said.

He said it was curious that his department is accused of atrocities, yet the very same people who claim to be in possession of material evidence deny them access to it.

Rolt said it should be appreciated that the alleged document was said to have been written in 1985.

"We need to go to our archives before we can come up with a comprehensive response," he said.

However the newspaper suggested that Rolt declined to comment "and this was in spite of the fact that the *New Nation* gave all the details of the document".

The report did not make it clear whether the newspaper was willing to provide the security force with the document in their possession.

The *New Nation* went on to suggest that "there is little doubt that the SCC, the central command structure of the National Security Management Systems, has been and remains at the centre of violent destabilisation inside and outside South Africa."

ANC's head of the department of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, said: "This (revelation) supports our long-held belief that the security forces have been behind the killing of our people. The Government has misled us into believing that the covert operations have ceased."

Jordan demanded that an independent inquiry be instituted as a matter of urgency to establish the role the security forces are playing in the destabilisation of the black community.

Whether the assurance by De Klerk that he and the Government would do everything to reveal the truth would please him, remains to be seen.

But there can be no doubt that the credibility of the Government has taken a serious knock, and that these new allegations will impact on Codesa and the seriousness of the reform initiatives of the De Klerk Government.



# 32 Battalion men assault journalist

South African 12/5/92

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MR Khaba Mkhize, assistant editor of the *Natal Witness* has alleged that he was assaulted by members of the controversial 32 Battalion in Imbali on Saturday. He alleges that the barbaric assault took place in front of his wife and neighbours.

He said the incident took place when he went to investigate complaints that members of the battalion had put rubble on lawns belonging to some residents.

He drove to the home of a neighbour and found the road blocked by an army payload. He said he saw part of a fence pushed down and asked a soldier what was going on. He also asked a photographer, Mr

Themba Mgabi, to take some photographs. "A group of about 13 soldiers jumped off their truck in response to a command issued in a foreign African dialect. "They cocked their rifles and rushed towards Mgabi, who was trying to flee.

"A scuffle ensued and Mgabi was dragged to the battalion commander, who demanded the film while Mgabi was being roughed up. "One soldier pulled Mgabi by his jacket collar and head-butted him in the face while his colleague tried to rip his camera from his hand. "Mgabi dropped the camera in the hope that someone else would pick it up, but soldiers opened the camera and took out the spool. "I was writing notes and a young soldier pounced on me and asked why I was writing down a motor car's number. "I told him I was doing my job, but before I finished explaining I was pushed backwards and roughed up and my ear-drum clanged with a smack. "As I wondered what earned me this treatment another soldier kicked me in the ribs," said Mkhize.



CRADOCK may have the reputation of a plateland backwater, but the towering presence of Mr Matthew Goniwe ensured that the dusty Eastern Cape town was at the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggle of the mid-1980s.

That was until his brutal murder in 1985.

Goniwe was a Cradock teacher, founder and former chairman of the Cradock Residents' Association (Cradock), rural regional organiser for the United Democratic Front and an associate member of the Black Sash.

He set out for home from Port Elizabeth with three companions on June 27 after attending an unscheduled UDF meeting.

His fellow-travellers were UDF executive member Mr Fort Calata; Mr Thomas "Sparrow" Mkhonto, chairman of Cradock; and Qudushoom teacher and UDF member Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli.

None of the men was seen alive again.

The charred bodies of Goniwe and Calata were found in a clearing near Bluewater Bay on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth on July 2.

Goniwe's gutted Honda Ballade was discovered near the Aldo Scribante race track nearby.

Four days earlier, Mhlawuli's body had been found in bushes a few kilometres away at Veeplaas, and that of Mkhonto the next day.

From the outset, the men's families and anti-apartheid leaders claimed the State was involved in the killings.

#### Sowetan Correspondent

The day their bodies were discovered, regional UDF secretary Mr Derrick Swartz was quoted as saying:

"The nation and the international community knows full well who is responsible for their deaths."

Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF acting publicity secretary, said the police failure to make any headway with the case left "many questions".

"The popular view has become that there is police complicity in these incidents."

The South African Government took "the strongest possible exception" to these allegations.

Mr Louis Nel, then Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, said they had persistently tried to restore law and order in unrest areas - "exactly to prevent such tragic incidents" - and he blamed the conflict on "an interlocking power struggle by opposing radical organisations".

By August 1985, police had "absolutely no leads", and academics and administrative staff at the three Western Cape universities were offering a R35 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the killers.

A first inquest on the four men opened in Port Elizabeth in January 1988, but was postponed with the agreement of the families' legal representatives.

The magistrate ordered the documents to remain privileged after hearing a State representative say an investigation was still in progress and a prosecution could result.

In August 1988, the South African Embassy in London lashed out at the BBC over a television programme which examined the murders of opponents of apartheid - including that of Goniwe, Natal academic Dr Rick Turner and ANC Paris representative Mrs Dulcie September.

The embassy accused the BBC of conducting a "propaganda vendetta" against South Africa, and in a question-and-answer session after the film, South African "super-spy" and President's Council member Mr Craig Williamson flatly denied South African involvement in the murders.

He said it was easy to make the accusations without evidence to back them up.

A second inquest started on February 15 1989 and Mrs Goniwe was represented by one of South Africa's best-known advocates, Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC.

# Goniwe and friends Shot and stabbed



Matthew Goniwe died of wounds in the neck, chest, stomach and back.

The court was told Mr Goniwe died of multiple stab wounds in the neck, chest, stomach and back. Calata had been stabbed in the heart.

Mkhonto had a gunshot wound in the brain, a stab wound which had penetrated his heart and three other chest wounds.

Mhlawuli had been shot in the brain and chest and stabbed 32 times with a variety of weapons.

Evidence was led - but mainly rejected - that the men's deaths resulted from conflict between the UDF and the black consciousness organisation Azapo.

In his summing-up, Chaskalson said everything pointed to the murders being politically motivated and rejected suggestions of conflict between the UDF and Azapo in Cradock.

He described the killing as carefully planned, well co-ordinated and skillful.

"We know he (Goniwe) said he would stop only for the police or traffic officers," Chaskalson told the inquest court.

He said petrol had been poured over the men's faces and set alight to make it more difficult to identify the bodies.

He referred to evidence that the original number plates on Mr Goniwe's car had been removed and a false number plate had been found next to the car.

One of Mr Goniwe's original CAT number plates had later been found in the grass near the car.

Magistrate Mr E de Beer said suspicions by the men's families that members of the South African Police had been involved in the murders had been extensively investigated, but there had been no evidence before him to suggest any policemen had participated in the killings.

On the evidence, it was impossible to determine the identity of the killers and he ruled that their deaths had been caused by "a person or group of persons unknown".

He referred his findings to the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape.



# Stayaway ends

Sowetan 12/5/92

THE week-long stayaway in Maritzburg which was marked by daily protests and marches into the city has been temporarily called off.

The announcement was made at the weekend by the African National Congress, the SA Communist Party, Congress of SA Trade Unions and the Imbali Co-ordinating Committee.

The stayaway was ended after the Maritzburg Cham-

ber of Commerce and Industry undertook to recommend not to penalise workers who had stayed away and to urge the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry to investigate the conduct of security forces stationed at Imbali.

The chamber also undertook to use its influence to ensure that 32 Battalion and the riot police are withdrawn from Imbali. - Sowetan Correspondent.

# Concern at attacks on journalists

Sowetan 12/5/92

THE Foreign Correspondents' Association, representing about 160 overseas journalists working in South Africa, yesterday expressed concern about the safety of its members in increasingly volatile townships.

In an open letter to the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian Peoples Organisation, Inkatha Freedom Party, National Party and the Committee to Protect Journalists in Washington, the association said its concern arose from several attacks on journalists in recent months by groups across the political spectrum.

The letter further urged political leaders to take immediate action to restrain their supporters. - Sapa.

## "YOU KILLED OUR MARRIAGE"

Nhlanhla Mbambo tells his story.



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# Goniwe: New twist

SOWETAN Tue

Page 2

## Goniwe: new twist

From page 1

an impimpi" (informant) - who pointed out the Honda Ballade the four were travelling in to the police, who then stopped the car. *Sowetan 12/5/92*

"When the men got out of the car he recognised Forty (Calata). He said when he saw Forty he got 'weak' and moved behind a tree to hide."

"He did not take part in the beatings but saw the assault on the men and also saw Forty being stabbed by a policeman."

"I could see they were being killed," he allegedly told her.

The soldier later left the army, allegedly going absent without leave.

His mother could not confirm that he had actually deserted, but said when he came back to Cradock he received letters from the army threatening to arrest him.

Macleane was told by the man, who by this time was working as a "kiskonstabel" in Cradock, that he had recognised a local policeman.

He named the black security policeman as Chippa Buzani, who later died in a car accident.

At the official inquest into the deaths no mention was made of a roadblock on the fateful day.

However, the lawyer acting for the family, Mr Arthur Chaskason, SC, said in his summation that "whoever was responsible (for the deaths) were sufficiently strong and well organised to stop a car, overpower the occupants and take their bodies up to 14 km from the vehicle."

He said the killers knew who they were looking for and knew the area very well, as they took the men down remote paths at Bluewater Bay.

SADF sources said yesterday its military intelligence chief implicated in the deaths of the civic leaders was "out of the country", and would be back in June. *- Ecna and Sowetan Correspondent.*

## twist

*Sowetan 12/5/92*

*12/5/92*

*327*

**A FORMER South African Defence Force soldier and "kiskonstabel" could be the key to unravelling the seven-year mystery surrounding the murder of four Cradock community leaders.**

He could shed light on long-standing allegations by family members that the four were arrested at a roadblock manned by SADF and SAP members on the day they disappeared.

Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicele Mhlathi disappeared on June 27 1985 after a meeting in Port Elizabeth with United Democratic Front colleagues in the city. Their charred and mutilated bodies were found

days later at Bluewater Bay near Port Elizabeth. An inquest found their deaths were caused by a person or persons unknown.

Now Mrs Vivian Maclean, Mr Fort Calata's mother-in-law, has revealed that the former soldier (whose name is known) came to see her one Saturday in 1986 after he had "absconded" from the army.

She said he told her there "was something on my heart I need to get off", she said.

"He told me that when he was still in the army based in Queenstown they got called out to a roadblock near Port Elizabeth on June 27 1985.

"When they arrived there were already a lot of policemen and soldiers there."

He told her there was also a woman - "probably an

• To page 2

HIGHGATE

# Cradock 4 murders: general

not in SA

By Brian Sokutu  
Crime Staff

The Military Intelligence chief allegedly implicated in the deaths of four Cradock civic leaders in 1985 was "out of the country" and would be back next month, SADF sources said yesterday.

A New Nation report published last week said General CP van der Westhuizen, then head of Eastern Province Command, signed a "death warrant" in 1985 which ordered the "permanent removal" of Matthew Goniwe, his nephew Mbulelo, and Fort Calata.

The alleged military signal was then sent to the secretariat of the State Security Council by Commandant L du Plessis, then senior staff officer at the Eastern Province Command.

Military experts said the signal ordering the "removal" of the Cradock leaders appeared to be authentic.

Mr Goniwe, Sparrow Mkonto, Mr Calata and Sicelo Mhlawuli disappeared two weeks after the message was sent. Their burnt-out car was found the next day, and their charred bodies five days later.

● FW inherits wages of death — Page 14





# FW inherits wages of death

STAM 12/5/92

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**P**RESIDENT de Klerk, confronted with prima facie evidence of security force involvement in the gruesome murder of four activists in 1985, must feel besieged by the political ghost of his imperious predecessor.

Political forces unleashed by the "total strategy" doctrine espoused by P W Botha keep emerging to harass and haunt Mr de Klerk as he battles to negotiate a settlement with black leaders.

Mr de Klerk hardly had time to settle into office after assuming power on September 24 1989 when he had to cope with a major crisis generated by allegations of the existence of police death squads formed to counter the "terrorist onslaught".

Two ex-policemen, Almond Nofemela and Dirk Coetzee, precipitated the crisis, Nofemela with his dramatic death cell confession that he had served in a police death squad and Coetzee with his admission a few weeks later that he had been the commander of the same death squad.

These disclosures reverberated especially loudly because they occurred in the context of a long list

of assassinations for which the security forces were suspected of culpability, the latest of which had been the murder, on May 1 1989, of the anthropologist and anti-apartheid activist, David Webster.

The crisis was compounded within weeks. Investigative journalists, and police under Brigadier Floris Mostert, in pursuit of Dr Webster's assassins, unearthed the existence of a secret military force, the Civil Co-operation Bureau, whose purpose was to disrupt and, according to later testimony, even eliminate the "enemies of the State."

Mr de Klerk, having initially tried to deflect cries for a judicial commission of inquiry to establish whether the government agencies did indeed run death squads, eventually appointed Mr Justice Harms to investigate politically motivated murders.

But the Harms report, which was released in November 1990, and which found that there was no evidence of police death squads, failed to defuse the crisis. As the judge himself admitted in his report: "The commission has been unable to achieve one of its main purposes, namely to restore confi-

dence in a part of the state administration."

One reason for its failure was the refusal of CCB men to co-operate. They refused to supply their files to the commission, claiming that they had been destroyed and/or hidden according to a pre-arranged plan.

Mr Justice Harms concluded in part: "The actions of the CCB have contaminated the security arm of the State. Their conduct before and during the commission creates suspicions that they have been involved in more crimes than the evidence shows."

The crisis of confidence in the security forces was exacerbated last year, when, in a sensational libel action involving General Lothar Neethling, Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail, Mr Justice Kriegler found that Dirk Coetzee had been a reliable witness and that General Neethling had not told the truth.

The judgment effectively put the question of police death squads back on the agenda by neutralising Mr Justice Harms' finding that Coetzee could not be believed because he was motivated by a deep hatred for the police

and was either "mentally unbalanced" or "prepared to fabricate evidence to achieve his own ends."

Then came the judgment in the Trust Feed trial, in which a police officer, Brian Mitchell, and four special constables were found guilty of massacring 11 black civilians in 1988, and in which the judge expressed the suspicion that some police officers had tried to cover up the killings.

The crisis has deepened further with the latest episode: the publication of an alleged signal message from one military officer to another authorising the "permanent removal from society" in June 1985 of three United Democratic Front leaders, including the charismatic Matthew Goniwe.

Within a month of the purported signal message from the Eastern Cape Joint Management Centre to the secretariat of the State Security Council in Pretoria, the mutilated and partly burnt bodies of Mr Goniwe and four comrades were found in the veld.

Mr de Klerk has acted speedily in a bid to contain the latest crisis, ordering that the inquest into the deaths of Mr Goniwe and his comrades be re-opened. The appoint-

ment of the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Zietsman, to preside over the resumed inquest is a sign of the importance which Mr de Klerk attaches to it.

The original inquest magistrate found that the four slain men had been murdered by "unknown persons." Whether Mr Justice Zietsman will be successful in identifying the killers remains to be seen.

Assuming that the signal message is genuine, it is a fair bet, judging from the obstructive behaviour of CCB men before and during the Harms inquiry, that the log book recording transmission of the message to the State Security Council will have disappeared.

What is known about the killings points, as Arthur Chaskalson, SC, argued before the original inquest court, to them being political murders.

Very few people knew that Mr Goniwe and his companions would be on the road from Port Elizabeth to Cradock on the night that they were intercepted and murdered, except people who had the power to tap telephones.

Mr Goniwe, who was urged to stay the night in Port Elizabeth, had said he would only stop for

police or traffic officers. Robbery was not the motive of the killers. Money was found on the body of one of Mr Goniwe's comrades, Sparrow Mkonto.

The killers went to great lengths to cover up their gruesome work, dragging the bodies of the four men into different places in remote veld, pouring petrol over their faces and setting it alight in a bid to prevent them from being identified. A false number plate was put on Mr Goniwe's car.

Forensic evidence suggested that the four men were still alive when they were taken out of Mr Goniwe's car, stabbed and shot, dragged to different places in Bluewater Bay near Port Elizabeth and then set alight.

To paraphrase Mr Chaskalson: the killers knew who they were looking for and where to find them; whoever they were, they were brutal. □

● Patrick Laurence, an assistant editor on The Star, is the author of "Death Squads: Apartheid's Secret Weapon".

2 Cape Times, Wednesday, May 13 1992

# Killings: FW faces tough questions

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk faces a grilling in the House of Assembly today in an urgently called mini-debate on charges of state involvement in the assassinations of four Eastern Cape activists.

Mr De Klerk, already under pressure over the massive corruption found by the Pickard Commission into the Department of Development Aid, will be asked today by Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer:

● Whether the State Security Council (SSC), its secretariat or any person serving on it, or any member of the South African security

forces, authorised or ordered the assassinations of the "Cradock Four", and

● If he has ordered a judicial inquiry into allegations made in New Nation last week.

The DP has also called for a full debate on the assassinations of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three members of the Cradock Residents' Association (Cradora).

New Nation newspaper published documentation last week which it alleged indicated that the SSC's secretariat had ordered the killings.

Yesterday South African Communist Party

secretary-general Mr Chris Hani entered the fray, charging that the government's "involvement in the murder and assassination of political activists was the major obstacle to peace and a negotiated settlement".

Mr Hani said the major decision to be taken at Codesa II on Friday and Saturday was "the demand for the immediate and unconditional resignation of this illegitimate regime..."

"These latest scandals, we believe, are only the tip of the iceberg. They clearly reveal a pattern of massive financial corruption that affects the entire fabric of government."

ANNOUNCEMENT



# FW inherits the wages of death

Sowetan 13/5/92

THE President must deal with the fallout of 'total strategy' policy, writes **Sowetan** Correspondent **PATRICK LAURENCE**, the author of *Death Squads: Apartheid's Secret Weapon*.

**PRESIDENT FW de Klerk, confronted with prima facie evidence of security force involvement in the gruesome murder of four activists in 1985, must feel besieged by the political ghost of his imperious predecessor.**

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## FOCUS

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De Klerk, having initially tried to deflect cries for a judicial commission of inquiry to establish whether the Government agencies did indeed run death squads, eventually appointed Mr Justice Harms to investigate politically motivated murders.

### Confidence

But the Harms report, which was released in November 1990, and which found that there was no evidence of police death squads, failed to defuse the crisis. As the judge himself admitted in his report: "The commission has been unable to achieve one of its main purposes, namely to restore confidence in a part of the state administration."

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# Tough times for FW on Goniwe

*Soulan*

13/5/92

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PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will today lay his credibility on the line when he responds in Parliament to allegations that the Government ordered the assassination of Mr Matthews Goniwe and three others.

De Klerk will, at the request of a hostile Democratic Party, enter into a mini-debate on the alleged assassinations at a time when the National Party is reeling from a series of scandals considered worse than the Info Scandal of the '70s.

The Conservative Party on Monday night dragged the Government into a snap debate in Parliament on the still-brewing Department of Development Aid scandal.

The DP has challenged De Klerk to come clean on:

Whether or not the State Security Council, its secretariat or any person serving on it had authorised the assassination of the Eastern Cape activists in 1985; or

Whether or not any member of the security forces had ordered the killing of Goniwe, Mr Sicele Mhlauli, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Fort Calata.

The DP expects a full debate on the issue, according to its spokesman, Miss Dene Smuts.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

She said the matter had to be dealt with "as a matter of extreme urgency in the light of allegations that violent destabilisation by agents of the State continues, even as Codesa negotiates the terms of the transition to a democratic society".

The DP's spokesman on Justice, Mr Tony Leon, has said he had no confidence in the Zietsman Commission established to investigate the killings.

"We sincerely believe the commission will not succeed in its task unless it has very wide terms of reference.

"A sound and thorough investigation into the Goniwe deaths will, of necessity, touch on the mysterious circumstances surrounding the deaths and assassinations of other Eastern Province activists killed during the emergency period from 1985 onwards.

"Therefore, the commission of inquiry's terms of reference should certainly include the re-examination of all murders and deaths in suspicious circumstances on which open verdicts at inquests were returned," Leon said.

MRS NYAMEKA GONIWE





fuel and spares, and 46% for capital costs such as aircraft, tanks, ships, ammunition, spares, maintenance and the special defence account.

He said the army would receive R3 219m, or 33,2% of the budget, the air

account had to be General and Pres

He said the Cat tegic guidelines for including an inter by 1994.

## FW to be grilled on state's alleged links to murders

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Monday 13/5/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President F.W. de Klerk faces a grilling in the House of Assembly today, in a mini-debate on allegations that the security establishment gave orders to kill Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock leaders.

DP leader Zach de Beer will ask the President:

□ Whether the State Security Council, its secretariat or any person serving on it, or any member of the SA security forces, authorised or ordered the assassination of the Cradock four, and

□ Whether he has ordered a judicial inquiry into allegations made in New Nation last week.

The DP has also called for a full debate on the issue.

PATRICK BULGER reports that Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday he was personally translating documents detailing state involvement in the assassination of prominent

anti-apartheid leaders.

Holomisa said he was translating the documents from Afrikaans to English before presenting them to De Klerk. Holomisa said last week he was in possession of a military warrant ordering the execution of prominent Cradock UDF leader Goniwe.

"The documents will show that the government has participated in and planned the blood-spilling of its black nationals. There will be prominent names among them," he said.

The documents had been sent to him anonymously, he said.

Holomisa said legal experts had already examined the Goniwe document to establish its authenticity.

Sapa reports the Transkei government said in a statement yesterday it had not yet received a formal request from De Klerk for the documents.

# Hit squads: how much more proof does FW

Star 13/5/92

need?

**T**HE case for joint control of the security forces is now incontrovertible.

For months, President de Klerk and his Ministers have been dismissing evidence of police involvement in the violence with the argument that these were aberrations, that every police force in the world has its "few rotten apples", but the SAP as a whole is strictly impartial and firmly committed to a peace-keeping role.

Now we have documentary evidence in the Matthew Goniwe case of an established procedure for authorising political assassinations involving the very highest councils of government.

It is not clear whether the signal message sent to the State Security Council proposing that Goniwe and his friends be "permanently removed from society" was ever discussed by that body, which was headed by President Botha, and included Pik Botha, General Magnus Malan and Kobie Coetsee of the present Cabinet.

President de Klerk insists it was not, and this is probably correct given the need-not-to-know

principle with which political leaders usually insulate themselves from such matters. The decision to authorise the assassinations was most likely taken somewhere in the Secretariat of more than 100 seurocrats.

But the members of the State Security Council must have known that political assassinations were taking place and tacitly condoned them.

Nor is this surprising. In 1985, when Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicela Mhlau were killed, mutilated and burned, the State Security Council was operating according to its "total strategy".

This was based largely on the writings of an American military strategist, John J McCuen, who specified in his book, "The Art of Counter-Revolutionary War", that the first step in counter-insurgency operations was to smash the "revolutionary" organisation by, among other things, identifying and eliminating key leaders.

It would appear, therefore, that the assassinations carried out in 1985 were not done by "rotten



Allister Sparks

apples" but by trained hit squads acting on orders from above, in accordance with approved policy.

This must now be placed in context with the large accumulation of evidence indicating that such hit squad activity is continuing — the latest being the Weekly Mail's disclosure of a secret police base in Sebokeng linked to the planning of assassinations in the Vaal area.

It must be linked, too, to the ridiculously premature release of some policemen sentenced to long prison terms for political murders, which points implicitly to a sense of obligation to these men on the part of their superiors.

There is, in fact, what Judge Rudolph Erasmus of the Info Inquiry would have called "a golden thread" running through all the incidents — from such dirty tricks as the smashing of Alan Paton's car windscreen and the sending of

a toxic T-shirt to Donald Woods's small daughter, to the more systematic and ideological operations of the '80s when the CCB hung a baboon foetus outside Bishop Desmond Tutu's home, poisoned the Rev Frank Chikane's clothing, switched lawyer Dullah Omar's heart pills to give him a coronary attack, and went in for selective assassinations.

There was the blowing up of Albie Sachs, the assassination of Ruth First, Jeanette Schoon and her daughter, Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge, Fabian Ribeiro, Goniwe and his colleagues, David Webster, and many more.

There was support for Renamo to destabilise Mozambique as an ANC base, the bombs in Zimbabwe, death squad raids into Swaziland, a clandestine campaign to destabilise Swapo in the Namibian elections, Inkathagate, the Trust Feeds massacre and its evidence of support for Inkatha in destabilising the legalised ANC inside South Africa. And now the Weekly Mail revelations.

It's a long, long thread of official venality and violence. Yet the repeated exposures yield nothing.

The evidence disappears into some cosmic black hole in Pretoria and there is no response other than bland assurances.

Even at the height of the latest appalling revelations, the lack of concern continued. The Minister of Law and Order appointed Willem Krugel, the surviving assessor in the discredited Delmas case, declared a mistrial by the Appeal Court, to investigate the allegations of a police cover-up in the Trust Feeds case — a choice about as sensitive to public perceptions as choosing a juror in the Rodney King case to investigate the Los Angeles riots.

To cap it all, right after the Trust Feeds verdict the notorious 32 Battalion, fresh from allegations of wanton violence in Phola Park, was sent into the Maritzburg area where Trust Feeds is located, provoking mass protests that culminated in a state of emergency being declared there by the end of last week.

We can't go on like this. We can't have peace this way — and we can't build a new nation without peace.

What to do about it? We need a

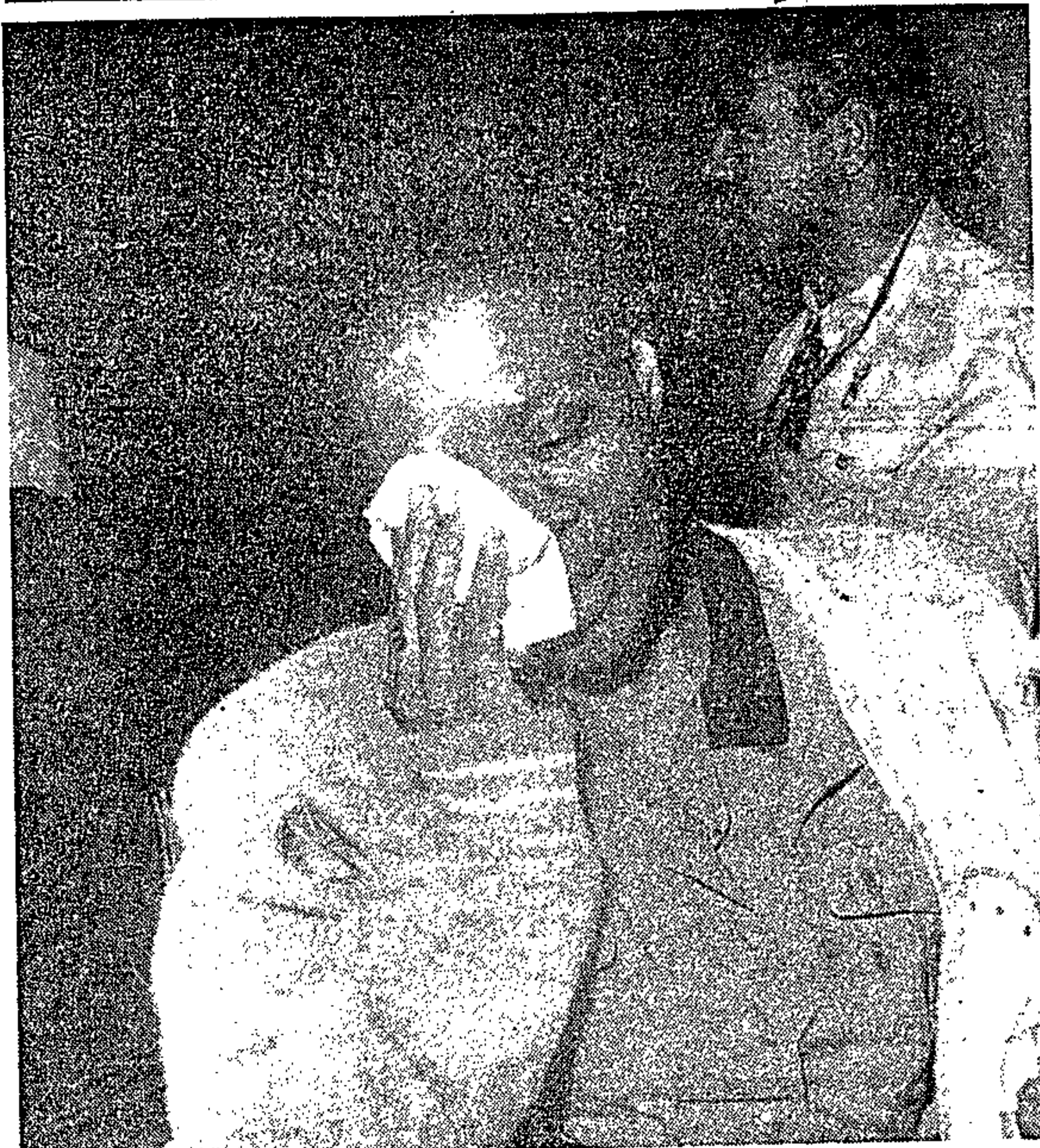
cleansing, but we can't have a Nuremberg trial because any thought of that would send those now in power scrambling away from the negotiating table.

Perhaps, as in post-Pinochet Chile, we could have a Commission on Human Rights Abuses that would publish its findings but impose no punishments. Yet even that has its perils, as Ariel Dorfman warns in his explosive play, "Death and the Maiden", which has just won the top Olivier Award in Britain.

Dorfman, himself a Chilean who was persecuted under Pinochet and had friends tortured and assassinated, believes it is essential that a nation be able to face and articulate the dark side of its experiences.

At the very least, the Government must stop pretending there is no problem. The evidence is too overwhelming. Mr de Klerk must acknowledge it and with his Codesa partners begin structuring an agreed form of joint control of the police, the military — and, not least, the entire intelligence gathering apparatus. □





**GRIEVING WIDOW:** Mrs Nombuyiselo Mhlauli, wife of slain Cradock community leader Sicelo Mhlauli, breaks down after a SACP-arranged Press conference in Johannesburg which called for a neutral and independent commission of inquiry into the deaths of the four UDF activists.

# State 'did not plan murders'

*Sowetan 14/5/92*

STATE President Mr FW de Klerk yesterday said at no stage did the State Security Council plan misdeeds or kidnaps at any meeting attended by him or any of his colleagues.

De Klerk was speaking during an interpellation debate in the House of Assembly where he was urged by the Democratic Party to widen the scope of the judicial inquiry into the 1988 deaths of four UDF activists.

The DP had asked that the terms of reference of the inquiry must include a whole range of allegations of police and security force excesses in the 1980s and to "flush out the sewers of apartheid once

and for all".

De Klerk reiterated that any insinuation that Cabinet or the State Security Council planned or approved murder was devoid of all truth.

He said police investigation under the auspices of the acting Attorney General concerned was proceeding.

He said the fact that the Judge President of the Eastern Cape would conduct the inquest meant that "for all practical purposes ... we are dealing with a judicial inquiry".

An inquest was more suitable than a commission for determining criminal liability, which was what this matter concerned specifically.

*327*



# TRAPPED



**SERGEANT SEAGO**  
Pic: Courtesy Weekly Mail

## Family prisoners in own home

**MEMBERS of a Sebokeng family have become virtual prisoners in their own house after unknowingly taking in a policeman as a boarder.**

The policeman, Sergeant Joseph "Oupa" Seago, featured prominently in a *Weekly Mail* expose last week of a police "safe house" in Vanderbijlpark from where abductions and attacks on activists were allegedly planned and conducted.

Seago was not at house no 73, Zone 10 Sebokeng, when we arrived on Tuesday afternoon.

But he soon arrived, carrying bulky parcels that looked ominously like rifles.

Despite our efforts to talk to him, he closed himself in his room and after learning that we were from the *Sowetan*, called his superiors on a two-way radio.

"Daar is mense van die *Sowetan* hierso. Kom gou en jaag hulle asseblief my baas" (There are people here from the *Sowetan*. Please come and chase them away, my master), we heard him say from his room.

He was to remain there until his colleagues, who became agitated when they saw our photographer handling his camera, arrived.

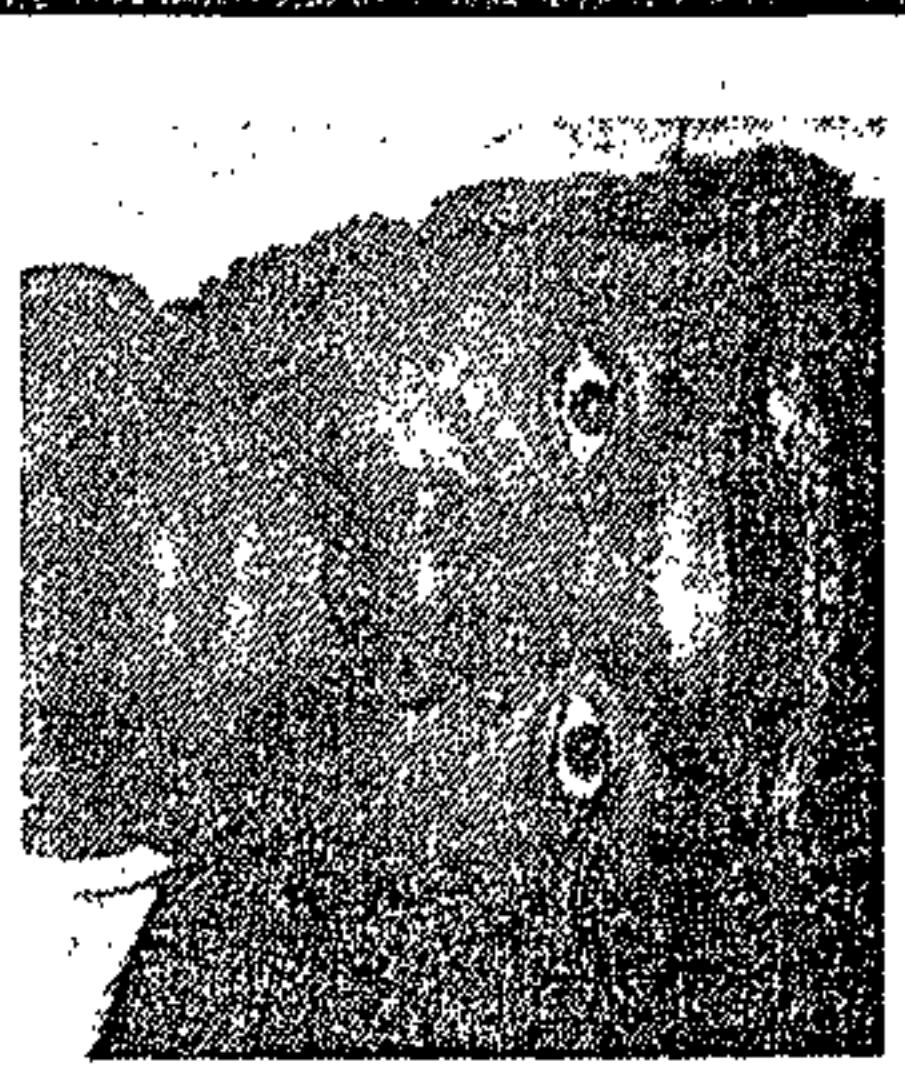
Then he sprang from his room with an automatic rifle and demanded our names and what we wanted.

More police in camouflage uniforms and

*Sowetan 14/5/92*

*(327)*  
*(B)*

### SPECIAL REPORT



**BY MATHATHA TSEDU**

travelling in a Casspir arrived, virtually placing the house under siege.

Our photographer, Len Kumalo, had his cameras forcibly taken from him with a pistol pointed at his head.

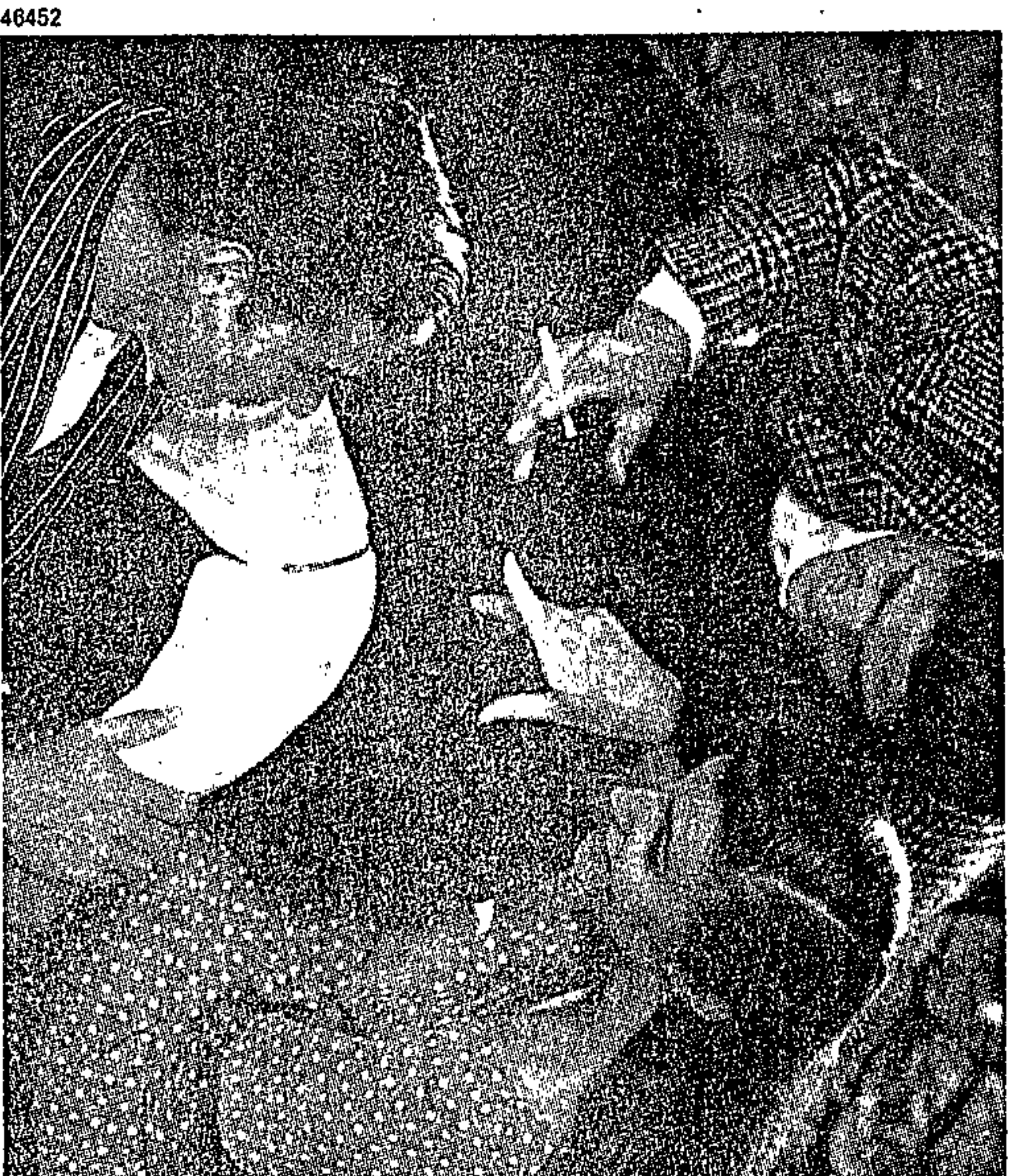
Seago, shaking with rage, wanted to know why we followed him to the house and said we were to remain there until a Colonel Steyn arrived.

But Steyn, whom we understood was the head of Seago's unit, never arrived.

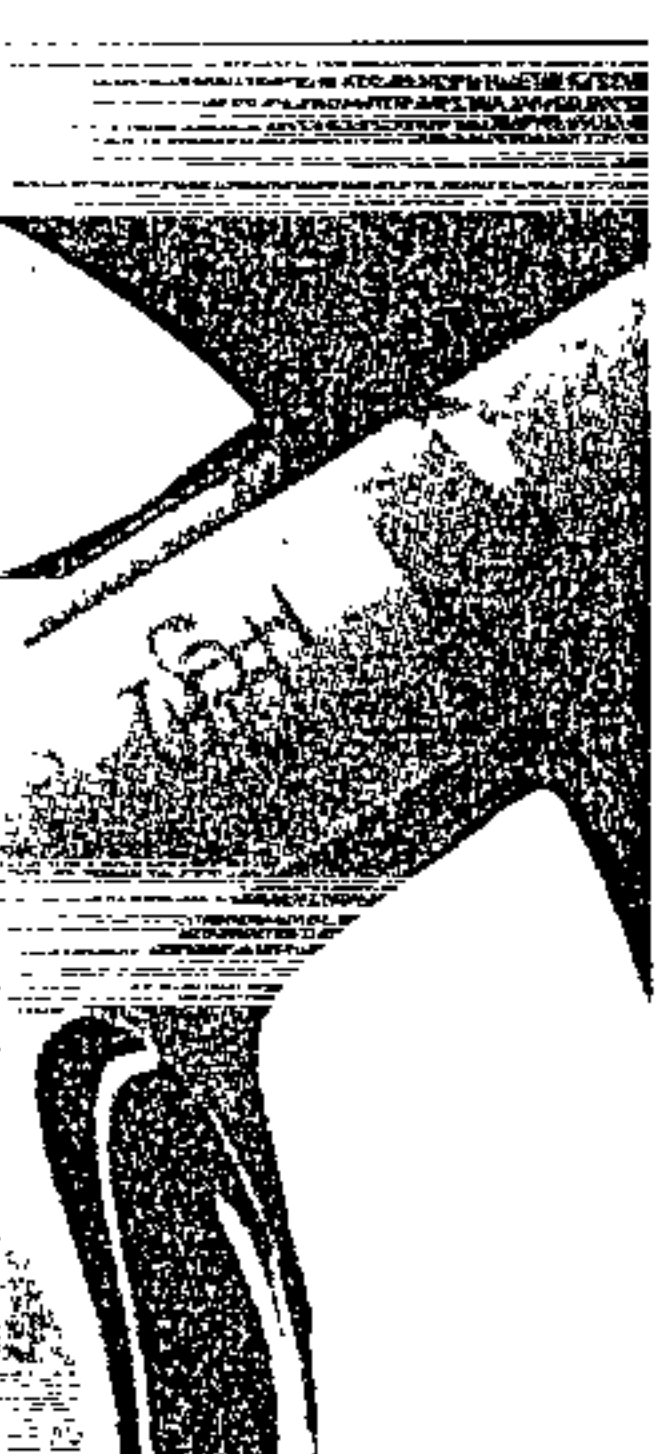
Prior to Seago's arrival, we had interviewed Hezekiel Matsupe (25), who is the virtual owner

● To page 2

A special friendship. A special story.  
A special kind of pleasure.



John Player Special.



P.T.D.



# Family trapped in own home

Sowetan 14/15/92 327

● From page 1

of the house which effectively belongs to his mother.

He spoke of how Seago was brought by another policeman, also allegedly involved in the "safe house" squad, Constable Johannes Mkwane, to become a tenant.

"I had known Mkwane as a policeman but I was not aware that he was involved in these things.

"I had told him that as both myself and my brother Thabo are unemployed, we would take in a tenant to help us pay expenses.

"When Seago came in September, he told us he was an insurance agent but later when his wife came from Heilbron in December, we discovered that he was a policeman and we felt that he could still stay as he was helping us", Matsupe said.

"Once I told him that my brother was an activist and he told Mkwane who kept on harassing my brother.

## Brother

"Each time Mkwane came to the house he would always take my brother outside and ask him questions until my brother left home as a result.

"But until the other people from the newspaper came here and we listened as they confronted him with their facts, we knew nothing about his activities", he added.

He said the revelations had resulted in tension in the house and he had told

Seago to pack and go.

But when Seago was present, Matsupe denied speaking to us.

He claimed that we had taken his picture without permission.

But as soon as Seago was out of earshot, Matsupe begged us to write about the plight of his family who have now become hostages.

At one stage, Seago refused Matsupe to speak to us, insisting that he had to be there if we were to speak to "landlord".

## Walked

The plainclothes policemen who arrived were aggressive and insulted us, saying there was "only one thing" to be done about us.

These men and the camouflaged policemen walked into the house at will, with their walkie talkies and guns.

Fear was written all over the faces of Matsupe's family members and it was clear from speaking to Matsupe that he regretted the day Seago walked into the house in September last year with his fridge and clothes.

"Even if I do not get a job, there is no way I am going to allow somebody else to stay in here. We are not going to die of hunger but even if that is the option, let it be.

"We are going through a very trying period here and one just does not know what will happen, either from these guys or from the community who may think we were harbouring him purposely", Matsupe said.



# Church leaders to quiz FW on govt's hand in violence

*B/Dany 14/5/92*  
CHURCH leaders, including SA Council of Churches (SACC) general secretary Frank Chikane, will meet President F W de Klerk next week to discuss political violence and government's alleged involvement in it.

Church leaders requested the meeting with De Klerk and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on April 28 — days after they had convened an emergency summit of black political organisations on violence.

An SACC spokesman said yesterday the meeting would be held in Cape Town next Friday.

He said although the meeting was not about recent allegations that government had planned the killings of its opponents, church leaders were expected to raise the matter as "it has something to do with violence".

Meanwhile the Rustenburg committee of the National Conference of Churches in SA has called for prayer on June 5 to end violence.

The committee said it hoped employees and employers would agree on a total work stoppage from 11am to 2pm.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) said yesterday 41 people had died and 44 were injured in violence countrywide in the week ending on Tuesday.

The commission said the figures were lower than the previous week, when 48

deaths and 60 injuries were recorded.

Our own correspondent reports that the eight-member OAU delegation monitoring violence arrived in Durban yesterday and were immediately locked in an hour-long meeting at Louis Botha Airport with regional ANC leaders.

The OAU dignitaries later flew in a helicopter to Ulundi to see Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The delegation, which arrived in SA on Sunday, has had discussions with the ANC, PAC and Azapo, and also with SAP and SADF representatives. It was led by Nigerian ambassador to the OAU and Ethiopia, Chief Segun Olusola.

OAU executive secretary and delegation member Mamodou Kane said the group's main mission was to try help accelerate negotiations and see how best to help arrest the ongoing political violence.

□ The policeman accused of assaulting and raping a 17-year-old girl this week in Katlehong on the East Rand had still not been arrested, police said yesterday.

A Witwatersrand police spokesman said it was not necessary to arrest a suspect if he was unlikely to disappear. Full investigations were still being conducted.

WILSON ZWANE



## ANC denies role in release of policemen

B10<sup>64</sup> 145792  
GOVERNMENT is using political prisoners as hostages in the negotiation process, says the ANC national working committee.

On the early release of convicted police murderers, the committee said: "The ANC places on record that (Correctional Services) Minister Adriaan Vlok's claim that the ANC entered into an agreement with the government to parole these convicted (police) murderers is a brazen lie."

It was referring to the early release of convicted policeman Khethani Shange and Vlok's subsequent statement that government and the ANC had agreed to a procedure for the release of prisoners.

"The inexplicable early release and parole of a number of police officers found guilty of similar murders reinforces our suspicions of a conspiracy to destabilise, if

possibly destroy, the ANC by the murder of its key activists and organisers."

"In spite of agreements negotiated over many months, the NP government refuses to release a number of ANC members and other political prisoners whose offences indisputably fall within the agreed definition of a political offence. If the truth be told, the government ... is using these political prisoners as hostages."

The committee said the Pickard Commission report brought to light the systematic theft of public funds while allegations of government involvement in violence against its political opponents bore the hallmarks of a corrupt regime.

PATRICK BULGER

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LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The eastern Cape attorney-general had been given full access to all relevant information — classified or not — to assist with the inquest into the deaths of three eastern Cape activists, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

During a special parliamentary debate on the role — if any — of the State Security Council in ordering the assassinations of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata and Mbulelo Goniwe, De Klerk insisted that neither he nor his colleagues were present at any council meetings where crimes were planned.

The Cabinet had also not been involved in any such discussions.

Responding to a call by DP MP Peter Gastrow for the suspension of the officers

## FW denies role in alleged crime talks

*By Day 1418/92*  
involved in the allegations pending the outcome of the inquiry, De Klerk said he could not prejudice the outcome of the legal process. (327)

He countered DP calls for a full-scale judicial commission of inquiry into alleged security force excesses in the 1980s by saying the reopening of the inquest under eastern Cape Judge President N W Zietsman was the most appropriate course of action. De Klerk did not, however, rule out the possibility of a judicial commission of inquiry at a later stage, should this be necessary.

# Independent SAP probe unit on cards

CAPE TOWN — Possible action against certain political publications, a possible judicial commission of inquiry into Trust Feed and an independent investigation unit were some of the announcements Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel made in Parliament yesterday.

Introducing debate on his budget vote, Mr Kriel said there had to be a balance between mere allegations

against the SAP and acknowledged atrocities committed by organisations.

"The SAP cannot allow this maligning of the force to continue and will, in future, be forced to approach the court to ban publication of such allegations which are clearly unsubstantiated.

"The SAP is not unwilling for facts to be made public, but it can no longer afford a situation where one-sided al-

legations are published while the force is prevented from presenting the full facts because a criminal investigation or judicial commission of inquiry is in progress."

It had been decided in principle that a separate investigation unit, the structure of which would be decided on in conjunction with the Police Board, be established to investigate serious charges against policemen.

This unit would function independently of the SAP under a separate command.

Referring to the Trust Feed investigation under Willem Krugel, Mr Kriel said the report would be made public. If there were any aspects which could not be handled within the existing judicial system, he would recommend a judicial commission of inquiry. — Sapa.



# No misdeeds planned

STAR 14/5/92

## - De Klerk

By Carina le Grange

President de Klerk yesterday categorically denied that either he or any of his colleagues planned "any misdeeds, kidnaps or contraventions of the law" at State Security Council (SSC) meetings.

He was addressing the House of Assembly in an interpellation debate during which he was urged to widen the scope of the judicial inquest into the deaths in 1985 of four United Democratic Front activists.

In replying to questions by Democratic Party MP Peter Gastrow on whether he had attended a meeting of the SSC held in Port Elizabeth in the first quarter of 1985 to discuss unrest, Mr de Klerk repeated his statement on Friday that any insinuation that the Cabinet or the SSC planned or approved murder was devoid of all truth.

The four UDF activists — Matthew Goniwe, Ford Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicele Mhlauli — were assassinated in June that year.

A military signal document purporting to link the SSC with their deaths was published on Friday by the New Nation newspaper.

The same day, Mr de Klerk ordered a judicial in-

quest into the deaths under Eastern Cape Judge President N W Zietsman.

Mr de Klerk yesterday said he would consider appointing a judicial commission if this inquest proved inconclusive.

The controversy over the document continued yesterday, when widows of the victims spoke at a press conference in Johannesburg and as a former SADF officer, whose name appeared on the document, was tracked down in East London.

Nomonde Calata, Mbuyi Mhlauli and Sindiswa Mkon- to were visibly upset at the press conference.

Also present was Mr Goniwe's nephew, Mbulelo Goniwe, SACP chairman in the eastern Cape. He was also named in the document as one of those to be removed "permanently from society", but he escaped death.

Mr Goniwe said the families and the Cradock community — to which the assassinated men had belonged — rejected Mr de Klerk's judicial probe "since he himself (De Klerk) was implicated".

"We need a neutral commission of inquiry in which political organisations must play a role, possibly appoint-

● To Page 3

# No misdeeds

says FW

STAR 14/5/92

● From Page 1

ed by Codesa," he said.

The ANC insisted yesterday that the published document demonstrated beyond dispute that "murderous activities ... are integral to the strategy of the National Party Government to destroy its political opponents by fair means or foul".

A former SADF commandant, L du Plessis, whose name appears as the drafter of the Goniwe document, told Sapa yesterday he was bound by the Official Secrets Act.

The former Eastern Province Command officer said: "It is an unfortunate position to be in ... I am already in a lot of trouble." He confirmed he was at EP Command in 1985.

Mr du Plessis's signature appears on the Goniwe document, which allegedly recorded a conversation between former EP Command officer commanding, General CP van der Westhuizen, and a General van Rensburg of the SSC secretariat.

General van Rensburg has not been traced, and General van der Westhuizen was not available for comment.

SACP general-secretary Chris Hani said at the press conference that Mr de Klerk and his colleagues were collectively responsible for the deaths.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said: "(General van der Westhuizen) who issued the instruction (to 'remove the men from society permanently') is now head of Military Intelligence. The responsibility of the Government is to find out how a man, who has issued these instructions, was promoted."

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# Govt's 'hit list' released

CT 14/5/92

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Human Rights Commission has released a list of names of people — including that of the late East London trade unionist Mr Jeff Wabena — it believes were assassinated by hit squads.

The HRC released its list following recent disclosures of the Goniwe document.

The HRC list contains names of political, commun-

ity and trade union leaders who died violently between July 1990 and June 1991.

Lawyers for Human Rights has said it has a list of 64 names of people whose deaths needed probing.

Mr Wabena was killed on the night of October 12, 1990, when a masked gunman burst into an ANC branch meeting in Mdantsane. Mr Wabena — the South African Domestic Workers'

Union national co-ordinator and a member of the ANC — was shot four times in the chest at point blank range.

He had survived two earlier attacks on his life.

Another on the list is a member of Transkei Pan-Africanist Congress, Mr Selby Ngendane, who was gunned down in Umtata in the same year.

No arrests have been made in either case.



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what they are allegations. opponents and thus destroyed its ability to be impartial," he said. unaware of list. they are still trying to cover

# FW 'considers' inquiry into political killings

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APR 14/5/92

TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has assured parliament he will consider appointing a judicial commission to inquire into allegations of security force involvement in political assassinations or violence if the present investigation proves inconclusive.

But he considered that the reopened inquest on Cradock activist Mr Matthew Goniwe and three colleagues under the Judge-President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Zietsman, was "for all practical purposes" a judicial inquiry.

Mr De Klerk also confirmed that he had attended a number of State Security Council (SSC) meetings in the 1980s, including one in Port Elizabeth, but declared: "No crimes or contraventions of the law were ever planned or considered at any of the State Security Council meetings I or any of my colleagues attended."

Asked by Democratic Party law and order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow about a meeting of the SSC in Port Elizabeth in the first quarter of 1985, Mr De Klerk said it had concerned ways to stop the violence and it was then that the idea of declaring a state of emergency was born.

He was responding to a brisk 15-minute interpolation debate in

which the government was urged to appoint a judicial commission with a brief broad enough to investigate all allegations of security force excesses in actions against political opponents in the 1980s.

The debate focused on questions by the Democratic Party on whether the SSC, its secretariat or members on it or any member of the security forces authorised or ordered the assassination of activists.

Referring to his statement last Friday, Mr De Klerk reiterated that the government had no knowledge of the alleged action.

The instruction to reopen the inquest on the four activists would include an investigation of the possible involvement of members of the security forces, the secretariat of the SSC or anyone else.

The police investigation under the auspices of the acting Attorney-General in the Eastern Cape was "proceeding unabated".

He would not hesitate to consider appointing a judicial commission if the investigation landed up "in a dead-end street".

Mr Gastrow said a full com-

mission of inquiry was needed to "open up on-going sores of past excesses by the security forces".

Mr Robin Carlisle (DP, Wynberg), who urged the government to "flush out the sewers of apartheid once and for all", said it was vital for the future of South Africa that the truth about the past be exposed — both apartheid excesses and the role of other major players "whose hands have blood on them".

The Conservative Party spokesman on law and order, Mr Moolman Mentz, said that if a commission was appointed, it should investigate how a purportedly classified document had been leaked.

He also suggested indemnifying anybody implicated in politically motivated killings to give them the same benefits accorded some of those who were now negotiators at Codesa and who, in the past, were involved in the campaign of violence intended to overthrow the State.

It also emerged yesterday that the Speaker of parliament, Mr Eli Louw, had turned down the DP's request for a full debate on the Goniwe allegations.

## Buthelezi boycotts

2025027



## Goniwe message 'authentic'

The military signal message ordering the "permanent removal from society" of activist Matthew Goniwe and three others is authentic, New Nation newspaper claims today. (327)

The newspaper says that in an exclusive interview, then Lieutenant Lourens du Plessis admitted he signed the document on the instruction of then Brigadier C P van der Westhuizen.

Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli were found killed in 1985, two weeks after the date appearing on the document.

The report says that in this week's snap debate

in Parliament on the assassinations, President de Klerk questioned the authenticity of the document published in New Nation last Friday.

"Yes I signed the signal message on instructions of the then Brigadier C P van der Westhuizen ... but I cannot comment any further because I'm still bound by the Official Secrets Act," the newspaper quotes Mr du Plessis as saying.

This is the first time since publication of the document that an officer implicated in the signal message has confirmed its authenticity, the report says. — Staff Reporter.

no agreement had been reached and he was not sure one would be reached today. ANC chief negotiator Cyril

Group 2 meeting today. However, hopes for a compromise. ● To Page 2

## Covert bases network set up in '88 - police chief

STAR 15/5/92  
The Commissioner of Police yesterday admitted in an affidavit to the Pretoria Supreme Court that a nationwide network of covert bases was set up in 1988.

The bases, in 11 regions across the country, fall under the Criminal Investigation Services, into which the security branch was absorbed last year, and are officially called "undercover operations and structures".

The affidavit was filed in an urgent application against The Weekly Mail by the Commissioner of Police

to prevent the newspaper from publishing allegations of police hit squads.

The commissioner withdrew his application following an agreement with The Weekly Mail that publication could go ahead if no member of the police was identified.

On Wednesday, the commissioner asked the Supreme Court to order that the newspaper be prevented from publishing information about the existence of undercover operations. — Sapa.

● Go-ahead for follow-up — Page 3

## Creative thinker readies SAP for the new SA

STAR 15/5/92  
CAPE TOWN — An expert on creative thinking had been working with the SAP to "bring home at ground level to members of the force the new milieu in which we find ourselves", Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said in Parliament yesterday.

Mr Kriel was speaking during debate on the law and order vote.

He said he was aware that, for the South African Police, the ANC had been the enemy up until February 2 1990.

"Now the ANC is a political role-player and we are aware that it is causing problems in the force.

"We have obtained the services of Dr Kobus Neethling, an expert on creative thinking, and he is having great success in bringing home at ground level to members of the force the new milieu in which we find ourselves.

"We are also working with new recruits in the same manner," Mr Kriel said. — Sapa.

Teargassed . . . a Phola Park mother cries for help after swoop. A passing motorist took the child to hospital.

## Phola Park swoop angers squatters

STAR 15/5/92  
By Monica Oosterbrook  
Crime Staff

329  
Nine men were arrested and a baby was injured during a massive police search at the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand yesterday.

One of the suspects is alleged to have been involved in nine murders.

A baby was slightly injured when police fired teargas at a shack. The mother, who was breastfeeding the child, ran out screaming for help. A car passing by the camp took the child to the Natalspruit Hospital.

Police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman first denied that police had used teargas, but in a subsequent statement said "small amounts of tearsmoke" were used to disperse "aggressive people". He confirmed the baby was "affected in a slight way without any apparent lasting ill-effects".

Captain Opperman said they were searching the area for suspects involved in the spate of attacks on policemen and other people. They were also looking for illegal weapons, ammunition, drugs and stolen goods.

He said the camp had been targeted because residents

had been involved in 325 unrest-related attacks since the beginning of the year.

Five policemen have been killed in Phola Park this year, a further three have been badly injured and police officers have been involved in 24 other attacks.

The large police contingent was backed up by more than 250 SADF members, which included soldiers from 32 Battalion. A police helicopter circled overhead.

Soldiers surrounded the camp with guns at the ready.

Women and children were put on one side of the camp and men were body-searched in a large enclosure.

Shots were fired during the search, but Captain Opperman said he did know by whom.

He said several rumours spread through the camp about police allegedly beating up residents, but no assaults had been reported "as yet".

Phola Park made headlines recently following allegations that SADF members of 32 Battalion murdered a Phola Park resident and raped and assaulted dozens of others. The allegations are being investigated by the Goldstone Commission.



no agreement has been reached and he was not sure one would be reached today. ANC chief negotiator Cyril

Group 2 meeting today. However, hopes for a com-  
● To Page 2

## Covert bases network set up in '88 - police chief

STAR 15/5/92 (327)  
The Commissioner of Police yesterday admitted in an affidavit to the Pretoria Supreme Court that a nationwide network of covert bases was set up in 1988.

The bases, in 11 regions across the country, fall under the Criminal Investigation Services, into which the security branch was absorbed last year, and are officially called "undercover operations and structures".

The affidavit was filed in an urgent application against The Weekly Mail by the Commissioner of Police

to prevent the newspaper from publishing allegations of police hit squads.

The commissioner withdrew his application following an agreement with The Weekly Mail that publication could go ahead if no member of the police was identified.

On Wednesday, the commissioner asked the Supreme Court to order that the newspaper be prevented from publishing information about the existence of undercover operations. — Sapa.

● Go-ahead for follow-up  
— Page 3

## Creative thinker readies SAP for the new SA

STAR 15/5/92  
CAPE TOWN — An expert on creative thinking had been working with the SAP to "bring home at ground level to members of the force the new milieu in which we find ourselves", Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said in Parliament yesterday.

Mr Kriel was speaking during debate on the law and order vote.

He said he was aware that, for the South African Police, the ANC had been the enemy up until February 2 1990.

"Now the ANC is a political role-player and we are aware that it is causing problems in the force.

"We have obtained the services of Dr Kobus Neethling, an expert on creative thinking, and he is having great success in bringing home at ground level to members of the force the new milieu in which we find ourselves.

"We are also working with new recruits in the same manner," Mr Kriel said. — Sapa.

Teargassed a Phola Park mother cries for help after swoop. A passing motorist took the child to hospital.

## Phola Park swoop angers squatters

STAR 15/5/92  
By Monica Oosterbroek  
Crime Staff

Nine men were arrested and a baby was injured during a massive police search at the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand yesterday.

One of the suspects is alleged to have been involved in nine murders.

A baby was slightly injured when police fired teargas at a shack. The mother, who was breastfeeding the child, ran out screaming for help. A car passing by the camp took the child to the Natalspruit Hospital.

Police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman first denied that police had used teargas, but in a subsequent statement said "small amounts of tearsmoke" were used to disperse "aggressive people". He confirmed the baby was "affected in a slight way without any apparent lasting ill-effects".

Captain Opperman said they were searching the area for suspects involved in the spate of attacks on policemen and other people. They were also looking for illegal weapons, ammunition, drugs and stolen goods.

He said the camp had been targeted because residents

had been involved in 325 unrest-related attacks since the beginning of the year.

Five policemen have been killed in Phola Park this year, a further three have been badly injured and police officers have been involved in 24 other attacks.

The large police contingent was backed up by more than 250 SADF members, which included soldiers from 32 Battalion. A police helicopter circled overhead.

Soldiers surrounded the camp with guns at the ready.

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Phola Park made headlines recently following allegations that SADF members of 32 Battalion murdered a Phola Park resident and raped and assaulted dozens of others. The allegations are being investigated by the Goldstone Commission.

## Top cop withdraws action on hit squads

Sowetan 15/5/92 (327)  
THE Commissioner of Police yesterday withdrew an urgent application against the *Weekly Mail* restraining it from publishing new allegations on police hit squads.

The withdrawal followed an agreement between the two parties that the allegations may be published but that no member of the police be identified.

*Weekly Mail* is today due to publish a report claiming that members of the police were involved in a covert operation in the Vaal involving assassinations, attacks on houses, kidnapping and other forms of harassment.

Six policemen were allegedly involved in the establishing of a safe house in Vanderbijlpark, from where these activities were planned and launched.



# Cops reply to Seago report

POLICE have responded to a front-page report in yesterday's *Sowetan* about a Sebokeng family who had taken in a policeman as a boarder.

The policeman, Sergeant Joseph "Oupa" Seago, featured prominently in a *Weekly Mail* exposé last week of a police "safe house" in Vanderbijlpark from where abductions and attacks on activists were allegedly planned and conducted.

The police response is as follows:

*Sowetan 15/5/92* 327

On May 15 1992 Major Ray Harrold of the SA Police Public Relations interviewed Lance-Sergeant Seago. The article in question was discussed and a number of discrepancies were pointed out by Sergeant Seago.

"Killer" - Sergeant Seago has never killed anyone in his life. He has never fired a firearm at any person. The only firing he has done is under training when targets on a shooting range were used.

The statement in the first paragraph that members of a Sebokeng family are virtual prisoners is not true. They are free to come and go as they please. They were also aware from the outset that Sergeant Seago was a member of the South African Police.

## Without permission

The words supposedly uttered when Sergeant Seago radioed "his baas" are denied. Sergeant Seago has stated that he does not refer to his superiors as "baas".

Sergeant Seago is a member of the firearm tracing unit and has been issued with a rifle. He denies that he "sprang from the room with his automatic rifle".

The camera of Len Kumalo was seized when it appeared that a photograph of another member had been taken without his permission. A pistol was never pointed at anyone's head. A pistol carried by Constable Majoe fell from his belt holster in the attempt to confiscate the camera but this was returned to its holster and never pointed at anyone's head.

Sergeant Seago cannot understand how he can be quoted as asking why they had followed him home when in fact, on arriving home he stated that he noticed a red vehicle outside the house and on passing the door to the lounge on his way to his room he noticed two strangers sitting in the lounge.

The first time that Sergeant Seago made contact with the owner of the house was in December 1991 and not September as mentioned in the article.

Sergeant Seago denies that he was requested to leave by the owner but that he has since purchased his own home and has left of his own free will.

No one was ever prevented from speaking to the media. As far as he is concerned he has nothing to hide but has instructions not to address the media.

As you are well aware, the SA Police has liaison officers who have direct access to the media. No one was ever prevented from speaking to the media as is suggested in the article.

● *Sowetan stands by the facts of its story - Editor*



# Ten held in Phola

## raid

*Sowetan 15/5/92*  
By MOKGADI PELA

POLICE and the army detained more than 10 people in a pre-dawn raid at Phola Park squatter camp yesterday.

Residents said a baby was injured during the raid.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the squatter camp was targeted as it had been "the worst spot for attacks on innocent people and security forces".

He said a suspect had been detained in connection with previous crimes. Police were looking for weapons and explosives, he said.

ANC spokesman in the area, Miss Sally Petersen, complained of alleged police brutality, claiming that "even a month-old girl was left unconscious after a teargas canister was thrown at her mother".

A pregnant woman, Mrs Sophie Mqwebedu (38), said she was teargassed in her house during the raid.

Residents later broke down a wall where a hooded man had allegedly pin-pointed people who were later arrested.



RAIL ACCORD: Father Smangalisso Mkhatswa signs an accord to fight train violence as the Rail Commuter Corporation's Mr Sam Taute and Spoornet's Mr Gert Britz look on.

# AINC, Spoornet sign historic pact

*Sowetan 15/5/92*  
A DELEGATION of ANC-aligned organisations and Spoornet signed an agreement yesterday committing themselves to fighting against violence on trains.

The agreement, which was signed at Spoornet headquarters in Braamfontein, represents positive developments in negotiations between the parties.

A recent deadlock resulted in last week's boycott of trains by Reef commuters. The terms of the agreement include:

- Redeployment of security personnel as soon as possible to prevent possible violence before Codesa 2 convenes.
- Implementation of preventative measures including a prohibition on possession of dangerous weapons and

firearms.

- Employment of additional security guards.
- Requests for compensation for families of train violence victims were turned down by the SA Rail Commuter Corporation.

Members of the media were told the corporation would make an additional amount of R50 million available for the 1992/93 financial year to improve security measures on commuter facilities in the Wit and Soweto area.

The agreement was signed on behalf of the community leaders by Father Mangalisso Mkhatswa, Spoornet's group general manager, Mr Gert Britz, SARCC senior general manager Mr S Taute and Witwatersrand Commissioner of Police, General Gerrit Erasmus.

# Mazwais say thanks

THE family of *Sowetan's* day editor, Mr Thami Mazwai, would like to thank all the people who stood by them during their bereavement since April 21 when Mazwai's wife Beledie died.

Mrs Mazwai is survived by her husband and four children.

"This was a traumatic period in our lives and continues to be. But the sympathy and support we get from friends, associates and just about everybody we come into contact with lightens the burden," Mazwai said on his return to work this week.

## Molefe

MR Michael "Tata" Molefe (24) of 8839 Moeketsi Street, Kagiso 2, Krugersdorp, who died last weekend will be buried at the local cemetery at 1pm tomorrow.

A service will be held at the Roman Catholic Church in Kagiso 1 from 10.30am.

## Boycott

FIVE zones under the Soweto Civic Association will take part in a march tomorrow aimed at raising awareness about the boycott of service charges in Soweto. *Sowetan 15/5/92*

Marchers from Moroka, Molapo, Jabavu, Mofolo and Duhe will meet at Elkah Stadium in Rockville at 10am and proceed to the Soweto Council offices in Jabulani.

A spokesman for the SCA, Mr King Sibiyi, said the march would be to protest against the failure of the council to improve the quality of services in terms of the agreement between the SCA, TPA, the council and the Metropolitan Chamber.

The SCA would also demand the resignation of councillors with immediate effect and for the Johannesburg municipality to be fully involved in greater Soweto, Sibiyi said.



# Policeman held for arms cache

POLICE yesterday seized a large arms cache and arrested a prominent KwaZulu policeman who is alleged to be a "warlord". **Sowetan 15/5/92**

Ten other people were arrested at Umlazi on Wednesday night for operating a protection racket.

The arrests, including three women, followed a report to the Montclair police station by a resident who claimed he was threatened by the gang. He was told he could not operate a business at Umlazi unless he paid.

Police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo confirmed yesterday that members from the Montclair firearm unit and the reaction unit had made the arrests.

"At this stage the accused are facing charges of extortion. However, we are considering handing over the case to the special investigation unit for them to take over," said Naidoo.

He said among the weapons found were two G3 rifles - mainly used by the KwaZulu police - an R1 rifle, a Mossberg shotgun, an HMC sub-machinegun, four pistols, 211 rounds of ammunition, a tear gas grenade, a "thousand foot" flare, five holsters, a car radio, a portable telephone and R1 100 in cash. - *Sapa*

## Matter of fact

IN a report on page 1 in *Sowetan* yesterday a sub-headline read: "Face to face with killer".

This headline got on to this page erroneously and had no relevance to any of the stories or people on the page.

# Court asked to decide on land dispute

**Sowetan 15/5/92**

THE Government has recommended to the Garankuwa Regional Court to do an on-site inspection to determine whether a disputed piece of land is on the South African or Bophuthatswana side of the border.

Forty-seven people are facing charges of illegal squatting in the homeland after being arrested on a piece of land somewhere on the border between the two countries.

Prosecutor Ms IM Moloiwane submitted to magistrate Ms ES Monyeki yesterday that the court should visit the location of the squatter camp.

The attorney for the squatters, Mr Jake Maseka, put it to the court that the accused were arrested by the Bophuthatswana police while occupying an informal settlement in Kruisfontein, which borders the homeland's area of Kameelfontein.

## Sowetan Correspondent

The complainant, Chief James Mamogale, leader of the Bakwena-ba-Mogopa tribe of Hebron, west of Pretoria, told the court the squatters were unlawfully and illegally occupying a part of Kameelfontein in Bophuthatswana.

He said the land was owned privately by a section of his tribe.

There was some drama in the packed courtroom when Maseka put it to Mamogale that he also sublet shacks in his own backyard, which by implication was tantamount to encouraging illegal squatting.

Mamogale replied that certain people had approached him looking for "a place to sleep" and that in return these people had thanked him with "something".

### SAP 'trains terrorists'

THE Mozambican army has accused the SAP of training anti-government rebels. (18)

Mozambique's AIM news agency reported yesterday that the army said "elements linked to the SA police" recruited young Mozambicans and trained them in terrorism. (327) (25)

A Foreign Affairs department spokesman could not comment.

### Duties 'threaten firms'

THERE was almost anarchy in the clothing industry because of the huge increase in duties on imported cloth, Cape Clothing Manufacturers' Association chairman Simon Jorum said in Cape Town yesterday. (102)

Jorum said the near 50% increase in duties would result in large-scale retrenchment and many factories would close.

### Postal services halted

POSTAL workers suspended services in Alexandra yesterday because of criminal attacks, Alexandra ANC branch secretary Ohed Bapela said in a statement. (26)

He said workers had complained to the ANC that their lives were in danger. (102) (15/5/92)

### 2,7-million jobless (1)

THE number of unemployed people in Britain claiming benefits went up in April to 9,5% of the workforce or about 2,7-million people, the Employment Department said in London yesterday.

REPORTS: Political Staff, Sapa, Own Correspondent.

8/10/92 15/5/92



# Go-ahead for press follow-up

Pretoria  
Correspondent

327  
The South African Police yesterday agreed to allow a follow-up publication today on The Weekly Mail's exposure last week of covert police activities carried out from so-called "safe houses".

The decision — within hours of the newspaper going to print — to allow the publication of a report relating to "information networks" operated by the SAP was made during an out-of-court agreement reached following a proposed urgent application to have been brought by the SAP in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

After reading the report, S Maritz, SC, counsel for the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, agreed to publication under cer-

tain conditions.

"The Weekly Mail will publish its story with certain amendments required, leaving out detail that could identify the policemen involved," the editor of the paper, Anton Harber, said yesterday after the go-ahead was given.

The court was to have been asked to prohibit the "publication or dissemination in any manner of information" pertaining to the existence of undercover operations and structures of the SAP.

Police would also have asked "that the position, or any other information, of premises, offices or buildings from where covert operations are performed" not be made known by the newspaper.

Alternatively, the SAP planned to ask the court for a provisional restraining order on the newspaper pending the outcome of an investigation about the allegations

STAR 19/9/92  
which had been brought to the attention of the Goldstone Commission.

Last week The Weekly Mail published a report, based on "the outcome of an intensive six-week investigation", claiming it had discovered a police safe house, and named several policemen allegedly involved in covert operations from the safe house.

In an earlier application also heard yesterday, the Commissioner of Police successfully obtained an urgent interdict against the Afrikaans weekly newspaper Vrye Weekblad.

The matter was, however, heard in camera before Mr Justcie de Villiers at the request of counsel for the Commissioner of Police.

It was believed the interdict was obtained to prevent the newspaper from publishing "certain allegations" which the SAP claims to be false and defamatory.



From page 1

Goniwe

327

East London had been taken to a training camp "somewhere in the mountains" 150km from Port Elizabeth.

There a former Selous Scout and uniformed members of the SADF had trained them to use Russian weapons, including AK-47s.

On the Transkei Wild Coast later in 1983 the group had received further training in which the Transkei Defence Force — specifically three former Selous Scouts — had been involved.

Colonel Rolt confirmed "Hammer" members had received normal infantry training, which had included a tracking course presented by the TDF. Members of the group, all from the Eastern Cape, attended the Transkei course because EP Command was unable to provide this training.

He said the TDF instructors had been former Selous Scouts employed by the TDF at the time.

He denied it was "SADF doctrine" to use "foreign weapons" but said these soldiers had received "familiarisation training" with these weapons to enable them to identify them.

The caller said the group had been given complete indemnity by the SADF, with members' names being removed from official records. The SADF spokesman denied this.

Police claims that they had no knowledge of the group or its activities were "hogwash" the caller said, alleging the group operated with the police in townships like New Brighton in Port Elizabeth and Mdan-tane near East London.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said yesterday it was "absolutely untrue" that the police operated with any sort of hit squad. The police worked in townships only with recognised security forces.

Colonel Rolt said: "Like many other units of the SA army, this group on occasions also served in townships in support of the SAP."

**NEW CLAIMS** ... A man yesterday claimed to have been a member of a secret Defence Force unit behind the murders of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other UDF activists in 1985.



Minister of the mind of the

# Secret army unit killed activists

From ANDREW TRENCH

**EAST LONDON.** — A man who said he had been a member of a secret Defence Force group called "Hammer" yesterday claimed that the unit had been behind the murders of four UDF activists in 1985.

The Defence Force confirmed that the "Hammer" unit had existed, but denied that it had been involved in any "political killings".

The man, who made the claim in a telephone call to the Daily Dispatch, refused to give his name. He said he had information that would "rattle a few skeletons".

The caller alleged the purpose of "Hammer" — which had operated in the Eastern Cape — was to "eliminate the enemies of the state" and claimed the group was still operational.

An SADF spokesman, Colonel John Rolt, confirmed in a statement yesterday that a "special reaction force" calling itself "Hammer" and made up of citizen force and commando members had been established at Eastern Province Command in 1984.

He denied there was anything " sinister or unusual" about reaction forces.

Colonel Rolt said the unit was no

longer operational and called the claims a "blatant attempt to discredit" the SADF.

The Ministry of Law and Order yesterday denied any knowledge of "Hammer" and urged anyone with information on the deaths of the four to make it available to the police or request investigations.

The caller said he had been recruited with others in East London around May 1983 to form the unit, which he alleged had been under the control of the officer commanding Eastern Province Command at the time, now SADF military intelligence chief of staff General C P van der Westhuizen.

A widely publicised document purporting to be the record of a conversation between General Van der Westhuizen and a General Van Rensburg, specifies that Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Mbulela Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata be "removed from society". The document was dated June 7, 1985. On July 3 Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlau were found dead near Port Elizabeth.

The caller claimed the recruits from

To page 3

**SAP chief admits to covert network**

CT 15/5/92

admits to covert network

**PRETORIA.** — The Commissioner of Police admitted in an affidavit to the Supreme Court here yesterday that a nationwide network of covert bases was set up in 1988.

The bases, in 11 regions across the country, fall under the Criminal Investigation Services, into which the security branch was absorbed last year, and are officially called "Undercover Operations and Structures".

The affidavit was filed in an urgent application against the Weekly Mail by the commissioner to prevent the newspaper from publishing allegations of police hit squads.

The commissioner withdrew his application following an agreement that publication could go ahead if no member of the police was identified.

— Sapa

● Police block Vrye Weekblad report — Page 2



# Cradock widows hopeful of probe

C15 16/5/92  
Staff Reporter

THE wives of the four murdered Cradock activists were under "no illusion" the second inquest into the deaths would finally identify the killers.

Grahamstown Legal Resources Centre lawyer Mr Clive Plasket said he met the widows — Mrs Nyameka Goniwe, Mrs Makhaya Mkhonto, Mrs Nomonde Calata and Mrs Nombuyiselo Mhlauli — yesterday.

He said they "gathered with expectation, but were under no illusions that it would be easy" to trace their husbands' killers.

The activists — Messrs Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlauhli — were killed in mysterious circumstances in 1985.

The first inquest, four years after the burnt and

## Probe killings call by ANC

THE ANC Women's League has demanded investigations into the assassinations of Ms Dulcie September and Ms Jeanette Curtis Schoor.

The league said it makes the call in the light of "concrete confirmation" of security force involvement in the murder of Cradock activists Messrs Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlauli.

Ms September was killed by unknown gunmen on March 29, 1988, outside the ANC's Paris office.

Ms Schoon was killed by a parcel bomb on June 29, 1984, in Lu-bango, Angola.

mutilated bodies were found, concluded that they were killed by "a person or a group of persons unknown".

He said new evidence had come to light since the 1989 inquest.

The re-opening of the case was initiated by Major General Bantu Holomisa's claim that he had documented evidence of state involvement in the deaths of the four men.

Mr Plasket said the claim could prove the "crux" in identifying the killers.

The document is said to be a record of a telephonic instruction given by General Van Rensburg to the then Brigadier Christoffel (CP) van der Westhuizen, currently Chief of Staff of Military Intelligence.

The instruction was apparently recorded by Commandant L du Plessis of EP Command.

# I never ordered any killings — PW

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE**  
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

FORMER State President Mr P W Botha has snapped back angrily at suggestions that he may be able to clarify aspects of the Goniwe murder controversy.

He denied categorically during a telephone discussion yesterday that any decision had been taken under his administration to the effect that "people can be murdered".

In the first of two telephone discussions between Weekend Argus and Mr Botha yesterday he also confirmed a reported remark to the effect that he could not remember details of certain matters dating back to 1984.

In an angry reaction to inquiries Mr Botha said from his home at the Wilderness: "You people are embittering my life." (*"Julle is besig om my lewete vergal."*)

On the issue of decisions taken by the State Security Council (SSC) under his chairmanship, he said: "The State Security Council has never decided that people can be murdered."

He suggested the State President's office be approached as minutes were kept of SCC meetings.

"You must stop troubling me."

Mr Botha added that three witnesses next to him were listening to what he was saying.

He also insisted that he did not want to conduct interviews over the telephone.

Mr Botha said all the minutes of SSC meetings were submitted to subsequent Cabinet meetings.

Asked whether full minutes were kept, Mr Botha said: "Of course. Now you are busy conducting an interview. I don't have time for your nonsense."

Weekend Argus had approached Mr Botha to seek confirmation of remarks he was reported by Sapa to have made to the New Nation newspaper.

New Nation quoted Mr Botha as saying he could not remember if the SSC discussed the Goniwe affair during 1985.

He was quoted as saying: "I know nothing about it. Can you know of something you did in 1985? Can you know of something you did in 1984?"

Mr Botha was also reported to have said he was not sure he would testify at the inquest, which was

■ Turn to page 3

## PW hits back

■ From page 1

ordered by President De Klerk this week, if asked to do so.

New Nation reported that SA Defence Force Commandant Lourens du Plessis this week admitted to signing a signal message (in 1985) calling for three activists to be "permanently removed from society, as a matter of urgency".

Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli were found murdered in June 1985, two weeks after the date which appeared on the document.

The report says that in this week's snap debate in parliament on the deaths Mr De Klerk questioned the authenticity of the document published in New Nation last week.

In both telephone discussions between Mr Botha and Weekend Argus yesterday he appealed for fair reporting on issues concerning his administration.

In a second discussion with Weekend Argus yesterday Mr Botha referred us to a new book which, he said, had just been published abroad under the title *State Security in South Africa: Civil, Military Relations under P W Botha*.

The author is James M Roherty, a research professor in government and international studies at the University of South Carolina in the United States.

Mr Botha telephoned to recommend this book, copies of which had just reached him. He said he had not yet read it and he did not know the author.

Comments from critics, read by Mr Botha from the dust cover, indicated that the book contained praise of his administration, strategies and handling of security matters.

In a concluding remark Mr Botha pleaded that "the truth" be written about him.

From inquiries by Weekend Argus among academic lawyers, politicians and others this week, it seems certain that ex-President Botha and members of his Cabinet who were also on the SSC in the mid-1980s could be called to testify in current investigations into the alleged assassination of Matthew Goniwe and other political activists.

The investigation process would determine in due course whether or not any evidence from such top politicians and "securocrats" would be needed, it was said.

Conservative Party justice spokesman Mr Moolman Mentz said: "There is nobody who does not qualify to give evidence in a court of law. Nobody is immune from being called to testify — not even a state president. Everyone is entitled to be a witness and can be summoned to give evidence."

Professor Laurie Ackermann, human rights specialist at Stellenbosch University, said that in his opinion there was nothing to prevent anybody from being summoned as a witness.

However, there were various laws in terms of which witnesses could refuse to answer questions or to testify on certain matters. For instance, in commission inquiries witnesses were protected against self-incrimination and they could refuse to answer questions if this could involve them in a criminal investigation.

There was also the Official Secrets Act in terms of which a witness could refuse to answer questions on matters protected by this law.

Professor Lourens du Plessis, professor of public law at Stellenbosch University, said he believed Mr De Klerk should do away with all legal restrictions preventing the matter of alleged state hit squads from being investigated "to the bone".

The allegations were of such a nature that any laws that could be used to protect certain people from having to give evidence should be set aside, he said.



urday, May 16 1992

# Goniwe: Ex-army man hides

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Commandant Lourens du Plessis — who allegedly drafted the Goniwe document — has gone into hiding, his wife confirmed yesterday.

Mrs Du Plessis, who would not divulge her first name, said from her home she knew where her husband was, but would not say.

Mrs Du Plessis said her husband, "in his 50s" and now retired from the

army, was not hiding out of fear for his safety, but because of a need for "peace and quiet".

She said she did not know whether he had been instructed to go into hiding. "He told me not to say anything to anybody."

The New Nation newspaper yesterday quoted Commandant Du Plessis as saying he signed the message which read that Messrs Matthew Goniwe, Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata should be "removed from society".

The document purports to record a conversation between the then officer commanding EP Command, General C P Van der Westhuizen, and an alleged State Security Council secretariat member, General Van Rensburg.

On developments concerning her husband and the recent press revelations, Mrs Du Plessis said: "We must just wait and see what happens at the end of the day."

The Weekly Mail reported yesterday that when the document was drawn up

in June 1985, Mr Du Plessis was acting staff officer for intelligence at EP Command and in charge of military intelligence under General Van der Westhuizen.

It was also reported that after Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo assumed power, Commandant Du Plessis became involved in a secret military unit

— International Researchers-Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS) — which operated in the Ciskei.

when brother Trevor joined the station," Laubscher said. "was the apathy of the crowd which

**police**

# Craddock: Who killed all the others?

**By Bulelwa Payi**

RECENT revelations about the murder of four Cradock activists have sparked calls for the reopening of investigations into other unexplained deaths and disappearances in the Eastern Cape.

The three had left the township after a telephone call in which they were asked to meet a British dignitary at the HF Verwoerd airport.

On the day he disappeared, he telephoned the PFP MP for Walmer, Mrs Molly Blackburn, asking to see her urgently. However, the two never met.

Blackburn and fellow human rights activist, Mr Brian Bishop, were killed in a car accident near

Eyewitnesses who gave evidence during the hearings alleged that they had either seen them at the airport in the company of policemen or at police stations.

Another disappearance was that of the president of the Congress of South African Students, Mr Siphilewe Mdimakulu, in 1982.

Mthimkulu, who had shown symptoms of thallium poisoning shortly after his release from deten-

tion, left home with a friend, Mopsy Madaka, to go to Livingstone Hospital for treatment and both were never seen again.

Humansdorp on December 28, 1985. According to Blackburn's sister, Mrs Judy Chalmers, who survived the accident, the car which collided with theirs drove straight into them and the driver, Blackburn and Bishop were killed instantly.

It was later found the driver of the other car had a high level of alcohol in his blood although his parents maintained he was a non-drinker.

Calls have also been made for the investigation into this accident, and other disappearances to be reopened. — **Enca**



**MRS NYAIMEKA GONIWE, left, wife of murdered UDF Cradock activist Mr Matthew Goniwe, and Mrs Molly Blackburn, mother of slain Swapo lawyer Mr Anton Lubowski at St. George's Cathedral this week.**



# A widow seeks a killer...

**VUYO BAVUMA**  
Weekend Argus Reporter

IT was yet another hard and long day for Mrs Nyameka Goniwe.

But under the tremendous pressure she wore a ready and warm smile.

For the past week Mrs Goniwe, 40, widow of Cradock activist Mr Matthew Goniwe, has been in the centre of media attention.

A Johannesburg newspaper published a document indicating that Matthew and UDF colleagues Sparrow Mkonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlawuli were murdered on the instructions of the SADF.

This week Mrs Goniwe paid her first visit to parliament to listen to a debate on whether the government would reopen investigations into the death of Matthew and his companions.

Hours after her visit she spoke to Weekend Argus about her "empty" life and her attempts to rebuild her family without her husband.

In the neat city flat she and her two children are the centre of attention.

When as a student nurse in Port Elizabeth in 1975 she married Matthew she had no idea of the life ahead.

At that stage Matthew was teaching mathematics and

## Fighting to find the truth

physical science at a high school in Transkei while she studied for a social work degree at Fort Hare.

The first turbulent period in the Goniwes' lives came when Matthew was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for terrorism in Transkei in 1977.

"During the trial I had to travel between Umtata and Alice. I had to divide my time between being a student and being supportive to Matthew."

As a student Mrs Goniwe struggled financially to support her one year-old daughter and to pay for her studies.

In 1983 the Goniwes settled in Cradock but that "romantic period" was interrupted when Matthew was killed on June 27 1985.

"Ironically, Matthew spoke at a meeting about the disappearance of three Port Elizabeth comrades. He said the people should make a noise so that the state should do something about them," she said.

How have Mrs Goniwe and the two children managed?

"Initially I could not focus or concentrate at all because of the shock. I was filled with anger and could not face the truth."

Mrs Goniwe doubted she would have made it without tremendous help from her family and the community.

A challenge in her life came when she decided to leave Cradock and settle in Cape Town to "give my children a decent life".

"It wasn't easy to leave Cradock. The place had everything that reminded me of Matthew. I felt I was leaving part of my soul behind."

How did she become politically involved?

"As a student one could not help being involved. Many things were happening. There were strikes all over, the Angolan war began and Steve Biko died."

"Besides, Matthew used to discuss the political issues with me and I understood. This helped me a lot. Maybe if I had been another wife I would have been angry with him and attempted to divorce him," she said.

Mrs Goniwe is now working in the city as a social worker and her children are studying at local schools.

She says she will fight to uncover the truth so that the killers of her husband and his colleagues are brought to book.

(327)

(327)

ARG 16/5/92

# A sip-by-s

## POLICE BID TO GAG PAPERS

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE police took two newspapers to court in an attempt to silence them this week. On Wednesday Mr Kriel told Parliament the police would in future approach the courts to ban publication of any allegations which were clearly unsubstantiated.

Within 24 hours of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's warning on negative reporting about the police, Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail were defending their right to publish revelations about secret police activities. The next day the police launched an urgent application against the Weekly Mail to stop reports on a secret police operation. They withdrew their bid after the newspaper

agreed to withdraw certain details, including names and addresses of policemen. (327)

As a result, the article published on Friday was littered with black lines deleting information.

Vrye Weekblad was subject to an urgent interdict on Thursday. An interim order was granted forbidding the publication of a report about the police.



# Officials 'behind hit squads'

Sowetan 18/5/92

By IKE MOTSAPI

TRANSKEIAN Military ruler, General Bantu Holomisa has threatened to release documents implicating the Government in hit-squad murders.

Holomisa, addressing Codesa 2 Plenary Session last Friday, said he has in

his possession thick files of secret documents which show that political killings around the country were "sanctioned at the highest level of Government".

He said names mentioned in these files were at the highest level in both Government and security forces.

Holomisa gave the Government a taste of things to come recently by releasing a signal form sent by Colonel Chris van der Westhuizen, military commander in the Eastern Cape, to the State Security Council on June 7 1985,

recommending that well known UDF activist, Matthew Goniwe and two others be "permanently removed from society."

Holomisa said: "It is imperative that Codesa considers the advisability of calling upon neutral arbiters and jurists to look into and verify the authenticity of the contents of the documents that are in my possession like the signal message linked to the disappearance of Goniwe and others."

"A commission of Inquiry consisting of international jurists and credible local and legal personnel should be instituted by Codesa."

# Webster's murder: Confession probed

*Sowetan 18/5.92* (327)  
POLICE are investigating an alleged confession by a former Civil Co-operation Bureau agent, Mr Ferdi Barnard, that he murdered academic Dr David Webster. Barnard has been long suspected by lawyers to be at least indirectly involved in the assassination.

A Sunday newspaper yesterday reported that Barnard first claimed he murdered Webster to his former CCB handler the day after the murder.

The handler, codenamed "Yssel", allegedly told advocate Mr Martin Luitingh of the "confession".

Luitingh will give evidence in an inquest into Webster's death. A West Rand businessman, who told two police officers that Barnard had also confessed to him, will also be called on to give evidence.

Lawyers dealing with Webster's case are, however, not convinced the confession will bring anything new.

"We are not really learning anything new. This stuff has been bandied around for some time," said lawyer Mr David Dyson. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



# Top cop for Goniwe probe

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA's top detective has been appointed to head a high-powered team investigating the deaths of Cradock activist Mr Matthew Goniwe and three others.

He is Colonel Carel "Suiker" Brits, the national head of the Murder and Robbery Unit and a key detective in the inquiry into the cover-up by police of the Trust Feed massacre.

He joins the acting attorney-general of the Eastern Cape, Mr Michael Hodgen, SC, two top Eastern Cape state advocates, Mr Deon Els and Mr Malherbe Marais, and the national commander of the Occult-related Crime Unit, Colonel Kobus Jonker.

Mr Goniwe was killed with three other Eastern Cape activists in June, 1985.

Colonel Jonker told the Cape Times last night that he had been appointed to the team because he was involved in the initial investigations in 1985.

Yesterday Mr Hodgen confirmed that three SADF officers allegedly implicated in the killings had made statements that had been handed to the team.

He said the statements from General C P van der Westhuizen, former OC EP Command, a General Van Rensburg, allegedly a former State Security Council secretariat member, and Commandant Lourens du Plessis were handed over by their lawyer,

CT 18/5/92

Mr Jan Wagenaar of the state attorney's office.

Commandant Du Plessis has reported admitted signing a document which read that Mr Goniwe and fellow activist Mr Fc Calata should be "permanently removed from society".

Mr Hodgen said the investigating team had already been in touch with the Week Mail and would contact anyone who could shed light on the incident.

Anyone with information is asked to call Mr Hodgen at 0461-29333 or Colonel Brits at 012-310-1463 (o/h) or 012-345-1630 (a/h) or Colonel Jonker at 012-310-1287 (o/h) or 01543-0556 (a/h).

# Webster's murder: Sowetan 18/5/72 (327) Confession probed

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Luitingh will give evidence in an inquest into Webster's death. A West Rand businessman, who told two police officers that Barnard had also confessed to him, will also be called on to give evidence.

Lawyers dealing with Webster's case are, however, not convinced the confession will bring anything new.

"We are not really learning anything new. This stuff has been bandied around for some time," said lawyer Mr David Dyson. - *Sowetan Correspondent*



By Helen Grange

Police are looking into the alleged confession by former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) agent Ferdi Barnard that he killed Wits academic Dr David Webster.

Evidence on the "confession" will be led at the inquest hearing on Dr Webster's death, which begins in July.

Mr Barnard, who denied to the Sunday Star last week that he had confessed to the murder, has been long suspected by lawyers to be at least indirectly involved with the assassination of Dr Webster on May 1 1989.

The Sunday Star reported yesterday that Mr Barnard first

# Police probe Barnard 'confession'

Star 18/5/92

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claimed he had murdered Dr Webster to his former CCB handler the day after the murder. The former handler, code-named "Yssel", told Johannesburg advocate Martin Luitingh of the "confession", and Mr Luitingh will testify to this in the inquest.

A West Rand businessman, who told two police officers that Mr Barnard had also confessed to him, will also be called on to give evidence.

Despite Mr Barnard's "confession", lawyers dealing with Dr

Webster's case are not entirely convinced it brings anything more to bear on the case.

"We are not really learning anything new. This stuff has been bandied around for some time," said lawyer David Dyson.

Lawyer Greg Knott, who is preparing evidence for the inquest, said Mr Barnard's alleged complicity in the murder, as well as that of former CCB agents Staal Burger, Calla Botha and "Slang" van Zyl, had been brought up in the Harms Commission of Inquiry into political

ally motivated murders.

But sufficient proof of their involvement has eluded those dealing with the case.

"We are now believe, however, that the CCB was not officially involved. Mr Barnard had been 'fired' from the CCB months before the murder.

"Since the inquest hearing was announced, we have had a number of telephone calls and people coming forward with claims," said Mr Knott yesterday.

Max Coleman, a member of the Webster Trust, was also a

little sceptical of the new Barnard revelation.

"We've heard many stories. I only hope the inquest will bring out more information," he said.

In the past two years, police hit squads, the CCB, right-wing terror organisations, Johannesburg City Council spies and Military Intelligence (MI) have all been blamed for the murder.

In November 1989 the SAP investigated whether Irishman Donald Acheson, held in Namibia in connection with the death of Swapo official Anton Lubow-

ski, was linked to Dr Webster's death.

Mr Barnard was then detained in terms of the Internal Security Act after statements by Mr Acheson that he (Barnard) had been involved.

At the end of 1989, MI was linked to Dr Webster's murder after Mr Barnard claimed to be under its control. MI member Mr Botha was also detained, followed by former policeman Mr van Zyl.

Then five rightwingers were held after being found in pos-

session of a hit list. All were freed due to lack of evidence.

The Harms Commission concluded that there was no evidence that the CCB had anything to do with the murder.

Allegations surfaced in 1990 that former Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit commander "Staal" Burger was the leader of a cell in a secret SADF organisation suspected of being involved in the murder.

The Johannesburg City Council spied on Dr Webster six months before his death. A witness told the Hiemstra Commission that a special unit made up of MI and city council security officers was responsible for the assassination.

## Would-be abortion reformers 'outvoted'

WOMEN who advocate a change in abortion laws are being outvoted because they are less organised than the anti-abortion lobby. *Blox 1915192*

This is one of the conclusions of a recent Cosmopolitan magazine abortion survey, aimed at challenging a government statement on the issue.

Finance Minister Rina Venter had announced that less than 2% of 48 000 people who made submissions supported a change in the laws.

"An analysis of questionnaires quite clearly shows that the difference between this and other surveys is that most of the responses were not from our readers but organised anti-abortion groups,"

the magazine said. **237**

"The vast majority of our readership (84%) is strongly in favour of a change in our abortion laws."

It also found that the anti-abortion lobby was becoming increasingly well organised in its drive to keep the laws as tight as possible.

The survey found that only 16% of questionnaires returned were originals while seven out of eight were photocopies, most of which came from the anti-abortion lobby.

Half of the photocopies, about 1 800, were easily identifiable as bulk mailings with one envelope containing up to 127 replies. — Sapa.



Soweto  
1915/92  
**Soweto  
activist  
killed**

**Sowetan reporter**

A MEMBER of the Soweto Civic Association, Mr Ernest "Mtungwa" Mabaso, was shot dead near his home on Sunday, the association said yesterday.

Police spokesman Captain Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said the police only had a record of a Mr Edward Mtunga, who he said, was shot in Zola.

Mariemuthoo could give no further details.

Mr Molwane Lephunya of the SCA said Mabaso, who was chairman of the association's Zola township branch, was shot on Sunday morning while on his way to a meeting.

"From the SCA point of view, we will leave no stone unturned until the perpetrators of this act have been found. We vow we will find them. His death shall be avenged," Lephunya said.

- Sapa.

# Cops to probe Bhengu claim

Sowetan 20/5/92

POLICE are to investigate anew allegations by Mr Peter Bhengu that he was almost killed after he refused to join a mercenary squad allegedly involved in Alexandra killings.

A senior police officer in charge of the riot and violence unit in Johannesburg this week phoned *Sowetan* trying to contact Bhengu, who is based in Soweto.

When Bhengu reported the matter to the police on April 23, police arrested five of his 10 attackers and charged them with assault. The men were acquitted in the Hillbrow Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Police, however, declined to investigate Bhengu's allegations that the attackers had offered him R260 for each person he killed.

They said they did not believe his attackers were operating for a political organisation which paid them.

## Allegations

The police officer yesterday said they wanted a full statement from Bhengu to institute an investigation into the allegations.

*Sowetan* has refused to provide the address but indicated Bhengu would be informed of police interest.

Bhengu had told *Sowetan* that 10 security guards employed at Chatham Court in Joubert Park, including his brother, had offered him the money if he joined their squad in the killings in April.

When he refused, they attacked him and left him for dead. He regained consciousness after being in a coma for 17 days.

Bhengu accused the police of siding with the attackers

By MATHATHA TSEDU

by not taking his case "seriously" and alleged that they were indirectly helping the squad.

The police attitude has come under fire from political organisations who expressed dismay that an assertion by a victim that he was attacked by a political hit squad was not investigated by the police.

Meanwhile, an alleged network of police bases said to be linked to attacks on political activists has been uncovered and confirmed by police.

## Network

While police said the network was involved in undercover "normal" police work, media investigations have linked some of the bases, housed in so-called "safe houses", to recruitment of activists to attack political targets in various areas.

Police last week stopped the *Weekly Mail* from publishing names of policemen and addresses of houses involved in the network, but disclosed that 18 bases existed.

One such base in the Vaal was exposed two weeks ago but police said the place was being used for investigations into gun running.

The latest police disclosures come hard on the heels of revelations that senior army officers had ordered the "permanent removal from society" of Eastern Cape activists who were later found shot and burnt outside Port Elizabeth.



## Cough up or shut up, Van Eck told

ANC MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck should "cough up or shut up", a Law and Order Ministry spokesman said yesterday. (327)

Mr Van Eck has refused to disclose the source of his claims in Parliament that former president Mr P W Botha had allegedly acknowledged that he and his government had been responsible for the assassination of over 1 000 black activists.

The police have launched an investigation into the claims but law and order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday that Mr Van Eck's refusal to co-operate was "making things difficult."

CT 20/5/92  
Democratic Party law and order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow has suggested that an investigation could begin by appointing a committee to peruse cabinet and State Security Council minutes.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

## QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Hand-grenade attack on home of leader of LPSA

\*1. Mr M A HENDRICKSE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, with reference to the reply to Question No 12 on 6 May 1991, the hand-grenade attack on the home of the leader of the Labour Party of South Africa on or about 2 September 1988 is still under investigation; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

- (2) whether the South African Police have investigated or intend investigating the possibility that State-funded overt or covert bodies, agencies or organizations could have been responsible for this attack; if not, why not; if so, what have been the findings to date;

- (3) whether, during the course of these investigations, the Police have been informed of and/or interrogated any person who alleged that the said attack had been launched by such overt or covert bodies; if so,

- (4) whether he will furnish particulars in regard to this person; if not, why not; if so, what are the particulars;

- (5) whether he will make a statement on the matter? C23E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes, but so far the Police have not been able to trace the offenders.
- (2), (3), (4) and (5)

Yes, the South African Police has thoroughly investigated certain allegations made by Mr Max du Preez of the *Vrye Weekblad*. Because the allegations were unfounded and slanderous, the South African Police submitted all the facts that resulted from the investigation

to the Supreme Court in Pretoria on 14 May 1992. The said court issued an interdict prohibiting the *Vrye Weekblad* from publishing these allegations. The return date for the interdict is 2 June 1992.

Mr M A HENDRICKSE: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply . . .

†Mr J C OOSTHUIZEN: Mr Chairman, can the hon the Leader of The House say "shut up" to hon members on this side of the House?

†The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! The hon the Leader of the House must withdraw that.

†Mr P J KLEINSMIDT: I withdrawn it, Sir.

†Mr A E REEVES: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: Is it admissible for an hon member on that side of the House to say that it is because an hon member on this side of the House has been drinking, that he is making such a noise?

†The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! Which hon member said so?

†Mr A E REEVES: It was the hon member for Heidedal, Sir.

†The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! Did the hon member for Heidedal say so?

†Mr B GROBBLER: I could also have drunk water, Sir. What is the hon member implying? [Interjections.]

†The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! There is no time for games in the House. The hon member must withdraw that unconditionally.

†Mr B GROBBLER: I withdrawn it, Sir.

Mr M A HENDRICKSE: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, does he totally rule out the possibility that State-funded bodies and/or persons working for such bodies were responsible for the above-mentioned hand-grenade attack?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the question on the Question Paper deals with what the position is in respect of the particular proposal to which the hon member for Schauderville is referring. As I have already replied, the information at out disposal has not been substantiated. I want to put it very clearly. On the basis of the information we submitted to the judge, he granted an interim order to the SA Police and on the return date evidence must be submitted that what was said and what was alleged by *Vrye Weekblad* is the truth.

I should like to refer to what I said in the discussion of my Vote. If the SA Police are guilty of offences, the policemen who break laws must be punished. That is our point of departure. However, I also want to put it that the SA Police have not been proscribed by the South African press. If allegations are made against the Police, they must be based on fact and not on gossip, because the situation is that everyone can write what he wants to. A perception of the Police as criminals, is being created. When the investigation eventually takes place, after the law has taken its course, and it must be reported that the Police are not guilty, it is published in small print on the back page. That is what we, in the SA Police object to. It is all very well if we are guilty, but if we are not guilty, the freedom of the press should not be misused in acting against us. Then we have the normal legal recourse that every other organization and citizen of this country has, namely to ask the court to protect the interests of the Police.

Mr M A HENDRICKSE: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, the hon the Minister has not answered my question yet. I want to know from him whether he denies that any State-funded bodies were responsible for that attack. The answer is simply yes or no. He must say so.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the hon member may not tell me to reply "yes" or "no" to questions. I reply to questions in my own way. The hon member can formulate his questions in whatever way he likes, and I shall reply to them as I like. The position is that we do not know who did it. That is quite clear.

The hon member must listen to what I have replied. Thus far the Police have not been able to trace the offenders.

Who they are, I do not know. I hope that answers the hon member's question.

Mr P A C HENDRICKSE: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, was it only as a result of these allegations which have been levelled against the Police Force for criminal activities having been made public that the investigations took place? Does the hon the Minister not believe that it would be in the interest of the Police as well as the people of South Africa that these allegations, substantiated or unsubstantiated, be made public and defended in public by him?

The MINISTER: I have no problem with that proposition, Sir. None whatsoever. We will make it known as soon as we have completed our

investigation and as soon as we have ascertained who did it.

However, to make allegations at this stage, as *Vrye Weekblad* has done, is unfair to the Police.

†Mr P A C HENDRICKSE: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, does he not have the right to subpoena *Vrye Weekblad* if they make accusations that are false?

Does the hon the Minister not have the right to sue them, as was attempted in the past? If they are prepared to make these allegations in public, why is he not prepared to allow them to do so? The MINISTER: We have that right, but we believe prevention is better than cure. [Interjections.]

SADF: military camp/base in Kruger National Park

\*2. Mr M A HENDRICKSE asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether the South African Defence Force has a military camp or base within the borders of the Kruger National Park; if so, (a) why and (b) who has authority over the Defence Force members serving in this camp or base;

- (2) whether there have been any incidents of conflict between such members and game wardens; if so, what are the details;

- (3) whether any of these members have been involved in the poaching of elephant tusks or rhinoceros horn or other irregularities of this nature; if so, what are the relevant details;

- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? C24E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) Yes.

- (a) The eastern border of the Kruger National Park is an international border which by law is the responsibility of the SA Defence Force to secure.
- (b) The Officer Commanding the Kruger Park Military Unit.

- (2) No.

- (3) No.

- (4) No.



**How South Africa's editors see the state of the press**  
*Quoted from this week's International Press Institute report*

**T**he space for journalists has widened faster than their capacity to use it. We still report in the dogged, defensive style of the past; reporters lack aggression; we all lack the flair. The virtual destruction of South African journalism — the terrible loss of skills — is now exacting its toll.

— KEN OWEN, *Sunday Times*

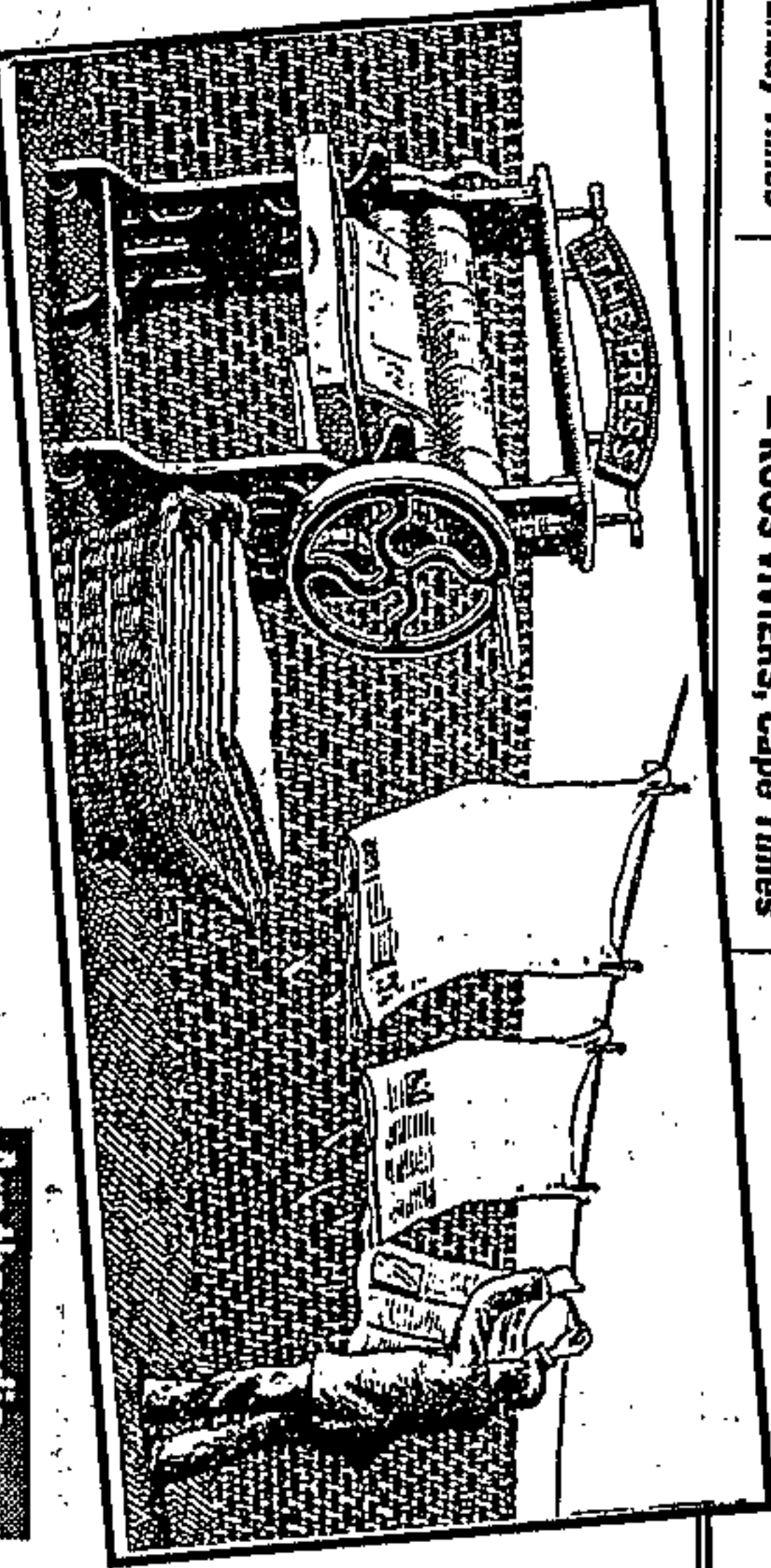
**D**uring the repressive period, the country lost too much journalistic talent and now, as it were, has to reinvent the wheel in strengthening investigative journalism.

— KOOS VIVIERS, *Cape Times*

**T**he press is freer now than it has been for more than a half a century, and probably freer than it would be for another half century.

— JOHN PATTEN, *Natal Mercury*

# Tinkering at the edge



## Of tomorrow's news

**Are the media changing fast enough to keep up with the country?**

W/week 22/5-28/5/92

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**Controversial former Cape Times editor TONY HEARD told an international press conference in Budapest this week that South Africa's press was not reflecting the changing politics. This is an edited version of his speech**

**S**OUTH AFRICA is changing fast, its media more slowly. Considering the radical transformation in political atmosphere dating to the De Klerk reforms of February 1990 and the walk to freedom by unbanned organisations, it is sobering to observe that the media have not changed at the same pace. Their structure and control remain as they have been for years — though enlightened restructuring is reportedly about to take place.

The different atmosphere in the country is only partially reflected in the media. British journalist Anthony Sampson rightly asks: "Why can't the media in South Africa reflect more closely and vigorously the fast-changing political facts which the country is facing?"

There are refreshing flashes of daring by television interviewers and newspaper writers, taking the new freedoms at face value. But, generally, the offerings are the safe and sure recipes of the past — on TV, we see hordes of government ministers paraded before viewers, unflattering shots of government opponents and inordinate coverage of remote sports and trivia such as day and night live screening of a raisin feast in the far northern Cape.

And all this trivia at a time when real events in a convulsed country, such as violence and government corruption, cry out for investigative attention.

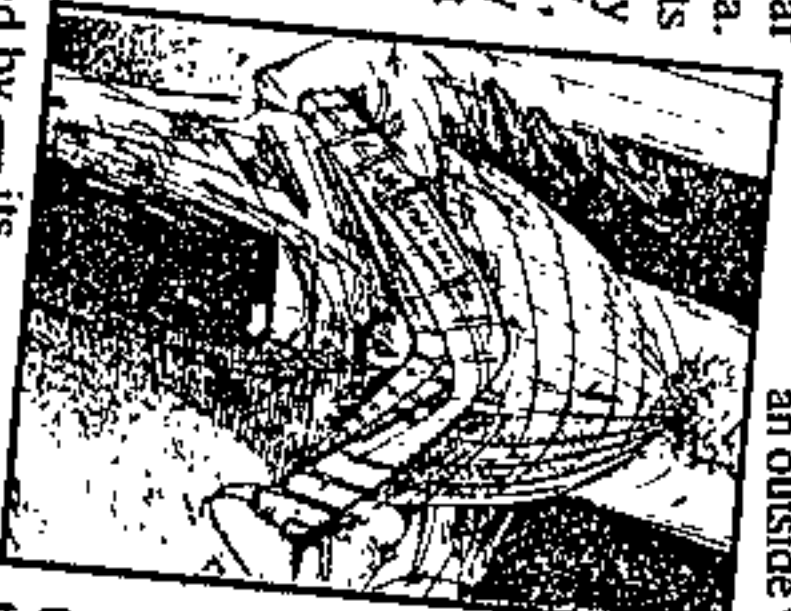
The established print media, with superior resources, do not — with one or two exceptions — produce the scoops concerning death squads and government wrongdoing which the smaller alternative newspapers publish.

Hardly any sense can be made — by establishment or alternative newspapers — of the Tower of Babel the political parties have built for themselves near Johannesburg airport, Codessa.

With many meaningful events closed off from public scrutiny in county "working groups", Codessa toils in a financially costly atmosphere that is about as enlightening as mud. Only by providing media (which means the public) access to all proceedings, and a proper verbatim record, can this be remedied.

For now, the country is diverted by — not fully served by — its media. Particularly when the expected restructuring of the press is over, and new independent controls for government-dominated radio and television are in place, the media must be judged rigorously by the following standards.

Are the media really enlightening and serving the public? Are they independent bulwarks against naked political power, now and in a future order? Or are they giving in to their commercial and partisan



urges in ways which obfuscate the truth and rob the public of vital protection and information at a critical moment in history? This is not to deny that there are individual editors and journalists who are trying hard to change outdated attitudes. There is a new awareness of the potential for free expression in newspaper offices, and indeed a new awareness of the existence of an outside world.

Surveying the past year, there is some good and some bad news. The savage restrictions on reporting police and prison matters are gone, or about to go. The government is committed to a review of all legislation which restricts press freedom but only if this does not "endanger state security". It seems keen to cling to some form of statutory censorship in areas such as books, films and offending objects. The security authorities still push around and rough-up local journalists on occasion, and have allegedly harassed internationally-known correspondents from abroad. As the IPJ World Press Freedom Review has noted, formal court procedures are being extensively used to harass newspapers. Unlike some democratising countries, former security force petty-tyrants are still in office.

Happily, the alternative newspapers and the established groups have buried their differences and the former have joined the old-established Newspaper Press Union, opening up new areas of creative co-operation and mutual support. They can now be seen for what they always have been: two sides of the same coin.

There is growing awareness of the need for a deconcentration of ownership of the press. The alternative newspapers, which played such a critical role opposing PW Botha during his Draconian states of emergency, are still around — despite past suppression, massively state-funded defamation actions and daily harassment — and are still producing sensation exposés. But they are financially frail.

On the bright side, there are serious moves to establish a trust fund to underpin the alternatives' finances, at least in the crucial transitional stage to a democratic order.

The fundamental problem remains: will the media be able to use the new freedoms, once gained? Will it be a mere Prague Spring of 1967, or a more durable Lisbon Spring of 1974?

Moreover, habits of freedom, once lost, are difficult to establish. And when a new government takes over it will be under pressure from its followers — if only because of the enormous problems of reconstruction after the ravages of apartheid — to curb the scribes, to hang the messenger.

2215792

## Askaris a sour taste says ANC

(327) ~~221~~  
PRAISE heaped on the Askaris by their commanding officer, Brigadier Krappies Engelbrecht, left a sour taste in the mouths of their victims, the ANC said in a statement.

The Askaris are a unit made up of "turned" African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress cadres.

Engelbrecht on Monday said the Askaris had been highly successful since their task changed from identifying and capturing trained ANC and PAC cadres to crime prevention.

"The fact that Askaris have been kept together, in spite of allegations made against them in the Harms Commission, leads any reasonable person to conclude that the intention of the State is still to use them against the opponents of the regime.

"Many returning exiles live in fear of being attacked by Askaris who are used in the same way as sniffer dogs to point out returning ANC members," the ANC said.

The organisation went on to call for the disbanding of the unit. - Sapa



# Sharp rise in killings

Sowetan 22/5/92.

By MATHATHA TSEDU  
Investigations Editor

THE number of political assassinations since the start of the reform process in 1990 is five times that of the preceding five years, the Human Rights Commission revealed yesterday.

The HRC said in a report released yesterday that 119 people had been eliminated in "low intensity conflict" methods used "to frustrate and destabilise the liberation struggle".

The report points out that during the five years from 1985 to 1990, which encompass the years of the State of Emergency, 45 political deaths were recorded.

During the same period five people disappeared without trace and 160 attempted murders were recorded.

The figures for the 28 months from February 1990 to April this year were five

times higher with 119 deaths.

Of these, more than 100 were "clearly identifiable as belonging to the anti-apartheid camp", some as officials, members or family members of activists.

The HRC said recent revelations in the media about alleged State involvement in the murders of activists raised questions about the role of the National Security management in the continuing killings.

The increased tempo of politically motivated killings was further evidence, "if it were needed", that elements existed within State structures which had no interest in a peaceful advance to genuine democracy, the HRC said.



# Here's what *Weekblad* couldn't print

22/5-28/5/92

**L**AW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel this week ducked questions directed at him about the state's alleged involvement in grenade attacks on the Uitenhage home of the leader of the Labour Party, Allan Hendrickse.

Twice he avoided answering directly whether state-aided bodies were responsible for the attack.

Instead, he resorted to the time-honoured government response that the police would act against anyone who broke the law, at the same time suggesting that allegations of this sort were a figment of the press' imagination.

It was, at best, not very imaginative avoidance of the issue or, at worst, deliberate sidetracking of the central question of whether state-funded agents were involved in bombing Hendrickse's house.

His replies and avoidance techniques were, in any event, not convincing.

The police resorted to legal action against *Vrye Weekblad* to prevent it from publishing allegations that the police were directly involved in the bombing of the Hendrickse home in Uitenhage in 1988. No one was injured in the incident.

This decision and Kriel's ambivalent replies in parliament can only have served to create the impression that the police have something to hide.

Kriel said in the House of Representatives that the *Vrye Weekblad* allegations that state-funded agencies or bodies had been responsible for the grenade attack on the Hendrickse home were unfounded and slanderous.

The allegations by the newspaper's

*Last week the police took legal*

*action to prevent the Vrye*

*Weekblad publishing*

*allegations that the state was*

*involved in grenade attacks on*

*Allan Hendrickse's house.*

*This week Hernus Kriel faced*

*a barrage of questions*

*in parliament.*

*By Weekly Mail Reporter*

editor, Max du Preez, had been thoroughly investigated by police.

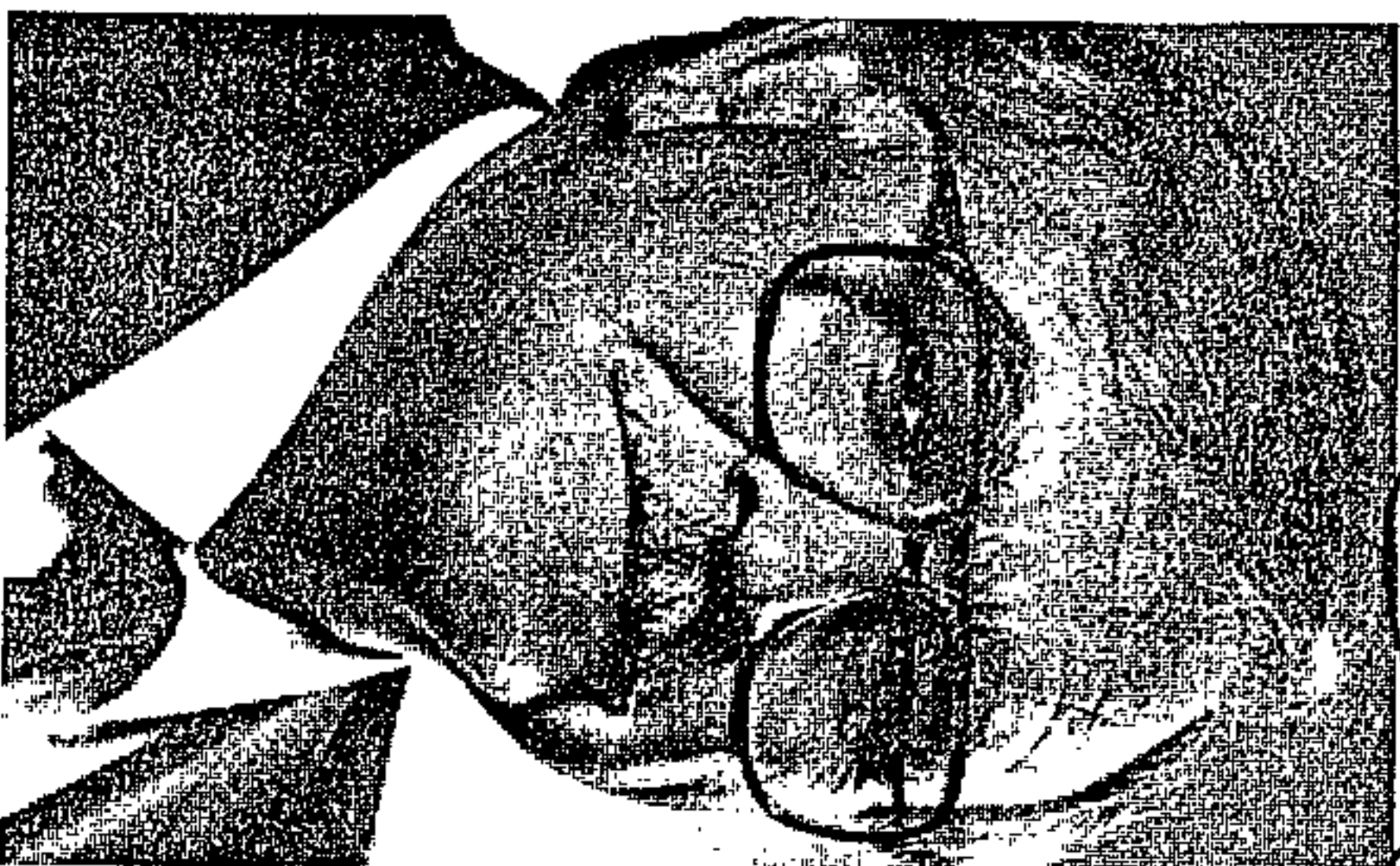
After their investigations, the police sought and obtained an interdict in the Pretoria Supreme Court on May 14 prohibiting publication of the article containing the allegations.

When he had completed his prepared reply, the LP MP for Schauderville, Michael Hendrickse, a son of the party leader, asked: "Does he totally rule out the possibility that state-funded bodies and/or persons working for such bodies were responsible for the over-mentioned handgrenade attack?"

Kriel replied that the question he had replied to had related to a specific incident and the available information had been corroborated.

On the basis of the information supplied to the judge, he gave an interim order to the police and on the return date evidence would have to be placed before him that the allegations by *Vrye Weekblad* were the truth.

"If the police are guilty of contraventions then those men who transgress must be punished. That is



Hernus Kriel ... 'I answer as I like'

our departure point.

"I would also like to make the suggestion that the South African Police have not been declared scot-free by the South African press.

"If allegations are made against the police, they must be based on facts not gossip, because the situation is that everyone can write what they like. The perception of the police as criminals is then created.

"If the investigation eventually takes place after the due process is completed and then it must be reported that the police are innocent, then it is published very small in the back pages.

"This is what the police object to. It is all very well if we are guilty, but if we are innocent,

then the freedom of the press must not be misused to act against us.

"Then we have the normal legal means which every institution and citizen in this country has, namely to go to court to protect the interests of the police."

Michael Hendrickse: "The minister has not answered my question yet. I want to know from him whether he denies that any state-funded bodies were responsible for that attack. The answer is simply yes or no. He must say so."

Kriel: "The honourable member cannot say to me that a question must be answered 'yes' or 'no'. I answer questions in my own way. The honourable member can put his questions as he likes and I will answer as I like.

"The position is that we do not know who did it. That is very clear. Thus far the police have not been able to trace the offenders. Who they are I do not know. I hope this answers the honourable member's question."

The LP MP for Addo, Peter Hendrickse, another son of the the party leader, then asked: "Was it only as a result of these allegations which have been levelled against the police force for criminal activities having been made public that the investigations took place?"

"Does the honourable the minister

not believe that it would be in the interest of the police as well as the people of South Africa that these allegations, substantiated or unsubstantiated, be made public and defended in public by him?"

Kriel: "I have no problem with that proposition. None whatsoever.

"We will make it known as soon as we have completed our investigation and as soon as we have ascertained who did it. At this stage, to actually allege, as *Vrye Weekblad* does, is not fair to the police."

Peter Hendrickse: "Arising from the honourable minister's reply, does he not have the right to take *Vrye Weekblad* to the courts if their allegations are not true? Does the honourable minister not have the right to sue them, as was attempted in the past? If they are prepared to make these allegations in public, why is he not prepared to allow them to do so?"

Kriel: "We have that right, but we believe prevention is better than cure."

So, the mystery of who bombed the Hendrickse house in 1988 continues, as it does in the case of many other bomb attacks on building housing anti-apartheid organisations, such as Johannesburg House and Cosatu House in Johannesburg, Khanya House in Pretoria and Community House in Cape Town.







"safe houses" were police informants.

Since then, claims the police affidavit put before the supreme court last week, it had been re-orientated away from surveillance of organisations to that of individuals, and from a "counter-revolutionary perspective" to a concern with spiralling violence and crime.

This raises more questions than it answers. The impression given is that all crime falls within the network's ambit. Indeed, a hair-raising catalogue of soaring crime appended to the police affidavit, designed to impress on the judge the importance of the network, but if anything highlights its ineffectiveness, and even refers to a sharp increase in fraud.

But another appendix lists successes of the Vanderbijlpark "safe house" — and 90 percent of these relate to arms, and specifically arms caches. The question arises: why is there a need for a parallel, covert arms tracing operation when "firearms units", operating openly from police stations, exist for precisely this purpose?

And why the obsessive secrecy? We have evidence that the purchase of the network's southern Transvaal headquarters by the Department of Public Works was fraudulently concealed — who in his right mind, other than an investigative reporter, would want to

informers.

The SAP affidavit claims the network concerns itself with individuals, not organisations. But statements by two men whom the network tried to recruit — they say, to commit violence — reflect the obsession of their mysterious "handlers" with the ANC, the South African Communist Party, and in particular Umkhonto weSizwe.

We know from a police source that the network has at least one informer in Shell House, the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters.

The absurd taste for the cloak and dagger and the single-minded focus on formations of the left — nowhere in our investigations did we encounter any sign of interest in Inkatha and its well-documented role in the Vaal violence — convince us that this is the security police, officially disbanded but continuing to operate with vast resources and separate personnel and command structures.

The official purpose of the network is not the central issue: what counts is not what operatives are supposed to be doing, but what they are in fact doing.

Networks which operate in such deep shadow are a heaven-sent opportunity for far-right elements in the security forces to pursue a private agenda. They are in fact doubly insulated from the public gaze and public accountability: by the operation itself,

## Accord reconsidered

*THE Weekly Mail's* revelations about secret police bases and the *New Nation's* disclosures about the involvement of military officials in the assassination of government opponents have placed a question mark over the National Peace Accord (NPA).

This week African National Congress P.W.V. officials and other organisations announced that they were reconsidering their participation in NPA structures.

They slammed the attempts by police to stop publication of the stories. "That in itself was a violation of the accord," said Democratic Party spokesman Rupert Lorimer.

and by the exclusiveness of the handler-informer relationship.

Intelligence sources this week told *The Weekly Mail* that the abuse of covert operations by the ultra-right was "possible, even probable".

Network operatives can be justifiably confident that nothing they tell their township contacts will ever return to haunt them: their identities are concealed behind code-names, their cars are falsely registered, the location of "safe houses" is hidden even from informants, who are conducted to and from secret trysts with their heads cov-

ered. For a far-right security policeman, whose professional life has been devoted to a life-or-death struggle with the ANC, this must present a sore temptation.

In a conservative stronghold like the Vaal, the dangers are magnified. Given the spate of mysterious killings, abductions and harassment in the area, we doubt the uncovering of a secret police "crime prevention" network has left ANC activists feeling more secure.

The police response to the incriminating statements of the two "recruits" is interesting. Commissioner Johan van der Merwe confirms that Sebokeng activist Daniel Kolisang was interviewed at the Vanderbijlpark safe house and asked to gather information — but dismisses his claims to have been offered money to throw petrol bombs as "devoid of truth".

How does he know? Because Kolisang's "handler", Sergeant "S" (we are prevented from naming him), crossed his heart and gave his word? In so seasoned a law enforcer, such faith in human goodness is positively touching.

Sergeant "S" has a clear reason for lying, but what is Kolisang's motive? That we paid him R50 000 — as ludicrously suggested by Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze — even though his statement was made before we knew of his existence? That, as an

crime world, and part of a very close involved in the unlawful traffic in smuggling of arms."

One hopes the Goldstone Commission can make something of this impenetrable statement.

Warrant Officer "N" denies promising Mngomezulu training. But he also denies that the page number he gave the latter could be traced to the network's headquarters. How does he think we found the headquarters building? We can, if he cares to meet us give precise details of the trail we followed, via a fictitious company and Kibler Park post box.

The Warrant Officer also says he is attached to the Crime Intelligence Service in Soweto — we know from insiders that it is based at the headquarters building in southern Johannesburg. Later in his affidavit, he blows the gaff by revealing that he was at the HQ when *The Weekly Mail* overflew the building in a helicopter while taking photographs.

In the southern Transvaal region of the secret police web, we have two statements implicating operatives in the planning of violence. But there are 10 other regions, presumably staffed by an army of SAP officers, many with the same background, world view and work habits.

How are they spending your and my taxes?



## APARTHEID

### POLITICAL (327) ASSASSINATIONS

PAID assassins have killed 35 people since the beginning of the year, according to the Human Rights Commission.

The HRC said 159 people had been killed in the first 20 days of this month, while 356 died in political violence in April.

From 1985 to 1989, 45 assassinations, five disappearances and 160 attempted assassinations of anti-apartheid activists were recorded by the HRC. UWA 22/5-285/92

From January 1990 to April 1992, 119 political assassinations were recorded.

# Cop recruits informers via soccer club

22/5 - 28/5/92

**A**VAAL policeman is using his private football club to recruit youths as informers for Inkatha Freedom Party and has supplied them with weapons, former club players and fans charged this week.

The allegation ties in with *Weekly Mail* disclosures of a secret South African Police network in the Vaal linked to the planning of violence. The policeman in question, Sergeant Mike Kolokoto, features prominently in the affidavit of a Sebokeng activist, Daniel Kolisang, who was taken to a clandestine police base and, he says, offered money to bomb the houses of African National Congress members.

Kolisang says that at the secret base, he was offered weapons training at the hands of Kolokoto at a location near Rustder-Vaal. He was told by his police handler, he adds, that Kolokoto provided arms training for "informers".

Kolokoto, a former SAP man now working for the Sebokeng municipal police, has a private

*In yet another link to Weekly Mail disclosures of a secret police network, a policeman runs a*

*'football club' to supply informers*

*with weapons.*

**By DREW FORREST**

football club, "Mike's Classic", recruited largely from the Tambo Village squatter camp on the outskirts of Sebokeng.

A former club fan, White Paul, said Kolokoto had acknowledged being an Inkatha member and had recruited seven of the club's players to the organisation.

He had also supplied them with pistols, and Paul had seen him collect the weapons before matches were played and distribute them afterwards.

Paul said Kolokoto's recruits were taken two

or three times a week for long meetings at Kolokoto's home, in the elite suburb of Debonair Park. There, he understood, they were quizzed by Inkatha members about "comrades" in Tambo Village.

In a recent interview with *The Weekly Mail* — he answered his door with a 9mm pistol in his hand — Kolokoto confirmed that the house next door to his was rented by the kwaZulu government and used by kwaZulu policemen.

Among its occupants is a certain Ndamara Chonco, linked by Vaal activists to a number of armed attacks in the area and convicted last year of unlawful possession of arms.

Kolokoto also confirmed having regular contact with these men, ascribing this to "good-neighbourliness". Asked whether he had links with the security police, he thought long and hard before replying in the negative.

A former club player, 17-year-old Dion Buys, said Kolokoto's recruits had threatened to kill him, Paul and another former fan,

Hendrick Boyang, all of whom are ANC members. They had also said they wanted to remove "comrades" from Tambo Village, and make it an Inkatha stronghold.

"Kolokoto says I am a spy, and that I took comrades to burn down his house two years ago," he said.

The three activists are sleeping away from home, and last week approached the Vaal Civic Association for help.

Kolokoto could not be contacted on the latest allegations. But he earlier denied providing weapons training to anyone, describing Kolisang's affidavit as "a joke and a half".

Three more ANC-linked activists have been killed in Sebokeng, in the low-intensity war on the organisation in the Vaal.

Mzwandile Mokwayi, Laurence Maphekathi and Edwin Molepo, all ANC Youth League members, were gunned down in the street in Sebokeng's violence-torn Zone 7 last Sunday.



NATAL WITNESS

# It's safer in jail, say fasting women

By LENA SLACHMUIJLDER

AT THE age of 78, Lydia Cindi is a first offender. "I'm fighting for my people!" she shouted through the thick glass of the prison visiting corridor. "And I'm not scared!"

Next to her sat 25-year-old Buyi Ngqulunga, three months pregnant but equally determined. "Some women are getting sick, but we want the police out of Imbali," she said.

Cindi and Ngqulunga joined 35 other mothers, wives and daughters — aged 16 to 78 — from Imbali on a hunger strike to demand the removal of all security forces from Imbali township, outside Pietermaritzburg. When they decided to refuse all solid foods last Friday, the women were already engaged in defiance by refusing to pay bail granted to them on charges of trespassing arising from two separate protests this month.

"It's better to stay in prison. In the townships we get shot. We are very safe in prison — they have good security there," said African National Congress Women's League member Emily Ntuli.

On Tuesday afternoon, the women were all carted to court — several weeks ahead of their scheduled court date — and all charges were withdrawn. After more than four days of refusing food, and leaving a collective total of 77 children in Imbali mother-less, the women enjoyed a hearty afternoon meal at the ANC office in Pietermaritzburg.

The withdrawal of charges against the women arose from a meeting on Tuesday between the ANC, the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries and the South African Police. In addition to a "non-aggression" pact agreed upon between the ANC and the SAP, the police committed themselves to recommend that 32 Battalion be removed from Imbali in order to ascertain a peace settlement.

"We are still holding on to our demands for the removal of all security forces," said ANC regional executive committee member Sifiso Nkabinde. But he said no mass action to demand the security forces' withdrawal would be organised for the time, to give the SAP a chance to uphold their promise.

Women's League members were arrested for trespassing for five sit-ins, pickets and demonstrations in Pietermaritzburg and Durban. In three cases — including the two of the hunger strikers and one from a protest outside the British and American consulates in Durban — all charges have been withdrawn. The two remaining cases will be heard on June 1 and July 24.

Imbali township was declared an unrest area this month following a four-day stayaway organised in early May by the ANC Midlands branch in support of the withdrawal of the SADF, SAP and kwaZulu Police from Imbali township. Residents complained of daily harassment and assaults by members of the security forces; members of 32 Battalion were consistently implicated.

On May 9, *Natal Witness* assistant editor Khaba Mkhize and freelance photographer Themba Mngabi were allegedly assaulted by members of 32 Battalion while photographing their members dumping rubble on the yards of Imbali residents.

Simon Ngcobo, a resident, alleged he was forced by the SAP the next day to eat dagga, and suffered a perforated eardrum from the assaults.

The IFP has lashed out at the ANC's call for the withdrawal of the security forces, calling it a coverup for their intention to wipe out the IFP in Imbali.



# The CCB knows who killed Webster — Ferdi

Sowetan 22/5/92

MR FERDI Barnard, the man at the centre of allegations of State-sponsored killings and harassment of anti-apartheid activists, makes no apology for his shadowy role in the service of South Africa.

"My record is rotten with violence," the 33-year-old former spy said. "But I don't need amnesty. There's no fear in my heart that I will ever need anything like that."

Barnard, a convicted murderer who complains business contacts think of him as "James Bond", added: "I don't believe there will be any type of Nuremberg trials in this country, because they will sort that out at the negotiating table."

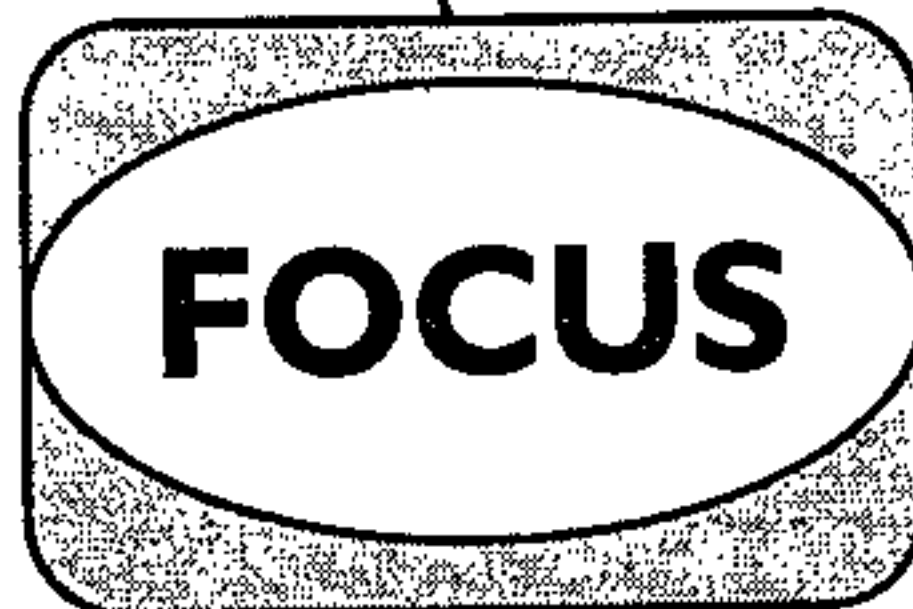
He denies accusations that he carried out two of Southern Africa's most notorious assassinations, saying a former colleague in a secret army unit might know the truth about them.

The burly former drug squad detective served three years in jail from 1984 to 1987 for two unrelated murders of suspected drug dealers.

In March 1988 he joined the Civil Co-operation Bureau, an army special forces undercover unit which is accused of killing and harassing black activists.

Officials of the unit, now disbanded, showed strong opposition to President FW de Klerk's political reforms. They told a judicial investigation into violence that their job was to "maximally disrupt the enemies of the State" at home and abroad. The unit has destroyed files on its work inside South Africa.

For the past three years newspapers have regularly splashed Barnard's photograph across front page reports linking him to the 1989 killings of South African academic Dr David Webster and an anti-apartheid Namibian lawyer, Mr Anton Lubowski.



In late 1989 Barnard was detained for three months in connection with the killings but released for lack of evidence.

In an interview at a friend's house, Barnard suggested a CCB colleague might know the truth about the murders, adding: "If anyone was trained to kill, it would be him."

Barnard described himself as a political moderate who joined the CCB because it paid well.

All he did, he said, was use contacts in the underworld, "mostly Mandrax, diamond and weapons smugglers", to gather intelligence on enemies of the State.

"I lost everything when I was in jail. All of a sudden I had R5 000 a month. I had a brand new car, my petrol was paid for. It made it so much easier for me, that I could live like anybody else. You can buy a woman a present if you want."

"That to me was like a godsend. I grabbed it with both hands."

Barnard says the CCB's work was needed at the time but became increasingly irrelevant as the reform process proceeded.

"People there did brilliant work, believe me. I was one who operated alone, going into a black township without backing at night to monitor certain people's movements."

"It was intelligence concerning anything that damages the economy - laundering money, drug smuggling, weapons smuggling, politically motivated actions against the country, African National Congress activities, MK



David Webster, who was killed in 1989.

(ANC armed wing) activities, you name it.

"If you do the crime, you must do the time. It's a motto of mine. You must face the consequences," Barnard said.

"But nobody (in the CCB) ever asked me to do anything illegal or to do any strong arm tactics or any rough work."

Hopes of uncovering the truth about the killing and others like it have risen this year with the start of talks on a transition from white rule to democracy.

The ANC says it will guarantee amnesty if people who carried out political killings confess, so as to wipe the slate clean and ensure that there is no repetition. Police have been unable to solve dozens of murders of activists.

Barnard, denying new allegations that he currently works for the army's intelligence department, said he doubted the killers of Lubowski and Webster would ever apply for amnesty.

"If it was done (by) the intelligence world, I doubt it very much because that world is a murky world of shady characters and nothing is

really as it seems. There'll be no smoking gun."

Barnard estimates he has had 200 stitches in his body from being stabbed five times and shot once in the course of his career, which included a stint as a Johannesburg club bouncer.

"I can be violent but I'm not a guy that goes moving around looking for trouble," said Barnard, who is about 2m tall and weighs 105kg.

Barnard, who now earns a living by recovering stolen commercial property, said he wanted a normal family life.

But he says he is continually haunted by his violent past.

He tried debt collection work, but people he visited recognised him from newspaper photographs and asked for police protection.

He said businessmen impressed by his CCB service now offered him money to beat up rivals. "I think they're stark raving mad. People are trying to misuse me. What they see in the papers, to them that's for real. (It's like) I'm the biggest James Bond and I'm scared of nothing." - SA Press Association-Reuters



# A quiet stand for sanity

327

FM 22/5/92

A multinational panel of nine experts has been set up to provide guidance on how to handle political marches and demonstrations.

This is the latest project of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence.

The task is urgent. More than half of 10 000 marches and rallies in the past two years were illegal. Though there was violence at only three of these, all were potentially explosive.

The chairman of the panel is Prof Philip Heymann, director of the Harvard Law School. Other foreign members include Lee Brown, Commissioner of the New York Police Department, and several academics from universities in Holland, England and Canada. Local members include Johan Olivier, senior research specialist at the HSRC's Centre for Conflict Analysis, and Don Foster, professor of psychology at UCT.

The ultimate aim — which has the support of the ANC, Cosatu, the SA Police and others — is to produce agreed rules and procedures for rallies, with specific reference to the role of the police. This will be vital in preparing for the first nonracial (interim government) elections, which could be held next year.

The panel will draft recommendations after a preliminary meeting in London later this month. They will be presented to a Goldstone committee in July and will then be subjected to a seven-day public hearing in Cape Town. It's expected that recommendations will be submitted to government as draft legislation.

Meanwhile, there is no let-up in the commission's primary task: to investigate incidents of violence and intimidation and recommend ways to prevent them.

It's a daunting job. By last Monday, 863 people had died in unrest-related incidents this year, according to police figures. These deaths have occurred since the first Goldstone hearing took place. Yet it could be argued that the commission, headed by Justice Richard Goldstone and four permanent commissioners, is doing more than any other body to stem the bloody tide, simply by coolly studying the causes and symptoms.

The commission was established by President F W de Klerk towards the end of last year. Since then, it has been fine-tuned to include preliminary hearings, which provide

greater spontaneity and the opportunity for the main commission to be more focused in its investigations.

The commission has completed exhaustive investigations on violence at Mooi River and President Steyn Gold Mine. The Mooi River inquiry concentrated on violence which claimed 19 lives at Mooi River and neighbouring Bruntville in December last year. The commission slammed police strong-arm tactics; criticised them for bias in favour of Inkatha; and stressed the importance of confiscating traditional weapons. Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel responded by saying several aspects were being investigated.

A police spokesman in Maritzburg said this week that there has been a substantial decline in violence in Mooi River since the Goldstone report. But he said he did not necessarily attribute this to the commission's findings.

Of the President Steyn violence, owner Anglo American expressed its appreciation for the speed with which the commission dealt with the issue — violence flared on November 1 last year and the report was completed by April 1. Anglo also said the recommendations were constructive and are at various stages of consideration or implementation.

The report recommended measures to alleviate pressures and tensions at the mine; a code of conduct; consensus over political and union activity; training of personnel for disciplinary meetings; and the appointment of an industry disputes ombudsman.

The commission also produced for parliament in February, an interim report on its general observations on public violence. The report found that it was too early to draw conclusions from the information that had been presented to it so far.

Goldstone committees are also investigating the taxi wars, train violence (particularly on the Witwatersrand), mass demonstrations and marches, hostel violence in Greater Soweto, Alexandra and the Vaal Triangle and allegations surrounding an alleged SADF-funded Inkatha training camp in the Caprivi.

The commission has in the last month conducted four preliminary hearings and last week announced it will hold another into claims of secret police training camps in the southern Transvaal — the first request for a

hearing by the SAP.

For the commissioners it is a punishing schedule. Yet Mr Justice Goldstone continues to fulfil his obligations as an Appeal Court judge and as chairman of the Standing Advisory Committee on Companies.

The commission isn't a court that punishes offenders. But it is a neutral but public venue where antagonists meet and express allegations — as well as hear each other's cause for complaint.

Ironically, it is probably the commission's lack of teeth which makes it effective. While there have been suggestions that the commission be empowered to prosecute, this could hobble it. It would mean sitting as a court, aloof and unable to negotiate with the warring factions; Goldstone himself would have to remain detached, like a trial judge. Commissions of inquiry don't work that way.

The commission decided from the outset not to grant press interviews or allow television cameras into the hearings. However, its hearings are conducted in public in all but exceptional circumstances.

This has quelled the tendency among some parties to make allegations that are extravagant and often inflammatory — but groundless. They now know that they will probably be called to account and exposed if they cannot produce facts to back up their claims.

Further impetus was given a month ago when the commission initiated preliminary inquiries into allegations of violence, rather than throwing its full weight into every request for a probe. At these inquiries, aggrieved parties present their case for or against a full-blown inquiry, supported by affidavits and documents, but excluding eyewitness testimony. At this stage, the claims are not put to any exhaustive test through cross-examination.

This process has two benefits: the commission can be more focused when it holds a full inquiry; and it forces the parties to put all their cards on the table immediately, rather than allow those giving evidence later the opportunity to tailor their submissions to counteract evidence already heard.

The bottom line is that the commission isn't there to point fingers but to scrutinise incidents in search of solutions.

It's a tough task with no quick fixes — but the only way is relentlessly to chip away at the problem.



# Political killings

## soar in reform era

STAR 22/5/92  
Political Staff

The rate of political assassinations in the reform era of the '90s is more than five times that which prevailed during the extremely repressive period of 1985 to 1989, says the Human Rights Commission.

"During the short 28 months from January 1990 to April 1992, HRC records show a total of 119 political assassinations, over five times the rate of such murders during the emergency years," an HRC press statement released yesterday reads.

The organisation argues that the toll "is evidence, if it were needed, that there are elements within State structures who have no interest in a peaceful advance to genuine democracy. There is therefore great urgency about placing them under the control of an interim authority representative of all South Africa's people".



Murdered activist ...  
Matthew Goniwe.

The HRC's records for 1985-89 indicate there were 45 assassinations, five disappearances and 160 attempted assassinations of anti-apartheid activists.

### Activists

In relation to this era, the revelations concerning the assassination of Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock activists in June 1985 "has

again raised the question of the role of the National Security Management System in the elimination of political opponents during the era of total strategy", comments the HRC.

The organisation argues that there is no reason to believe that a large number of the assassinations in the '90s originate from a different source than those of the '80s.

"Over 100 of these victims are clearly identifiable as belonging to the anti-apartheid camp, either as officials or members of organisations or as family members, friends and associates caught in the firing line."

Noting that the reform era has also been a time of extreme destabilisation, the HRC states: "This greatly increased tempo of political assassinations is in keeping with the escalation in the use of the method of 'low-intensity conflict' that has been employed to destabilise and frustrate the liberation struggle".

## Meyer set to respond on assassinations

CAPE TOWN — The Government will give Parliament a full response next week to allegations that senior security force officers were involved in the assassination of activists.

Minister of Defence Roelf Meyer gave the media this undertaking when answering questions at a weekly briefing on Codesa yesterday.

He said he would raise the matter in the debate on his budget vote next week and answer the allegations as completely as the sub judice rule would permit.

Mr Meyer was asked why the Government had not yet commented on the authenticity of documents alleging the official sanctioning of the assassinations of Matthew Goniwe and others.

He was also asked whether he was able to give assurances that he had full confidence that his senior defence force officers had not been involved in sanctioning the assassinations.

He pointed out that there was a judicial inquiry in progress and "I have not had clear advice on the sub judice rule".

## College students defy ultimatum to write test

By McKeed Kotlolo  
Pretoria Bureau

Students at the troubled Transvaal College of Education yesterday defied an ultimatum from acting rector Johan du Toit to write a test or face the closure of the college.

A spokesman for the students' representative council said students reported for lectures as usual but did not write the test, scheduled to start at 7.20 am.

"We reported for classes at 8.30 am as

usual and waited for lecturers to come, but they did not," the SRC spokesman said.

She said 15 minutes later, the SRC approached Mr du Toit, who told them that lecturers had been intimidated and as result there would be no lectures for the day.

She said Mr du Toit would not say who had intimidated the lecturers, but said he, too, had been intimidated by the SRC vice-chairman at their Wednesday meeting.

Students were given until noon to submit their proposed timetable to be handed over to the college council.

Chief director of northern Transvaal schools Job Schoeman said the students had submitted the timetable as requested by the executive committee of the college council.

"We have studied it and also looked into a number of alternatives," Mr Schoeman said the recommendations had been sent to the college.

He also confirmed al-

legations of intimidation of lecturers and students who supported the new weekly test system.

● Technikon Northern Transvaal students returned to class yesterday after a sit-in which began on Monday, according to technikon spokesman Willie Meyer.

The students were protesting against the admission of a student who allegedly did not have a matric certificate. Mr Meyer said the matter had been resolved and the student's registration had been suspended.

Some of the charges provisionally dropped



# Political killings soar in reform era

STAR 22/5/92  
Political Staff

The rate of political assassinations in the reform era of the '90s is more than five times that which prevailed during the extremely repressive period of 1985 to 1989, says the Human Rights Commission.

"During the short 28 months from January 1990 to April 1992, HRC records show a total of 119 political assassinations, over five times the rate of such murders during the emergency years," an HRC press statement released yesterday reads.

The organisation argues that the toll "is evidence, if it were needed, that there are elements within State structures who have no interest in a peaceful advance to genuine democracy. There is therefore great urgency about placing them under the control of an interim authority representative of all South Africa's people".



Murdered activist ...  
Matthew Goniwe.

The HRC's records for 1985-89 indicate there were 45 assassinations, five disappearances and 160 attempted assassinations of anti-apartheid activists.

## Activists

In relation to this era, the revelations concerning the assassination of Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock activists in June 1985 "has

again raised the question of the role of the National Security Management System in the elimination of political opponents during the era of total strategy", comments the HRC.

The organisation argues that there is no reason to believe that a large number of the assassinations in the '90s originate from a different source than those of the '80s.

"Over 100 of these victims are clearly identifiable as belonging to the anti-apartheid camp, either as officials or members of organisations or as family members, friends and associates caught in the firing line."

Noting that the reform era has also been a time of extreme destabilisation, the HRC states: "This greatly increased tempo of political assassinations is in keeping with the escalation in the use of the method of 'low-intensity conflict' that has been employed to destabilise and frustrate the liberation struggle".

## Meyer set to respond on assassinations

CAPE TOWN — The Government will give Parliament a full response next week to allegations that senior security force officers were involved in the assassination of activists.

Minister of Defence Roelf Meyer gave the media this undertaking when answering questions at a weekly briefing on Codesa yesterday.

He said he would raise the matter in the debate on his budget vote next week and answer the allegations as completely as the sub judice rule would permit.

Mr Meyer was asked why the Government had not yet commented on the authenticity of documents alleging the official sanctioning of the assassinations of Matthew Goniwe and others.

He was also asked whether he was able to give assurances that he had full confidence that his senior defence force officers had not been involved in sanctioning the assassinations.

He pointed out that there was a judicial inquiry in progress and "I have not had clear advice on the sub judice rule".

## College students defy ultimatum to write test

By McKeed Kotlolo  
Pretoria Bureau

Students at the troubled Transvaal College of Education yesterday defied an ultimatum from acting rector Johan du Toit to write a test or face the closure of the college.

A spokesman for the students' representative council said students reported for lectures as usual but did not write the test, scheduled to start at 7.20 am.

"We reported for classes at 8.30 am as

usual and waited for lecturers to come, but they did not," the SRC spokesman said.

She said 15 minutes later, the SRC approached Mr du Toit, who told them that lecturers had been intimidated and as result there would be no lectures for the day.

She said Mr du Toit would not say who had intimidated the lecturers, but said he, too, had been intimidated by the SRC vice-chairman at their Wednesday meeting.

Students were given until noon to submit their proposed timetable to be handed over to the college council.

Chief director of northern Transvaal schools Job Schoeman said the students had submitted the timetable as requested by the executive committee of the college council.

"We have studied it and also looked into a number of alternatives." Mr Schoeman said the recommendations had been sent to the college.

He also confirmed al-

legations of intimidation of lecturers and students who supported the new weekly test system.

● Technikon Northern Transvaal students returned to class yesterday after a sit-in which began on Monday, according to technikon spokesman Willie Meyer.

The students were protesting against the admission of a student who allegedly did not have a matric certificate. Mr Meyer said the matter had been resolved and the student's registration had been suspended.

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# Holomisa's refusal of papers holding up probe, says A-G

to debate  
ARG 22/5/92  
Goniwe case

Political Correspondent

PAT CANDIDO  
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The non-disclosure of any potentially relevant evidence by Transkei military leader Major General Bantu Holomisa, could only be to the detriment of justice, Mr Michael Hodgen, acting Attorney General of the Eastern Cape, said today.

He was reacting to a statement by General Holomisa yesterday that he would withhold a file of secret South African security force documents he had in his possession.

Mr Hodgen, who is part of a team investigating the killings of Mr Matthew Goniwe, a Cradock activist, and three of his colleagues, said he regretted that General Holomisa refused to meet him personally to discuss the documents in his possession.

"I share his disappointment that certain other inquiries might not have resulted in prosecutions," he said. "Justice can best be achieved by bringing evidence to light. It is difficult to envisage how the non-disclosure of evidence can

possibly help in solving the Goniwe killings.

"I would like to remind all parties that it was in the Eastern Cape that two policemen were convicted and sentenced to death after a prosecution by the Attorney General. I refer to the State against De Villiers and Goosen."

Mr Hodgen said he was totally in the dark as to how an international jurist could be appointed.

A fax sent by Mr Hodgen to Mr Holomisa read: "I confirm our request to see you personally as a matter of extreme urgency regarding the documents in your possession as our investigation is being seriously delayed by the non-disclosure of said documents."

In his reply, General Holomisa said he found it strange that Mr Hodgen claimed the non-disclosure of the documents in his possession seriously delayed the investigation.

He assumed Mr Hodgen did not know what documents and their contents had landed on his table except the signal message regarding Mr Goniwe and others.

DEBATE on allegations of security force involvement in the assassination of Cape activist Mr Matthew Goniwe and others will be re-opened next week when parliament discusses the defence budget.

Outgoing Minister of Defence Mr Roelf Meyer gave notice yesterday that he would make a statement to parliament on the issue.

But he declined to say anything further before then.

Pressed by a foreign correspondent during a briefing on Codesa yesterday, Mr Meyer said that in view of the appointment of an investigation under Mr Justice Zietsman he was not free to discuss the matter openly.

"But I will have a clearer position next week on what I can or cannot say."

He repeated President De Klerk's statement that neither the State Security Council nor the cabinet had been "involved in matters of this regard" (alleged assassinations).

The government had taken the necessary step of ordering a proper investigation.

The correspondent pressed him again, saying he found it "extraordinary that you cannot say you have confidence that your senior officers were not involved in assassination activities".

Mr Meyer said: "I am not prepared to say anything more now. I have not had clear advice on the application of the sub judice rule in this regard. I will make a clearer statement next week."



# Cosatu angry at Mayekiso arrest

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sovefen 22/5/92

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions on Wednesday warned that any action against Alexandra Civic Association chairman Mr Moses Mayekiso would provoke "major reaction" from its 1.5 million members.

Cosatu was reacting to the arrest and appearance in court of Mayekiso and three others on charges of illegal possession of firearms.

Mayekiso, who is also general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, and three "bodyguards" were arrested in Alexandra township on Tuesday night. He was found in possession of two Makarov pistols.

The four men appeared in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court on Wednesday charged with the illegal possession of firearms.

Cosatu said it viewed the arrest of the four men as a "concerted campaign by the police and the Government to strip us of any measures we undertake in an effort to defend our lives".

It said that if Mayekiso had acquired or

possessed arms illegally for his defence, the Government should take the blame.

"After receiving death threats and being subjected to constant surveillance, Mayekiso applied for a legal firearm through the African National Congress and has since received no response from the police.

"The police have also failed to assure him of his safety despite being on a hit list of their hit squads, which convinces us that they have no interest in defending those who are opposed to the policies of the Government."

In a separate statement, Numsa said it was calling for all charges against its leader to be dropped as it had "convincing evidence" that Mayekiso's name appeared on several hit lists and he had been under surveillance by unknown people "for a long period".

"Numerous Numsa staffers and members have been murdered and their houses burnt, but no serious action has ever been taken by the SAP," the statement said.

# 'SAP did not want to discuss Mail charges'

STAR 23/5/92

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RAMOKOENA MATLALA

PRETORIA — Police sought to silence The Weekly Mail through a court order rather than discuss irregular police activities the weekly had uncovered, according to editor Anton Harber.

Harber, testifying before a preliminary hearing of the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria yesterday, said on Thursday May 14 he was informed of the police intention to seek an urgent interdict preventing publication of the story.

He was surprised as he felt the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police had enough time to deal with the issue and to discuss the matter with him.

The Weekly Mail alleged certain policemen were involved in "covert operations" which included the elimination of certain activists in the Vaal Triangle, and that there were safe houses where recruits were interviewed.

Harber told the sitting that circumstances in which the investigation unfolded, the nature of the witnesses and the corroborating evidence were such that the team was confident there was sufficient reason to go to Press.

"The extent to which we went to scrutinise the information was exceptional. Our reporters spent ... six weeks, probing layer upon layer of official deceit and dishonesty."

Harber further told the sitting that, even after checks were made, the team kept open the

possibility that it was a legitimate police operation.

However, when senior Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet told a TV crew that a proper police operation would never operate in that way, "we decided there was clearly something amiss" and that it was time to publish the story.

## Seriousness

On May 6, two days before the story was published, Harber said he personally telephoned Captain Craig Kotze, a spokesman for the Law and Order Ministry, informing him about the seriousness and nature of the story the weekly was about to publish.

"I thought it would be appropriate for us to discuss the matter before going to Press, with the Minister, his deputy or the Commissioner of Police. I offered to travel to Pretoria or Cape Town at short notice for this purpose."

Kotze telephoned him back to say he had raised the matter with the Commissioner of the Police whose sole response was that he would refer it to the Goldstone Commission and declined the request for a meeting.

"He also accused me of offering bribes of R50 000 to policemen to talk to reporters. I took offence at this suggestion and asked Captain

Kotze not to deflect the issue, but to realise its seriousness and raise it with the Minister as soon as possible. He agreed to do so and to phone me first thing the following morning."

He said Kotze only replied on Thursday evening when the paper was about to go to Press, saying neither the Minister nor his deputy would see Harber.

Kotze did not reply to questions faxed to him on May 6 prior to the publication of the first report on the matter, said Harber.

Earlier, Drew Forrest, who led the team of reporters in the investigation, told the sitting how the team managed to track down police officers allegedly involved in the "covert operations" through pager numbers supplied by witnesses.

Colonel Jan Potgieter, a senior police officer who gave evidence on behalf of the SAP, said the specifications of the Crime Intelligence Service of the police was public knowledge and "is and was" never a subject of secrecy.

However, allegations in the weekly's May 6 report were being viewed in a serious light by the police who strongly denied any involvement.

Richard Goldstone, in adjourning the sitting, announced that a statement would be released by Monday after a decision from the committee on how the matter would be handled. — Sapa



as in do anything except lose sen for South Africa for the first time. "I was en- gaged to Shira and, when I arrived at her home, his academic career burgeoned. He emerged from Wits in 1967 as Dr Bacher. Three years Magic Dishwasher? In retrospect, I learnt a lot in those years. I felt that if I had a certain direc- that time a double by- pass was a major op. It was very emotional. When I woke up, looked family," said the father of three. "I feel a very lucky person in every re- spect."

# Shadowy life of CCB's 'James Bond'

Star 23/5/92

**F**ERDI Barnard, the man at the centre of allegations of State-sponsored killings and harassment of anti-apartheid activists, makes no apology for his shadowy role "in the service of South Africa".

"My record is rotten with violence," the 33-year-old former spy told Reuters. "But I don't need amnesty. There's no fear in my heart that I will ever need anything like that."

Barnard, a convicted murderer who complains business contacts think of him as "James Bond", added: "I don't believe there will be any type of Nuremberg trials in this country, because they will sort that out at the negotiating table."

He denies accusations that he carried out two of southern Africa's most notorious assassinations, saying a former colleague in a secret army unit might know the truth about them.

The burly former drug squad detective served three years in jail from 1984 to 1987 for two unrelated murders of suspected drug dealers. In March 1988 he joined the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), an army special forces undercover unit.

Officials of the unit, now disbanded, showed strong opposition to President F W de Klerk's political reforms. They told a judicial investigation into violence that their job was to "maximally disrupt the enemies of the State" at home and abroad.

**Former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard speaks out on his dangerous life in the fast lane as an operative for military intelligence.**

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For the past three years newspapers have regularly splashed Barnard's photograph across front page reports linking him to the 1989 killings of academic David Webster and Namibian lawyer Anton Lubowski.

In late 1989 Barnard was detained for three months in connection with the killings but released for lack of evidence.

"I lost everything when I was in jail. All of sudden I had R5 000 a month. I had a brand new car, my petrol was paid. It made it so much easier for me, that I could live like anybody else. That to me was like a godsend. I grabbed it with both hands."

Barnard says the CCB's work was needed at the time but became increasingly irrelevant as the reform process proceeded. "People there did brilliant work, believe me. I was one who operated alone, going into a black township without backing at night to monitor certain people's movements."

"It was intelligence concerning anything that damaged the economy — laundering money, drug smuggling, weapons smuggling, politically motivated actions against the country, ANC activities, MK activities, you name it."

"If you do the crime, you must do the time. It's a motto of mine. You must face the consequences," Barnard said. "But nobody (in the CCB) ever asked me to do anything illegal or to do any strong-arm tactics or any rough work."

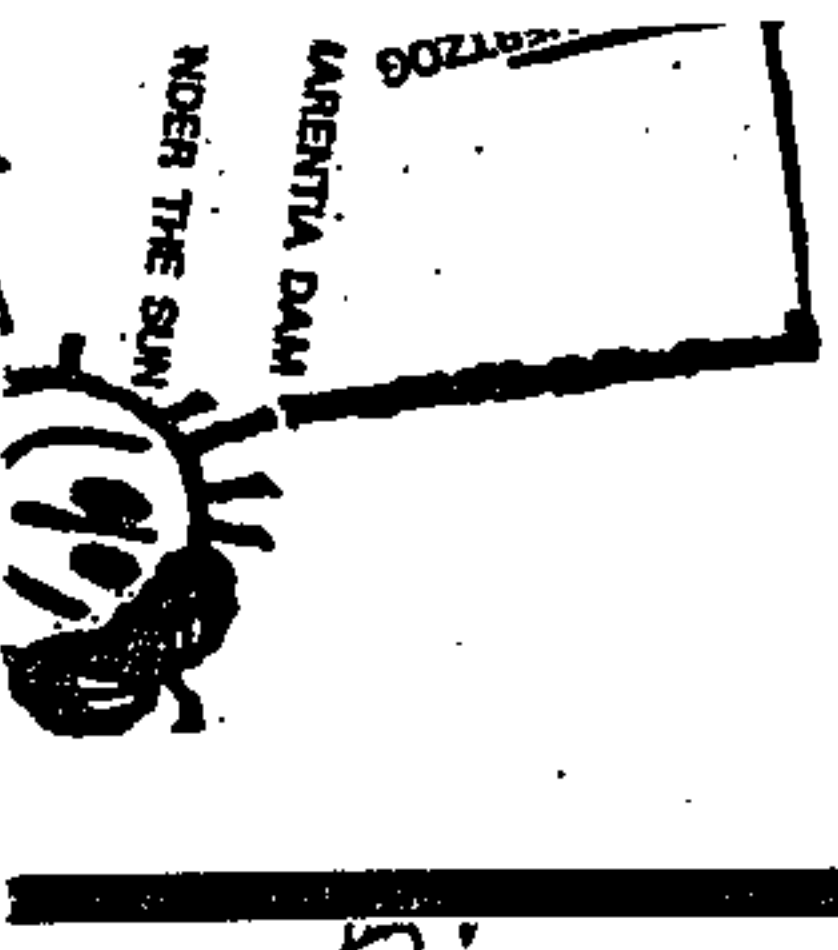
Barnard, denying new allegations that he currently works for the army's intelligence department, said he doubted the killers of Lubowski and Webster would ever apply for amnesty.

Barnard estimates he has had 200 stitches in his body from being stabbed five times and shot once.

"I can be violent but I'm not a guy that goes moving around looking for trouble," said Barnard who is about 2 m tall and weighs 105 kg.

Barnard, who now earns a living by recovering stolen commercial property, said he wanted a normal family life. But he says he is continually haunted by his violent past.

## UNDER THE SUN DAM



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**I**N an interview at a friend's house, Barnard suggested a CCB colleague might know the truth about the murders, adding: "If anyone was trained to kill it would be him."

Barnard described himself as a political moderate who joined the CCB because it paid well. All he did, he said, was use contacts in the underworld, "mostly Mandrax, diamond and weapons smugglers", to gather intelligence on "enemies of the State".

**H**E tried debt collection work, but people he visited recognised him from newspaper photographs and asked for police protection.

He said businessmen impressed by his CCB service now offered him money to beat up rivals. "I think they're stark raving mad. People are trying to misuse me. What they see in the papers, to them that's for real. (It's like) I'm the biggest James Bond and I'm scared of nothing." — Sapa-Reuter.

# Journalist's section 205 conviction overturned

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IN A verdict which has far-reaching implications for the public's right to know and for journalists to protect confidential sources of information, the Rand Supreme Court yesterday overturned the conviction of The Star's Patrick Laurence under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

This is the first time a conviction under the section, which compels journalists to reveal their sources of information, has been overturned.

Laurence was sentenced in March last year to 10 days' jail by magistrate Hein Verhoef for refusing to identify his source

**SUSAN SMUTS**

for a report published on February 12 last year. He was subpoenaed to give information concerning the disappearance of Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, who was to have given evidence in the Winnie Mandela trial.

In a review of Verhoef's decision, Mr Justice R T van Schalkwyk (with Mr Justice W J van der Merwe concurring) said the subpoena had been sought and issued for the purpose of investigating Mekgwe's alleged kidnapping.

However, the magistrate's refusal to postpone the case at

the request of the defence must have been motivated by the urgency of tracing Mekgwe to give evidence in the Mandela trial, the judge said. This was enough to find his decision unlawful in the circumstances. The judge ordered that Laurence's trial was irregular and invalid, and set aside his conviction and sentence.

The Star's Editor-in-Chief, Richard Steyn, welcomed the court's decision: "It's a victory for the public's right to know and for journalism. I'm delighted for Patrick Laurence."

The judge found that magistrate J F Zeelie, who issued the

subpoena, had also been influenced by the Mandela trial. He set aside Zeelie's decision and declared the subpoena invalid. He ordered the magistrates to pay the costs of the review.

Prosecutor J Davidowitz, who asked for the subpoena, had been acting on instructions from the attorney-general's office, and his actions were not subject to review, the judge ruled.

Laurence also brought an appeal against his conviction and sentence, but this was not argued as it had been covered by the review.



# Holomisa sticks to his guns on Goniwe papers

By ZOLA NTUTU and SAPA

THE investigation into the murder of four Cradock activists could be delayed as Transkei military leader Major-Gen Bantu Holomisa has refused to hand over further documents relating to SADF instructions that Matthew Goniwe and others be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency".

Holomisa said he would only hand over the documents to a Commission of Inquiry headed by international jurists and local credible ones after full consultation with the black leadership.

The documents were requested from Holomisa on Thursday by the acting Attorney-General of the eastern Cape, Michael Hodgen, SC, who is part of the special team investigating the murders.

In a letter to Hodgen's office, Holomisa said: "I hereby acknowledge receipt of your letter. Please be informed that I stick to my guns with regard to the matter at issue. C/Pren 24/5/92

"I cannot hand over the documents to an inquiry unilaterally instituted by the SA government and composed of its civil servants."

He said he had conveyed these sentiments to the full plenary session of Codesa 2 on May 15, and could not now be expected to renege on this undertaking.

"We have learnt hard lessons from the Harms Commission, when government officials either hid or destroyed files. No wonder its outcome was a fiasco and did nothing to assuage the mounting public anger against state-sponsored elimination of its political opponents.

"Consequently, the present SA government did not take action against any CCB member implicated in the murder of African activists. We cannot be convinced of the government's seriousness in the Goniwe case since no one has been suspended from work or detained as the case would apply against a black man accused of assassination," Holomisa said.

On Friday, Hogden said Holomisa could be acting to the detriment of justice if he had in his possession, but refused to disclose, more documents which could help solve the murder of Goniwe and others.

"While I share his disappointment that certain other inquiries may not have resulted in prosecution, the non-disclosure of any potentially relevant information to me may well be to the detriment of the interests of justice. I am assuming in Gen Holomisa's favour that these documents are revelant," he said.

# Pik's men are fleeced by West African conman

SI Times 24/5/92

By MIKE ROBERTSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Department of Foreign Affairs has lost R1.6-million of taxpayers' money in an abortive attempt to set up a chain of pro-South African magazines for distribution in West Africa.

A politician, now a presidential candidate in a major West African country, conned the department into investing the money in a company that was supposed to publish magazines sympathetic to South Africa.

However, the company was never set up and no magazines were published.

Instead the politician-cum-con artist, already a rand billionaire, pocketed the money and now refuses to pay it back.

The money for this project came from the Foreign Affairs Secret Services Account.

## Scandal

The account was the same one used to fund Inkatha rallies and channel more than R100-million to anti-Swapo parties in an abortive attempt to influence the outcome of the first Namibian elections.

The difference was that the magazine project was investigated and approved by a committee, headed by Professor Ellison Kahn and appointed by President FW de Klerk to scrutinise all secret government projects in the light of the Inkatha funding scandal.

Opposition MPs said that if the committee approved projects as suspect as this one, it immediately raised questions as to whether it served any useful purpose in preventing the dubious use of public money.

The Department of Foreign Affairs said it had investigated all legal channels to get the R1.6-million back, but in vain.

To make matters worse, the person who conned the department was standing as a candidate in the presidential elections in his country.

It was an African country with which South Africa desperately wished to establish formal diplomatic ties, and was one the verge of doing so.

Officials now feared that news of their abortive publishing venture could jeopardise this and, worse still, should the person concerned be elected president, sour relations with someone who would become one of the most important politicians in Africa.

This was the reason DFA officials gave for refusing to name the person involved or to identify the country.

Opposition parties accepted the explanation, but demanded to know how the government could have been tricked in this way.

They also wanted the department to identify the officials who were duped by the West African conman and they wanted assurances that action would be taken to prevent this happening again.

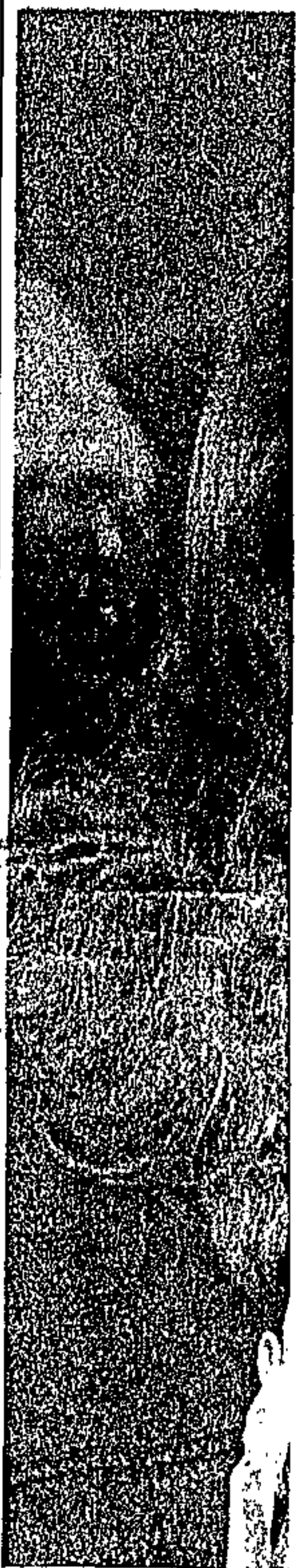
Foreign Affairs director general, Neil van Heerden, said that in 1986

□ To Page 2



NEIL VAN HEERDEN

Light



## PIK'S MEN FLEECE

□ From Page 1

the department was contacted by the West African politician. He had apparently good credentials which had been verified by subsequent investigations.

The politician, who twice visited South Africa, had suggested the department take a half share in a publishing venture that would be based in London.

The aim would be to produce magazines for the West African market which would offer a "proper understanding of what was happening in South Africa".

Mr Van Heerden said the department had "checked

out" the person concerned. It had verified that he was a politician of note and that he was also personally wealthy, with access to a family trust in Britain valued at £200-million (R1-billion).

"The understanding was that we would be a silent partner," said Mr Van Heerden.

"Our money went into a joint account. His money did not go in. He, in violation of our agreement, took the money out. The whole thing collapsed."

Later, when the department discovered he was running for election in his country, it threatened to

reveal all in an attempt to embarrass him into returning the money. The politician was unperturbed by this.

According to Mr Van Heerden the politician had simply laughed and responded: "Do you think anybody will be impressed by that?"

The Foreign Affairs director general said the project had been investigated by the Auditor General, the Kahn Commission and the Public Accounts Committee.

All were satisfied with the explanation given and were convinced that no official had stolen the money.

## FORMER MISS ROLE AS A TV

By STEPHANIE HULL

FORMER Miss South Africa Lorna Potgieter landed a presenter's job on TV.

She has been chosen to replace TV action girl Melanie Walker as Jason Roberts' co-host on the CCV entertainment programme *Movie Focus*.

Melanie has decided to go to Hollywood to try to break into the world of American television presenting.

Lorna, 29, has been on TV before, but





# South Africa needs to know the truth about death squads

THE revelations by New Nation suggesting that senior members of the National Party's security forces were directly involved in the brutal murder of the Cradock Four — Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlauli — in 1985 have shocked a nation that is trying to find peace.

And they have shocked not only those millions of South Africans who have been at the receiving end of the government's brutal repression, nor just those who have always known or suspected the state's involvement, but many ordinary, decent, white South Africans who have always, up until now, rejected allegations of this nature.

One thing has become patently clear. Although we cannot undo the brutal crimes that have been committed in the name of apartheid over the years, we have the right to the truth — to a full and unqualified investigation of South Africa's death squads.

We owe it to Mrs Goniwe, to Mrs Lubowski and to all the other people who have suffered bereavement. We owe it to ourselves for, as in Nazi Germany, we need to come to terms with the full human cost of apartheid.

And, above all, we owe it to truth because, without truth we can never achieve the peace and forgiveness on which to build our future.

## Jigsaw pieces

And we have been promised the truth. In 1990, the State President, Mr De Klerk, stated that he would "cut open to the bone" the truth about hit-squad activities. Since then two commissions — the Harms and the Goldstone — have been appointed, both so circumscribed in their frames of reference that, far from cutting open the truth, they appear designed to exclude full and thorough investigation.

The Harms Commission was specifically excluded from investigating activities outside South Africa. Goldstone has been tied to a time frame.

Clearly the interests of truth are not being served. Essential to any investigation of the activities of the death squads is a full picture of all events, dramatis personae and circumstances surrounding their activities. A few pieces of the jigsaw are not enough.

The government's refusal to launch a real investigation can only lend credence to the belief that these assassinations took place on its direct orders and that it is therefore in its interest to prevent a full disclosure.

Those who orchestrated the death squads must be exposed. And this must be done, not in a spirit of vengeance or because we wish for Nuremberg trials in South Africa, but because the ugly truth must be exposed once and for all.

## Name of ideology

Only in that way can we hope that the surviving victims of this violence can begin to forgive the crimes that have been committed against them.

But to forgive is not to forget. And indeed it is important that we all of us remember the evil that may be done and that has been done in the name of ideology.

We need to remember the hundreds of anti-apartheid activists who were either assassinated or seriously injured by death squads, car bombs and parcel- and letter-bombs, both inside and outside South Africa.

We need to remember that the present spiral of violence and political intolerance began when the National Party government launched a brutal campaign of repression over 40 years ago.

We need to remember, when Nationalist politicians talk glibly of the blood on the hands of the ANC, that while hundreds of ANC and UDF activists were murdered, MK has never killed a single NP politician or activist.

Ministers Pik Botha, Magnus Malan, Bar-end du Plessis and F W de Klerk all served on the State Security Council in 1985, as did the



## ANC Viewpoint by JAN VAN ECK

former head of the National Intelligence Service Niel Barnard and SADF generals such as Kat Liebenberg and Constand Viljoen.

## Cannot remember

Whether they personally issued instructions, whether they turned a blind eye or whether they simply rubber-stamped anything that crossed their desks is unimportant. They must be made accountable for what was done at this time.

Perhaps one of the more alarming reactions that has come out of the recent revelations was that of Mr P W Botha who has said that he cannot remember what happened.

The role of P W Botha's securocrats in the case of the Cradock Four must be investigated, as must all the other cases. We cannot leave it to the media, nor can we merely reopen an investigation into this single incident. We owe it to the many wives and husbands, sisters and brothers, fathers and mothers and children of those who have been killed by hit squads to investigate all activities, all murders and attempted murders — past and present, in South Africa, in the neighbouring states and overseas.

## Sordid tale

All cases of alleged political assassination by agents of the state must be reopened now.

As the sordid tale unfolds, I can only express the hope that these exposés will have the same life-changing effect on white South Africans today as they had on me — one of a mere handful of whites who attended the funeral of the Cradock Four in Lingshlihle, Cradock, in June 1985.

It was on that day that I came face to face with the deep sorrow and anger of those who have borne the full-frontal assault of National Party oppression. And it was on that day that I understood the courage and dignity with which people have suffered and struggled for a future for all of South Africa's people. Only when we all understand these things, only when we realise what we owe to those who never allowed the flame of freedom to die, can the healing process of our brutalised society truly begin.

□ Jan van Eck is a member of the ANC and an independent Member of Parliament.



## Journalist wins appeal over refusal to disclose sources

SUSAN RUSSELL

JOURNALIST Patrick Laurence has won his appeal against conviction and a 10-day prison sentence for refusing to disclose the source of information in a report about the disappearance of a key witness in the Winnie Mandela trial. *25/5/92*

Judge R van Schalkwyk, with Judge W van der Merwe concurring, ruled in the Rand Supreme Court on Friday that the subpoena to testify on the disappearance of state witness Gabriel Mekgwe, issued under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, was invalid.

The court accepted a submission by Laurence's counsel D Fine, SC, that the subpoena had not been issued for the purposes envisaged by the Act, which was to obtain information about an alleged offence.

Van Schalkwyk said it was clear from the record of the proceedings in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court, where Laurence was convicted, that the subpoena's primary aim was not to obtain information about Mekgwe's disappearance, but to trace a witness.

He rejected the State's submission that the subpoena was not invalidated if there was a secondary purpose other than obtaining information about the abduction.

## More land for squatters

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The Cape Provincial Administration was negotiating to buy Regional Services Council land in Hout Bay to extend the town's squatter settlement from 8ha to 20ha, Koos Theron, MEC for urbanisation, told a news conference at the weekend.

He said the perception among dismayed Hout Bay ratepayers that the extended settlement would cover the full 34ha of RSC land was incorrect. Ratepayers were angered by the proposed acquisition, saying the squatter settlement had driven down property values and led to an increase in crime.

Theron said the acquisition was necessary to provide 440 serviced sites immediately and allow room for the expansion to 650 sites. At present there were 429 structures and 306 single backyard lodgers living in Imizamo Yethu Village.

He said the CPA planned to increase the size of serviced plots to 160m<sup>2</sup> from 60m<sup>2</sup> in order to reduce the village's density.

Squatters would have to pay for the land, the price of which would be determined on the basis of their income in terms of the sliding scale adopted by the National Housing Commission, Theron said.

# ARC



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# Magazine deal 'not approved'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Kahn Committee, established last year by the State President to scrutinise secret Government projects, had not approved the R1,6 million "investment" of taxpayers' money in a project to set up a chain of pro-South African magazines in West Africa.

When the committee had its first sitting, the money had already been

spent on the project.

This is according to committee member James McMillan, who was reacting to a weekend report which said the magazine investment had been investigated and approved by the committee.

Mr McMillan said certain claims in the Sunday newspaper report were "grossly incorrect and misleading". He said the commission was presented with many secret projects of which the "swindle" was one.

"At no stage did the

committee 'approve' the project in which Neil van Heerden of Foreign Affairs admits his department was conned out of R1,6 million by a person now a presidential candidate in a West Africa country."

Mr McMillan said the committee was appraised of the "stupidity" of the project which took place long before the Kahn Committee's appointment last year.

"Had the newspaper concerned taken the trouble to check the dates of the committee's sittings, it would have

known immediately that it was impossible for the committee to approve a project that had taken place months before.

"The committee ordered that every possible step be taken to recover the money and that no similar wild scheme be undertaken."

The committee, headed by Professor Ellison Kahn, completed its report into secret projects towards the end of last year, and a report has been presented to the State President. The findings are not due to be publicly released.

STAR  
25/5/92  
**Fun day  
to honour  
activist** (327)

By McKeed Kotlobo  
Pretoria Bureau

The Mamelodi Civic Association (MCA) is to hold a cultural day in commemoration of the disappearance of activist Stanza Bopape in police custody six years ago.

Mr Bopape was detained for his political activities in 1986 and soon afterwards police reported that he had disappeared during an investigation.

### Music

MCA publicity secretary Pasty Malefo said the cultural day, on June 20, would take the form of a 10 km road race and a music festival for exiles.

Mr Malefo said jazz musicians Jonas Gwangwa and Julian Bahule were the first to accept the invitation to perform at the music festival at H M Pitje Stadium.

Admission fee is R5 for adults and R2 for scholars.

The road race, which starts at Stanza Bopape Squatter Camp at Mamelodi East, will have prizes of R900.

Registration fee is R3 for adults and R1,50 for scholars.



# Journalist wins appeal

JOHANNESBURG journalist Mr Patrick Laurence on Friday won an appeal against his conviction and sentence for refusing to reveal the source of a story on a Winnie Mandela trial witness.

In the Rand Supreme Court Mr Justice Rex van Schalkwyk said the proceedings under which Laurence was convicted had been irregular and invalid. He set aside the conviction.

Laurence wrote a report published in *The Star* in February last year which stated Mr Gabriel Pello Mekingwe, who was to testify in the kidnapping and assault trial against Mrs Mandela, had left the country in the company of African National Congress officials.

He was then served with a subpoena under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act and was sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment after he refused to name his source. On notice of intention to appeal he was released on bail of R500.

As a result of the disappearance of Mekingwe, two other witnesses in Mrs Mandela's trial had refused to testify out of fear that the same fate might befall them.

Van Schalkwyk remarked that Section 205 made severe inroads into the liberty of an individual, and that the court should always construe it as narrowly as possible, so as to impinge as little as possible on an individual.

It was plain that the common law rights of an individual had been impinged on. - Sapa.

## Goniwe: More questions

**THE** death of Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock activists will be raised again in Parliament today when the defence budget is debated.

The Speaker of Parliament has allowed a further 100 minutes for debate on the budget, in place of allowing the Democratic Party a snap debate on the issue. But further questions have also been tabled on the death of the four.

Gardens MP Mr Ken Andrew will ask Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer tomorrow whether Lieutenant-General C J van der Westhuizen is, or has been, suspended from duty.

(37) 26/5/92



# Hani recalls days of 'paranoiac ANC'

B/day 27/5/92

STEPHANE BOTHMA

PARANOIA and hysteria in the ranks of the ANC about government's ability to infiltrate it before it was unbanned resulted in innocents being detained in prison camps, former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief-of-staff Chris Hani has admitted in a magazine interview.

Hani is reported by the latest edition of Work in Progress as saying about 18 or 19 MK members found guilty by a tribunal of taking part in a mutiny against superiors in Angola in 1984 were executed.

At his request, the ANC leadership had stepped in and stopped further executions.

Speaking about ANC detention camps, Hani said one of the innocents detained in the mid-'80s, was national executive committee member Pallo Jordan, for making a derogatory remark about methods used by the ANC's security department. Jordan was detained in June 1983 for six weeks after criticising the security infrastructure in a private conversation.

"And that critical voice reached the ears of security, and because security was a law unto itself, Comrade Jordan was picked up and detained for a few days," he said.

Hani said the climate at the time, when "the regime" was destabilising the ANC, killing its leaders and assassinating commanders of MK, had created a situation of overall suspicion.

When 60% of cadres sent to infiltrate SA were either arrested or killed, sometimes the wrong impression was drawn that those who handled the operations were working for the enemy, he said.

"People began to lose a balanced approach in terms of combating the infiltration of the ANC by the regime. That situation actually caused problems where, in my own view, the innocent and the guilty were sometimes lumped together."

Asked about several mutinies that took place in camps in Angola, Hani said he had been summoned to solve the mutinous situation. Cadres mutinied over the deployment of MK members against Unita in Angola, and not the apartheid regime, and refused to take orders.

"They actually took their weapons, took trucks and virtually took over our transit camp in Viana, in Luanda."

When they refused to stop their actions, Angolans were called in to help disarm them. They were disarmed and were sent back to camps of the ANC, Hani said.

Another mutiny took place a few months later, and although Hani said he was in favour of dialogue with the mutineers, he had "reached the end of my tether" when they killed several key commanders in one camp called Bango, and took over the camp. Bango was taken back by force and the mutineers were brought before a tribunal, of which Hani was not a part. Some were sentenced to death and executed.

On a new security force, Hani said "I would like a situation where a security apparatus is answerable to Parliament."

He added: "I would favour, for instance, a parliamentary committee to oversee the security apparatus."

## Bitter hostel debate continues

B/day 27/5/92

WILSON ZWANE

A FEW years ago hostel and township residents used to party together. Now they are enemies.

Residents say relationships with hostel residents started deteriorating in 1990 when violence rocketed in Reef townships.

They perceive hostels as the epicentre of violence. Civic organisations — such as the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) and the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) — have echoed that sentiment.

SCA official Kgabisi Mosunkutu told a recent meeting of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber that hostels should be "emptied" as they were breeding grounds for violence.

The civic organisations want the hostels converted into family units to allow migrant workers to live with their families.

However, this would be costly, and few hostel residents can afford to buy homes. Soweto City Council spokesman Moja-

lefa Moseki says emptying the hostels "will fuel tensions in the townships and cause more social strife". However, he supports their conversion into family units, saying women and children make up about 30% of Soweto's hostel population.

West Rand Hostel Residents' Association vice-chairman Joseph Kubheka says he has not come across any hostel resident who favours conversion, and East Rand Hostel Residents' Association chairman Zakhele Mlambo says his organisation is "totally opposed" to it. Mlambo says the hostels should rather be upgraded.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration is injecting funds into upgrading hostels under its jurisdiction. In Thokoza, hostels are undergoing a multimillion-rand facelift. Renovations to one of the township's three hostels will cost about R3,5m.

# Goniwe affair 'dark shadow over SADF'

STAR 27/5/92

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CAPE TOWN — Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach yesterday gave the assurance that investigations were under way to cut open to the bone all allegations about security force members having been involved in assassinations.

He was commenting after Jan van Eck (Ind Claremont) said during the Defence Vote in Parliament that an international panel of jurists should be appointed to investigate claims of Government agency-sponsored political murders.

Mr van Eck said according to information he had gained, sources in Military Intelligence as well as people close to former President P W Botha had stated on a number of occasions that Mr Botha had allegedly said:

- That he and his Government, through MI and NIS, were responsible for the execution of large numbers (more than a 1 000) of black radicals.
- That the present Government was still doing this.

● That the Government had threatened him with a Nuremberg-like trial if he did not stop supporting the right-wing.

"When I telephoned Mr Botha this morning as a gesture of courtesy to inform him that I would be repeating these allegations, he told his secretary to tell me that he was not available," Mr van Eck said.

"I place these serious allegations on record in the public interest today in the firm belief that the whole shocking history of NP Government agency-sponsored assassinations has to be investigated — not piecemeal as and when more exposes are made — but rather as a package by an international panel of jurists if we want South Africa purged of the rot."

Roger Hulley (DP Constantia) said security authorities had not denied the authenticity of the Goniwe "death order" signal.

He said the affair surrounding the death of Matthew Goniwe had cast a dark shadow of scandal over the Defence Force.

One vital question which arose was whether officially

sanctioned assassination was one of the accepted instruments of policy of the extensive National Security Management System network set up in conjunction with the SADF during Mr Botha's term of office.

If so, the implications were truly frightening and South Africa could ready itself for the revelation in the near future of a sickening tale of questionable actions on the part of certain security force elements during the second half of the 1980s.

If the Goniwe "death order" was verified, it would be widely assumed that it was not an isolated order.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said if a speedy and fair conclusion to the present investigation into the deaths of Eastern Cape activists was required, it was necessary to allow the law to take its course and respect to be shown for the sub judice rule.

"The SADF and I have full confidence in the South African legal system, even if the results of investigations have, at times, been painful." — Sapa.



# 'Death-order' man ran a fast-food shop

OT 21/5/92  
Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The officer who had drafted the Goniwe document, Commandant Lourens du Plessis, ran a fast food outlet in Alice — American Fried Chicken — and had admitted being a member of a SADF-linked covert unit operating in Ciskei last year, a man said yesterday.

The unit, International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS) — subsequently disbanded — featured prominently in a Supreme Court inquest into the killing of homeland rebels Mr Charles Sebe and Mr Onward Guzana last February.

An Alice community spokesman, Mr David Voorslag, said Mr Du Plessis had surfaced in Alice in April last year and had run American Fried Chicken from a shop belonging to Cis-

kei Manpower Minister and local chief Mr Lent Magoma.

He said Mr Du Plessis' presence in Alice had aroused suspicions and investigations revealed he had been a former member of the SADF, Mr Voorslag said.

Mr Du Plessis had confirmed this and said he had subsequently been recruited to the IR-CIS by Ciskei.

Mr Du Plessis drafted the Goniwe document which purports to record a conversation between two senior SADF officers in 1985 and which specifies the "permanent removal" of three Eastern Cape activists, Mr Matthew Goniwe and others.

Mr Voorslag said the Alice community was suspicious and had launched a consumer boycott of the shop. The shop closed and Mr Du Plessis left in the "middle of the night".

# Meyer claims he has information on 'death' signal

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ARG 27/5/92

## Political Staff

DEFENCE Minister Mr Roelf Meyer has told parliament he has information about the alleged military signal ordering the 1985 assassination of Mr Mathew Goniwe and three other Eastern Cape activists.

But responding to a barrage of questions from MPs about the affair, Mr Meyer said he could not divulge the information as this could pre-empt the official inquiry into the incident by the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape.

Democratic Party MP for Constantia Mr Roger Hulley said the security establishment had not denied the authenticity of the alleged signal sent by officers of the Eastern Cape Joint Management Centre (JMC) to the Secretariat of the State Security Council.

The alleged signal ordered that Mr Goniwe and three others "be removed from society permanently".

Mr Hulley said the vital question posed by the Goniwe affair was whether officially sanctioned assassination was one of the accepted instruments of policy of the extensive National Security Management System — within which the JMCs operated — set up with the SADF during Mr P W Botha's term of office.

DP MP for Wynberg Mr Robin Carlisle asked whether the alleged signal was authentic and if so what was the meaning of the order that Mr Goniwe and others should be removed from society permanently.

Did this mean murder, permanent detention or the arrest and charging of the men.

Mr Meyer said the Eastern Cape Attorney-General's investigation, begun on May 8, was continuing, and the SADF and the three offi-

cers implicated in the affair had given their fullest co-operation.

Mr Meyer said he would have liked to have provided the results of the investigation, but it had been delayed by Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa's refusal to hand over the further information he claimed to have.

He shared the concern of MPs that continuing uncertainty about the affair was giving the SADF a negative image.

The investigation could lead to one or more legal processes:

- If prima facie evidence indicated murder or other crimes, there would be a summary criminal hearing;

- If the evidence did not prima facie disclose any crime or insufficient evidence was gathered to summarily prosecute anybody, the inquest into the deaths could be opened under the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Zietsman; and,

- If these processes did not produce the results, President De Klerk could consider appointing a judicial commission of inquiry.

Mr Meyer turned the attack on to DP MPs by asking why they did not show the same degree of concern about the policemen killed.

If one looked hard at events before February 2 1990, one could start a long process of mud-slinging all round, but this would not help to find solutions.

At that time South Africa was involved in an intense conflict when the ANC was regarded as the enemy.

He asked why MPs had not expressed concern about the ANC's 1983 Pretoria bomb blast.



# 'Executives: Give us proof'

MICHAEL MORRIS and TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck was urged today to produce evidence of his claims that the government and security establishment under former President P W Botha were responsible for the "execution of more than 1 000 black radicals".

His claims, made in parliament yesterday, were dismissed by a National Intelligence Service spokesman as "preposterous nonsense".

Mr Van Eck said he had had a fax earlier this month from a source he later determined to be "completely reliable" containing "serious allegations about government complicity in the violence during the P W Botha era and even beyond".

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze urged Mr Van Eck to "bring the evidence".

He said unless evidence was provided and police could speak to people with information on alleged murders, "the allegations remain just so much idle and mischievous propaganda in which the ANC excels."

"We need as much evidence as possible to determine the veracity of the claims."

The basis of Mr Van Eck's claims are alleged admissions by Mr Botha himself.

But an angry Mr Botha, speaking from his Wilderness home this morning, said he would like to ascertain what exactly Mr Van Eck said in parliament before deciding whether to react.

He stressed that he had retired from politics.

### **'I do not know why ...'**

"I do not know why Mr Van Eck and others appear to hate me."

"If crimes were committed during my regime, this can be reported to the authorities."

Finally, Mr Botha said he had nothing to say on the matter.

Mr Van Eck told parliament yesterday: "According to my information, sources in Military Intelligence as well as persons close to Mr Botha have stated that on a number of occasions Mr Botha allegedly said:

- He and his government, through Military Intelligence and the National Intelligence Service, were responsible for the execution of more than 1 000 black radicals;

- The present government was still doing this

● The government had threatened him with a "Nuremberg" trial if he did not stop supporting the "ghetwing."

Mr Van Eck added: "Although I at first did not like these allegations seriously, further detailed inquiries have convinced me that the basic allegations are such that they need to be placed on the public record."

Mr Van Eck called for an international panel of jurists to investigate the allegations.



## No denial forthcoming on Goniwe death order MP

CAPE TOWN — Security authorities had not denied the authenticity of the Goniwe "death order", Roger Hulley (DP Constantia) said in Parliament yesterday. ~~25/9~~ <sup>327</sup>

Speaking during debate on the defence vote, he said the Goniwe affair had cast a shadow over the SADF.

The question which arose was whether officially sanctioned assassination was one of the accepted instruments of policy of the National security management system set up in conjunction with the SADF during P W Botha's term of office.

If so, the implications were frightening and SA could ready itself for the revelation in the near future of a sickening tale of questionable actions on the part of certain security force elements.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer declined to answer questions on the Goniwe issue because the matter was under investigation. He appealed to MPs and the media not to prejudice the investigation.

The SADF, the three officers initially incriminated and others approached by the investigating team had co-operated fully, he said.

Meyer said the investigation was being delayed by the refusal of Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa to divulge further information.

If the inquiry revealed prima facie evidence of murder or any other crime, criminal prosecution would be instituted, he said.

If no evidence of wrongdoing was found, or if there was insufficient evidence to secure a conviction, the inquest into the deaths would be reopened, he said. — Sapa.

(b) no; the minimum requirements for entry into training for any of the health professions are determined by the relevant statutory professional councils. Educational institutions where members of the health professions receive their training, are autonomous and determine their own selection criteria and procedures as well as training and education, taking into account the requirements determined by the professional councils.

**Site in Yeoville: post office**

\*6. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications:

- (1) Whether the site bordered by Hunter Street and Cavendish Street in Yeoville has been earmarked for the erection of a post office for Yeoville; if so,
- (2) whether this site has become the haunt of vagrants and the scene of socially undesirable practices;
- (3) whether he will consider erecting suitable fencing to prevent unauthorized access to the site; if not, why not; if so, when;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B666E

The MINISTER OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS:

- (1) Yes, as well as for a mail delivery depot.
- (2) Vagrants have been noticed in the vicinity of the site. The site is, however, fairly clean.
- (3) The premises has been leased to a private person and the fencing thereof will be negotiated with the lessee.
- (4) No. For the sake of completeness I wish to mention that the possible development of the site is presently being negotiated with a private developer.

**Police stations: KwaZulu/SA Police Force**

\*7. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether any police stations in Maputland in Northern Natal which until recently were staffed by members of the South African Police Force, are to be

handed over to the KwaZulu Police Force; if so, (a) which police stations and (b) (i) why and (ii) as at what date will they be handed over;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B667E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) and (2) The following police stations within the magisterial areas of Ingwavuma and Ubombo are still manned by members of the South African Police:

Ingwavuma  
Ubombo  
Emanguzi  
Mbazwane

At present negotiations are taking place with the KwaZulu Government to transfer the police stations (to KwaZulu) but no date has as yet been determined.

**Trust Feed case: legal fees**

\*8. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) (a) What total amount was paid in legal fees for the defence of the policemen who stood trial in the Trust Feed case and (b) out of what funds were these fees paid;
- (2) how many attorneys and advocates were instructed by the South African Police to appear for their members? B668E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) R1 621 925,40
- (b) The South African Police Budget.
- (2) The State Attorney, one (1) private attorney and seven (7) advocates.

\*9. Mr A J Leon—Law and Order. [Withdrawn.]

**Murder in Soweto: investigations re-opened**

\*10. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether the South African Police have re-opened the investigations into the murder in Soweto on or about 27 January 1989 of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Police for the

purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) why and (b) what is the name of this person;

- (2) whether the Police have interviewed members of this person's family to investigate evidence to which the family allegedly has access; if not, why not; if so, when;
- (3) whether the Police have interviewed two other persons, whose names have also been furnished to the South African Police, in connection with the re-opening of the investigations; if not, why not; if so, what are the names of these persons? B670E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
- (a) By direction of the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand.
- (b) Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.
- (2) Not to date. A new investigating officer has been appointed to do the investigation and he is still studying the documents to familiarize himself with facts on the docket and court case. He has, however, entered into correspondence with the family's attorney.
- (3) Yes, only one person, Mrs Xoliswa Falati was interviewed on 13 April 1992 in connection with the case. Mr Katiza Ce-bukulu has not yet been interviewed as he is presently being detained in a prison in Zambia.

**Death of four persons: SADF officer**

\*11. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether a certain officer of the South African Defence Force, whose name has been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, is to be or has been suspended from duty pending the outcome of the re-opened inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicele Mhlauti; if not, (a) why not and (b) under what circumstances are officers of the Defence Force suspended from duty; if so, when;

- (2) what is the name of the officer in question? B671E

†The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) No. (a) and (b) 327

Such a suspension would be a departmental step. The findings of the investigation of the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape are at present urgently awaited to come to the necessary decision. In the meanwhile the facts which the SA Defence has at its disposal and which have been communicated to me, do not warrant such a step. I concur.

- (2) The name supplied by the hon member.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, would he not say that the document published in the press provides *prima facie* evidence that Gen Van der Westhuizen may well have been involved and that it is an extremely unhealthy situation to have the head of Military Intelligence under that sort of cloud?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, there are obviously various pieces of evidence concerning this allegation. Unfortunately I cannot make that available at the moment owing to the investigation. What I am saying, in other words, is that until the report of the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape is available, I cannot provide any further information to Parliament.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, further arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, is it correct, therefore, to infer that he has been advised by the SA Defence Force that the document published in *New Nation* and other newspapers is, in fact, not a valid document and that he should therefore not take action on the basis of the document?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, with all due respect, that is not what I said. I said that there were various pieces of evidence in this matter which I am not in a position to divulge at the moment, because by doing so I would prejudice the whole investigation by the Attorney-General. That is the reason why I am not able to make any further statements on the matter at this stage.



Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask him whether he is saying to this House that nobody will be suspended from his post in the SA Defence Force as long as something still remains under investigation by way of an inquest or a court case? In other words, is he saying that until such time as rulings are made, nobody will ever be suspended from the SA Defence Force? If he is not saying this, is the inference not that the Government does not accept the evidence and is therefore not prepared to take any action?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it seems to be very difficult to explain this to the hon member. The point is that an allegation is contained in the report of *New Nation*. I am saying that there is evidence to the contrary as well, but unfortunately I am not in a position to divulge that information to the House at this stage, because it has been presented to the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape. That is the situation. In view of the fact that the Attorney-General is still conducting the investigation, I am not in a position to present that evidence now.

I am not saying that it would prevent steps being taken at any stage, if necessary. All I am saying is that according to the information I have available, and in terms of the general regulations of the SA Defence Force, the Chief of the SA Defence Force is entitled to act if he has sufficient evidence to do so, which is not the case in this particular matter. (327)

Financial assistance to families of four deceased Justice: (327)

Whether the families of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicele Mhlauti will be given financial assistance to enable them to have legal representation at the re-opened inquest into the deaths of the above-mentioned four men; if not, why not; if so, on what basis will the assistance be provided?

B672E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

If the families concerned require financial assistance they are welcome to approach the Director of the Legal Aid Board. The Legal Aid Board assists persons, who satisfy its requirements, to obtain legal representation.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

As far as can be ascertained, the families of the deceased have not yet applied for legal aid.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, may I ask whether, given the abnormal circumstances of this case and the fact that it is a re-opened inquest, he believes that the stature and quality, in terms of experience and seniority, of the legal assistance that would come to the families by way of the Legal Aid Board would be adequate?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the Legal Aid Board is a semi-autonomous body. It will decide, possibly with the assistance of the attorneys, who will represent the families. It does not necessarily mean that it will be a junior advocate.

## INTERPELLATION

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

Own Affairs:

Elderly citizens removed from residences

1. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Housing and Works:

- (1) Whether he is taking any steps to alleviate the problem of elderly citizens being removed from their residences as a result of *inter alia* sectional title developments; if not, why not; if so, what steps;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B705E.INT

The MINISTER OF HOUSING AND WORKS: Mr Speaker, the reply is as follows.

At present we are experiencing a very serious housing shortage amongst all population groups in South Africa. The recent De Loor Report confirmed this with indisputable facts. In respect of the White population group, the shortage is estimated at approximately 104 000 housing units and it is still growing. I am extremely concerned about this situation.

The biggest need in respect of low-income housing appears to be where the monthly income of a family is below R1 200 per month. It is a fact that many of these unfortunate people are aged

persons. This unfortunate situation can be attributed, *inter alia*, to the following causes: problems in the South African economy, which have led to a decline in economic activities at all levels, increasing unemployment at all levels of the South African community, the fast population growth, urbanisation and a tendency in the private sector to only cater for the middle-income and high-income groups. The last-mentioned aspect unfortunately leads to the conversion of normal housing units, especially flats, to sectional title units.

Legal protection for, *inter alia*, the aged lessee is granted by means of the Sectional Titles Act as well as the Rent Control Act, Act 80 of 1976. The basic elements for the protection of lessees are, firstly, that in terms of the Section Titles Act lessees must be granted the first option to purchase such units.

Certain restrictions are placed on the sale of the relevant unit for as long as the lessee occupies it. No conversions may be made without prior approval from the local authority. The lessee may continue to occupy the unit uninterruptedly, subject to the stipulations of the Rent Control Act of 1976. I would like to state that the Sectional Titles Act is administered by the hon the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs.

This brings me to protection in terms of the Rent Control Act. Lessees have to comply with certain conditions of the Act. They have to be 70 years of age or older. The lessees should have reached this age at the time rent control was abolished, while continuing to have uninterrupted occupation. They have to fall within the laid-down income bracket, namely R1 250 per month for single persons and R2 000 per month for married couples.

The decision to phase out rent control was taken by the Government many years ago, and these reasons are still valid today. Reinstatement of rent control will not be considered lightly. However, where exploitation is proved, I will not hesitate to intervene. I would like to invite lessees who feel that they are being prejudiced to bring this to the attention of my department.

As far as the legal position is concerned, I want to tell hon members what is being done in practice to address and alleviate the serious housing shortage in respect of the Whites. I want to mention some of the steps we are taking. The

Development and Housing Board, acting on behalf of the department, is involved in the following . . . [Time expired.]

Mr R V CARLISLE: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister says he is extremely concerned. What we want is not concern, but action. He gives a number of causes for his concern, but allow me to give him some others too.

Rent control has been phased out, but inflation and the restructuring of this economy as a result of the NP Government's maladministration have had as one result the increasing homelessness of both elderly people and single parents. Those who are not yet homeless live in the dreadful certainty that rapidly rising rentals and rapidly devaluing rand will sooner or later render them homeless as well.

The hon the Minister refers to sectional title and says this does not come under his particular portfolio. He obviously lives in the wealthiest constituency in the country.

He does not have these kinds of problems. Let me tell hon members how developers get around sectional title.

An HON MEMBER: It is the first time you stand up for old people!

Mr R V CARLISLE: Come and look at my constituency, friend.

They move people out of a block of flats until only the protected tenants are left on their own. They withdraw security and leave frightened people 70 years old and older all alone in the block. They soon go! Such a practice is not unlawful, but it is immoral, and it is being done.

Another tactic is to say they require the old person's flat for repairs. They tell them they can go off for six months and that when they come back they can have the flat back on new terms. That is allowable in terms of the Act. Where does the person go for six months? Who bears the expenses? They do that specifically to drive protected tenants out.

The next cause of this lies with the developers themselves. I want to say that that Government is far too prone to influence from the representatives of developers and builders in South Africa. They quiver when they hear the word Sapiro. I want to ask the Government to look after the interests of these old folk and single

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY





of agricultural and stock remedy marketing companies. At present training courses are being designed for the correct application of such remedies by end-users, especially for the application of hormone weedkillers and Group Ia agricultural remedies. The electronic media is also employed in this regard. A series of relevant programmes have already been televised in the programme, Agriforum.

The overall involvement of other bodies must be acknowledged. For instance, the Department of National Health and Population Development is responsible for monitoring residues in foodstuffs consumed locally by man. The Directorate: Plant and Quality Control monitor all export commodities. Likewise the Directorate: Meat Hygiene maintains a watch on the residues of agricultural and stock remedies found in meat.

#### Number of persons attacked/robbed/murdered on farms

271. Adv J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many persons (a) were (i) attacked, (ii) robbed and (iii) murdered on farms in South Africa in 1991 and (b) have been so (i) attacked, (ii) robbed and (iii) murdered from 1 January 1992 up to the latest specified date for which figures are available?

B664E

#### The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) (i) 327

(ii) 239

(iii) 66

(b) (i) 148

(ii) 112

(iii) 26

21 May 1992.

#### NOTE:

The figures in (a)(i) and (b)(i) also include cases of assault and rape and only apply to persons and workers in and around own houses.

#### Bombing of Cosatu House: alleged announcements

272. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 210 on 5 May 1992 in regard to the bombings of certain premises, any further investigations have been carried out in this matter following the announcements allegedly made by a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, to the effect that he had been involved in the bombing of Cosatu House; if not, why not; if so, what (a) are the relevant details and (b) is the name of the person concerned?



B673E

#### The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes.

(a) The person was arrested on 29 April 1992. He also appeared in court on a charge of sabotage on the same day. The case was remanded until 3 June 1992.

(b) Jacobus Johannes Christoffel Botha.

#### Department of Development Aid: staff

273. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

How many members of staff (a) were employed by the Department of Development Aid at the time of its dissolution on 31 March 1992, (b) to which Government Departments were they transferred and (c) how many of them were transferred to each such Department?



B674E

#### The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(a) 4 057 as well as 4 703 workers from the South African Development Trust.

(b) Department of Trade and Industry  
Cape Provincial Administration  
Office of the Commission for Administration  
Department of Agriculture  
Department of Manpower  
Department of National Education  
Natal Provincial Administration  
Department of Environment Affairs

Department of Education and Training	10	Department of Public Works	10
Department of Public Works		Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State	1 149
Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State		Department of Local Government and National Housing	5
Free State		Department of State Expenditure	40
Department of Local Government and National Housing		Department of Regional and Land Affairs	706
Department of State Expenditure		Transvaal Provincial Administration	871
Department of Regional and Land Affairs		Department of Transport	2
Transvaal Provincial Administration		Department of Water Affairs	38
Department of Transport		Department of Trade and Industry	2
Department of Water Affairs		Department of Justice	17
Department of Trade and Industry		Cape Provincial Administration	90
Department of Justice		Office of the Commission for Administration	37
Cape Provincial Administration		Department of Agriculture	335
Office of the Commission for Administration		Department of Manpower	37
Department of Agriculture		Department of National Education	1
Department of Manpower		Natal Provincial Administration	703
Department of National Education		Department of Environment Affairs	10
Natal Provincial Administration		Department of Education and Training	4
Department of Environment Affairs			
Department of Education and Training			
		Department of Public Works	10
		Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State	1 149
		Department of Local Government and National Housing	5
		Department of State Expenditure	40
		Department of Regional and Land Affairs	706
		Transvaal Provincial Administration	871
		Department of Transport	2
		Department of Water Affairs	38
		TOTAL	4 057
		Workers from the South African Development Trust transferred to—	
		Cape Provincial Administration	90
		Department of Agriculture	1 226
		Natal Provincial Administration	1 414
		Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State	797
		Transvaal Provincial Administration	
		Department of Transport	1 176
		TOTAL	4 703



Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask him whether he is saying to this House that nobody will be suspended from his post in the SA Defence Force as long as something still remains under investigation by way of an inquest or a court case? In other words, is he saying that until such time as rulings are made, nobody will ever be suspended from the SA Defence Force? If he is not saying this, is the inference not that the Government does not accept the evidence and is therefore not prepared to take any action?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it seems to be very difficult to explain this to the hon member. The point is that an allegation is contained in the report of *New Nation*. I am saying that there is evidence to the contrary as well, but unfortunately I am not in a position to divulge that information to the House at this stage, because it has been presented to the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape. That is the situation. In view of the fact that the Attorney-General is still conducting the investigation, I am not in a position to present that evidence now.

I am not saying that it would prevent steps being taken at any stage, if necessary. All I am saying is that according to the information I have available, and in terms of the general regulations of the SA Defence Force, the Chief of the SA Defence Force is entitled to act if he has sufficient evidence to do so, which is not the case in this particular matter.

Financial assistance to families of four deceased Justice: \*12. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether the families of ~~Matthew Goniwe~~, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicele Mhlauti will be given financial assistance to enable them to have legal representation at the re-opened inquest into the deaths of the above-mentioned four men; if not, why not; if so, on what basis will the assistance be provided?

B672E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

If the families concerned require financial assistance they are welcome to approach the Director of the Legal Aid Board. The Legal Aid Board assists persons, who satisfy its requirements, to obtain legal representation.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

As far as can be ascertained, the families of the deceased have not yet applied for legal aid.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, may I ask whether, given the abnormal circumstances of this case and the fact that it is a re-opened inquest, he believes that the stature and quality, in terms of experience and seniority, of the legal assistance that would come to the families by way of the Legal Aid Board would be adequate?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the Legal Aid Board is a semi-autonomous body. It will decide, possibly with the assistance of the attorneys, who will represent the families. It does not necessarily mean that it will be a junior advocate.

## INTERPELLATION

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

## Own Affairs:

## Elderly citizens removed from residences

1. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Housing and Works:

(1) Whether he is taking any steps to alleviate the problem of elderly citizens being removed from their residences as a result of *inter alia* sectional title developments; if not, why not; if so, what steps;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B705E.INT

The MINISTER OF HOUSING AND WORKS: Mr Speaker, the reply is as follows.

At present we are experiencing a very serious housing shortage amongst all population groups in South Africa. The recent De Looer Report confirmed this with indisputable facts. In respect of the White population group, the shortage is estimated at approximately 104 000 housing units and it is still growing. I am extremely concerned about this situation.

The biggest need in respect of low-income housing appears to be where the monthly income of a family is below R1 200 per month. It is a fact that many of these unfortunate people are aged

persons. This unfortunate situation can be attributed, *inter alia*, to the following causes: problems in the South African economy, which have led to a decline in economic activities at all levels, increasing unemployment at all levels of the South African community, the fast population growth, urbanisation and a tendency in the private sector to only cater for the middle-income and high-income groups. The last-mentioned aspect unfortunately leads to the conversion of normal housing units, especially flats, to sectional title units.

Legal protection for, *inter alia*, the aged lessee is granted by means of the Sectional Titles Act as well as the Rent Control Act, Act 80 of 1976. The basic elements for the protection of lessees are, firstly, that in terms of the Sectional Titles Act lessees must be granted the first option to purchase such units.

Certain restrictions are placed on the sale of the relevant unit for as long as the lessee occupies it. No conversions may be made without prior approval from the local authority. The lessee may continue to occupy the unit uninterruptedly, subject to the stipulations of the Rent Control Act of 1976. I would like to state that the Sectional Titles Act is administered by the hon the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs.

This brings me to protection in terms of the Rent Control Act. Lessees have to comply with certain conditions of the Act. They have to be 70 years of age or older. The lessees should have reached this age at the time rent control was abolished, while continuing to have uninterrupted occupation. They have to fall within the laid-down income bracket, namely R1 250 per month for single persons and R2 000 per month for married couples.

The decision to phase out rent control was taken by the Government many years ago, and these reasons are still valid today. Reinstatement of rent control will not be considered lightly. However, where exploitation is proved, I will not hesitate to intervene. I would like to invite lessees who feel that they are being prejudiced to bring this to the attention of my department.

As far as the legal position is concerned, I want to tell hon members what is being done in practice to address and alleviate the serious housing shortage in respect of the Whites. I want to mention some of the steps we are taking. The

Development and Housing Board, acting on behalf of the department, is involved in the following . . . [Time expired.]

Mr R V CARLISLE: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister says he is extremely concerned. What we want is not concern, but action. He gives a number of causes for his concern, but allow me to give him some others too.

Rent control has been phased out, but inflation and the restructuring of this economy as a result of the NP Government's maladministration have had as one result the increasing homelessness of both elderly people and single parents. Those who are not yet homeless live in the dreadful certainty that rapidly rising rentals and rapidly devaluing flats will sooner or later render them homeless as well.

The hon the Minister refers to sectional title and says this does not come under his particular portfolio. He obviously lives in the wealthiest constituency in the country.

He does not have these kinds of problems. Let me tell hon members how developers get around sectional title.

An HON MEMBER: It is the first time you stand up for old people!

Mr R V CARLISLE: Come and look at my constituency, friend.

They move people out of a block of flats until only the protected tenants are left on their own. They withdraw security and leave frightened people 70 years old and older all alone in the block. They soon go! Such a practice is not unlawful, but it is immoral, and it is being done.

Another tactic is to say they require the old person's flat for repairs. They tell them they can go off for six months and that when they come back they can have the flat back on new terms. That is allowable in terms of the Act. Where does the person go for six months? Who bears the expenses? They do that specifically to drive protected tenants out.

The next cause of this lies with the developers themselves. I want to say that that Government is far too prone to influence from the representatives of developers and builders in South Africa. They quiver when they hear the word Sapoa. I want to ask the Government to look after the interests of these old folk and single

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



# Committee to probe secret SAP unit claims

327  
STAR 27/5/92  
By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The Goldstone Commission has appointed a special committee to probe allegations in The Weekly Mail about a special secret-police unit whose task was to carry out political violence.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission believed The Weekly Mail's allegations of actual criminal conduct by the police required more urgent attention and that they should be dealt with as a separate issue.

This was after the commission conducted a preliminary inquiry on May 22 into The Weekly Mail allegations.

The SAP denied the allegations and claimed that the unit was engaged in an undercover operation against gun-running.

Mr Goldstone said that, with the concurrence of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, he had established a committee to inquire into the allegations "concerning the planning or instigation of acts of violence by members of the SAP".

The chairman and sole member of the committee is R M Wise, SC, an advocate of the Johannesburg Bar.

Judge Goldstone turned down a request from the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party that — in addition to the investigation of specific allegations about police activities — that the commission should also probe the structure, training and activities of the "Criminal Information Service" and, in particular, covert operations.

He said this would require a specialist committee and weeks of preparation and evidence.

"The commission has on previous occasions stated its view that in order effectively to curb violence, it is necessary to have a police force which enjoys the confidence and respect of South Africans."

Statements from anyone who wished to testify before the new committee should reach the secretary of the commission at Private Bag X858, Pretoria 0001 by 4 pm next Wednesday.



# Cosatu promises mass action to pressure Govt

By Shaun Johnson  
and Esther Waugh

With the politicians deadlocked in negotiations, key labour leaders stepped in last night with a radical new plan for "mass action" to pressure the National Party into giving way to a transitional government.

In a move certain to raise considerably the already high political temperature, the top leadership of the giant labour union federation Cosatu has announced a high-profile programme including marches, demonstrations, stayaways and even a general strike.

The campaign, scheduled to get under way in July, will take place under the banner: "End corruption and murder — dismantle apartheid rule."

It was hammered out by Cosatu's national office-bearers at

a meeting on Thursday and is in direct response to Codesa 2's breakdown.

Last night Cosatu assistant secretary-general Sam Shilowa told The Star that the campaign was designed "to strengthen the hands of the negotiators".

It was clear that "the Government was manipulating the process", he said.

The campaign — described as a "staggered programme" and having no defined time-limit — would put the spotlight on specific problem areas in the negotiations process and Codesa.

Special attention would be drawn to corruption and mismanagement of public funds; death squads and covert operations; the "continued manipulation" by the Government of the SABC; and the Government's "attempt to entrench white minority rule" in the constitution.

Cosatu leaders planned to draw "all organs of civil society, the tripartite alliance (ANC, SACP, Cosatu), civic organisations and churches" into the campaign.

Among Cosatu demands are:

- The dismissal and prosecution of ministers and officials implicated in corruption.
- The seizure of assets of those implicated in theft.
- The renegotiation of the allocation of public funds — specifically the R5 billion fund for covert activities, which "could be used to compensate victims of the violence".
- Full public disclosure of security projects and covert operations, including the minutes of the State Security Council.
- A full audit of personnel involved in covert operations.
- The dismissal and prosecution of "ministers and key offi-

cials involved in (hit squad) murders".

● Monitoring of the security forces by the international community.

● The establishment of an independent broadcasting board.

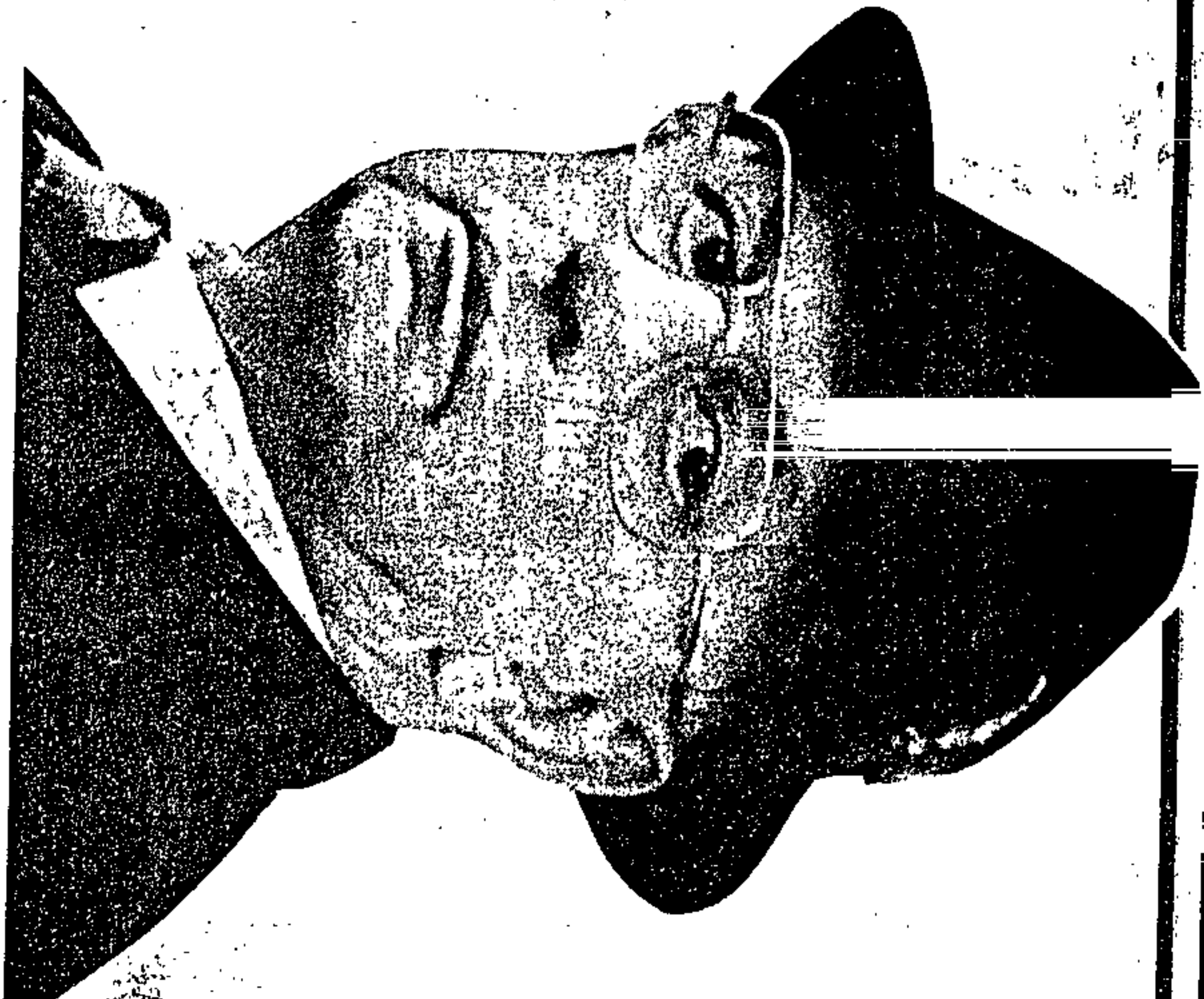
● Amendment of the 1983 constitution.

● Completion of the first phase of transition within six months.

Cosatu accused the Government of "hiding behind" the Goldstone Commission and other internal inquiries.

● The ANC and the Government are working towards a major bilateral meeting in an attempt to repair severely damaged relations.

Senior negotiators from both sides agreed that two-way meetings were most likely to lead to a defusion of mounting tension and the reinvigoration of the negotiations process.



# MP's shock claim

(327)  
(254)  
CT 27/5/92

## 'PW knew about killings'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE ANC MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck stunned Parliament yesterday by claiming that ex-president Mr P W Botha allegedly acknowledged that he and his government were responsible for the assassination of more than 1 000 black radicals.**

Mr Van Eck said that according to information he had recently received on alleged government complicity in violence "during the Botha era and even beyond", the killings were allegedly carried out through Military Intelligence (MI) and the National Intelligence Service (NIS).

He told shocked MPs that sources in MI "as well as persons close to Mr P W Botha" had also claimed on a number of occasions that the former president had allegedly said that:

● "The present government is still doing his."

● "The government has threatened him (Mr

Botha) with a Nuremberg trial if he does not stop supporting the right-wing."

An angry Mr Botha told the Cape Times last night he was no longer involved in politics and did not intend responding to claims made in Parliament.

Speaking from his wilderness retirement home, Mr Botha said he had no intention of responding to Mr Van Eck's allegations.

Mr Van Eck dropped his bombshell claims during a Defence Budget vote which was dominated by the issue of alleged state-sponsored hit squads aimed at eliminating activists opposed to the government.

Neither the Defence Minister, Mr Roel Meyer, nor his deputy, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, responded directly to Mr Van Eck's claims.

Mr Meyer merely remarked that anything could be expected from the MP for Claremont.

And Mr Meyer — who was faced with a barrage of questions and accusations about the state's alleged role in political killings — refused to disclose information he said he had about the assassination of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other Eastern Cape activists in 1985.

He told Parliament that he did have information on the authenticity of the signal message reprinted in a newspaper recently and alleged

edly giving the instruction for the murder of the four activists.

But he said investigations by the re-opened Inquest into the killings had begun and he would not reveal the information at his disposal because it might prejudice the investigations.

Last week Mr Meyer told a media briefing he would answer questions on the Goniwe killings when his vote was debated in Parliament this week.

But yesterday, instead of doing this, he attacked newspapers that he said were conducting their own investigations into the killings.

He said the investigation was being delayed by the refusal of Transkei leader General Bantjo Holomisa to provide relevant information.

Mr Meyer said that if the inquiry showed prima facie evidence of murder or any other crime, a summary criminal prosecution would be instituted.

Speaking of the Cradock Four, Mr Van Eck said that although the nation had been shocked by revelations of security force involvement, "we need to look further afield — and that is the killings of hundreds upon hundreds of ANC activists."

He demanded a full investigation by an in-

ternational panel of jurists into the "role played by all the top bureaucrats, the members of the P W Botha cabinet, the State Security Council, MI and NIS, during the years that these killings took place."

He was ordered to withdraw this statement by the chairman of the House, which he did.

Dealing with the deaths of the Cradock Four, Wynberg MP Mr Robin Carls said there were three questions which the minister had to answer, one of which was whether the signal as published by New Nation was authentic.

Secondly, he said, the minister had to explain what the message meant when it stated that the men had to be "removed from society permanently."

Every organisational culture had its own well-understood communications style, and senior officers would be able to tell the minister whether what was meant was their murder, their permanent detention or their arrest so that they could be charged.

Mr Carls said the most important question — which was not connected with the inquest — was whether the SADF was used in any way to eliminate or assist in eliminating opponents of the state.



# Mandela

STAR 28/5/92

## attacks press stranglehold

PRAGUE — Nelson Mandela has denounced the stranglehold imposed on the South African press by unrepresentative white-owned conglomerates.

Press groups "controlled by owners who are representing a minority of 15 percent" were crushing the media and should give way to others, Mr Mandela told an international editors' congress in Prague on Tuesday.

"The principal players (in the press) have no knowledge of the way of life of the black majority. They don't share their life experiences," he told the 45th World Newspaper Congress of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, attended by editors from about 50 countries. (327)

"This situation must be redressed. A reassessment of the control of distribution is necessary," the ANC leader said.

He praised the previous communist Czechoslovak government for its "tremendous support to the anti-apartheid struggle with material means" over a period of 30 years.

Mr Mandela said he had held a "frank discussion" on Tuesday on questions of mutual interest with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa.

Mr Mandela had refused to see Mr Calfa when he visited South Africa earlier this month.

Mr Mandela also met in Prague with President Vaclav Havel. — Sapa-AFP.

recoup the  
on her  
to make it  
y, and the

United Bank, said outside the  
court: "It is a tragic story, but  
society at large is not duty  
bound to look after her. A de-  
bilitating disease is no

"I am in a Catch-22 situa-  
tion because if I do manage to  
find work to pay the bond,  
then I have to declare it and  
welfare takes whatever I earn  
off my pension," she lamented.

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-Sapa.

## ANC region backs mass action call

*Stan 28/5/92*  
A call for mass action against  
the Government was endorsed  
by a special regional council  
of the African National Con-  
gress' PWV region yesterday.

According to a statement,  
the ANC PWV region decided  
to "support and endorse the  
proposal by the Congress of  
South African Trade Unions  
for mass action against the  
Government which is sche-  
duled for July".

On Tuesday Cosatu an-  
nounced a campaign to en-  
force certain demands con-

cerning Government corrup-  
tion, the allocation of public  
funds, the formation of a tran-  
sitional government, and the  
establishment of an indepen-  
dent broadcasting board.

The ANC said its PWV re-  
gional council would begin  
drafting a programme of ac-  
tion, to be finalised by mid-  
June.

"The Regional Council gave  
its full support to the demands  
as set out by Cosatu," the  
statement said. — Sapa.

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# Goniwe: General remains at work

THE Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, yesterday refused to suspend the head of Military Intelligence, saying "contrary evidence" on the Goniwe document had emerged.

Calls for the suspension of intelligence chief Major-General C P van der Westhuizen were made after his name was linked to the alleged assassination of four UDF members, including Mr Matthew Goniwe. Mr Meyer, responding to a question in

Parliament from the DP's Mr Ken Andrew, said the Chief of the Defence Force was entitled to act against members if there was sufficient evidence.

Mr Meyer's comments would seem to indicate that the investigations have suggested that the document is either not genuine or that the instruction in it for the four activists to be "permanently removed from society" was not an order to kill.

Sapa reports from Port Elizabeth yester-

day that the acting attorney-general of the Eastern Cape, Mr Michael Hodgen, said the probe into the murders was being impeded by the refusal of Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa to provide evidence he claims to hold.

● Members of the security forces who might have been involved in politically motivated crimes should be given indemnity, Mr Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) said yesterday.

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“(Mr Van Eck’s) refer-  
 ences to me in Parlia-  
 ment on May 26 are not  
 only totally untrue, but  
 deserve to be rejected  
 with disdain by all re-  
 sponsible MPs and South  
 Africans.”

Mr Botha proposed  
 that the government and  
 “hateful media organs”  
 read a book: “State se-  
 curity in South Africa —  
 Civil military relations  
 under P W Botha” by  
 James M Roherty.

In Parliament yester-  
 day, Mr Meyer said Mr  
 Van Eck appeared to  
 have passed on right-  
 wing disinformation to  
 Parliament.

He said the claims  
 were so “laughable” that  
 he at first decided not to  
 respond to “this non-  
 sense”.

Dr Boy Geldenhuys  
 (NP Brentwood) warned  
 during the debate that  
 the NP would introduce  
 a formal motion of cen-  
 sure against Mr Van Eck  
 if he did not disclose by  
 this weekend the source  
 of his allegations that  
 the Botha and De Klerk  
 governments had been  
 responsible for the  
 deaths of more than 1 000  
 black radicals.

● Mr Van Eck, who was  
 in Johannesburg last  
 night, could not be  
 reached for comment.

an oral parliamentary re-  
 port of reprehensible al-  
 legations by a certain  
 MP, Mr Jan van Eck, who  
 sometimes serves as an  
 objectionable apologist  
 for the Marxist-con-  
 trolled ANC.

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 ment on May 26 are not  
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 reached for comment.

# MP's shock claims

Durban Suburbs MP Mr Luwellyn  
 Landers said it was not enough that  
 the inquest into the Cradock Four was  
 being re-opened.

“For the sake of real peace, trust  
 and reconciliation it is imperative  
 that the unadulterated truth behind  
 the deaths of all anti-apartheid activ-  
 ists, whether these were caused by  
 agents of the state or by any other  
 means, be revealed.”

Mr Landers said it was “frightening”  
 that the National Security Manage-  
 ment System was directly linked to the  
 cabinet.

“We are informed that the present  
 State President — in his capacity as  
 Transvaal leader of the National  
 Party — the Minister of Foreign Af-  
 fairs, the former Minister of Defence  
 and the former Minister of Finance  
 were part of the State Security Coun-  
 cil, and were privy to all decisions of  
 the council.

“We find it inconceivable therefore  
 that the State President could say the  
 government ‘had no knowledge what-  
 soever’ of the alleged assassinations,  
 or that ‘at no stage was this, or similar  
 cases, discussed or considered by the  
 cabinet or the State Security Coun-  
 cil.”

Mr Landers said the NSMS was the  
 “Judas cloak, used to cover up mur-  
 der.”

ders political assassinations and  
 other irregularities”.

Constantia MP Mr Roger Hulley said  
 that the security authorities had not  
 denied the authenticity of the Goniwe  
 “death order” signal and the whole  
 affair cast a dark shadow of scandal  
 over the Defence Force.

The vital question, he said, was  
 whether officially-sanctioned assassi-  
 nation was one of the accepted instru-  
 ments of policy of the NSMS, set up in  
 conjunction with the SADF during the  
 term of office of Mr P W Botha.

If this was so, the implications were  
 really frightening and South Africa  
 could readily itself for the revelation in  
 the near future of a sickening tale of  
 questionable actions on the part of  
 certain security force elements.

Mr Van Eck said last night that he  
 found it “astounding” that no govern-  
 ment spokesman — including two min-  
 isters — had in any way tried to refute  
 the substance of the statements he  
 had made in the House.

Earlier, he told Parliament that he  
 had telephoned Mr Botha yesterday  
 morning to inform him that he would  
 be repeating these allegations, but the  
 former state president had told his  
 secretary to tell Mr Van Eck he was  
 not available to speak to him.





DENIES...  
P.W. Botha

# P.W.: MP's claim 'a despicable smear'

CT 28/5/92

(32)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent  
MR P.W. Botha and government ministers yesterday dismissed allegations by ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck that the former State President and his government had ordered the assassination of black activists as "a despicable smear".  
Law and Order Minister Mr Hennis Kriel was yesterday

asked by Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer to order a full police investigation into claims that successive Nationalist governments were responsible for the execution of more than 1 000 political opponents.  
And the National Party threatened to introduce a formal motion of censure by Parliament against the Claremont MP if Mr van Eck did not reveal the source of his allegations.

Mr Botha, after initially refusing to comment on the claims, yesterday told Sapa in a statement that they were "reprehensible" and "totally untrue".  
Mr Botha said that as far as he was concerned all relevant State Security Council and cabinet minutes pertaining to his term of office could be published.  
"This morning I had access to



ATTACKED...  
Jan van Eck

# Mosses fat cats Managers earned R1,3m

CT 28/5/92

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

IMPORTED staff for the controversial R12-billion Moss-gas project were paid whopping salaries, with general managers taking home pay cheques of R1,3 million each a year, it was disclosed yesterday.

Damaging evidence of maladministration, inadequate planning and heavy cabinet pressure to press ahead with the financially dubious project was also given.  
The exorbitant salaries of imported

technical staff were substantially higher than those paid on the North Sea oil rigs.

Total packages amounted to R1 249 014 a year for general managers, R719 630 a year for production managers and R674 005 for maintenance managers.

Costly alterations were also incorporated into the project because unnamed generals wanted more diesel from it.

The disclosures, made in evidence before the Joint Committee of Parliament on Public Accounts, which was tabled yesterday, come in the wake of recent revelations about government corruption and maladministration.

When the cabinet first approved the project in principle in January 1987, the estimated cost was R5,9 billion.

The current estimates are that it will cost more than double this and more than R14 billion if an extra jacket is obtained to fulfil the life of the project.

The problems in the original estimates were, according to one expert, in the areas of estimating, project management and control.

Nevertheless, Mosses received instructions in 1987 to go ahead with the project.

The original decision was based on Mobil technology, but the US oil giant withdrew from the project.

The project managers, the now-defunct Central Energy Fund (CEF) and Mosses, proposed that another US company, Fluor, the only bidder with the proved experience, should be the managing contractor, but this was

overruled by the cabinet.

Instead, BDL, a new joint venture between Bateman of South Africa and Davy McKee of Britain, was made managing contractor and Fluor the principal engineering contractor.

A US-based consultant, appointed to investigate Mosses, Mr M.E. Brooks, told the committee that in his judgment, Davy McKee "did not have a proven record".

He concluded in his evidence: "An unwieldy project organisation, structured on a matrix concept, was created."

"This blurred lines of authority, duplicated staff, increased the number of people in the loop and lengthened the line to reach decisions."

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**REFUSAL ...**  
Jan van Eck

# MP won't give source of PW claim

CT 29/5/92

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By **ANTHONY JOHNSON**  
Political Correspondent

ANC MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck has refused to buckle to National Party pressure to reveal his sources regarding allegations that former President P.W. Botha allegedly acknowledged that he and his government were responsible for the assassination of over one thousand black activists.

The National Party has threatened to introduce a motion of censure against the former DP MP unless he reveals who told him about the alleged complicity of the government in the elimination of its political opponents.

Mr Van Eck said in a statement yesterday that the issue was the substance of the charges he had made in Parliament regarding alleged state-sponsored hit squads and not who was the messenger.

Mr van Eck said if the NP thinks they can scare him by threatening to move motions of censure they will be deeply disappointed.

He said decades of operations by the government and its security forces were slowly surfacing.

"Threats of motions of censure etc will not prevent this cleansing process from taking place and snowballing."

Mr van Eck, who is attending the ANC's policy conference outside Johannesburg, told TV News last night that he was not prepared to forego the privilege of Parliament and repeat his allegations outside the House.

He said what was important was that allegations and rumours about the assassination of Black activists be placed on the public record so that they could be further investigated.

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# Indaba bugged says ANC chief

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Sowetan Correspondent

A BUGGING device has been discovered in one of the ANC's meeting halls at Nasrec where the organisation is holding a four-day conference to draw up its economic programme. *Sowetan 29/5/92*

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan, holding the device, a miniature microphone with an in-built transmitter said to have a range of between 500m and 1km, said the main suspect was the Government.

The device had been planted in an electrical mains and connected to two live wires. The mains were behind the main table in the hall, where the role of the police and the army and other security services was due to be discussed shortly after the lunch recess.

Noting that the ANC's rooms at Codesa in Kempton Park had also been bugged, Jordan dismissed last week's explanation that the tapping at the time had been the work of an "over-zealous" post office employee acting without authority.

Of yesterday's bug he said in a statement: "This is an example of what we are up against. There is very little doubt who is behind this and our principal suspect is the South African Government."

UNTIL last week, the Kolokoto family of Sebokeng was the human stage for a classic political drama.

One brother, Bekinyana Kolokoto, was an active member of the African National Congress. Another, Mike Kolokoto, is not only a municipal police sergeant, but has also been linked to a police network which allegedly planned attacks on ANC members in the Vaal Triangle.

A third brother, Isaac Kolokoto, is a man of the cloth and of peace. As organising secretary of the Vaal Council of Churches, he is directly involved in attempting to end the violence that sees his brothers on opposite sides of the barricades.

Until last week, the family itself remained united, despite the incredible political triangle.

And then last Sunday, Bekinyana, publicity secretary of the ANC's Sebokeng Zone 11 sub-branch, was gunned down in Sharpeville and dumped outside the township.

Isaac Kolokoto believes it is possible his brother's death was politically motivated. "Bekinyana was a highly active person," he explained.

Bekinyana Kolokoto had left Sebokeng at about 4pm on Sunday and travelled to Sharpeville to visit friends. This was the last time his father saw him alive. That night, after spending

# The odd tale of the

## Kolokoto brothers

Mail 29/5-4/6/92

*The Kolokoto brothers could be an ordinary family — until you look a little closer. One is a policeman linked to a covert police network, another is a priest and the third, an ANC activist, was gunned down last weekend. By PAUL STOBBER*

the evening with friends, he left the Philadelphia Tavern at about 11pm. The next morning his body was found with five bullet wounds.

Bekinyana Kolokoto was the latest ANC official to be killed in the low-intensity war being conducted against the ANC in the Vaal, allegedly with the support of a covert South African Police network.

Sergeant Mike Kolokoto was linked to this covert operation when he was named, in an affidavit about the network, by Sebokeng activist Daniel Kolisang. Kolisang stated a police offi-

cer had offered him money to bomb houses belonging to ANC members and said Mike Kolokoto could give him weapons training.

Later, members of Mike Kolokoto's private football club alleged he used the club to recruit youths as informers for Inkatha and had supplied these youths with weapons.

Father of the brothers, William Kolokoto, does not believe the allegations about his son. Describing himself as politically neutral, he explained: "Other people have spread these rumours about Mike to force him out of his soccer team, because they want to control it."

Questioned about Mike Kolokoto's relationship with members of the kwaZulu Police who live in a house, rented by the kwaZulu government, next to his, William Kolokoto asked: "If you buy a house and somebody rents the one next door, what must you do? Move away?"

Last week Mike Kolokoto admitted having regular contact with the kwaZulu policemen, but said it was

due to "good neighbourliness". William Kolokoto was adamant that there had been no problems between his sons.

"They got along and never quarrelled," he said. "They were always together. Mike often picked Bekinyana up for soccer."

Although the Vaal Council of Churches is an affiliate of the ANC-aligned South African Council of Churches, Isaac Kolokoto is not a member of any political organisation.

"But this does not mean I am apolitical," he added. "Because of my ministry I do not want to fall into the trap of ideology," he explained.

Despite their differences, the family is working together to overcome their tragedy. While Isaac and William Kolokoto organised the release of Bekinyana's body with the police, Mike Kolokoto was making some of the funeral arrangements.

The ANC will be asked to be part of Bekinyana's burial, because "that was part of his life".

But, besides the gap which Bekinyana's death has left in their ranks, the family has another worry. Only too aware that whole families have been targeted by the Vaal's death squads, Isaac Kolokoto said: "Until his death is solved, we will not be comfortable. Maybe those who killed him are after the family."



# Try apartheid's executors for genocide

NELSON MANDELA, despite the outcry from the press, is technically correct in drawing comparisons between the genocidal tendencies of Nationalists and Nazis. Often, glib comparisons are made between particular atrocities and the Holocaust which serve only to trivialise the latter rather than to focus attention on the former.

Unfortunately, however, the Nazis do not have a monopoly on genocide. Hitler's was obviously the most ruthless, brutal and all-embracing attempt to eliminate a whole people, but others have sought to emulate him. The Nationalists have, for over 40 years, been pursuing a policy which is genocidal, according to the United Nations' definition of the term.

Just as a person accused of murder cannot argue that he is not really guilty because he did not kill as many people as a serial killer, so a government cannot argue that it cannot be guilty of genocide because it has not killed six million people. There is definitely a difference of degree, but the comparison is valid in principle.

The UN's Convention, which has been ratified by the majority of countries in the world, defines "genocide" as "any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part..."

What else has apartheid been all about?

The object of the system was to assert white control over the black population, whatever the cost in terms of death, suffering and destruction.

The "resettling" of millions of "superfluous Bantu" and "surplus appendages" was not only calculated to bring about the physical destruction of part of the population. It did. It destroyed not only their homes, their community, their livelihood, but also themselves.

I saw some of them dying and counted the

*Comparisons between the genocidal tendencies of the Nationalists and the Nazis are true, writes*

**COSMAS DESMOND**, former  
British director of Amnesty  
International

graves of others. The young died of gastro-enteritis and typhoid because of the lack of proper water and sewerage; the old sometimes died simply of a broken heart. But the deaths were the direct result of a deliberate policy which affected only a racially defined part of the population. That is genocide.

It might be described as "only" on a small scale. But it was total for the victims and their families. And nobody knows how many there were. Their numbers are doubtless still increasing as a result of the persistence of the conditions into which they were forcibly removed. It is also not known how many more there might have been. At Limehill, for example, my own research showed that 10 years after the removal the rate of population growth has halved — a fact no doubt welcomed by those who fear being overwhelmed by the sheer weight of black numbers.

Many years ago, I submitted evidence on the effects of forced removals to the UN Commission on Human Rights. The chairman's reaction was that this constituted a "prima facie" case of genocide. He seemed more concerned, however, about being able neatly to classify the victims rather than with the fact that people were dying.

It is hardly necessary, and there certainly is not space, to catalogue all the "bodily or mental harm" done to the black population under apartheid: the retarding of physical and intellectual growth through malnutrition; the under-development caused by an inferior and perverted education system; the breaking up of families

by the migratory labour system; the lives ruined by harassment, imprisonment and torture.

The overall effects of these and numerous other apartheid practices also constitute genocide. It could be argued that virtually the whole black population has suffered some bodily or mental harm; many are still enduring it.

Finally, killing. The convention makes no mention of numbers, nor of the intention to eliminate the greater part of the group. Killing any members of an "ethnical or racial" group simply because they are members of that group is genocide.

Not only the government but "public officials and private individuals" can be guilty of the crime. There can be no doubt about the guilt of the latter two. But has the government itself directly killed people because they were black?

It has certainly done so indirectly. That in itself is sufficient to convict it.

But I believe that the charge of genocide can also be substantiated in cases, like Sharpeville and Soweto, where black people have been killed as a direct consequence of laws to which only black people, and all black people, were subject. It will be claimed that they were shot because they were a threat to "law and order". But they were only a threat because they were subject to those laws and they were only subject to those laws because they were black.

The current violence does not appear, on the surface, to be genocidal since members of the same "ethnical" or "racial" group seem to be killing each other. Killing political opponents may be equally reprehensible but is not "genocide". Nevertheless, as the present violence has its origin in the "total strategy", as much of it undoubtedly does, the killings are genocidal.

The purpose of the "total strategy" was to subdue the black population by any means necessary, including killing. Some white activists also "needed to be eliminated", but that does not change the essential nature of the strategy.

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TRUTH AND JUSTICE

SOME BELIEVE IN NUREMBERG

10

THE WEEKLY MAIL, May 25

Try them for  
genocide

29/5 - 4/6/92

It is the government itself which has drawn the battle lines along racial lines and thus left itself open to the charge of genocide, even when it claims to be eliminating political enemies. Blacks, not members of political groups, have always been seen as the threat. The fact that some members of that group have been co-opted to do the dirty work does not excuse those responsible.

There is, therefore, a sound basis for Mandela's comparison. To what degree not only the government, but also public officials and even private individuals are guilty is a question which would be better left to a Nuremberg-type court rather than to the summary judgement of newspaper editors.

●Father Cosmas Desmond, author of *The Discarded People*, served as a priest in South Africa for 20 years. In the 1970s, while fighting against forced removals, he was banned and placed under house-arrest.



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# Journalists still persecuted worldwide, institute hears

NEWS FOCUS

ACCOUNTS of murders, kidnappings, detentions, beatings and bannings dominated the 41st annual general assembly of the International Press Institute (IPI) in Budapest last week as journalists told of attacks on the freedom of the Press.

The IPI, with 2 000 editors and publishers in 70 countries as members, was established to safeguard the freedom of the Press, achieve understanding among journalists (and so among people), promote the free exchange of news and improve standards.

Debate at the meetings revealed an almost uniform tendency among governments in new democracies throughout the world to turn on the very newspapers which helped them attain power. This happened to the extent that editors found it as difficult to work under new regimes as they had under earlier dictatorships.

Among resolutions passed at the congress was one expressing fears that new dangers threatened Press freedom in former east bloc countries and calling on political leaders to show maturity by not limiting criticism from the media through legislation and restricting printing or newsprint availability.

Another condemned severe repression of journalists by the interim government and the military in Haiti, and yet another expressed serious concern about a proposed Spanish

law creating a new criminal offence involving reports on public and government figures.

One report that caught the attention of the assembly was from Enrique Santos Calderon, editor of El Tiempo, Colombia, on the situation facing the media in Latin America.

Dark forces were spreading throughout Latin America where a new authoritarian current had begun to strike against freedom of expression, Calderon said. Murder and kidnapping remained a favoured instrument of censorship and intimidation.

"Colombia, in spite of a democratic regime that tolerates all forms of Press criticism, remains the country where direct violence against journalists is practised on a truly horrifying scale."

## Crossfire

Although the attacks against journalists by drug traffickers had eased since the surrender of the Medellin cartel chiefs, Colombian journalists continued to be victims of general violence.

"Seven journalists have been gunned down in the last eight months. More than 10 have been kidnapped by guerrilla groups and the climate of insecurity created by a permanent crossfire between drug cartels, Marxist guerrilla movements and rightwing paramilitary groups has

claimed the lives of 25 journalists in the last five years," Calderon said.

"Killings of journalists have also been registered in Peru, Mexico, Paraguay, Guatemala and Haiti over the last year. In Panama, the laws of the Noriega dictatorship still hang over the media."

Democratically-elected governments had begun to abuse the media, saying they were defending democracy. In some cases the Press was regarded as an enemy.

Venezuela, a democracy for 34 years, foiled a coup attempt by a military faction on February 4, but the anti-media action the government initiated immediately afterwards would have led one to believe the military had won.

"The freely elected government of that country imposed censorship, raided newspapers and magazines, and in general assailed the media," Calderon said.

In April, Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori imposed martial law, abolished Congress and the Supreme Court and banned political opposition.

"While threats to free expression are still a fact of life in our new era of democracy, it can be said that in very few places is such freedom non-existent. Cuba is the glaring example of a country where there is no freedom of expression whatsoever.

"In Haiti, one could say there is simply no Press," Calderon said.

THEO RAWANA

B/pan 29/5/92



# Mossgas recruits 'got the going market rate'

TECHNICIANS recruited from overseas to work on the R12bn Mossgas project were paid for their skills at the going rate worldwide, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett said yesterday.

In some instances the foreign recruits were being paid an annual salary of more than R1,2m, it has been revealed.

Bartlett was responding to newspaper reports yesterday that imported technical staff received salaries substantially higher than those paid on North Sea oil rigs.

According to evidence before the joint committee of Parliament on public accounts tabled on Wednesday, general managers took home R1 249 014 a year.

The packages received by production managers amounted to R719 630 and R674 005 for maintenance managers.

Bartlett said the staff imported for the Mossgas project were skilled technicians who travelled the world and were paid accordingly for their services.

SUSAN RUSSELL

He said: "Mossgas paid no more than it had to. The same rates are paid anywhere in the world. These people are specialists in their field."

Bartlett added there was nothing new in the "revelations" yesterday which he said had been fully disclosed by the joint-parliamentary committee.

He said the Press was also fully briefed during a two-day visit to the project.

"There is nothing to hide," Bartlett said.

He said he had debated the Mossgas project fully in Parliament earlier this month when DP mineral and energy affairs spokesman Roger Hulley raised the matter in Parliament.

Hulley had called for Mossgas to be mothballed, and told Parliament it was time for both Mossgas and Soekor to be placed under critical scrutiny following Bartlett's announcement that the final cost of Mossgas would be R12bn and not the original estimate of R6,5bn.



**GENTYRE INDUSTRIES LIMITED**

Registration Number 05/24337/06

## DECLARATION OF DIVIDEND NO. 87 ON 5,5 PER CENT CUMULATIVE PREFERENCE SHARES

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that preference dividend No. 87 equivalent to 5,5 cents per share has been declared for the six months ending 30 June 1992. The dividend is payable to holders of preference shares registered in the books of the Company at the close of business on 12 June 1992.

Dividend cheques will be posted on or about 29 June 1992.

The dividend is payable in the currency of the Republic of South Africa and in accordance with the terms of the Income Tax Act, non-resident shareholders tax of 15% will be deducted from the dividends due to shareholders whose addresses are outside the Republic.

By order of the Board  
BRIAN E. LIEBESMAN  
Group Company Secretary

Johannesburg  
29 May 1992

Registered Office  
6th Floor, FSI Centre  
35 Siemert Road  
Doomfontein  
Johannesburg 2094

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Enigma

Transfer Secretaries  
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Johannesburg 2001  
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Tel. (011) 333-8181

## MP refuses to disclose source

INDEPENDENT MP Jan van Eck said yesterday he would not reveal his sources regarding the allegations he made in Parliament on Tuesday about former President P W Botha and his government ordering the assassinations of black activists.

The issue was the substance of the statements, not the messenger, he said.

He said decades of operations by government and its security forces were slowly surfacing.

His statement followed Wednesday's report that the NP had threatened to introduce a formal motion of censure against Van Eck if he did not reveal the source of his allegations.

Botha's statement on Wednesday said Van Eck's allegations were false and "reprehensible". — Sapa.

# 'Military explosives killed ANC lawyer'

By Susan Smuts

STAR 29/5/92

Military rather than commercial explosives were probably used in the portable cassette player which killed ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, an inquest at the Rand Supreme Court heard this week.

Investigating officer Captain Andre Kritzinger told Mr Justice B O'Donovan that further tests would be conducted on the explosives. Samples taken of the packing in which the machine arrived did not match samples from South Africa and there was a "strong foreign connotation", he said.

The cassette player was apparently intended for Dirk Coetzee, a former captain in the SAP stationed at Vlakplaas where death-squad activities were allegedly planned. Mr Coetzee did not receive the parcel in London because he did not have money to pay the excess postage and it was sent to Mr Mlangeni, whose name appeared as the addressee.

Captain Kritzinger said he was waiting for a report comparing fingerprints of Mr Coetzee's former colleagues at Vlakplaas with fingerprints found on the cassette player.

Captain Kritzinger said he had arrived unexpectedly at Vlakplaas three months after

Mr Mlangeni's death although he had suspected much earlier the cassette player could have been sent from there.

Under cross-examination from G Rautenbach, appearing for Mr Mlangeni's family, he admitted he had met Lieutenant Kobus Klopper, who was stationed at Vlakplaas, the day before the visit. Lieutenant Klopper knew of the investigation.

Mr Rautenbach put it to him the visit was pointless because evidence which may have been there could have been removed.

Captain Kritzinger replied that clues could be found up to two years after an incident.

In a statement taken while he was in Weskoppies, self-proclaimed death squad member Ronald Bezuidenhout had named several policemen as possible suspects. Captain Kritzinger said he confronted the policemen concerned, but they denied any involvement in Mr Mlangeni's death.

He said a technical report comparing the bomb which killed Durban computer analyst Nic Cruise showed no similarities in the explosives.

He said he did not think it would be useful to obtain similar reports about the bomb which killed Ruth First, or the one which seriously injured Albie Sachs in Mocambique.

The hearing continues.

## Man injured in hostel blast

Crime Staff

A man was injured when Meadowlands hostel in Soweto was attacked twice by unknown gunmen yesterday.

The first attack, according to Soweto police spokesman Captain Govindsamy Mariemuthoo, took place at noon when an unknown gunman opened fire at the hostel. One inmate was in-

jured.

He said the injured man was taken to Baragwanath Hospital for treatment.

In another attack later in the afternoon, a man threw a hand grenade into the hostel at about 2 pm. No one was injured.

Captain Mariemuthoo said policemen removed the grenade, which failed to explode, from the hostel.



# Govt planted bug in Nasrec hall - ANC <sup>327</sup>

By Jon Qwelane

A bugging device was discovered yesterday in one of the ANC's meeting halls at Nasrec where the organisation is holding a four-day conference to draw up its economic programme for a post-apartheid South Africa.

ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan, holding the device — a miniature microphone with an in-built transmitter,

said to have a range of between 500 m and 1 km — said the Government was the main suspect.

The device had been planted in an electrical mains and connected to two live wires. The main was behind the main table in the hall, where the role of the police, the army and other security services was due to be discussed shortly after the lunch recess. *STAR 29/5/92*

Noting that the ANC's rooms

at Codesa in Kempton Park had also been bugged, Dr Jordan dismissed last week's explanation that that tapping had been the work of an "over-zealous" Post Office employee acting without authority.

Of yesterday's bug he said in a statement: "This is an example of what we are up against. There is very little doubt who is behind this, and our principal suspect is the South African Government."



SOME BELIEVE IN NUREMBERG TYPE TRIALS; OTHERS DON'T. BUT ALL WANT TRUTH AND JUSTICE

# Justice is not merchandise for barter

W/ mail 29/5-4/6/92  
Justice and truth belong to all the people of South Africa and political murderers — from all sides — should not walk away scot-free if the law is to regain any respect, argues PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

**T**HERE is a fear basic to the perpetrators of corrupt or evil regimes, that when their time comes they will be weighed in the balance like Mussolini's corpse and found wanting.

In South Africa that fear — or expectant hope on behalf of the victims — often takes the form of a vision of Nuremberg trials.

But Nuremberg was unique — not just because the deeds of the Nazis uncovered at Buchenwald, Auschwitz and Belsen were overpoweringly evil.

Those that stood in the dock at Nuremberg were the representatives of a pulverised nation occupied by the very powers that put them on trial.

In South Africa, even if the liberation movement was so inclined, it does not have the means to stand in physical judgement of the National Party government. It makes strategic sense to settle for a compromise "deal".

This has given rise to a countervailing fear that the African National Congress could strike a deal that would — in the words of University of Cape Town political philosopher Andre du Toit — dishonour the memory of a David Webster, a Matthew Goniwe or a Rick Turner.

Back in the euphoric autumn of 1990, Du Toit, delivering the first David Webster Memorial lecture, warned that one part of a larger political settlement might very well involve a general bilateral amnesty: "the safe return and non-prosecution of ANC guerrillas in return for dropping charges against the hit squads and their political superiors".

It is apparent from the debate that has at last reached centre stage, that the jury is still out on what to do with our hard men — the killers and torturers on both sides.

In his inaugural lecture as Professor of Human



General CP van der Westhuizen ... Why hasn't he been arrested yet?

Rights Law at the University of the Western Cape this week, Professor Kader Asmal, a member of the ANC's constitutional committee, gave 10 eloquent reasons why the book should not be closed on the past.

They are too lengthy to all be republished here, but they do address the fallacious assumption that it is all or nothing, the belief that if there are to be no Nuremberg trials, then everyone will walk off scot-free under a general amnesty.

The assumption of no action seems to underlie the National Party's cavalier response to the allegations of security force misconduct.



PW Botha ... He can't hide away from his accusers at De Anker

What was done in the past occurred under conditions of a war — it is said — and, in the interests of reconciliation and building the "new" South Africa, we should all forget, forgive and start anew.

But even war has its rules.

The recently published and horrific *Four Hours in My Lai: A War Crime and its Aftermath*, details how a company of American soldiers marched into a Vietnamese village in which there was not even evidence of a Viet Cong presence.

They gunned down children running towards them for sweets, herded mothers and babies into bunkers and threw grenades after them, raped and sodomised girls and sliced open their vaginas with bayonets, beheaded and cut off the ears of villagers.

Even given the larger immorality of US involvement in Vietnam, Lieutenant William Calley acted illegally — and was sentenced to life imprisonment. It bears comparison to the Khethani Shange case that he was paroled after four and a half months, and walked out a free man.

Goniwe didn't even know he was in a war. He was never told that a roadblock on the side of a highway near Port Elizabeth was set up by an enemy whose military purpose was to permanently eliminate him and his three comrades from society.

If General CP Van der Westhuizen ever surfaces and his defence is that it was "war", then he should be dealt with even more harshly because he posed under a veil of respectability and legality.

Those like him used the vast resources of the state to target civilians who in no way could be described as soldiers.

But the same argument of "special circumstances" crops up in the strangest places. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel attempted to explain away the events of the Trust Feed massacre by pointing that it took place in 1988 "long before the important step taken by the government on February 2 1990".

The Trust Feed case, because it took place in Pietermaritzburg, the cradle of the Inkatha-ANC civil war, has a special meaning.

I visited Pietermaritzburg in those early days of the "civil war" in 1987 and 1988 and remember dozens of affidavits by witnesses detailing murders and other offences in which certain political leaders were repeatedly named.

The criminal justice system was so impervious to ordinary black people that their only recourse in the courts was to fight for largely ineffective orders restraining the killers who were routinely discharged and released with a wink and a pat.

This is not to deny that there were killers on both sides of the political divide. It was just that the notion that there was no arbiter, no higher authority, no justice, was deeply destructive of the fabric of community life.

Law and order broke down because the police often chose not to defend the lives of ordinary people from criminal behaviour but instead to smash one political organisation and secure advantage for another.

It was appalling to see ordinary people lose any hope that justice would prevail — and with it, any respect for the law. That legacy, once created, is hard to break.

People are probably being killed this very day in a war that has burnt its way through the beautiful valleys of Natal.

But stop and listen to what Kriel is really saying. He is implying that the police had a different agenda before February 2 1990.

If that was the case, that security force action in Natal was purposeful and planned, we should be told what the agenda was.

The question goes to the heart of the problem. The government is demanding — nay, expecting — amnesty without even having revealed exactly what it was that it did wrong: absolution without the confession.

Disclosure is the absolute minimum that has been demanded in the newly democratised societies of Latin America and Eastern Europe where the state has committed crimes against humanity.

Like the Chileans, who set up a Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, we must open the files to the fresh air, we must know everything and everybody involved, if we are ever to be in a position to close them.

However, as Asmal pointed out, the Chileans sought to sacrifice justice for truth in order to consolidate democracy, close the chapter on the past and avoid confrontation.

"The Chilean president said the experience of other countries had shown that rather than carry out the punishment for past crimes, the stability of the democratic system is the best guarantee

## Try apartheid's executors for genocide

NELSON MANDELA, despite the outcry from the press, is technically correct in drawing comparisons between the genocidal tendencies of Nationalists and Nazis. Often, glib comparisons are made between particular atrocities and the Holocaust which serve only to trivialise the latter rather than to focus attention on the former.

Unfortunately, however, the Nazis do not have a monopoly on genocide. Hitler's was obviously the most ruthless, brutal and all-embracing attempt to eliminate a whole people, but others have sought to emulate him. The Nationalists have, for over 40 years, been pursuing a policy which is genocidal, according to the United Nations' definition of the term.

Just as a person accused of murder cannot argue that he is not really guilty because he did not kill as many people as a serial killer, so a government cannot argue that it cannot be guilty of genocide because it has not killed six million people. There is definitely a difference of degree, but the comparison is valid in principle.

The UN's Convention, which has been ratified by the majority of countries in the world, defines "genocide" as "any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part ..."

What else has apartheid been all about?

The object of the system was to assert white control over the black population, whatever the cost in terms of death, suffering and destruction.

The "resettling" of millions of "superfluous Bantu" and "surplus appendages" was not only calculated to bring about the physical destruction of part of the population. It did. It destroyed not only their homes, their community, their livelihood, but also themselves.

I saw some of them dying and counted the

*Comparisons between the genocidal tendencies of the Nationalists and the Nazis are true, writes*

**COSMAS DESMOND, former British director of Amnesty International**

graves of others. The young died of gastroenteritis and typhoid because of the lack of proper water and sewerage; the old sometimes died simply of a broken heart. But the deaths were the direct result of a deliberate policy which affected only a racially defined part of the population. That is genocide.

It might be described as "only" on a small scale. But it was total for the victims and their families. And nobody knows how many there were. Their numbers are doubtless still increasing as a result of the persistence of the conditions into which they were forcibly removed. It is also not known how many more there might have been. At Limehill, for example, my own research showed that 10 years after the removal the rate of population growth has halved — a fact no doubt welcomed by those who fear being overwhelmed by the sheer weight of black numbers.

Many years ago, I submitted evidence on the effects of forced removals to the UN Commission on Human Rights. The chairman's reaction was that this constituted a "prima facie" case of genocide. He seemed more concerned, however, about being able neatly to classify the victims rather than with the fact that people were dying.

It is hardly necessary, and there certainly is not space, to catalogue all the "bodily or mental harm" done to the black population under apartheid: the retarding of physical and intellectual growth through malnutrition; the underdevelopment caused by an inferior and perverted education system; the breaking up of families

by the migratory labour system; the lives ruined by harassment, imprisonment and torture.

The overall effects of these and numerous other apartheid practices also constitute genocide. It could be argued that virtually the whole black population has suffered some bodily or mental harm; many are still enduring it.

Finally, killing. The convention makes no mention of numbers, nor of the intention to eliminate the greater part of the group. Killing any members of an "ethnic or racial" group simply because they are members of that group is genocide.

Not only the government but "public officials and private individuals" can be guilty of the crime. There can be no doubt about the guilt of the latter two. But has the government itself directly killed people because they were black?

It has certainly done so indirectly. That in itself is sufficient to convict it.

But I believe that the charge of genocide can also be substantiated in cases, like Sharpeville and Soweto, where black people have been killed as a direct consequence of laws to which only black people, and all black people, were subject. It will be claimed that they were shot because they were a threat to "law and order". But they were only a threat because they were subject to those laws and they were only subject to those laws because they were black.

The current violence does not appear, on the surface, to be genocidal since members of the same "ethnic" or "racial" group seem to be killing each other. Killing political opponents may be equally reprehensible but is not "genocide". Nevertheless, as the present violence has its origin in the "total strategy", as much of it undoubtedly does, the killings are genocidal.

The purpose of the "total strategy" was to subdue the black population by any means necessary, including killing. Some white activists also "needed to be eliminated", but that does not change the essential nature of the strategy.

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to June 4 1992

**PG TYPE TRIALS, SOME DON'T. BUT ALL WANT TRUTH AND JUSTICE**

# Political killers shouldn't walk free

21mond 291S-416192  
● From PAGE 9

that there will not be violations of human rights in the future."

Yet, as he pointed out, in South Africa we have neither democracy to consolidate nor yet the truth. It is much too early for anyone to be forgiven.

"The exoneration of those guilty of truly heinous crimes perpetuates the culture of fear and intimidation that has prevailed in our country since 1948," said Asmal.

"Time and again the apartheid state has bestowed immunities on police and military action and in so doing had debased the coinage of the law and encouraged state lawlessness."

And even in Chile, said Asmal, "those who actually suffered were never consulted and the mothers of the disappeared never agreed with the president". The Chilean courts got their courage back and have recently allowed challenges to the amnesty law and the prosecution of senior military staff.

In South Africa, we need reconciliation — but not

without justice.

Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkontso and Sicelo Mhlau were murdered.

That is a common law offence. You can charge somebody for it without calling it something fancy like Nuremberg trials.

Where is Van der Westhuizen and why hasn't he been arrested yet and charged for crimes which a now public incriminating document strongly suggests he was complicit in?

And if the trail of investigation leads to PW Botha, then he must also answer for his crimes.

What right do the police have to apprehend a car thief or why should I pay my parking fines if a mass murderer spends his days in retirement at De Anker?

These are not merely philosophical questions, but practical ones involving the need to rebuild respect for the law.

What the government has done is the opposite, with the early release of Shange — not to mention thousands of other criminals.

Minister of Correctional Services Adriaan Vlok

defended the decision to release Shange on the basis that it was part of a deal with the ANC.

Even if this is true — and the ANC has vigorously denied it — who told Vlok that the ANC has any more right than the government to forgive murderers and quietly send them back into the community?

Justice is not merchandise for barter between two political organisations, neither of whose hands are clean in the dispensation of human rights.

Nor is it revenge, as delicious a fantasy as it is to envisage PW Botha in the dock.

Nor is it an abstract concept, to be debated solely by eminent jurists and philosophers.

It is something that should be claimed by all of us, as ours. It is basic to the security and the liberty of every one of us. Its lack is why there is so little of either in our country.

The restoration of justice is the only way to combat the barbarism that is taking our country. Instead of being founded on forgiving the murderers, our "new" South Africa should be built on throwing the book at them.





## SIGNS OF SUFFERING

Former exile Thabang Thoba (left) alleges he was threatened with death and assaulted by policemen at the Flora Gardens station. He says in an affidavit that he was tortured when electrodes were attached to his torso (above), little toe (right), ankle and genitals

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

# 'Tortured' by police for info on exiles

WMA 2915-416192

**H**ORRIFYING accounts by three southern Transvaal township residents suggest a pattern of torture by police to extract information about recently returned political exiles.

Affidavits in the possession of *The Weekly Mail* make detailed allegations of torture — including protracted electric shock treatment — by police at the Flora Gardens station in Vanderbijlpark and at the Protea station in Soweto. In two cases independent medical evidence corroborates allegations of electric shocks.

One of the activists concerned says he narrowly escaped death when he was taken by police to the Merafe hospital — an Inkatha stronghold — with a piece of paper round his head stating "Inkatha sellout impimpi, viva ANC".

Two of the victims are African National Congress activists who have recently returned from exile. The nature of their alleged interrogation suggests intense police interest in the exile community and the continuing

belief that they are the "enemy". Two weeks ago, two Sebokeng returnees, Thabang Thoba and Elliot Phakathi, were allegedly abducted, driven to various police stations in the Vaal area, and assaulted and subjected to electric shocks. They say they were shown pictures of other returned exiles and local activists and asked to point out their houses.

*The Weekly Mail* recently exposed a secret SAP house in the Vaal, where another activist alleges he was asked to locate and attack returnees and political leaders.

Thoba, who returned to the country last month from Botswana, and Phakathi were escorted by a convoy of police cars in the vicinity of a Sebokeng house which had been attacked.

"One of the police said that somebody had pointed us out saying: 'Here are the guys that did it'. Neither I nor Elliot have any idea who that guy is and what we are alleged to have done," Thoba says in his affidavit.

## Affidavits by three Transvaal

activists alleging torture suggest an intense police

preoccupation with

political returnees.

DREW FORREST and

RAY NXUMALO report

After being moved between various police stations in the Vaal, Thoba says he was taken to the Flora Gardens station, where three policemen, two white and one black, interrogated him. He was slapped by the white officer and told, "Now you are going to tell us the whole story."

"He took out a gun and asked me if I wished to run away. I told him 'no' and I came close to him," Thoba's affidavit states. Left alone with the black policeman, he says he was threatened with death if he failed to tell the truth.

After being driven around "airless

ly" and assaulted in a car with his head covered — he believes to confuse him — Thoba was dragged up some stairs, where his shoes and socks were removed and electrodes allegedly attached to his little toe and ankle.

"The policeman sat on my back while I was lying on my face and he said to the other policemen, 'Druk hom!'. Thoba's affidavit reads.

He says he was shocked violently for some minutes. "My body was in involuntary spasm. I could ... not speak properly."

Thoba says the policeman then pulled a rubber tube around his face, suffocating him. Wires were attached to his genitals and he was given further shocks. One said: "Be careful it looks as if he is dying," Thoba states.

"They asked me if I was MK. I said I wasn't. One of the policemen said all those coming from exile are terrorists, they should be killed." He says he was specifically asked about a certain Oupa Modukone, and individuals named as Mphike, Tlokoane, Modise

and Bahana — three of whom are former exiles.

Thoba claims he was forced to sign a statement relating to the funeral vigil of Mzwake Nhlapo. He says addresses of others who attended the vigil were demanded of him, while he was assaulted, and that he was then driven through Sebokeng and told to point out the houses of these activists.

A substantially similar account is given by Phakathi, who was separated from Thoba after their arrest. Locked in the boot of a car, he says he was also driven to the Flora Gardens station, where three white policemen assaulted him and told him he was going to "dance with the snakes".

He says he was half-suffocated with a blanket, trussed with a rope and shocked on his feet, testicles and face. "I went completely dizzy. I could not see, I could not think," he states. After sustained torture, also involving suffocation with a rubber tube, he says



# We were tortured, claim former exiles

From PAGE 5 29/5-4/6/92

he was unable to move or speak and was again thrown into the boot of a car.

He was subjected to shock treatment on two further occasions, once through his slit overalls and once inside his mouth, he alleges.

Phakathi later saw Thoba at Flora Gardens, commenting that "he looked like a zombie", could not speak coherently and could not walk unassisted.

Phakathi also says he was taken to the office of a Vanderbijlpark doctor, who privately discussed his case with the policemen but did not examine him.

He heard the policemen tell the doctor: "Hy's gesond, moenie worry nie." (He's healthy, don't worry.)

Phakathi says he can provide the location of the doctor's offices.

After being held for four days, both men appeared before a Sebokeng magistrate. Seeing Phakathi's tongue, which was "swollen and bleeding", the magistrate refused to send them back to the police cells and urged them to see a lawyer and a private doctor, the activists say.

The doctor in question pronounced that the men's injuries were consistent with their

allegations, according to their lawyer.

A third affidavit — which has not been signed because the activist concerned has disappeared into hiding — suggests a similar police preoccupation with "freedom fighters" back from exile.

The statement relates how two armed white policemen in uniform entered an Kranden, Soweto house at night and became enraged after seeing photographs of the activist — one taken in exile showing him with an AK-47 — and a tattoo on his back stating "Freedom fighter".

Taken to the Pretoria police station, he was forced to do push-ups, kicked in the groin and throttled, he says. He was then forced to stand naked against a wall in the station parking lot, holding bricks in both outstretched hands.

There, he says, he was sprayed in the eye with a substance from a canister after refusing to open his mouth, causing "severe pain".

He was also ordered to say "Mandela se p...s" and given shock treatment inside the police station.

Later, the activist says, he was interrogated by four white policemen — one of whom was bearded and took part in his initial arrest — who pointed out pictures of SADF

soldiers killed in Angola and quizzed him about weapons and his friends.

With a piece of a paper pinned to his head, identifying him as an ANC man, he says he was then driven to the Merafe hostel. There the policemen spoke to hostel dwellers, he alleges, who then converged on the car shouting for him to get out.

The activist says after he pleaded with the leader of the hostel dwellers in Zulu, they dispersed. "I believe that had I not convinced the man in the blue overall, I would have been killed," he states.

After further abuse — he says he was forced to eat salt when he asked for water, blindfolded and kicked — and an attempt to recruit him as an informer, he was released.

From his interrogation, the activist gleaned the names of a white and black policemen involved — a "Snyman" and a "Leboko".

Police were approached for comment yesterday — the affidavits were obtained by *The Weekly Mail* only late on Wednesday — but at the time of writing had not been able to respond.



## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Court probes killing <sup>327</sup>

POLICE attempts to find the "walkman" killer of ANC attorney Bheki Mlangeni had drawn a blank, an inquest into his death was told at the weekend.

The inquest into the death of Mlangeni, who was killed on February 15 last year when a portable cassette player, meant for former police captain Dirk Coetzee, exploded, started in the Rand Supreme Court this week.

29/5/82  
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# Blackburn accident — new suspicions

Staff Reporter

THE widow of activist Mrs Molly Blackburn — who died in a motor vehicle collision in 1985 near Humansdorp — regrets not having the vehicle checked thoroughly before the journey.

Mrs Blackburn and fellow civil rights anti-apartheid campaigner Mr Brian Bishop were killed in an accident which happened on a straight, undulating road.

Dr Gavin Blackburn said: "At the time I was

too shocked to think that it was anything else but an accident."

But the revelations in a document of state involvement in the assassination of four Cramdock activists had changed his views.

Soon after the accident he said: "There would appear to be no sinister overtones."

But a letter which appeared in a Port Elizabeth newspaper described what Mr Blackburn believes could be an eye-witness account of the death of his wife.

The letter speculated how Mrs Blackburn and Mr Bishop could have died, in a planned road accident.

The perpetrators of the crime placed a man killed by them in a stationary vehicle on the wrong side of the road.

The operators were warned of the car's approach by a radio link and as the car came over the rise the car lights were switched on.

Mrs Judy Chalmers, a passenger in the car, escaped death but remembers seeing car

lights come out of nowhere before the collision.

Mr Blackburn said the driver of the other vehicle, Mr Nkukuleko Bell, of Patensie, was deeply religious and a non-drinker.

A blood sample produced at the inquest, however, showed Mr Bell had a blood alcohol content of 0.20, in contrast to the legally permissible 0.08%.

A former general practitioner who is now working at Livingstone Hospital, Dr Blackburn said blood phials could be changed.

# This CCB 'James Bond' makes no apology

South 30/5 - 3/6/92

FERDI BARNARD, the man at the centre of allegations of state sponsored killings and harassment of anti-apartheid activists, makes no apology for his shadowy role in the service of South Africa.

"My record is rotten with violence," the 33-year-old former spy said.

"But I don't need amnesty. There's no fear in my heart that I will ever need anything like that."

Barnard, a convicted murderer who complains business contacts think of him as "James Bond", added: "I don't believe there will be any type of Nuremberg trials in this country, as they will sort that out at the negotiating table."

He denies accusations that he carried out two of southern Africa's most notorious assassinations, saying a former colleague in a secret army unit may know the truth about them.

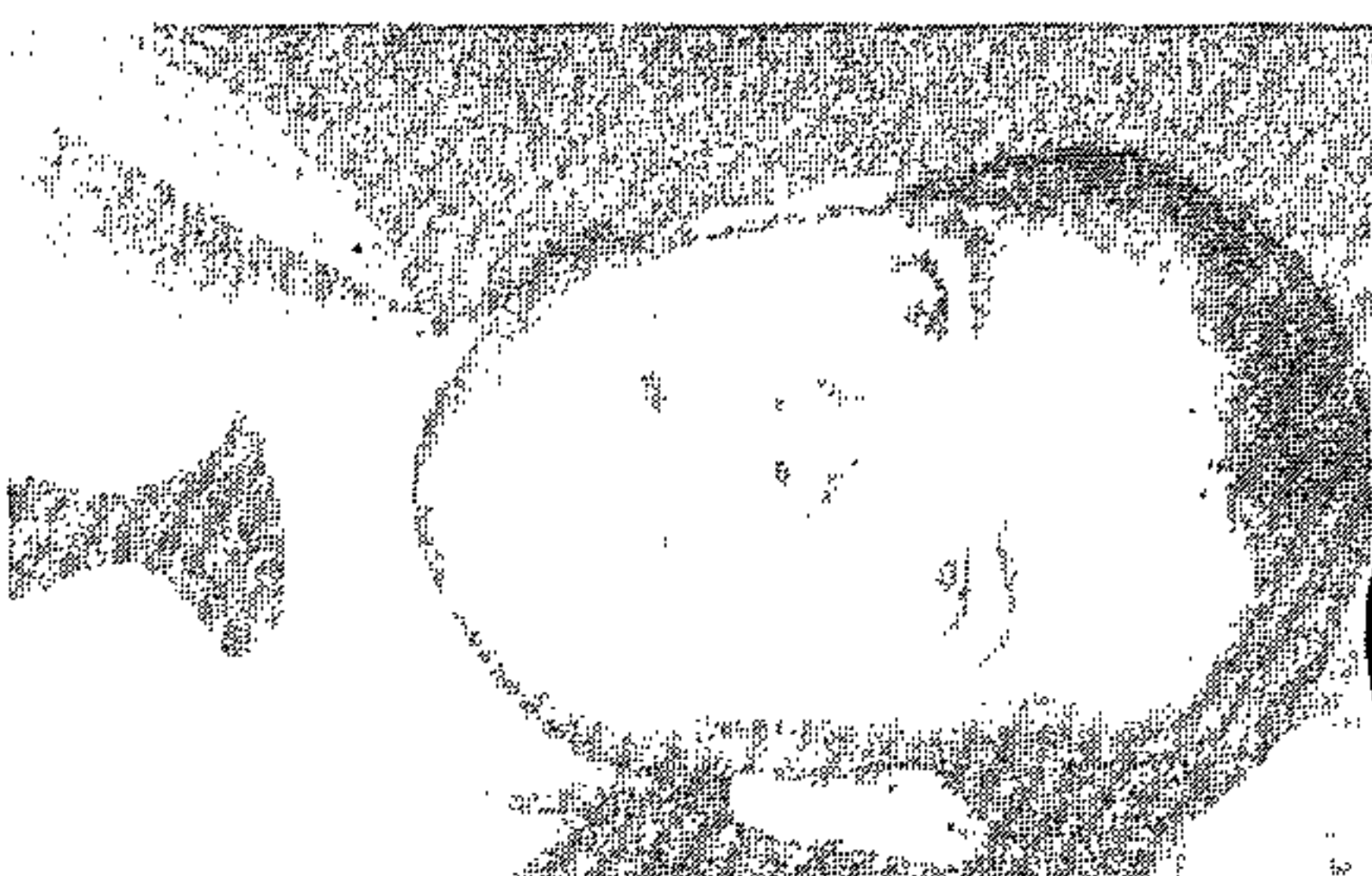
The burly former drug-squad detective served three years in jail from 1984 to 1987 for two unrelated murders of suspected drug dealers.

In March 1988, he joined the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), an army special forces undercover unit which is accused of killing and harassing black activists.

Officials of the unit, now disbanded, showed strong opposition to President FW de Klerk's political reforms.

They told a judicial investigation into violence that their job was to "maximally disrupt the enemies of

Former CCB operative Ferdie Barnard suggests a former CCB colleague may know the truth about who killed David Webster and advocate Anton Lubowski. Claiming not to know anything about the murders, he now complains of being haunted by his past:



Ferdie Barnard

the state" at home and abroad.

The unit has destroyed files on its work in South Africa.

For the past three years, newspapers have regularly splashed Barnard's photograph across front-page reports linking him to the 1989 killings of South African academic Dr David Webster and an anti-apartheid Namibian advocate, Mr Anton Lubowski.

In late 1989, Barnard was detained for three months in connection with the killings but released for lack of evidence.

In an interview at a friend's

house, Barnard suggested a CCB colleague may know the truth about the murders, adding: "If anyone was trained to kill, it would be he".

Barnard described himself as a political moderate who joined the CCB because it paid well.

All he did, he said, was use contacts in the underworld, "mostly Mandrax, diamonds and weapons smugglers", to gather intelligence on enemies of the state.

"I lost everything when I was in jail. I earned R5 000 rand a month. I had a brand new car, my petrol was

paid. It made it so much easier for me — that I could live like anybody else. You can buy a woman a present if you want.

"That to me was like a godsend. I grabbed it with both hands."

Barnard said the CCB's work was needed at the time but became increasingly irrelevant as reforms proceeded.

"People there did brilliant work, believe me. I was one who operated alone, going into a black township without backing at night to monitor certain people's movements.

"It was intelligence concerning anything that damages the economy — laundering money, drug-smuggling, weapons smuggling, politically-motivated actions against the country, ANC activities, MK activities, you name it.

"If you do the crime, you must do the time. It's a motto of mine. You must face the consequences," Barnard said.

"But nobody (in the CCB) ever asked me to do anything illegal or to use any strong-arm tactics or any rough work."

Hopes of uncovering the truth about the killings, and other activities, have risen this year with the start of talks on a transition from white rule to democracy.

The ANC says it will guarantee amnesty if people who carried out political killings confess, so as to wipe the slate clean and ensure there is no repetition. Police have been unable to solve dozens of murders of activists.

Barnard, denying new allegation that he currently works for the army's intelligence department, said he doubted the killers of Lubowski and Webster would ever apply for amnesty.

"If it was done (by) the intelligence world, I doubt it very much as that world is a murky world of shady characters and nothing is really as it seems. There'll be no smoking gun."

Barnard estimates he has had 200 stitches in his body from being stabbed five times and shot once in the course of his career, which included a stint as a Johannesburg club bouncer.

"I can be violent but I'm not a guy that goes around looking for trouble," said Barnard, who is about two metres tall and weighs 105 kg.

Barnard, who now earns a living by recovering stolen commercial property, said he wanted a normal family life.

But he says he is continually haunted by his violent past.

He tried being a debt collector but people he visited recognised him from newspaper photographs and asked for police protection.

He said businessmen impressed by his CCB service now offered him money to beat up rivals.

"I think they're stark raving mad. People are trying to misuse me. What they see in the papers, to them that's for real. (It's like) I'm the biggest James Bond and I'm scared of nothing."

— Sapa-Reuters



amounts then became a single R40 000 investment which theoretically earned higher interest.

But the Masterbond collapse meant McKean was no longer

if she can make ends meet each month, Koos Jonker — a director of the company responsible for her poverty — waits to take delivery of a luxury, ocean-going speedboat.

The twist in the tale is that

## Family unhappy about death probe

STAR  
30/5/92

SUSAN SMUTS

THE investigation of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni's death was not as thorough as it should have been, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Though investigating officer Captain Andre Kritzinger had gone to great trouble to obtain statements from policemen implicated in the murder by media reports and by self-confessed police spy Ronald Bezuidenhout, Mlangeni's family felt "not everything which could have been done to find the culprits had been done", said the family's lawyer, G Rautenbach.

### Death squad HQ

Mlangeni was killed on February 15 last year by a booby-trapped portable cassette recorder which blew up when he tried to listen to a tape. The recorder had been sent to former police captain, Dirk Coetzee, in Lusaka. Coetzee did not collect the parcel, which was then sent to Mlangeni, whose name appeared as addressee.

Kritzinger told Mr Justice B O'Donovan that the police had held several theories about Mlangeni's death. One was that Coetzee had sent the package "through his agents" to Mlangeni to draw attention to evidence he was giving in London (in the General Lothar Neethling-Vrye Weekblad defamation case).

Another was that the ANC wanted to get rid of Coetzee. Kritzinger said sources had told him that Coetzee "did not mean much to the ANC". However, this plot was unlikely.

### Followed up

The police followed up only the theory that the parcel was intended for Coetzee and had possibly been sent by a former colleague at Vlakplaas, the alleged death-squad headquarters, he said.

Bezuidenhout had named policemen at Vlakplaas. Under cross-examination from E du Toit, appearing for the Minister of Law and Order, Kritzinger said Bezuidenhout had retracted his allegations, claiming they were "dronkpraatjies". Bezuidenhout had admitted he was a cough mixture addict.

He said all the policemen named had co-operated with him and given him what he wanted.

The hearing continues.



# Roelf Meyer proclaims a truth he cannot know

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STimes 31/5/92

**W**HEN Defence Minister Roelf Meyer went before the cameras this week to deny that the special forces of the SADF had killed 1 000 anti-apartheid activists, he was guilty of an extraordinary act of faith.

He could not possibly have known whether he was speaking the truth. The record of the SADF on these matters, as I shall try to demonstrate, is one of deceit and concealment that has defied even President De Klerk's efforts to get to the truth.

Mr Nelson Mandela does not share Mr Meyer's faith in the SADF. As Mr Meyer believes in the innocence of the SADF, Mr Mandela believes in the existence of what he calls "the third force". Unless whites understand this, they cannot understand why Mr Mandela initially rejected with such outrage the assertion that the Goldstone commission had found no evidence of a "third force" in township violence.

Both men are cast back on blind belief because the truth is hidden. Part of the truth about the SADF's "dirty tricks" — assassination of anti-apartheid activists surely ranks as dirty tricks? — was contained in a set of operational files that vanished between March 22 and March 29 1990.

They vanished when the auditor-general, Mr Peter Wronsley, and his staff tried to find out what the special forces, and in particular the CCB, had done with government money.

The special forces' budget, in the year before President De Klerk declared peace, was more than R50-million and it was intended to fund a clandestine war — that was how it was seen at the time — against "the enemy", especially the ANC and its allies. Many people were killed, inside the country and abroad, by letter bombs, raids, assassinations, and so forth.

How many killings does the SADF get for R50-million?

It's impossible to say. The Harms commission appointed to inquire into SADF murders found, like the auditor-general, that the necessary documentation had "vanished like mist before the morning sun" (P38). The State President, the Minister of Defence and the

Chief of the Defence Force all tried to intervene to help the commission but "to no avail" (P48).

Mr Wronsley's men reported to the parliamentary joint committee on public accounts that such documents as were recovered had been mutilated, or cut up, to conceal names, numbers, anything that might reveal the truth.

The task of the special forces was defined, in rather sinister language, as "the gathering of target detail concerning hostile organisations and targets to launch authorised actions outside the country".

One of those "authorised actions outside the country", it turned out, was to spy on the Johannesburg city council, and another was to hang a monkey foetus in a tree outside the home of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. A good deal of money was paid to "Peaches" Gordon, a Cape gangster, for purposes that seemed laughably trivial — until Gordon himself was murdered.

The Harms commission's search for the truth was constantly hampered. The secrecy laws hampered it. The destruction and concealment of evidence hampered it. Even the SAP proved at times to be an obstacle.

For example, SAP Brigadier Floris Mostert arrested two SADF agents in connection with the murder of the left-wing Wits lecturer David Webster, but he refused to open his files to the Harms commission, which in the end accused him of perjury (P50). Links to the murder of Anton Lubowski, whom the SADF claimed as an agent, were outside the commission's tightly drawn terms of reference and all inquiries in that direction were cut off.

**D**ESPITE all these obstacles, and many more, the Harms commission did discover (P186) that Noel Robey, a former Selous Scout recruited as an agent for special forces, was "probably involved in an official capacity" in the murder of Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife, but was subsequently helped by SADF officers, including a general and colonel (P183), and escaped to Britain.

And so on, and so on. Through hundreds of pages of official reports, and thousands of pages of evidence, the

truth remains hidden — despite the best efforts of President De Klerk, and General Magnus Malan, and former General Jannie Geldenhuys, and the judiciary, and the police, and the auditor-general, and the committees of Parliament to discover it.

That is just as well. For if any of these men knew the truth, he would thereby become an accomplice to murder — at least to the murder of Dr Ribeiro and his wife, but perhaps also to the murder of David Webster, and Anton Lubowski, and Dulcie September, and Jabulani Sibisi, and Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, and Katryn Schoon, aged six, and scores or maybe hundreds of others. Maybe, as Mr Jan Van Eck MP, says, 1 000 murders.

**T**HE government remains diligent in its ignorance. Perjurors have not been prosecuted, SADF officers have neither been held accountable for the actions of their men, nor prosecuted for failing to maintain control of their forces. The unlawful use within the country of funds voted for foreign operations has not been punished, nor has the destruction of evidence. Defiance of the State President is not a crime, but defiance of a military officer is an act of mutiny; yet military officers and agents have with impunity refused to produce evidence demanded by General Malan and General Geldenhuys.

Some now seek to blackmail the government with the threat of revealing their hidden files of deadly information. That, indeed, may be the best hope of finding the truth, unless the government pays them off.

Meanwhile, however, few people — certainly few black people — share the trusting Mr Meyer's faith in the innocence of the SADF, and this corrosive scepticism undermines the Goldstone commission's finding that there is no evidence of a sinister "third force".

Lack of evidence is not the same as the truth, and the cover-up is still in place. Until the truth comes out, the promise of a bright future will be obscured by the murkiness of a foul past.

**KEN OWEN**



By CLAIRE ROBERTSON  
THE short-lived days of the first white-organised violent resistance to the National Party government were recalled this week as a leading socialist of the time stood accused of recruiting members for sabotage groups.

Conservative author Jillian Becker, this week defended her accusation that London-based historian Dr Baruch Hirson actively recruited South Africans for violent resistance to the state in the early 60s.

Dr Hirson, 71, is adamant he at no time tried to recruit Mrs Becker or anybody else to the National Committee of Liberation or its successor, the African Resistance Movement. And he rejected in the strongest terms Mrs Becker's assertion that he advocated violence against people.

"It was central to our beliefs that we would never harm people," he said.

The period represented what doyen of South African liberals Dr Alan Paton called a tragedy. It saw men and women who called themselves liberal betray their non-violent principles, socialists betray their classless struggle in order to take up arms in small sabotage groups, and leaders and members of the ARM betray their comrades to save themselves from prison.

The NCL, formed largely by former members of the SA Communist Party in the early 60s, changed its name in 1964 to the ARM. Dr Hirson, then a physicist

### Slogan

The decision to turn to violence "was impossible", said Dr Hirson. "I was an academic. This was not the kind of thing I thought of doing."

"But the decision came out of the entire situation. After the state of emergency

cy was imposed in April 1960, there was a feeling of frustration. There was nothing we could do to stop the government.

"Violence was endemic in the state ... even the painting of a slogan could result in a prison sentence. We were constantly being approached by young people in the African National Congress with questions like: 'If we put a bunch of matchheads on a railway line, will it blow up the train?' (it won't). They wanted to know from us, 'How do we do it?'"

"My God, we were scared. We had been shown how to use dynamite, and it

The ARM's plans ranged from the modest — blowing up pylons or railway signal cables — to two ambitious projects never undertaken: infecting the Cape vineyards with a fungal disease and rescuing Robert Sobukwe from Robben Island.

Harris had apparently been acting on his own. He was hanged for the crime.

The revelation of the ARM's link to the Liberal Party gave rise to tough years for the party, with harassment and intimidation of members, jobs lost and doors shut in members' faces. In several cases their cars were damaged — and the Automobile Association, to which Dr Paton had belonged for 40 years, refused to insure him against damage of this kind.

### Naive

Looking back to his political activism of more than 30 years ago, Dr Hirson said this week: "We may have been naive, in retrospect, believing we would not harm anyone."

"Morally I have no regrets over the work we did. Opposing the government was not wrong. Politically it was wrong. If you are a socialist you believe the government must be changed by the working class. As a sabotage group you are moving away from a class base," he said.

"Alan Paton detested us. His attitude was completely wrong in saying liberals betrayed their own beliefs in deciding to take action."

"In a way we were the pioneers of the struggle. In terms of results the NCL was streets ahead of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's armed wing). Not only was this the first organisation involved in sabotage, but most of the successful projects were the work of the NCL."

in November 1964.

Five members had been charged with sabotage after incriminating documents had been found in the flat of group organiser Adrian Leftwich.

After 70 days of detention and interrogation Mr Leftwich agreed to testify against his comrades.

Twenty members of the Liberal Party were detained in the crackdown on the ARM. According to Dr Paton, 16 members of the party were members of the movement.

"It was a shocking experience ... for the Nationalists, and especially for the formidable Minister of Justice, BJ Vorster, it provided the justification for all their security legislation ... It justified the minister's famous remark that the communists killed people, but the liberals led people to ambush so that they might be killed," wrote Dr Paton in his autobiography, *The Journey Continued*.

### Horried

While the leadership of the ARM was in detention, another member, Englishman John Harris, planted a suitcase bomb at Johannesburg Station. It killed Mrs Ethly Rhys, 77, and scarred for life her granddaughter Glynis Burleigh, then 12.

The blast horrified Liberal Party and ARM members. "Was this the end result of our campaign for right and justice? Had one given up 11 years of one's life to achieve this?" Dr Paton wrote.



It emerged that a letter to then Prime Minister HF Verwoerd calling on him to announce over the air that he had submitted to the demands of ARM had been drafted by members of the organisation.

"Doesn't it all sound silly, tragically silly?" then Cape Judge President Mr Justice Andries Brink Beyers was to remark in the trial of ARM members

ACCUSER ... author Jillian Becker, who claims Hirson advocated violence

was probably all quite safe, but we were very scared handling the stuff," said Dr Hirson.

The ARM's plans ranged from the modest — blowing up pylons or railway signal cables — to two ambitious projects never undertaken: infecting the Cape vineyards with a fungal disease and rescuing Robert Sobukwe from Robben Island.

Harris had apparently been acting on his own. He was hanged for the crime.



# Walkman bomb: Advocate slams slow detective

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE

A HIGH-RANKING policeman was strongly criticised for failing to take prompt action after allegations that a human rights lawyer was murdered by a Vlakplaas-based SAP hit squad.

This emerged in the Rand Supreme Court this week in an inquest by Judge O'Donovan into the death of Godfrey Bheki Mlangeni.

Mlangeni died from head injuries in March last year when a miniature shaped explosive charge placed in the headphones of a "Walkman" cassette player exploded as he pushed the play button.

Former police Capt Dirk Coetzee, who fled to London after making hit-squad allegations, claimed Mlangeni was killed by the Vlakplaas hit squad. He was supported by Ronald Bezuidenhout, whose police credentials were denied by investigating officer Capt Andre Kritzinger.

## Clues

Advocate G Rautenbach, for the Mlangeni family, criticised Kritzinger, saying if he had acted promptly he might have found clues pertaining to the murder. Kritzinger said he only visited Vlakplaas three months after the murder, admitting the delay could have given a possible murderer sufficient time to destroy evidence.

He added he could not verify claims by Bezuidenhout as he could not trace him. He said Bezuidenhout had been an informer, but not a policeman.

Kritzinger said after Mlangeni's death he was appointed as the investigating officer. He had contacted the law firm where Mlangeni had worked and one of the lawyers agreed to help him.

Mlangeni had found the Walkman cassette player in a return-to-sender package addressed to Coetzee in Lusaka. It was collected by his Johannesburg law firm, purporting that Mlangeni, Coetzee's legal representative, had sent it.

Coetzee claimed shortly after Mlangeni's death that his former police colleagues were responsible.

Kritzinger said that during his investigations he had discovered the walkman bomb was meant for Coetzee and not Mlangeni. He said he had spoken to all the policemen mentioned by Coetzee and Bezuidenhout, but they all denied the allegations. Their fingerprints and handwriting also did not match.



TOTALITARIANISM — GENERAL

1992

JUNE — JULY

# Police had three theories about murder, inquest hears

SUSAN RUSSELL

POLICE had considered three theories about the origin of a booby-trapped portable cassette player which killed an ANC lawyer last year, including the possibility that renegade policeman Capt Dirk Coetzee posted it to himself, the Rand Supreme Court heard on Friday.

Police captain Andre Kritzinger said this at an inquest into the death of ANC human rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

Mlangeni died at his home on February 15 last year after opening the package containing the cassette recorder which had been posted to him from Lusaka addressed "return to sender".

The package addressed to Coetzee and listing Mlangeni as the sender, was originally posted to Lusaka from Johannesburg and lay in a Zambian post office for about eight months before being returned to SA.

Coetzee was living in Lusaka where he had sought refuge with the ANC following publication of his claims that he had been a member of a police hit squad based at Vlakplaas outside Pretoria.

After Mlangeni's death it was established he had not sent the package to Coetzee, who later claimed that former police colleagues at Vlakplaas had been responsible.

Kritzinger told the court he had considered the possibility that Coetzee had posted the package in an attempt to draw attention to the evidence he was to give to the Harms Commission of Inquiry in Lon-

don into alleged hit squads.

A second theory had been that the cassette recorder could have been sent by the ANC itself.

The third was the theory that the booby-trapped cassette player had indeed come from Vlakplaas as claimed by Coetzee.

The police had only followed up the Vlakplaas theory, Kritzinger said.

During his evidence earlier last week, Kritzinger said there was no doubt that the cassette player had been intended for Coetzee.

## Murder

He also testified that a search of Vlakplaas had not found any incriminating evidence.

Kritzinger testified that statements had been taken from Ronald Bezuidenhout who claimed to be a police spy and had implicated several police officers in the murder.

Bezuidenhout, who was a patient at Weskoppies at the time, had made his claims to a Vrye Weekblad journalist.

Kritzinger said when interviewed by police, however, Bezuidenhout denied most of the allegations he had made, dismissing them as "dronk stories".

The inquest continues before Judge B O'Donovan today.

# BRENNMILL

**Brenner Mills Limited**

("Brenmill")  
(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)  
(Registration No. 87/01547/06)

**Audited results and dividend declaration for the year  
29 February 1992**

**Summarised group income statement**



# PAC man slain

Sowetan 1/6/92

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**A SENIOR member of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Jan Choba, was ambushed and shot dead with AK-47 rifles in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, at the weekend.**

Choba (35) was shot seven times in the chest and head when he went to close the gate after parking his car at his sister's

**By MONK NKOMO**

house in Ntshu Street, Saulsville, about 10.30pm on Friday, police spokesman Captain Andrew Lesch said yesterday.

Lesch said Choba had told his brother on Thursday that someone was after him. Choba, who was not married, was released from Robben

• To page 2

## PAC man killed

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• From page 1

Island last year after serving about five years for PAC activities.

At the time of his death he was a senior member in the organisation's intelligence department.

In a statement released yesterday, PAC national executive member Mr

Fortesque Mtimkulu said the organisation's prime suspects in the murder were State agents.

"We believe he was ambushed and gunned down at point-blank range by State agents. We believe the murder is State-orchestrated," Mtimkulu said.

Lesch said Choba arrived at his sister's house about 10.30pm. He parked

his car and was about to lock the gates when his niece, Elsie Mkhize, heard gunshots outside.

She phoned her parents and relatives who arrived on the scene and found Choba covered in blood.

He was rushed to Kalafong hospital where he was certified dead on arrival.

June 1 1992

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## **Plea to free two SA spies**

LUSAKA - Zambian Minister of Justice Roger Chongwe has recommended the release of two Namibians serving 25-year prison sentences for spying for South Africa, the official news agency Zana reported at the weekend.

It quoted Chongwe as saying that Patrick Muchinda Simasiku and Kennedy Simvula, who were convicted in November 1988, would be deported to Namibia if they were released. - Sapa-Reuter.

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## NEWS IN BRIEF

## Peace secretariat

STATUTORY provision for the establishment of the national peace secretariat and a special directorate to provide it with administrative assistance has been provided in a new Bill, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Internal Peace Institutions Bill also makes provision for certain justices of the peace to be able to issue orders to combat violence and intimidation when peaceful relations in a community are disturbed.

## Law for public entities

PUBLIC entities such as Transnet, Eskom and the CSIR would have to report to Parliament on their activities and financial matters in terms of a Bill tabled for debate, State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter said yesterday.

The Reporting by Public Entities Bill was drawn up following recommendations by the Browne Committee of Inquiry.

## Environment looked at

DEFICIENCIES in existing legislation regulating the protection of the environment were redressed in the Environment Conservation Amendment Bill, Environmental Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar said yesterday.

## Federal lobby

POLITICAL risk consultant Wim Booysse, provisional chairman of a new five-member lobby advocating federalism, said yesterday the aim of the Coalition for a Federal Democracy was to encourage Codesa participants to think in terms of a federal framework.

REPORTS: Political Staff, Sapa.

# Private firm to probe phone taps

CODESA's management committee agreed yesterday to employ a private company to investigate whether ANC phones were tapped during Codesa II last month.

Chairman Pravin Gordhan said the company would evaluate information collected by the ANC on the bugging to establish where the taps were placed and to propose preventive measures.

The management committee would then decide how responsibility for the bugging should be assigned.

The ANC yesterday claimed to have incontrovertible proof that three of its Codesa telephone lines were tapped.

In a document submitted to Codesa's daily management committee yesterday, the ANC blamed government for the tapping and suggested possible complicity by a Telkom technician.

Telkom last night said it regarded the allegations in a very serious light and would investigate the matter thoroughly.

A Telkom spokesman stressed that in terms of the Postal Act, no application to have a tap placed on a telephone could be made without the explicit permission of the president, the National Intelligence Service, the Law and Order Minister or a senior official named by the Minister.

"Telkom is very strict about the tampering with its telephone service and does not allow any unauthorised equipment to be linked to its network," the spokesman said.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ra-

PATRICK BULGER and  
STEPHANE BOTHMA

maphosa stated in the document that tests by a private investigation agency had shown that three lines were bugged.

A second opinion by Ineq private investigation firm technical director Andy Grudko, who had been supplied with computer printouts made by the first agency, confirmed the tapping, Ramaphosa said.

The document did not disclose the identity of the first agency.

The check revealed no suspicious devices inside the World Trade Centre — the venue of Codesa. However, technical experts said the devices were placed on three lines outside the building, probably at the Isando exchange, the document claimed.

The alleged culprit, the ANC stated, would have to have had technical equipment and resources at its disposal and unimpeded access to the Isando exchange.

The ANC submitted that the check made by the private company hired by the ANC and the expert opinion of Grudko provided incontrovertible evidence that three of its lines were being monitored.

Ramaphosa said: "Furthermore, the issue must be placed in the context of accumulating evidence as to how the different agencies of the state have been and are still operating. Without labouring the point, it is our considered view that one or other agency of the SA government is involved with the use of state funds and resources and activities aimed at destroying the ANC."

## Viljoen's return scotches resignation rumours

CAPE TOWN — State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen assumed his new portfolio yesterday after a month's rest from exhaustion — putting to rest rumours that he would resign under the cloud of the Development Aid scandal.

Refusing to react immediately to allegations of theft, corruption and bribery uncovered in his former department by Judge Benjamin Pickard, the former Constitutional Development and Development Aid Minister said he was orienting himself to his new job.

Viljoen's doctor ordered him to bed

BILLY PADDOCK

just days before the Pickard report was released. Rumours were rife in Parliament that he would resign.

Government sources said Viljoen would, in due course, react to the Pickard findings and the furore over his rejection of an advocate-general's suggestion that there was corruption in the Development Aid Department and that an investigation should be conducted. Viljoen was Minister from 1985 to 1989, the period most criticised by Pickard.

Viljoen's spokesman said he had given no indication that he would make any statement on the matter.

He said rumours of Viljoen resigning were "rubbish". While he was not moving into Tuynhuis because the Parliamentary session was almost over, there were preparations being made for him to occupy an office in the Union Buildings.

Viljoen's new job was seen by parliamentarians as a sideways shift to take him out of administrative functions and negotiations and make him more of a backroom strategist and adviser on negotiations.



# Van Eck faces suspension from parliament



Mr. Jan van Eck

Political Staff

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AFCT

2/6/92

ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck today faces suspension from parliament for the rest of the session in a motion of censure over his allegations of government complicity in the assassination of activists under former President P W Botha.

The Leader of the House, Minister of Correctional Services Mr Adriaan Vlok, will introduce a motion today that Mr Van Eck "offended the house in that he abused his privilege of freedom of speech" when he alleged that Mr Botha had ad-

mitted that he, through Military Intelligence and the National Intelligence Service, had been responsible for the assassination of more than 1 000 activists.

The motion recommends that Mr Van Eck be "suspended from service of the House and excluded from the precincts of parliament for the remainder of the session".

The motion stems from a challenge to Mr Van Eck by National Party MP for Brentwood and the party's chief defence spokesman Dr Boy Gel-

denhuys to say, by the weekend, whether he had proof of his allegations.

Mr Van Eck has refused to reveal his sources.

NP spokesmen said that in the light of this, they believed Mr Van Eck had misused his privileged protection to disseminate unsubstantiated and damaging claims.

An unrepentant Mr Van Eck, who described the motion as a "panic reaction", said today: "Killing the messenger will not stop the demands of the people

of South Africa to know exactly who ordered the killings".

"If I am suspended, I will use my time very effectively in attempting to uncover to an even greater extent the role of the government and security forces in the killings and violence over the past eight years," Mr Van Eck said.

Today's 30-minute snap debate starts at 6pm.

The Speaker's special permission for a debate to censure Mr van Eck was granted last night.



# If Mlangeni had listened to wife...

*Sowetan 2/6/92*

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**SLAIN ANC human rights lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni could possibly have been alive today if he had listened to a suggestion from his wife.**

This evidence emerged yesterday during the inquest into Mlangeni's death in the Rand Supreme Court.

Warrant-Officer Robert Brockway told the inquest yesterday that Mlangeni's widow told him she had asked her husband not to use the deadly walkman cassette recorder posted from Lusaka.

"She told me she had asked Mlangeni to play the cassette, 'Evidence on hit squads', on a bigger cassette player so that she could also listen.

"But the deceased switched the walkman on and there was suddenly an explosion," Brockway said.

Brockway, the second policeman to give evidence before Mr Justice B O'Donovan, said police had investigated all suspects who included the ANC and the rightwing.

Mlangeni died at his home on February 15 last year when a package containing the deadly cassette recorder

By KENOSI MODISANE

exploded.

Last week Captain André Kritzinger told the inquest that police considered three theories about the origin of the booby-trapped cassette player.

The package containing the deadly tape player was addressed to former member of the Civil Co-operation Bureau Dirk Coetzee and listed Mlangeni as the sender.

It was originally posted from Johannesburg to Lusaka and lay at a post office in Zambia for about eight months before it was returned to South Africa.

Kritzinger told the court that he had considered the possibility that Coetzee had sent the cassette to draw attention to the evidence he was to give at the Harms Commission of Inquiry into alleged hit squads.

His other theories were that the cassette recorder was sent by the ANC or from Vlakplaas, the base for CCB operatives.

## 'Anyone could rig cassette bomb'

By Susan Smuts

(327) 216992  
STAR  
Anyone with a basic training in explosives and a knowledge of electronics could have rigged the portable cassette player which killed ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni in February last year, an inquest at the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Captain Daniel Steenberg told Mr Justice D O'Donovan the explosion was triggered when Mr Mlangeni pressed the "play" button.

The court heard earlier that the player had been sent to former police captain Dirk Coetzee in Lusaka. Mr Coetzee could not pay the postage and had it returned.



As SA negotiates a new constitution it is vital to get guarantees on the media in writing, says Donald Trelford

# Press freedom is the key to all our other liberties

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THE fact that South Africa appears to be on the brink of an historic and in many ways astonishing breakthrough into a non-racial democracy is due in no small measure to the courage of the country's own journalists in exposing the evils and corruption of apartheid. And when they were prevented by censorship from publishing the truth in their own country, they showed equal courage and enterprise in ensuring that the facts reached the world outside.

My last visit here was for the centennial conference of The Star in Johannesburg in 1987, which took place during the state of emergency.

The political context of your press freedom debate has changed utterly, but it is important to remember that only the context has changed. The broader issues and principles raised then by all those distinguished speakers from around the world are just as relevant today. As your leaders negotiate the new constitution, it is absolutely vital that the principles

of free expression are enshrined in your law.

The sacrifices made by generations of courageous journalists and editors, and the contribution they have made to the process of democratisation in South Africa, can be rewarded by nothing less. If the country's new constitution fails to give full and adequate recognition to these principles, their courage will have been in vain.

So my first piece of advice about press freedom in South Africa is this: GET IT IN WRITING.

My instinct, based on some experience of such debates with governments — not only in Britain but in other countries around the world — is that everything is happening here at a pace which carries its own dangers. My advice would be to stick to a few basic principles, such as the right to freedom of expression and to freedom of access to public information, and get them accepted as an integral part of your constitutional settlement.

You can then set an agenda of subjects for more detailed discussion

later, when a representative government has been elected.

Issues such as media ownership, codes of practice, complaints procedures, the right of reply, and so on, are clearly important in any society and some agreement is needed about them. But they are not the reason why people are being killed every day in South Africa, or denied natural justice, which provides the case for urgency in your constitutional talks.

If you allow yourselves to be rushed into finding instant answers to such complex matters, which have defied easy solutions over many years in Africa, Europe and the US, you may live to repent them at leisure.

Of course it seems wrong in the new South Africa for the power over information to be effectively controlled by a handful of mainly white commercial interests. But that imbalance reflected the old power structure and may correct itself naturally, without government intervention, as the whole society changes. You risk finding yourselves saddled with legisla-

tion designed for a situation that no longer exists, but which haunts you indefinitely.

The government will doubtless argue — all governments do — that freedom of expression cannot be absolute, and that more urgent considerations, such as state security, must sometimes be paramount. In a society like this, going through a period of violent change, that can hardly be denied.

But you must insist that any such exceptions are subject to formal criteria, not just the arbitrary whim of a Minister trying to avoid political embarrassment.

These criteria should be subject to legal appeal and in reaching its decision the court should allow the press to introduce counter-arguments of public interest — a prime one being the public interest, enshrined in a constitution or Bill of Rights, in the free flow of information as part of the very definition of a democratic society. The press has a vital, dignified and responsible function to perform in any society that really claims to be free. No matter what

is wrong with a society, if the press is free the facts cannot be concealed for ever. While that is true, everything else is somehow correctable. That is why press freedom, a branch of freedom of speech, is the key to all our other freedoms.

This brings one to standards, codes of conduct, and to training — surely one of your most urgent priorities in South Africa and an area where a number of new initiatives are being taken.

This process is sometimes perceived as whites teaching blacks how to make the same mistakes as they do. It seems to me that you are already past that stage in South Africa. The so-called alternative press has been giving a strong lead in investigative stories which the established press have sometimes been slow to follow.

In any event, in the new South Africa, with a potential explosion in popular readership, you both have new things to learn — including broader criteria in deciding what makes news. I have been glad to see some en-

terprising experiment taking place here with forma design and the use of colour, for 11 newspapers — in Europe and America as well as in Africa — are faced with the challenge of taking newspapers indispensable, even relevant, to the needs of a new generation brought up on their media or no media at all.

Given the speed at which we have to work, we should not be ashamed to admit to honest mistakes. There is a natural inclination among us media folk to preserve a false pose of omniscience and cling together against the demands of our readers. We should never forget that the reader is our true master, not our owners or our rulers, but the reader. It is his or her trust that counts in the end. □

*This is an edited version of the Fairburn Memorial Lecture on Press Freedom, delivered by Donald Trelford, editor of The Observer, at last month's congress of the South African Union of Journalists.*





OK Bazaars' Mr MERVYN SEREBRO took children to enjoy National Environment Awareness Day at the Safari Ranch in Honeydew.



Miss TEBOGO MAKGATA, INGRID MAKGATA and DINEO NHLAPO from Soshanguve joined celebrities at the Miss Nasasa 1992 contest at the YMCA in Garankuwa, Pretoria.

# We were bugged says ANC

*Southern 2/6/92*  
SA Press Association 327

THE African National Congress yesterday submitted what it said was incontrovertible proof that its telephone lines at Codesa were tapped, and blamed the Government.

In a document signed by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and submitted to the daily management committee of Codesa, the organisation said tests by a private investigating agency showed that three telephone lines were bugged.

It would not name the agency.

Attached to the document was what appeared to be a photo-copy of a computer print-out for five tests carried out on three telephones on May 15.

The ANC said this print-out was given to the technical director of the INEQ private investigation firm, Mr Andy Grudko, for a second opinion.

"He confirmed that the print-outs showed that the three lines were tapped at the time that the tests were carried out."

## Possible complicity

The ANC's document suggested possible complicity by a Telkom technician at Codesa, apparently revealed when the technical expert arrived to do a physical check on the lines.

The check revealed no suspicious devices inside the building. However, the technical expert said the devices were placed on the three lines outside the World Trade Centre, probably in the exchange at Isando.

"On the basis of the check made by the private company hired by the ANC and taking into account the expert opinion of Mr Grudko with regard to the print-outs of the five test results, we submit that it is incontrovertible that the three telephone lines were being monitored."

Turning to who was to blame, the ANC said the alleged culprit would have to have technical equipment and resources at his disposal and unimpeded access to the Isando Post Office exchange.

"Furthermore, the issue must be placed in the context of accumulating evidence as to how the different agencies of the South African state have been, and are still, operating."

"Without labouring the point, it is our considered view that one or other agency of the South African Government is involved with the use of State funds and resources and activities aimed at destroying the ANC."



## Slovo wants media to sit in on talks

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

Codesa proceedings could be opened to public scrutiny when a decision is taken on June 15 on allowing the press access to management committee meetings.

All Codesa meetings, except for plenary sessions, have been behind closed doors. *STAR 2/6/92*

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo yesterday proposed that a rotating pool of journalists be allowed to sit in on meetings of the management committee.

It is understood the Inkatha Freedom Party was opposed to the proposal, while Government representatives wanted to discuss it with their principals.

Mr Slovo first mooted the idea last month at Codesa 2 when he proposed that the press be allowed in to Codesa proceedings. They would then be able "to see the Government delegates' faces when it was proposed that the words 'democratically elected' be added before the word Senate".

He said last night that "monumental ignorance and confusion" existed among the public about Codesa.

# AAC role in Press defended

By Derek Tommey 2/6/92

Anglo American chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson was scathing about allegations that his group interfered in the English-language press and it needed to be "unbundled".

He told a news conference yesterday he doubted whether there was any media group in the world where the editors and journalists had a freer time, and had less interference from their shareholders than Argus and Times Media.

Anglo American's involvement in the press had been a great success story.

"We find it rather strange that we should be continually lambasted for having helped bring about their independence and viability."

Anglo had received its shares in the Argus group from Charter Consolidated which had acquired them in a mining takeover and wanted to stick to its core business.

Anglo had acquired shares in Times Media from the Advowson Trust to stop it being taken over by people who it was thought at the time would not support the independence of the journalistic profession.

"We think there are journalists who do not agree. But we think we managed to maintain the freedom of the English-speaking press and its viability. And those are the two criteria which should govern."

"Any reconstruction of the press would have to meet these criteria," he said.



# Firearm licence dilemma

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Star 2/16/92

**I**N AN attack on the ANC last week, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel stated that "several hundred" ANC members had been arrested for unlawful possession of weapons since February 1990.

He did not stipulate how many had been prosecuted, but there has been a stream of cases through the courts. Philemon Manku of the Alexandra Civic Organisation and ANC branch was recently sentenced to a jail term for possessing two AK-47s.

When stopped at a roadblock he told police that he had in his bag arms and ammunition to establish protection units in strife-torn Alexandra.

Mr Manku testified he was driven out of the Nobuhle hostel in March 1991 by "men with weapons and red headbands". He told the court: "I fear for my life. These people attack any time. They'll kill anyone — even a child."

The argument of self-defence or defence of fellow residents in a situation where the police are unable to guarantee the safety of all is repeatedly advanced by activists charged with illegal possession of Makarov pistols, AK-47 rifles or other firearms.

The National Peace Accord stipulates that self-protection units should not be run on party-political lines, but notes that they are perfectly legal and that members of such units are legally entitled to carry licensed firearms.

So the question arises: Why do ANC members (or other township residents in possession of unlicensed guns) not license their firearms if they are intended purely for defence?

From the point of view of the authorities, this would reduce somewhat the huge number of unlicensed firearms.

It would separate those whose intentions were purely defensive — ordinary citizens and activists alike — from those intent on violent crime or politically motivated offensives. If it is such an obvious step in the right direction, then why is nobody doing it?

One probable reason is that it is about as hazardous — legally speaking — to try to license an unlicensed firearm as it is to keep such a weapon unlawfully.

The licence applicant invariably incurs a risk of being prosecuted just by setting the licensing process in motion.

**JO-ANNE COLLINGE** examines the wrangle over unlicensed firearms and activists' self-protection.

Asked how to license an unlawfully owned Makarov, police spokesman Major Ruben Bloomberg said: "What happens is that, as soon as it comes to the attention of the police, a case docket is registered and the firearm is confiscated."

"The docket is forwarded to the Attorney-General and once he has made his finding — once he has decided to prosecute or declined to prosecute — then the licence may be applied for in the normal way."

Major Bloomberg noted that prosecution did not block individuals from applying for licences; nor did a decision against prosecution necessarily mean the Makarov would be licensed.

Even in the most positive outcome — no prosecution and the granting of a licence — the time period would be extended by several weeks if not months. This would scarcely answer the need for immediate protection

groups — require. which many township residents — not only members of political

When it comes to AK-47s, as with all automatic weapons, the normal licensing procedure no longer applies. A permit from the Minister of Law and Order himself is necessary for a private individual to legally possess an automatic weapon.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze, asked if permits had been issued for possession of any AK-47s — particularly to members of the ANC security staff — replied with a monosyllabic "no". He then clarified: "No permits, not to the ANC or any individuals."

Another less complex option is for individuals who perceive themselves to be under threat to obtain firearms commercially, in the normal manner, and apply for licences. They would scarcely be asking for exceptional treatment: in 1991 179 241 firearm licences were granted and only 18 268 refused.

While the cost of weapons on the commercial market might be prohibitive for most township residents, a number of ANC security personnel and regional and branch officials have been granted licences this way.

However, the process is not always rapid. In the case of an ANC branch secretary on the East Rand, The Star learnt, a licence stamped in January was handed to the applicant only in mid-May despite regular inquiries at the police station. And there is the likelihood that activists might feature among the minority who have had licences refused.

The national secretary of the ANC Youth League, Rapu Molekane, facing charges of unlawful possession, is one who tried but failed to get a licence.

His wife, Patience — avoiding comment on the present charges — said Mr Molekane had applied for a licence some months before the police raid which preceded the current charges. The application concerned a firearm purchased in the normal way.

"After Rapu was charged, we were told that his application for a licence was not successful," said Mrs Molekane.

She pointed out that her husband's parents' home — where he had lived before his marriage — had twice been attacked in the 1980s and that he was still subject to unsettling surveillance. □

# SADF link to lawyer's murder

Sowetan 3/6/92.



EVIDENCE at the inquest into the death of ANC human rights lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni yesterday was that explosives available only to the SA Defence Force were used in the assassination.

Under cross-examination in the Rand Supreme Court investigating officer Warrant-Officer Robert Brockway said the micro-detonators stuffed into the earphones of the fatal cassette recorder were available from Nasionale Chemicals.

"Naschem had, however, run out of stock and they would only be available from the military," Brockway said.

Asked how one could obtain the chemical and other chemicals such as PETN, Brockway said: "Only a person in the military would have access to the chemicals."

"Alternatively, one would need to have strong contacts in the military for the supply of the chemical."

Brockway said he could not understand how another chemical, Nitroglycerine, a commercial explosive, was

By KENOSI  
MODISANE

also added into the explosives mixture.

He said the explosive was available from the mines and could also be obtained through contacts.

Under cross-examination Brockway said it was dangerous to work with the explosives.

"A person needs to be experienced or must have had military training to work with the explosives,"

he added.

In another development, Captain André Kritzinger, who gave evidence last week, was again called for cross-examination.

Kritzinger at some stage accused Counsel for Mlangeni's family of arrogance during cross-examination.

Kritzinger had apparently been asked about an explosives laboratory over which he had contradicted himself.



## Arms caché found

A caché of weapons, explosives and other military equipment was recovered from a flat in Kempton Park on the East Rand on Monday night. *Sowetan*

A 32-year-old former member of the SA Defence Force has been arrested in connection with the find, Witwatersrand police said yesterday. *31/6/92*

The caché consisted of seven live mortars, a R1 rifle, an anti-personnel mine, an AK-47 magazine and ammunition, more than 700 R4 and R1 rounds, 9mm and shotgun ammunition, Russian and Yugoslavian ammunition, 18 flares and some other types of ammunition.

The Police Bomb Disposal Unit also removed "various explosives" which were destroyed as they were considered highly dangerous.

SADF tents and equipment including detailed secret armament books were also recovered.

Police believe the suspect stole most of the goods from the SADF as he was employed in SADF stores for seven years. *Sapa*

# Massacre trial told of prowling cars

By Melody McDougall  
Vereeniging Bureau

The Vereeniging Circuit Court yesterday heard that three cars repeatedly drove past a Sebokeng house where a funeral vigil was in progress in January last year. Shots fired at mourners later that night killed 38 people.

This evidence was led by William Twala at the trial of seven men facing 38 counts of murder, eight of attempted murder as well as charges of unlawful possession of firearms and ammunition in connection with the massacre at the ANC night vigil.

They have pleaded not guilty to all charges before Mr Justice W Schutz and two assessors, and will deny any involvement in the incident.

The men are allegedly members or supporters of Inkatha. An eighth suspect was scheduled to be tried with the group, but was apparently shot dead during a robbery in Evaton last month.

Mr Twala told the court he was present at the wake in Zone 7 on the night of January 11 last year.

His task was to monitor "suspicious-looking" vehicles which passed by the house and to stand guard over the proceedings.

He said that during the course of the evening he noted several cars which aroused suspicion, and he jotted down their particulars. There were three cars which he regarded as particularly suspicious as they repeatedly drove past the house together.

## Recognised

However, he did not pass this information on to anyone else, as he was only expected to do so if anything happened. He recognised two of the vehicles as belonging to two of the accused.

Mr Twala said that while he was standing outside a tent on the premises where the night vigil was being held, he noticed six or seven people approach the gate to the property on foot.

They had four "long" guns and one pistol with them, and without saying a word, suddenly started shooting at those in the tent.

Mr Twala continues his evidence today.



## No evidence phones were tapped, says A-G

CAPE TOWN — The Auditor-General, Peter Wronsley, has found no evidence that his telephone or that of the Assistant Chief Auditor had been tapped.

According to a Sunday newspaper report, this happened during the Melamet Commission's investigation into the insurance industry.

STAR 3/6/92  
In a statement issued yesterday, the Auditor-General also denied reports that the Assistant Chief Auditor, Jaap Serfontein, had been taken off the case as a result of transcripts of the tap.

The Sunday Times reported that Mr Serfontein was investigating alleged bad management, irregularities and unsa-

tisfactory handling of third-party claims by Santam, the country's biggest short-term insurer.

(327) [REDACTED]  
The report alleged that Mr Serfontein was taken off the case after transcripts of conversations were handed to Mr Justice David Melamet.  
— Sapa.

# Company liquidations rise 72%

*Blouay 4/6/92*  
**PRETORIA** — Liquidations of companies and close corporations increased by 72,6% to 711 in the three months to end-April, compared with the same period last year.

The CSS disclosed yesterday that in the previous three months — November to January — the increase was 47,5%.

And insolvencies of private individuals tell a similar story.

They increased by 18,3% to 1 009 in the first quarter of the year compared with January-March last year.

Over the previous three months the increase was 3,5%.

The CSS said 224 companies and close corporations were placed under final liquidation in April alone. This was an increase of 49,3% compared with April last year.

Earlier this week CSS figures showed debt summonses in the first three months of the year had increased by 8,5% and averaged about 3 000 a day in the three months. Civil judgments for debt increased

*222 200*  
**GERALD REILLY**

by 11,5% — and averaged about 1 500 a day in the quarter.

Stellenbosch University's Bureau for Economic Research head Ockie Stuart said the debt pattern was consistent with an economy in deep trouble. And he stressed the number of individuals and businesses going to the wall would continue to rise until at least the end of the year — and well beyond the economy's turning point.

In another CSS release yesterday, figures showed a decrease in the workforce in the manufacturing industry of 14 100 to 1,4-million in the four months to end-February. And in the construction industry, the number of workers decreased by 5 900 to 376 600 in the same four months.

The number of blacks employed in manufacturing fell by 7 606 to 743 500, and in construction the numbers decreased by 4 500 to 268 100.

## Policeman misled investigator

*Blouay 4/6/92*  
**A SENIOR** policeman investigating the death of assassinated ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni yesterday admitted he had misled an independent forensic expert hired by the dead man's family.

Capt Andre Kritzinger admitted that when questioned by David Klatzow he had denied knowledge of a police explosives expert, Capt Wal du Toit, whom renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee had alleged was responsible for the booby-trapped cassette player which killed Mlangeni.

He told the court he had known Du Toit was in fact a colonel but had misled Klatzow because they had been arguing earlier and he was angry.

He denied he had lied to Klatzow.

*327*  
**SUSAN RUSSELL**

The policeman told the court he had no specific motive for misleading the forensic expert.

Kritzinger made these admissions under cross-examination at the inquest into Mlangeni's death, being heard before Judge B O'Donovan in the Rand Supreme Court.

Mlangeni was killed on February 15 last year when he activated a booby-trapped cassette player posted to him from Lusaka.

The cassette player and a tape marked "evidence of hit squads" had originally been posted to Coetzee in Lusaka where he had taken refuge with the ANC following his claims that he had been a member of a

police hit squad.

Coetzee did not collect the package and it was re-directed to Mlangeni who was listed as the sender.

Mlangeni was killed when he put on the ear-phones to listen to the tape.

Kritzinger, who investigated Mlangeni's murder under Lt-Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen, has denied police had not made a serious attempt to investigate the case.

It was put to him by counsel for the Mlangeni family, G Rautenbach, that when Klatzow spoke to him a month after the police were informed of Coetzee's allegations about Du Toit and his work at a police explosives laboratory, the allegations had still not been investigated.



# ANC family lives in fear after raid by police

By RUTH BHENGU

A SOWETO family is living in fear after a police raid last week during which a helper and one of their children were allegedly assaulted.

Mrs Nonqaba Musunkutu of Pimville, an executive member of the ANC Women's League and chairman of the Pimville branch, said she was called home from work by a "hysterical" helper who was with her children.

She said the raid was one of many incidents in a "consistent attempt to terrorise my family".

"Since the raid I have insisted we sleep on the floor in the lounge because I am afraid that something terrible is going to happen," said Mrs Musunkutu, whose husband, Kgapisi, is a senior member of the ANC.

"A few weeks ago our house was petrol-bombed."

Her helper Tshepiso (23), who was in the house during the raid, said there were more than 10 policemen.

"We heard a loud knock but we were too scared to open the door. A few minutes later the door was kicked open and a group of policemen came in. They asked us where the AK-47s were.

"When we said we did not know what they were talking about, they slapped me and one of the children, Queen, and demanded the keys to the garage.

"They started searching. Some were waving guns at the pictures of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo which are hanging on the wall," she said.

Since the couple married in 1977, police raids and searches have been a "way of life", said Mrs Musunkutu.

Each of them has received telephone calls saying the other had been killed in a car accident.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said yesterday a case of assault and malicious damage to property was being investigated and a docket would be sent to the Attorney-General before the end of the month.

# Captain: I misled Mlangeni expert

STAR 4/6/92

By Susan Smuts

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Captain Andre Kritzinger, one of the policemen investigating ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni's death, admitted to an inquest in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday he had intentionally misled an independent forensic expert who had been employed by Mr Mlangeni's family.

The forensic expert, Dr David Klatzow, later withdrew from the investigating team and accused it of a cover-up, saying it was obviously not interested in following up ideas and that the investigation would lead nowhere.

Mr Mlangeni was killed in February last year when a portable cassette player intended for former security police captain Dirk Coetzee exploded.

Mr Coetzee named Colonel Wal du Toit, who worked at the police forensic laboratory in Pretoria, as a possible suspect.

After an argument with Captain Kritzinger, Dr Klatzow taped the ensuing conversation in which Captain Kritzinger denied any knowledge of Colonel du Toit being at the laboratory.

Under cross-examination from G Rautenbach, appearing for Mr Mlangeni's family, Captain Kritzinger said: "There was no real reason to mislead him. I was just cross with him (Klatzow) at the time."

Dr Klatzow had referred to Captain du Toit, not Colonel du Toit, he added. He told Mr Justice B O'Donovan he had not

"blatantly" misled Dr Klatzow.

Although they were supposed to be co-operating with him, the police did not inform Dr Klatzow of a visit to the laboratory two weeks later "because he had not always arrived" when invited on other *in loco* investigations.

Captain Kritzinger admitted he had been sent to Natal during the Trust Feed massacre investigation, and that other policemen suspected he and General Ronnie van der Westhuizen — the senior investigating officer in Mr Mlangeni's death — had tried to cover up the facts.

Under cross-examination from E du Toit, SC, appearing for the Minister of Law and Order, Captain Kritzinger said there was not a shred of evidence before the court implicating either Colonel du Toit or any other policeman from Vlakplaas, the alleged base of police hit squads.

The court watched a police video of the scene of Mr Mlangeni's death, followed by a video which showed tests on the strength of explosives on a pig's head.

Mr Mlangeni's widow, Abigail, described seeing her husband hunched over the cassette player moments before the blast knocked him backwards. She ran for help and when she saw the ambulance, she realised her husband of two months was dead.

The hearing continues.



Star 4/6/92  
**Appeal for Trust Feed info**

Anyone with information on irregularities in the police force in connection with the 1986 Trust Feed massacre should submit this evidence, Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said yesterday. Information can be given to Willem Krugel, a former regional court president. Mr Krugel can be contacted at 30 Nuwe Hoop Street, Maroelana, Pretoria 0081, or Department of Criminal and Procedural Law, University of SA, Box 392, Pretoria 0001.

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BUSINESS DAY, Friday, June 5 1992

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327 **NEWS IN BRIEF**

**DP rejects information budget**

THE main aim of the SA Communication Services (SACS) was to abuse taxpayers' hard earned money to promote the NP, and the DP objected to the 24% increase in its budget, DP media spokesman Peter Soal said yesterday. *Blom 516192*

In his speech read by Roger Burrows (DP, Pine-town) he said that SACS (formerly the Bureau for Information) budget increasing by almost R10m to R51,5m was unjustifiable.



# Swaziland jails ANC trio

*Sowetan* 5/6/92



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MBABANE - Three young South Africans claiming to be members of the ANC were jailed for 30 days in Mbabane on Wednesday for illegal entry into Swaziland.

Moses Madalane Sotho, Lapson Makhubela and Thembisile Ngomane from the Nelspruit area arrived in the kingdom late last month and asked for political asylum and to be sent to a third country to continue their studies.

United Nations High Commission for Refugees offi-

**Sowetan Africa News Service**

cials in Mbabane said they could not make those arrangements.

The three pleaded guilty to illegal entry and could not pay a R50 fine. Police sources said they would be sent back to South Africa after their sentences.

# Postal bomb 'work of military experts'

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W/Mail 5/6-11/6/92

Weekly Mail Reporters

THE "walkman bomb" that killed human rights lawyer and African National Congress activist Bheki Mlangeni was the work of a highly trained professional with extensive contacts in the military establishment.

This was the evidence presented by explosives expert Warrant Officer Robert Brockway at the Mlangeni inquest in the Rand Supreme Court this week.

It also emerged in evidence that the investigating officer in the Mlangeni murder, Captain Andre Kritzinger, and his superior, Major General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, were among the policemen implicated in an attempted cover-up of the Trust Feed massacre in Natal.

On Wednesday, a grisly video of the death scene, showing close-ups of Mlangeni's mutilated head, was shown.

The court heard that a month before Mlangeni was killed, he had received an anonymous phone call informing him that a hit-squad had been despatched to Lusaka to eliminate renegade police captain Dirk Coetzee. At the time of the phone call Mlangeni was researching information to present to the Harms Commission on hit squad activities.

Mlangeni was killed in February last year when he played a cassette marked "Evidence hit squads" sent to him in a parcel from Lusaka bearing his name and address — after Coetzee, to whom the package was first sent, refused to accept it.

Brockway, based at Protea police station in Soweto, told Judge B. O'Donovan the explosive chemical PETN — used in the killer bomb — was only available from the army but could be obtained by someone with contacts in the military establishment.

In response to questions by advocate Guys Rautenbach, representative for the Mlangeni family, as to why he and his team only visited Vlakplaas, a training base for turned ANC guerrillas, three months after Mlangeni was killed, Brockway said: "I saw no need to question anyone at Vlakplaas."

Brockway conceded that he knew certain people at the base had had training in the manufacture and detonation of explosives.

Also giving evidence this week was Kritzinger, who as investigating officer in the Mlangeni murder was questioned on the progress made in his

inquiries.

He and Van der Westhuizen were both mentioned by Judge Andrew Wilson in the Trust Feed judgement as members of a team alleged to have interrupted investigations to determine the involvement of special constables in the Trust Feed killing.

Rautenbach put it to Kritzinger that he had stalled his investigations for up to three months as part of an attempt to conceal possible links between a Vlakplaas-based explosives expert, Colonel Vaal du Toit, and Mlangeni's murder.

Rautenbach pointed out that days after the killing Du Toit's name had been linked to the incident by Coetzee in a statement implicating police hit-squads.

Kritzinger admitted deliberately trying to thwart investigations by the Mlangeni family's independent forensics expert, David Klatzow, and his request to see the evidence, after telling the family's lawyers that it would be acceptable to make use of an independent expert.

He said his instructions to investigate Mlangeni's murder came from Van der Westhuizen, who had since resigned from the police force.

Kritzinger denied knowing Du Toit. After hearing a tape recording of his conversation with Klatzow, in which he admitted that he might have heard of Du Toit, he said he had seen Du Toit's name in the press.

The tape also made it clear that he had denied Klatzow access to a police forensic laboratory. Earlier, he denied doing this, saying Klatzow wanted to see "an explosives factory".

Brockway told the inquest the combined use of PETN and nitro-glycerine in an explosive was unprecedented in South Africa before the Mlangeni murder. He added that the SAP did not have micro-detonators, the device used to trigger the explosion, in their possession as they had no use for them.

Speaking from London this week, Dirk Coetzee told *The Weekly Mail* he could "solve the case in three days" by analysing the handwriting on the insurance slip pasted to the bomb's wrapping before it was mailed from the Joubert Park, Johannesburg, post office.

Kritzinger told the court police had employed a specialist to analyse the handwriting of Vlakplaas-based policemen, including Du Toit.



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**FORMAL REPRESSION**  
POLICE reported that two people

were being held under Section 29 and four under Section 3 of the Public Safety Act.

**SECURITY FORCES**

POLICE and army actions accounted for six deaths, five injuries and 32 arrests in the PWV, Eastern Transvaal and Free State between May 27 and June 2.

The security forces raided Phola Park and Alexandra. However, kwaMadala hostel — often the launching pad of attacks against Alex residents — was left untouched.

**HIT SQUAD ACTIONS**

A SENIOR member of the Pan Africanist Congress, Jan Choba, was shot and killed by unknown gunmen who opened fire on him with AK-47 rifles last weekend. He was hit seven times in the head and chest.

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6/9/79  
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# Agents 'killed Shoba'

*Sowetan*  
5/6/92 By MONK NKOMO

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PAN Africanist Congress cadre Mr Jan Shoba could have been ambushed and shot in cold blood by white State agents travelling in a white Ford Sierra, his family believe.

"Ever since his release from Robben Island two years ago, Jan has been harassed and followed by white men who at times staked our house for hours, apparently waiting for his arrival so as to kill him," a spokesperson for the family said in an interview with *Sowetan* yesterday.

Soon after his release about a year ago, Shoba was viciously assaulted and a female friend raped after they were ambushed by white men travelling in two cars and wearing balaclavas near a swimming pool in Saulsville, the spokesperson said.

Both were found by passers-by along Masopha Street at about 8pm. Shoba was covered in blood and apparently left for dead in the car.

## Petrol-soaked

A petrol-soaked piece of cloth and a match stick were found inside the car. The attackers were apparently disturbed while trying to set them alight, it is claimed.

A spokesman for the family, who did not want to be identified for fear of reprisals, said Shoba spent about two weeks in hospital.

"His new shirt was torn and soaked in blood. We still have it."

Shoba and members of his family also received telephone calls from an unknown white man who identified himself as Martin from Swaziland.

"He phoned almost every week asking for him despite the fact that we dropped the phone each time he called."

"A white Ford Sierra used to park a few metres from our house apparently waiting for him."

"Jan told us that there were certain people following him. But he did not tell us who they were," the spokesman said.

A few months before he was murdered, Shoba drove home one night but on arrival did an unusual thing outside the gate.

"He sat inside the car and blew the hooter. We suspected something was wrong. We went out and opened the gate for him. He then told us he was afraid because some people were following him wherever he went," the spokesman said.

## Under surveillance

At one stage, white men who identified themselves as policemen arrived at their house and told the family they wanted to search it.

"We refused and told them to produce a search warrant. They did not do so," the spokesman said.

After months of being under surveillance by these alleged State agents and surviving possible attacks, Shoba's luck eventually ran out on Friday night, May 29.

At about 10.30pm the man who acted as security guard for PAC second deputy president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, and who served in the PAC's intelligence department, arrived at his sister's house in Ntsu Street, Saulsville, driving his white BMW car.

Unaware that a violent death was awaiting him, he opened the gates and parked the car. He was about to close the gates when he was mowed down with AK-47 automatic rifles.

He was rushed to Kalafong Hospital where he was certified dead on arrival.

Born on July 26, 1959, Shoba died like countless other political activists of different organisations who were the victims of killers who have not yet been brought to book.



Mr DIKGANG MOSENEKE ... slain Jan Shoba was his bodyguard.



# Police 'raid the home of Dobsonville civic leader'

Sowetan 5/6/92 (327)

POLICE yesterday raided the Dobsonville, Soweto, home of civic association executive member and leading environmentalist Mr Japhtha Lekgetho after shooting incidents in the township.

The 3am raid, carried out by police in two Casspirs, two buses and a minibus was described by the Lekgetho family as "rough and callous".

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Fanyana Zwane could neither confirm nor deny the raid.

By VICTOR TSUAI

Lekgetho has reported the matter to the police.

He said the raid had left his family scared and confused.

"It leaves me with more questions than answers as to who is really behind the harassment of residents.

"I don't understand why they cannot come to me during the day because they know where to find me.

"Another curious coincidence is that they raided

my house hours after people were shot dead in the township," said Lekgetho.

He said he had contacted his legal advisers who suggested that he report the matter to the police.

Lekgetho alleges that when he went to report the matter at Dobsonville police station, a Mr Ludick, who claimed to be a senior officer, was reluctant to take down details.

Ludick allegedly told Lekgetho that there was nothing wrong with police raids.

**TED MAGILL**  
Weekend Argus Reporter

**SUSPENDED** but not silenced, ANC parliamentarian Mr Jan van Eck told Weekend Argus that the source of allegations he revealed to parliament last week was "close to the Botha family".

Mr Van Eck stunned parliament last week by reading allegations that former state president Mr P W Botha had admitted that the government was involved in the killing of black radicals.

Mr Van Eck was suspended from parliament this week after refusing to reveal his sources. He was accused of abusing his parliamentary privilege. His suspension prompted sharp criticism from the Democratic Party, who opposed the motion, the ANC and the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Mr Van Eck said the original allegations involving Mr Botha had been sent to him by fax machine.

"An anonymous caller said, 'Watch your fax'. When I saw the contents, I at first thought: 'This is too much', but then I had a telephoned follow-up which led to discussions with the person who sent me the information. We are talking about sources close to the Botha family."

At a rally welcoming him to the ANC last weekend, Mr Van Eck said other former senior security officials had come to him with further information. "They confirmed that the allegations presented to parliament were basically correct," he said this week. "I gave my word that I would protect the identities of all my informants."

"The allegations are all based on hearsay — admissions allegedly made by Mr P W Botha in conversation. There is no documentation but I felt there was more truth than the possibility of untruth. The worms are coming out of the woodwork — Goniwe really broke open the can."

"I have nothing personal against Mr P W Botha, but I was convinced he said these things. I felt it had to be brought to the public's attention in the national interest — the whole peace process is threatened by the past and pre-

sent involvement of security forces."

Mr Van Eck said this week he would work even harder to expose the government.

"If they think they have got rid of me, they are wrong ... this has motivated me to work 10 times harder to bring to light what they have done to this country."

"The people should be brought to trial. Then we can consider indemnity. But we have to know. They cannot go on pretending that nothing happened. We should be able to forgive, but not forget — and first we have to know."

Commenting on his suspension from parliament, an angry Mr Van Eck said the National Party had "further discredited and undermined the stature of parliament".

"They say I have offended the house, but they have offended the nation daily for 40 years — and they're still there," he said.

"It is a personal victimisation of myself and an attempt to deny the ANC the use of parliament. They suspended me in terms of a rule never before applied here and last applied in Westminster in 1882. In deciding to use that rule the NP is abusing its majority to hound an individual — no opposition MP has a chance if this rule is applied from now on."

"They did not even dispute the truthfulness of my allegations and they have made similarly serious allegations in the past. Even if I had said something verifiably true, it would still have been offensive to the NP."

The ANC slammed the NP late yesterday, saying that Mr Van Eck's "eviction" from parliament was "further proof that the NP had much to hide over the death squads issue and that its claims that the truth would be uncovered were rooted in hypocrisy".

The ANC called for the immediate resignation of "all ministers and government officials implicated in death squads, pending a full and unrestricted judicial inquiry of all activities — past and present."

During the debate on the draft resolution to suspend Mr Van Eck in parliament on Tuesday, DP spokesman Mr Roger Burrows said the parliamentary rule was last used in

the House of Commons in 1882 and had subsequently been altered to exclude disciplinary powers in matters of privilege.

Mr Burrows noted that Mr Van Eck had used the word "allegation" seven times, "not to matters he alleges, but which he says were alleged by others and which he wishes to place on public record and which he states further, require investigation".

He said Mr Van Eck had placed on public record allegations similar to some made outside parliament. He cited a section of the Goldstone commission report "which labels as one of the causes for violence in South Africa ... 'a history of some years of state complicity in undercover activities which include criminal conduct'".

Mr Burrows said the resolution would have the effect of constraining the freedom of speech in parliament.

Van Eck on  
fax tip-off

REC 6/6/92





# Nation can do no more than avert its eyes and hold its nose

**H**AVING jettisoned our sense of morality some time ago, we are succumbing to straightforward madness.

A considerable proportion of the Government's energies — and our resources — are being expended on matters which any rational outside observer would regard as clear manifestations of national insanity. This is happening with hardly a hint of protest or even curiosity from the nation.

There is, as we speak, a protracted dispute about "retrenchment packages" for employees of the Civil Co-Operation Bureau.

The people who were paid by the State to perform some of the filthiest acts in our history are complaining that their handshakes are not sufficiently golden.

These gentlemen now allege, in hurt tones, that the Government is mounting a "smear campaign" against its brainchildren. The Government, in response, refers the matter to Mr Justice Piet van der Walt. Gene Louw, our newest Minister of Defence, says with no obvious sense of irony that the judge will "assist in the termination of all relevant matters".

The relevant matter, surely, is that jail terms should be under discussion, not retirement packages.

Remember the sequence of events: the existence of the CCB was uncovered by journalists, at considerable risk to themselves. The Government, after not a little encouragement, agreed to establish a commission of inquiry. The commission called for the relevant CCB documents and witnesses. The documents were gone and the witnesses refused to testify. The then-Minister of Defence, uncharacteristically, said he was quite powerless to do anything about that. The commission freely conceded that it had been unable to fulfil its tasks. End of story.

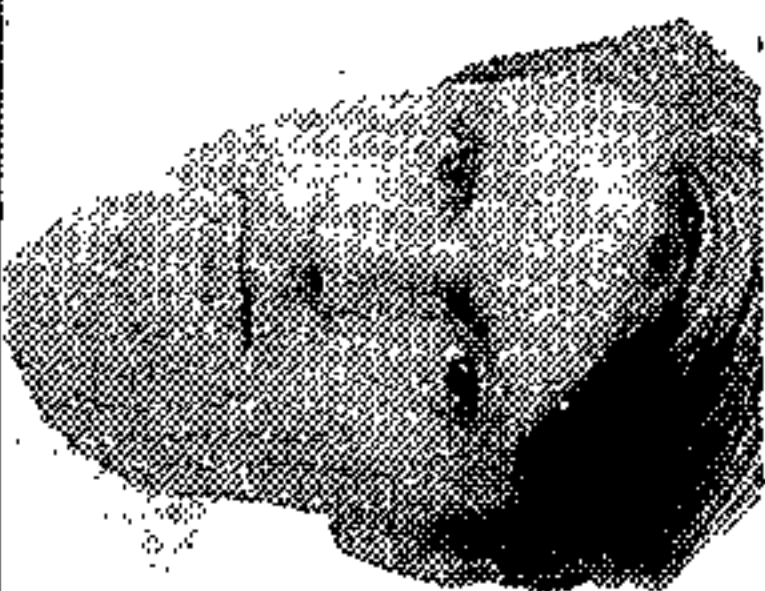
Now we have to listen to an argument over

SPM 26/92  
UNDERCURRENT  
AFFAIRS

**SHAUN**

**JOHNSON**

SPM 26/92



THE public's right to see culprits punished is one we surrendered long ago by allowing absolute power to corrupt absolutely — and with impunity.

How much money we must pay the people who gave the two-finger sign to the commission and went entirely unpunished.

Perhaps I am missing something here — although I can't imagine what — or we are swallowing an absolute outrage.

It has been openly stated that General Eddie Webb ordered the destruction of the CCB's files. Where is General Webb now? Where is "managing director" Joe Verster? Hagglings over their settlements for services rendered, no doubt.

The madness is by no means restricted to the CCB saga. We learn this week that a former director-general of the disgraceful Department of Development Aid — a man mentioned in the Pickard report — has just retired as a director of the SA Development Trust Corporation, with full pension benefits. Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers bids Gilles van de Wall farewell with thanks for his "committed and dedicated service".

Again I must ask: am I missing something

here? The Development Aid scandal was at least one that did not manage to get away. What has become of the public's right to see culprits punished?

It is a right we surrendered long ago by allowing absolute power to corrupt absolutely — and with impunity.

There are innumerable other examples. On whose behalf is a R100 million "credit line" extended to Russia when we lack millions of houses? The new headquarters for the National Intelligence Service is costing R145 million, instead of the budgeted R58 million. Who is it for? Why is it not stopped?

Instead of asking, we sit in mesmerised apathy, listening to ministers' high-minded mouthings about why a Member of Parliament should not be allowed to use Parliamentary privilege to air allegations about "dirty tricks".

Something was certainly done about Jan van Eck. Pity about the CCB — but then perhaps the CCB men have a hold on the Government which the hapless Van Eck does not enjoy.

There is a stink in the air, the stink of amorality. The silence of the victims merely heightens the likelihood of it becoming endemic, as much a part of the South African way of life as braaivleis, rugby, pap and fahfee. Because the nation allows this Government to behave like this, the next is more likely to indulge in variations on the theme. It is a nauseating prospect.

We need a caretaker government. Not necessarily the Government's "transitional structures" or the ANC's "interim council", both of which are designed to deliver maximum advantage to the respective parties, but a multiparty caretaker government in which everybody will at least be watching everybody else for signs of cheating. Meanwhile, the rot is setting, rock hard, while we, the people, do nothing but avert our eyes and hold our noses.

REPUBLIEK  
VAN  
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# Staatskoerant Government Gazette

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**No. 4882**

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Vol. 324

PRETORIA, 6 JUNIE 1992  
JUNE

**No. 14043**

## GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWINGS

### MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

**No. R. 1630**

**6 Junie 1992**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

#### VERLENGING VAN VERKLARING VAN GEBIEDE TOT ONRUSGEBIEDE

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 die verklaring van die gebiede in die Bylae vermeld, welke gebiede by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 529 van 11 Maart 1991 tot onrusgebiede verklaar is en welke verklaring op 10 Junie 1991 by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1371, op 9 September 1991 by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 2241, op 8 Desember 1991 by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 3040 en op 7 Maart 1992 by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 813 verleng is, vir 'n verdere tydperk van drie maande.

#### BYLAE

Dié landdrosdistrik van Johannesburg, insluitende die gebiede bekend as—

- (i) Soweto, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1506 van 17 Augustus 1956, soos gewysig;
- (ii) Meadowlands, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 2603 van 24 Desember 1954, soos gewysig;
- (iii) Diepkloof, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1797 van 9 September 1977.

Die landdrosdistrik van Roodepoort, insluitende die gebied bekend as Dobsonville, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1551 van 24 Oktober 1958, soos gewysig.

**H. J. KRIEL,**  
Minister van Wet en Orde.

## GOVERNMENT NOTICES

### MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

**No. R. 1630**

**6 June 1992**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

#### EXTENSION OF DECLARATION OF AREAS TO BE UNREST AREAS

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 the declaration of the areas mentioned in the Schedule, which areas were declared by Government Notice No. R. 529 of 11 March 1991 to be unrest areas and which declaration was extended on 10 June 1991 by Government Notice No. R. 1371, on 9 September 1991 by Government Notice No. R. 2241, on 8 December 1991 by Government Notice No. R. 3040 and on 7 March 1992 by Government Notice No. R. 813, for a further period of three months.

#### SCHEDULE

The Magisterial District of Johannesburg, including the areas known as—

- (i) Soweto, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1506 of 17 August 1956, as amended;
- (ii) Meadowlands, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 2603 of 24 December 1954, as amended;
- (iii) Diepkloof, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1797 of 9 September 1977.

The Magisterial District of Roodepoort, including the area known as Dobsonville, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1551 of 24 October 1958, as amended.

**H. J. KRIEL,**  
Minister of Law and Order.



No. R. 1631

6 Junie 1992

## WET OP OENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

VERLENGING VAN VERKLARING VAN  
GEBIEDE TOT ONRUSGEBIEDE

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 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, en welke verklaring op 8 Desember 1991 by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 3040 en op 7 Maart 1992 by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 812 verleng is, vir 'n verdere tydperk van drie maande.

**H. J. KRIEL,**  
Minister van Wet en Orde.

No. R. 1631

6 June 1992

## PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

EXTENSION OF DECLARATION OF  
AREAS TO BE UNREST AREAS

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 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, and which declaration was extended on 8 December 1991 by Government Notice No. R. 3040 and on 7 March 1992 by Government Notice No. R. 812, for a further period of three months.

**H. J. KRIEL,**  
Minister of Law and Order.

## INHOUD

No.		Bladsy No.	Koerant No.
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# Make room for independents — Mandela



(327)

SOUTH 6/6-10/6/92

Diversity in ownership of the media is a vital component of a free press, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in an address to international newspaper publishers in Prague:

**I** AWS AND mores which repress freedom of expression are a disservice to society, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in Prague last week.

He said the ANC was "firmly devoted" to securing the right of citizens to express an opinion, as long as the exercise of that right did not harm others.

He was delivering an address to a conference of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers.

Mandela said three large conglomerates dominated the print media in South Africa.

"This has produced an alarming degree of conformism in the South African print media.

"With the exception of one daily, the senior editorial staff of all South Africa's daily newspapers are cast from the same racial mould. They are all white, they are all male, they are all from a middle class background and tend to share a very

similar life experience."

Mandela said the ANC had no objection in principle with these profiles of editors, but believed this posed a threat of one-dimensionality for the media of the country.

"It is unacceptable that a country whose population is overwhelmingly black, 85 percent of the total, is served by a media whose principal players have no knowledge of the life experience of that majority."

The scandal that rocked South Africa last month, the revelations that members of the government shared responsibility in ordering the deaths of four activists, reaffirmed the crucial role of a diverse and independent press in South Africa.

The investigations which uncovered the "sordid facts" were conducted by small, independent publications which pioneered a tradition of investigative journalism South Africa had sorely lacked for 30 years.

"That the criminals in high places responsible for these deeds might

one day soon be brought to justice is a tribute to the alternative and independent weekly newspapers.

"The courage shown by these endeavours needs also to be recognised."

Mandela said the independent weeklies had kept the flag of press freedom flying in the face of draconian censorship.

"They offered a platform to people and issues excluded from the mainstream print media. This media has begun to follow the lead given by alternatives in order to compete.

"The removal from South Africa's statute books of the scores of laws, ordinances, regulations and administrative measures that abridge the rights of South African citizens to know the truth and which repress the freedom of the media to publish, is essential for the creation of a climate of free political activity.

"We have insisted that this be effected as speedily as possible, because these laws provide a convenient shield to conceal government misdeeds.

"They also inhibit the growth of a democratic culture that is beginning to find roots, and which needs careful nurturing."

Mandela said the tradition that emerged in the media must be safeguarded if democracy was to be achieved in the country.

A critical, independent and inves-

tigative press free from state interference was the lifeblood of any democracy.

"It must have the economic strength to stand up to bullying by government officials; it must be protected so our rights as citizens are protected."

The ANC wants to include in a constitution measures to ensure the free flow of ideas and information.

The extension of the diversity the alternative newspapers had injected was of vital importance.

"The huge imbalances that persist in the press sector between the handful of struggling independent, alternative newspapers and the giant monopolies — Argus, Times Media Limited, Nasionale Pers and Perskor — must be redressed."

Mandela said a new political climate had been created through a struggle in which the alternative media played an outstanding role.

He hoped this climate would afford the two sides of the media industry an opportunity to accept each other as partners, with a shared interest in defending freedom of the press now and in the new dispensation.

He stressed that the mainstream media had an equal interest in ensuring the diversity of the South African press, even in the face of economic pressures that induce monopolies.

"As the South African newspaper industry rejoins the world media community, it is important that meaningful steps are taken to reduce the imbalances in control and access to the media.

"In this regard, it is necessary that the conglomerates who today beside the South African media like colossi, find ways to disengage themselves so as to make room for other players."

Mandela said freedom of the press was among the most valued of the freedoms for which South Africans had given their lives.

Among them were two ANC militants and journalists, Joe Gqabi and Ruth First, who were both assassinated by South African intelligence agents 10 years ago.

"It would be a slight to their memory and to their pioneering work if, by our actions, we proved unworthy of their sacrifice."

Mandela said a free press in a democratic South Africa would resist the appetite of any government to amass power at the expense of citizens. It would also be the vigilant watchdog of the South African public against the temptation of the government to abuse power.

"This is all the more reason why the press in South Africa, including its ownership, should reflect the composition and varied viewpoints of all our people," Mandela said.



# Light falls on dark deeds

Star 6/6/92

327

IT is about 200 km from Wesselson near Ermelo to the NGK Synod Hall in the centre of Pretoria.

It is nearly 22 months since that Eastern Transvaal township was convulsed in violence as both the African National Congress and Inkatha tried to hold funerals for comrades killed in earlier bloodshed, and clashed again in Wesselson's dusty streets.

One man at the ANC funeral was attacked at the graveside and pumped full of 9 mm shells.

This week, in a large conference room, four "judges", five advocates, a handful of witnesses and an interpreter were trying to make sense of what happened on that brutal day — August 11 1990.

This is the daily work of the Goldstone Commission, far removed from the war of words that boiled up around it last week. The process is deliberate rather than dramatic, a painstaking attempt to uncover the roots of past violence so that

these may be dug up to prevent such bitter fruit from flourishing again.

This inquiry has been investigated reports published in the Weekly Mail that 200 Inkatha men were taken to an SADF base in the Caprivi in 1986 for six months. There, it is alleged, they were turned into crack gunmen and then deployed in the war against the ANC and its allies, in Wesselson and elsewhere in the country. There is much more at issue than just finding out who committed a murder.

The "commissar" of those trainees, Daluxulo Luthuli, is in the dock. He does not deny going to Caprivi in charge of the 200 men, but he disputes that they were being trained to act as gunmen. Their future role would be to protect the officials and property of the KwaZulu government from the growing threat posed by ANC-aligned groups in Natal, he says. Ironically, Luthuli himself was once an ANC guerilla and spent time on Robben Island after being convicted.

Luthuli was in Wesselson on that day in August, in a

**Painstakingly, the Goldstone Commission tries to make sense of what happened on a brutal day in August 1990, when an ANC man was gunned down at a funeral. Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN reports.**

car in which firearms were found. Police arrested him, but charges were withdrawn.

Sergeant Anton Botha, a detective-sergeant at Ermelo, who first investigated the murder, takes the stand. Du Toit's questioning reveals that statements taken at the time of the incident have gone missing. Conspiracy? Carelessness?

The process of cross-examination is laborious, each questioner with little brush-strokes trying to paint a picture of what happened. Then suddenly a firm denial, a



**EAGLE EYE:** Mr Justice R S Goldstone probes violence.

convincing explanation, wipes a smear in paintwork just beginning to dry.

In the corridors outside — watched over by stern black and white portraits of NGK moderators — advocates meet their clients during breaks and insist everything is going fine.

One is struck by the fact that were it not for the Commission, many things would not have been dragged into the daylight — the existence of the Caprivi camp, the nature of the police investigation into the Wesselson shootings. Whether any

wrongdoing is proved is perhaps less important than a slow retrieval of the public's right to know.

Even so, the difficulty the Commission faces in pinning down the facts is a telling reminder of just how far truth and the law have been twisted in this country, of just how many dark corners exist for the planning and practice of dark deeds. A newspaper billboard in the street outside reads: "Soweto Savagery as 17 Die" — a reminder that while these horrors are being investigated, fresh blood is being

spilled. And each day the commissioners pass the offices of the Pickard Commission, which is housed in the same building — a reminder, perhaps, that there is no way of knowing how this Government will react to the findings of inquiries it sets up.

But for all the obstacles, those involved in the Commission believe it can make a difference. The commissioners believe that they can play a preventive role, particularly when they have advanced warning. Earlier this year, a timely inquiry revealed that an alleged ANC plot to murder Zulus on the Reef — which prompted strong war talk in response — was based on the flimsiest of evidence.

While he is unwilling to give public interviews, Mr Justice Goldstone has made it clear that he sees the work of the Commission as more than just the sum of its parts. His second interim report gave a clear indication of where he wanted the Commission to go. Unnoticed in the row over who should bear the bulk of the

blame Judge one of most in to act process police has the and co-majori South A The both wi in the c sion's v peritse week in forum i proache mass d findings presen month, finally The sion int lar pro intenti what is quires ing jus order. cians — evidence fault — to be le seen.



# gnt fails on dark deeds

Star 6/6/92

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blame for the violence, Judge Goldstone said that one of the Commission's most important functions "is to act as a catalyst in the process of transforming the police force into a body that has the confidence, respect and co-operation of the vast majority of the people of South Africa".

The first attempt to use both what has been learned in the course of the Commission's work and outside expertise will take place next week in Cape Town, when a forum will consider new approaches to the policing of mass demonstrations. The findings of the group will be presented in public next month, opened to debate and finally proposals for legislation will be made.

The Goldstone Commission intends setting up similar processes. The long-term intention seems to be that what is learned from the inquiries can help in recasting justice and law and order. Whether the politicians — in their haste to find evidence of the other side's fault — allow these lessons to be learned, remains to be seen.



## Justice Minister applauds media

THE role of the media in exposing large-scale corruption in both public and private sectors deserved high praise, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said on Friday. (327)

"The watchdog role of the media should be encouraged to play a positive, objective and analytical role," he said while replying to the Second Reading debate on the Corruption Bill.

The two-and-a-half hour debate on the Bill resulted in support from all parties except the Conservative Party.

CLP/rev 7/6/92

SHOWN THE GATE: Jan van Eck leaves the house after being suspended. Picture: TERRY SHEAN. majority in the Assembly to overturn opposition from the CP, the DP and the ANC. and Priviled

# Pik sticks on federal model

THE ANC has told the government it will not renege on agreements reached at Codesa over a six-month period — but little else was achieved at a closed-door meeting this week aimed at averting civil protest in July.

The ANC, represented by secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and negotiation committee members Mohamed Valli Moosa and Joe

By MIKE ROBERTSON  
Political Correspondent

Slovo, and the government, represented by Acting President Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, his predecessor, Gerrit Viljoen, and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, met at the Presidency in Pretoria on Tuesday this week.

Government members said Mr Botha had bluntly told the ANC the

government insisted a new South African constitution be based on a federal model which made provision for power sharing at all levels.

ANC members said their negotiators had made it clear they were not even prepared to discuss these concepts before clarity had been reached on the election of a body to draw up a constitution and the manner in which it would operate.

Participants said the meeting was generally cordial. They agreed to meet again next week to discuss:

- Time frames for the implementation of Codesa decisions;
- The functioning of structures that would be appointed to oversee elections for an interim government;
- Regional and local government in the transition;
- Deadlock breaking mechanisms.

Mr Botha said after the talks it was his impression the ANC was not reneging on agreements already reached at Codesa.

## Positive

Another top government member said this was confirmed by an agreement reached by Codesa's management committee that working groups, which had already achieved substantial agreement, should be mandated to finalise outstanding matters.

He said the meeting with the ANC had been positive in that the government had been able to clarify its position on regionalism and power sharing.

The source said the government had made it clear it would insist on Codesa agreeing that the new constitution should contain important elements of a federal model.

Mr Moosa said the statements made by Mr Botha and by President FW de Klerk while abroad in Japan were an attempt to cloud the real reason for the deadlock.

## Voters

The ANC believed the government was not prepared to allow a democratically elected body to draft a new constitution.

He said Codesa could not decide on important constitutional matters, such as federalism, as many of its participants had no support base.

The voters of the country, he said, should be allowed to elect the people who would make decisions on these crucial issues.

Mr Moosa said the ANC agreed that a final constitution should be decided by a special majority. But that majority should not be so high as to allow the minority to dictate the contents of a new constitution.

## DP calls for judge to hear CCB evidence

By MIKE ROBERTSON  
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party finance spokesman Jasper Walsh has called on the government to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry to hear evidence from Civil Co-operation Bureau members.

However, he supported a decision by the chairman of Parliament's public accounts committee, Dr Francois Jacobsz, to refuse to allow CCB members to appear before the committee, "as it was not the right forum".

Mr Walsh said he had spoken to former CCB managing director Joe Verster.

"There is obvious concern on the part of the CCB members that they are being blamed for things such as the murder of David Webster and the Coniwe killings. They claim they were not involved.

"Now that the CCB has been disbanded and accused of acting beyond their instructions its members will continue to be con-

venient scapegoats for allegations, such as those about the murder of activists. That suspicion will continue until the full truth emerges about their operations."

Mr Walsh was not happy with the decision by new Defence Minister Gene Louw to refer all outstanding matters relating to the CCB to Ombudsman Mr Justice Plet van der Walt.

CCB members and SADF representatives were scheduled to meet Mr Justice van der Walt yesterday.

Mr Walsh said the matter should not be resolved behind closed doors and called for an open public inquiry.

He said he was particularly concerned by an allegation made by Mr Verster this week that SADF General-Eddie Webb had ordered CCB allies to be removed.

A recent report by the auditor-general said CCB members had R3-million of pension fund money in their possession. They also controlled an overseas account which contained R800 000.

## Fraud splits sugar barons

From Page 1  
their shares to the Brett Hulett Family Trust, in which they had held 30 percent.

The trust had then sold its total shareholding to Attest Finance (Pty) Ltd for R2-million. Attest sold the shares to Baystone Sales.

The appellants contended they would not have sold to the trust had they known of the Baystone interest and had claimed damages in the Natal Supreme Court for the loss they suffered.

Mr Justice PW Thirion absolved Mr Brett Hulett in 1990 after finding "it had not been proved the shares were sold to the trust because of a fraudulent misrepresentation".

However, Mr Justice

Hoexter said it was common cause that at the time Mr Hulett was clinching the R2-million deal, he was fraudulently misrepresenting to the appellants that, if they sold their shares to him, he would retain them in order to exercise control over the company and continue running the quarry business.

The appeal judge quoted a report from the manager of the Stanger branch of First National (Mr Brett Hulett's bank) to his general manager which said, regarding an overdraft application related to the deal: "He is negotiating a deal (behind his co-directors' backs) to sell the company and land to Murray and Roberts for R2-million."

In assessing the close relationship which had ex-

isted between the defendant and the appellants, the appeal judge recorded that Mr John Hulett's wife, former top model Yvonne, was godmother to Brett's daughter, and that Brett and his wife were godparents to John's son.

The Townsends were not related to the Hulett by blood but in his evidence, the appeal judge recalled, Mr John Hulett had said that "Townsend's family and our families were very, very close".

The appeal judge said Mr David Townsend had testified: "The defendant and I have been ... best friends for the last 40-odd years. We have been on holiday together, we had houses at the beach together, alongside each other; the defendant proposed a toast at my eldest daughter's wedding."

Damages of R250 205 were awarded to Mr John Hulett, R84 890 each to Miss Townsend and Mrs Maingard, and R80 423 to Mrs Fowlds. The claimants were represented by Mr David Gordon, SC, and the defendant by Mr Peter Olsen.

**AUSTRALIA  
NEW ZEALAND  
SPECIAL AIRFARES**



MR FINSBOO'S house.  
The man drove away when confronted by the police, but

MR KNOUWDS'S telephones  
had been bugged. But transcripts of taped conversa-

KNOUWDS.  
On Wednesday, his attorney, Mr Johann Breitenbach,

fraud totalling R20-million  
and at least one fictitious claim of more than R800 000

# Senior cop discredited — again

SITimes 7/6/92

By HEATHER ROBERTSON

FOR the second time in less than three months a senior policeman's behaviour has been discredited in court.

Captain Andre Kritzinger, a senior investigating officer in the "walkman bomb" killing of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, admitted this week in the Rand Supreme Court that he had misled forensics expert Dr David Klatzow.

Captain Kritzinger was giving evidence at Mr Mlangeni's inquest.

Dr Klatzow had been appointed by the Mlangeni family to investigate the killing which took place in February last year.

During cross-examination, counsel for the Mlangeni family Gys Rautenbach argued that Captain Kritzinger's investigations were inadequate.

A tape-recorded discussion showed that Captain Kritzinger refused to co-operate with Dr Klatzow even though the Minister of Law and Order had agreed that the family could appoint an independent forensics expert.

Captain Kritzinger refused to inform Dr Klatzow of his list of suspects and denied

knowledge of Captain Wal du Toit, a police explosives expert who fugitive policeman Dirk Coetzee claimed was responsible for the booby-trapped bomb which killed Mr Mlangeni.

Dr Klatzow was denied access to a police explosives laboratory where Captain Du Toit was alleged to have manufactured sophisticated bombs for the police anti-terrorist unit.

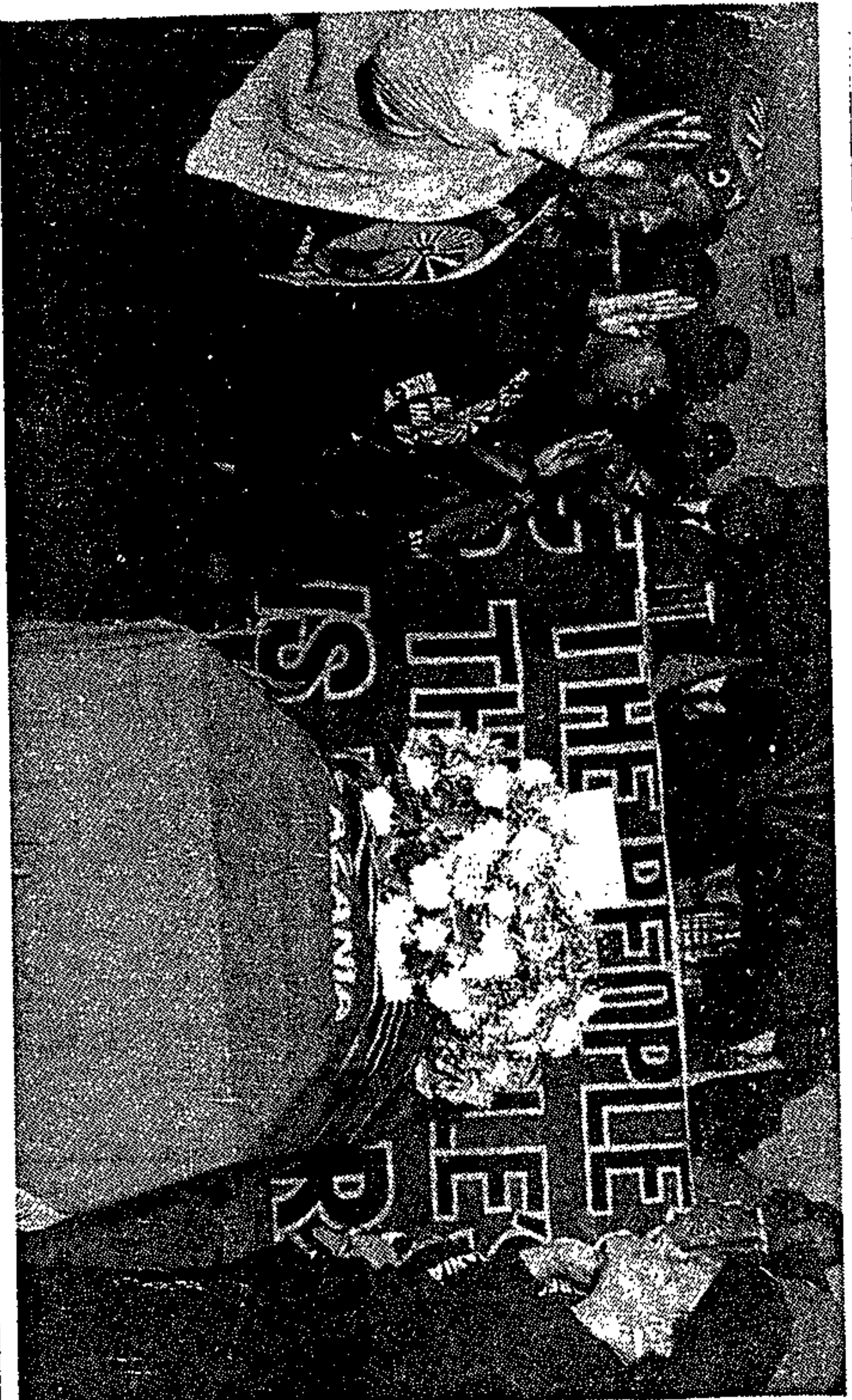
Captain Kritzinger also admitted he had not considered compiling a list of suspects from former colleagues of Coetzee who were incriminated by him in the

Harms Commission.

Evidence during the inquest was that Captain Kritzinger was the same policeman whose behaviour during the investigation into the Trust Feed massacre caused "grave doubts" in the mind of the judge in the case, Mr Justice Andrew Wilson.

Mr Justice Wilson sentenced Captain Brian Mitchell to death for his part in the massacre. He also called for a public inquiry into the behaviour of Captain Kritzinger and others who worked under the now retired General Ronnie van der Westhuizen in the initial Trust Feed probe.

2 000km  
SEARCH:



Mourners making the Pan Africanist Congress salute flank the coffin of PAC member Mr Jan Shoba during his funeral in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on Saturday.  
Pic: JONAS MANKGA

# Varsity funds 'race-based'

*Sowetan 8/6/92*  
*[Signature]*

## PAC talk war at Shoba funeral

*Sowetan 8/6/92* By MONK NKOMO *[Signature]* (327)

BLACKS in South Africa will only be liberated through the intensification of the armed struggle and not through negotiations with the "racist, minority regime".

This was said by several speakers at the funeral on Saturday of Mr Jan Shoba, PAC member and deputy commander of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army who was shot dead at his sister's house in Saulsville on May 29.

The service, held at the Atteridgeville community centre, was attended by thousands of people and speakers included members of the African National Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

### Dedicated soldier

Almost the entire national executive committee of the PAC attended the funeral.

They included deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke; Mr Johnson Mlambo, former APLA commander; Mr Enoch Zulu, Mr Benny Alexander, Mr Barney Desai and Mr Gorah Ebrahim.

Also present was Mrs Veronica Sobukwe, wife of the late founder member of the PAC, Mr Robert Sobukwe.

A message from APLA forces in Dar-es-Salaam was read by Zulu, who described Shoba as "a dedicated soldier committed to the liberation of his people".

Alexander said the armed struggle was a legitimate form of fighting South Africa's illegitimate regime.

The PAC's national executive committee, he added, was "incurably addicted to the fact that the armed struggle must continue. And we will not betray that cause".





REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

# Staatskoerant Government Gazette

*Regulasiekoerant*

**No. 4883**

*Regulation Gazette*

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Vol. 324

PRETORIA, 8 JUNIE 1992  
JUNE 1992

**No. 14044**

## GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING

### MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

**No. R. 1632**

**8 Junie 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 Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1359 van 8 Mei 1992, waarby sekere gebiede tot onrusgebiede verklaar is, met ingang van 8 Junie 1992 in.

**H. J. KRIEL,**

Minister van Wet en Orde.

## GOVERNMENT NOTICE

### MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

**No. R. 1632**

**8 June 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 8 June 1992, Government Notice No. R. 1359 of 8 May 1992, whereby certain areas have been declared to be unrest areas.

**H. J. KRIEL,**

Minister of Law and Order

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By Jo-Anne Collinge

51A4  
8/6/92

## Photographer 'saw police taking goods' (321)

Mr Khambule and his brother

arrived soon after this.

"When I came home at about

11.20 am I saw there were a lot

of police cars near my house—

about 10 vans, two Hoppers and a

microbus," said Mr Khambule.

"Then I saw my house door

was broken and there were po-

lice in my front yard.

"When I went inside I found

the TV and the videos gone. I've

got a wardrobe where I keep

my money. It was broken and

the money was stolen."

Soweto shopkeeper Victor Khambule came home yesterday to find police swarming around his Mzimhlope home where the front door was smashed in and a television set, two video machines, a radio and about R8 600 in cash were missing, he said.

Earlier, The Star's photographer, George Mashini, photographed policemen in camouflage uniform carrying a television set and a video machine from Mr Khambule's home in Carr Street, Mzimhlope.

According to Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn, police had confiscated a television set and video machine because the items lacked serial numbers.

The search of a number of houses in the area had been prompted by a report that a man had been seen brandishing an AK-47 rifle, said Colonel Halgryn.

Mashini disputes the police claim that the arrest was made at the Khambule house.

Attracted to the area by the large number of police vehicles in the road, Mashini said he

witnessed policemen searching a house near the Khambule home and saw them arrest a man there.

After this, the police proceeded to the Khambule house where they broke down the front door, said Mashini.

He insisted that there was no body at home at the stage when goods were removed by the police from the house.

They had arrested a man at the house where the goods were seized, he said.

# Hit list plot

Trade union bosses the target

*Sowetan 9/6/92*

327

**A MYSTERIOUS hit list targeting Vaal trade union officials for assassination is threatening to cause a new wave of violence.**

More than 20 top-ranking officials of the Vaal branch of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa are on the list, *Sowetan* has learnt.

By VICTOR TSUAI

Already three trade unionists have been assassinated under mysterious circumstances.

The latest victim, whose name apparently appeared on the list, was KwaMasiza Hostel Iscor worker Mr Gwebu Nongwetyana who, with his child, was shot dead at their home

● To page 2

## Hit list may inflame violence

*Sowetan 9/6/92*

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● From page 1

on Friday night.

The other victims were Mr Frans Monakedi who was killed last week, and Mr Colbert King, who was gunned down a fortnight ago. All those killed were Numsa members.

Numsa officials were yesterday tight-lipped about the hit list "because of the far-reaching, harmful ramifications the list

would have on the community".

Although the officials confirmed the existence of the hit list, they refused to divulge names "because of precautionary measures".

Officials of Numsa's Vaal region were also locked behind doors yesterday discussing the list.

The list, according to high-ranking Numsa Vaal region officials, contains the names of officials tar-

geted for assassination.

They include shop stewards, mostly based at the giant Iscor steel corporation in Vanderbijlpark, and fulltime union officials.

According to *Sowetan's* information, the man suspected of being behind the hit list is a leading African National Congress official in the area.

The official, whose name is known to *Sowetan*, confirmed there was a hit

list but refused to discuss its origin.

"It would be a basic untruth to link me with the list," charged the official.

"I have heard about the list but I flatly deny that I'm behind it. The rumours are basically spoiling my good name in the community, for which I have fought for ages.

"As far as I'm concerned the list has its origins at KwaMasiza Hostel and, as a reporter, you

should go there and speak to the people concerned."

The man refused to name the people he suspected of being behind the hit list.

Numsa officials have indicated that a Press conference on the hit list will be held before the end of the week.

Yesterday a delegation from the Vaal branch was holding urgent talks with officials at Numsa's head office in Johannesburg to discuss the list.



Sunday to midnight between the following Saturday and Sunday).

- 4.3 A maximum number of hours equal to 20% of the official hours may be spent on limited private practice. In respect of full-time personnel it is 8 hours per working week of 40 hours and 11½ hours per working week of 56 hours.

- 4.4 Additional control measures aimed at achieving the goals and in order to comply with the conditions in this document, may be laid down by departments/administrations (The South African Defence Force is naturally also a department) after consultation with the supervisory board where applicable.

- 4.5 The type of limited private practice or combination of practices (faculty group practice, departmental group practice/unitary group practice and individual private practice) is the option of the relevant department/administration in consultation with the supervisory board and the faculty where applicable. A faculty group practice is recommended where possible. Limited individual private practices at academic hospitals should only be permitted if the Policy Council for Academic Hospitals approves the principle thereof.
- 4.6 The supervisory board of each academic complex must itself manage and finance the implementation and operation of limited private practice. At non-academic hospitals/institutions the relevant department/administration must ensure that the principle of non-involvement by the government is maintained.

- 4.7 Private practice may in special circumstances and in the discretion of the department/administration, be performed outside the own institution at private institutions or other state institutions. In respect of academic hospitals the supervisory board must be consulted beforehand.

- 4.8 Participation in limited private practice will be with retention of salary, compensatory payments (including the non-pensionable professional allowance) and other conditions of service including future adjustments/improvements of the dispensation.

- 4.9 Because of the possible implications of limited private practice on the private sector, this should be discussed with local

interest groups in the health sphere prior to the implementation of limited private practice.

- 5.0 Private patients who are prepared to serve as training cases will not receive any discount.

#### Preconditions

- 5.1 Personnel must submit applications to operate a private practice for consideration in accordance with the provisions of section 24 of the Public Service Act, 1984 (Act 111 of 1984).

- 5.2 Limited private practice is a privilege and not a right. The continuation thereof will be considered from time to time to determine whether its objectives are still being met. The first such evaluation for the period ending on 31 March 1993 must be done by the submission of a report to the Department of National Health and Population Development.

- 5.3 Neither the care of state dependant patients, nor the training of personnel or research may in any way be curtailed and may under no circumstances be jeopardized by private practice.

- 5.4 Expansion related to the administration of limited private practice—financial or otherwise—may not be defrayed from state funds. State revenue may not be sacrificed and no resources/facilities may be utilized without the necessary levy. If levies other than those already approved occur, motivated requests must be referred to the Department of National Health and Population Development for co-ordination and submission to the Department of State Expenditure.

- 5.5 Private patients must still be able to exercise a free choice regarding their medical practitioner, dentist or specialist and in respect of treatment by the limited private practice.

- 5.6 It is not the intention that the financial needs of health authorities regarding treatment of state dependant patients be offset against funds generated by limited private practice.

- 5.7 Limited private practice must be administered within the current scale of benefits which is determined by the Representative Association of Medical Schemes.

- 5.8 At hospitals where limited private practice is in operation, the 30% levy on profes-

sional fees applicable to patients who are treated by participants of the scheme, is discontinued.

#### 6. Legal requirements

- 6.1 The legitimate rules and regulations of the hospital/institution/clinic where limited private practice is in operation must still be observed by the relevant personnel.

- 6.2 Personnel who participate in limited private practice are accountable in respect of that practice and all resulting claims will consequently be the responsibility of the persons concerned.

- 6.3 Registration of the group practice with the SA Medical and Dental Council and the Association of Medical Schemes is the responsibility of the faculty/personnel.

- 6.4 Existing agreements between health authorities and universities must, where necessary, be adjusted.

- 6.5 The measures contained in this document may at any time be adjusted, amended or revoked.

#### Kaolin mine at Noordhoek

- \*12. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:

- (1) Whether the Government has inspected the site of the proposed kaolin mine at Noordhoek to determine whether protected trees and other flora are growing on the site; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) what are the findings;
- (2) whether he has taken any steps to safeguard any such protected trees and other flora; if so, what steps?

B739E

#### The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:

- (1) The Department of Environment Affairs itself did not undertake a vegetation survey on the site. Such a comprehensive vegetation survey was however done by the consultants, Steffen, Robertson & Kirsten with the assistance of personnel of the National Botanical Institute at Kirstenbosch, as part of the environmental impact study which accompanied the application. This report clearly states that no rare or endangered plant species in terms of the Red Data book occur on the site itself. But even if that were the case,

the conditions pertaining to the authorization to mine require that appropriate measures shall be applied to protect and conserve non-alien flora on the site.

Moreover, the said conditions oblige the mining company to rehabilitate the land and, if required to do so by the monitoring committee, to introduce fynbos on the rehabilitated land.

- (2) Falls away.

#### Publications Appeal Board: new appointments

- \*13. Miss M SMUTS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (1) Whether new appointments are to be made to the Publications Appeal Board; if so, when;

- (2) whether he is taking or intends taking any steps to ensure that the said board will in future be more representative of the South African population than it is at present; if not, why not?

B740E

#### The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes. New appointments will be made in the forthcoming month or two.

- (2) Section 35(3)(b) of the Publications Act, 1974 (Act 42 of 1974), requires that persons designated must be persons who by reason of their educational qualifications and experience are fit to perform the functions entrusted to the appeal board. The Act does not specifically require appointments to be representative of the South African community, but every reasonable effort will be made to designate properly qualified persons to reflect as far as possible the norms of the entire South African community in all its variations.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, he says that every effort will be made to achieve the desirability of having a representative board, for which we are grateful, but will he consult those parties and organizations involved with Codesa to ensure representativeness?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I do not have any intention of doing so, because I am ade-



quately advised by the Department and by other bodies. [Interjections.]

Miss M SMUTS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, will he consider following up a suggestion I made in the debate, that is to consult the universities at least? They comply with the educational requirement and are representative of society. I suggest that is one way of achieving greater representativeness.

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, there are representatives attached to universities. In fact, the present chairman of the board comes from a university. [Interjections.]

*Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.*

**Water restrictions: Vaal River supply area**

\*14. Mr T GUNNING asked the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry:†

- (1) Whether, in view of the serious drought, he is considering steps to have water restrictions imposed in the supply area of the Vaal River, including the PVV area and the Vaalharts irrigation scheme; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when;
- (2) whether he is considering taking any steps in respect of other supply areas; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B746E

**The MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS AND FORESTRY:**

- (1) No. No restrictions are foreseen for the coming year and are also unlikely for the year thereafter should the drought persist. Even though the levels of the storage dams in the Vaal River proper are relatively low, there is sufficient water in storage in the Sterkfontein, Zaaihoek and Heyshope Dams to ensure an adequate supply of water to all consumers including irrigation farmers who rely on the Vaal River as their water source.
- (2) (a) Yes. Water restrictions and stricter abstraction control have already been applied in some areas whilst

similar steps are envisaged in others and will be applied as the need arises.

The only metropolitan area where water restrictions had to be imposed up to now, is the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage complex where severe water restrictions have been in force since June 1991. Water restrictions are also being applied in the Gamtoos Irrigation Scheme downstream of Paul Sauer Dam.

Severe drought conditions are being experienced in the Western and Northern Transvaal, the Eastern Cape and large parts of Natal. Water restrictions in terms of section 9A of the Water Act, 1956 (Act 54 of 1956) in areas supplied by Government Water Schemes are the following:

- Grootfontein/Poortfontein/Molopo Dolomitic Area
- Great Marico River
- Crocodile River (Western Transvaal)
- Letaba River
- Luvuvhu River (Albasini Dam)
- Nzelele River (Nzelele Dam)
- Blyde River
- Crocodile River (Eastern Transvaal)
- Phongolo River

Restrictions have also been imposed on the Sabie River to ensure a minimum flow for the Kruger National Park, as well as on the Mkhuzi River.

- (b) The restrictions mentioned in (2)(a) above are already in effect. In the light of the continuing drought it is expected that further areas of supply will have to be subjected to restrictions as soon as water supplies become depleted below the levels needed to sustain assured supply until the next rainy season.
- (3) Yes. Droughts (and floods) are a common occurrence in South Africa but the impact

thereof depends on the utilization of the water resources of a river system. It must also be realized that the law of diminishing returns applies to water resources development. The more dams are built in a river system the bigger and costlier they will have to be to achieve a comparable increase in yield until a stage is reached where the potential of the system makes further development impossible. Another question that has to be answered is whether the incremental yield is warranted in terms of the cost thereof and whether more economical results could not be achieved through proper demand management such as more efficient use and restrictions.

I can announce today that, as from 22 June 1992 water will be released from the Sterkfontein Dam near Harrismith at a rate of 40 cubic metres per second to supplement the water supply in the Vaal Dam, which is currently only 35% full. This decision has been taken as a result of the low level of the Vaal and Bloemhof Dams and bears testimony to the good planning by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry and the far sightedness of this Government to allocate funds at an early stage for the creation of Government Water Schemes to meet future demands.

The Sterkfontein Dam, which is slightly larger than the Vaal Dam, with a storage capacity of 2 529 million cubic metres is at present full for the first time. Since November 1974 water has been pumped from the Tugela River to the Sterkfontein Dam. Water is held back in the Sterkfontein Dam for as long as possible as losses through evaporation are considerably lower there than from the Vaal Dam. In this manner flood absorption is also created in the Vaal Dam. The water that is released flows along the Nuwejaarspruit and the Wilge River to the Vaal Dam. The distance from the Sterkfontein Dam to the Vaal Dam is approximately 320 km. It takes seven days for water which is released from the Sterkfontein Dam to reach the Vaal Dam.

**INTERPELLATION**

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

**Own Affairs:**

**Fish Hoek Municipality: development of "Dunes Area"**

1. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Local Government:

- (1) Whether he will oppose the development of Section 7, Part C, of the so-called Dunes Area of the Fish Hoek Municipality as a residential area; if not, why not; if so, by what means;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B795E.INT

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT: Mr Chairman, during April 1992 a portion of land known as Extension 7, Zone C, was rezoned by the Fish Hoek Municipality from undetermined purposes to subdivisional purposes for residential use. A large number of objections were lodged against the proposed rezoning, and a number of objectors have now appealed to the Ministerial Representative in terms of section 42 of Ordinance 15 of 1985 against the rezoning.

The appeals are at present receiving attention in accordance with procedure set out in appeal regulations. The matter is therefore at present sub judice, and I am consequently unable to comment on the merits of the rezoning. The Ministerial Representative, who acts in terms of powers assigned to him by the Minister of Local Government, House of Assembly, under section 28(2) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, Act 110 of 1983, will finally decide whether to uphold the appeal or grant permission for the rezoning.

Mr R V CARLISLE: Mr Chairman, I find the response of the hon the Minister disappointing. The hon the Minister has to apply his mind, whether he delegates to an agent or not. What we would like to do is to assist him in that process and to assist him in recognising that this is an area where he must not only apply his mind, but



# Cops and army fan violence — Amnesty

Sowetan 10/6/92

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Amnesty International today issues a report on South Africa titled "State of Fear", detailing police involvement in killings of political activists. **Sowetan Investigations Editor MATHATHA TSEDU reports on the major findings of the report.**

**FOR the second time in under two weeks, an international organisation has found South Africa's police and defence forces guilty of complicity in killings of black people.**

The London-based human rights organisation, Amnesty International, says in a report released in London this morning that security forces in South Africa continue to attack or stand by as vigilantes of Inkatha members attack political opponents.

Amnesty says the De Klerk Government at a political level is guilty of complicity as it has at best "been grossly negligent" in failing to "act against all but a tiny proportion of human rights violators within the police and military".

Inkatha comes in for hard criticism in the 100-page report, which documents evidence of a systematic pattern of police and military involvement in torture and assassinations during the two years.

The report also touches on the ANC's maltreatment of its own members in detention camps in African states.

The reform process, it says, could break down unless the violence, which has claimed 7 000 lives in just over two years, is stopped by state intervention to safeguard human rights.

"The reforms of the past two years have brought some sweeping changes in South Africa but, as far as the security forces are concerned, it is business as usual.

"And all too often that means

taking part in political killings or standing by while others massacre political opponents.

"Despite Government promises to take the police out of politics, the fact is they have continued their war against the African National Congress and allied organisations and the Government has been slow to react despite the mounting evidence against the police," Amnesty says.

Detailing examples of incidents of police and military involvement since early 1990, Amnesty says police have continued their war on those seen as traditional enemies: progressive forces such as ANC, Cosatu, SACP, Nactu, Azapo, PAC and allied structures.

Their treatment of Inkatha however is different, Amnesty says, pointing at police reluctance to intervene in Inkatha attacks, escorts for Inkatha attackers, early release of Inkatha people arrested for attacks on political opponents and non-investigation of Inkatha murders.

Some of the cases in which police and military personnel either participated directly or stood back to allow massacres to occur include:

- 80 people killed during an onslaught by thousands of armed Inkatha supporters on a Maritzburg township in March 1990;

- 80 people killed in two days of

attacks by Inkatha supporters and masked white men on Phola Park "squatter" camp, East Rand, in September 1990;

- 29 people killed "when 1 000 Inkatha supporters with active police involvement invaded Swannievillie squatter camp, West Rand, on 12 May 1991";

- 18 residents of Bruntville township, Natal, killed during attacks by hundreds of Inkatha supporters on the night of December 3 1991, "with police in unmarked vehicles raiding residents' homes for weapons which they might have used to defend themselves"; and

- 18 people killed "by armed Inkatha supporters and police in a dawn attack" on March 13 1992 at Uganda settlement outside Durban.

Amnesty says despite this and other innumerable examples of police involvement in the killings, only one of the above cases has resulted in a prosecution while another had resulted in an independent inquiry,

a clear reference to the Trust Feed case which led to irrefutable evidence of police actions to enhance Inkatha's political standing.

The organisation decries the intervention of state instruments, especially the police, in official and independent inquiries into police conduct, citing the harassment and shooting of witnesses and human rights monitors in the Western Transvaal.

"In 1990 and 1991, high profile judicial inquiries into military and police "death squads" found evidence of murder, poisoning, kidnapping, arson, perjury and destruction of evidence by members of the police and military.

"Not a single prosecution fol-

lowed. Political assassinations and other violations are not a thing of the past, as the Government claims.

"They have not been stopped by the reform process", Amnesty says.

The report comes in the wake of another presented by the International Commission of Jurists, who spent two weeks in this country investigating violence and came to the conclusion that senior elements in the police force were fomenting the violence.

It also follows on the now controversial interim report of the Goldstone Commission into violence which found that the police and the army, as well as rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC, were the chief instigators of the violence.

Also not in the report are recent disclosures by several newspapers which included:

- The ordering of the Goniwe murders by defence force senior officers;

- The existence of secret police squads operating from "safe" houses where activists were allegedly taken and instructed to kill political opponents of the regime; and

- The revelation by *Sowetan* that people were being hired for a fee to kill and get paid for each person killed.

A man who refused to get involved in this scheme in Alexandra was nearly killed but police refused to investigate the linkage with the violence.

Amnesty says the remedy could include a public acknowledgement by the Government that assassinations, torture and other grave human rights violations continue to be committed by security forces "and others acting apparently on their behalf or with their acquiescence".

**FOCUS**

# ANC and police wrangle over death of official

By Bronwyn Wilkinson  
Crime Staff

The ANC and the police in the eastern Transvaal are at loggerheads over the death of an ANC executive member shot in KwaDela after being arrested as a suspect in the murder of a policeman.

Police said investigating officers shot Reuben Nkosi (36) when he pulled out a gun in his home yesterday.

But the ANC claims Mr Nkosi was gunned down in cold blood.

A police spokesman said Mr Nkosi was arrested on Monday on the strength of an affidavit linking him to the death of Constable Jacques Scheepers in the township last month.

Mr Nkosi took members of the Crime Investigation Service to his home after his arrest.

While the police were searching the house, Mr Nkosi pulled out a loaded 9 mm pistol which had been hidden and "swung it towards the investigating officer", the spokesman said.

The policeman fired a shot that fatally wounded Mr Nkosi.

A 9 mm pistol, with the serial number removed, was seized and an inquest docket was opened for investigation.

ANC eastern Transvaal publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu disputed the police version of Mr Nkosi's death, claiming he was shot in cold blood in front of his relatives.

Mr Mthembu said the policemen who killed Mr Nkosi were implicated in "what can be interpreted as retaliatory victimisation of the (KwaDela) community" after the death of Constable Scheepers.

"The Davel police have become a law unto themselves," he said.

Constable Scheepers was beaten to death on May 30 when he and a Constable Nkonde were on patrol in KwaDela.

According to police, a crowd surrounded the police van when the two constables stopped at a restaurant. The crowd attacked the constables several times and seven people were wounded when Constable Nkonde fired into the crowd. The wounded men were arrested and two other suspects were later picked up in Bethal.

Mr Mthembu disputed the police version of Constable Scheepers's death, claiming the two policemen picked up Constable Nkonde's girlfriend from a beerhall before firing into the hall for no apparent reason.

Mr Mthembu said Constable Scheepers was beaten to death in the ensuing chaos.

He claimed police had assaulted several KwaDela residents during their investigation.



# ANC, DP hit at snooping Bill

CAPE TOWN — Government's new legislation empowering police to tap phones, intercept mail and bug rooms on an unprecedented scale had little chance of surviving into a new SA following strong opposition from the ANC and the DP.

The new Interception and Monitoring Prohibition Bill before Parliament empowers security agents to tap telephones, intercept mail and bug rooms in the pursuit of serious crimes.

The attorney-general would be able to authorise the monitoring on request from members of the SA Police, the SA Defence Force and the National Intelligence Service if they suspected serious crimes or economic offences had been committed.

BILLY PADDOCK

The Bill dramatically widened the powers of security agents who up to now were allowed only to employ telephone and postal intercepts where the security of the state was threatened.

Permission would now be granted if the attorney-general was convinced that a crime had been committed and there was no other way of investigating it.

The Bill also empowered agents at any time to enter premises in order to install, maintain or remove monitoring devices.

The crimes that would fall under the ambit of tapping and intercepts include

□ To Page 2

Bill

treason, sedition, public violence and murder or any offence that might incur punishment of more than a six month jail term.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said that "there is absolutely no way that it could survive" in terms of the ANC's bill of human rights proposals.

He said it was disturbing that government was going ahead with legislation which should be subject to negotiation.

□ From Page 1

DP Justice spokesman Tony Leon also attacked the Bill and said his party had grave reservations. "We are concerned about the incursions into the fundamental liberties and private conduct evidenced by the Bill," he said.

He said the procedural safeguard provided in the Bill that the attorney-general had to give permission was "illusory and unsatisfactory".

# Amnesty slams State oppression

*Sowetan 11/6/92*

AMNESTY International condemned State oppression and if the ANC became part of a future government and committed human rights abuses, it could also expect criticism, an Amnesty International spokesman said yesterday.

Amnesty International's Ms Mary Rayner, who was part of the London-based human rights organisation's delegation that visited South Africa last December, was reacting to the SAP's denouncement of its report on violence in South Africa on the grounds that it was "partisan" for representing "an almost complete white-wash of the ANC".

Rayner said AI was on record for expressing concern about evidence of human rights violations by the ANC in its camps abroad.

The organisation was also involved in a programme to

monitor the ANC's commission of inquiry into human rights abuses.

She said the organisation did acknowledge in its report that ANC supporters were involved in killings, but the major focus of the document was State security involvement in torture and killings.

It was acknowledged in the report that State President FW de Klerk took the initiative in 1990 to take the police out of politics, but "evidence over the past two years showed that (police) practice on the ground has not substantially changed".

One of the reasons for the lack of change at grassroots level and police action on the ground, Rayner said, was the failure of the authorities to act swiftly on continuing allegations and evidence of violations over the past two years. The State President's message was "muddled" by this lack of action, Rayner said. - Sapa.

## 'Phone bills are a Government ploy'

*Sowetan 11/6/92.*

SOARING telephone bills — bane of many households in these days of recession and depression — were the result of the privatisation of the Post and Telecommunications Department.

Post and Telecommunications Workers Association charged yesterday that it launched campaigns

against privatisation of public organisations like Posts, Telecommunications and Transport services with public sector unions affiliated to the Congress of SA Trade Unions three years ago.

"The régime refused to listen... and proceeded to lay the basis for privatisation... We warned them

that many of our people would lose jobs, soaring service charges would be the order of the day," read the statement. Potwa also rejected claims that the 087 number service was responsible for soaring phone bills. The privatisation schemes were clearly aimed at "selling off the crown jewels" so any in-

coming non-racial government would "simply find it is unable to govern". Potwa said it was hoping to convene a meeting on June 18 — to be attended by all interested parties, including civic associations, Cosatu and the National Council of Trade Unions — to "address this matter decisively". - Sapa



# Bugging, burglary will become legal

*Sowetan* 11/6/92

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

THE Government is giving the security establishment sweeping powers to listen to telephone conversations, bug private premises and intercept the mail of people suspected of criminal conduct.

The Interception and Monitoring Prohibition Bill, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, explicitly gives the South African Police and Defence Force as well as members of the National Intelligence Service licence to break into anybody's premises without their knowledge to "install, maintain, or remove a monitoring device" or to seize a postal article.

An attorney-general or the director may authorise the monitoring "in any manner by means of a monitoring device" of conversations by suspect people, bodies or organisations which do not take place over a telecommunications line.

The ANC yesterday reacted with alarm at the Bill. Mr Carl Niehaus of the movement's department of information and publicity said it was "quite an outrageous piece of legislation" that gives the security forces powers to invade the privacy of civilians.

Police officers, soldiers, or NIS members can in terms of the Interception and Monitoring Prohibition Bill now listen in and record telephone conversations, and intercept any letters, post card, reply post card, lettercard, newspaper, book, packet, pattern or sample packet and telegram and fax if they suspect the person is involved in a Schedule 1 crime of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Among these are: treason, sedition, public violence, murder, culpable homicide, rape, indecent assault, sodomy, bestiality, robbery, kidnapping, childstealing, assault when a dangerous wound is inflicted, arson, malicious damage to property, breaking or entering any premises, theft, forgery, offences related to the coinage.

The Bill further provides that any information obtained in this way be admissible in South African courts as evidence.

The law presently allows for the interception of postal articles and telegraphic or telephonic communications by Government officials if they

suspect that the security of the country is threatened.

The Bill retains this clause, but markedly expands the grounds for interception, telephone tapping and other forms of bugging for up to six months at a

time.

An attorney-general at either the dispatching end or the receiving end can authorise interception or monitoring. The attorney-general or director would issue the order if they thought the offence could not be investigated in any other manner.

A major-general in the

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SAP and one other officer would have to ask the attorney-general or director to allow monitoring and interception, or a major-general in the SADF plus another officer, or the chief director and one other member of NIS. The attorney-general or the director can extend the monitoring or interception for six months at a time.



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Developing correct approaches to dissent is vital for the future, writes Christof

# Ensuring disobedience is civ

span 11/6/92.

HERE is a certain logic in the fact that South Africa was the cradle not only of apartheid, but also of one of the strongest modern forms of political resistance, namely mass action or civil disobedience.

It was here, at the beginning of the century, where Gandhi achieved what Jan Smuts would later call "a successful coup", when his campaign of Satyagraha brought about fundamental changes in the racial policy of the South African Government. For the first time in history did the masses openly and non-violently resist the State by defying its laws.

Civil disobedience, in one form or another, would hereafter play a prominent role in the political history of South Africa. "Passive resistance" would be inscribed as a legitimate strategy in the first constitution of the ANC.

After World War 2 followed the Resistance Campaign of 1946-1948, the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the Anti-Pass Campaign of 1963. Another widespread cam-

paign of anti-apartheid civil disobedience was held in 1989. In 1990 the Conservative Party, following the rapid changes introduced in that year, threatened not to pay taxes and TV licence fees.

Early 1991 saw the siege of Pretoria by disgruntled farmers.

This raises the question how government should respond to civil disobedience. In some cases it is justified to disobey certain laws (for example if they prohibit one from praying) but it cannot always be tolerated. Respect for law is a value cherished in all civilisations. On what grounds can acceptable civil disobedience be distinguished from unacceptable civil disobedience?

One must ask oneself which criteria for legitimate resistance would I accept today, that I would also accept under a new government. That is, one's approach should be the same whether one is the resister or the resisted.

The first condition for having a right of resistance is met when the government infringes on basic human rights. This connection be-



Gandhi... the father of non-violent resistance.

tween the recognition of human rights and the right of resistance runs through all the major human rights documents of the world, from the Magna Carta of 1215 to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

No one has the right to disobey the State in protest against its policies (for example the decision that a certain street should be a one-way in a certain direction), but one has the right to resist serious violations of basic RIGHTS.

In short, it could be said that civil disobedience is legitimate if — and only if — basic human rights are being violated and breaking the law is the only reasonable alternative to resist this.

How is this criterion to be applied to the recent threats of mass action by the ANC? At the bottom of the ANC's statements lies the demand for political participation. This is a demand for the recognition of a basic right, which means that, as long as everybody in the country does not have the vote, there is in principle a right of resistance.

One could argue, however, about the question whether mass action is indeed the only reasonable alternative available to secure this right. Those on the side of the Government would maintain that Codesa provides a constitutional channel for the attainment precisely of the goal of political participation and that makes resorts to extra-constitutional mechanisms unacceptable.

The ANC, on the other hand, argues that Codesa is at best a

flawed instrument of liberation and that they can no longer reasonably put up with what they see as its slow progress.

Both sides, therefore, seem to accept the criterion for legitimate resistance posed above, but they differ on the application of this norm.

The maintenance of law and order, and the increase in violence which widespread political turmoil could bring about in some cases, are important factors which weigh heavily. Beyond a certain threshold of anarchy, any form of social progress is dependent upon the restoration of a minimum public order.

On the other hand, however, it should be remembered that civil disobedience could also play a positive role in society. Often such acts of political expression serve the dual function of safety valve and alarm signal.

Given the composition of our society, strong political dissent is inevitable under any conceivable political dispensation. It is no exaggeration to say that the future

of the count depends on sensible dissent, which constructive in dissent.

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ping correct approaches to dissent is vital for the future, writes **Christof Heyns**

# Insuring disobedience is civil

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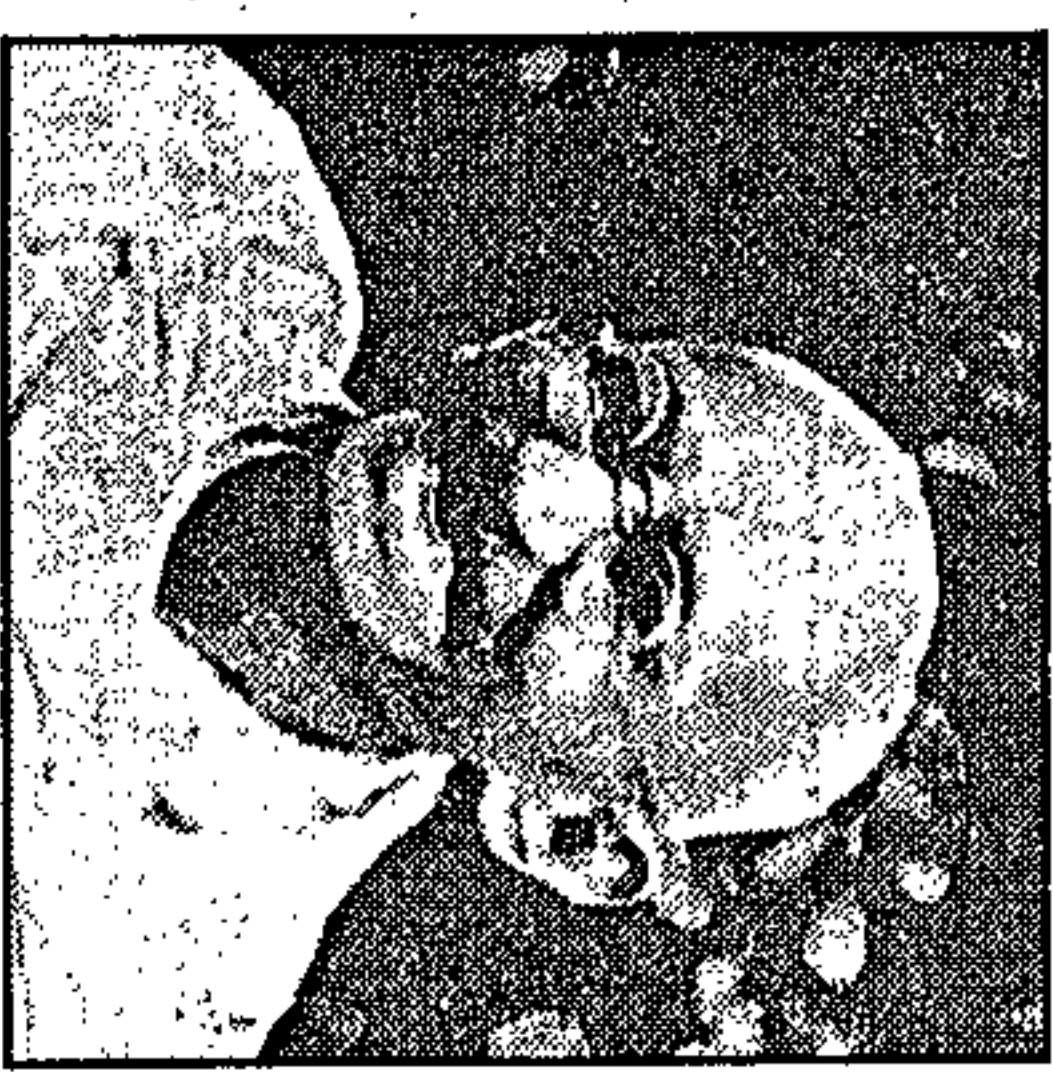
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Given the composition of our society, strong political dissent is inevitable under any conceivable political dispensation. It is no exaggeration to say that the future

of the country, to a large extent, depends on whether we can find sensible ways of managing dissent, which encourage less destructive means for expressing dissent.

If the State treats non-violent and violent acts of resistance with equal ferocity, no incentive is provided for protesters to engage in the former rather than in the latter.

Those who are now being resisted should also remember that they are likely to be the resisters of tomorrow. Their treatment of protesters with whom they strongly disagree will set a precedent for the treatment of protesters in the future. Tolerance now is not necessarily a guarantee of tolerance later, but intolerance today will almost certainly lead to intolerance tomorrow. □

● *Christof Heyns is an associate professor of law at the University of Pretoria and acting director of the Centre of Human Rights Studies. He is the author of the forthcoming book "Civil Disobedience in South Africa".*

# MK man guilty of illegal arms charge

Sowetan  
Correspondent

A MEMBER of Umkhonto we Sizwe, convicted of illegally possessing firearms and ammunition, told the Supreme Court he had the weapons in his capacity as a member of the ANC.

David Dlati (32) yesterday pleaded guilty to illegally possessing a Beretta pistol, a Makarov pistol, an AK-47 machine rifle, four handgrenades, two limpet mines, 30 AK-47 bullets, 27 9mm bullets and 2 0.22 bullets.

In Dlati's plea explanation, he admitted the offences and said he was a member of the ANC, and particularly Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In 1989 he received instructions to accept the weapons and keep them in safe storage until further instructions. He buried them in Strandfontein.

## Arms

In April he was informed that negotiations between the Government and the ANC in regard to MK and arms and ammunition had reached an advanced stage and he had to prepare to hand the weapons over to the joint command of the Government and the ANC.

He went to Strandfontein and retrieved the weapons.

Testifying in mitigation of sentence, Dlati said he visited Sweden and Norway last year to address groups who supported the South African struggle.

Under cross-examination by State advocate Mr J van Vuuren, he denied being an MK commander. He said he was an ordinary member.

## Negotiations

If negotiations between the Government and the ANC failed and he was instructed by his commander to take up arms, he would do so, he told the court.

Questioned by his counsel, Mr S Desai, he said he knew that the president of the ANC had said that there was no likelihood of the organisation returning to the armed struggle. He accepted that.

Mr Christopher Dlamini, national president of the Food and Allied Workers Union, told the court Dlati worked in the union's legal department.

Dr Vincent Maphai of the department of political studies at the University of the Western Cape testified that Dlati was a part-time law student in his department.

He was a very determined, open-minded and highly motivated student. With his labour experience he had brought a very important dimension to his class and had contributed to debates.



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## Outcry over snoop Bill

From Page 1

real accountability.

"Ironically, today we're talking about moving towards a human rights culture and a bill of rights. This particular Bill is the absolute antithesis of a human rights culture," Mr Currin said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus stressed that the organisation had not yet had a chance to study the Bill and that its comments were therefore of a preliminary nature.

The ANC was nevertheless deeply disturbed by the Bill and, while it had repeatedly called on the Government to combat crime, it did not believe the Bill would contribute to this end.

"Rather, it will make further inroads into people's privacy. At the same time we are deeply concerned that such Bills are tabled in Parliament while negotiations are going on at Codesa."

Mr Niehaus said the Bill was clearly not directed only against criminal activity, but also political activity.

Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon said in a statement the DP had grave reservations about the Bill.

"We are concerned about the incursions into fundamental liberties and private conduct evidenced in the Bill. This is part of a pattern in recent legislation.

"The only significant procedural safeguard provided for in the Bill is that the relevant attorney-general, or his deputy, will be granted the power to authorise such interception."

But, Mr Leon said, the Attorney-General remained the chief prosecuting arm of the State and it would be invidious for the Attorney-General or his deputies to be the sole judge over whether a tap or mail interception was justified.

Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres said he had not had an opportunity to study the provisions of the Bill.

The Bill empowers agents to "at any time enter upon any premises in order to install, maintain or remove a monitoring device".

It applies to serious offences including: treason, sedition, public violence, murder, culpable homicide, rape, indecent assault, sodomy, bestiality, robbery, kidnapping, child-stealing, assault when a dangerous wound is inflicted, arson and malicious damage to property.

Other suspected crimes which may be held to justify intercepts include breaking or entering, theft, receiving stolen property, fraud, forgery and coinage offences.



"THIS gutter paranoia can only be prevented by fighting the conditions in which it can breed, and for that fight we need more, not less, freedom of discussion."

These ringing words on anti-Semitic propaganda, by Jewish American journalist IF Stone, have a direct bearing on the South African government's decision last week to withdraw the residence permit of British historian and Nazi sympathiser David Irving.

Behind the scenes, the Jewish community itself appears to have prompted the move, raising serious questions about freedom of expression and how far South Africans are prepared to go to defend it.

The issue is far broader than Irving's situation. South Africa has no shortage of racists of all shades and racism has been enshrined in our law for many decades. Will we ban the expression of racist views under a new order? Will banning them not raise more problems than it solves?

The African National Congress' constitutional proposals recognise the need for free speech, but would outlaw the expression of views which fan racial hatred.

Irving is a rightwing historian who has cast doubts on the authenticity of the Holocaust. A great deal of what he has to say on the subject is false and among those who have acknowledged this is the German government, which imposed a substantial fine on him for his claim that the Holocaust did not take place.

His views, which cause considerable pain to Jews and others who lost relatives in the Nazi death camps, are backed up by "facts", many of which have been shown to be false by reputable and independent academic authorities.

Irving has been in South Africa several times to speak on various platforms. In fact, he was invited to a Radio 702 talk show before the station withdrew the invitation.

Contrary to some press reports, he was not refused a visa. According to the Department of Home Affairs, his temporary residence permit was revoked because he had violated its terms by speaking on public platforms.

A department spokesman avoided the direct question of whether or not the Jewish community had pushed the department into this action — as did the chairman of the Jewish Board of Deputies in Cape Town, Mervyn Smith, who said he preferred not to comment on the question.

However, sources within the Jewish community and close to the government have confirmed that the "irregularities" were brought to the government's attention by the Board of Deputies, and that the government acted on these representations.

Smith welcomed the move and made it clear that propagandists of Irving's ilk were not welcome. "We don't want Irving in this country. He is our enemy," he said, adding that Nazis have no right to freedom of speech here or anywhere else.

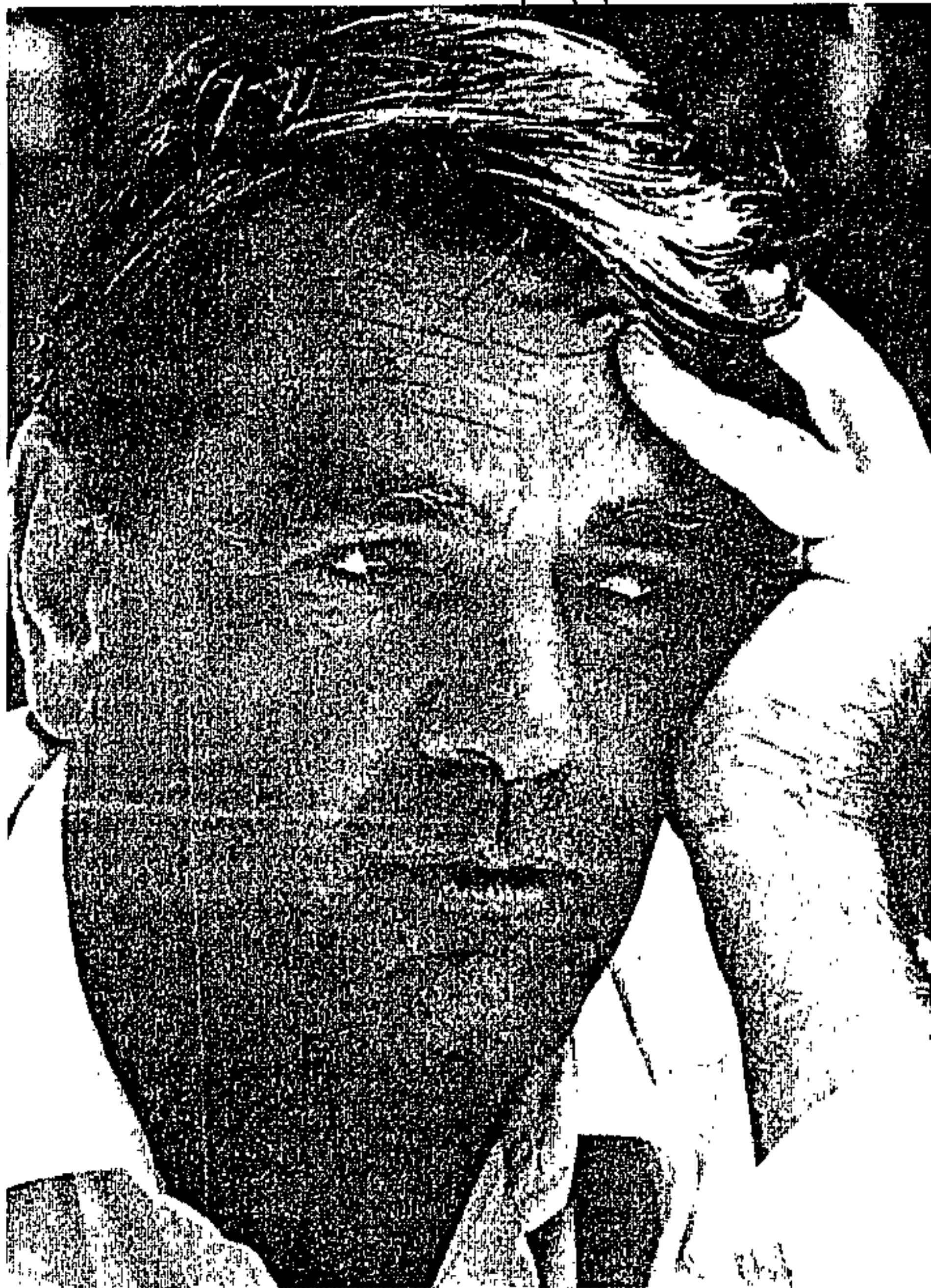
This is not the first time the government has acted directly to curb freedom of expression on behalf of one section of the community. Salman Rushdie's controversial *Satanic Verses* was banned at the behest of orthodox Muslims. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a trumped-up anti-Semitic tract, was rehanned after the government had unbanned it — with the case for its prohibition being argued by a noted Jewish free-speech advocate.

The simple truth is that these are acts of censorship which curb freedom of expression and which bring the perpetrators — who see them-

# Can we combat gutter paranoia?

Rightwing historian David Irving has been made unwelcome in South Africa. Should those who find his views repulsive be celebrating — or worrying about the implications for freedom of speech?

Comment by **PAT SIDLEY**  
12/6 - 18/6/92



Testing the limits ... Nazi sympathiser David Irving

Photo: Courtesy of THE STAR

selves as defending liberty — perilously close to those they are seeking to censor.

South Africa's Chief Rabbi, Cyril Harris, who becomes angry when speaking about Irving, believes there is a point "where liberty becomes a great danger".

"Freedom of speech does not mean poisoning people and then giving them an antidote," he says, referring to the persuasive academic trappings of Irving's misrepresentations.

Harris argues that there needs to be an "authenticity test". Where people — like Irving — spectacularly fail this, they should not be

allowed to propagate their views.

It's a stand shared by Les Harris of the Jewish Board of Deputies, who believes "absolutely" in freedom of expression and wants it to be enshrined in a future South Africa — but draws the line at propagating falsehoods.

This raises the questions of where to draw the line between "acceptable" and "unacceptable" falsehood, and who should apply the test. South African journalists have for decades lived with such "truth tests" — in the Police and Prisons Acts, among others — and there can be little doubt that they have been principally used to

suppress information damaging to the state and to protect erring officials.

When it's pointed out that the public which risks being duped by Irving's falsehoods has access to the truth, the proponents of censorship become guardians of the public's ability to judge. Says Les Harris: "Often the public doesn't have access to the full facts."

Freedom of speech carries with it responsibilities, but these include the willingness to allow others free expression.

A Johannesburg lawyer who is an expert in racially offensive literature and who has fought during much of his professional life for freedom of expression believes there must be some limits on freedom of expression. He points to the fact that most Western democracies have some form of legal prohibition on racially offensive expression. As signatories to a convention intended to stop racial hatred, they are obliged to prevent the dissemination of racially offensive material, one sanction being criminal.

South Africa has such a statute, dating back to 1927, which the lawyer concedes is a "textbook case of abuse" because "this law has been used against leftwing opponents of the government".

But he adds: "Nowhere in the world is freedom of expression absolute. What this debate is about is placing acceptable limits according to internationally acceptable standards." He points to societies like India — and, for that matter, South Africa — where a few words in a particularly highly charged ethnic or religious context will provoke hundreds of deaths.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus stresses that the ANC has no sympathy with Irving's "repulsive" views, but does not believe freedom of movement and expression should be limited in an arbitrary way. Any infringement of its Bill of Rights, which would prohibit the propagation of racially offensive views, would have to be tested in a court of law before action could be taken, he says.

David Dison, a Johannesburg civil liberties lawyer who has worked extensively with the media, believes Irving should have been allowed to come here, whatever his views. "I think that the public at large has the ability to assess the evidence for what it is. Only misguided and crazy people underplay the Holocaust," he says.

"It's like underplaying apartheid. If (Conservative Party leader) Andries Treurnicht wanted to go to Europe and say things were better under apartheid, he should be able to do this, and people could evaluate the statement on the evidence they have."

"I don't agree with outlawing race hatred. I'm virulently against it; I've fought censorship all my professional life. The National Party has used it politically against the ANC, and the ANC will now use it against the rightwing."

Perhaps the last word should go to Roy Steinman, the cantor at the Emanu-Shalom synagogue in Johannesburg, who lost close relatives in the Holocaust.

He believes that as repulsive as Nazis are — and he considers the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging to be in the same league — they should be allowed to speak: "If the Holocaust taught us anything at all, it is that the minute you start cutting freedoms, you run the risk of creating another Holocaust."



# SA bid to block trial of arms smuggler disclosed

WASHINGTON — The SA government attempted to block the prosecution of confessed arms embargo buster James Guerin by offering him asylum, US attorney Robert Goldman said yesterday.

Another US defendant in the case James Russel, who headed Roga, a Channel Islands front company, did take up the SA offer and fled with \$2m generated from the smuggling operation, the largest ever uncovered by US authorities.

Russel was charged with transferring navigation systems and missile guidance gyroscopes to Armscor.

Guerin, founder of International Signal and Control Corp, and the lynchpin in the operation which netted Armscor at least \$50m worth of highly sensitive US military technology, was sentenced to 15 years in jail yesterday.

Goldman said he had urged the judge to promptly put Guerin, who has been free on bail, behind bars in case he accepted the asylum offer,

SIMON BARBER

which was disclosed by other witnesses as well.

He stressed that Armscor and two of its subsidiaries were key defendants and that the SA government had refused to co-operate in serving them with the indictments handed down by a federal grand jury in Philadelphia last October.

State department officials said the issue was a serious obstacle to otherwise improving US relations with Pretoria and could damage future trade ties.

In particular, the US was unlikely to consider any proposals for easing the current arms embargo, including the additional sanctions it imposed on Armscor and its related entities, until the matter was resolved.

The offer to Guerin was seen as all the more reprehensible because, in addition to smuggling arms to SA, he confessed to defrauding Ferranti, the British arms contractor, by concoct-

ing \$1bn in bogus weapons deals with other countries.

Guerin, 62, was to surrender himself to prison authorities within two weeks. Goldman said he would serve at least 12 years since the judge had specifically denied him the opportunity for parole.

A senior intelligence adviser to President George Bush, Admiral Bobby Inman, had earlier written to the judge requesting leniency on the grounds Guerin had "displayed patriotism" in the 1970s by providing the CIA with data on the SA nuclear weapons programme that was of "substantial value".

Prosecution contended Guerin had used his ties to the intelligence as a cover for the the smuggling operation and to justify his phony balance sheets.

"I ask you to judge me not as a person who intended to conquer the world, not as a person who was motivated by greed, but as a person who lost my way," Guerin said before he was sentenced.

Govt approves assistance

## ANC approved spying, says Gerhardt

JAILED spy Dieter Gerhardt said yesterday he believed that the ANC and SACP had approved the spying activities which he had carried out for the Soviet Union.

Sapa reports the State was yesterday given an indefinite postponement in an application in the Pretoria Supreme Court for the release of Gerhardt, who is serving a life sentence for high treason.

In October Gerhardt applied for his release or, alternatively, a review of the President's refusal of his application for release as a political prisoner. The application was referred to an indemnity committee under Judge Leon's chairmanship.

He believed the committee agreed that

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his motive for committing treason was political and not, as claimed by the Cape attorney-general, for financial gain.

He said the attorney-general's report had falsely stated that the court which convicted him in 1983 had found that he was not motivated by a desire to change the political structures in SA.

As far as he knew, Gerhardt said, the trial had found his motive was political. "I was, and still am, a member of the ANC. In addition, I subscribe to the principles of peaceful solutions and developments."

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# Mayibuye to produce books for Africa

OVER four decades, anti-apartheid literature developed peculiar distribution routes. Some of the most widely read titles of the time arrived in the country stuffed down the front of someone's trousers, to be passed from hand to hand or clandestinely copied.

Must-reads were touted by word of mouth, while for many, the Publications Control Board's weekly roll of banned titles took the place of publishers' best-seller lists as indicators of required reading.

Books barred from being imported or distributed found their way into the country, but could never be sold freely or displayed on bookshelves: the risks associated with being caught with a book banned for possession involved a lengthy jail-term.

*With the closure of Idaf and its anti-apartheid publisher, Kliptown Books, a vast archive of material has been handed over to the new Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape. GAYE DAVIS reports from Cape Town*

None of this stopped books from being either written or read, of course, and publication of anti-apartheid material increased in direct proportion to the excesses of a determined regime.

Playing a key role in all of this was the International Defence and Aid Fund, which, from the late 1960s onwards, began to release information about apartheid and (through Kliptown Books) documentary, autobiographical and creative writing.

The imprints of Idaf and Kliptown ensured the immediate banning of any pamphlet or book carrying them,

but sales outside the country were important, both in countering the South African government's external propaganda drives and in supplementing the income Idaf needed to fulfil its chief task: funding the defence of political trialists.

After Idaf's disbanding in the wake of the unbanning of the African National Congress and other organisations, it handed over its vast archive to the University of the Western Cape's recently established Mayibuye Centre for Culture and History. Apart from an extensive collection of photographs, video and film material, part of the archive

comprises stocks of Idaf and Kliptown publication, some of which are now to be re-issued as part of the Mayibuye History and Literature Series, which will be distributed by David Philip.

Former Idaf staffer Linda Pithers will be co-ordinating the launch of the series, planned for July 28.

"All the books were previously banned. By bringing them back, we'll be making them available here in a way they never were before. A lot of people would never even have heard of Idaf, let alone read any of its publications.

"We feel the publications consi-

Many of the officially undesirable books which found their way into South Africa were bought at SALS' Gaberone bookshop. Now, post-1990, SALS aims to promote the distribution of low-priced reading matter, especially in townships and rural areas, as well as stimulate interest in indigenous writing by working with grassroots structures.

The new SALS bookshop, which opened earlier this month at Industria House, 350 Victoria Road, Salt River, will stock Mayibuye Series books among other progressive literature — going some way towards filling the gap left when Open Books, a source of all kinds of difficult-to-obtain material, was fire-bombed during the State of Emergency.

Having titles banned or bookshops set alight are no longer the threats they once were to authors, booksellers and publishers. Whether or not the list of titles published in the Mayibuye Series continues to grow will depend largely on funds.

According to Barry Feinberg, Idaf's former director of information and now a member of staff at the Mayibuye Centre, costs are an issue: "The centre is dependent on funding. We have no professional fund-raiser working for us and only a small staff. We're trying to organise the archive and publishing is a major undertaking in itself. But the plan is that, given sufficient funds, we'll be regular publishers."

Feinberg is hopeful that the centre will one day be able to produce cheap editions of books, to ensure as large a circulation as possible: "There must be a wider constituency for anti-apartheid literature now that a widening consciousness is so necessary to the political process in this country," he said.

tute a crucial part of people's history, which has never been properly documented. It's impossible to understand what is happening in South Africa now unless those gaps are filled and one knows what went before."

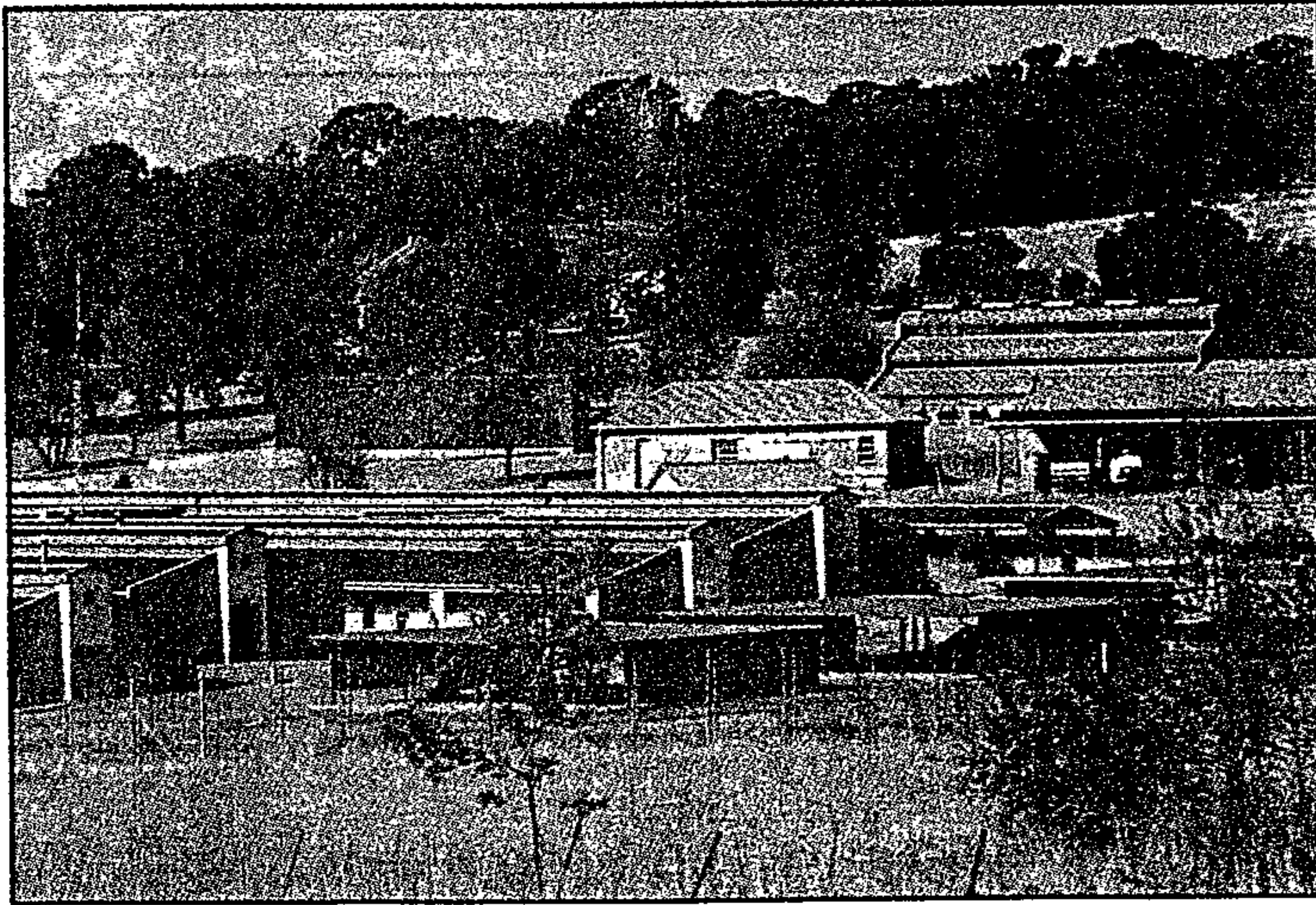
Titles to be re-issued number about 28: among them are Govan Mbeki's seminal *South Africa: The Peasant's Revolt*; Tim Jenkin's *Escape from Pretoria* and Joyce Sikakane's *A Window on Soweto*.

Some new titles in the series have already been released, published in co-operation with David Philip, Skotaville, London's Zed Books and Fatima Meer's Madiba Publishers. These include Mbeki's prison writings, *Learning from Robben Island* and collections of speeches by leading resistance figures such as Dr GM (Monty) Naicker, Chief Albert Lutuli and Dr Yusuf Dadoo.

Forthcoming titles, also to be published in co-operative ventures, include poems by Western Cape township poet Sandile Dikeni, academic Keith Gottschalk and, hopefully, Ronnie Kasrils' autobiography, tentatively titled *Armed and Dangerous*. Also due out soon in conjunction with David Philip is *A Life's Mosaic*, written by Phyllis Jordan, mother of ANC national executive member Pallo Jordan, and, with David Philip and Zed Books, selected writings of 1950s radical historiographer Lionel Forman, *A Trumpet from the Households*.

Pithers and colleague Richard Whiting recently opened in Cape Town a branch of the Southern African Literature Society, which, better known as SALS, was established as a collective nine years ago in Botswana.





Sporting sples ... Either an NIS sports facility or a communications centre Photo: KEVIN CARTER

## A squash court or a spy centre?

By EDDIE KOCH

The National Intelligence Service (NIS) — under fire because it plans to use R145-million of taxpayers' money for building plush new headquarters — already owns an extravagant complex near Pretoria that is hardly used by the organisation.

*The Weekly Mail* this week discovered the large complex at

Rietvlei, north of Pretoria. Its existence comes to light at a time when the government is being criticised for allocating R145-million to the new NIS headquarters, particularly as the need for counter-intelligence work has diminished.

The NIS describes the Rietvlei facility as a "recreational centre", but our investigations revealed that it is a large, though rarely used, centre for collecting intelligence information and training NIS spies.

The complex contains five large satellite dishes and a number of squat buildings protected by elaborate security bars, and is surrounded by two perimeter fences with an inner coil of electrified razor wire.

The existence of the complex, which is located close to the site where the NIS plans to build its controversial new headquarters, contradicts claims by the organisation that it does not have enough office space and is forced to rent expensive premises in private buildings around Pretoria.

"This place is not a recreation centre. It is used as a training centre for agents to work inside the country and at embassies overseas," an intelligence source told *The Weekly Mail*. "It is also used as a station for monitoring outgoing telexes from the country as well as international satellite messages."

A spokesman for the NIS replied to queries about the complex by first saying it was a recreational centre. Quizzed about the presence of the satellite dishes, he said the premises included a "communications centre" but declined to give any further details about work done by the

organisation there.

A request for an official visit to the centre was turned down.

The centre is known by NIS operatives as Die Plaas (The Farm). It has a few squash courts and is occasionally used for sports purposes, but is in reality a white elephant that stands empty for most of the time.

When *The Weekly Mail* reporters visited the site this week, there was hardly any activity inside the grounds. A single car drove through the heavily protected entrance in three hours.

"One would have expected the need for major spending on heavy intelligence services to have fallen away as we normalise our political situation," commented Democratic Party finance spokesman Jasper Walsh. "It seems out of balance to be spending R145-million on a building to house an intelligence service when we have a crying shortage of social spending on areas like health and housing."

Rocklyn Williams, co-ordinator of the independent Military Research Group, said the expansion of NIS facilities shows President FW de Klerk intends to build the organisation into the country's premier intelligence agency.

"De Klerk needs to build up the agency — in much the same way that his predecessor, PW Botha, created Boss (the Bureau of State Security) as a super intelligence agency designed to strategise and carry out government policy — so that it can help him to identify and control the rightwing elements who run military intelligence and the security police," Williams said.



# Police quizzed about missing evidence

W/Mail 12/6-18/6/92.

**P**OLICE were closely questioned at the Goldstone Commission this week about the disappearance of a crucial statement from a docket into the killing and injuring of African National Congress members at a funeral in Ermelo two years ago.

The ANC funeral, held in Wesselson township simultaneously with an Inkatha one, ended with two mourners dead and several others injured. More than four guns, including a machine gun, were used in the incident.

The Goldstone Commission — investigating reports in *The Weekly Mail* and attended by several senior policemen — heard in Pretoria this week that a member of the kwaZulu legislative assembly, Amos Mthungwa, had given a statement to the Ermelo police shortly after the incident on August 11 1990.

In the statement, Mthungwa admitted that Inkatha members had returned fire after shots had been fired at them from the ANC crowd. He added that two kwaZulu policemen, Constable Zweli Dlamini and Warrant Officer Nhlanhla Khawula, were among those who had shot at the

*A statement implicating two kwaZulu policemen in a fatal shooting incident was replaced by one in which the two men were not mentioned, the Goldstone Commission heard this week. LINDA RULASHE reports*

ANC crowd.

Colonel Patrick John Otto, who was district commander of investigations in Ermelo at the time, told the commission that in July 1991 he was instructed to start a new investigation into the incident, after the ANC had complained that the South African Police were shielding members of Inkatha implicated in the shooting.

During the second investigation, another statement by Mthungwa was taken down and sent to the state prosecutor handling the case, but no mention was made of the evidence which implicated the two KZP men in the shooting.

Asked why Mthungwa's first statement was not included with the second one in the docket

that was sent to the prosecutor, Otto said he believed they had both been sent to the prosecutor.

However, counsel for the commission, Johan du Toit, said the prosecutor who handled the docket had informed him that Mthungwa's first statement had never been brought to her.

The commission heard that the document had since been found by Ermelo policeman David Hall in a cabinet in his office.

Due to the evidence brought before the commission, Judge Richard Goldstone has subsequently requested the attorney general of the Transvaal to investigate the incident and to consider suspending the inquest into the mourners' deaths, which is scheduled to start on June 26. All the dockets of this case will also be handed to the Transvaal attorney general.

Asked by counsel for *The Weekly Mail*, David Sogot SC, why the suspects had not been apprehended after nearly a year and whether Otto had asked the investigating officer what the particular problem was in arresting these men, Otto replied: "I cannot remember whether I asked him

or not."

Police Captain Andre Marais, who is stationed at Ermelo, gave this account of his attempts to trace the two KZP men: armed with warrants for their arrest, he visited KZP commissioner Jac Buchner in Ulundi, together with two senior SAP officials. They returned to Ermelo without the suspects. One could not be found because, Buchner said, there were many Dlaminis (although Marais said the warrant contained Dlamini's full police particulars). A KZP official went to fetch the other suspect but had not returned when the SAP contingent left.

When asked by Sogot why the men were only brought to Ermelo a year later, since as KZP men they were surely easy for Buchner to find, Marais was unable to give an explanation.

The commission had asked counsel for Inkatha, Louis Visser, to ascertain Buchner's version of these events. Visser said Buchner had told him during a phone conversation that one of the suspects was brought to the policemen and interrogated. Buchner had also told him that the SAP officials had wanted to arrest the suspect, but that he had intervened.

The commission heard that one of the firearms which belonged to the KZP men was ballistically tested and linked to the funeral shootings, but was later returned to the KZP.

Judge Goldstone asked Otto: "Do you not find that quite ironical?" Otto replied that it wasn't.

Warrant Officer Geldenhuis, who had taken over as investigating officer in the case in 1991, conceded on Monday that the manner in which the Ermelo police had handled the case could not have solved it.

During cross-examination, Sogot put it to Geldenhuis that in the course of constructing the new docket for the investigation, he had buried the relevant evidence.

He replied that he had not intended to do so. Goldstone then put it to him that it had the effect of the evidence being buried and Geldenhuis replied "yes".

Meanwhile, a former Black Cat gang member — referred to only as "Mr D" — implicated several Inkatha members from Ulundi, including Khawula, as having been involved in the shootings at the Wesselson funeral.

Mr D said he saw Khawula fire shots at the coffin of the person who was to be buried by ANC supporters that day. He said he did not know exactly how many shots Khawula fired at the coffin, which had been left lying on the ground after the crowd scattered.

Mr D alleged Khawula also fired at a teenage boy, identified only as Sibanyoni, when he fell to the ground after being shot. Sibanyoni had been at the front of the funeral procession and was holding up one of the poles of an ANC banner when he fell.

Mr D said on the evening prior to the funeral some Inkatha members from Ulundi — including Mthungwa — arrived in Ermelo in three cars. He said these men brought guns with them which they showed off to the Black Cat members.

"The men said that they had come to provide security in case there was an attack. They had 9mm guns, .38s and hand-machine carbines. They showed us these guns and explained what types they were and how to load them."

He said the next morning the men from Ulundi took their guns with them to the funeral, as did a local Inkatha leader, Noah Mqobokhazi, who carried an AK47 rifle.

Mr D alleged that they subsequently fired at the ANC crowd.

# R5 000 'to kill ANC man'

W/mand 12/6-18/6/92

By LENA SLACHMUIJLDER

AN UNIDENTIFIED group of 15 camouflaged and balaclava-clad white, coloured and African men is alleged to have promised R5 000 each to a gang of criminals in Inanda, outside Durban, to help them assassinate the local African National Congress leader and his cohorts.

One of the whites, speaking Afrikaans, allegedly asked the criminals if they wanted to help the police kill ANC Inanda branch chairman and key local activist Tinzi Dlodla. Democratic Party unrest monitor Roy Ainslie has detailed records suggesting a long-standing security force vendetta against Dlodla, who is under arrest and faces attempted murder charges.

Details of the alleged planning of an attack on Dlodla are given in an affidavit by 44-year-old Inanda resident David Cebekhulu, who says he was abducted on the night of May 3 and pushed into the back of a yellow police van by balaclava-clad English, Afrikaans and Shangaan-speakers later found to be led by a sergeant in the South African Police riot unit.

Police and the South African Defence Force have denied that any of their members were in the area on the night in question.

After being repeatedly questioned as to Dlodla's whereabouts, Cebekhulu says he was hit on the head by two of the white men in the group, and threatened with death if he did not tell the "truth".

He was then taken to area 4 of Congo, where a large group of people known to Cebekhulu as criminals were waiting. Cebekhulu says he was pushed in the back of the police van, and noticed two SADF Hippos nearby.

While in the van, Cebekhulu says he overheard a discussion between the criminals and a white, Afrikaans-speaking man, speaking through a translator, who told them if they wanted to work with the police and get "Tinzi (Dlodla) and their friends", they should go to area 3 — where Dlodla lives — and start shooting.

This would force Dlodla and his friends to come out armed, whereupon the police — who would be stationed nearby — would shoot them. The man, he said, promised each criminal R5 000 if they "were prepared to work hard".

Cebekhulu says the operation was on the point of being finalised and a date set, when the group realised that he might be listening and broke off the discussion.

Dlodla, Inanda's most prominent ANC activist, has been a focus of police attention for some time. According to reports compiled by Ainslie, Dlodla was sent to hospital on July 18 last year after being assaulted by Criminal Intelligence Service members travelling in an unmarked vehicle.

Ten days later, he again needed medical care after an assault by SAP and SADF members. Nine days later, he was "arrested" by eight armed men in civilian clothes. Police said dockets regarding Dlodla's assault have been forwarded to the attorney general.

Civic member Vusi Mohapi told *The Weekly Mail* that on several occasions residents were turned away from the local police station when attempting to lay criminal charges, and told "just go and bring us Tinzi".

Mohapi said that on May 22, two residents were shot dead, and suspects were identified. When residents attempted to report the incident to the SAP station at Emtshebeni, they were told that the police "only wanted Tinzi" and refused to open a docket. Only after lawyers intervened was the case opened.

Dlodla has now been arrested on charges of attempted murder and intimidation and denied bail. Residents allege that the man he is alleged to have attacked, Sipho Mpanza, was in fact shot by the security forces while dispersing a rent boycott meeting. Contacted for comment, the SADF said they had no record of an incident on the day of Mpanza's shooting.



### SECURITY FORCES

POLICE and army actions accounted for three deaths, 11 injuries and 72 arrests in the PWV, Natal, Free State and western Cape between June 3 and June 9.

### HIT SQUAD ACTIONS

PIET Retief ANC chairman Goodwill Sihlaza was shot dead at his home on the night of June 3. Prior to his death, he allegedly received death threats from members of the Piet Retief special branch.

### REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

THE declaration of unrest areas which affected the magisterial districts of Richmond and Pietermaritzburg, was lifted on June 3 and June 8 respectively.

This reduces the number of townships still declared unrest areas to 13 — all in the Transvaal. They are Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Alexandra, Thokoza, Katlehong, Vosloorus, Sharpeville, Evaton, Sebokeng, Tembisa and Ennerdale.

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19/6/92  
31 May 92

REPUBLIEK  
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# Staatskoerant Government Gazette

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**No. 4884**

Vol. 324

PRETORIA, 12 JUNIE  
JUNE 1992

**No. 14045**

## GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWINGS

### MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

No. R. 1628 12 Junie 1992

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

#### VERLENGING VAN VERKLARING VAN GEBIED TOT ONRUSGEBIED

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 die verklaring waarby die gebied vermeld in die Bylae by Goewermenskennisgewing No. R. 859 van 13 Maart 1992 by sodanige Goewermenskennisgewing tot 'n onrusgebied verklaar is, vir 'n tydperk van drie maande.

**H. J. KRIEL,**  
Minister van Wet en Orde.

No. R. 1629 12 Junie 1992

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

#### VERLENGING VAN VERKLARING VAN GEBIED TOT ONRUSGEBIED

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 die verklaring waarby die gebied vermeld in die Bylae by Goewermenskennisgewing No. R. 877 van 13 Maart 1992, by sodanige Goewermenskennisgewing tot 'n onrusgebied verklaar is, vir 'n tydperk van drie maande.

**H. J. KRIEL,**  
Minister van Wet en Orde.

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## GOVERNMENT NOTICES

### MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

No. R. 1628 327 12 June 1992

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

#### EXTENSION OF DECLARATION OF AREA TO BE AN UNREST AREA

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 the declaration whereby the area mentioned in the Schedule to Government Notice No. R. 859 of 13 March 1992 was by such Government Notice declared to be an unrest area, for a period of three months.

**H. J. KRIEL,**  
Minister of Law and Order.

No. R. 1629 327 12 June 1992

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

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**H. J. KRIEL,**  
Minister of Law and Order.

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## Violence mounts in hospital strike

# Three unionists 'assassinated'

STAR 13/6/92

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STRIKE-HIT state hospitals may well become battle zones following the deaths this week of three health workers whom union leaders believe were assassinated.

National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) member Vuyo Mtshekeshe was gunned down as he was leaving the Natspruit Hospital on Tuesday evening.

On Thursday night, Nehawu shop stewards Victoria Mazibuko and Gressell Marubelela were shot dead in cold blood while they were holding a small union meeting at a private house.

An undisclosed number of gunmen burst into the house, killing them and a unidentified family member who was also present.

**The National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union has blamed government-supporting vigilantes for the slaying of three strikers. BRENDAN TEMPLETON reports.**

Last night Nehawu organisers expressed fears that the deaths marked the beginning of a brutal crackdown on the strike by "vigilante" forces supporting the Government.

General secretary Philip Dexter believed the Government had mistakenly identified the strike, which has hit 11 hospitals in the Transvaal, as part of the ANC's mass action campaign.

Apart from the three "assassinations", union officials said that workers had been sjambokked and teargassed on hospital premises.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) has alleged that a nurse at Boksburg/Benoni Hospital was also assaulted, her vehicle damaged and the building itself damaged by strikers.

Hospital staff at Baragwanath also accused union members of intimidation.

Police arrested 13 people at the hospital on Thursday, one of whom was a visitor, after a court interdict had been brought against workers being on the premises. A similar interdict was

brought against Natspruit workers.

The TPA has threatened to institute disciplinary action against striking workers because public service workers are not allowed to strike in terms of legislation. Most can be fired within 24 hours because they are classified as "temporary workers".

The five-day strike has begun to make itself felt. Medical staff at Baragwanath Hospital are treating emergency cases only. Patients at the hospital described conditions as "filthy".

The strike was sparked by the breakdown in pay negotiations. The Commission for Administration has offered a 9,2 percent increase and the union is demanding 15 percent.





**POLICE UNDER FIRE:** Amnesty International says the SAP is still at war with 'the enemy'

## 'It's business as usual' for partisan police — Amnesty

South 13/6-17/6/92

By Rehana Rossouw

THE GOVERNMENT must take steps to safeguard human rights or South Africa's political reform process could break down. This is the view of Amnesty International in a report released this week that implicates the police and military in political killings.

"The reforms of the past two years have brought some sweeping changes in South Africa. But as far as the security forces are concerned, it's business as

usual," says the human rights organisation. "And all too often that means taking part in political killings or standing by while others massacre political opponents."

In the 100-page report, Amnesty International documents evidence of a systematic pattern of police and military involvement in torture and assassinations during the past two years.

"Despite government promises to take the police out of politics, the fact is that they have continued their war against the ANC and allied organisations — and the government has been slow to react despite mounting evidence against the police," according to the report.

In the township violence which has cost 7 000 lives since early 1990, the police have continued the fight against those they see as "the enemy", says Amnesty International.

The report details some of the many incidents in which police participated directly or stood back and allowed massacres to occur:

- 80 people killed during an onslaught by thousands of armed Inkatha supporters on Pietermaritzburg townships in March 1990.
- 80 people killed in two days of attacks by Inkatha supporters and masked white men on Phola Park squatter camp east of Johannesburg in September 1990.
- 29 killed when 1 000 Inkatha supporters with active police involvement invaded Swanierville squatter camp west of Johannesburg on May 12, 1991.
- 18 residents of Bruntville township, Natal, killed during attacks by hundreds of Inkatha supporters on December 3, 1991, with the police in unmarked vehicles raiding residents' homes for weapons which they might have used to defend themselves.
- 18 people killed by armed Inkatha supporters and police in a dawn attack on March 13, 1992 on the Uganda squatter camp outside Durban.

### Few attackers prosecuted

In only one of these cases have the attackers been prosecuted for murder and in only one case has the conduct of police been subject to independent inquiry.

When there have been official inquiries, they have been hampered by violence and marked by official failure to act on their conclusions.

During an investigation into torture, killings of detainees and extrajudicial executions by the police in the Western Transvaal, witnesses and human rights monitors were harassed, threatened and shot at by the police.

In 1990 and 1991 high-profile judicial inquiries into military and police "death squads" found evidence of murder, poisoning, kidnapping, arson, perjury and destruction of evidence by members of the police and military. Not a single prosecution followed.

"The government of South Africa has, at best, been grossly negligent," says Amnesty International.

### 'Get away with murder'

"They have failed to act against all but a tiny proportion of human rights violators within the police and the military.

"This can only serve to give the security forces the impression that they can get away with anything, even murder. They must be held to account.

"Reform is dependent on human rights being respected. As well as welcoming political change in South Africa, the world must be alert to what is happening to human rights at the grassroots level.

"Nearly all the human rights violations in the report have happened since Nelson Mandela was freed.

"Political assassinations and other violations are not a thing of the past, as the government claims. They have not been stopped by the reform process," says Amnesty.

"The government must act now to make the police and military uphold the law, not undermine it. Otherwise hopes for a new South Africa will founder."

This is the second report in as many weeks slamming the government, police and military for their involvement in violence.

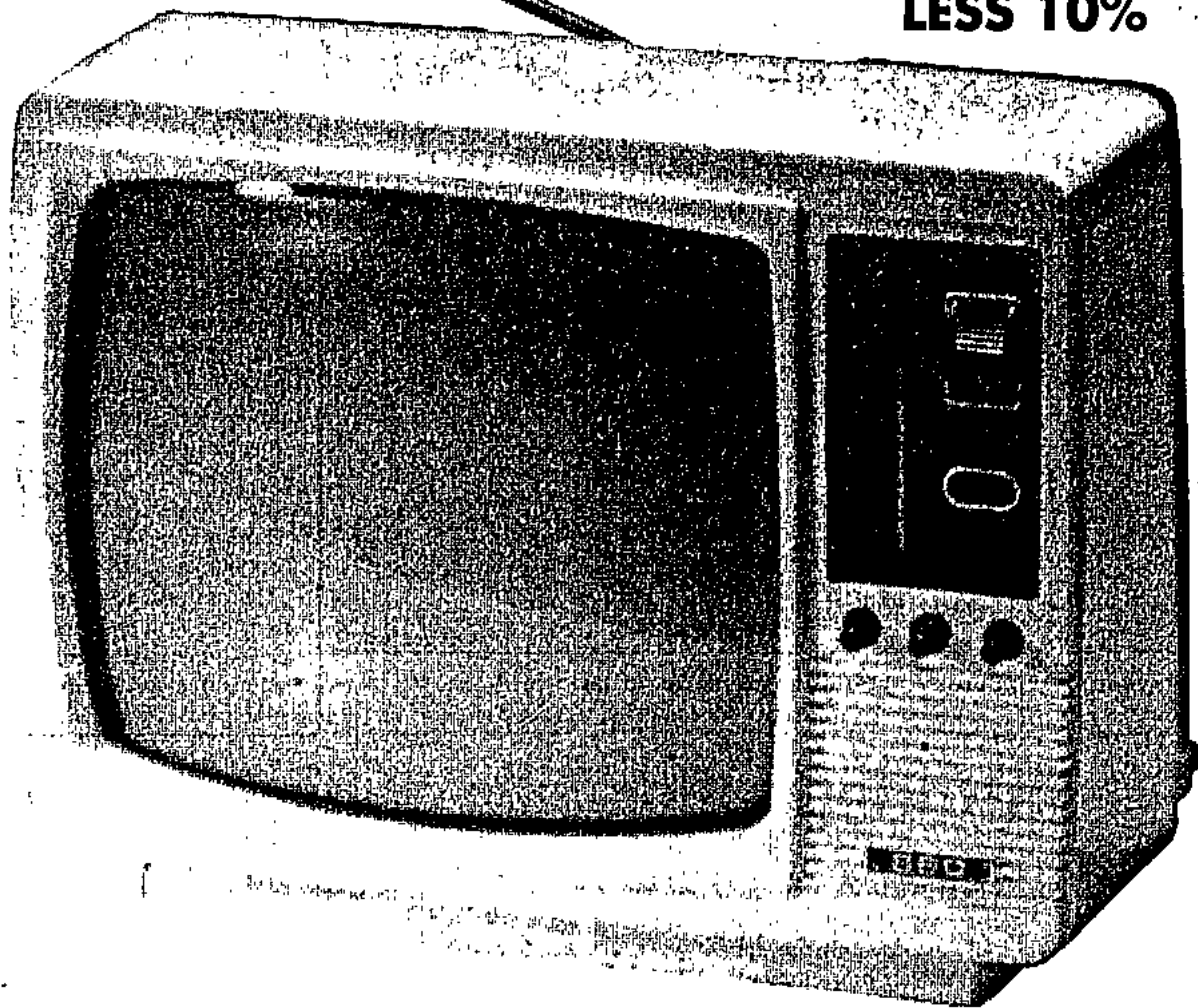
Last week the International Commission of Jurists released a report after their fact-finding tour of the country in March in which they challenged President F.W. de Klerk to bring the violence under control.

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## World backs press freedom

SOUTH 13/6-17/6/92

By Guy Berger

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SOUTH AFRICA has joined the world newspaper community — and in turn has won weighty international support for press freedom and diversity in this country.

South Africa's Newspaper Press Union — which now represents the alternative and establishment press — was accepted as a member of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) in Prague last month.

FIEJ was founded in 1948 — coinciding with the start of South Africa's isolation. It now represents

more than 15 000 publications on five continents.

A FIEJ resolution noted the commitment to press freedom made at the conference by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his call to address imbalances in the South African media.

The resolution called on the world's press and other interested parties to support the process of press diversification in South Africa.

FIEJ welcomed the fact that "key members of the establishment press in South Africa have in principle supported the formation of a trust fund for the development of the independent press and the diversification of print media".

The federation stressed the need to be ever-vigilant in defence of press freedom.



**DEFENCE** force units have been put on standby as the country braces itself for a return to the confrontational politics of the past when mass action "on an unprecedented scale" hits the streets next week. *STAR* 13/6/92

The African National Congress says "Super Tuesday" will serve as the launching pad for the biggest protest campaign ever mounted in South Africa. ANC president Nelson Mandela said the purpose of the campaign was to "ensure democracy in our lifetime".

● See Undercurrent Affairs — Page 12

The SADF has confirmed that Citizen Force and Commando members have been placed on standby in response to the ANC's mass action campaign.

Citizen Force and Commando elements were being called up, or being placed on standby in certain areas, SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said.

The ANC and its allies plan to hold more than 70 rallies involving at least a million people to protest against what it describes as government intransigence in constitutional negotiations.

Mandela said the ANC would have preferred to negotiate solutions to problems encountered at Codesa, but negotiations had reached a dead-end and mass action was the only option.

"We regret that mass action will impact on the economy. But the economy is so mismanaged, it can't be damaged further," he said. "The Government hasn't responded to our compromises and we have no alternative but to resort to the power we have — mass action."

In another development, the South African Police will tomorrow launch a countrywide publicity campaign urging participants in the protests not to resort to violence.

# Nation braced for mass action

By SEKOLA SELLO and SAPA

THE government and the ANC were yesterday locked in serious talks in a last-minute bid to avoid confrontation over mass action planned for this week.

The emergency talks come in the wake of a hardening of attitudes and trading of accusations by the two parties.

Against a backdrop of deteriorating relations, the ANC alliance announced this week that Tuesday's national June 16 rallies would be a launching pad for mass action on an "unprecedented scale".

In response, the government has put Citizen Force and Commando Force members on standby to help the police "maintain peace, stability and law and order".

This decision amounted to "declaring open war against the people", the ANC said.

It further charged that "there can be no question that the mobilisation of the SADF is intended to intimidate the disenfranchised majority with a massive display of force".

The ANC said it would not be intimidated by a show of force. Rather than "participating with sincerity in the negotiation process", the government chose to rely on propaganda and brute force.

Contrasting its hardline attitude towards mass action by the ANC was the government's leniency towards armed vigilantes parading the streets, the organisation added.

"The people of SA and the international community will hold De Klerk responsible for any loss of life or injuries."

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus confirmed the emergency talks saying mass action, the

call-up and the "situation in general" were being discussed.

At the time of going to press, the outcome of the talks was not known.

Meanwhile, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi cut short a trip to the US because he feared the campaign would exacerbate violence, while the PAC and Azapo said they would not support mass action if it aimed to resuscitate failed talks at Codesa.

On arrival at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport, Buthelezi said he was "very disturbed" with the planned action and foresaw clashes between IFP members and those planning the campaign.

Reiterating its commitment to strive for a reconstituted Patriotic Front, the PAC urged the ANC to desist "from further participation in Codesa".

ANC leader Nelson Mandela shrugged off the PAC's decision not to support the campaign. Speaking in Durban, he said: "Whether they support us or not is irrelevant. Progress has been made so far despite the PAC."

Despite behind-closed-doors attempts to make up, the ANC launched a scathing public attack on the government saying: "The De Klerk government, rocked by corruption, proof of police and military involvement in the murder of activists and a complete failure to protect the lives and property of all South Africans, wants to return to rule by the old ways of coercion and repression."

"Instead of guaranteeing the protection of people whose only means to make their views known is to vote with their feet, De Klerk and his colleagues are identifying them as the enemy."

## Killings deepen hospital crisis

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE crisis in black hospitals in the Transvaal deepened yesterday following the brutal gunning down of three trade union members and a bystander in two separate incidents in the East Rand's Natalspruit.

It has also been alleged that strikers have been harassed by police.

A statement issued on Friday by the National Education and Health Workers Union (Nehawu) said Victoria Mazibuko, a

nursing sister at Natalspruit Hospital and Griesell Marubelela, both Nehawu shop stewards, were gunned down by men who burst into a meeting at Mazibuko's house on Thursday evening.

The husband of one of the dead women was also killed in the attack.

In an incident on Tuesday, Nehawu member Vuyo Mtshekeshe was shot dead in Natalspruit.

Nehawu alleged that a nurse at the Boksburg/Benoni Hospital had also been assaulted and her vehicle da-

maged on Friday morning. This was confirmed by the TPA.

Nehawu said: "This is clearly a cowardly attempt to scare our members and to stop them from exercising what are basic trade union rights."

Nehawu general secretary Phillip Dexter said in addition to the 11 hospitals that were affected by the strike, unconfirmed reports said more hospitals in the Transvaal and Free State have been hit.

At a press conference in Johannesburg

on Friday the Nehawu leadership said strikers would not be intimidated by "union-bashing tactics". They emphasised, however, the strike was not linked to the planned ANC/Cosatu mass action.

Nehawu president Bheki Phakathi said his union would blame the government for any deaths of patients during the strike.

Nehawu condemned "in the strongest terms the revival of the death of 20 babies who allegedly died during the union's 1990 strike at Ga-

Rankuwa Hospital".

It said the TPA was trying to present the strikers as "insensitive people" and was desperately trying to shift attention from the strikers' legitimate demands.

Cosatu vice-president Chris Dlamini said the union federation supported the strikers' demands.

Nehawu is demanding a 15 percent wage increase and the TPA is offering 9.2 percent. By late yesterday the TPA and Nehawu were still locked in negotiations.



# Mass action marks shift

Clapham 14/6/92



Negotiations to now take a back seat.

BY SEKOLA SELLO

CONTRARY to popular belief, the decision by the ANC to embark on mass action at the beginning of July is not, as several commentators have claimed, the action of a petulant organisation unable to get its way at Codesa 2. Mass action is not a kneejerk response to problems at Codesa. Instead, it marks a definite shift in the thinking of the organisation on the whole question of negotiations and ending white domination.

The battle to dislodge FW de Klerk from power will now be fought in the streets, squatter camps and factory floors – not in the sedate atmosphere of the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Two factions are regarded as having played a big role in the organisation's decision to adopt a confrontationalist approach.

Firstly, the violence – which is being blamed on the government – has seriously hampered the ANC's efforts to organise in the black community.

There is a feeling in the ANC that should elections take place, it may not be able to muster a comfortable governing majority given the level of violence in the country.

Mass action will involve creating structures with "defence components" so that the organisation can, according to a spokesman, "survive in Umland, Zonkezwane, and other areas of Natal".

Secondly, there is an increasing lack of confidence in the ability of Codesa or negotiations to deliver. Questions were also being asked whether the aspirations of the ANC's general membership were being adequately represented in Codesa.

It is primarily these two factors, ANC insiders claim, which have now pushed mass action to

the fore as the principal weapon to dislodge the government.

Mass action is seen as the best way of ensuring that people's aspirations are realised. Structures with defence components, it is hoped, will also provide protection to the people.

Negotiations are still considered necessary but they are now relegated to a supportive role. A member of the ANC National Executive Committee Peter Mokaba says negotiations must be conducted in the context "of the struggle that is taking place outside the negotiations forum".

Mokaba goes on to say the "two biggest ever mistakes made by the movement" since organisations were unbanned two years ago were to subordinate mass action to negotiations and to use mass action as a tool to be invoked every time there were problems in the negotiations.

The powerful ANC Youth League headed by Mokaba has for some time contended that mass action was not like a tap which could be turned on and off depending on the circumstances.

The prevailing opinion in the organisation now is that negotiations are not the primary strategy or goal of the movement. Mass action is now seen as the overriding strategy on which even negotiations must be based.

That negotiations are taking a back seat as the focus of struggle between the two major parties at Codesa is also shown by the number of headline positions taken at the recent ANC policy conference.

The main contentious issue is that decisions taken by the elected national assembly (the Constituent Assembly) must be accepted by a two thirds majority.

On the two thirds majority issue Mokaba says the organisation is "prepared to have as

many deadlocks as possible".

The organisation is adamant that both the election to the Constituent Assembly and its sitting must not take place under the jurisdiction of the present government.

The issue of percentages and the Constituent Assembly are considered non-negotiable.

The planned programme of action provides for rendering "apartheid structures" like community councils, homelands and Department of Education and Training unworkable.

Consumer boycotts, indefinite strikes and the resettlement of the homeless people in any land available and suitable for occupation are part of the strategy.

It is envisaged that structures like community councils, once having been rendered unworkable, will be taken over by the "organs of people's power" to make sure that Pretoria does not

reinstatate its administrators.

Structures with a "defence component" will also be created to ensure that the movement can organise in places which are now considered no go areas because of the level of violence and intimidation in them.

These will be ongoing strategies against Pretoria, and according to Mokaba they do not expect that "during the course of this mass action there will be calls for such action to stop because we have reached some agreement on this or that".

While focus has been largely on the adverse effects mass action is likely to have on the economy, it is the resettlement of the homeless which is fraught with serious problems.

Several residential associations in Johannesburg's northern suburbs are reported to be arming themselves and preparing to use force to prevent

squatters in their neighbourhood.

This followed a decision by the Transvaal Provincial Administration to resettle Zeevfontein squatters at sites in Diepsloot and Nieuwedacht – a decision which has been strongly opposed by residents in the surrounding suburbs.

Most residents claim that resettling these homeless people will devalue their properties, create squalid conditions and also lead to an increase in crime.

The ANC's view is that if people had the courage to occupy land in and around black townships, "if this is done in an orderly manner to maintain standards", then white, empty land within white areas will also have to be occupied.

If the ANC lives up to its threats, we could well be heading for a long winter of discontent.



From Page 1

# THE CURIOUS INTRIGUE CALLED PROJECT ENIGMA

Affairs had Chief Nzeribe checked out. It discovered that he had started out in business in 1962, acting as an adviser to Britain and European countries on investments in Nigeria. He had served as a special adviser to Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah, had been an ambassador for Biafra during the Biafran civil war and had subsequently made a fortune out of oil.

Chief Nzeribe was chairman of the Fanz Organisation, Nigeria Limited, Fanz was involved in oil, property, construction and the manufacturing of computer equipment. In 1980 his turnover was £58-million and it had fixed assets totalling £48-million.

Having adjudged him to be a man of means, and one, moreover, who had already delivered on one of his promises, it was decided to go ahead with the magazine project. Rather than buy an existing magazine, the plan was to set up a publishing and printing venture.

The companies, known as Kilimanjaro Publishing House Limited

and Kilimanjaro Printing Company Ltd, would be based in London. The South Africans would invest £500,000 (or 20 percent) while Chief Nzeribe would invest £2-million (80 percent).

## Expenses

To channel the funds to the companies, the department decided to set up a front company, registered in Jersey, to hold the shares.

Because the project was sensitive, it was decided not to use officials to start it up but what the department terms a "co-worker".

The "co-worker" in this case was Mr Gerrit Borman, who is now a nominated National Party member of Parliament.

According to the department, Mr Borman was paid expenses and travelling costs but received no further remuneration.

The department also hired the services of a London firm of attorneys, experts in off-shore financial

transactions. *STW 14/6/92*

It was about this time that things began to go wrong. The department money was deposited into bank accounts opened by Chief Nzeribe in the name of Kilimanjaro Publishing and Kilimanjaro Printing at a branch of a South African bank in London.

An arrangement was made that Chief Nzeribe would be the sole signatory of the accounts.

Although never specifically stated, the reason for this was, presumably, to prevent the department's involvement in the project being detected.

However, Mr Borman asked Chief Nzeribe to sign a written undertaking that he would not withdraw funds without the department's consent.

The Sunday Times has seen a copy of the undertaking, signed by Chief Nzeribe.

It reads: "This is to give my

personal undertaking as the sole signatory of the two accounts that I will not withdraw any sums of money without your written approval... This undertaking indemnifies you should I withdraw funds without your approval and I would be required to reimburse the account in the event of such withdrawal."

## Budget

It was also agreed that when funds were withdrawn, the ratio of 20:80 would apply. In other words, for every R2 of the South African funds he withdrew from the account, the chief would withdraw R8 of his own money.

On December 3, 1986 Chief Nzeribe wrote to Mr Borman, pre-

senting an initial budget of £247,770 for the two companies. He asked permission to withdraw £95,000 in terms of the agreed arrangement. This was granted.

But a month later, the department was informed by the bank that Chief Nzeribe had withdrawn all the South African money. And, at about that time, it was discovered that he had not put any of his own funds into the companies.

Asked to explain his actions, Chief Nzeribe said the bank had refused to grant him credit facilities, so he had withdrawn the money and placed it with the Bank of Credit and Commerce International which was prepared to grant him further credit. He was asked to furnish proof but this was not done.

Shortly after that it was discovered that bankruptcy proceedings were being brought against Chief Nzeribe by Charterhouse Japhet Bank.

Since then, the front company and the department itself have tried on numerous occasions to get the money back, but all attempts have been unsuccessful.

Initially the problem was that Chief Nzeribe was involved in bankruptcy proceedings and his funds could not be touched. Then it was discovered that his personal funds were tied up in a trust which prevented the department from gaining access to them.

The department could not go public in its attempt to get the money back because this could have jeopardised its efforts to establish diplomatic links with Africa.

Later it discovered that Chief Nzeribe was a candidate in the Nigerian presidential elections. With South Africa on the verge of establishing diplomatic links with Nigeria, the department was understandably sensitive about news of the abortive project emerging.

But in the meantime, Auditor-General Peter Wronsley wanted

to know what had become of the funds — even though the secret project had been personally audited by his predecessor, Mr De Loor.

The department explained what had happened, but was unable to produce the share certificates. The reason for this was that the share certificates had been locked in a safe by an official who was subsequently transferred abroad; no one else knew where they were.

The Sunday Times has subsequently been shown copies of the share certificates.

Mr Wronsley thus reported to Parliament this year: "The Department of Foreign Affairs transferred an amount of R1 587 669 abroad for the acquisition of a shareholding in a foreign company. At the time this report was compiled it had not been possible to acquire such shareholding and all attempts to recover the

amount had thus far been unsuccessful." As a result of Mr Wronsley's report, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden was called before Parliament's Committee on Public Accounts to explain what had become of the money.

He pleaded that it was a sensitive matter but gave a basic outline.

However, after further investigations by the Sunday Times, Mr Van Heerden decided to tell the full story, and details of how the department was fleeced by the Nigerian conman were made public for the first time.

The upshot of this is that Chief Nzeribe, irked at being called a conman, has asked for a meeting with the department.

One has been scheduled to take place in London. The department hopes this will give impetus to the legal proceedings it has initiated to get its money back and finally bring an end to the sorry saga of Project Enigma.



**Fraud Scandal**

**NEWS ROUND-UP**  
**St Lucia sways**

**Bill gives AGs**





# JIMMY KRUGER, A CHIEF FROM NIGERIA AND THE CURIOUS INTRIGUE CALLED

## PROJECT

## ENIGMA

SITimes 14/6/92  
**MIKE ROBERTSON reveals the inside story of Enigma, the top-secret project that cost South Africa R1.6-million**

(327) IT BEGAN with Jimmy Kruger, the former Justice Minister left so unmoved by the death of Steve Biko.

He knew a Nigerian, a wealthy businessman who dealt in oil and arms and was on first-name terms with a host of African leaders.

The Nigerian believed he could do profitable business with South Africa and asked Mr Kruger to set up a meeting.

Thus it was that Glenn Babb, now ambassador to Rome but then a senior official in the Africa division of the Department of Foreign Affairs, accompanied Mr Kruger to Jan Smuts Airport one day in November 1984 to meet Chief Francis Nzeribe.

That meeting was the genesis of Project Enigma, a secret sanctions-busting operation that went horribly wrong and ended with Foreign Affairs losing R1.6-million.

But no one could foresee that back in 1984, when Chief Nzeribe explained to Mr Babb that he wanted to explore the possibility of selling oil to South Africa and offered, as a sweetener, to use his personal contacts with various African leaders to secure overflying rights for South Africa.

### AUDIT

Mr Babb was sufficiently impressed and arranged a meeting between Chief Nzeribe and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

They discussed oil, arms and overflying rights and the meeting concluded with Mr Botha telling Chief Nzeribe to put his proposals in writing.

Around that time Mr Botha and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis had been summoned by President PW Botha to discuss the impending sanctions threat. It was decided secret measures would have to be taken to circumvent sanctions. The President insisted the entire operation be as secret as possible so as not to embarrass those involved.

To ensure some measure of accountability, it was agreed, at the Foreign Minister's request, that Auditor-General Joop de Loor personally audit the secret projects.

The type of project the President had in mind was precisely the kind of business Chief Nzeribe wanted to do with South Africa.

On January 31 1985 Mr Kruger contacted Mr Babb to tell him the chief was on his way back to South Africa with a number of written propositions.

He arrived on February 2 and held a series of meetings with Mr Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan as well as military and national intelligence officials.

### PARTNERSHIP

In essence what Chief Nzeribe proposed was that he be allowed to sell South African arms to African countries, procure oil for South Africa and use his contacts with African leaders to secure overflying rights. He mentioned that he would soon be going to the Sudan and offered to initiate talks there on overflying rights.

Finally he proposed the purchase of a magazine which would be used to promote a better understanding of South Africa in West Africa. Most West African magazines, he explained, were based in London. Many were in debt and he personally knew many of the editors.

Were South Africa to go into partnership with him in purchasing one or two of these magazines, he could guarantee that he would be able to dictate an editorial policy favouring South Africa.

The South African government asked for time to study the proposals.

In the meantime, Chief Nzeribe flew to Johannesburg where he met SAA chief Gert van der Veer and discussed overflying rights. Shortly after that the chief went to the Sudan and, as promised, initiated contact on such rights.

What became of his proposals concerning oil and arms is not known. But the magazine proposal was pursued.

Before doing so, the Department of Foreign

□ To Page 2

R.T.O



□ From Page 1

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# THE CURIOUS INTRIGUE CALLED PROJECT ENIGMA

STW 14/6/92

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## Upshot

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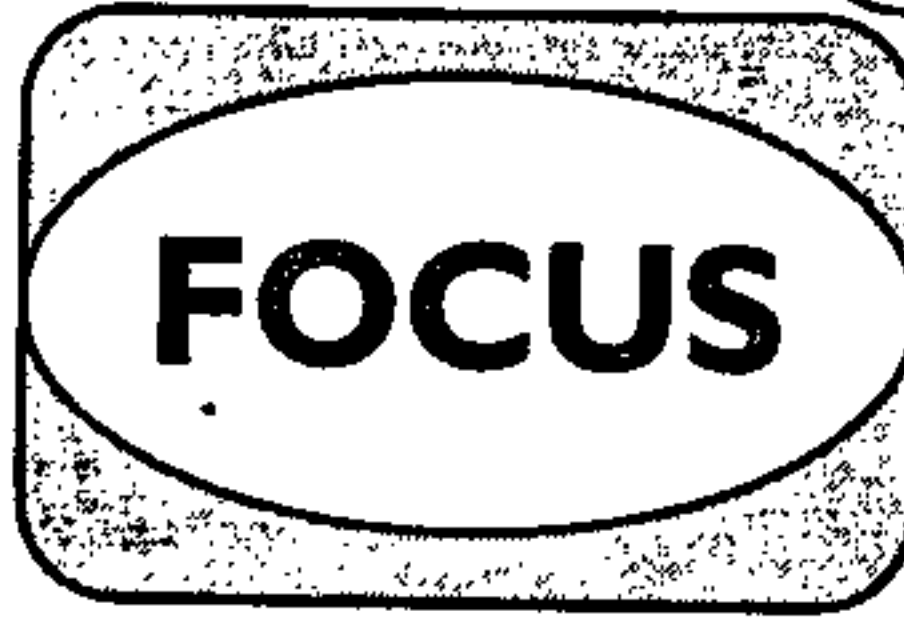


# Return to mass action as June 16 is relived

Soweto 15/6/92.

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Tomorrow is June 16 and thousands of blacks will commemorate this day. This year, the ANC and Government are squaring up to each other. THAMI MAZWAI, day editor of *Sowetan*, contrasts June 16 1976 with June 16 1992.



## SOMEBODY walking in Soweto is sadly reminded of June 16 1976.

From early morning on this day, hundreds of policemen were seen in all corners of Soweto. And the explosion came as students marched in Orlando West. Hundreds died.

The next day the storm spread to other parts of the country, as far afield as the Cape. From then until October 19 1977, when the Government banned all black consciousness organisations, the country was aflame.

June 16 1976 was followed by a number of trials and an inquiry headed by Mr Justice Cillie. He criticised the socio-economic and political infrastructure which had blacks at the bottom of the scrapheap.

He also said the police had been unprepared and poorly trained to deal with the explosion.

While the Government has dragged its heels in eradicating the grievances that led to the black community supporting the student protests to the last man, it has done more than enough in training a force that will effectively deal with any future insurrection.

This is the backdrop of a very tragic June 16, 1992.

For on the one side the ANC is mobilising its thousands of members for what it says will be the biggest demonstration of mass action this country has ever known.

The masses will protest Government intransigence at Codesa, the

country's negotiating forum.

In response, the Government has deployed crack units in its security forces to deal with ANC mass action.

Fundamental to this are the reasons that led to June 16, 1976 - a Government that maintains it has the sole right to shape and determine our future.

A look at its duplicity since the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and other organisations confirms this.

In return for the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle, the Government was to release all political prisoners. Today, the likes of McBride and others are still in jail.

According to the Lawyers for Human Rights, over a 100 political prisoners are still in jail. Of note is that many of those in jail were sentenced for the killing of whites.

However, it has not hesitated to free policemen convicted of killing blacks, even for criminal activities.

Furthermore, it now wants to indemnify all state officials responsible for the gruesome killing of activists in the eighties. It hopes to tie this in with the release of remaining political prisoners.

This would effectively close the case on the killing of Matthew Goniwe, Eddie Webster and scores of other activists.

On the other hand, the white community has not gone the reform path. When white residents complain of the value of their properties when squatters must be settled in their lily-white suburbs, one is asked what South Africa are we talking about?

Since when has the value of a



The tombstone of the first victim of the 1976 Soweto unrest victims, Zolile Hector Pietersen has once more been refurbished after being vandalised by mysterious people. Here his mother, Dorothy, shows the new grave.

house taken precedence over the right of an individual to a roof over his head?

The point one makes is that while there is talk of a new South Africa, there is as yet nothing blacks can touch to signify a new South Africa.

Scrapping the Land Act is meaningless if people still do not have access to that land, this time because they do not have the money to buy land. And apartheid saw to that.

The above sores, and many others have festered over the months.

It is the ducking and diving of Government at over one person

one vote at Codesa that has now made blacks say: "enough is enough. There is no sincerity in the Government's talk of reform".

Blacks do not want a one person one vote system that gives the minority, or one of the minorities, a veto.

Blacks are now taking to the streets, the same as students in 1976 took to the streets.

And the launch pad is to be June 16 services.

Wonder when the Government will start talking of democracy as understood by everybody, and not what it thinks democracy should be: rule by the minority?

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlolo. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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## Hector's mother for PAC's service

Sowetan 15/6/92  
Sowetan Reporter

THE mother of Hector Pietersen, the first victim of the June 76 uprisings, will speak at the Pan Africanist Congress' commemoration rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto tomorrow.

Mrs Dorothy Pietersen will share the platform with PAC president Mr Clarence Mlamli Makwetu. Hector's sister will also be at the rally.

African cultural groups Bayete and Sakhile will render cultural items during the service.

PAC West Rand spokesman Ntsundeni Madzunya said: "We are urging all the oppressed African masses of our stolen land to highlight the significance of June 16 in our struggling history by attending organised rallies throughout the country."

● June 16 relived - page 10

## State declares war on violence

Sowetan 15/6/92  
Political Staff

THE State is to give itself drastic new powers - including a toughening-up of detention without trial procedures - in an attempt to curb the continuing violence and intimidation.

New legislation to be tabled in Parliament today aims also to ban private armies, give attorneys-general the power to refuse bail and to drastically streamline court procedures for serious crimes of violence and intimidation.

The Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill, as it is called, was described by a Justice Ministry spokesman this week as a "declaration of war against violence" - although the Bill has raised concerns that the rule of law is again under threat.



# Cops find huge arms cache on train

18 JUN 1992

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
SALDRU LIBRARY

# Weapons of terror

*Sowetan 15/6/92*

*327*

POLICE yesterday intercepted a train at Phomolong station, Soweto, and found what they describe as the largest large arms cache ever confiscated.

The train was carrying hundreds of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters who were on their way to a June 16 rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto.

AK 47s, an Uzi machine gun and two coach loads of traditional weapons were found. Close to 25 people were arrested, including a woman who had a firearm hidden in her underwear.

This incident is the latest in the build up to June 16, with the Government and the ANC squaring up to each other.

By late yesterday it was evident that confrontation between the Government

and ANC was unavoidable. The ANC will from tomorrow embark on a mass campaign while thousands of soldiers and policemen have been deployed to maintain law and order.

● Picture on page 3

Full report on page 2



A policeman inspects some of the weapons found on a train in Soweto yesterday.

Sowetan, your favourite newspaper, will not be published tomorrow, June 16. It will be back on the streets on Wednesday.





# Biggest arms cache found

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*Sowetan 15/6/92*  
**POLICE yesterday confiscated the largest arms cache in a single raid on a train carrying Inkatha Freedom Party supporters on their way to a rally in Jabulani.**

Twenty-seven people arrested and police confiscated 14 pistols, six AK-47 rifles, 11 revolvers, two Russian made automatic rifles, four self-made shotguns and five AK-47 magazine with 30 rounds of ammunition each.

Police also discovered two coachloads of traditional weapons, including pangas, axes and spears.

A team of senior police officials, including General Johan van der Merwe, were specially flown from Pretoria to view the cache.

Addressing a Press conference at New Canada police station last night, Van der Merwe said the commuters were on their way to an Inkatha Freedom Party rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre.

Van der Merwe said the commuters, who

**By KENOSI MODISANE**

were arrested between New Canada and Dube stations, were from hostels outside Soweto.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the train was intercepted at Phomolong Station.

Halgryn said the IFP supporters were not allowed to proceed to the rally but were instead escorted back to New Canada Station where another search was carried out.

## **Injured**

At the station a woman was arrested after she had shot and injured a policeman.

The policeman was reported to be in a satisfactory condition in hospital.

Meanwhile, police reported that a person was killed in Moletsane.

The body of another person who had been shot and set alight was found in Meadowlands Zone 5.

● See page 16



**VAN DER MERWE**



Weekend talks fail to halt mass action campaign

# On collision course

STAR 15/6/92

Political Correspondent  
and Sapa

Confrontation between the authorities and the ANC alliance now seems inevitable as the organisation stands poised to implement an ambitious plan of mass action tomorrow to try to force the Government from power.

The construction industry has warned it could lose as much as R97 million a day.

The Association of SA Quantity Surveyors said yesterday: "Retrenchment and closures could become the order of the day if mass action at this delicate stage of work scarcity is sustained for any length of time."

"Lost wages alone could exceed R8 million a day, which would result in extreme hardship."

"There is also the ripple effect into allied industries — cement, quarry, brick,

## Start of stayaway season — Page 13

steel, timber, electrical and mechanical."

Senior Government sources said yesterday they were convinced the ANC would go ahead, despite intensive discussions at the weekend aimed at trying to resolve the impasse in negotiations which inspired the mass action campaign.

The sources said the talks were positive and constructive. They would be followed up by a meeting of Codesa's management committee today.

Government sources said the ANC negotiators were unable to abort the campaign now and were being dictated to by the SACP and Cosatu.

This tallied with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's weekend statement condemning the "dangerous and disruptive" campaign and claiming that the ANC had decided on mass action before negotiations stalled at Codesa 2.

The ANC alliance plans to start with 70 rallies around the country tomorrow — the commemoration of the Soweto uprising in 1976 — and to continue with a strategy of sit-ins, occupations, marches, boycotts and acts of disobedience until June 30.

That is the deadline the ANC has given the Government to meet its demands for an interim government.

If this fails, the ANC will start a new phase of wider national actions, culminating in a general strike in August.

Government ministers and security officials fear that the mass action campaign will lead to violence — and even that the ANC's strategy might be deliberately to provoke violent confrontation with the security forces.

They said peaceful legal

● To Page 3

## Collision course likely

● From Page 1  
STAR 15/6/92

protest would be tolerated. But any violence and illegality would be dealt with "firmly" and with the "necessary force".

The central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday condemned the campaign.

"We remember with horror that more than 30 people died the last time the ANC mounted a national strike, and the IFP said it was going to motivate its members to defy ANC pressures and go to work as usual."

The IFP said it had decided to call mass meetings to demonstrate the fact that the majority of workers rejected the ANC's mass action programmes.

Business has made it clear that it will not indulge the campaign and will follow a policy of no work, no pay. Some have threatened to fire workers who stay away.

Mr Meyer said in a statement that the ANC had no moral justification for a dangerous and disruptive campaign, the aim of which was a mere handing over of power.

He accused ANC leader Nelson Mandela of distorting the facts by saying last week that the campaign was necessary because negotiations had deadlocked and the Government was trying to cling to power.

Bilateral talks were continuing and the ANC knew full agreement had been reached on a transitional phase in which provision was made for a transitional parliament and government.

# Confrontation looms over mass action plan

CONFRONTATION between the authorities and the ANC seems inevitable as it stands poised to implement an ambitious plan of mass action tomorrow to try to force the Government from power.

Senior Government sources said yesterday they were convinced the ANC would go ahead, despite intensive Government/ANC discussions at the weekend aimed at trying to resolve the impasse in negotiations which inspired the mass action campaign.

The sources said that the talks were "positive and constructive". They would be followed up by a meeting of Codesa's management committee today.

But the Government sources were now certain that the ANC/Cosatu/SA Communist Party alliance intended to go ahead with the start of the mass action campaign tomorrow anyway.

They said the ANC negotiators were helpless to abort the campaign now and were being dictated to by the SACP and Cosatu.

This tallied with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's weekend statement condemning the "dangerous and

disruptive" campaign and claiming that the ANC had decided on mass action even before negotiations stalled at Codesa 2.

The alliance plans to start with 70 rallies tomorrow and to continue with a strategy of sit-ins, occupations, marches, boycotts and acts of disobedience until June 30.

Government Ministers and security officials fear that the mass action campaign will lead to violence - and that the ANC's strategy might be deliberately to provoke violent confrontation with the security forces.

The sources dismissed speculation that the Government intended re-imposing the State of Emergency to deal with the consequences of mass action.

They said they believed that the ANC could sustain a large mass action campaign for the first few days but that fears of not being paid or even of losing jobs, would undermine the campaign.

Business has made it clear that it will follow a policy of no work, no pay.

● See page 16

Sowetan 15/6/92

(327) Political Staff



# Brute force not the answer - ANC

Sowetan 15/6/92

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**THE decision to put SADF units on standby in response to the ANC's mass action campaign tomorrow amounted to a declaration of war, the organisation said at the weekend.**

The ANC accused the Government of relying on propaganda and brute force, instead of negotiating with sincerity.

The SADF has called up citizen force and commando force members to be placed on standby for the ANC's mass action plans tomorrow, the 16th anniversary of the June 16 1976 Soweto riots.

SADF spokesman Colo-

nel John Rolt confirmed the move.

The move was supported by the Conservative Party.

CP's spokesman for defence, Dr WJ Snyman called for the units to be used primarily for "home and family" protection against any possible threat "from the communist-inspired ANC".

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, cut short his tour of the US because the "IFP and I are very concerned about the ANC's decision.

"There's already so much violence that we cannot defuse, and the ANC's decision will only exacerbate the ongoing vio-

lence," Buthelezi said on his return.

The ANC said instead of guaranteeing the protection of people whose only means to make their views known was to vote with their feet, president FW de Klerk "and his colleagues" were identifying them as the enemy.

"There can be no question that the mobilisation of the SADF is intended to intimidate the disenfranchised majority with a massive display of force.

"The attitude displayed by the Government is in marked contrast to its lenience towards the mass action of armed vigilantes, who have time without number been permitted to

parade through the streets with their weapons, leaving death and destruction in their wake," the organisation said.

The Government sought to put the onus for the prevailing murder, mayhem and chaos on the ANC, and blame mass action for the country's problems, the ANC said.

The people of South Africa had the undisputed right to demonstrate their opposition to Government policies and practices that they found unacceptable, it said.

The ANC demanded that the country should move forward rapidly to an interim government of national unity. - Sapa.

# Cops get a big pat on the back

Sowetan 15/6/92

ULULATIONS filled the air at Soweto stations yesterday as police searched and confiscated arms from an armed mob of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters who were on their way to a rally in Jabulani.

At New Canada Station, excited crowds shook hands with members of the Train Unit and congratulated them for "a job well done".

"Oh my son, please carry on with these operations everyday," exclaimed an elderly woman as she embraced a policeman at Dube Station.

## Senseless

"Only if we could get the same co-operation from other forces like the Riot Unit can we contain this senseless carrying dangerous weapons," said an elated member of the Train Unit.

But from the armed mobs in the trains came cries of "please escort us back home" and "our enemies will now kill

By KENOSI MODISANE

us" as police took away guns, spears and knobkerries.

"We would rather be killed by you than be killed by the ANC," said one of the men after police had confiscated a spear and a shield from him.

Most of those who were disarmed accused the police of colluding with "their enemies".

## Kid gloves

"You have arranged with the ANC to wait for us in town and kill us. That's why you are taking our arms away from us," exclaimed a man.

But, responded a member of the unit: "They have been treated with kid gloves for too long. If we sided with their enemies, why didn't we shoot at them seeing that they were so heavily armed?", the members said.

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# Anger and cheers for police

STAR 15/6/92

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**P**OLICE yesterday intercepted trains carrying Inkatha Freedom Party members to a rally in Soweto and disarmed them of an assortment of weapons, ranging from AK-47 rifles to battle-axes.

Residents from houses near Phomolong station, where the interception took place, gathered on overhead bridges and on an embankment near the entrance to the station and cheered the police.

At least 10 AK-47 rifles were confiscated. When the first one was discovered, a white police officer raised it triumphantly above his head to wild acclaim from the spectators above.

The rifles were put into a nearby railway coach. Spears, sharpened iron rods, shields, axes, pangas and sticks were piled into an open truck. It was filled to the top by the time the police completed their work.

When the trains came into the station, the police commanded the drivers to stop. With guns cocked, policemen lined the train on either side and ordered the Zulu-speaking IFP men out of the train.

Police yesterday disarmed IFP members going by train to a rally in Soweto. Their action dismayed and angered the IFP passengers but won the approval of nearby residents. The confiscated weaponry included traditional and decidedly untraditional weapons. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

STAR

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The IFP men initially ignored the orders. Their resistance met with firm action from the police. "Teargas!" shouted a police officer. Canisters were fired into the train.

IFP men — and a few women — emerged within seconds, coughing and vomiting, their eyes streaming.

Some of them protested vehemently. Some were clearly confused. They thought they were being shot at with live ammunition and came out with their hands up.

All were rapidly deprived of their weapons. IFP women were searched by a lone, pistol-wielding policewoman. One of the arms netted was a shining homemade silver pistol.

One young IFP man complained angrily: "You see those

people up there," he said, pointing to the cheering Soweto residents. "They are laughing at us." Tears of rage might have mingled with those induced by teargas.

Another young man, Patrick Magazine — coincidentally an employee at The Star — said: "The police point their guns at us. What for. What have we done?" Referring to the pile of sticks, spears and shields on the platform in front of him, he said: "We are just carrying them to protect ourselves. Yesterday (the ANC) shot three of our people."

A third, older man bellowed defiantly at a policeman: "This is our country. This is a Zulu country. We are Zulus."

On the bridges the atmosphere was entirely different.

The people were jubilant. "They should have done that a long time ago," a man said. "Those weapons are used to kill us."

A woman interjected: "They must take those weapons and burn them."

Later, at Jubulani Amphitheatre, thousands of IFP members were in an angry and dangerous mood. When journalists walked through the milling crowd at the entrance, they were sniped at verbally by suspicious IFP members, many of whom are migrant workers living in the hostels.

"What do they want, these dogs?" an IFP woman asked in Zulu. "They have come to take messages to the ANC." A man offered his opinion in Zulu: "They are pompous. What do they want here?"

The presence of journalists at Phomolong station could have added to the hostility. Earlier a Zulu man blamed journalists for the teargassing and humiliation. "You are whites," he declared. "You are the regime. You are doing this to us. You are making the ANC happy." □

# New steps to combat violence

16/06/92

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Government has put forward drastic measures to combat violence and "intimidation" — with penalties for intimidation being increased to 25 years' imprisonment.

The Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill, tabled in Parliament yesterday, scraps certain sections of the Internal Security Act — but introduces detention without trial for interrogation periods administered by the courts rather than the police.

Under the Bill a magistrate could issue a warrant of arrest for any person he believed might know where weapons were hidden.

The suspect could be held for 48 hours before appearing before a magistrate. Thereafter the suspect would have to appear before a magistrate every 10 days, and could be held indefinitely in this way.

The legislation forms the basis of government's strategy against political intolerance, violence, intimidation and the formation of private armies.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee did not in any way refer to any organisation, including Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), while discussing the section on private armies in a statement, but the terms of the new legislation made it clear

that MK and the AWB would fall into its ambit by virtue of applying to individuals and leaders of organisations.

Any person involved in the control, training or administration of private armies would be severely dealt with and brought to book, unless acting in the pursuit of support for the SA Police or SADF.

Where the organisers were politically motivated they exposed themselves automatically to prosecution.

Security firms and neighbourhood watches would have to apply for exemption from these control measures and this would, in the normal course of events, be granted by the Minister.

The main focus of the measures was to combat intimidation and even shifted the onus of proof to someone suspected of committing the offence.

Where previously the act of intimidation had to have been committed before security forces could act, the new legislation proposed "that a crime had already been committed once fear was inculcated".

Further, other acts which could reasonably be interpreted to instill fear would be considered to be a crime of intimidation.

Most of these harsh sections, including detention without trial in terms of this Bill, carried a sunset clause of one year. <sup>327</sup> The aim is mainly to create conditions more attuned to conducting elections.

The President can, with the concurrence of Parliament, extend these provisions for a year at a time.

The legislation also specifically targets gun-running and aims to clamp down heavily on automatic weapons being brought into the country from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

It gives the security forces wide powers to arrest people suspected of knowing the whereabouts of arms caches or hidden weapons.

The Bill also proposes amendments to the Criminal Procedures Act whereby a certificate can be issued by the attorney-general declaring the crime a special crime in respect of crimes of violence and intimidation to speed up the process.

The prosecution and the defence have to have their case arguments ready for trial within 60 days or the court may rule insufficient evidence and set the accused free.

The suspect will not be allowed bail unless the attorney-general has issued written authorisation.



## Grosskopf 'is still a suspect'

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6/10/92  
STEPHANE BOTHMA

ANC member Hein Grosskopf was positively linked to the Quartz Street bomb blast in Johannesburg in 1987 which injured 68 people, and was still a suspect in two other blasts which killed seven, police said yesterday.

An SAP statement said a R50 000 reward for information linking Grosskopf or any other person to a blast at the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court in 1988, which left three people dead, was still on offer.

However, a reward for Grosskopf's arrest had lapsed, Sapa reports.

Police said Grosskopf, believed to be in Zambia, was still a suspect in the 1987 Johannesburg Magistrate's Court bomb blast and that at the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court in 1988.

## No pay for staying away, say employers

31/12/92  
16/6/92

BUSINESS organisations yesterday called for a no work, no pay policy as they and unions engaged in a war of words over the ANC alliance's mass action campaign.

Sacob, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Spoonnet and Anglo American's gold and uranium division all advised yesterday they would follow a policy of "no work, no pay", Sapa reports.

Selfa recommended that disciplinary action be taken against employees staying away from work because of mass action.

"In this particular case, it would constitute an illegal strike," Selfa spokesman Hendrik van der Heever said of the campaign, which starts today.

Cosatu yesterday said employers had done nothing about the issues motivating the mass action programme.

"If there is a better way to stop government corruption and death squads and get movement at Codesa, we would like to hear about it," a Cosatu spokesman said.

Cosatu has asked business organisations to support its mass action

campaign as the quickest route to establishing the political stability needed for economic growth.

A Sacob spokesman said business did not have a position on these issues. In any event, it would rather engage directly with government than through Cosatu.

"We are concerned about government corruption and the (assassinated activist Matthew) Goniwe affair, but we don't respond to every issue like Cosatu does. There are institutions like the Goldstone Commission, the Justice Department and Codesa which should be used to solve these problems."

Meanwhile, the thousands of workers currently on strike at TPA hospitals, SABC and Toyota could swell to hundreds of thousands in the next few weeks if negotiations in the textile, municipal, transport, forestry, metal, car, tyre, retail and mining industries were not settled, Cosatu said.

Disputes had already been declared in many of these sectors.

Tomorrow 250 000-member Numsa will unveil its mass action plan for the metal, motor, car and tyre and rubber industries.

## Bill lifts ban on foreign funding

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6/10/92  
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government has tabled an omnibus Bill which includes the temporary suspension of the ban on foreign funding of political parties.

A memorandum to the General Law Amendment Bill says the suspension of the Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act "emanates from the need of funds in order to expand the process of democratisation".

The Bill amends elements of another 20 Acts, among them the provision in the Criminal Procedure Act of 1977 that an accused's race must be mentioned in a charge sheet or an indictment.

The Criminal Procedure Act is being amended to make it clear correctional supervision may be imposed for statutory offences.

Clause 6 of the Sexual Offences Act is extended to include males in the provision that anyone found in a brothel who refuses to disclose the name and identity of the keeper or manager will be deemed to be keeping the brothel.

Section 99 of the Insolvency Act is also being amended so that a preferential claim will be granted to the state in respect of VAT, as was the case with GST.



## Police deny accusations at Mlangeni's inquest

SUSAN RUSSELL

A POLICE officer investigating the death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, killed last year by a booby-trapped cassette player, denied in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that there had been an attempt to source the origin of the device as far away from SA as possible. *B/day 16/6/92*

Capt André Kritzinger made the denial during cross-examination at an inquest on Mlangeni.

Mlangeni was killed on February 15 last year when he activated the device at his home.

The cassette player and a tape marked "Evidence of hit squads" had originally been posted to policeman Dirk Coetzee in Lusaka, where he had taken refuge with the ANC after making public his claims about the existence of police hit squads.

Coetzee left the package at the post office in Zambia because he did not have the money to claim it and it was redirected to Mlangeni, who was listed as the sender.

Coetzee has claimed the booby-trapped cassette player was sent to him by former colleagues at the police farm Vlakplaas from where, he alleges, the hit squads operated.

The inquest court heard yesterday that the yellow sticker on the package was one used internationally to facilitate a uniform postal process but was not used in SA, which had been excluded because of sanctions and other isolationist policies against the country.

Counsel acting for Mlangeni's family, G Rautenbach, suggested to Kritzinger that a statement obtained by the police from a post office employee stating that the sticker was not used in SA was an attempt by the police investigators to distance the origin of the device as far away from SA as possible.

Kritzinger denied this.

## Hostel residents warn of revenge

WILSON ZWANE

DEMOLITION of a hostel in Dobsonville, Soweto, by township residents had set the stage for a "bloody confrontation", West Rand Hostel Residents' Association chairman Joseph Kubheka warned yesterday. *B/day 16/6/92*

On Sunday, Dobsonville residents used earthmoving equipment to demolish sections of the local hostel, while the majority of the Inkatha-supporting inmates were attending an Inkatha Youth Brigade rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre.

Residents commandeered an earth-mover and a road leveller and crashed through the razor wire, smashing into the hostel and tearing open four rooms.

Kubheka said since police had displayed a disregard for the safety of hostel residents, the time had come for hostel residents to take the law into their own hands and defend themselves against attacks from township residents.

"We will use whatever means at our disposal to repel attacks directed at us," Kubheka said.

He added that the development would lead to a "bloody confrontation" between township residents, bent on demolishing hostels, and hostel dwellers.

Soweto police spokesman Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn said police would do everything they could to protect lives and property.

□ In its monthly report on repression, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday 296 people had died and 274 had been injured in violence countrywide last month.

Most of the deaths (228) and injuries (192) were reported in the PWV region.

Meanwhile, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) is distributing pamphlets on the Reef offering R10 000 rewards to people with information leading to the conviction of those responsible for politically-motivated attacks.

A spokesman for the LHR said the pamphlet campaign would be extended to Natal and the western Cape.

In another development, the national peace committee has requested an explanation from the Student Representatives Council (SRC) of Soweto's Vista University of the disruption of a peace symposium by its members last week.

"At the time when the urgency of normalised police/community relations is being stressed by the national peace secretariat, the national peace committee strongly condemns last week's disruption of a peace symposium in Soweto by members of the Student Representatives Council of Vista University," committee spokesman Val Pauquet said yesterday.

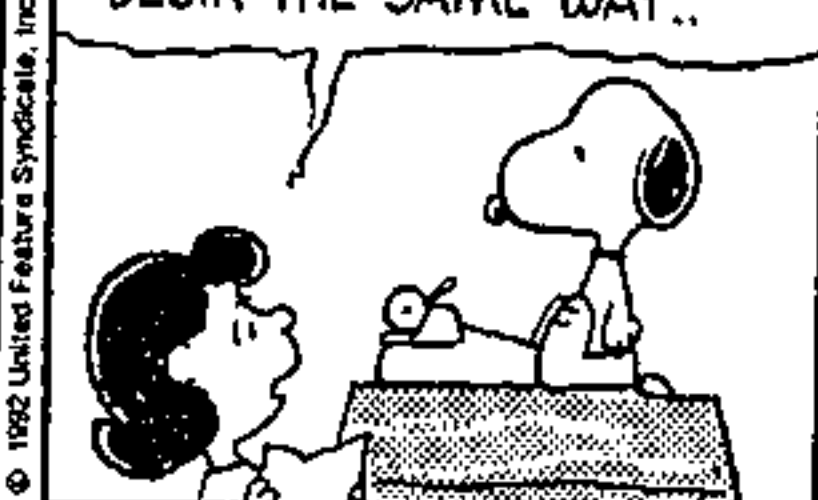
## PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz

It was a dark and stormy night.



NO WONDER YOUR STORIES NEVER SELL... THEY ALL BEGIN THE SAME WAY..



It was a dark and stormy noon.



## Winnie's clique faces a hearing

ANC Women's League members who demonstrated in support of former regional chairman Winnie Mandela last month will face a disciplinary committee soon, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday. *B/day 16/6/92*

The league's entire regional executive was suspended after a memorandum was presented at ANC headquarters complaining that Mandela was being victimised by "faceless" congress leaders who had made "unauthorised" allegations about her private life to the media.

Asked if Mandela would face the committee, Niehaus said he could not comment. — Sapa. *(Sapa)*



# 'Police offered me cash to bomb homes of activists'

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Pretoria Correspondent

An ANC member has told the Goldstone Commission how he was lured to a police "safe house" and offered money to launch petrol-bomb attacks on the homes of ANC and SACP activists.

The inquiry, before R Wise, SC, follows reports published in The Weekly Mail recently alleging that police used "safe houses" in Sebokeng from which to plan attacks on activists.

Daniel Kolisang (24), who described himself as an ANC Youth League

and SACP member from Sebokeng, told the commission he had made contact in December last year with a man who called himself "Oupa".

The man, whom he later found out was a Sergeant J K R Seago of the SAP, offered him a job with the Transvaal Provincial Administration's security division.

He was then taken blindfolded to a house where he was introduced to man calling himself "Brian".

At first he thought the man was a member of the AWB, but he later suspected the man to be a

member of the police.

At the first meeting, on January 2 this year, "Brian" asked him to obtain information on a number of activists in Sebokeng.

He reported the meeting to community leaders and other activists, and was told to return to a second meeting, scheduled for January 16.

At a second meeting, "Brian" told him to petrol-bomb the houses of eight activists to "prove his loyalty" and said he would be paid R5 000.

The cross-examination continues today.

# A foreign assassination?

Court Reporter

Policemen investigating the murder of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni had tried to make the plot "as foreign as possible", an inquest in the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mr Mlangeni was killed in February last year when an earphone of a portable cassette player intended for former security police captain Dirk Coetzee exploded. The parcel had been posted to Mr Coetzee in Lusaka, but he did not have money to pay the excess postage.

Mr Mlangeni received the parcel, which con-

tained the cassette player and a tape marked "Evidence hit squads".

Gys Rautenbach, appearing for Mr Mlangeni's family, cross-examined investigating officer Captain Andre Kritzinger about a yellow postage sticker on the parcel.

Captain Kritzinger said the sticker, not used by the SA Post Office but freely available in Lusaka, was useful only in that it showed how long the parcel had been in the post.

Mr Rautenbach said the sticker had not been on the parcel when Mr Coetzee went to collect

it, but the police had tried to underplay the possibility of the bomb being made in South Africa.

Mr Rautenbach also said Mr Coetzee's statement to senior investigating officer General Ronnie van der Westhuizen had included a manuscript concerning his time at Vlakplaas, the alleged hit-squad headquarters.

The manuscript contained details of time bombs, and mentioned that Captain Wal du Toit, who was based at Vlakplaas, had used foreign materials in clandestine operations.

The hearing continues.



## Govt gives in on monitoring Bill

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government has bowed to pressure on its controversial phone-tapping Bill and will amend the legislation to say only a judge can authorise the monitoring.

The Interception and Monitoring Amendment Bill raised a storm when it was tabled last week with a clause giving the attorney-general power to authorise phone tapping, bugging of rooms and interception of post.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee will now appoint a retired judge for each division of the Supreme Court to perform this function.

Parliamentary joint committee on justice chairman Gert Myburgh said the judge-president would control clandestine monitoring applications.

It is understood, however, that DP MPs on the committee led the onslaught against the original clause.

It is believed important changes to two other bills — the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Bill and Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill — are also being debated following DP proposals. The DP is arguing for greater safeguards for people detained without trial.

Under the current law, only a state officer may have access to a detainee or information he provides.

● Comment: Page 6

## Confiscation of weapons unnecessary Inkatha

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE confiscation by the police of harmless "traditional weapons" such as shields and sticks from Inkatha supporters was unnecessary and had resulted in mistrust of the SAP, Inkatha regional organiser Themba Khoza said yesterday.

About 1 200 shields and 200 sticks, seized on Sunday when police intercepted trains at three Soweto stations before an Inkatha Youth Brigade rally at Jabulani Stadium, were returned to the organisation this week and shown to the media yesterday.

However, Khoza criticised the SAP for not returning all the seized weapons — estimated to number about 2 000 items.

Referring to the Zulu cowhide shields and sticks, Khoza said it was blatantly apparent that many of the items taken by the police were not dangerous and as such should not have been confiscated.

He pointed out that no weapons such as axes, spears, pangas and sharpened wooden and metal sticks were returned.

At the time, police also took possession of about 30 handguns, AK47 rifles and more than 300 rounds of ammunition.

A formal complaint about the police action on the weekend — including the destruction of Inkatha flags — had been made.

Khoza said the organisation regretted that some of its members had carried illegal lethal weapons.

They acted against Inkatha policy, he said.

"But when people are frightened, they resort to any means of protection," he said.

He accused the police of having failed adequately to protect hostels and members of Inkatha in residential areas and called on them to protect the rights of those wanting to go to work during the ANC's mass action call.

Prior to the news conference, Khoza showed a recording of SABC news footage of the police swoop at one of the stations.

Khoza claimed the footage refuted allegations the SAP supported Inkatha. The footage showed policemen "jubilantly" holding up confiscated weapons to show to a group of cheering "ANC supporters" who had gathered on a pedestrian bridge at the station, Khoza said.

## Auditor-general on future role

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — SA's new constitution should provide for an independent auditor-general who could do his duty without fear or favour, Auditor-General Peter Wronsley said in his first annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

And Deputy Auditor-General J Loots said Wronsley had made proposals to this effect to SA Law Commission vice-chairman Judge Pierre Olivier.

Loots said the office's statutory responsibilities, supported by the image of objectivity, autonomy and integrity, had earned it a place in the new SA.

Experience of countries undergoing radical transition gave some credence to fears that sound financial administration and consistent public accountability might not be enforced in the future.

Loots also reported increased productivity with the office succeeding in maintaining functional audit time, the cost of which was recovered from auditees, at 77% for the 1991 year. This was higher than

the norm set at 72%. He indicated that this was partly due to the better staff complement, which showed a turnover of 16,6%, which compared well with the average for non-profit organisations of 15%.

The auditor-general's office was responsible for conducting regularity audits of 32 departments, 18 votes of own affairs administrations, four provincial administrators, 780 local authorities, 22 agricultural control boards, 37 regional services councils, the six self-governing homelands and 140 other statutory bodies, accounts, funds and museums, Loots said.

Apart from this, "several performance audits, special investigations and computer audits were also conducted during the financial years under review".

A separate performance auditing directorate had been set up to report on measures introduced by accounting officers to promote efficient utilisation of resources.

## Judge drops Dutton's bail by R100 000

SUSAN RUSSELL

FORMER Interboard chairman Ed Dutton, on trial on forex and finrand fraud charges involving more than R150m, had his R500 000 bail reduced to R400 000 in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Dutton, 35, applied for a reduction of bail last Friday on the grounds that he had run out of money to finance his defence and had no further assets of his own.

He had asked the court to reduce his bail to R50 000.

Dutton's application was opposed by State counsel James de Villiers who said that to grant a reduction of bail in a case of such seri-

The sale of diamonds was expected to be a major source of revenue for the new government.



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**Death of two persons at Noenieput: inquest**  
 \*8. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether an inquest was held in respect of the death at or near Noenieput in the Kalahari in November 1991 of two persons, whose names have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) what was the result of this inquest and (b) what are the names of the persons concerned;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B769E

**The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:**

- (1) No.

An inquest has not yet taken place. The docket has been forwarded to the Attorney General for his decision.

(a) Falls away.

(b) Jurgens Mattheus White and Johannes Jurgens Grobbelaar.

- (2) No.

**Drivers' licences in KwaNdebele: abuses**

\*9. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Transport:

- (1) Whether he has been informed of and/or has received any complaints on alleged abuses in the system of the issuing of drivers' licences in KwaNdebele; if so, what is the (a) nature and (b) extent of these abuses;
- (2) whether he intends taking any action in this regard; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when?

B773E

**The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:**

- (1) Yes. The Department of Transport is aware of complaints regarding alleged abuses in the system of the issuing of drivers' licences in self-governing territories.
- (a) The complaints pertain to the issuing of drivers' licences to people on

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

If, after furnishing a return of income, he fails to pay any tax due in respect of an assessment issued to him, civil judgement may be obtained against him.

- (2) No.

**Arms/ammunition caches: Umkhonto we Sizwe**

\*11. Adv J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) (a) How many arms and ammunition caches of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) have been traced by the South African Police in the Republic since 2 February 1990 and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;
- (2) how many of these caches were pointed out to the Police by MK itself?

B782E

**The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:**

- (1) (a) 12

(b) 11 June 1992

- (2) In ten (10) of the abovementioned instances arms and ammunition caches were pointed out by MK members after their arrest.

**Trial of persons: Operation Vula**

\*12. Adv J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Justice:†

- (1) Whether the trial of any persons charged as a result of Operation Vula has been completed; if not, why not; if so, how many such persons have been tried;
- (2) whether he will furnish the names of those who have been tried; if not, why not; if so, what are their names?

B783E

**The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:**

- (1) No. Indemnity has in terms of section 2(1) of the Indemnity Act, 1990 (Act No. 35 of 1990) been granted to nine of the persons who were involved in Operation Vula.
- (2) Falls away.

**Marriages between Whites and non-Whites**

\*13. Mr W L VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

How many marriages between Whites and non-Whites have taken place in the Republic since the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act?

B784E

**The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:**

3 775

The figure is for the period 19 June 1985 till 31 December 1990. Since then, statistics on the group context of persons who married after 31 December 1990, are no longer being kept.

**Alleged actions of members at Roodepoort counting hall**

\*14. Mr W L VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

Whether he will disclose his source for the statements made by him in an interpellation debate in this House on 22 April 1992 on the alleged actions of the hon members for Roodepoort and Losberg on 18 March 1992 at the counting hall in Roodepoort; if not, why not; if so, who is the source?

B785E

**The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:**

The Department has at its disposal statements of persons who were involved with the counting of votes at Roodepoort on 18 March 1992. The information which my predecessor disclosed during the interpellation debate concerned was taken from those statements. The statements are available in the Parliamentary office of the Department for the hon member's confidential perusal if he so requires.

**Companies/close corporations declared insolvent**

\*15. Mr J CHIOLE asked the Minister of Trade and Industry:†

- (1) How many companies and close corporations were declared insolvent in the Republic during the latest specified 5-year period for which information is available;
- (2) whether his Department has made any estimates or has any statistics on the number of job opportunities lost as a result of the above-mentioned insolvencies; if not, why not; if so, how many job opportunities were lost over the said 5-year period?

B786E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



# Mass action legitimate, not declaration of civil war

Stan 176192

324

321

IT IS disturbing to see the Government, with the aid of some newspapers, equating mass action with violence.

The army has been called up. The police have launched an advertising campaign linking mass action with burning bodies. The Minister of Law and Order has warned of a crackdown. "ANC unravels battle plans", screamed one newspaper headline. "Battle order drawn up", yelled another. "Black Tuesday" predicted a third.

This column is being written before the event, and I concede that the demonstrations planned for June 16 and after may well degenerate into some violent clashes.

Heaven knows there are enough wild elements both within the police and among young township "comrades" to make a breakdown of discipline possible.

But that does not justify claiming in advance that violence is the object of the exercise, or that launching a mass action campaign

amounts to declaring civil war on the Government. To do that is to risk creating an expectation of violence that can very easily become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The fact is that mass action, including acts of civil disobedience, is a perfectly legitimate political weapon with an honoured place in the Western political tradition. It was used by Mahatma Gandhi and it was used by the Rev Martin Luther King; we applauded when it was used to throw off the tyranny of communism, and when the Russian people used it to thwart the Ligachev coup last year.

Yes, it does sometimes lead to violence, as when troops opened fire on Gandhi's passive resisters at Amritsar, when Bull Connor ran riot against King's freedom marchers in Alabama, when the Chinese tanks rolled into Tiananmen Square — and at Sharpeville. But that is usually when the authorities lose their heads and it in no



Allister Sparks

way illegitimises such acts of public protest and defiance.

Nor is mass action legitimate only as a weapon of protest against tyranny. It is equally acceptable as a way of pressuring a negotiation. The strike is accepted throughout the democratic world as a legitimate action by trade unions to strengthen their hands in industrial disputes.

Strikers stop production in a factory to put pressure on the company to yield to their demands. And everyone knows the right to strike is the most effective weapon workers have.

Without it, they are powerless, and managements can ride roughshod over their demands and com-

plaints. With it, the strike threat hangs over every negotiation, and motivates the employers to listen and to make concessions. It puts effective pressure on them.

This is fundamental to the way our industrial relations operate. Everywhere in the democratic world the right to strike is regarded as fundamental; nowhere is it regarded as an illegitimate action or as a declaration of war against the company.

Well, if it is a legitimate weapon to use in an industrial dispute, why not in a political dispute? If you can mobilise mass action to put pressure on a wage negotiation, why not on a constitutional negotiation? Particularly if the community concerned has no vote and therefore no other way of asserting itself politically.

The point about this particular negotiation is that the Government has become obdurate. Ever since its big referendum victory — gained if you remember with

the help of thousands of non-Nationalists — President de Klerk and his Ministers have toughened their stance at Codesa.

They took the referendum result quite unjustifiably to be an endorsement of the National Party's negotiating position and, feeling greatly strengthened and not a little arrogant, they decided to play hard ball with the black parties and manipulate the negotiations to their advantage.

What the National Party wants is delay. It wants time to organise and build up its strength in the black communities, particularly among the "coloureds" and Asians. And it wants time to destabilise the ANC further as its followers grow more disillusioned at the lack of any improvement in their daily lives and the continuing horrors of township violence.

Many Codesa participants now believe the Government deliberately struck an inflexible posture at Codesa 2 in order to stall the ne-

gotiations. It has certainly been in no hurry since then to get the process back on track: some Ministers have reportedly turned up three hours late for meetings. The word is that it would like things delayed for about six months.

For its part, the ANC sees these delaying tactics as strongly against its interests, and so it wants to pressure the Government into moving. Hence the mass action campaign.

What I fear is that the Government's war talk is aimed at setting the scene for aggressive police intervention which may well provoke violence and provide the pretext for declaring another state of emergency. That would give the Government the delay it wants and the opportunity to weaken its opponents further.

I hope I am wrong, for that would be a terribly dangerous game, but my suspicious born of long experience of this duplicitous regime are aroused. □



# 45 000 listen to Mandela at Orlando

(327)

Soweto  
17/6/92

SOWETO was a hive of activity when more than 45 000 people marched from various points on their way to attend a June 16 commemoration rally at Orlando Stadium yesterday.

The rally was organised by the African National Congress.

As early as 9am hundreds of people gathered at Ikwezi station, Zone 1 in Diepkloof and Ipelegeng Centre before they walked to Orlando West where a memorial stone was unveiled in memory of Hector Petersen - the first person to die on June 16 1976.

Curious people lined the streets waiting to have a glimpse of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, who was to lead the marchers to Orlando West.

By IKE MOTSAPI

Members of the ANC, some of whom were armed with pangas, knives and knobkerries, sang and danced in the streets.

The situation was tense and the presence of police angered some youths, who threw stones at a passing police Casspir vehicle.

The police did not react but instead drove off and parked at a distance.

A police helicopter monitored proceedings periodically.

Orlando Stadium was packed to capacity as early as 8am. Hundreds of ANC members elected to stay outside the stadium apparently to monitor the situation for any trouble.

# Helpful policeman ordered to hang up

Star 17/6/92

327

**W**ESTERN Cape police are not amused by a "helpful" policeman who referred public callers to the ANC offices for information on whether mass action presented any physical threat to them.

Steps have been taken to implement disciplinary action against the policeman.

ANC western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak is also not amused. He has condemned the policeman's action as a "disgraceful attempt to mislead the public. It is clearly aimed at giving the impression that the ANC is ... planning acts of violence and will know where such acts will take place."

Dr Boesak yesterday said ANC office staff were puzzled when they received a number of calls from people concerned about whether they would be safe travelling in and around

Cape Town.

"Eventually we asked one of the callers why they were phoning us, and we were informed that the SA Police at Caledon Square had referred them to us."

## Pretending

"Willie Hofmeyr from our office then phoned the Caledon Square police station, pretending to be a member of the public wanting to know if it was safe to travel to the airport."

"He was told that he must telephone 488-4561 (the ANC's number). When he asked whose number it was, he was told that it was 'the number of the people who know where the trouble will be.'"

A Sapa reporter also telephoned the Caledon Square charge office and asked whether it would be safe to travel from Cape Town to Kraaifon-

tein. He too was told to telephone the ANC regional office.

When asked, the policeman gave the reporter his name and rank. He also gave the number of the police regional operations room, saying staff there could advise on which routes to take.

Western Cape regional police commissioner Major-General Nick Acker commented on the matter yesterday afternoon, saying it had been investigated immediately and "found to have factual basis".

He said it had involved one member of the police force against whom departmental disciplinary action was immediately instituted. "I wish to assure the public that the SA Police will not tolerate any unprofessional conduct whatsoever from any of its members," General Acker said. — Sapa. □



# ANC may be on the wrong track

STAR

17/6/92

(327)

The ANC must not bank on international sympathy for its programme of mass action, writes HUGH ROBERTON of the Washington Bureau.

**M**ASS ACTION by the ANC would attract little or no international sympathy and probably would fail to advance the ANC's cause inside South Africa, according to Irish diplomat and political commentator Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien and his son Patrick, who have just returned to Washington after an extended visit to South Africa.

Their views were published this weekend in the Atlantic Monthly, a prestigious magazine devoted to politics, international affairs and the arts.

This is the O'Briens' second article on South Africa. Their first followed their controversial visit to the country in 1986 during which violence erupted at the University of Cape Town when Dr O'Brien attempted to deliver a lecture.

Suggesting that President de Klerk would be unlikely to go much further than he had done in proposing a transition to full democracy, the O'Briens ask: "Can he be forced to concede the substance of the ANC's demands?" Their conclusion: "Probably not."

"ANC militants often threaten to 'make South Africa ungovernable' if their full demands are not met. The trouble is, those areas that the ANC might be able to make ungovernable — the black townships — already are ungovernable. Many of them are theatres of inter-black factional violence, most of it between ANC supporters and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party, and all chronically suffer from large-scale criminal violence.

"An ANC summons to mass insurrection might make things even more violent in those areas, but the white community would not be sufficiently affected to force it to concede the ANC's demands.

"A sustained all-out miners' strike would indeed shake white South Africa, but such a strike seems unlikely. The miners did not undertake one when the apartheid code was still in force, although Winnie Mandela called on them to do so. Why should they impose upon themselves the miseries of a sustained general strike just because the ANC chose to reject the far-reaching programme of reform which has already swept away all the legal institutions of apartheid (with the exception, for the moment, only of the homelands)?"

The O'Briens predict: "Cosa-tu, the ably led black trade union movement, will declare solidarity with the ANC but will continue to look after the interests of its own members. The most the ANC can count on is some token strikes of limited duration."

The authors argue that although big strikes can be organised — they point to the two-day strike organised in the first week of last November — they are extremely hazardous and two-edged. The November strike ended in tragedy, with heavy fighting on the President Steyn gold mine between strikers and opponents of the strike.

"The greatest strike in South African history had done little damage to the mine owners, but its principal victims were the miners themselves. Failure on such a scale discredited the idea, fostered by the ANC, that the strike weapon will bring the

ANC to power in South Africa. The episode also provided further demonstration that the ethnic factor, dismissed by the ANC as a fiction of apartheid, is of growing significance in post-apartheid South Africa."

The O'Briens say the same hazards apply to the other political weapons at the ANC's disposal, including boycotts, and add: "Some ANC members — and all the groups to the Left of the party — seem to believe that by rejecting the proposals of the NP and agitating against it, they can regenerate international pressure on Pretoria and revive sanctions.

"This seems quite unlikely. The NP's September proposals are far-reaching enough, and democratic enough, to appeal to most Western governments. The variations they introduce to the one person, one vote system

by his principles and pursue his objectives. The ANC's rejection of his constitutional proposals was probably anticipated by him, and indications are that he expects a period of "prolonged wrangling" with the ANC.

"South Africa probably will get a new constitution sometime during this decade, and probably early in it, and that constitution will probably quite closely resemble De Klerk's proposals," they predict.

□ Patrick Cruise O'Brien is black. He was adopted by Dr and Mrs O'Brien when he was a small child, and following an outstanding academic career has joined Dr O'Brien in many research projects around the world. They have jointly authored many articles on current events, including two on the changes in South Africa. □

have precedents in other democracies: Switzerland, Australia, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States.

"If the ANC rejects them in order to negotiate an improved version, its position will at least be understood internationally. But if it attempts to 'make South Africa ungovernable' it will attract little or no international sympathy. The ANC's initial denunciations of the De Klerk proposals are actually helpful to De Klerk, because they refute the more dangerous charges of his Conservative rivals: That he has given in to the ANC's demands."

The O'Briens describe President de Klerk as "a formidable and resourceful political leader" who has shown great personal courage in standing up to the far Right, and who has demonstrated his ability to stand

# Helpful policeman ordered to hang up

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# SAP's Martin Luther King ad offends widow

STAR 17/6/92 (327) (123)  
By HUGH ROBERTON

CORETTA Scott King, widow of civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King, has angrily attacked the South African Police for invoking the name of her late husband in its weekend advertisements on the ANC's mass action campaign.

The advertisements claimed that Dr King's belief in peaceful protest was a model and inspiration to the SAP, and the advertisements urged South Africans to follow Dr King's lead.

Mrs King described the use of her husband's name by the SAP as "perhaps the most offensive and outrageous abuse of my husband's name that I have ever seen."

Her statement said: "With its long history of oppression of the black citizens of South Africa, including massacres of innocent men, women and children in peaceful demonstrations, most recently in Sebokeng in 1990, the SAP are poorly qualified as advocates of non-violence."

"Martin Luther King was strongly opposed to apartheid, which the SAP has supported with the most vicious tactics imaginable, including murder, torture and a relentless campaign of terror against the non-



Coretta Scott King SO support for mass action campaign.

violent movement for freedom and human rights in SA."

Mrs King urged President de Klerk to order the SAP to "immediately cease" using her husband's name in its propaganda, adding she supported wholeheartedly the "non-violent mass action campaign for nonracial democracy in South Africa." □



# Cops under fire over arms

POLICE have created a "life-threatening situation" by returning weapons confiscated from Inkatha supporters to the organisation, the ANC said yesterday.

The perception engendered by the return of the weapons to the IFP offices on Monday was that their initial highly publicised confiscation on Sunday was simply a "massive propaganda exercise", the ANC's Gill Marcus said.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order

Captain Craig Kotze, said yesterday that no dangerous weapons were returned to Inkatha and that "only shields and certain sticks which are not classified as dangerous weapons" were returned.

Kotze said: "Quite frankly, if we say we've given only shields and certain sticks back, then we have. The police have no reason to lie."

He said it was illegal for the SAP to confiscate things which they were not empowered to by the law.

But Marcus said ordinary people in the street did not look at the finer points of the law and simply saw loads of traditional weapons being returned to Inkatha.

Eyewitnesses confirmed that more than just shields and sticks were delivered to the IFP offices.

One witness, who refused to be identified, said:

"There were about seven or eight uniformed police. They offloaded traditional weapons - shields, spears, knobkerries."

The secretary-general of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr. Don Nkademeng, said: "It is a very strange thing for police to return confiscated weapons."

"They should have destroyed them. But we know they did that to placate Buthelezi because they believe in times ahead their only friend will be Inkatha."

An IFP executive, Mr. Themba Khoza, said only Zulu cowhide shields and knobkerries were returned.



## 2 blasts: Grosskopf off hook

*Sowetan 17/6/92*

THE Government's one-time "most wanted man", African National Congress member Hein Grosskopf, is no longer under police investigation for two of the three bomb blasts linked to him. (37)

Major Ruben Bloomberg this week said police no longer suspected Grosskopf of involvement in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court blast that killed four people in 1987, and the blast at the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court that killed three people in 1988.

### Question

However, Bloomberg said police still wanted to question Grosskopf in connection with the 1987 Quartz Street, Johannesburg, blast which injured 68 people near the SADF's Witwatersrand headquarters.

A R50 000 reward that former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had posted for Grosskopf's arrest had lapsed, Bloomberg said, but it was still being offered for information leading to the conviction of those responsible for the two blasts.

Vlok had accused Grosskopf of being a "trained terrorist".

Bloomberg said an application for Grosskopf's indemnity had been lodged.

Police said the reason for the about-turn on Grosskopf was that police investigators "have no evidence" to implicate him in the two blasts. - Sapa.

# Private armies: Parliament acts

Sowetan 17/6/92

327

**LEADERS, members and supporters of organisations who train, equip and arm themselves to take over functions of the SAP or Defence Force may be prosecuted.**

The Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill, tabled in Parliament on Monday, prohibits the organising, training, equipping and arming of such organisations.

It also provides for a fine or imprisonment of up to 10 years for anyone convicted of such activities.

The Bill also extends the Intimidation Act to include indirect forms of intimidation and to admit as witnesses in court proceedings observers other than the person who had been in-

timidated.

A memorandum to the legislation states that the objective is to combat indirect intimidation at bus stops, shopping centres and polling booths.

The problem of getting people who have been intimidated to testify, is also addressed.

## Memo

Certain offences involving violence and intimidation - including murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances - may be designated as "special offences" in terms of a certificate issued by an Attorney-General and a simplified criminal procedure may be followed in such trials.

The objective, according to the memorandum, is to

demonstrate to the community that offenders are tried speedily and called to account for their deeds.

In terms of this provision, both the State and accused are obliged to present their cases within a reasonable time, being not more than 90 days.

Courts hearing such matters may sit on any day of the week, including Sundays.

The State is compelled to provide the accused with a summary of the facts on which it had based its case and the accused has to disclose his defence.

The Attorney-General's certificate provides that the accused may not be released on bail or warning for the duration of the trial. The Attorney-General may, however, at any time

withdraw the restriction on bail.

Magistrates are also empowered to order the detention of anyone who withholds information from the police regarding the unlawful possession of certain kinds of weaponry.

A detainee must be brought before a magistrate within 48 hours and thereafter every 10 days.

No court may pronounce on the validity of the detention.

The provisions in the Bill with regard to special offences and the unlawful possession of certain weapons will only remain in effect for one year.

But it may be extended by the State President with the concurrence of Parliament. - Sapa



## Why cop could not catch culprit

AN investigating officer in the murder of ANC lawyer Mr. Bhekri Mlangeni told an inquest at the Rand Supreme Court yesterday it would have been impossible for him to track the murderer if Mlangeni had been killed on a clandestine police operation.

Captain Andre Krizinger told Mr. Justice B. O'Donovan he would not have been able to trace the culprit because he did not know anything about an illegal and clandestine operation against former security police captain Dirk Coetzee.

Mlangeni died in February last year when a booby-trapped portable cassette player intended for Coetzee exploded.

Under cross-examination from Mr. Gys Rautenbach, appearing for the Mlangeni family, Krizinger said if there had been police involvement in Mlangeni's death, it would have been illegal and clandestine.

He said he had not had access to Coetzee's manuscript which detailed clandestine operations carried out by policemen at alleged hit squad base Vlakplaas.

## Voting with feet

*Southern 17/6/92*  
AN estimated 10 000 ANC supporters - under close scrutiny by a massive security force contingent - marched peacefully through Durban's city centre yesterday afternoon to mark the beginning of the mass action campaign in Southern Natal.

The enthusiastic crowd had earlier attended a rally at Durban's Curries Fountain.



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## Repeal of newspaper law

The controversial law allowing the Government to cancel summarily the registration of newspapers is to be repealed, as agreed by Codesa's Working Group One. This was decided yesterday by the parliamentary joint standing committee on justice.

STAT 17/6/92

# Snoop Bill softened, reprieve for casinos

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government has agreed to soften some of the harsher provisions of controversial new legislation dealing with telephone tapping, detention without trial and drug-related crime.

Several important changes to Justice Department legislation were agreed to by Parliament's Joint Standing Committee on Justice yesterday:

- All parties agreed that only a judge will be allowed to authorise telephone tapping and mail interception — and not an attorney-general as was originally proposed.

This change was suggested by Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon and was accepted by Justice Minister Koble Coetsee.

The justice committee agreed that telephone tapping can continue for only three months, not

six months as originally proposed.

The crimes for which tapping can be carried out now exclude sodomy, bestiality and malicious damage to property. It will be used only for the most serious crimes.

- The controversial law allowing the Government to summarily cancel the registration of newspapers is to be repealed.

- It now seems that casinos in South Africa have been granted a reprieve because legislation to close loopholes in gambling laws will almost certainly not come before Parliament this session.

Several important changes to the Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill — mostly proposed by the DP — were accepted by the National Party:

- Authorities will be able to hold suspects detained for interrogation on weapons offences for only 30 days, not indefinitely as was originally proposed.

- Lawyers will be allowed access to detainees, and courts

will be able to order their release.

In the original draft of the Bill, suspects could be held indefinitely without trial and with no right to seek a court order for their release. Only officials could visit them.

The Bill, aimed at increasing the State's powers to fight violence and intimidation, sparked a public outcry with charges that the rule of law was being jeopardised.

The justice committee also agreed to several important changes to the Drugs and Drugs Trafficking Bill which gives the State drastic new powers to fight drug-related crimes.

Tough provisions for detaining drugs suspects for interrogation were softened. Suspects can now be visited by lawyers and they must be examined by a district surgeon every five days.

The onus on bank managers and stockbrokers to prove that they were unaware that deposited money came from drug deals has been removed.

STAR 17/6/92

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# The times they are a-changing for whites

Save ten 18/6/92

**IN THE land of white supremacy, a black church minister doles out food to destitute whites.**

His congregation in a dirt-poor township of Vereeniging scrapes some rands together each month because "Christians don't have apartheid".

A black businessman makes up aid parcels for whites who sleep under the trees in this smoggy smokestack city because he wants to contribute to racial harmony.

Times are changing in South Africa, whose name, for white people, was long synonymous with golden riches.

Many whites, born of 300 years of privilege, are struggling to cope with the worst recession since the 1930s as well as the gradual erosion of their economic preserves as nonracial democracy approaches.

Here in the old industrial belt south of Johannesburg, help is coming from a surprising quarter - the people whom apartheid long kept underfoot to guard the white man's superior place in the sun.

The Rev John Mgcina, minister of the New Ethiopian Church in the township of Bophelong near Sharpeville, runs a

*'I've worked in black locations, I've been inside houses there. Compared to this, they live like millionaires'*

soup kitchen in a dusty park for more than 100 homeless, including 20 whites.

"There are rich white people but they turn their heads away. Black people give us food. My attitude to blacks has definitely changed," said Mr Piet Scholtz, 30 years a miner.

He has lost job, home and family and sleeps under a tarpaulin near the FV de Klerk bridge over the Vaal River.

He and other blacks and whites, unified by adversity in a deeply rent country, breakfast in the bare park at the bottom of town, tucking into vegetable soup and porridge largely made up from tins donated by black businessman Mr Simon Mofokeng.

"I wanted to do this because blacks and whites are suffering together," Mofokeng said. "If I care, I don't want to discriminate. That's what's needed for peace in South Africa."

The 250 members of Mgcina's congregation chip in 50c, R1 or R5 each depending on closeness to pay day. He says he usually gathers R70 to R100 a month.

Is the money not more desperately needed in the township?

"It's a challenge to us as Christians," said the quietly spoken, silver-haired minister.

"The people in the township are poor, but they feel they must share what they have, and when you share you don't separate. Whether white, yellow or blue if you need help we will help where we can."

There is a special impact when whites get help from blacks while their own kind turns away, he added.

Down-and-out businessman Mr Jurie Jordan, squatting with black friends around tin plates, said: "I used to think

I was better than these people. Like this, you realise you're all the same."

Mr Dirkie Potgieter, a former bricklayer, smiled in agreement. "Colour doesn't matter here. We're all together, we sleep together under the trees. We're friends."

The Development Bank of Southern Africa says more than 200 000 of the 4.7 million adult South Africans without a formal job are white. That is about 10 percent of the economically active white population - a major blight for a preferred community to whom full unemployment had become a virtual birth-right.

Analysts say that for a white to lose his job the fall is steeper and the psychological impact much greater than for a black, long familiar with conditions at the bottom of the heap.

"If you're unemployed in South Af-

rica you're better off being black," says economic analyst Azar Jammine.

The Rev Bennett Brazier, a white minister, runs a refuge for scores of destitute white families in a disused school at the other end of Vereeniging, near a country club whose Mercedes and BMWs better fit the white South African stereotype.

Numbed men and women wander hallways waiting for better times. Some scratch chalk pictures of happy families on blackboards in classrooms crudely converted into homes.

"It's hard for whites," said Brazier. "The black community is used to helping people in need. White South Africa is not geared for destitution."

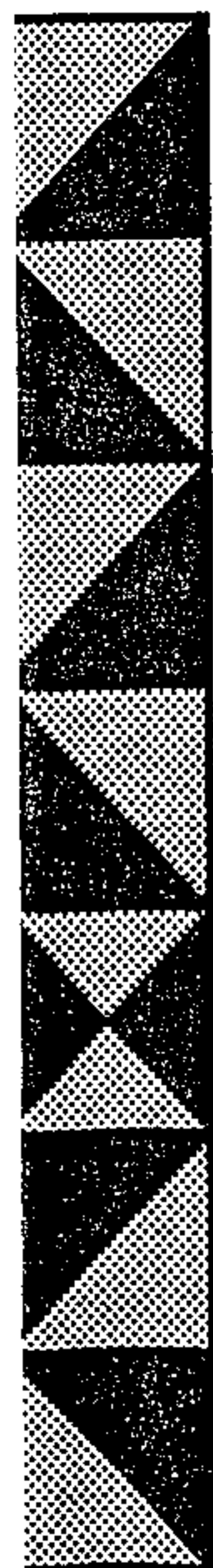
State aid for the unemployed is meagre.

Mr Boet van Heerden, (41) his wife Veronica, (34) and their four children aged between two and 14, moved to the refuge after they lost their house and had to sell their furniture when his security company employer went bankrupt.

"I've worked in black locations. I've been inside houses there. Compared to this, they live like millionaires," he said. - Sapa-Reuter.



07



# ANC reacts to 'cynical link' to 17 deaths

Sowetan 18/6/92 (327)  
By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

THE Government was manipulating the death of innocent black people by linking the violence in the country with the ANC's "non-violent" campaign of mass action.

This reaction came from ANC official Mr Ronnie Kasrils, to a remark by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel earlier yesterday, that the police were investigating a link between what he called the senseless murder of 17 people on Tuesday night to the ANC's passive resistance programme.

Kriel was "cynically manipulating" a situation which had existed for more than two years especially "because of a low-intensity terrorist campaign against the people that is being waged by the State," Kasrils said.

However, the deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delpot, yesterday said while the negotiation process was being jeopardised by mass action, the process could not continue without the ANC.

Bilateral discussions between the Government and the ANC were being planned, and Codesa's management committee would meet on June 29, a day before the ANC's deadline.

## Old one-eye is hammered

Sowetan 18/6/92 (265-152)  
By DON SEOKANE

THE Media Workers Association of South Africa yesterday made an impassioned plea to owners of TV sets to support the striking Mwasa members and stop "the rot" at SABC.

Mwasa secretary-general, Mr Sithembele Khala, was addressing a rally at the SABC offices in Pietersburg during a march by 1 000 employees of the corporation and sympathisers through the town's streets amid heavy police presence.

Khala said the SABC was "a one-eyed giant" and licence holders were in possession of the ammunition to deal with it.

He disclosed to Sowetan

that during negotiations last Thursday with SABC management the union had proposed a compromise of 11 percent now and the remaining 9 percent to be negotiated between now and the end of August.

However, the corporation refused and urged the union to review its position. Khala said the SABC has declared a "hefty" profit of R34 million and yet refuses to pay its workers.

The strike was left with 970 days to go and the union was not going to review its position to suit the whims of the SABC.



# Parties can receive foreign money

*Sowetan 18/6/92*  
THE prohibition on foreign financing of South African political parties is to be temporarily suspended in terms of legislation published in Parliament on Monday.

The General Law Amendment Bill proposes a wide range of amendments, including changes to obsolete provisions and measures to supplement deficiencies in the law identified in legal practice.

A memorandum to the Bill states that the temporary suspension of the Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act emanates from the need for funds in order to expand the process of democratisation.

In another change, the common law crime of extortion is extended to include acts of a non-patrimonial nature.

The Sexual Offences Act is amended to provide that anyone found in a brothel who refuses to disclose the identity of the brothel keeper or manager shall be deemed to keep the brothel. Previously, this provision applied only to women.

The Criminal Procedure Act is amended so that

the race of an offender no longer has to be furnished on a charge sheet or indictment as it could be viewed as discriminatory.

The Minister of Justice is empowered to refer to the Appeal Court the case of anyone sentenced to death prior to the commencement of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1990. Persons sentenced to death after this date have an automatic right of appeal.

The Goldstone Commission is also permitted to appoint pro deo legal representatives for witnesses appearing before the commission.

As in the case of general sales tax, a preferential claim in respect of value-added tax is granted to the State.

Another provision confirms correctional supervision as a sentencing option even in the case of statutory offences.

On the recommendation of the Advisory Committee on Non-Racial Area Measures, the conversion of certain quitrent titles into ownership is also allowed. - *Sapa*

# 'R5 000 offer for attacks on activists'

A WITNESS yesterday told a committee of the Goldstone Commission inquiring into alleged underground police operations, that he was offered R5 000 to petrol bomb homes of ANC, SACP and civic association members.

Mr Daniel Kolisang of Sebokeng, told committee chairman Mr R Wise SC, that Sergeant JKR Seago, known to him at the time as Oupa, had told him if he felt R5 000 was not enough, he should say so and a higher payment would be arranged.

Kolisang said Seago also promised to secure him employment with the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

He said Seago then ar-

**SA Press Association**  
ranged for him to collect the petrol bombs he was to use.

He was told if he did not turn up he would be killed. He reported the matter to the ANC.

Earlier, Kolisang had told the committee that Seago had on two occasions taken him to a secret house outside Vanderbijlpark to meet a white man who introduced himself as Brian.

## Signature

He said Brian, who later turned out to be a policeman, instructed him to get names and addresses of anti-apartheid activists in Sebokeng.

He said during the second meeting on January 16

he was ordered to collect petrol bombs. He said he did not and started staying away from his own home.

Kolisang said when he returned home on January 19, Seago asked him where he had been.

"I told him I was no longer interested in his work and that I wanted to go to school," he said.

He said Seago then told him he would arrange for his schooling if he worked with the police.

Counsel for the police, Mr Phillip Hattingh, produced reports which had allegedly been written by Kolisang. Kolisang denied it was his handwriting.

He also denied having received R600 as his first salary from the police.

He said the signature on the document had been forged.



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## SA Press Association

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Sowetan

18/6/92

327

# Police drop King leaflet after protest by widow

By Brian Sokutu  
Crime Staff

327  
18/6/92

The SA Police yesterday said they would cease the distribution in black townships of "peace pamphlets" with contrasting pictures of a necklace victim and that of the late United States civil rights leader, Dr Martin Luther King.

Reacting to a call by Dr King's widow, Coretta Scott King, that President de Klerk should order the SAP to "immediately cease" using her husband's name in its "propaganda", Captain Nina Barkhuizen, speaking from SAP headquarters in Pretoria, said the police were surprised by Mrs King's protests.

In her strong objection to the SAP using her husband's name and picture on the eve of the ANC's first phase of mass action which began on Tuesday, Mrs King described the police pamphlet as "perhaps the most offensive and outrageous abuse of my husband's name that I have ever seen".

Defending the police use of Dr King's picture in the pamphlet, Captain Barkhuizen said: "The SA Police are surprised by the reaction of Mrs King as the advertisement and pamphlets were aimed at preventing violence and possible death.

"This can in no way be described as propaganda. The photograph of her husband was used because in it he led a peaceful protest," Captain Barkhuizen said.

Asked by The Star whether police would continue distributing the pamphlets in the townships, Captain Barkhuizen said: "No, we won't distribute the pamphlet again. It was a one-day event."



## ANC probes return of

## IFP weapons

STAN 18/6/92  
Pretoria Correspondent

The ANC is seeking legal advice with a view to bringing charges against the South African Police for the distribution of dangerous weapons.

This follows confirmation by the SAP yesterday that weapons seized from Inkatha supporters on Sunday were handed back to the organisation the next day.

Spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said traditional weapons were handed back to the IFP on the instructions of Soweto regional commissioner, Major-General Kobus Malan.

### Indictment

In a statement issued yesterday, ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said this was a violation of the National Peace Accord.

"This revelation is yet another indictment on the impartiality of the security forces."

Mr Mamoepa said the ANC PWV region was seeking legal advice with a view to laying charges against the police.

The weapons were seized from Inkatha supporters on their way to a rally at the Phomolong stadium in Soweto.

# Fight last-minute Bills ANC

STAR 18/6/92  
The ANC has called on concerned South Africans to oppose legislation being introduced during the current parliamentary session.

"After nearly five months of the parliamentary session, last-minute, badly drafted and ill-considered legislation is being steamrolled through a complacent legislative system," the ANC said in a statement yesterday.

"The most far-reaching changes in civil liberties since the passage of the dra-

conian Internal Security Act of 1982 are contained in the Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill."

The Defence Amendment Bill "will compel untrained servicemen to do police work in townships, thus introducing a further controversial element into policing". . .

The ANC said the Provincial and Local Government Affairs Bill would give "legal force to apartheid structures and perpetuate

racial privilege and domination", while the Internal Peace Institutions Bill would give justices of the peace, who were not judicial officers, power to force people to enter into a bond not to disturb the peace.

It said the Interception and Monitoring Prohibition Bill would give "statutory effect to spying of the most insidious kind under the guise of combating crime and drug-dealing". — Sapa.

● More reports — Page 8



# Goldstone witness tells of *STAR 18/6/92* 'bomb pay'

A witness to the Goldstone Commission committee inquiring into alleged underground police operations to kill Government opponents yesterday said he had been promised more than R5 000 if he petrol-bombed the homes of ANC, SACP and civic association members.

Daniel Kolisang, of Sebokeng, told the one-man committee, chaired by R Wise, SC, that Sergeant J K R Seago, known to him at the time as "Oupa", had told him if he felt R5 000 was not enough he should say so and more money would be requested on his behalf.

Mr Kolisang said on January 26 this year, Sergeant Seago, who earlier promised him employment with the TPA, said he should meet him in Vanderbijlpark the following day to collect the petrol bombs he was to use.

He was told if he did not turn up he would be killed. He reported the matter to the ANC.

Earlier, Mr Kolisang said Sergeant Seago had on two occasions taken him to a secret house outside Vanderbijlpark to meet a white man who introduced himself as "Brian", who later also turned out to be a policeman, and who instructed him to get names and addresses of anti-apartheid activists in Sebokeng.

Police counsel Phillip Hattingh produced reports which he said were written by Mr Kolisang to "Brian", but the witness denied it was his handwriting.

He also denied having received R600 as his first salary from the police, and when a document was produced which indicated he had signed for the money, he said his signature had been forged. — Sapa.

REPUBLIEK  
VAN  
SUID-AFRIKA



REPUBLIC  
OF  
SOUTH AFRICA

# Staatskoerant Government Gazette

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*Regulasiekoerant*  
*Regulation Gazette*

**No. 4891**

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Vol. 324

PRETORIA, 19 JUNIE 1992  
JUNE

**No. 14064**

## GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING

### MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

No. R. 1756

19 Junie 1992

#### WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

VERKLARING VAN ONRUSGEBIED EN ONRUS-  
REGULASIES, 1992: WYSIGING VAN GOEWER-  
MENTSKENNISGEWING No. R. 1291 VAN 30 APRIL  
1992 EN GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING No. R.  
1292 VAN 30 APRIL 1992

Kragtens artikel 5A van die Wet op Openbare Veilig-  
heid, No. 3 van 1953, wysig ek, Hermanus Jacobus  
Kriel, Minister van Wet en Orde, hierby—

- die Bylae by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1291 van 30 April 1992 deur die gebied in daar-  
die Bylae vermeld deur die omskrywing in die  
Bylae hierby, te vervang;
- Bylae I by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1292 van 30 April 1992 deur die gebied in daar-  
die Bylae vermeld deur die omskrywing in Bylae  
I hierby, te vervang;
- Bylae A ten opsigte van regulasies 2A en 4A, by  
Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1292 van 30  
April 1992, deur die gebied in Bylae A deur die  
omskrywing in Bylae A hierby, te vervang.

**H. J. KRIEL,**

Minister van Wet en Orde.

#### BYLAE

Die landdrostdistrik van Vanderbijlpark, insluitende  
die gebiede bekend as—

- Bophelong, soos afgebaken en omskryf in  
Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1759 van 9  
September 1955, soos gewysig;
- Boipatong, soos afgebaken en omskryf in  
Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1325 van 28  
Augustus 1959, soos gewysig;

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## GOVERNMENT NOTICE

### MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

No. R. 1756

19 June 1992

#### PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

DECLARATION OF UNREST AREAS AND UNREST  
REGULATIONS, 1992: AMENDMENT OF GOVERN-  
MENT NOTICE No. R. 1291 OF 30 APRIL 1992  
AND GOVERNMENT NOTICE No. R. 1292 of 30  
APRIL 1992

Under section 5A of the Public Safety Act, No. 3 of  
1953, I, Hermanus Jacobus Kriel, Minister of Law and  
Order, hereby amend—

- the Schedule to Government Notice No. R. 1291 of 30 April 1992 by the substitution for the  
area mentioned in that Schedule of the descrip-  
tion in the Schedule hereto;
- Schedule I to Government Notice No. R. 1292 of  
30 April 1992 by the substitution for the area  
mentioned in that Schedule of the description in  
Schedule I hereto;
- Schedule A in respect of regulations 2A and 4A  
to Government Notice No. R. 1292 of 30 April  
1992, by the substitution for the area mentioned  
in Schedule A of the description in Schedule A  
hereto.

**H. J. KRIEL,**

Minister of Law and Order.

#### SCHEDULE

The Magisterial District of Vanderbijlpark, including  
the areas known as—

- Bophelong, as demarcated and described in  
Government Notice No. 1759 of 9 September  
1955, as amended;
- Boipatong, as demarcated and described in  
Government Notice No. 1325 of 28 August  
1959, as amended;

14064—1



- (iii) Evaton, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 322 van 4 Desember 1967, soos gewysig;
- (iv) Sebokeng, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 822 van 13 Mei 1977, soos gewysig.

**BYLAE I**

Die landdrostdistrik van Vanderbijlpark, insluitende die gebiede bekend as—

- (i) Bophelong, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1759 van 9 September 1955, soos gewysig;
- (ii) Boipatong, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1325 van 28 Augustus 1959, soos gewysig;
- (iii) Evaton, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 322 van 4 Desember 1967, soos gewysig;
- (iv) Sebokeng, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 822 van 13 Mei 1977, soos gewysig.

- (iii) Evaton, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 322 of 4 December 1967, as amended;
- (iv) Sebokeng, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. R. 822 of 13 May 1977, as amended.

**SCHEDULE I**

The Magisterial District of Vanderbijlpark, including the areas known as—

- (i) Bophelong, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1759 of 9 September 1955, as amended;
- (ii) Boipatong, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1325 of 28 August 1959, as amended;
- (iii) Evaton, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 322 of 4 December 1967, as amended;
- (iv) Sebokeng, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. R. 822 of 13 May 1977, as amended.

**BYLAE A****Kolom 1**

Die landdrostdistrik van Vanderbijlpark, insluitende gebiede bekend as—

- (i) Bophelong, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1759 van 9 September 1955, soos gewysig;
- (ii) Boipatong, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1325 van 28 Augustus 1959, soos gewysig;
- (iii) Evaton, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 322 van 4 Desember 1967, soos gewysig;
- (iv) Sebokeng, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 822 van 13 Mei 1977, soos gewysig.

**Kolom 2**

Die gebiede bekend as—

- (i) Die gebied bekend as Bophelong, soos bedoel in Kolom 1;
- (ii) Die gebied bekend as Boipatong, soos bedoel in Kolom 1;
- (iii) die gebied bekend as Evaton, soos bedoel in Kolom 1;
- (iv) Die gebied bekend as Sebokeng, soos bedoel in Kolom 1.

**SCHEDULE A****Column 1**

The Magisterial District of Vanderbijlpark, including the areas known as—

- (i) Bophelong, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1759 of 9 September 1955, as amended;
- (ii) Boipatong, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1325 of 28 August 1959, as amended;
- (iii) Evaton, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 322 of 4 December 1967, as amended;
- (iv) Sebokeng, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. R. 822 of 13 May 1977, as amended.

**Column 2**

The areas known as—

- (i) The area known as Bophelong, as referred to in Column 1;
- (ii) The area known as Boipatong, as referred to in Column 1;
- (iii) The area known as Evaton, as referred to in Column 1;
- (iv) The area known as Sebokeng, as referred to in Column 1.

**INHOUD**

No.

Bladsy  
No. Koerant  
No.**GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING**

Wet en Orde, Ministerie van  
Goewermentskennisgewing

R. 1756 Wet op Openbare Veiligheid (3/1953):  
Verklaring van Onrusgebied en Onrus-  
regulasies, 1992: Wysiging van  
Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1291  
van 30 April 1992 en Goewermentsken-  
nissgewing No. R. 1292 van 30 April 1992

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## Law student traces key witness

327 SUSAN RUSSELL

A SENIOR police officer investigating the assassination of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni had over a period of several months been unable to locate a witness who was found within a few hours this week by a junior legal clerk. *Blom*

This emerged yesterday at the inquest into Mlangeni's death, which is being conducted before Judge B O'Donovan in the Rand Supreme Court. *19/6/92*

Capt Andre Kritzingier said he had failed to find the Post Office employee who, according to records, had insured the parcel containing the boobytrapped cassette player which killed Mlangeni.

But counsel for the Mlangeni family, G Rautenbach, said a law student working at the firm Cheadle Thompson and Haysom had located Karin Scholtz (now Smit) who had insured the parcel at Joubert Park post office.

She had been found in less than one afternoon.

Rautenbach gave Kritzingier Scholtz's address.

Rautenbach said the Mlangeni family felt the police had investigated the case inadequately. They were also concerned that Kritzingier and his senior, Lt-Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen, had been implicated in a cover up in the Trust Feed case in Natal.

Kritzingier said neither he nor Van der Westhuizen had been involved in a cover up.

His superiors had agreed to a request from the Mlangeni family's lawyers to fingerprint police working at Vlakplaas. This was conditional on the names of about 100 policemen not being made public because they feared for their lives.

The court also heard that police investigators had analysed a fingerprint found inside the tape cover only four months ago.

A police handwriting analysis expert said the writing on the insurance sticker was similar to that on the tape. Rautenbach put it to Col Jacobus Hattingh that the two writing samples were the same.

Hattingh said the investigators had not given him the sample from the tape which said: "Evidence of hit squads." So he had not been able to compare the two.



## APARTHEID BAROMETER

### REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION (327)

TWELVE Transvaal townships remain unrest areas. They are: Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Thokoza, Kattlehong, Vosloorus, Alexandra, Sharpeville, Evaton, Ennerdale and Sebokeng.

On June 12 the declaration of unrest areas in the magisterial districts of Vereeniging and Randburg was extended for a further three months, says the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

### DETENTIONS (327)

THE HRC reports that 21 people are still being held in detention. According to the police one person is being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act and 20 people have been detained under Section 3 of the Public Safety Act.

### SECURITY FORCES

THREE people in the PWV and the Free State have been killed by police or army personnel between June 10 and June 16, according to the HRC. Ten people were injured and 290 were arrested in the PWV, western Transvaal, eastern and western Cape and the Free State. Most of those arrested were members of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union who are on strike at various fleet hospitals.

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w/m and 19/6-25/6/92

# Statement adds fuel to WM exposé of covert operations

By RAY NXUMALO  
WARRANT OFFICER Thys Nolte, exposed by *The Weekly Mail* as an operative at a secret SAP house in the Vaal linked to the masterminding of violence, has been further implicated in the planning of anti-African National Congress attacks.

In a sworn statement, a Sebokeng youth, 20-year-old Mosotho Tsotetsi, said a white policeman called "Thys" had been present at a "planning session" at the kwaMadala Hostel in Vanderbijlpark in May at which Inkatha supporters plotted to attack the houses of ANC leaders in the area.

Tsotetsi, a member of the ANC Youth League who says he was abducted to the hostel, also claims "Thys" assaulted him when he refused to sign an Inkatha Freedom Party membership form.

When shown photographs of Nolte by *The Weekly Mail* weeks after making the statement, Tsotetsi immediately identified him as the Thys referred to in his affidavit.

The new information adds fuel to *The Weekly Mail's* exposé of the covert police operation and its links with violence at a time when the matter is being examined by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

The houses Tsotetsi says he was asked to attack were those of Bavumile Vilakazi, assistant secretary of the ANC's Vaal region, and Vaal Council of Churches fieldworker Saul Tsotetsi, killed in a grenade explosion earlier this year. Nolte is the officer investigating Saul Tsotetsi's death.

Tsotetsi's statement strongly suggests that "Thys" exercises a leadership role in the hostel.

In his statement, Tsotetsi says that on May 11 this year he was abducted to kwaMadala Hostel and shepherded into a room, where the names of Vilakazi, Saul Tsotetsi, Sokwazi Secondary School and Mashabane Secondary School had been written on a blackboard. He says he was ordered to complete an IFP membership form, and refused to do so.

A man then "told me that I will have to use hand grenades to bomb the schools that appeared on the board, and attack the homes of the comrades that I have mentioned."

"I told them that I cannot use a hand grenade. One white man asked me as to whether I can use a gun. I told him that I cannot use a gun," he said in his affidavit.

The white man, whom Tsotetsi believes is a policeman working under Nolte, then took him outside and showed him how to use an AK47 and hand grenades.

Tsotetsi also claims he was offered money — in the form of two cheques — to carry out attacks. "The same white man who demonstrated the use of an AK47 brought two cheques to me. The first was a cheque of R2 350, for which I would attack Saul and Bavumile's homes. The second one amounted to R8 350, which I would receive if I were to bomb schools."

He says he refused the money. Later, he says, he was taken to the schools but refused to carry out the instructions.

He says his abductors then bound him, struck him on the head and tossed him over the school fence. He later found himself in hospital.

Asked for comment, Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said: "Until such time that the SAP have the opportunity to fully investigate the allegations made by *The Weekly Mail* informant, the police cannot properly supply a reasonable and objective comment on the matter."

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# Confident NP uses mass action to its own advantage

3/1/92 19/16-25/6/92

## COMMENT

*A sophisticated government strategy aims to pin blame for the violence on the ANC*

A CONFIDENT National Party government has developed a sophisticated strategy to turn the African National Congress' mass action campaign against it — portraying the NP as the party of law and the ANC as the party of disorder.

The NP strategy, which has been largely successful, has been to pin the blame for any violence on the ANC, regardless of the ANC's involvement. Examples this week included:

● The government deliberately orchestrated a near-hysterical build-up to the threat of violence on June 16 by calling up soldiers it did not use or even need.

● Police immediately blamed yesterday's Boipatong massacre on the ANC's campaign, although initial evidence pointed to an attack launched

from an Inkatha-controlled hostel.

● Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel, in the forefront of the anti-ANC campaign, claimed there were links between mysterious "hit-squad" attacks in Soweto on June 16 and the mass action campaign.

● The government tried to rush through parliament a series of tough law and order measures which recall the era of former state president PW Botha.

● The government unilaterally decided to reconvene parliament in October to consider interim government legislation, despite the deadlock in the negotiations process.

● The NP threw R300 000 and a top campaign manager into a minor House of Representatives by-election in

Kimberley in a bid to show that it has strong support in the coloured community (see PAGE 21).

● President FW de Klerk chose to spend June 16, the day the ANC launched its mass action campaign, addressing the Inkatha-controlled KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and giving assurances on the Inkatha Freedom Party's main concerns: regional government powers, the power of chiefs and an even spread of blame for violence.

● In a high-profile media show, journalists were last weekend taken along to watch police disarm Inkatha members on their way to a Soweto rally.

Most of these actions were marked by an unexpected self-confidence in the face of the mass action campaign and a cynicism seemingly out of step with the negotiations process.

For example, the laws the government tried to bulldoze through parliament — in what one opposition member called

"Nat bragdadigheid (display of power) at its worst" — contradicted the NP's professed support for a Bill of Rights. No attempt was made to gain the consensus of parliamentary parties, let alone the government's negotiating partners at Codesa.

And, after disarming the Inkatha members, the police returned their confiscated "traditional" weapons to the IFP's local headquarters. The police — and the media who had been invited to and the performance — ignored another armed Inkatha group on the march nearby.

What is the government's motivation?

Sources close to the government indicate that its strategy is aimed partly at weakening the ANC's position at a time of deadlock in the negotiations process. And, in the long term, it is the beginning of a bid to win wider support for the NP — particularly among coloured, Indian and black moderates who are uncomfortable with mass action — with an eye on the first democratic elections.

By appearing to be the only party that can maintain law and order, especially in the townships, the NP aims to market itself as the safe option in a time of conflict and violence. On this ticket, it hopes to ensure that it will be a major party, or even — as Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha promised recently — the majority party in the "new" South

Africa.

Key NP strategists believe the party has the resources, know-how and machinery to peak at the right moment in an election campaign — and the mass action campaign presented an ideal opportunity for the party to lay the foundations for that crucially timed peak.

Political analyst Mark Swilling argues that the NP is "moving confidently forward with the belief that there is a sufficiently sizeable anti-ANC middle cut of the society upon which it can build a Christian Democratic alliance". This alliance would be made of the NP's traditional white base, remnants of the Democratic Party's base, a 20 percent minority in the black population and the conservative middle of the coloured and Indian communities.

"The NP believes that if it can put together this alliance and enter into elections during the first half of next year, it will have more than a good chance of building itself into a significant power position that will effectively give it a veto over the direction of the new state," Swilling argues.

The NP had blocked agreement at Codesa because it is not yet ready for an election, Swilling adds.

Some observers believe that the government has a "Plan B" in terms of which, if mass action succeeds, it will declare a State of Emergency and use it to act against the ANC, thereby pushing forward a political settlement against a weakened opposition.

They fear that an over-confident NP government may be considering the imposition of a political "settlement" even without ANC agreement. The concern is that the government, having rid itself of the albatross of the more outrageous apartheid laws and having survived the unbanning of the ANC, believes it can hang on to power without serious repercussions. This may tempt it to shrug off the ANC as a negotiating partner.

In calling a special second session of parliament later this year, De Klerk said that if Codesa had not made sufficient progress for parliament to consider legislation, "parliament must then have the opportunity to discuss the state of affairs and consider steps which the government may propose".

More likely, however, is that De Klerk, with his cunning sense of media image-building, did this to demonstrate that he was ready and eager to move forward. If Codesa is not ready by the time parliament reconvenes, he can score some points by letting MPs sit around for a few days blaming the ANC for the delay.

# Key Mlangeni witness traced

Two days before, the court instructed the investigating officer, Captain Andre Krizinger, to locate Smith as soon as possible after it found that the statement he took from the Joubert Park post office superintendent did not include information on the persons who had handled the parcel.

It emerged that while taking a statement from the superintendent, Krizinger neglected to include in it that she went out to speak to both people working at the dispatch and reception counters. While giving evidence, he suddenly remembered the information she had given him that both employees were unable to remember

Kritzinger told the court that he thought it unnecessary to add this to her statement, which he thought was sufficient for his investigation.

Kritzinger also testified that a yellow insurance label pasted on the parcel was not obtainable locally, and said it must have been applied in Lusaka. Upon being shown a copy of the slip, Smith confirmed that it was a South African post office tag commonly used on parcels.

In another dramatic revelation, police handwriting analyst Colonel Johan Hattingh said samples from 16 policemen were only given to him by

Kritzinger in August 1991 and needed to be repeated as they were inadequate. Tests required both free-hand and print samples, as the writing on the parcel was in print form unlike approximately 12 of the 16 samples handed in by Kritzinger.

Counsel for the family, Guy Rautenbach, then presented Hattingh with a photograph of the cassette holder labelled "Hit squads Evidence" and asked him to compare the script on it to the writing on the parcel and insurance slip.

It emerged that Hattingh had never seen this evidence.

Kritzinger's lengthy appearance on the witness stand was fraught with uncertainties. He repeatedly told the court that all he could do was to inform them of his intention immediately to address all new evidence.

Kritzinger was also instructed by the court to follow up other aspects of his investigations and present them to the court. He was told to act on the family lawyer's lead and take a formal statement from Smith and to find out about an alleged attempt made in London on the life in Dirk Coetzee, the former policeman who was originally sent the parcel bomb.

He was also told to obtain the fingerprints and handwriting analysis of the policemen based at Vlakplaas — the police hit squad base exposed by Coetzee — at the time of the murder.

By BEATHUR BAKER  
LAWYERS acting for the family of slain human rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni this week traced a key witness in the space of one afternoon, after the investigating officer on the case told the Rand Supreme Court the woman could not be found during fifteen months of investigation.

A research clerk for the attorneys Chedale Thompson and Haysom tracked down the post office worker who received the parcel bomb that killed Mlangeni in February last year.

He found the woman, Karen Smith, by consulting records of the Kempton Park Hospital where she was employed as a nurse after leaving the post office.

Smith remembered receiving the parcel from an unknown black man.

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# Commission fed propaganda, says witness

By LINDA RULASHE

THE Goldstone Commission was being fed "propaganda and dirty tricks" by the South African Police, a witness told the commission in Pretoria this week.

Sebokeng African National Congress member Daniel Kolisang told the commission police had fabricated evidence and forged his signature to discredit him after he had helped expose a top-secret police base linked to the planning of violence against ANC and South African Communist Party activists in the Vaal.

Declaring that Kolisang was a police informer, counsel for the police, Phillip Hattingh, presented Kolisang with numerous documents containing lists of names he had allegedly provided and receipts for payments for which he had allegedly signed.

Kolisang denied he was an informer and said the documents and receipts were forged.

Hattingh also accused Kolisang of downplaying his involvement, and asked him whether he had not in fact harmed the ANC by giving information to the police. Kolisang replied: "There is nothing that I did that could in any way damage the ANC. I only gave them (the police) information regarding the names of the leadership and their addresses."

The covert police operation was unearthed by a *Weekly Mail* investigation in May following an affidavit made by Kolisang in January.

Befriended by a man called "Oupa" who claimed to work for "Delta Insurance", Kolisang said he was promised employment by "Oupa" and another man calling himself "Mike". They were later found to be policemen, respectively named Sergeant JKR Seago and

Johannes Mkwane.

Kolisang said he later found out that they wanted him to act as an informant.

On January 2, the commission heard Kolisang was driven to a house in the Vanderbijlpark area while lying on the back seat of a car with his head covered. He was later told it was for his own security so that other informers would not see him.

He said "Brian" — a white man who interviewed him at the house and later discovered to be a police sergeant, AG Steenekamp — offered him weapons training and money to carry out petrol-bomb attacks against ANC and SACP leaders. The weapons training was to be given by a certain Mike Kolokoto, who was attached to the De Deur Police Station.

The training would be conducted at a location near Rust-der-Vaal, which "Brian" suggested was a shooting range.

According to Kolisang, he was asked to establish the precise address of a number of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) members, including someone called "Speech", Hlaphi Molatu and a certain "Ntyanyana", as well as the ANC's assistant PWV secretary, Bavumile Vilakazi, and Evaton SACP executive members Gideon Sithole, Martin Nkonkoto and "Comrade Phyllis".

"Were you prepared to help them (the police)?" Hattingh asked during cross-examination.

Kolisang replied: "I said yes, I was going to help them. Had I said something else, they would have killed me."

"Brian" had told him that "Speech" was "a bloody bastard" and that he had been responsi-

ble for sabotage in Sasolburg and for killing several people in Johannesburg.

Kolisang said that a second meeting followed on January 16, but the police deny meeting him on either of these occasions. They have instead provided dates of meetings during November and December, which Kolisang said did not occur as he had only met "Oupa" and "Mike" in January.

Kolisang said he thought he was dealing with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging at the time.

"What is your attitude about the AWB?" Hattingh asked Kolisang. "Do you know their attitude towards blacks?"

"Yes," Kolisang replied.

"Are you against this or in favour of this?"

"I am not against anybody."

Hattingh later put it to Kolisang that "Brian" had explained to him that he was an SAP member and had in fact shown him his card.

"No, that's propaganda. He only told me he was 'Brian' ... I only found out during the investigations that he was a policeman after talking to the ANC and *The Weekly Mail*."

Kolisang told the commission "Brian" had offered him R5 000 to carry out petrol-bomb attacks on the houses of ANC-linked activists.

He said he was also asked to sign a form stating his name, ID number, the R5 000 payment and his code name, "Patrick Khumalo". The police deny having done this.

Hattingh put it to Kolisang that he had told "Oupa" he was interested in joining the South African Defence Force, to which Kolisang replied: "No, I said I wanted to join MK ... Why would I join the SADF if I am a member of the ANC?"

w/mail 19/6-25/6/92.

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# Call to hound out corrupt officials

Sowetan 19/6/92

MORE than 25 organisations yesterday threw their weight behind an ANC-initiated coalition against Government corruption, political assassinations and violence. of future trials for those engaged in such crimes, particularly those who continue to perpetrate these atrocities post-February 1990.

The organisations, which include Nafcoc, the South African Council of Churches, Cosatu, legal and human rights groups, adopted an "ANC briefing document on corruption and murder" at a day's summit in Johannesburg.

The ANC said Azapo, which had been invited but did not attend, had pledged support to the campaign. The PAC had also been invited but did not attend.

The document said "consideration should be given to drawing up a 'wanted list' of apartheid criminals, just as the United Nations did some time ago".

"The possibility should not be excluded

The coalition is to campaign for the establishment of an independent commission of inquiry into corruption and State expenditure. The coalition said the commission should have "full access to all Government departments and records".

The coalition also intends to demand:

- The seizure of assets of those implicated in the theft of public funds,
- The dismissal and prosecution of all Ministers and officials implicated in the misappropriation, and murder,
- Full disclosure of all secret projects and covert operations and the disclosure of all minutes of the State Security Council.



**Widening scope**

FM 19/6/92

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**Government's** proposed new powers for attorneys-general are an effort to clamp down on a wide range of crimes, including the illegal possession of weapons, drug dealing and the organising of private armies.

The Interception & Monitoring Prohibition Bill and the Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill were expected to be rushed through parliament before the current session adjourned this week.

The monitoring Bill widens existing powers to tap telephones and intercept mail. These powers have up to now been limited to activities that threaten State security.

The Bill provides for the tapping and interception for other offences including drug dealing.

The measures have been widely condemned by opposition groups that see them as an effort by government to curb political activity. However, the considerable power the authorities already have to tap and intercept makes this unlikely.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill raises far more serious issues, including the reintroduction of conditional detention without trial under certain circumstances. It aims, inter alia, to:

- ☐ Widen the parameters of the Intimidation Act to include "indirect forms of intimidation" and to broaden the interpretation of intimidation and increase the penalties that may be imposed. According to a memorandum published with the Bill this week, the aim is to "combat indirect intimidation, especially at bus stops, shopping centres, polling booths ...";
- ☐ Withdraw the AGs' power to prevent the granting of bail and to issue warrants for the

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detention of witnesses in terms of the Internal Security & Criminal Procedures Acts — but effectively transfers these powers to the new Bill;

☐ Streamline legal procedures in some criminal cases involving violence and intimidation to allow communities to see that offenders are brought to trial quickly;

☐ Impose harsher penalties — including a mandatory five-year minimum jail sentence — for offences committed with illegal firearms and the unlimited detention of people who withhold information from the police relating to certain weapons; and

☐ Restrict the activities of private armies, but does not prohibit them completely. They may not be organised, trained, equipped or armed in order to take over functions of the SAP or SADF.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee says the measures are in line with government's commitment to curb "unacceptable levels of violence and intimidation."

He adds that the measures relating to special, speedier trials for certain offences, and the possession of weapons, have a "far-reaching effect" and will therefore be valid for only a year unless extended by parliament.

While government remains committed to a Bill of Rights, it is, says Coetsee, quite obvious that its introduction won't be possible in a climate of violence. ■

# 'Where police failed, student got witness'

STAR 19/6/92

By Susan Smuts

A law student at the Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom law firm, where murdered ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni worked, managed within hours to trace a witness whom the police claimed they were unable to find, an inquest at the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Investigating officer Captain Andre Kritzinger, under cross-examination from Gys Rautenbach, appearing for the Mlangeni family, had told the court that the police could not trace the Post Office employee who insured the booby-trapped portable cassette player when it was sent to former security police captain Dirk Coetzee.

Mr Rautenbach said the student had tracked the employee and he had asked Captain Kritzinger whether he would take a statement from the employee. Captain Kritzinger replied that he would.

Mr Mlangeni was killed in February last year when a cassette player, intended for Mr

Coetzee, exploded as he tried to listen to a tape marked "Evidence — hit squads".

Mr Justice O'Donovan also heard that a handwriting analysis expert, Colonel Jacobus Hattingh, had not compared the handwriting on the tape to that which appeared on the insurance voucher because the handwriting on the tape had not been made available to him by the investigating officers.

Colonel Hattingh said that on the face of it, the handwriting on the tape and the insurance voucher appeared to be the same. He would have to do tests to make certain, he added.

He also said he had received the fingerprints of Vlakplaas policemen only four months ago. The comparison between those fingerprints and those found on the cassette player was completed about a month ago. This was in spite of Mr Coetzee naming former colleagues at Vlakplaas as possible suspects shortly after Mr Mlangeni's death 16 months ago.

The hearing continues.



# De Klerk threatens emergency

Sowetan 22/6/92

STATE President FW de Klerk on Saturday threatened to reimpose the state of emergency after he was chased from Boipatong township in the Vaal by angry residents.

Addressing a Press conference from the sanctuary of a military base as police who remained in Boipatong shot dead three more people, De Klerk said:

"We may have to look beyond the present measures to maintain law and order to uphold the safety of all South Africans.

"It will be a very sorry day if we are forced to go back to a state of emergency," he said.

The President was critical of accusations by African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril

Ramaphosa of his alleged complicity in the Boipatong massacre, in which about 40 people were killed on Wednesday.

Earlier, about 3 000 residents, who were part of a march by ANC and PAC members accompanied by PAC leaders, shouting and waving placards with "FW de Klerk go home" and "We don't want you here

De Klerk", had streamed from all corners as the presidential cavalcade entered the dusty township on Saturday morning.

Secrecy had surrounded plans for the visit, but residents were clearly ready for De Klerk, as most turned up with placards condemning the visit. Surrounded by at least six armoured vehicles, the State President looked

tense but not visibly frightened. The party appeared in no immediate danger but, faced with the threatening crowd, it retreated.

De Klerk had been scheduled to visit the massacre victims' families and to hold a Press conference in Boipatong, but he was never allowed out of his car.

● See page 6

# 'Dirty tricks': Ex-cop tells all

*Sowetan 22/6/92*  
*Sowetan 22/6/327*

**THE Vrye Weekblad** weekly newspaper on Friday carried a series of frank interviews with Colonel John Horak, former police spy on several newspapers, in which he makes in-depth allegations about covert security police activities over the last few years.

Among Horak's allegations are that:

- Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko died after he was assaulted by a Port Elizabeth policeman, now a colonel in the security police, after Biko had insulted the policeman's superior officer.

Horak says everyone in the security police knew what happened and who was responsible, but a web of lies was spun before the



**STEVE BIKO**

judicial inquiry into the activist's death.

The police colonel is now generally known by a nickname relating to the Biko affair;

- He (Horak) was involved in intercepting thousands of mail items, mainly from the Jeppe Street Post Office, without authorisation. Many of the letters, documents and books that

related to politics were stolen and are kept in a special library in Pretoria. Horak was in charge of the library;

- The security police stole cheques to and from black trade unions, then paid them into false accounts to sow suspicion among members.

The stolen money was then used in campaigns against the trade unions;

- Horak tells of several incidents where the police planted bombs or attacked people for their own political ends, and then blamed it on right- or leftwing radicals.

The bombs that exploded at cinemas screening the Richard Attenborough film on Biko, *Cry Freedom*, is an example he gives.

The interviews with Horak are published in

eight pages in the newspaper's Friday edition.

Horak held several senior positions on English-language newspapers and was the Morning Group manager at the then SA Associated Newspapers when he went public as a police spy and was appointed a major at security police headquarters.

He was later appointed chairman of the Strategic Communications Committee of the Secretariat of the State Security Council.

Horak, who resigned from the SAP in August 1990 with glowing testimonials from the then Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, is believed to be overseas at the moment, according to a *Vrye Weekblad* statement. -Sapa



## SA 'least safe African country for unionists'

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Political Staff

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CAPE TOWN — Despite improvements in SA, it remains the least safe place on the continent to carry out trade union activities, says the International Confederation of Trade Unions.

In its annual review, it said 47 trade unionists were murdered in SA between March 1991 and March 1992.

Most of these murders could be attributed to right-wing death squads. B/DW 23/6/92

However, union sources quoted in the survey stated that the highly organised nature of the violence and professionalism shown by the killers suggested the existence of a third force, including elements of the police and security forces.

The survey, released in Brussels, said revelations about the secret funding by government of the Inkatha-linked trade union Uwusa and other groupings, including an "intelligence service on trade union activists", were confirmation of dirty tricks against trade unions.

It referred to plans, uncovered in February, for the assassination of prominent union leaders.

Collective arrests and mass dismissals completed the grim picture of SA given in the survey, questioning the government's commitment to the reform programme upon which it claimed to have embarked, the union body said.

In many African countries trade unions had been in the forefront of the fight for democracy.

In some of them the rulers, resisting the winds of change, had resorted to the use of force to suppress the pro-democracy movements.

Worldwide, 200 people were killed as a result of anti-trade union repression, and the survey rated Colombia, China, Guatemala, El Salvador, Iran, Peru, Sudan and SA as the world's most dangerous places for trade unionists.

Two thousand cases of detention of trade unionists were documented in the 45-page report which described many instances of death threats, abduction, disappearance, harassment and spying aimed at trade unionists.

Friday, June 23 1992

# Top policemen to be fingerprinted

*Blay 23/6/92*  
LAWYERS acting for the family of murdered ANC attorney Bheki Mlangeni yesterday submitted to the Rand Supreme Court a list of 34 people, including police forensic chief Gen Lothar Neethling, from whom they wanted fingerprints and handwriting samples taken.

Counsel for the State said five of the people on the list were dead, but fingerprints and handwriting samples would be taken from the others by today.

The inquest into Mlangeni's death is being heard before Judge B O'Donovan. Mlangeni was killed in February last year when he activated a booby-trapped portable cassette player intended for former security police captain Dirk Coetzee.

A package containing the cassette player and a tape with "evidence hit squads" written on it were posted to Coetzee in Lusaka.

Coetzee had been living there under the protection of the ANC after fleeing SA when his allegations about the existence of covert police hit squads based at Vlakplaas outside Pretoria were published.

He did not collect the parcel and it was redirected to Mlangeni, who was listed as the sender.

Mlangeni was killed instantly when he activated the cassette player

at his home on February 15 last year.

Another name on the list submitted by the Mlangeni lawyers yesterday was that of a Col Wahl du Toit, who worked at the police forensic laboratory in Pretoria and who has been implicated by Coetzee as a suspect.

Meanwhile, senior investigating officer Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen testified yesterday that he was satisfied the police had done everything possible to solve the Mlangeni case.

He said this after counsel for the Mlangeni family Gys Rautenbach asked him why the police had delayed three months before searching Vlakplaas in response to Coetzee's allegations that his former colleagues there were responsible for the booby-trapped cassette player.

Van der Westhuizen said Vlakplaas had been searched long before and during the Harms commission.

The inquest has heard from Rautenbach on a number of occasions that the Mlangeni family is unhappy about the way the police investigation has been conducted. Rautenbach has also put it to another member of the police investigating team, Capt Andre Kritzing, that the family was unhappy about the fact that both he and Van der Westhuizen had been implicated in an attempted cover-up in the Trust Feed case in Natal.

## Policeman faces two murder charges

*Blay 23/6/92*  
MARITZBURG — Former SAP Mooi River station commander Lt George Nichaus, 49, will stand trial in September on two counts of murder and two of attempted murder.

He appeared in the Mooi River Magistrate's Court yesterday, where his R3 000 bail was extended on condition he did not enter the Mooi River

district, and refrained from interfering with police in the town.

His charges stem from alleged unlawful police action, relating to incidents in Bruntville township when police allegedly fired on a crowd commemorating Soweto Day in 1990, and on an April 7 protest march.

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SUSAN RUSSELL

WED AWAY



# Govt's 'secret agenda exposed'

THE ANC claims it has uncovered a secret plan by the Government aimed at weakening the organisation in order to force it into a coalition with the National Party.

The allegations are contained in the July issue of the ANC's *Mayibuye* magazine. The organisation claims the secret plan was hatched shortly after the release of political leaders.

The report says: "From sources within Government circles and the ANC's intelligence department, *Mayibuye* has unearthed a chilling two-pronged plan of the NP regime for the transition - 'Operation Thunderstorm' and 'Operation Springbok'.

"Worked out to deal with the post-February 1990 period, the final aim is to force the ANC into an entrenched coalition with at least, the NP.

"Operation Springbok' is complex, but simply stated, it aims to prevent the ANC from forming a government on its own. Normally this would not be sinister. It would be fair competition where a party strives to attain maximum advantage in a democratic dispensation.

"The difference in this case is the existence of Operation Thunderstorm. As its name suggests, this operation seeks to devastate the country in its wake."

## Mlangeni: Cop is satisfied with his probe

*Sowetan 23/6/92*  
THE senior investigating officer in the murder of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni told a Rand Supreme Court inquest yesterday he was satisfied with his investigations.

General Ronald van der Westhuizen, who was implicated in the alleged Trust Feeds cover-up, told Mr Justice B O'Donovan that everything which could have been done to trace the murderer had been done.

He also said there was no point in re-investigating allegations made by former security police Captain Dirk Coetzee.

Coetzee was the intended victim of the cassette player which killed Mlangeni when it exploded. Coetzee had handed Van der Westhuizen a manuscript detailing the activities of alleged hit squads, and implicating former colleagues at Vlakplaas and Colonel Wal du Toit, who worked at the police technical laboratory in Pretoria.

Van der Westhuizen said he did not believe Coetzee's allegations as "he named everyone he knew".

Gys Rautenbach, the Mlangeni family lawyer, asked why it had taken the police three months to search Vlakplaas and the technical laboratory.

"What would we get there after one month that wouldn't still be there after three months?" Van der Westhuizen asked.



## Five hostel inmates arrested over massacre

Crime Staff

Detectives yesterday arrested five inmates of the KwaMadala hostel in connection with last week's massacre of at least 39 people in Bolpatong.

The arrests — made during continuing investigations at the hostel by scores of detectives — were carried out under unrest regulations, ac-

ording to Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said the detained men had not been formally charged.

He said police had not established their political affiliations and could not say whether the arrests were a result of tests on

weapons confiscated on Thursday.

Two other men were taken into custody for questioning yesterday but had been freed, he said.

Captain Kotze said the police were determined to get to the bottom of the massacre.

Yesterday the hostel dwellers were still being confined to the premises

as police continued their investigations.

Sapa reports that Iscor, which employs many of the hostel residents, had pledged its co-operation in the investigation.

In a statement, the company said no evidence had been found to support allegations that the attackers were residents of the hostel.

STW 23/6/92

## Probe Horak claim - Azapo

STAN 23/6/92  
The Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday called on the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International to probe claims by former security policeman John Horak that police killed Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko. Mr Horak told Vrye Weekblad that Biko was beaten to death in 1977 by a policeman who was angry that the activist had allegedly insulted a policeman. (327)

STAN 23/6/92



ANC to reach them by no lat

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May 24/6/92

# SAP and SADF deny claims

~~2-1-1992~~  
ADRIAN HADLAND

AN ANC claim that the NP was planning to provoke black-on-black violence to prevent the ANC coming to power was denied by SADF and SAP spokesmen yesterday.

The allegations, due to appear in the next issue of the ANC's publication Mayibuye, claim the NP has a "chilling two-pronged strategy" aimed at forcing the ANC into a coalition government.

Operation Thunderstorm, the first prong of the strategy allegedly conceived by the Department of Military Intelligence, was designed to weaken the ANC through violence and through the creation of a climate of uncertainty, an ANC statement said.

The statement suggested that Thunderstorm involved blaming the

ANC for violence. It also involved random shootings, the selective arrest of ANC members and the possible restriction of newspapers critical of the government. ~~STP~~

The second prong, Operation Springbok, was designed to force the ANC into a coalition government with the NP, it said.

A senior ANC intelligence official said "every plan and action — particularly on the question of violence — is aimed at weakening the ANC so that it is eventually forced into a constitutional coalition".

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the police had no knowledge of the two

operations. ~~327~~

"We have no knowledge of any plan by the government or involving government agencies to commit widespread murder and mayhem and destabilisation, or to initiate violence and anarchy".

Kotze suggested the ANC should take its findings to the Goldstone commission of inquiry.

The ANC claimed the Northern Transvaal had been singled out as the area suitable for the first stages of Operation Thunderstorm.

"We can only surmise that the strength of the extreme right wing might have led to its selection as a pilot area," the ANC statement said.

A defence force spokesman said the SADF had no knowledge of the plans outlined by the ANC.

# Officers to be fingerprinted

*Blom 24/6/92*  
POLICE would take fingerprints and handwriting samples from more than 30 people, including two of its own senior officers, in the presence of an independent forensic expert employed by the family of assassinated ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Judge B O'Donovan, who is hearing the inquest into Mlangeni's death, was told this was one of the terms of an agreement between lawyers acting for the police and those representing the Mlangeni family.

Counsel for the family, Gys Rautenbach, submitted a list of 34 names on Monday from whom fingerprints and handwriting samples were wanted.

It includes police forensic chief Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling and Col Wahl du Toit.

Mlangeni was killed at his home in February last year when he activated a booby-trapped portable cassette player meant for former security policeman Capt Dirk Coetzee.

The tape recorder and a cassette marked "evidence of hit squads" were

**(327) SUSAN RUSSELL**  
posted to Coetzee in Lusaka. He did not collect the parcel, which was redirected to Mlangeni, who was listed as the sender.

Coetzee has claimed that his former colleagues at Vlakplaas were responsible for sending him the package and has implicated Du Toit as a suspect.

Rautenbach said Col Jacobus Hattingh would take the samples in the presence of independent forensic expert Dr David Klatzow and attorney Peter Harris.

He said Klatzow would be allowed to determine the identity of each person from their identity book.

Each person would have to write his name and provide a full set of fingerprints.

A copy of the specimens would be lodged with the Attorney General for safekeeping. Rautenbach said Klatzow would be allowed to examine the specimens in Hattingh's presence. Each of several experts would then make the results of their analysis available to the other.

The inquest has been adjourned to July 6.

## Police smash five car-theft syndicates

FIVE vehicle-theft syndicates have been uncovered and 18 members arrested in a weeklong crackdown on vehicle robberies in the northern Transvaal.

Police said yesterday 63 vehicles worth more than R4m were recovered.

In addition, a further seven people were arrested for vehicle thefts and cars to

**STEPHANE BOTHMA**

the value of another R900 000 were recovered, the SAP motor vehicle theft unit in Pretoria said.

The police also said 463 arrests had been made by the child protection unit last month. This included 126 rapes, 80 indecent assaults and 49 assaults on children.

During May the diamond and gold unit arrested 235 people and took possession of diamonds, gold and other gems valued at R1,3m.

The commercial branch charged 338 people in cases involving R6,3m.

The narcotics bureau arrested 2 145 people and confiscated more than 1-million mandrax tablets.

## NP appeals to Potchefstroom blacks

*Blom 24/6/92*  
**POTCHEFSTROOM** — NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe addressed an incident-free meeting for the first time in the black township of Ikageng, on Monday night, as part of the NP launch in the area.

Arriving in a black taxi, without a police or bodyguard escort and accompanied by six white NP supporters, Van der Merwe addressed the lively audience of about 300.

However, the residents

forced him to abandon the Afrikaans/English format after a vote in favour of an English speech with Tswana interpretation.

Members of the ANC and PAC later strongly criticised him and government for the logjam at Codesa, the Boipatong massacre and the failure to implement an interim government.

Van der Merwe said "I refuse to apologise for

apartheid. I did not cause it ... I am very sorry for it, but all my political career, I have fought for its downfall."

Asked about relations with the ANC now that it had partially suspended talks with the government, Van der Merwe said: "We cannot negotiate in this manner with the ANC. Let us work together, win together for a rich nation."

"If we keep fighting, we will all lose." — Sapa.



# Inmates now move freely

327  
Sawetam 24/6/92

POLICE restrictions on residents of the KwaMadala Hostel in the Vaal Triangle was lifted at midnight last night, allowing hostel residents to move freely.

The inmates were confined to the building last week to assist the police into the Boipatong massacre.

The Inkatha-aligned hostel dwellers were blamed for the attack, which claimed at least 39 people.

Police spokesman Major Ray Harrald said the lifting of restrictions was possible because hostel leaders had been co-operative and that a large number of the residents had been questioned and cleared of suspicion.

Earlier yesterday about 150 hostel residents were rounded up but were released after questioning.

Harrald pointed out that there were still a number of residents to be questioned.

The investigation into the massacre would continue and the SAP again appealed to people with information to come forward, Harrald said.

● Six KwaMadala residents are still being held by police in terms of the unrest regulations. - Sapa.

# Mlangeni: experts

## to analyse writing

By Susan Smuts

An independent forensic expert retained by the family of slain ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni will examine the handwriting samples of 34 policemen to determine if any of them can be implicated in Mr Mlangeni's murder.

This in terms of an agreement reached yesterday by lawyers representing the family and the Minister of Law and Order at the inquest into Mr Mlangeni's death.

Police handwriting analyst Colonel Jacobus Hattingh and independent forensic expert Dr David Klatzow will make the results of their work known to the police and the Mlangeni family before the inquest into Mr Mlangeni's death resumes in the Rand Supreme Court on August 6.

Colonel Hattingh, Dr Klatzow and attorney Peter Harris, of the law firm Cheadle Thompson & Haysom, are to be present when the samples are taken. The specimens are to be kept by the Attorney-General.

Mr Mlangeni was killed in February last year when a portable cassette player intended for former security police captain Dirk Coetzee exploded.

Former Joubert Park post office employee Karen Smit, who handled the cassette player when it was sent to Mr Coetzee in Lusaka, told Mr Justice D. O'Donovan she could not remember who had posted it. Under cross-examination from Gys Rautenbach, for the Mlangeni family, she denied telling the law student who traced her that a black man had posted the parcel.



## Police deny claim of Govt 'mayhem plan'

CAPE TOWN — The police had no knowledge of any Government plan to initiate widespread violence in order to thwart the ANC, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday. *Star 24/6/92*

"We have no knowledge of any plan by the Government or involving Government agencies to commit widespread murder and mayhem and destabilisation, or to initiate violence and anarchy."

He was commenting on a claim, in an article to be published in the next edition of the ANC magazine Mayibuye,

The article says a security forces operation would wreak havoc in the country in order to force the ANC to accept an entrenched coalition with at least the NP. — Sapa.

### SA man is spy accused

SA-BORN Stephen Laufer, 37, a former US spokesman at the US military mission and embassy in Berlin, went on trial in Berlin yesterday on charges that he was a KGB spy. (327)

Laufer was media attache at the US military mission in West Berlin from 1988 to 1990 and then worked as spokesman in the Berlin office of the US embassy in East Berlin. b1(xum) 2816192.

He was accused of working for the KGB from 1977 until his arrest in January 1991. He acknowledged the allegations.



# CP calls for emergency to be imposed

PRETORIA — Government should declare a state of emergency and, with the CP and national leaders, create an alternative forum to Codesa for negotiation, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

He told a news conference in Pretoria the CP had warned government Codesa would end in deadlock, because of the way it had been constituted.

The CP rejected the notion of the ANC and the SACP determining whites' futures. Thousands of blacks had died since government had unbanned the ANC and SACP, Treurnicht said.

The ANC is organising the violence and the killing of people and then blames the police," The ANC and SACP aimed to make the country ungovernable, he said.

Treurnicht blamed the business world, the media and government, which should have known the ANC would demand a transfer of power.

The CP therefore demanded that government declare a state of emergency, for the sake of security and the protection of

the economy, and create a new forum for negotiation with the CP and leaders who rejected communism and who supported the concept of self-determination.

There were quite a large number of leaders who would participate, he said. The CP will present a new confederacy model for ratification to a general congress in Pretoria on Saturday.

CP economic affairs spokesman Daan Ntse said the political chaos besetting SA and the low confidence in the country demanded immediate measures to counteract a slump in the economy.

"It is clear that the dream of political power-sharing with the ANC has been shattered," he said.

Unless government gave direction on both the political and economic front, unemployment, liquidations and insolvencies would increase and living conditions would deteriorate.

"Strong action" to maintain law and order would help to strengthen confidence in SA, Ntse said. — Sapa.

# CP: State of emergency now

## PAC: Return to struggle

Political Staff

(327)

(12)

STATE 25/6/92

The Conservative Party yesterday called for the imposition of a state of emergency and the Pan-Africanist Congress called for intensification of the armed struggle against the Government.

"We must intensify the political struggle, the international isolation and the armed struggle against the apartheid regime," PAC spokesman Gora Ibrahim said in Senegal, where he was attending a preparatory meeting for next week's Organisation of African Unity summit.

The campaign should continue until the establishment of an elected constituent assembly in South Africa, he said.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the Government should declare a state of emergency and, with the CP as well as national leaders, create a forum for negotiation different from Codesa.

He told a news conference in

Pretoria that the CP had warned the Government that Codesa would end in deadlock because of the way it had been constituted.

The United States government has urged the Government to arrest and prosecute those responsible for last week's killings in Boipatong.

In a statement issued by the US embassy in Pretoria, the US government called on all parties to work towards a negotiated settlement, saying negotiations offered the only way forward for South Africa.

● The South African security forces should, with immediate effect, be placed under the joint control of Codesa, the western Cape region of the ANC Women's League said on Tuesday.

● Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the ANC's withdrawal was "the worst kind of political tantrum imaginable".

The IFP would call for a ple-

nary session of Codesa to review its aims and objectives.

"If Codesa is so vulnerable that we cannot proceed without the ANC, we must re-examine our options and recommence negotiations on a different tack," said Chief Buthelezi.

● The Azanian Student Convention yesterday congratulated the ANC for pulling out of negotiations.

"We can only hope this is not just a ploy to appear radical in front of our people, but is a genuine intention to pursue the struggle for liberation," said its president Sipho Maseko.

● The political chaos besetting South Africa and the low confidence in the country demanded urgent measures to counteract the slump in the economy, CP economic affairs spokesman Daan Nolte said.

"Strong action" to maintain law and order would contribute to restore and strengthen confidence, both locally and internationally, he said.



5742 25/6/72

The political impasse remained unresolved last night when proposals put forward by President de Klerk were immediately rebuffed by the ANC.

Addressing a press conference in Pretoria, President de Klerk proposed a two-day summit between the Government and the ANC, and opened the door to international involvement in investigating political violence.

He was responding, after a Cabinet meeting, to the ANC's decision to pull out of all talks until its demands were met.

#### More reports — Pages 3, 6 and 20

An ANC statement described the President's response as paltry, and said the proposed summit would serve no purpose.

The ANC said it wanted a meeting with Mr de Klerk only to present its demands.

Mr de Klerk told the press conference the Government had asked for an international assessor to serve on the Goldstone Commission and international experts to evaluate police investigation of the Boipatong massacre.

He said the proposed summit would discuss 14 demands made by the ANC as well as obstacles which have been identified by the Government — mass action, violence, inflammatory rhetoric and defamatory and false accusations against political leaders.

"These talks should have as their purpose the resumption of negotiations to bring about a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, as soon as possible."

Responding to the ANC's demand for international involvement, Mr de Klerk sharply rejected "foreign in-

# FW's reply

By Peter Fabricius  
and Esther Waugh

## Shot down

terference in SA's affairs". But he welcomed the international community's interest in developments in South Africa and said it was helpful for them "to acquaint themselves with the facts surrounding the violence, inter alia through fact-finding missions".

He had asked Mr Justice

Goldstone — chairman of the commission of inquiry into political violence — to start his probe into the Boipatong massacre as soon as possible and to arrange at his discretion "for a suitably qualified person of international repute to join his commission as an assessor."

He said the SAP had asked

that "I should request Mr Justice Goldstone to invite one or more experts of international standing to evaluate police investigations of the Boipatong tragedy".

He said charges of Government complicity in the massacre "are without any foundation whatsoever and we find it reprehensible".

The ANC statement issued in response to his proposals said the proposed summit "has only propaganda value and will serve no useful purpose". The starting point must be addressing the real issues placed before the regime by the NEC of the ANC.

It said the Government's rejection of a meaningful

role for the international community in monitoring the violence confirms that they have a lot to hide.

Describing Mr de Klerk's response as "paltry", the ANC said "we express our concern that this statement is a diversion from the real plans the Cabinet was hatching throughout the day".

# 15 000 set to protest despite legal row

By Louise Burgers  
Municipal Reporter

Up to 15 000 municipal workers are expected to attend a mass meeting in the city today to discuss their wage dispute with the Johannesburg City Council — regardless of whether an application to the Rand Supreme Court goes against the unions.

An urgent court application by the joint committee of 12 municipal unions to have a Johannesburg management committee decision banning workers from protesting at Braamfontein Civic Centre overturned was postponed yesterday afternoon after the city council indicated it would

oppose the motion.

The matter is set down for 10 am today in the Rand Supreme Court.

An SA Municipal Workers' Union (Samwu) spokesman said the City Hall had been booked in case the Supreme Court ruled in favour of the management committee.

The Samwu spokesman said municipal employees would be disciplined and well behaved. "It's not a strike; we object to the attitude of the council negotiators and we are going to tell our members."

If the unions are, however, forced to hold the meeting at the City Hall, chaos is expected as there will be no room inside for the thousands of workers expected to attend.

The management committee barred the meeting at the Braamfontein Civic Centre on the following grounds:

- That the meeting would disrupt council activities.
- Such a meeting could be particularly disturbing on the day that the council meets to consider its budget.
- Right of access to the Civic Centre would be denied to the public at large who used it as a thoroughfare.

The city council is to meet today to consider the annual municipal budget, which is expected to top last year's record R2,6 billion. Harsh criticism is expected from opposition councillors and civic associations.



# Little cause to tremble over defamation judgment

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Appeal Court recently confirmed that political parties, no less than individuals, have a right to sue for defamation. Should this judgment have journalists and other political commentators trembling in their boots?

No, say media lawyers of the outcome in the case *Argus Printing and Publishing Company Limited v Inkatha Freedom Party*. The bold print of the judgment certainly holds that freedom of expression cannot override the right of political parties to protect their reputations by legal action.

But the fine print indicates that the circumstances in which legal action can be brought are limited; and the defences open to the media recognise the value of freedom of political expression.

"What's really happening is that the courts have been extending the class of people

who can sue for defamation — and this judgment is just part of that trend. But, at the same time, the courts have been increasing the number of defences available to defendants," says attorney Norman Manoim.

"I think defamation of political parties is something that the media need to be on the lookout for now. But I'm not sure we are going to see an avalanche of suits and it will be only in rare cases that the party is going to succeed," says attorney Wend Wendland, who represented the Argus Company in the recent appeal.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Grosskopf said: "Mere debate on political questions or expressions of disagreement with an opponent's political views would clearly not be actionable." He quoted approvingly the observation of Mr Justice Ludorf that the audiences of politicians would dwindle "if the speaker were to use tones, terms and expressions that one could expect from a lecturer at a

meeting of the ladies' agricultural union on the subject of pruning roses".

If debate is allowed considerable latitude, factual reporting of the actions of political parties is not so immune to defamation action. This gives some cause for concern — in view of the courts' extremely broad definition of political parties to include extra-parliamentary political organisations, trade unions, civic and residents' organisations — and that some of these organisations are regularly accused in the media of anti-social or violent acts.

Mr Justice Grosskopf noted that if a newspaper were sued for reporting such matters, the major defences of truth, fair comment and public benefit remained open.

"The publication of true statements about public officials and figures is generally for the public benefit."

And, the judge added, it seemed that the defendant would not bear the onus of proving the truth of the supposedly defamatory state-

ment; the overall burden of proving unlawful publication remained with the plaintiff.

Journalists argue that the foundation for an adequate defence on these criteria should be laid in the normal course of sound reporting.

Raymond Louw, of the Campaign for Open Media, observed that a report "would have to be very very wrong and injurious" for a political party to sue with hope of success.

The recent judgment reaffirmed the position that the Government does not have the right to sue for defamation and allowed that the ruling party might have to be considered differently from other parties.

Mr Manoim said apartheid had created an abnormal situation where organisations denied access to the institutions of political power used the courts as a substitute. He foresaw that as inclusive political institutions were created, parties would stick to political terrain in fighting their battles.

**Police lift**

**KwaMadala  
restrictions**

STAR 25/6/72 (32)  
The KwaMadala hostel, widely believed to have been the base for last week's Boipatong massacre in which the death toll now stands at 45, is no longer restricted.

Police restrictions, which confined hostel inmates to the compound, were lifted at midnight.

SAP spokesman Major Ray Harrauld said restrictions were lifted because hostel leaders had been co-operative with investigations, which were almost complete.

Many inmates had been cleared by Iscor records which showed they had been working during the attack.. — Staff Reporters.



## Union wins court order for meeting

(327)

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE Johannesburg Municipal Combined Employees' Union, locked in a wage dispute with the city council, obtained an order in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday allowing it to hold a mass meeting on the piazza outside the council's offices in Braamfontein next Tuesday.

The meeting was originally planned for 3.30pm yesterday to coincide with the Council's budgetary debate.

During the course of yesterday's urgent application however it was agreed that if the judge ruled in favour of the union, the meeting would be held at 3pm next Tuesday instead. *Blowan 26/6/92.*

After hearing argument from counsel representing both parties, Judge NM MacArthur granted an order declaring that the management committee's refusal earlier this week to give permission for the meeting on the piazza was invalid and of no force and effect.

He set aside the management committee's decision subject to a number of conditions agreed upon by the union, council representatives and their lawyers.

The union brought its application against the town clerk and the management committee only hours before the meeting was due to take place yesterday afternoon.

However while the application was still in progress, the judge granted a short adjournment to allow both parties to reach agreement on conditions under which the meeting would be held if there was a ruling in the union's favour.

# Boipatong probe finds arms cache

PRETORIA — Trunks containing R1 rifles and ammunition were discovered at the Greenside collieries near Witbank this week during a visit by a delegation from the Goldstone commission, it was disclosed yesterday.

The commission's investigating officer, Lt-Col Henk Heslinga, told a preliminary hearing in Pretoria that the commission had received information a group of people staying at the mine were involved in recent acts of violence at Boipatong.

He said a delegation from the commission, including lawyers, went to investigate on Wednesday and found about 40 former Koevoet members staying in a security building at the mine.

Heslinga said three firearms were found in the building and later, about a kilometre away at the quarters of white policemen in charge of the group, trunks with R1 rifles and ammunition were found.

ANC counsel Gys Rautenbach told the commission earlier that information became available to the ANC that there were "suspicious people" at the mine who were armed, spoke a foreign language and were kept away from mine workers.

He said an ANC delegation which went to the mine to investigate had been threatened by members of the former Koevoet police unit, deployed in counter-insurgency operations during the Namibian bush war.

Counsel for the Law and Order Minister, the SAP and employees of the SAP, Phillip Hattingh, denied that members of the group were involved in acts of violence at Boipatong. He conceded, however, that they were former members of Koevoet.

Hattingh said the group was not made up of permanent policemen, but were employed by police to combat crimes such as stock theft and the theft of telephone cables in the countryside.

He said the unit was based in Rooiberg, near Thabazimbi and the base was not a secret place as it had already appeared on a television programme.

Meanwhile, in an emotional memorial service yesterday for the 49 people killed in Boipatong, an angry church minister called on people to form defence units and "go to war".

"This violence is planned violence and it won't end today. It is perpetrated by a Satanic type of government," Rev Ernest Sotsu told the packed audience in Boipatong Community Hall.

"I call on the people of the Vaal to organise defence units and go to war. You must drive out the enemy."

As relatives of those killed last Wednesday night wept, the minister read out the victims' names. The service was organised by local clergy and attended by representatives of most churches, including Bishop Peter Storey of the Methodist Church and the Rt Rev Martin Lund of the Presbyterian Church.

The service passed without incident and during the afternoon police were not seen in the township.

However, after the service police said about 400 people gathered on the grounds of the Boipatong police station and demanded weapons.

Col Dave Byrce said police locked themselves inside the building as the crowd knocked on the doors and shouted for weapons. The Internal Stability Unit arrived and the crowd dispersed without incident.

The Vaal Civic Association yesterday suspended all local government negotiations in protest against the massacre.

It could not be ascertained yesterday how much money had been contributed to the Boipatong Relief Fund.

The ANC has said it would donate R100 000 to a fund which would be used to assist victims of violence in SA, including Boipatong. The PAC has pledged R20 000.

Among the foreign missions in SA, the US and Taiwanese embassies have pledged R700 000 each to the International Committee of the Red Cross for the assistance of violence victims. — Sapa.



## Foreign VIPs to attend funeral

(327) WILSON ZWANE

FORMER Zimbabwe president Canaan Banana and the late Martin Luther King's widow Coretta Scott King would attend the funeral of Boipatong victims on Monday, the SA Council of Churches (SACC) said yesterday.

A western Transvaal Cosatu spokesman said 42 of the victims would be buried at Sharpeville Cemetery. Six others would be buried in the Free State, Transkei, Natal and Venda. A police spokesman said police would be deployed to monitor the funeral.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, SACP national chairman Joe Slovo, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo and Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso would address mourners, the Cosatu spokesman said. *B. Dlamini*

The SACC said Banana, King and British Anti-Apartheid Movement leader Trevor Huddleston would attend the funeral to "symbolise" international concern over the Boipatong massacre. *26/6/92*

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance yesterday said those unable to attend the funeral should express solidarity with Boipatong's people by engaging in memorial services and work stoppages.

## THE POLITICAL CRISIS:

## POLICE ROLE UNDER THE SPOTLIGHT

# Was Boipatong an act of vengeance?

W/Mail 26/6 - 2/7/92

*A white policeman was killed shortly before the Boipatong massacre — but police dismiss any link between the two events as "absolute silliness".*

By PAUL STOBER

**P**OLICE in the Vaal are said to have been "infuriated" by the killing of a white policeman shortly before last week's Boipatong massacre.

Last Tuesday, Warrant Officer Daan Coetzee, commander of the Poortjie Police Station, was killed when his vehicle was forced off the road near Sebokeng and raked with automatic gunfire. His assailants are believed to have escaped into Sebokeng, within kilometres of Boipatong, but police have since arrested a suspect.

Sources close to the South African Police in the region described the deep anger among Vaal policeman about the killing of Coetzee the day before the massacre by saying: "They wanted war." But SAP spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert dismissed any possibility of a link between police anger and the slaughter as "absolute silliness".

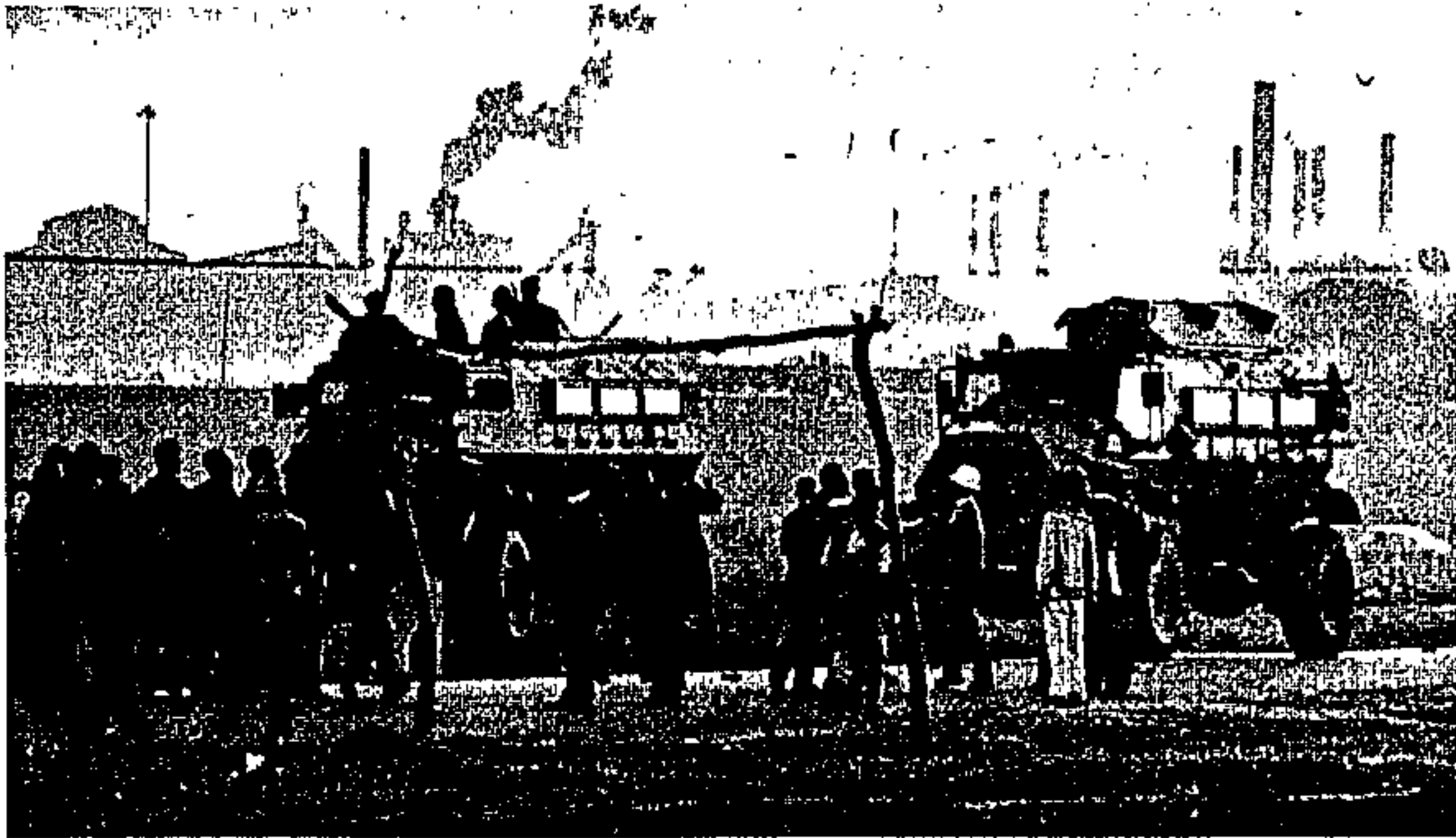
The morning after last Wednesday's massacre, which left 39 people dead, Boipatong residents said the attack was sparked by the killing of an Inkatha Freedom Party supporter and Boipatong resident David Mbhele. They are also convinced that police colluded with the attackers.

The failure of the SAP to respond to early warnings of the impending attack and the military precision with which residents were butchered has strengthened this conviction.

At least two hours before the attack began, Peace Action, a violence monitoring group on the Witwatersrand, received a call from a woman who warned she had been tipped off by "white counterparts of Inkatha that ambulances must be on standby. They are going to be used".

This was the second time that evening Peace Action had been alerted of a possible attack on Vaal residents. Earlier, a call from Zone 11 in Sebokeng had warned "there's going to be trouble".

In an interview with Radio Vatican, Father Paddy Nolan reported witnessing one of his parishioners receiving a warning of an attack while he was in a house in Sebokeng. The caller said he was having difficulty contacting the police and urged the parishioner to contact Peace Action in Johannesburg. "Something detrimental, something



Twilight zone ... Silhouetted by Iscor's smokestacks, police Casspirs form a barrier in the ongoing standoff between Boipatong residents and kwaMadala hostel dwellers

Photo: GUY ADAMS

serious is going to happen in the neighbourhood," the caller warned.

At a media conference last Friday, SAP liaison officer Major Ray Harrold said a senior police officer in Johannesburg had received a warning from Peace Action on Wednesday evening about an impending attack in the Vaal. The officer passed the message on to the Vaal police, who investigated reports of groups of people moving around Sebokeng. The SAP discovered they were police foot patrols and concluded they had been "directed" to Sebokeng, Harrold said.

Peace Action has confirmed that its monitor did not specify an exact area of the possible attack.

Boipatong residents say they had been on guard since rumours of an impending attack began circulating on Tuesday, June 16.

On Wednesday, the day of the attack, a large contingent of police in plain clothes and camouflage uniforms began patrolling the township and removing barricades. A resident described this as being "unusual in Boipatong".

According to another resident, police left the area by about 7pm and defence units, still wary of attack, repaired the barricades. At about 9pm, the police returned to the township and forced the local defence units off the streets. The SAP has denied dispersing the defence units, saying SAP patrols in the township had used birdshot to ward off petrol-bomb attacks.

The Weekly Mail has inspected statements by witnesses in Boipatong alleging that at about 10pm groups of police

in Casspirs began dropping armed men at various points around the township. Then the slaughter began.

According to violence monitors who have been taking statements in the aftermath of the attack, the killers operated in three squads in Slovo Park, which bore the brunt of the killings.

The first squad allegedly moved ahead, shouting, breaking windows and sowing confusion. They were followed by a second squad, armed mainly with pangas and assegais, which broke into houses and hacked and stabbed residents. While this was happening, the third squad, "consisting mainly of armed white men", surrounded the houses and gunned down anybody who tried to escape through windows or doors.

Twelve hours after the Witwatersrand police were first contacted and nine hours after the attack began, the SAP contacted Peace Action and reported they were having "difficulty" entering the township. However, initial reports indicated police vehicles had begun removing bodies from Boipatong as early as 4am.

Peace Action monitors believe discrepancies between statements are a result of the confusion and hysteria which gripped the township in the wake of the attack. However, they insisted: "There has been common pattern in all the statements and people have not changed their stories."

the killings and said he would demand a full report from the commissioner of police within six days.

Kriel declared the Vanderbijlpark magisterial district an unrest area and the SAP sealed off kwaMadala Hostel, alleged to be the attackers' base.

Major General Hannes Gloy, head of the Special Investigations Unit established in terms of the National Peace Accord, is leading a team of 200 investigators. By yesterday, they had detained six hostel dwellers under the unrest regulations. Police spokesman were not able to say why the men were being held.

The Goldstone Commission is to hold an inquiry into the violence in Boipatong on July 2 and 3. In a concession to ANC demands for an international commission of inquiry into the massacre, President FW de Klerk has asked Judge Richard Goldstone to appoint "a suitably qualified person of international repute to join his commission as an assessor".

De Klerk has also agreed to an SAP request that experts of "international standing" be invited to evaluate police investigations into the killings.

**To tour Europe in a German car from R175 for a 4-day weekend, call a German airline.**





DEATHS AND INJURIES

The death toll is the highest recorded in a seven-day period since the 113 deaths recorded in the week before the March referendum.

FIVE people were killed and 29 were injured in the PWV and eastern Cape, according to the HRC. Three of the deaths and all the injuries occurred in Boipatong on Saturday, when residents protested against President FW de Klerk's visit to the Vaal township.

Two people were shot dead by police on Monday on the Golden Highway near Vanderbilt park.

The HRC reports that 205 people were arrested between June 17 and June 23. Most were members of the striking National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union.

IN THE PWV 86 people were killed and 42 were injured during the past week, according to the HRIC. These figures include the 45 people killed and 30 injured during the Boipatong massacre on June 17.

Six people died and three were injured in Natal.

**FIVE** African National Congress members were killed in Malukazi

and Umlazi, Natal, allegedly by a "death squad". One person was injured.

On June 19 Pityase Mnguni was gunned down in Malukazi, while in Umlazi Vusumuzi Mabaso, Thabani Memela and Mazwi Mkize were shot dead.

On June 20 Pitso Mokoena was shot dead in U section, Umlazi.

ON June 19 Vereeniging was declared a special unrest area. This area includes the townships of Bophelong, Boipatong, Evaton and Sebokeng.

This brings to 15 the number of townships declared unrest areas, says the HRC. The others are Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Thokoza, Kaitlhong, Vosloorus, Alexandra, Sharpeville and Ennerdale.

THE HRC reports that 30 people are presently in detention under Section 3 of the Public Safety Act. This number includes six residents from the kwaMadala Hostel, who were detained in connection with the Boipatong massacre.

THERE are 490 prisoners currently being held on Robben Island, according to Correctional Services Minister Adnaar Vlok.

In the past nine months 33 825 prisoners — from a total of 92 351 — have been released on parole. Vlok was responding to questions in parliament.

26/6-27/92	26/6-27/92	26/6-27/92
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## APARTHEID BAROMETER

### DEATHS AND INJURIES

MORE than 190 people were killed in the Transvaal and Natal during the past week. According to the Human Rights Commission (HRC), 106 people died and 83 were injured. This figure includes the Boipatong massacre.

The death toll is the highest recorded in a seven-day period since the 113 deaths recorded in the week before the March referendum.

### SECURITY FORCE ACTION

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### HIT SQUAD ACTIONS

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This brings to 15 the number of townships declared unrest areas, says the HRC. The others are Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Thokoza, Kaitshong, Vosloorus, Alexandra, Sharpeville and Ennerdale.

### DETENTIONS

THE HRC reports that 30 people are presently in detention under Section 3 of the Public Safety Act. This number includes six residents from the kwaMadala Hostel, who were detained in connection with the Boipatong massacre.

### PRISONERS

THERE are 490 prisoners currently being held on Robben Island, according to Correctional Services Minister Adnaar Vlok.

In the past nine months 33 825 prisoners — from a total of 92 351 — have been released on parole. Vlok was responding to questions in parliament.

26/12-9/92

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Goldstone swoops on disused mine hostel ..

INSIDE  
HOW DID IT  
ALL GO SO  
WRONG?



Stoffel van der  
Merwe tries to  
explain  
PAGE 17

# Secret Koevoet base linked to Boipatong

W/mael 26/6-2/7/92

BY EDDIE KOCH and PORTIA MAURICE

**T**HE Goldstone Commission this week uncovered a covert Koevoet unit at a Gold Fields mine hostel in the eastern Transvaal after being tipped off that the squad had been ferried into the Vaal to take part in the Boipatong massacre.

The discovery — which may corroborate information that security forces were involved in the massacre — has highly damaging implications for President F.W. de Klerk's government. The presence of a "third force" on a British-owned mine will also have major international repercussions.

More than 40 members of the police counter-insurgency unit, including two white officers, were found in a hostel room at the Greenside colliery near Ogies when the commission swepted on the the mine premises on Wednesday afternoon.

At a speech hearing of the Goldstone Commissioning Pretoria yesterday, police admitted the unit of ex-Koevoet men existed. But they denied the men were linked to violence, saying they were used to combat stock theft in the area.

The African National Congress says it has witnesses who will testify before the commission of the unit's role in the Boipatong slaughter.

Insidious truce ... a policeman stands guard at GwaMandala hostel

Continued on PAGE 2



# ANC calls off talks but doors still open

Sowetan 26/6/92

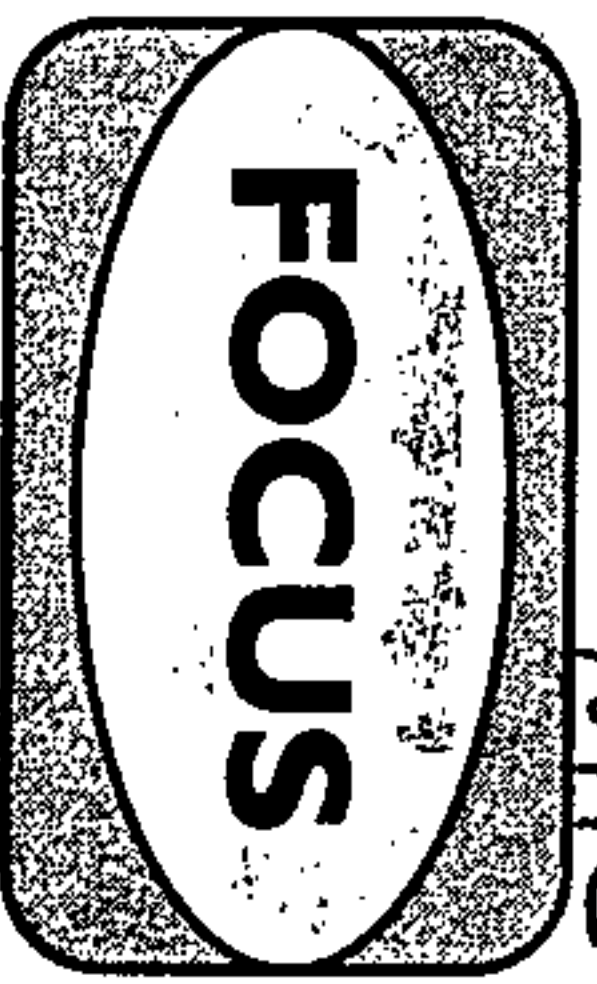
**THE African National Congress walked out of constitutional negotiations with the Government on Tuesday. But it did not slam the door shut.**

An emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee avoided issuing an ultimatum in a statement setting out its position in the light of what it perceives to be the Government's murderous double agenda.

Instead of the word "conditions", the statement used the more open-ended "demands". And, as ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told reporters, if the demands were "sufficiently met", the ANC would review its position on negotiations.

The door, then, is open to compromise, to the Government meeting the ANC half way.

That, a senior NEC member said on Wednesday, was the political rationale behind an otherwise heated document, which blamed



the "FW de Klerk regime" for the massacre in Boipatong township last week and for bringing South Africa "to the brink of disaster".

The problem, the ANC man acknowledged, would come in interpreting what is "sufficient".

De Klerk might be persuaded to agree to a phasing out of the squalid single men's hostels, so many of which the Inkatha Freedom Party have converted into de facto barracks.

Many attacks on township residents - such as the one in Boipatong - have been launched from these hostels.

A ban could be imposed on the carrying of dangerous weapons, a measure that would be aimed di-

rectly at Inkatha.

He might also entertain the possibility of international peace monitors or fact-finders. But this would be complicated as, first, the Government rejects any political intervention in its internal affairs and, second, it would not be easy to find a foreign personage or an organisation considered credible and independent by all sides.

The other ANC demands are the termination of all covert operations, including alleged security force hit squads; the disbanding of the army's Special Forces, South Africa's SAS units; the suspension and prosecution of officers involved in political violence; the release of all political prisoners; the repeal of repressive legislation.

For the Government to accede to these demands would amount to admitting that it has been conducting a duplicitous strategy of negotiations on the one hand and calculated mass murder (7 000 having died in political violence since

early 1990) on the other.

Compounding the difficulties in finding "sufficient" compromise is that after Boipatong political decisions can no longer be taken behind closed doors by men in suits. The political temperature outside is near boiling point and no insulation can stop the heat from penetrating the negotiating salons.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions, the ANC's most powerful ally, has been issuing statements this week significantly more hardline than its parent political organisation.

Pressures on the Government side not to compromise come, first, simply from its own political need not to be seen to be bowing to "the communists"; second, from its security forces, whose most powerful and sinister elements still pursue a policy of open season on the ANC; and, third, from its Inkatha allies, whom the Government cannot afford to antagonise unduly. - *The Independent, London.*



# The rot started in 1984

*Sowetan* 26/6/92 (327)

**CAUGHT** in a storm over Boipatong and shaken by the breakdown of constitutional talks, President F.W. de Klerk has warned he will not allow South Africa "to fall into a state of anarchy".

But many black South Africans, not least the relatives of the 45 who were butchered, many of them as they slept in Boipatong on the night of June 17, could be forgiven for thinking that anarchy had already arrived.

"In many, many areas of South Africa . . . there is already anarchy," said Paul Perreira, a re-

searcher at the South African Institute for Race Relations.

Since 1984, clashes involving police, the power struggle centred on the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party have killed more than 14 000 black people.

De Klerk's "primary responsibility is to protect life and limb," Perreira said. "That he is not doing."

Pretoria's inability to stamp out the violence it suppressed so effectively before De Klerk, is no evidence of collusion, in Perreira's view.

De Klerk is gaining nothing by

violence, Perreira believes, pointing to the drop in his approval rating among blacks from 22 per cent in 1990 to its current eight percent.

Although he accepts that right-wingers, including security force officers, could be fanning violence to divide and rule blacks, Perreira refuses to heap all blame on a mysterious "third force".

Perreira highlights what he calls "strategies of ungovernability".

Soweto teachers at a post-mortem into disastrous exams results last year lamented that when children mounted protests in June 1976, parents had abrogated their

responsibility to lead.

The consequences were encapsulated in the *Sowetan* in a report on what it is like to ride a notorious train to Daveyton.

Young ANC comrades use one coach as an indoctrination centre, haranguing passengers and forcing them to sing ANC songs, the report said.

Five people were shot dead at Daveyton station last week. The comrades had "harrassed the wrong person," passengers told the *Sowetan*.

Then, he said, perpetrators of violence were not being prosecuted. — *Sapa-AFP*.

**A GOLDSTONE**

Commission delegation found trunks containing R1 rifles and ammunition at Greenside Collieries Mine near Witbank on Wednesday, it was disclosed yesterday.

The commission's investigating officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Henk Heslinga, told a preliminary hearing in Pretoria yesterday that they had been told a group of people involved in recent acts of violence at Boipatong were staying at the mine premises.

He said a delegation from the commission, including lawyers, went to in-

# Goldstone team finds arms at mine

investigate.

They found a group of about 40 former Koevoet members staying in a security building of the mine.

They found three firearms in the building and later, about a kilometre away at the quarters of white policemen in charge of the group, trunks with

R1 rifles and ammunition were found.

Earlier, counsel for the African National Congress, Mr Gys Rautenbach, told the commission that the ANC had received information that suspicious people were at the mine premises.

The information was

that these people were armed, carried radios, spoke a foreign language and were kept separately from the mine's workers.

Rautenbach said the ANC was not alleging the group was responsible for the Boipatong violence, but the organisation had received information citing

members of the group as having been involved in the violence at the Vaal Triangle township.

"That is why we say we are concerned and the matter should be investigated so that proper findings could be made," Rautenbach said.

Counsel for the Minister

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of Law and Order, the South African Police and employees of the SAP, Mr Phillip Hattingh, denied that members of the group, who he conceded were former members of Koevoet, were involved in acts of violence at Boipatong. SA Press Association.



# Striking while the mood is hot

By Ferial Haffajee and Linda Rulashe  
w/mail 26/6-217/92.  
THE tidal wave of protest by the country's workers is a reaction to depressed living standards—but it could be the driving force behind the push for political change.

In the past month, cities have been paralysed by huge marches. Strikes are crippling state health services around the country and the South African Broadcasting Corporation has been hit by a month-long strike. At Toyota in Durban, a strike has cost the company millions in turnover.

Disputes teetering on strike action have erupted in the clothing, metal, commercial and paper industries, potentially involving more than half a million workers. There is also rising militancy around pay talks in the strategic rail and municipal sectors.

The marches and the strikes are essentially a spontaneous popular reaction to economic slump, but they are steadily acquiring a political flavour.

At a "living wage" conference next week, the Congress of South African Trade Unions will attempt to integrate the economic demands of the various affiliates in a "systematic and co-ordinated way", said Cosatu's Neil Coleman.

"The mood is peaking so fast that it would be silly not to harness it," he said, adding that it was Cosatu's intention "to unseat the government" and force elections as soon as possible. "Only through mass action will the government be forced to relinquish power."

On July 3, Cosatu, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party will set a final date for a general strike. Cosatu has also set up an action committee to co-ordinate its "Campaign for Democracy" which is aimed at securing elections. Cosatu hopes to maintain the militancy on the ground by including bread and butter issues in this campaign.

During recent marches workers brandished traditional assegais and spears, makeshift AK47s and steel pipes. Posters called on President FW de Klerk to resign and accused senior ministers of being "cowboys and crooks".

On Monday, a march by more than 20 000 National Union of Metalworkers members disrupted Johannesburg when workers claimed entire streets and dared impatient motorists to cross their lines. On Wednesday, 15 000 railway workers marched in Johannesburg to Transnet offices. In the past weeks, 10 000 clothing workers, most of them women, have marched on employers' offices around the country and 50 000 conservative municipal workers have also staged protests in city centres.

Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union members will hold countrywide marches on Monday as a follow-up to weekly protests they have held since June 12. "We want to replace the old and decaying order which is disastrous to our economy and our people," said the union's Sipho Kubheka.

## Weekly Mail Reporter

DAVS after a former African National Congress prisoner returned to South Africa, he was fleeing from police "intelligence operatives".

Solly Bheki Ngomezulu told the Goldstone Commission this week that he believed he had been employed by a cosmetic company, but discovered that the "company" was in fact "the intelligence service".

He described how he was blindfolded, driven around in a car and taken to a house in the Free State, where he was put in an empty room and told to write a statement about ANC arms caches.

Ngomezulu said he managed to escape from the house by diving like "a warhead coming out of a pistol" through a window and running away.

The Free State house has been exposed by *The Weekly Mail* as being connected to a covert police operation in the Vaal.

Ngomezulu said that on February 17, his first day back in South Africa, someone called "Robert" came to his Soweto house and offered him a job at a company called AP Cosmetic Products. "Robert" claimed to have been in exile with Ngomezulu.

The next day, "Robert" picked him up and they drove to Orlando East and then to the Ultra City station on the Pretoria highway. There, Ngomezulu met "Robert's boss" — a tall white

# Goldstone witness thought he was selling cosmetics

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26/6-217192

man called "Jan". "Jan" questioned Ngomezulu and asked him to write a "biography" about what had happened to him in exile. Ngomezulu was also asked who the chief ANC representative in Angola was and whether he had been in Quattro (a prison camp). "I started to have broad suspicions of the company," he told the commission.

Ngomezulu was asked to write down what he knew about DLBs (dead letter boxes — jargon for arms caches) belonging to the ANC and about the ANC's underground structures. He said he then realised that he was in the hands of the "intelligence service", adding that he decided "to comply to each and every order... because when I was in exile I was made to understand these things of Askaris (turned ANC guerrillas)".

Ngomezulu said after the meeting he was driven on a road "which had a bridge on the top". He was ordered to lie down on the back seat of the car and a towel was placed around his head.

When the car stopped, he was told to get out and was led into a small room in a house, where he was told to write his "academic biography".

"Jan" then arrived with his "boss", who greeted him in Sotho, Ngomezulu testified. During cross-examination, counsel for the South African Police, Phillip Hattingh SC, asked Ngomezulu whether a policeman attending the hearing, Lieutenant General PJ Potgieter, was this "boss". Ngomezulu replied: "You can't deny that you spoke to me in Sotho outside the conference room." Potgieter denied this.

Ngomezulu continued that the two men had told him that if he wanted a "vendetta" they would help him and provide him with "firearms training".

He said he had written a statement for them in which he identified DLBs. He had described one at the Komati Bridge, but "I was just writing something out of the blue".

"Robert" then told him that they would travel to Komati, near the Mozambique border, so that

Ngomezulu could point out the area. He realised that once the statement had been read he "would be in for it", so he decided to run away. He told a woman whom he had heard being called "Ouma" that he needed to empty his portable toilet, waited for an opportunity and then jumped out of a window.

Ngomezulu said he had reported these events to the ANC and the South African Council of Churches. He then told his story to *The Weekly Mail* and managed, with the newspaper's journalists, to locate the house in which he was held.

At the hearing, Ngomezulu was asked to identify the house in a series of photographs. The only definite identification he made was of the colour of the carpet and the type of curtains in the room that he allegedly occupied.

Ngomezulu said the police were trying to fool him by refurnishing the room. He said the room had been unfurnished at the time he was held captive and, therefore, he could not clearly identify the furnished room in the photographs.

Commissioner R Wise SC asked the parties' lawyers to get a positive identification of the house, "since they would have been wasting a great deal of time should this be the incorrect house under discussion". *The Weekly Mail* journalist Drew Forrest was requested to identify the "safe house".

The inquiry was then postponed to July 29.



# De Klerk Forced To Flee Boipatong



By David B. Ottaway  
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BOIPATONG, South Africa — Hundreds of furious residents forced President de Klerk out of this tense black township Saturday, chasing his car through the dusty streets and shouting, "Go away" and "Shoot, shoot."

Shortly after his hasty departure, police opened fire without warning and at close range on a crowd that had gathered in a field inside the township. At least three people were killed and 20 seriously wounded, according to a journalist who witnessed the incident. Armed residents living in nearby homes then responded with sniper fire, leading to a shootout that lasted well over 15 minutes, the witness said.

Foreign diplomats and officials of the African National Congress, the main black group involved in negotiations with de Klerk's government to end South Africa's apartheid system of white rule, said they feared that the recent spate of killings here could help trigger a new black uprising similar to those in 1976 and 1985.

A visibly angry de Klerk told reporters outside Boipatong later that he had been shocked by what he had seen and charged that the protest was a "very efficiently planned" attempt to wreck his visit. He said he would not allow South Africa to slip into a state of anarchy and left open the possibility of reimposing a state of emergency.

"If necessary, and we have tried to avoid it at all costs, we will have to look beyond the present measures to maintain law and order," he said. Asked whether he meant he was considering a new state of emergency, he replied, "It will be a very sad day if we are forced to go back to that." His government would be examining "various possibilities" but he did not elaborate.

any other while South African leader had made such a gesture. The ANC had issued a statement before his arrival denouncing his visit as "a cynical public relations exercise" and saying he was not welcome. "We demand action, not de Klerk's crocodile tears."

Furious residents who blamed his security forces for the massacre were clearly determined to let de Klerk know he was not welcome in the township. "We don't want to see de Klerk. It's his government killing most black people," said 35-year-old resident Meshak Dekelidi. "We blame him, de Klerk," said Eva Moleofane, 81, who was wearing an ANC cap and T-shirt.

Anger and frustration among ANC supporters has been mounting steadily over the past month, with township residents growing more vocal in their conviction that de Klerk has been using the security forces to aid the ANC's chief rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party of Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Most of the townships here in the so-called Vaal Triangle, a heavy industrial center 50 miles south of Johannesburg, already resemble miniature war zones, with rocks and crude stone-and-tree barricades set up along the streets to deter police. Clashes have been increasing between ANC supporters and the security forces or Inkatha members.

Tensions between Inkatha and ANC sympathizers reached their height Wednesday when nearly 200 Zulu residents at a nearby hostel controlled by Inkatha allegedly rampaged through the township, killing at least 40 residents. The ANC says the toll now exceeds 50 dead.

Numerous residents alleged that local police aided the attackers, by bringing them to the township in armored police carriers and then by escorting them back to the hotel. In addition, they said whites were seen accompanying the killers as they rampaged through the township and the adjacent Joe Slovo squatter camp.

Last Saturday's confrontation between police and township residents after de Klerk's departure was triggered by the apparent police killing of a man whose body lay in a field surrounded by scores of riot policemen. Residents were seeking to get through the police lines to take the body away when several policemen opened fire, apparently without orders from their

Saturday's incident erupted as de Klerk's motorcade was passing through Boipatong and was besieged by angry residents on Bakosena Street, where dozens of residents died Wednesday night in this country's worst township massacre in years.

The crowd, which included youths brandishing stones, pressed to within a few feet of the motorcade while scores of plainclothes security men armed with pistols and automatic rifles sought to protect de Klerk. The president sat rigidly in the back seat of his car.

The motorcade then sped off down the dusty township streets to the main road outside, with shouting youths chasing it all the way.

De Klerk had come here to express his condolences to the families of the more than 40 victims who were hacked, speared, and shot to death in Wednesday night's mas-

South African journalist Allister Sparks, a former Washington Post special correspondent who witnessed the shooting, said he heard an officer repeatedly shouting in Afrikaans, the language of white Afrikaners, "I told you not to shoot without orders."

Sparks said the crowd had been taunting the policemen when several officers began firing with shotguns, and then others followed. In one case, he said, a policeman was only a yard away from the nearest demonstrators when he opened fire.

Sparks said he was pinned down on the ground for at least 15 minutes before he was able to get away. He said he counted "at least three dead" and 20 seriously wounded lying on the ground before he left.

The Washington Post

## Legalising Violence

Guardian/W

A YEAR ago, the Court of Appeals of the Republic of South Africa ruled that the prosecution of a defendant kidnapped by agents of that government in another country must be dismissed. Such a seizure, in violation of international law and disruptive of the comity among nations, was held to invalidate the criminal proceedings that followed. Last week, the Supreme Court of the United States took the opposite position in a case involving a Mexican physician wanted in connection with the murder of a U.S. Drug Enforcement agent, Enrique Camarena.

It may come as a surprise to many Americans, but courts in the United States have traditionally held that the manner in which a defendant is brought into U.S. territory is irrelevant to the question of whether he can be tried. Bounty hunters and others have, since the last century, brought fugitives across the border for trial. The courts have even refused to intervene when defendants have been kidnapped in one state and brought to trial in another.

The case decided last week differed from those precedents in several respects. The wanted man, Humberto Alvarez Machaul, is a Mexican captured in his own country, not a fugitive. The kidnapping was engineered and rewarded by U.S. government agents, not bounty hunters acting privately. The crime was committed in Mexico, although it was also a violation of U.S. law. And, of paramount importance, the United States has an extradition treaty

with Mexico, which is supposed to govern the transfer of individuals from one country to the other for trial.

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A six-man majority of the Supreme Court found none of these differences persuasive and after an excruciatingly lawyerly analysis ruled that the abduction does not violate the extradition treaty, because that document does not specifically prohibit kidnapping. They accepted the reasoning that while the pact ostensibly sets out the rules for returning fugitives, these rules are not exclusive, and that each nation retains the option of violence as an alternative. Chief Justice William Rehnquist, writing for the majority, does not applaud this alternative. But, he says, even if it is shocking and in violation of international law, it has no impact on the trial.

The U.S. government, of course, should never have authorized the kidnapping. It is a reckless act belying America's adherence to the orderly settlement of disputes and most dangerously inviting retaliation.

If the courts will not intervene, the responsibility is on the executive branch to abandon tactics that, if nothing else, put Americans at risk. And if the president persists in using the abduction option, he should not be surprised if countries with which the United States has extradition treaties press for amendment, clarification, and a firm assurance, as part of the treaty itself, that only lawful means will be used by U.S. agents to bring fugitives to justice.



## LABOUR BRIEFS

U/Mail 26/6 - 2/7/92  
**TGWU leader killed**

■THE Transport and General Workers' Union this week alleged that its eastern Cape acting chairperson, who was shot and killed on June 11 in Umtata, was the victim of a planned assassination. He was shot a close range by two men in combat uniform.

A TGWU organiser was also shot at on June 10, but was unharmed.

The union alleges that the shootings are the result of a dispute at the Transkei Road Transport Co-operation which is facing a blanket boycott by the community, in sympathy with 360 workers dismissed in August 1990 who are still fighting for compensation.

In other incidents, six buses

have been set alight in recent weeks, and the African National Congress has called on the military government to intervene.

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## CONSPIRACY THEORY

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FM 26/6/92

The ANC claims it has unearthed an NP plot to prevent the ANC from ever governing on its own. In an article to be published in the July edition of the ANC journal *Mayibuye*, it is claimed that there are two linked covert operations, code-named Springbok and Thunderstorm, and run by the Department of Military Intelligence.

The operations allegedly aim to weaken the ANC physically through sowing black-on-black violence and creating a climate of uncertainty. This would then be perceived by blacks as being the direct result of the ANC's unbanning. The result would be to weaken the ANC and force it into a coalition.

The source of the conspiracy claim is an unnamed ANC intelligence official.

A spokesman for Defence Minister Gene Louw says he has "no knowledge of these so-called plans." Law & Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze says he has no knowledge of a government or NP plan to orchestrate violence and promote destabilisation and anarchy. "In fact it is our avowed intent to do exactly the opposite," says Kotze.

He adds that the ANC should submit any evidence of operations of this kind to an independent body such as the Goldstone Commission and that it is particularly important to avoid unsubstantiated claims in the present tense climate.



# Municipal employees win right to hold meeting

Court Reporter

Municipal employees yesterday won an urgent application brought against the Johannesburg town clerk and management committee to invalidate the city council's decision to bar the employees from holding a protest meeting.

In terms of an agreement reached during an adjournment in the court proceedings, the Johannesburg Municipal Combined Employees Union will hold a protest and report-back meeting next week, rather than yesterday as planned, at the Civic Piazza.

Mr Justice N MacArthur heard the matter in the Rand Supreme Court, made the agreement an order of court, and awarded costs of the application to the union.

The union had planned a

3.30 pm report-back and protest meeting yesterday on the wage negotiations between the union and the municipality.

A request by the union to the town clerk to hold the meeting in the piazza was forwarded to the management committee, which turned it down. The union then brought an urgent interdict against the town clerk and the management committee to have the decision declared invalid.

The judge granted the application and ruled that the union could hold the meeting at 3 pm on Tuesday subject to certain conditions, including: that the meeting must end by 3.45 pm; union members are not to enter the council building; and the union marshals are to ensure proper and orderly conduct of the meeting. Other stipulations were included in the ruling.

**Massacre: Americans believe the allegations, not the denials, reports Hugh Rober**

# FY is losing the war of words

**P**RESIDENT de Klerk has described the ANC's allegation of Government complicity in the Boipatong massacre as a claim based on a "fundamental untruth". He may be right. But whether or not he is, the fact remains that he is losing the war of words which is raging in the United States over the issue, and over the ANC's decision to suspend negotiations.

Trendsetting newspapers like The New York Times reveal in editorial comment that they fully accept allegations of police involvement in the killings and urge Mr de Klerk to "make the police stop inciting the violence they are neant to prevent".

Even the Bush administration, which one must assume has at its disposal at last as many facts about Government involvement as to the haughty dispensers of editorial advice, is ambivalent. In the case of Pretoria's denials of police collusion, the Secretary of State, James Baker, has frankly acknowledged on TV he simply does not know what the truth is.

In the Senate, the well-disposed chairman of the foreign relations committee, Senator Paul Simon of Illinois, urges the parties to come together, but in the same breath encourages the Government "to work to control elements that have not been constructive in the past in the peace process."

And the US Conference of Mayors, which will largely determine the fate of the local sanctions which continue to bedevil efforts to rehabilitate South Africa's economic relationship with the US, roundly backed the ANC position and approved a resolution calling for continued sanctions. Individual mayors condemned police involvement at Boipatong as if it were a proven fact.

Does President de Klerk deserve this sort of treatment from Americans? Seen from their perspective, sadly, he does. Their view has nothing to do with distorted media reporting, or bias, or any of the other real or imaginary evils that many South Africans would cite as reasons for dismissing the American attitude.

And it has nothing to do with the South African embassy and its overworked staff in the U.S. They do what just about every other embassy in Washington acknowledges to be the most dynamic public relations job in the diplomatic corps, and they do it with energy and panache.

Rather, it has everything to do with an apparently indelible public impression here of a security apparatus which is unreliable, disobedient and politically malevolent, and it is an impression based on altogether reasonable deductions. Some examples:

Two days after the Boipatong killings, a Supreme Court judge criticised the police for sloppy work in assembling evidence against seven men accused of killing 38 people in Sebokeng in an equally ghastly massacre last year. Americans cite this as evidence of police bias.

When documents were produced earlier this year purportedly showing official involvement in the murder of community activists during the Botha oligarchy,

nothing apparently was done. Likewise, when covert police funding of Inkatha was exposed, and defiantly confirmed by Pik Botha, that incomparable master of political chutzpah, the perpetrators did not receive so much as a slap on the wrist. Americans — and not a few South Africans — were appalled.

When the Boipatong killings were made known, comment by SAP spokesmen, and by the Government, sought to put the blame for the massacre on the ANCs campaign of mass action. Not a word was said about allegations that Inkatha members actually did the killing. SAP spokesman Craig Koze was quoted in the US media as saying it was clear that the political temperature was pushed to "unacceptable" levels.

Thus implied that the ANC's mass action was the cause of the killing, rather than those who actually did the shooting, bludgeoning, and stabbing, and who were assisted by the police.

**Why, Americans ask, would the police seek to deflect blame on to**

the ANC, even before there had been time to conduct a proper investigation?

If, indeed, the police knew that the political temperature had been pushed "unacceptably" high, and knew from extensive past experience that violence typically was directed at squatters from a finite number of hostels, why were precautions not taken — more especially when, according to reports here, the police were warned an attack was imminent?

All these questions follow reports by organisations widely respected in the US — Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, and others, who have pointed fingers either at the security establishment, or rogue elements within those establishments who the Government is seen to be powerless to restrain.

All this raises what probably is going to be a crunch decision for the Government. Given the limited time, resources and sympathy available, there appears to be little prospect of turning around American public opinion.

This being so, I not arrived for the embrace what it shunned — the universal international monitor the situation to the the truth hence?

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Clearly, with the idea is to get away and stand the present circuit merely exacerbate and doubts that at the time being, Matt continues to enjoy a respect, if not admiration. But it is unlikely Sebokengs and Boi



-Americans believe the allegations, not the denials, reports Hugh Robertson

# is losing the war of words

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And the US Conference of Mayors, which will largely determine the fate of the local sanctions which continue to bedevil efforts to rehabilitate South Africa's economic relationship with the US, roundly backed the ANC position and approved a resolution calling for continued sanctions. Individual mayors condemned police involvement at Boipatong as if it were a proven fact.

Does President de Klerk deserve this sort of treatment from Americans? Seen from their perspective, sadly, he does. Their view has nothing to do with distorted media reporting, or bias, or any of the other real or imaginary evils that many South Africans would cite as reasons for dismissing the American attitude.

And it has nothing to do with the South African embassy and its overworked staff in the US. They do what just about every other embassy in Washington acknowledges to be the most dynamic public relations job in the diplomatic corps, and they do it with energy and panache.

Rather, it has everything to do with an apparently indehible public impression here of a security apparatus which is unreliable, disobedient and politically malevolent, and it is an impression based on altogether reasonable deductions. Some examples:

Two days after the Boipatong killings, a Supreme Court judge criticised the police for sloppy work in assembling evidence against seven men accused of killing 38 people in Sebokeng in an equally ghastly massacre last year. Americans cite this as evidence of police bias.

When documents were produced earlier this year purportedly showing official involvement in the murder of community activists during the Botha oligarchy,

nothing apparently was done. Likewise, when covert police funding of Inkatha was exposed, and defiantly confirmed by Pik Botha, that incomparable master of political chutzpah, the perpetrators did not receive so much as a slap on the wrist. Americans — and not a few South Africans — were appalled.

When the Boipatong killings were made known, comment by SAP spokesmen, and by the Government, sought to put the blame for the massacre on the ANC's campaign of mass action. Not a word was said about allegations that Inkatha members actually did the killing. SAP spokesman Craig Kotze was quoted in the US media as saying it was clear that the political temperature was pushed to "unacceptable" levels.

This implied that the ANC's mass action was the cause of the killing, rather than those who actually did the shooting, bludgeoning and stabbing, and who were assisted by the police.

Why, Americans ask, would the police seek to deflect blame on to

the ANC, even before there had been time to conduct a proper investigation?

If, indeed, the police knew that the political temperature had been pushed "unacceptably" high, and knew from extensive past experience that violence typically was directed at squatters from a finite number of hostels, why were precautions not taken — more especially when, according to reports here, the police were warned an attack was imminent?

All these questions follow reports by organisations widely respected in the US — Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, and others, who have pointed fingers either at the security establishment, or rogue elements within those establishments who the Government is seen to be powerless to restrain.

All this raises what probably is going to be a crux decision for the Government. Given the limited time, resources and sympathy available, there appears to be little prospect of turning around American public opinion.

This being so, has the "moment not arrived for the Government to embrace what it has consistently shunned — the use of some neutral international presence to monitor the situation and help get to the truth behind the violence?"

It is a demand made by the ANC, it is a proposal put to the United Nations this week by ANC president Nelson Mandela, and it is a concept supported by influential Americans such as Senator Simon in a resolution from the floor of the US Senate this week. It also ties in with the Bush administration's view of the UN as a new and decisive force in the resolution of conflict.

Clearly, with the backer's it has got, the idea is not going to go away and standing against it in the present circumstances, would merely exacerbate the suspicions and doubts that already exist. For the time being, Mr de Klerk continues to enjoy a degree of respect, if not admiration, in the US. But it is unlikely to survive more

Sebokengs and Boipatongs. □

# ANC calls for a day of mourning

By Rehana Rossouw

SOUTH 27/6-1/7/92

Dr Allan Boesak



MONDAY has been earmarked for a possible work stayaway in the Transvaal and a day of prayer in the Cape to mark the burial of the victims of last week's violence.

The ANC has called on whites to join blacks in a national day of mourning.

In a statement after a NEC meeting on Tuesday, the ANC said the government had brought South Africa to the brink of disaster.

The Boipatong massacre was "one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the actions

of the De Klerk government".

The organisation noted that between July 1990 and April 1992 there had been 261 attacks on township residents by hostel inmates, which led to 1 207 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

"In no modern state would any government survive if that was the situation," said ANC NEC member Mr Reginald September.

"We cannot talk to the government while the lives of black people are thought to be so cheap," said ANC Western Cape chairperson,

"Boipatong is not just a place — it is a condition of our people and our situation."

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ANC Codesa negotiator Mr Kader Asmal said the government had shown it was unwilling and incapable of controlling township bloodshed.

Instead of bringing to book the killers, it had resorted to declaring Boipatong an unrest area.

Journalists had been prohibited from taking photographs at Boipatong and had been instructed by police to leave the area.

THE ANC is calling for:

- The creation of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution;
- The establishment of an Inter-Government of National Unity;
- Terminate all covert operations including hit squad activity;
- Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces and detachments of foreign nationals;
- Suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence;
- Ensure all repression in the self-governing states, and the so-called independent states, is ended;
- Start phasing out hostels and

## ANC demands

- convert to family accommodation;
- Install fences around these establishments;
- Guard hostels with security forces permanently, monitor through multi-lateral peace structures and expel those who occupy them illegally;
- Ban cultural weapons in public
- Establish an international inquiry into Boipatong and international monitoring of violence;
- Release all political prisoners;
- Repeal all repressive legislation, including that recent passed.



# Nats must hear 'voice of own pain'

SOUTH 27/6-11/92

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**L**ET'S face it, the nationalist government has never willingly made concessions to the democratic movement. Reform initiatives under former President PW Botha addressed the symptoms rather than the cause of the country's problems — attempts to ease international pressure, sanctions and a failing economy.

Every step of the way, the Nats had to be bullied and cajoled into reform. Without any vision, they slowly adopted opposition party programs, piece by piece — keeping the NRP, PFP and now DP on the run.

Unable to take his "reform" any further than the tricameral system, Botha did not have the staying power to see the process through. Having risen through the ranks of the Nationalist Party, are there any indications that President FW de Klerk will be different?

After De Klerk's watershed speech of 1990, it looked like a change of heart and a good start. But even the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC (amongst others) were obvious moves that showed little imagination.

With the Codesa initiative, the Nats had at last come as far as the Progs of the seventies. Now, facing another crisis, De Klerk resorts to threats of "emergency regulations" — the old tendencies are starting to show again.

Fact of the matter is, power-sharing (never mind a transfer of power), is alien to the Nats. Through the years of apartheid they methodically and resolutely entrenched their control — in government, the judiciary and local government. Quite simply, any serious opposition was not tolerated.

When the Nats went to the negotiating table, the single purpose was to secure guarantees of minority rights for whites. And while the ANC argued for a simple transfer of power, the national liberation movement still made a number of compromises.

With those compromises rejected, the deadlock resulted. The ANC opted for mass action. The government's reaction was to call up the reservists and commandos.

Clearly, the government will not accept majority rule. At every stage they have been exposed in their attempts to force the ANC into an unholy alliance — as though trying to co-opt the ANC leadership.

Through decades of apartheid, the nationalist government met resistance with authoritarian measures. Now President F W de Klerk has threatened a state of emergency. Political correspondent TED MAGILL argues that the government cannot come to terms with the prospect of losing power:

This possibility the PAC is well aware of. Objectively, the interests of the government and ANC are inextricably linked. The ANC need the Nats to facilitate their smooth transition to power; the Nats cannot continue to rule without the ANC.

The Nats are playing "hard ball". Arrogant and completely recalcitrant, they went to Codesa 2 with an artificially strengthened hand. With sanctions lifted and De Klerk welcomed in the international community, it would appear the Nats felt that all was forgiven and they could enter negotiations on equal terms — conveniently forgetting the Trust Feed killings, corruption in the Department of Development Aid, Inkathagate, Goniwe, etc.

In the face of these scandals, nobody resigns, nobody is subjected to the process of law. Everything just carries on, setting a dangerous precedent for a future government.

And in parliament, the most outspoken ANC MP, Mr Jan van Eck, is suspended — by invoking some ancient parliamentary rule not used in over 100 years. When he requested two minutes of silence, to remember the victims of apartheid, they laughed him out of the house.

Add to this the Defence Amendment Bill which was recently bulldozed through parliament — in contempt of Codesa, after the ANC security commission objected.

And of course there was the referendum

result which the Nats interpreted as support for De Klerk's reform initiative. Now, there is talk of the Nats going into a democratic election, TO WIN.

De Klerk's visit to Boipatong was not out of concern for the victims of the violence, but rather an attempt to familiarise himself with the people from whom he naively hopes to win votes.

And with Angolan elections set for late September, one wonders whether the Nats are not hoping to see Savimbi into power with some or other covert South African aid, which would not so easily be achieved under the multi-party eyes of an interim government. This is reported to be a real possibility, according to former military intelligence operative Mr Nico Basson, who played a central role in South Africa's intelligence during the Namibian elections.

Are the Nats simply incorrigible? Anyone would think THEY were leading the liberation struggle. Are they completely insensitive to the pain and suffering, the pent-up anger, pain and frustration, of millions of disenfranchised South Africans?

It would seem the answer is "Yes".

De Klerk comes out of Boipatong, as though suddenly confronted for the first time, with the anger of black South Africans. His reaction — emergency regulations! Is he not capable of moving forward and leaving behind the authoritarianism?

Let's face it, the Nats have never apologised for apartheid. Everytime the subject is brought up, they say apartheid did not work, implying there was nothing morally wrong with it — it was just another system which failed. And they try to avoid the matter, saying it will not help to "dig up the past".

"Nobody said it was going to be easy," everybody is now saying. In the light of the government's arrogance, intransigent and recalcitrant attitude, those words are well-spoken — and the ANC's mass action campaign is not a minute too soon.

Given the history of the nationalist government, there is no indication of a softening heart, no sign of remorse or apology. The Nats, as usual, will only respond to the force they know best — and it's not the voice of reason — it's the voice of their own pain, that they must be made to hear.



# Government

## ANC's memorandum is delivered to De Klerk

STAR 27/6/92

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ANC leader Nelson Mandela has outlined, in a memorandum to President de Klerk, several incidents which "proved" Government collusion in the ongoing violence.

The memorandum was delivered to De Klerk's office in Pretoria yesterday after attempts to arrange a meeting between the two leaders collapsed. The ANC, in breaking off negotiations on Tuesday, said it would hand its demands to the Government but would not enter into any discussions.

South Africa was on the brink of disaster because of the crisis in the negotiation process and "the continuing direct and indirect involvement of the NP Government, the State security forces and the police in the violence".

### Failure to act

Mandela said the Boipatong massacre was a tragic culmination of the Government's practices and policies. "Ministerial defences of the SAP and your Government's failure to act against the KwaMadala hostel make Government collusion an inescapable conclusion," he said.

The Government, he said, had legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons and the majority of deaths had been caused by cultural weapons.

"In those few instances where security force personnel and police, or IFP members have been arrested, how do we explain the fact that inadequate police investigation is the basis for their acquittal, laughably light sentences and ridiculously low bail?"

Mandela noted the acquittal of seven accused in the Sebokeng trial and the evidence of the investigating officer in the Trust Feed massacre trial which showed extensive cover-up.

"The evidence shows that either the NP Government, even at its top

**ESTHER WAUGH**  
**Political Reporter**

levels, sanctions such activities or that it is powerless to restrain the very force it created," he said.

All religions recognised reconciliation and repentance, he said. Mandela added: "I have avoided imposing such requirements in the hope that you and your Government would reach that recognition on your own."

The Government's persistence in portraying the crisis as a creation of the ANC was "unhelpful and extremely dangerous". Mandela accused the Government of placing party political interests above national interest by trying to minimise the seriousness of the crisis.

Mandela said the crisis in the negotiations process stemmed primarily from the Government "pursuing the path of embracing the shell of a democratic South Africa while seeking to ensure that it is not democratic in content".

He noted that in a letter, written from prison in 1989, he said the two issues which had to be reconciled were the demand for majority rule as well as the insistence by whites for checks and balances which would mean that majority rule was not domination by blacks.

The crux of the deadlock in negotiations was the failure of the Government to face up to the need for the conciliation of these two issues. Mandela said the Government had chosen to reject internationally accepted democratic principles which defined a democracy — by equating majority rule with black domination.

The negotiations deadlock would remain unresolved for as long as the Government insisted on a minority veto. "We are of the view that the response and concrete steps by your Government to these demands will play a critical role in determining the direction and pace with which bona fide negotiations can take place."

collusion 'proved'



## **Biko family 'not surprised'** (327)

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Relatives of black consciousness leader Steve Biko are "not surprised" by claims that he died after an assault by security police. The family was responding to claims by Lieutenant-Colonel John Horak, a former police spy and journalist, who told Vrye Weekblad Biko was beaten up by a man who is now a police colonel. Horak claimed Biko's death in 1977 was a result of this assault. — Ecna.

Stan 27/6/92

# Rambo turns into PC Plod — and Codesa gets arrested

**I**N THE 1980s, if it was so much as suspected that a "terrorist" base had been identified, the full might of the South African military would be unleashed against it. Often, such targets were suburban houses in far-flung foreign cities. They were bombed and blitzed with complete ruthlessness and relative precision.

Acting upon necessarily untested information, commandos stormed buildings from Gaborone to Mbabane, Maputo to Harare. These were extreme but not unusual cases. The circumstantial evidence against the occupants was considered to be so grave — they were believed to be somehow connected with the killing of South African civilians — that they were fair game. They were killed even before questioning, if necessary.

Within the country it was not necessary to use aircraft, but the tactics were no less effective: dawn raids, detentions and brilliant detective work saw to it that the attrition rate for ANC guerillas was remarkably high.

But now, in the 1990s, something has changed in the modus operandi of these security forces that were once held in awe and fear around the world.

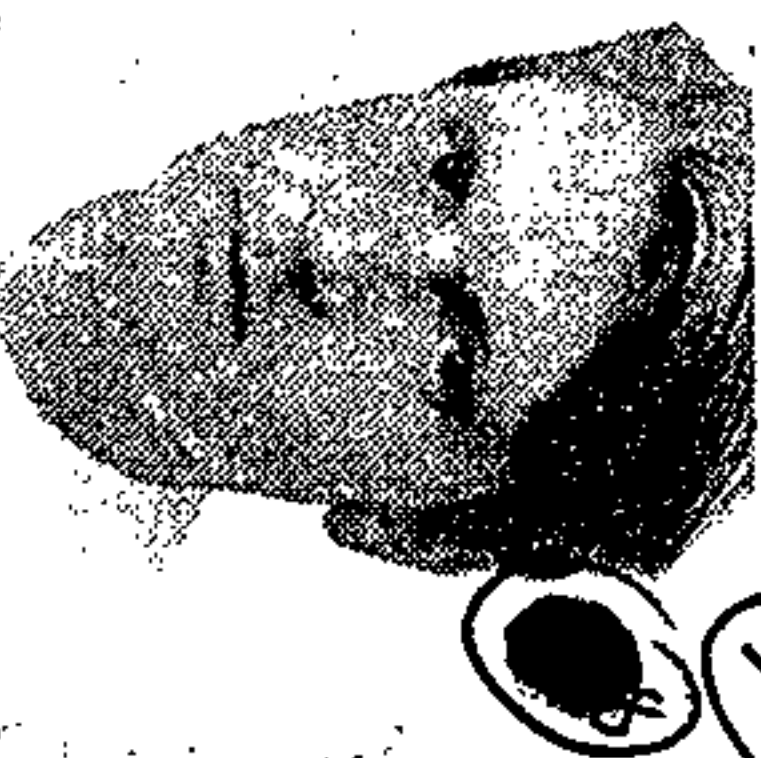
There is overwhelming circumstantial evidence that certain clearly identifiable hostels in townships here at home are being used as bases for terrorism — terrorism, that is, in its proper sense of violence and coercion against civilians. In terms of body counts, this terrorism is of a scale never before experienced in this country.

Again and again, inmates are linked directly by eyewitnesses to massacres of mind-numbing proportions. The Independent Board of Inquiry estimates that between July 1990 (when the township carnage began in earnest in the Trans-

## UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

**SHAUN**

**JOHNSON**  
SMA 21/6/92



**IN THE 1990s, something has changed in the modus operandi of the South African security forces that were once held in awe and fear around the world.**

vaal) and April this year, a minimum of 261 attacks on township dwellers was launched from some 15 hostels. At least 10 of these attacks, claiming 50 lives, came from Boipatong's KwaMadala hostel. This was before the latest and ghastliest bloodbath.

Again and again, huge arms caches are found inside. Media reports alone show that in the same 22-month period, the following weapons were confiscated from hostels: 58 AK-47s, nine revolvers, 18 pistols, 361 rounds of ammunition, and "truckloads" of knives, spears and the like.

But in the case of the hostels, the response of the security forces is strictly by-the-book, gentlemanly, even diffident. Police spokesmen explain that their men are holding "discussions" with the occupants of the latest hostel named as

a fortress and billet for bloodshed.

There is "some resistance" from the inmates, they say by way of explanation for their extraordinarily sensitive behaviour. They go out of their way to return weapons which they say they have ascertained were not used to commit crimes. It is as if Rambo has suddenly turned into PC Plod.

Savage murderers must be quite pleasantly surprised to discover that they can, en masse, hack, gouge and shoot dozens of civilians to death and expect to get away with it.

If they enjoyed the experience, they will probably be keen to repeat it and — given that the chances of punishment seem demonstrably to be so low — will encourage others to join in the fun. Out there, there must by now be hundreds of veterans of such brave campaigns — enough to form a society and swap reminiscences of massacre techniques.

Now there is tremendous surprise and anguish in the land at the fact that negotiations at Codesa have temporarily broken down. The reaction is hopelessly naive. What is being sought at Codesa is a peaceful negotiated settlement — an alternative to bloodshed. Instead, since negotiations started, there is less peace than ever before, and more bloodshed.

The Government insists on retaining exclusive control of the security forces, and therefore retains the responsibility for maintaining the security of all South African citizens. It is failing utterly to do so. It has not even kept its months-old, solemn promise to seal off the hostels.

Now, you try telling the bereaved of Boipatong why Codesa is such a jolly fine idea. They'll want to see some murderers convicted first.



# KOEVOST IS UNDER FIRE

By DESMOND BLOW

## Massacre: ANC has more witnesses

THE ANC will bring more witnesses before the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria tomorrow to substantiate allegations that former Koevoet counter-insurgency members were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

The ANC's attorney, Peter Harris, said yesterday that the ANC had informed him they would produce more witnesses.

This follows the startling evidence given before the commission on Friday by a witness produced by the ANC, "Ace" Mngomezulu, a security guard at Greenside Collieries mine where the former Koevoet unit was housed.

Mngomezulu told the commission that one of the former Koevoet members, Jeremiah Sekongu, had admitted to him in Sotho that the unit had taken part in the massacre.

While the hearing was in process, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, held a press conference placing the blame for the killings squarely on about half the residents of the Kwamadala Hostel.

He said that the trunk of arms found at the premises of the former Koevoet-unit were arms for the policemen in charge of the unit.

In reply to a question by City Press as to how a

crowd of 200 to 300 armed men had descended without warning on Boipatong from Kwamadala hostel, which was a fair distance away, the general said they had apparently crossed an open field.

Rev Paul Verryn of Peace Action earlier told City Press that he had passed on two warnings to Colonel Zik Gouws of Crime Intelligence shortly before the raid on Boipatong.

He said he had told Gouws one call was from Boipatong and the other from Sebokeng.

When pressed by City Press on why Colonel Gouws claimed he had only received a single warning about Sebokeng, when in fact he had received two warnings, Van der Merwe said that the SAP were investigating this as part of allegations that there had been a dereliction of duty.

Mngomezulu, a member of the ANC and the National Union of Mineworkers, said the mine's white security chief had also told him the unit had taken part in the killings.

But when Sekongu, a Nambian, later gave evidence he denied ever

there was no evidence to prove the former Koevoet unit had participated in the massacre, he found the circumstances of their presence in the nearby area very suspicious.

Meanwhile, a Boipatong resident who could be a key witness in the massacre is believed to have gone into hiding in fear of his life writes MONVABISI NOMADLO.

Meshaack "Teenage" Theane, a petrol attendant at Trek Filling Station near Kwamadala Hostel, was intensively questioned by police about the tragedy. Two days after the massacre he drew his pay and then disappeared.

According to his niece Maponso Theane, her uncle told the family that he saw the assassins on the Wednesday night.

"He told us that around 8 pm he saw a group of heavily armed men moving into Boipatong from the hostel."

Minutes later, realising the murderous aims of the group, he pressed an alarm at the garage to alert police," said Maponso, a 19-year-old matriotic student.

Theane told her that police arrived but had ignored his information and went off in another direction.

It is believed he told this to police who questioned him later.

SAP spokesman Colonel Dave Bruce said yesterday he had no knowledge of the Theane claims, but would make inquiries.



HEROES' WELCOME... ANC veterans Oliver Tambo (left) and Andrew Mlangeni salute the crowd. **POI ANDREWS MCHENKA**

## Echoes of 1955 in Kliptown

By MOSES MAMAILA

MORE than 10 000 ANC supporters yesterday gathered at the Freedom Square in Kliptown outside Johannesburg to celebrate Freedom Charter Day.

The open field, the scene of the adoption 37 years ago of the ANC's manifesto, the Freedom Charter, was turned into a hive of political activity. The crowd was emotionally charged and ran around the field when ANC

veterans arrived, led by the organisation's national chairman Oliver Tambo.

"It was at this spot that we held the Congress of the People, and adopted the Freedom Charter in June 1955," one veteran said.

Elderly people, ANC activists in the 1950s, were given "special" accommodation. Remembering the old days, the veterans sang their famous song: *Koloi ena ha ena mavili, Sutha wena Sutha wena*.



# Why ANC man's son joined KGB

S/Times 28/6/92

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By ERIC SINGH in Berlin and CHARIS PERKINS

**SOUTH** African-born Stephen Laufer, convicted as a Soviet agent in Berlin this week, was drawn into the KGB spy web by his Johannesburg jeweller father.

Laufer, 38, told a Berlin court this week that before he joined the Soviet secret service his father had accused him of not doing enough for the people of South Africa.

Mr Laufer was sentenced to 18 months suspended imprisonment and fined DM20 000 (R36 000) for supplying classified information to the KGB.

He told the court his upbringing in South Africa had played a major role in his decision to join the KGB.

He said that when he tried to leave the service of the KGB in 1990 he was blackmailed to stay on to protect his parents.

## Conspiracy

His father, Mr Erich Laufer, the son of German Jewish immigrants, grew up in South Africa and was a staunch member of the SA Communist Party — which went underground after it was banned in 1950 — and the African National Congress, which was banned 10 years later.

Stephen Laufer said repression under apartheid and his parents' involvement in covert politics had brought him face to face with conspiracy at an early age.

The Laufers went into exile in the early 70s, settling in Frankfurt in West Germany, where Erich Laufer worked as a representative of a South African diamond firm.

Stephen was educated at the Odenvaldschule where, he said, he was exposed to Marxism.

He subsequently became a firm believer in the theory of a classless society.

In 1977 the family moved to East Berlin, where Erich Laufer worked as a translator. Stephen decided to live in West Berlin where he studied history at the Free University. He later continued his studies in Coventry, paid for by his parents.

Communist Party stalwarts in South Africa said this week there had been a suspicion that Stephen's parents were spies, but there was no hard evidence

to prove it.

They both died in the late 80s.

The German state alleged that Laufer was in the pay of the KGB between 1977 and 1990.

It alleged he began his KGB activities while he was a student at the Free University.

Later he worked as a reporter in the popular press, on the titles Abend and Bild-Zeitung.

His job brought him into contact with leading personalities and politicians of the city.

His biggest break came in 1984 when he was appointed Lord Mayor Eberhard Diepgen's speech-writer, a post he held until Mr Diepgen's defeat in 1988.

## Denied

He was then appointed deputy spokesman in the press section of the US mission in West Berlin.

The state alleged that Laufer used these two positions to supply the KGB with secret information.

Laufer, however, denied it. He admitted working for the KGB, telling the court

he met his handler six times a year in East Berlin and was paid DM5 000 (R9 000) at each meeting.

He rejected the allegation that money was the motivating factor in his dealings with the KGB.

He said his guiding light was that the Soviet Union was a strong pillar of support for his people in South Africa in their fight against the apartheid regime.

His cover was blown when a former officer of the Stasi, the East German secret police, changed sides. Laufer was arrested in January 1991.



BUSH TREATMENT: Vet wild dog

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# International assessors will join Goldstone investigation this week

LONDON — A British academic and a former Indian chief justice will fly to SA on Thursday to start overseeing investigations into the Boipatong massacre.

Judge Richard Goldstone said at the weekend that because of the urgency of the ANC's mass action campaign he hoped new rules for police and crowd behaviour could be put into effect within three weeks. He named the international assessor in the Boipatong massacre probe as former Indian chief justice Judge Bhagwati.

The man who would evaluate the police probe was Reading University criminal justice director Prof Peter Waddington.

Five other top experts from the US and Britain would join five top SA counterparts in the Goldstone commission subcommittee probe into mass public demonstrations, beginning in Cape Town on July 9, Goldstone said. Immediate input would come from lawyers, psychologists and other experts who were now considering submissions from the ANC, Cosatu, municipalities and police on mass demonstrations.

Goldstone said the commission would draft legislation, for submission to government, on aspects of conduct. On the current potential for violence with the ANC's mass action campaign, the judge said he hoped for rules and agreement between the parties within three weeks.

Goldstone arrived in London last week from France where he had been probing the "absolutely fascinating" French sys-

CHRIS BATEMAN

tem of judicial checks on the police. He said SA could learn from the system.

In London, he is scheduled to meet UK Constabulary chief inspector Sir John Woodcock, the UK police's quality and service division head, Peter Martin, and top appeal court judges and barristers.

He will also see senior Home Office officials, Amnesty International researchers, Aid and Development minister Lynda Chalker and a member of the recent International Commission of Jurists mission to SA, John MacDonald QC.

Goldstone said he had been in almost daily contact with his commission.

He welcomed the "highly unusual" request by the SAP to have their Boipatong massacre probe evaluated by an outsider.

The commission's most important function would be to act as a catalyst to bring about a new culture of policing in SA, he said.

Goldstone said that after hearing of the Boipatong massacre in France, he had felt "deep anguish, concern and horror" that it could happen when it seemed the option of peace in SA was a reality.

He said he now felt a tremendous sense of urgency about his probe.

He said there had been 10 500 demonstrations in SA in the 18 months since President FW de Klerk's February 2 speech, three of them "violent".



**THREE** developments last week, unrelated but linked, have served to reaffirm public perception of police unreliability in curbing the violence.

These developments, coming on the eve of the mass funeral today of the victims of the Boipatong massacre, not only erode the remaining credibility of the police but heighten tensions in the affected areas.

Vulnerable communities, who see the police as part and parcel of the raiding impis, are looking elsewhere for protection - military wings of their liberation movements.

It is a serious indictment on the country's police force that responsible people such as priests should feel compelled to stand up and say, just as Reverend Ernest Sotsu said at a memorial service last Thursday, that people should form defence units and go to war instead of relying on the police and "their Satanical state" for protection.

The accusation of bias and or indifference is rejected by the police. But the lack of progress in the investigations of attacks such as Boipatong and other massacres, as opposed to the swift responses by the same police force when a white farmer or his wife is killed, are quoted by the public as proof of bias.

In one of these developments, the National Peace Committee, at an emergency meeting, resolved that individuals from the private sector would be appointed to monitor police activities "of a sensitive, violence related nature".

*Soweto 29/6/92*

**O**n Wednesday, an investigation team of the Goldstone Commission raided a house at the Greenside Collieries Mine in Witbank after receiving information from the ANC, linking people there with the Boipatong killings.

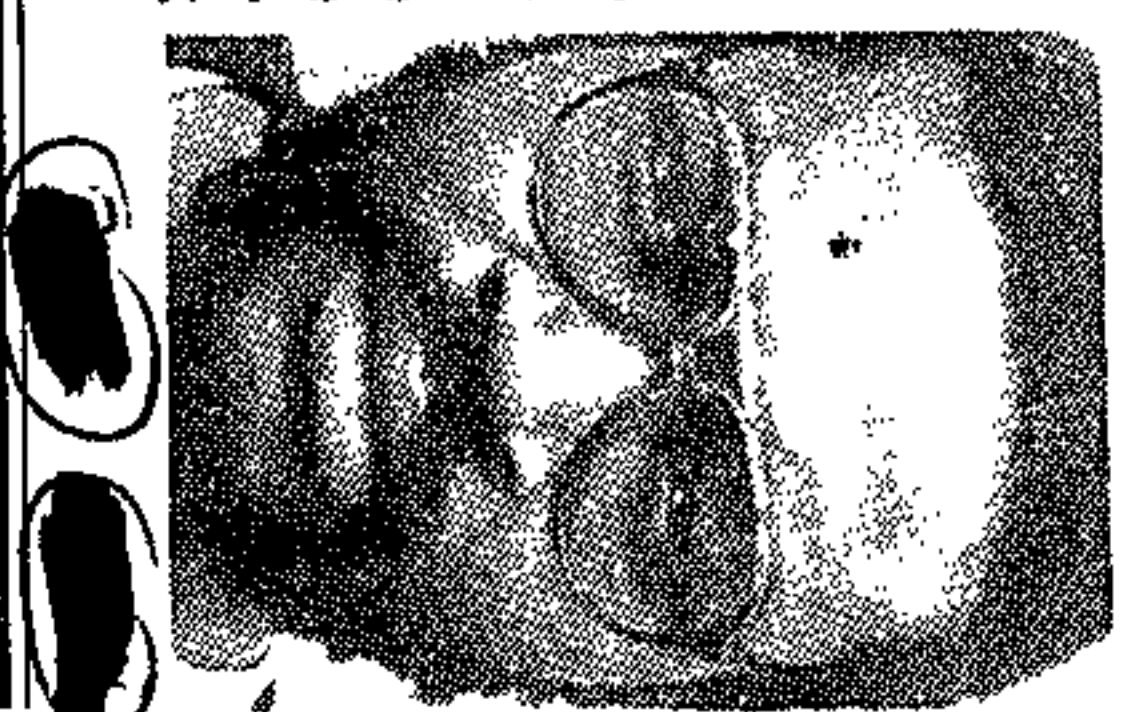
The team found ex-Koevoet members and an arsenal of weapons.

Koevoet is a notorious unit of the South African Police which was used in Namibia to torture civilians in the anti-Swapo war.

In another development, a Boipatong resi-

# Why cops are losing credibility

In this fourth part of our series on the role of the police and their handling of investigations into the ongoing violence, Sowetan Investigations Editor MATHATHA TSEDU (right) looks at why police continue to lose credibility and respect in the black townships.



dent who works for Unipark Motors situated at the entrance to the township and opposite KwamMadala Hostel, said he saw the raiding impis going into Boipatong and raised alarm through a special button linked to the police station.

Police, he said, arrived on the scene within 15 minutes but failed to act.

He said they left, only to return later and took him and a security guard to a nearby factory from where they could not see what was happening in the township.

He said he went back to the filling station in time to see the impi returning to the hostel in

the company of police.

Police spokesman Major Ray Harrald has refused to comment on the allegations, saying this may jeopardise ongoing investigations.

He instead called on the man and other people who may have information about the massacre to make statements to the police.

"We are getting no co-operation from the residents of Boipatong", he said, blaming the ANC for the lack of co-operation.

Harrald's dilemma of public disinterest in providing police with information sums up the public perception of the role police play in the violence.

As illustrated by the three developments, the fact that even the NPC has expressed what amounts to a vote of no confidence in the police's ability to deal with "violence related" situations indicates the depth of the problem.

**S**till in the Vaal, when State President FW de Klerk was chased out of the tiny township 10 days ago, police shot and killed a man who they said was chasing another with a panga.

The police later shot at a crowd of people who were apparently stopping them from taking the body of the dead man away.

They killed two more people and injured at

least 18 others.

The police said they fired shots because the people were refusing a mortuary attendant to carry the body away.

**A**s they were doing this, a team of 200 "crack" detectives was being refused entry into KwamMadala Hostel by inmates.

These were men suspected of killing (at that time) 39 people but no shots were fired by the police, and no one was injured.

To date, only five men are known to have been held for questioning.

This reinforces the belief that police are lenient in dealing with hostel dwellers.

This is despite the fact that hostel inmates have been implicated in at least 261 attacks on township residents between July 1990 and April this year, resulting in at least 1 207 deaths.

KwamMadala Hostel had been responsible for 10 attacks in which 50 people were killed. This was until April this year and prior to the Boipatong massacre.

In these attacks - which include attacks on train commuters - police arrested at least 40 people in connection with at least seven incidents.

All the attackers were hostel dwellers.

**T**oday, Boipatong gathers to mourn and bury its dead who include children, youths, women and men.

They have joined the long list of victims of what has now come to be conceptualised as violence.

And as the thousands gather for the mass funeral, uppermost in people's minds all over the country is where will the attackers hit next?

Added to that is the question: When will those responsible for the more than 7 000 deaths in the past two and half years be arrested and brought before the country's courts for justice to take its course?

● Tomorrow we look at the role played by Soweto hostels in the violence.



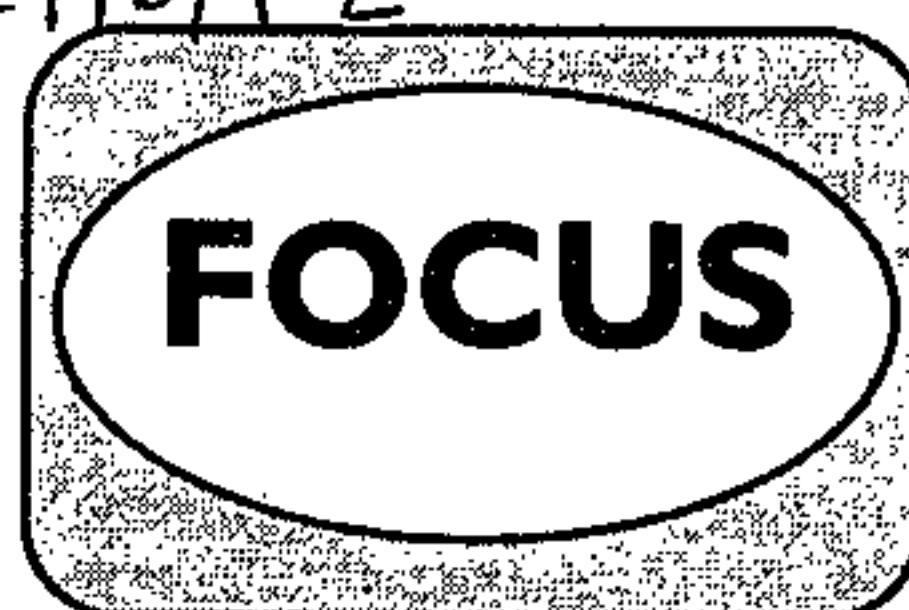
# Background to the Boipatong massacre

Sawetan

29/6/92

A Wits academic who has been studying the violence in the townships, places the Boipatong massacre in context. **BABYLON XEKETWANE**, a sociology masters student, questions the role of the police after 39 people were ruthlessly murdered.

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**THE image of the South African Police has once more been thrown into a crisis of credibility. Their behaviour in Boipatong before and after the massacre leaves much to be desired.**

How could one explain the fact that it took them several days to assign a team of 200 detectives to negotiate the detention of six people after an impi of more than 300 men raided Boipatong and killed 39 men, women and children?

While we applaud that the police did act, we are still surprised that mass arrests of the murderers did not take place on the day of the massacre.

But it should not be surprising when we remember that the Boipatong massacre follows the pattern of other slaughters of blacks around the country where clear police support of the attackers was demonstrated.

The Boipatong massacre occurred a few weeks after Mr Justice Wilson and Mr Justice Didcott had pronounced about the role of the police in the current violence.

In his judgment at the end of the Trust Feed massacre case, Justice Wilson called for an independent inquiry into the involvement of police officers in "counter-revolutionary strategies as well as police cover-ups."

Eleven people were killed after an order given by Captain Brian Mitchell who was later given 11 death sentences.

Mr Justice Wilson's call was fur-

ther strengthened by Justice Didcott's assertion that certain crimes and planned murders had been perpetrated by the security forces in defiance of the law.

The allegations against the police are not new.

Apart from the Trust Feed case, there has been other strong confirmation of police complicity with Inkatha.

The "Inkathagate Scandal" is a case in point.

Inkathagate lent credence to accusations that the security forces have aided armed attacks by Inkatha members on innocent people whose views were opposed to those of Inkatha.

In 1991 2 000 people died in what State President FW de Klerk calls black-on-black violence, giving support to those who assert that inherent tribalism makes blacks unfit to be stewards of peace and democracy.

One other case in which security forces are alleged to have aided anti-progressive forces connected to the IFP is that of the Ermelo-based "Black-Cats" gang which was involved in violence against the residents of Wesseltown.

A member who defected and gave evidence to the Goldstone Commission was assassinated by professionals whose methods and pattern resembled those used by the faceless killers who strike at will in trains, taxis, shebeens and night vigils and then evaporate without trace.

It is no exaggeration to assert that South Africa has one of the

best police forces in Africa. It has uncovered sophisticated political operations in the past. It has acted with precision and with lightning speed to apprehend the killers when the victims were either white farmers or white policemen.

However, now that the victims are overwhelmingly black the same force drags its feet instead of solving the problem.

It appears that a very special culture is prevalent within the security forces.

Jacques Pauw calls it the "Total Onslaught Ideology Culture," conceived from the days of "Total Onslaught" when everything that represented black political aspiration was said to be communist inspired.

It is this culture that is responsible for police connivance at IFP violence and their unwillingness to act against Inkatha and others who are against progressive forces.

This culture is embedded in police training manuals that have been obscured from public scrutiny for decades.

It is not surprising that the arms confiscated by the police were giving back to Inkatha on the eve of De Klerk's address to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

It is against this background that the release of Abel Shange, a member of the KwaZulu Police, should be viewed.

Shange was dubbed a "beast in a policeman's clothing" by the judge who sentenced him to 27 years imprisonment.

Shange served only nine months

of his sentence before the "Vlok virus" invaded the computer community and saw him released, to the dismay of the community in and around KwaMashu.

Earlier there had been strong demands for the removal of Mr Adriaan Vlok and Mr Magnus Malan from the Cabinet.

It was argued that De Klerk was unable to rid himself of them.

Vlok still remains controversial: How does one explain the "Vlok virus"? It is ironic that this "bona fide computer error" favours what most South African academics call the Government's "surrogate force."

The slaughter of hundreds of blacks by faceless killers every month will not stop until this culture is changed.

We should not be fooled by the police propaganda of searching the hostels.

Madala Hostel in Alexandra, for example, appears to have been searched as a ploy to divert attention from the Trust Feed judgment.

If the police are really unbiased, hundred of displaced families in Alexandra would have been returned to their homes. The intruders who drove them out would not only be forced to vacate these homes but would have been arrested and charged with trespassing and robbery.

It is true the Alexandra community heaved a collective sigh of relief when the SADF invaded the township.

It is against this background that the Boipatong massacre should be viewed. Up to the time of writing this article I had still not heard the security forces blaming Inkatha for the killings. But predictably, Craig Kotze of the Ministry of Law and Order blamed the ANC's mass action for creating an atmosphere conducive to such violence.



## Squatter camp's move on hold

THE settlement of the Zevenfontein squatters was suspended for at least 14 days on Friday after the Crocodile Valley Authority obtained the required support for its moratorium proposal.

This was said by Transvaal Provincial Administration spokesman Mr Olaus van Zyl in a statement issued in Pretoria.

The CVA received the support from, among others, the Zevenfontein community, the Randburg and Sandton town councils, and affected residents' associations. This was done before the TPA's 4pm Friday deadline, Van Zyl said.

The planned squatter settlements at Diepsloot West and Nietgedacht would proceed should the CVA not find an alternative site acceptable to all the concerned parties within the two weeks, he said. - Sapa



## Braving the cold



Thousands of people, including this girl in an ANC banner, braved the chilly weather to attend the Freedom Charter mass rally at the Kliptown Square on Saturday.

# I will lead defiance campaign - Mandela

AFRICAN National Congress' president Mr Nelson Mandela dared the Government to re-introduce a state of emergency during the Freedom Charter rally at Kliptown Square on Saturday.

He reiterated his earlier warning that he would personally lead a defiance campaign to bring National Party rule to an end.

Mandela later jettied off to Dakar in Senegal for talks with United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali before the all-important Organisation of African Unity conference.

The 37th anniversary rally was attended by more than 12 000 enthusiastic ANC supporters, including many of the old guard who were given a place of honour.

The veterans, who received a tumultuous welcome from the crowd, were led by ANC chairman Mr Oliver "OR" Tambo and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Andrew Mlangeni.

Mandela, whose organisation pulled out of negotiations at Codesa last week, said it

would be futile to pursue the talks.

"We would like to make it clear that unless the Government is prepared to meet our demands, there will be no further talks. The ANC would, however, get back to the negotiations if its demands were met," Mandela said.

The Charter celebrations coincided with the call for a mass action campaign which Mandela said would be used fully to bring the Pretoria regime to its knees and for the introduction of an interim government.

### Mass action

Cosatu official Mr Jay Naidoo condemned the Government for the Boipatong massacre and said it was actions such as these that gave rise to mass action.

Naidoo called on all the workers to observe the Day of Mourning and to join in today's mass action which will take the form of marches.

By VICTOR TSUAI



# Diplomats and VIPs to mourn Vaal victims

*Sowetan 29/6/92 (327)*

**DIGNITARIES** including diplomats from various embassies will attend today's mass burial of Boipatong's massacre victims.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and former Zimbabwean president Bishop Canaan Banana are among the dignitaries who will attend the funeral.

Diplomats from countries such as the United States, Germany, Britain and France will attend.

**By KENOSI  
MODISANE**

The United States Embassy in Pretoria announced yesterday that it will "join South Africans in observing a day of mourning for the victims."

The Rev Frank Chikane, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches will conduct the service.

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, will deliver the sermon.

Speakers at the service will include the ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, SACP's Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Chris Hani, and Cosatu's Jay Naidoo and Moses Mayekiso.

Soweto shops will be closed from noon to 1pm to observe the national day of mourning.

Mr Thami Skhenjana, general-secretary of the Soweto Independent Shopkeepers Association yesterday said: "We are only showing solidarity as South

Africans affected by the senseless carnage raging through our country."

Government servants will not be penalised if they did not report for work to attend the funeral. President FW De Klerk made the announcement last week.

According to Sapa, the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates has requested principals of schools and colleges under its control to arrange for prayers to be offered collectively at special assem-

blies today.

The chairman of the HoD Ministers' Council, Dr JN Reddy, said it was fitting children should be encouraged to become emotionally involved by taking part in prayers for an end to violence.

Vista University has postponed all examinations that were to be written today.

The University Management Committee said the examinations would be written on July 2.

# IFP refutes complicity in massacre

*Sowetan*

29/6/92

SA Press  
Association

THE Central Committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party has condemned the Boipatong massacre and strongly refuted its alleged complicity in the tragedy which left 49 people dead.

"No IFP structure - national, regional or local - made any decision to attack Boipatong, nor did any IFP structure have any awareness that the attack was to take place," the party said in a statement after a meeting of its central committee in Ulundi.

The IFP said it would call on the National Peace Committee to arrange an emergency meeting with all parties and organisations that signed the National Peace Accord before, and in addition, to a meeting already planned for July 30.

The party would also ask the NPC to urge the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, the Conservative Party, the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress to sign the National Peace Accord.

The IFP charged the South African Council of Churches with not successfully promoting peace, saying the recent utterings of certain church leaders had shown a political bias.

It was also decided at the meeting to call on SACC general secretary Dr Frank Chikane to meet with an IFP delegation to explain the biblical grounds which supported the SACC's endorsement of the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa.

The IFP further re-committed itself to non-violent strategies and tactics, distancing itself from any suggestions to establish military structures.

"We particularly call on all members of the Central Committee to spread the IFP's rejection of the call to establish a so-called Bambatha battalion," the statement said.

The IFP also expressed its condolences to the families of all those who died in the Boipatong massacre.



# Witness in hiding

*Sowetan 29/6/92*  
A WITNESS who claimed he saw police escort KwaMadala Hostel dwellers into Boipatong shortly before the massacre has gone into hiding. (b27)

Mr Meshack Theoane of Slovo camp in the township told Sowetan last week that he feared for his life and then disappeared.

Theoane, an attendant at a petrol station near the township, said he was on night duty when he saw hundreds of men escorted by police on foot and others in two Casspirs cross into Boipatong from the hostel.

His claim that the attack was carried out by KwaMadala Hostel dwellers was at the weekend supported by police who said about 300 dwellers had taken part in the attack.

However, police denied the armed mob was escorted by members of the force.

Theoane said: "Two policemen came to us and ordered us into a room behind the garage. One of them threatened us with death if we told people what we had seen."

# Raids on PAC homes

Sowetan 29/6/92

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THE homes of two executive committee members of the Pan Africanist Congress in Dobsonville were raided by police last week.

Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, also the general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, said about five Casspirs and some private cars arrived at his home about 10am on Thursday.

Mr Carter Seleke said the raid by five Casspirs and six cars was at about 3pm.

Both said they were absent at the time.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said several houses near the Dobsonville Hostel were raided.

"I don't even know the names of the owners whose houses were searched,"

By THEMBA MOLEFE

Halgryn said.

According to Ngcukana, the police said they were looking for arms.

Seleke's mother, Mr Martha Seleke, said she signed a piece of paper saying they did not find anything.

The PAC's director of Information and Publicity, Mr Waters Thoboti, said police were trying to intimidate them.

Ngcukana said: "There is an orchestrated campaign to harass me. Twice in March and April shots were fired at me by unknown people. Now this."



# Thousands brave cold to attend massacre funeral

STAR 29/6/92

Staff Reporters

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Thousands of mourners today trudged through the freezing pre-dawn smog that hung over the Vaal Triangle on their way to Boipatong Stadium to bury the victims of the June 17 massacre.

Streets throughout the Vaal area were deserted

By 8.30 the Boipatong Stadium was only about half full, but reporters from The Star said several thousand more people were streaming into the stadium, after being searched at the gate.

The first two coffins of the 42 victims of the massacre arrived at the stadium just before 8.30 on the back of a bakkie surrounded by mourning family members, wrapped up against the cold.

A spokesman for the Vaal Transport Corporation in Vereeniging confirmed that buses had not transported workers from the township today.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said all Vaal Triangle townships were quiet this morning.

He said security forces were deployed on the out-

skirts of townships to monitor the proceedings, but were keeping a low profile.

The Star's Vereeniging office received complaints from domestic workers of intimidation. They said they had been threatened with death if they were caught at work or on residential streets.

The funeral, organised by the SA Council of Churches, was expected to be one of South Africa's biggest.

The youngest massacre victim to be buried today is nine-month-old Aaron Mathope. At least 42 people were killed in the attack, and another three — who will also be buried today — were killed by police gunfire when President de Klerk tried to visit Boipatong three days later.

The funeral was expected to be attended by tens of thousands of mourners, including British Anti-Apartheid Movement president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, former Zimbabwean President Canaan Banana and foreign diplomats.

Speakers will include PAC leader Clarence Makwetu, Azapo leader Pandelani Ne-

folovhodwe, SACP leader Chris Hani and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Police said at the weekend that inmates of KwaMadala hostel had confessed to being involved in the Boipatong slaughter and that some had provided police with a battle plan drawn up by hostel leaders.

According to the Sunday Star, the first formal confession to a Vaal magistrate was made on Friday by one of the six hostel dwellers detained earlier by police.

An ANC witness on Friday told the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria that former Koevoet counter-insurgency members based at Greenside Colliery, and currently employed by the police as trackers, had taken part in the massacre.

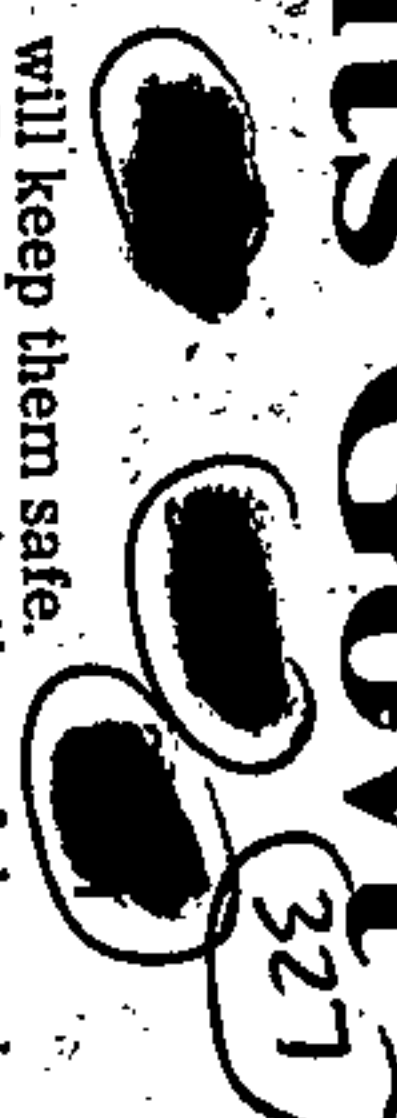
Police have denied that the members had anything to do with the attack.

ANC lawyer Peter Harris confirmed the organisation would today bring more witnesses before the Goldstone Commission to substantiate allegations that former Koevoet members were involved in the massacre.

Political organisation in townships is well nigh impossible, argues Sheena Duncan

# Instability indirectly benefits Govt

STAR 29/6/92



President F W de Klerk has been reported as saying in Madrid that the Government has nothing to gain from instability.

This is an argument which has often been used by those who cannot bring themselves to believe that an evil, military-designed programme of "low intensity conflict" can possibly have been carried forward from the P W Botha era into the new South Africa.

The truth about the causes of our present tragic situation will no doubt be revealed in one way or another in the future.

Various pressures forced the Government to recognise that it could not continue with the ruthless imposition of apartheid, and that one-person, one-vote elections would have to be held in the foreseeable future. In such elections the National Party would not succeed in winning a majority and forming a new government if the elections

were truly democratic and fair.

Even a hold on the balance of power in a coalition would be unlikely because a majority party which failed to win overall support would be likely to look elsewhere among minority parties for a coalition partner.

The ANC, building on the strong base of the UDF structures — unions, civics, community and service organisations of various kinds, would have been able to organise itself into an efficient and grass-rooted electoral machine which would have brought people to the polls to vote resoundingly for its policies. It is undoubtedly the most powerful of all the National Party's political opponents.

But the violence has prevented the efficient organisation which is required for such a normal electoral process. The movement is riven with dissenting groups. The young (66 percent of the black

population is under the age of 27) are especially angry but so also are their parents who have to travel to and from work each day in terror of sudden attack.

Communities who do not feel themselves to be African seek protection from those they have been taught to fear in years of TV projection of an image of an enemy which almost always was black-skinned.

Some see Mr de Klerk as saviour and friend who is the only person strong enough to protect them. Some remain loyal to the ANC but are very critical of its inability to protect them.

Some are joining other parties who offer a more militant approach. Some are going underground into revolutionary structures. Some will "join" other groups and take party cards because they are forced by fear to do so and hope a new affiliation

will keep them safe.

Proper organisation of branch structures by any political party is now well nigh impossible in the townships.

Free and fair elections cannot take place without an end to violence and an international peace keeping and monitoring team.

The international community has been seduced into seeing "black on black" violence as just another indication that Africa is corrupt, savage and irredeemable and sympathises with Mr de Klerk as a strong, sincere free marketer who can lead South Africa into a secure future as the "power house" of southern Africa — to the profit of the industrialised north.

All this adds up to the fact that the National Party Government is undoubtedly benefiting from the destabilisation of its major political opponent.



cess and structures of the peace accord at both national and local levels," it said.

"There was an overwhelming need

Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthelezi.

These meetings are expected to take place within the next week.

## Guards 'told of group's involvement in attack'

PRETORIA — A security guard at the Greenside Colliery mine near Witbank yesterday told a preliminary hearing of a Goldstone commission committee his chief told guards that a group of men who stayed at the barracks were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

William Mthimkulu appeared before the committee, chaired by Gert Steyn, investigating allegations

that former Koevoet members who were housed at the mine were involved in the June 17 attack.

Mthimkulu said that a meeting of mine security personnel last week, "the chief of the mine security, a Mr du Preez, said the group of people housed at the barracks had been working with the police and were involved in the shootings in Boipatong."

Mthimkulu said the group of men arrived at the mine early in June and the mine's security was surprised because the group did not work during the day, but left at night in a kombi carrying objects "concealed in blankets".

He said security guards who inquired about the group's work were threatened by their chief and told that if they persisted in asking questions they could lose their jobs. — Sapa.

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# Outcry over ANC's 'police escort'

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STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE Goldstone commission will be asked to investigate an alleged police-escorted ANC march into an Inkatha stronghold in the Natal midlands this weekend which preceded several attacks on Inkatha — leaving four dead and 12 injured.

Inkatha was also considering asking for redeclaration of the Richmond, Natal district as an emergency area and for redeployment of the SAP's internal stability unit in the area, Inkatha spokesman Kim Hodgson said yesterday.

The move followed a march last Friday by about 200 ANC supporters carrying spears, pangas and other weapons to Patheni outside Richmond.

The SAP, allegedly under instruction from station commander Lt Lombard, escorted the impi into the Inkatha area. This act has been described by Patheni residents as a blatant act of provocation," Hodgson said. A formal complaint was being drafted and would be submitted to the Goldstone commission today.

The march into Patheni was followed by an ambush in which ANC youths allegedly ambushed and gunned down 11 Inkatha supporters, killing two men and injuring nine at Gengeshe outside Richmond on

Saturday, he said. On Sunday two men died and three were injured when Inkatha supporters at Patheni were attacked by a large group of armed youths.

Violence also erupted in Durban's Umhlanga township. The dead included a three-year-old child who was burned in a petrol-bomb attack on a house in the township.

The body of a policeman who had been stabbed was found in Empangeni, police said.

Sapa reported that the latest violence had led to an exodus from the area, with unrest monitors reporting a possible refugee crisis in the Port Shepstone area on Natal's south coast.

Three people were killed in fighting between Inkatha and the ANC in Murchison, on the south coast, police said yesterday.

Their unrest report said the body of a man who had been shot was found in Katlehong, near Germiston, on Sunday.

The ANC's Stanger branch in Natal has broken off talks with the local town council, citing the political crisis triggered by the Boipatong massacre. They were to meet today to discuss demands.

## Dutch airline puts SA flights on hold

AMSTERDAM — Dutch charter airline Transavia said yesterday it was postponing a planned new service to Durban because of renewed unrest in SA.

Parent company KLM Royal Dutch Airlines said it did not rule out changes to its own recently expanded programme.

"In the light of the political situation and the reactions of tour operators ... we see no basis to begin flights," said a Transavia spokesman.

Transavia had been due to start the weekly flight on December 1.

A KLM spokesman said: "We don't rule out changes but we hope to fly as planned."

KLM, which has an 80% stake in Transavia, plans to extend its twice-weekly Johannesburg run to Cape Town from October 27.

No one was available to comment at Martinair, which also just won extra SA landing rights. KLM also owns a minority stake in Martinair. — Sapa-Reuter.



## Many mourners turn up for work

DIRK HARTFORD

ALTHOUGH absenteeism was higher than usual in many regions, the vast majority of workers chose to mourn Boipatong through workplace prayer services, mass meetings or demonstrations. (327)

Police said 10% of workers from Soweto stayed away, although about 90% stayed away in some of the more far-flung Vaal townships.

Sapa reports that in the eastern Cape there was a partial stayaway and companies were forced to close.

Volkswagen was closed after only 30% of its workforce turned up. Only about 28 workers showed for work at the Goodyear plant.

In Port Elizabeth Firestone workers turned up but left again to attend a march. (327) 30/6/92

Johannesburg mining houses said attendance was virtually normal. Prayer services and mass meetings were held on many mines.

A spokesman for the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry said there had been a high level of co-operation between employers and employees regarding the mourning of Boipatong victims.

Some companies were flying the SA flag at half mast and most employers had allowed workers time off to hold commemorative meetings.

# Group in protest against massacre

CAPE TOWN — A group of ANC Women's League demonstrators yesterday tore down the SA flag at the Cape Town Magistrate's Courts before dousing it with red paint and re-hoisting it at half mast. (327) 30/6/92

Police used teargas in the arrest of 12 men and women after they tipped a bucket of red paint over a policeman.

Shortly before the incident, eight women who were arrested outside Parliament on Friday for throwing paint at the building had their first appearance in court.

No charges were put to them, but several were rearrested afterwards.

After the arrests, western Cape ANC Women's League chairman Mildred Lesea said the demonstration was part of an "anger campaign" against the Boipatong massacre. A police spokesman said the 12 would be charged with desecration of the flag, malicious damage to property, assaulting a police officer and demonstrating near court buildings.

Sapa reports that wreaths were laid at the gates of Parliament yesterday after a memorial service in the St George's Anglican cathedral. Cape Town Mayor Frank van der Velde, ANC western Cape chairman Alan Boesak and clergymen later led a march to Parliament.

Own Correspondent

In Bloemfontein, 26 ANC members were arrested while picketing. Police said they would appear in court for picketing without permission.

Our Durban correspondent reports that about 300 people attended a memorial service in Durban, where several ANC speakers called for government's downfall.

Thousands of people attended a city centre service in Maritzburg.

In an apparent reference to blame for the massacre apportioned to "Zulu" hostel dwellers, he warned that those who labelled people in ethnic terms would cause a long legacy of bitterness.

In Windhoek, about 200 people took part in a memorial service in St Mary's Catholic Cathedral and in London Anti-Apartheid Movement members claimed to have occupied the SA embassy in Trafalgar Square. They called on ambassador Kent Durr to refute government's stand that violence was caused by black political rivalry and the ANC's mass action campaign.

Sapa-AFP reports that about 75 people demonstrated peacefully in front of the SA embassy in The Hague.

# De Klerk called on to resign over failure to control security forces

Forces

310/30/16/92  
30/6/92

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC launched a stinging attack on President F W de Klerk yesterday, saying he should resign as his recent admission that he had no control over security forces proved he was "incompetent and useless".

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo warned that government's failure to bring to book perpetrators of violence would lead to people meeting out their own "justice".

And ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told more than 20 000 people, gathered for yesterday's funeral of 42 Boipatong massacre victims, that De Klerk

had admitted to ANC president Nelson Mandela in May he had no control over security forces.

Yesterday's day of mourning was marked by hundreds of thousands of people, but work absenteeism was limited and there were few incidents of violence.

However, Reuter reports witnesses said one person was shot and hacked to death at the funeral after being grabbed by people in a section of the crowd standing outside the sports stadium.

And Sapa reports township youths toyed between and on graves, brandishing

a variety of weapons, including shotguns, AK-47 rifles and Makarov pistols.

"Hey, settler, you deserve a bullet," a youngster shouted at a white journalist.

Two journalists, including one from the BBC, were reported to have been assaulted later by militant youths.

Police confiscated a handgrenade carried by a man attending the funeral.

Ramaphosa said De Klerk should "go" as he had proved to be "either incompetent or useless as a president".

He called also for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Herens Kriel.

Ramaphosa said the ANC had not given up on negotiations.

However, chances of the ANC's return to the negotiations were zero unless government met demands, which included bringing violence to an end and banning dangerous weapons at public gatherings.

Transkei's Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance should not be pressed into resuming negotiations. These should be resumed only when time frames for the transition to "representa-

tive" government were in place.

Ramaphosa also called on blacks to unite, saying their unity was important and could not be achieved through speeches at funerals but through mass action aimed at forcing government out of power.

PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said his organisation would join the "ANC and all other liberation organisations" in a struggle whose clear-cut objective would be the overthrowing of the government.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolohodwe called for the "combination" of his

De Klerk 310/30/16/92  
30/6/92

From Page 1

organisation's military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), the PAC's Azanian People's Army (Apla) and the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The combined forces would play a role in ousting government, Nefolohodwe said.

Naidoo told the cheering crowd that workers were tired of "endless negotiations".

Inkatha, whose supporters at KwaMandala Hostel allegedly attacked Boipatong residents, was not represented at the funeral. But Sapa reports that its national chairman Frank Mdlalose extended the organisation's condolences.

SA Council of Churches (SACC) president Khoza Mgojo said unless government met their demands before July 15, church leaders would lead people in peaceful protests. Church leaders' demands, included the conviction of perpetrators of violence

and the bringing of security forces under multiparty control.

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Veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Trevor Huddleston said his London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement would try to shift the Western powers' focus from the "democratisation" of eastern Europe to the ending of apartheid in SA.

Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said had the ANC, the PAC and Azapo had armies, the Boipatong massacre would not have happened.

Ngcukana urged leaders of the liberation organisations not to discourage people from forming defence units.

Former Zimbabwe president Canaan Banana said the Boipatong massacre underlined the urgency with which SA had to move towards democracy.

Picture: Page 3

To Page 2



# De Klerk <sup>Soweto</sup> 'powerless'

30/6/97  
STATE President FW de Klerk had admitted to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela that he had no power over his police force. (327)

This was said by ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa during the mass funeral of victims of the Boipatong massacre.

The alleged disclosure was made by De Klerk when he met Mandela for crisis talks during ill-fated Codesa 2 negotiations in mid-May. (328)

De Klerk was, therefore, either incompetent or "totally useless" Ramaphosa charged. "He must go." (329)

## Goniwe probe

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*Sowetan 30/6/92*

THE date for a new inquest into the murder of Cradock activist Mr Matthew Goniwe and three others still has to be set.

Mr Mike Hodgen, Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape, confirmed yesterday that he was receiving information from people about the killings in 1985.

He refused to confirm that he had been approached with information that could link the shadowy "Hammer Unit" to the murders.

State President FW de Klerk ordered the reopening of the inquest in May after a newspaper disclosed the existence of a document which appeared to implicate the State Security Council in the killings.



# Boss spoke of attack in Boipatong - claim

A SECURITY guard at Greenside Colliery yesterday told a preliminary hearing of the Goldstone Commission his chief told guards that some men at the barracks were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

Mr William Mthimkulu appeared before the committee, chaired by Mr Gert Steyn, investigating allegations that former Koevoet members housed at the mine near Wilbank were involved in the shootings at Boipatong on June 17.

Mthimkulu said after a Goldstone Commission delegation went to the barracks last week and

searched the area, he received a telephone call from a security sergeant about a meeting of the security personnel the next morning.

"The chief of the mine security, a Mr du Preez, said the group of people housed at the barracks had been working with the police and were involved in the shootings in Boipatong."

He denied that this was an allegation.

Mthimkulu said the group of men arrived at the mine early in June. The mine's security was surprised because the group did not work during the day but left at night in a kombi carrying objects

concealed in blankets.

He said some security guards who enquired about the group's work were threatened by their chief and told they could lose their jobs if they persisted in asking questions.

Mthimkulu said members of the group were at the barracks when he went to play soccer on June 17. But most of them had left when he returned.

He thought they might have gone out to perform their duties as they seemed to work during the night.

He and security guards Mr Ace Mngomezulu,

Mr Michael Mkele and Mr Zama Nokosi were not happy with the men's stay at the mine because they did not know what their work was.

Mngomezulu promised to find out on June 19 about the type of work they were doing from some of them, who used to play a board game with him.

Mthimkulu said he did not receive a report from Mngomezulu the next week.

Counsel for the commission, Mr Torrie Pretorius, told the committee that further witnesses would be referred to the formal sifting of the Boipatong committee which would begin on July 2. - *Sapa*.



Sebokeng youths stopped this truck and ordered the driver to take them to the mass funeral in Boipatong yesterday. Pic: PAT SEBOKO



# Pik puts Pretoria's case to the world

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

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The Government has proposed a three-year lifespan for an interim constitution.

In a letter sent to foreign missions on Friday, Foreign Minister Pk Botha said elections should be held within three years if an interim constitution had not been replaced by a final draft. A copy of the letter is in the possession of The Star.

Mr Botha denied accusations that the Government was aiming at a transitional government becoming a permanent one and thereby making it impossible to change the transitional constitution.

Mr Botha provided foreign governments with detail of the Government's reaction to the obstacles which caused the breakdown of negotiations as well as the main elements of the disagreement.

The letter discusses the negotiations process, alleged Government complicity in violence, the Government's constitutional proposals and international involvement.

Mr Botha said accusations of Government involvement in the Boipatong massacre or other violence were without any substance.

"Not only are such actions totally reprehensible but they run counter to SA's urgent

need for investment, economic growth and job creation."

Mr Botha said President de Klerk had taken repeated initiatives to combat the violence, including attempts to arrange a joint meeting between himself, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"So far Mr Mandela has not found it possible to attend such a meeting."

After the tabling of the Goldstone Commission's interim report in Parliament in May, Mr Botha noted that R294,6 million had been budgeted for the 1992/3 financial year for the conversion and upgrading of hostels.

Mr Botha denied the Government was clinging to power. "While you may have reservations about some of the proposals for an interim constitution, I trust that you will agree that there can be no justification to claim that they constitute a desire to cling to power or to entrench a white veto."

The Government did not believe a valid basis existed for the UN Security Council to consider the SA situation.

However, if the Security Council felt it needed to be reliably informed on events, "it would be expected that all the members of Codesa would be invited to address (it)".



# Hostels - home to killers

SIX hostels around Soweto have been responsible for at least 112 attacks on township residents, resulting in 391 deaths and at least 933 injured in the space of 22 months.

In the same period, 17 attacks on commuters on Soweto trains took place near of around stations bordering three hostels. These attacks claimed 17 lives and left 274 injured.

Records compiled by monitoring institutions show that only six people were arrested by police in connection with two of the incidents, all of them hostel inmates.

Early this month, 10 people died in two horrific taxi killings that turned taxi rides into journeys of death and so far no one has been arrested.

Guns were shot and killed nine people in Molelase on June 16, shattering the peace that had prevailed during the commemoration services. To date no one has been arrested.

And so the list of unsolved murders goes on and on.

Reacting to mounting criticism of their alleged complicity in attacks on trains, police posted patrols at stations but investigations by newspapers revealed that no searches took place and that people carrying bundles which could easily be arms were left to board trains while police looked on.

The lack of progress in police investigations of these killings has now led to the political crisis caused by the Boipatong massacre 13 days ago, which in turn, has led the ANC to temporarily withdraw from negotiations.

In the memorandum sent to State President, FW de Klerk on Friday, the

In the fifth instalment series of our looking into police handling of investigations into violence committed by hostel dwellers, *Sowetan* investigations editor, MATHA THA TSEDU focuses on Soweto hostels and their role in attacks on trains, taxis and the general township community.



ANC, echoing the sentiments of other organisations such as Azapo and the PAC, and a vast majority of black people, said the Government collusion in the killings had been proven beyond doubt by the failure to act speedily against KwaMadala Hostel dwellers after the killings in Boipatong.

"In those few instances where security force personnel and police or IFP members have been arrested, how do we explain the fact that inadequate police investigation is the basis for their acquittal, laughably light sentences and

ridiculously low bail. The evidence shows that either the NP Government, even at its top levels, sanctions such activities or that it is powerless to restrain the very force it created," the ANC said.

The following is a table of incidents in Soweto which have been linked to hostel inmates where police progress in investigations has virtually been nil in terms of arrests:

Nancefield: 28 incidents with 74 killed and 107 injured.

Dube: 17 incidents with 34 killed and

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10 injured.

Jabulani: 12 incidents with 93 killed and 466 injured.

Merafe: 11 incidents with 73 killed and 265 injured.

Mzimhlope: 34 incidents with 84 killed and 70 injured.

Dobsonville: 10 incidents with 33 killed and 15 injured.

These figures are up to April this year and do not include the upsurge of May and June which saw many people killed in Mzimhlope and Dobsonville. In train attacks on Soweto lines, stations that border on hostels have been the staging post of at least 17 attacks. The breakdown of station attacks is as follows:

● Imhlazane near Jabulani hostel: 7 attacks with 13 killed and 162 injured.

● Nancefield near Nancefield hostel: 3 attacks with 11 killed and 46 injured.

● New Canada near Mzimhlope hostel: 10 attacks with 7 killed and 66 injured.

In most of these incidents survivors told the media that the attackers had retreated into the hostels after the attacks.

Eye witnesses also said police who arrived on the scene had failed to act against the hostel inmates and in one incident in Nancefield, police were refused entry into the hostel to arrest an identified attacker.

Coupled to this have been the assertions by residents who were victims of hostel attackers that police had escorted these attackers and watched the plunder and looting of houses without interfering.

The seeming police collusion with these attackers has led to a belief that because hostels have virtually become

therefore political and desired to create manoeuvring space for Inkatha against the non-establishment organisations such as the ANC, Azapo, PAC and SACP.

The IFP itself has accepted that hostels in Soweto and other areas have become almost exclusively Inkatha. In figures given to the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIR), IFP West Rand Secretary, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, said IFP support in Soweto hostels was as follows:

Nancefield: 90%.

Dube: 87%.

Jabulani: 100%.

Merafe: 100%.

Diepkloof: 95% (this hostel has not been affected by the attacks).

Interestingly, Ndlovu said IFP support in KwaMadala Hostel, staging post of the Boipatong killings, was 100 per cent.

Police Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, said on Friday police have now established that the Boipatong murderers were from KwaMadala. He said police had interrogated about 600 inmates and confiscated 276 spears and other bars, some of which had revealed traces of blood.

So far only five people are known to have been arrested and are being held in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The police reaction had been slow and generally in keeping with the trend of their behaviour in such cases. And as one woman in Boipatong said: "Would they have left the hostel alone for so many hours if just one white person had been killed?"

● Tomorrow we look at hostels on the East Rand and how the informal settlements there fit into this scene.

The ANC, echoing the sentiments of other organisations such as Azapo and the PAC, and a vast majority of black people, said the Government collusion in the killings had been proven beyond doubt...

## Bikos respond <sup>(327)</sup>

THE family of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko were not surprised by revelations that he died after an assault by security police.

The family was responding to claims by Lieutenant-Colonel John Horak, a former police spy and senior journalist, who told *Vrye Weekblad* newspaper that Biko was beaten up by a man who is now a colonel in the security police.

Biko's widow, Mrs Nontsikelelo Biko, said the family had always believed "that Steve died at the hands of the police". *Eena*

*Southern* 1/7/92



# Media to hold seminar

By TOBY SHAPSHAK

MEDIA freedom and ownership in the democratisation process will be discussed at the Nieman Foundation African-American Institute Media Conference starting in Johannesburg today.

Twenty eight media representatives from the US, Canada, Britain, Africa and 25 present and former South African editors will take part.

The impact of electronic media and the role of an independent media will also come under the spotlight.

Focus will also be on legal, political, economic and financial challenges.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke will address the conference.

# Focus still on death of Goniwe

Political Reporter

Investigations into the murder of United Democratic Front activist Matthew Goniwe and three others seven years ago are still in progress, according to a spokesman for the Eastern Cape Attorney-General's office.

The murders of Mr Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlauli shook the eastern Cape in 1985.

The spokesman said Attorney-General Michael Hodgen was out of town but as far as he knew, the case was receiving his attention. Mr Hodgen was recently instructed by the Government to investigate alleged SA Defence Force involvement in the murders.

These allegations were made by Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa, who said he had "a thick file" of documents alleging State involvement in violence — including the murders of the four men.

Last month Mr Hodgen said his investigation had been impeded by the general's refusal to provide evidence for his allegations.



Stanley Uys reports from London

# How to call off the dogs of war

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THE Independent published an intriguing report last week, which said that the special forces of the SA Defence Force which have been used as killing machines in black townships are terrified of a Nuremberg trial and are continuing to cause havoc as a way of delaying black rule.

So, suggested The Independent, why don't the Government, the ANC and everyone else declare a general amnesty, and in this way give the killers a way out — a chance to withdraw from the business of killing?

The Independent's diplomatic correspondent said this possible solution is being pondered by minds in Whitehall, but is far from HMG policy yet. Whitehall, in fact, is doing more than ponder the idea: It believes it has considerable merit. But, as I read its mind, it believes the amnesty must be across the board — it must also include all Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres still outside the country and those political prisoners not covered by the agreements reached so far between the government and the ANC.

What is revealing about The Independent's report is not only the idea of an amnesty, but the assumptions that are now being made in the West. The first is that there are up to 5 000 special forces personnel in the SADF (including ex-Koevoet and 32 Battalion) who can be drawn on to create mayhem in the townships. There is no pussyfooting in the The Independent's report about whether present members of the SADF are involved in the violence: It says, quite simply, that they are.

The second assumption is that the Government is aware of what is happening, and authorised it, at least at an earlier stage. Somewhere, there are papers with Ministers' signatures on them authorising the villainous murders of the past, wrote The Independent. If this is true, then the Pretoria Government is being blackmailed.

If this is the kind of talk that is doing the rounds of Western capitals, then the ANC no longer has a case to prove of security force involvement in the killings. It can rest its case, and concentrate its energies on getting the international community on its side.

This brings one to the question that is constantly asked, and seldom satisfactorily answered: Who are the beneficiaries of the violence? Inkatha, undoubtedly, because it has been given a political standing out of proportion to its following. But in the long run, when those queues form at the ballot boxes, what will this really avail the white man?

If the purpose of all the killings has been to strengthen the white laager and delay change, can it be said that a single point has been scored? Yes, the killings have helped to destabilise the ANC, disrupt its recruitment, and diminish the stature of its leaders with the rank-and-file, who ask why the organisation cannot protect them. But how has this helped the whites?

In the long run, (black) numbers will win the day, so the best hope for the whites surely would be to keep a moderate ANC leadership in business until (and after) a settlement has been reached. Instead, with every fresh massacre — for that is what they are — the radicals in the ANC are strengthened, and the whites' position at the negotiating table is weakened.

President de Klerk was doing very nicely until Boipatong came along. Doors were opening as fast as he could walk through them.

Then the massacre, and now not only has the pussyfooting stopped over whether the special forces are involved or not, but the pressure is on for "international monitoring" to begin — and who knows where that will lead to. Perhaps to some of those colonels (or generals or majors) who may have been orchestrating the violence?

So if the colonels think they can postpone the day of reckoning by keeping up the killings, they can think again. They are simply hastening their own end. As fast as President de Klerk persuades the world that the ANC does not have a monopoly of morality, so the unseen colonels reverse the achievement. This isn't buying time — it is squandering it.

If I were one of those colonels, and someone offered me an amnesty, I would grab it with both hands — and consider myself lucky to get it. □

# ANC man dies in car crash

*Sowetan 2/7/92* *327*

MR Floyd Mashele, a member of the PWV regional executive committee of the ANC, was killed in a car accident near Pietersburg yesterday.

Mashele was also the head of the ANC's Peace Desk and member of the Post and Telecommunications Workers Association.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC said it was not satisfied with police explanation that Mashele was killed after his car had a tyre burst.

It said it would appoint an independent assessor to inspect the scene of the crash.

The organisation said it was disturbed to learn the vehicle had already been removed from the scene.

## SA Press Association

Last week Mashele escaped an attempt on his life, the organisation said.

"We are equally disturbed to note that the police did not contact the ANC directly, but contacted an ANC member living in Alexandra, requesting that person to inform the ANC.

"This was despite the fact that they had Floyd's ID and ANC membership card.

"It is very alarming that ANC representatives on Peace Accord structures are increasingly finding themselves targets for attack," the statement said.

Funeral details would be announced later.



## 'Past gags were harmful'

By Michael Sparks

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STAR 3/7/92  
publicity has a moderating effect on policy", Mr Meyer said.

The liberation of the media in SA since February 1990 had shown that earlier Government actions to restrict the media were counter-productive, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Mr Meyer's speech was read on his behalf by Manpower and Local Government Minister Leon Wessels at a conference on Africa and the Media arranged by Harvard University's Nieman Foundation and the African-American Institute.

One advantage of a vigorous press was that "the glare of

He said it was right for newspapers to espouse the ideals of certain organisations, but emphasised it was important that the marketplace be open to purveyors of all such ideals, with a self-imposed code of ethics for the media.

It was important for the entrenchment of press freedom to be a reality, not just part of a constitution.

He said such notions might sound ironic coming from a Government which did not have a great track record on press freedom. "But our past mistakes give us greater insight."

## 'White cop in Boipatong massacre'

*31/7/92*  
TWO black police assistants have alleged that people who carried out the Boipatong massacre included a white policeman and were transported in Casspirs. (32) (32)

This was revealed yesterday by Major Christo Davidson of the SAP during the preliminary inquiry before the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria, into the Boipatong killings. (32)

Davidson said these allegations were made by Mr MM Xaba and Mr Joseph Sello of the satellite police station in Evaton.

Although police were looking into the allegations, investigations have proved them to be false, he said.

Major Pieter van Zyl, a citizen force member of the Vaal Commando, denied any involvement by the SADF in the attack.

He said: "With reference to the allegations made against the SADF, I wish to stress that neither the Vaal Commando nor the SADF were in any way involved in the attack."



# Squeak up, comrade, or we'll tell on you

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

PROMINENT Cape activist Vincent Diba has experienced harassment before. But the anonymous, threatening letter he received in early May is both the latest instance — and the most astonishing.

The unsigned, typewritten letter, purporting to be from "a private investigating company", demands Diba's "immediate co-operation" in divulging information about the African National Congress — or his "activities" will be divulged to the press.

Diba, regional executive committee member of the ANC in the western Cape in charge of conflict resolution, has blamed a state "dirty tricks" operation.

This week he questioned the apparent unwillingness of the police to investigate: almost a month after he was told members of the Crime Intelligence Service (CIS) would come to get a statement from him, he is still waiting.

A *Weekly Mail* investigation to find the origins of the letter has revealed the hallmarks of covert activity: the box number to which Diba was told to send information is registered in the name of a fictitious company, while whoever rented the box used a false identity number and an illegible signature to cover their tracks.

The letter claims the PI firm represents international financial institutions interested in investing "large amounts of money" in South Africa.

It states that during the course of an investigation into "certain elements" within the ANC, "substantial information" revealed that "certain individuals of the ANC are involved with unsanctioned activities.

"Your activities amongst others have been moni-

tored by us for a long period of time and reveals several acts of misconduct on your behalf, regarding finance, your personal life and meetings with suspected state agents," the letter states.

It requests his "immediate co-operation" in giving information on ANC financial policy, its views on the "security situation", the "identification of any suspected high profile official" in the ANC "who threatens the negotiation process within the Codesa context and interim government", the ANC's position on trade unions "in the new South Africa" and whether the ANC/SACP alliance "would continue to exist out of necessity".

Diba was asked to furnish the information within five days of receiving the letter. "If you fail to respond we will have no other option but to, by means of an anonymous source, furnish the information at our disposal to the press," the letter threatened.

The box at Cape Town's post office is registered in the name of Data Net International. The physical address given exists, but is a 20-floor city-centre office-block whose administrators said they had no record of such a company in their books.

A search through the records of the Registrar of Companies in Pretoria revealed that no company called Data Net International was registered, either as a close corporation or a limited company.

Further investigation showed that the box number was rented in 1989 to someone who used an illegible signature on the form and entered an identity number with too many digits.

Diba reported receiving the letter to Major C Brink, head of the special unit set up in terms of the

National Peace Accord to investigate complaints against the police.

"The contents of the letter alone indicate that it is part of a dirty tricks campaign conducted by agents of the state," Diba said. "The fact that the police have so far done nothing comes as no surprise. We have frequently reported to police cases that involve some form of harassment of anti-apartheid activists and they have never been resolved."

Some of these incidents have involved him personally: in January, balacava-clad men paid a night-time visit to his home. On another occasion, four men whom neighbours said appeared to be policemen, were seen taking photographs of his house.

Brink informed Diba on May 27 that a complaint of intimidation would be registered and investigated by the CIS, as the case fell without the ambit of the Peace Accord.

This week, police said Diba's "refusal" to make a statement was delaying their progress — a claim Diba denies.

Police liaison officer Captain Attie Laubscher said Diba had failed to respond to messages asking him to contact the CIS to make a statement. "We are urgently awaiting his affidavit so that the matter can receive the necessary attention," he said.

Regarding surveillance of Diba's house, he said members of the CIS were not watching Diba's home but were "performing normal crime prevention duties". Diba said that at the time, police had denied any involvement.



A government plot to devastate South Africa and weaken the ANC has been revealed by the organisation in the latest edition of its mouthpiece, Mayibuye:

**T**HE ANC's intelligence department, with the help of sources in government circles, has revealed a sinister two-pronged strategy designed by the

# 'Bloody hands' revealed

South 4/7-8/7/92.

government to thwart progress towards democracy.

The ANC mouthpiece, Mayibuye, says Operation Thunderstorm and Operation Springbok are the official names of the strategies aimed at forcing the ANC into an entrenched coalition with the National Party.

Operation Springbok aims to prevent the ANC from forming a government on its own. On their own, the aims of Operation Springbok can be viewed as a natural competitive strategy of a party striving to attain maximum advantage.

But when combined with Operation Thunderstorm, the ominous nature of this strategy is revealed. As its name suggests, Operation Thunderstorm seeks to devastate the country — wreaking havoc to force the ANC to accept Operation Springbok.

Its purpose is to weaken the ANC through violence and the creation of a climate of uncertainty.

Mayibuye says Thunderstorm seeks to create the impression, particularly among blacks, that the unbanning of the ANC and the release of its leaders is the cause of

their suffering.

When the NP finally forces the ANC into a coalition, the people will be happy to see an end to violence even if their socio-political conditions do not improve.

Mayibuye says Thunderstorm was placed in the hands of the SADF's Department of Military Intelligence (DMI). Its main strategy is the unleashing of violence using secret DMI networks and the 'former' security police.

Sources who have been in contact with the government on security measures allege that it is prepared

to discuss most arms of the SADF but will not tolerate any discussion of the DMI.

Thunderstorm propaganda includes blaming the ANC, and particularly uMkhonto weSizwe (the ANC's military wing) for the violence. A deliberate campaign of character assassination directed against selected ANC leaders is also part of this propaganda blitz.

Using the SABC and the government's network in the press, the government's response to violence is portrayed in a favourable light.

Mayibuye says the first and most important phase of Thunderstorm has been in operation for some time. This is reflected partly in the support given to activities of organi-

sations like the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Another aspect is the arming and deployment of criminal gangs, agents provocateurs, Askaris, Renamo, Koevoet and others. Random shootings, which appear unconnected to political rivalry, form part of this strategy.

To confuse matters further, professional hit-squads are provided with arms of Soviet origin — weapons previously associated with the ANC.

Mayibuye says the structures used in Operation Thunderstorm, remnants of the CCB (Civil Co-operation Bureau) and others, must appear to act 'independently'. Such remnants emerge in the IFP and as battalions 31 and 32 (Angolan mercenaries), Recce 5 (Mozambicans), Koevoet (Namibians) and Recce 3 (former Rhodesians).

Taxi wars in the Western Cape, Transvaal and other areas also form part of this strategy.

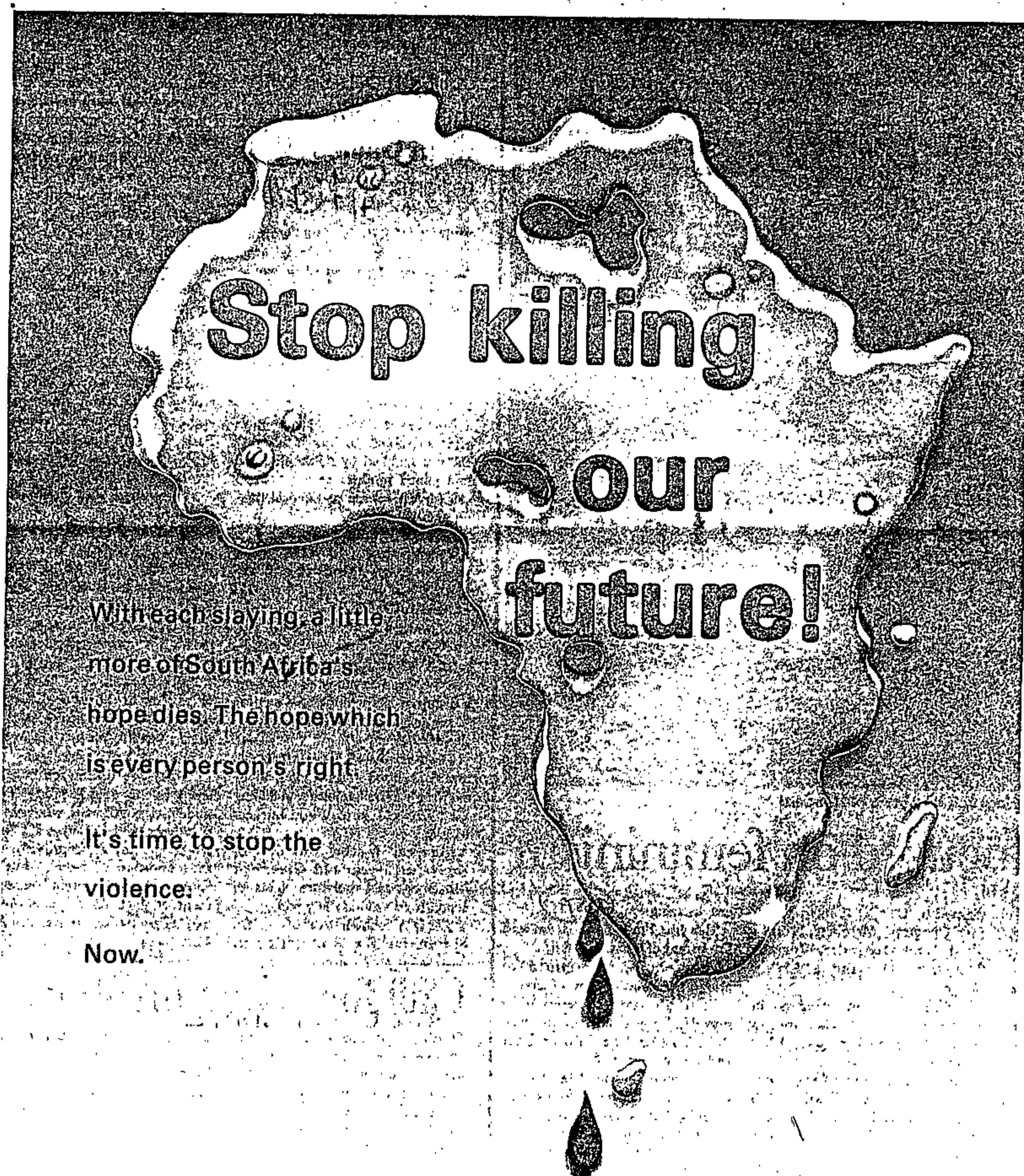
The generals behind these plans are concerned about campaigns of mass action, the exposures in some newspapers, the failure to substantially weaken the ANC and the creation of self-defence structures in some communities.

A number of these generals and some senior NP leaders are finding the temptation to resort to more repression difficult to resist.

The recent call-up and President FW de Klerk's threat to declare a state of emergency reflect this temptation.

A question that needs to be asked is whether De Klerk can credibly claim not to know about Operation Thunderstorm?

The reality is that operations of the scale, funding and political objectives of Thunderstorm and Springbok could not imaginably be conducted without at least the tacit involvement and knowledge of the head of state.



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# Residents expose 'vigilante' plan

By Quentin Wilson

**P**OLICE efforts to recruit and arm residents in sections of Nyanga into "vigilantes" have been highlighted by the local civic association.

According to Mr David Mkhize, spokesperson for the Nyanga Civic Association (NCA), members of the police force approached squatter committees in Nyanga to set up "home guards" to assist police.

He alleged that the residents were offered police vans and spamboks if they agreed.

"We are very suspicious of this recruitment drive. We think the police are trying to organise a new group of vigilantes to commit violence in our community," Mkhize said.

He claimed that "over the last few months" police had approached residents in Milner's Camp (also

known as Lusaka), Mpinga Square, Mkhonto Square and Mpetha Square to collaborate with them.

"Why didn't the police approach the civic with such a proposal? If they were sensitive to the needs of the community then they could have at least worked through the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee that was set up after the National Peace Accord.

"We don't trust the police. We know they are up to something. They thought they could manipulate the squatter committees to act as their agents because they are seen as conservative, traditional leaders, but they didn't realise that this is a misconception," Mkhize said.

Members of the NCA became aware of the police recruitment drive after reading a newspaper report which said that Nyanga residents were working with the police to combat crime.

Two weeks ago the civic called a general meeting where a number of the 700 residents present said they had been approached by the police.

Since then the civic has met with the squatter committees that have been approached and, according to Mkhize, they want nothing to do with the police plan.

"It is interesting that, to our knowledge, residents of KTC squatter camp were not targeted by the police for recruitment. They knew that KTC is an ANC stronghold where they would get little support for their vigilante ideas," Mkhize said.

Police spokesperson Major Gys Boonzaafer said Nyanga police were attempting to recruit "more reservists to establish neighbourhood watches".

He denied that they would be set up as homeguards and said that "if they were recruited and their appli-

cation approved, they would receive full training and then they might be in a position to drive a police van and carry a firearm while on duty as a reservist".

However, civic association members remain sceptical.

"The police wanted to shoot at us during the taxi war when we tried to get the two taxi associations together. Now they want us to work hand in hand with them," said an NCA member who did not want to be named.

NCA chairperson Mr Moffat Phutego said the matter had caused confusion in the community because they did not trust the police.

"The only way that I can interpret this is that the police are trying to mobilise the people for the National Party. We are nearing an election where the police will use all their tactics to get NP support," Phutego said.



# Keeping the flame of press freedom alive

STAR 6/17/92

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**GITOBU** Imanyara and Gwen Lister — Africans and editors both — have endured jail and confronted death to protect, as it were, a candle in a hurricane: to keep their publications alive in the face of the harshest oppression.

No, they do not have press empires to defend. They stand guard over small papers, the Nairobi Law Monthly and The Namibian, which embody the right of the public to receive information.

This right seems to exert a force as irresistible as gravity on both Imanyara and Lister, creating a powerful professional bond between the intrepid Kenyan lawyer-turned-editor and the forthright Namibian journalist. A strange bond, for they learnt this commitment on opposite sides of the crest of liberation struggles.

Lister was one of the many lesser midwives of an independent Namibia. She and her staff on The Namibian, she says, "unashamedly opposed South African occupation and said it was up to the people to choose". The struggle for liberation sharpened her understanding of the link between democracy and a free press.

Imanyara, on the other hand, was a child of Kenyan liberation, a mere boy when the British beat a retreat and handed over to Jomo Kenyatta in 1963. By the time he reached adulthood, he says, liberation promises of free-

dom of association and speech "were reduced into meaningless chants ... Africa's founding fathers disgraced us".

His Nairobi Law Monthly, founded in 1987, was an early contribution to the now-powerful multiparty democracy movement in Africa.

During his first two-year stint in jail in the mid-1980s, when he realised how many Kenyans had been tortured, Imanyara decided to start a civil rights campaign.

The Law Monthly was the vehicle of this campaign. It is a magazine aimed at the literate population, not narrowly targeted at lawyers.

"In the struggle for the restoration of the worth of a human being, for the restoration of democratic practices and the rule of law, there can be no question of neutrality. We in the media must side with those who strive for the restoration of these basic values," Imanyara told the conference of the Nieman Foundation and the African-American Institute, held in Johannesburg last week.

He associates himself strongly with the assertion of US media icon Walter Cronkite that "a free press is democracy" and foresees that an independent press in Kenya would be more important than many opposition parties.

Reflecting on why the struggle against colonialism deteriorated into autocratic rule, under which freedom of

During the recent joint conference of the Nieman Foundation and African-American Institute, JO-ANNE COLLINGE spoke to two African editors about the independent media.



Gwen Lister... struggle for liberation sharpened her understanding.



Gitobu Imanyara... the independent press won't ever have an easy ride.

expression was stifled, Imanyara says: "We idolised these leaders. We made them larger than life — we personalised the struggle. It was not a struggle for ideals and rights."

He also says: "What we in the African continent saw was not real independence. We did not dismantle oppressive institutions." The new leadership simply took over a State machinery ill-fitted to democracy.

Imanyara points out that the sedition laws under which he was detained were precisely those which the British

rulers used in 1952 to detain Kenyatta.

As to where the media watchdog was when it was needed to check the descent into autocracy, he says: "There wasn't a free media (before independence) and we didn't establish one (upon self-rule)."

Recent independent publications like the Nairobi Law Monthly have had a bitter struggle for survival. But, says Imanyara, they have been assisted by the powerful ability of international radio and television media to create the global village.

The fact that people in Kenya came to know of democratic struggles elsewhere, particularly in Eastern Europe, was a powerful impetus to change. "The world has become so small, that even when I am arrested it becomes international news within hours."

Imanyara reckons that the media have become "the most dreaded institution of autocratic rulers the world over" and therefore "the first victim of their anger". He does not expect that an independent press will ever have an easy ride, no matter what party is in power.

Lister, of course, has lived through a radical change of power in Namibia. And, although the Swapo government — as a democratically chosen government — is precisely what The Namibian fought for, still the paper guards its independence jealously.

"Namibians, who only two years ago emerged from the dark days of colonialism and are only now learning to bury their fears and become conscious of their newfound rights, would be the losers if the independent press was to die. Our democracy will not flourish without a truthfully informed electorate," Lister told the conference.

The Namibian is both the largest daily paper in Namibia and the only independent one. The others are either linked to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) op-

position or the government.

"From the outset, the Namibian government has made it clear that constructive and informed criticism of their actions is a healthy pursuit which is an integral part of nation-building," she said.

And it had honoured this position, tolerating criticism even when it didn't quite like it. Lister observes that a recent "rapping over the knuckles" for criticising the government about its stance on the reintegration of Walvis Bay was "a damn sight better than the days when we were firebombed merely for mentioning Koevoet atrocities".

The real battle of The Namibian in the post-liberation era has been one for financial survival. "In Namibia, threats to press freedom have come not from government but from vested-interest monopoly, which can be as destructive of free debate as State censorship and oppression."

The DTA has a virtual stranglehold on the print media, owning at least five newspapers and the only two commercial printing presses. This means that The Namibian relies on its opposition for printing and distribution.

Lister believes, in contrast to Imanyara, that democracy and the independent media are not quite synonymous. Given the financial situation, she says: "I fear for an independent press in Namibia, but I don't fear for democracy itself." □



In our overheated climate, we must have sceptical journalism, reports R W

Johnson

# Facts remain the bottom line

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STAR 1/1/92

**"SECRET** Koevoet base linked to Boipatong" screamed the Weekly Mail headline, in a story which started several days of frenzied media speculation in South Africa and abroad.

The bottom line of the story was the notion that the South African security forces had actually perpetrated the Boipatong massacre. But when one read the story, one had to worry about the journalism.

Essentially, a police unit containing a number of ex-Namibians had been discovered on an Eastern Transvaal gold mine. An anonymous source had given a tip-off that the men had been shipped in to take part in the Boipatong massacre.

In addition, the ANC "says it has witnesses" who would testify as to Koevoet's role.

And that was it: no actual evidence of any kind to justify the headline or the furore — just an anonymous allegation and some assurances from a political movement that it has, so to speak, wit-

nesses in its possession (anonymous, of course), who will testify in just the way that would best suit that movement.

The witnesses and statements will not, of course, be made available to the investigating police.

Other WM stories in the same issue had the same theme. "Was Boipatong an act of vengeance?" was all about the murder of a white policeman not long before the massacre, the suggestion again being that the police had been direct participants in the killings.

Most of the inside page was taken up by an article by Philip van Niekerk, "One Massacre too many, FW".

To Van Niekerk the massacre somehow proved — the reasoning is obscure — that "The leopards of the National Party have not changed their spots. No matter how reprehensible he views the suggestion, there is a widespread perception that De Klerk has the blood of Boipatong on his hands."

Van Niekerk goes on approvingly to quote Mandela's assertion

that "the regime continues to murder our people".

Quite staggeringly, given the lofty tone of moral condemnation, the absence within the article of any evidence for such an assertion is complete — all we have is the non-evidence of "a widespread perception".

Astonishingly, it was more than a week after the massacre before any journalists talked to the Kwa-Madala Hostel residents, the presumed attackers at Boipatong.

Rian Malan and Denis Beckett (for The Sunday Star) emerged with a picture of a desperately threatened community of refugees who had fled to KwaMadala in the face of murderous township violence directed against "really Zulus", which included even those who dared to maintain such Zulu customs as the wearing of leather wristbands out of esteem for one's ancestors.

The hostel residents seemed outraged and astonished that anyone could see them as other than the principal victims, particularly since their sufferings received scant attention or sympathy: "No-

body cries for us, nobody prays for us."

The Malan-Beckett piece was notably better journalism: the names of those murdered were given, together with ages, date and time of death, the addresses at which Zulu houses had been burnt down, and they were even able to refer to a 13-page list of Zulu refugees who had sought sanctuary in KwaMadala.

Even so, the article contained a number of unchecked allegations — that hostel children can't set foot in school, that hospitals refuse to treat them and that taxis won't come near.

It would have been of real value to print the response of headmasters, hospital workers and taxi drivers to such claims.

Nevertheless, there was enough substance in the article to suggest that what we are witnessing is a medium intensity ethnic war, a conflict peculiarly unsuited to liberal posturing, ideological side-taking and, above all, one in which the trumpeting of unsupported allegations is dangerous to human life.

The Weekly Mail is hardly the worst sinner where the journalism of allegation is concerned. Week after week the New Nation and the New African carry sensational stories in which they allude to "information in our possession", without ever disclosing any substantiated fact at all.

The real culprit here is a culture in which a barrage of allegation is seen as *prima facie* evidence in itself; in which politicians damn an opponent by referring to him as someone "against whom it has been alleged" etc; in which sworn affidavits are collected by the hundred, not in order to be used in a court of law but so as to be divulged to the press as pseudo-evidence.

It is a culture in which people's courts judge people not guilty as accused, but guilty if accused — for has anyone ever heard of a people's court finding somebody innocent?

In the over-heated climate of today's South Africa we need truthful reporting and professional, sceptical journalism as never

before.

It is simply not good enough to assume that the existence of "a public perception" that such-and-such is true means that it is true: if that was all that was required we would have "proved" the existence of Father Christmas long ago.

If one asks what is the hard evidence for a "third force" one is frequently told that "there have been too many allegations about it for it not to be true", as if this was good enough, as if we should not have had facts rather than factoids by now.

One is reminded of the French communist journalist, shown the pile of crutches thrown away by cripples at Lourdes, proof positive of miraculous cures. "Surely you will believe now, my son," said the priest.

"It's all very impressive," replied the journalist. "That's a big pile of crutches. But where, after all this time, are the wooden legs?" □

● R W Johnson is a British political scientist currently working in South Africa.

# Police promise 24-hour hostel watch

By Zingisa Mkhuma

Police have given an undertaking that the Iscor-owned KwaMadala hostel in Boipatong near Vanderbijlpark will be kept under 24-hour surveillance by the security forces.

The undertaking from Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe was made at the second preliminary hearing of the Goldstone

Commission of Inquiry into the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

Mr Justice R J Goldstone said the commission had been informed by counsel for the police that General van der Merwe had undertaken to ensure:

- A continuous police presence to monitor the comings and goings of all persons at the KwaMadala hostel.

- The SAP would take all reasonable steps to

monitor the situation at hostels and their surroundings which were currently known to be sources of unrest.

The SADF had given an assurance to the commission through its counsel that it would also maintain a round-the-clock presence in the vicinity of the KwaMadala hostel and the Boipatong area.

The Star yesterday noted a heavy security police presence outside

KwaMadala hostel.

In Meadowlands, Soweto, four police Caspirs were seen in the vicinity of the local hostel.

In Dobsonville, a police truck stood next to the hostel which was recently partly demolished by local residents. There was no visible sign of security forces at Dube and Nancefield hostels.

All the hostels mentioned, except for KwaMadala, are not fenced off.



## Govt considers ban on carrying weapons

GOVERNMENT is to give consideration to the carrying of weapons in public and new regulations are being formulated to enable a total ban on the carrying of weapons in unrest areas, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers said yesterday.

Scheepers said Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe had been asked to investigate the feasibility of a recommendation by Goldstone commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone that a compre-

hensive ban be placed on carrying weapons in public. *Blom 817192*

Reacting to Goldstone's statement on Monday in which the judge said the commission's recommendations concerning the bearing of weapons in public had not been implemented properly, Scheepers said government and the SAP were as concerned as the commission about the issue. — Sapa.

● Comment: Page 6

2 METRO

# Umkhonto leader blown up

By Stan Hlophe  
and Anna Louw

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Star 2/7/92

Controversy surrounds the death of Umkhonto we Sizwe (ANC military wing) "commandant" George Mashele, who allegedly blew himself up with a hand grenade at his Vosloorus home on the East

Rand early yesterday morning. Mr Mashele died during a police raid on his Mohlala Street home. His mother, Lilian Mogashoa, was injured and died later in hospital. Independent witnesses told The Star that Mr Mashele, who had a gun, blew himself up when he tried to throw a hand grenade at the police. As

he lay dying, he shot his mother. Some of Mr Mashele's friends blamed the police, but other residents said the police raided Mr Mashele's house after he and his comrades had burnt down a house belonging to David Selepe — a relative of Vosloorus councillor Sidwell Mofokeng and a policeman whom the comrades

claimed had a hit list including the names of MK members. During the petrol bomb attack just after midnight on Monday two-year-old Marnotshere Selepe and cousin Khulu Radebe (33) died. Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said five suspects were arrested after the Vos-

loorus attack. An informer later took them to another house which he said was occupied by the leader. When no one answered, police threw a teargas canister through a window into the lounge. Soon after, there was an explosion. The body of Mr Mashele and his critically injured mother were found in the house.



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**Total weapon  
ban in pipeline**

New regulations are being formulated for a total ban on the carrying of weapons in unrest areas, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe would investigate the feasibility of a Goldstone Commission recommendation that a total ban be placed on carrying weapons in public.

Mr Justice Goldstone said on Monday that the commission's recommendations concerning the bearing of weapons had not been implemented properly. — Sapa.

# Principal 'assaulted by cops'

Sowetan 9/7/92

## ■ MADALA HOSTEL

### Daniel Mashodi 'dumped by police to be killed

THE PRINCIPAL of Wedela High School in Carletonville was allegedly assaulted by police, who also took him to the Madala Hostel in Alexandra.

Mr Daniel Moshodi (40) said police arrested him at the gate of his mother's house in Alexandra township last Saturday night.

"They found a pistol for which I have a licence and took me away. They beat me and took me to Madala Hostel where they forced me out of the Casspir. They said they would leave me there to be killed by the hostel inmates," he said.

"I refused to remain and said they should rather kill me themselves. I got into the Casspir and they assaulted me further before taking me to the Bramley police station."

He said he was released on Monday afternoon after being charged with drunken driving. He said he has laid charges against the policemen.



# Dead mayor on hit-list

*Sowetan 9/7/92*  
■ **DIEPMEADOW COUNCILLOR** claims a hitlist was discovered just before the mayor was murdered:

By Victor Tsuai

A SENIOR councillor of the Diepmeadow Town Council has alleged that his colleagues could be implicated in the mysterious assassination of former mayor Mr MJ Khumalo last year.

The councillor, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said a hit-list containing names of five Diepmeadow councillors was confirmed three days before Khumalo was shot dead on his way to meet a colleague in Meadowlands on the night of April 16.

The name of the councillor and that of Khumalo were allegedly mentioned in the hitlist.

## Death threat to four

Khumalo, according to *Sowetan's* source, was told of the threat to eliminate the four shortly before his death "unless they resigned to join the other group".

The shooting is alleged to have occurred shortly after a coterie of councillors walked out of a meeting addressed by Khumalo. The meeting was "a heated debate and acrimony over council issues".

"The divisions within the Diepmeadow Council had existed for some time and ultimately there was a clear chasm within the council as early as 1989," *Sowetan* was told.

"Khumalo was begrudged by some of his colleagues after the mayoral position and winning it in 1991. Three days later Khumalo was shot dead in what people believed was a politically-motivated killing."

The name of the alleged suspected killer of Khumalo is known to *Sowetan*.

Khumalo's eldest son, Sidney, told *Sowetan* that several people, including members of the police, had indicated to the family that his father was a victim of "in-fighting" within the council.

The other members on the hitlist, which was

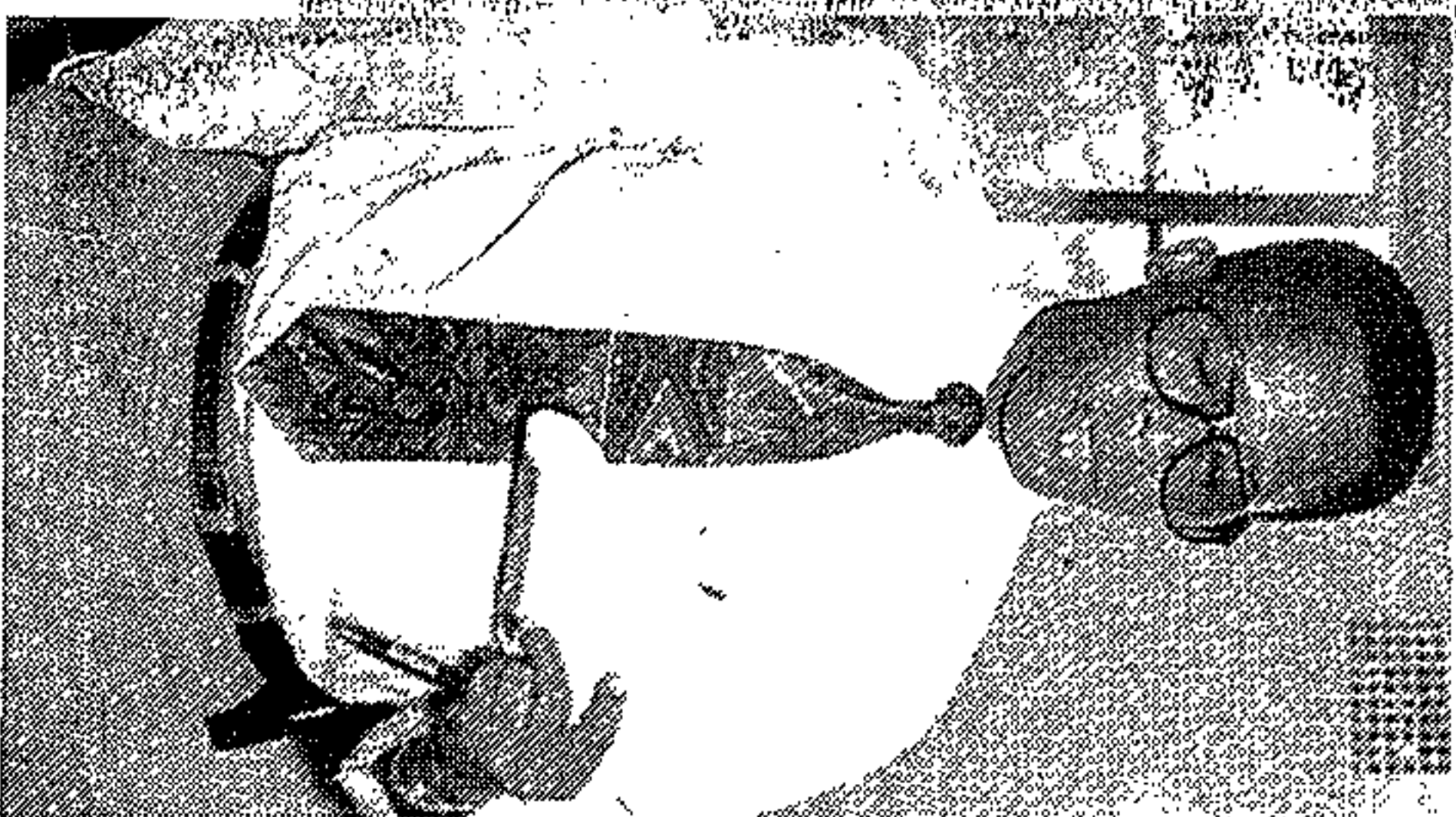
*327*  
Khumalo was begrudged by some of his colleagues after the mayoral position and winning it in 1991

allegedly given to the police, are still living in fear of their lives.

A spokesman for the South African Police, Captain Joseph Ngobeni, said that the police were not aware of the existence of a hit-list. Ngobeni said that no arrest had been made and police investigations were still continuing.

"We request that people with information about the murder and the hit-list come forward so that their information should be investigated," Ngobeni said.

**NEWS FEATURE** Was union leader's death a monumental coincidence or...?



FLOYD MASHELE

# Activist Mashele's final mission

■ A sad farewell to Floyd Mashele, illustrious, hard working unionist and leading ANC member:

By Victor Tsuai

THIS weekend the African National Congress will bid a sad farewell to one of its most distinguished, hard working activists, Mr Floyd Mashele.

Mashele died under mysterious circumstances on his way from Tzaneen in the Mankweng area last Wednesday after attending to one of his numerous commitments. It has been alleged that Mashele, who was the Post and Telecommunications Workers Association (Potwa) national campaign coordinator, Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal regional executive committee member of the ANC and head of the Peace Desk, died in a car accident after

an alleged burst tyre.

But questions still linger as to whether the dark forces of repression did not choose to stalk the former Potwa second vice-president on what had become the organisations' nemesis day, July 1.

His death coincided with the fourth anniversary of the death of another Potwa stalwart, Mr Papi Michael Banda, on July 1 1988.

In what appears a monumental coincidence, Mashele died in the same car that was hijacked the previous week. The car was returned to him by strange callers who said he would find it parked next to the Morija Sun on Sunday morning. The car was found and kept overnight by the police for the usual clear-

ance. <sup>10/7/92</sup>  
The police returned the car and Mashele then literally drove to his untimely death.

Mashele entered the fray of fighting the apartheid system after matriculating in Meadowlands, Soweto, in 1979.

He with fellow comrades - Kgabisi Mosunkutu, Bob Mabaso and Vusi Khumalo - made a big impact in 1986 when they spearheaded the formation of Potwa.

Mosunkutu said of Mashele: "His fluency in African languages gained him popularity and respect in all communities, where the struggle was the issue."

Mashele's death is being investigated at the highest level by the ANC. He will be buried in Tzaneen tomorrow at 9am. Transport will leave from Potwa's Darragh House offices in Wanderers Street, Johannesburg, today at 6pm.

## Floyd's file

- Peace Accord: He visited troubled spots in violence-torn areas to monitor the situation and compiled reports for the community.
- Potwa: Ensured that resolutions taken at national meetings were carried out and gave report-backs to the national body on progress.
- ANC: He was a member of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee where he presided in discussions to end violence.



THE COMMISSION consists of three advocates — Lewis Skweyiya, Gilbert Marcus and B Mabandla.

Sapa-Reuter reports the ANC yesterday formally handed over to the Tanzanian government its camps and farms there.

The handover in Mgorogoro marked the

ing party.

"It was the people of Tanzania who made a great sacrifice for the liberation of southern Africa. It is only fair that the complexes be handed over to them and not to CCM," civil rights lawyer Mabere Marando said. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Taxi 'war' over Zimbabwe route

THEO RAWANA and WILSON ZWANE

SA's taxi operators were using strong-arm tactics in an attempt to force Zimbabwean bus companies to abandon the Beit Bridge-Johannesburg route, a source said yesterday.

These tactics included abduction and intimidation. *BIDAY 10/7/92*

SA Long Distance Taxi Association (Saldta) president Peter Rabali said he could not say if Saldta members were involved, but confirmed his northern Transvaal region had been in dispute with Zimbabwean bus operators.

Rabali gave the names of three Zimbabwean bus companies involved on the route as Shoeshine, Countryboy and Matambanazo.

The source, who wanted to remain anonymous, said taxi operators had attacked Zimbabwean bus drivers in central Johannesburg three times this week. Three days ago, a Zimbabwean bus driver and his conductor were abducted by taxi operators, while another attempted abduction was foiled by police intervention on Wednesday.

Rabali was non-committal on the incidents, but said Zimbabwean bus operators had reneged on an agreement with his organisation.

This agreement stipulated that only one bus should run the route each day.

"Now the Zimbabweans have flooded the market and left our men with no fares on a route they initiated," said Rabali.

## Forum cancelled after police raid

ADRIAN HADLAND (327)

THE proposed establishment of a joint negotiations forum including the Pretoria City Council and the Central Transvaal Civics Association (CTCA) was cancelled this week after a police raid on the parish church of CTCA president Father Sman-galiso Mkhathshwa.

Mkhathshwa, who is also general secretary of the Institute of Contextual Theology, was awarded R25 000 by the Law and Order Minister in 1988 following allegations of torture. *BIDAY 10/7/92*

Civic representatives said at a Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber meeting this week that the raid on Monday, as well as alleged intimidation of other civic leaders in the PWV region, was threatening the local government negotiation process.

Civic leaders in the Metropolitan Chamber said they had asked government officials to put pressure on the police to stop the alleged victimisation of civic leaders.

CTCA general secretary Star Vilakazi said up to 50 police officers and soldiers had taken part in the three-hour raid on the St Charles Lwanga Catholic Church in Soshanguve.

He claimed a number of people had been assaulted.

A police spokesman said a pistol and ammunition had been found in the living quarters of a Catholic church in Soshanguve after a raid on Monday afternoon.

There had been no arrest during the incident, he said, although police were looking for the owner of the weapons.

## SAAF takes off to help in Angolan election

THE first of several SA Air Force aircraft, which would assist the Angolan government with an air structure for that country's general election in September, left Waterkloof in Pretoria yesterday.

The three Hercules C-130s and two light planes would prepare the installation in Angola from where the SAAF would operate before a contingent of about 60 members with helicopters and light aircraft joined them, an SAAF spokesman said.

The operation was the largest assistance task conducted by the SAAF to an African country, he said.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

The SAAF would assist officials in registering voters living in remote areas. The move followed a request by the Angolan government supported by the UN representative in Luanda, Margaret Anstee.

The SAAF's task mainly would consist of communication flights. The contingent would be rotated monthly.

The election on September 30 would be conducted under UN supervision and great effort was being made to get voters registered in time.



# Panel moots new protest laws

BIDAY 10/7/92

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — New legislation to regulate demonstrations, which would include severe limitations on the use of force by the police, should be promulgated urgently, an international and local panel of experts appointed by the Goldstone commission has recommended.

Legal enactment of the panel's recommendations would bring SA practice into line with international procedures, the panel said. The panel's report on the lawful control of mass demonstrations was released yesterday.

Judge Richard Goldstone, in opening the presentation on the report, said the commission would consider setting up other multinational panels to investigate matters such as police training and the public accountability of the police.

He said the panel would hold three days of talks with the legal representatives of the ANC, Cosatu and the Inkatha Freedom Party, and after submissions from the public next week the final recommendations and draft legislation would be submitted to State President F W de Klerk.

The report strongly recommended that demonstrators be universally prohibited from carrying weapons or replicas of weapons. Police should have special powers to

confiscate weapons carried at demonstrations, said the panel, which has sat under the chairmanship of Harvard Law School Centre for Criminal Justice director Prof Philip Heymann.

The fundamental principles of the report were that peaceful demonstration should be entrenched as a democratic right in SA and one of the central responsibilities of the police should be to facilitate the exercise of this right.

Lethal force could only be justified when delay in its use, and the use of anything less, would subject the police or others to severe risk of death.

"Our message to the SA police force is to avoid situations where self-defence or defence of others is necessary by planning, equipping and training," Heymann said. The panel believed shotguns firing bird-shot should be regarded as lethal weapons.

The panel recommended that the use of non-lethal force must be proportionate to the need, reasonable in the circumstances and minimal to accomplish what was required. It suggested arrest as the preferable form of action.

The report urged that the police force be properly organised, trained and equipped

to handle demonstrations without force. This new approach would mean the police would need skills in peacefully interacting with crowds, in negotiation and in human relations. To achieve this, police training would have to be reviewed. (327)

The panel said respect for the right to demonstrate was especially needed in SA — despite its politically inflammatory conditions — as the majority of the population lacked voting rights. However, it noted that the police also had an obligation to prevent violent mass actions.

The panel believed those organising demonstrations, local authorities and the police all had a responsibility to ensure demonstrations were held without violence.

The Supreme Court should have wide powers to review local authority decisions.

The report acknowledged many demonstrations in SA occurred spontaneously.

The panel accepted an ANC recommendation that a commission be available to provide independent monitors of police conduct on request at demonstrations and said this could be an extension of the Goldstone commission. The report said a post-incident, independent review of police action would exert a powerful influence on police behaviour.

## Three policemen die in East Rand unrest

THREE policemen had been shot dead in unrest-related incidents in Katlehong on the East Rand since Tuesday, police reported yesterday.

Police reservist Mathi Mohale was shot dead and his firearm stolen by unknown attackers yesterday. Police are investigating. BIDAY 10/7/92

Two other policemen were killed in Katlehong on Wednesday by a group of men armed with AK-47 rifles.

Police said yesterday they would investigate claims made this week by the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) that it had attacked and killed policemen.

In another incident, two men were killed when ANC and Inkatha supporters clashed using firearms and other weapons near Estcourt in Natal yesterday. — Sapa.

## Vaal business feels the boycott

THEO RAWANA

BUSINESS in the Vaal Triangle is beginning to feel the consumer boycott launched by the Broad Forum, but has vowed not to be brought to its knees.

Business leaders in the area have hinted at retaliation for a boycott they view as senseless as it hits "apolitical business people and innocent consumers".

The Broad Forum, an alliance of community groups and political organisations, this week announced the intensification of the boycott against white business in Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark, Meyerton and Sasolburg. The boycott was launched after the Boipatong massacre to support demands which included the demolition of the KwaMadala Hostel, arrest and prosecution of all people involved in the violence, withdrawal of security forces from Vaal townships and compensation by Iscor for Boipatong residents.

Vereeniging Sakekamer chairman He-nie Olberts said smaller businesses were the worst hit. But the boycotters were also

suffering.

"The boycott won't bring business to its knees. Blacks are suffering too, and it's time unions and political leaders saw what they were doing to themselves."

He said the business community was thinking of ways to "boycott the boycotters", like refusing township deliveries.

The Vanderbijlpark Sakekamer said it had dropped the word "Afrikaanse" from its name to accommodate other language groups. BIDAY 10/7/92

"We opened our hand to them and we warn that if we close it they won't be able to get in again."

"They must be warned."

Broad Forum spokesman Paul Sithole said he had had "confidential approaches" from some companies asking what to do. "I suggested they lobby big business to come and address the issue."

He said it was too early to say how effective the boycott was.

City was not included

denied picket outside of offices in Johannesburg earlier this week, would not

IN A



# focus on the Media

Sowetan 10/7/92

**R**ENEWED tension in South Africa's townships, particularly after the Boipatong massacre, has been accompanied by renewed harassment of journalists from two sources as they attempt to report on the bloodshed.

Journalists face severe intimidation from township youths.

Recently, newspapers have run numerous articles about youths assaulting journalists in the townships, or accusing them of being "State killers", "Gatsha's soldiers", or just simply "policemen" - a frightening allegation which could create a life-threatening situation if acted on by an angry crowd.

Not surprisingly, journalists are becoming increasingly reluctant to go into the townships.

The unfortunate but obvious result is that an accurate picture of just what is happening is not adequately reflected in the newspapers - and it's not the journalists who are solely to blame.

Journalists are also up against their old adversary - the security forces, who have powers in terms of unrest regulations to effectively prevent journalists from witnessing township strife.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel has declared seven "unrest areas", including the country's most volatile townships: Boipatong, Sharpeville, Sebokeng, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Tokoza, Soweto and Alexandra.

In these "unrest areas", the security forces - members of the police, defence force and prisons service - can order journalists to stop what they are doing and to get out of the area under certain circumstances.

Any member of the force, no matter how low his rank, can issue the order if he's of the opinion that the presence or behaviour of the journalists could cause various forms of unrest such as public violence, disorder or riots.

He can also order journalists out of the area if he feels it's necessary to prevent a situation becoming violent.

Journalists have to obey the command immediately, otherwise they can be arrested. The security forces can use as much force as they feel is necessary to get the journalists out.

The security force member's word is final, the correctness of his decision cannot be questioned. Even if journalists feel he has over-reacted or has sized up the potential dangers incorrectly, they have to obey the order.

Any journalist worth his salt will try anything to get back into an unrest area if a big story is brewing. The question is: how long does such an order remain in force?

Obviously it doesn't operate indefinitely, so when can journalists go back into an unrest area?

This question was debated at length during an appeal by World-wide Television News sound man, Brian Green, against a conviction for

The harassment of journalists is taking on new forms every day. In this article Webber Wentzel lawyer, **David O'Sullivan**, looks at some forms of censorship and intimidation of the media from police and the public in general.



**FLASHBACK...** Police firing on fleeing protesters after President FW De Klerk's visit was aborted when angry mobs forced him out of Boipatong township.

refusing to obey an order to leave Vosloorus - an unrest area.

Mr Justice Petrus Schabert (a Codesa co-chairman) agreed with Mr Justice Peter Schutz that the unrest must be over before the journalists can flock back in.

They were strict in deciding precisely when the situation is back to normal. People milling around in what Green called the "regular kind of post, kind of feeling" was still unrest according to the judges and therefore a no-go area.

The judges decided that journalists would have to make appropriate inquiries to decide if unrest was over. Since the security forces are given the power to decide when unrest occurs, they presumably will be the ones to decide when it's over.

Appropriate inquiries, no doubt, will have to be directed their way.

Yet that's what journalists must do when deciding if they can re-enter a trouble zone.

Journalists are up against many obstacles in unrest areas: they face arrest without a warrant, detention for up to 30 days, their cars being searched without a warrant. Their refusal to obey the security forces could result in a fine of up to R20 000 or 10 years in jail, or a jail term without the option of a fine.

Critics of the media are quick to point a finger and accuse them of not accurately reflecting what is going on in the townships. But given the constraints under which journalists operate, it's surprising that anything is published at all.

Intimidation from township youths and unrest regulations imposed by the security forces stymie a journalist's work and result in vital information about the state of the nation being kept under wraps.



**RAADSKENNISGEWING 172 VAN 1992****STADSRAAD VAN RUSTENBURG****WYSIGING VAN WATERVOORSIENINGS-  
VERORDENINGE**

Kennis geskied hiermee ingevolge die bepalings van artikel 96 van die Ordonnansie op Plaaslike Bestuur, 1939, dat die Stadsraad van Rustenburg van voorneme is om die Watervoorsieningsverordeninge afgekondig by Administrateurskennisgewing 1272, van 31 Augustus 1977, soos gewysig, verder te wysig.

Die algemene strekking van die wysiging is om die deposito gelde in sekere gevalle te verhoog.

'n Afskrif van die wysiging lê ter insae gedurende kantoorure by Kamer 715, Stadskantore, Burgerstraat, Rustenburg, vir 'n tydperk van veertien (14) dae vanaf publikasie hiervan in die *Staatskoerant*, nl. 10 Julie 1992.

Enige persoon wat beswaar teen die wysiging wil maak, moet dit skriftelik by die Stadsklerk binne veertien (14) dae na datum van publikasie hiervan by bogenelde adres doen.

**W. J. ERASMUS,**

Stadsklerk.

Stadskantore  
Posbus 16  
RUSTENBURG  
0300.

(Kennisgewing No. 68/1992)

[1/2/3/46 (2682)]

(10 Julie 1992)

**RAADSKENNISGEWING 173 VAN 1992****STADSRAAD VAN NELSPRUIT****VERORDENINGE BETREFFENDE DIE BEHEER  
VAN BUITEREKLAME**

Die Stadsklerk van Nelspruit publiseer hierby ingevolge artikel 101 van die Ordonnansie op Plaaslike Bestuur, 1939, die verordeninge hierna uiteengesit, wat deur die genoemde Stadsraad opgestel is:

**INHOUDSOPGAWE****Artikel**

1. Woordoms krywing.
2. Permitte.
3. Aansoeke en gelde betaalbaar.
4. Bevestiging en verwydering van tekens.
5. Tekens oor openbare plekke.
6. Vrystellings.
7. Onweloweglike tekens, ens.
8. Tydelike advertensies vir bepaalde geleenthede.
9. Pamflette.
10. Verbode tydelike advertensies, pamflette, ens.
11. Tydelike advertensies vir die verkoop van eiendom.
12. Tydelike koerantplakkate.

**BOARD NOTICE 172 OF 1992****TOWN COUNCIL OF RUSTENBURG****AMENDMENT OF THE WATER SUPPLY:  
BY-LAWS**

Notice in terms of section 96 of the Local Government Ordinance, 1939, is hereby given, that the Town Council of Rustenburg proposes to amend the Water Supply By-laws, published under Administrator's Notice 1272 of 31 August 1977, as amended.

The general purport of the amendment is to provide for the increase of deposit monies in certain cases.

A copy of the amendment is open for inspection during office hours at Room 715, Municipal Offices, Burger Street, Rustenburg, for a period of fourteen (14) days from the date of publication of this notice in the *Government Gazette*, nl. 10 July 1992.

Any person who is desirous to object to the amendment should do so in writing to the Town Clerk within fourteen (14) days from the date of publication of this notice at the above-mentioned address.

**W. J. ERASMUS,**

Town Clerk.

Municipal Offices  
P.O. Box 16  
RUSTENBURG  
0300.

(Notice No. 68/1992)

[1/2/3/46 (2682)]

(10 July 1992)

**BOARD NOTICE 173 OF 1992****TOWN COUNCIL OF NELSPRUIT****BY-LAWS REGARDING THE CONTROL OF  
EXTERIOR ADVERTISEMENT**

The Town Clerk of Nelspruit, hereby, in terms of section 101 of the Local Government Ordinance, 1939, publishes the by-laws as set forth hereinafter, which have been made by the said Council:

**INDEX**

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**Section**

1. Definitions.
2. Permits.
3. Applications and levies payable.
4. Attachment and removal of signs.
5. Signs over public areas.
6. Exemptions.
7. Unseemly signs, etc.
8. Temporary advertisements for specific occasions.
9. Pamphlets.
10. Prohibited temporary advertisements, pamphlets, etc.
11. Temporary advertisements for the sale of property.
12. Temporary newspaper placards.



**Artikel**

13. Lugtekens.
14. Swaaiende tekens.
15. Rigtingtekens.
16. Vrystaande tekens.
17. Verligte neon tekens.
18. Toegang tot persele.
19. Verwydering van bestaande tekens.
20. Bestaande tekens, ens.
21. Beslaglegging op tekens, ens.
22. Strafbepalings.
23. Herroeping van Verordeninge.

**Woordomskrywing**

1. In hierdie verordeninge, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

**"buitereklame"** 'n teken soos hierna omskryf, wat van 'n straat af sigbaar is en wat op of oor openbare grond staan of strek;

**"enige teken"** 'n "teken" met inbegrip van 'n "lugteken" en "vrystaande teken" soos hierna omskryf.

**"gelde"** die bedrag soos in die Bylae tot hierdie verordeninge uiteengesit en soos van tyd tot tyd deur die Raad ingevolge artikel 80B van die Ordonnansie op Plaaslike Bestuur, No. 17 van 1939, soos gewysig, by wyse van Spesiale besluit bepaal. Deposito het 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis.

**"lugteken"** 'n teken soos hierna omskryf wat in die lug met behulp van 'n ballon of dergelike hulpmiddel ten toon gestel, vertoon of uitgevoer word;

**"openbare grond"** 'n publieke plek soos omskryf in die Ordonnansie op Plaaslike Bestuur, No. 17 van 1939, soos gewysig.

**"pamflet"** enige pamflet, biljet, brosjure, boek of geskrif van watter aard ook al wat per hand versprei word, met uitsondering van nuusblaai wat ingevolge die wet op die Registrasie van Nuusblaai en Drukkersname, No. 63 van 1971, geregistreer is.

**"Raad"** die Stadsraad van Nelspruit en omvat die Bestuurskomitee van dié Raad wat handel kragtens die bevoegdhede wat ingevolge die bepalinge van artikel 58 van die Ordonnansie op Plaaslike Bestuur (Administrasie en Verkiesings), 1960 (Ordonnansie 40 van 1960), aan hom gedelegeer is, en enige beampte aan wie die Bestuurskomitee 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 delegeer, en dit inderdaad delegeer het;

**"straat"** enige straat, plein, pad, steeg, voetpad, sypaadje, deurgang, gang of plek waartoe die publiek toegang het;

**"streek"** die "gebruikstreek" soos omskryf in die Dorpsbeplanningskema van Nelspruit wat van tyd tot tyd van krag is;

**Section**

13. Air signs.
14. Swinging signs.
15. Direction signs.
16. Loose standing signs.
17. Illuminated neon signs.
18. Access to sites.
19. Removal of existing signs.
20. Existing signs, etc.
21. Seizure of signs, etc.
22. Penalties.
23. Repeal of by-laws.

**Definitions**

1. In these by-laws, unless the context otherwise indicates—

**"air sign"** means a sign as hereinafter described, which is exhibited, displayed or executed in the air, with the aid of a balloon or similar means;

**"any sign"** means a "sign" including an "air sign" and "loose standing sign" as described hereinafter;

**"Council"** means the Town Council of Nelspruit and includes the Councils 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 official to whom that Committee has been empowered by the Council, in terms of subsection (3) of that section to delegate, and has in fact delegated the powers, functions and duties vesting in the Council in relation to these by-laws;

**"Election advertisement"** mean any placard, election material, apparatus or article that is in any way visible from a street or shown in any manner whatsoever, that is used for a parliamentary or municipal election or by-election or referendum or in respect of a meeting or gathering of a lawful political party;

**"exterior advertisement"** means a sign as described, which is visible from the street and which is erected on or extends over a public area;

**"levies"** means the amount of money as set out in the annexure to these by-laws and which is determined from time to time by the Council by Special Resolution in terms of section 80B of the Local Government Ordinance, No. 17 of 1939, as amended. Deposit has a corresponding meaning;

**"loose standing sign"** means a sign with its own support, which is not attached to a building and which includes rubbish bins, parking meters and street furniture which is erected on or extends over a public area;

**"pamphlet"** means any pamphlet, poster, brochure, book or writing of whatever nature which is distributed by hand, with the exception of newspapers registered in terms of the Newspaper and Imprint Registration Act, No. 63 of 1971;

**"public area"** means a public place as described in the Local Government Ordinance, 1939, as amended;

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**"teken"** enige permanente plakkaat, advertensiemateriaal, toestel of artikel wat op of oor openbare grond vertoon word met die doel om reklame te maak vir, inligting te verskaf oor, of die publiek aan te lok na, enige plek, openbare vertoning, artikel of koopware, hoegenaamd en waarvan die oppervlakte of struktuur vasgeheg is aan, of deel uitmaak van 'n gebou en wat oor openbare grond strek of wat bevestig is aan die grond, of aan 'n paal, skerm of skutting of wat op 'n ander manier vertoon word;

**"totale aansig"** die sigoppervlakte van die teken bereken deur die som van elke aansig wat in enige rigting geadverteer word;

**"tydelike advertensie"** enige tydelike plakkaat, advertensiemateriaal, toestel of artikel wat op enige wyse hoegenaamd van 'n straat af sigbaar is en wat ten doel het om enige gebeurlikheid of aangeleentheid te adverteer, uitgesonderd 'n verkiesingsadvertensie;

**"verkiesingsadvertensie"** enige plakkaat, advertensiemateriaal, toestel of artikel wat op enige wyse hoegenaamd van 'n straat of sigbaar is of vertoon word en wat in verband met 'n Parlementêre of Munisipale verkiesing of tussenverkiesing of referendum of ten opsigte van 'n vergadering of byeenkoms van 'n wettige politieke party gebruik word;

**"vrystaande teken"** 'n teken met sy eie stutte, wat nie aan 'n gebou bevestig is nie, maar sluit in vullishouers, parkeermeters en straatameublement, wat op of oor openbare grond staan of strek;

#### **Permitte**

2. Niemand mag op of oor openbare grond enige teken oprig, onderhou, vertoon of toelaat dat iemand anders dit doen nie, tensy hy die houer van 'n geldige permit ten opsigte van sodanige teken is nie, welke permit uitgereik sal word nadat die teken goedgekeur en opgerig is.

#### **Aansoeke en gelde betaalbaar**

3. (1) Elke aansoek vir die oprigting van enige teken moet op die voorgeskrewe vorm, tesame met die toepaslike aansoekgeld, soos in die bylae bepaal, vir vooraf skriftelike goedkeuring by die Raad ingedien word.

(2) 'n Aansoeker is daartoe verplig om enige aanvulende inligting wat die Raad van tyd tot tyd in verband met sodanige teken mag aanvra, te verskaf.

(3) 'n Aansoeker of sy opvolger in titel mag geensins van die bepalings van die Raad se goedkeuring van die aangevraagde afwyk nie. Enige sodanige afwyking sal 'n misdryf uitmaak.

(4) Nadat die aansoek vir die oprigting van sodanige teken deur die Raad oorweeg en goedgekeur is, is die voorgeskrewe deposito en gelde, soos in die bylae bepaal, betaalbaar.

**"region"** means the consumer region as described in the Town-planning Scheme of Nelspruit which is operative from time to time;

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**"sign"** means any permanent placard, advertising matter, apparatus or article which is displayed on or over a public area, with the aim to advertise, inform, or entice the public to any place, public show, article or merchandise, and of which the surface or structure is connected to or forms part of a building and which extends over a public area or which is fastened to the ground, or a pole, screen or fence, or which is displayed in any other manner including council property such as dustbins, parking meters and street furniture erected on public areas;

**"street"** means any street, square, road, alley, footpath, pavement, passage, corridor or place with public access;

**"temporary advertisements"** means any temporary placard, advertisement material, apparatus or article that is visible from a street whatsoever and with the purpose to advertise any contingencies or matter, excluding an election advertisement;

**"total view"** means the visibility surface of the sign calculated by the sum of each and every view which is advertised in any direction.

#### **Permits**

2. Nobody is entitled to erect, maintain or display any sign on or over a public area or allow anyone to do so, unless he is in possession of a legal permit in respect of such sign, which permit shall be issued after approval and erection of the sign.

#### **Application and levies payable**

3. (1) Each application for the erection of any sign must be submitted to the Council on the prescribed form together with the applicable fees as determined in the annexure, for prior written approval.

(2) The applicant is obliged to provide any additional information which the Council may from time to time request in respect of such sign.

(3) The applicant or his successor in title may be no means depart from the conditions of the Council's approval in respect of the sign. Any such departure will be an offence.

(4) After the application for the erection of such sign was considered and approved by the Council, the prescribed deposit and levies as determined in the Tariff Annexure becomes payable.



**Bevestiging en verwydering van tekens**

4. (1) Enige teken moet op so 'n wyse vasgeheg wees dat dit geen bron van gevaar vir die publiek skep nie, en die eienaar van sodanige teken aanvaar, ondanks enige deur die Raad aan hom toegekende permit, alle verantwoordelikheid en aanspreeklikheid en vrywaar die Raad teen enige eis wat moontlik in verband met so 'n teken kan ontstaan en hy moet hom daarvan vergewis dat so 'n teken ter gener tyd 'n gevaar of 'n oorlas vir die publiek is nie.

(2) Indien sodanige teken, na die Raad se uitsluitlike oordeel verweerd raak, in 'n swak toestand verval, of 'n gevaar of 'n oorlas word, moet die eienaar daarvan onverwyld die teken verwyder indien die Raad hom skriftelik daarom versoek en versuim om dit te doen kom neer op 'n misdryf.

(3) Indien die eienaar van enige teken nalaat om aan 'n subartikel 4 (2) genoemde skriftelike versoek te voldoen kan die Raad die betrokke teken op die eienaar se koste verwyder, in welke geval geen vergoeding vanweë sodanige verwydering deur die Raad aan enigiemand betaalbaar is nie.

(4) Enige teken wat vir reklamedoeleindes aangebring is of om inligting te verstrek aangaande die naam van of die aard van die besigheid wat op enige perseel bedryf word, moet onverwyld deur die gemagtigde aansoeker van die betrokke teken verwyder word sodra hy nie meer dié betrokke perseel okkupeer of dié besigheid bedryf nie, by gebreke waarvan die teken verwyder en die verwyderingskoste van die deposito verhaal kan word.

**Tekens oor openbare plekke**

5. (1) Nieteenstaande die feit dat 'n permit ten opsigte van enige teken uitgereik is, word daar geag dat iemand wat so 'n teken aldus opgerig of laat oprig het dat dit oor of op 'n openbare plek uitsteek of oorskryd, vir solank dit die Raad behaag, 'n huurder is. Die Raad kan, na goeë dunde, so iemand of die eienaar van dié gebou waaraan só 'n teken bevestig is, gelas om die uitsteke of oorskrydings gedeeltelik of heeltemal binne veertien dae na die datum van die lasgewing te verwyder.

(2) Indien die bepalinge van so 'n lasgewing nie in alle opsigte en ten volle nagekom word nie, kan die Raad gemelde uitsteke en oorskrydings op die eienaar se koste verwyder, in welke geval geen vergoeding weens sodanige verwydering deur die Raad aan enigiemand betaalbaar is nie.

**Vrystellings**

6. (1) Waar 'n teken of advertensie 'n integrale deel van 'n gebou se ontwerp uitmaak of deel van 'n gebou uitmaak en in geheel op 'n besigheids- of nywerheidsperseel opgerig is, hoef daar ten opsigte van so 'n teken geen aansoekgelde betaal te word en ook geen aansoek om 'n magtiging gedoen te word nie.

(2) Waar 'n teken of advertensie aan 'n openbare gebou vasgeheg is wat self deur die adverteerder opgerig en onderhou word, word die beskikbaarstelling van die gerief aan die gemeenskap as 'n teenprestasie beskou en is geen verdere gelde buiten die aansoekgelde, betaalbaar nie.

**Attachment and removal of signs**

4. (1) Any sign has to be attached in such a way that it will be of no danger to the public and the owner of such sign accepts, notwithstanding any permit given to him by the Council, all responsibilities and liabilities and indemnifies the Council against any claim that may possibly arise in connection with the sign and he must ascertain that such a sign is of no danger or threat to the public.

(2) If in the Council's sole opinion the condition of the sign deteriorates, declines to a poor condition or becomes a danger or nuisance, the owner must immediately remove the sign if so requested in writing by the Council and refusal to do so will be an offence.

(3) If the owner of any sign fails to comply with a written request in terms of subsection (2), the Council may remove the sign at the owners cost, in which case the Council will not on account of such removal be liable for compensation to anyone.

(4) Any sign erected for advertising purposes or to furnish information regarding the name or nature of a business being run on any site must forthwith be removed by the authorised applicant of the said sign as soon as he relinquishes occupation of the site or the business is terminated, failing which the sign will be removed and the cost thereof deducted from the deposit.

**Signs over public areas**

5. (1) Notwithstanding the fact that a permit has been issued in respect of any sign, it will be accepted that someone who erected such sign or allowed the erection thereof, in such a manner that it infringes or encroaches over or on a public area, will in respect of such infringement or encroachment be a tenant for as long as the Council pleases. The Council may, at its discretion, order such person or the owner of the building to which the sign is attached, to remove such infringements or encroachments, either partially or in whole, within fourteen days from the date of the order.

(2) If the conditions of such an order are not fully complied with in all respects, the Council may remove such infringements and encroachments at the cost of the owner, in which case no compensation in respect of such removal will be paid by the Council to anyone.

**Exemptions**

6. (1) Where a sign or advertisement is an integral of a building's design or forms part of a building and is erected as a whole on a business or industrial erf, no application fees have to be paid and no application for approval is required.

(2) Where a sign or advertisement attached to a public building was erected and is maintained by the advertiser, the availability of the facility to the community will be accepted as counter performance and no other fees, besides the application fees, need to be paid.



(3) Waar permanente inligting, rigting-, plek- en straatwysers deur 'n adverteerder opgerig is wat geen inkomste daaruit gaan verdien nie, is geen verdere gelde buiten die normale aansoekgelde, betaalbaar nie.

#### **Onweloweglike tekens, ens.**

7. Geen tekens, met inbegrip van lugtekens en vrystaande tekens wat na die Raad se uitsluitlike maning onweloweglik of suggestief van onweloweglikheid of nadelig vir die openbare sedes en belang is, mag vertoon of versprei word nie.

#### **Tydlike advertensies vir bepaalde geleenthede**

8. (1) 'n Tydlike advertensie wat in verband staan met die advertering van 'n godsdienstige-, sport-, opvoedkundige-, kulturele- of liefdadigheidsaangeleentheid of -byeenkoms of enige tentoonstelling mag slegs langs of sigbaar van enige straat vertoon word, indien—

- (a) sodanige tydlike advertensie aangebring word vir 'n tydperk van hoogstens 14 dae voor die datum waarop sodanige geleentheid of byeenkoms sal plaasvind en nadat daar skriftelik op die voorgeskrewe vorm aansoek gedoen is;
- (b) die voorgeskrewe gelde, aan die Raad betaal is;
- (c) die naam en adres van die organisasie, instansie of persoon wat sodanige aangeleentheid, byeenkoms of tentoonstelling adverteer, duidelik op sodanige tydlike advertensie aangebring word.

(2) Daar mag hoogstens dertig van die in subartikel (1) bedoelde tydlike advertensies wat dieselfde strekking het, gelyktydig vertoon word en slegs op plekke wat van tyd tot tyd deur die Raad bepaal word.

(3) 'n Tydlike advertensie soos in subartikel (1) beoog moet—

- (a) nie groter as 0,6 m by 1 m wees nie;
- (b) so aangebring wees dat dit geen belemmering vir voertuig- of voetgangerverkeer inhou nie;
- (c) geen reklame vir enige handelsartikel of besigheid met inbegrip van reklame met betrekking tot enige onroerende eiendom bevat nie; en
- (d) binne twee dae na die in subartikel 1 (a) bedoelde tydperk verwyder word.

(4) Behoudens die bepalings van enige ander wet, is die bepalings van subartikel 1 (b) en (3) *mutatis mutandis* van toepassing op verkiesingsadvertensies.

(5) Geen verkiesingsadvertensie wat met 'n verkiesingsaangeleentheid in verband staan mag langer as 'n tydperk wat strek van die begin van die nominasiedag tot die einde van die tweede dag na middernag van die verkiesingsdag vertoon word nie.

(6) Iemand wat 'n tydlike of verkiesingsadvertensie wil vertoon, betaal 'n bedrag as deposito, om die Raad se koste vir die verwydering daarvan te dek, welke bedrag slegs terugbetaal word nadat die Raad oortuig is dat alle sodanige advertensies verwyder is. Benewens die deposito hierin vermeld, is die gelde, soos van tyd tot tyd deur die Raad bepaal aan die Raad betaalbaar, welke gelde nie terugbetaalbaar is nie.

(3) Where permanent information, direction, place and street indicators are erected by the advertiser from which no profit is derived, no further fees besides the application fees, need to be paid. (327)

#### **Unseemly signs, etc.**

7. No signs, including air signs and loose standing signs which in the Councils sole judgment, is considered indecent or suggestive of indecency or harmful for public morals and interest, may be displayed or distributed.

#### **Temporary advertisements for specific occasions**

8. (1) A temporary advertisement in respect of the advertising of a religious, sports, educational, cultural or charity affair or gathering or any exhibition, may only be displayed along or visible from any street, if—

- (a) such temporary advertisement is displayed not more than 14 days before the date on which such affair or gathering will take place and after a written application on the prescribed form has been lodged;
- (b) the prescribed fees were paid to the Council;
- (c) the name and address of the organisation, body or person advertising such affair, gathering or exhibition, has been clearly indicated on such temporary advertisement.

(2) Only thirty of the temporary advertisements having the same purport mentioned in subsection (1) may be displayed at the same time and only on places which the Council determines from time to time.

(3) A temporary advertisement as intended in subsection (1), must—

- (a) not be bigger than 0,6 m by 1 m;
- (b) be displayed in such a way that vehicles and pedestrians are not obstructed;
- (c) not include advertising of any commercial item or business including the advertisement of any immovable property; and
- (d) be removed within two days after the date as mentioned in subsection (1) (a).

(4) Subject to the conditions of any other act the stipulations of subsection (1) (b) and (3), will *mutatis mutandis*, be applicable to election advertisements.

(5) No election advertisement in connection with an election matter may be displayed for a period which is longer than the period commencing from the start of nomination day up to the end of the second day after midnight of the election day.

(6) Anyone who wants to display a temporary or election advertisement, must pay an amount as deposit, to cover any costs of the Council for the removal of the advertisements, which amount will only be refunded after the Council is convinced that all such advertisements have been removed. Except for the deposit mentioned herein, the fees as determined from time to time by the Council is payable to the Council, which fees will not be refundable.



(7) Vir die doeleindes van subartikel 3 (b) is die beslissing van die Raad se Hoofverkeersbeampte of enigiemand wat in sodanige hoedanigheid waarneem, of 'n tydelike advertensie 'n belemmering vir die voertuig- of voetgangerverkeer inhou, finaal.

(8) Die Raad kan, sonder vooraf kennisgewing aan enigiemand, enige tydelike of verkiesingsadvertensie verwyder en/of vernietig wat sonder sy vergunning of wat in stryd met enige bepaling van hierdie verordeninge vertoon word, of wat nie verwyder is binne die voorgeskrewe tydperk nie en die persoon wat enige sodanige tydelike of verkiesingsadvertensie vertoon het, of dit laat vertoon het, of toegelaat of geduld het dat dit 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 of gelde afgetrek kan word, te vergoed en is boonop skuldig aan 'n misdryf.

#### **Pamflette**

9. Niemand mag 'n pamflet in of in sig van 'n straat plaas, vertoon, versprei, laat plaas, vertoon, versprei of toelaat of duld dat dit geplaas, vertoon of versprei word sonder die uitdruklike magtiging van die Raad en tensy hy die toepaslike gelde betaal het nie.

#### **Verbode tydelike advertensies, pamflette, ens.**

10. Geen tydelike advertensie, verkiesingsadvertensie, pamflet of banier wat na die mening van die Raad iets onbetaamliks suggereer of wat die openbare sedes en belang kan benadeel mag, soos in artikel 9 voorsien geplaas, vertoon of versprei word nie en mag hoegenaamd nie op enige gebou, paal of struktuur wat die eiendom van die Raad is, aangebring word nie. Geen pamflette mag op enige wyse vanuit die lug of in enige straat rondgestrooi word nie.

#### **Tydelike advertensies vir die verkoop van eiendom**

11. (1) 'n Tydelike advertensie wat in verband staan met die verkoop of verhuur van roerende of onroerende eiendom, die uitvoering van werke of die lewering van dienste mag slegs binne die grense van die perseel wat die onderwerp van sodanige verkoping of verhuring of uitvoering van werke of voorsiening van dienste uitmaak, na gelang van die geval, vertoon word.

(2) Die Raad kan, sonder vooraf kennisgewing aan enigiemand, enige tydelike advertensie wat verband hou met die verkoop of verhuur van roerende of onroerende eiendom, of die uitvoering van werke of die lewering van dienste wat opgerig is in stryd met die bepalings van hierdie Verordeninge, verwyder en die persoon wat sodanige advertensie vertoon het of toegelaat of geduld het dat dit vertoon word is aanspreeklik vir die koste wat die Raad aangegaan het om sodanige advertensie te verwyder.

#### **Tydelike koerantplakkate**

(12) 'n Tydelike advertensie wat 'n plakkaat is van 'n koerant wat op 'n bepaalde tyd aan die publiek te koop aangebied word, mag slegs op die publikasiedag langs of sigbaar vanaf enige straat vertoon word, indien sodanige vertoning geskied—

(a) op 'n staander of 'n houer wat vooraf deur die Raad goedgekeur is; en

(7) For the purposes of subsection (3) (b), the decision of the Councils Chief Traffic Officer or anybody acting in his capacity, on whether any advertisement is an obstruction to pedestrian or vehicular traffic, will be final.

(8) The Council may, without prior notification to anybody, remove and/or destroy any temporary or election advertisement which is displayed without the Councils approval or in conflict with any stipulation of these by-laws or which was not removed within the prescribed period and the person who displayed any such temporary or election advertisement or had it displayed or permitted or suffered it to be displayed will be obliged to refund to the Council the costs of the removal and destruction which will be determined by the Council and which can be deducted from the deposit or fees already paid and the person will furthermore be guilty of an offence.

#### **Pamphlets**

9. Nobody is entitled to place, display or distribute a pamphlet in or in sight of a street, or allow it to be placed, displayed or distributed without the Councils explicit approval and payment of the applicable fees.

#### **Prohibited temporary advertisements, pamphlets, etc.**

10. Nobody is entitled to place, display or distribute any temporary advertisement, election advertisement, pamphlet or banner as envisaged in section 9 which, in the opinion of the Council, suggests something improper or which may harm public morals and interest and may not at all be displayed on any building, pole or structure belonging to the Council. No pamphlets may in any manner be strewn from the air or in any street.

#### **Temporary advertisements for the sale of property**

11. (1) Temporary advertisement in respect of the sale or rental of moveable or immovable property, the execution of work or rendering of services, may only be displayed within the boundaries of the site upon which such sale, letting, execution of work or rendering of services take place.

(2) The Council may, without prior notice to anybody, remove any temporary advertisement in respect of the sale or letting of movable or immovable property, or the execution of work or the rendering of services which is erected against the conditions of these by-laws, and the person who displayed the advertisement or permitted or suffered it to be displayed, will be responsible for the costs of removal.

#### **Temporary newspaper placards**

(12) A temporary advertisement which is a placard of a newspaper that will be offered for sale at a certain time to the public, may only be displayed on publication day on the side of or visible from any street, if such displayment happens—

(a) by means of a stand or container which was previously approved by the Council; and

(b) op 'n plek en wyse wat vooraf deur die Raad se Verkeershoof goedgekeur is.

(2) Die in subartikel (1) bedoelde advertensie mag slegs nuushooflyne van die betrokke koerant bevat.

#### **Lugtekens**

13. Lugtekens word slegs tydelik toegelaat en dan slegs met die Raad se toestemming wat vooraf ooreenkomstig die bepalings van hierdie Verordeninge verkry is. Die vertoning van lugtekens word slegs vir 'n tydperk van hoogstens een maand en slegs eenmaal per jaar deur dieselfde adverteerder toegelaat.

#### **Swaaiende tekens**

14. Geen swaaiende tekens word op of oor openbare grond toegelaat nie.

#### **Rigtingtekens**

15. Die Raad kan op aansoek rigtingtekens toelaat op die plekke, vir dié tydskuur, teen betaling van die gelde en onderworpe aan dié voorwaardes waaroor met die Aansoeker ooreengekom word.

#### **Vrystaande tekens**

16. Enige vrystaande teken—

- (a) moet van duursame materiaal vervaardig wees;
- (b) se laagste punt mag nie laer as 2,5 meter bokant grondvlak wees nie;
- (c) se hoogste punt mag nie hoër as 6 meter bokant grondvlak wees nie;
- (d) mag geen enkele voorkant met 'n groter totale oppervlakte as 6 m<sup>2</sup> hê nie;
- (e) moet op 'n voetstuk wat tot bevrediging van die Stadsingenieur ontwerp en opgerig is, geplaas word.

#### **Verligte neon tekens**

17. (1) Oprigters van sulke tekens is self vir die voorsiening van elektrisiteitstoever na die tekens aanspreeklik en sal vir die koste daarvan verantwoordelik wees.

(2) Geen addisionele koste is vir die elektrisiteitsverbruik betaalbaar nie, aangesien dit in die tarief soos in die bylae bepaal, ingesluit is.

#### **Toegang tot persele**

18. Enige gemagtigde beampte van die Raad wat in die uitvoering van en binne die bestek van sy pligte optree, het die reg om enige teken op alle redelike tye te inspekteer.

#### **Verwydering van bestaande tekens**

19. Enige teken wat, om welke rede ook al, verwyder word, mag nie weer opgerig word nie, tensy—

- (a) die bepalings van hierdie verordeninge betreffende so 'n teken nagekom is; en
- (b) die Raad magtiging verleen het ooreenkomstig die bepalings van hierdie Verordeninge.

(b) at a place and manner previously approved by the Councils Traffic Chief.

(2) The advertisement, referred to in subsection (1), may only consist of the headlines of the newspaper concerned.

#### **Air signs**

(327)

13. Air signs will only be temporarily allowed and then only with the prior approval of the Council obtained in accordance with the conditions of these by-laws. Displaying of air signs will only be allowed for a maximum period of one month and only once a year for the same advertiser.

#### **Swinging signs**

14. No swinging signs will be allowed on or over a public area.

#### **Direction signs**

15. The Council may, on application, allow direction signs at the places, for the length of time, against payment of the fees and such conditions as agreed upon between the Council and applicant.

#### **Loose standing signs**

16. Any loose standing sign—

- (a) must be manufactured from durable material;
- (b) the lowest point, may not be lower than 2,5 m above ground level;
- (c) the highest point, may not be higher than 6 m above ground level;
- (d) may not have one single frontage with a total surface larger than 6 m<sup>2</sup>;
- (e) must be placed on a pedestal designed and erected to the satisfaction of the Town Engineer.

#### **Illuminated neon signs**

17. (1) The erectors of such signs shall be responsible for the provision of the electricity supply to the signs and for the costs thereof.

(2) No additional costs shall be payable for the electricity consumption, as it is included in the tariffs as set out in the annexure.

#### **Access to sites**

18. Any authorised official of the Council acting in the execution and within the scope of his duties, has the right to inspect any sign at all reasonable times.

#### **Removal of existing signs**

19. Any sign that has been removed, for whatever the reason, may not be erected again, unless—

- (a) the conditions of these by-laws regarding such sign have been complied with; and
- (b) the Council gave authorisation according to the conditions of these by-laws.



**Bestaande tekens, ens.**

20. (1) Enige tekens wat by die afkondiging van hierdie Verordeninge reeds bestaan, en waarvoor daar reeds magtiging deur die Raad verleen is, maar wat nie aan die bepalings van hierdie Verordeninge voldoen nie, moet binne 'n tydperk van een jaar vanaf die datum van afkondiging verwyder of anders in ooreenstemming daarmee gebring word.

(2) Waar adverteerders reeds ooreenkomste vir bestaande tekens met die Raad het, bly hierdie ooreenkomste slegs tot met die vervaldatum van krag, waarna die toepaslike verordening en tariefbylae, van toepassing sal wees.

(3) Adverteerders wat egter oor alleenregte vir die oprigting van spesifieke tekens beskik, se ooreenkomste bly van krag en sal nie aan hierdie verordeninge en tariefbylae, onderhewig wees nie.

**Beslaglegging op tekens, ens.**

21. (1) Sonder om afbreuk te doen aan die bepalings van hierdie verordeninge, kan die Raad beslag lê op enige tekens, pamflette, baniere, tydelike advertensies en verkiesingsadvertensies wat strydig met die bepalings van hierdie verordeninge opgerig of vertoon word: met dien verstande dat—

- (a) die eienaar van sodanige tekens, lugteken, pamflet, tydelike advertensie, verkiesingsadvertensie en vrystaande teken of 'n persoon wat deur hom gemagtig is, binne 14 dae na die datum van beslaglegging skriftelik by die Raad aansoek kan doen om die teruggawe van die tekens, indien sodanige eienaar of persoon die gelde ten opsigte van verwyderingskoste betaal;
- (b) die Raad na die verloop van die tydperk in paragraaf (a) vermeld, sodanige tekens, lugteken, pamflet, tydelike advertensie, verkiesingsadvertensie of vrystaande teken kan vernietig of na goedgee daardoor beskik;
- (c) die Raad nie aanspreeklik is vir enige skadevergoeding van watter aard ook al wat uit die beslaglegging of beskikking oor sodanige tekens, lugteken, pamflet, tydelike advertensie, verkiesingsadvertensie en vrystaande teken voortspuit nie.

**Strafbepalings**

22. Iemand wat enige bepaling van hierdie verordeninge oortree, of in gebreke bly om daaraan te voldoen, of veroorsaak of toelaat of duld dat iemand anders dit doen, begaan 'n misdryf en is by skuldigbevinding strafbaar met 'n boete van hoogstens R500 of, by wanbetaling met gevangenisstraf vir 'n tydperk van hoogstens ses maande, of met sodanige boete sowel as sodanige gevangenisstraf en in die geval van 'n voortgesette misdryf, met 'n boete van hoogstens R100 vir elke dag waarop sodanige misdryf voortgesit word.

**Existing signs, etc.**

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20. (1) Any sign already existing at the promulgation of these by-laws and for which approval has been granted by the Council, but which does not comply with the conditions of these by-laws, must be removed or adapted in accordance with these by-laws within a period of one year from the date of promulgation of these by-laws.

(2) In cases where agreements have already been entered into between the Council and advertisers for existing signs the agreements will only be legally binding until the date of expiry, whereafter the applicable by-laws and fees will apply.

(3) The agreements of advertisers that have the sole right for the erection of specific signs, will remain legally binding and these by-laws will not be applicable to them.

**Seizure of signs, etc.**

21. (1) Without derogation to the stipulations of these by-laws, the Council may seize any signs, pamphlets, banners, temporary advertisements and election advertisements erected or displayed in contradiction with the conditions of these by-laws; provided that—

- (a) the owner of such sign, air sign, pamphlet, temporary advertisement, election advertisement and loose standing sign or a person authorised by him, may apply to the Council in writing for the return of such sign within 14 days of seizure if the removal costs of such sign is paid by such owner or person;
- (b) the Council may destroy or dispose such sign, air sign, pamphlet, temporary advertisement, election advertisement or loose standing sign according to its own discretion, after the period in paragraph (a) above, has lapsed;
- (c) the Council is not responsible for any damages of whatever nature arising from the seizure or disposal of such sign, air sign, pamphlet, temporary advertisement, election advertisement or loose standing sign.

**Penalties**

22. Any person who contravenes or fail to comply with or who causes, permits or suffers any other person to contravene or fail to comply with any provision of these by-laws, shall be guilty of an offence and liable, on conviction, to a penalty not exceeding R500 or in default of payment, to imprisonment for a period of not exceeding six months, or to both such fine and such imprisonment, and in the event of a continuing offence, to a fine not exceeding R100 for each day on which such offence continues.

**Herroeping van verordeninge**

23. Die Verordeninge betreffende die Beheer van Tydelike Advertisies en Pamflette soos afgekondig by Administrateurskennisgewing No. 385 van 22 Maart 1972, soos gewysig, word hierby herroep.

**D. W. VAN ROOYEN,**  
Stadsklerk.

Burgersentrum  
Nelstraat 1  
NELSPRUIT  
1200.

10 Julie 1992.

(Kennisgewing No. 44/92)

**Repeal of by-laws**

23. The by-laws in respect of the Control of Temporary Advertisements and Pamphlets, promulgated by Administrative Notice 385 of 22 March 1972, as amended, is hereby repealed.

**D. W. VAN ROOYEN,**  
Town Clerk.

Civic Centre  
1 Nel Street  
NELSPRUIT  
1200.

10 July 1992.

(Notice No. 44/92)

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**TARIEFBYLAE****1. AANSOEGKELDE**

- 1.1 Ten opsigte van permanente advertensietekens ..... R200,00 per aansoek.  
1.2 Ten opsigte van tydelike advertensies ..... R10,00 per aansoek.

**2. PERMANENTE ADVERTENSIE TEKENS**

- 2.1 Ten opsigte van inligting-, rigting-, plek- en straatwysers (verlig of nie- verlig) waaruit adverteerders 'n gereelde inkomste gaan verdien R50,00/m<sup>2</sup> of gedeelte van die totale aansig per maand slegs ten opsigte van die gedeelte waarop die advertensie verskyn.  
2.2 Ten opsigte van advertensie-borde opgerig as vrystaande eenhede op Raadseiendom waaruit adverteerders 'n gereelde inkomste gaan verdien 15% van die inkomste verkry deur die adverteerder uit die oprigting met 'n gewaarborgde maandelikse minimum bereken volgens die tarief in 2.1 wat jaarliks eskaleer met 10%.  
2.3 Ten opsigte van advertensie-teken aan Raadseiendom waaruit adverteerders 'n gereelde inkomste gaan verdien As teenprestasie enige onderhoudswerk aan die Raadseiendom of die tarief in 2.1 met 'n jaarlikse eskalasie van 10%.  
2.4 Enige advertensieteken opgerig op openbare grond deur die eienaar van die plek wat geadverteer word of adverteerders wat slegs 'n eenmalige inkomste daaruit verdien 'n Eenmalige bedrag van R50,00/m<sup>2</sup> of gedeelte van die totale aansig van die teken.

**3. TYDELIKE ADVERTENSIES EN PAMFLETTE**

- 3.1 Ten opsigte van tydelike advertensies ..... R2,00 per plakkaat.  
3.2 Vir die verspreiding van pamflette ..... R4,00 per 100 of gedeelte daarvan.

**4. DEPOSITO'S**

- 4.1 Ten opsigte van permanente advertensies ..... Tweemaal die maandelikse of eenmalige gelde betaalbaar.  
4.2 Ten opsigte van tydelike advertensies ..... R1,00 per plakkaat.

**TARIFF ANNEXURE****1. APPLICATION FEES**

- 1.1 In respect of permanent advertisements ..... R200,00 per application.  
1.2 In respect of temporary advertisements ..... R10,00 per application.

**2. PERMANENT ADVERTISEMENTS**

- 2.1 In respect of information, direction, place and street indicators (illuminated or not) from which the advertisers receive a regular income R50,00 per m<sup>2</sup> or part of the total surface per month only in respect of the part where the advertisement appears.  
2.2 In respect of advertisements erected as loose standing units on Council property from which the advertisers receive a regular income 15% of the income received by the advertiser from the erection, with a guarantee monthly minimum fixed according to the tariff in 2.1, escalated by 10% on an annual basis.  
2.3 In respect of advertisements on Council property from which the advertisers receive a regular income As counter performance any maintenance to the Councils property or the tariff in 2.1 with an annual escalation of 10%.  
2.4 In respect of any advertisement erected on public grounds by the owner of the advertised location or from which the advertisers will only receive a single income A single amount of R50,00/m<sup>2</sup> or a part fo the total surface of the sign.

**3. TEMPORARY ADVERTISEMENTS AND PAMPHLETS**

- 3.1 In respect of temporary advertisements ..... R2,00 per placard.  
3.2 For the distribution of pamphlets ..... R4,00 per 100 or part thereof.

**4. DEPOSITS**

- 4.1 In respect of permanent advertisements ..... Two times the monthly or single fees payable.  
4.2 In respect of temporary advertisements ..... R1,00 per placard.

(10 Julie 1992)/(10 July 1992)



# Police, ANC at odds over blast death

STAFF REPORTERS  
10/11/92

blast.

The ANC and police have accused each other of "blatantly lying" about events leading to the death this week of Umkhonto we Sizwe commander George Mashele.

Mr Mashele died early on Tuesday when a grenade detonated inside his Vosloorus home. Moments earlier, police had lobbed a teargas canister through a broken window to force Mr Mashele, a murder suspect, to open the door. Mr Mashele's mother, Lillian Mogasho, was also killed in the

The ANC PWV region yesterday said the police were suggesting that Mr Mashele blew himself up with a grenade. The organisation accused the police of throwing the grenade and then shooting Mrs Mogasho. Police have strongly denied the allegations, saying they arrived to arrest Mr Mashele, who was suspected of murdering a man and a two-year-old baby in a petrol-bomb attack. A teargas canister was thrown in to force Mr Mashele to come out, and soon after, an explosion was heard. Mr Ma-

shele was later found dead and his mother fatally injured among the remains of a Russian hand grenade, police said. ANC regional spokesman Wally Mbele yesterday rejected this version and accused the police of a cover-up designed to protect Mr Mashele's known killers and the real perpetrators of violence in Vosloorus. "How could it be possible for Mr Mashele to shoot his mother when his body was so badly mutilated in the hand grenade explosion?" Mr Mbele asked. "Since the police were still present when the hand grenade

exploded, why did they not go into the house to investigate the blast? We demand answers." The police have called Mr Mbele's statements "blatant untruths", saying all indications were that Mr Mashele was handling the grenade when it detonated. In addition, a post-mortem on Mrs Magosha's body revealed no bullet wounds. ● The Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal has called for the immediate arrest of Vosloorus town councillor Sidwell Mofokeng, whom they allege was at the blast scene.

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# Panel agrees on right to demonstrate

STAR 10/7/92

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — An international panel of experts has agreed that the right to demonstrate was fundamental in a democracy, but a democratic public had an equal right to insist upon demonstrations and protests being carried out peacefully and without violence.

The responsibility for that was shared by three parties: the organisers, local or State authorities, and the police.

The panel, which considered lawful control of demonstrations in South Africa, has given its findings to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation. The findings were released at a public meeting in Cape Town yesterday.

The panel said new legislation was needed to give effect to the principles in their report, and that existing legislation should be repealed.

The relevant resources in managing peaceful and effective demonstrations included first aid stations, toilets, speaker systems and platforms, and assistance with traffic.

Where there were disagree-

ments over the way in which a demonstration should be planned, the dispute should be resolved by a higher authority which, in South Africa, the panel believed, should be a judge of the Supreme Court.

Great restraint, the panel said, had to be used in applying "very vague statutes" on breach of the peace or unlawful assembly to arrest non-violent demonstrators.

Police should be formed in well-disciplined and specialised units and have a wide range of non-lethal resources available to them.

They also required skills in peacefully interacting with crowds, negotiation in situations of potential conflict, and human relations.

"Minimal necessary force is the widely agreed upon rule for acting against either individuals or the demonstration.

"That requires something more than disobedience by the demonstrators.

"Lethal force can only be justified when delay in its use would subject police, or others, to a severe risk of death," the panel said.

Panel members were drawn from South Africa, the US, Canada and Europe.



# Here, FW, is the case against the state

## Wait and see as KZP gets control

By LENA SLACHMUIJDER  
NATAL unrest monitors have reacted with alarm to moves which will increase the role of the kwaZulu Police (KZP) in countering unrest.

From July 1, the South African Police stopped using Internal Stability Unit (ISU) members in kwaZulu, unless specifically called in by the KZP district commissioner.

The chairman of the Natal-kwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee, MC Pretorius, said the move was a matter of "restructuring command".

Pretorius said that as the KZP held the major responsibility for areas under its jurisdiction, it would feel compelled to act in a more responsible manner. "Unfortunately, we'll only be able to tell if it doesn't work by counting the deaths," he said.

The ANC representative on the Umlazi dispute resolution committee, Felix Dlamini, and local unrest monitors doubted that the KZP could be trusted to act more responsibly if given freer rein.

Complaining that the decision had not been canvassed with local peace structures, Dlamini said it had put the brakes on progress towards joint SAP-KZP policing in Umlazi. SAP patrols around troubled shack settlements in Umlazi had fostered a climate of peace, while joint patrols in the township over the Easter weekend had greatly improved residents' perceptions of the security forces.

"The decision is discouraging in the face of increasing violence," said Democratic Party unrest monitor Roy Ainslie. "We have used the ISU to a great extent, and have been very impressed with them recently."

The move follows the release of an updated report by the Legal Resources Centre and Human Rights Commission, which paints a picture of deteriorating KZP conduct and distrust of the force by communities over the past six months.

Despite protestations of innocence by FW de Klerk and cabinet members, persistent doubts linger about state involvement in the violence.  
By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE government had taken "numerous concrete steps" to stop political violence, had given the police more money and more men, had backed the National Peace Committee and launched the Goldstone Commission and was "irrevocably committed" to a peaceful solution of South Africa's problems, President FW de Klerk told the nation last week.

Just how credible is his posture of hurt innocence? How are South Africans to view the claims — made repeatedly over the months — of the government's clean record on the violence and a determination to eradicate it?

In an interim report on the Boipatong massacre last week, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said he had found no evidence that the government and high-ranking members in the security forces had been directly implicated in political violence.

But the issue, as the African National Congress pointed out, is broader than this. "Culpability extends to acts of commission and omission," it said.

Judge Goldstone himself hints at official foot-dragging. In his report he complains of several instances where the authorities have ignored his recommendations, among them that the hotels be secured, policed and upgraded; and that 32 Battalion should not be deployed in a peacekeeping role.

Both the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International have blamed the government for not taking sufficient steps, with the latter noting a "failure to bring to justice all but a tiny proportion of those involved in human rights violations..."

However justified it may be, the strong impression is created that the government and its security arms are more concerned with trying to wriggle off the hook than to get to the bottom of claims of their complicity in or inaction on violence.

Lack of action is only part of the problem. Active steps taken by the government, such as legislative amend-



Blood on the tracks ... Train attacks have claimed many lives in the tide of violence sweeping South Africa  
Photo: PETER NKOMO

ments on the carrying of cultural weapons and, more recently, giving more powers to the homeland police, have, in the opinion of many, served to fuel the violence.

To judge by government rhetoric, the National Party under De Klerk is a different party from that of PW Botha, and has no responsibility for the latter's systematic use of violence as an instrument of policy. How can De Klerk — and half his cabinet, including General Magnus Malan, Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and Adriaan Vlok, who also served under Botha — so glibly disassociate himself from the Civil Co-opera-

tion Bureau (CCB) and police hit squads based at Vlakplaas?

The refusal to disband the special forces, the insistence on using controversial forces such as former members of Koevoet, and the continuation of covert operations only reinforces public suspicion.

Commenting on the police deployment of ex-Koevoet fighters, Judge Goldstone said that whether or not they were involved in violence, their "infamous reputation" could only cause further distrust and suspicion of the security forces.

In assessing the government's

record, the following must be taken into account:

● Not a single person has been convicted in connection with the 49 massacres which have occurred over the past two years in the Transvaal. (See accompanying story.)

Ironically, the Trust Feeds massacre of December 1988 stands out as the major instance where the convictions have been secured. Those convicted were policemen.

● A secret document released by Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa in May this year directly implicates the State Security Council (SSC) and South African Defence Force in the murder in 1985 of four Eastern Cape activists, including Mathew Goniwe. The document is a message from SADF Military Intelligence Chief General CP van der Westhuizen (then a brigadier) proposing to the SSC the "urgent removal from society" of Goniwe. De Klerk, denying the cabinet or the SSC ever planned or sanctioned murder, ordered the reopening of the inquest. No move has been made to suspend Van der Westhuizen from his position.

● No move has been made to suspend head of the SAP forensic laboratories, General Lothar Neethling, after a supreme court civil case finding in January last year that his involvement in the poisoning of activists was, on the balance of probabilities, true.

● Despite a Harms Commission finding implicating several CCB members in political violence, none has been charged. At least 20 CCB members, and probably many more, remain on the SADF payroll.

● In February *The Weekly Mail* published allegations made by "Black Cat" vigilantes in Wesslerton that local white policemen based at nearby Ermelo police station had encouraged and actively helped them destabilise the community. To *The Weekly Mail's* knowledge, the policemen concerned have not been suspended. The Goldstone Commission is currently hearing evidence on these allegations.

● In an official operation in 1986, the SADF gave military training in Namibia to 200 Inkatha men, who were later absorbed into the kwaZulu Police (KZP). In sworn affidavits, several of the trainees claimed to have been trained in offensive warfare. Some of the trainees have subsequently been implicated in the Natal violence.

● No action has been taken to rein in the KZP, which is indicted in a lengthy Legal Resources Centre (LRC) and Human Rights Commission report, backed by legal documents, listing incidences of KZP partiality in the Natal violence and citing the KZP as an obstacle to peace in Natal.

The powers of the KZP in unrest situations have in fact been strengthened. In terms of a July 1 policy decision, the police's Internal Stability Unit will only act on unrest in kwaZulu if called on to do so by the KZP district commissioner.

● Government amendments to the Dangerous Weapons Act, the Natal Code on Zulu Law and other by-laws have generated extensive confusion and made weapons bans almost unenforceable, say human rights organisations.

● A *Weekly Mail* investigation this year revealed the use of extra-legal methods — including systematic use of false vehicle registration plates, some belonging to bona fide individuals and companies — to cover a police operation in the Vaal.

The network has also been linked in affidavits to the orchestration of violence, although these allegations are still under investigation by the Goldstone Commission.

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UNIVERSITY OF NATAL  
DURBAN AND PIETERMARITZBURG

## Entrance 1993

Applications to enter the University for study in the Faculties of Agriculture, Architecture and Allied Disciplines, Arts, Commerce, Economics and Management, Education, Engineering, Humanities, Law, Science and Social Science should reach the Admissions Office before 31 October 1992.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from, The Admissions Officer, University of Natal, King George V Avenue, Durban 4001. (Telephone (031) 816-9111 or PO Box 375, Pietermaritzburg 3200. Telephone (0331) 95-5911).

## No convictions on carnage

Weekly Mail Reporter

NOBODY has been convicted in connection with the more than 40 massacres on the Reef over the past two years, in which at least 1 200 people have died.

"Massacre" has been defined according to the Human Rights Commission's criterion of a mass killing claiming the lives of at least 10 people. This definition excludes the conviction of a man involved in the 1991 Braamfontein train attack, in which two people died.

Prior to the Boipatong massacre, 45 arrests had been made in connection with five massacres, according to police figures. Trials of some of these suspects are still in progress.

Last week John Zakwe, one of five men accused of slaughtering 13 mourners at an Alexandra night vigil in March 1991, was acquitted on grounds of insufficient evidence.

This came hard on the heels of the acquittal of seven alleged Inkatha Freedom Party men on murder charges in connection with the Sebokeng night vigil massacre of January last year, in which 38 people died.

Delivering his judgment in that trial, Judge W Schultz dealt the South African Police a tongue-lashing, saying they "should have tried harder" to find incriminating evidence.

The SAP's credibility crisis in the townships had led to a situation where lawyers had

to take over the job of the police, ensuring that witnesses went to court, providing them with "safe houses" and persuading them to testify, commented a lawyer representing one of the families affected by the Sebokeng slaughter.

But SAP media liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman has accused the media and political organisations of hindering police investigations.

Media allegations about the Boipatong massacre, for example, had made potential witnesses "confused, angry and even more emotionally charged," he said, stressing that the African National Congress had instructed residents not to communicate with the police.

Giving further details of progress made in investigating the massacres on the Reef, a police spokesman said:

● The attorney general had temporarily withdrawn charges against five people arrested in connection with a Johannesburg train attack two years ago which claimed the lives of 15 people.

● Twelve people arrested in connection with the May 1990 Swanleville massacre — in which 28 people died — had all been released on bail.

● Twelve people had appeared in court in connection with the deaths of 11 people at the Chamdor coal yard, on the West Rand, on August 21 last year.



It hardly seemed possible, but yet another image disaster looms for South Africa. The dramatic breakthroughs made with international opinion have been halted — or “Boipatonged”.

That's the picture, as seen from an ordinary university town in an ordinary part of the United States. Folk who previously applauded events such as the release of Nelson Mandela are confused, even growing hostile again.

From Arkansas, it seems that South Africa could be going resolutely “back to the future” — as a headline over a very critical *Economist* article put it in the *Tulsa World* newspaper, published over the border in Oklahoma.

The central problems are continuing violence and stalled democracy. But hovering dangerously around is the unresolved question of police and security force complicity in the violence.

So far, the government's responses have made things worse. When its agents are charged with complicity, it comes across as suspiciously defensive. Like his predecessors, President FW de Klerk appears to blame all on the African National Congress. Proven cases of official complicity are passed off as merely the work of “rogue elements” in the security forces.

Has the government learnt nothing from past mistakes?

I have made many visits to the US over the past 20 years. Some were marked by a news drought on South Africa when, in spite of controversial politics, we had flipped off the radar screen of world attention.

I recall early in the 1970s when the lone South African item spotted in the press during a visit of several weeks was a paragraph about a white male audience storming out of an illegal showing of *Deep Throat* in a Reef garage as the police raided.

Generally, however, it was different. At times South Africa rarely left the TV screens and newspaper columns.

A case in point was 1977, the year John Vorster saved whites from chaos/communism for the umpteenth time, by obliterating black consciousness, banning prelates and editors and detaining people at random — while his eastern Cape police dispatched Steve Biko in a police van to Pretoria and death.

I found myself sitting in a Canadian TV studio at a breakfast news show when the Biko bombshell came through. It was immediately obvious how powerfully such events disturb foreign breakfasts. The news was megaphoned around the world.

The only way to respond to the Biko killing was to observe that it was a disgraceful illustration of apartheid's brutality. Attempts by South African spokesmen to dismiss an event such as this as isolated and of little consequence

# SA spoils the post toasties yet again

(327) ~~327~~  
WtMail 10/7-16/7/92



After February 1990, South Africa's image abroad positively sparked. Until Boipatong. **TONY HEARD** reports on how middle America views recent grim South African events

— not to mention its leaving now-departed personages cold — fell on foreign ears like Hindenburgs.

From the mid-1980s period of States of Emergency, mass police shootings and township carnage, South Africa moved from the occasional to a permanent top slot in world attention. The tone changed only in February 1990, when De Klerk performed his about-face (from whose implications he now seems to be shrinking).

In those bold strokes in 1990, De Klerk garnered more positive than negative coverage for the country — for the first time in more than a generation.

Now it's looking bad again.

A flip through local newspapers — even outside the metropolis centres — confirms that there is sustained and critical interest in the deteriorating situation.

Have a look through Little Rock's *Arkansas Democratic & Gazette*, *Tulsa World*, the *Dallas Morning News*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *St Louis Post-Dispatch*, Fayetteville's *North-West Arkansas Times* or nearby Springdale's *Morning News*. The coverage, while still reflecting the failure of black organisations to bury the hatchet (in the metaphorical sense), is no longer adulatory towards De Klerk. It is becoming highly critical with, for instance, front-page allegations of police com-

plicity. Even if these charges are denied, the perception remains.

Judged from here, reform and Codesa have lost their way. Allegations of official complicity in the violence hang like the foul smell near Cape Town's power station at Athlone.

Ironically, it is erstwhile government critic Harry Schwarz who must carry Pretoria's dubious banner in this country. He can be offered sympathy, considering the impact of such events as Boipatong.

The horror of Boipatong did not stop with the hostel dwellers' allegedly assisted foray, but went into chilling overdrive when police opened fire on a crowd in full view of the world's media. That De Klerk was chased away from the area added point to the setback for his government; and the police seemed to be adding their own defiant *nog 'n piep* to De Klerk's protestations about reform and restraint.

Having seen politician Schwarz in full flight against the government in debate, it was instructive to watch ambassador Schwarz on the McNeil-Lehrer Report, post-Boipatong and in stonewall defence. As usual, he was effective in his eloquent abrasiveness. But the grubby task of defending the indefensible would more aptly be performed, surely, by a glib-tongued Marais Steyn?

Schwarz was on the defensive, though pitted against an ANC opponent who cannot be described as formidable. But Schwarz could never have won the debate: the burden of evidence against the government is too heavy. It was like trying to go up Niagara in a barrel.

He tended to dismiss charges of official police involvement by referring to “rogue elements” against whom action had been taken. When pressed about government action in the 8 000 deaths since De Klerk came to power, Schwarz averred that there had been “hundreds” of trials and convictions. Hundreds? This surely clashes with the widespread perception of a government which is anything but a busy bee in dealing with the matter?

Fact is that the government is losing credibility fast by ducking the evidence of complicity. When top South African judges openly speak of deliberate police killings or urge that certain military battalions should be banned from township duty, to mention but two examples, the world is unlikely to listen to government evasion — even if De Klerk wins the odd tactical victory, as he did with the Goldstone Commission this week.

●**Tony Heard**, a former editor of *The Cape Times*, is a visiting Fulbright fellow at the University of Arkansas.



# Probes into ANC deaths in the PWV

SOUTH

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By Lucas Mati 11/7-15/7/92

AN independent investigation is under way to determine the exact cause of the car accident which killed Mr Floyd Mashele, an ANC PWV regional executive committee member last week.

The organisation's media officer in the PWV region, Mr Wally Mbele, said it was rumoured three tyres blew up leading to the suspicion that Mashele's death was more than just an accident.

He said, however, there was no evidence yet to support the claim.

Mbele said five days before the death, Mr Mashele was attacked by two men in Soweto who escaped in his vehicle.

He was admitted to hospital as a result of the assault and his car was found by police two days later at the Marula Sun Hotel, near Soweto.

In another incident, Mr George Sgomoro Mashele (no relation to Mr Floyd Mashele), an MK member and his mother died on Tuesday in their Vosloorus home in what police described as a "handgrenade incident".

The Vosloorus Civic Association, however, alleged Mashele was shot dead and his charred body had several gunshot wounds.

Police said the matter was under investigation and they would not comment further.

Meanwhile, another car accident victim and MK guerrilla, Mr Papama Hlakala, received a hero's burial with a 21-gun salute from an AK 47 outside his Guguletu home at the weekend.

Hlakala, a teacher, died in a car accident two weeks ago on his way from the Transkei.

Speakers at the funeral echoed a demand for a mass stayaway on Monday, August 3, to force Mr FW de Klerk's government out of power.

In a brief statement, SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani called on people to "defy the undemocratic white minority government".

A senior ANC leader in Western Cape, Mr Christmas Tinto, urged people in the region to support his organisation and reject the nationalist government because of the recent killings at Boipatong.



**THE RELATIONSHIP** of F W de Klerk with elements of the security establishment is filled with contradictions, revealing a limited ability to control their political loyalty

# All the President's men

STAR  
11/11/92.



**T**HERE is a "third force" — or more accurately, a variety of "third forces" — stoking the violence. And the Government has done precious little to control the activities of the Defence Force, the SAP and the National Intelligence Service.

Small wonder, then, that many South Africans are convinced that F W de Klerk and elements of the security establishment are in cahoots and implementing a deliberate strategy to forestall democracy. But are things that simple?

The current security establishment is neither uniform in its political direction nor united in its activities. Tensions and strategic differences exist within and among the various reaches of the State, the National Party, and the security establishment. As a result new factions and alliances are constantly being forged inside and outside the security establishment.

The Defence Force is the most influential member of that establishment, but not all its sections are inclined towards the internal destabilisation evident in the townships.

For a variety of reasons, the Air Force (particularly its present chief), the Navy, the Medical Services and the Army's conventional forces (mainly Citizen Force), have generally confined themselves to the conventional role of protecting the country against ex-



less visible branches.

We now have a situation where the dominant factions in the security establishment (the MI/Special Forces axis and the reconstituted SB) do not refer their operations to the executive levels of the national coordinating mechanism for ratification. They have developed a strong degree of autonomous power which they exercise through internal channels.

Confronting institutions as entrenched and diverse as these is daunting. But unless they are restructured comprehensively, they will continue to influence the political direction of the State. The implications are ominous.

Political victory and a parliamentary majority, even if coupled with executive restructuring of the State, do not guarantee real power.

**T**HE challenge of the transition is not only to restructure the executive reaches of the State, but also to identify the centres of power located elsewhere in the State, particularly in the security establishment.

A second lesson relates to De Klerk's limited influence on the security establishment. On the one hand he lacks significant institutional and political support in that sphere. But, on the other hand he needs them, in his own words, as "a security



that establishment, but not all its sections are inclined towards the internal destabilisation evident in the townships.

For a variety of reasons, the Air Force (particularly its present chief), the Navy, the Medical Services and the Army's conventional forces (mainly Citizen Force), have generally confined themselves to the conventional role of protecting the country against external aggression.

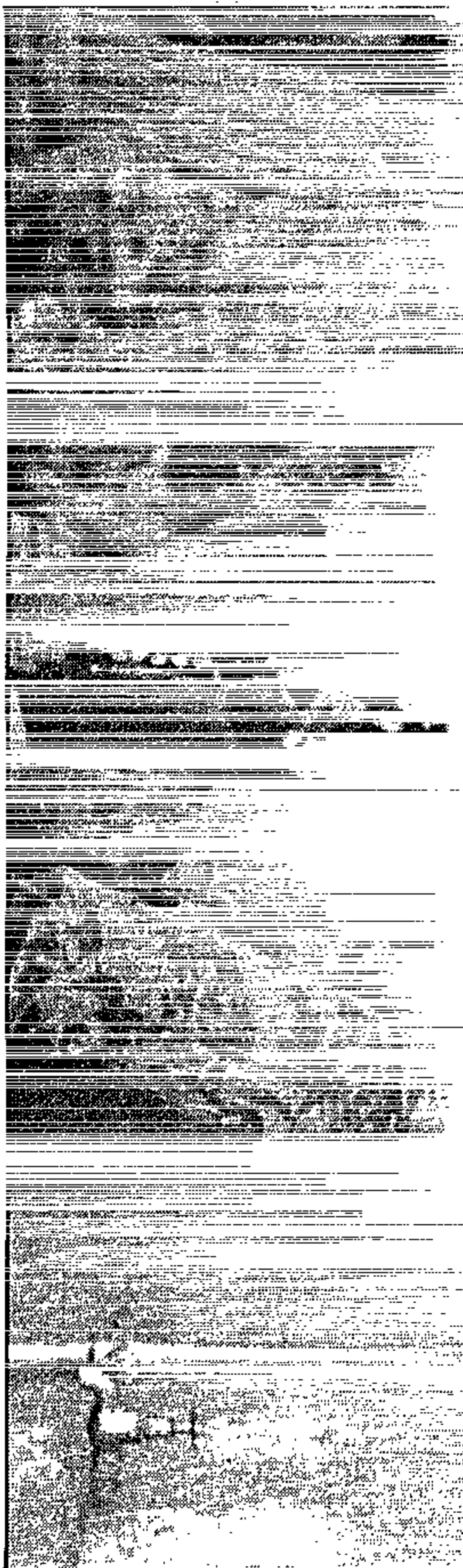
At the moment, the strategic and political direction of the SADF is being determined largely by a faction that holds key positions in the executive structures. Headed by the present Chief of the SADF, this faction also includes the chiefs (and their deputies) of the most influential seats of power within the executive.

Influential officers serving in this faction include Lieutenant-General G Meiring (C/Army), Major-General J Erasmus (Deputy/CSF), Lieutenant-General J J Bischoff (CSO), Lieutenant-General C van der Westhuizen (CSF), Major-General "Joep" Joubert (Deputy CSO), and Major-General Kloppe (Deputy Chief of the Army).

All are veteran officers with extensive experience in military counter-insurgency structures of the National Security Management System, the SADF's Special Forces Division, and the SADF's formidable intelligence "family".

THE fundamental difference between Chief of Staff Intelligence (Military Intelligence) and the other intelligence directorates of the SADF "intelligence family" is that the former is concerned with the acquisition of strategic intelligence while the latter confine themselves to a largely tactical brief.

The SADF's Special Forces consist of 1 Reconnaissance Regiment (Durban); 2 Reconnaissance Regiment (Voortrekkerhoogte); 4 Reconnaissance Regiment (Saldanha/Langebaan) and 5 Reconnaissance Regiment (Phalaborwa). Conventional units include 32 Battalion (Pomfrets) and 31 Bat-



**TROOPS IN THE TOWNSHIPS:** While most conventional units have, says a former MK member, confined themselves to a conventional role, President de Klerk has been powerless to effectively control rogue elements in the security forces.

### President de Klerk is not masterminding "third force" activity. It's beyond his control, says ROCKLAND WILLIAMS, a former Umkhonto we Sizwe member.

port De Klerk's reform strategy, most of its white members at the middle and executive officer ranks tend to support the Conservative Party, while its white non-commissioned officer and constable ranks tend toward the Afrikaner Weerstandsweg.

It, too, influences the political process through a web of covert structures located mainly in the Criminal Intelligence Services, and the Joint Security and Joint Intelligence Committees of the National Co-ordinating Mechanism.

The NIS has an ambiguous position in the security establishment. Largely the creation of P W Botha, it once played a zealous role in fashioning the "Total Strategy". But it now finds itself serving De Klerk's "civilian" strategy.

Once a junior member of the intelligence community, the NIS has now emerged as the dominant agency.

The NIS formulates the strategic intelligence brief, on which a substantial part of national policy is based. Despite its rise and gradual alignment with the De Klerk camp, its capacity to control the operational activities of the other elements of the security establishment remains limited.

Co-operation between the various intelligence agencies varies from the erratic to the well co-ordinated. Nationally, strategic intelligence assessments are shared. But when it comes to operations and tactics, each agency guards its secrets and interests. Informally, there is apparently some regional co-operation.

A number of measures have been taken: the National Security Management System was restructured and made to focus on civilian and welfare briefs; the State Security Council became subordinate to a new Cabinet committee on security; the strategic intelligence brief has gone to the NIS; the Ministers of Defence and Police were demoted (partially on NIS advice); the SADF's controversial Chief of Staff Intelligence got early retirement; an internal SADF commission of inquiry into alleged Military Intelligence and Special Forces excesses was launched; the Defence budget has been cut for three years in a row.

Yet these measures have failed to rein in the security establishment. What does De Klerk's failure here mean? The first lesson — and it applies to control of the armed forces in the transition and beyond — concerns the limitations of formal political power. Whatever restructuring and control are achieved at the top levels of the State, the centres of political and institutional power may remain in other,

of the State, but also to identify the centres of power located elsewhere in the State, particularly in the security establishment.

A second lesson relates to De Klerk's limited influence on the security establishment. On the one hand he lacks significant institutional and political support in that sphere. But, on the other hand he needs them, in his own words, as "a security fallback" in case the negotiations fail. There lies the essence of the "double agenda".

Whatever De Klerk's reservations about the security establishment, he cannot afford to antagonise them. If his vision of a brokered transition fails, he may not only have to rely on them but could also end up being ousted by them.

Moreover, as a traditional conciliator within the NP, he is unlikely to risk opening divisions by radically transforming the security establishment.

Far from co-ordinating the activities of a "third force", De Klerk lacks the executive and operational muscle to contain them. As long as the security establishment escapes effective control, the chances of a relatively peaceful transition stay slim. The ongoing complicity in the township violence of specialist units and police, military and civilian intelligence structures, threatens the very negotiating process.

Looking further down the road, if these units are not restrained and restructured, the very stability of a democratic SA might be threatened, a la Chile 1973. Effective forms of control on the ground are required, in addition to the proposed structures of interim control (the draft codes of conduct, security forces multi-party committee, council of defence and so on).

Legalistic deliberations in the Codesa/interim government framework are unlikely to lead to control over the security establishment.

● The author is co-ordinator of the independent Military Research Group, which conducts research into defence issues. A version of this article first appeared in the journal *Work in Progress*/New Era.



# Controversial De Sousa beats bullets of a Mafia-style death plot

# OUT TO GET HIM!

C10em 12/7/192

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By ELIAS MALULEKE

THE man branded by the ANC as an alleged National Intelligence Service spy and also an American CIA agent, 30-year-old Joachim Jose Ribeiro de Sousa, escaped a Mafia-style assassination attempt last Saturday when five gunmen fired a hail of bullets at his car in Eersterus, Pretoria.

The killers fired more than 50 rounds of ammunition with an Uzi sub-machinegun and 9 mm pistols, but De Sousa miraculously survived the attack.

The car he was driving was punctured with bullet holes.

Police have confirmed the incident and said they were still investigating.

De Sousa escaped with one gunshot wound in the left leg. His friend, Dougal Jones, was shot several times and is still at the HF Verwoerd Hospital where his condition has been described as stable.

Late last month De Sousa's brother Matthew, 23, was shot four times when a group of men in a passing car fired several shots at him and De Sousa while the two stood at the gate of their home, but De Sousa escaped unscathed.

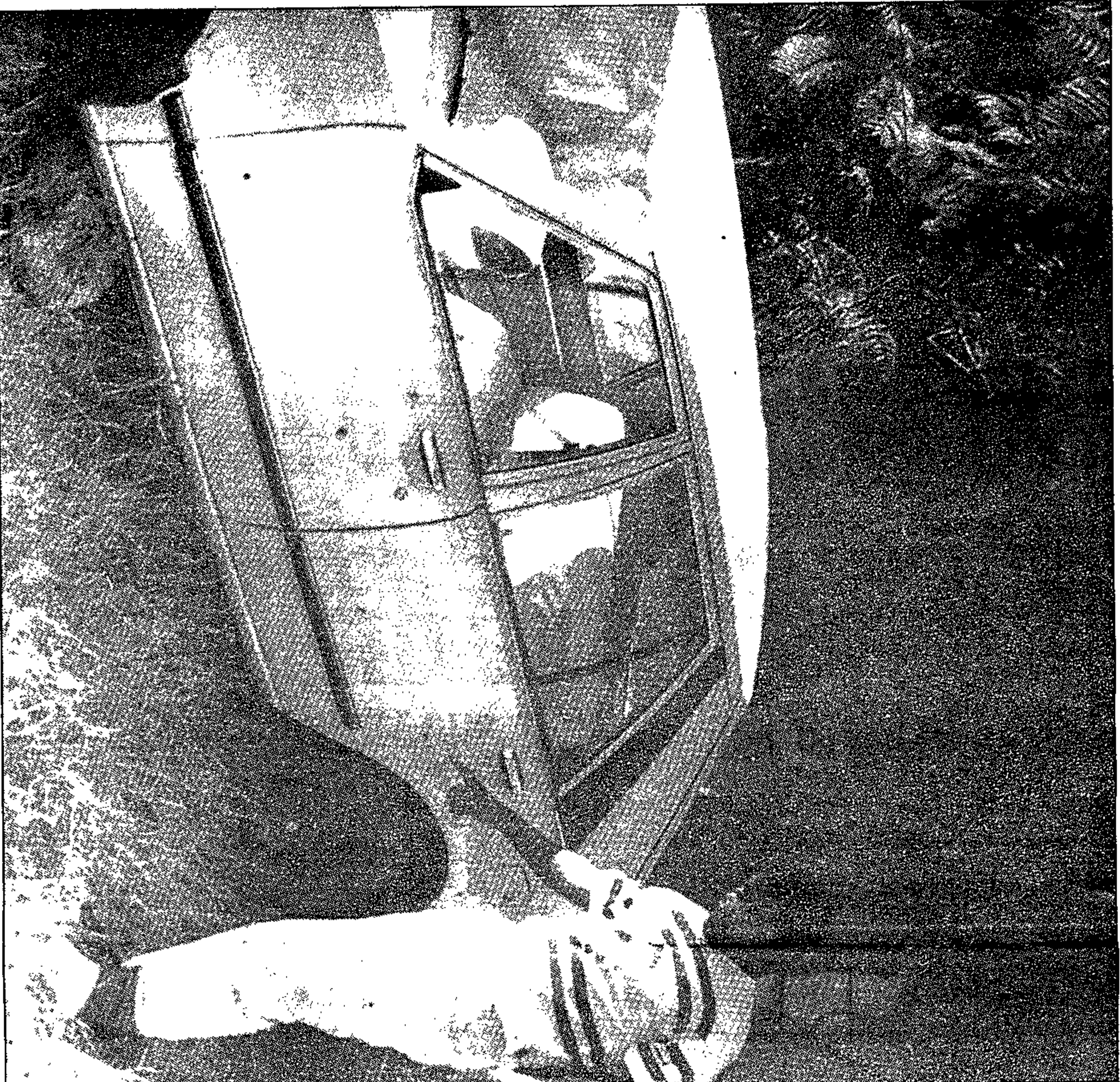
Matthew has since gone into hiding, but De Sousa has vowed to stay on in Eersterus in spite of the mounting threat to his life.

It was the fourth murder attempt on De Sousa since his release on bail in February for the alleged murder of Warren Hartze, a co-director of Pretoria City Football Club, who was shot nine times in December last year.

De Sousa hit headlines in August last year when he returned to SA with 31 other ANC captives who were held by the ANC in the Quatro detention cells as alleged CIA and NIS spies.

He claimed he had been tortured by senior ANC officials while in detention for five years, and denied that he was a spy, saying he had been beaten and tortured into making false confessions about his alleged spying.

De Sousa told City Press in an exclusive interview this week that he had evidence that an Eersterus family has paid two hitmen a total of R25 000 to eliminate him because the family felt threatened by him



**DEATH BRUSH . . . Miraculously alive to tell the tale, Joachim Jose Ribeiro de Sousa, with a heavily bandaged leg, points to bullet holes in the car he was using when gunmen opened fire on him in the latest attempt on his life last Saturday.**

Pic: ELIAS MALULEKE

and had accused him of being a spy.

He alleged that Hartze was paid R15 000 to kill him and named another man he said was this year paid R10 000 for the same job.

De Sousa said his first serious brush with death occurred when he was shot in the chest in February at his flat in Johannesburg by a Mo-

zambican national with alleged "ANC connections".

He said while he was was recuperating at the JG Strijdom Hospital, another murder attempt was made on his life when a gang from Eersterus stormed his ward with guns but missed their target.

He named the alleged assassins.

The latest assassination bid comes amid allegations that De Sousa and his alleged gang of heavily armed men have started a reign of terror in Eersterus.

It is alleged that since De Sousa returned to Eersterus after his bail condition barring him from Eersterus was lifted in June, the town-

ship had become a "war zone" with regular shootings which have forced residents to lock themselves in their houses at night.

It is alleged that since his return in June, De Sousa has claimed that he was above the law. One of the allegations against him is that he has led his gang to attack several homes in the township.

He has also been accused of firing shots at Denzel Stoetenkamp, the brother-in-law of the late Hartze, and of allegedly stabbing a man called Lawrence Fisher.

De Sousa denied all allegations against him and said that he was the one at the receiving end of these attacks, which he said had turned his neighbourhood into a "war zone".

He said he was given bail in February and one of his bail conditions was that he should not set foot in Eersterus, "for my own protection" and he went to stay in a flat in Johannesburg.

However he applied on June 6 for his bail conditions to be lifted and returned to Eersterus, "where all hell broke loose".

"I am the one at the receiving end of a two-pronged attack because there are people who have vowed to kill me," he said.

De Sousa was arrested in November last year in connection with the alleged murder of Hartze, 27, who was shot nine times during a matric dance function at the Eersterus Civic Centre.

The arrest of De Sousa sparked a furore after a Pretoria magistrate ruled that he should be held at a police station until his next court appearance.

Members of the Hartze family and the community demanded 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 at the Pretoria Central Prison.

He was released on bail pending the decision of the Attorney-General on what charges to bring against him.

Police said they were investigating numerous allegations levelled against De Sousa and that they were also investigating charges which had been laid by De Sousa and other people close to him because of all the shooting incidents in Eersterus.



He said police were victims of near Greytown in the Natal Midlands bomb attack.

## Putco buses worth R2,8m destroyed during unrest

PUTCO has lost R2,8m in destroyed buses this year, but the company is not planning to ask the police for help.

Putco MD Jack Visser said at the weekend that 14 buses had been destroyed in unrest-related incidents in the PVV region this year.

Of these, three were destroyed in the East Rand township of Vosloorus last week after Unkhonto we Sizwe member George Mashela allegedly blew himself up with a handgrenade during a police raid on his house.

Another three buses were destroyed in the township this year. Five were destroyed in the Vaal area, two in the Pretoria area and one in Soweto.

Visser estimated the replacement cost of the buses at R2,8m.

Although he could not readily give figures of last year's attacks on his company's buses, he was convinced there had been as escalation.

Putco has 2 000 buses

WILSON ZWANE

countrywide.

Visser stressed that Putco was not considering withdrawing from the areas where the buses were coming under attack "because we are rendering an essential service".

Asked what the company could do to stave off the attacks on its buses, Visser said little could be done short of enlisting the help of police.

But the company would not have policemen deployed on its buses as such a move was bound to cause friction between the company and commuters.

"Since we want to remain at peace with our customers, we would rather render the services as best we can than get policemen in our buses."

Visser said there had been no pattern to the attacks on the Putco vehicles. They seemed to depend on the mood of the townships.

## ANC 'in breach of arms deals'

PRETORIA — The stockpiling of arms in Angola by Unkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, contravened agreements reached by the SA government and the ANC, an SADF spokesman said.

"These agreements stipulate that the ANC was to have pointed out all their arms caches and they were to have ceased recruiting people for MK as well as training MK personnel."

The spokesman said in a statement to Sapa on Friday it was surprising the ANC dismissed the issue of what it intended to do about these weapons as "not being in the public interest".

Weapons similar to those stored in Angola were being used in SA against innocent people.

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that the cache included 2 188 AK-47s and 2,2-m rounds of ammunition, 22 machineguns and hundreds of pistols and revolvers.

Heavy weapons included five Soviet tanks and five light armoured troop carriers.

The dispute began when Russia's partner, Heuter.

## Many crimes 'the work of suspects granted bail'

STEPHANE BOTHA

SA's lenient attitude to the granting of bail resulted in a high number of suspected criminals committing more crimes while awaiting trial, legal sources said at the weekend.

Recent research by the SAP over a nine-month period showed that of a total of 61 306 accused released on bail, 10 353 breached their bail conditions and 3 850 committed crimes while on bail.

This situation not only placed a massive burden on police, but also caused growing dissatisfaction among the public, who suffered under a wave of crime, police said.

"In particular the black population finds it difficult to come to terms with this type of administration of justice and they take the law into their own hands or turn to people's courts," the police said.

Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and Wilkau, SC, said: "It is a well known fact that SA criminal law has a very liberal view on the granting of bail to accused."

The granting of bail to accused should be seen against the background of the presumption in SA law of an accused's innocence until he or she had been proved guilty, he said.

Other factors played an important role in courts' consideration of whether to grant bail.

These included the limited prison facilities for awaiting trial prisoners.

"One must always keep in mind that bail applications by accused are brought at a very early stage of police investigations," Von Lieres said.

Therefore, it was not always easy to convince a judge or magistrate that there was a strong case against an accused.

Depending on the facts of the case — the seriousness or nature of the crime, or the possibility that the accused might commit another crime — State lawyers would do their best to oppose bail, said Von Lieres.

Until 1977, attorneys-general had the jurisdiction to issue a certificate prohibiting bail in serious cases.

Since then, it has been in the discretion of the courts to grant bail, or not, after an accused has satisfied the court that he should be released.

Recently the Law Commission recommended that, at hearings on whether to grant bail, the onus should be moved from the accused having to prove why he should get bail to the State having to prove why the suspect should not be released on bail. If the recommendation was accepted, it would be even easier for courts to grant bail, informed legal sources said.

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Council of Trade Unions, discriminatory practices Joe Botha announced last night.

## Body to fight 'corruption, murder'

By Michael Sparks

A coalition of nearly 50 organisations was formed yesterday to fight Government "corruption and State-sponsored murders".

Dubbed the Coalition against State Murder and Corruption (Casmac), it was formed at Wits University and plans to send a representative to Harare to address a United Nations group investigating human rights violations.

Casmac comprises a broad spectrum of trade unions as well as political and religious groups, including the ANC, Congress of SA Trade Unions, SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, SA



Ramaphosa . . . urged vigorous public outcry.

Council of Churches, Lawyers for Human Rights, Human Rights Commission, Black Sash, Pan Africanist Congress and Five Freedoms Forum, among others.

Addressing the launch of Casmac yesterday, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa urged

the public to act to force the State to be more accountable for its actions.

He challenged the public to take part in a more vigorous public outcry so that the Government could not "get away with denials of complicity in the violence".

Casmac, in a document distributed at the launch, called for the dismissal and prosecution of all Government ministers and officials who had been involved in murder or corruption.

It also called for the full disclosure of secret projects and covert operations — and the creation of a multiparty commission, involving the international community, with full powers of ac-

cess and investigation into the security forces.

Casmac plans to meet Mr Justice Goldstone to voice its concern that recommendations by the Goldstone Commission are not being acted upon by the Government.

Members also hope to meet President de Klerk.

Casmac intends writing to the UN Committee Against Apartheid and the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Among the 18 members elected to the steering committee are Cheryl Carolus of the ANC, Kallie Hanekom of Five Freedoms Forum, Brian Curren of Lawyers for Human Rights and John Lamola of the SA Council of Churches.

## Dismissed Toyota workers stone job-seekers

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Pandemonium broke out at the Toyota plant in Prospecton south of Durban yesterday and police were called in and fired tear-gas to disperse dismissed workers who had stoned and chased away people seeking employment.

Job-seekers arrived at the plant after Toyota's announced at the weekend that it would start recruiting new workers after the dismissal of 6 000 workers who had been on strike for more than a month.

Talks between management and the National Union of Metal-

workers of SA (Numsa) deadlocked on Friday.

From early yesterday, hundreds of people queued up at the gates to seek interviews. Police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said a group of former employees stoned and threw bottles at the job-seekers.

"Repeated calls to those who were not seeking employment to leave the area were ignored."

Toyota public affairs managing director Phil Wilkon confirmed the incident.

Numsa regional secretary Eckie Esau was unavailable for comment.



Patrick Laurence reflects on the violence which has claimed 7 000 lives in two years

# Looking at the bigger picture

STAR 14/17/92

**P**ROFESSOR Lawrence Schlemmer, a man who usually chooses his words carefully, has characterised South Africa as the most violent society on Earth.

If there is an element of hyperbole in his startling statement, it is understandable: since President de Klerk launched his bid for a negotiated settlement on February 2 1990, more than 7 000 people have been shot, hacked, stabbed and burnt to death in apparently endless political violence.

Direct political violence, however, is but a small part of the greater violence that threatens to tear South Africa apart. For every person who dies in political violence, another eight are murdered in straight criminal violence.

The banality of murder creates an atmosphere that nurtures murderous zealotry by making life cheap.

The boundary between political and criminal violence is porous. Former guerillas, tired of waiting for an opportunity to lead a normal life, turn to crime; gangsters armed with AK-47s, a weapon associated with armed struggle but easily available on the black mar-

ket, rob banks and hijack cars. The violence, generating fear and anger, leads to polemical dispute in which the main political organisations castigate one another. Tendentious pronouncements add to the accretions of hatred and fuel further violence.

It is in the context of these developments that the Boipatong massacre of June 17 became the 49th massacre in which 10 or more people were murdered since July 1990, according to Human Rights Commission records.

Within hours of the massacre the ANC issued a statement blaming Mr de Klerk for the killings and accusing the police of direct complicity.

Referring to the De Klerk administration — which has won world acclaim for its reformist policies since Mr de Klerk came to power in September 1990, the ANC said: "The death toll of black people during its brief period of office exceeds that of 40 years of National Party rule".

It cited a 1990 amendment to the Natal Native Code, decreed by Mr de Klerk, contending that it "legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons" and that he had

therefore created the opportunity for "slaughter".

The unspoken assumptions in the ANC statement were that Mr de Klerk had made it legal for Zulu supporters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to carry sticks, spears and shields, to use them to kill ANC members and sympathisers, and to terrorise blacks generally into shunning the ANC.

The statement should be seen in the context of the disclosure last year that Mr de Klerk's administration had secretly helped to finance IFP rallies and continued surreptitious payments to the IFP's trade union arm, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa), after Mr de Klerk acceded to the presidency.

The implications of the ANC statement — that Mr de Klerk had armed and financed black "surrogates" or "mercenaries" to destabilise the ANC by killing its followers — reverberated in the aftermath of the Boipatong massacre.

The prime suspects were Zulu-speaking men from the nearby KwaMadala Hostel, an IFP stronghold in an area generally

dominated by the ANC; they were alleged to have carried out the massacre with the assistance of policemen who purportedly ferried them there in Casspirs.

The case for the ANC accusers seems indisputable. Yet a closer look at the situation shows that it is not as simple as that.

The August 1990 amendment to the Natal Native Code of 1887 did allow Zulus to carry dangerous weapons, including assegais or spears, sharpened sticks, sticks shod with iron and battle axes, under specified conditions. As some of these conditions applied under the original code, the amendment did not create an entirely new situation.

What the amendment did do was to widen the scope for carrying these weapons — ie make it easier to carry them — by adding a new condition: Zulus could carry these weapons if they could prove that they were carrying them for bona fide purposes according to Zulu custom and tradition.

The ANC alleged that the purpose of the amendment was to legitimise the refusal of police to disarm IFP men.

The legal section of the Min-

istry of Law and Order — which drafted the amendment — denies that was its intention; the motive, it insists, was to bring the Natal Native Code in line with the Dangerous Weapons Act, which authorises the carrying of dangerous weapons provided the person concerned can prove that he/she has no intention of using the weapon for unlawful purposes, including, obviously, murder or assault.

Last December the Supreme Court declared the amendment null and void because of its vagueness. It made the debate over the intention of law makers largely academic.

It was superseded by the agreement of the De Klerk administration, when it signed the National Peace Accord last September, to ban the possession or display of dangerous weapons by people attending political meetings or participating in political marches.

It fulfilled its commitment in February 1992 by amending the Dangerous Weapons Act accordingly. Prohibited weapons included spears. A month later the prohibition was extended to trains and stations in a bid to curb the killing of people on trains.

At present, Mr de Klerk's legal draftsmen are preparing regulations to prohibit the possession of dangerous weapons in any public place.

Soon after the signing of the National Peace Accord, Mr de Klerk appointed a permanent judicial commission to investigate political violence, including allegations of State complicity.

It was headed by Mr Justice R J Goldstone, the same who delivering a withering indictment of the police in his inquiry into the shooting of black civilians by policemen in March 1990.

Seen in the context of Mr Goldstone's finding that no evidence has been submitted so far to justify allegations that Mr de Klerk, his Cabinet Ministers or his senior security force officers were involved in the Boipatong massacre, these events modify — at the very least — the ANC's one-dimensional view of the violence as the product of conspiracy against it.

They recall the words of the Greek poet, Archilochus, in the 7th century BC: "The fox knows many things. The hedgehog knows only one big thing." South Africa needs more foxes. □



# When witnesses tremble, what hope

Star 14/7/92

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**WITHOUT** a solid, State-funded witness protection programme, convictions in political violence trials will remain the exception rather than the rule and the spiral of bloody violence will continue, human rights experts agree.

According to figures supplied by the Human Rights Commission (HRC), in trials completed in the first three months of this year, charges were dropped against two-thirds of people accused of political offences.

Not one of the investigations into the more than 40 massacres on the Reef in the past

two years, in which more than 1 200 people have died, has resulted in a conviction.

Last week, three residents of Merafe hostel in Soweto were acquitted on charges of attempting to murder two passengers on a Johannesburg-Soweto train. The court was not satisfied that the accused had been positively identified.

Two weeks ago, one of five people accused of the slaying of 13 people at a night vigil in Alexandra in March last year was acquitted because of insufficient evidence.

Earlier, seven IFP members

charged with murder after 38 people were massacred at a vigil in Sebokeng in January last year were acquitted because of insufficient evidence.

According to HRC co-ordinator Sifiso Sadek, in the last year, six people have died under mysterious circumstances before they could give evidence in political violence trials.

Two of those people were members of local dispute resolution committees.

In certain cases, threats and intimidation from political adversaries have followed witnesses into court.

**Witnesses' terror and a police force that lacks credibility force the courts to drop charges against people accused of violent political crimes. Without convictions, the courts have no deterrent to discourage future perpetrators. BRONWYN WILKINSON reports.**

Sally Sealy of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression said the board had monitored cases in which IFP supporters would pack into a court before an ANC member was due to testify.

Witnesses felt so intimidated that they came across as unsure of their testimony.

According to Ms Sealy, an

overloaded and crammed legal system contributes to the likelihood of political offenders being acquitted. "Many prosecutors only get the dockets on the morning the case comes up. They do not have enough time to brief their witnesses."

"The prosecutors have to rely on the police investigation, so the police play a more impor-

tant role in the judicial process than they should," she said.

Allegations of police involvement in violence, particularly in the Boipatong massacre, have led to a deep mistrust of the police and a reluctance to supply them with information.

Detectives investigating the Boipatong massacre charged that local political leaders had urged the public not to make statements to the SAP.

In a statement read at the Goldstone Commission's inquiry into the massacre, Mr Justice R J Goldstone said: "It could not be expected of the victims

of the violence to co-operate with the police in subsequent inquiries" when such allegations had been made.

In some cases where confessions have been made, confessors have later told the court that they confessed under duress.

A spokesman for SAP public relations headquarters in Pretoria, Lieutenant-Colonel Reg Crewe, said the police were aware that confessions were sometimes made under duress, but this was not condoned.

Commenting on allegations that police did not conduct thorough investigations, Colonel

Crewe agreed that witnesses were afraid to come forward with evidence, some fearing they could be killed by political opponents, and others because they did not trust the police.

If witnesses did not come forward, he said, it was impossible for the SAP to conduct a thorough investigation.

He agreed that until more people were convicted, others would not be discouraged from political violence, and attacks were likely to continue.

"But," he added, "in the end, the case is only as strong as the evidence of the witnesses." □



## Unionist killed

THE body of the general secretary of the Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers' Union, Sam Marotola, who had been missing since June 29, was found in a Vereeniging mortuary on July 6.

*Sowetan 14/7/92*  
An organiser of the union, Mr Jack Mphahlele, said the car in which Marotola was last seen had been found, wrecked, at a Vereeniging police station.

Marotola will be buried on Saturday at Mashashane, Potgietersrus.

*Sapa*

# 60 Vosloorus ANC members arrested

**61 DAY**  
14/7/92 327

POLICE arrested 60 ANC members in Vosloorus early yesterday and seized two handgrenades, an AK-47 rifle and several rounds of ammunition.

And in two other actions in Natal at the weekend, police said they discovered SADF uniforms allegedly in the possession of ANC members.

The Vosloorus Civic Association claimed the 60 arrests followed a swoop by security forces on a night vigil at the Vosloorus home of Umkhonto we Sizwe member George Mashele, who died last week in a handgrenade explosion at his home.

Six of those arrested had been assaulted by the police, the ANC claimed.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Col Frans Malherbe yesterday rejected the claims of a "swoop" and assaults by the police as "typical smear tactics" designed to cast suspicion on police activities.

He said a routine SADF-SAP patrol spotted a large group of men gathered around a fire in the East Rand township.

When the group was approached, it very suddenly broke up and people ran in different directions, Malherbe said.

The reaction of the group caused the security force members to believe that "something suspicious had been transpiring" and they decided to cordon off and search the area, he said.

Police found two handgrenades behind a fridge and 15 rounds of AK-47 ammunition hidden in a hole in a garden. At another house they found an AK-47 assault rifle, 9mm ammunition and 12-bore shotgun ammunition. The search party found 60 men hiding in the vicinity. They denied knowledge of the arms and explosives, he said.

They were taken to the Vosloorus police station where six men claimed they had

been assaulted by police, but refused to make statements.

"At no stage during the operations did the search party have any reason to believe they were interrupting a night vigil. Had these men not reacted ... by running away and hiding, the security forces would not have done anything."

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that police in Durban arrested an ANC member who was allegedly in possession of an SADF uniform.

The man was arrested at an ANC meeting at Glebelands Hostel south of Durban on Sunday.

The arrest followed the discovery of an assortment of SADF uniforms at Umlazi on Friday, also allegedly in the possession of prominent ANC members.

WILSON ZWANE reports Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday his government had no intention of ever arresting MK and Apla members for carrying weapons because it had "unconditionally" unbanned these organisations.

Holomisa said there were "informal" communication lines between his government, the ANC and the PAC which had been established to exchange intelligence and to ensure that members of the two liberation movements were not harassed.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the arrangement — made in 1990 — between his organisation and the Transkei government minimised conflict.

In terms of the arrangement, MK and Apla members arrested by the Transkei police for carrying weapons are freed after their identities have been confirmed by their leaders.

STEPHANE BOTHMA



# NEWS Row over consignment of firearms allegedly delivered to IFP officer

## news

### in brief

#### clubs' offer

RLANDO Pirates and Iwisa aizer Chiefs pledged to donate 30 000 to a trust fund still to be established for the Boipatong massacre victims.

The announcement was made by National Soccer League (NSL) chairman Mr Ashwin Trikanjee yesterday.

Bucs and Chiefs decided to donate the money from the proceeds of their Coca-Cola Cup elimination-game-turned-friendily. - *Sowetan Reporter*.

#### Kobus in court

ORMER chief executive of the National Soccer League (NSL), Mr Cyril Kobus, is to appear before a Johannesburg magistrate today for sentencing following his conviction for theft last month.

Kobus (50) of Parkview pleaded guilty last month to 23 charges of theft to the total of 4 462 838,12. The money was stolen from the NSL through two special accounts operated by Kobus and former colleague, Abdul Bhanajee.

Bhanajee is serving a 14-year jail sentence for his part in the theft. - *Sowetan Reporter*.

## 'Whites took arms to IFP's office'

*Sowetan 15/7/92*

■ Fire power. ANC claims six men, two in military uniform and three in SAP gear, delivered 152 firearms to Inkatha's Witbank office:

#### Sowetan Correspondent

A CONSIGNMENT of 152 firearms was delivered to an Inkatha Freedom Party/Uwusa office in Witbank on July 5, according to a high-ranking African National Congress official.

Eastern Transvaal ANC leader Mr Matthew Phosa said yesterday the information was supplied to the organisation's intelligence department.

The IFP has denied the allegation, and police are investigating.

The ANC information details the type and calibre of the weapons, serial numbers, and the dates and times of delivery. The ANC has handed a typed list of the weapons - which appear to be of old manufacture - to *Sowetan's* sister newspaper, *The Star*.

#### Delivery

The list details 92 rifles of various makes, 16 shotguns, two air rifles, nine combination guns, nine pistols and 24 revolvers.

Phosa said three panel vans were used for the delivery. It is alleged that six white men - two in military dress, three wearing South African Police uniforms, and one in civilian clothes - were

present, escorted by three other white men driving a car without number plates.

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos "officially and utterly" denied the claims. "The ANC has confused its own arms caches," she said.

IFP's Witbank chairman, Mr Wilfred Majosi, said the allegations were part of the ANC's propaganda "to cover up for their weapons in Angola". He denied knowledge of the weapons, saying he was not in Witbank on July 5.

#### Distributed

Phosa said: "Our fear is that some of the weapons have already been distributed as some of the IFP members have been seen with pistols."

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Koize challenged the ANC to produce evidence to back up its claims.

"If any real evidence emerges to justify these claims, the severest action possible will be taken," he said.

"However, the wearing of police or military uniforms cannot necessarily be seen as indicative of security force involvement as several ANC members have recently been arrested in police and military uniforms."



**REFUGEE BOY ...** A Somali refugee boy cooks porridge while waiting to cross the border to Kenya. Since guerrillas of the United Somali Congress chased President Mohamed Siad Barre from the capital of Mogadishu in January 1991, anarchy has carved up Somalia into clan fiefdoms. Peter Fuchs, director general of the Red Cross, said last week that 500 000 people will die in the coming weeks unless international aid is doubled immediately.

## Not-pourri of writers



# Evidence points to police atrocities

## ■ SECURITY SCOURGE

The ANC, PAC and Azapo say although the Government has lifted some

security and emergency legislation, assassinations and abductions continue. Last week's killing of MK cadre George Mashele is part of the campaign. Monk Nkomo, our Pretoria bureau chief, reports:



Soweto - 15/7/92

**T**HE recent assassination of an MK and an Apla cadre, plus the attempt to kill two other activists, is believed to be a renewal of attacks on black political organisations.

Two weeks ago George Mashele, an MK cadre, was killed under suspicious circumstances in Vosloorus.

This followed the brutal attack on ANC member Mr Oupa Masuku and an attempt to abduct and murder the family of a senior member of Azapo, Dr Gomolemo Mokae, in Bophuthatswana.

First to be attacked this year was Masuku, who was stopped by men wearing army uniforms near the swimming pool in Saulsville during the night of March 21.

He sustained serious injuries. A woman passenger who was with him was raped.

Masuku, who was organising secretary in the Justice and Peace Commission at the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, reported the matter to the police.

"Until this day there have been no arrests. And this makes us believe that these are renewed attacks on political activists in the township," said Masuku.

Continuously harassed by police for many years, Masuku's mother, Mrs Esther Masuku, was killed in a handgrenade attack at her house on March 5 1986. The ANC blamed State agents for the attack because, until this day, nobody has been arrested.

"It has always been the aim of the State to eliminate influential leaders within all liberation movements," said ANC PWV media spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepe.

### Assassinated

Deputy Commander of the African People's Liberation Army (Apla), Jan Shoba, was assassinated allegedly by white men at his sister's residence in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on May 29.

Before he was murdered, Shoba

was also attacked, assaulted and left for dead by white people near the same swimming pool. A woman who was with him was also gang-raped.

After Shoba's death, the local branches of the PAC, ANC, Azapo and church groups, resolved to form a united defence force which could include cadres from these camps.

Police liaison officer in the Northern Transvaal, Captain Andrew Lesch, this week said no arrests had been made yet in connection with Shoba's death. Police were still investigating.

Shoba was one of the leadership's bodyguards. PAC cadre Mr Oupa Peter Sekoboto of Sharpeville, who was also a bodyguard, was abducted by unknown persons travelling in a minibus while strolling with his girlfriend near his home in the evening of May 7. His whereabouts are still unknown.

Regional chairman of the PAC, Mr Moss Mavundla, said Sekoboto informed them before he was abducted that he had been approached while in prison by State agents who wanted him to spy for them.

He refused. "He was then told that he will not live long. His abduction leaves us with no doubt that he was abducted by State agents."

The family of Mokae, Azapo's head of the Education Secretariat, was nearly killed by unknown persons who came looking for him at his home during the night early this year.

Azapo's publicity director, Miss Malebo Rammopo, said the men threatened to abduct and kill his 4-year-old son.

"Obviously State agents were behind the move," said Rammopo.

She added that Azapo's offices in the city were broken into and human excrement piled on the floor. Filing cabinets were also broken and important files seized.

"We view this in a serious light and believe that this is renewed harassment of political leaders in our area," she said.

Another senior PAC member, Mr



Gomolemo Mokae... family harassed.

**It has always been the aim of the State to eliminate influential leaders within all liberation movements**

ANC PWV media spokesman, Mr Ronnie Mamoepe.

Elias Ntloedibe, who left South Africa in 1960 and is presently staying in Botswana, was also wanted by a group of black men who identified themselves as policemen, according to his family.

A PAC spokesman said the family had informed them that these men visited them almost daily since this year at their home in Suurman near Temba in Hammanskraal asking for his whereabouts.

Although they claimed to be policemen, these men refused to give their names. Ntloedibe was due to come back from Germany yesterday en route to Botswana.

"In the light of all these incidents, we believe that the entire PAC leadership is on a hit-list of State agents who are now bent on first eliminating their bodyguards and making them vulnerable to further attacks," said Mavundla. "However, no harassment or killing of PAC members will stop the PAC from demanding the return of the land to Africans nor will they stop us from the struggle."

### Investigation

He said the organisation was conducting its own investigation into all the incidents. He stressed, however, that Shoba was killed by State agents and "that explains why there have been no arrests up to now".

He added that the PAC suspected that the black men now looking for Ntloedibe were also State agents.

Sekoboto was first arrested at a taxi rank in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, during a skirmish with security forces on June 20 1990. Another cadre, Mojanaga Nyanga, was killed. Sekoboto was later acquitted on charges of possession of an unlicensed firearm and ammunition.

He was arrested again on November that year for allegedly being in possession of a handgrenade. He was also found not guilty. "It was during this time while in detention that State agents approached and asked him to join the Askaris and spy for the Government," said Mavundla.

**In the light of all these incidents, we believe that the entire PAC leadership is on a hit-list of State agents who are now bent on first eliminating their bodyguards and making them vulnerable to further attacks**

Regional chairman of the PAC, Mr Moss Mavundla



# Police search IFP offices after ANC arms allegation

By Esther Vaughn and Shaun Johnson

STAR 15/11/92

(327)

Police raided an Inkatha Freedom Party/United Workers' Union of SA office in Witbank on Monday night and found "two official KwaZulu weapons" after inquiries by The Star about the alleged delivery of a consignment of firearms.

The raid came after police were informed of an ANC allegation that 152 firearms were delivered to the Witbank IFP/Uwusa office on July 5 and then removed to an unknown destination.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday said police found a shotgun and a pistol at the office, but that they were legally possessed.

Before the raid, eastern Transvaal ANC leader Matthew Phosa revealed ANC intelligence regarding the alleged firearms consignment. The IFP denied the claims.

The ANC information detailed the type and calibre of the weapons, serial numbers, and the dates and times of their delivery.

The ANC handed a typed list of the weapons, which appear to be of old manufacture, to The Star. The weapons seized in Monday night's raid did not appear on the list.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos "totally and utterly" denied that the "delivery" of the 152 weapons had taken place.

IFP Witbank chairman Wilfred Majoor said the allegations were part of the ANC's propaganda "to cover up for their weapons in Angola". Mr Majoor denied knowledge of the delivery, saying he was not in Witbank on July 5.

Mr Phosa said it was "for the sake of our lives, peace and stability that the ANC has decided to disclose the information".

According to Mr Phosa, three panel vans — a Toyota, a Datsun E20 and a Mitsubishi — were used for the delivery. Drivers and passengers were identified as "Don, Ernest,

Nuku and Jerome".

It is alleged that six white men — two in military gear, three wearing South African Police uniforms and one in civilian clothes — were present, and were escorted by a further three white men driving a Volkswagen Jetta without number plates.

The ANC alleges that Danie van Heerden of the Dan du Toit Gun Shop in Witbank came to the IFP office after an IFP official telephoned him. They are alleged to have checked the weapons, which were later removed.

Mr van Heerden has denied any knowledge of the weapons.

The ANC's information is that on Monday, July 6 a former ANC detainee now working in opposition to the organisation contacted the IFP/Uwusa office and asked: "When are (names unknown) going to give us the things they said we should wait for?"

The ANC claims it suspects that youths of Hlalanikahle, a suburb of the Witbank township of Lynnville where pockets of

IFP supporters live, were to be trained with the weapons.

Captain Kotze said police had contacted Mr Phosa regarding the alleged consignment, and the ANC leader had undertaken to make details available to the SAP today.

Mr Phosa said: "Our fear is that some of the weapons have already been distributed as some of the IFP members have been seen with pistols."

The list of weapons gives details of 92 rifles of various makes, 16 shotguns, two air rifles, nine combination guns, nine pistols and 24 revolvers. Makes include Paget, Enfield, Webley, Mauser and Winchester.

Captain Kotze challenged the ANC to produce evidence to back up its claims. "The public has a right to know as rapidly as possible whether the claims are true or merely another salvo in the ANC's hate campaign against the SAP."

"If any real evidence emerges to justify these claims, the severest action possible will be taken," he said.

# SADF admits to Coetzee spy plot

■ **CONSPIRACY UNCOVERED** State President

De Klerk says he was informed of a plan to murder renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee: (321) ~~321~~

## Sowetan Correspondent

*Sowetan 16/7/92.*  
**T**HE South African Defence Force yesterday admitted one of its members had without authority "arranged" to monitor former police captain Dirk Coetzee in London, but denied allegations of a plot to murder the former security policeman.

State President FW de Klerk also confirmed that he had been "fully informed" of an alleged plot to murder Coetzee with the help of Irish guerillas.

Reacting to a disclosure of the plot in *The Independent* of London yesterday, De Klerk said he had been fully informed of the incident when it occurred in April this year, and had given instructions that "every assistance and co-operation be given to the

British authorities" investigating the incident.

"Departmental investigations are continuing and I hope to be informed of the results in the near future.

"These results will also be communicated to the British authorities, at which time a decision will be taken on whether further public statements are deemed necessary."

An SADF spokesman said the SADF did not have "any interest whatsoever" in Coetzee, but confirmed that two members of the SADF had been sent to London in April this year to investigate a link between the Irish Republican Army and Umkonto we Sizwe.

"During the visit one member, acting without sanction, authority or knowledge of the SADF or any other Government authority, allegedly decided to arrange for the monitoring of Coetzee."



Plan to assassinate Dirk Coetzee, says report

# SA spies caught in London

STAR 16/7/92

● From Page 1

London for two weeks.

Dirk Coetzee is a potential prime target of hardliners within South African security, not only because he defected but because he subsequently joined the ANC.

He has been in London under police protection since March 1991. He told The Independent last night: "Scotland Yard confirmed to me that this was a very serious attempt on my life."

British authorities informed the Government about the operation when Captain du Randt and Mr Flores were detained. Mr de Klerk promised his full co-operation and recently dispatched a senior law of-

ficer to London.

Michael Hodgen, Acting Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape, had talks here last month with British officials investigating the South Africa-Ulster link. He also met Mr Coetzee and officials of the ANC, which had also been informed by the British about the plot.

On May 8 Mr de Klerk also appointed Mr Hodgen to head an investigation into the murder of activist Matthew Goniwe in 1985 in which suspicion falls on General van der Westhuizen's security forces.

There is no evidence that either Mr de Klerk or any of his ministers was aware of the plot.

Sources close to the investigation say the true nature of the mission was suspected even before the couple arrived at Heathrow.

British intelligence had been aware for some time of the threat against Mr Coetzee from hardliners in SA police and security circles.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mr de Klerk had been told of the assassination plot but took no substantial steps.

At the minimum, General van der Westhuizen should have been suspended pending an investigation, he added.

The SAP would respond after the media report had been studied, a police spokesman said.

By Shaun Johnson and Esther Waugh

(327)

Both President de Klerk and the SADF have confirmed that two SADF members were detained in London in April in connection with an alleged plot against former police captain Dirk Coetzee, now an ANC member.

The SADF's Military Intelligence Division is investigating the incident, which has serious international implications and threatens to further sour relations between the Government and the ANC.

The official confirmation of the detentions — and of top-level contact between South African and British authorities — comes after a report in The Independent newspaper of London.

It was reported that two South African agents — Captain Pamela du Randt and Leon Flores — plotted during a secret mission to London with Ulster loyalist paramilitaries to assassinate Mr Coetzee. The SADF confirmed to The Star yesterday that the two were SADF members. They are back in South Africa.

The SADF said it had "no interest whatsoever" in Mr Coetzee, but confirmed that two SADF members had been sent to London to investigate alleged ANC links with the Irish Republican Army.

"During the visit, one member, without sanction, authority or knowledge of the SA Defence Force or any other Government authority, allegedly decided to arrange for the monitoring of Dirk Coetzee."

"His activities were halted by the British authorities."

Military Intelligence embarked on a "thorough investigation". The possibility of collusion between the indi-

vidual in question and others — not from the SADF — was being looked into.

In a statement yesterday Mr de Klerk said: "I was fully informed of the situation at the time this incident occurred, and gave instructions that every assistance and co-operation be given to the British authorities. Departmental investigations are continuing, and I hope to be informed of the final results in the near future."

"These results will also be communicated to the British authorities, at which time a decision will be taken whether a further public statement is deemed desirable." The alleged plot was foiled by a tip-off to British intelligence from an officer within the SA Police, according to The Independent.

The two agents, one of them a woman captain in Military Intelligence, were followed from their arrival at Heathrow on April 11 until April 15 when they were arrested as they were about to fly back home. They and one of their Ulster contacts were interrogated for three days under the Prevention of Terrorism Act before being released and put on a flight home.

It is alleged that the SADF members were to plan the attack on Mr Coetzee, which would then be carried out by a loyalist hit squad. Captain du Randt has been identified as the secretary of the head of Military Intelligence, General Christoffel van der Westhuizen.

The two agents were met at Heathrow Airport by an Ulsterman with known South African connections, and later met three known loyalist paramilitaries. Two of those men were subsequently watched as they reconnoitred a flat in Hinde Street in London's West End where Mr Coetzee lived with his two teenage children. By that time, he had been out of

● To Page 3

SADF spies caught in London  
STAR 16/7/92



# Police seek power to halt protests

CAPE TOWN — The police yesterday called for powers to prevent demonstrations which threatened violence, and said any new legislation on demonstrations should not limit them to taking action only when lives were actually threatened.

The SAP proposal, presented during a public session of the Goldstone commission of inquiry into the lawful control of mass demonstrations, would restrict the absolute right to demonstrate which an international panel of experts insisted on in their report.

The report said force should be used only when demonstrations turned violent, and that the subjectively perceived threat of violence should not be grounds for prohibiting a demonstration.

The Justice Department also felt that the panel had overemphasised the right to demonstrate at the expense of the protection of the public.

But the ANC and Cosatu called for tough legislation prohibiting the carrying of weapons at demonstrations and suggested that the police be given measures to prevent demonstrations which threatened the rule of peaceful assembly.

ANC-Cosatu legal representative Fink Haysom said weapons should be totally prohibited, police should have the right to forcibly remove weapons and participants in demonstration who carried weapons should be liable for prosecution. "Such measures could include harsh restrictions and prohibitions on organisations which

LINDA ENSOR

continued to indicate that they will not or cannot control weapons at gatherings."

Inkatha legal representative Louis Visser SC called for a distinction between cultural weapons and dangerous weapons, saying that only weapons which created the opportunity or propensity for violence should be prohibited. Cultural weapons should be allowed at cultural gatherings, and special arrangements could be made to have the weapons transported to the venue.

SAP legal representative David Gordon SC said it was the responsibility of the organisers of a demonstration to ensure people did not carry arms — forceable disarmament by the police should be only the second option. Gordon conceded that cultural weapons should be allowed and said that while the legislation should contain an absolute prohibition on all weapons, the Supreme Court should have the power to grant permission for cultural weapons to be carried in certain instances.

Other issues raised by the legal representatives of the SAP, Justice Department, the ANC-Cosatu alliance and Inkatha were the penalties to be imposed on the failure to give the authorities notice of a demonstration, or on the breach of its conditions, and provision for spontaneous demonstrations.

Haysom said Cosatu and Saccola were negotiating an agreement on peaceful picketing on private premises.

## Poll: few believe govt is in control

PRETORIA — Almost two thirds of respondents in two recent HSRC surveys believed government had little or no control over political violence.

Results of the polls, released yesterday, showed that most respondents felt "unsafe or very unsafe".

Each survey, undertaken by researchers IC Rhodie, Chris de Kok and Charl Schutte, involved samples of 2 000 people — 1 100 blacks, 400 whites, 300 coloureds and 200 Indians.

The surveys were conducted in February and April. In the February survey 68% of all respondents supported ANC president Nelson Mandela as SA leader. In April his support stood at 62%.

President FW de Klerk received the support of 65% of Indian respondents in both surveys.

His coloured support increased from 70% in February to 78% in April, while 56% of white respondents supported De

GERALD REILLY

Klerk in February and 53% in April.

The majority opposed private armies.

Support for De Klerk's interim government proposal in February came from 45% of coloureds, 47% of whites, 55% of Indians and 53% of blacks. In April the proportions were 58% coloureds, 55% whites, 66% blacks and 73% Indians.

In February and April 64% of respondents thought government had little or no control over the violence.

In the total sample 46% felt unsafe or very unsafe and 37% felt safe or very safe. And 85% of those who felt unsafe or very unsafe believed the government had little or no control over violence.

The researchers said the results confirmed the expectation that a feeling of insecurity went hand in hand with a lack of trust in the state's security forces.



# FW's moves on violence opportunistic, says ANC

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's announcement on Tuesday night of measures to curb violence was crafted to provide government with ammunition at yesterday's UN Security Council meeting in New York, the ANC said.

De Klerk's statement was "trivialisation of the serious crisis that faces our country", an ANC statement said last night.

"The statement was clearly crafted to provide Pretoria's Foreign Minister ... with the 'ammunition' he requested to counter the ANC's charges before the meeting."

De Klerk had announced the disbanding of the SADF's controversial 31 and 32 Battalions and the SAP's Koevoet unit; action on hostels; and restrictions on carrying dangerous weapons.

The ANC's initial response yesterday was that it did have some positive elements, but crucial issues would still have to be addressed.

Its detailed response last night was more critical, accusing De Klerk of misrepresenting the Goldstone commission's findings on the causes of violence.

"In his zeal to make cheap party political propaganda, De Klerk pretends that the Goldstone commission concurs with the NP's view that it is rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha that lies at the root of the violence," the ANC said.

"Quite the contrary is in fact the case.

"The Goldstone commission said: 'The causes of the violence are many and complicated.

## Deadlock

"In historical sequence they include: the economic, social and political imbalances among the people of SA. These are the consequences of three centuries of racial discrimination and over 40 years of an extreme form of racial and economic dislocation in consequence of the policy of apartheid."

Cosatu said De Klerk had "totally failed" to address the negotiations deadlock.

The decision to integrate 32 and 31 Battalions and Koevoet into the security forces was "fatally defective" as it would disperse killers throughout "the system", it said.

The ban on dangerous

weapons in unrest areas was not new, and action on hostels lacked urgency.

"De Klerk's failure to address our demands on the eve of a general strike is effectively telling the majority 'do your damndest'."

The DP welcomed De Klerk's statement but castigated government for failing to take action earlier. DP law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow said De Klerk had responded to a crisis, "rather than taking the initiative by anticipating and defusing the situation".

Gastrow urged the effective training and reintegration of individuals into the regular police and defence force "under the command of officers who will ensure they now become part of professional and neutral police and defence force units."

The CP said government's further concessions to ANC demands again wrongly placed the SAP under suspicion.

CP law and order spokesman Moolman Mentz said this had created frustration among policemen and made the execution of their task "almost impossible".

— Sapa-Reuter.



## Soweto inquiry has yet to start

ADRIAN HADLAND

AN URGENT inquiry into fraudulent construction company activities in Soweto has failed to begin its deliberations, three months after it was ordered to do so by the Central Wit-

watersrand Regional Services Council (RSC). **B10A4 16/7/92**

In April the RSC requested the Soweto City Council to set up an inquiry "forthwith to investigate and apportion culpability for irregularities in the approval of contractors' certifications of payment by Soweto City Council employees".

Initial investigations by consulting engineer Van Wyk & Louw found almost R500 000 unaccounted for in just one project to supply roads and stormwater drainage to Soweto, undertaken by the recently sequestered Honball civil engineering company.

The RSC ordered the disciplinary inquiry to produce a detailed report, including "any punitive or corrective actions taken", by not later than May 22 this year.

Three months after the inquiry's urgent creation was ordered by the RSC, it has yet to meet.

Newly appointed RSC CEO Leon de Wet said the Soweto council had requested financial aid to pay for the disciplinary inquiry and RSC assistance with structuring the inquiry.

"We are all anxious to proceed and are trying to sort out the details," he said.

De Wet said it was a matter of time before it met and compiled its report. He could give no indication of when the report could be expected.

## SADF officer kept tabs on Coetzee

**B10A4 16/7/92**

PRETORIA — The SADF admitted yesterday that a senior officer had "monitored" SAP renegade Capt Dirk Coetzee in the UK, but denied the monitoring had been authorised officially.

The SADF statement followed a report in the Independent newspaper in Britain that two SA agents were arrested by British authorities in April after allegedly plotting to kill Coetzee.

An SADF spokesman said no disciplinary action had been taken against the officer, but the SADF and President F W de Klerk said in statements yesterday that the matter was being investigated.

The Independent said the agents allegedly plotted to murder Coetzee in co-operation with Ulster loyalists, but the plot was foiled after a tip-off to British intelligence from within the SAP.

Coetzee fled to Zambia in 1989, where he told of his role in poisonings and killings by SA security agents. He subsequently joined the ANC, Sapa reports.

He sought asylum in Britain in 1991 and has been under police protection.

Coetzee was quoted as saying he had only narrowly escaped death. "Scotland Yard (London police headquarters) confirmed to me that this was a very serious attempt on my life," he said.

The two agents, Capt Pamela du Randt and Leon Flores, a former policeman, were arrested just before their departure from London and were interrogated for

three days before being sent home.

Du Randt was secretary to chief of staff, intelligence, Gen Christoffel van der Westhuizen, who has allegedly been linked to the assassination of four eastern Cape activists in 1985.

The SADF said that two members of the defence force were sent to London in April to confirm a possible international terrorism link between Umkhonto and the IRA.

"During the visit one member, acting without sanction, authority or knowledge of the SADF or any other government authority, allegedly decided to arrange for the monitoring of Dirk Coetzee."

The SADF denied the defence force had ever had any interest in Coetzee. "The possibility of collusion between the individual in question and an individual or individuals who are not members of the SADF is also being investigated".

De Klerk said he was fully informed of the situation at the time the incident occurred, and gave instructions that every assistance be given to the British authorities. "Departmental investigations are continuing and I hope to be informed of the final results in the near future."

"These results will be communicated also to the British authorities, at which time a decision will be taken whether a further public statement is deemed desirable," the statement said.



Gengold MD Gary Maude at yesterday's presentation of the group's quarterly results. Maude said Gengold, as a whole, had a good quarter. Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

## Russian tender may lure SA firms

**B10A4 16/7/92**

THE Russian Federation would soon call for tenders for development of what could be the largest undeveloped copper deposit in the world, and it was likely that companies such as Anglo American and Gencor would be among the large international companies approached.

Executive-director Richard Gnodde of London-based Goldman Sachs International said last night that the Udokan project presented a unique opportunity to participate in a world class copper project with a potential life measurable in decades. Market analysts said it was likely

that Anglo American and Gencor would be competing with large international companies such as Phelps Dodge of the US, RTZ of the UK and BHP of Australia.

Udokan's copper deposits were estimated at 1.25-billion tons of ore containing about 18-million tons of copper. The deposit, discovered in 1949, was near the rail service connecting to the Trans-Siberian railroad.

Analysts said this was likely to be the first of many tenders concerning Russian mineral reserves.

MADDEN COLE



# Major grilling over SA agents

WIMM 17/7 - 23/7/92  
By ARTHUR GAVSHON: London

BRITISH Prime Minister John Major's government faces a tough grilling in parliament about the activities of undercover South African agents in Britain, said to number around 150.

Opposition Labour Party MPs, backed by some Liberals and Conservatives, will be demanding why South African intelligence officers were expelled from the UK without being charged with plotting the assassination of rogue policeman Dirk Coetzee.

Labourite Robert Hughes announced he would be pressing the government to explain its failure to charge the officers, Captain Pamela du Randt and Leon Flores after their arrest. He said he would also want to know if there had been a formal protest to the South African government, adding: "I will ask the Home Secretary to investigate the security operations of the South Africans in the UK."

One-time South African security police Colonel John Horak, now a defector in Britain, estimates about 150 South African agents are working in the UK in the intelligence and commercial sectors. Several were Britons with a police background now operating in private investigation firms.

Foreign Office sources acknowledged Major had personally raised the matter with De Klerk, who promised to investigate and report back. In general, the response of the British authorities has been to play down the affair — on the eve of the United Nations debate on South Africa, they were at pains to stress that he had been co-operative in handling the April incident.

# Agreement reached on demonstrations

CAPE TOWN — Extensive agreement has been reached between the ANC, Cosatu, Inkatha and the SAP on the principles outlined by a panel of experts on how mass demonstrations should be controlled.

The panel's recommendations and the parties' submissions would be embodied in draft legislation to be submitted to President F W de Klerk as soon as possible, Goldstone commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday at the final session of the panel's deliberations.

Panel chairman and Harvard Law School professor Philip Heymann said the panel believed a complete review of police powers, including the use of force and lethal force, was timely and important.

He said there should also be subordinate legislation regulating use of sub-lethal force such as rubber bullets against demonstrators.

Just as important was the need to address questions of police training, organisation and equipment, Heymann said, as these would decide when lethal force was to be used. The police needed to be trained in human relations and how to deal with provocation and fear.

The panel accepted the suggestion that the police be empowered to disarm armed demonstrators, though organisers should see to it that arms were not carried.

An expanded role for the Supreme Court was suggested by the parties and the panel accepted the idea of an automatic review by the Supreme Court of conditions imposed by local authorities on demonstrations which the organisers objected to.

LINDA ENSOR

The panel agreed with the recommendation that standard conditions be imposed on a national basis with local conditions being imposed by the local authorities where this was necessary.

"We disagree with the SA Police about the right of local authorities to deny perfectly innocent, orderly and law-abiding demonstrators the right to proceed to or through a particular area because of the announced or expected response of lawless hostile groups.

"It is the responsibility of the police to enforce the law against the lawless and not against the lawful, unless maintaining the peace is beyond their powers."

Meanwhile, the SAP's misrepresentation of the recommendations made by the panel of experts was criticised by Judge Goldstone yesterday.

The SAP public relations department issued a statement yesterday which was based on incorrect news reports.

The statement said the panel had recommended that the police should not act when attacked with stones, bottles and petrol-bombs, and added that "under no circumstances will the SA Police allow its members to be attacked by demonstrators".

Goldstone said this was incorrect: the panel had recognised the need for policemen to be adequately protected from missiles, adequately equipped to keep violent demonstrations at bay, and adequately trained.

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# Weapons ban in unrest areas

PRETORIA — New regulations on violence and intimidation in unrest areas would include a ban on the carrying of weapons in public, Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Other aspects of the new regulations, announced by President F W de Klerk on Tuesday, would be announced as soon as practically possible, he said.

The outlines of the regulations provided by De Klerk indicated a hardening of government's attitude to township violence.

There were currently 14 declared unrest areas, all of which fell in central and southern Natal and the PWV area.

TIM COHEN

Details of the new regulations remained vague but they would include measures to criminalise opposition to the authority of the security forces and measures to combat intimidation.

Severe penalties were envisaged for the use of certain weapons in crimes, with sentences ranging from five to 25 years.

De Klerk also announced that a simplified form of criminal procedure would be introduced to combat crimes involving violence and intimidation.

Kotze could not say when the new regulations would be implemented.

## ANC funeral 'peaceful'

THEO RAWANA

THE funeral of ANC member George Mashele, who was killed in a handgrenade blast last week, went ahead without incident yesterday at Vosloorus on the East Rand, police said.

Police have maintained Mashele blew himself up when they arrived at his home to arrest him in connection with an attack on a Vosloorus town councillor, but the ANC has disputed this version, claiming police lobbed the grenade into the house.

Sapa reports SACP secretary-general and ANC executive member Chris Hani attacked the anti-violence measures President F W de Klerk announced on Wednesday.

The measures were "not only silly, but frivolous," Hani said, and accused De Klerk of "playing to the gallery of the international community".

Hani said he doubted whether De Klerk really intended disbanding three controversial security force units.

"These mercenaries will continue killing people as part of the SADF," he said.

Two train commuters were seriously injured when they were thrown off a moving train in Katlehong on the East Rand. Police also found the bodies of two men with bullet wounds in Katlehong, and a body which had been hacked and burned in Thokoza near Germiston.

## Man denies order to kill

SENIOR ANC member John Nhlanhla has rejected the allegation that he ordered a member of the organisation to kill policemen.

He said he believed a senior security force member was behind the allegation, which re-emerged during the sentencing of a returned ANC exile in the Ermelo Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Kgatso Brendan Samson, 25, was sentenced to 18 months in jail for the illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

Nine months of Samson's sentence were suspended for five years.

A police spokesman said Samson was first arrested in Piet Retief for the illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition. — Sapa.

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12 291	11 834
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No. 2064

17 Julie 1992

## PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

## OPHEFFING VAN ARTIKEL 9 (1)

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasie, 1974 (die Wet), het die verklaring ten aansien van ondergenoemde publikasies dat alle toekomstige uitgawes daarvan kragtens artikel 9 (1) van die Wet ongewens is ingetrek en wel met effek vanaf die uitgawe soos in hierdie kennisgewing gespesifiseer:

No. 2064

17 July 1992

## PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

## WITHDRAWAL OF SECTION 9 (1)

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has withdrawn the declaration that all future editions of the undermentioned publications are undesirable within the meaning of section 9 (1) of the Act with effect from the edition as specified in this notice:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing verwys Entry refers
P89/06/90 .....	<i>Workers Vanguard</i> No 478, 26 May 1989	Spartacist Publishing Co., New York	SK./G.G. 9927, GK./G.N. 2071, ged./dd 1985-09-13.
P91/09/258 .....	<i>New Perspectives</i> Vol 8, 1/1978.....	The Information Centre of the World Peace Council, Helsinki	SK./G.G. 5981, GK./G.N. 767, ged./dd 1978-04-14.
P92/04/137 .....	<i>Fourth Internationalist</i> No 43, October–November 1986	Socialist Labour Group, London .....	SK./G.G. 10683, GK./G.N. 768, ged./dd 1987-04-03.
P92/04/261 .....	<i>Socialist Newsletter</i> No 47, May 1987 ...	Socialist Newsletter, London .....	SK./G.G. 10683, GK./G.N. 768, ged./dd 1987-04-03.
P92/04/418 .....	<i>CADRE</i> —Voice of the Underground.....	Nie vermeld/Not stated.....	SK./G.G. 11032, GK./G.N. 2593, ged./dd 1987-11-13.
P92/05/328 .....	<i>Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa</i> No 74, Jan–Feb 1988	International Defence and Aid Fund, London	SK./G.G. 5966, GK./G.N. 694, ged./dd 1978-04-07.

No. 2065

17 Julie 1992

## 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 wetens verkoop, verhuur of deur uitleenbiblioteke geleen mag word aan persone onder die ouderdom van 18 jaar nie;

dat die publikasie slegs in boekwinkels en uitleenbiblioteke en deur groothandel-boekverspreiders versprei mag word.

No. 2065

17 July 1992

## 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 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
P92/06/57 .....	<i>Naked Lunch</i> .....	William S. Burroughs.

No. 2066

17 Julie 1992

## 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. 2066

17 July 1992

## 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
P92/04/198 .....	<i>Sonneskyn &amp; Chevrolet</i> .....	Dan Roodt .....	SK./G.G. 7126, GK./G.N. 1477, ged./dd 1980-07-11.
P92/05/08 .....	<i>A Crown of Wild Myrtle</i> .....	H. E. Bates .....	SK./G.G. 1000, GK./G.N. 58, ged./dd 1965-01-15.
P92/05/16 .....	<i>Getting Even</i> .....	Woody Allen .....	SK./G.G. 4801, GK./G.N. 1439, ged./dd 1975-07-25.
P92/05/19 .....	<i>Buried Alive</i> .....	Myra Freidman .....	SK./G.G. 4537, GK./G.N. 2352, ged./dd 1974-12-16.
P92/05/80 .....	<i>Fallen Women</i> .....	Martin Seymour-Smith .....	SK./G.G. 2673, GK./G.N. 485, ged./dd 1970-03-26.
P92/05/166 .....	<i>Butterfield 8</i> .....	John O'Hara .....	GK./G.N. 1049, ged./dd 1958-07-12.
P92/05/170 .....	<i>Entertaining Mr Sloane</i> .....	Joe Orton .....	SK./G.K. 1382, GK./G.N. 264, ged./dd 1966-02-25.
P92/06/54 .....	<i>The Honeymoon Voyage</i> .....	D. M. Thomas .....	SK./G.G. 6162, GK./G.N. 1929, ged./dd 1978-09-22.

## No. 2067

17 Julie 1992

## WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

## ROLPRENT

Die Komitee van Publikasies het kragtens artikel 25 (3) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die videoweergawe van die ondergenoemde rolprent nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie, deur te bepaal—

- (a) dat die rolprent nie aan persone in die ouderdomsgroep 2–18 jaar vertoon mag word nie;
- (b) dat snitte aangebring word; en
- (c) dat die teaterweergawe de novo aan 'n Komitee van Publikasies voorgelê word.

## No. 2067

17 July 1992

## PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

## FILM

The Committee of Publications has under section 25 (3) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the video version of the undermentioned film is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act by stipulating—

- (a) that the film may not be exhibited to persons in the age group 2–18 years;
- (b) that excisions be made; and
- (c) that the theatrical version be submitted de novo to a Committee of Publications.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Verleëmaker Representer
R92/6/112 .....	<i>The Lonely Lady</i> .....	Videovision Enterprises.

## No. 2068

17 Julie 1992

## WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

## ROLPRENT

Die Komitee van Publikasies het kragtens artikel 25 (3) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die ondergenoemde rolprent nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie, deur te bepaal—

- (a) dat die rolprent nie aan persone in die ouderdomsgroep 2–19 jaar vertoon mag word nie;
- (b) dat snitte aangebring word; en
- (c) dat vertonings tot spesifieke binnemuurse teaters beperk word.

## No. 2068

17 July 1992

## PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

## FILM

The Committee of Publications has under section 25 (3) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the undermentioned film is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act by stipulating—

- (a) that the film may not be exhibited to persons in the age group 2–19 years;
- (b) that excisions be made; and
- (c) that screenings be restricted to specific indoor theatres.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Verleëmaker Representer
R92/6/58 .....	<i>Betty Blue</i> .....	Ster-Kinekor (Edms.) Bpk./ (Pty) Ltd.

# Killing of worker part of campaign — Cosatu

By Anna Louw  
East Rand Bureau

A Cosatu shop steward was fatally shot at close range near the Wispeco factory in Alrode, Alberton, early yesterday. It was the third attempt on his life, according to Cosatu.

Police confirmed that Bernard Mafuyeka (32), of Tokoza, died after being shot in the stomach on his way to work between 5 am and 6 am.

## Collapsed

Mr Mafuyeka was also wounded in the leg.

Police said the trade unionist was approached by four men on foot. One of them pulled out a 9 mm pistol and shot Mr Mafuyeka twice before fleeing from the scene.

Mr Mafuyeka collapsed and died. Police found two cartridges at the scene.

Cosatu spokesman Keith Madonsela said it was the third at-

tempt on Mr Mafuyeka's life. In May he was shot and wounded while getting off a taxi after returning home from work.

The second attack occurred in June when the car in which he was travelling was ambushed near the Inkatha-controlled Mshayazafe hostel in Tokoza. Mr Mafuyeka escaped unhurt but the driver was wounded in the hand.

Mr Madonsela said another shop steward recently resigned and left the Wispeco factory because he feared for his life.

He said another Wispeco employee, also a Cosatu member, was shot dead at the Mshayazafe hostel recently. A fortnight ago, another Cosatu member was wounded in an attack.

"It is clear that the violence on the trains and taxis is being orchestrated to target shop stewards and Cosatu members at factory level," said Mr Madonsela.

"Cosatu members fear that they are vulnerable to Inkatha attacks at the (Wispeco) factory," he said.

Wispeco managing director

Ian Wood said Mr Mafuyeka had resigned as a shop steward two years ago because "he was unhappy about being at the centre of all the political activity".

He said he had heard about one of the workers being shot recently, but thought it had happened after hours.

Mr Wood said some workers had taken early retirement and gone home to get away from township strife. "From a Wispeco point of view, our labour force is peaceful and communication is excellent."

## Blaming

Inkatha spokesman Humphrey Ndlovu said the Cosatu-ANC-SACP alliance was always blaming Inkatha if one of its members was killed.

He said they were experts at propaganda. "Inkatha is a thorn in their flesh."

Mr Ndlovu said it was probable that the killing of Mr Mafuyeka was a criminal act. "Inkatha is part of the Peace Accord and is sticking to those principles."



# 1988 township killing: policemen suspected

By Guy Jenson

Police are investigating a murder case against three current and two former municipal policemen in connection with the killing of a Daveyton resident nearly four years ago.

The murder of Aaron Moshokoa may never have been discovered without a tip-off.

An inquest court found that he had died of natural causes in September 1988.

Acting on information received, investigators subsequently established that he had been murdered, said SAP spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman.

"Mr Moshokoa was a private citizen. He was apparently picked up as a suspect on September

26 1988. His body was found the next morning in Tlokwa Street, Daveyton.

"On February 22 1989 an official inquest found that he had died of natural causes.

"Police received certain information and after investigations were completed, cases were opened against three members of the Daveyton municipal police and two ex-members."

Captain Opperman said on Wednesday that two of the three municipal policemen under investigation had been suspended from the force. The two former municipal policemen had previously resigned from the force.

The cases against the five men had been referred to the Attorney-General for a decision.

## Legal access to Malawian

### activist denied

HARARE — Lawyers have been refused access to detained Malawian democracy activist Chakufwa Chihana, one of his defence team said yesterday.

Harry Chiume said he had confirmation that Mr Chihana had been re-detained by police but that attempts to see him had been unsuccessful.

He said he believed Mr Chihana, who had been on bail on charges of sedition, was being questioned in Blantyre.

Mr Chihana was arrested on April 6 when he returned to Malawi. He was released last Saturday and on Monday was committed for trial on charges involving seditious documents. On Tuesday he was again taken into custody. Sapa-AFP.

## Fired pair join St Lucia campaign

Dr Ian Player and Dr Nolly Zaloumis, recently dropped from the Natal Parks Board, have joined the Campaign for St Lucia.

In a special meeting of the campaign, Dr Zaloumis was elected as the new chairman of the year-old campaign and Dr Player agreed to join its board of patrons.

Outgoing chairman

Oliff d'Oliveira said he was disappointed that Natal Administrator Con Botha saw fit to remove "two champions of enlightened environmental conservation". "If this is intended to thwart the campaign and to smother the voices of Dr Player and Dr Zaloumis, it will not work."

Mr d'Oliveira's future role in the campaign

would be to focus on the Wetland Conservation Bill, which is being supported by the ANC, CP, DP, members of the House of Delegates and individual NP MPs.

At the meeting, members welcomed new Parks Board chairman Pat Goss's statement that the board was opposed to the mining of the eastern shores.

# Control of weapons 'chief issue'

CAPE TOWN — The most troublesome problem at South African gatherings was the control of weapons at public demonstrations, the chairman of the international panel of the Goldstone Commission said yesterday.

Professor Phillip Haymann said the SAP should be empowered to prevent armed demonstrators from proceeding to a different location, as well as to disarm them.

"We also agree strongly with the party who emphasised the responsibility of the organisers in this regard," he said, presenting the panel's reply to representations made on Wednesday in response to last week's report on demon-

strations.

Professor Haymann said the SAP had recommended that a universal prohibition on carrying weapons in places open to the public immediately before, during or after demonstrations should be tempered by a judicial power to make limited, symbolic exceptions.

"We think the proposal is safe and may be useful to attain wider acceptance of the prohibition," he said.

Far sharper distinctions should be drawn between situations subject to normal policing and those justifying the use of the SADF, which should be kept to the minimum.

Professor Heymann said the panel did not agree with the

ANC that police forces should always initially be kept invisible at a demonstration. Nor did it think the opposite was true: that there should routinely be an early show of available police force.

"We urge all parties to address the specifics of the situation, developing more case-specific practices. Police presence should depend on the situation.

"Training of police at all ranks is even more at the heart of what our international police experts consider the real issue. Commissioner Lee Brown of New York had asked the panel to emphasise human relations training."

The panel disagreed with

the SAP about the right of local authorities to deny innocent, law-abiding demonstrators the right to go to a particular area because of the expected response of lawless, hostile opponents.

"It is the responsibility of the police to enforce the law against the lawless and not against the lawful, unless maintaining the peace is beyond their powers," he said.

The complete review of police powers, including the use of deadly force, was timely and important. The use of power to control free, political expression was a sometimes necessary, always regrettable, last resort, he said. — Sapa.



# Panel on demonstrations finds much consensus

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The International Panel on Mass Demonstrations has completed its work and the Goldstone Commission will draft legislation to be aired for comment before submission to the State President.

Panel chairman Professor Philip Heymann said at the conclusion of the hearing yesterday there was "remarkably extensive" agreement among contributing parties.

The panel's recommendations for new legislation include a six-day notice requirement for gatherings and demonstrations; negotiations between organisers, police and local authorities; and minimum use of force by police.

Responding to the submissions by the ANC/Cosatu, the IFP, and Police and Justice Department representatives, Professor Heymann said the parties' respect for and belief in the courts was "striking".

The panel agreed with a police recommendation for a universal ban on protesters carrying weapons before, during or after demonstrations, "tempered by a judicial power to make limited, symbolic exceptions".

## Planning

The panel was adamant that training of police at all ranks, and particularly human relations training, was imperative.

"Men and women must be taught and learn to deal with provocation and fear. Senior officers need to be taught and

to learn how they might handle various dangerous contingencies and how to plan in advance for even the unexpected. These are present weaknesses, and they must be addressed," the panel report said.

The panel rejected the police assertion that foreign policing models could not be applied here because of "particular and peculiar circumstances" and said South Africa was "not the only place where demonstrations are challenging to the skills and patience of the police."

"There is no reason why the authority of the police to use force in South Africa should differ from that of the major Western democracies."

The panel supported the recommendation of the ANC for a system of providing independent monitors who were

accessible to demonstration organisers and who also had access to the policing of demonstrations.

"We continue to recommend a committee to examine the set of systems that are or could be used to provide greater accountability and transparency to policing decisions. This is unusually important in a country where trust in the police is so often lacking," the report said.

● The international consultants to the Goldstone inquiry into mass demonstrations had seen "some police restraint" exercised during Wednesday's mass action in Cape Town, Professor Heymann said.

Making the panel's final recommendations on peaceful and effective protest action, he said he hoped the attitude would spread to the rest of the country.



# Why they tried to kill Coetzee

w/ mail

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**Fugitive ex-cop was ready to tell of state role in Mxenge death**



By CARMEL RICKARD

**F**ormer South African Police death-squad leader Dirk Coetzee was targeted for assassination just three days before he was due to give evidence about former police colleagues in a potentially explosive supreme court case.

On April 15 this year, Coetzee was scheduled to appear as a star witness in the case brought by the family of civil-rights lawyer Griffiths Mxenge, allegedly murdered by an SAP death squad.

On April 11, two South African agents arrived in London. They allegedly aimed to have Coetzee killed by Irish guerrillas, but were foiled by British intelligence agents.

Both Coetzee and lawyers acting for Mxenge's family believe the botched plot was intended to prevent Coetzee from appearing in court and making damaging revelations about hit squads within the SAP.

Now they are anxious his evidence should be heard as quickly as possible. Lawyers yesterday were preparing to make an urgent application for members of the court to fly to London and take evidence from Coetzee there.

Coetzee claims this was the fourth attempt on his life since

Continued on PAGE 2



A city street kid named Stephen gets the lesson of his life in goalkeeping from Crystal Palace 'keeper Andy Woodman. Stephen, who lives at the Twilight Children's shelter, was also presented with a pair of goalkeeping gloves. See also PAGE 29 Photo: PHILIP LEHY



The first thing the sacked Baragwanath strikers do each morning is sing a rousing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. For the conflicting perspectives of different parties in the bitter strike, turn to PAGES 10 and 11 Photo: KEVIN CARTER

R.T.O



# Why they tried to kill ex-cop

WPM ad 1714-2317192

From PAGE 1

he fled to England three years ago, and Mxenge family lawyers want his evidence to be taken before there is another, perhaps more successful, bid on his life.

Mxenge was killed in 1981. His murder was never solved. Nine years later, Coetzee and another former policeman said they were part of a police death squad which butchered the Durban attorney because of his involvement in the African National Congress.

Leon William Floris, one of the agents arrested in London in connection with the plot to kill Coetzee, used to be a member of the SAP attached to the secret farm base, Vlakplaat, headquarters of the shadow C1 unit at one time under the command of alleged death-squad boss Eugene de Kock.

In June 1983, Floris accompanied the then Major de Kock to Piet Retief, in northern Natal. That evening, a number of ANC returnees were killed by De Kock and other C1 members shortly after they crossed the Swaziland border. The families of the cadres claim they were ambushed and killed by the police, who had no intention of arresting them.

In October last year, Coetzee received a tip-off that De Kock, now a lieutenant-colonel, was in England planning his assassination. Six months later, Lieutenant Pamela du Randt and Floris, now working for SA Military Intelli-

gence, tried again (see accompanying story).

In the months before the April 15 trial date, there were a number of letters and phone calls between Mxenge's lawyers on the one side and state officials on the other.

Mxenge attorney Bheka Shezi asked for temporary immunity to ensure that Coetzee would not be arrested when he returned to South Africa to testify. Shezi says the letters from state officials indicated that this would be given after certain technical details were obtained. However, the immunity was never granted.

A letter received shortly before the trial date informed Shezi that the SAP did not intend taking any steps to prosecute Coetzee, but added that "if, during the course of (his) presence in South Africa, anything happens that may lead to a court action against him", he could then apply for temporary immunity.

Coetzee said this was not enough of a guarantee of safety and he decided at the last minute not to come to Durban to give evidence.

Coetzee's testimony will form a vital part of the evidence in the Mxenge case. The family is claiming almost R400 000 from the state, but the minister of law and order says the claim should be dismissed because the family did not bring it within six months of Mxenge's death. Only Coetzee's evidence alleging police involvement and a cover-up might persuade the court to agree to waive the six months' rule.



Dirk Coetzee



**E**VIDENCE that South African agents attempted to assassinate maverick policeman Dirk Coetzee in London this year has thrust General Christoffel van der Westhuizen — the army chief implicated in the murder of activist Matthew Goniwe — into the centre of a hit-squad controversy that has dented President FW de Klerk's international image.

Lieutenant Pamela du Randt, one of the agents arrested by Scotland Yard earlier this year in connection with a plot to kill Coetzee, was Van der Westhuizen's personal assistant and helped him set up an army unit to harass anti-apartheid activists in the eastern Cape.

Evidence that Du Randt and Leon Floris, a former officer from a secret police unit based at Vlaspas near Pretoria, travelled to the United Kingdom in April this year to arrange for Coetzee's elimination was published in *The Independent* newspaper this week.

The information is highly embarrassing for De Klerk as it coincides with charges made by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela at the United Nations this week that government forces are still engaged in covert operations aimed at far-

# Red faces over

## Coetzee exposé

Wend 17/71 - 2317192

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*Evidence of the attempted assassination of Dirk Coetzee is cause for international embarrassment, report* **EDDIE KOCH and PAUL STOBBER**

ning violence in the country.

De Klerk has acknowledged that he was fully informed of the incident. In a statement this week, he said: "I gave instructions that every assistance be given to the British authorities. Departmental investigations are continuing and ... these results will be communicated to the British authorities."

South African Defence Force sources say Du Randt helped Van Der Westhuizen set up the Hammer Forces, which carried out covert opera-

tions against anti-government forces in the eastern Cape at the time of Goniwe's murder and then moved with the general when he was transferred to the Reef at the end of 1986.

Van der Merwe, who signed a secret message in 1985 to "permanently remove" Goniwe, is currently in charge of the SADF's powerful Department of Military Intelligence and still controls many of the army's special forces.

*The Weekly Mail's* sources say Du Randt ran the

Hammer Forces and deployed the unit's troop: from East London, along with Colonel Reg Dysel Dysel is now described as one of Van Der Westhuizen's "right-hand men".

Last month, acting attorney general for the eastern Cape, Michael Hodgden, travelled to London to interview Coetzee in connection with Van der Westhuizen's activities.

Hodgen is conducting a top-level inquiry into Van Der Westhuizen's possible role in hit-squad activities and reports directly to the State President's office. He was sent to London by De Klerk after the president had been informed by British authorities of the alleged hit team's activities and promised to conduct a full investigation.

An SADF spokesman this week confirmed that Du Randt and Floris were South African agents and that two SADF members had been sent to London to investigate suspected links between the ANC and the Irish Republican Army. A member of the team — "without sanction, authority or knowledge of the SADF" — had arranged for the monitoring of Coetzee but was stopped by British intelligence agents.

In an interview with *The Weekly Mail* this week, Coetzee rejected the SADF's explanation. He said information about ANC links with the IRA was easily obtainable from British intelligence and did not require South African security force members to be sent to England.

Coetzee said Scotland Yard went to extraordinary lengths to protect him after interrogating the two agents. "I was lying low at the time at a holiday resort in Rye. The Yard sent teams out all over the country to look for me after picking them up."

"When they found me, they moved me to a safe hotel, which they paid for. They assigned a heavy force of detectives to protect me and gave me an electronic panic button which I was to carry at all times."

This week, the SADF was tight-lipped about Van der Westhuizen's whereabouts. Media liaison officer Colonel John Rolt said the general was still serving as Chief of Staff Intelligence and confirmed that Du Randt had been his "former personal assistant". But he said the general would refuse to answer media queries about his links with Du Randt or his alleged involvement in the Goniwe murder.



**NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE** gets a new chief, a new building

*and a whole lot of new functions along with all the old ones*

# Spooks still a-haunting

STYL 18/7/72

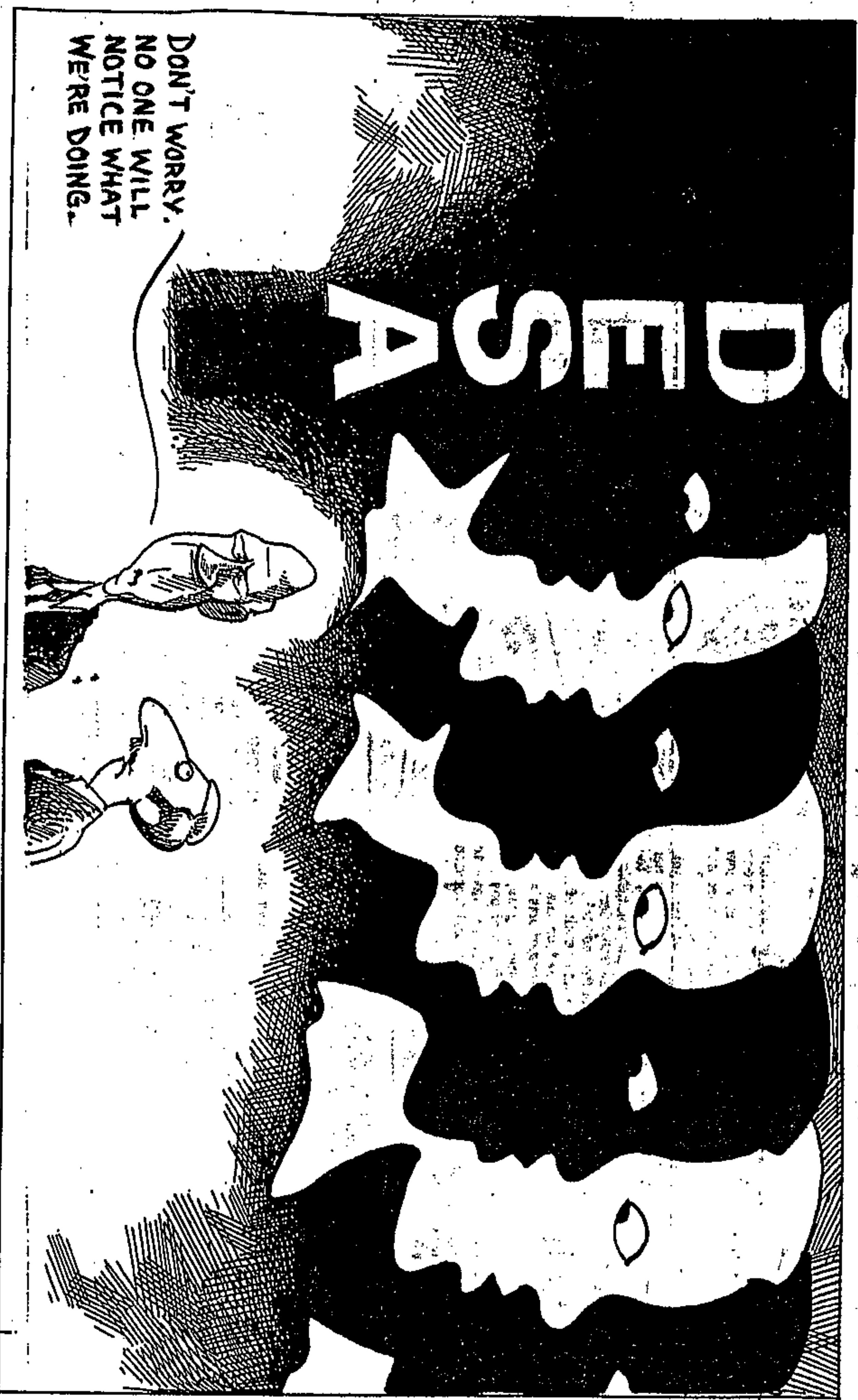
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WITH the onset of F W de Klerk's reforms, the shadowy people of the National Intelligence Service would become less important, right? Wrong, writes political analyst IVOR SARAISKY. NIS is right at the centre of things.

IN JANUARY this year, Dr Niel Barnard was moved from the directorship of the National Intelligence Service to become Director-General of Constitutional Development Services.

Observers were taken by surprise. His move from the publicity-shy NIS office to a much more open position in the constitutional domain was baffling. But the change is not as strange as it initially appeared. The Government faced a problem. Finding itself for the first time having to strike hard gains instead of issuing decrees, it discovered it was very thin on the ground in terms of seasoned negotiators.

Barnard's skills in this area, however, were unquestionable. Along with Foreign Minister P. Botha and former Chief of



ranking NIS official, was also transferred to CDS. He is now chief of support services in the

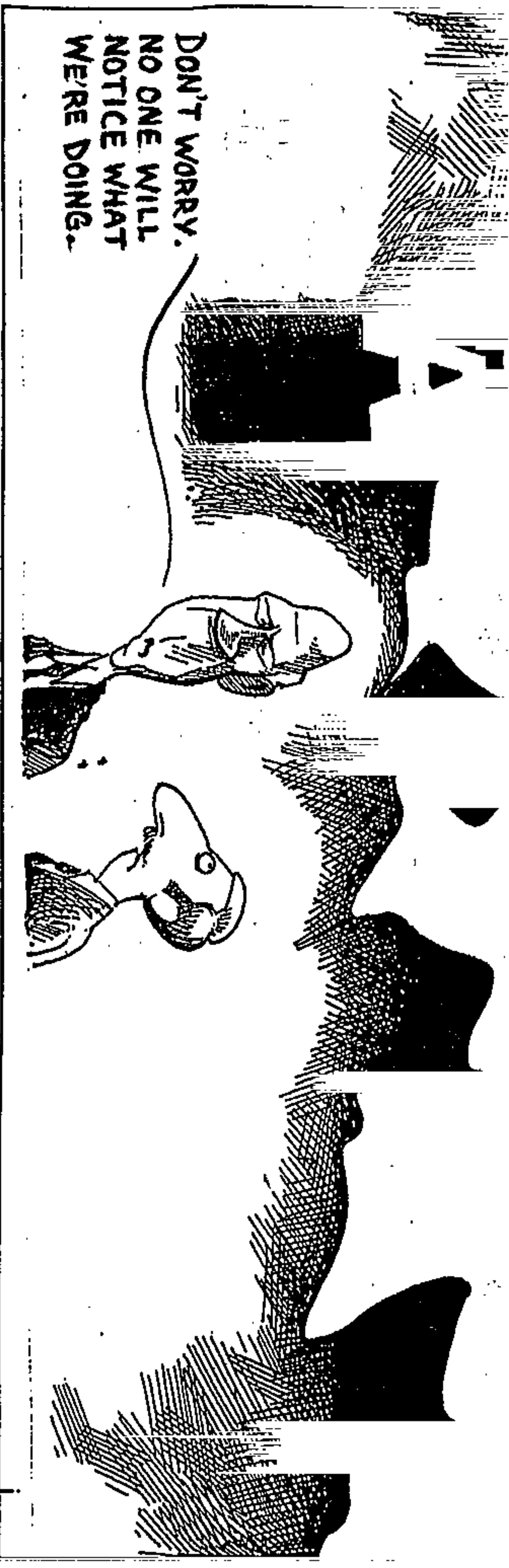
Negotiations, chaired by Dr Gerrit Viljoen with Roelf Meyer as secretary.

The answer lies in the important changes in the political

Party recently exposed the activities of NIS agents in its

the internal opposition. Repression would create an environ-





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Barnard's skills in this area, however, were unquestionable. Along with Foreign Minister P.W. Botha and former Chief of the Army General Jannie Gerdien, he was responsible for negotiating the complicated settlement in Namibia.

There, the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola was seen as a major bargaining victory for South Africa — and the obvious conclusion was that a way should be found to feed Barnard's expertise and expertise directly into Codesa.

As head of NIS he clearly could not fulfil this role. So he simply swapped caps and offices: as head of Constitutional Development Services (CDS), his role at Codesa would be unquestioned.

However, Barnard has not significantly changed his style. Dr Tertius Delpoort, deputy director of CDS, appears in public while Barnard stays behind the scenes.

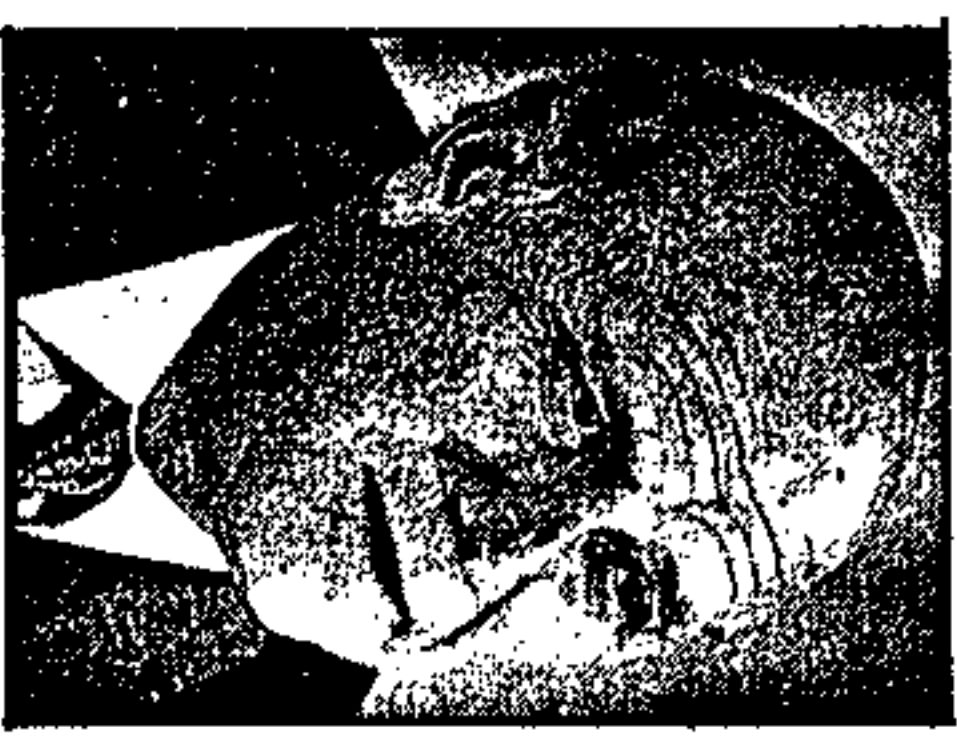
Whatever claims have been made to the contrary, the activities of NIS have been overtly political. In a rare interview, Barnard claimed that the service played a key role in influencing the Government to urban organisations.

It also held secret meetings with Nelson Mandela in prison, and met exiled members of the ANC from as early as 1987/8. This coincided with attempts by Fanie Cloete and Kobus Jordaan, officials under former Minister Chris Heunis, to keep channels with the internal opposition movements open despite the State of Emergency.

In the latter half of 1991, Maritz Spaarwater, a high-

ranking NIS official, was also transferred to CDS. He is now chief of support services in the department and, with Barnard, played an important role in preparing the ground for negotiations and setting up Codesa.

The historical overlap between the work done by the NIS and the Constitutional Development officials means the interchanging or secondment of personnel is possible without there



**BUSINESS AS USUAL:** President de Klerk's recent remarks about differences within the ANC executive suggested strongly that his spooks were alive and busy.

being a quantum leap in policy. Furthermore, there are two other State structures that are crucial in co-ordinating resources and personnel in the negotiations arena. One is the Committee of Directors-General. It consists of 19 State department heads — and is chaired by Barnard. The second is the Ministerial Committee on

Negotiations, chaired by Dr Gerrit Viljoen with Roelf Meyer as secretary.

These structures liaise closely, while the latter is responsible for constitutional proposals and negotiating strategy. The functioning of these co-ordinating structures means that the specific positions held by individuals are not particularly important.

Barnard's replacement as head of NIS, Mike Louw (also a political science graduate from the University of the OFS), has announced that the service will henceforth fill a strict "research and analysis" role. The claim is reinforced by the NIS's tendency to recruit graduates in political science and strategic studies to its ranks. But Louw also insists that it is necessary for NIS to continue with its counter-intelligence activities.

Louw echoes his predecessor's other claim — that the intelligence service should be apolitical — although the boundary between State security and legitimate political activity is porous. With the restructuring of the top management, there appears to be an attempt to change the image of the service by emphasising its more acceptable research and analysis functions, as well as counter-espionage.

But these attempts to achieve a less controversial image for the NIS have not been received uncritically. Why, sceptics ask, is it necessary for the service to be relocated to new, larger and expensive quarters if its tasks are to be limited and clearly defined?

The answer lies in the important changes in the political control of the service. Previously, it was under the exclusive control of the State President's office. Now, it falls under the Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Theo Alant.

This is an indication that President F.W. de Klerk has delegated security functions, relying on top-level briefings instead of being directly concerned with the mechanics of intelligence-gathering, as was his predecessor, P.W. Botha.

**M**ORE important, NIS has taken over the Secretariat of the State Security Council and its functions in the Council increased. In effect, NIS has been allocated new tasks in addition to its surveillance, espionage, counter-espionage, research, analysis and strategy formulation functions.

This means, crucially in terms of the transition under way, that NIS still plays a pivotal political role, especially in the surveillance of political organisations.

De Klerk's recent remarks about differences of opinion within the ANC executive suggested strongly that his spooks were alive and well — and busy. At Codesa 2, the ANC angrily alleged that telephones in its offices at the World Trade Centre were bugged.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, the Conservative

Party recently exposed the activities of NIS agents in its ranks. Obviously, all information gained in this manner would give the Government considerable advantages over its numerous opponents.

A look at the past role of NIS suggests that it would be naïve to assume that the service has backed out of the party-political arena. Perhaps the most significant political role played



**FORMER NIS CHIEF:** Dr Niel Barnard, a main player in the settlement in Namibia and now at Codesa as Director-General of Constitutional Development Services.

by the service was its input into the decision to urban political organisations. However, the reasons for such a move go beyond the fact that in 1987/8 a *cui de sac* in existing policy had been reached.

With the State of Emergency in 1986, NIS presented a three-pronged strategy to deal with

the internal opposition. Repression would create an environment for socio-economic upliftment and political reform that would draw people to the Government. This thinking still appears to hold sway in the light of the Government's attempt to extend transitional arrangements as long as possible. This would allow it to form an effective alliance to challenge the ANC in an election.

Related to this thinking is a Central Intelligence Agency report that had to be made public with the passing by the United States Congress of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in 1986. This Act prohibited contact with South Africa in a range of spheres, excluding intelligence co-operation.

The report argued that the continued ban on resistance organisations meant that underlying cracks could be paped over — allowing for the formation of a strong, united opposition. The corollary was that by unbanning organisations, the Government could rely on internal differences to weaken the ANC and its allies. This would create a basis for securing considerable concessions in negotiations. Events since February 1990, and strategic initiatives from the Government, conform convincingly to this scenario.

NIS is continuing to monitor political organisations, and continuing to make strategic inputs into Government thinking. It has vast funds and considerable expertise. Far from being sidelined, the spooks are still at centre-stage.



By SOPHIE TEMA

A GROUP of Soweto boys may have escaped death after a Civic Association member saved them from being taken by police to the Meadowlands hostel.

The boys claimed they were at the home of Cecilia Tobacco on Tuesday night when the police arrived, saying they had come to look for hidden ammunition in the house which they claimed was being used as a mini-office by the ANC.

The boys said they were made to lie side by side on the ground while

# 'Terrified boys are saved just in time'

C/Press

19/7/92

the police assaulted them with a plank.

"We told them we had no knowledge of any weapons. The police then threatened to take us to the hostel where we would be handed over to hostel dwellers and killed," said the boys.

One of the boys in the group managed to escape and ran to the homes of Civic Associ-

ation Chairman West Shabangu and former mayor Sam Mkhwanazi for help.

Shabangu and Mkhwanazi said they arrived at the house just as the police were ordering the boys to climb on to a casspir.

Shabangu said: "I intervened and told the boys not to get on to the casspir if the police in-

tended taking them to the hostel.

"I wanted to know why they had come to the house, and they said they had received certain information about the house," he said.

Shabangu said the police raid followed the killing of four residents by hostel dwellers last week-end.

Residents claimed that two of the victims were abducted, but police spokesman Lt. F. Fleming said one victim was shot and killed on the Mzimbahe soccer field and then set alight.

Relatives of 30-year-old Hlati "Mkhanga" Masheba claimed he was abducted in the presence of the police by the hostel dwellers.

Lt. Fleming said he had no record of the raid at the Tobacco home nor the assault on the boys.

He added no report was made to him by any of the boys concerned.

# Blonde SA agent goes into hiding

By DE WET POTGIETER

AN attractive blonde spy linked to a plot to assassinate former South African police captain Dirk Coetzee went into hiding this week — and the agent who accompanied her to London in April was sacked from the SADF.

Captain Pamela du Randt and Mr Leon Flores were arrested by British intelligence on April 15 as they were about to board a Johannesburg-bound flight from Heathrow Airport.

British Intelligence claimed the two were on a secret mission to recruit Ulster loyalist para-military personnel to assassinate Coetzee, a self-confessed SAP hit squad member. *SI Times*

## Mission

After their arrest, they and an alleged Ulster accomplice were interrogated for three days before being deported back to SA.

Reliable sources said Captain Du Randt was unaware that Mr Flores, a former policeman with CCB links, was on a dual mission.

A spokesman for the SADF said the agents were sent to London to confirm a possible international terrorism link between Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Irish Republican Army.

"While there, one agent, acting without the sanction or knowledge of the SADF, or any other government authority, allegedly decided to arrange for the monitoring of Dirk Coetzee. The possibility of collusion between this individual and non-SADF members is being investigated," he said.



# Hundreds held over protests

By Thabo Leshilo  
and Mckeed Kotlolo

Hundreds of people were arrested on the Reef yesterday for illegal sit-ins and demonstrations on the second day of the ANC alliance's Transvaal mass action campaign.

This follows the arrest of over 200 people on Monday, when several Government-owned buildings were occupied.

Yesterday, about 400 demonstrators were arrested at the Hillbrow Hospital, police said. More than 50 people were arrested for trespassing after occupying the Carletonville Magistrate's Court and police station.

Eight members of the Mamelodi branches of the ANC, ANC Youth League and SACP occupied the Mamelodi police station, demanding an independent inquiry into the death of activist Stanza Bopape, who died in police custody in 1986.

A delegation of ANC, SACP and Cosatu activists, led by SACP regional executive member Dr George Mukhari, was refused entry to the Bophuthatswana embassy in Pretoria.

Five people were allegedly arrested for staging a sit-in at the Orlando Magistrate's Court, but a Soweto police spokesman could not confirm this.

About 2 400 Post and Telecommunication Workers' Association members joined the

mass action campaign by starting a strike yesterday at North Rand branches of Telkom, Potwa general-secretary Mlungisi Hlongwane said. Workers were also demanding that township hostels be demolished after buses taking Potwa members to work were attacked near Meadowlands hostel.

The ANC yesterday denied that its "peace and democracy" campaign was a failure because few people had turned up to occupy Government buildings.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the campaign had been planned to involve small numbers of people, so that access to targeted buildings would be easier.

He said the ANC was planning a series of activities for this week, culminating in major marches in Pretoria and Johannesburg on Saturday.

● Eleven people arrested at the SABC and TPA offices in Pretoria on Monday are expected to appear in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on Friday on charges of trespassing.

A northern Transvaal police spokesman said 114 people, including 103 arrested during an illegal demonstration outside the TPA building, were charged and released on warning.

The 103 are due to appear in court on August 11 on charges of taking part in an illegal gathering or demonstration.

# Official harassed, claims PAC

By Guy Jepson

STAN 22/7/92  
The PAC yesterday claimed that police harassed its Vaal region spokesman Thami Plaatjie at his Sebokeng home on Monday night after a report on SABC television in which he blamed police for Sunday's Evaton cemetery shooting.

Three PAC mourners

were killed in the attack. Police said they opened fire after shots were fired at them. The PAC says police acted without provocation.

The PAC said yesterday about 50 armed policemen had surrounded Mr Plaatjie's home and ordered him outside saying they were there to "teach him a lesson fol-

lowing his claims on TV news". They left after shooting in the air.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Captain Pieter van Deventer was yesterday unable to confirm the incident. "If the PAC feels that the police acted beyond their powers, they must come forward and make a statement which will be thoroughly investigated."



# Government briefs

## Vance delegation

PRETORIA — UN envoy Cyrus Vance spent all of yesterday at the Union Buildings being briefed by a full panel of Ministers involved in the negotiations.

Meanwhile the Vance delegation, which is rapidly becoming the focus of the negotiations process, has been inundated with requests for meetings from organisations, including two unnamed right-wing groups.

Vance and three advisers met President F W de Klerk and several foreign affairs and constitutional development officials early yesterday morning.

A lunch with De Klerk developed into an extended working session.

Also present were Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Vance, accompanied by UN Secretary General staff member Virendia Dayal and UN political affairs department members Hisham Omayad and Shola Omoregie, also met Finance Minister Derek Keys and Health Minister Rina Venter.

No official government comment followed the discussions, although it is understood that no concrete proposals for a physical UN presence in SA were discussed.

Government sources said yesterday they gained the impression that Vance intended to discuss the SA situation in broad terms before coming to a conclusion about any possible UN involvement.

Vance made it clear that the measures envisaged in the UN resolution were positive. The resolution calls for the special representative to recommend measures which would assist in ending violence and encourage negotiations.

The discussions included an exchange of ideas on the SA economy.

There are increasing indications that possible UN involvement in SA will be more modest than has been suggested, particularly because of the UN's unhappy experiences in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Although this was not directly discussed yesterday, the former Yugoslavian states, which Vance visited recently, have involved the UN in a seemingly intractable and expensive commitment.

Vance will meet the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha today and members of the Goldstone commission tomorrow.

Our Durban correspondent reports that PAC president Clarence Makwetu warned yesterday that any attempt by Vance to revive Codesa would be futile and would be rejected out of hand by the PAC.

Makwetu told an Idasa forum: "Our message to Vance is that negotiations should be held at a neutral venue and must be conducted under the chairmanship of a neutral person."

● Comment: Page 6



UN special envoy Cyrus Vance, left, President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

## Riotous Assemblies Act alive and well

STEPHANE BOTHMA

PROSECUTIONS under the Riotous Assemblies Act continued, despite pending recommendations on illegal gatherings and demonstrations by the Goldstone commission, police confirmed yesterday.

Although most of those arrested this week for taking part in the ANC's campaign to occupy government buildings were charged with trespassing, several protesters were charged with staging illegal demonstrations.

Perpetrators were charged in terms of unrest regulations, Witwatersrand police liaison officer Col Dave Bruce said. The SAP confirmed that the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 was still in force, and was used if demonstrators caused disturbance or refused to disperse.

Picture: AP



# focus on The Press

**A** FEW YEARS ago a noted white South African journalist, call him Mr A, had his audience eating out of his hands.

Or so he thought with satisfaction as he resumed his seat, after yet another address on South African politics, at yet another American university.

Then a bright spark, like a pointed poniard, pricked his bubble.

"Mr A, you claim that the Black Consciousness Movement is dead in South Africa, yet, day in, day out, we read about the feud between UDF and AZAPO members in Soweto, Natal, the Eastern Cape, Bakkersdal and so on.

"Who is it that the UDF is fighting, a ghost?" asked the spark, a black American hack.

Our usually loquacious journalist was dumbstruck. The truth, like a mole, had reared its head at a most unlikely place.

The time was mid-80s, but it could have been now. Then, as now, some press-persons perceived their role as extending beyond telling news as they are, but as they wish news to be.

This incident came back to one's mind after the funeral of victims of the Boipatong massacre, when the Press bemoaned "infringement of Press freedom" after attacks on some journalists at the funeral.

The "somewhat dry, somewhat bitter, never sweet" (apologies SAB) truth is that the Press began infringing the said freedom long ago.

The media ethic of "publish without fear or favour, and, if need be, be damned for that" has long been disposed of. Playing King-maker has become more important than reporting fairly, accurately, and objectively.

Though we as Azapo advocate Press freedom, those who choose to abuse the said freedom for political expediency have our coldest sympathy when they catch hell for so doing.

Let us explain ourselves.

Mr Rian Malan, author of "My Traitor's Heart" fame, has written excellently on how foreign correspondents see our world through ideologically-tinted glasses. For instance, during the said "UDF-Azapo feud", they would play down or ignore excesses of an organisation which was the apple of their eye, even when it infringed on Press freedom by "banning" a newspaper (*Sowetan*) for its supposed Black Consciousness leanings.

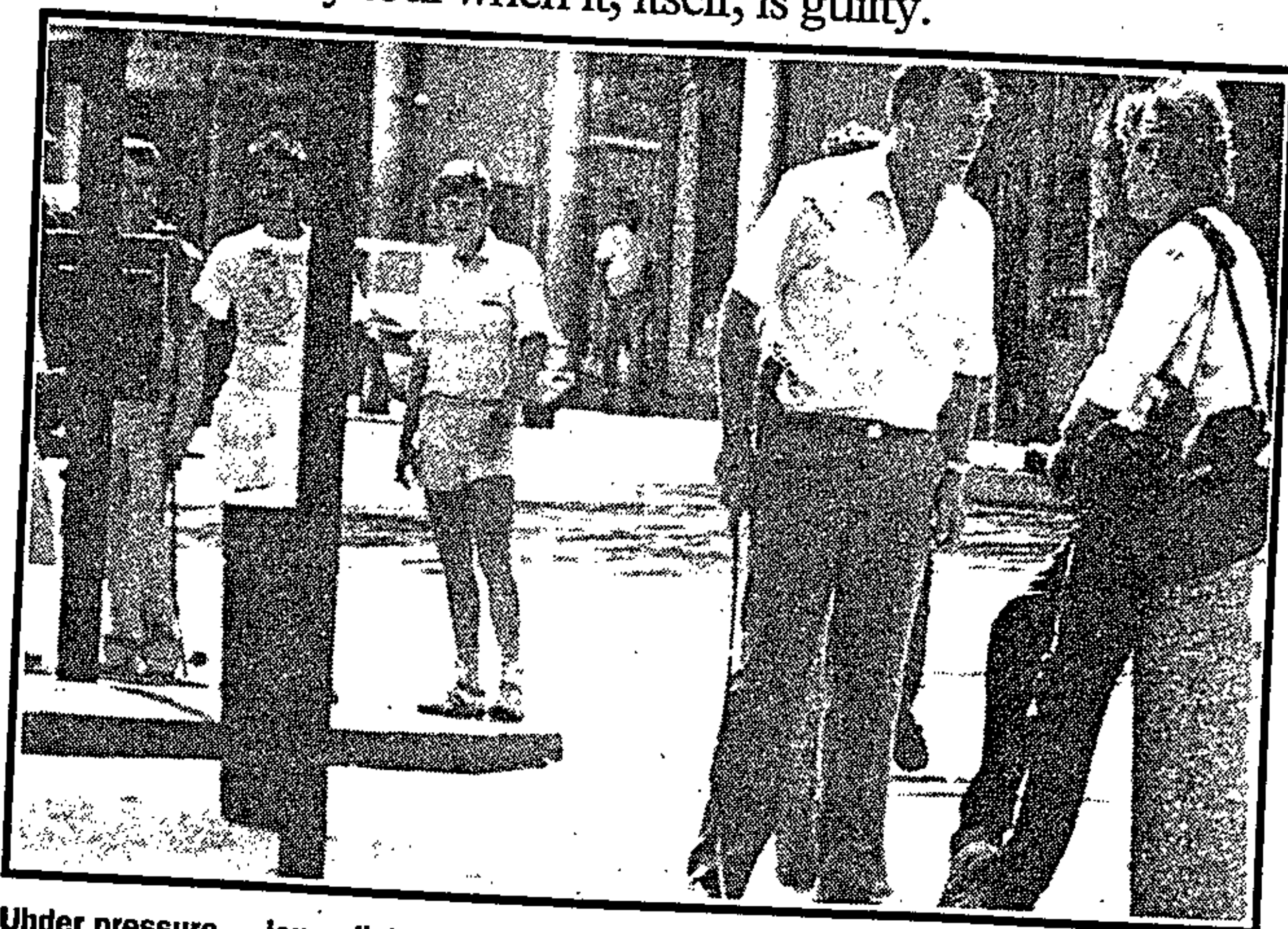
The under-reporting of the mass burning of more than 30 old people in Ga-Sekhukhune, for alleged "witchcraft" practises, by a local political youth organisation, is a case in point.

The local Press, white "liberal", and so-called alternative, has not, and still does not, perform any better. Indeed, this Press is guilty of covert, and sometimes overt, racism.

This Press' reportage on white politics endeavours, as much as possible, to reflect, fairly,

Two weeks ago Media bosses were outraged when Boipatong youths attacked *Sowetan* 23/7/92 journalists. Azapo education secretary, **Dr**

**Gomolemo Mokae**, supports the independence of the media but says it should not cry foul when it, itself, is guilty.



Under pressure ... Journalists facing pressure from rightwingers.

the entire political spectrum. That is, the seemingly disparate views of the two Bothas, Pik and Koos, carry virtually the same weight.

To rub salt to injury, a local commercial radio countenances the obviously rightist views of one of its DJs! But, would the station have the same "open-mindedness" to, say, a black DJ who makes no bones about his leftist, militant views?

We suspect not. When it comes to black politics, this Press patronisingly chooses "the right voice" for the oppressed, and pulls out all stops to project it as the alpha and omega of our struggle. At cross-ideological rallies, for instance, leaders of this "voice" would, by and large, be the only ones whose pronouncements are reported on.

Insightful, inveterate letter-writer, Kgosisile Mokgosi, ably alludes to another dimension of this white hypocrisy.

In a letter in a local magazine, Mokgosi points out that when Helen Suzman was the sole MP for the "English liberal ideology", she was snowed under by bouquets from the self-same Press.

"Though the white voting public showed not once, but in numerous elections their complete rejection of everything that Suzman stood for, no one ever dismissed her on the basis of the miniscule support she could muster from her own people.

"Is it not strange, then, that this very same Press becomes so excited when apparent lack of support for the so-called left becomes evident?

"Is it not strange that they attach so much importance to the probably minute size of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, and yet, write glowingly about Dr Zach de Beer, whose party failed to be a government, and continues to lose in whites-only elections?

"This man, who is suddenly chairman of what the Press describes as the real parliament (Codesa), has been rejected by his white compatriots..."

Now that the bearer of bad tidings, the Press, is getting a hiding, perhaps its act will get a tidying (up)!



# Hundreds held in police crackdown on protesters

Staff Reporters and Sapa

Police continued their crackdown on protesters yesterday as the ANC-led alliance intensified its mass action campaign, targeting Reef chain stores, the Rand Supreme Court, the Pretoria Central Prison and Government buildings.

Arrests ran into hundreds countrywide. In the Port Elizabeth area 243 demonstrators were apprehended, nine people were allegedly injured by the police and several vehicles were burnt.

At least 146 people were arrested in the Pretoria area. The ANC has alleged that two people were shot dead and two injured by police in Heilbron in the Free State when demonstrators attempted to march on the local court.

The Government yesterday lashed out at the countrywide campaign. Deputy Foreign Af-

fairs Minister Renier Schoeman said in Durban that the campaign had created an explosive situation and could lead to a serious escalation of violence.

The Star was unable to reach the ANC's directorate of information and publicity for comment last night, but PWV region spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said mass action on the Witwatersrand had so far been overwhelmingly peaceful.

Scuffles broke out yesterday outside the Rand Supreme Court between demonstrators and policemen. Mr Mamoepa said 39 people had been held but police put the figure at 21.

Mr Mamoepa said 40 people were arrested in Sebokeng and 14 at the Katlehong Magistrate's Court.

At Pretoria Central Prison former political prisoners Carl Niehaus and Derek Hanekom staged a sit-in to demand the release of political prisoners.

At the Rand Supreme Court, ANC Women's League activists handed a memorandum to the

Attorney-General's office.

Scores of demonstrators in central Johannesburg and Pretoria occupied chain stores, causing congestion, said Mr Mamoepa.

Pretoria police said 41 people were arrested at Rosslyn police station, another 41 at the Rosslyn offices of the Department of Internal Affairs and 64 at the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The ANC said nine of its members occupied TPA offices in Pretoria for the second time. Earlier, five people were detained.

Eastern Cape News agencies reported that in a move related to the mass action campaign, a planned visit to Port Elizabeth by the State President's wife, Marike de Klerk, was cancelled after ANC threats to disrupt the visit.

In Korsten, police fired stun grenades into a crowd of toy-toting ANC supporters as they prepared to march to the municipal housing offices to hand over a set of demands.

STAR 23/7/92

# Probe stands fast on dangerous weapons

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

STAN 24/7/92

The Goldstone Commission yesterday again recommended that dangerous weapons should not be carried in public — and expressed regret that the Inkatha Freedom Party refused to accept the guideline.

The commission released a draft interim agreement on mass demonstrations reached between the police, the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and the IFP.

In a statement on the agreement, Mr Justice Goldstone expressed the commission's regret that the IFP — despite being a signatory — could not

agree to the one recommendation that participants in public demonstrations should not carry dangerous weapons.

"The commission ... cannot accept the necessity, let alone the right, to carry dangerous weapons," he said.

IFP representatives had rejected the clause and requested that "a search be made for compromise wording".

Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission "cannot hold back on an agreement as important as this in order to 'search' for compromise wording".





Barney Desai



Steven Peters

# SAUJ seeks pledge on safety of reporters

By Mathatha Tsedu

**A**RE BLACK people in riot-torn townships getting racist in their attacks on white journalists? Or is it simply a question of illiterate or ignorant people who do not understand the media and its importance?

Or further still, are the attacks a manifestation of deep seated hatred of white journalists who are seen as either unsympathetic to the struggles of black people, or biased in favour of particular organisations?

The attacks have seemingly amplified in the recent past, with the latest incidents involving white journalists covering the Boipatong massacre. A catalogue of over 70 incidents is contained in a special report on Press censorship and attacks on journalists.

## Signals of alarm

The mainly white South African Union of Journalists, responding to signals of alarm emanating from the affected journalists, this week held a conference where political organisations were asked to sign a pledge to respect the rights of working journalists.

Dubbed as a safety seminar with the theme "Safety of Journalists - whose responsibility?", those attending were the ANC, Azapo, DP, IFP, NP, PAC, SACP. The SAP declined to attend, a point that was seen as "extremely" unfortunate as they were also a major culprit in the alleged attacks.

In setting the tone of the seminar, SAUJ president, Mr Peter Malherbe, said the seminar followed a growing list of incidents of attacks on journalists.

He said while the recent attacks were directed at white journalists, the SAUJ was concerned at attacks in general, not only those directed at white journalists.

## Biased and partisan

It was a distinction that was to prove pivotal as some of the organisations, such as Azapo and PAC, said in their presentations that white journalists were seen as biased and partisan.

Their spokesmen, Mr Steven Peters, and Mr Barney Desai, said while they deplored the attacks, journalists themselves had to report in a manner that does not give rise to accusations of ideological bias.

There was also a strong feeling among some of the delegates that the SAUJ's concern, which translated itself into the "inquisition" of the mainly black organisations, was primarily because those attacked were white.

The PAC statement during the re-

## ■ PRESS FREEDOM Insight into a

seminar organised by the South

African Union of Journalists:

cently-ended Mwasa versus SABC strike, in which the organisation said it could not guarantee the safety of working (white) journalists, came in for hard hammering and Desai was called upon to justify what was seen as a licence to the toyi-toyi brigade to attack them.

ANC spokeswoman, Miss Gill Marcus, said the attacks stemmed from the perception in black communities that the media was not theirs and did not articulate their aspirations.

She said blacks were objects of the media, which spoke "at them" and not "with them". She said the media was actively working against blacks and their deaths were mere statistics of "ten or twenty blacks dead with no names while the death of only one white elicits as much information as to include the person's grandparents".

IFP representative, Mr Errol Goetch, said his organisation's members were not the "virtues of tolerance,

nalists.

"We undertake within the limits of our influence and abilities to respect and promote the safe conduct and physical safety of journalists, including news camerapersons, and radio and television crews".

Azapo and PAC declined to sign, the former stating that it was not necessary while the latter said the pledge would still be discussed by its National Working Committee.

The ANC, DP, IFP, NP and SACP all signed the pledge, which was described by Malherbe as a mere piece of paper "which we hope will be filtered down to the grassroots and explained".

## Stem the tide

Efforts suggested to stem the tide included extensive education campaigns where activists would be taught about media operations and how news is gathered and eventually printed or broadcast.

There were also calls for Mwasa and the SAUJ to co-ordinate the education programme and to be involved in similar programmes of political organisations.

But everyone at the sparsely attended seminar agreed that these steps would not lead to an immediate cessation of the attacks.

It was also agreed that the whole concept of media, including its concentration in the hands of a few white capitalists on the one hand, and the white state for the broadcasting media, augured badly for an improvement in relations between blacks and white journalists in particular.

The need to break the monopoly of white capital and to make the media representative of society, was seen as a major prerequisite for relations of black people and media practitioners.

## Equal importance

But also of equal importance was that if journalists should expect society to protect them and see them as their source of information, they should serve society and not sections of society. And therein lies the most problematic part of journalists' conditions, to be objective and being seen to be so by all. Is it possible? Is it a fair expectation by society?

This question will continue to be debated for a long time. But the point of the seminar was that even where journalists are wrong, this does not entitle people to abuse them.

“If journalists expect society to protect them and see them as their source of information, they should serve society and not sections of it”

“She said blacks were objects of the media which spoke ‘at them’ and not ‘with them’”

“A catalogue of over 70 incidents is contained in a special report on Press censorship and attacks on journalists”

but so too are their counterparts” in other organisations.

He said the attacks on journalists, as on anybody else, was deplorable as life should be respected.

SACP representative, Mr Jeremy Cronin, said the party supported a free Press and deplored attacks on journalists.

The SAUJ had drawn a pledge which the participating organisations were asked to sign.

The pledge reads "(Organisation's name) shares the concern of the SAUJ at recent attacks and threats of attack against journalists, and agrees that the rights of working journalists should be respected at all times while they are engaged in news gathering in South Africa.

"We acknowledge that the SAUJ expects its members to work in accordance with the union's code of conduct and the International Federation of Journalists's declaration of principles on the conduct of jour-

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## Boesak to sue Kriel over arrest

CAPE TOWN — The western Cape chairman of the ANC, Dr Allan Boesak, is to sue the Minister of Law and Order, Hernus Kriel, for R20 000 for unlawful arrest during a protest last year. *STAN 24/7/92*

Dr Boesak claims he was arrested on the corner of Mostert and Corporation streets, near the Cape Town Magistrate's Court, on July 30 1991 and held for eight hours at the Kensington police station.

He claims his dignity and freedom were impaired.

A spokesman for his attorneys confirmed that papers had been served on the minister and they were awaiting a court date. — Sapa.



**W**HAT are the causes of the current violence? A number of political leaders, clergymen, newspapers, monitoring agencies and foreign observers maintain the main culprit is President F W de Klerk, a mastermind of conspiracy in which a "third force", consisting of the police, the SADF, the Inkatha Freedom Party, vigilantes and miscellaneous "hit squads", is carrying out acts of premeditated murder to deny liberation forces their democratic rights and perpetuate minority rule.

Even though the Goldstone commission says no evidence has been submitted to it to substantiate these accusations, they should not simply be shrugged off. The Trust Feed verdict was not the first time black and white policemen have been convicted of murder. The murders were, moreover, designed to promote Inkatha at the expense of the United Democratic Front (UDF). There is also suspicion that the police were less than conscientious in pursuing the case against seven Inkatha members charged with 38 counts of murder after a massacre at an ANC funeral vigil in Sebokeng last year.

**Y**et another cause for disquiet is the publication of a document implicating top intelligence officers in the murders of activists in the eastern Cape in 1985. The authenticity of this document has not been proved, but it has not been challenged either.

Let us admit that the third force theory is plausible from a political point of view. Grand apartheid sought to divide and rule the black population, and for the NP to form an alliance with the more conservative black parties against the radicals and then to exploit ethnicity and the Zulu warrior tradition to undermine other parties would have a kind of logic about it. Suspicions are reinforced by the secret funding of Inkatha and an Inkatha-linked trade union.

The problem with the third force theory is not what it explains but what it does not explain. It does not explain why Inkatha has been able to publish a list of more than 220 of its own officials who have been assassinated. It does not explain why more than 550 policemen have been killed in the last five years. Bringing the violence to an end necessitates iden-

# Ungovernability sowed seeds of black violence

BIDM 24/7/92, JOHN KANE-BERMAN

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ifying all its many causes.

Although most of the deaths in the disturbances in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976 and 1977 were at the hands of the police, in more recent years conflict between different groups of black people has been a major cause of fatalities.

The conflict among black people has its origins in the strategy to achieve the total collapse of apartheid by rendering black areas ungovernable — a strategy that was announced by the UDF at its formation in 1984. Consumer, rent and school boycotts were an integral part of this strategy. Unlike in Soweto in 1976, when occasional strong-arm tactics by militant youths were repudiated and abandoned, coercion to enforce compliance with the wishes of political activists was not only widespread in the 1980s but also a regular feature of the political boycotts and stayaways almost from the moment they began.

On November 4 1984, Sowetan Sunday Mirror ran an editorial expressing the fear that a stayaway planned for the following two days would, like the previous one, be enforced by coercion and lead, in the newspaper's own phrase, to black-on-black violence. People were being dragged "screaming into the struggle", the stayaway 16 black consciousness groups met to discuss the problem of coercion.

Various liberal groups and church councils were aware of all this and even held meetings to discuss it. In the end they decided, in effect, to turn a blind eye to it.

It is worth recalling what the ungovernability strategy sought to achieve and the methods it employed. In September 1984 the ANC declared that "we (the black South Africans) must be impossible to control". A Radio Freedom broadcast by the ANC from Addis Adaba on September 6 1985 bore the headline: "Let the people's war engulf the entire country."

The broadcast said that police and soldiers should be killed even when they were at their homes, and irrespective of whether they were in uniform or not.

The report of the ANC's commission on strategy and tactics at the organisation's national consultative conference in June 1985 said that the homelands must be ungovernable and their governments overthrown with a view to transforming these areas into bases for the advancement of people's war.

A Radio Freedom broadcast in December 1986 urged that the masses should fight in every way possible using Molotov cocktails, spears, sticks, petrol bombs and small arms seized from whites. Other forms of struggle should also be used — rent strikes, bus boycotts, the overthrow of the township councils and the creation of people's organs of power, people's courts and so on.

These strategies have had two simple consequences. One is that they have got out of control. As Nelson Mandela said a few weeks ago, it is difficult to make young ANC members understand a need for change after they have been "told to make the country ungovernable".

The campaign to make SA ungovernable may not have succeeded universally and it may or may not have been subsequently abandoned, but it has succeeded beyond expectation in some parts of the country where anarchy now reigns.

The other consequence of these strategies is that they have provoked brutally violent backlashes from at least some of their targets and set off

a vicious circle of attack and counter-attack.

In boycotts and stayaways, black people were incidental victims of violence. In the ungovernability strategy they were high on the list of intended targets. The people's war was partly directed at the state but it was also a declaration of war against sections of the black community, some of whom fought back.

The most obvious manifestations of this vicious circle are clashes between hostel dwellers and township householders. And the last decade has seen violent reaction against coercion in boycotts and stayaways, as well as clashes between rival political organisations, and between strikers and non-strikers.

In the wake of mass action, a situation appears to have developed where revolutionaries stage hit-and-run attacks on more conservative blacks (whom they have branded as collaborators) after which they disappear into the surrounding houses. The conservatives chase after them, but frequently, unable to find the actual attackers, take revenge on communities which are presumed to be sheltering them.

**G**overnment has repeatedly promised to protect black councillors from assassination but seems no more capable of doing so than it can protect its own police force. Into this vacuum have moved groups of vigilantes who are also unable to prevent intimidation and coercion but are capable of massive retaliation. This is not to suggest that vigilantes or Inkatha are necessarily innocent parties who respond only to provocation. It seems clear that violence in Natal and on the Reef has developed a momentum of its own, and that in some cases the aggression comes from the conservatives and in others from the revolutionaries.

Despite much disinformation about the nature of violence in SA, there are signs, here and there, that more of the truth is at last beginning to come out in both our own and the foreign Press. We need to redouble our efforts to make sure that the whole truth does come out, because unless the causes of violence are properly identified we will not be able to stop it.

□ This is an extract from an address last night by SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman to the institute's western Cape AGM.



The 'people's war' was directed at the state — and sections of the black community.



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The 'people's war' was directed at the state — and sections of the black community.

LETTERS



  
Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose, president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and lawyer Joe Matthews after meeting UN special envoy Cyrus Vance yesterday. Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

## Police, alliance agree on protest rules

POLICE, the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP had reached an interim agreement on how mass demonstrations should be conducted, the Goldstone commission of inquiry into public violence said yesterday.

The announcement came as the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance announced it would intensify its preparations for mass action in August. *BDAY 24/7/92*

Commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone said the parties agreed that "proper notice and bona fide negotiations are preferable to applications for permission to ensure that public demonstrations were held and conducted peacefully".

The parties also agreed that pending a

(321) WILSON ZWANE (227)

report and recommendations by the commission to President F W de Klerk, the agreement would assist in avoiding violence and confrontation, Goldstone said.

He stressed, however, that the agreement had no effect of "amending or superceding existing legislation relating to public demonstrations".

The agreement flowed from a report of an international panel of experts appointed to advise a commission committee on rules and procedures for mass demonstrations, marches and picketing.

Stav

6 AUG 1992

REPUBLIEK  
VAN  
SUID-AFRIKA



REPUBLIC  
OF  
SOUTH AFRICA

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Vol. 325

PRETORIA, 24 JULIE  
JULY 1992

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No. 14172

## GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

### DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

No. 2140 24 Julie 1992

#### PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE OPHEFFING VAN ARTIKEL 9 (1)

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het die verklaring ten aansien van die ondergenoemde publikasies dat alle toekomstige uitgawes daarvan kragtens artikel 9 (1) van die Wet ongewens is ingetrek en wel met effek vanaf die uitgawe soos in hierdie kennisgewing gespesifiseer:

## GOVERNMENT NOTICES

### DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

No. 2140 24 July 1992

#### PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS WITHDRAWAL OF SECTION 9 (1)

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has withdrawn the declaration that all future editions of the undermentioned publications are undesirable within the meaning of section 9 (1) of the Act with effect from the edition as specified in this notice:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing verwys Entry refers
P91/06/79 .....	<i>Beijing Review</i> Vol 25, No 38, 20 September 1982	Beijing Review, Beijing .....	SK./G.G. 6916, GK./G.N. 688, ged./dd 1980-03-28.
P91/07/233 .....	<i>Monthly Review</i> Vol 33, No 3, July-August 1981	Monthly Review Press, New York & London	GK./G.N. 1228, ged./dd 1963-08-09.
P91/07/230 .....	<i>Korea Today</i> , No 8 (299), 1981 .....	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang	GK./G.N. 1035, ged./dd 1961-11-17.
P91/07/316 .....	<i>Zimbabwe Review</i> Vol 8, January-March 1979	ZAPU, Lusaka .....	SK./G.G. 1407, GK./G.N. 456, ged./dd 1966-03-23.
P91/08/23 .....	<i>Bulletin Information from the GDR</i> Nr 5, BI 1979	Panorama DDR, Berlin .....	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1738, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P91/09/52 .....	<i>Intercontinental Press</i> Vol 21, No 15, August 8, 1983	Intercontinental Press, New York .....	SK./G.G. 6057, GK./G.N. 1253, ged./dd 1978-06-16.
P91/12/130 .....	<i>Kontakt</i> No 6, 1982 .....	Free German Youth DDR, Berlin .....	SK./G.G. 6348, GK./G.N. 526, ged./dd 1979-03-16.
P91/12/240 .....	<i>Zuidelijk Afrika Nieuws</i> Februarie 1983...	Anti-Apartheid Beweging Nederland, Amsterdam	SK./G.G. 6116, GK./G.N. 1518, ged./dd 1978-07-21.
P91/12/323 .....	<i>Southern Africa</i> Vol XVI No 2, March 1983	Southern Africa Committee, New York	GK./G.N. 964, ged./dd 1974-06-07.
P92/01/82 .....	<i>TCLSAC Reports</i> Aug 1983 .....	Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, Toronto	SK./G.G. 7646, GK./G.N. 1400, ged./dd 1981-06-26.
P92/01/148 .....	<i>Review of International Affairs</i> Vol XXXIV, 5 September 1983	Jugoslovenska Stvarnost .....	GK./G.N. 1531, ged./dd 1957-09-19.
P92/02/03 .....	<i>Peace Courier</i> Vol 15, January 1984 BI 1979	World Peace Council, Helsinki, Finland	SK./G.G. 6241, GK./G.N. 2518, ged./dd 1978-12-15.



No. 2141

24 Julie 1992

## 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:

No. 2141

24 July 1992

## 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 P92/26

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasies of voorwerpe Publications or objects	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P92/07/01 .....	<b>Guns 'n Roses—Use Your Illusion</b> Vol 1—Lyrics: Cut 1: Right next door to Hell Cut 2: Dust 'n Bones Cut 5: Perfect Crime Cut 7: Bad Obsession Cut 8: Back of Bitch Cut 9: Double talkin' jive Cut 11: The Garden Cut 12: Garden of Eden Cut 13: Don't damn me Cut 14: Bad Apples Cut 16: Goma Vol 2—Lyrics: Cut 5: Get in the Ring Cut 6: Shotgun Blues Cut 8: Pretty tied up— Cut 13: My World (Gramophone record, Compact disk, Cassette)	Published by Artemis.....	(a)

No. 2142

24 Julie 1992

## PUBLIKASIE OF VOORWERP

## REGSTELLING

In *Staatskoerant* No. 14063, Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1846, gedateer 26 Junie 1992, vervang die volgende inskrywing:

No. 2142

24 July 1992

## PUBLICATION OR OBJECT

## CORRECTION

In *Government Gazette* No. 14063, Government Notice No. 1846, dated 26 June 1992, substitute the following entry:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publications or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P92/06/03 .....	<b>Africa Today</b> November 1962.....	American Committee on Africa Inc .....	GK./G.N. 887, ged./dd 1963-06-21.

No. 2143

24 Julie 1992

## 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. 2143


24 July 1992

## 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)
R92/7/48 .....	<b>Flesh Gordon</b> .....	Flip Bezuidenhout Productions .....	(a)
R92/7/92 .....	<b>Sara Dale's Sensual Massage</b> .....	Ster-Kinekor Video (Edms.) Bpk./ (Pty) Ltd .....	(a)
R92/7/90 .....	<b>Sex Bomb</b> .....	United Video Distributors (Edms.) Bpk./ (Pty) Ltd	(a)

Werk mooi daarmee.

Ons leef  daarvan.

**water is kosbaar**

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Use it.

Don't abuse  it.

**water is for everybody**



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# Weapons ban: IFP rebuked

By PAUL STOBER

24/7-30/7/92.  
THE Inkatha Freedom Party was rebuked, surprisingly sharply, by Judge Richard Goldstone after refusing to agree to the banning of the carrying of weapons in public.

"The commission cannot accept the necessity, let alone the right, to carry dangerous weapons in demonstrations," said Justice Goldstone in a statement yesterday.

The rebuke followed an announcement that an interim agreement had been reached on the conduct of public demonstrations between the South African Police, the African National Congress, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party. In a letter to the commission, the IFP said they endorsed all aspects of the agreement except for clause three which could be interpreted to ban the carrying of cultural weapons.

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Ignoring pleas by the IFP for a search for a compromise wording, Justice Goldstone said: "Having regard for the present political climate in South Africa, the commission cannot hold back on an agreement as important as this in order to search for a compromise wording. The display in public of any dangerous weapons is unacceptable. On that broad principle it is unable to compromise."

The agreement states that the public has the right to demonstrate peacefully and that the SAP has a duty to protect this right and to ensure that demonstrations are peaceful. It also outlines procedures to be followed by the organisers of protest action before the start of demonstrations.

The agreement is based on a report by an international panel appointed to advise the Commission on rules and regulations to govern mass actions.



## APARTHEID BAROMETER

### DEATHS AND INJURIES

SIXTY-FOUR people died and 45 were injured between July 15 and July 21, reports the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

A total of 57 people have been killed in the Vaal townships since the Boipatong massacre on June 17. Most deaths occurred in Sebokeng, Evaton and Sharpeville. At least 10 of those killed were "necklaced".

### DETENTIONS AND

#### RELEASES

NINE people are still in detention. One person is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and the others under Section 3 of the Public Safety Act. According to the HRC, African National Congress member Japie Maphala was still on hunger strike on July 18.

On July 17 and July 20, 83 kwaMadala hostel residents, detained in connection with Boipatong massacre were released without being charged.

### UNREST AREAS

ON July 21, four West Rand townships were declared unrest areas by the minister of law and order. They are Bekkersdal, Kagiso, Munsieville and Swanieville squatter camps. This brings the number of townships declared unrest areas to 18, says the HRC.

### SECURITY FORCE ACTIONS

ABOUT 1 235 people were

arrested between July 15 and July 21 in the PWV, northern and western Transvaal, eastern and western Cape and Ciskei, reports the HRC. Four people died and five were injured during this period.

More than 500 of the arrests were related to the ANC's mass action and 484 were arrested for participation in Nehawu and Mwasa strike actions. These figures are lower than last years total of 2 492 arrests in May related to the ANC mass protest demonstrations.

### VIGILANTE RELATED ACTIONS

THIRTY-NINE people were killed and 70 injured in the PWV and Natal. The majority of deaths — 19 — occurred in the Vaal sub-region. In Johannesburg, three people died and one was injured when workers from an ANC-supporting Selby hostel were attacked. According to the HRC, residents from the hostel reported that the attackers shot randomly and then disappeared.

### HIT SQUAD ACTIONS

ON July 16 in Alberton, a shop steward of the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (Numsa), Bernard Mafiyeka, was killed. And in Umlazi on July 18, the chairman of the IFP's Glebelands Hostel, Dome Wellington Ngobese, was gunned down in his hostel room.



World knows ANC had to act as it did, says Mbeki

# Dismay at mass action, but also understanding

STA 2 2517192

FIRST appointment of another hectic Friday, and Thabo Mbeki was running late.

It might amuse opponents of the ANC that the organisation's head of international affairs had been stuck at home because of a problem with his vehicle's immobiliser.

Immobilise, they would say, is what the ANC is trying to do to the country.

Mbeki's specific portfolio is international relations — he held extensive talks with United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance on Thursday — but he is also one of the ANC's key domestic diplomats.

It was in that capacity that he flew to Bloemfontein last night to meet Free State businessmen and professionals, who needed some convincing that mass action was a bitter but essential pill for our society and not a dose of poison.

Mbeki has probably been doing quite a bit of this recently. "There is certainly concern in business and diplomatic circles, a wish that mass action were not the only way to resolve this dispute," he says.

"There is a sense of dismay."

But Mbeki disputes that this translates automatically into criticism of the ANC. "There are some people who are clearly opposed to our stance and don't understand it."

But the standing of the National Party is not very high either. There is a lot of distrust, even if there is a more positive attitude to individuals like F W de Klerk.

"There is also understanding that the ANC needed to act as it has. Businessmen convey to us that they want the solutions to be as peaceful as possible, we convey to them that they can make a contribution."

## Comfortable

Mbeki describes the failure of labour and industry to reach a pact to avert next month's general strike as "unfortunate". South African business, he says, does understand that there are grievances.

"Part of the problem, though, is that some of them now claim that they are not political, that they don't want to get involved."

"But there was a time when they had a comfortable relationship with Government and they were happy to attend all

JOHN PERLMAN  
Chief Reporter

those summits with P V Botha, where they more or less got what they wanted. Now that has changed and there is resistance. An agreement between Saccola and Cosatu could have made an important contribution."

Foreign businessmen, says Mbeki, tend to take a longer-term view of the situation than their South African counterparts. "They have a basic concern about the speed with which we are moving, more than a concern with what is happening day to day."

"There were a lot of expectations that Codesa 2 would produce an interim government, and a number of corporations were standing by to make announcements about investment. Once Codesa failed, they held back."

"An interim government is important because it would signal that the process of changing the political-power relationship in South Africa has started, that the country is no longer simply ruled by a white minority government as of old. There is a very serious concern

about the levels of instability that derive from the absence of a political settlement."

Instability, some would argue, will also derive from mass action. "It is unfortunate that the scenario has been portrayed in this way, that mass political action equals violence and unrest. It doesn't."

"What all of us should be saying is that we have the civil liberty to express an opinion by meetings or marching in the streets. In that context we call on everybody to behave themselves. But saying that mass action produces violence simply justifies that violence," Mbeki says.

"The overwhelming majority in the country would have wanted a solution to our problems without the levels of conflict we have now. But we have a practical problem. The deadlock at Codesa did not occur between equal parties."

"If the Government were not both player and referee, it would not be necessary for us to have demonstrations."

Looking at the international picture, Mbeki rejects the view expressed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha that mass action would be in conflict with the

spirit of United Nations Resolution 765. "The matter did not even arise. There was no suggestion that peaceful activity of this sort must be stopped."

Mbeki believes the ANC's shift into tough-talking mode has not cost it support abroad. "One must understand that in the rest of the world it is normal to have peaceful demonstrations, it is not extraordinary to have strikes. You don't have this hands-up-in-horror attitude."

## Understanding

"In all of the meetings we have attended, both conferences and bilateral talks, there is understanding for the position which the ANC has staked on majority rule," he says.

Today, Mbeki hopes to take break from all this diplomacy by watching the Kaizer Chiefs Orlando Pirates cup tie at the FNB Stadium — well, sort of: break. Diplomatically, he will not be drawn on which team he supports.

"I like both of them," he says. Any soccer fan, of course will tell you that's impossible. But for now, at least, Mbeki probably has enough wrangling on his plate as it is.



THABO MBEKI: Mass action is a bitter pill that must be taken.

● Photograph: JOHN HOGG



# Tail may have been assassin Hani

BRONWYN  
WILKINSON

SOUTH African Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani, who claimed he was tailed by an armed man in central Johannesburg yesterday, said the man could have been part of a State plot to assassinate senior party leaders.

Hani and SACP Border regional secretary Fkenjha Horji were followed by the man when they went for a walk in Marshall Street at 10 am. Hani told a press conference yesterday that some women approached the two men and warned them they were being tailed.

The women said they had been inside a hair-dressing salon when the man, in his twenties, had entered and fiddled with what they believed was a hidden gun. "The women asked him what he was doing and he hid his face and walked out immediately," Hani said.

When the women pointed the man out, he noticed the two men watching him and, according to Hani, became nervous.

Lawyer Brendan Barry told the press conference the man was in such a hurry to get away that he was almost knocked down by a car.

The man ran to a metallic green Toyota Cressida, in which sat two white men in dark glasses, and the car sped off, Hani said.

He believed the incident was either a bungled assassination attempt or incompetent surveillance.

Police, however, yesterday denied they were planning to assassinate Hani. Colonel Frans Malherbe told a news conference in Johannesburg that Hani had reported nothing to the police and they therefore could not comment further on his allegations.



**IN THE** strife-torn townships, youths dress in ersatz uniforms and carry wooden guns. In the suburbs boys play with model Ratels. The imagery differs but the root ideas are the same

# Time to slow the march?

STAL 2517192

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**GOVERNMENT** is spending R8 000 a minute — about R11 million a day — on arms purchases. The culture of militarism is one of the central factors driving the present violence. It is essential that it be dismantled if broader attempts at achieving peace are to be effective, argues **JACKLYN COCK.**

**S**OUTH Africa is one of the most violent societies on Earth. Underlying this is a pervasive, deeply entrenched culture of militarism which has become so much a part of our way of life that many are unaware of its existence. Central to the thinking of many South Africans is the notion that violence is a legitimate solution to conflict. This idea has particularly wide accep-



reference to white domination and military power. Current threat analyses focus on the variety of security problems in the southern African region brought about by the effects of poverty, drought, disease and social dislocation.

In current debates, security is being redefined to focus primarily on meeting basic needs. The argument is that defining national security largely in military terms fails to recognise many other crucial determinants of security. National security requires economic vitality, environmental health and significant opportunities for human development. Thus real security can be attained only by reducing spending on arms and systematically redirecting those resources to meet critical human and environmental needs.

**W**HILE IN South Africa are only just beginning to learn of the evils done in the name of "national security". Our new approach to security should be rooted in meeting human needs and both expanded — to think in global terms — and reduced to a smaller scale to include personal and domestic security. There should be a total ban not only on dangerous traditional weapons but also of private



**S**OUTH Africa is one of the most violent societies on Earth. Underlying this is a pervasive, deeply entrenched culture of militarism which has become so much a part of our way of life that many are unaware of its existence.

Central to the thinking of many South Africans is the notion that violence is a legitimate solution to conflict. This idea has particularly wide acceptance among young people.

Images of militarism are rife. In the strife-torn townships, youths dress in ersatz uniforms and carry wooden guns. In the suburbs boys play with model Ratels. The imagery may differ but the root ideas are the same.

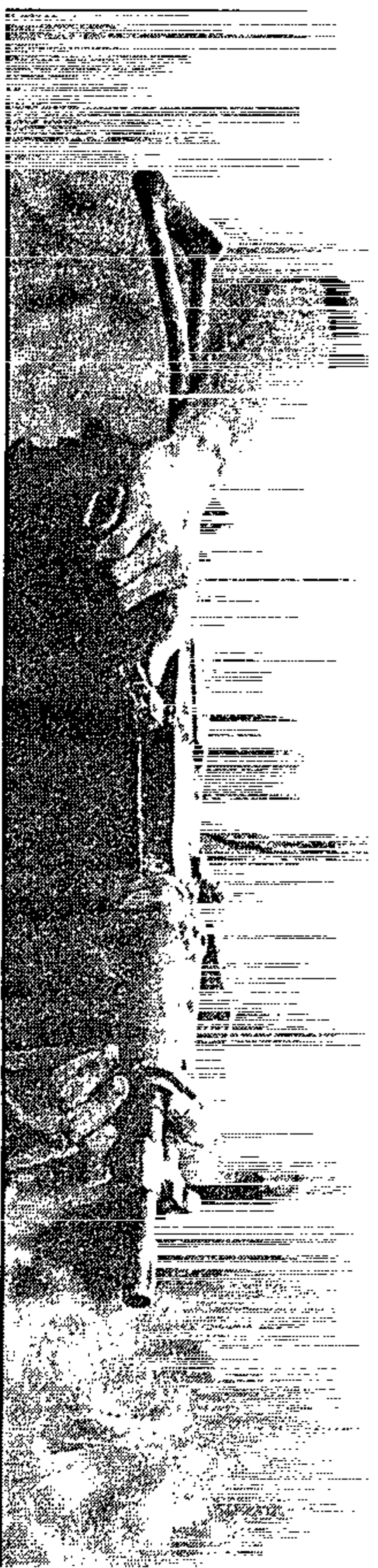
Boys have been playing at being soldiers probably since the dawn of time. But in this day and age, when youths, especially in the townships, are playing an increasing role in crime and violence alongside their adult counterparts, the games take on a different meaning.

Unless active measures are taken to change the ideas underlying our fascination with the symbols and instruments of force, they will continue to fuel the carnage.

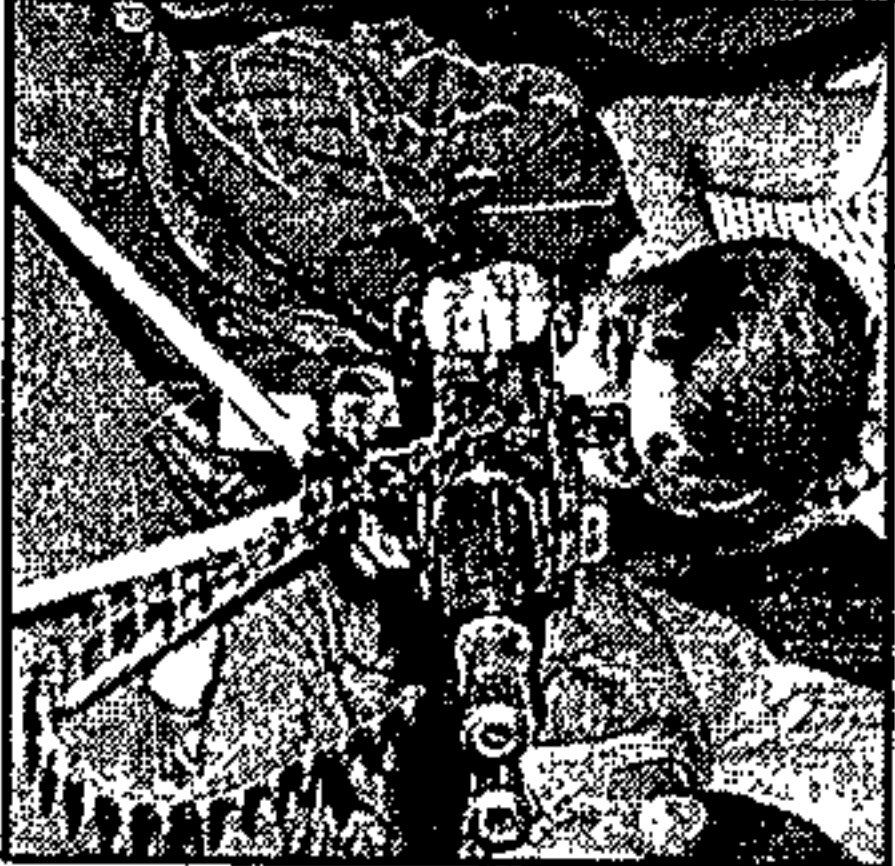
Dismantling South Africa's culture of militarism is one of the most urgent tasks facing the country if broader attempts at finding peace are to be effective. There is already under way a process of demilitarisation. Important indicators are the halving of the period of initial military service for white males from two years to one; reductions in the programmes and personnel of the SA Defence Force and Armscor; and the dismantling of the National Security Management System. But the process as it stands does not go far enough.

Innovative new ideas are needed. At the moment, thinking on a future defence force has gone no further than the suggestion that we should take the SADF, add some Umkhonto we Sizwe members and homeland soldiers, stir it all up and hope for the best. But the task of securing peace calls for far less simplistic thinking.

A special clause needs to be inscribed in a new constitution renouncing war as an instrument of foreign policy. Also, in-



**NEW ROLE:** The institution of the military needs to be rethought. What are the threats to South Africa's security?



**SUBURBAN SOLDIER:** A child wields a toy machine-gun.



**STICKS AND SPEARS:** What links firearms and traditional weapons are the themes of militarism and masculinity.



**OMINOUS IMITATION:** A township child with toy gun.

stead of simply expanding and adapting the SADF, a new, small, professional, legitimate and representative defence force must be formed.

It should be subordinate to civilian control. The institution of the military needs to be rethought. Are there threats to our security and, if so, what? Do we need a full-time army?

**T**HE country's considerable arms industry should be dismantled via a planned process of redirecting military resources to economic development and environmental protection. During the period of "total strategy", South Africa built up a vast arms industry. It is characterised by smuggling, secrecy, shady dealings — and it absorbs considerable resources. This year's Special Defence Account stood at some R4,4 billion, of which about R100 million was earmarked for secret defence projects, and the rest for the purchase of arms.

This means that the Government will spend more than R11 million a day or R8 000 a minute throughout the year on arms. Can this be justified in a society where 60 percent of our population live in poverty?

Dwight Eisenhower once said: "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, ever rocket fired, represents, in the final analysis, a theft from those that hunger and are not fed, who are cold and are not clothed."

The arms industry needs to be opened up to public scrutiny (in accordance with the modern principle of transparency, the avoidance of excessive secrecy and the concealment of information on military affairs). There were two South African signatories — Sheena Duncan and Desmond Tutu — to the June 1992 British American Security Information Council call to restrain the international arms trade. This call asks that "the United Nations Arms Register should be fully implemented including data on arms sales, purchases, and production to

their legislatures and to the public".

The possibility of non-military forms of national service should be investigated that are nation-building instruments and provide skills training, especially in a society where 48 percent of the potentially economically active population is unemployed.

"Peace education" should have a central place in school curricula which would teach children the importance of tolerance and non-violent forms of conflict resolution.

Attention should be paid to the needs of demobilised soldiers and make policy provisions to assist in the social integration of both MK soldiers and those members of the SADF Permanent Force and homeland armies who are either re-trenched or who would prefer not to serve in a transformed and nonracial defence force.

Security should be redefined. This is at the core of the demilitarisation agenda. In current international debates, na-

tional security is no longer defined largely in military terms. According to the analyst Maurice Strong, "our security is threatened more by environmental risk than by traditional military conflicts".

And as Michael Renner of the US World Watch Institute expressed it: "The security of nations depends at least as much on economic well-being, social justice and ecological stability as on pursuing military security at the costs of social, economic and environmental well-being is akin to dismantling a house to salvage materials to erect a fence around it."

**I**N current debates a distinction is often drawn between the old "world order of the last half century, organised around ideological conflict" and a new world order "organised around environmental sustainability". In the "old" South Africa in the period of "total strategy", security was defined primarily by

**W**ca are only just beginning to learn of the evils done in the name of "national security". Our new approach to security should be rooted in meeting human needs and both expanded — to think in global terms — and reduced to a smaller scale to include personal and domestic security.

There should be a total ban not only on dangerous traditional weapons but also of private gun ownership, or at least further restraint on their possession and use. Besides believing that violence is a legitimate solution to conflict, many South Africans also believe that violence is proper and appropriate to manliness. An important dimension of the current violence in South Africa is that it involves weapons which are understood as legitimate symbols of masculinity. What links firearms and traditional weapons in the form of spears, assegais, knives, knobkerries and sticks are the themes of militarism and masculinity. It follows that the debate about how to stop the violence in South Africa should involve some questions about gender identity and how to uncouple masculinity from militarism.

In the immediate term, all war toys and games should be prohibited. These are controversial issues which need to be debated widely. Our central task in South Africa right now is to create a common society, to build institutions which unify rather than divide us; which truly protect and defend our real security. A demilitarised society is not Utopia. As Professor Seymour Melman has written, "A roster of inequities, inequalities and brutalities ... remain, with this difference: the very process of demilitarising — by well-designed economic convention — institutionalises democratic decision-making and decentralisation, and reinforces the need for every sort of improvement in quality of life."

This is why we should adopt a demilitarisation agenda as a road map towards the political goals of peace and social justice in South Africa.

● The author is co-ordinator of the Demilitarisation Group of the Black Sash.



# Banned books<sup>(327)</sup> reissued in new venture

*St. Louis (C. Metro)*  
By EVELYN  
HOLTZHAUSEN

TWENTY-eight previously banned books, detailing in fact, poetry and fiction aspects of the struggle against apartheid, are to be re-issued this week in one of the largest campus-based publishing ventures in South Africa. 26/7/92

The books form part of the "History and Literature Series" published by the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa at the University of the Western Cape.

The previously banned books were first published under the imprint of the International Defence and Aid Fund and Kliptown Books.

The IDAF was set up in the early '60s to fund the legal defence of the accused in terrorism and treason trials as well as to distribute information about South Africa, to raise funds and counter pro-apartheid government propaganda.

## Resource

When IDAF was disbanded in June 1991 its archives — including a video library, document and photographic library and stockpile of anti-apartheid literature — was shipped to the Mayibuye Centre.

The Centre aims to provide a physical resource for the acquisition, research, production, publication and distribution of video, film, print and photographic material relating to the history of apartheid and resistance to it.

They have already published six new books in association with established publishers such as David Philip, Skotaville and Madiba.

Among the previously banned books which are now available from the Centre or through David Philip Publishers, are *The Rise of the South African Reich* by Brian Bunting; *South Africa, the Peasants Revolt* by Govan Mbeki; *And a Threefold Chord* by Alex la Guma; *Escape From Pretoria* by Tim Jenkin; *Poets to the People* edited by Barry Feinberg; *No 46: Steve Biko* by Hilda Bernstein and *The Sun Will Rise: Statements from the Dock by Southern African Political Prisoners*, edited by Mary Benson.



# Cop army blasts guerrilla

By FRED KHUMALO

CURSED by the police, who feared him as the "most notorious killer and the most wanted suspect", but known to his comrades as the defender of the defenceless, 20-year-old S'bu Mkhize of Umlazi, died in a hail of police bullets this week.

The drama began on Wednesday evening when police, who traced Mkhize to a house in the Indian suburb of Isipingo Hills, surrounded the hide-out and used a loudhailer to call him out.

Mkhize refused to budge and that marked the beginning of one of the most sensational police shootouts.

Houses in the neighbourhood were hit by stray bullets as an army of 200 policemen fired on the outbuilding which Mkhize and four friends occupied.

Two policemen, sergeants Chitiza and Adrian Ash, were seriously injured when a handgrenade was hurled at them through a window.

After the two-hour shootout a huge silence fell over Isipingo.

And the local policemen's nightmare finally lay dead, his body riddled with bullets and shrapnel.

Also killed in the shootout were four of his friends, referred to by police as accomplices.

Members of the ANC Folweni branch marched in Isipingo in protest against the killing and demanded protection for residents of the tiny township from "police brutality".

Mkhize was son to the late ANC activist Siphio Mkhize who died at the hands of members of the KwaZulu police in Umlazi in 1990.

Mkhize junior crossed swords with the cops when, in June 1990, immediately after the assassination of his father, he staged a daring gun and handgrenade attack on Umlazi police station, almost destroying it.

He has been on top of the cops' "most wanted" list since then.

Grieving mother Flora Mkhize claimed that the cops began searching for her son even before her husband's remains were buried.

Since going into hiding Mkhize was linked to eight murders - including the deaths of constables Michael Venter and Tyrall Samuels, 15 counts of attempted murder and a string of other alleged crimes.

In their frustrated year-long attempt to track him down, relatives claim the police turned on those around him.

SAP spokesman colonel Bill Dennis said the police handled the shoot-out "very well", considering how close the neighbours' homes were.

Johannesburg.

## TPA interdicted

AN interim interdict against the Transvaal Provincial Administration from allowing the relocation of the Zeevontfontein squatters to Nietgedacht was won by the Jukskei Crocodile Catchment Area Land Owners and Residents Association on Friday.

## Airport chief dies

THE father of Charles Mogale, a former Sowetan staffer, died yesterday on the eve of his 63rd birthday.

Mr Joseph Mule Mogale died after an illness at a Pretoria hospital. At the time of his death he was manager of Garankuwa Airport, which is still under construction.

# Govt gets tough on arms

THE GOVERNMENT last night announced it had granted temporary and conditional indemnity from prosecution to people in possession of dangerous arms.

The indemnity will last until the end of the month when a new Act will be implemented.

This means that people who hand in firearms, explosives and other dangerous weapons before July 31 will be indemnified from prosecution.

The Criminal Law Second Amendment Act of 1992 will come into effect on Friday when President FW De Klerk

**GRACE PERIOD** Kriel and Coetsee announce temporary indemnity: (321)

is expected to sign the Bill passed by Parliament earlier this year.

The legislation provides for "drastic measures" which include a maximum of 25 years imprisonment for any person found in possession of weaponry and explosive devices.

In a joint statement released last night, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hermus Kriel and Minister of Justice Mr Kobia

Coetzee said: "The measures contained in this Act have serious implications. It is in addition imperative to terminate the illegal possession and use of weaponry, explosive devices, firearms and ammunition by individuals and organisations as soon as possible.

"A conditional indemnity from prosecution for the illegal possession of weaponry, firearms explosive devices

and ammunition will consequently be granted with immediate effect, lasting until July 31."

The conditions of indemnity are that people in illegal possession of weaponry or having such weapons under their control "must voluntarily and on their own initiative hand in or disclose" them before Friday at any police station.

The Government also announced cash rewards for specific weapons and explosives. It said people would be allowed to apply for a licence for the weapons they handed in. - Sowetan Reporter and Sapa.



# focus on media

**W**HEN PRESIDENT FW de Klerk unbanned political organisations and released leaders such as Nelson Mandela in 1990, the foreign Press told the world about "the ANC and others".

In fact, a banner headline in a Cape Town newspaper read: "ANC and other organisations unbanned."

Today the foreign Press in particular - and to a very large extent the white local media - still dictates who should be the major political players.

They also decide who should get prominent coverage, and are campaigning for a future government about which they have already decided.

United States and European readers largely believe that in South Africa Mandela is the only black political leader and the ANC the only liberation movement.

It is not uncommon in the US to read about the PAC and Azapo being referred to as "small radical groupings to the left of the ANC".

Working in the US a while ago, I saw such a description featuring like a permanent addendum to the PAC and Azapo names - if they got any publicity at all.

Some major newspapers even called Nkosi Sikelel 'iAfrika the ANC national anthem.

A recent glaring example of this blatant bias was the coverage of the United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa - before and after July 17.

Only Mandela's lobbying at the Organisation of African Unity summit in Senegal graced the media. PAC president Clarence Makwetu's address to the OAU was ignored; his letter of appeal and subsequent meeting with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali were not reported.

## Add insult to injury

In his opening speech, the chairman of the OAU took time to commend Makwetu "for his initiative to approach the African heads of states who made the Security Council debate possible".

Worse still, Makwetu's address to the Security Council was ignored in the local media the next morning and days after.

As if to add insult to injury, foreign correspondents were absent at the PAC and Inkatha pre-departure Press conferences at Jan Smuts Airport on the eve of the UN debate.

They were milling in the terminal, waiting for Mandela's briefing or were still arriving and asking, "what did they say?"

Only seven local journalists bothered to attend Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Makwetu's obviously pre-announced briefings.

And no fewer than 10 television crews were present in the VIP lounge when the ANC leader

Sowetan 27/7/92

The foreign press - and to a lesser extent the local press - would like us to believe that the African National Congress is representative of black South Africans. Political reporter **Themba Molefe** looks at the fallacy of this perception:



**CRY FREEDOM: Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie punch the air after his release.**

Sowetan 27/7/92

arrived; the room was as packed as is now accustomed.

Actually, a foreign journalist once told me that his brief was Mandela and that's it. And it appears to be the brief for local journalists who are supposed to know this country's political ramifications and polarised nature better. Ask Azapo, the PAC and IFP.

Local journalists covering the political story seem to rely on their foreign counterparts to tip them off about where "the story" is.

Many will argue that objectivity is a myth, but it is the quest for this illusive journalistic ethic which has created some of the world's greatest newspeople and media.

It was Mandela himself, on June 16 1991, who angrily told local journalists at a rally that they lacked inquisitive and investigative minds.

Was it perhaps an indictment on our ability or was it a confession on the ANC's part as to why - until recently - foreign reporters often got

priority attention at ANC offices?

Now the townships are burning with even more ferocity and white colleagues are apparently on the receiving end. This is wrong and stands condemned.

Only a few years back in the mid-1980s black reporters faced the dreaded "necklace" because they were seen to be partisan. Indeed, after Mandela's release foreign media was given preference and had in-depth face-to-face interviews with the legend at his Orlando West, Soweto, house.

Local black and white journalists were told to pool questions. When I returned later I was afforded 15 minutes for an in-depth interview.

But do average South Africans ask why they seem more knowledgeable about British and American politics than they do about Pandelani Ntlobovho and his influence on the country's political future.



and ammunition — and not meeting the conditions for indemnity — would be liable for prosecution.

Proud flagbearer Jan Tau le ceremony. ● Reports — Pages 5

# Gluckman gets death threats after expose

By Zingisa Mkhuma and Peter Fabricius

Top forensic pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman yesterday received two death threats hours after he had gone public with allegations of ongoing torture and killing of prisoners in police custody. **STAR 27/1/92**

Dr Gluckman telephoned The Star and said: "I've had five threatening calls this morning, two on my life. The strangest thing is that the death threat calls were obviously from blacks. It is important that the world know what is happening".

Asked if he had reported the threats to the police, Dr Gluckman said: "I don't know who to tell in the police; who would you tell?"

Witwatersrand police spokesman Lieutenant Wikus Weber advised Dr Gluckman to contact his nearest police station to make a statement.

Dr Gluckman opened his files to a Sunday newspaper in what he termed a bid to stop the continuing killing of prisoners in police custody.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has ordered a full report from the police,

within 14 days, on the facts surrounding all deaths of people in police custody over the last two years, Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Dr Gluckman said Mr Kriel and other members of the Government, including President de Klerk, had failed to respond to past pleas for action.

The death of a 19-year-old Sebokeng boy, whose body was found in the veld 12 hours after he was arrested on July 14, prompted the pathologist — who has performed over 200 post-mortems on people who have died in police custody — to "go public".

According to Dr Gluckman, the boy's injuries were consistent with eyewitness claims that he had been brutally beaten by the police.

Referring to deaths in custody, Dr Gluckman said: "It goes on and on and on. I don't know how to stop it. I don't think the Government knows how to stop it."

Democratic Party Law and Order spokesman Peter Gastrow called for "credible" outsiders to be part of an open investigation into the matter.



# Mass action set to gather force - ANC

Staff Reporters and Sapa

After poor turnouts at most "peace and democracy" marches at the weekend, the ANC yesterday rejected suggestions that its rolling mass action campaign was faltering.

One of the Saturday marches, to Pretoria's Union Buildings, was aborted because of a dispute between the ANC and police over the route to be followed, and marches in Durban and Johannesburg could attract no more than 2 000 people each.

In Cape Town, about 5 000 people took part in a "human chain" which circled the city's central business district, and in Port Elizabeth police estimated that between 12 000 to 15 000 people took part in a march.

Fighting between ANC demonstrators and about 200 armed Inkatha supporters in Durban was narrowly averted when police formed a barrier between the groups.

The ANC had planned to hold mock trials of leaders including President de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but had to "suspend" them to prevent possi-

ble confrontation.

In an interview with The Star yesterday, ANC national executive committee member Mac Maharaj said Saturday was a "bad day for mass action" in general.

"It's going to build up. That's the idea behind rolling mass action," Mr Maharaj said. "Saturday was not supposed to be the height of it. We are not concerned that it is going to falter."

ANC sources however conceded that the prolonging of the Congress of SA Trade Unions-SA Consultative Conference on Labour Affairs talks on draft agreements to avert a general strike delayed their planning of mass action.

The National Council of Trade Unions had decided not to take part in the campaign, a Nactu spokesman said yesterday.

Police yesterday said 460 ANC supporters arrested for staging a sit-in at Johannesburg's central Jeppe Street post office were being released with a warning to appear in court in two weeks.

In another protest action on Saturday, Tembisa residents staged a march on the

● To Page 3

## Mass action will pick up, warns ANC

From Page 1

local hospital.

Police in the Free State arrested 16 ANC supporters who marched on the Villiers police station demanding the release of fellow activists.

The ANC's Sam Mokoena alleged that police had opened fire on demonstrators, wounding several people, but police said there had been no shooting.

● The Department of Foreign Affairs declined yesterday to become embroiled in a public row over the SA embassy in Transkei which was besieged by ANC supporters last week and which was said to be readying itself for another "attack".

A spokesman for Foreign Minister Pik Botha said Mr Botha and Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa were in contact over the issue, as well as over the recent detention of three South Africans.

Hundreds of protesters stormed the embassy grounds on Tuesday after a three-hour delay before a petition they had with them was accepted.

Major clampdown imminent

# Weapons amnesty announced

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The Government has declared a four-day period of grace for the handing over of AK-47s and other weapons, explosives and ammunition before imposing a major clampdown on the use of them on Friday.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced the new measure last night in an attempt to curb the rapidly increasing number of crimes involving firearms.

Temporary indemnity from prosecution will be granted to people illegally possessing certain arms if they hand them over — or direct police to them — before Friday.

Rewards — including R400 for handing in an AK-47 or other automatic weapon — will be paid by the police.

The indemnity ceases on Friday, July 31, when the Criminal Law Second Amendment Act comes into force, carrying minimum jail sentences of five years — and maximum sentences of 25 years — for the wrongful use of certain defined weapons, including automat-



Hernus Kriel . . . new bid to curb violent crimes.

ic rifles.

The law also includes other drastic measures for curbing the use of arms, such as detention without trial for questioning, the suspension of bail and streamlining of court hearings.

"The Government is intensely concerned about the breakdown of violence and intimidation currently afflicting certain communities," the two ministers said.

This year up to the end of May, at least 2 438 people — including 125 policemen — had been killed with firearms.

The ministers' statement said the indemnity would be subject to the following conditions:

- Those illegally possessing weaponry, explosive devices, firearms or ammunition or having such items under their control must voluntarily and on their own initiative hand in or disclose them before July 31.
- They must be handed in or disclosed to a police officer at a police station or at a collection point still to be announced.
- Firearm owners will be allowed to apply for a firearm licence before July 31, although licences could not be issued for automatic arms or weaponry.

Rewards of R200 would be paid for surrendering non-automatic weapons if no licence was granted. The police were still deciding on the size of rewards for disclosing explosives, landmines and hand-grenades.

The ministers appealed to the public not to handle these explosives or hand them in but to report them to the police.

They said anyone found in illegal possession of arms and ammunition — and not meeting the conditions for indemnity — would be liable for prosecution.



# Death of suspect who 'collapsed' in police station to be probed

B10A4 28/7/92

A YOUNG man suspected of stealing a firearm "collapsed and died" at the Vosloorus police station on Sunday — the day independent pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman claimed detainees were being killed by police.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Capt Ida van Zweek said in a statement the death of Bongani Edward Makhubela, 20, was receiving urgent attention.

"A post mortem will be conducted by pathologists to establish the cause of death and all relevant evidence will be submitted to the attorney-general for his decision," she said.

No action had been instituted against anyone because no evidence of any offence regarding Makhubela's death was available at this stage, Van Zweek said.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel met Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee yesterday to discuss Gluckman's claims that he had performed post mortems on about 200 people who had died in police detention and that about 90% of them had been killed by their captors.

Gluckman went public with his findings after several Cabinet ministers, including

STEPHANE BOTHA

President F W de Klerk, failed to respond to his appeals, Gluckman had approached De Klerk with his claims in November last year.

A spokesman for De Klerk said yesterday that when Gluckman's allegations were received by the President, the matter was immediately referred to Kriel.

"The president was giving Gluckman's allegations serious and urgent attention," the spokesman said.

He said De Klerk would not deal with the

## Death probe

the pathologist confirmed.

Gluckman performed the post mortems referred to on the instructions of attorneys acting on behalf of families of the deceased. He was often present when state pathologists performed post mortems.

A police spokesman said all unnatural deaths in detention were subject to investigation and were referred, accompanied by a pathologist's report, to an inquest court. If these deaths were obviously caused by criminal conduct, a police investigation was launched immediately.

Independent pathologists like Gluckman — briefed by family members or interested parties — testified at and submitted their post mortem reports to such inquest courts, he said. Inquest findings were then sent to attorneys-general for decision.

Several human rights, legal, medical and political organisations responded to the allegations and said the claims reflected the lack of accountability within the

From Page 1

police force.

Kriel's decision to call for an internal investigation was criticised and the ANC said the police should not investigate themselves.

The CP said in a statement yesterday Gluckman's claims were "astounding" and if true, these deaths in detention should be strongly condemned.

Being a medical doctor who had taken the Hippocratic oath, Gluckman had a duty to disclose such information, the CP said.

The Human Rights Commission said yesterday it had records of 130 — mostly political — prisoners who had died in detention since 1963.

In a report, the commission listed names of the dead and also "official or alleged" causes of death. These included 29 people who hanged themselves.

Other alleged causes included an "accidental fall from the 10th floor", strokes, kidney failure and slipping on soap.

issue in a piecemeal fashion and a comprehensive statement would be issued. It would be incorrect to infer there was any undue delay by the President.

Kriel and Coetsee were expected to announce the steps they would take within the next few days, a source said.

At the weekend Kriel ordered reports on all deaths in police custody in recent years and said either a judicial commission of inquiry would be set up or attorneys-general would appoint a judge to lead inquest proceedings to investigate the allegations.

However, by late yesterday afternoon

Gluckman had not been approached by investigators and no request for access to his files had been received, he said.

Gluckman said since his claims were published on Sunday, he had received six telephonic death threats.

"Life is short so enjoy it while you can," one of the callers told Gluckman, who said that he paid no attention to the calls.

Senior police officers visited Gluckman yesterday morning to obtain a statement from him about the threats, but Gluckman would not make a statement, police and

To Page 2

## news in brief

### Meet demands first - ANC

*Sowetan 29/7/92* (325)  
THE African National Congress will not resume negotiations until the Government addressed its demands, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He was speaking at a Press conference in Johannesburg on his return from Barcelona, the Middle East and the United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa.

Asked to comment on reports that the Government had come up with new proposals at its secret strategy meeting last week to break the negotiations deadlock, Mandela said it was better to wait until the ANC had received the Government's latest proposals.

He said, however: "We would be relieved if the Government has addressed the demands we put forward, because we are keen to resume negotiations."

### Sanco softens bond stance

IN an apparent softening of their stance on the rent and bonds boycott, the South African National Civic Organisations (Sanco) said yesterday it was up to individuals to choose whether they would support the boycott.

*Sowetan 29/7/92*  
Reacting to criticism by various organisations, Sanco vice-president Mr Moses Mayekiso was, however, adamant that his organisation was independent and would go ahead with the boycotts. He said Sanco would press ahead with the boycott since far too many people could not get bonds because of the high costs and prices involved.

"Several organisations which criticised our decision are out of touch. The simple fact is that the people are affected by high interest rates while others will never have access to bonds because they are not within reach," he said.

### Cops search ANC offices

POLICE searched the ANC's offices in Alexandra, Johannesburg, and the nearby M1 Hostel yesterday morning.

*Sowetan 29/7/92* (325)  
Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe confirmed the searches and said the action was a continuation of the police's efforts "to stop violence and the high rate of crime in Alexandra".

It was part of the "intensifying of policing in the area which was started in June". Much of the violence in the township has been blamed on conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and dwellers of the hostel, who are allegedly members of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party.

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**NEWS** Amnesty International calls for open investigation

# Activists' death - call for probe

■ **LETTER CAMPAIGN** President de

Klerk asked to open an investigation (327)  
into the shooting of Mr Tsepo Lengwati:

*Sowetan 29/7/92*

By Mathatha Tsedu

**T**HE killing of a Vaal activist while in police custody has led to a campaign by Amnesty International for the appointment of a commission of inquiry into his death.

The campaign starts in August with letters to the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, calling on him to open an investigation into the shooting of Mr Tsepo Lengwati in January this year.

According to the organisation's newsletter, Lengwati, a member of the ANC and former Robben Island prisoner, was arrested with seven other suspects following an alleged robbery in which a policeman was killed.

Amnesty says four of those arrested with Lengwati were released and have

since died in "suspicious circumstances".

The Amnesty call comes in the middle of a furore over alleged police killings of detainees following a weekend disclosure by well-known pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman.

Amnesty said: "The night before he was killed, Tsepo Lengwati was taken from his cell by Vanderbijlpark police officers and men wearing hoods, kept out all night and assaulted."

"The following day he laid charges of assault against the investigating officer. The police took him out again that night and according to a police statement, a gunman fired at him while he sat in a police vehicle in Sharpeville township.

"The police say they returned the fire but the gunman escaped. According to an independent pathologist, Tsepo Lengwati suffered 'multiple gunshot



Tsepo Lengwati

wounds, some from the front, and some from the back', " Amnesty said.

No one else in the police vehicle seemed to have been injured during the shooting and no details of any police investigations had been made public, Amnesty said.

The revelations in the media that police ran a secret base in the Vaal which had been linked to activists allegedly recruited to kill other "enemies of the State" meant that police could be responsible for Lengwati's death, Amnesty added.

A study of the violence on the Witwatersrand has concluded that the timing of the killings suggests that there is method to the madness.

Quentin Wilson reports (327) South 2517-2917192

**B**EHIND the statistics of brutality is clear evidence that the violence erupts when it is most likely to weaken the ANC and its allies, and dies down dramatically when it will harm the government.

According to Dr David Everatt, deputy director of the Community Agency for Social Inquiry, there is a clear pattern that emerges from the ongoing political violence.

This suggests that the timing of the violence benefits the political agendas of the NP and IFP, according to Everatt.

In his recent survey into the "low-intensity conflict" on the Reef, Everatt claims that an average of six people have been killed every day in political violence since July 1990.

The survey, "Reef violence: Tribal War or Total Strategy", was used by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to support his arguments at last week's United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa.

Everatt was assisted by Ms Saffora Sadek, co-ordinator of the Human Rights Commission, in compiling the report.

He claims Reef violence "appears to be switched on and off at strategic moments", depending on national political events.

"The highest monthly fatality figures for the Reef occurred in August 1990, as the ANC signed the Pretoria Minute to suspend armed struggle and tie itself to the negotiations.

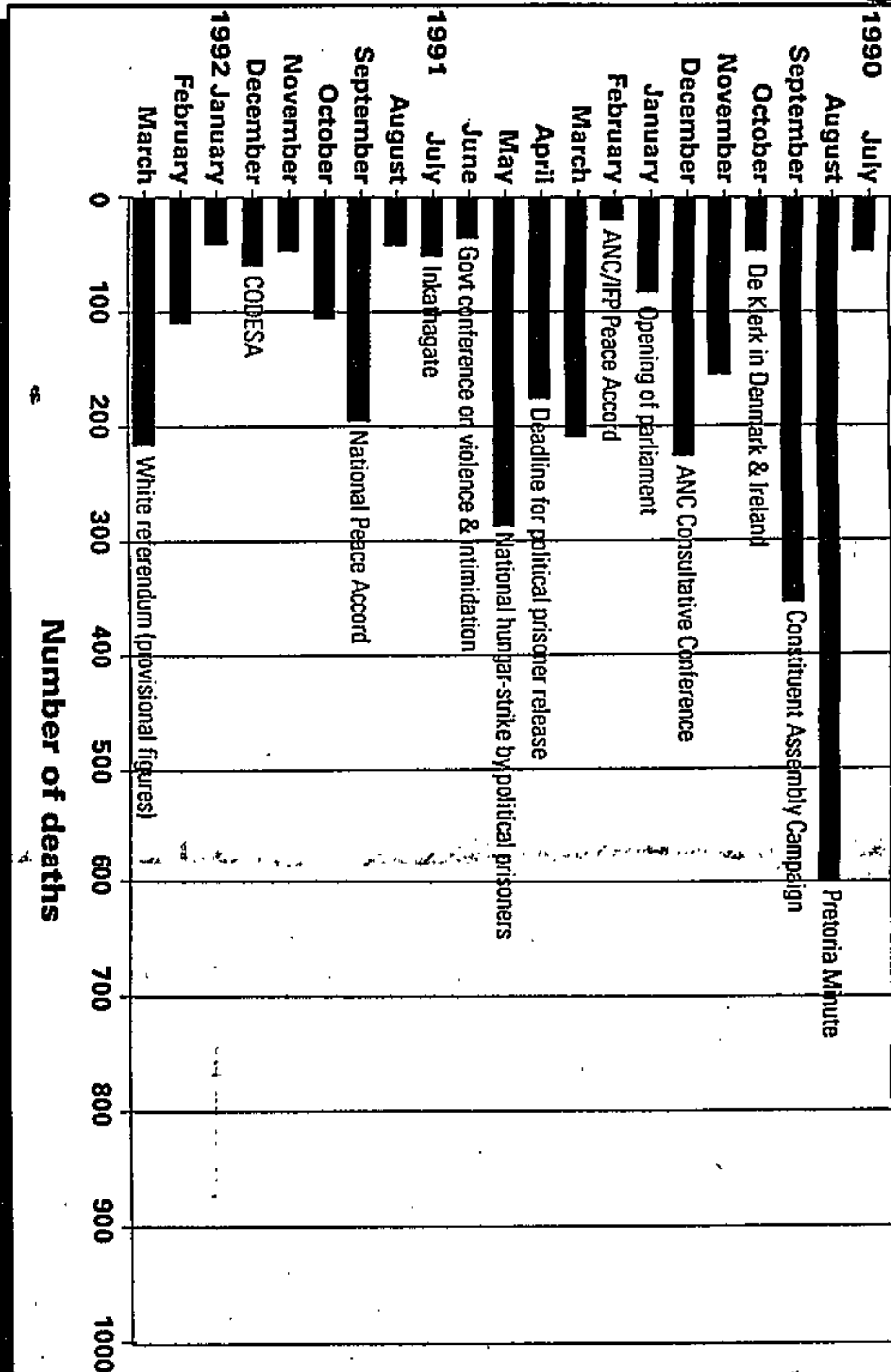
"When the government was manoeuvred into the National Peace Accord, which threatened government control by creating independent arbitrators (church and business), the violence increased significantly," Everatt notes.

"In contrast, when President F.W. de Klerk visited Europe's two staunchest proponents of sanctions (Denmark and Ireland) in October 1990, the death toll on the Reef dropped from 356 to 56; on his return, it rose again to 157."

According to Everatt, these connections are not coincidental and reflect "the near symbiotic relationship which exists between violence and the political calendar in South Africa".

He says March, the month of the white referendum, is another example of this relation-

## Violence and the political calendar CASE/HRC Research statistics



ship. There was a dramatic increase in train attacks. In 45 attacks on train commuters at least 71 people were killed, while 84 were injured (Human Rights Commission figures). "These attacks were far from random, they were aimed at heightening tensions, and this is shown from the fact that multiple attacks began occurring on the same day," Everatt argues.

March 2 witnessed four attacks, followed by two on March 3, three on March 4 and one on March 5.

"As polling day approached, so the attacks intensified, with 15 attacks between March 11 and March 18, and 16 attacks between March 19 and March 25.

"Immediately after the NP won its landslide

'yes' vote, the government announced a massive clampdown on train attacks. After 20 months of attacks, in which hundreds of people had killed or injured, the idea of searching train commuters for weapons is nothing other than appallingly belated," Everatt says.

He says the ANC "remains helpless in the face of violence while the NP appears once again to have benefited from the loss of black lives".

He sees Inkatha as being "the second major beneficiary of the violence".

"While Inkatha has a black support base of one percent, Inkatha nonetheless succeeded in creating the impression that they were one of the big three political players and an essential part of any settlement," Everatt says.

On the other hand, he says: "The ANC is clearly the major loser. The violence makes it extremely difficult for the ANC to translate its support into an organised membership.

"Being unable to respond to calls for defence, the ANC is in danger of appearing weak and ineffectual in the eyes of township residents."

The solution to the violence lies with rapid political change, a democratic election and the removal from power of the minority white government, Everatt says.

"It is only in this way that the channelling of taxes into Civil Co-operation Bureau-type hit-squads, or into the purses of small black parties which seek only to attack the liberation movements, can be stopped," he says.



# Gluckman not called to inquests for 18 months

BIDAY 29/7/92

STEPHANE BOTHMA

INDEPENDENT pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman, who claims his post mortems showed multiple deaths of detainees at the hands of policemen, has not been called to testify in an inquest during the past 18 months.

Gluckman said he received briefs from attorneys representing families of the deceased or organisations such as Lawyers for Human Rights.

Reports were handed to clients and after that Gluckman had no control over what happened to his findings.

Gluckman said informal inquests were not held in an open court.

A Justice Department spokesman said last night all deaths in police custody were subject to an inquest. Every inquest finding was available to the public and was referred to the attorney-general.

All documents, including independent post mortem reports, were referred to a presiding officer — a judge or a magistrate — who decided whether the inquest would be formal or informal, the spokesman said.

"If the circumstances of death are cut and dried, the presiding officer makes a final decision there and then. This procedure constitutes an informal inquest."

However, if the documentation

raised questions, the presiding officer called for a formal inquest where witnesses would be called to testify. The presiding officer did not have complete discretion and was bound by strict guidelines.

An attorney-general had the power to prosecute, reopen the inquest or accept the findings.

Meanwhile, President F W de Klerk said last night independent pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman was "unfortunately" not informed about a comprehensive investigation into his claims of detainees dying at the hands of policemen.

De Klerk said this fact had apparently created the impression that government had not given the allegations the urgent attention they deserved.

De Klerk said that on receiving allegations from Gluckman he arranged for the Law and Order and Correctional Services Ministers to discuss the allegations with the pathologist.

"Gluckman expressed his satisfaction with the procedure that was followed."

Another letter from Gluckman, which De Klerk received early last

month, was given to Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel for urgent investigation and a report-back to De Klerk. A more comprehensive investigation was ordered, but Gluckman was not told of its progress.

In London, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the SAP needed to carry out a "massive purge", Sapa-Reuter reports.

Tutu, on a six-day private visit, described Gluckman as "exceedingly courageous. These are some of the things we have always suspected".

Inkatha yesterday joined the call for an independent judicial inquiry into the claims.

Spokesman Ed Tillet said Inkatha rejected an internal police probe because of the suspicion that this would amount to a police cover-up or manipulation by the state.

The SA Council of Churches called on security force members who had information on practices which they had reason to believe were not consonant to their duty, to come forward.

"Police as well as prison warders must be accorded some form of protection which will enable them to testify to the truth on the circumstances surrounding the death of prisoners," the SACC said.

● Comment: Page 10

6 AUG 1992



REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

# Staatskoerant Government Gazette

*Regulasiekoerant*

**No. 4911**

*Regulation Gazette*

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Vol. 325

PRETORIA, 29 JULIE 1992  
JULY

**No. 14186**

## GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING

### MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

No. R. 2189

29 Julie 1992

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

#### VERLENGING VAN VERKLARING VAN GEBIED TOT ONRUSGEBIED

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 die verklaring waarby die gebied vermeld in die Bylae by Goewermenskennisgewing No. R. 1291 van 30 April 1992 by sodanige Goewermenskennisgewing tot 'n onrusgebied verklaar is, vir 'n tydperk van drie maande.

**H. J. KRIEL,**

Minister van Wet en Orde.

475—A

## GOVERNMENT NOTICE

### MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

No. R. 2189

327

29 July 1992

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

#### EXTENSION OF DECLARATION OF AREA TO BE AN UNREST AREA

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 the declaration whereby the area mentioned in the Schedule to Government Notice No. R. 1291 of 30 April 1992 was by such Government Notice declared to be an unrest area, for a period of three months.

**H. J. KRIEL,**

Minister of Law and Order.

14186—1



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## SA paid R10-m <sup>(327)</sup>

VICTORIA - Seychelles President Albert Rene yesterday admitted publicly that his government had received about R10 million from South Africa for the release of six mercenaries in 1982. <sup>(289)</sup>

Questioned about the payment, the Seychelles socialist leader confirmed that the PW Botha Government had paid the money as "compensation" for the abortive coup attempt led by "Mad Mike" Hoare on the islands in 1981. Rene said the money was paid into the Seychelles Central Bank. - Sowetan Africa

News Service and Sapa.

Sowetan 29/7/92.



*Sowetan 29/7/92*  
**Benoni an unrest area**

THE magisterial district of Benoni on the East Rand, including the areas Wattville and Daveyton, was yesterday declared an unrest area by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel. *(328)*

The announcement was made in a special Government Gazette. According to Kriel, the move was decided on because "public disturbance, disorder, riot and public violence were occurring or threatening in the area". *Sapa.*

*(327)*

ANC slates 'move to stifle' protest

# Govt clamps townships in ring of steel

BIDA-1 30/7/92

327

BILLY PADDOCK

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday launched "stabilisation operations" in 14 townships — immediately raising a storm of protest and claims that the move was aimed at intimidating people against supporting the mass action campaign.

The plan to "saturate" 14 townships on the Rand, in the Vaal Triangle and in Soweto with SAP personnel and SADF troops conducting cordon and search operations was announced by Kriel in Soweto. He said this followed the success of similar operations in Alexandra and Phola Park.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus immediately launched a stinging attack on the operation, calling it "sheer intimidation designed to create an atmosphere of tension and allowing the police to get involved in repressive activity".

He said government was always accusing the ANC of intimidation but in this case government was the intimidator — "putting pressure on the community not to support the campaign of mass action and the stayaway next week".

"Government is making the situation much more volatile and will subsequently want to blame the ANC for it. We call on government to cease this operation of police intimidation because of the danger that it will foster violence," Niehaus said.

However, Kriel said it was a "peace offensive" which would create conditions in which government agencies could restore essential services and upgrade infrastructure and living conditions.

Intensified policing in Phola Park and Alexandra a few weeks ago had proved so successful that local authorities could once

again render essential services in the areas. The crime rate had also fallen, criminals were arrested and political violence had been prevented, said Kriel.

The operations are still in force in these areas at a reduced level.

Kriel said the latest operations were "aimed at restoring peace, essential services and infrastructure to areas affected by unrest". Violence in these areas had resulted in local authorities not being able to provide essential services such as refuse removal, the provision of water, health services and sewage.

This caused a serious health hazard to the people living in these areas. "I believe we have a duty towards them," he said.

Operations were started yesterday in Soweto, Boipatong, Bophelong, Sebokeng, Evaton, Sharpeville, Vosloorus, Kathlehong, Thokoza, Tembisa, Munsieville, Bekkersdal, Kagiso and Swanieville.

Kriel said it had become clear to government and the police that people in the "unrest-afflicted" areas had had enough of violence, the disruption of their lives and the "senseless destruction or disruption of essential services and infrastructure".

He called on the communities to support the security forces and also to use this opportunity to "hand in unlicensed firearms to the SAP".

A moratorium had been placed on prosecutions until Friday and the police would pay R400 each for AK-47s and R200 each for all other firearms handed in. After Friday offenders will face prosecution.

● Comment: Page 4



**NEWS** How the police infiltrated the ANC • The strikes continue, according to Nehawu

# ANC members used by cops, says Colonel

*Sowetan* 30/7/92  
**Sowetan Correspondent**

**INSIDE MOVES** Committee told

**they helped uncover secret operations:**

**P**OLICE ARRANGING for intelligence operatives within the ANC's department of security and intelligence and was aware of efforts to expose its undercover operations, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

During evidence yesterday before a committee of the commission investigating police safe houses, Lieutenant-Colonel Jan Daniel Potgieter of the WITS Crime Information Service said it was a well known strategy of the DIS to identify police agents and recruit them in order to expose undercover operations.

Potgieter alleged the exposé by the *Weekly Mail* of certain SAP undercover operations was part of the strategy of the DIS. He said the *Weekly*

*Mail* claimed the covert police units were involved in the instigation of violence.

On February 21 1992, the colonel said, he interviewed one Solly Mngomezulu in Randfontein to evaluate his suitability as an intelligence agent for the police. This Mngomezulu was a former ANC member who had been detained for eight years by the movement on allegations of being a police agent.

Mngomezulu wanted revenge against the ANC, and Potgieter said he told him he could not use the South African Police for a personal vendetta against the ANC.

The interview took place at a safe

house in Randfontein Estates, and the colonel decided to employ Mngomezulu as a "spotter" who could identify potential informants for the SAP. He could also gather information about the illegal smuggling of arms.

Potgieter denied Mngomezulu had been recruited by the police which he could use to murder anyone. He also denied that a woman called "Granny" was known to members of his unit.

He also denied knowledge of the farm Kleinsmadel in Parys. He said it was the first time he saw the farm when he visited it with members of the Commission on June 2 this year. Mngomezulu's services to the SAP were officially ended on March 31.

Potgieter told the committee that in December 1991 a Sergeant Steenkamp told him one of his informants had been recruited by the ANC Youth League to undergo a three-week training course in the Phola Park self defence unit.

He instructed Steenkamp to let the informant join the defence unit with a view to obtaining inside information on the defence units. In January 1992 Potgieter received information that the informant had been in contact with his handler.

Shortly thereafter he received information that a person with the name Kolisang had confessed to the ANC in the Vaal Triangle that he was a police agent. The *Weekly Mail* published this information on May 18. Potgieter confirmed Kolisang was a police agent who had received a total of R1 450 from the SAP.

Potgieter denied allegations in the *Weekly Mail* of May 15 and 18 that the SAP were involved in the instigation of violence.

## **'I did not order killing of activists'**

327

STAR 30/7/92  
A police officer in the Crime Investigating Service yesterday denied allegations that he had issued instructions to kill activists, saying he had only instructed an informer to collect information concerning the criminal activities of certain activists.

Sergeant Andre Steenkamp was giving evidence at a Goldstone Commission committee inquiry into The Weekly Mail's allegation that there were SAP "safe houses" in the Vaal Triangle from where attacks on ANC activists had been launched.

He told the one-man committee, chaired by R Wise, SC, that Daniel Kolisang, who earlier testified that the police wanted him to kill certain activists in the Vaal Triangle township of Evaton, was in fact a registered informer with the police and supplied information at several meetings with him until late last year.

Sergeant Steenkamp testified that Mr Kolisang was paid a total of R1 450 on different occasions when he supplied information about people involved in criminal activities, such as the smuggling of firearms into Evaton.



Mixed reaction to peace initiative

# Troops poured into townships

~~327~~ 327  
Staff Reporters  
and Sapa **STAR**

30/7/92

The Government's mass deployment of troops in 16 strife-torn townships on the Reef on the eve of next week's two-day national strike was firmly rejected by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress today.

But the Inkatha Freedom Party conditionally welcomed Government plans to move 5 000 policemen and soldiers into the townships.

The Government said the forces would be deployed in a "peace and stabilisation" operation.

In the countdown to the countrywide strike on Monday and Tuesday, church leaders and political parties yesterday tried to draft a code of conduct to ensure next week's mass action runs peacefully.

● Playing the one-card hand — Page 22

Announcing the massive deployments at a press conference in Soweto yesterday, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said violence in the affected townships had reached such levels that local authorities could no longer provide essential services such as refuse removal, water, sanitation and health services.

The townships covered by the deployments are Soweto, Boipatong, Bophelong, Sebokeng, Evaton, Sharpeville, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Tokoza, Tembisa, Munsieville, Bekkersdal, Kagiso and Swanieville, while similar

operations described by Mr Kriel as being successful would continue in Alexandra and Phola Park.

Mr Kriel said the deployment was not planned as a contingency against next week's planned general strike and mass action called by the ANC alliance, but said there was no particular time schedule for the police action to end.

Welcoming the move, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said the party's approval of the steps depended on police performance in the townships. The IFP hoped that the police would strive for good police/community relations which would make the exercise constructive, she said.

She added that next week's programme of mass action would certainly be accompanied by intimidation and it was the responsibility of the State and the police to protect citizens.

● To Page 3

## Troops pour into townships

**STAR** 30/7/92  
● From Page 1

But PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke slammed the plans, saying other ways of dealing with the problem existed. One such way was to normalise the political situation and create a climate for free political activity.

Moving security forces into the townships would lead to confrontation, he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus called the move "intimidatory", adding that it would add to tension in the townships and create fear of possible police behaviour next week.

He said it would not help in creating stability.

The National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), the PAC and the Azanian People's Or-

ganisation decided yesterday to boycott the mass action, saying it was aimed at getting Codesa negotiations back on track rather than forcing the Government out of power.

The IFP had earlier urged its members to go to work on Monday and Tuesday.

The church delegation which saw national leaders this week in a bid to avoid the strike have sent a letter to the ANC, SACP, Cosatu, IFP, Nactu, PAC and the National Peace Committee saying there is "an urgent need for a special code of conduct to regulate the behaviour of those who have chosen to participate in acts of protest, and those who wish to exercise their right not to do so."

The code of conduct is expected to be signed tomorrow.

# Custody death 'murder'

By Brian Sokutu

327 STAR 30/7/92

A senior policeman says he has reason to believe that Simon Mthimkulu — whose death in custody resulted in Dr Jonathan Gluckman going public with accusations against the police this week — was murdered.

Vaal district criminal investigating officer Colonel Joseph du Ponte said yesterday that police would next week summon witnesses to the Sebokeng police station where an identification parade of policemen allegedly involved in the killing would be held.

He said a breakthrough in the police investigation depended "on when we get

statements from witnesses". Colonel du Ponte said he hoped the investigation into the death of Mr Mthimkulu (19) would take two months to complete.

The results of the investigation would then be referred to the Attorney-General for a decision.

## Statements

The teenager's death was the "final straw" which prompted State pathologist Dr Gluckman to make public on Sunday his belief that police had been responsible for about 90 percent of the 200 deaths in custody he had investigated.

Legal Resources Centre lawyer Ellem Francis has

provided Colonel du Ponte with statements made by members of the Mthimkulu family and three youths allegedly tortured by Sebokeng policemen while in detention with Mr Mthimkulu on July 14.

One of the youths, Sakhalo Maseko (16), claims in his statement that police at Sebokeng police station ordered Mr Mthimkulu to squat, kicking him several times.

"Simon was (then) instructed to lie down and as he was going down, he was kicked by a policeman, and he landed on his face," Sakhalo said.

● To Page 3

# Custody death 'murder'

STAR 30/7/92  
● From Page 1

"I was told to lie down and ... a policeman wearing blue canvas boots jumped about six times on my back.

"I then saw the other policeman pick up a huge rock behind the door and throw it three times on Simon's rib-cage. Blood came out of Simon's nose.

"The other (policeman) grabbed me by the scruff of my neck and pulled me to a basin," Sakhalo's statement said. "He dipped my head three times into the water. The other was still hitting Simon with a rock.

"A third policeman entered the toilet and hit me with a sjambok about three times around my neck and told me to go home," the statement said.

"I tried to lift Simon but the

police continued hitting me and I left. Simon was groaning."

Sakhalo said he and his friends were accused of burning down houses.

"The police wanted us to say that Mr Mthibedi of the ANC had instructed us to burn down police houses. We denied this," he said in the statement.

● Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has invited Dr Gluckman to supply a full list of prison death inquests the pathologist regarded as contentious.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Coetsee said: "Should Dr Gluckman make such evidence available, it will immediately be submitted to the Attorney-General concerned. The Attorney-General may on the strength of such evidence decide to have any inquest reopened."



IN the final hours of his life, 19-year-old Simon Mthimkulu set out on an errand with his friends Joubert Radebe and Sikhalo "Lucky Boy" Maseko. It was a sunny afternoon in Sebokeng township that fateful Tuesday, July 14.

The three friends were on their way to fetch some money owed to Radebe's father when, as they were crossing an open space, a stolen white Mazda came up against a barricade of rocks blocking the road. The driver, unable to manoeuvre the car around the rocks, abandoned it and disappeared.

Sammy Selebogo, a 21-year-old unemployed amateur soccer player, was the first to spot the police casspir stationed across the road. He tried to run away, but the police caught him and told him to get inside the casspir. "After I got in, it did a turn and drove towards these others," he says. Mthimkulu and Maseko ran away because, explains Radebe, "we had heard that these people were abducting kids. I couldn't run because I had an injured foot".

The police put Radebe in the casspir. "Then they caught Lucky Boy and Simon, and handled them into the casspir also," he says. "From there they took us to the 'golden highway' (the highway from Johannesburg to Vanderbijlpark)."

The casspir pulled over and the three boys were taken out and beaten, Radebe says. "I had a lock on my neck and an earring and they took them off. They took my hat off and asked me whether I had muti on my head."

Selebogo, who was left inside the casspir, says the police then threw the boys back into the vehicle and drove to the local police station, all the while beating them with rubber truncheons.

"When we arrived at the police station, we didn't enter through the charge office but were taken to the back of the station and put in a room. New policemen entered the room," Selebogo says.

Radebe remarks: "There was spilt blood on the floor, but I couldn't tell whose blood it was. After they had beaten us, they took Lucky Boy and Simon into the toilet. They then took me away and said I must go."

Maseko continues: "Simon and I were taken into the toilet by five policemen. When we got to the entrance, two policemen kicked us. They kept on beating us. They said we must do some exercises. We were told to squat and then to do push-ups."

"Simon was unable to do the exercises. It looked to me as if he was already tired. He asked for water, but they refused him. They kicked Simon in the ribs."

"I was still lying down. They said I must hide my face. I peeped through my hands. I saw a policeman pick up a huge rock and throw it on Simon's ribs."

"I was counting. They repeated this three times. When they saw I was watching, they took me and forced my head into the toilet basin. I pretended to be lame."

"Another black policeman entered, started beating me and ordered me to go home. I tried to pick up Simon, to take him with me. He was lying on his back and blood was dripping from his nose. He was still breathing."

"They beat me again with a sjambok on my head. I started running and they pelted me with

# Teenager's death was the straw that broke the camel's back

*The brutal death of 19-year-old Simon Mthimkulu was the final straw for pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman, driving him to go public with more than 200 files on people he says have been killed in police custody*



By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

Wed 31/7-6/8/9 2

stones. I went straight home and slept."

Only later did Maseko learn why Mthimkulu was unable to do what the police told him: he had asthma. It was a condition that may have cost him his life.

Meanwhile, the teenager's mother, Mapaseka Mthimkulu, was going frantic wondering what had happened to her son. "Simon was not a person who was used to running around at night," she explains. "I had last seen him at 12 that day. When his brother, Jabulani, came home that afternoon, I asked where is Simon. He didn't know."

"The sun was going down. I asked Jabulani again where Simon was. When the sun set, I again asked where Simon was. Later, one of his friends came here and told me that those boys who were with Simon were back and had been beaten by the police."

"I went to one of their homes and found that they had been really badly beaten. They told me that they left Simon still asleep at the police station. Since it was night, I came back home."

"The following day I woke up and went to the police station to look for him. The policeman told me the four had been brought to the station and then let go. He asked whether I had looked for my child at the hospital. I went to the hospital, but he was not there."

He could have been my son... Simon Mthimkulu's family is left with this one photo, taken six years ago.

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"I went back to the police station and told them. They said, your child was spanked here and then told to go home. They said I must go and fetch his photo."

It was at the mortuary that Mapaseka Mthimkulu finally found her son. "He was lying face up and I could see there was blood at his neck. I did not turn him over. I came straight home," she says.

On Friday, the day after she found her son's body, there was a report in the *Sowetan* newspaper about a body that had been found in the veld near kwaMasiza Hostel. To this day, it is the only statement the police have made about the killing.

The district surgeon performed the usual post-mortem examination on Mthimkulu. According to medical sources, he did no more than cut open his chest and stitch it back up again.

In the normal course of events, that would have been that. Death in Sebokeng, which has been the scene of large-scale violence since last month's Boipatong massacre, is unexceptional and Simon Mthimkulu's case would probably have faded into obscurity.

But his mother referred the incident to the African National Congress, which asked the Legal Resources Centre to get involved.

Lawyers there contacted independent pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman and asked him to perform a second post-mortem examination on the body.

Gluckman had become internationally renowned as the pathologist who examined the body of murdered black consciousness leader Steve Biko, but there were hundreds of lesser-known cases where the pathologist had been witness to the end products of violent death.

What he found on Mthimkulu enraged the venerable pathologist. "He had injuries all over his body," Gluckman says. "The injuries were entirely consistent with the stories of the witnesses as told me by the lawyers."

It was the case that drove him to go public with more than 200 files on people he says have been killed in police custody. "It was the last straw that broke the camel's back. This was a young boy of 19. He could have been my son," he says.

His revelations have been hugely embarrassing for President F.W. de Klerk, whose police forces are already under fire for gross misconduct and incompetence.

On Monday, a day after Gluckman's story broke in the *Sunday Times*, police investigators visited the Mthimkulu household for the first time to start taking statements about the death.

They were too late to save Simon Mthimkulu. All that was left for his family to do was prepare his funeral. They managed to locate one photograph of him, taken in a family group picture that is six years old. His young face was cut out and was pasted on the funeral programme alongside a picture of a long-haired and bearded Jesus, taken from a church newspaper.

The death hangs heavily in the cramped front-room of the Mthimkulu home. Mapaseka Mthimkulu, covered in a blanket with black cloth swathed around her head, is numb with pain.

"I don't know what to say. It would have been better if they'd arrested him and locked him up inside. He was the child that I had my hopes on. I was very close to Simon."

"When I lost the key for this house, I went away and he was the key. If I told him, Simon don't leave the house. He would stay here and look after it until I came back."

"If only I had died instead of him," she says, collapsing in sobs.

Paulus Mthimkulu stares helplessly at his wife. He looks a decade older than his 57 years, worn out from years of hard labour on farms and construction sites.

He used to be a tractor driver on a farm in the Free State, earning R2 a month. "We came here in 1974 because production was poor on the farms. There was no more money, so they kicked us out," he says. Since then, he has worked as a cement mixer on construction sites.

The couple dream of one day returning to the farm in the Free State. "They were not paying us well, but the life was better. There were no killings there," says Mapaseka Mthimkulu.

At his offices in Bramfontein, Gluckman also dreams of country living. A painting of a small village in France where he owns a house hangs in his interview room. He painted the picture. Painting is his other pastime, he says.

This is where he'll retire when all of this is over, Gluckman says. When it's all over...



# Kriel details probe progress as third prisoner

A THIRD death in police custody was reported this week as Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel denied pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman's claims of government indifference to reports of the killing of detainees by policemen.

Ambrose Xola Macakathi, 30, was found hanging from a cell window at the Protea police station in Soweto yesterday. He had allegedly torn his pillow into strips, which he used to hang himself. Police said no foul play was suspected at this stage.

On Wednesday a suspect fell to his death from the eighth floor of a Hillbrow block of

flats, while allegedly leading police to an accomplice. Another suspect died at the Vosloorus police station on Sunday.

Kriel yesterday listed the progress made in investigations into seven deaths in custody mentioned by Gluckman, but said only in two cases had findings been made by an inquest. These findings were being reviewed by the attorney-general.

Kriel said in another case — the death in detention of Daniel Mokgalaka on November 1 last year — two policemen had already been charged with murder and their trial would be heard on August 25.

BIDAY 31/7/92

STEPHANE BOTHMA

The decision of the attorney-general was being awaited in the alleged murder in detention of Duke Sene, who was arrested on January 15 this year on a charge of resisting arrest. A murder docket was opened and submitted to the attorney-general on May 26, Kriel said.

Three cases — the deaths of Joseph Koetz on January 18, Simon Sieema on May 14 and Simon Mthimkulu on July 15 — were still being investigated and evidence would be made available to the attorney-

general as "quickly as possible".

On the two inquests, Kriel said Columbus Maqobo was arrested in Vanderbijlpark on a charge of armed robbery on July 23 last year. On the way to a magistrate, where Maqobo was to make a voluntary statement, he complained of a pain in his chest and died shortly afterwards.

A state pathologist could not find external signs of assault or injury and could not determine the cause of death. The magistrate who conducted a formal inquest could not make a finding and the docket was referred to the Transvaal attorney-

general. Only then did an attorney representing the family of Maqobo contact the attorney-general with claims he had evidence that Maqobo had been assaulted.

"Four months have elapsed since the inquest, and despite repeated requests statements have still not been given to the attorney-general by the attorney," he said.

The second inquest — where a finding was made that Armstrong Yisake had committed suicide by hanging himself with a belt on August 22 last year — had

To Page 2

Kriel

been reopened by the attorney-general.

In the case of Yikase, Gluckman had performed a second autopsy at the family's request. His findings were sent to their lawyer. Only after the formal inquest was concluded and Gluckman informed of the finding, was Gluckman's post mortem report made available to the state, said Kriel.

"It is now up to the attorney-general, in the light of further evidence, to decide whether the inquest should be reopened."

About Gluckman's claim that authorities did not pay attention to his requests to look into the death of detainees, Kriel said after receiving an SAP report on the cases

mentioned by Gluckman, he decided to have a more comprehensive investigation launched into deaths in police custody since January 1 1991.

As a result of this, and further investigations which exceeded Gluckman's original requests, an unavoidable delay resulted which gave him the impression that proper attention was not given to his request.

Kriel said this wider investigation would be completed shortly. He invited Gluckman to bring forward other cases.

Last night the Johannesburg Bar Council called for an immediate public inquiry into Gluckman's allegations.

in a week is found dead



## Township raid nets few

THE 5 000-strong police and SADF force that searched 14 Reef townships for criminals yesterday made only 25 arrests, a police statement said.

Police made no arrests at all in nine of the 14 targeted townships. *6/04/92*

Police spokesman Peter Brandt said he was not concerned by the low number of arrests, as the object had been to improve community relations. *31/7/92*

Two of the arrests were for murder, four for dagga-related offences, four for possession of illegal firearms, 10 for public violence and five for theft.

Thirteen arrests were in Soweto, eight in Alexandra and four in Boipatong, Vos-

RAY HARTLEY

loorus and Sebokeng.

Brandt said the police were contemplating no further operations at this stage. *(327)*

Meanwhile, Sapa reports the SAP last night objected to a statement by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance criticising the deployment.

The SAP said the alliance's reaction was in direct contrast to an earlier statement by ANC president Nelson Mandela in Geneva that "Mr (F W) De Klerk could stop the violence with a strong, well-trained and well-equipped police force and army".

● Comment: Page 12

## HRC reports 32 unrest dead

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

THIRTY-TWO people were killed and 168 injured in unrest-related incidents this week, said the "weekly repression report" of the Human Rights Commission (HRC). *6/04/92 31/7/92*

The East Rand was the most violent area, with 10 deaths and 10 injuries in the seven-day period.

The HRC said security forces were to blame for four of the deaths and more than 120 injuries, while vigilante-related actions accounted for 23 deaths and 31 injuries. Five policemen were killed.

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Vol. 325

PRETORIA, 31 JULIE  
JULY 1992

No. 14181

**GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWINGS****DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE  
SAKE**

No. 2216 31 Julie 1992

**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. 2216 31 July 1992

**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 P92/27**

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P92/07/61 .....	<i>Saddler No 6: Yukon Ride</i> .....	Gene Curry .....	(a)
P92/07/78 .....	<i>Jake Logan No 155: Slocum and the Death Council</i> .....	Jake Logan .....	(a)
P92/07/81 .....	<i>The Trailsmen No 115: Gold Mine Madness</i> ...	Jon Sharpe .....	(a)
P92/07/88 .....	<i>A Pack of Playpoker Playing Cards forming a Puzzle of a Naked Woman</i> (Speelkaarte/ Playing cards)	Nie vermeld/Not stated .....	(a)
P92/07/93 .....	<i>Dildo in the Form of a Penis with a Studded Base and Strap</i> (Voorwerp/Object)	Rimba, Holland .....	(a)

No. 2217

31 Julie 1992

**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 met enige van die binnebladsye oop uitgestel mag word nie:

487 — A

No. 2217

31 July 1992

**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 with any of the inner pages open for purposes of distribution:

14181 — 1



Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P92/07/92 .....	<b>Stern</b> Nr 26, 17 Juni 1992.....	Gruner + Jahr A. G. & Co. Hamburg.

No. 2218

31 Julie 1992

## PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

## OPHEFFING VAN ARTIKEL 9 (1)

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het die verklaring ten aansien van ondergenoemde publikasies dat alle toekomstige uitgawes daarvan kragtens artikel 9 (1) van die Wet ongewens is ingetrek en wel met effek vanaf die uitgawe soos in hierdie kennisgewing gespesifiseer:

No. 2218

31 July 1992

## PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

## WITHDRAWAL OF SECTION 9 (1)

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has withdrawn the declaration that all future editions of the undermentioned publications are undesirable within the meaning of section 9 (1) of the Act with effect from the edition as specified in this notice:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing verwys Entry refers
P91/06/147 .....	<b>Kalahari Dawn</b> Vol 8, No's 3 & 4, March/April 1975	Swapo of Namibia, London .....	SK./G.G. 4801, GK./G.N. 1438, ged./dd 1975-07-25; SK./G.G. 7195, GK./G.N. 1808, ged./dd 1980-08-22.
P91/06/195 .....	<b>Namibia Today</b> Vol 6, No 2, 1982 .....	Department of Information and Publicity, Luanda	SK./G.G. 6617, GK./G.N. 1778, ged./dd 1979-08-10.
P91/07/13 .....	<b>Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst</b> —Bulletin, No E 13, March 1979	News Agency of German Democratic Republic	SK./G.G. 5935, GK./G.N. 539, ged./dd 1978-03-17.
P91/07/91 .....	<b>Spearhead</b> No 127, March 1979 .....	Albion Press .....	GK./G.N. 1123, ged./dd 1962-07-13.
P91/07/95 .....	<b>Spotlight on Southern Africa</b> Issue 28, April 1979	Spotlight Sub-Committee, Wellington	SK./G.G. 1438, GK./G.N. 670, ged./dd 1966-05-06.
P91/08/95 .....	<b>Jana Shakti</b> May Issue, 1980 .....	Nie vermeld/Not stated .....	SK./G.G. 5583, GK./G.N. 1025, ged./dd 1977-06-10.
P91/12/123 .....	<b>Romanian News</b> Fifth year, No 51 (248), December 15, 1982	Romanian News, Bucharest .....	SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1738, ged./dd 1978-08-25.
P92/01/55 .....	<b>ICSA Bulletin</b> No 24, Spring 1983 .....	International Committee against Apartheid Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8319, GK./G.N. 1628, ged./dd 1982-07-30.
P92/01/99 .....	<b>Workers Unity</b> Issue No 42, 1984 .....	Southern Africa Congress of Trade Unions, London	SK./G.G. 8481, GK./G.N. 2716, ged./dd 1982-12-17.
P92/01/106 .....	<b>Peace News</b> No 2217, 30 March 1984 ....	Peace News Ltd, London .....	GK./G.N. 1035, ged./dd 1961-11-17.
P92/01/149 .....	<b>ANC Weekly News Briefing</b> Vol 7, No 40, September 1983	ANC, London .....	SK./G.G. 8481, GK./G.N. 2716, ged./dd 1982-12-17.
P92/01/224 .....	<b>Briefing Paper</b> No 10, March 1984 .....	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London	SK./G.G. 8167, GK./G.N. 791, ged./dd 1982-04-23.
P92/03/134 .....	<b>International Mobilisation</b> Vol No 3, Dec 1984	World Peace Council, Helsinki .....	SK./G.G. 6865, GK./G.N. 376, ged./dd 1980-02-22.

No. 2219

31 Julie 1992

## 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. 2219

31 July 1992

## 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)
R92/7/53 .....	<b>Dress to Thrill</b> .....	Erotica Fantasy Wear .....	(a)
R92/7/71 .....	<b>The Love Game</b> .....	Vidcom Entertainment .....	(a)

No. 2220

31 Julie 1992

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE  
VERTOË TEN OPSIGTE VAN APPÈL

Die Direkoraat van Publikasies het op 28 Julie 1992 kragtens artikel 14 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), appèl aangeteken teen die beslissing op 23 Julie 1992 van 'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie. Die tydperk waarin persone bedoel in artikel 14 (3) (b) van die Wet vertoë tot die Appèlraad oor Publikasies, Privaatsak X114, Pretoria, ten opsigte van die appèl kan rig, word hierby bepaal as 14 dae vanaf die datum van hierdie kennisgewing:

No. 20

31 July 1992

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS  
REPRESENTATIONS IN RESPECT OF APPEAL

On 28 July 1992 the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 14 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), against the decision on 23 July 1992 of a Committee referred to in section 4 of the Act, that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act. The period within which persons referred to in section 14 (3) (b) of the Act may make representations to the Publications Appeal Board, Private Bag X114, Pretoria, in respect of the appeal is hereby determined as 14 days from the date of this notice:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P92/07/96 .....	<i>Scope</i> Vol 27, No 15, July 24, 1992.....	Scope, Mobei.

## BELANGRIKE AANKONDIGING

### Sluitingstye

- (1) AANSOEKE OM DRANKLISENSIES
- (2) AANSOEKE OM VERPLASINGS VAN LISENSIES

Hiermee word bekendgemaak dat kennisgewings vir aanname die Vrydag, twee kalenderweke voor datum van publikasie, ingedien moet word.

Die sluitingstyd is stiptelik **15:00** op die volgende dae:

- ▷ **25 Junie 1992**, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **3 Julie 1992**.
- ▷ **30 Julie 1992**, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **7 Augustus 1992**.
- ▷ **27 Augustus 1992**, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **4 September 1992**.
- ▷ **24 September 1992**, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **2 Oktober 1992**.
- ▷ **29 Oktober 1992**, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **6 November 1992**.
- ▷ **26 November 1992**, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **4 Desember 1992**.

L.W.: Laat kennisgewings sal in die daaropvolgende uitgawe geplaas word.

Gegewens word presies weergegee soos verstrekk op Vorm 2 en Vorm 28 van voornemende aansoeker.

## IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

### Closing Times

- (1) APPLICATIONS FOR LIQUOR LICENCES
- (2) APPLICATIONS FOR REMOVAL OF LICENCES

Notice is hereby given that notices are to be submitted for acceptance on the Friday, two calendar weeks before date of publication.

The closing time is **15:00** sharp on the following days:

- ▷ **25 June 1992**, for the issue of Friday **3 July 1992**.
- ▷ **30 July 1992**, for the issue of Friday **7 August 1992**.
- ▷ **27 August 1992**, for the issue of Friday **4 September 1992**.
- ▷ **24 September 1992**, for the issue of Friday **2 October 1992**.
- ▷ **29 October 1992**, for the issue of Friday **6 November 1992**.
- ▷ **26 November 1992**, for the issue of Friday **4 December 1992**.

**Note:** Late notices will be placed in the subsequent issue.

Information will be reflected exactly as furnished on Form 2 and Form 28 of prospective applicant.



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Regulasiekoerant  
Regulation Gazette  
No. 4914

Vol. 325

PRETORIA, 31 JULIE 1992  
JULY

No. 14189

## GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING

### DEPARTEMENT VAN JUSTISIE

No. R. 2202

31 Julie 1992

KLASSE WAPENTUIG VOORGESKRYF VIR DOEL-  
EINDES VAN ARTIKEL 22 (1) VAN DIE TWEDE  
STRAFREGWYSIGINGSWET, 1992 (WET No. 126  
VAN 1992)

Kragtens artikel 22 (2) van die Tweede Strafregrwysigingswet, 1992 (Wet No. 126 van 1992), skryf ek, Hendrik Jacobus Coetsee, Minister van Justisie, die klasse wapentuig in die Bylae vermeld voor vir die doeleindes van die bepalings van artikel 22 (1) van genoemde Wet.

H. J. COETSEE,  
Minister van Justisie.

#### BYLAE

1. 'n Kanon, terugslaglose kanon, mortier of vuurpyl-rigter of soortgelyke wapentuig, of 'n onderdeel daarvan.
2. 'n Projektiel of vuurpyl wat bestem is om uit 'n kanon, terugslaglose kanon, mortier of vuurpyl-rigter afgeskiet te word, of 'n stof wat bestem is om so 'n projektiel of vuurpyl wat aldus afgeskiet word, aan te dryf of by die aandrywing daarvan mee te werk, of 'n deel of namaaksel van so 'n projektiel of vuurpyl.
3. 'n Masjiengeweer, met inbegrip van 'n vuurwapen wat onafgebroke vuur kan lewer solank drukking op die sneller daarvan toegepas word, hetsy daardie vuurwapen oorspronklik bestem was om op daardie wyse te funksioneer al dan nie, of soortgelyke wapentuig, of 'n onderdeel daarvan.
4. 'n Granaat, bom of dergelyke werptuig of 'n namaaksel daarvan.
5. 'n Plof- of ontbrandingstoestel of 'n onderdeel of namaaksel daarvan.

478—A

## GOVERNMENT NOTICE

### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

No. R. 2202

31 July 1992

CLASSES OF WEAPONRY PRESCRIBED FOR PURPOSES OF SECTION 22 (1) OF THE CRIMINAL LAW SECOND AMENDMENT ACT, 1992 (ACT No. 126 OF 1992)

Under section 22 (2) of the Criminal Law Second Amendment Act, 1992 (Act No. 126 of 1992), I, Hendrik Jacobus Coetsee, Minister of Justice, prescribe the classes of weaponry specified in the Schedule for the purposes of the provisions of section 22 (1) of the said Act.

H. J. COETSEE,  
Minister of Justice.

#### SCHEDULE

1. Any cannon, recoilless gun, mortar or rocket launcher or any similar armament, or any part thereof.
2. Any projectile or rocket, intended to be discharged from a cannon, recoilless gun, mortar or rocket launcher, or any substance intended to propel or to assist in propelling any such projectile or rocket so discharged, or any part or imitation of such a projectile or rocket.
3. Any machine gun or machine rifle, including any firearm capable of delivering a continuous fire for so long as pressure is applied to the trigger thereof, whether or not that firearm was originally designed to function in that manner, or any similar armament, or any part thereof.
4. Any grenade, bomb or similar missile or any imitation thereof.
5. Any explosive or incendiary device or any part or imitation thereof.

14189—1



# Vaal 'safe house' denial

■ Widow says she did not rent her house to police:

Sowetan 31/7/92

(327)

IT was not true that her property was used as a "safe house" by police intent on eliminating activists in nearby townships, a middle-aged widow from a Vaal Triangle smallholding said yesterday.

Mrs W van der Westhuizen told a Goldstone Commission inquiry into the *Weekly Mail's* allegations of police underground operations that at no stage had she rented part of her property to people other than staffers from Tolkom.

She said she had been living at the smallholding - which cannot be identified - on her own since her husband died in 1979, except for an apartment she let to Tolkom company staffers who worked on the nearby toll road's ambu-

lance service.

In earlier evidence, a former exile, Mr Solly Mngomezulu, said that the police, on the pretext of finding him employment with a certain cosmetics company, took him to Van der Westhuizen's plot where he was told he would be trained to kill ANC activists.

He said that at one stage while being kept at the plot he saw Van der Westhuizen - who was then referred to as "granny or ouma" by people at the house - with her back to him.

Another witness, Sgt Andre Steenkamp, told the hearing that police informers could not be brought to give evidence before the committee because

of fear for their lives.

Counsel for the police and for the Minister of Law and Order, Advocate Phillip Hattingh, said that if police informers were called to give evidence they could be recognised and killed or attacked.

He said that one person who was due to give evidence to the committee on violence in Tokoza, Mr Luther Magwaza, was killed before his testimony could be heard.

The chairman of the committee, Mr R Wise, announced that he would reserve his ruling on the matter until a later date.

- Sapa.

# Cops won't interfere in legal protests

Sowetan 31/7/92



**T**HE NEW 5 000-STRONG task force deployed in PWV townships would not intervene in legal mass action, police said yesterday.

SAP liaison officer Captain Burger van Rooyen was commenting on charges by the ANC that the current "township stabilisation operation" was meant to thwart mass action.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the massive deployment of policemen and soldiers on the Reef on the eve of the stayaway should be compared with the army call-up just before June 16 and was "meant to deny the people their right to peaceful demonstration".

Van Rooyen said the ANC accusations were facile because the task force was deployed to protect life and property and would "in no way stand in the

**■ POLICE FORCE** ANC says task

force in townships will deny the right to peaceful demonstration:

way of people wanting to express their feelings in legal mass action".

He said the keyword was "legal" as the SAP would "obviously have to act should mass demonstrations turn violent or threatening".

He stressed the task force had been expressly deployed to stabilise the situation in 14 new strife and crime-ridden townships in the Transvaal, thanks to the success of similar operations at Alexandra and Phola Park.

"The main aim is to restore peace and stability in the affected areas and to reinstall a sense of self-respect and human dignity among residents of the afflicted areas," Van Rooyen said.

The ANC insisted, however, that the Government had spared no effort in projecting the campaign for peace and democracy as a trigger for violence.

"In essence their argument is: 'if you protest, you will be killed'," Niehaus said. - Sapa.



**REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION (32)**

ON July 28 the minister of law and order declared the east Rand magisterial district of Benoni, including the townships of Wattville and Daveyton, an unrest area. This brings the number of townships declared unrest areas to 20.

N/mad

3/7-6/8/72

BRIEFING

The Star Friday July 31 1992

STW 31/7/92

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STW 31/7/92

# An ethical cry from the heart



Dr Jonathan Gluckman... an "incremental horror" led him to speak out about what he had seen.

Something other than politics prompted Dr Jonathan Gluckman's appeal for action to check police brutality, writes JO-ANNE COLLINGE.

**PATHOLOGIST** Jonathan Gluckman, who has caused the Government untold discomfort by disclosing that his files contained weighty evidence of police torture, speaks precisely into the telephone receiver: "Incidentally, I'm a great supporter of the State President."

for action to check police brutality against those in custody. The 77-year-old expert has performed or observed more than 200 autopsies at the request of lawyers and families who suspect that the police caused the death of their loved ones.

Asked what drives him to this specialisation, he answers: "No body else is prepared to do it." The evasion in this answer is betrayed by the terms in which Dr Gluckman speaks of the damage he has seen wreaked on the bodies he inherits for examination. "It's just uncontrolled savagery," he snaps, adding that an "incremental horror" prompted him to publicise the contents of his files.

These plain, emotive words are the kind he used when he turned to President de Klerk some months ago in a bid to end physical abuse in custody. The actions speak of a deeply moral and intrinsically conservative man who will do his utmost to make the system work before resorting to the unorthodox.

Indeed, he has been repeatedly asked why he waited so long before "going public". Dr Gluckman proceeded from being a senior partner in a highly successful general pathology laboratory in an ever-more specialised direction, honing in on forensics.

Although he combines his role of consultant pathologist with that of executive director of Medical Rescue International, he can fairly be described as a "morbid anatomist", he concedes with an unexpected smile. Colleagues point to Dr Gluckman's vital interest in the ethics of his profession and his concern with the questions of socialised medicine.

Dr Gluckman was a co-founder of the Medical Services Plan, the first medical assistance scheme in SA targeted at those who could not afford to buy medical care directly.

Perhaps best known for his involvement in the Steve Biko Inquest, Dr Gluckman has demonstrated an ongoing concern for the treatment of detainees, at one point urging district surgeons to refuse to administer to detainees if proper treatment was made impossible.

But there has never been any doubt that the sympathy Dr Gluckman shows for detained patients stems from ethical and human rights considerations. Politically, he was miles apart from the United Demo-

cratic Front whose members crammed the cells in the 1980s. When the Harare Children's Conference of 1987 called for the international isolation of doctors who collaborated in repression and for only the "alternative" professional bodies to be recognised internationally, Dr Gluckman hit back in the name of the Medical Association of SA, defending its development of a code for the treatment of children in detention and branding the "alternative" medical association as "a small medico-political body... more directed towards the undermining of the medical profession".

Abrupt in his speech, ever-ready to challenge a concept or rephrase a question, there is yet something extra-scientific in Dr Gluckman's vision of medical practice. At a graduation ceremony at Wits University, shortly before he became Masasa president in 1975, he reflected how medical insurance had encouraged the money-making propensity of doctors.

"From being a group of professional men inspired by a sense of vocation and idealism, we seem to have become a group of people involved in the universal rat race," he said. "We have lost our collective soul."

Few pathologists speak publicly of the soul. Even fewer decorate their walls with photographs of the key players in the inquests of detainees. Or with vivid oil paintings they have created. Dr Gluckman does all of these. And promises to write his memoirs on retiring. They will be most enlightening. □



# Code of conduct for mass protests

Star 31/7/92 (327)

After a failed initiative to avert next week's two-day national general strike, church leaders and political and business groups, including the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola), have drafted a code of conduct for mass protests to ensure that the mass action runs peacefully.

Everyone wants progress towards a democracy and the end to violence. Actions such as stayaways and marches are being undertaken by some organisations as ways of realising this objective.

All must be free to choose what they want to do for peace and democracy without the fear of intimidation. All must respect the right of people to hold different views.

1. Those who choose to stay away from work or engage in public demonstrations must be allowed to do so without interference.
2. Those who choose to go to work or not participate in public demonstrations must be allowed to do so without interference.
3. No weapons of any kind should be carried during public demonstrations.
4. Organisers must take necessary steps to ensure that the protest action is peaceful.
5. Organisers must publicly issue instructions that will ensure that protest actions shall be carried out in a disciplined manner.
6. Organisers of marches or other protest actions must publicly declare their plans beforehand.
7. Employers should deal with the stayaway with sensitivity and make all efforts to reduce any potential for conflict or violence.
8. Those providing emergency services should not be hindered in their life-saving duties.
9. All parties shall ensure that their members do not interfere with journalists in their work.
10. The security forces must uphold the right of people to protest peacefully.
11. The security forces must not interfere with peaceful meetings, marches, rallies and demonstrations.
12. The security forces must exercise their duty impartially in protecting people who are taking part in protest actions, and those who choose not to do so.
13. The Government must act in such a manner that peace, reconciliation and stability shall speedily follow any period or event of protest.

All parties are called upon to act in a responsible way so as to ensure progress towards peace, democracy and an end to violence.

## Pathologist reveals deaths in African police custody

ANOTHER scandal involving South Africa's security forces rocked President F. W. de Klerk's government on Sunday as the country's leading pathologist gave details of deaths in police custody.

Dr Jonathon Gluckman, who examined the murdered political activist Steve Biko, opened his files to the South African Sunday Times, in a desperate bid to stop the killings.

"I can't stand it any longer," said Dr Gluckman, who revealed that in his office he had more than 200 files of postmortems he had performed on blacks who had died in detention. He was convinced that 90 per cent of these were killed by police. "This is straight forward murder by police," he said.

Dr Gluckman's revelations came as a further blow to the police force already reeling from harsh criticism by an independent British expert, Dr Peter Waddington, last week, of their "woefully incompetent" handling of the investigation of the Boipatong massacre in which more than 40 people died.

Dr Gluckman said he had discussed the deaths with the minister of law and order, Hernus Kriel and the minister of correctional services, Adrian Vlok. He had also written to President de Klerk twice in the past eight months.

Dr Gluckman released five post-mortem reports which he said were randomly selected from his files. They included a man who died of a brain haemorrhage and was found hanging from his cell. The doctor believes he was dead before he was hanged.

He said he had decided to go public following the death of a Sebokeng youth, aged 19. Simon Mthimkulu was arrested by police two weeks ago and found dead in the veld 12 hours later.

According to affidavits compiled by human rights lawyers, Mthimkulu had been beaten and tortured by police. A policeman allegedly picked up a huge rock and threw it several times at Mthimkulu's ribcage. Dr Gluckman said his findings were entirely consistent with the injuries described

by the witnesses.

"This is a 19-year old boy. Not charged with an offence," he said. "I get sick at heart about the whole affair. It goes on and on."

A spokesman for Mr Kriel said that an investigation into every death in police custody in the past two years had been ordered following Dr Gluckman's claims. "We regard this matter very seriously," Mr Kriel's spokesman said.

Dr Gluckman told the Sunday Times that his impression was that "the police are totally out of control. They do what they like."

Dr Waddington, in his report on Boipatong, found the police operation during the massacre and in the subsequent inquiries had been bedevilled by a failure of leadership. "Contingency planning was inad-

equated and non-commissioned officers were left at the scene of a rapidly unfolding disaster to make fateful decisions."

Command has been notable by its absence for much of the time; junior officers have not been adequately debriefed and lessons have not been learned."

Dr Waddington found that if the obvious failures of the investigation were in any way representative of policing, then they suggested that "the SAP is an unaccountable police force. The difficulties encountered by this inquiry team in uncovering the most routine aspects of the police response and investigation suggested systems do not exist for either internal or external accountability."

Dr Waddington did find that "amidst all this gloom and negative appraisal", there was no evidence of police complicity in the massacre. "Indeed, all the evidence suggests a genuine desire to identify perpetrators and prosecute them."

The report notes the number of strategic and practical deficiencies in policing which point to "serious incompetence".

These include the tactic of lining police officers up "in front of hostile crowds, unprotected and holding a lethal weapon in their hands, which seems to be a recipe designed for over-reaction".

By Phillip van Niekerk  
in Johannesburg

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